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DANGER SIGNALS FOR INDIAN DEMOCRACY

From Where Does The Growing Threat Arise?

ARTICLE ON NAVEEN
NAGAR AICC SESSION

● by M. BASAVAPUNIAH

The recent Naveen Nagar Session of the AICC was not only marked by the diatribes against the Communist Party, but many of the sentiments expressed in this connection should cause serious concern to all those who are anxious about the future of Indian democracy.

THE Nagpur session and the Naveen Nagar session of the AICC have travelled in diametrically opposite directions in several important matters. If the Nagpur discussions and decisions showed an awareness of the impact of the Right offensive, the Naveen Nagar session was dominated by anti-Communism.

The astounding fact stands out that it is the ruling Congress Party and its leadership that have set the tone to the wild propaganda of "Chinese Communism menacing the country's integrity on its borders and the Indian Communists wrecking its democracy."

Pressure From Right

The pompous talk about a "big" Third Plan while not mentioning a word about the pitiable plight of the Second Plan, the friendly polemics with the Swatantra Party while it is the Swatantra ideology that is threatening the Congress Party from within, the routine clap-trap in defence of the public sector while in practice every conceivable concession is given to the anti-national demands of the big private capitalists—all this has revealed the ugly truth that the pressure from extreme Right reaction is getting results both in the sphere of internal as well as international affairs.

It is disturbing to see the Congress leaders, specially Prime Minister Nehru, the chief architect of parliamentary democracy in our country, raising the slogan of "Indian democracy in danger" in a distorted fashion and directing the pistol against the Communists in the so-called fight for defence of democracy.

It is worth remembering in this connection that wherever democracy and parliamentary methods were stifled and vile dictatorship took its place in the recent past, it was done under the hypocritical battle-cry of fight against Communism. Against this background, let us examine the AICC discussion.

Attack On Communists

The Naveen Nagar AICC was inaugurated by Pandit Nehru and his daughter Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister and the President of the Indian National Congress respectively, with a rabid attack on the Communist Party setting the tone for the subsequent discussions of the session.

Prime Minister Nehru, exploiting the ugly incident of shoe-hurling in the West Bengal Assembly, a solitary exception of its kind in all the 12 years of our country's independence where scores of legislatures and the Parliament on top of them have all been functioning, has declared that "with such people (Communists—M. B.) there can be no truce so far as I am concerned." In his usual and characteristic fashion he has again tried to balance it by stating that "I do not for the moment confine the criticism to any particular group but I think to some extent we may all be guilty of it."

He charged the Communist Party with the main responsibility for attacking and endangering the democratic methods and way of life in our country and tried to apportion a small part of the guilt to the Congress Party including himself, thus making the attack on the Communists more vicious and powerful.

Curiously enough, after fanning the flames against the Communists, he wanted to assure the world that "so

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IN PEKING

Mao Tse-tung and N. S. Khrushchov entering the Tienamen in Peking to review the parade on October 1, the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic.

IN DELHI

In Delhi, the Tenth Anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic was celebrated at two receptions—one by the India-China Friendship Association and the other by the Chinese Embassy. The ICFA reception was attended among others by the Chinese Ambassador Pan Tzu-li, Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Dr. S. D. Kitchlew, Smt. Kameshwari Nehru, Maj.-Gen. S. S. Sokhey, Dr. Tarachand, Dr. Gyan Chand and Pandit Sundaral.



German Democratic Republic



TEN
YEARS

On October 7 the German Democratic Republic completed ten years. To celebrate the occasion the Trade Representative of the GDR in India, Erich Renneisen held a reception in the Ashok Hotel. SEE PAGES 7, 8, 9 AND 10.

THE ICE BREAKS

How few would have conceded only a few years ago that a day will come when the Government of the USA, the leader of the capitalist world, the organiser of the cold war and military alliances will invite and receive the Prime Minister of the USSR, the leader of the Socialist world, the champion of world peace and advocate of international cooperation!

STILL fewer would have foreseen the day when President Eisenhower would sign a joint communique with Premier Khrushchov which leads away from the policies of the cold war and opens the path of international cooperation.

Yet it has happened. It is a historic break-through, a new development enthusiastically welcomed by all peace-loving mankind.

Khrushchov fought passions and prejudices with the patience and confidence with which a good doctor fights plague and cholera. He made himself heard in a land steeped in the poison of anti-Communism. His words, simple truths and plain common sense entered the hearts of men in a land where men and his kind.

Khrushchov represented the lead in a new era. He sent off by sending the hammer and sickle to the moon and a welcome back by sending another rocket and station hanging in space sending scientific data back home.

The New Gains

Honest publicists and neutral statesmen who have studied the impact of Khrushchov's visit on the USA, are unanimous that it has led to a very big change in the political climate and the atmosphere. The *New Statesman* has rightly stressed that it can only now be truly stated that Dulles has been truly laid in his grave.

The policy of cold war, the precursor of hot war, death and devastation for mankind has received a crushing blow. The policy of peace, coexistence and international cooperation has won a resounding victory. The path forward is no smooth sailing, not free from pitfalls and dangers. Khrushchov himself has stressed that there are "forces in America" which "stand for the continuation of the cold war and the arms race." They call for vigilance. They have yet to be put in their place.

The new gains resulting from Khrushchov's visit to the USA and the Ike-Khrushchov meeting are contained in the joint communique and they constitute the springboard for further advance to ensure peace through negotiations and cooperation among nations.

Both "agreed that all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiations."

This is certainly a big shift from the oft-repeated U.S. policy of war as an instrument of State policy.

The words are different from those heard so far of "liquidating Communism" through a "liberation war" a la Dulles on which U.S. policy was long based after World War II.

Here is tacit acceptance of settling disputes through negotiations. Honestly and consistently implemented, it can make coexistence possible.

THE THAW BEGINS

The Soviet Premier and the U.S. President "agreed that the question of general disarmament is the most important one for the world today. Both Governments will make every effort to achieve a constructive solution of this problem."

Again, this is not the same as the policy the U.S. has pursued so far of forging and stockpiling "deterrents" and planting them through puppet regimes all around the world to "contain Communism."

Disarmament discussions have stood deadlocked for years while what went on was graphically described by Khrushchov in his address to the United Nations: "Never before in the history of mankind has the arms race been conducted at

such a pace and with such dangers involved as today, in the age of the atom, electronics and the conquest of cosmic space....

"The explosion of one hydrogen bomb releases a greater energy than all the explosions set off by all countries in all wars known in the history of mankind."

"And can one forget that there is not a spot on the globe today inaccessible to nuclear and rocket weapons?"

In such a grim situation what is the obvious duty of statesmen who seek to serve and not destroy mankind? Khrushchov very wisely and equally boldly stated before the United Nations: "The task is to find a lever grasping which mankind could be stopped from backsliding into the abyss of war."

Khrushchov made the breathtaking but realistic

proposal of "general and complete disarmament" to be completed in four years and opened the doors to a new vista of world without armies, navies, fighters, bombers, A and H bombs, a world of peace for all peoples and security for all nations.

He offered businesslike discussion of "partial steps" along with reasonable safeguards to allay suspicions and moving towards the general aim of no arms and no armed forces anywhere in the world and a world safe for everybody.

He urged immediate solution of "such an acute and fully mature question as that of the discontinuance of nuclear weapons test for all time."

A new glorious perspective for all the inhabitants of our globe was unfolded by Khrushchov.

"Having achieved complete disarmament mankind would experience a feeling similar to that which overcomes an utterly exhausted desert traveller tormented by the fear of perishing

from thirst and exposure when after long wanderings he reaches an oasis.

Summit In Offing

The USA and the USSR are the two greatest Powers of the day, they lead the two camps.

The USSR offered meeting, talks, negotiations to ensure peaceful coexistence. The USA resisted it all through the past years. That resistance now stands broken.

The heads of these two Governments met and held, in their own words, "useful conversations on a number of questions affecting the relations" between the two countries.

More talks, and at various levels, are promised along with the U.S. President's visit to the USSR next spring. The more the leaders of these two topmost countries talk and discuss outstanding problems with a view to seek solutions,

motive, it was readily grasped. They were just left with no chance to say NO to talks on peace and mutual cooperation!

Soviet diplomacy, however patient, just and wise, would have cut no ice, as in the past, with capitalist statesmen, unless it was backed with the demonstrated material superiority of the Socialist world over the capitalist world to convince them that in any head-on conflict which side stood to lose.

The military superiority of only a part of the Socialist world against the whole combine of imperialist States, directly led by the best U.S. Generals was demonstrated in Korea. But the U.S. imperialists banked on their monopoly of the atom and superiority in nuclear weapons. After the victory of the Sputnik and Lunik in the space above and all that it betokened alongside U.S. rockets bursting on their own ground-pads, the realisation dawned not only on the people but also realistic statesmen of the capitalist world that their

policy of cold war had become an anarchism and that further persistence, in the picturesque words of the *People's Daily* will only mean that they will "suffer the results of lift up the stone and squash your own foot."

The real "position of strength" belonged to the other side, to the Socialist camp, and it used it not for perpetrating or waging war but for negotiating and safeguarding peace. This is no quotation from Marx or Lenin but is being writ large in current developments.

This repeated demonstration of the military superiority of the Socialist camp went hand in hand with the growing expansion and leap forward of the Socialist economies. Top bourgeois publicists and economists themselves concede that the main challenge of Communism is not military but economic!

The precursors to Khrushchov's visit to the United States were the visits of Adlai Stevenson and Vice-President Nixon to the USSR, as also British Prime Minister MacMillan's followed by British Labour leaders Gaitskell and Bevan and Soviet leaders Mikoyan and Kozlov's visits to the USA. These and numerous other visits of men of goodwill and influence paved the way for Khrushchov's visit to the USA and its success.

All the known Western objections which together constituted the hard icy wall of the cold-war were battered, bit by bit, by Soviet diplomacy at the series of disarmament conferences, at the experts' meeting on nuclear weapons, at the Foreign Ministers' Conference, at every session of the U.N. and through a series of bold and constructive letters addressed by Khrushchov from time to time to the heads of capitalist States. All their legitimate objections were met, every time they held out their hand, with whatever

He not only challenged economic competition to demonstrate which social system is really superior but also offered economic cooperation between the two systems on the basis of ever-expanding trade on mutually advantageous terms between the countries of the two camps and also called for united efforts of all developed countries, whether Socialist or capi-

talist, in aiding the underdeveloped countries. His were no empty words. The USSR, while itself forced to bear the burden of armament is even now helping to construct 800 industrial enterprises in Socialist countries and more than 200 in the economically underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa.

The need for coexistence, competition and cooperation has been spelt out in terms of life itself by the successful example and advance of the planned economies of the Socialist camp under the leadership of the USSR.

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THE U.S.S.R. DOES IT AGAIN! THIS TIME AN INTER-PLANETARY STATION

by cable from HASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, October 5.

THIS Monday I have to continue the story of the moon but with a difference. "It's great, it's fantastic. We have done it again," they say in Moscow today.

People are naturally happy and thrilled. But the most surprising thing of all is that nobody is surprised any more. It is no longer sensational and even these astronomical feats are becoming an every day commonplace of Soviet system.

I am sure neither I nor you would be taken unaware if by our next cable we were to tell you about the man in the moon. We shall all know which country he comes from.

Rather unhappy state of affairs for a journalist if even such sensations become commonplace? But do not be disappointed. I am sure there are no dull moments ahead. If such big news becomes an every-day occurrence, even bigger news will follow, for such is Soviet reality of today.

By now everybody knows all about the new brilliant victory of Soviet science. The Soviet inter-planetary station is on its way to the moon. It will go round it and come back to the region of the earth sending heaps of the most valuable new information all the way. And maybe it would be able to make quite a few such trips before its day's work is done.

You again see excited people in Moscow trying to explain to one another the

intricacies of heavenly mechanics. Pravda Correspondent Kotov says today that the most frequent gesture of Muscovites since yesterday has been to make a circle in the air a few times by one of their hands. Round the moon and back are the words you hear repeated again and again.

Yes, traffic in space is increasing. People have become so cosmic-minded that books on astronomy disappear in no time. Everybody wants to know,

to study the technique behind it all and not to be ignorant of cosmic geography. It has become necessary for grown-ups to know what is situated where in the universe if they want to carry on day-to-day conversation without looking silly in front of kids.

And, of course, problems of space-travel have become a passion for the enthusiastic young. Millions are getting ready for feats ahead. So, as I say, no dull moments ahead.

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The need for coexistence, competition and cooperation has been spelt out in terms of life itself by the successful example and advance of the planned economies of the Socialist camp under the leadership of the USSR.

Disarray In West

Just as the unity and solidarity of the countries of the Socialist camp is ordained by the laws of Socialism, so is disunity and conflict inside the capitalist camp ordained by the inherent laws of capitalism itself. Capitalists by nature are rivals to each other, they can never become brothers among themselves and act as such. The never-ending conflicts inside the NATO alliance, the economic rival groupings of the inner Six and outer Seven in Western Europe, underline this.

The very announcement of Khrushchov's visit to the U.S. led to such an upset inside the Western alliance that Ike had to visit by turn London, Paris, and Bonn and what he heard, talked and saw has been characterised as a serious "disarray" of the Western camp by Western publicists themselves.

The intensifying conflicts inside the Western camp headed by the USA, in the background of the growing impact of the Socialist camp headed by the USSR have been enough for any sober Western statesman to see that their side lacked even the solidarity, leave aside strength to successfully carry on with the old policies of the cold war and that there was no earthly sense left in turning down repeated Soviet offers of talks to settle outstanding problems and of much-needed trade made to each capitalist country separa-

tely and together. The ice had to break and it has broken.

Peace Movement

This process was to a considerable extent aided by the World Peace Movement. The specific national forms this popular movement assumed, inside the various countries of the Western camp itself, enabled it to exert real influence.

In U.K., the mass march to Aldermaston against the U.S. nuclear base inside the country recalled the best days of Britain's popular and proletarian struggles and it became Britain's national protest against becoming the front-line victim of U.S. aggressive policies and the anti-national subservient character of its Tory Government.

The latest Soviet disarmament proposals have so moved Bertrand Russell that for the first time, in his old age, he rushed to Trafalgar Square to address a public meeting on the subject. Britain's latest elections have become a furious race between the Tory and Labour leaders as to who is best qualified to sit alongside Khrushchov in the coming Summit.

In West Germany, the mass movement gathered strength behind the demand to keep German soil free from U.S. nuclear weapons. The Rapacki Plan won wide response among influential German political circles. The top West German industrial magnates began negotiating big trade deals with the USSR.

In Japan, the movement grew as an irrefragable national protest against the Mutual Security Treaty with the USA. The anniversary of the atom-bombing of Nagasaki was observed not only in a solemn mass manner but representative public figures from most Asian countries also attended it to express the sentiment of their own people that never again will the hell bomb be allowed to be hurled against any country.

Examples can be multiplied.

Despite all the efforts of reactionaries to isolate and damn the peace movement as Communist-inspired and serving as the mouthpiece of So-

INDIA'S STAKE AND DUTY

viet foreign policies, it grew from strength to strength and made its due contribution in changing the political climate. It voiced through effective national forms the most ardent desire of its own people and of the whole world for peace and life, against war and death.

Uncommitted Nations

Besides there has been the great significant role played by the newly liberated but neutral nations. Khrushchov stated before the U.N., "Take a look at the map of Asia and Africa and you will see hundreds of millions of peoples freeing themselves of centuries old oppression by foreigners, of foreign exploitation. The future generations will give a high estimate to the exploit of those who led the struggle for independence of India and Indonesia, the United Arab Republic and Iraq, Ghana, Guinea and other States...."

By winning their national independence, Afro-Asian nations like India have shattered many pillars of the moribund colonial system on which the capitalist structure of the West really rested. By pursuing independent foreign policies, refusing to enter the imperialist system of military alliance and cooperating with the USSR and other Socialist countries in the cause of peace and in reducing international tension, accepting economic aid from both sides for their economic development, they have weakened the forces of cold war and shown up the futility of their bankrupt policies. The uncommitted nations, among whom India has played a leading role, have helped to discredit cold war and usher in the era of international cooperation.

The best and most realistic summing up of the present world situation is contained in

the Moscow and Peking speeches of Khrushchov where he has stated with justified pride and full confidence:

"The new world system marches forward confidently; it advances rapidly, gaining strength as a good plant in spring time. Like a mighty tree with deep and strong roots, fears neither winds nor droughts, the new Socialist world fears no storms, no foul weather.

"We base our actions on common sense, justice and the support of the people. Furthermore, we rely upon our mighty potential...."

"Now with the present balance of forces between Socialism and capitalism favourable for the former, those who would like to carry on the cold war policy are heading for their own destruction. The advocates of the cold war are pushing the world towards another world war, whose flames will devour in the first place those who will unleash it."

India's Stake

The world has hailed our country as a great Power for peace though the Big Three of the West refuse to accord us the status. In the new international situation facing our country and the world, new opportunities and obligations face our country.

Our Prime Minister has welcomed the Ike-Khrushchov meeting, the Soviet disarmament proposals and the new climate. Words are not enough. The peace-loving world demands new solid deeds from our side and our own past and active role makes them look towards us with hope and confidence.

The liquidation of cold war and ending the armaments race, the ushering in of the new era of peace and cooperation has

come on the immediate agenda of the day. The world yearning for peace expects India to initiate and support bold and persistent moves that will strengthen the cooperation of the uncommitted nations with the countries of the Socialist camp, help forge new agreements with the statesmen of the Western camp who are now showing signs of realism and sobriety and isolate and rout the remnant warriors of the cold war.

We Need Peace

India herself needs peace to be able to live and build our country according to our heart's desire.

The Khrushchov proposals on disarmament have opened entirely new vistas for all underdeveloped countries and above all for a vast country like ours hungering for resources to build up our national economy. He has proposed that a proportion of the huge sums saved through disarmament be earmarked for economic aid to the underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Aswan Dam is probably the most grandiose project of its kind in the Afro-Asian region. Khrushchov has revealed that "if even ten per cent of the present defence budget of two countries alone the U.S. and the USSR were allocated for the purpose, it would make possible the construction of several such dams every year!"

Again, if only ten per cent of the 1958 budget of NATO countries was earmarked for the purpose it will be possible to set up, every year, over a dozen plants on the model of Bhilai!

We have a vital national interest in the success of the Soviet proposals in disarmament. We must give them all-out support.

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PAGE THREE

THE IDA

WHEN the annals of Morarji Desai's latest trip to the United States are written the International Development Association (IDA) will probably be mentioned in them as a big gain. And yet, scepticism about the utility of this "gain" as an agency to help develop underdeveloped economies marks all comments on its formation.

Even Desai—otherwise not given to frugality in his praise for the "generosity" of the West—has thought it fit to hedge it with a good many reservations this time. The Pakistan Finance Minister, Mohammad Shoib, too, has been constrained to wonder if the new body will add any net resources at all to those the needy countries already have.

Why these doubts now about the efficacy of a body whose creation was expected to solve a good part of the exchange problems of underdeveloped countries?

To answer this query one has to traverse back to September-October last year, when Senator Monroney of the United States first mooted the idea of an institution like the IDA, on the eve of the World Bank's New Delhi meeting. In making his proposal he was impelled by the consideration of finding some use for the large sums of foreign currencies which the U.S. had accumulated in other countries. These included the rupee proceeds of the sale of P.L. 480 foodgrains, which the United States had loaned to our country.

What It Means

Senator Monroney's scheme envisaged formation of an international agency, as an affiliate of the World Bank, which could gather all these funds, and together with subscriptions from other countries, loan them to the needy countries on a long-term basis and on easy terms. The net result would have been to make available to them funds, which they already had, for use on their development projects. Additionally, if they could be allowed to repay them in their own currencies, they would have been spared of the need to deploy their scarce foreign exchange earnings for the purpose. Thus, according to Monroney's plan, the U.S. could earn extra goodwill by loaning out funds, for which in any case it had little use.

This plan, however, was not to the liking of certain West European countries, which wanted markets for their capital investments, their apprehension being that provision of funds, repayable in local currencies, will any day look to

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the underdeveloped nations a better proposition than allowing foreign investors to gain a foothold on their soil. They, therefore, sought to scotch the very idea of repayment of IDA loans in soft currencies—with the result that what it will loan out now will be loans "soft" only in terms of credit and not in respect of the medium of their repayment. Obviously, the IDA in its new form will be a far cry from what Desai expected it to be.

Problem Of Repayment

A detailed pattern of IDA's operations is yet to be worked out by the World Bank's Board of Directors, but from indications available so far, its capital is expected to be 1,000 million dollars, about a third of which is to be subscribed by the U.S. Government. The rest will be put in by other members of the World Bank in proportion to their holdings in its shares.

Twenty per cent of their subscription will have to be in hard currency, and the rest in their respective currencies. The requirements of underdeveloped countries being mostly for hard currencies, it is obvious that IDA's funds—unless replenished at a rapid pace—will hardly be adequate for the purpose. Moreover, the repayment being in currency borrowed, any benefit in terms of easing foreign exchange position is hardly likely.

Applications for IDA loans will be subject to the same rigorous screening as loans from the World Bank—and since this requires conformity with a certain pattern laid down by the Bank—any marked deviation in selection of schemes for IDA loans can be hardly expected. The main characteristic of this pattern being exclusion of all schemes of basic development in the public sector—other than communications and power—the new loans, too, will be given mainly for relatively unimportant projects.

Thus, even according to the U.S. plan, the IDA would have contributed little towards the recipient countries' basic development. It would have, nevertheless, enabled them to get some resources on terms on which the USSR and other Socialist countries have already given credit worth millions of rupees for the development of heavy industries. In this sense it was supposed to be the U.S. "response to the Soviet challenge in aiding backward countries on easy terms" (Statesman, October 5). But thanks to the spanner thrown in its plan by its West European allies it has miserably failed even in his respect.

This is, however, not the only issue on which the lesser capitalist countries have refused to let the U.S.

reap all the material and political benefits arising out of its foreign aid operations.

On the question of the proposed sale of additional quantities of foodgrains to India by the U.S. out of its farm surpluses as well as two of its wheat producing allies, Canada and Australia, have raised a good many objections. Such sale being on the basis of payment in rupees, India prefers them to purchases in other countries—where she has to pay in hard currencies. This helps the U.S., no doubt, in disposing of commodities, for which it has no use—but to that extent the opportunities available to Canada and Australia to sell their wheat to India suffer. That is why they now insist that any further purchases by India under the U.S. scheme should be without prejudice to its normal purchases from its regular suppliers, i.e. from them.

In serving their ends these two countries have even gone to the extent of alleging that India has been purposely placing its normal marketing requirements at a lower level. This, they contend, "represents an Indian effort to conserve foreign exchange by purchasing a large proportion of its wheat imports for rupees under the U.S. farm surplus scheme".

Thus the capitalist countries are out to help themselves to the maximum in "helping" the underdeveloped countries. Still, it is to them, and them alone, that the Finance Minister makes his annual pilgrimage in search of foreign funds and the Food Minister looks for resources for his projected Food Bank.

SOVIET LOAN FOR BARAUNI

WHILE vacillations mark the Western efforts at even setting up an organisation for giving soft loans to underdeveloped countries, the USSR gave the latest in the series of such loans to India last week. Meant for establishing the country's second refinery in the public sector at Barauni in Bihar this loan of about Rs. 12 crores is repayable in Indian rupees in twelve equal instalments, beginning one year after the supply of all equipment for commissioning the refinery has been completed. Like earlier Soviet loans it will bear an interest at 1½ per cent.

The role which the USSR and Rumania have played in helping India to discover oil is well-known to readers of New Age. They also know how assistance from these two countries has enabled the Government to show quite spectacular results in oil and gas discoveries both at Jwalamukhl and Cambay. The latest of these is the

NEGOTIATE AND SETTLE!

Editorial

The letter of Prime Minister Nehru to China's Prime Minister more or less completes the series of claims and counter-claims regarding the

frontiers of India and China. The utmost that could be said through old treaties, ancient and recent maps, tradition and usage, has been said on either side but we do not seem to be anywhere near solution. And yet there is keen desire to settle the issue on both sides.

Meanwhile, the two countries that gave Panch Sheel to the world, the countries whose historic and active friendship has inspired the nations of Asia with new confidence and laid the foundation of Afro-Asian solidarity, are drifting apart. It will be an immense tragedy if after preaching Panch Sheel to the world, the two countries come to an impasse regarding their own frontier dispute and are unable to settle them in the best traditions of a friendship which has lasted over two thousand years.

Notwithstanding the firm tones adopted, there is keen desire to settle the issue amicably and peacefully. China has expressed itself against any unilateral change of boundaries and against the use of force. The Government of India also has stressed negotiations and settlement. China on her part, while calling for negotiations, has emphasised that the actuality and the status quo should also be taken into consideration as she looks on India as a friendly neighbour.

These form a strong basis for opening negotiations without any prior conditions being set. The resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India passed recently at Calcutta correctly suggested this procedure as the best possible under the present circumstances.

The stage has now been set when, instead of writing to each other from a distance, the statesmen of both sides must come face to face and decide upon a commonly agreed mechanism to examine the issues in dispute.

When the border is in dispute and not properly demarcated, it is first and foremost a matter for the experts on both sides to sit together and examine the differences in terms of history and the hard facts of life, patiently listen and talk to each other with a view to come to common understanding on the basis of duly discussed and authenticated facts, and dutifully report to their respective Government heads to meet and settle outstanding issues in terms of truth, justice and good neighbourliness.

Borders are settled either through war which nobody wants except the madmen of the U.S. Lobby in India, or through negotiations which must immediately begin and which is the cherished desire of the mass of our people and all sober public figures.

Negotiations obviously cannot begin on the basis of prior conditions. They must be really free and frank, and animated with the will to come to agreement.

It is always good to put one's own case firmly and clearly. But it is equally obligatory to listen to the other side politely and patiently and talk till truth triumphs.

While it is correct to reject all unfair claims, it is equally obligatory to relinquish all territory unjustly held by one's own side. This is the spirit we would need in the days ahead. In this spirit we welcome the Indian evacuation of Tamadem after our Government found that the Chinese complaint was correct.

It is a matter of deep gratification that Pandit Nehru has also pledged to respect the status quo. This should help freeze the situation till it can be tackled the right way and in a friendly spirit.

The nation must beware of the leaders of the PSP, Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party who are continuing their campaign of provocation and slanders.

Even some top leaders of the Congress like Congress President Indra Gandhi and Secretary Sucheta Kripalani are adding fuel to the fire, being neither sober nor wise enough for the high offices they hold.

Let there be no playing dirty politics with the border issue as the pretext. It is unworthy of Indian tradition, lowers India's world prestige and soils our internal life.

(October 6)

reported discovery of gas at the second drilling point in Mahuvej near Surat, where a gas blow-out had occurred at another point in June last.

Unlike the United States and other industrialised capitalist countries, the USSR has been ever-willing to help set up basic industries in underdeveloped areas. Already it has put up more than 100 industrial plants and other major establishments in Asian and African countries. These include nine

iron and steel mills, thirteen ore and coal mining establishments, eleven engineering works, six oil refineries, and twelve thermal and hydraulic power stations. There is, however, nothing fortuitous in this since disinterested help to needy countries is in the very nature of Socialism, while quest for economic advantage provides the only motive for capitalist "aid".

ESSEN

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far as the life of the nation and life of democracy are concerned, I want to make it perfectly clear that we shall maintain democratic methods in every way and we shall give every opportunity to every party."

His democratic conscience was so deeply stirred by the shoe-throwing incident as to make him assert that "we will not tolerate this kind of thing happening, whatever the consequences."

Such a statement would have been appreciated by the people if it had been directed against the constant and recurring attacks on the democratic methods and way of life in our country openly indulged in by the Congress Party and its Government. But no such statement has been forthcoming from the Prime Minister.

Alliance With Reaction

The Congress leadership, including Nehru, did not care to pay any heed to the people's protests against these blatant violations of democratic norms and methods and surprisingly enough, at the informal meeting at the Naveen Nagar AICC, it "expressed its view that democracy in India was exposed to attack both from communal and Communist forces and timely and adequate steps should be taken to meet both these dangers." (Hindu, September 29)

In the same breath, this very meeting gave unashamed approval to the electoral understanding and political alliance between the Congress, PSP, Muslim League, Nair Service Society and Catholic Church to fight the Communists in the mid-term elections in Kerala.

The President of the Congress said further that "early steps should be taken to win back to the nationalist outlook elements still thinking on caste and communal lines." After the wholesale embrace of the Catholic Church, Muslim League, Nair Service Society, Akalis, Dravida Kazhagam, Ganatantra Parishad and a host of similar other forces by the Congress, she is very much anxious to swallow whatever still remains outside.

Thus while there is all the talk of fighting communalism, what in effect goes on is a Congress alliance with the worst communal forces. What is being done in the name of "defending democracy from the Communists" is to strengthen precisely those communal reactionary forces who are the sworn enemies of democracy.

It is an utter falsehood to say that the danger to democracy has arisen from the Communists, all that is really in danger is the monopoly of power which the Congress has enjoyed for so long. It is true that Indian democracy is coming under a daily-increasing threat, and it will be fatal to be complacently fight this danger if it is necessary that all those who

are vitally interested in defending our democracy against growing onslaughts, know from where the threat really comes.

It is nearly eight years since the first general elections on the basis of adult franchise under the Indian Constitution.

CPI's Amritsar Decision

Drawing on the experience of these eight years of functioning of parliamentary institutions, the Communist Party, at its Amritsar Congress, categorically declared its faith in peaceful transition to Socialism. The Party Constitution, adopted at Amritsar, said: "The Communist Party of India tries to achieve full democracy and socialism by peaceful means. It considers that by developing a powerful mass movement, by winning a majority in Parliament and by backing it with mass sanctions, the working class and its allies can overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and ensure that Parliament becomes an instrument of people's will for effecting fundamental changes in the economic, social and state structure."

It is the Congress Party and its leadership, on the other hand, that have been steadily moving away from

by its uncompromising battle against the anti-people policies and practices of the Government and by its sustained struggle in defence of the democratic methods and way of life.

Not only that. In attaining its present position, the Communist Party had had to push aside the Praja Socialist Party which put up a fierce fight to assume the role of the major Opposition party inside Parliament as well as among the people outside.

The Praja Socialist Party had the patronage of the Congress leadership in its effort to edge the Communist Party out, and if it were the PSP that had won the position of major opposition party, the Congress leaders would not have minded it, in fact, they would have welcomed it as the most desirable development. It is the emergence of the Communist Party in that position that has sent the shivers down their spine.

Does the Congress leadership, including Nehru with all his loud protestations about parliamentary democracy, respect the democratic verdict of the people in putting the Communist Party in this position? Does the Praja Socialist Party and its leadership, who swear by "democratic Socialism" reconcile themselves to this judgment of the people?

Facts speak otherwise. They treat this judgment

as it fell to the lot of the people, totally illiterate, poverty-stricken, oppressed and exploited cruelly, to defend whatever we won and to extend it.

Congress Record

The Congress Government, instead of taking effective steps to liquidate these basic weaknesses of Indian democracy, from time to time engaged itself in further emasculating it, endangering its stability.

Immediately following the 1952 General Elections, the Congress Party found itself in a minority in the former composite Madras State, facing the challenge of the powerful United Democratic Front formed in the Assembly. Throwing all the canons of decent democratic behaviour to the winds, the Congress leadership pushed C. Rajagopalachari on the scene to do the trick of transforming this minority into a majority. The then Governor called Rajaji, the leader of the minority party in the Assembly to form the Government, ignoring the leader of the majority UDF. Political loyalties of parties, groups and individuals were then bought and sold as in a market place.

The "emergency provisions" under the Indian Constitution have become a plaything in the hands of the Congress rulers and then President's rule is imposed whenever the ruling party finds itself in an inconvenient position. Starting with PEPSU in 1954, there have been many such interventions till the recent one in Kerala in 1959.

From Where Does It Arise?

of the people with utter contempt and are bent upon reversing it by every means at their disposal, fair and foul. It is the mortal fear engendered in the minds of the ruling circles when they face the unpardonable fact of the Communist Party forging ahead as the real alternative to the Congress Party that is at the root of their frenzied attacks on democracy under the pretext of saving it from the hands of the Communists.

During these eight years not only has the Communist Party grown into the major and genuine opposition party, both in the Indian Parliament and several State legislatures, it also won a majority in the State of Kerala and formed and functioned the State Government there, replacing the corrupt and unstable Congress regime. The popular vote in favour of the Communists has gone on increasing rapidly and as many as thirteen millions cast their votes for the Communist Party in the 1957 General Elections. It was the democratic verdict of the people which gave the Communist Party the proud place of major Opposition party and a genuine alternative to the Congress.

Weakness Of The System

It is often asserted and boastfully, too, that our parliamentary democracy is the biggest in the world. While it is undoubtedly a fact that our country with a population of 400 million people has embarked on this path to the delight of all, it behoves no good to us if we ignore the biggest weaknesses it suffers from.

A grand parliamentary democratic superstructure is built on the time-worn feudal and semi-feudal rubble left over by history without thorough clean-up and without laying firm and fresh foundations. The foundation remains the same as was left by the British with all its bureaucratic apparatus.

The Congress leadership taught our people by this was nothing but telling them that "even though you elect a non-Congress majority, we are capable of changing your verdict by other means."

The Government in the Andhra Province was thrown out by a no-confidence motion against it. The Governor did not deem it necessary under Congress democratic practices to call the leader of the major Opposition party to find out whether a Government could be formed. The Assembly was unceremoniously dissolved and President's rule was imposed on Andhra. Is this an action which enhances the confidence of the people in the democratic methods and way of life?

In 1954, the Congress Government in Travancore-Cochin State fell because of its most corrupt and inefficient rule and internecine quarrels. The mid-term elections following it returned in a majority the United Front of Leftist comprised of the CPI, PSP and others.

The Congress leadership to escape the people's verdict for a UFL Government in the State, arrived at a clandestine understanding with the PSP leadership and formation of the Ministry was entrusted to that group of 19 in an Assembly of 101. Thus while the people reject-

ed the Congress Party and its right to form the Government there, the Congress leadership imposed on them against their wishes a Congress-sponsored PSP regime. Such was the contempt the Congress leadership showed to the wishes of the people and to democratic methods.

In the State of Orissa, the Congress Party was reduced to a minority in the 1957 General Elections. Yet the leader of the Congress Party, Harekrushna Mahatab, was called upon to form the Government and to take steps to convert the minority into a majority. Again, when this Government was defeated by a vote in the Assembly, the Congress Government did not hesitate to advise him to "stick on. In the anxiety to perpetuate itself in power, the Congress Ministry in Orissa went to the length of arresting MLAs on some pretext or the other, while the Central Congress leadership was supporting these utterly undemocratic methods and practices.

The "emergency provisions" under the Indian Constitution have become a plaything in the hands of the Congress rulers and then President's rule is imposed whenever the ruling party finds itself in an inconvenient position. Starting with PEPSU in 1954, there have been many such interventions till the recent one in Kerala in 1959.

The "democratic" lesson

In The States

What else does all this reveal but that the Congress leadership is telling the people: "Look here! Either you elect our party's candidates or candidates of other 'respectable' parties with whom we have no big quarrel. But if you elect the Communists, then we are determined to annul your verdict and even pull down democracy!" What respect for democracy, what respect for the people!

There is a saying that "when the cow is grazing on the crop in the farmer's field, the calf will not stand aside." If the Central leadership of the Congress treats democracy in the contemptuous way it has been doing, one can well imagine the fate of democracy at State level, where the Congress leader-

* SEE OVERLEAF

ship is loaded with big land-lord elements for whom democracy is as dangerous as the plague.

By resorting to innumerable malpractices, they cheat the electorate, and treat the legislatures as their "durbars," while their crimes against democratic methods pile up.

There are Governments like the West Bengal Government which avoid convening the Assembly despite repeated Opposition requests, except as and when it becomes absolutely inescapable.

Hatred For The People

The meaningless replies they give to the debates and questions raised, the scant respect they show to the Opposition and the high-handed manner of their administration have been such that it not merely rouses the indignation of the democratic Opposition, it has also led to a series of inner-party revolts in several Congress legislative parties in the States. Punjab and Uttar Pradesh are only the latest examples.

It is worth recalling a recent episode to illustrate the hatred the Congress rulers exhibit towards the people, democracy and elected representatives. Sanjeeva Reddy, Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, went to address a public meeting in a constituency which returned an independent candidate in the 1955 elections. When the local people presented him with a memorandum requesting the Government to attend to some of their urgent needs, his reply was: "You cannot feed the ass and try to milk the cow." The Independent MLA who was present there raised his protest in the Andhra Assembly against this obscene attack.

This same Sanjeeva Reddy went to Kerala as a guest of the then Communist-led Government and throwing all decorum and decency to the winds, told his Congress colleagues there that his party had buried the Communists fathoms deep in Andhra and that the Kerala Congress should emulate that example. Remember, this was being said when the Communists were heading the Government in Kerala!

Such is the Congress leaders' concept of decency, democracy and the Parliamentary way of life.

The fate of panchayats, municipalities and other local bodies at the hands of the Congress rulers, to put it mildly, has become deplorable. Thousands of elected panchayat boards are being arbitrarily dissolved as and when it suits the interests of the Congress Party in different States. Hundreds of municipalities are being superseded and run by special officers who have to dance to their tune. In several cases, elections are not held for years to these popular bodies. It was only the other day that the Punjab Government again postponed the long-due panchayat elections because of its fear of facing the peasantry's verdict and in cases like Calcutta even adult franchise is denied in the elections to the Corporation twelve years after freedom.

Even cooperative banks and other societies are not spared from the high-handed interference of the Congress bosses to suit their partisan ends. In giving grants, aid, etc., discrimination is practised against the panchayats, municipalities and cooperative institutions led by those whose loyalties are to opposition political parties. Thus it is one long tale of systematic butchery of democracy at these levels by the Congress Party.

The Congress leadership and above all Prime Minister Nehru have been declaring time and again from the house-tops that ours is a secular democracy and casteism and communalism are its sworn enemies. But practice demonstrates that the Congress leadership is doing just the opposite.

Most of the so-called casteist and communal parties and organisations in our country are not merely feudal in their socio-economic outlook, but represent the feudal and semi-feudal landlord interests. The Congress Party in its anxiety to perpetuate its monopoly political rule over the country, has been forging political alliances with these very forces who cannot be con-

forces as being inimical to democracy or that it is out to fight them in defence of secularism.

Against Mass Struggles

In any democracy worth the name, it is the inalienable right of the people to speak, peacefully assemble, demonstrate and struggle in defence of their vital day-to-day interests and demands. But under the Congress regime in Indian democracy, all this has come to be treated as a crime against democracy to be met with brutal violence in the form of lathi-charges and shootings.

It is no exaggeration to state that the use of police lathis and fire-arms has become more frequent in independent, democratic India than under British slavery. Hundreds of people were shot dead in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Jamshedpur, Punjab, Madras, Andhra and West Bengal. The hated Preventive Detention has come to occupy a permanent place in the statute book of our land.

No less a person than Prime Minister Nehru declared at the AICC meeting, "We see all kinds of agitation taking

place when politics is reduced here in India to demonstrations and so-called marches. Punjab knows them and elsewhere, instead of normal democratic processes, we resort to these methods..."

And why is it that we have not had a word of condemnation from Nehru of the practice of his followers in Kerala of digging up human skulls and exhibiting them at people's receptions to the dismissed Communist Ministers? It was about a year ago, when country after country in Asia was going under the heels of military dictators that the Communist Party analysed these developments and placed before the public its views on this development.

Our Party's General Secretary, in his pamphlet, Pakistan Portent, wrote: "It (the threat—M.B.) arises from the concessions that are being made to American capital. It arises from the succumbing to pressure of monopolists and landlords. It arises from the fear in the mind of the ruling circles in our country at the growth of the democratic movement and of the Communist Party and the anti-Communist campaign that is being worked up by them as well as by the PSP and other parties. It arises from the growing trend towards authoritarianism and a tendency towards violation of democratic norms. It arises from the key position held by the reactionary and anti-democratic elements in the bureaucratic and military apparatus, the scant attention paid by the Government towards the task of instilling in the army the

patriotic and democratic spirit." (Page 18)

Confirmed By Events

These were observations made long before the dismissal of the Kerala Government, the food movement in West Bengal, the India-China border disputes and attempt to divert people's wrath against the Indian Communists and General Thimayya's threat of resignation backed up by certain political parties and forces in the country. Every word of it is coming true today, and the threat has assumed a more serious character.

It is an utter falsehood to accuse the Communists of attacking Indian democracy. It is hypocritical to state that the Congress leadership is out to defend democracy against alleged assaults on it by the Communists. Neither in India today nor the countries of Asia where democracy has been destroyed, can the Communists be blamed and accused of this. It is the pro-imperialist, pro-feudal, anti-Communist and other reactionary forces that are resorting to gangster methods of political assassinations, political and military coups, etc., in their desperate bid to defend their vested interests against democracy, progress and freedom. During the last one decade, starting from

the regrettable incident in the West Bengal Assembly has made Nehru burst out in fury and the main brunt of his attack is on the Communists, conveniently leaving out the responsible Police Minister who himself had hurled his shoe. While fully agreeing with Nehru about the utter impropriety of indulging in shoe-throwing at each other inside the legislatures may we ask him whether it is decent, human and democratic behaviour for the Police Minister and the Government of West Bengal not to express even a word of sorrow for the scores of people shot dead in cold blood during the food agitation?

And why is it that we have not had a word of condemnation from Nehru of the practice of his followers in Kerala of digging up human skulls and exhibiting them at peo-

CONGRESS GUILTY OF NURTURING ANTI-DEMOCRATIC FORCES

strued as democratic by any stretch of imagination.

Depressing Picture

In Andhra Pradesh, the Congress Party has left out no communal or casteist force worth the mention, it brought everything into its fold during the 1955 mid-term elections to fight the Communist Party. In Madras, it joined hands with the Dravida Kazhagam during the 1957 elections. In Punjab, the Akali Party was taken into the Congress fold wholesale. In Orissa, the Congress Party has allied itself with the Ganatantra Parishad to form a coalition Government. The climax was reached in Kerala when the Congress forged its united front with the Nair Service Society, the Catholic Church and the Muslim League.

At the State and local plane, the picture of Congress alliances with all sorts of communal and casteist forces is still more depressing. Is it not blatant deception and self-deception for the Congress leaders then to say that they are out to guard secular democracy from Communism in India? Today, if there is any political party in our country which is being rapidly corroded by communalism and casteism from within, it is the Congress Party. In the face of these deplorable facts, can anybody have any faith in the Naveen Nagar declarations that the Congress leadership either seriously considers communal

Police In A Democracy

Thus it is not only a decent minimum living that is denied to the common man under Congress democracy, even his right to peacefully struggle for his demands and rights is blatantly denied, and is met with lathis and bullets. According to Nehru, the historic struggle of the Punjab peasants against the most unjust betterment levy and the mighty food movement of lakhs in West Bengal are 'undemocratic'. Strangely enough the same Nehru saw an unprecedented "mass upsurge" in Kerala under the leadership of the "Vimochana Samara Samiti" to overthrow the Communist-led Government by intimidation and violence. Can Indian democracy survive if such double-standards are employed by the powers-that-be?

In a normal democracy, the police are not for terrorising the people and throwing their weight even illegally in favour of the exploiters of the people. Under Congress democracy in India, the police have been given increasing powers besides perpetuating the ones bestowed on

Mahatma Gandhi, Liaquat Ali Khan, Aung San and Bandaranaike, all fell under the axe of these same forces of darkness and their hired assassins.

Real Source Of The Threat

It is a tragedy that the ruling Congress Party, including Nehru, should have of late begun to discover the enemy number one of Indian democracy in the Communist Party and unleashed a political ideological offensive against it. The Congress leadership refuses to recognise the threat from the Swatantra Party, which is attacking all along the line the very objectives which the Congress proclaims; it has chosen to be deliberately blind to the threat from the Praja Socialist and Jan Sangh leaderships to its independent, neutral foreign policy, choosing the strained India-China relations as the immediate target

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Transformation In East Germany

★ by B. T. BANADIVE

The working class all over the world and the peace-loving people of all countries hail the Tenth Anniversary of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic. After the smashing defeat of Hitler imperialism by the valiant Red Army, the foundation of the German Republic was perhaps the biggest blow delivered to German militarism, which was being revived by the American imperialists.

ITS historic character lay in the fact that it was a blow delivered by the German working class and the democratic people, who in East Germany decided to lay the axe to the roots of militarism by smashing the powers of East German junkers and turning over the land to the tiller; by crushing the power of the monopolists, by nationalising their concerns and dispossessing and punishing the war criminals.

The revolution was thoroughgoing though it passed through several phases. Profiting by the mistakes of the November 1918 revolution of Germany, the working class did away with the economic power of the exploiting classes and gave real content to its political power.

For the first time on the soil of Germany there arose a State which embodied the power of the exploited and which was sworn to peace and democracy; a State from whom its neighbours did not fear; a State which lost no time in solving the thousand-year-old frontier disputes with its neighbours, a State which became the bastion of peace in a vital part of Europe, frustrating the old imperialist game of using German militarism to unleash yet another war.

Stalin's Appraisal

No wonder, then that Stalin appraised the foundation of the new State as follows: "The foundation of the peace-loving German Democratic Republic is a turning point in the history of Europe. There can be no doubt that the existence of a peace-loving, democratic Germany in addition to the existence of a peace-loving Soviet Union, precludes the possibility of a new war in Europe, puts an end to the spilling of blood in Europe and makes enslavement of the European countries by world imperialism impossible."

This transformation in East Germany was tremendously facilitated by the help given by the Soviet State which liberated

In contrast, German militarism is being revived on the soil of West Germany. The militarist are inevitably driving the people of West Germany towards another murderous war. Thanks to the imperialists who occupied West Germany, the working class and the people were never given

and rising standard of living for the people, and ensured the widest extension of democracy for the people.

The break-up of the land monopoly of the junkers secured land to the tiller; the break-up of the power of the monopolists ensured a big nationalised sector in industry to start with; and the democratic school reform put an end to the educational privileges of the rich.

By the end of the First Five-Year Plan industrial production was more than double the pre-war figures; the German Democratic Republic became the fifth most important industrial Power in Europe, the basis of Socialism to a very considerable extent was established.

By 1958 the gross industrial production had increased three times since 1949—the foundation year of the Democratic Republic. In 1958, the resources for social and individual consumption were almost twice what had been available in 1950. Besides price reduction, there have been increases in incomes through a rise in wages and pensions. One-third of the total budget expenditure is allocated for education, science and culture, public health and social service, the provision of general polytechnical high schools for all children constitutes a further outstanding development.



Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary, Socialist Unity Party.

biggest outrage on the German people; they divided Germany and since then have frustrated all efforts to have a unified democratic and peace-loving Germany.

Since its foundation, the German Democratic Republic has waged a persistent struggle for the unification of Germany on a democratic basis. The Soviet Union took a number of initiatives to see that the German people were given the right to unite for peace, democracy and social advance but the imperialist Powers have blocked the road.

The courageous fight put up by the Democratic Republic for the unification of Germany is fully supported by the people of Europe. Its success will not only right a grievous wrong done to the people of Germany but success here will lift once for all the nightmare of German militarism from Europe and enable the smaller nations of Europe to breathe in peace. The German Democratic Republic's fight for unification is a vital part of the world struggle for peace and as such must be warmly supported by everybody.

The decade since the foundation of the GDR has seen revolutionary social changes in East Germany. Generously helped by the Socialist Soviet Union, the GDR has taken tremendous strides towards establishing Socialism in the country and securing a firm, secure

GREETINGS TO THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS FOUNDATION



President of the German Democratic Republic Wilhelm Pieck and Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl.

These mighty triumphs in economic reconstruction, Socialist advance and all-round democracy, could be secured because at the head of the working class of the German Democratic Republic stands the Marxist-Leninist Party—the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—which embodies the unity of the working class. The situation in East Germany was extremely complex and only the most mature Marxist-Leninists could handle it and secure great triumphs for the working class of East Germany and for Marxism-Leninism.

Fortunately at the head of the Communist Party of Germany there stood stalwarts of Marxism-Leninism who had long experience of struggle, who had heroically fought Hitler fascism and some of whom had the good fortune of learn-

ing directly from Lenin. They succeeded in the first place in uniting the working class in East Germany in a single party. The unity of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties in East Germany—on the basis of Marxism-Leninism—was one of the biggest triumphs of the German proletariat, enabling it to go into the battle against militarism.

The Communist Party of Germany always kept unimpaired the teachings of Marx and Engels—the greatest sons of Germany. The spirit of defiance and courage that it breathed can be exemplified from the following words of Karl Liebknecht, its founder, when he was charged with treason for opposing the imperialist war of 1914. Replying to the accusation before a military tribunal, he said:

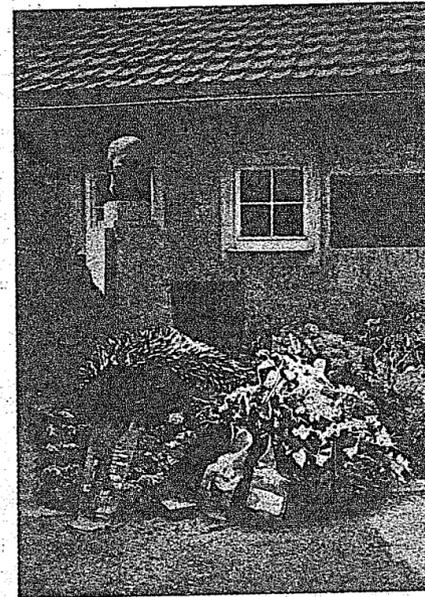
"I have no need to defend myself. But since treason has been mentioned, I can say that it has long been the privilege of the ruling classes, the princes and aristocrats. It is a 'glorious' tradition with them. Those really guilty of treason are not yet in the dock, for they are in control of heavy industry, the munition plants, the big banks and the junker estates..."

It is out of this spirit of internationalism and defiance that the German Party was formed. It numbered among its founders outstanding leaders like Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Wilhelm Pieck and Ernst Thaelmann who were recognised international leaders.

With these traditions and deep devotion to Marxism-Leninism, the Socialist Unity Party was able to march from success to success. Fighting revisionism and dogmatism, taking into consideration the concrete situation of East Germany at each phase of social transformation, the Socialist Unity Party was able to apply the maximum strength of all progressive classes at each stage.

Immediately on the conclusion of the war, it correctly understood its task as the setting up of an anti-fascist democratic parliamentary republic.

* SEE PAGE 10



A memorial erected in the former Nazi concentration camp of Buchenwald where the son of the German people and leader of the Communist Party, Ernst Thaelmann was murdered by the Nazis.

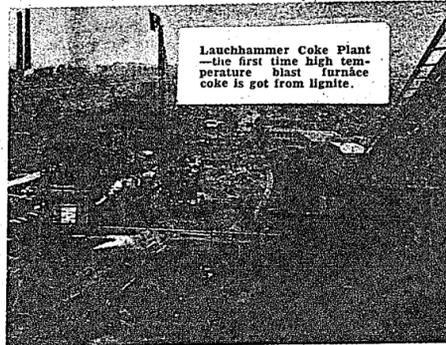
THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

1949 - 1959

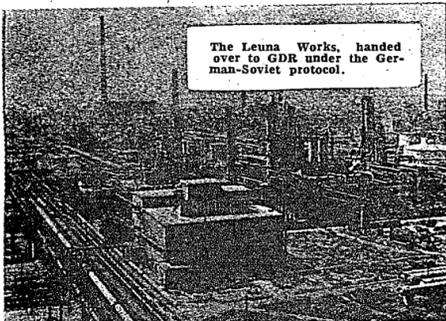
Ten Years Of Uninterrupted Progress



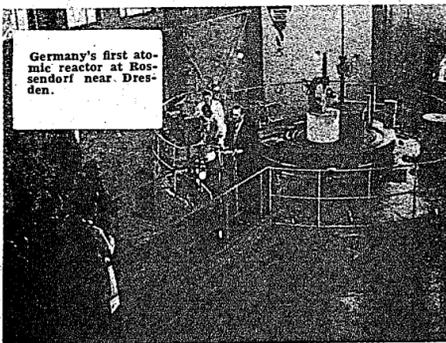
The Iron mills at Stallstadt, the biggest project of the First Five-Year Plan. A young Pioneer starting the first blast furnace in September 1951.



Lauchhammer Coke Plant — the first time high temperature blast furnace coke is got from lignite.



The Leuna Works, handed over to GDR under the German-Soviet protocol.



Germany's first atomic reactor at Rossendorf near Dresden.



The first GDR double-decker train introduced in the middle of 1957. It has a large number of seats, provides great comfort.

Some Facts . . .

The German Democratic Republic has 65 lakh workers of whom 61 lakhs work in Socialist enterprises.

Socialist enterprises covered 76.4 per cent in 1958 (1950: 58.8), semi-state enterprises 2.6 per cent (1950: nil) and private enterprises 20.9 per cent (1950: 41.2 per cent).

Industrial Gross Production rose from 100 in 1949 to 350 in 1959. With 1950:100, in 1958 gross industrial production in basic industries went up to 225 and light industries 204; Power—171; Mining—166; Metallurgy—309; Chemical—246; Engineering—275; Electro-technical—369; Foodstuffs—263; Textile—215; Optical—264; Paper—159; Printing—130.

The German Democratic Republic is first in the world in lignite production (per capita), fourth in the world in machine-export, fifth in the world in electric power generation, sixth in the world in chemicals, first in Europe in calcium carbide, soda ash, caustic soda, fifth in Europe in industrial production and first in the Socialist camp for machine-export.



The internationally appreciated IL 14-F, the first passenger aircraft constructed in post-war Germany.

HERE are some of the achievements of the German Democratic Republic in the ten years of its existence.

In 1957, the German Democratic Republic held the first place in the world in the lignite production per capita of the population and the fifth place in the generation of electric power. The GDR's chemical industries hold the sixth place in the world. Already in 1955, the GDR occupied the first place in Europe with regard to per capita production of calcium carbide, soda ash and caustic soda. The GDR is leading in the world as to the per capita production of synthetic fibres.

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT

Moreover, it might be recalled that the GDR is fifth in the industrial production in Europe. Among the machine-exporting countries it holds the fourth place in the world, and among the Socialist countries it is the first exporter of machinery.

Industrial gross production in 1958 amounted to 5,800 crores of marks. Of these 5,220 crores of marks (88.8 per cent) were produced by Socialist enterprises, 190 crores of marks (3.2 per cent) by semi-State enterprises and 470 crores of marks (eight per cent) by private enterprises.

Compared with the figures of 1949 industrial gross production rose to 306 per cent and will rise to 350 per cent in 1959. This means that nowadays it takes us only three-and-half months to produce the same amount of commodities which in 1949 could only be manufactured during the whole year.

A considerable increase in the production of consumer goods for the home market has been a major concern of the Government during recent years.

In the German Democratic Republic there is a clear perspective for the future development of all the different handicraft branches under Socialist conditions and for a steady rise in the living standard of craftsmen. In Western Germany a reckless competition is waged by the big monopolies against small handicraft shops offering them no future whatsoever. Thousands of craftsmen have to struggle for their very existence in Western Germany. Since 1948 the number of handicraft shops was reduced there by 120,000 and there are bankruptcies every day.

After all the destruction wrought by the Second World War great endeavours were put into the construction of new factories and flats. The emphasis in building activities has now been shifted to housing.

Considerable headway could be made in the development of agriculture in the last ten years. By the end of 1958, there were 9,637 agricultural cooperatives in the GDR, with 353,000 members. In 1958 alone the number of agricultural coops increased by 2,946. Thus cooperatives could be found at that time in 80 per cent of the villages of the GDR. In March 1959, cooperatives worked almost 40 per cent of the arable land of the GDR. By the end of 1958, there were 275 villages where virtually all the peasants had joined the cooperative.

By 1965, at the end of its Seven-Year Plan, GDR agriculture will succeed in meeting the population's increasing consumption in respect to indigenous meat, milk, butter, animal fats and eggs. But even today the per capita consumption of basic food stuffs in the German Democratic Republic is almost equal to or has even surpassed that of West Germany.

FOREIGN TRADE

Since the Republic came into existence, the volume of the foreign trade of the German Democratic Republic with the Socialist States has been increased from 1,605 million roubles to 10,567 million roubles in 1958, corresponding to an increase by 558 per cent. In the same period of time the total turnover of GDR's foreign trade rose from 2,800 million roubles to 14,300 million roubles, i.e. by about 400 per cent.

In the ten years of its existence, the GDR has become a trade partner to be reckoned with also in the non-Socialist world. Turnover with these countries was increased from 1949 to 1958 from 1,250 million roubles to 3,701 million roubles. In 1949, there were trade relations, apart from the Socialist countries, with only a mere handful of European countries.

Today, the GDR has trade relations with well-nigh all countries of the globe, among them 30 European countries, 33 in Asia, 30 in Africa, and 33 in America. The number of trade agreements with non-Socialist states rose from six in 1952 to 31 in 1959.

The national income of the German Democratic Republic rose from 3,090 crores to 6,510 crores of marks in the period from 1950 to 1958. Nearly 84 per cent of the 1958 national income was utilised for the improvement of the living standard of the people.

LIVING STANDARDS

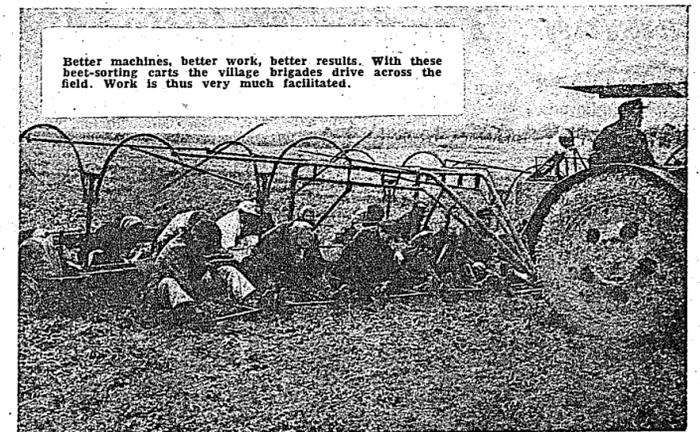
In this effort the Government concentrates particularly on raising the living standard of the working people and the material conditions of the lower wage groups. Thus the monthly average wage of workers and employees (excluding apprentices and outworkers) in the national economy rose from 256 marks in 1950 to 409 marks in 1958.

In the German Democratic Republic every working man and woman gets a fully paid vacation from 12 to 24 workdays. An exemplary holiday scheme was set up by the Free German Trade Union Confederation. In the framework of this scheme the working people can enjoy care-free and cheap vacation. For instance, for a fortnight's stay in a rest home of the Trade Union he has to pay only 30 marks which includes lodging, food and cultural performances in that particular hostel. Moreover, the holiday trips of the German Travelling Agency, particularly to other countries, are becoming ever more popular.

The holiday scheme of the Free German Trade Union Confederation has made a great leap forward in recent years. While there were 17,500 holiday trips in 1947, they increased to 305,000 in 1950. In 1955, there were over one million and in 1958 the holiday scheme had 346 of its own rest homes and 914 houses on contract with altogether 89,000 seats and in which 1,060,000 persons spent their vacations. The holiday scheme gets large sums from the budget—3.94 crores of marks in 1957 and 4.2 crores of marks in 1958.

The number of general schools rose from 10,245 in 1951 to 10,437 in 1958. The extension of rural schools and the introduction of central schools have abolished the backwardness of the school system in the countryside.

In 1951, the GDR had 21 universities and colleges in which 27,822 students were enrolled. In 1958, the number of universities and colleges rose to 45 with 64,106 students and 18,713



Better machines, better work, better results. With these best-sorting carts the village brigades drive across the field. Work is thus very much facilitated.

extra-mural students. Ninety-four per cent of the direct students received scholarships ranging from 130 to 180 marks, 58 per cent of all students were children of workers and peasants.

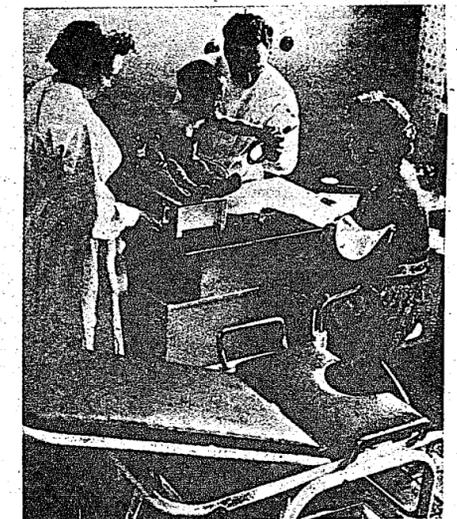
During the ten years of its existence, the GDR Government has paid great attention to improve the health condition of the entire population. Thus from 1951 to 1958, nearly 6,400 crores of marks were appropriated from the State budget for health and social welfare.

Apart from this truly strenuous task of developing industry and agriculture and trade, the Government of the GDR has always endeavoured in its domestic and foreign policy to promote the reunification of the country and for maintaining peace.

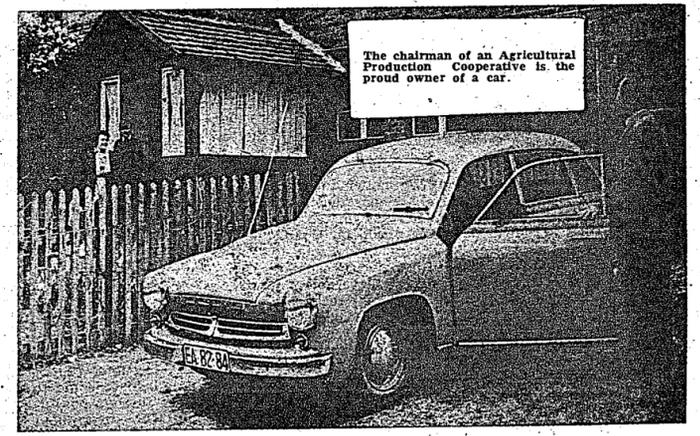
During the ten years of her existence, the GDR submitted over a hundred proposals for the peaceful solution of the German question and thus for the safeguarding of peace.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet

Union at the Geneva peace treaty with Germany, and of transforming West Berlin into demilitarised free city.



Children's health is a prime concern of the Republic. Picture is of children's doctor Bauchspiess and his assistant Inge Beyersdorf and the wife of the agricultural machine mechanic Stüfel who gets her little daughter examined regularly in the clinic.



The chairman of an Agricultural Production Cooperative is the proud owner of a car.

INDIA AND G. D. R.

Growing Trade Relations

THE first trade agreement between India and the German Democratic Republic was concluded on October 16, 1954. This was a first step towards normalisation of trade relations between the two States. The exchange of commodities between the G. D. R. and India then took a lively turn.

Taking into account the general development of trade a new trade agreement was concluded between the Governments of the two countries on October 8, 1956. This agreement provides that the realisation of foreign trade transactions will be effected on the basis of Indian currency.

The stipulations set out in this agreement which is valid for a period of three years are an expression of the desire cherished by both the parties to develop trade relations between the two countries on a basis of equality and mutual advantage. The conclusion of a Supplementary Agreement on July 16, 1957, was of particular importance for the further consolidation of trade relations. This agreement provided payment for a number of goods through a "Special Trade Development Ac-

count of GDR". Credits on this account were not transferable but could only be balanced by supply of goods.

The next step towards a complete shift to entire payment in rupees was made when the Supplementary Arrangement to the Trade Agreement of 1956 was signed on November 3, 1958. According to this Arrangement proceeds gained for goods exported by the GDR to India are not convertible and will only be used by the GDR for the purchase of Indian goods up to the respective amount. This arrangement is in the interest of both the parties. Apart from that some essential stipulations were set out which tend to widen and strengthen trade relations.

The constant development of trade between the GDR and India can be clearly seen from the following figures:

	In thousand rupees.		
	1954	1958	1959 (July)
GDR imports from India	35	31,300	31,000
GDR export to India	3,586	44,500	25,000
Total value	3,621	75,800	56,000

Main items of GDR imports from India are iron ore, mica,

raw material and finished products of the textile industry, jute, colr fibres, and goods of the leather processing industry notably shoes, tea, coffee, spices, vegetable oils, cashew nuts.

The GDR supplies to India goods which are of particular interest to Indian economy such as fertilisers, chemicals, machinery and equipment for the chemical industries, machine-tools, printing machinery, textile machinery, foundry machines, rolling mills, small-scale industry plants, optical and precision mechanical instruments, etc.

Technical cooperation between Indian firms and GDR enterprises in the manufacture of certain products or in setting up certain plants are of increasing importance.

Taking into account the hitherto favourable deve-

lopment of trade between our two countries it may well be assumed that a further extension in the exchange of commodities and a deepening of economic relations between the GDR and India is feasible.

In the field of science, technicals and education, relations between India and the German Democratic Republic have developed and are growing.

At present 70 post-graduate students, i.e. scientists from Indian technical institutes, are studying in the GDR. Most of them will be studying for three years under the direct supervision of famous professors. At the end of their studies they will take their Doctors' degree. The Government of the GDR pays for all the training facilities and grants to each of them a stipend of 450 marks (more than Rs. 500). Eleven more post-graduates will begin their studies in the GDR in November this year.

The Government of the GDR has further offered facilities for practical training of 75 degree holders and 75 graduates. According to the subject this training will take from one to three years.

Further offers in various fields, e.g. polygraphy, textile industry, etc., are under discussion.

In the above-mentioned schemes, difficulties arise regarding the necessary command of the German language. The Government of the GDR therefore has invited five Indian lecturers of the German language to come to the GDR for further qualification. The GDR Government



The kindergarten in Freudenberg village. When the children are here the mothers know they are in good care and can go about their work peacefully. There were 6,468 kindergartens and week nurseries (excluding institutions in nationally-owned enterprises) with 241,166 seats in 1955 in GDR. In 1958, the number had risen to 7,521 with 295,024 seats. In the case of creches, from 194 in 1950, the number rose to 1,586 in 1955 and 2,083 in 1958. Permanent nurseries for babies and toddlers rose from 86 in 1950 to 191 in 1955 and 212 in 1958.

will also be sending German lecturers to a few centres in India in order to teach prospective students and others the fundamentals of the German language.

The members of the German Academy of Science are regularly taking part in the annual sessions of the Indian Science Congress. The exhibitions from the GDR, for instance, the graphics of 'Kaethe Kollwitz' have been shown in many Indian cities and have greatly been appreciated.

Indian films have been very well received in the GDR. Films of the GDR are also to be shown in India.

In 1957, a delegation of Indian authors visited the GDR and in 1959, two outstanding authors of the GDR paid a return visit to India. On that occasion they handed over to the Sahitya Academy in India a tape-record of a speech which Rabindranath Tagore made during his visit to Germany.

Prominent representatives of Indian cultural and scientific life have visited the GDR.

Apart from festivals with the GDR films, a cultural group will be visiting the main cities of India in October-November 1959.

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RADIO PEKING
BROADCASTING TO INDIA
(Daily up to November 9, 1959)*

ENGLISH LANGUAGE SERVICE			
INDIAN STANDARD TIME	Kc/s	m.b.	
20:30-21:30	15060	19.92	
	17675	16.97	
HINDI LANGUAGE SERVICE			
INDIAN STANDARD TIME	Kc/s	m.b.	
20:00-20:30	15060	19.92	
	17675	16.97	
21:30-22:00	15060	19.92	
	17675	16.97	

*Note: From November 9, 1959 the broadcast can be heard on metre bands 25 and 31 only.

East Germany's Advance

* FROM PAGE 7

lic, which could avoid the mistakes made in 1918. This stage was to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution begun in 1948 and remove the root causes of war by removing the basis of imperialism.

This was achieved in East Germany by smashing the power of the landlords and monopolists and it led to a complete change in the balance of power between the classes and the class structure. It meant that the working class and the peasantry had become the ruling classes. The State power was now a revolutionary democratic workers' and peasants' power, with participation by other strata of population.

The rapid economic progress, the rising political consciousness of the working class and other strata, accompanied by the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party, a role voluntarily recognised and accepted by the people, created conditions under which the workers and peasants' State developed into a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Such are the concrete stages of development, correctly understood by the Socialist Unity Party. Any mixing up of the stages would have given wrong slogans alienating sections and classes that had yet a role to

play. Thus applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of East Germany, the Socialist Unity Party made another outstanding contribution. Its own experience proved that even in a highly industrialised, former capitalist country in Western Europe, the Leninist idea of cooperatives has validity for bringing about a socialist transformation in the village.

It should be a matter of deep concern to all Indians that our Government has not yet recognised the GDR which stands for peace, democracy and Socialism, while it has given recognition to Adenauer's Government. This wrong must be rectified and the German Democratic Republic should be given diplomatic recognition so that the way to peaceful collaboration between the two countries is fully opened.

(October 4)



E. M. S. Namboodiripad addressing the mass rally at Jaipur.

—Photo: CHAJJED

Rousing Reception In Maharashtra

* FROM GERALD PEREIRA

E.M.S. NAMBOODIRIPAD ended his three-day tour of Maharashtra with a huge public rally at Shivaji Park in the City of Bombay on September 26. In spite of cloudy-chilly weather and drizzle, thousands thronged to the maidan to hear E.M.S. charge the Congress with murdering democracy in Kerala.

The former Chief Minister's visit to Maharashtra was as a part of the tour of the country to personally tell the people of what happened in Kerala and to canvas support and collect funds to fight the reactionary Congress-PSP-League combine in the coming elections in Kerala.

E.M.S. began his visit to Maharashtra with a busy programme on September 24 at Nagpur (reported last week by New Age staff correspondent O. P. Mehrotra).

The next day, September 25, E.M.S. was in Poona. In spite of the 'boycott-call' given by some Congress and PSP leaders, Jan Sanghaites, and a few others, over 30,000 citizens of this beautiful city on the ghats gathered at Shenwar Wada and greeted E.M.S.

The meeting was presided over by V. D. Chitale, and was addressed by Udhavrao Patil (Peasants' and Workers' Party), Datta Deshmukh (Lal Nishan) and Jayantrao Tilak and others.

The entire audience participated in shouting Nambodiripad Zindabad! and over a hundred organisations garlanded the 'dismissed' Chief Minister. A small procession of about 500 people organised by those who

E.M.S. SUMS UP HIS TOUR IMPRESSIONS TREMENDOUS INTEREST IN KERALA

Immediately on his return to Trivandrum from his visit to Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat, our Special Correspondent interviewed E. M. S. Namboodiripad. Here are our questions and E. M. S.'s answers.

Q. Now that you have covered a good part of the country, in making an all-India tour, will you share with our readers your impressions of this tour?

A. The dominant impression left on my mind after covering Andhra, Punjab, Rajasthan Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat is the large number of people who want to learn about Kerala and the implications of Kerala to the democratic movement in the country as a whole.

During the 19 days that I spent in addressing mass meetings of varying sizes (from 5,000 to about a lakh

and innumerable small way-side receptions, I should have talked to nearly a million people. Almost everywhere, according to the local people, it was only when Prime Minister visited that place that any party was able to hold such big meetings.

It should, in this connection, be mentioned that, apart from Andhra and to a less extent Punjab, the Party is rather weak in all the other States visited by me. Even in Punjab where the Party is not so weak as in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat, the Party's position in the urban areas has been ex-

tremely weak. And yet, large numbers of people from all walks of life and having various political affiliations crowded in large numbers in all the major towns and rural areas I visited. Sikh and Hindu, Bania, Brahmin and untouchable, intellectual and agricultural labourer — all were anxious to know about the situation in Kerala, as well as about the policies of the Communist Party and also to express their sympathy with and support to us.

Particularly striking was the large number of Congressmen, Praja Socialists and other friends who not only gathered at the public meetings, but privately gave expression to their feelings of good-will for us.

It would be foolish to think that all those who attended our meetings agreed with the Communist Party on all issues. There is no doubt that a large section of them has doubts and misgivings about some aspects of the Communist Party's policy.

These doubts and misgivings of honest people, as for instance, on the India-China border question, were sought to be exploited by the PSP and the Jan Sangh who organised black flag demonstrations. But, against the background of tens of thousands who were patiently listening to what I had to say and expressing their solidarity with us by contributing to the Kerala Election Fund and in various other ways, these demonstrations of a handful of people were pitiable sights.

Nowhere did the number of these demonstrators exceed 40 or 50 people (in most places it was less than a dozen), except in Poona where it was led by no less a person than N. G. Goray, the PSP M.P. and was jointly organised by the Congress, the PSP and the Jan Sangh. Even this joint Congress-PSP-Jan Sangh demonstration of about 500 was held in front of no less than 30,000 assembled in the rally addressed by the provincial leaders of the Peasants' and Workers' Party, the Lal Nishan Party and the Hindu Maha Sabha, besides myself.

It was thus clear that, despite the organised opposition of the Jan Sangh and the PSP and in a few places of the Congress as well, the people were anxious to know from us about the Communist Party in general and about the situation in Kerala in particular.

Q. How far has your all-India tour been of financial help to the Party in its election campaign? Do you expect more funds to come from outside between now and the date of election?

A. The collections that have been made in the States which I have so far visited will come to over Rs. 50,000. More collections will, of course, be made, but the collections that we can expect from outside will be

popular daily *The Mahratta*, took E.M.S. round Shiv-Shakti, the new building erected for the *Mahratta*.

Over a hundred organisations — political, social, cultural, tenants' associations, etc., garlanded E.M.S. with flower garlands and an equal number of organisations garlanded him with garlands of currency notes. The total value of currency garlands reached Rs. 10,000. In addition there was a parker fountain pen, a wrist watch and a gold medal. A worker gave E.M.S. his entire wage for the month.

Namboodiripad in his brief but touching speech thanked the citizens of Bombay for the tremendous welcome given to him. He spoke first in English and then in Malayalam.

He said, "by imposing President's rule on Kerala, the Congress Government has made an attack on the Constitution, and has denied to the people of Kerala the right to elect a Government of their choice". Even Rajaji, he said, who was by no means a friend of the Communists, had charged the Congress with violating the Constitution.

PSP's Blindness
Lashing out at the Praja Socialists, Nambodiripad said that in their blind hatred for the Communists and in order to blind one eye of the enemy, they are blinding both their eyes. He urged upon the democratic forces in the country to be vigilant and to draw the necessary lessons from the way things were moving in neighbouring countries like Pakistan and from incidents like the murder of the Prime Minister of Ceylon.

The rally, which was jointly organised by the Communist Party, Peasants' and Workers' Party, Lal Nishan, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Bombay Keralaeya Samiti, was presided over by V. D. Deshpande, Leader of the Opposition in the Bombay Assembly.

PUBLISH PAY COMMISSION REPORT !

THE report of the Second Pay Commission was signed and submitted to the Government quite some time ago. The demand was raised in both the houses of Parliament that the report be published forthwith and that the Government need not and in fact should not delay publication till it itself takes a decision on the recommendation.

But the present indications are that the report may be published only by the end of the year.

Eighteen lakh Central Government employees have been eagerly awaiting the report, even though they had their own doubts about the outcome. The fact that the Government appointed the Commission most unwillingly and also circumscribed the terms of reference with all sorts of conditions only strengthened their doubts.

Various reports are being circulated that the probable recommendations when im-

plemented would fetch only an increase of Rs. five in the total emoluments up to Rs. 250 over the interim relief of Rs. five. It is being said that this would itself add about Rs. 30 crores to the expenditure under this head.

And all that the nine lakh Class IV employees and five lakh Class III employees will be getting is a monthly emolument of Rs. 80 and Rs. 120 respectively when the various memoranda submitted to the Pay Commission had demanded a salary ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 125 for Class IV and from Rs. 150 to Rs. 180 for Class III employees.

Evidently all this would come as a shocking disappointment to the employees. The employees cannot be made to give up their demands by such paltry concessions as those that have been reported concerning medical facilities, quicker confirmation, raising of superannuation age by three years, etc.

However, the employees must know the recommenda-

LABOUR NOTES

BY RAJ BAHADUR GOUR, M. P.
SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

tions and their views on them should be before the Government when it considers the report and takes a decision on it.

The Central Government employees must strengthen their unity and organisation to face the Pay Commission Report.

WORKING OF EMPLOYEES' PROVIDENT FUND SCHEME

THE Report on the working of the Employee's Provident Fund Scheme for the year ending March 31, 1958, was published about a month ago.

By the end of the year, the scheme was applicable to 24.28 lakh workers and covered 6,528 establishments. It was during the year under review that the wage ceiling had been raised from Rs. 300 to Rs. 500. The scheme is now applicable to the employees of a contractor engaged in any operation directly connected with the manufacturing process in the establishment. It has also been provided that the workers if they so chose could contribute 8-13 per cent of the wage but the employer's liability shall remain at 6-14 per cent.

During 1959, it has also been made applicable to motor transport companies employing more than 50 employees.

Serious Problems

However the review reveals that the scheme has come face to face with many serious problems.

On the one hand, the trade union demand is growing for covering all the employees without any exception.

On the other hand, the employers are engaged in a deliberate plan to sabotage the scheme, circumvent their obligations under the scheme and involve the administration in costly litigation.

The employers specially in many textile concerns have not only failed to contribute their share but have even eaten away the employees' contribution. The process of recovery is very slow and litigations are numerous.

In this connection the report reveals that the Provident Fund administration has no idea as to how much amount is recoverable from the defaulting units, because most of them have not submitted the returns under the Act.

This only means that inspection has to be intensified. But the administration complains of shortage of personnel and is unable to inspect each establishment at least once in a year.

The recovery proceedings can be launched only by the State Government or with its permission. And it is evident that the State Govern-

ments take little interest in the matter.

Five hundred and twenty-eight cases for recovery of unpaid amounts were initiated during 1957-58 to recover Rs. 14,345,709 as arrears of Provident Fund contribution and Rs. 282,207 as arrears of administrative charges.

Of these and against the recovery proceedings of previous years, only Rs. 6,762,339 and Rs. 210,836 were received towards the Provident Fund contributions and administrative charges.

The review reveals that the judiciary has been rather liberal with even those employers who have been regular defaulters. They are invariably let off with small fines.

Liberal To Employers

Apart from prosecutions under the scheme, and proceedings for recovery as arrears of land revenue, the State Governments could invoke the penal code against those employers who have committed fraud with and misused these contributions. And this is just not being done.

Such are the favourites of the Congress Governments who are left scot free to misuse workers' money.

The report reveals that the employers are fully utilising the Punjab High Court judgement that the factory's obligation under the scheme ceases if the strength of the workers goes below 50. They are, therefore, deliberately splitting up the units and even retrenching workmen to escape the responsibility.

Writ petitions and litigations are rising.

Then there are the cases of employers who have not transferred to the fund past accumulations, i.e. accumulations prior to the factory coming under the Act. They have used up the funds and invested them against the investment pattern of the Provident Fund's scheme.

All this is possible because of the lacunae in the Act. The Act should, therefore, be immediately amended to cover all these contingencies that have cropped up during the working of the scheme.

The Government proposes to amend the Act to make it applicable even when the strength of the factory has been subsequently reduced to 20. But this may not cover units which have been split up. Hence the need to make the scheme applicable to all factories. After all, this is the only superannuation benefit and old age security that is statutorily guaranteed to a workman.

And only if this is done can all evasion be made impossible.

The report reveals that during 1957-58, a sum of Rs. 9.52 lakhs pertaining to 16,584 cases was forfeited to the fund.

According to earlier decl-

sions, this amount was to be utilised to pay money order commissions on remittances and to render financial assistance up to an aggregate limit of 25 per cent of the opening balance of the fund to outgoing members or their nominees, etc., in emergent cases where no deposits have been made or deposits made are inadequate provided that the amount so advanced in any individual case shall not exceed 25 per cent of the member's own contribution to the fund.

But during 1957-58, a sum of only Rs. 1.47 lakhs was spent on money order commission for the amounts remitted to members or their nominees on final settlement of their accounts. And only a sum of Rs. 6,230 was spent in affording financial assistance. So the amount forfeited during 1957-58 was Rs. 9.52 lakhs and the total money spent on money order commission and financial assistance was only Rs. 1.53 lakhs.

The Central Board has recommended that the amount so saved be utilised for labour welfare.

The trade unions have been agitating that they must get loans from the Provident Fund accumulations for housing corporations and such other purposes. But the Government has been allowing this facility only for payment of insurance premium and in cases of floods when houses of members have to be reconstructed.

During 1957-58, the scheme was extended to biscuit manufacturing establishments below 50. They are, therefore, deliberately splitting up the units and even retrenching workmen to escape the responsibility.

But the scheme has yet to be made applicable to banking, trading concerns, tobacco, automobile repairing and servicing workshops and so on as suggested for the Second Plan period.

The report reveals that the Board has recommended that the members be paid 3-2/3 per cent interest on the accumulation for the year 1958-59.

Amend The Act !

However the report reveals certain major loopholes in the Act and the scheme which the employers are making full use of to create trouble.

The scheme should be improved. The Act should be amended.

The scheme should be made applicable to all the workmen. The interest should be raised to 3-3/4 per cent.

Effective steps should be taken for prompt inspections and timely action for recovering the amounts from defaulting units.

It is no use trotting out the explanation that there are only "teething troubles of an infant scheme." The reality is that the scheme—a social security measure—in fact the only superannuation security measure, is facing serious onslaught from employers and it should be defended, improved upon and extended.

DEVASTATING FLOODS Over 15 Lakh People In Distress In W. Bengal

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

Following in the wake of a grave food crisis, which continues to cause untold sufferings to the people, the most devastating flood in living memory has now engulfed West Bengal.

ALMOST all parts of the State, particularly its Gangetic basin and coastal areas, were lashed by a cyclonic storm and torrential rains in the past few days.

Only ten days ago, it had experienced a heavy down-pour for four days on end. Vast areas were inundated. But the flood-waters had hardly begun to recede when came another spell of torrential rains.

The rivers are now in spate. The problem has been further aggravated by water-logging over extensive areas because, in the absence of proper drainage channels, rain-water cannot flow out.

Vast Areas Affected

As many as nine out of sixteen districts of the State have been severely affected. Mile after mile, one sees nothing but a vast expanse of water, with tree-tops and roofs of collapsed huts standing here and there like scarecrows.

The full extent of the havoc caused by the storm and the floods is not yet known, because many areas are still cut off from the outside world.

BUT REPORTS RECEIVED TILL THE TIME OF WRITING SHOW THAT AT LEAST 21 LIVES HAVE BEEN LOST, 19 IN THE DISTRICTS AND TWO IN CALCUTTA. THOUSANDS OF HUTS AND DWELLING-HOUSES HAVE COLLAPSED OR HAVE BEEN SWEEPED AWAY BY THE SWIRLING WATERS. AT LEAST 15 LAKH PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SEVERELY HIT, BURDWAN ALONE ACCOUNTING FOR NEARLY SEVEN LAKHS. THOUSANDS OF FAMILIES ARE STILL MAROONED, PRECARIOUSLY PERCHING ON TREE-TOPS OR ROOFS OF SUBMERGED HUTS. STANDING AMAN PADDY CROPS ON ABOUT TEN LAKH ACRES OF LAND HAS BEEN EITHER DESTROYED OR SEVERELY DAMAGED. CATTLE HAVE PERISHED IN LARGE NUMBERS.

On top of all this, rice prices have begun to rise sharply, and in some areas they have already shot up to the unprecedented level of Rs. 55 a maund.

It is as yet too early to assess the devastating effects of this calamity on the agrarian economy of the State. Thanks to the policies pursued by the Congress rulers over the past twelve years, the economy is already in a state of disintegration.

The most urgent tasks now are the immediate rescue of those still marooned and adequate relief for the distressed. But the relief undertaken by the Govern-

ment so far is insignificant. It is now abundantly clear that the Government is utterly incapable of tackling a problem of such dimensions. The assistance of the Army has, therefore, been sought for rescue and relief.

The cyclonic storm and torrential rains are not the sole causes of the present disaster, as is sought to be made out by official spokesmen. In the first place, the grandiose D. V. C. Project has failed to control the floods—and that after Rs 110 crores have been spent on it.

The admission of its failure has come straight from the horse's mouth. In a Press-Note on October 2, the D.V.C. authorities frankly stated that "the situation created by the precipitation during the last few days...emphasises the inadequacy of the existing flood-control capacity of the four dams at Tiliya, Konar, Panchet and Maithon."

And yet, only a year ago, it was emphatically claimed by the spokesmen of the Central and the State Governments that the four dams, mentioned above, were enough to hold all the flood-waters of the Damodar and its tributaries, and hence there was no necessity for proceeding with the construction of the remaining four dams in accordance with the original plan.

But W. L. Voroodin, who had designed the project, was firmly of the opinion that eight dams were absolutely indispensable for controlling the floods. Not only that. Only a day before the D. V. C. issued the Press-Note, West Bengal's Irrigation Minister had asserted in the Assembly that it was wrong to suggest that the D. V. C. had failed to control floods.

The D. V. C.'s Press-Note, however, knocked the bottom out of the tall claims of these "experts." The Press-Note further warned the district authorities in Dhanbad (Bihar), Purulia and Burdwan that a heavy volume of water might have to be released from Maithon and Panchet to ensure the safety of the dams. Actually, several lakh cu-secs of water were released through the Durgapur Barrage.

Wide areas in the lower reaches of the Damodar have

RUSH RELIEF TO FLOOD VICTIMS

-C. P. I. SECRETARIAT

HEART-rending reports are pouring in from flood-devastated West Bengal, Andhra, Gujarat and Orissa. West Bengal has been the worst sufferer with about a score dead, lakhs rendered shelterless and destitute. Huge areas still lie submerged and people are living on tree-tops and roofs waiting to be rescued and given succour.

The Communist Party of India is deeply distressed and joins the nation in expressing deep sympathy with our suffering people.

High prices and scarcity of foodgrains had already brought untold miseries to the people of West Bengal and in the wake of the floods, prices have shot up still further. It is a grim situation that faces the victims of this year's un-

precedented floods in all the affected areas and only if aid is given to them urgently and in adequate quantities can this helpless mass of our people be able to face the days ahead.

Prime Minister Nehru has appealed for funds to rush relief to the devastated areas. The People's Relief Committee of West Bengal has also called for funds for relief to flood victims in the State. The Communist Party endorses these appeals and is confident that all India will liberally respond to this call so that relief, so very much needed, can reach the sufferers in this hour of their greatest need.

—SECRETARIAT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

Expressing grave concern at the devastation caused by the floods, the Council was firmly of the opinion that "in view of the magnitude of the problem, the entire resources of the Government must be fully harnessed for rescue and relief operations, for precautionary measures against epidemics and subsequent re-

affected and one lakh houses destroyed. Vast areas are still cut off and thousands are awaiting rescue for days. The whole area of the Durgapur Steel Plant is totally submerged.

Instead of a boon, the Damodar Valley Project has become a curse. By releasing within five days four lakh

D. V. C. Fails To Control Damodar Waters

age system still remains what it was in 1876.

No wonder that if there is a sharp shower for an hour or so, the bustee areas and low-lying parts of the city are submerged in knee-deep water—the antediluvian drainage system cannot just carry the extra rain-water. And so trams and buses are driven off the streets, and normal life is completely dislocated.

Water-logging in the city, twice in the course of the past fortnight, has left behind a trail of sufferings. Nearly two lakhs of people, living in the low-lying areas, have been seriously affected.

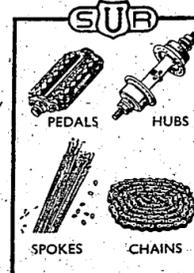
Relief Work

The members and sympathisers of the Communist Party have already flung themselves into the battle against the floods.

The State Council of the Party, which met from October 3 to 5, urged upon them to intensify their efforts for the rescue and relief of the distressed. It also appealed to all sections of people to come forward for the succour of those affected by the floods.

UNION BICYCLE COMPONENTS

Three out of every four bicycles in India are fitted with Union components made by Sen-Raleigh. They are so popular because each Union component is separately tested for quality.



SEN- RALEIGH

NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

ACADEMY CINEMA
organisation presents

Big Screen Event!

FESTIVAL OF FILMS

from the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

A CHOICE PRESENTATION OF OUTSTANDING FILMS from the DEFA studios creating a new and exciting experience for the lovers of the Cinema!

★ DON'T FORGET MY TRAUMEL
Romantic escapades of a teenage girl.

★ THE DEVIL OF MUEHLENBERG
Thrilling tale of the middle ages—in glorious Agfa colour.

★ STARS
The forbidden love of a German soldier and the Jewish girl.

BOOK YOUR SEATS IN ADVANCE

AT THE DELITE CINEMA from 16th October 1959 to 22nd October 1959, 3.30, 6.30 and 9.30 p.m. shows at the usual rates of tickets.

THREE 12 noon shows—
A feature documentary "10 years of the German Democratic Republic" and "Tinder-Box" (based on the story by Hans Christian Anderson) will be shown FREE to College students, and members of Cultural Organisations by invitation.

E. M. S. ON THE CONGRESS-PSP-LEAGUE ALLIANCE

* FROM PAGE 11

only a small part of what would be required for conducting such a hotly contested election.

Our opponents are sure to throw money into this campaign as has never been done in any election in our country. We cannot compete with them in this respect. Nor need we do that, since the votes that we have, to mobilise do not depend on the amounts spent in the campaign. Nevertheless, the Party will have to spend much more in this campaign than it has ever done.

The major part of this will have to come from our own people in Kerala; the help that will be coming from outside will supplement, only to a very small extent, the efforts that will have to be made by the friends and sympathisers of the Party in Kerala itself.

Q. How have the Malayalees outside Kerala been helpful in making collections and otherwise making your tour a success?

A. I would take this opportunity to publicly thank the Malayalees outside for the fine work they are doing. I was told in Bombay and in certain other centres that they will now make the Kerala election fund drive a continuous and never-ceasing campaign, the same people contributing their mite every month when they get their wages or salaries.

Very Weak Alliance

Q. Would you like to make any comment on the united front that has been forged between the Congress, the PSP and the Muslim League?

A. I had to start on my all-India tour before the negotiations among them had been completed. I could, therefore, get detailed information about this electoral understanding and the reactions to it in various parties and groups only after I returned here. Now, having studied the material that has become available to me, I would make the following comments:

FIRST, the so-called "united front" is strictly speaking, only a "non-aggression pact". Congress President Indira Gandhi is reported to have stated that it is only a question of the Congress not contesting a certain number of seats which have been left to be contested by the PSP and the Muslim League; there is no political alliance or even understanding among them. KPCC President R. Sankar is also reported to have stated that there is not going to be any joint election manifesto. If these are statements of the correct position, then it is obvious that their "united front" stands on very weak foundations.

SECONDLY, this weakness of their "united front" is not a theoretical question which is of no importance today.

It is, on the other hand, of great practical importance. For, it is obvious that seats have been so divided among them that no single party will come out in an absolute majority: who will believe that out of the 79 seats that have been allotted to the Congress, it will be able to secure as many as 64 seats? Under these circumstances, the voters will be concerned to know whether there will be a coalition Government or not.

No Stability Possible

One could understand either a clear statement that the three parties have agreed to form a coalition Government, or an equally clear statement that one of the three parties will be supported by the other in forming a Government of its own, or any other clear statement as to the form and composition of the Government that will come into existence after the elections. The present position, however, seems to be that none of these clear statements can be made by them.

The voters will, therefore, legitimately be apprehensive that allowing this united front to secure a majority will be allowing political instability in the State.

THIRDLY, while there is thus no basis for the expectation that the victory of this "united front" at the polls will lead to the formation of a stable Government, signs have already appeared that even the division of seats on which agreement is supposed to have been brought about is having its repercussions in all the non-Communist parties.

While the Congress is dis-

satisfied with regard to a few seats, the PSP is equally dissatisfied with others.

The Muslim League should naturally be dissatisfied that the willingness of the Congress to consider the League as a political party goes only so far as to leave a few seats to them uncontested by the Congress (and most of these are seats which during the last General Elections were secured by the Muslim League on its own.)

The leaders of the RSP and KSP have also stated in unmistakable terms that they do not look kindly on the arrangements made by the three elder brothers' who seem to have divided all the seats among themselves, leaving it to the Congress to throw a few crumbs to them from its own table.

These manifestations of dissatisfaction in the ranks of all the so-called "democratic parties", when seen against the background of no political understanding among them, are sure to be looked upon by the people as an example of opportunism and lack of principle.

It is difficult to see how our intelligent electorate would prefer such an assortment of parties and groups (which have nothing in common except their common hatred for the Communist Party and their common greed for seats) to the united front of the Communist Party and non-Communist democrats, who are agreed on a minimum programme of service to the people,—particularly against the background in which the united front of Communists and non-Communist democrats alone was able in our State to provide a stable Government carrying out a programme of national reconstruction.

INDIA'S DUTY

* FROM PAGE 3

port and rally all our Bandung friends as well.

There is, however, no smooth bed of roses ahead of India. Unable to carry on the cold war their old way in the West, the American ruling circles duly assisted by their junior British partners are feverishly attempting to transfer it to the East. Look at Laos and the repudiation of the Geneva Agreement on which peace in Southeast Asia was based. Look at Formosa, Quemoy and Matsu with their guns pointed at the Chinese mainland.

Nothing suits the imperialists more than dividing the Asian nations headed by Communists from those led by nationalists. They tried before but failed; they are desperately trying again. Must they be allowed to succeed now?

Nothing suits the imperialists more than disrupting the national unity of Asian countries on the basis of anti-Communism and paving the path step by step for the triumph of local reaction. Anti-Communism is the unholy mantram of the cold war. It is being popularised in our country.

The India of our dreams cannot be built by us—if we let India become the victim of cold war. Let us coolly ask ourselves who gains by India-China differences and then determinedly set about solving them. Not passion but reason must guide us. We together gave Panch Sheel to the world. Must we fall out when Panch Sheel can be made the basis of world relations?

We together made a success of Bandung and demonstrated to the peoples and statesmen of the West that countries with different social systems can coexist and work together. Must we accept failure when the spirit of Bandung is sweeping over the world and the problems of coexistence on a world scale are to be thrashed out? Let our past achievements give us the wisdom and strength to solve the serious problem of our present differences with China. Let us quench the flames of cold war within and around our country so that we can play our proud and worthy role in the shaping of historic world developments that are coming on the agenda of the day.

(October 6).

NEW AGE

DEFEND OUR DEMOCRACY!

* FROM PAGE 6

get. It is utterly complacent about the threat of resignation by the Army Chief of Staff backed by political parties like the Praja Socialist Party, the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh, etc.; and above all, it is totally oblivious of the machinations of the imperialist to drag our country into their war bloc.

By all this, it is abetting and encouraging the forces that are steadily digging the grave of Indian democracy. The Congress leadership, by its own undemocratic methods, policies and practices, is creating fertile soil for all the dark forces to operate upon to scuttle democracy.

GRIM CRISIS

Indian democracy today is facing a grim crisis. Its gravity is all the more heightened when the top Congress leadership, including Nehru, has embarked on the path of fighting the Communists on the false plea of defending democracy from them. If the ruling party is to declare war against the major Opposition party which the country's electorate has nourished and built up during long years of struggle, then how is parliamentary democracy to survive and flourish in our land?

The Congress leadership openly set itself on this path when it chose to dismiss the Communist-led Government in Kerala. Since then, every passing day has seen the attack intensified, and its latest phase has been to exploit the India-China border disputes to damn the Communists.

The Congress leadership in its anxiety to defeat the Communists in Kerala at the coming polls is out to resort to every means to discredit and weaken the Communist Party. It wants to assure itself of a safe victory in the 1962 General Elections by striking heavy blows against the Communist Party, the major democratic Opposition party in the country.

There is talk of a big Third Plan. It actually means, first and foremost, that big profits will be assured to top industrialists and businessmen and the heaviest burdens thrust on the shoulders of the common people, besides the frenzied rush by the rulers for American dollars.

They are fully aware that these policies and methods are bound to encounter fierce resistance from the growing democratic opposition headed by a strong Communist Party.

Thus, in the narrow partisan interests of and doubtful benefit to the ruling circles,—namely that of victory in Kerala against the Communists, removing the Com-

munist Party from its position as the major Opposition and real alternative to the Congress, attempts to pave the way for an easy walk-over in the coming General Elections and to push the Third Five-Year Plan in the direction of further enriching the rich—a deliberate anti-Communist campaign is unleashed by the Congress leadership. Some rabid anti-Communist circles and newspapers have already been emboldened to suggest openly the banning of the Communist Party.

A WARNING

The road of anti-Communism lies diametrically opposed to the road of real parliamentary democracy. This universal truth is all the more applicable to the concrete conditions obtaining in our country today. Everything in life has its cruel logic. Once anti-Communist hysteria is unleashed in a big way, the forces that exploit it and try to gain an upperhand in the political life of the country are the extreme Right-wing reactionary circles and parties who are bent upon destroying the Panch Sheel, our independent foreign policy of non-alignment, planned progress and development of democracy.

We remind the people of this again so that with a full awareness of the issues, they get ready to defend democracy and democratic institutions which are being threatened precisely by those who are launching on the path of anti-Communism.

At this critical juncture the heaviest responsibility falls on the shoulders of all democrats in the Congress. Prime Minister Nehru himself should pause and think seriously about it. It is high time that all who have a hand in rearing Indian democracy, who cherish the democratic ideals and methods, to whichever party they may belong to, to think soberly and take timely steps to reverse this dangerous trend—a trend that emboldens reaction to start on political coups and militarist adventures.

The Communist Party pledges to do everything in its power, in alliance with the rest of the progressive democratic forces in the country, to defend our democracy, despite the grave provocative attacks it is facing from several quarters today—both from foreign and Indian reaction. The struggle in defence of democracy is assuming the greatest importance for the future of our country and its progress.

(October 3)

OCTOBER 11, 1959

MEET THE NEW GOVERNOR

GENERAL Srinagesh— emphasis on the word "General"—has been appointed Governor of Assam with unusual fanfare and howls of joy from expedient quarters. Another case, no doubt, of the Congress way of civil authority asserting its supremacy—by bringing in top military brass to man strategic civilian posts.

But this particular retired warrior has other qualifications to his credit. He has been the head of an Administrative Officers' College in Hyderabad in the recent years. Situated in idyllic surroundings, far from the maddening crowd, this is the institution for training up an elite, ruling class. It is said to be liberally subsidised by the very top British monopolies here and pays lavishly for the staff and "discussion leaders."

Under Srinagesh's watchful eye pass students who are chosen generously from among the up-and-coming middle cadres of the Government as well as private concerns. Not much studying or discussion seems to go on but there is a wonderful bar—just the place for contact building. Here the budding aspirants in the private and public sectors learn to know each other and to establish a complete identity of outlook, private-sector oriented, of course.

Prominent among those who drop by the Srinagesh outfit is Ayub's pal, Cariappa. He is said to have delivered a hush-hush talk

there recently about the world in general, with special reference to the Thimaya episode. He would undoubtedly serve as a good link between our civilian tin-gods and some in the military, who think along the same lines.

A refresher course is always a good thing. But we are supposed to be a Socialist State and it augurs ill for us that the only form of refresher should be further reactionary indoctrination. Why not a refresher course in living in a peasant's hut or a worker's chawl? Why not a refresher course in the clean atmosphere of working along with the people?

Srinagesh would turn up his nose at all these "plebian" methods. But is it right that Government should reward somebody who has never once thought of the masses or had the slightest contact with any national or democratic movement?

TECHNICIANS IN EXILE

A highly qualified technician came round the other day. His card read "I am a technician with academic qualifications in the vital field of electronics. The man himself provided cuttings of past

articles in yellowing, college magazines dating from the good old days of the national struggle in the forties. And from his appearance one sensed intensity as also well-being.

But the man was overpowered with sadness. In spite of all his qualifications and his patriotism, he could not be given a suitable job by our bigwigs. He cooled his heels for nine months and in despair took up a very well-paid job abroad. He had returned after three years, having added experience to his academic distinctions.

What was his reception? "I went from one top official to another and also to a Minister. I was surprised by two things. FIRST, the amazing amount of American and West German household goods and gadgets that adorned the houses of the officials. The very latest things, on which there are import bans. Then there was the cynicism, the almost palpable jealousy at what they called 'my great good luck'. Here they were sweating in this infernal country and I was happily installed in Europe. They all advised me against any idea of coming home. I was just laughed out and back I have to go to exile."



Ike-Khrushchov meeting is sneered at, General Thimaya is held up for praise, Gandhi is attacked through Lohia, the Dalai Lama is assured of support and the Congress Government called upon to ban the Communist Party of India. Clear enough, one would think.

The visitor mentioned scores of young men who had had to leave the Atomic Energy Commission units and the National Laboratories because of the lack of work and the sickening atmosphere. He gave some astounding figures—300 top qualified Indians work in the United States and nearly 2,000 in West Germany. These are precious assets of our struggling country just given away to the imperialist Powers.

No one can approve of our young scientists losing heart and leaving their motherland. But there is no "totalitarianism" to drive away "freedom-loving" scientists from India! Surely what makes them leave is the sorry mess to which science has been brought in our country. Couldn't the Government and the Association of Scientific Workers in India do something about it? Nehru tells us to keep up with technological change. Not surely by exiling our technicians!

NOTE THIS WARNING!

THE latest issue of THE Organiser, the Jan Sangh organ, has an interesting pattern. The

But the highlight is the comment on the assassination of Bandaranaike. Not only is the murdered Prime Minister sneered at in a most indecorous way—not Bharatiya culture, exactly—but the lesson is rubbed in that the late Ceylonese leader "consciously patterned himself on the incomparable Nehru." Bandaranaike proved an apt pupil of our own impeccable leader...

And the way the pupil ended, the master might also—as an "expression of frustrated mass thought and feeling." A disgraceful performance, but significant. These are the very forces who would want to murder Indian democracy and ruthlessly remove anybody who might show even the slightest hesitation. We can't say Organiser hasn't warned us.

ONLOOKER

October 6

We have been informed that the non-de plume "witness" might create complications and could be an usurpation. Our columnist has, therefore, agreed to sign on as "onlooker"—Editor

THE PLAN DE GAULLE HAS COOKED UP FOR ALGERIA.

ON the eve of the first anniversary of the proclamation of the Algerian Provisional Government, at a time when the U.N. General Assembly was preparing to discuss the Algerian question, General de Gaulle pompously announced his so-called brand new "plan" for Algeria.

Though it basically remains a colonialist plan in all its features, it nevertheless marks a departure from the French Government's adamant stand so long on Algeria. This departure consists in the fact that the French President has now solemnly recognised though formally of course, the right of the Algerian people to self-determination.

Why The New Plan

Indeed, with the hoisting of the Star and Crescent flag of the Algerian Provisional Government on September 19, 1958, the national independence struggle of the Algerian people reached a new and higher stage.

Recalling, that hardly a year ago, French colons were proclaiming from the houseposts that France and Algeria are two parts of one country that is France, but only divided by the Mediterranean, just as the two parts of Paris are divided by the river Seine, the admission of the right to self-determination for Algeria indicates a certain sobering down of the French colonialist hot-heads and a recognition of the realities of the situation.

"This evolution has only been possible," states the September

OCTOBER 11, 1959

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

Soon after its proclamation, the Algerian Provisional Government was recognised by all Arab countries, and by China, Korea, Vietnam, Mongolia and Indonesia. Recently Ghana and Guinea have extended their recognition to it. To the utter dismay of France, its flag fluttered at the Monvogie Conference, along with the flags of independent African countries.

More important were, of course, the successes achieved by the Algerian Army on the battle field. Although two-thirds of the French Army, 60 per cent of the Air Force and 90 per cent of the Navy were thrown against the Algerian Liberation Army, their offensives always ended in failures.

Following the failure of the nine-day "mopping up campaign" launched by 120,000 French troops in the North-eastern part of Algeria early this year, the so-called "Operation Twinn" was launched under the personal command of the French C-in-C, General Maurice Challe, against Kabylie in July. Again failure. In more than a month's fighting, France lost some 3,000 men and large amounts of military supplies. The much vaunted Challe Line was repeatedly broken through.

The ostrich of French colonialism is being thus forced to raise its head from under the Sahara sands.

Furthermore, the USA, without whose material support de

Gaulle's military machine would not withstand the stresses and strains of the colonial war, is rather afraid of "alienating" itself from the Afro-Asian peoples, to the detriment of its plans to infiltrate into their lands.

Hence, the present "positive" plan offering the Algerians a conditional choice, "at the latest four years after the fighting ends", of so-called secession, integration with France or autonomy with defence, economy and foreign affairs remaining in the hands of the French Government.

U.S. Secretary of State Herter's support of de Gaulle's plan as "a just and peaceful means for solving the Algerian question" is nothing but an attempt to mislead the U.N. General Assembly as regards the real intentions of the French Government and to pave the way for direct and unabated U.S. support to French colonialism.

No Scope For Illusions

Any illusions as regards de Gaulle's real intentions for including the right to choose secession in his "plan" are dismissed by his declaration, the "demon of secession should be exorcised," by his refusal to negotiate with the Algerian Provisional Government, by his bogus promises of a "referendum" when an occupation army of more than 500,000 men and almost as

many gendarmes, police and militia are in the country, while more than one-fourth of the population is held in prisons, camps or forced into exile, and by his insistence on France's right of ownership over the wealth of the Sahara.

The first step towards the solution of the Algerian problem, therefore, can only be negotiations between the French Government and the Algerian Provisional Government.

In the best traditions of the French people, Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, has urged upon the Communists to intensify their efforts with a view to uniting the masses for a negotiated peace in Algeria.

All Arab countries have supported the Algerian Provisional Government's statement as providing the basis for solving the Algerian problem.

At the U.N., our country must actively side with other Afro-Asian countries in supporting the Algerian Provisional Government's stand, which declares its readiness "to enter into parleys with the French Government to discuss the political and military conditions of the cease-fire, the conditions and guarantees for the application of self-determination," so that an end be put to a war which has already claimed almost one million victims.

—RAZA ALI

PAGE FIFTEEN

PAGE FOURTEEN

LONG LIFE TO COMRADE DANGE

OCTOBER 10, 1899. This is when our Comrade Dange was born. He is sixty years old now, with forty years under the banner of the Party. It is a long and proud record of unremitting work in the service of the working class and the common people, in the cause of Indian liberation and social justice, as also for international solidarity.

With great pride the Communist Party greets our dear Comrade Dange on this his 60th birthday which is being celebrated in a befitting manner in Bombay where the impact of his life's work is most clearly visible and universally recognised by friends and foes alike.

Comrade Dange is a founder member of our Party and like all pioneers Comrade Dange has led a very active and strenuous life. Looking back over these long years we recall how well he fulfilled the various tasks entrusted to him. The Party discovered his great talents and he tirelessly used them to educate, organise the people, and popularise the Party and its cause.

Comrade Dange is a brilliant pamphleteer. His very first one was Gandhi Vs. Lenin and the second Hell Found, a devastating exposure of the conditions of the Bombay working class.

Comrade Dange in his busy life has been mostly dealing with current political problems, fight change the present and help make the future. Even in jail he carried on his study of our country's past. His work on ancient Indian society stirred academic circles both in our country and abroad.

Comrade Dange was the successful editor of the first English Socialist weekly and the first Marathi organ of the Party, the Kranti. Today the Party has several dailies, weeklies and monthlies and every Party journalist values his advice and criticism as from an old veteran.

Comrade Dange as a young student plunged into political life in the national upsurge of the early twenties and after its failure thought deep and hard, accepted Marxism-Leninism as the light, and spent the rest of his life organising and leading the Indian working class, for its own and the nation's emancipation. Today he is the most well known and respected leader of the Indian workers, the life and soul of the All-India Trade Union Congress, our leading national trade union organisation, and Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

In the Indian trade union movement his skill is legendary and his exploits are legion. There is not an industrial centre in our country where the



workers do not know Dange and insist on summoning him whenever there is a major crisis or a big struggle. The Indian workers repose more trust in Dange than in any other trade union leader. They know from their own experience or that of their class nearby that he knows best when and how to fight as also when and how to negotiate and temporise, so that they really gain, become better organised, more united for the next battle, in the onward march of their class.

Our Party with great pride recalls the last 40 years during which under Comrade Dange's leadership, working under the AITUC and its affiliated unions, our Party members and militants have changed the face of the Indian working class during which Comrade Dange has emerged as the most beloved and respected leader of the workers and the opponent most feared by the big capitalists, whether Indian or foreign.

Another thrilling chapter of Comrade Dange's rich and varied life is his work inside the legislatures, again pioneering and brilliant. After the 1946 general elections he was the lone Communist MLA inside the Bombay Assembly but a host by himself. Whenever he was due to speak the galleries were full. His duels with Morarji Desai who was then the Home Minister are memorable. Today he has the honour of being the Opposition leader of our national Parliament and leads the Communist group inside the Lok Sabha.

Most of our people had got their own linguistic State, but Bombay was left bilingual on the Big Business demand. Comrade Dange was in the forefront of those who took up the

challenge. The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti was born, grew, fought, faced British repression but carried on and stands triumphant, on the eve of its victory. Again the greatest credit for organising and leading the Samiti to victory belongs to Comrade Dange. Bombay recognises him as the most popular Samiti leader.

The people of Maharashtra will ever remember our Comrade Dange as their illustrious son who led their struggle for their national State. The struggle for Samyukta Maharashtra is a living illustration of how the Party of the proletariat, uniting with other interested organisations and leading personalities built a mighty mass and national movement. And how effective and universally recognised has been our Comrade Dange's contribution.

Comrade Dange's life is studded with suffering and sacrifice. It began with his early life, his arrest and imprisonment in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case and after an interval in the Meerut Conspiracy Case. Later he was a detenu during the war, again in 1948-49 and once again during the Samyukta Maharashtra struggle. It all damaged his frail health but strengthened his Communist spirit which keeps him alive and working.

Comrade Dange! We take great joy in sending you warmest wishes on your birthday. We are proud of your great and many-sided work under the banner of the Party.

May you live many, many more years and win more laurels for the Party which you tirelessly worked to build and have helped to raise it to the high status it enjoys in our national life and the world Communist movement.

(October 7)

WFTU's Greetings

The following is the text of the message of greetings from the World Federation of Trade Unions: Brother S. A. Dange is not only one of the most outstanding leaders of the Indian working class but also one of the responsible leaders of the world trade union movement. Brother Dange is one of the founder members of the WFTU and is now one of its Vice-Presidents.

The purpose of the Fund—to construct a building for housing the Central Office of the AITUC—we believe, is a fitting tribute to Brother Dange's inestimable services to the cause of the Indian working people, international working class movement and world peace by the All-India Trade Union Congress to him and in which the World Federation of Trade Unions happily joins with the AITUC to felicitate Brother Dange on this happy occasion.

It is under Brother Dange's astute leadership that the AITUC today has come to be the major national trade union centre in India with an affiliation of 1,066 unions totalling nearly one-and-a-half million members.

The Secretariat of the WFTU heartily congratulates Brother Dange on his 60th birthday, sends him its warmest fraternal greetings, wishes him good health and many happy returns of the day.

The Secretariat of the WFTU also takes this opportunity to send its warmest fraternal greetings to the AITUC on its 39th anniversary falling on October 31, 1959, for its great achievements in the cause of the Indian working people. It is by following a consistent policy of trade union unity and action in defence of Indian workers' interests, national independence, international working class solidarity and world peace that the AITUC today has come to have a determining voice in the trade union movement of the country.

During the 39 years of its continual existence, it has a glorious record of struggles and sacrifices. Through the AITUC, the Secretariat of the WFTU also sends its heartiest greetings to the millions of the Indian working people whose valiant struggles and sacrifices have gone into building their organisation as the foremost national trade union centre of the country.

The Secretariat of the WFTU wishes the AITUC further successes in its struggle for the fulfilment of tasks of national reconstruction, defence of national sovereignty and independence, trade union unity, trade union and democratic rights of the Indian working people and better living and working conditions for them, international working class solidarity and maintenance of world peace. Once again sending the AITUC and Brother S. A. Dange our warmest fraternal greetings,

LOUIS SAILLANT,
General Secretary of the WFTU.

Message From CPGB

DEAR Comrade Dange, On behalf of the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party I have the greatest pleasure in expressing to you our congratulations and cordial greetings on the occasion of your 60th birthday. Comrade Harry Pollitt, who is at present in China for the Tenth Anniversary, and Comrade John Gollan who is at present campaigning in the country for the election, would wish to be associated with this message.

From the earliest days of the Indian Communist movement you have always stayed in the forefront of the fight, and your role alike in the building of the Indian trade union movement and of the Communist Party of India is an imperishable part of the history of the Indian working class. The close friendship and cooperation between our two Parties has been especially expressed through you, and if only our Comrade Ben Bradley were with us he would have joined in sending his warmest greetings.

We all wish you many years of future creative political activity and further success and advance of the Communist Party of India.

As an old friend and colleague over so many years and so many issues may I also add my personal congratulations and good wishes.

With comradely greetings,

R. P. DUTT
Vice-Chairman