

Mr. Patil Attacks Us:

ARE WE SPLITTING THE CONGRESS?

That the Kamaraj Plan should have displeased and angered those circles of Congressmen who lost their ministerial power is quite understandable. That they should not relish very much the prospect of "serving the people" as non-ministerial Congressmen is also understandable. How can Mr. Morarji Desai, for example, relish releasing pigeons from a cage, as he did with a wry face at the Bombay reception? He is more at home with flying bullets than with flying pigeons.

BUT what is not understandable so easily is Mr. S. K. Patil's grievance against the Communist Party and particularly me in the speech he made in the Bombay meeting, organised "to welcome his return to service."

It is true that we demanded the removal of Morarji Desai and Patil from the ministry as the first step to halt the growth of Right-wing reaction inside the Congress. It is also true that they resigned and were removed after that, and we frankly said that, for once, a good thing has happened in the Congress. But they were not removed because we asked for it. They left to cleanse themselves by service—so we were told.

COMMUNIST BAITING

In the whispering galleries of the reactionaries, Mr. Patil and his associates attack Nehru directly. But not knowing how to combat openly the Kamaraj Plan, their removal and the reversal of the most anti-people measures like the CDS and Gold Control Order, and unable to gather enough courage to attack Nehru in public he has decided to attack the Communists and fellow-travellers as the makers of all this trouble.

Mr. Patil says that the Communists are trying to divide the Congress into a Right wing and a Left wing, that there is no such thing as Right or Left in the Congress, that they are all congressmen and nothing else.

If so, why all these differences, these changes etc., by which Patil, Morarji, C. B. Gupta and others have had to quit the ministries? If all was well, why all that criticism about CDS, gold control, food failures, financial bungles? Is it all Communist invention? If Desai's and Patil's removal is no demotion but sweet, loving promotion to selfless service, for which the poor souls had no chance as ministers, then why so much passion about change of the old and formation of the new ministries?

There is no Right nor Left nor Centre in the Congress as such, says Patil. In fact, if the communists had not attacked Desai and Patil, had not led that Petition and March to Parliament and if "some-one" in the High Command had not fallen a victim to their reasoning and pressure, all would have gone on as before. But "some people" in the Congress High Command have either weakened or have become secretly "fellow-travellers" of the Communists.

Mr. Patil in fact wants to suggest, on the true American model, that since they two left the cabinet, the "rump" that is left behind is of "fellow travellers" and secret Communist sympathisers. Then how does it square with the assertion that they are all Congressmen and there are no differences?

Does this sort of Communist baiting work? It seems it does. We learn that Mr. Mahavir Tyagi and his friends have suddenly started shout-

—by—
S. A. DANGE

ing against the small film strip of our September 13 demonstration that was shown in the cinema houses as part of the newsreel and had it banned.

Some ministers, it seems, so as not to be dubbed "fellow-travellers", stopped the reel from being exhibited. If petitioners to Parliament come there under the Red Flag they cannot be filmed. But, if Jan Sangh shouters come there they are passed for show, because they are Patil's and Morarji's friends. So, Patil's red-herring and American methods do panic some ministers and Congress leaders.

Leaving aside all this dust-raising, what is really the position in the Congress and how are we concerned with it? Are we trying to create an artificial division in the Congress or is it really there?

The Congress has never been so homogenous as Mr. Patil claims and it could not be. In fact no movement or party, if it is a live part of

the social-political life of its country and the people, can be immune from developing tendencies which may be termed Right or Left at a given time. The Congress, too since old days has had such developments reflecting the needs of the situation from time to time.

At one time, the differences on policy became so acute in the Congress that there was a violent split at its Surat session in 1908 and the Congress broke into two parts, the Moderates and the Extremists. There was no Communist in India in those days, to be blamed for this split, unless Mr. Patil thinks that the Russian Revolution of 1905 influenced the split in Surat, and Lokamanya Tilak was a 'fellow traveller'!

CONFLICTS AND OPPOSITION

The Congress united in 1919 and then at Nagpur in 1920 all the traditional leaders, including C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Jinnah, Kelkar opposed the new leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and his Non-Cooperation Programme. They were afraid it would lead to violence, anarchy and break up of the Congress and the national movement.

But the lakhs of peasants, workers, students who came there, voted down these Right wing opponents, the new moderates and put the new leader and the new programme in power.

There were no Communists there, to be blamed for this unless Mr. Patil says that this change was also done under the influence of the Russian October Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent world upheavals and that Mahatma Gandhi had become a 'fellow traveller'!

Really Mr. Patil, let me tell you that though I was at Nagpur with a group of students and youths mobilising for Gandhiji's resolution, we were not Communists then. We were congressmen—Left, if you please, along with the millions, who also had gone Left.

The Rightists were defeated. Jinnah left the Congress. Others fell in line with the Mahatma. But it must be remembered that many, who ostensibly supported the new programme and the Mahatma, were working against the Programme and his leadership. In fact, they were waiting to show how the new programme was wrong. When the Mahatma suspended the Bardoli Satyagraha and non-cooperation due to violent action at Chauri Chaura, they were all glad and said "did we not say so?"

Even then there was a Left opinion which did not agree with the suspension. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was one of them.

I was working at that time as a private secretary to one very well-known Congress leader. From his office, with his advice, was

going on the mobilisation of those who disagreed with the Mahatma, and disagreed from the point of view of the Right, not Left. That for the first time showed me the inside of the some of the Big Bosses in the Congress. And let me tell you, Mr. Patil, I told the Mahatma also about it as a representative of the young band of non-cooperators in Bombay.

Thenceforward, we of the Left in the Congress, influenced by the mighty actions of the Bombay working class, began to think of socialism and bringing the workers into action for the anti-imperialist revolution to be guided by the National Congress. We then called ourselves "Congress Radicals" in 1922 and then became socialists.

From meeting to meeting, our group fought for the workers' cause, and asked that their demands, their unions be supported by the Congress committees. But the vested interests in the committees would not permit it.

We, of the Left, the young men and others too, demanded that the conception of "Swaraj" be defined, so that the revolutionary masses would know what they were fighting for. But we were opposed. The Congress leadership, including the Mahatma, refused to define "Swaraj". He said it is for all, rich and poor. But what it would be like, he did not want to say.

LEFT ESPOUSED WORKERS' CAUSE

When Indian workers, fighting for a ten-hour day or for a rise in wages against rising prices, were shot down by the British police at the call of the Indian and British millowners, leading Congress committees rarely espoused the cause of the workers. Only where the committees were influenced by Left opinion or shocked by the extreme atrocities of the Police, the Congress committees would protest. There is on record the grand support which some of them gave to the workers' cause, as for example by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu or Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Bose.

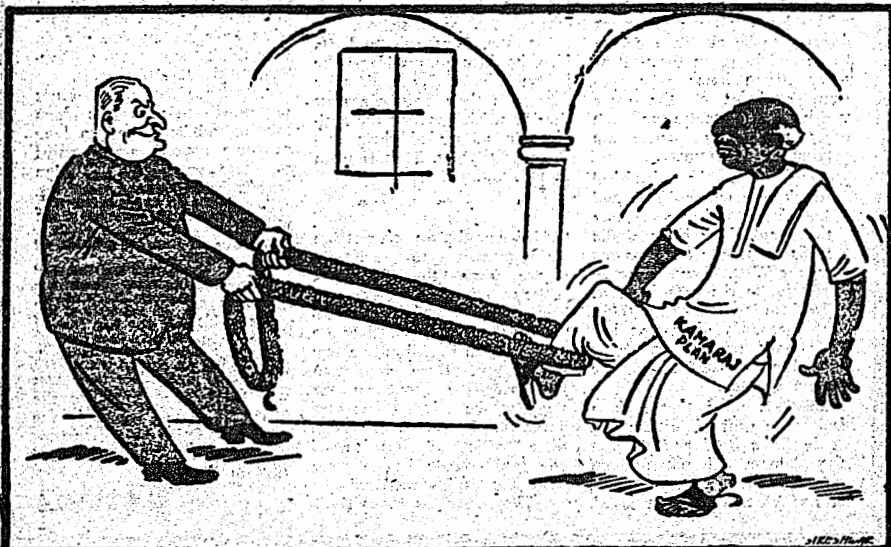
So, there had to be a struggle of the Right and the Left to steer the Congress on to the road of clearer goals in the emancipation struggle and on the side of the masses.

Do we not know the struggle of the Changers and No-Changers, of the Swarajists and Responsivists, of those who wanted to take ministries under the British in 1937 and those who did not? And do we not know how many times Mahatma Gandhi himself was forced to retire from leadership and even the four anna membership of the Congress?

And today also when many people ask the Congress leadership to define what is socialism, there is the same wavering as there was to define Swaraj and Independence.

Congressmen had to fight a hard inner party battle to get full independence, as against, dominion

* On Back Page



Leg Pulling?

— National Herald

NEW WAGE

* COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY *

West Bengal

★ From Ajay Das Gupta

Harrowing Condition of Detenus in Jail

JYOTI BASU TELLS BHOWANI SEN

The communist detenus in the West Bengal jails have submitted a joint memorandum to the Union Home Minister demanding their release in view of the Supreme Court judgment which had held the Defence of India Act and the Rules under it as bad in law and against the fundamental rights provided for in the Constitution.

JYOTI BASU, Communist leader, now in detention at the Dum Dum Central Jail, to BHOWANI SEN, secretary of the West Bengal Organising Committee of the Communist Party of India.

A large number of the detenus are suffering from various ailments. Some leaders like the CPI Control Commission member Abdul Halim, student leader Nandagopal Bhattacharya, trade union leader Nakshatra Banerji, kisan leader Samar Ganguly are in hospital. Gopal Acharya is suffering from intestinal tuberculosis. Seventy-year-old Sushil Chatterjee of Nadia is also suffering from various diseases.

The detenus have to depend on outside help even for articles of daily use. And many have been denied family allowance by the government, among them trade union leader Mohammed Ismail and kisan leader Hemanta Ghosal.

The family allowance given to some is very meagre, too. It is calculated on the basis of Rs. 30 for each adult dependent, Rs. 15 for each minor dependent and Rs. 25 for sundries per month. How the detenus' families can subsist on these meagre allowances in these days of soaring prices, only the government seems to know.

The inhuman attitude of the governmental bureaucracy can be seen from one instance. Swadhinita editor Saroj Mukherjee's wife, Kanak Mukherjee is also detained along with her husband.

Her son was suffering from typhoid and so she was released on parole to see the child. She was however torn away from the side of her son who was almost unconscious with a temperature of 103 degrees, back to jail. All pleas that she be allowed to remain at the side of her son fell on deaf ears.

Faced with this situation, the West Bengal Organising Committee of the Communist Party of India has called for a sustained movement for the release of the detenus. It has decided to observe a fortnight from October 1 to 15 to conduct a campaign for the release of the detenus.

The Calcutta District Council, responding to this call, has decided to take a mass deputation

government. These Staff Regulations provide for keeping workers on probation only for a maximum period of one year and giving all categories of employees a prescribed salary.

But the LIC authorities at various centres have appointed staff on daily wages and kept them temporary for many years together. In Calcutta alone, it is reported that there are more than 200 such employees. When the employees' union took up the matter with the LIC authorities, the latter attempted to lay off all the temporary staff on the basis of "employer's right to hire and fire at will."

The union took up the matter with the central government's Conciliation Officer. Even when the conciliation proceedings were

Workers' Bonus Struggle

IN West Bengal, bonus to workers and employees is generally disbursed before the 'puja' holidays. This practice itself came into being after the workers had fought many a bonus battle during the fifties and compelled the companies to declare bonus well in advance of the 'puja' holidays.

The West Bengal government also has for some years now been appealing to the Chambers of Commerce to pay bonus and pay it early to avoid labour unrest during the 'puja' holidays.

Yet, there are companies who try to avoid paying bonus and bargain over the quantum of the bonus every year. This year also trouble is brewing over the bonus issue in some of the companies.

The workers of Martin-Burn and Guest Keen Williams have demanded six months' wages as bonus, while the Philips workers have demanded ten months' wages as bonus. There is justification for the workers' demand; the companies have reaped very high profits in 1962 benefiting from the emergency.

However, the managements of these companies have not taken any steps to meet the workers' demands. The workers and employees of these concerns have already held demonstrations in front of the offices of the companies to press forward their demands, but the managements have not yet taken any steps to meet them.

Trouble is also brewing in the Life Insurance Corporation. The LIC's labour relations are governed by the Staff Regulations introduced with the sanction of the central

New Batch of Polio Vaccine Gift from Soviet Red Cross

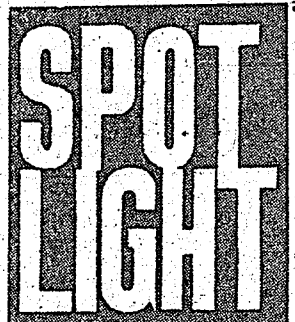
THE Soviet Red Cross Society last week gifted a new batch of one lakh doses of live polio vaccine to the Indian Red Cross Society, to be used for mass vaccination in the Udaipur area of Rajasthan.

The Soviet Red Cross Society had earlier also gifted several batches of polio vaccine to the Indian Red Cross Society for use in Delhi and Uttar Pradesh.

Receiving the gift on behalf of the Indian Red Cross Society, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur said, she had "never appealed to the Soviet authorities for help without immediate response". She said it was on September 13 in Geneva that she made the request and on September 28, the vaccine was already received in New Delhi.

I. A. Benediktov, Soviet Ambassador, handed over the gift to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, chairman of the Indian Red Cross Society.

staged a protest demonstration in front of the Zonal Office of the LIC on September 16. The Conciliation Officer has assured the demonstrators that the Labour Commissioner's machinery would mete out justice to them. The employees are awaiting the implementation of this assurance.



Swatantra Whimper

If that had happened Rajaji and his friends could have induced the Indian people to pay the price that the West had demanded and fully secured its protection for all "the commonsense-governed people."

And who might these "Commonsense-governed people" be? They are none other than the reactionary vested interests who are dying for a partnership with their greedy foreign friends whose mouths are constantly watering for profits at the cost of Indian people.

Rajaji would be happier if the Chinese oblige again. But today he is unhappy that "the good result" has waned.

He has finally blamed India for "thoroughly misjudging the American mind and underestimating the American heart" (1) He has omitted to mention that if the Chinese failed to oblige him for a long enough period, the West too was not too obliging either. Why should the West let Indians see its face of a Shylock demanding his pound of flesh at every step? Even the little transmitter deal was overweighted with strings.

But the Swatantra and its blood-brothers always blame the Indian side. Why don't they dare open their mouths against the West. That reveals the anti-patriotic nature of their pro-West proclivities. That is plain as pikestaff.

THE mouthpiece of reaction continues to maintain silence over the Swatantra leader's offer to dismember Kashmir. The conclusion is irresistible, that they themselves are not averse to it. Till only a few weeks ago, these gentlemen were strutting about on the stage as the sole repositories of patriotism in the land. Alas, their "patriotism" has turned out too soon to be no more than a pig's insensibility!

— GARUDA

The tremendous success of the Great March has left a section of employers in Delhi and Punjab in a state of complete frustration. Naturally, this has affected even their judgment.

THE Delhi Cloth Mills group of industries in Delhi, belonging to the FICCI president Lala Bharat Ram and his relations, tops the list. The general manager of DCM, B. D. Pathak, noted for his anti-labour as well as RSS-Jan Sangh patronisation, has started wide-scale vindictive actions against the workers.

He has issued charge-sheets, a facsimile of which is reproduced here, on the ground that it was an offence to participate in the March. More than a thousand workers in the Delhi Cloth Mills, Swatantra Bharat Mills and Delhi Chemicals have been chagesheeted.

Attempts To Sabotage

It would be recalled that right from the time the workers were preparing to take part in the March, Pathak and his henchmen resorted to all possible steps to sabotage the participation of workers in the March, including open threats.

Since the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union had no intention to disrupt the production of the factories, it had called upon only the off-duty workers to participate in the March.

Protesting against this political vendetta and unfair labour practice, the AITUC and the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union have strongly urged authorities to take immediate action so that the issue is not further

EMPLOYERS' BID TO PROVOKE WORKERS

D.C.M. Management Issues Charge-Sheets For Participation in Great March

दिल्ली क्लॉथ मिल, दिल्ली।

क/३३०
श्री रूप रॉय
साता ५
दिल्ली क्लॉथ मिल

सुप्रीम श्री अभिमान
पार्सी II पास नं० ०११

जाप बहुत से अन्य कारिगरों के साथ निरभ्र कर तय करके भारतीय साम्यवादी पार्टी द्वारा निकाले गये जूस में शामिल होने के लिये (जिसे काम से गैर हाजिर होने का उक्ति कारगरा नहीं कहा जा सकता) बिना छुटी लिये या बिना १५ दिन का नोटिस दिये ता० १३ सितम्बर १९६३ को अपनी ड्यूटी से गैर हाजिर हुये।

जतः जाप इस पत्र के पाने के २ दिन के अन्दर लिखित रूप में बतायें कि उपरोक्त अभियोग के सम्बन्ध में जापको क्या कहना है तथा क्यों नहीं बाफके विवाद मिल की स्टैंडिंग आर्डर की धारा २७ (बी) के अन्तर्गत अनुशासन की कार्यवाही की जावे और क्यों नहीं वेतन कटायगी कानून १९३६ (पेमेंट बाफके वेजिज एक्ट) की धारा ६ के अन्तर्गत बाफके चालू मास के वेतन से बाठ दिन का वेतन काट लिया जाय।

यदि उपरोक्त समय के अन्दर बाफका उत्तर प्राप्त नहीं होगा तो यह संभव कर कि बाफको कोई उत्तर नहीं देना है, इस तरफा कार्यवाही की जावेगी।

कारु मेनजा

"COME TOGETHER IN THE INTEREST OF COMMON PEOPLE"

W. Bengal P.O.C's. Call To Left Parties

The West Bengal Organising Committee of the Communist Party of India has called on "all parties of the Left in the state to come together in the common interests of the people" and to "make all possible efforts to bring together that section of the Congressmen who feel the pinch of the anti-people policies of the government."

IN a statement adopted at its meeting on September 25, the organising committee said the "magnificent response of the people together with the solidarity and determination displayed by the people to make the hartal (in West Bengal on September 24) a success is instructive to all the political parties."

It demonstrated that people's unity in action was able to overcome all political barriers. Communist and non-Communist shades of political opinion combined to give a fitting rebuff to the anti-people policies of the government.

Hotel Owners' Queer Logic

Increase in Workers' Wages by Cutting Consumers' Throat

Hotel owners in Bombay are trying to fleece the consumers more than before. Under the pretext of increased burdens due to the minimum wages to the workers, they have decided to increase prices of food served in the hotels.

THE increase is not just nominal; the decision is to increase them by 30 per cent. And this is on top of two upward revisions of prices which have already been carried out recently. The hotel owners have raised the prices of food articles first when the Minimum Wages Committee for hotel workers was appointed, and then again after the declaration of the emergency.

The action of the hotel owners becomes all the more objectionable when it is remembered that the Minimum Wages Committee had representatives of the hotel owners also on it and the committee's recommendations were unanimous. After having agreed to pay the workers according to the new scales, the owners are now trying to pass on the burden to the public so that their profits remain in tact.

New Colombo Initiative

Editorial

ON OCTOBER 2, PRESIDENT Nasser made a most welcome declaration in Cairo, in the course of a press conference with over 200 participants in the world conference of journalists. He said that the Colombo powers should try to make a further contribution to the solution of the Sino-Indian border dispute, and he promised to take up the issue with Ceylon's Prime Minister, during her forthcoming visit to Cairo.

President Nasser is reported to have added: "I believe that troops should be withdrawn to the September 8 line."

Two months ago, *New Age* frontpaged an editorial appealing to the Colombo powers to act, specially in view of the reports of a Chinese military build-up on our borders, after a fresh round of provocative abusive writings in the Chinese press, of the Sino-Pakistan alliance, as well as in view of the offensive which had been launched, taking advantage of the situation, by the imperialists and the Right reactionary forces against India's policy of non-alignment. This is what we said in the course of that editorial:

"It is no longer possible for the Colombo Six to remain aloof, while the situation deteriorates. India has again indicated its total acceptance of the Colombo proposals.

"But India's acceptance becomes of little value in the face of Chinese refusal to accept the proposals. China's intransigence can be fought only by the might of world public opinion.

"It is for the Colombo powers to exert themselves at this moment in whatever ways they can to prevent any increase in tension on our border, to arrest the possibilities of a single clash. This is an urgent and immediate task.

"The Colombo powers must also take steps so that world opinion is brought into action to see that the atmosphere is created, as suggested by them, for the starting of negotiations for a settlement of the India-China dispute...

"The Colombo powers must act now, for the sake of world peace, of Afro-Asian solidarity, of the defence of non-alignment itself..."

It is heartening to read President Nasser's statement, precisely because it appears to respond so wholeheartedly to this appeal.

The months since the Colombo proposals and their clarifications were made have been months of patient and persistent work to bring the force of world opinion to bear on the Chinese leadership to accept the proposals, and thus clear the way for fruitful negotiations.

The work of the Communist Party of India in this regard has been of special significance. The last meeting of the National Council of the Party, which ended on July 2, drew pointed attention to the need for the Colombo powers to act, and for world public opinion to support them in efforts to compel the Chinese Government to accept and implement the Colombo proposals. During all these months, through all possible means, the Communist Party has sought to gain support for this view, both inside India and abroad.

The campaign for the Great Petition to Parliament was carried out through thousands of meetings held all over the country. At each of these meetings, the demand for the acceptance of the Colombo proposals, for new initiatives by the Colombo powers was made.

At the end of the Great March, the two lakh strong demonstration raised hands in agreement, when Chairman of the Communist Party S. A. Dange asked for support for the Party's demand that the Chinese Government should accept the Colombo proposals.

One can look back with satisfaction, particularly, at the non-official efforts through democratic bodies, to focus attention on the Colombo proposals, to explain them and to win support for them: the Moshi Conference of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation in February; the World Congress of Women in Moscow in June; the European tour of the Goodwill

Afroasia's Great Rebuff To Chinese Splitters

Aruna Asaf Ali Reports Back

NEW DELHI: Public interest has been focussed recently on the important meeting of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, held at Nicosia (Cyprus) from September 10 to 12. A brief, preliminary report appeared in last week's *New Age*. On September 30, the leader of the Indian delegation to the Nicosia meeting and Vice-President of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, ARUNA ASAF ALI, reported back on the Nicosia decisions at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Association.



Delegation of the All India Peace Council in June and July, the Executive Committee meeting of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation at Nicosia in September, and the latest—the meeting of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace in Vienna.

World opinion has now begun to act in support of the Colombo proposals. Indicative of this is the recent (September 19) editorial on the Sino-Indian conflict in the Soviet Communist Party's organ *Pravda* (see last week's *New Age*).

Pravda said:

"The proposals of the Colombo Conference were nothing but a friendly recommendation of States, which are sincerely striving to help find a mutually acceptable solution for the frontier dispute.

"Unfortunately, the voice of reason, expressing the will of the Afro-Asian peoples, was not heeded to in Peking..."

"It is not without reason that many people now say that the PRC Government, while extolling in every way the initiative of the non-aligned nations and declaring that it 'values' and 'pays tributes' to their good services, actually ignores these efforts and does not display any desire to profit by the proposals drafted at Colombo."

Every day's continuation of tension and conflict damages the cause of peace and provides opportunities to the worst reactionaries and pro-imperialists in India to strengthen themselves.

It is not accidental that, as the *Pravda* editorial described it, "the success of these reactionaries (Kripalani and Masani) at the elections is actually presented by the Chinese leaders as a victory of Indian democracy." It is not an accident again, that in a printed document circulated by the Chinese delegation at the Nicosia Afro-Asian meeting, the Jan Sangh demonstration before Parliament on August 14 was hailed as a sign of the so-called democratic upsurge!

All this only underlines the grave difficulties which face the Colombo powers and world public opinion in bringing the Chinese Government to the path of peaceful negotiations, on the basis of the acceptance of the Colombo proposals.

Whatever the difficulties, mankind will give its fullest support to President Nasser's call for a fresh initiative by the Colombo powers to bring about a peaceful solution of the India-China dispute.

(October 3, 1963)

ARUNAJI's was a clear account of the crude tactics and the abusive language adopted by the large Chinese delegation, particularly against the Soviet Union and India; and of the decisive rebuff which they received from the Afro-Asian movement as a whole. The attempt to divide the fighting peoples of Asia and Africa from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was deeply resented by delegates; almost without exception.

The Chinese delegation did its utmost to prevent the meeting from running smoothly by introducing its anti-Soviet diatribe on the question of the nuclear test ban treaty. But here the answer came from the African delegates, who spoke with considerable heat and passion, against the perilous line of the Chinese delegation.

Equally resented by the delegates was the manner in which the Chinese delegation and a handful of dubious supporters sought to attack and slander India. The Indian delegation's straight and sober stand, demanding the implementation of the Colombo proposals, was universally appreciated. In the teeth of Chinese opposition, the Moshi resolution on the India-China dispute, calling for the implementation of the Colombo proposals, was reiterated.

Arunaji spoke of the urgent need to strengthen the Afro-Asian solidarity movement. She emphasised the necessity for a more positive policy by the Government of India in regard to the struggle for national independence, particularly in Africa. The solidarity movement, she said, had become of vast significance and importance, and the Indian people must give it their full support.

The chairman of the meeting Dr. ANUP SINGH, General Secretary of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, summed up the results of the Nicosia meeting and paid a special tribute to Arunaji for her magnificent work for India and the cause of solidarity at Nicosia.

THE STORY OF A NEWSREEL

* From Back Page

'bureaucracy exercises over publicity media as the withdrawal of the newsreel showing last month's Communist 'protest march' to Parliament after some Congressmen had objected to its public screening on the ground that it was a piece of 'anti-government propaganda'.

Bhupesh Gupta, leader of the Communist group in the Rajya Sabha, has taken up the matter with the government. He has written letters to the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the Information and Broadcasting Minister, protesting against the ban on the exhibition of the newsreel and demanding its restoration to the screen by revoking the Home Ministry's order.

The attention of the ministers has been drawn by Bhupesh Gupta to the fact that the Films Division frequently pictures many non-official functions of the Congress Party and many other trivial things in their newsreels. It is regrettable that in this particular case, with which more than ten million people are intimately and directly concerned, the government should have permitted itself to be guided by narrow partisan considerations.

OCTOBER 6, 1963

Resolution on the International Communist Movement Adopted by Executive Committee of CPGB on Sept. 14

The following resolution on the International Communist movement was adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain on September 14 last:

IN its statement of January 12 on Problems of the International Communist Movement, the Executive Committee expressed its extreme concern and advanced its proposals for the restoration of the unity of our movement. (Text of this Statement appeared in *New Age* of Feb. 3)

We appealed for an end to the public polemic, for bilateral talks between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, and adequate preparation for a World Conference of Communist Parties to promote unity on the basis of the strict observance of the unanimously agreed principles of the November 1960 World Communist Conference.

At the same time, in a principled and moderate way we dealt with our differences with the Chinese Communist Party on the issues of war and peace, peaceful co-existence, nuclear war and the forms of transition to socialism.

Our Twenty-Eighth National Congress (April 1963) attended by 451 delegates, endorsed this statement, with only four votes against and ten abstentions.

In the delegations to the CPSU and the CPC respectively prior to the Congress, we presented our views on the method of solution to the problems.

A New and Dangerous State

FOR a short time there seemed to be some positive signs. There was widespread agreement with the aim of the cessation of public polemics. In March the CPSU and the CPC agreed to meet on the initiative of the CPSU. All Communist Parties hoped that progress would be made.

But the publication by the CPC on June 14 of a letter, "A proposal concerning the general line of the International Communist Movement" on the eve of the talks, restarted the public polemic in a still sharper form and extended it to a series of new issues at a time when the utmost restraint was needed. Despite this, the CPSU proceeded with the talks which opened on July 5, and did not publish its views on this document until July 14.

On July 21 the talks were recessed at the request of the CPC.

On July 31 the Chinese People's Government in a statement denouncing the partial Test Ban Treaty, said that "the policy pursued by the CPSU is one of the Soviet Government's 'selling out', of 'betrayal' of the Soviet people, of the countries in the Socialist camp, and of the peoples of the whole world, of 'great power chauvinism', etc.

reactionaries of all countries to oppose the peoples of the world."

On August 15 the Chinese Government, through a spokesman, issued a further statement on Nuclear Weapons and the Test Ban Treaty, containing many further violent denunciations of the Soviet Union.

In the course of this statement the Chinese Government stated that in June 1959 the Soviet Union had refused to supply China with a sample of an atom bomb and technical data for its manufacture.

The statement laid down the principle that the spread of nuclear weapons among other Socialist countries would be desirable and accused the Soviet Government of lining up with U.S. imperialism against China.

On September 6 the Chinese Journals *People's Daily* and *Red Flag* issued a further statement launching a full offensive against the line of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and all the subsequent policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and declaring that "the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has allied itself with U.S. imperialism... against all Marxist-Leninist Parties, in open betrayal of Marxism-Leninism."

With these developments the whole problem has reached a new and far more dangerous stage than at the time of our January statement and Congress resolution.

OCTOBER 6, 1963

these questions, and do not propose here to repeat the ground covered in our previous statement.

It is necessary now to examine the new questions raised by the criticism of the Test Ban Treaty, as well as by the Chinese letter of June 14 and subsequent statements, and the consequent present stage of the problem of restoring the unity of the International Communist Movement.

The Test Ban Treaty

IN our Political Committee's statement of July 31 we made clear that we welcomed the partial Test Ban Treaty on the grounds that "(i) it means a halt to the poisoning of the atmosphere by the main nuclear Powers; (ii) it opens the way to further negotiations on nuclear disarmament; and (iii) it opens the way to further negotiations on all key issues with a view to making a break in the cold war and reaching agreement on specific questions."

For similar reasons the Labour and peace movement in Britain also welcomed the treaty.

We have made clear the limitations of the Test Ban Treaty: it does not in itself end the war danger, the arms race or the manufacture of nuclear weapons; nor would this be the case even if we won a ban on underground explosions.

For all these things an arduous struggle is needed. At the centre of the struggle in Britain at this moment is the need to win the fight for the removal of American nuclear bases, the renunciation of nuclear weapons by Britain, and the defeat of the NATO multilateral nuclear force.

The Chinese criticisms alleged that the Soviet approval of the partial Test Ban Treaty in July 1963 represented a change of line from the rejection of a partial test ban in the preceding year.

This fails to recognise that the technical and nuclear advance of the Soviet Union has now made it possible to make such an agreement on a basis which ensures the defence and security of the socialist camp and that further negotiations for a complete ban are envisaged by the treaty.

We rejoice that this advance has been possible, while recognising the necessity of carrying forward the most active fight for a total ban, for general nuclear disarmament and for ending the cold war.

We reject absolutely the presentation in the Chinese Government's statement which lumps the nuclear Powers together as upholders of a "nuclear monopoly." This is to equate socialism with imperialism, and to abandon a class analysis of the international situation.

We always have campaigned for, and continue to campaign for, a Summit Conference of

all Heads of States, including People's China for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons. But while struggling for this, we will fight for and support every partial demand in that direction. To counterpose the two is false and can in no way hasten the winning of the meeting of the Heads of States.

The Communist Party of Great Britain always will support the great Chinese Revolution. We will do all in our power to defend China from imperialist slanders (as we did in the Indo-Chinese Border dispute last autumn) and imperialist attacks.

We must continue and extend our work for ensuring that the Chinese People's Republic takes its rightful place in the United Nations. This is vital, not only as a recognition of the elementary rights of the Chinese people, but for peace and peaceful coexistence.

But we cannot agree with the general line advanced in the recent Chinese statements. It is in contradiction to the 1960 Statement and is against the interests of the entire socialist camp and the world Communist movement.

Nuclear Weapons

THE Chinese Government's statement of August 3 lays down that "the greater the number of socialist countries possessing nuclear weapons the better."

But it is obvious that if the socialist countries were to adopt the principle of favouring the extension of nuclear weapons in their camp, this would facilitate the imperialist aim of extending nuclear weapons to other countries in the imperialist camp, to West Germany, Japan, Chiang K'ai-shek and others.

This would increase the danger of nuclear war. It would be a step not to peace but to war. Therefore it is necessary to fight against the extension of nuclear weapons, with a view to carrying forward this fight to the banning and destruction of all nuclear weapons.

The nuclear strength of the Soviet Union is already sufficient to fulfil the requirements of defence of the socialist camp and has consistently fulfilled this task and continues to fulfil it by protecting the security of the socialist camp against imperialist aggression.

The Chinese Government has a Pact of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union, and it knows that the full nuclear strength of the Soviet Union and its rocket capacity would be used to defeat an American attack on China.

As Premier Khrushchov said in his speech to his electors on February 27, 1963: "If an

NEW AGE

ON PAGE 15

PAGE FIVE

CORRUPTION UNLIMITED

★ From C. R. Krishna Rao

BANGALORE: The audit report of the Mysore government, placed before the State Assembly, reads like pages from the storybook on Ali Baba and his forty thieves. It provides a shocking revelation how public money is wasted, squandered and defalcated by the rulers even when making mealy-mouthed appeals to the people to tighten their belts.

PRACTICALLY every department of the state government has come under severe strictures of the Auditor General. As many as 16,954 cases mentioned by the audit authorities in earlier years have not yet been satisfactorily explained by the government. The amount involved in these cases comes to the stupendous figures of Rs. 11.96 crores, and some of the objections date as far back as to 1951-52.

The impression that the Public Works Department is a pigsty of corruption and irregularities is borne out by the very large number of audit objections raised against its activities.

The delay in the approval of a substituted work relating to the Lingamanakki dam of the Sharavathy hydel project cost the government as much as Rs. 25.49 lakhs. This was the amount paid to a contractor through an arbitration award.

Similarly, the delay in the disposal of plant and machinery purchased for the Bhadra reservoir project resulted in a loss of Rs. 2.33 lakhs, since some of the items were found to be nothing but scrap material. Machinery and equipment valued at Rs. 15.21 lakhs are yet to be disposed off, after which the full extent of the loss would be

known. Physical verification of stocks in the various divisions of the FWD is a must under the rules but in five divisions no verification was made during the year under review. But more astounding is the disclosure that in as many as 33 divisions no verification has taken place at all since 1955.

The divisions where physical verification took place have a still more scandalous story to tell. In 35 divisions where verification took place, there was a shortage of stores worth Rs. 6.12 lakhs. Of this, as much as Rs. 3.51 lakhs was the shortage in the Central Stores, Bangalore. In the Bhadra reservoir construction division, only 1970 bags of cement were found to be missing.

Among the statutory corporations which came under fire are the Warehousing Corporation, the Khadi and Village Industries Board, the Electricity Board and the Road Transport Corporation.

The Khadi and Village Industries Board had not compiled their accounts since its inception in 1957 and so is the case with the Electricity Board. The Road Transport Corporation seems to have taken the cue from them, for it has also failed to compile its accounts since August 1961.

The audit report takes particular note of the borrowing and investment transactions of the Electricity Board. The Board had a cash balance of Rs. 85 lakhs in March 1961, but took a loan from the state government at five per cent interest only to reinvest it in the government's development fund 1972 at four per cent and four and a half per cent interest.

A further public borrowing was made by the Board of Rs. 202.03 lakhs at four and a half per cent interest in December, of which Rs. 199 lakhs was invested in a private bank at interest rates from three and three quarters per cent to four per cent. The actual extent of losses due to these transactions will be known only when the accounts are available.

The Khadi and Village Industries Board was only keeping up its tradition of serious irregularities. Even the audit authorities were not able to get to the root of its affairs, but have only given "some

instances." One such instance related to the ghani oil sales depot in Bangalore. The manager of this depot resigned in 1961 but did not hand over the cash balance to his successor. The board did not take any action for recovering the money, but instructed the new manager to open a new cash book with nil cash balance.

Another instance cited in the audit report is that during stock verifications, it was found that in the Saranjam Karyalaya, Bangalore, Rs. 39,057 worth of stocks were found missing since 1961, but no efforts to locate the person responsible was made.

Some other cases of irregularities resulting in loss to the

State Exchequer mentioned in the audit report are:

- Smuggling of sandalwood in the Sandu range in the Bellary district resulted in a net loss of Rs. 10 lakhs to the government.
- The medical department failed to recover from others dues to the tune of Rs. 12 lakhs.
- The tractor and bulldozer organisation was not working satisfactorily, causing a total loss of Rs. 22 lakhs.
- The failure to establish a weigh bridge cost Rs. 55 thousand by way of royalty on iron ores exported from the Bellary district.
- About Rs. 3.4 lakhs worth of machinery was found lying idle with the Small Scale Industries Board.

In English

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

(September 14-17)

Price: 15 nP.

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi

CARRYING FORWARD GAINS OF GREAT MARCH

★ FROM RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW: The Secretariat of the U.P. State Council of the Communist Party of India has, after reviewing the work done in connection with the Great March, given a call for the observance of October 14 as the "Delhi March Report Day" all over the state.

THE Secretariat has called on Party units to organise on that day mass meetings, demonstrations and massive welcomes to the Marchers who had been to Delhi.

In these meetings, in which party leaders at all levels will participate, a report of the Petition movement and the Delhi March will be given, achievements of the campaign will be explained, and tasks for the future outlined.

The Day is to be planned in such a way that thousands of meetings are held on October 14.

The Secretariat has also given a call for immediate enrolment of five thousand new Party members, one lakh Kisan Sabha members, and collection of Rs. 25,000 for the State Party Office and Janyug, the Party's

Hindi weekly. An immediate campaign of conducting short, two or three-day schools for the education of Party members and others is also being launched simultaneously.

A meeting of the State Executive has been convened to meet in Lucknow from October 6 to 8 to discuss these and other matters concretely and to fix up local and district quotas.

A campaign for the release of detained comrades is also to be launched.

The Party has decided to implement Chairman Dange's call both in the organisational and agitational spheres, with a sense of urgency. The Delhi March has generated tremendous enthusiasm in the Party and mass organisations close to the Party.



Paramount necessity for the formation of health

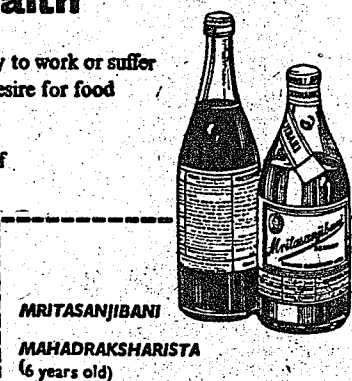
You feel tired to work... do not get energy to work or suffer from colds... or perhaps you have not a desire for food or what you take does not digest even.

Then it would rapidly improve your health if you take two spoonful of Mritasanjibani mixed with four spoonful of Mahadraksharista (6 years old).

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACCA
36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road, Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 49



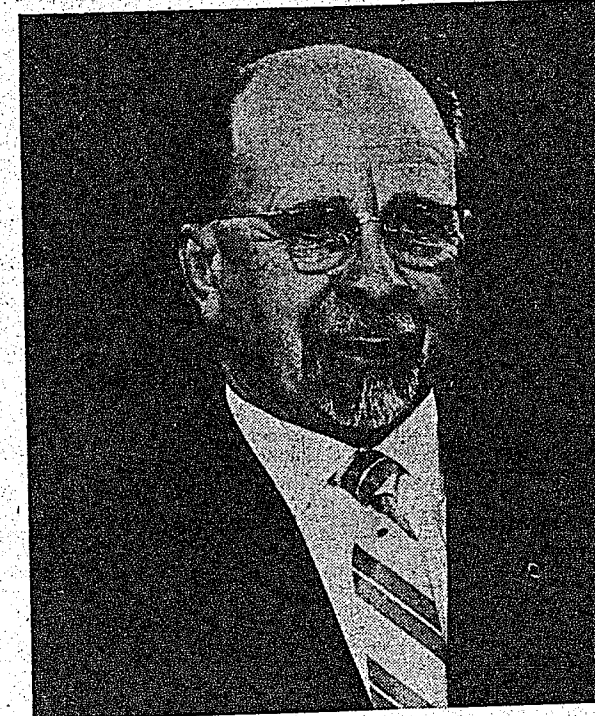
Adhyaksha Dr. Jages Chandra Ghose, M.A. Ayurved-Sastr, F.C.S. (London), M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.



MRTISANJIBANI

MAHADRAKSHARISTA
(6 years old)

Calcutta Centre: Dr. Nares Chandra Ghose, M.B.B.S. (Cal.) Ayurvedacharya.



FIRST GERMAN PEACE STATE Achievements & Prospects

foundation for the accurate drafting and successful implementation of the Seven-Year Plan of the GDR which, beginning by 1964, will set the tasks upto 1970. You may rest assured that in the period ahead also the State Council will do its full share and fulfill its duty.

The Moscow negotiations on a nuclear test ban have led to valuable partial results. Thus a hopeful beginning has been made in an issue so vital for mankind. It is a success due not only to the determined peace policy of the Soviet Union and the initiative of the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev; it is a success of the socialist community of nations, of the worldwide peace movement and the millions of anti-nuclear campaigners in the imperialist countries. They all helped by their devoted struggle for peace to bring about this success.

Soviet Initiative

I should like to remind you in this connection of the fact that the initiative for this partial understanding that has now been reached came from the Soviet Union and especially from Comrade Khrushchev who in Berlin on July 23 this year, submitted to the world this proposal for an understanding which at last brought about a substantial step forward in the negotiations on Nuclear Test Ban which had gone on for a number of years.

Since July 2, the government of the West German Federal Republic has not spared any effort to thwart an understanding on a nuclear weapons test ban and a non-aggression pact.

As far as nuclear tests are concerned, developments have simply overridden Bonn's revanchist politics. They were not able to prevent the agreement at least on a partial treaty. They know very well that this has rendered their own efforts to get command over nuclear weapons extremely difficult. For, allowing Bonn's Hitlerite generals command over nuclear weapons in this or any other form is obviously incompatible with a Test Ban agreement.

We stand for an understanding between the two German states on freezing the armament budgets and subsequently reducing them and we are sure that the majority of all Germans in the East and the West would agree.

We also agree—provided that West Germany follows suit—to the reduction of foreign troops in the German Democratic Republic as well as in West Germany, as was proposed by Comrade Khrushchev.

We have no objection either to the appointment of representatives of the Western

Powers with the Soviet troops stationed in the GDR, provided that the representatives of the Soviet Union be appointed with the groups of the Western powers stationed in West Germany.

We are, furthermore, ready to render our contribution to the consolidation of international security and peace with respect of Comrade Khrushchev's proposal to increase security against surprise attacks by arranging in certain areas of the Soviet Union as well as of other countries land control points at airports, railroad junctions, highways and large ports. The only condition is, of course, that such land control points be set up on West German territory as well.

Our policy of understanding and peaceful coexistence in Germany corresponds best to the national interests of the German people. It promotes the gradual rapprochement of the German states and their ultimate cooperation in a German Confederation which would change nothing in the respective social orders. Such a peaceful living together of the German States would also best serve the interests of the working class and the democratic and progressive forces in West Germany. It would greatly facilitate their task of establishing democratic conditions in West Germany and of achieving a policy which serves peace, the German people, and its security.

For Agreement of Reason and Goodwill

We have proposed a seven-point programme for an agreement of reason and goodwill between the two German states, which remains fully valid. It is designed to prepare for the cooperation of the German states and the special territory of West Berlin within a German confederation. We believe that it should be possible already before the formation of the confederation that the governments of both German states form joint commissions for its preparations. The commissions should seek solutions to partial problems and submit them to the governments.

As you know, we have suggested a joint cultural commission, a commission for education, a commission for problems of law and legal aid, a commission for problems of economic, scientific and technological cooperation and also a commission for transport problems including travel. Of course, this does not mean that we exclude the possibility of setting up additional joint commissions of the governments of the German states.

We are prepared to consider suggestions for commissions in other spheres, too.

Unfortunately the Bonn government did not reply to our suggestions which, if carried out, would ease the situation of such citizens who are painfully affected by the division of Germany and which would promote lessening of tension in Germany. Circles closely associated with the Bonn government have answered in the negative. We do not like to assume that this was their last word.

He who wishes to overcome the division of Germany can achieve this only through the struggle of the forces of peace, if he himself contributes towards the rapprochement of the two German states and their mutual understanding. There is little chance for an understanding on ideologies and social orders. But neither differences of opinion, nor even contradictions should prevent the Germans in the East and in the West from realising that they have also many common interests and that there is a good chance to normalise the relations between the two German states and to remove them from the sphere of the cold war. Without normalisation, no rapprochement, without rapprochement, no understanding, no overcoming of the division, no solution of the national question.

How to Achieve Normalisation

How and by what steps can normalisation be achieved? We are suggesting the following:

★ Let us start with quite simple things. The agreement now concluded in Moscow on the banning of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water, and in outer space should help the two German states to solemnly renounce any atomic armament and to take a firm stand against any stationing or stockpiling of atomic weapons on German territory.

★ Furthermore, by concluding a non-aggression pact among themselves, the two German states should support the efforts made by certain NATO countries for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the States of the NATO and those of the Warsaw Treaty.

★ By reaching an agreement on the reduction of military expenditures within the State budgets, as well as on an armaments stop in Germany, the two German states should contribute towards abolishing the dangerous armaments race.

I have not the slightest doubt that the overwhelming majority of the citizens of the GDR, as well as of West Germany, would have no objection whatsoever if millions of marks which are now allocated to armament items every year would, in future, be spent on peaceful developments as well as on raising the standards of living.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN WEST GERMANY?

P. Kunhanandan interviews MAX REIMANN, First Secretary, Communist Party of Germany

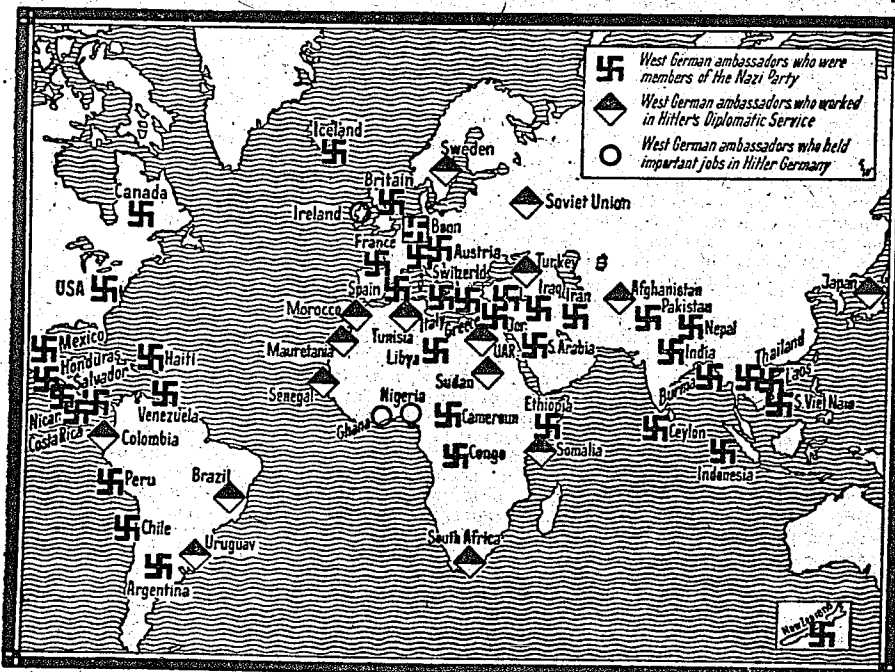
I met the great old man of the German working class movement, the steeled and tempered leader of the heroic West German Communist Party which has been driven underground since 1956. Max Reimann is sixty-five years old this October. He has spent more than half his life in the active struggle against German militarism and fascism, in prison and in the underground. Now his hair is all white, looks pale and keeps a very indifferent health. I put to him two questions: one, what is happening in West Germany now? and two, what is your assessment of West German economy? The first secretary of the valiant Communist Party of Germany answered as follows:

I thank you very much for the interest the press of the Communist Party of India takes in the West German situation and in our struggle. It gives me great pleasure to tell the NEW AGE readers through this interview something about my ideas on the political situation and the prospects of the Federal Republic.



WHAT is happening in West Germany?—to answer this question in a few sentences is not so easy. After the German monopolists and militarists had regained their economic and political power in West Germany, they have continued to take the old line of German imperialism, the line of the arms race, the threat of military power, the course of aggression outward and reaction inward. It is their declared aim to revise the results of the Second World War. This was also behind the words of the former West German Defence Minister Franz Josef Strauss:

In the past few years a plague has spread, almost unnoticed, across the face of the globe—the plague of nazi diplomats who head the West German diplomatic missions in every continent. The swastikas on the map above represent West German ambassadors who have been positively identified as members of Hitler's party. The other signs show West German ambassadors who served Hitler in the Foreign Ministry or elsewhere. The swastika in the West German capital of Bonn marks the West German Foreign Ministry, headed by Herr Schroeder, Nazi party member and Storm Trooper, and almost exclusively staffed by former Hitler supporters. This map shows the position as in 1963, but is not complete; many more West German ambassadors served Hitler, but positive identification of their past record is not at present available.



This imaginary objective—doomed to failure—but very dangerous for its adventurism—marks the Federal Government's foreign and domestic policy. The Federal Government opposes every kind of detente and disarmament, denies the necessity of rapprochement and understanding between the two German states and comes out against the establishment of good-neighbourly relations with the Socialist states of the East. By all means they resist the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states and the conversion of West Berlin into a demilitarised free city.

Pursuing their policy of aggression outward they have tied up with the fascist dictators, the colonialists and all resistance of representatives of the bourgeoisie to political-ideological coercion and restriction of the democratic rights. Our Party is linking these struggles of the working people in West Germany. Ban on the Communist Party of Germany did not enable Bonn rulers to exclude it from political and social life of the Federal Republic.

It goes without saying that such conditions have caused great difficulties to the government. In foreign policy it faces growing isolation and in internal policy new difficulties and conflicts. This, I think, has been—in a nutshell—the answer to the question, what is happening in West Germany.

As for the economic development of the Federal Republic, it has been marked

THE REAL MASTERS OF WEST GERMANY

Giant Trust Combines	No. of Companies in the combine	Capital controlled (Million DM)	Annual Sales turnover (Billion DM)	No. of Employees
IG Farben	212	4452.6	14.5	300,000
Thyssen concern	93	2205.7	13.5	172,000
Haniel Deutsch Erdol Ltd.	91	1258.0	7.6	150,000
Fliet concern	110	993.3	7.6	180,300
Krupp concern	103	632.8	5.9	130,000
Siemens concern	62	1237.1	4.8	210,000
Mannesmann concern	61	1033.4	4.5	79,000
Metallgesellschaft/Degussa	96	539.3	4.1	46,300
Hoesch concern	59	559.7	3.8	70,000
Unilever concern	48	599.4	3.5	37,000
AEG concern	71	716.8	3.4	140,000
Klockner concern	53	568.3	3.2	82,000
Bosch concern	17	247.0	2.0	60,000
Quandt/Wintershall group	61	544.9	2.0	40,000
Werhahn/Adenauer group*	98	352.3	1.4	32,000

*This is the family of Chancellor Adenauer, the supreme ruler of West Germany.

again and, by establishing their economic, political and military, predominance over West Europe to continue their adventurous "Drive-To-The-East" policy.

reactionary rulers all the world over. They aim at engulfing the NATO countries into a war of revenge. That would inevitably grow into a nuclear war, thus bringing a new disaster over the peoples of Europe and the whole globe.

The aggressive and revenge-seeking policy outward, the customary sabre-rattling is accompanied by reactionary attacks on the democratic and social rights of the working people. Emergency legislation has restricted and abolished the last democratic rights. Social legislation has been further watered down in favour of the monopolists and for the sake of financing armament, thus imposing new burdens on the working people.

In West Germany public life is being militarised completely with fascist trends becoming ever more obvious, although forms and methods are different now.

Workers' Struggles

All this results in the aggravation of the contradiction between the aggressive and reactionary elements of monopoly capital and militarism on the one hand, and the people, the working class, and the other. This is manifested by the social struggles of the West German working class and their preparedness to fight against nuclear armament and emergency legislation both getting a fresh impetus. This is shown by the actions taken by the peasants against the anti-national agricultural policy of the Bonn Government and by the

by a long boom. This has enabled the monopolists and their ideologists to deceive the working people of West Germany. But the situation is different now. The boom has gone past its peak. Already now we have got some stagnation and signs of depression in several industries. The chances for new orders and for export will become even more unfavourable due to the increasing international competition.

Although in the near future we will not have a steep economic decline, the above mentioned facts are sufficient for the monopolists to abandon their former talk on the so-called economic miracle and to feel rather vague about their economic prospects.

Under these conditions the present economic development in the Federal Republic is characterized by the attempt of the monopolies and their government to burden the working people with the accelerated armament and the increase of their economic difficulties. Now they bring more economic, social and political pressure to bear on the working class, the peasants and the other working strata so that they will be able to go on raking in giant profits and financing nuclear armament.

In addition, the German monopolists hope to find another way-out by enhancing the neo-colonialist expansion under the guise of development aid.

Of course, such a situation and such development prospects will necessarily bring about new conflicts, class struggles and fight of the people to defend and improve their living standards.

FIRST GERMAN STATE IN WHICH PEACE-LOVING WORLD CAN REPOSE CONFIDENCE

By PROF. ALBERT NORDEN

Professor Albert Norden is a member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Since 1955 Albert Norden has been a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. He has published several books, including THE LESSONS OF GERMAN HISTORY, THUS WARS ARE MADE, BETWEEN BERLIN AND MOSCOW, FORGERS, and THE SPANISH DRAMA.

In 1960 Albert Norden attended the Indian Parliamentarians' Conference for Peace and Disarmament in New Delhi. On invitation, he spoke on the German question before the Foreign Policy Commission of the Indian Parliament and had a number of friendly meetings with leading politicians in New Delhi, Calcutta and other cities.

Albert Norden is a deputy of the People's Chamber of the GDR and is also a member of the Bureau of the World Peace Council.

national economy was started in all parts of the country.

Five blast furnaces were taken over. Now there are more than 150 in the new metallurgical centres. Power stations came into existence, bringing us to the head of the European countries in power consumption. We became one of the ten most important industrial states in the world and are in fifth place in Europe.

Industrial production per head of our population is 4½ times the world average. The capacity of our chemical industry is second in the world next to the USA. The industrial production of the GDR was increased by more than a third during the last four years. Parallel to this increase, the average income of the population also rose by 20 per cent.

All this was achieved because there were no longer any parasites in the GDR who could make a profit from the sweat of workers and farmers, because the vicious capitalist cycle of "boom-crisis-war-post-war boom..." was broken by the people's ownership of the most important means of production, and the growing prosperity of all strata of the people was assured by far-seeing long-term planning.

Exemplary Services

Today the GDR is among the states with the most exemplary health services. Whereas, for instance, until 1960, about 1,000 to 1,500 persons suffered from polio every year, this disease has been banished in the GDR since 1961, thanks to a comprehensive and free-of-charge vaccination.

In 1949, ten persons out of 10,000 died from tuberculosis; the mortality rate came down to only 1.4 per 10,000 in 1962.

Infant mortality, which in the former German Reich in 1905 was 20.5 per cent and in 1946, 13.1 per cent, was brought down to 3.1 per cent in 1962 in the GDR. This is due to comprehensive and free-of-charge advice and care bestowed on all pregnant women and mothers.

In the GDR the number of those mothers dying during delivery has been reduced by 75 per cent as compared to the figure for 19.7. All this was possible because the workers' and farmers' government spends almost 26 per cent of the budget on public health and social welfare.

Women enjoy equal rights by law and in practice and receive the same wages as

men, whereas in West Germany women receive for the same output an average of only 61.8 per cent of the wages paid to men.

With regard to public education our previously most backward areas have already overtaken today the leading industrial districts of West Germany. The one-teacher schools, in which the lower and the upper classes sat crowded in one room have been replaced by ten-class polytechnical secondary schools in towns and countryside in the GDR. In West Germany the number of one-teacher schools is increasing year by year.

Calculated on the basis of the population figures there are three times as many students in the GDR as in West Germany. The statistics show that workers and farmers who comprise nearly 70 per cent of the population in West Germany are granted only 6 per cent of the university places, whereas in the GDR more than half of the students come from the working class.

In the countryside the various types of production co-operatives can increase the yields in field and stable by applying the most up-to-date scientific and technological knowledge unhindered by "sale and price" problems. Work is thereby becoming easier and life more pleasant.

Moreover, when we consider how everything of precious value that centuries of old German culture have produced, has found its home and care in the GDR and has been opened up to the people—it is understandable why, after visits to the GDR, so many foreigners become convinced that the real German miracle has been accomplished here.

As all our planning and work is aimed at maintaining peace and carrying on our socialist construction work as an example for the entire nation, the government of the GDR was one of the first to sign the Moscow agreement banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. Nobody in the world could overlook the telling fact that we signed as the sixth state, whereas the West German government signed the treaty as the 68th state only after long resistance and under the pressure of public opinion.

Securing Our Frontiers

The West German militarists do not conceal their lust for nuclear weapons. That is why it was a commandment of reasons and the will for peace that the government of the GDR took measures on Au-



The Author

gust 13, 1961 for the reliable protection of its frontiers and achievements after the aggressive designs of the West German revenge-seekers against the GDR had shortly before again become known.

By securing the frontiers in Berlin and with West Germany, peace was safeguarded, the road was blocked to the saboteurs and diversionists who had been sent en masse across the previously open frontier, and the economic undermining of our national economy which had caused us losses of many thousands of millions of marks was stopped.

Since then the foreign policy of the West German government has been in a crisis for more and more people realise that only a real policy of ending the cold war, of negotiations and rapprochement between the two German states can later on lead to reunification on a peaceful and democratic basis. Neither the non-recognition of the GDR nor the rejection of negotiations, let alone the rearmament of the Federal Republic which has no prospects with the present relation of forces can bring about a turn for the good.

Friends In The Path Of Peace

To pursue a policy which accords with the times means today to recognise the commandment of peaceful co-existence and to conduct a policy of peace. The policy of the German workers' and farmers' power of the GDR is in harmony with the laws of development of history. We shall also continue this road in the fifteenth year of the existence of our Republic and for all times.

Among the friends who are accompanying us on the road to peace, disarmament and socialism, with sympathy, we count the Indian people who advocate as we do the principles of anti-fascism, anti-colonialism and national self-determination.

We, the citizens of the GDR, feel bound in solidarity with the Indian people and desire the further development of allied relations between our two peoples and governments for our mutual benefit and for the cause of understanding among the peoples and of peace.

Fourteen years—measured against a man's life reach up only to promising adolescence. Historically seen, fourteen years constitute a very short time. And yet during the fourteen years of its existence, the German Democratic Republic has become a state whose word carries weight in world politics, a state which has good friends all the world over and whose reputation is steadily increasing among peace-loving people.

That is because in May 1945, immediately after the crushing defeat of fascism, simultaneously with the material ruins, the ideological ruins of nazism and militarism, racism and revenge-seeking were also removed in the present territory of the GDR and the construction of the new German nation began stone by stone.

The popular forces, led by the united working class party, proved willing and capable of drawing the historically necessary lessons from the sorrowful history of the last hundred years of capitalist rule. Twice in the life of a generation, not only the German people but also the peoples of Europe and countries like India were pushed into world wars unleashed by German imperialism.

FRG's Hitlerian Outfit

The world watched and is watching with increasing alarm how Hitler's old and young guard again sits in the saddle in West Germany, nourished by the perilous forces of the past and encouraged by imperialist business partners in occupation uniforms.

There exists a state system which daily proves anew that the state and economy, judiciary and army are penetrated by mass murderers and hangmen judges of the fascist empire. Government business is virtually carried out by the shadow cabinet of the state

secretaries, who in their overwhelming majority had been in office under Hitler and who even today consider other races as "sub-human".

Hitler's captains of industry with colonialist traditions and neo-colonialist practice operate the levers of the economy. Hitler's accomplices who are ruling in Bonn rattle at the frontiers of many neighbouring states in the old manner. And all this is possible because the same social forces which have caused two world wars are today at the helm in West Germany.

GDR: The Barrier

The historic merit of the party and state leadership of our Republic consists in the fact that with the GDR they have established an insurmountable barrier against the revenge-seeking plans of the West German rulers. The GDR is the state in which the peace-loving people govern. The GDR is the first state in German history which nobody need fear. The GDR is the state which strictly observed the agreements of the anti-Hitler coalition which accord with international law, and which also feels a responsibility for putting fascism and militarism on trial in all Germany.

This state, which was the "poor-house" of Germany with regard to the material heritage which capitalism left behind, has attained authority and carries weight under the rule of the liberated workers and farmers. After the nationalisation of the big enterprises, mines, metallurgical plants and banks, and after the distribution of the land of the Junkers to small and medium farmers, the planned and proportional construction of the destroyed

INDIAN STUDENTS IN G. D. R.

★ by Sunil Sen Gupta

The German Democratic Republic was born in 1949, and the first batch of foreign students came in the year 1951. In the beginning, the socialist countries were the first to send their students to GDR.

NATURALLY the higher standard of education in this country attracted the attention of governments of the newly independent countries. UAR, India, Sudan, Ghana or Algeria—whatever be the country which needs to educate its students according to international standards—began sending their students in increasing numbers to GDR.

The number of students from abroad studying in GDR is increasing steadily. Whereas only 50 countries had sent their

different outlooks on social and political life come and gather together. First of all they have to be taught the German language.

How to find out a common method of teaching for all students speaking various languages? Where to get the teachers for the same? But these problems have been efficiently solved in the GDR.

India started sending her research scholars to GDR in 1957. Since then the number of Indian research scholars educated here and who received their Ph.D. degrees

of better understanding between the two countries.

The standard of higher education in GDR is at par with the world standard. The oldest technical University in Dresden, or the Mining Metallurgy Institute (Hochschule) in Freiberg, or Technical Institute in Magdeburg are the traditionally famous centres of technical education. They created a number of best German scientists and technologists.

Leipzig University now named after Karl Marx, Humboldt University of Berlin, Martin Luther University of Halle are known to the world for their high standards of education in humanities and general sciences. Seven universities and Hochschulen are engaged in training students for higher education.

Apart from these universities and Hochschulen there is a network of Fachschulen (professional schools) which also possess a very high standard. To maintain the network of Fachschulen, a highly trained teaching staff is necessary. In this period 14 years teachers and lecturers from the Fach and Engineering Schools have been trained for this purpose.

Then there is a bigger network of vocational institutes in factories and trades to educate skilled workers. The apprentices here learn practical work in the factory and theoretical work in the schools. A three-year course is necessary, after the ten years education in the school, to be qualified as a skilled worker.

No doubt we in India need scientists of high standard. At the same time we also know that our country lacks in two types of workers: firstly, the engineer educated in the Fachschule, and secondly skilled workers. On both these, the possibilities of training afforded by GDR are of great importance and could be utilised by us in greater measure. Unfortunately very little has been done so far to utilise these facilities.

One of the results is that West German monopoly concerns are fully exploiting the situation to get educated and technically skilled workers from among our youth in the name of giving them 'practical training'.

Many of these 'praktikants' are graduates of engineering and science. They are paid lower than skilled workers and utilised as cheap labour. This could be prevented if our government utilises fully the opportunities afforded by the socialist countries in this field.

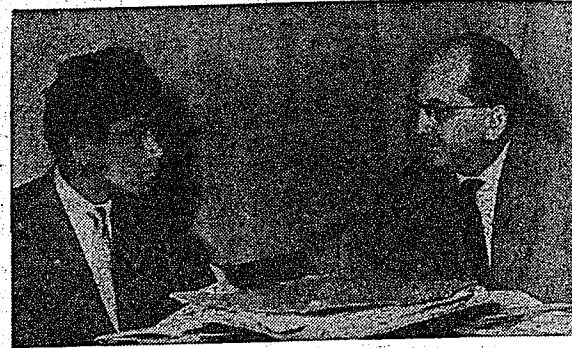
India has sent in the last few years about 30 praktikants to GDR in batches. It is a good beginning no doubt, but the sources could be more utilised. And it seems to be quite possible with the existing healthy relations and cooperation between the two countries.

Another branch which has possibilities of greater exchange and cooperation is the study of humanities. Though in India we do need more technicians and engineers, higher education in the field of humanities is certainly important and could not be neglected.

And in the German Democratic Republic, in Berlin, Leipzig, Halle, Zena, the study of humanities is of a high order and backed by a rich tradition. But this branch of studies has been completely neglected so far in the exchange of

students between India and GDR. Indian scholars are generally sent for higher studies in humanities to England, USA or West Germany despite the fact that the socialist countries have made great advances in this sphere. In modern linguistics, ethnology, anthropology, economics etc. much could be learned from the socialist countries.

The facilities with which students are provided here are unparalleled when compared with the western countries. In the universities the scholarship provided to a foreign student is 280 Marks. Out of this he is to pay 10 Marks for his hostel accommodation, and 60 Pfennigs for lunch in the college canteen. Research scholars get a scholarship of 470 Marks, and book money amounting to a month's scholarship.



New Age Correspondent Kunhanandan with Otto Winzer, GDR State Secretary.

LINKS & TRADITIONS

★ by Hans-Victor Kreipe

There is something like the early love of youth in the relationship between our two peoples. Both our peoples embarked only recently on the path of freedom, the time measured in historic periods.

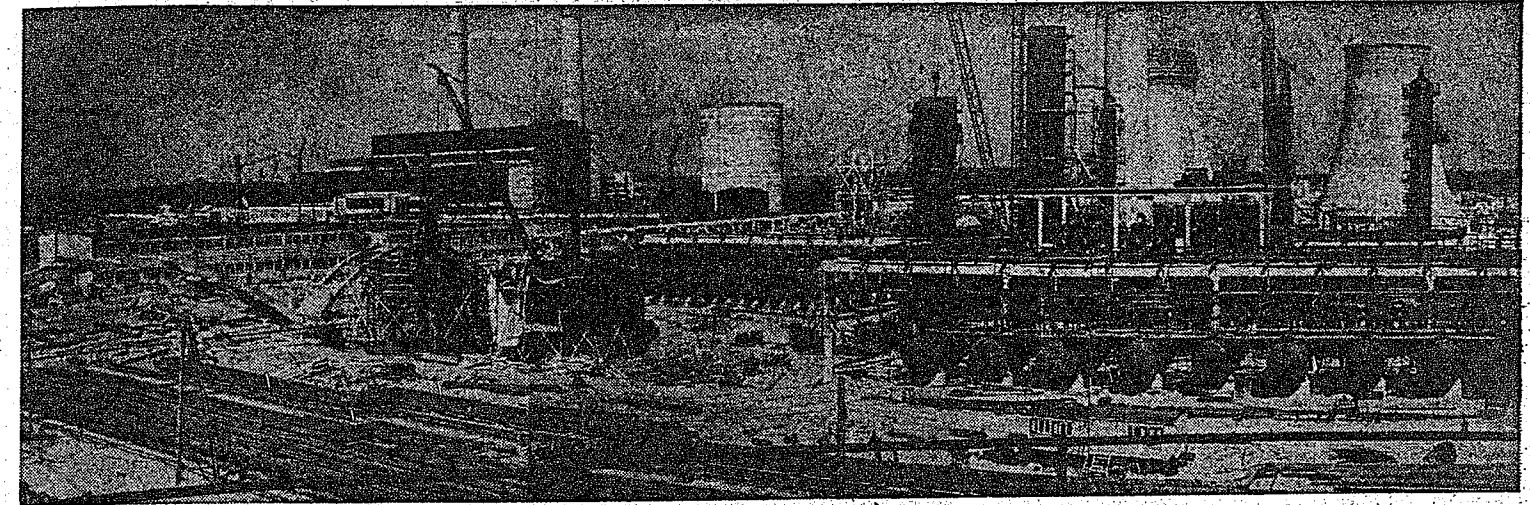
WE in the GDR consider the beginning of our freedom and the defeat of fascism in 1945 and with the founding of the German Democratic Republic on October 7, 1949—the anniversary of which we celebrate as our national day.

For you, in India, the crucial date of independence came about the same time. And as young as our independent states are, so are the relations between them, or even younger. Actually they go back approximately to the year 1954 only.

But since then a very wide field of friendship, cooperation and exchange between our two peoples has been established by mutual efforts from both sides. Thinking only of the cultural line of our relations one could go on for pages recording all the occasions when delegations, exhibitions, artists, scientists, educationists and so on were sent from either country to the other in order to inform the peoples about each other's achievements and to let them have the pleasure and the benefit of it.

There was the Berlin Radio folk music which together with a folk dance group from the GDR toured all over India performing to big audiences in all the major cities. There was the Bach Quartet, one of the leading groups of musicians in Europe, bringing the works of Johann Sebastian Bach, the old master of German classical music to the Indian music lovers.

There was the GDR leading artist Alfons Womacka who put the best pieces of his paintings on show in an exhibition in New Delhi. There was the leading research worker of the GDR in the field



New Industrial Unit coming up in Sohweid (GDR)

of water logging and irrigation Prof. Tahnerb who spent several months in the Punjab in order to give his expert advice to the Punjab State government on problems of water logging in some parts of this state.

One has to mention also all the Indian students who in the recent years acquired the diploma or the doctor's degree at the universities and high schools in the German Democratic Republic and who are applying their knowledge now at home for the benefit of their own country.

There is also a very long record of friends from India too who came to the German Democratic Republic in exchange. Indian exhibitions on arts and culture were seen by many people in Berlin and other GDR cities. The little ballet group from Bombay and the Vajifdar sisters introduced the Indian art of classical and folk dance to a very enthusiastic audience here.

Indian writers like Premchand, Bhabani Bhattacharya and others had their works published in the GDR. The popular Indian film actor Raj Kapoor is almost as well-known in the GDR as in his home country for many of his films were shown in our cinema houses.

But still the comparison of the relationship between our two peoples with young folks' love is only half the truth.

Our relations are at the same time comparable to the feelings of affection and sympathy developing between matured and grown up people. Both our peoples look back over long traditions and a rich cultural heritage.

In the GDR, an old Indian classical drama Shakuntala was performed sometime back and was received very well. In the same way one can see Rabindranath Tagore's works in many a GDR family's book shelf.

Where there is friendship, there is also the wish to learn more about the friend. Hence we desire to know more about the traditions and the new progressive developments in India. That's what our people want, to receive more in this sense and to give more.

Our friendship offers to the Indian people more knowledge and understanding of our cultural heritage, e.g. the works of Goethe and Schiller, the music of Bach and Beethoven, the poems of Heine and the thoughts of Hegel, Kant, Marx, Engels and all the great sons of our Nation.

We wish our Indian friends to learn more about today's cultural developments in the new democratic and socialist Germany, the German Democratic Republic. Isn't it worthwhile to explore further and create better conditions for expanding our friendship?

INSTITUTE FOR INDOLOGY IN BERLIN ★ by Hiltrud Ruestau

At the end of the war in 1945 only ruins of the former Institute for Indology were left. The whole library was destroyed by Anglo-American bombs. So, the beginning of scientific work on Indology after the war was extremely difficult.

IN Germany, Indology in the past meant mainly Sanskrit studies. But in 1950, under the guidance of Prof. Dr. W. Ruben we started studying problems of Indian life in all of its aspects. Prof. R. K. Mukherjee, living in Berlin from 1952 till 1956, helped us in building up the research and teaching of modern Indian history and economics.

Prof. K. M. Ashraf was teaching here the history of the Indian middle ages from 1960 till his tragic untimely death in 1962. His pupils are still continuing his works.

Prof. W. Ruben teaches the history, literature, philosophy and religion of ancient India. He also writes about the different problems of the contemporary Indian literature.

In 1952, the first batch of students came to our Institute to study Indology as their main subject. They started also learning modern Indian languages like Bengali and Hindi. Fifty per cent of the students of our Institute come from the families of workers and peasants. The majority of our students are girls.

Uptill now 21 students have passed their examinations (M.A.) from here. This number, though small, is quite impressive, because during the time before 1945 there was only one professor, who had usually 1-2 students.

Besides, students of other subjects also study in our Institute Indian languages, literature, history or philosophy as their subsidiary subjects. At present, there are 15 students in our Institute. Most of them are interested in problems of India today, and want after finishing their studies, to contribute to the friendship of both the nations by their work.

Former students of our Institute are working now in publishing houses, in Radio Berlin International, in the foreign trade and in the German South-East Asiatic Society.

All the students begin with Hindi and Sanskrit in the first year of their studies. They can choose one or two modern Indian languages more. With the help of the Indian guest-lecturers and Indian students in the GDR we are able to teach Hindi, Bengali, Urdu, Tamil and Malayalam.

In 1959, Prof. W. Ruben, the Director of our Institute, got the National Prize for his praiseworthy work in establishing new Indian Studies in the GDR. In this connection, it can be said that our Institute with its

Besides this, the research scholars of our Institute helped the publishing houses, which publish the works of Tagore in German. Our research scholars also recommend and translate works of other Indian writers for publication in GDR.

One of the highlights of the life of our Institute was the Swami Vivekananda Centenary in January 1963. Research scholars, assistants and students of our Institute took part in the scientific conference on this occasion.

There were lively discussions on all their articles. The main idea of our conference was the appreciation of Swami Vivekananda as a

modern Indian studies, is the first of its kind in the whole of Germany.

There are several young research scholars and assistants working in the Institute on the problems of Indian economics, the history of



Joyous Faces of New Germany

Hindi, Bengali, Urdu and Tamil literature, contemporary Indian philosophy, history of Indian middle ages, the workers movement and teaching of Hindi.

These young research scholars try to popularize their work. For instance, in the Tagore Year 1961 many of them gave lectures and wrote for newspapers about the works of Rabindranath Tagore.

patriot and philosopher, especially the appreciation of his sociological views.

The results of the work of our Institute are not very much in quantity. But its aim is the research of the humanistic traditions of India and to give a comprehensive and true picture of the whole of India to our students and to the people of the GDR.



Children's creche in Karl Marx-Stadt

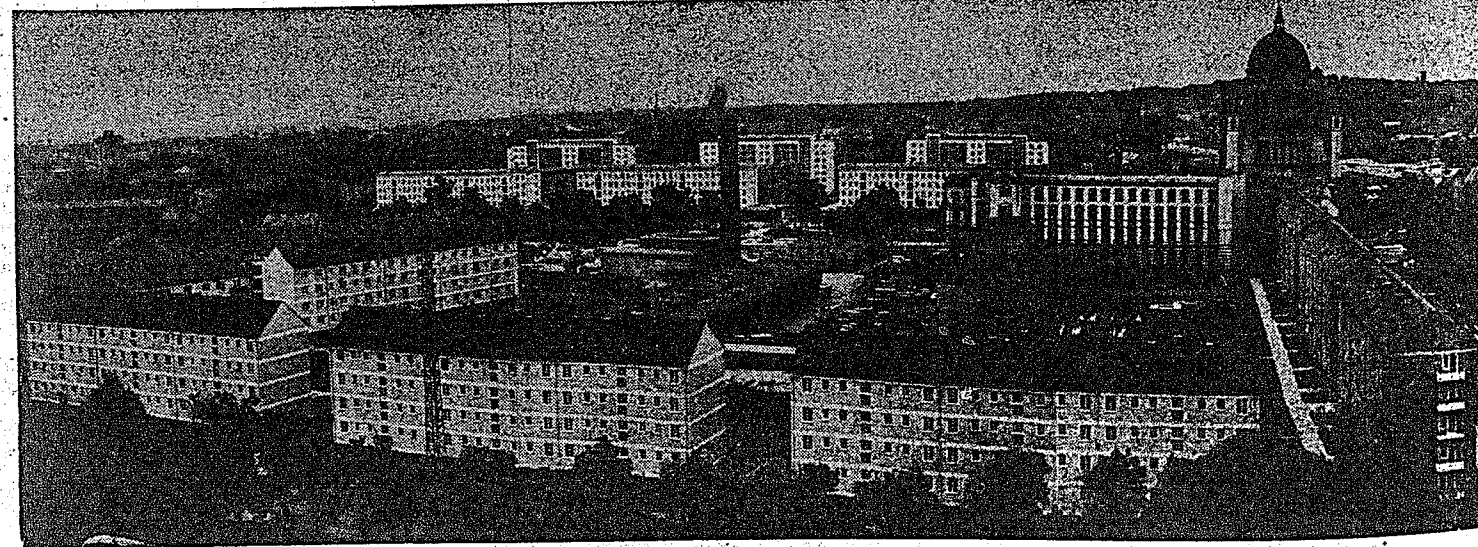


Indian students Manisha, Manju and S. Singh giving a performance in Berlin

students to GDR—in 1950, today their number has already passed 80.

Problems of higher education are different in different countries and so also their needs. Students from different educational systems having different standards and

from here have increased every year. The Indian research scholars have created a good impression on the people, professors and educational authorities in GDR. The sincere love and respect of the German people for India is an asset for our country. It creates the basis



The historic city of Potsdam



OUR SYSTEM OF ELECTION

★ by Prof. J. Dieckmann,
Speaker, G.D.R. Parliament

I am sincerely happy to have once again the opportunity of "speaking" to the citizens of India through an Indian newspaper. (The last time I could do so was in April 1959 when I gave an interview to *Link*).

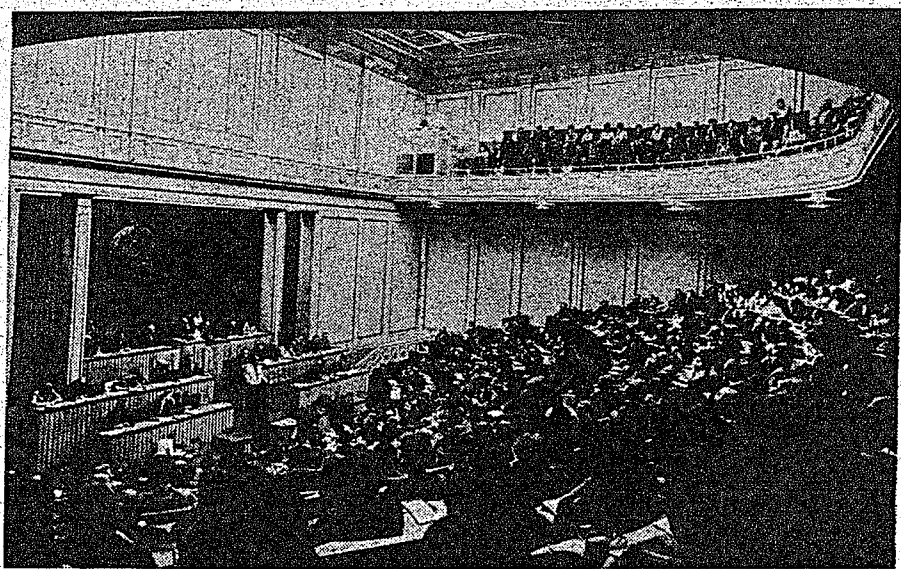
THIS time it is a special occasion: we citizens of the German Democratic Republic will be going to our elections on October 20, 1963 when the new Parliament of our socialist state will be elected.

This is of great importance, especially now, because in the next few years we are going to complete the construction of socialism in our peaceful German state.

Our voting system is different to that of other countries, which still use the procedure of Great Britain, that is, the system of "parliamentary democracy". Also we have several parties (five in number). These parties—among them those of the Christian and liberal democrats—are completely independent political bodies. They represent the interests of certain strata of the people (e.g. craftsmen, small entrepreneurs, scientists and artists of bourgeois origin, etc.).

By means of patient and persistent persuasion these people are led gradually on to the way of socialism by their respective parties. The overwhelming majority of them are already following this good way, because, after two world wars which had their origin in Germany, our citizens have fully understood that only socialism can guarantee peace for humanity.

Why is this? Because throughout the world, it is the working people who do not gain by a war but have everything to lose, inclusive of their own lives, and because a state like ours has made the interests of the working people the principle of its state policy.



People's Chamber in Session.

On the election day, this policy is placed before the voters for their choice. We are absolutely sure that we will get the overwhelming majority of the votes in the ensuing elections.

Now, that's our system. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. People of every country must choose their political course themselves. This means that we do not want to "export" our system. We are sure that by following our socialist way, we are opening up to our people, who, in the past were politically misled, a prosperous and peaceful future.

I extend my greetings to India and her wonderful people whom I learnt to love during my stay in India some years ago. I wish them a life free from care, and a sure and everlasting peace. Long live the friendship between our peoples!

Our Policy Of Peaceful Coexistence

★ by Dr. George Krausz

President, Association of Journalists of the GDR

For me the anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, our national day, always offers the opportunity to review our past work and naturally also to preview the future.

THANKS to my field of work, I am particularly interested in the international relations of our Republic. The basic principle of our foreign policy is that of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

We have made good progress on the basis of this policy of consolidating our international position, of good friendly relations with numerous countries in the world in the economic, cultural and diplomatic spheres.

Of all my experiences of the past few years, I remember most distinctly my visit to India 5 years ago. I made the acquaintance of a great state which had only some years before gained her national independence, pursued a policy of peace and is building her independent economy under the most difficult of conditions.

At that time I had the opportunity to meet leading personalities of the Indian national freedom movement, who are outstanding statesmen. Naturally, I remember best of all my meeting with Indian Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who received me as the first GDR journalist. I came to know him as a great statesman, deeply devoted to the idea of peaceful co-existence and consistently working for its implementation.

The same principle also determines the relations between the German Democratic Republic and India, for my



country also sincerely advocates this idea.

In my talks with Prime Minister Nehru the problems of relations between our two countries featured prominently. I held the view that the improvement and expansion of good normal relations between India and the GDR has to be looked upon as a contribution of the peace loving Indian state to international relaxation, to safeguarding peace. That is also my opinion today and am convinced I share it with many outstanding representatives of the Indian public.

To be sure the economic and cultural relations between our two countries have expanded. Yet much remains to be done to advance along this path.

wrecked country subsisting from hand-to-mouth into one of the foremost industrial countries of the world.

And they have done more than just improve the material situation out of all knowing; they have built a new-style German state, run on a socialist basis, a German state which for the first time in history strives for peace and good relations with all its neighbours instead of conquest and expansion.

When on October 7 this year the German Democratic Republic looks back to the fourteen years of its existence it can declare before the entire world and with a clear conscience that in its policy it has always been faithful to the principles of the maintenance of peace, the principles of peaceful coexistence and friendly cooperation between the peoples.

THIS is especially true with regard to its manifold relations with the young nation-states of South East Asia. The character of the GDR is profoundly anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist. It stands consistently for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and actively supports all steps which can lead to a worldwide general and complete disarmament as is proved by its immediate signing of the Moscow Agreement on the nuclear test ban.

In this and in many other questions of vital importance the policy of GDR has much in common with that of the young

friendly relations with the young nation-states of South East Asia.

The basis for its activity is formed by common features in the policies of the friendly countries which are primarily directed at the preservation of peace. The German-South East Asian Society unwaveringly contributes in informing the peoples of South East Asia about the peace policy of the GDR as a sovereign German state, about its social achievements and about the cultural and economic successes of socialist construction.

In the GDR, the German-South East Asian Society disse-

UNDERSTANDING AND PEACE— Our Common Interest

★ by MAX SEFRIN

Deputy Prime Minister of GDR & President, German-South East Asian Society

this year, for example, the Society carried through a successful student excursion in Krakow-on-the-Lake in the Schwerin district in which twenty Indian graduate students participated along with students from Indonesia, Burma, Laos and Ceylon.

Another example of the activity of forging friendships of the German-South East Asian Society was the appearance of an ensemble of the Indian Students Association in London. At the beginning of September this year it travelled through the GDR for ten days on the invitation of the Society. Its performances enraptured the workers in many large enterprises of the cities of Rostock, Eisenhüttenstadt, Riesa, Gera, and others.

Friendship Deepened

Looking back it can be stated that the activity of the German-South East Asian Society since its founding essentially contributed to further deepening of friendly relations between the people of the GDR and the peoples of South East Asia. Several events organised in the GDR by the Society such as *Freedom for West Irian, Help for the Population of Bali*, and others; the exhibitions: *Laos — Indomitable Country, Indonesia — Land of the Thousand Islands, Ceylon — People, Country and Culture* contributed to it.

Another visible expression of the friendly feelings of the people of the GDR for the peoples of South East Asia is the fact, among others, that a work team of the nationally-owned Isokond Works in Berlin-Weissensee adopted the name "Team of German-South East Asian Friendship."

The societies for friendly relations with the GDR existing in India, Indonesia and Ceylon and many other organisations in the other countries of South East Asia developed close cooperation with the German-South East Asian Society. The delegations of the Society which visited some South East Asian countries on the invitation of these societies were cordially received and provided with the opportunity of informing broad circles of the peoples of the countries visited about the democratic construction and the economic and cultural development of the GDR.

In May last year, for example, a delegation of the presidium of the German-South East Asian Society visited India and Ceylon. It was given the honour, among others, of being received by Dr. Zakir Hussain, Vice-President of the Republic of India, by Mr. Basu, speaker of the West Bengal Assembly, by the mayors of Calcutta and Delhi and by many other outstanding personalities.

The many common features in the policy of India and the GDR are also an important basis for the further consolidation of mutual friendly relations. The German-South East Asian Society will continue its policy of strengthening friendly relations. The Indo-GDR Friendship Association which was founded in New

Delhi is an active partner in this regard. The existence of a similar society in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, and efforts to form such societies in other places are to be welcomed.

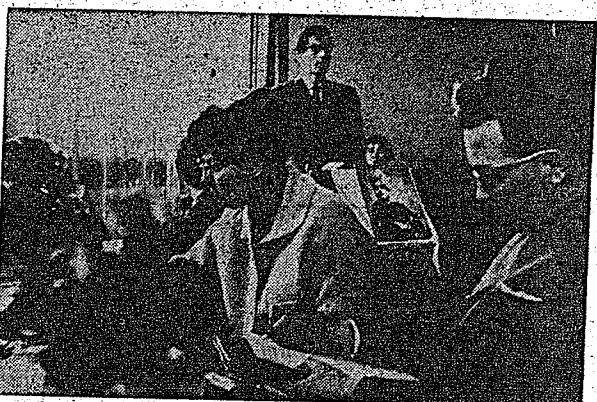
This is a convincing proof of the deepening of mutual relations. If, further, the many friendly contacts with universities, cultural institutions, libraries, youth clubs and other organizations and institutes in India maintained by the German-South East Asian Society are taken into consideration, it can be rightfully stated that the two countries have come considerably closer despite the great distance between them.

Finally I thank all our friends in India for the sympathy they are showing for the German Democratic Republic, and for their active support in the work of our German-South East Asian Society. I am sure that our steadily growing cooperation will also in the coming years lead to



Author

success in our common efforts for peace and friendship amongst the peoples.



Vivekananda Anniversary in Berlin (1963)



Performance by members of the Indian Students Association, London, in Berlin



GDR Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl and Foreign Minister Dr. Bolz with Prime Minister Nehru in Delhi (1959)

nation-states of South East Asia. This provides a firm basis for lasting friendly relations with each other. The GDR unselfishly supports the struggle of the South East Asian peoples for the further consolidation of their economic independence and national self-determination.

It is the aim of the German-South East Asian Society in the GDR, which in the fourteenth year of the existence of the German Democratic Republic can look back to the two years of its fruitful activity, to help cultivate, deepen and expand

NEW AGE

Subscription Rates

Inland: Yearly	Rs. 12
Half-yearly	Rs. 6
Quarterly	Rs. 3
Foreign: Yearly	Rs. 20
Half-yearly	Rs. 10

All Cheques, drafts etc. are to be made payable to T. Madhavan and not to New Age Managerial Office 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi Phone: 271002 & 271794

OCTOBER 6, 1963

14 YEARS OF G.D.R.

★ by John Peet

(The author is a British journalist who after the Second World War worked for Reuters News Agency as a foreign correspondent in Vienna, Warsaw and West Berlin. Since June 1950 he has been living and working in East Berlin, Capital of the German Democratic Republic, where he publishes the English language fortnightly "Democratic German Report")

When the German Democratic Republic celebrates its 14th birthday on October 7 this year, it will be able to look back with very considerable satisfaction on the great strides it has made.

PERHAPS I can express some of the progress best by contrasting two assemblies which, I have attended in East Berlin. The first was in October 1949. It was the ceremony which marked the establishment of the GDR. One month earlier, the Western allies had torn up the Potsdam Agreement which had laid down that Germany should be treated as a single unit, and had established the West German Federal Republic with its capital in Bonn—a state which was very soon to show its true colours as an old-style militarist and imperialist German state.

In East Berlin, on October 7, 1949, about 400 delegates to the German People's Council, men and women elected by trade unions, factories, villages and the anti-fascist political parties, came together to decide what should be done. Outwardly it was not a very

impressive assembly; nearly everybody present looked thin and hungry and overworked, and though they had their best clothes on, these best suits and dresses were not very good. But these working people and farmers were distinguished by an inner fire: for four years since the end of World War II, they had been struggling against great odds to get the eastern part of Germany on its feet again.

Now they had to make the great decision; could the working people of one part of Germany make their own independent state, a new sort of Germany which had renounced once and for all the traditions of militarism and racialism?

They took the decision on that historic date, and founded the German Democratic Republic. The press in the western world, with one or two exceptions, laughed at the newly-established GDR; what

could this relatively small part of Germany do on its own, deprived of most of the raw materials and cut off from the great industrial strength of the western part of Germany. Even some people sympathetic to the new state had serious doubts as to whether it could survive.

A few more far-seeing observers in the western world saw the significance of what had happened, however. The *Times* of London stated in a leading article on October 15, 1949:

"It would be a mistake to believe that the new regime has no substance. Instead of pretending that it does not exist, it is wiser to recognise it for what it is—one more 'People's Democracy' imbued with a revolutionary toughness and persistence which may produce results."

And the results were visible at the second assembly which I wish to report on. It was a meeting of the People's Chamber, the parliament of the German Democratic Republic, which I attended a few weeks ago. Once again I looked down from the press gallery at about 400 men and women elected by the trade unions, factories and villages; some of the people were the same men and women who had proclaimed the GDR at that historic meeting 14 years ago, but it would have been difficult to recognise them.

I looked down at an assembly of well-fed, well-clothed and confident people, people who were not taking the first step into an uncertain future, but people who were proud of the great job they had done in the intervening fourteen years. There is no space in a short article like this for figures; but these men and women and the millions of other citizens of the GDR have in this short space of time converted their country, from a war-

G. D. R. Foreign Trade

In the past years GDR's foreign trade contributed largely towards consolidating the economic base and international status of the first German socialist state.

THE value of export and import trade reached 19,800 million Deutsch Mark in 1962 which was five times more than the 1950 foreign trade, which was only 3,700 million D.M. In 1963 the turnover is expected to reach 20,000 Mark.

This impressive figure testifies not only to the rapid development of GDR's foreign trade but also to the growing economic strength of the German working class state.

The following tables give the figures of growth of the export and import trade in the GDR:

Year	Export in Million Rubles	Index	Year	Import in Million Rubles	Index
1955	1150.3	100	1955	1055.5	100
1958	1700.7	148	1958	1511.9	143
1961	2035.3	177	1961	1994.5	189
1962	2118.0	184	1962	2134.5	202

per cent of the total foreign trade.

The USSR holds first place (about 50 per cent) which corresponds to a turn over of more than 10,000 million Mark. The COMECON is playing a very important role in the economic development of the GDR.

The trade relations with socialist countries give the GDR economy a sound basis that creates favourable preconditions for trade with all other countries. Turnover with the West-

ern countries and the newly developing countries also went up considerably during the 1958-62 period, as can be seen from the following table:

Year	Index of Foreign Trade
1958=100	1962
India	285
Italy	172
Sweden	154
Denmark	133
Austria	132
Belgium	132
Brazil	128

CHURCH IN G.D.R.

In the German Democratic Republic freedom of conscience and religious belief is a constitutional right.

BETWEEN 1947 and 1956 as many as 1,400 churches, out of a total of 2,678 damaged by war bombing, have been repaired by the state and another fifty newly built with government aid.

According to a recent statement of Herr Gerald Goetting secretary-general of the Christian Democratic Party in GDR:

★ There are 6,000 evangelical parsons and curates; 1,500 catholic priests and 700 parsons of free churches in GDR. This adds up to a total of 8,200 clergymen who every Sunday hold divine services, execute their church duties and attend congregations.

This number does not include the bishops, church councillors and church architects, heads of religious academies; 5,500 catechists, 400 voluntary parish officers, 5,500 deacons and deaconesses and 1,200 catholic nuns.

★ There are 2,500 establishments of evangelical missions and catholic churches.

Among them are 76 hospitals with 13,500 beds.

Church publishing houses in GDR have edited a total of 650 books with 6.3 million copies in 1962. The Main Bible Society has published 35 titles with 5,500,000 editions.

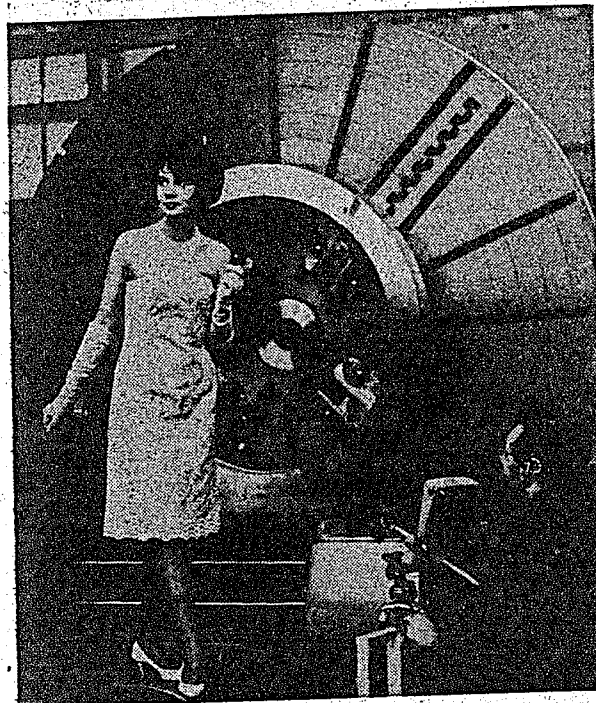
★ In the last study year, 594 students were enrolled in the theological faculties in GDR. Each student receives a monthly average stipend of 176 Marks.

★ During the last 5 years the state allocated about 6 million Marks for the maintenance of national monuments—a majority of which are old



Wrist-watches for the World Market

churches, religious monasteries, castles and forts.



From the Fashion Show at Autumn Fair in Leipzig

On The Change

★ by ULRICH MAKOSH
Foreign Policy Commentator, G.D.R.

Sometime ago I had occasion to compare notes with an Indian friend on the great changes that have taken place in our two countries in the course of last two decades.

A reflection of these changes can be found in the mass of information that is made available to our people in the German Democratic Republic about India through the medium of the press, radio, television and literature.

The press in the GDR is a mighty ally of the policy of peaceful coexistence and it is with real pleasure that our press reports on the events and developments in India with which our country has identity of views.

At the last Leipzig Fair where Indian machinery was well exhibited, it was with special joy that I recalled Nehru's "Letters to Indira" wherein he had described the suppression of Indian industry under imperialist domination and I compared it with our present days, when it is a well-known fact that GDR imports machinery from India.

Reports and travelogues on India are very popular among our readers and listeners and we would like to increase them, if it could be possible to have more correspondents. Also popular are talks by Indian visitors on their country, her problems and plans. Favourite are the articles by GDR correspondent M. Stuhmann from Delhi; a good colleague, a fair jour-

nalist and friend of India, he is covering a great part of our daily newspapers.

With much attention we observe the Indian standpoint on disarmament and peaceful coexistence and in the same way we note the lasting changes in her life. India's industrialisation and strengthening of state sector are regularly reflected in reports by prominent experts and we comment on your progress and refer too to the hard heritage of the colonial rule.

At the time of the liberation of Goa, direct cables from India got priority. GDR stood in solidarity with India and we quoted extensively from Indian newspapers and commented on the statement of the GDR Foreign Ministry declaring the firm support of the German Democratic Republic to India and pointed out West German partnership in NATO against Goa's liberation.

The Goa question showed our press as a true mirror of GDR's policy of friendship for India. The difference in the policies of the two German states could be found by comparing what was appearing in the West German press during Goa action. Leading West German newspapers criticised the liquidation of colonial anachronism and started

an anti-Indian campaign, including shameful caricatures of Nehru. "DIE WELT" wrote that the Goa action had "destroyed the prestige of Nehru as a trustworthy person". The same attitude you could find in all other fields. Thus "DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG" and "WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG" of Cologne talks of "hopeless passive trade of India" with West Germany and tries blackmail against her state sector by putting the blame on the latter for this passive trade.

The border dispute between China and India was utilised for aggressive imperialist purposes to tug India into the western military blocs and increase tensions in the world. That was how a big West German TV programme in November 1962 headlined the events.

Also unconcealed has always been the arrogance and rage and insidious propaganda in West Germany against Nehru's firm opinion about the necessity of recognising the existence of West German states. The typical West German attitude in this was displayed by "DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG" and "WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG" which proposed calling off the 500 million credit to India, thus making it clear that aid is to be used for blackmailing India's foreign policy.

These and other public affronts—unworthy to repeat—are evidenced every day, so that you can take it that SCHMIDT's "India With And Without Wonder" conforms to the official dominant opinion of West Germany about India. Behind all that is the refusal to take notice of the changes in the last two decades. But to their chagrin, not only in GDR but also in India the 14th anniversary of GDR's foundation is being celebrated today.



GROWTH OF INDO-GERMAN TRADE

Year	Total trade turnover	GDR — export	GDR — import
1955	21.7	15.3	6.4
1959	112.2	60.2	52.0
1960	143.3	64.4	78.9
1961	153.7	91.4	62.3
1962	214.5	115.8	98.7

● India imports from GDR 30 per cent of photographic equipments and papers.

● GDR is willing to double her trade volume with India.

C. P. G. B. Resolution . . .

attack is made on the Chinese People's Republic . . . the Soviet Union will come to the rescue of its friends and deliver a crushing blow at the aggressors."

Peaceful Coexistence

WHILE proclaiming support for the aim of peaceful coexistence set out in the 1960 Statement, and in words recognising the necessity of negotiations with the imperialists for this aim, the Chinese Communist Party in practice attacks every negotiation conducted by the Soviet Union with imperialist and attacks every partial agreement reached as equivalent to capitulation.

But the aim of peaceful coexistence requires negotiation with the imperialists and successive partial agreements with the imperialists.

The basis for the possibility of such negotiations and partial agreements is not a change in the nature of imperialism but the change in the balance of the world situation analysed by the 1960 Statement, which compels the leaders of imperialism to take account of the new balance of the world situation and makes it possible for the socialist and peace camp to win these successive partial agreements.

The Chinese letter of June 14 states that peaceful coexistence "should never be extended to apply to relations between oppressed and oppressor countries or between oppressed and oppressor classes." The implication here is that some Communist Parties advocate this.

This is gross misrepresentation. It is not the policy of the C.P.G.B. and we know of no Communist Party which advocates this. Why do the Chinese leaders persist in such general accusations?

In practice such distorted statements have the effect of confusing and holding back the development of the peace forces and undermining their confidence in their own strength. Above all such statements are used to attack and hold back the actual progress made by the socialist states and the mass movement in forcing negotiations to end the cold war and win progress on disarmament.

Once again we repeat that the 1960 Statement declared peaceful coexistence is the "firm foundation" of the socialist foreign policy; and that:

"By upholding the principle of peaceful coexistence, Communists fight for the complete cessation of the cold war, disbandment of military bases for general and complete disarmament under international control, the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, respect for the equality of states and their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, extensive development of trade, cultural and scientific ties between nations."

This has been the principled basis of the policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist states, the Communist Parties and the mass peace movement. It has been the consistent policy of our Party reaffirmed unanimously at repeated Congresses and at the 28th National Congress.

General & Complete Disarmament

SIMILARLY the Chinese letter of June 14 professes agreement with the aim of general and complete disarmament set out in the 1960 Statement. But it would appear from the further statements in this letter that the slogan of general disarmament is regarded as just a tactic.

"We have always maintained" says the letter, "that in order to expose and combat the imperialists' arms expansion and war preparations, it is necessary to put forward the proposal for general disarmament" (CPGB's emphasis). While "some kind of agreement" can be reached, general disarmament is an "illusion" and can only come when imperialism is abolished.

This is in flat contradiction to the 1960 Statement, which declared that disarmament "has now become a fighting slogan of the masses, a pressing historical necessity" that "through an active, determined struggle by the socialist and other peace-loving countries, by the international working class and the broad masses in all countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations, and force the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament" and "to realise this programme means to eliminate the very possibility of waging war between countries."

Only the victory of the socialist revolution and the strength of the socialist camp, and of the Soviet Union in the first place, and of the entire international working class together with the anti-imperialist struggle, are making possible the further victories of national liberation in the modern era.

National Liberation Movement

THE strength of the new balance of forces in the world is based on the co-operation of the socialist camp, the newly-independent countries and national liberation movement, and the working class and peace movement in the imperialist countries.

All the strategy of imperialism is directed above all to endeavour to disrupt this unity. Any disruption of this co-operation plays the game of imperialism.

The Chinese comrades, while professing to accept this principle of anti-imperialist unity, in practice present the main contradiction in the world situation not as the contradiction between socialism and imperialism, but as the contradiction between the national liberation movements and imperialism.

In this way they present the role of the national liberation movement in isolation from the socialist camp and from the international working class and peace movement. Thus the letter of June 14 declares:

"The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm-centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism. In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas."

On the basis of this analysis is developed the harmful

"three-continent theory." This has the effect of isolating the national liberation movement in these three continents from the socialist camp and international working class and peace movement.

Chinese representatives have even opposed the participation of representatives of the Soviet Union (whose Asian nationalities were the first nations to win freedom from imperialist oppression) at Afro-Asian anti-imperialist and solidarity conferences.

Such a line would disrupt and weaken the national liberation movement both within each country and internationally, and leave it at the mercy of imperialism.

This propaganda encourages the most reactionary trends of racialist separatism, and of the non-Marxist classless analysis of a line of division between "have" and "have not" nations in place of between the camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism and national liberation.

Only the victory of the socialist revolution and the strength of the socialist camp, and of the Soviet Union in the first place, has made possible the victories of national liberation in the modern era.

Only the practical support of the socialist camp, and of the Soviet Union in the first place, and of the entire international working class together with the anti-imperialist struggle, are making possible the further victories of national liberation.

The Chinese letter of June 14 claims that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. "deny that great international significance of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles", and that on this question they "are in fact protecting the interest of monopoly capital, betraying those of the proletariat, and degenerating into Social Democrats."

We can only express our amazement that such a Party as the Chinese can make such accusations which do not stand up to serious examination. The language is the traditional language of some of the worst villains of the Communist movement over the years.

The record of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union on these issues is there for all to see. The Soviet Union has assisted the national liberation struggle everywhere, and in particular, the Arab and African struggle. Algeria, Cuba, Indonesia, in the most concrete and telling ways.

Our Communist Party has been engaged in the anti-imperialist struggle since its foundation teaching that socialist victory in Britain was a common struggle with the cause of national liberation in the British empire, and that the colonial masses and the British working class fought a common enemy. Whatever

particular shortcomings, we have a proud record of over forty years of anti-imperialist struggle, including support of the great Chinese revolution.

The practical effect of the Chinese accusations is to play off the national liberation struggle and the socialist camp, the colonial struggle and the working class movement in the capitalist countries against one another. It is false and fraught with danger. It contradicts the line of the November 1960 Statement, which declared:—

"The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement—these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world imperialist system."

Forms Of Transition To Socialism

IN their letter the Chinese leaders once again show that they do not support the 1960 Statement that in a number of capitalist countries the possibility now exists "to win state power without civil war."

The Statement argues that the Communists seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means; that there are two ways of achieving the revolution—peaceful and non-peaceful; the latter depending on the ruling class resorting to violence, and that "the actual possibility of the one or the other way to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historical conditions."

Only the Communist Party of each country can decide its way to socialism. No other Communist Party has the right to dictate the programme and tactics of another.

Our Communist Party decided in 1951 that in the actual conditions of Britain in the present period a peaceful transition to socialism is possible. This position embodied in our programme, THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM, has been endorsed by every Congress since.

There is no basis for the assertion in the Chinese letter that the international Communist movement has "one-sidedly reduced" the teachings of the 1960 Statement to "peaceful transition."

While a number of Communist Parties have said that a peaceful transition is possible, others have said their countries face the way of non-peaceful transition due to their conditions. No Communist Party has questioned their decision in this respect.

The Chinese comrades, while professing acceptance of the statement of the 1960 Declaration regarding the possibility of two ways of achieving Socialism, in all their actual arguments deny the possibility of the peaceful path.

They emphasise that there is no historical precedent for peaceful transition. They say: "To the best of our knowledge, there is still not a single country where this possibility (of peaceful transition) is of any practical significance." (Appendix to People's Daily and

Red Flag article of September 6, 1963.)

By these arguments, despite professing acceptance of the two paths, the Chinese comrades are in practice one-sidedly trying to impose on other Communist Parties the road of non-peaceful transition.

As our January Executive Statement and THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM make clear, it is our duty to warn of the resistance a Socialist Government could expect, while at the same time stressing our confidence that with the full support of the working class such a government would have the power to defeat all resistance.

A peaceful transition to socialism calls for the mobilisation and unity of action on an unprecedented scale of the working class and all its allies in a broad alliance to gain power peacefully and resist successfully the possible acts of violence on the part of the ruling class.

Abstract left phrase-mongering in fact simply means the avoidance of the patient but genuine mass work in Britain to build unity, protect and extend democracy against the monopolists, the real fight for socialism in our conditions to isolate and defeat the Tory reactionaries. Such a line would result not in socialism but in our sectarian isolation and the triumph of reaction.

Twentieth Congress

ON a number of occasions the CPC have attacked the significance of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU for the development of the whole world Communist movement. In the document of September 6 a full offensive has been launched against the Twentieth Congress, stating that "the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was the first step along the road to revisionism," that "the criticism of Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was wrong both in principle and in method" and that "the Twentieth Congress produced not 'wonderful' or 'majestic' results but a discrediting of the Soviet Union, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialism and communism."

In sharp contrast the November 1960 Statement declared "The historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU are not only of great importance for the CPSU and communist construction in the USSR but have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

What is the significance here? The general decisions of the Twentieth Congress, the rectification of the errors associated with the cult of the individual, the full restoration of Party democracy, etc. not only greatly speeded up the construction of socialism and the prestige of socialism in the world.

They led to important new developments and initiatives in foreign affairs, overcame stagnation in Communist thought and unleashed new developments which helped every Communist Party.

These developments, whatever the temporary difficulties involved and the attempts of the class enemy and the revisionists to undermine them, are of the greatest significance. (Appendix to People's Daily and

Chinese Trade Unions' Stand On Test Ban Condemned By WFTU, AITUC

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) issued a statement on August 14, 1963 attacking the general secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

LOUIS SAILLANT, the general secretary, had committed the crime of welcoming the partial test ban agreement signed in Moscow on August 5.

As recently as December 1961, the Chinese Trade Unions had participated in the 5th Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions which had with their support reiterated the long-standing demand of the organised working class movement the world over for a ban on nuclear tests.

Now, instead of agreeing with the WFTU general secretary that the treaty signed in Moscow is "an important success" in line with the persistent demand of the WFTU and the ACFTU, the latter has declared the treaty to be a "fraud".

The ACFTU has accused Louis Saillant of "tailing behind the needs of the diplomacy of a certain country" and departing from "the traditional stand of the WFTU of opposing imperialism and persisting in class struggle."

The ACFTU would have the WFTU oppose the test ban agreement because unless it did that it would be abjuring class struggle.

The secretariat of the WFTU on September 17 issued a declaration fully support-

ing August 6 statement of the general secretary and emphatically reaffirmed that "this treaty is a considerable step towards a lessening of international tension."

The declaration considers "profoundly erroneous" the stand adopted by the ACFTU. It says that test ban treaty having been welcomed by many organisations of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (ICCTU) and by unattached unions "constitutes a new factor for the growth of unity of action among workers of different affiliations in the struggle for a better future, for progress and peace."

We print here the comment of S. A. Dange, general secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress on the ACFTU stand on the test-ban agreement and its attack on the WFTU general secretary:

★

THE Chinese trade union leadership has denounced the Test Ban Treaty and has criticised the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions and its General Secretary for lending support to that Treaty.

They assert that the ban on nuclear tests in atmosphere, under water and in outer space, which is secured by the Treaty and the support

to that Treaty given by the Secretariat "runs counter to the spirit of the Programme of Trade Union Action adopted by the Fifth World Trade Union Congress."

The WFTU all along has been demanding prohibition of atomic weapons and their tests which poison people's health. The demand for a ban on nuclear tests is a positive part of the Programme of Action adopted by the Fifth World Trade Union Congress.

The fact that the Treaty does not at present cover underground tests does not destroy the positive gain which arises from the ban of the tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space. The overwhelming part of that area from which poisoning of people's health and their food arises is covered by the present Treaty. This is a victory

for the forces of peace and democracy against the forces of war.

This gain can further be strengthened by securing an all-out ban and destruction of stocks of atomic and nuclear weapons and universal and complete disarmament under international control, as desired by the Programme of Action.

All peace-loving mankind welcomes the Treaty not because it is in the diplomatic service of a "certain country", as the Chinese leaders say. Mankind welcomes it because it is the first and a major step towards reduction of international tension, a curb on the designs of imperialists who so far refused to agree to such a ban.

All trade unions in India should study the implications of the Test Ban Treaty.

To say that signing of such a Test Ban Treaty with the imperialist powers is to blunt the edge of struggle against imperialism is sheer perversion.

Since unilateral suspension of tests has not succeeded, the tests have to be banned by an agreed treaty. It means that those three powers, one of whom is socialist and two imperialist—and among whom two possess the largest capacity of nuclear armament and the means of their delivery, i.e., the Soviet Union and the USA—have first to agree to a joint treaty.

Therefore, to interpret joint treaties and agreements which benefit all mankind as surrender to imperialism is an anti-working class action.

The position taken by the World Federation of Trade Unions is absolutely correct and conforms to the Programme adopted at the Fifth World Congress.

We hope the Indian trade unions will not be misled by the wrong propaganda and extremely disruptive positions taken by the Chinese TU leadership.

Ulbricht Analyses Reasons For Chinese Lunacy

Recent developments in China were analysed by WALTER ULBRICHT, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of the GDR, in a speech on September 9. He described the attitude of the Chinese leaders towards the problem of peaceful coexistence as an "ultra left-wing deviation."

EXPERIENCE proved that the period of world-wide transition from capitalism, which had already extended over nearly fifty years, would not end for some decades more. Lenin had taken this into account in developing his theory of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. Peaceful coexistence covered peaceful living together and peaceful competition between socialist and capitalist countries, although there could of course be no question of peaceful ideological coexistence.

Walter Ulbricht stressed that a policy of peaceful coexistence was not simply a tactical move to be resorted to in particular situations, but an integral part of the long-term strategy and policy of the socialist countries, to be adhered to until the final victory of socialism throughout the world.

The Chinese attitude to the Moscow test ban treaty ran counter to the joint resolutions passed by the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960. The public disputes provoked by the Chinese leaders had only resulted in isolating them and damaging the inter-

national peace movement, he said. Analysing the reasons for the present Chinese attitude, Ulbricht recalled that there had been a broad measure of agreement until 1957. Differing conditions in the separate countries had of course resulted in varying views on specific questions, but in the present case there were fundamental differences of opinion about strategy and tactics.

SWOLLEN HEADS

The Chinese had obviously got swollen heads as a result of the economic progress achieved upto 1959 and thought that, regardless of the economic laws of socialism, they could shorten the transition period to communism by means of a "big leap" and show the world a new road to communism. This idealistic view, which originated in the notion that people could be turned into communists by ideological means alone, led to the experiment of skipping over some stages in development. Serious set-backs resulted. The Chinese people were suffi-

ciently realistic to know that socialism meant stabilising the workers' and peasants' power and improving material and cultural living conditions step by step. The Chinese people would not benefit from channelling economic potential into atomic armament, what would help them would be an economic upsurge through developing industry and agriculture so as to give them more food and clothing.

The roots of the present Chinese policy were to be sought in the pronounced petty bourgeois influences which played a very major role in China, where the vast majority were peasants. Administrative measures and slogans could not take the place of understanding and adherence to economic laws, Ulbricht said.

The Chinese leaders' ultra-left-wing ideas had found expression in bringing up frontier problems contrary to the Bandung agreement—and in their attitude to the policy of peaceful coexistence. The Socialist Unity Party knew very well how hard and how complicated the struggle against the imperialists was, but they neither over-estimated nor under-estimated imperialist power. The Chinese leaders obviously wanted to speed up the struggle against imperialism and thought this could be done by taking a "big leap", i.e., by armed conflict.

Instead of concentrating on the main task of strengthening their own economy and that of the other socialist countries, so as to help them to gain economic superiority over capitalism, and giving more help to the newly established nations so that they could break away from economic dependence on imperialism, Chinese leaders demagogically declared the national liberation struggle of the suppressed peoples was of primary importance. Here they underestimated the value of the cooperation and support which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were giving the new nations.

Ulbricht stressed GDR support for the Soviet Union's attitude in these matters and expressed his conviction that life itself, and healthy Marxist Leninist developments in the Communist and Workers' Parties in all countries, would induce the Chinese leaders to abandon their present views and revert to a more realistic policy.

DIFFERENCES ON ISSUES, BUT GOODWILL FOR PEOPLE

Soviet Greetings To Chinese On National Day

★ From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW, October 1: Notwithstanding serious differences over vital issues with the Chinese leadership, the people of the Soviet Union harbour no ill-will towards the people of China and continue to wish them well.

THE Soviet message and the article in today's Pravda published on the occasion of the fourteenth anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic and the material appearing in other Soviet newspapers make this quite clear, in spite of the propaganda of the dogmatists to the contrary.

The joint message of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic, the Chinese Assembly and government reaffirms the determination of the Soviet Union to strengthen friendship with China and other socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The message wishes successes in the construction of socialism and expresses deep conviction that with close cooperation with other socialist countries, the Chinese people will ensure the development of all branches of the economy.

The Pravda article entitled "National Holiday of the Fraternal Chinese People" brings out the great significance of the Chinese revolution and the largescale help rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for the economic development of China.

The article declares that the Soviet Union always stood for the restoration of the rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations and will continue to do so.

Obviously referring to the policies of the Chinese leadership, the article continues: "The Soviet people have a feeling of disappointment and regret at the fact that there are people who are trying to sow amidst the Chinese people distrust and enmity towards the first land of socialism, the Great Party of Lenin and the peace-loving policies of the Soviet Government. We are firmly convinced that the Chinese people shall remain loyal to the friendship with the Soviet people with whom they are tied with common aims in the struggle for the triumph of socialism and peace all over the world."

The article says that peaceful competition with capitalism plays a decisive role and socialism and peace are indivisible conceptions. It is socialism which has advanced the slogan of peaceful coexistence of lands with different social systems which has become the general line of the foreign policy of socialist States. "The opponents of this slogan and Leninist policy of peace are fast losing their international authority and find themselves in isolation."

CHINESE ISOLATED

AN example of isolation of the Chinese was the recent session of the execu-

tive committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation in Cyprus about which much has been written in the Soviet Press.

The Soviet delegation to the meeting led by Mirzo Tursun Zade declared here at a press conference

that they were very much satisfied with the results of the Nicosia session. Tursun Zade called it, "an important landmark in the history of Afro-Asian movement in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for general disarmament and peaceful co-existence."

In spite of frantic Chinese opposition, the meeting approved the Moscow Test Ban Treaty. The session showed once more, Tursun Zade declared, that the people of Asia and Africa regard the movement for peace and general disarmament as an inseparable part of their struggle

for national liberation and independence.

The meeting was a complete defeat of the splitters. The Chinese delegation tried to isolate the Afro-Asian movement from other progressive movements and resorted to dishonest methods, slander and subterfuge.

But the Chinese were so taken aback by their isolation that they even did not dare to vote against the resolution approving the Moscow agreement. It was amazing that now the Chinese talked of the isolation of the Soviet Union at the meeting. Tursun Zade said.

The papers here continue to publish statements of refugees from China, speaking of the suppression of non-Chinese nationalities in Sinkiang, their forced removal to the interior of China and settling of Chinese population in Sinkiang. There have been reports of Chinese frontier guards shooting at people fleeing into the Soviet Union.

An article in Literaturnaya Gazeta described the suppression of national culture of Kirghiz,

Kazakh and Uighur peoples in West China, revision of their text book to prove that they were all really Chinese and had the same literature and culture. Chinese chauvinism had reached such absurdities that for reading Pushkin and other Soviet authors, people were accused of being revisionists, the article said.

Please Note

All editorial correspondence, matters for publication etc, may kindly be addressed to:

New Age Weekly
Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi 1

Only subscription, agency and similar other correspondence should be addressed to our managerial office at:

7/4 ASAF ALI ROAD,
NEW DELHI 1

C.P.G.B. Resolution...

*FROM FACING PAGE

ionists to take advantage of the situation, were a vital historic necessity. All over the world the Communist movement has advanced organisationally and politically as a result.

In essence the whole Chinese letter is an attack on these developments and in particular in relation to the rectification of the cult of the individual (it is referred to as the "so-called" cult). Our Chinese comrades are attempting to repudiate some of the most important new and correct developments which have occurred in the last few years in the international Communist movement.

We cannot agree to this. To turn back would be a disaster. On the contrary, we should resolutely adhere to the line of these new developments, spelled out in the 1960 Statement, and forge ahead to new victories.

Restore World Unity

ALL Communists will regard this new and dangerous turn in the international Communist movement with the greatest anxiety and concern. It demands from all of us the greatest discipline and effort to defend Communist principle and restore the unity of our world movement.

The essential basis both for restoring our world unity on the

basis of Communist principle and ensuring the continued advance of the socialist camp, the working class movement and national liberation is strict support and adherence to the 1960 Statement.

The objective basis for unity is there despite all the obstacles and difficulties. It consists of the common aims of all Communists to defeat imperialism and create socialism in the common interests of the Soviet, Chinese and the peoples of all other socialist states; in the common interests of all working people against capitalism and in the common interests of the working class and the national liberation movement against imperialism. It consists in our common basis of proletarian internationalism.

We refuse to accept that a split in the international Communist movement is inevitable as there is no justification for a split in the objective conditions. A split will only help our enemies. Already it is only too clear how the imperialists are building on and exploiting every division in our movement and praying that the USSR and People's China will increasingly find themselves at loggerheads.

We deeply regret that the vital bilateral talks between the CPSU and the CPC were suspended on the initiative of the CPC. We urge their resumption as soon as possible and that real negotiations on the problems take place.

In the meantime we ask all Communist Parties to consider the necessity to start preparations

NEW AGE

NORTHERN RAILWAY NOTICE

There will be a general revision of the Time Table from 1st October, 1963 and some of the through trains have been slightly accelerated. The following will be the important changes.

- New Trains introduced**
 - (i) 83 Up/84 Dn Express between Delhi and Lucknow via Kanpur.
 - (ii) 1 NDF/2 NDF between New Delhi & Panipat.
 - (iii) 3 DP/4 DP between Delhi and Panipat.
 - (iv) 5 SU between Saharanpur and Ambala Cantt.
 - (v) 2 SU between Ambala City and Saharanpur.
- Trains extended**
 - (i) 3 NDS/2 NDS Shuttles running between Delhi Sadfarjung and New Delhi have been extended to and from Ghaziabad and renumbered as 1 DSG/2 DSG.
 - (ii) 1 NDS/4 NDS Shuttles running between Delhi Sadfarjung and New Delhi have been extended to and from Delhi Kishanganj and renumbered as 4 DNK/3 DNK.
 - (iii) 2 KJ Diesel Rail Car running between Panipat-Jind-Delhi Kishanganj has been extended to Delhi.
 - (iv) 1 KSB Diesel Rail Car running between Delhi Kishanganj and Shakurbasti has been extended from Delhi.
 - (v) 1 EB/2 EB running between Etah and Barhan have been extended to and from Tunda.
 - (vi) 1 BRC/2 BRC Passengers running between Rewari and Churu have been extended to and from Ratangh and renumbered as 3 BRR/4 BRR.
- Trains diverted**
 - (i) 353 Up/354 Dn on Tunda and Delhi Section will run as No. 1 FID/2 FID between Farrukhabad and Delhi.
 - (ii) 4 ATF/3 ATF running between Agra Cantt. and Farrukhabad will run between Agra Cantt.-Kanpur. The timing of these trains between ETW and CNB will be the same as of 1 CPE/2 CPE which trains will be discontinued.
- Trains cancelled**
 - (i) 351 Up between Saharanpur and Ambala.
 - (ii) 352 Dn between Ambala City and Saharanpur.
 - (iii) 353 Up between Lucknow and Delhi.
 - (iv) 354 Dn between Delhi and Lucknow.
 - (v) 1 CPE between Kanpur and Etawah.
 - (vi) 2 CPE between Etawah and Kanpur.
 - (vii) 3 ATF between Farrukhabad and Agra Cantt.
 - (viii) 4 ATF between Agra Cantt. and Farrukhabad.
 - (ix) 9 KS between Kalka and Simla.
 - (x) 10 KS between Simla and Kalka.
- New Connections provided**
 - (i) 2 NJ with 6 JNL (Old & JNL) at Nakodar.
 - (ii) 1 LJ with 4 LS at Ludhiana.
 - (iii) 9 JH with 350 Dn at Jullundur Cantt.
 - (iv) 347 Up with 4 LF at Ferozpur Cantt.
 - (v) 1 SF with 7 Up at Shikohabad.
 - (vi) 1 JMB with 3 BB at Bikaner.
 - (vii) 354 Dn and 361 Dn with 1 BDB at Delhi.
 - (viii) 351 Up with 19 Up at Laksar.
- Important changes in train timings**
 - (i) No. 60 Dn Srinagar Express will arrive New Delhi at 8:15 hrs. instead of 8:40 hrs.
 - (ii) No. 23 Down Flying Mail (old Amritsar Mail) will arrive New Delhi at 21:15 hours instead of 21:20 hrs.
 - (iii) No. 27 Up Flying Mail (old Amritsar Mail) will arrive Amritsar at 21:35 hours instead of 22:1 hrs.
 - (iv) No. 18 Up Madras Janata will leave Delhi at 11:35 hrs. instead of 11:45 hrs.
 - (v) No. 37 Up Punjab Mail will arrive Ferozpur at 6:35 hrs. instead of 6:55 hrs.

7(a). Withdrawal of Air-conditioned accommodation from trains

- (i) Air-conditioned accommodation from 91 Up and 92 Dn Bikaner Mails between Delhi and Bikaner (from 1st October/63).
- (ii) Air-conditioned accommodation from 41 Up and 42 Dn Mussorie Express between Delhi and Dehradun (from 16th October, 1963).

7(b). Introduction of through/sectional carriages

Train	Class of accommodation	No. of bogies
(i) Kanpur Central-Delhi	83 & 84 I & III	One
(ii) Allahabad-Delhi	39 & 40 II	One
(iii) Allahabad-Delhi	31 & 32 I	One

7(c) Provision of I & II class accommodation

- I & II Class accommodation will be provided on the following local Shuttles operating in Delhi Area.
- | Train No. | Station between |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (i) 1 DSG/2 DSG | Delhi Sadfarjung-Ghaziabad |
| (ii) 1 DNK to 4 DNK | Delhi Sadfarjung-Delhi Kishanganj |
| (iii) 1 DKS/2 DKS | Delhi Sadfarjung-Shakurbasti/Rohatak |
| (iv) 1 DND/2 DND | Delhi Sadfarjung-Delhi |

China's Provocation of Border Disputes Assailed by Soviet Govt.

The following is an extract from the Soviet government statement of September 21 exposing Chinese leaders' policy of deliberate provocation of border disputes, first with India and now with the Soviet Union itself.

Having no faith in the possibility of preventing world thermonuclear war, the Chinese leaders set obstacles on the path of implementation of the measures proposed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to lessen international tension.

EVERY time when, thanks to the efforts of the socialist countries and peace-loving peoples, a relaxation of tension took shape in recent years, the CPC leadership left no stone unturned in order to undermine such a relaxation.

At present there remains no doubt of the fact that one of the reasons for the attack of the Chinese leaders on the policy of the world communist movement was the lessening of international tension which began to emerge in 1959, some relaxation of the cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States, especially after Comrade N. S. Khrushchov's trip to the USA.

the aggravation of the dispute in connection with the frontier territories in the Himalayas, a dispute inherited by China and India from the old days, and the development of this dispute into a large armed conflict was undesirable and fraught with negative consequences not only for Sino-Indian relations, but for the entire international situation.

We consider that in frontier disputes, especially in a dispute of the type of the Sino-Indian clash, one should adhere to the Leninist views according to which it is possible to settle any frontier problems without resorting to armed force, granted that both sides desire to do so.

At present, everyone can already see that the Sino-Indian conflict in the Himalayas had the most negative consequences for the cause of peace, inflicted great harm on the unity of the anti-imperialist front in Asia and placed the progressive forces in India in an extremely difficult position.

As could be expected, China herself did not benefit in any way. Her prestige in the eyes of the peoples of the world, and especially of the Afro-Asian peoples, has certainly not grown.

It was with a feeling of a bewilderment and bitterness that the peoples saw one of the socialist countries which

had recently become independent and served as a model to them, get itself involved in a military conflict with a young neutralist state and, using its military superiority, endeavour to gain for itself in that way a favourable solution of an issue over a certain part of territory.

The Chinese leaders ignored the comradely advice of other socialist countries and fraternal Parties. Moreover, they saw in this an unwillingness to support them in the international arena and considered this comradely advice a great offence to themselves.

In the article "What is the Cause of Disputes?" the Chinese comrades directly link the beginning of their differences with the fraternal Parties with the fact that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries failed to support unconditionally China's stand in the conflict on the Sino-Indian border.

The actions of the PRC leaders, undermining the policy of neutralism, in effect, help the imperialist powers to increase their influence in the emancipated countries and especially in India. All this can, of course, impede the development of the struggle for national independence and have a negative effect on the balance of forces in the world arena.

Such an attitude to a neutralist country is all the more unclear in view of the fact that the PRC government had in every way been making overtures to the obviously reactionary regimes in Asia and Africa, including the countries belonging to imperialist military blocs.

The Chinese leaders often use for anti-Soviet purposes the question of Soviet aid to India. However, they do not tell their people the truth about the fact that Soviet aid to the peoples of emancipated countries is imbued with a desire to strengthen their economic and political positions in the struggle for independence and against imperialism.

This policy is also manifest in our relations with India. The Soviet Union helped the Indian people, who had shaken off the yoke of British imperialism, to gain a footing in neutralist positions and to oppose the attempts of the imperialists to impose an economic yoke on India. We have always considered this policy correct, for it conforms to the interests of peace and socialism.

It would not be amiss to recall the fact that before 1959 the People's Republic of China pursued the same kind of policy with regard to India. We were glad to see the development of good-neighbourly relations between Asia's two largest states, their mutual support in the struggle

for peace and against aggressive designs of imperialism. We met with approval the friendly contacts between Chinese and Indian leaders, their joint statements in favour of peace, and especially, the Panchsheel principles proclaimed by Premiers Chou En-lai and Nehru.

In the light of all this the Sino-Indian armed conflict was a complete surprise both for the Soviet people and the whole world public.

Now the Chinese leaders make accusations, stating that India is waging war against China and using Soviet armaments. This first of all, is essentially not according to fact. Secondly, if one was to follow this kind of logic, the Indian government has much more reason to declare that the Chinese troops are waging war against India and are using Soviet armaments, because everyone knows about the tremendous military aid which the Soviet Union renders China.

We were prompted by the best of sentiments in helping socialist China and peace-loving India. We proceeded from these friendly feelings and interests of consolidation and peace and unity of the anti-imperialist forces when we declared that the Sino-Indian conflict evokes our deep regret.

We still consider that the settlement of this conflict in a peaceful way, through negotiations would conform to the interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples, to the interests of world peace.

It should not be forgotten that in the past the question of territorial disputes and claims had often been a source of acute friction and conflicts between states, a source of instigation of nationalist passions. It is common knowledge that territorial disputes and frontier conflicts were used as a pretext for predatory wars. That is why Communists consistently work for the solution of frontier problems through negotiations.

The socialist countries, which are guided in their relations by the principle of proletarian internationalism, should set other peoples an example of the friendly settlement of territorial problems.

The Soviet Union has no frontier conflicts with any of its neighbouring states. And we are proud of this because such a situation conforms not only to the interests of the Soviet Union but also to the interests of all the socialist countries, the interests of world peace.

Case History Of A Sick City

How was one to account for Birmingham 1963? It was easy to point the finger at rabble-rousing Governor GEORGE C. WALLACE. It was easy to point to an intransigent city government, a malignant lunatic fringe, a willfully bigoted population of white citizens.

BUT there had to be a deeper accounting of a sadder truth: Birmingham 1963 was just what it had always been.

The city's history of racism is uniquely ferocious, even in the Deep South. Here were night riders brazenly invoking violence with impunity, long after such bestiality had fallen into disrepute and had become a rarity elsewhere in Dixie. What malevolent forces were at work?

Birmingham was born in 1871, the offspring of a rapacious industrialism and a supine South. Though it lay in the heart of the Deep South it was the least Southern, sociologically, of all Southern cities.

As it grew up, its only obvious Southern characteristics were its climate, the poverty of its rednecks, and its resentment of outside criticism. While most Southern communities could proudly enshrine their anti-bellum relics, Birmingham bragged about the size of its city hall, a facility celebrated in its city hall, a facility celebrated in its city hall, a facility celebrated in its city hall.

Its steel mills and factories belching Yankee-style smoke, and grime into Dixie's pristine agrarian air, Birmingham seemed an anomaly, rootless in a region whose roots grew deep in the soil, traditional in a land that revered tradition.

The city sprang from a scheme of speculators who, knowing where two rail lines were to intersect, bought 7,000 acres of land there, laid out the town, and invited Northern operators to

work hard to keep it that way. How far they would go became cruelly clear in 1908 when the miners' living conditions spurred the United Mine Workers into a major campaign to organize the district. After some 20,000 miners—white and Negro united—struck, this is what happened, as author GEORGE R. LEIGHTON reported in Harpers Magazine:

"The Tennessee Co., leading the employers, rose to smash them. With convicts working and with strikebreakers brought in... more deputies were sworn in, the military were sent for. 'What firearms could not accomplish, cries of white supremacy and the nigger might... it was a daily occurrence to hear of somebody killed. At Republic, on the edge of the city, the evicted miners and their families were sheltered (in an integrated tent city)... The National Guard was ordered to tear down the tents...'

From the beginning, Birmingham was a loose, rowdy town to frequent fights and fists, knives, or guns. (The town later boasted it was the only one around that required every resident from 15 to 50 to take a syphilis test.) The town government couldn't have cared less; it was of one mind with the speculators. And the speculators cared only for consolidating their gains and luring Northern capital.

After such setbacks as cholera epidemic (the town had little interest in sanitation), the speculators grew rich. But eventually a sharp drop in pig-iron prices ruined most companies there, and the shape of Birmingham's future was forged. Big steel decided to move in.

It would heighten the normal economic competitiveness between the races, prompting all to work more cheaply. As the city's roster of millionaires grew, most of the population lived at subsistence level even in boom times. Birmingham became a paradise for usurious loan sharks.

It also became increasingly an overgrown company town with a thin sprinkling of middle class families among the blue-collar working force. Managers, professionals, and proprietors chose to

live in such glossy, well-tended communities as Mountain Brook, Vestavia Hills, Homewood, close by but separately governed.

"The Big Mules," as the industrial magnates are called, took care to keep their plants outside the city limits and free of taxation; they persistently refused to let Birmingham annex the plush adjacent communities. This deprived the city of revenue, but, more critically, it deprived the city of the active political and civic participation of what potentially was its greatest reservoir of educated leadership. Like the city's absentee owners up North, most of Birmingham's middle and upper classes remained largely aloof to the moral and cultural development of the growing city.

By then, though the reason for promoting it as a deliberate instrument of anti-union policy had disappeared, racism clung. The well of hatred, so fully filled, would not be quickly emptied. Post World War II, years that modified racial bias in most Southern cities had no effect in Birmingham.

In 1949, Negroes bought three unoccupied houses adjacent to a white residential section. Birmingham's ever-ready bombardiers promptly dynamited them. The city was ever capable of outrage, but it took something unusual to arouse it—such as the night in 1957 when six white men sexually mutilated a Negro they didn't know simply because he

was the first Negro male they found alone. This was the era of Bull Connor, the embodiment of power in Birmingham from the time of his installation on the city commission in 1957. Theophilus Eugene Connor—Ole Bull, a jug-eared ex-baseball announcer, Bull exhibited the voice and grammar of a carnival barker, and he became the voice of Birmingham. He possessed the sensibilities of a billy goat, and he became the city's conscience. The Big Mules didn't care; Bull played their game.

In the handsome living rooms at cocktail time on Red Mountain, Ole Bull was also good for laughs. Like the time he broke up the integrated meeting of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare with the classic Connor dictum: "We ain't gonna segregate no niggers and whites together in this town."

Most of Birmingham evidently believed Ole Bull. When the three-man city commission, rather than adapt to any desegregation, closed 68 parks, 38 playgrounds, six swimming pools, and four golf courses, few spoke up.

One who did, addressed Mayor ART HANES: "You must know that integration is coming ultimately, whether we like it or not." "That," snapped Hanes, "is your opinion, madam." This was 1961, the same year a Birmingham mob viciously beat up a group of Freedom Riders on Mother's Day.

Why was the city silent? Author Joe David Brown, a Birmingham native, wrote why this year:

The killing of six Negro children by bombs and bullets in one day (September 15) in Birmingham, South USA, by white racists has shocked the whole world. All over the USA September 22 was observed as day of mourning and protest. The tinkering with the problems by the Kennedy administration has filled the Negroes and all decent white people with bitterness. The whole world demands that firm action be taken against the murderers.

Here we give extracts from the New York Communist weekly Worker's editorial of September 29, as well as from the Newsweek magazine's "Case History of a Sick City" that appears in its issue of September 30. —Editor

U.S. Communists Demand

FIRM ACTION AGAINST RACISTS

THE dispatch of two Big Business representatives to Birmingham as the personal agents of the President was the crowning farcical gesture of a week of doing little, following the horrible terrorist church bombing and murder of six innocent children.

The expressions of the President and his brother, the attorney general, that they had confidence in a "local solution" to the terror campaign against the Negro people, only had the effect further emboldening the racists.

As a matter of fact, the day of the arrival of the two emissaries in Birmingham was made infamous by eight new bombings of homes of Negroes.

In accord with the petitions of Negro and white Americans who held memorial demonstrations throughout the country over the weekend, we repeat the demand for the replacement of the local and state police force with federal marshals and troops; for the federalization of Alabama until the norms of democratic civilization are restored in its political life.

Let Congress meet in continuous night and day sessions until a comprehensive civil rights act is passed.

In the meantime, the attorney general has the duty to deputize an adequate number of Negro men of Birmingham as U.S. marshals in order to patrol their communities from the murderous forays of the racist killers and arsonists.

Kennedy's two delegated businessmen would make better use of their time in Pittsburgh and at the fashionable apartments on Park Avenue, where, as Charles Morgan pointed out are to be found U.S. Steel's Roger Blough and the other "largest employers in the city of Birmingham, the largest owner of real estate, the largest bank depositor and purchaser and seller of goods."

The power structure in Birmingham is topped by the chairman and board of U.S. Steel. These monopolists have for years batted on the profits enlarged by the perpetuation of bigotry and hatred which have for long diverted the workers from their true class enemies, and set deprived white workers against their even more exploited Negro class brothers.

The "profile in courage" of young attorney Charles Morgan, Jr. has a worthy place in the gallery of the Negro heroes and heroines of the battle of Birmingham, a battle whose outcome will have its impact upon the whole nation. The Kennedys should emulate his courage.

Worker, 29.9.63

THE MURDER CAPITAL

Birmingham moved toward its ugly destiny. It was long at the bottom of the heap of major cities in expenditures for public services.



WHY DON'T YOU ACT?

THE STORY OF A NEWSREEL

★ By Our Staff Correspondent

On September 29 the Union Home Ministry took an unprecedented step of ordering the state governments to ban cinema houses in the country from exhibiting a newsreel produced and released by the Films Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Included in the particular newsreel was glimpse of the Great March to Parliament on September 13 organised by the Communist Party of India.

THE Home Ministry's action is reported to have been prompted by the protest made by certain Congress MPs under the leadership of Mahavir Tyagi against the "publicity given to the Red March" and the "exaggerated figures" of the marchers and the signatories to the People's Petition to Parliament given in the commentary.

The normal functions of the Films Division of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry include exhibition of topical news features on occurrences in the country and abroad. These features are released under the title "Indian News Review". It was only natural that the Films Division should taken note of the historic march, described even by the Communist Party's opponents as one of the biggest demonstrations the Indian capital has ever seen.

Only A Glimpse

And so, a glimpse of the march (mind you, only a glimpse) was included in the section "News In Brief" of the Indian News Review no. 780. The length of the film, devoted to the march was exactly 51 feet; its duration on the screen was just 32 seconds out of the total ten minutes the whole newsreel took. The commentary said:

"Nearly one hundred thousand supporters of the Communist Party of India from all over the country march to Parliament House in New Delhi to present a mass petition to Parliament. The four hundred word petition signed by ten million two hundred and fifty thousand people demands, among other things, reduction of prices of essential articles, withdrawal of the compulsory deposit scheme and nationalisation of vital units of economy."

Anyone who saw the march will agree that it was actually an insipid and flat commentary given to the colourful yet mighty, mammoth yet disciplined masses that surged through the capital's streets. And yet Tyagi and his friends felt that the government was giving "exaggerated publicity" to the march.

Just because the news-cameramen of the Films Division shot some events, they do not go for exhibition; there are normal channels through which the film has to pass before it is released for exhibition. In this case also, all the processes were gone through. The Central Board of Film Censors passed it for uni-

versal exhibition, giving it a "U" certificate. This meant that there was nothing immoral or subversive in it. Then, the Film Advisory Committee of the Government of India okayed this particular newsreel on September 18 for all-India release.

The newsreel was released all over India on September 20. It was shown in cinema houses throughout the country for more than a week; it was only after that that the Congress MPs under the leadership of Tyagi pounced upon it. And, quite in contrast to the red-tapism in the governmental functioning, within hours came the Home Ministry's order banning its exhibition.



Oh no, I am not taking them Sir! I assure you I am only taking the close-up of you looking at the yelling protest marchers! —Times of India.

In strange contrast to this unholy haste in banning the screening of this particular newsreel is the Home Ministry's (and for that matter Tyagi's and his fellow Congress MPs') attitude towards another newsreel which can be put in the same category. This is the Indian News Review no. 776, released by the Films Division all over India on August 23, which showed the simultaneous demonstrations by the Congress and the non-Communist opposition parties before Parliament House on August 14.

Those who saw these demonstrations know how insignificant they were when compared to the Great March. But the footage given to them in the newsreel was 56; its duration 35 seconds. This meant that five feet of film and three seconds more were given by the Films Division newsreel to demonstrations which were by far smaller by any account than the Great March.

The peppy commentary which went along with this newsreel said about these demonstrations:

"Morcha in front of Parliament. Political parties demonstrate in New Delhi. The Congress Party leads a

big turnout declaring faith in the government policies and an equally strong rally criticising the government is held by opposition parties. The two demonstrations muster around Parliament House to convey their respective viewpoints to the nation's forum." Everybody knows that the Jan Sangh-sponsored counter-demonstration on August

14 was against the basic policies pursued by the Nehru government; their demand was the removal of Nehru from power. (In contrast, the Communist demonstrators came to present to the nation's highest forum a humble petition listing their grievances.)

The TIMES OF INDIA, said in an editorial on October 1, that "it will be a poor day for India if news is to be censored merely because the events described are not in conformity with official thinking. News management of this kind is normally associated with authoritarian regimes but cannot be reconciled with democratic practice." It said further that the

Great March "was a perfectly appropriate subject for newsreel coverage and the fact that the procession constituted a demonstration against government policy cannot by any means justify its omission, far less its suppression. The official motto 'Let Truth Prevail' has in this sorry episode been cast aside in an exercise in suppression that threatens the fundamental and democratic right of freedom of information."

The HINDUSTAN TIMES said in a leader on October 2:

"Nothing in recent weeks has so effectively exposed the heavy-handed and incompetent control which

★ On Page 4

Are We Splitting The Congress?

★ From Front Page

status, accepted as the Congress aim. Even the Mahatma had to be opposed until the voting at Lahore. In 1929 convinced him of the trend of mass thinking. It was only in the Karachi Congress in 1930 that some definite programme was defined, due to the pressure of Nehru and the Left.

The Communists now had become a noticeable force in the country and in the Congress and contributed their might in these developments in the Congress. Soon after another Left arose in the Congress making itself the Congress Socialists. The Congress never went forward without clashes of programmes, ideologies and struggles of the static Right and the progressive Left.

If socialism today has to win and has to be put into action, Congressmen, who believe in it, have to fight a struggle, first to define it clearly as the philosophy of the working class and then to put it in practice.

If Congressmen have adopted it as a policy or creed, then, those who do not accept it or do so hypocritically have to be asked to fall in line or leave the Congress. If they do not leave, they should be removed, if you are serious about your own line.

When we Communists say this, we are accused of trying to split the Congress. Well, if Congress wants to carry out socialism of the toiling masses, it certainly cannot be done by keeping the leadership in the hands of those who are open henchmen of monopoly capitalism and who, as ministers, put the state at the service of monopoly capital, and as leaders put the Congress organisation at the disposal of big landlord capitalist interests.

Role Of Communists

We, as Communists are not in the Congress today, but we have to think of this problem because, the Congress rules the country and the destinies of millions and despite being a party of the bourgeoisie, is followed by millions because of its past leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle.

We still speak of the Congress because even today it has anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic masses in its following and partly in its membership and leadership also. If we have to change the country's face and the condition of the masses we cannot ignore the fact that there is a Right wing inside the Congress and a Left wing too, though the latter is not crystallised, is timid, hesitant and confused. And Mr. Patil and Desai are taking advantage of this timidity and confusion by talking anti-Communism.

Ever since Independence the Congress has never been so shaken

by factional quarrels as today over the question of ministerial changes. The Congress as an organisation, as a party of the national bourgeoisie was not so agitated even in the days when the Princes were curbed and abolished, or when the Five Year Plans were being adopted.

Its leadership was not divided by so much hysteria, when it adopted the Avadi resolution on socialist pattern or Nagpur resolution on land reform or on non-alignment, State sector etc. Not much of a violent storm was there when Kripalani, Rajagopalachari, Ranga or Asoka Mehta left the Congress.

But the Kamaraj Plan and the question of ministerial changes has led to a threat of a veritable split. Why so?

It is not a question of socialism or anti-socialism, service versus post, that has created the stir.

Shock And Wrath

The Right wing reaction has been all along trying to secure all the strategic positions in the Congress and the state machine, by which the political and economic aggrandisement of their monopoly capitalist groups could proceed unhindered. The latest changes have disturbed this aggrandisement and disturbed it in quite a pronounced manner.

All these ministerial groups controlled the vast finances at the centre and states. The central and state budgets, the Plan money running into thousands of crores, with control over permits, licences, factories, land acquisitions, markets, supplies etc., gave them tremendous power of patronage of building the fortunes of this or that monopoly ring, of the tens of thousands of bureaucrats and own family and friendly circles. This power has concentrated in the hands of these ministerial groups.

All that has been rudely interrupted. Those who are displaced are angry at the loss, and those who had wanted to step into their shoes quickly are angry that the passage to power is not so smooth and quick for them either. The factional squabbles of the Congress regarding the ministries, regarding portfolios, regarding nominations of Zilla Parishads, have definite bourgeois-landlord class interests and caste-interests behind them.

For some, however, it is a battle for better policies, a cleaner government and service of the toiling poor. It is to these latter elements that we address ourselves. No wonder, Mr. Morarji Desai and Patil should be cross with us.

These two who had grown so entrenched, powerful and arrogant in the recent period were in fact, at the end of their career in 1956. By their policies, in the former state of bilingual Bombay, they had completely lost their popular

ity or credit. Morarji Desai ruled by bullets and even to get a hearing in Ahmedabad, he had resorted to a ridiculous hunger strike against the janata curfew. Mr. Patil proposed to launch a "Shanti Sena" (peace corps) armed with revolvers, to protect himself and his gangsters from peoples' wrath.

But this open proposal of building armed fascist gangs in Bombay city, was turned down by the Government and the Congress leadership in Maharashtra as it would have meant the beginning of establishing "private armies."

When both these faithful servants of the people had been totally rejected by the people, Pandit Nehru picked them up and put them in the central cabinet thereby intending to remove them from the Bombay scene. But that only gave Right reaction strategic positions of power in the central government and in the policies and economy of the country. They dug in well and built themselves up and their monopolists very well, both in the national and international field.

Attack Against Basic Policies

But the crisis of the February budget and their manoeuvres to overthrow Nehru, if not personally, at least politically on the question of the basic policies of non-alignment and American imperialist manoeuvres regarding air umbrella, VOA, Kashmir etc., exposed their game rather too soon. Though quite shrewd they slipped, because they underestimated the mood of the masses.

Had it not been for the mass protests, the change would not have come so soon. Moreover, the contradictions inside the leadership also came to a head. The Kamaraj Plan was the outcome. It may have begun as an innocent move. But in its motion, it has gathered new meaning, and today at least that meaning has angered the Right reactionaries.

Knowing the weakness of the leadership as a whole, Mr. Patil has chosen to attack quickly, before the change goes far enough and crystallises in new policies and as a cover for the attack, he has chosen the usual ruse of all bankrupt reactionaries, that is to rouse anti-Communism. But his trick will not succeed.

But this is enough story for today. On Gandhi Jayanti Day, new ministries have been sworn in. They will soon show their true colours.

We Communists are prepared to cooperate with those Congressmen who will stand for execution and implementation of the democratic policies which benefit the masses and at the same time struggle against their monopolist and Right wing distortions.