

# NEW AGE

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## NO FROM AID INDIA CLUB

BY OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Finance Minister Morarji Desai reached Washington on September 25, for a 14-day stay in the U. S. He will lead India's delegation to the annual meetings of the Board of Governors of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the International Finance Corporation this week. Last week he attended the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference and learnt from Indian observers at the Paris "Aid-India" Club meet what transpired there and what to expect next.

The worst fears expressed in the columns of NEW AGE are coming true. All knowledgeable observers and commentators have stated that the Western Shylocks want much more than their pound of flesh.

## WATCH THE NEXT STEPS

FOR example, the very well informed New Delhi Correspondent of the Capital, September 22, writes:

"The Paris meeting of the creditor countries has not proved satisfactory from India's point of view. The meeting also failed to respond to Indian Finance Ministry's scare over foreign exchange difficulties.

"The Government of India wanted Rs. 70 crores immediately, and the remainder of \$ two million by 31st March, 1961. It made it known in India as well as abroad that unless the bare minimum of Rs. 70 crores is forthcoming, India will be compelled further to cut down her imports.

"The Paris meeting appears to have virtually told the Indian Government that it might cut its imports if it chooses. The latter is having second thoughts on the subject."

High powered push and pull is going on, between the strong and the weak, with our not so weak side getting the worse of the bargain, because of the weak and shaky hands that govern our country for the moment.

### Pressure

Imperialist pressure is being directed towards compelling India to admit more and more private foreign capital and the worst of it is that it is working.

Under the caption "Aiding India", Financial Times, London, September 6, stated editorially, "there are signs, at long last, of India's beginning

to attract much more private foreign investment. Changes in Government policy and an even more changed tone in ministerial pronouncements helped in this development.

"In New Delhi the situation is being regarded realistically. The Third Plan appears to have been drawn up in such a way that it can be adjusted if the aid target is not reached."

### Main Point

The above revealing commentary is carried forward editorially by The Times, London, September 12, again under the caption "Aid for India". Referring to the Hoffman Mission report, it welcomes the fact that "the Plan itself has been criticised only in such details as the amount allotted to steel, oil and atomic power as against agricultural improvement."

It plainly states, "It is doubtful if any of the countries meeting in Paris could consider such long-term commitments whether from constitutional or economic reasons."

It comes to the main point which enables the foreign imperialists to exercise the whiphand and dictate terms to India. "If the assistance is to be in yearly instalments, annual meetings of the consortium could become a guarantee in the growth of closer understanding and confidence which for the borrower and the lenders may be necessary."

The tactic of applying the

yearly screw is clearly expressed in its own concluding words. "No doubt the Third Plan will have to be revised from time to time as the Second has been."

The hostility of the monopolists of the West to rapid Indian industrialisation through the public sector is well-known. They are now using Indian necessity for foreign aid to scuttle the public sector or get it in their own hands. We exposed this in the columns of New Age last week.

The New Delhi Correspondent of the Capital bears us out while analysing the negative results of the Paris meet. "The repercussions, if any, of the proposal to establish a Baby Car Unit in the public sector may have been adverse." During the earlier weeks, echoing the words of its masters in London, Washington and Bonn, it had expressed their big worry and discomfiture over Dr. Bhabha's negotiations abroad for setting up atomic power plants in India and over the utilising of the Japanese yen credit for starting a watch manufacturing unit in the public sector.

### Foreign Policy

These "Western Aiders" seek to influence not only our Plan but also endeavour to influence our foreign policy as a pre-condition of their 'aid'.

The columnist of the Capital, quoted above,

\* SEE PAGE 4

## For Afro-Asian Unity And World Peace

### Editorial

THREE COUNTRIES OF the Bandung fraternity of Afro-Asian nations will celebrate their national days this week. With the warmth of the old Bandung spirit and the vision of our common destiny, we greet them and wish them the best.

On September 28, the Republic of Guinea will celebrate its national day. Its President Sekou Toure has just concluded his tour of Moscow, Peking and New Delhi. Together with Ghana he is struggling to defend Congolese independence and integrity.

On October 1, Nigeria will achieve its national independence. The family of African States will grow further in strength and numbers.

The struggle for African liberation occupies the centre of the world stage. Its crucial battle is being fought in Congo today.

We express our country's ardent hope that our representatives at the U.N., true to the banner of anti-colonialism and our solemn pledges to fellow-fighters for freedom in Africa will give their whole-hearted and unqualified support to save Congolese independence and integrity and aid the remaining countries of Africa to win self-determination and build the Africa of their dreams.

We express the country's best desire that the presence of India's Prime Minister at the U.N. should impart greater unity and strength to the Afro-Asian bloc in this historic U.N. General Assembly session.

On October 1, the People's Republic of China celebrates her eleventh anniversary.

We express our admiration for the successful implementation by the Chinese people, headed by the People's Government and our brother Communist Party, of their Five-Year Plan in bare two years. It is an unprecedented record in the achievement of any nation in the world. We wish the Chinese people peaceful enjoyment of the fruits of their own hard labour.

Growing Chinese prosperity demands uninterrupted peace. To ensure this the Chinese Government has successfully negotiated pacts of peace and friendship with China's neighbours, Burma, Nepal and Afghanistan.

India and China together proudly proclaimed the Five Principles of coexistence before the peace-hungry world. India and China together led the historic Bandung Conference which made the concept of Afro-Asian unity a live force, sonnding the death-knell of colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Today we stand apart because of the boundary dispute between the two countries.

The very fact that China has solved similar disputes with our common neighbours, Burma and Nepal, strengthens Indian confidence that our dispute will also get similarly and peacefully solved.

The very fact that our relations with Pakistan are improving despite the continuing and once very hot dispute over Kashmir strengthens our conviction that India-China relations will also improve.

Despite the cobwebs of historic records, despite the passion and prejudices of the moment the two biggest nations of Asia cannot afford to stand apart.

India and China are close neighbours, with common interests and a common destiny. We have no doubt that our present dispute will get solved on the basis of the Five Principles and in the spirit of good-neighbourliness despite the machinations of imperialism and its agencies.

Peaceful settlement of the India-China dispute will give new and unprecedented strength to Afro-Asian solidarity against colonialism and for world peace in the momentous struggle that is on.

We earnestly hope this vision will guide the wise statesmen and good representatives of the two countries when they meet next to discuss the outstanding issues.

(September 28)

# CHINA & HER NEIGHBOURS

It has become the fashion of the day, in the monopoly-controlled Indian Press, to slander China in a systematic and sustained manner. When the story of "Chinese aggression" became rather stale and the facts to substantiate it non-existent, the slander campaign was switched over to the ideological level and the latest is that the Chinese do not believe in the very principle of peaceful coexistence.

**WORDS** do have wings but they cannot be made to fly around long enough if they do not have feet of facts. This is literally the fate of the China-haters not only in our country but in the entire neighbourhood of the two of the biggest Asian nations.

## China's Proposal

It is true that the question of questions is to decide correctly and honestly who wants war and who works for peace.

China's Premier Chou En-lai, in a forthright manner, demonstrated China's ardent desire for peace when on August 1, at the reception given by the Swiss Ambassador to China, in honour of the Swiss National Day, he advocated that the countries in Asia and around the Pacific, including the USA, conclude a peace pact of mutual non-aggression and turn the entire region into a nuclear weapon-free area.

This offer was not casual. On July 30, in his message of greetings to the Sixth World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Total Disarmament, held in Tokyo, he had made the same proposal.

Again, this proposals is not quite new so far as the Chinese are concerned. As early as July 1955, Chou En-lai had expressed "the Chinese people's hope that the countries of Asia and the Pacific region including the United States will sign a pact of collective peace to replace the antagonistic military blocs now existing in this part of the world."

Ever since, the People's Republic of China has repeatedly reaffirmed this proposal.

However, this practical and sensible proposal to ensure peace and ban war in Asian and Pacific areas was summarily rejected by the U.S. Government. On August 1, came out with a peremptory statement peevishly characterising the Chinese Premier's offer as "only another meaningless propaganda gesture on the part of the Chinese Communists."

## Wide Response

The Chinese initiative, however, won fairly wide response from lovers of peace the world over and the Asian countries in particular.

Burma's National United Front welcomed the Chinese offer and in a statement pointed out that if the countries in Asia and the Pacific area could carry out the proposal, put forward by Premier Chou En-lai, it would be most beneficial to world peace and peace in Asia and the Pacific area.

The Cambodian weekly, Nationalist, stated, "the proposal made by Chou En-lai is very important." Another Cambodian paper, Mittaphap, stated, "the peace-loving people in the world and the people of Southeast Asia including the Cambodian people consider that

the proposal of Chou En-lai was well-timed and expressed fully the peaceful will of the Chinese people."

The Indonesian paper, Harijan Padjar, pointed out in an editorial that "this kind of peace pact will bring benefit to the entire people in Asia."

The top intellectuals of the world and national leaders from Asian, African and Latin American countries, who are sober and wise enough to refuse to get bitten by the anti-Communist bug and thus lose their own balance, adopted a general resolution in their world meet which declared, "We demand the establishment of an atomic-free zone in the Asian and Pacific regions and in Central Europe and the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Asian and Pacific countries."

It should thus be clear enough that it is U.S. recalcitrance that stands in the way of forging practical, sensible and widely desired sanctions for peace in Asia.

The U.S. Government statement of its own stand was contained in a major foreign policy speech made by U.S. Secretary of State Herter in

the annual meeting of the American Bar Association, on September 1. He did not mince words. He declared that "for the prevention of war," "first major element" of the "basic concepts" of U.S. policy was to "maintain an invulnerable strategic deterrent."

A still more high-level concentration of Herter's aggressive militarist statement was contained in Eisenhower's special message to the Congress wherein he made proposals for more bombers, more aircraft carriers, more missiles, more missile launching submarines,

by P. C. JOSHI

more military exercises, more efforts to conduct a continuous air-borne alert, more and more money on arms.

The second "major element" in the statement of U.S. policy, according to Herter, was to "maintain a secure and diversified capability for responding to and suppressing a wide variety of lesser threats to the peace."

Life itself supplies a very revealing commentary on the above in the illegal criminal and armed intervention of the U.S. in the affairs of Laos, Vietnam and Korea in Asia, in Congo in Africa, in Cuba in Latin America.

China's offer of an atom-free Asia could not fructify because of U.S. resistance but the Asian, African and Latin American peoples are doing all that they can to defeat and smash U.S. intervention in their respective countries. The Chinese Government is expressing its solidarity and giving practical support to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, fighting for their independence and thus helping to change the history of enslavement of the past and write the new history of colonial

sovereignty and ensure a peaceful environment for developing their own economy and people's life, according to their respective lights.

## Treaty With Afghanistan

During August, a Chinese Government Goodwill Delegation, headed by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, Chen Yi, received a rousing reception and concluded the Sino-Afghan Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression. China had already signed such treaties with Yemen, Burma and Nepal. Such solemn treaties are giving a new and legal form to China's peaceful relations with its neighbours against which no imperialist slander can work.

The joint Sino-Afghanisthan communique pointed out, "It is fully possible to find fair and reasonable solution of all disputes between Asian and African countries in the spirit of friendship, cooperation, mutual understanding and mutual respect."

The People's Daily in its editorial, dated August 28, has hailed the treaty as "a new triumph of the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence and the Bandung spirit."

Influential Afghan paper, Anis, August 28, welcomed the joint communique as a "good symbol of the impeccable rela-

liberation and world peace.

The U.S., instead of responding to the Chinese proposal, has been setting up missile bases in Japan, Okinawa and Taiwan. Undeterred, the Chinese Government has been negotiating bilateral pacts of friendship and mutual non-aggression with its neighbour countries, strengthening mutual confidence and helping save Asian peace.

There is nothing in common between the social and political systems as they prevail in monarchist Afghanistan and the People's Republic of China except their common desire to defend their own national

## VICTIM OF GOVT.'S VINDICTIVENESS, EMPLOYEE TAKES HIS OWN LIFE

**T**HIS is the story of 35-year old Rajeshwar Chatterjee, a Government employee who was victimised after the strike, who took his own life on September 19 last. In life, the Government did not pay him enough to maintain himself, his wife and two growing children, in death he has made a terrible indictment of the Government's policy of petty vindictiveness.

Rajeshwar was employed in the Central Food Directorate (Eastern Region) in Calcutta.

He had served in the army and joined the Central Food Department in 1948 as a weighman on a salary of Rs. 40 a month. He was a matriculate, and while many other employees with the same qualification and junior to him by at least four years, were promoted to the posts of Superintendents, Joint Directors and Deputy Directors, he remained where he was, because he was not in the good books of the bosses. They did not like him as he always championed the cause of the employees.

Several years had to elapse before he could become a clerk. But he was again reverted to the post of a weighman when he dared to stand up against corruption and nepotism in the department.

It was only after the formation of a trade union organisation of the employees that he got back his former post. But then, he was promptly hustled off to Assam. There too, he doggedly fought for Chabiali, a seep, who had been illegally discharged, and ultimately succeeded in getting him reinstated.

He was transferred to Calcutta as a junior godown-keeper on a grade of Rs. 80-120. At the time of the general strike, his total emoluments amounted to Rs. 167.50 a month.

### SUSPENSION

He took part in the general strike and was suspended on July 13. A charge-sheet was served on him about a month later. He appeared before a departmental court of enquiry in connection with the charges levelled against him.

When he was suspended, his emoluments came down to Rs. 115. He had incurred loans to put up a mud house for his family at Baraset, a few miles from Calcutta. It was half-finished when the strike came.

With these heavy loans on his shoulders and the steep reduction in income, Rajeshwar did not know how to meet the bare needs of a family of four — himself, wife, eight-year-old son and

four-year-old daughter. The Durga Puja was near at hand. What would he offer to his children?

He was also afraid that he would be transferred to Assam, and then he would lose the city and house allowances he was getting in Calcutta. Would it be possible, then, to meet the expenses of his family with such a meagre income? What would happen to the half-completed house at Baraset? How would he repay the loans?

Reduced to despair, Rajeshwar put an end to his own life.

Keshavan Nair, Joint Director of the Department, himself admitted at a meeting held on September 21 to condole Rajeshwar's death, that he had committed suicide because he could not stand the mental and economic strain, to which he had been subjected due to his suspension from service.

A condolence resolution passed by the Directorate of Food (Eastern Region) Employees' Association has expressed its profound sorrow and resentment over the tragic events that led to Rajeshwar's death.

A deputation on behalf of the Association also met the Director-General (Food) in Calcutta on September 23, submitted a memorandum to him and discussed with him the tragic incident.

The memorandum demanded that the Government should give adequate compensation to the family of the deceased, hold an impartial enquiry into the circumstances leading to the suicide and take proper action against such persons as are found to be responsible for the suicide.

### DEMAND

The memorandum also demanded that all suspension orders in connection with the Central Government employees' strike should be withdrawn. It pointed out that the departmental authorities had taken severe disciplinary action against 21 employees, who had been served with fresh charge-sheets. Many among the temporary staff had been transferred.

It is learnt that B. B. Ghosh, Secretary of the Union Ministry of Food, telephoned the regional office in Calcutta to hand over Rs. 200 to Rajeshwar's widow as personal help from him.

Accompanied by some policemen, P. S. Roy, Deputy Director (Stores), Calcutta, went to Rajeshwar's house on September 23 to hand over the money. The widow declined to accept any personal help from any officer.

# A LOOK AT RECENT FACTS

tions of goodwill and friendship between two friendly countries with historical good neighbourly relations."

Another Afghan paper, Islah, August 28, editorially stated that the "treaty was a living symbol of peace and friendship in this part of the world" and that it was "the best representation of the friendly relations existing between them and of their aspirations to safeguard world peace."

The Indian Press has been painting Sino-Indonesian relations in a very much worse light than they actually were to corrupt and distort the minds of the Indian public.

## Agreement With Indonesia

We have now an authoritative statement from no less a person than President Sukarno himself. In his recorded speech for the swearing-in ceremony of the new Indonesian Ambassador to China, Sukarno broadcast over the Indonesian Radio, on August 22:

"We have a little difficulty with China, namely difficulties over the overseas Chinese question, but they are not major ones." He also stated that with goodwill on both sides these difficulties could be settled. He added, "these minor difficulties however, would not in the least change our position and desire to maintain the closest relations with China... these minor difficulties are only a scratch on the skin that does not harm the body—friendly relations between Indonesia and China."

The Indonesian President's above hope has been duly fulfilled. On September 8, at the meeting of the Sino-Indonesian Joint Committee, complete agreement on the methods of implementing the dual nationality treaty between China and Indonesia was reached. This Joint Committee was set up on January 25 this year and complete agreement was reached after mutual discussions at 24 meetings. The agreement was announced jointly from Jakarta by the senior delegates of Indonesia and China who stated that formal ceremonial signing will soon take place.

Indonesian Minister of Culture, Prof. Prijono, in his address before the Indonesian-China Friendship Association, on September 18, said that the people of Indonesia and China had marched forward shoulder to shoulder in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism. China had all along extended support both materially and morally to Indonesia's struggle. He pointed out in particular that Indonesia had received support from China in its struggle for the recovery of West Irian. Indonesia on the other hand, he said, had repeatedly proposed that China's rightful place in the United Nations be restored to her. He, also, expressed his conviction that with a powerful country like China as her friend, Indonesia would triumph in her own just struggle.

The Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council, Abdul Ganil, in his written speech, said that China as an "awakened giant" had naturally made certain quarters in the

world feel uneasy. But the Indonesian people would not feel uneasy over the Chinese People's Revolution. On the contrary, on the "basis of Afro-Asian solidarity and the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence the people of the two countries would help each other."

## Dispute With Burma Settled

Burma too had a boundary dispute with China just like ours and it evoked passions and memories which imperialist reaction and its agencies sought to capitalise.

This is now past history so far as the China-Burma boundary issue is concerned for it has been successfully solved by the leaders of the two countries.

On September 24 a joint press communique was issued by the representatives of the two Governments from Peking which states—

At the invitation of the People's Republic of China, Burmese Premier Nu will attend the October 1 Chinese National Day celebrations and formally sign the Sino-Burmese boundary treaty.

To celebrate the peaceful and friendly settlement and to express to the Chinese people the kinsmanlike sentiments of the Burmese people, the Burmese Government will offer a gift of two thousand tons of rice and one thousand tons of salt to about one million Chinese inhabitants living in close proximity to the border.

At the invitation of the Government of the Union of Burma Chou En-lai will visit Rangoon in the beginning of January next, exchange the instruments of ratification of the boundary treaty, and also attend the celebrations of the thirtieth anniversary of Burmese independence.

To celebrate the coming into force of this historic boundary treaty and to convey to the Burmese people the kinsmanlike sentiments of the Chinese people, the Chinese Government will present to about one million two hundred thousand Burmese, living in close proximity to the common border, a gift of 2.4 million metres of printed cloth and 600,000 porcelain plates."

The conclusion of the treaty, the exchange of friendly settlements by the two Premiers and the presentation of fraternal gifts by one Government to the inhabitants of other, along the once disputed and now settled border symbolises the good-neighbourly relations between China and Burma and their further consolidation.

The All-Burma Federation of Students' Unions and the Rangoon University students have enthusiastically welcomed the new agreement.

The Rangoon Daily in its September 19 editorial wrote: "The successful settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary demarcation has been the result of the spirit of compromise displayed by both countries... We believe that this is one example which ought to be taken by every country to settle all disputes."

Another Burmese paper, the Vanguard, in its September 18 editorial hailed the agreement as "entirely just and fair." It stated that "China or Burma did not one-sidedly stick to historical records but had settled

the matter in accordance with the present situation and on the basis of mutual understanding and equality." It noted, "it was impossible in the past to have such discussion on the basis of equality between a big Power and a small nation." The paper stressed that this agreement had deprived those of their main weapon "who sought to create misunderstanding between China and Burma and further aggravate world tension."

The U.S. Government's irresponsible but meaningful rejection of the Chinese offer to make Asia and the Pacific free from the danger of an atomic war could not remain the end of the story. Nor the efforts of pro-Western Indian reactionaries to maintain and ceaselessly endeavour to heighten tension in India-China relations. Chinese foreign policy has maintained its steady forward progress to do what it can to maintain and consolidate Asian solidarity and peace, on the basis of coexistence.

The pro-imperialist propaganda agencies, however, want peace-loving Indians to look at the new changing reality in our neighbourhood from the wrong end of the telescope so that we may swallow their new myth that the successful Chinese agreements with Afghanistan, Nepal, Burma and Indonesia

are only a part of the diabolical Chinese game to isolate and pressurise India!

These countries are the common neighbours of both our countries, the first two of Asia. They have more in common, ideologically and politically, with India than with China.

Truth may take time to triumph, but even a whole barrage of lies cannot kill truth and certainly not in the present-day fast changing world.

However much Indian reaction and the pro-Western monopolist Press try, the common, truth-seeking peace-loving citizens of India are going to ask themselves and all concerned: if Afghanistan, Nepal, Burma, Indonesia can solve their problems and disputes with China why should not India try and try again till good-neighbourliness is restored, as among all our other common neighbours with China, and all fellow-followers of Panchsheel?

As the pro-Western Indian reaction finds that the above new and historic developments are making mintem of their much-publicised thesis of "Chinese aggressiveness," they are rushing to take shelter behind the principles of Marxism-Leninism! They misquote and misuse the ideological discussions of the world Communist

movement only to be able to state their new tale that Khrushchov himself has come to the conclusion that the Chinese Communist leaders do not believe in the principle of peaceful coexistence and want war instead! The plight of reaction is real indeed.

Elementary common sense should have told these gentlemen that Khrushchov is the last man in the world who will oblige them and that no man of reason can easily swallow their latest.

When we Communists do not differ among ourselves, we are damned as lacking free thought. When we do discuss issues among ourselves, we are painted as on the point of falling apart. It is the traditional case of tails we win and heads you lose.

But history is not made this way, and our neighbour China is making history. It is struggling to overcome hindrances that come in the way of establishing good relations with all its neighbours.

India has its own problems with China but China's record of the year, with its other neighbours, should give all honest Indians confidence and faith that we, too, can solve our outstanding dispute on the basis of the common principles of Panchsheel.



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## INDO-PAK FUTURE

PRIME Minister Nehru has done a good job in restoring normalcy in our relations with our closest neighbour. Indian reactionaries and Western imperialists had their own hopes and plans for this visit.

Pandit Nehru had to tread, during his Pak tour, slippery ground but as the official communique reveals, he managed well and belied imperialists' hopes.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan "recognised that reduction in tension and development of friendly neighbourly cooperative relations" was necessary to achieve the primary need of the two countries for "the rapid development of their resources and the raising of the standards of living of their people."

To ensure the above, the following official machinery has been set in motion:

1. The two Finance Ministers to meet and resolve differences on outstanding financial matters.
2. A ministerial conference to review the progress of the implementation of the border agreement.
3. A high-level meeting to consider the results of the old Movable Property Agreement.
4. Promotion of cooperation on scientific and technical matters.

Above all, increased development of trade and economic cooperation, with Pakistan buying Indian cement, iron and steel and India buying Pakistani jute, cotton, rock-salt, Sui Gas, etc.

The most controversial issue of Kashmir was, of course, discussed and it was agreed to give "further thought to it with a view to finding a solution."

Irrespective of the nature of the political regime that prevails in Pakistan, every step that helps to develop normal relations between the two is good for India, Pakistan and world peace.

### Reaction's Aims

In the present context of improving Indo-Pak relations, reactionaries seek to pursue their political aims by exploiting the popular sentiment against continuing tension and for the restoration of normalcy between the two closest neighbours.

Ex-editor of the *Hindustan Times*, Durga Das, writing in the *Tribune*, September 20, in his "A Political Diary", plays up Ayub and runs down Nehru. According to him, it was the Pak President who was "desirous of a get-together" and when Pandit Nehru's "embarrassment reached the limit, he was compelled to respond." More, "there is no doubt that President Ayub Khan by giving Pakistan a stable regime and dedicated leadership, has made it possible for Mr. Nehru to visit Pakistan."

Ex-editor of the rabidly pro-western *Thought*, Ram Singh, now a columnist in the *Hindustan Times*, September 14, pleads that "if recent months Pakistan has perceptibly been moving away from rigidity of its foreign policy associated with its former rulers."

The main point he wants to ram home is that "the aim really should be not to save

Kashmir for this or the other side but to save the whole sub-continent for itself." This is the first step of the last argument of reaction. If the World Bank can guarantee the Canal Waters Treaty why not summon the U.S. to underwrite the security and sovereignty of the whole sub-continent, not only of Pakistan but of India as well!

The Swatantra chief carries the argument forward. Western statesmen have been made to realise that the Indo-Pak conflict cannot be utilised to forge an Indo-Pak defence pact and make it a part of their global system of military alliances as long as Nehru heads the Government in India and popular sentiment remains suspicious of the West despite the dispute with China. They are, therefore, popularising the half way "disengagement" in Kashmir.

Rajaji has sought to give this proposal the status of old-age wisdom. "If the armies should withdraw from the cease-fire line and the line be well preserved as the firm boundary until we come to a treaty later on and the two armies thus spared are utilised to be deployed against China, we may be sure aggression will march back as noiselessly as it had trespassed." (*Hindustan Times*, September 21)

Gonenka's *Indian Express*, September 22, has rushed to give editorial support. "It is worthwhile as an exercise in mutual trust."

### Anglo-American Press

The popular sentiment for restoring Indo-Pak amity is sought to be exploited and cunningly directed towards anti-Chinese provocation.

The *Economist*, London, September 24, considers the Indo-Pak treaty as an "essential preliminary" and very significantly headlines its comment "Half Way?"

The *Baltimore Sun*, September 21, editorially acclaim it as "an important document in Asian history."

*Washington Evening Star*, September 20, claims all the credit for the American side. "It was an American," Lilienthal who conceived the project. "It was through the patient professional skillful negotiating offices of the World Bank" that the agreement was reached. And "it is to the credit of our own Government—plus those of U.K., West Germany, Canada, Australia and New Zealand—that the essential financing for the project has been guaranteed." This American newspaper now sees "increased hopes of solving the Kashmir dispute," in the same way with the final word remaining with the U.S.

It also considers it "timely to point out" that it was emergence of the tension with China that made India "think in terms of improved relationship" with Pakistan. It expresses its future hope, "Certainly if this materialises further it will add immeasurably to the strength and stability of the non-Communist South Asia."

The above comments from the Anglo-American Press, and the wily words of their protagonists within India, should help to forearm the country which way they seek the wind to blow in developing Indo-Pak relations, which have begun to unfreeze. They would direct

# NOTES OF THE WEEK

the pent-up desire for improved relations with Pakistan towards heightening the tension with China and step by step secure corresponding shifts towards the Western camp in our foreign and defence policies. They are counting without their host, the patriotic and peace-loving people of India.

### Guard Against This Danger

We are all for improving our relations with Pakistan. It will, however, be no improvement in the situation at all if in the process our relations with China are worsened, worse still, such an operation if at all seriously attempted will involve our walking into the imperialist parlour.

Whatever the professional anti-Communists may imagine, the common Indian will ask them: if our relations with Pakistan can improve why cannot they improve with China as well? And more, what is the sense in improving our relations with one neighbour only to ruin them with another? It is going to be very hard going for the friends of Western imperialism in India in the world of 1960.

What happens to Indo-Pak and India-China relations during the coming months will depend to a great extent as to what happens in the United Nations' General Assembly during the current month where the historic struggle for controlling and ending the armament drive and helping the struggle against colonialism will be discussed and decided. India along with other uncommitted nations will undoubtedly work shoulder to shoulder with Socialist countries headed by the USSR in terms of India's own proclaimed policies.

When the whole world balance is rapidly and decisively shifting against imperialism and colonialism more and more, it is not at all easy but very difficult indeed to turn the situation in India in favour of the Western imperialists.

### WHAT HAPPENED IN TEHRI

DURING this month, District Conferences of our Party are being held all over the country, to be followed by State Conferences next two months—culminating in the Party Congress, early February, to be held in Vijayawada.

It was natural enough for the comrades from the border districts of U.P., from where I myself come, to invite me. I generally do not go out public-speaking, my job keeps me confined to the *New Age* desk. However, this time I decided to go; the first reason was the pull of the homeland and the appeal of heavenly Himalayan autumn but more irresistible was the call of duty as a Party journalist.

The doings of our comrades working in the border had been attacked by the Prime Minister on the floor of Parliament. I decided to accept the Tehri comrades' invitation and see things for myself.

*New Age* had been attacked by the Prime Minister. I am its Editor. The activities of the Communists on the border had

also been denounced by him. Now I was going to that very border area. A real opportunity for the *New Delhi* newspapers, controlled by top Indian monarchs and shameless champions of Indian "friendship" with the imperialist West and *jehad* against world Communism. They put out a scare story even before I left for Tehri.

The *Hindustan Times* sent its Staff Correspondent from New Delhi and so did the *Hindustan* to cover my visit to Tehri and the inevitable public speech.

At the bus stand in Tehri, the local comrades met me with Red Flags in hand. We all marched together to the statue of the late Suman who founded and organised the Tehri Praja Mandal to fight feudal autocracy. Everybody in Tehri knew Suman as a selfless people's leader and a firm friend of the Communists.

After putting the garland around Suman's marble neck, we marched to the Sangam to offer flowers down the flowing Ganga, at the very spot where Nagendra Saklani's ashes were scattered down the stream. Saklani was the founder of our Party in Tehri, martyred in the struggle against Tehri autocracy.

### Border Issue

Leading citizens, no followers of our Party, painfully told me that the police ban-dobust and the panicky atmosphere created by official propaganda reminded them of the old days of Maharaja's rule. Half in jest, I retorted that this should not surprise them, for was not the same old Maharaja now the Congress M.P. from Tehri!

There is literally no border trouble at the actual border and this so-called problem worries the local people the least. Nevertheless, I had to speak on the border issue because the papers are full of it and so are the top politicians of the country who however should know better.

I explained the stand of our Party in terms of the resolution of our National Council which neither the Prime Minister nor any Chinese-baiting newspaper of the country has found anti-national!

I stressed that our Party will defend the country against all invaders, including the Chinese if they ever came!

I reminded the audience that the trusted Prime Ministers of the two countries were pledged not to let their armies cross the common border and seek a peaceful settlement instead.

I duly stressed the much-maligned truth that the Chinese had no aggressive designs against our country. The local folk very well know how long it takes and how easy it is to reach the Gangotri or Kedarnath, Badrinath or Kedarnath, right on the border and Mansarovar just across the border.

I put to them the simple question how long it would have taken the Chinese to come in if they really wanted to and the whole audience laughed at my appeal to Congress leaders not to raise the Chinese hood, needlessly scare the people, and thus fight us Communists under a false banner. And so on.

The *Hindustan Times* Correspondent dropped everything else and built a whole big story around a distorted version of my last point.

His editorial chief added a whole editorial entitled "Unmasked," with the theme that I thought India was safe because of Chinese generosity and not on the strength of Indian arms and that Fanoti Pant was just in time with his Border Bill and that it must be discussed in Parliament "in the light of activities such as the recent Communist conclave at Tehri."

If the real bosses of the *Hindustan Times* cannot keep their scribes in leash, I will have many more unsavoury details to give. But the above is enough for the moment.

— P. C. JOSHI

### 'No' From Aid India Club

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

makes no bones about it. "What repercussions Mr. Khrushchev's pending visit to the U. N. had on the Paris meeting is not clear. What is understandable is that any attempt by India at world peace-making which will have the result of enhancing Mr. Khrushchev's hold on the newly independent African nations or on Asia may not help this country getting more aid from the West."

Relate the above to Morarji's well-known demand that Pandit Nehru make no new and important foreign policy statement while he goes on his aid-seeking mission abroad and ominous signs become visible on the Indian horizon.

However, neither Morarji nor his friends in the West are strong enough in the world of today to prevent India's Prime Minister from going to the U. N. but it is very much worthwhile closely following Morarji Desai's own words while abroad.

India's Finance Minister, on September 27, told the National Press Club, Washington, that India's development plans were of "pivotal significance" against the current explosive background of Asia, Africa and Latin America. He added:

"One of the most momentous questions facing us today is whether aspirations of humanity will lead to an orderly progress under what we understand as constitutional democracy, under conditions of harmony of freedom, or whether they will find expression in man's brutality to man, chaos and in violence."

This is exactly how imperialist statesmen understand India's "historic role", Morarji's above words are a literal paraphrase of the President Eisenhower's speeches made while he was in India!

The pressing question arises: as long as Indian finances remain in Morarji's hands, is India's Plan at all safe? The nation must exercise vigilance and call him to account. The time is now.

# PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

THE question of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems has become the main issue in modern international relations. Adoption or rejection of peaceful coexistence as the general line of foreign policy signifies the approach to the issue most vital to the nations, the question of war or peace, and to the destinies of millions of peoples.

On the attitude taken to the problem of peaceful coexistence depends:

1. The line of foreign policy. The line of peaceful coexistence means the utmost consolidation of cooperation between countries and peoples, the rejection of war as a means of settling disputable issues, abstention from violation of the integrity and sovereignty of other countries, from interference in their home affairs; the abolition of military blocs, the termination of the arms race, the implementation of general disarmament, the development of trade and cultural relations;

2. The line of internal policy. Naturally, a country which stands for peace directs its efforts towards development of the civil branches of the economy, the construction of houses, schools, cultural establishments; shortens the working day, lowers taxes on the population;

3. The tactics in the struggle for strengthening the positions of Socialism, for expanding the influence of the Communist and Workers' Parties, for the consolidation of all peace-loving and progressive forces.

### Two Lines

The Socialist countries and the International Communist movement resolutely defend the policy of peaceful coexistence, hold aloft the banner of active struggle for peace. "The Communist Parties," states the Declaration of the Moscow Conference, "regard the struggle for peace as their primary task. Jointly with all the peace-loving forces they will do everything in their power to prevent war."

The July Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union confirmed the loyalty of our Party to the principles of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto, which are the charter of the modern Communist and working class movement, the programme of its struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism.

The reactionary imperialist circles, contrary to the line of peaceful coexistence, pursue a policy of preparations for war, the arms drive, the strengthening of military blocs. The foreign and home policy of the ruling circles of the imperialist countries, the USA, in the first place, is subordinated to this.

The imperialist propaganda is making furious efforts to discredit the Socialist camp, the International Communist movement, to present the philosophy of Communism as a philosophy of war and coercion.

In capitalist countries thousands of books seeking to prove "the aggressive nature of Communism" have been published. The chief political and propagandist slogan, under which the aggressive imperialist quarters conduct preparations for a new war and brain-washing of the masses, is the assertion that the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp are allegedly preparing aggression against the capitalist countries with the aim of forcibly imposing Communism. "The leading politicians of the imperialist camp — Eisenhower, Herter, Adenauer, who are pursuing a provocative, aggressive policy, also dare to ascribe aggressiveness and coercion to the philosophy of Communism. This is called shifting the blame."

### Why Such Importance?

Never before has the struggle for the prevention of war been so important as it is at present. This is due to the fact that the atomic and hydrogen weapons lend a new nature to modern warfare. Were the imperialist circles to succeed in unleashing a new world war, this would bring mankind immense misfortunes and result in countless victims. Can mankind be reconciled to such a prospect? No, it cannot. A

time has come when actually the whole of mankind is vitally concerned that war should be prevented.

It is the great good fortune of the nations that there exists on the globe and is growing stronger from day to day the world system of Socialism, which has placed the whole of its tremendous moral and material forces at the service of peace, and has made the prevention of a world war a feasible possibility. In fighting consistently for peace, for peaceful coexistence, the Socialist camp expresses and defends the interests not only of its own peoples, but of all people on earth, it appears as the saviour of mankind from a destructive thermonuclear war. This is one of the radical reasons of the unprecedented growth in the international prestige of the Socialist camp.

In our time the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism is both the banner of a theory bringing the working class and all working people liberation from imperialist domination, and the banner bringing mankind deliverance from a devastating war born of imperialism.

The Leninist Decree on Peace introduced a new era in international relations—the era of the struggle for peace, for the prevention of war. The imperialist forces accustomed to profiting from the arms race, to unleashing

war, saw a mortal danger to their established order in Lenin's decree. The U. S. Secretary of State at that time, Lansing, in a letter to President Woodrow Wilson called the Decree of Peace "a direct threat to the existing order of things in all countries." Peace, a direct threat to the existing order of things—such is the man-hating philosophy of capitalism!

On the very first day of the birth of the new Socialist State V. I. Lenin proclaimed the policy of peaceful coexistence. In his concluding remarks to the report on peace, he said: "We reject all clauses dealing with plunder and violence, but we shall welcome all clauses containing provisions for good-neighbourly relations and economic agreements; those we cannot reject."

V. I. Lenin indicated the ways of ensuring peaceful coexistence.

"Our experience," said V. I. Lenin, "has inspired us with the firm conviction that only great consideration for the interests of different nations eliminates the ground for conflicts, eliminates the fear of intrigues, creates the confidence, in particular in workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which both peaceful relations between nations, and any successful development of all

of all the Socialist countries of Europe and Asia, real possibilities will be created for excluding a world war from the life of society even before the complete triumph of Socialism in the world, while capitalism still remains in a part of the globe;

When the hordes of the enemies attacked the Soviet Union, V. I. Lenin called for military action, for selfless defence of the socialist homeland, for a resolute rout of the aggressors and their expulsion from the territory of the country. Fulfilling Lenin's instructions, the Soviet people routed the hordes of the entente, and with immense inspiration set about peaceful constructive work.

### Foreign Policy

V. I. Lenin regarded the policy of peaceful coexistence as the general line of foreign policy of the Socialist State. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is fighting consistently for the triumph of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence. It stood for it at the time when the Soviet Union was only gaining its feet and gathering strength. It stands for it also today when the Soviet Union has become the mightiest State in

the world.

The problem of peaceful coexistence is linked with the decisive stage in the economic competition between Socialism and capitalism. It has been proved irrefutably that in conditions of peace the Socialist system will in the course of approximately 10 or 15 years surpass the capitalist system in world production, will ensure the very best living conditions for the people;

A programme of universal disarmament has been advanced as a way of ensuring peaceful coexistence and peace;

It has been proved that in the conditions of peaceful coexistence, the class struggle in the capitalist countries does not grow weaker, but grows stronger, more acute; permitting the working class to wage an offensive, including the most decisive actions against the capitalist monopolies and their sway; that the possibilities for the national liberation movement, for revolutions to overthrow the colonial imperialist yoke not only remain, but increase to a tremendous extent.

# — a vital necessity

that is valuable in modern civilisation, are absolutely impossible."

V. I. Lenin devoted great attention to the preparations for the Genoa Conference, to which the Soviet Government came with the practical aim of expanding economic relations with the capitalist countries, and presenting proposals for general disarmament.

### Force Of Example

V. I. Lenin taught us that Communism would make a way for itself, would prove its advantages not by force of arms, but by the force of its example. He advanced the idea of peaceful economic competition between the two systems, the two economies—the Communist and the capitalist.

"We," said V. I. Lenin, "shall prove that we are stronger." Of course, the task is a difficult one, but we have said, and continue to say, that Socialism has the power of example. Force is of avail in relation to those who want to restore their power. But that exhausts the value of force, and after that only influence and example are of avail. We must demonstrate the importance of Communism practically, by example."

That is how V. I. Lenin presented the question of peace-

All these important conclusions are the result of creative Marxism-Leninism. The founders of scientific Communism, Marx, Engels and Lenin, emphasised that their teaching was no dogma, but a guide to action, that it had to be developed in accordance with the changes in social life. After the creation of the world system of Socialism the situation in the world changed radically.

### New Stage

With an eye to these changes, and creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU defined the ways of the historical development of society under conditions of the existence of the world Socialist system, the ways of the consolidation of Socialism and the disintegration of imperialism. The 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU, as assessed by the fraternal Parties, raised the world Communist movement to a new and higher stage.

The Declaration points out: "The Communist and Workers' Parties, participating in the present Conference, declare that the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of the two systems, that has been further developed in modern conditions in the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, is the bedrock foundation

The conclusion has been drawn that as a result of the fulfilment of the economic plans of the Soviet Union, and

by B. PONOMARYOV

\* SEE PAGE 12

Some Indian papers reported a few weeks ago that an official spokesman of the West German Government at a Press Conference in Bonn had brought a charge against the German Democratic Republic that it was preparing an aggressive war against West Germany.

**T**HE charge was backed with "evidence" purported to have been brought by a defecting East German Army "political officer". The officer himself could not be produced before the Press for reasons of "his own safety." The "evidence" consisted of some cinema slides of photographs of leaflets alleged to have emanated from East Germany which called upon the West German population to rise in revolt and cooperate with the GDR's "Liberation Army" which according to those leaflets would perhaps soon be marching on West Germany.

### Goebbelsian Tactics

Like in all other respects it is a return on the part of West German rulers to Goebbels' tactics of thief shouting, "Stop thief." To divert attention from what they have been planning they accuse the GDR of preparing aggression. It shows the desperate straits to which the West German militarists and warmongers have been reduced. They cannot produce before the Press the person who is alleged to have brought these sensational reports.

Most likely, such a person does not exist. All they can produce is slides of some so-called East German leaflets, which, too, most likely are a forgery in the old Nazi style.

What has reduced the West German militarists to such a desperate strait? Above all it is the convincing and documented evidence the German Democratic Republic has recently produced, backed by live witnesses, of West Germany's advanced plans for a lightning war, a blitzkrieg, against the GDR. Let us have a look at these disclosures.

A number of officers and members of the West German armed forces have recently sought asylum in East Germany. All of them have appeared before well-attended international Press Conferences in East Berlin or over the East German T. V. Here are some instances.

● Major Bruno Winzer, Public Relations Officer of the Southern Command of the West German Luftwaffe, appeared before a Press Conference on July 8.

### Details Of The Plan

He stated that he had come over to the GDR because he could no longer consent to work on the preparations for a new war of aggression. He told the Press that in his official capacity he had received full information about the details of the blitzkrieg which it was planned to launch from the southern part of West Germany, the sector in which he held his appointment.

With the aid of a sketch-map, Winzer demonstrated how the attack would be launched by strong mobile forces from the town of Hoh along the frontier between GDR and Czechoslovakia. It was planned that these forces would rapidly reach the Oder-Neisse fron-

tier with Poland, and then turn north cutting off the GDR from its allies.

Simultaneously, a second Wehrmacht group would sweep through neutral Austria, encircling Czechoslovakia from the south and linking up with "resistance groups" in Hungary. The organisations of Wehrmacht veterans in Austria would hold open the roads and bridges for the West German column which it was planned would be able to cross Austria in a single night.

The aim of this lightning attack would be to present the Soviet Union with accomplished facts. The West German war planners hoped that the Soviet Union would shrink from the risk of the "limited war" becoming an "all-out nuclear war."

Major Winzer revealed that preparations for putting the blitzkrieg plan into action were already fairly advanced. An opportune moment when the go-ahead signal would be given was being waited for when some provocation in Berlin or other suitable places would be staged to

## Disclosures By West German Army Officers Who Have Sought Asylum In East Germany

12 on the T. V. he said he had accompanied General Kamhuber and the Defence Minister Joseph Strauss on a visit to the United States in March 1958.

During this visit the American authorities had given a firm promise to provide the West German forces with tactical nuclear weapons including "Honest John" rockets. At a meeting of the West German military delegation at which he had been present, Captain Von Gliga stated, General Johannes Steinhoff and Lieut-Col. Reppening had then played a "game" with a map of Germany, selecting targets in the GDR at which they would like to fire Honest John rockets.

### W. German Ambition

Captain Von Gliga had been present on October 31,

on the staff of its commander Major-General Kurt Freiherr Von Liebenstein.

This von Liebenstein had been Nazi military attache in Paris before World War II and had helped organise the fascist fifth column there. During the war he commanded Nazi units in the attacks on France and the Soviet Union. Weissenberger stated that his cartographic work had shown him that the entire planning of the West German armed forces was aimed at a lightning war against the GDR and other Socialist States.

He said he had participated in August 1959 in the NATO staff manoeuvre "Side-Step" as chief map-maker for an army district. This manoeuvre was based on the idea that all rocket and nuclear weapons should be used at the very beginning of the coming war. Rocket-launching pads in Army-Command V (Baden-Wuerttemberg) were assumed

57. Boats of this size can be equipped with rockets."

### Training For The Navy

The officers and sailors of the West German Navy were being systematically trained on the basis of the experience gained during the war by the Nazi fleet, Steppat said. Secret document B No. 2614/58 VS A 3a which he displayed outlined these lessons. Among other things this document also advised indoctrination of the officers and sailors, which largely consisted in telling them that practically the whole population of the GDR were awaiting salvation by the West and they expected the West German armed forces to "liberate" them.

"Our officers and indoctrination officers declared quite frankly that civil war be-

# Hitler's Heirs Get Ready For Another Blitzkrieg

provide the public pretext for the crime.

Among other important disclosures made by Major Winzer was further confirmation of the already-known fact that West Germany had played an important part in making the French atom bomb. On Oct. 16, 1958, West German Defence Minister Strauss had told the Public Relations Officers of the Wehrmacht at a secret meeting in Munich that France had not got the money to build its own bomb. Important negotiations were in progress between West Germany and France for co-operation in building the bomb, Strauss had stated.

Another disclosure related to West Germany's role in American U-2 spy-plane flights. Major Winzer said he had himself seen a top secret Wehrmacht report in August 1958 giving full details about the espionage flights over the Soviet Union made by these planes from the airfield at Spangdahlem, Southwest of Bonn.

### Rockets For The Nazis

● Another West German officer who crossed over to GDR was Adam Von Gliga. He had been adjutant to Lt.-Gen. Joseph Kamhuber, Inspector-General of the Luftwaffe. Appearing on July

1958, at a conversation between Strauss and Kamhuber where Strauss had said:

"For the next two years we must awaken the impression that we are the most earnest adherents of the conception of complete military, political and economic integration (in NATO). During this period our own planning will have gone so far that we shall be in a position to conclude bilateral political and military pacts with the USA, though we shall naturally give the appearance of maintaining our NATO ties. Our military strength will then allow us to reach our goal of becoming the outstanding military and economic power in Western Europe. We shall then be able to call the tune."

### Lightning War

● Major Winzer and Capt. Von Gliga were only two of an increasing flow of members of the West German armed forces who recently sought asylum in the GDR. Another to come over and appear on the TV in July was Otto Weissenberger, a cartographer who made the General Staff maps for one of the main Wehrmacht commands in West Germany, in Baden-Wuerttemberg area

to have been used for nuclear attacks on large cities in GDR.

For Baden-Wuerttemberg itself, huge evacuation measures were planned. The city population was assumed to be evacuated into the Black Forest mountain area, but in order to hold the main roads open for military movement the military police were authorised to use "all means" to combat civilian disobedience.

● Another arrival in GDR was senior boatswain Joachim Steppat who had served in the West German U-boat fleet. In an interview on the GDR T. V., Steppat showed some of the military documents stamped "NATO-Secret" and "Top-Secret" which he had brought with him.

Steppat said he had joined the West German Navy in 1956 in the belief that it was a purely defensive force. Experience had shown him that the West German Navy was being built up for aggressive warfare in the Baltic, he said.

"The West German U-boat fleet is a purely offensive arm," Steppat declared. "It has the same task as Hitler's U-boat fleet in which I served as a young man. The Howaldt shipyard in Hamburg is now modernising the old Nazi submarine 'U2540' with a displacement of 1820 tons and a crew of

tween East and West was unavoidable.

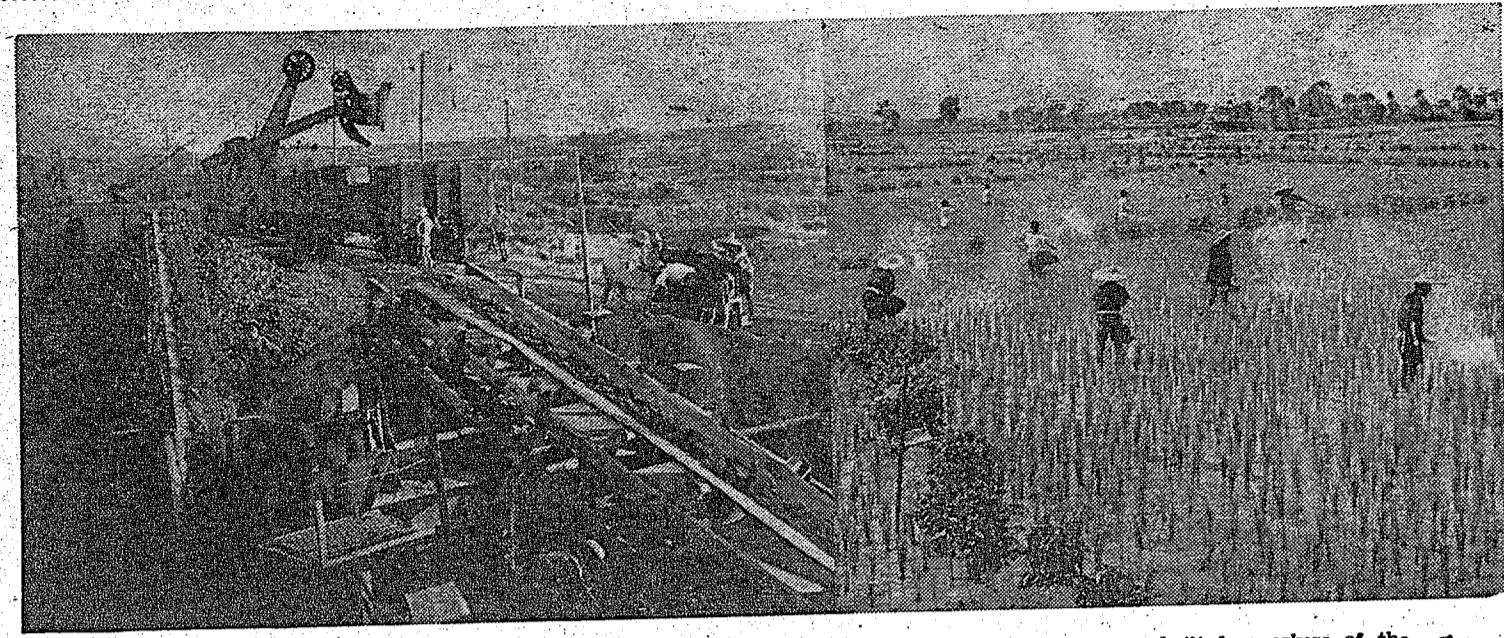
"The documents I have brought with me show that... by the middle of 1961 everything will be ready for action."

Other members of the West German armed forces who have come to GDR recently include a naval petty officer, a parachute trooper, two airmen and a soldier from a tank regiment.

● The parachute trooper, Remo Ahrt stated that he had undergone thorough training in guerrilla warfare at a special school. The training was based on that given in World War II to members of the Nazi "Brandenburg Division" which became famous for the mass murders it carried out on both sides of the front lines.

Revelations by these members of the West German armed forces who have felt alarmed about the fate of the German nation that the former Nazi Generals in command of the West German Army are preparing, have now compelled Bonn to come out with charges against the GDR—charges which are so palpably false that the master-forgers are themselves unable to cook up any evidence which could in the least be credible.

—ZHU HAO



LEFT: Iron mine carries out technical transformation. Five iron ore crushing continuous lines were built by workers of the Kushan Iron Mine in Anhwei Province. These continuous lines have higher working efficiency and produced good quality iron ore. RIGHT: Members of the Roping People's Commune spraying ash in the late rice fields to stimulate the growth of the rice seedlings as part of their efforts to strive for a good grain crop this autumn.

## CONTINUED LEAP FORWARD IN CHINA'S NATIONAL ECONOMY

1960 is the third successive year of the big leap forward in China's national economy. During the last two years, China's national economy developed by leaps and bounds and fulfilled the principal targets of the Second Five-Year Plan three years ahead of schedule.

The average increase in the total value of industrial and agricultural output during the two years was 3.6 times the annual rate of increase during the First Five-Year Plan period. The absolute value of the increase in industrial and agricultural output during the two years was more than twice the total increase during the First Five-Year Plan period.

1960, as a year of all-round continued leap-forward, is all the more significant. The year began with "open door" glad tidings from all over the country, when tens of thousands of factories, mines and other enterprises reported unprecedented production records. They broke the "old rule" that at the beginning of the year, season or month, the work was usually at a slower pace and the output was rather low, while toward the end of the year, season or month they had to work doubly hard in order to fulfil the quotas. They pledged to increase the output each successive month. Thus a firm basis for a steadily higher output was established.

### Technical Revolution

Since last spring, the mass movement in China's economic construction has entered a new stage of technical reform and technical revolution, centring around mechanisation and semi-mechanisation, as well as automatic and semi-automatic operation. Up to the end of June, mechanised and semi-mechanised operations in China's industry had shown an increase of about 50 per cent or 20 per cent higher than at the end

of 1959. As a result of the progress made in technical reform and technical revolution, from January to April this year, labour efficiency of the workers in the industrial enterprises has risen about 80 per cent as compared with the corresponding period of 1959. In rural areas, a mass movement whose main object is to improve and semi-mechanise agricultural implements has also made great headway. The masses of peasants, in cooperation with the trained technicians, have devised various farming machines and tools especially adapted to the local conditions, such as the paddy-field rice transplanters, wheat-harvesting machines, and so on. The mechanical power increased so far this year in agriculture is equivalent to the labour power of 20,000,000 peasants.

### In The Rural Areas

Meanwhile, in the rural areas, the rate of progress and the scale of construction of irrigation works have exceeded the record of

by KUNG HSIAO-CHI  
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any preceding year. This has greatly increased the power to combat natural disasters. Therefore, despite this year's extremely serious drought, the peasants have been able to score great victories in fighting the drought and in planting crops in the fields.

The continued leap-forward in China's national economy since 1958, particularly the all-round still greater leap-forward since the beginning of this year, has repeatedly demonstrated that, in order to have an uninterrupted leap-forward in the national economy, we must follow persistently a policy of self-reliance, industry and economy

and economy are the correct way for China to develop into a strong and prosperous Socialist State rapidly.

Secondly, in the development of our national economy, we have steadfastly followed the policy of making agriculture the foundation and industry the dominant factor, and integrating the priority development of heavy industry with the rapid development of agriculture. For, a more satisfactory execution of the agricultural plan will bring about a higher output of grains, industrial raw materials and non-staple food products.

Thirdly, we have closely followed the policy of setting up simultaneously large, medium and small enterprises, and adopting both modern and indigenous Chinese methods of production. As a result, we have established groups upon groups of small enterprises using modern as well as indigenous methods of production throughout the country.

Weak Links Strengthened

Our experience has shown that the mushroom growth of these small enterprises has greatly speeded up our industrial development, quickly

This will enable us to meet

# CHINA'S PEOPLE'S COMMUNES

IN Hsuancheng County in China's Anhwei Province, there was a Shuangchiao Super Cooperative which was formed in 1956 by the amalgamation of 88 Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives belonging to eight townships. It consisted of 5,071 households. Run on the principle of merging Government administration with cooperative management, it became a prototype of the people's commune.

However, lacking an appropriate name at that time, it was called the Shuangchiao Super Cooperative. With the advent of the people's communes in September 1958, the Shuangchiao Cooperative took in 14 additional Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives and was formally reorganised into the Shuangchiao People's Commune. The number of households in the new people's commune increased to 14,207.

The territory of the Shuangchiao Super Cooperative was a flatland with a north-to-south declivity. Almost no water conservancy work existed here before the Liberation—there being no irrigation ditches on the high land nor dikes around the low land. As a result, every now and then the place suffered from flood or drought, and the peasants lived in an exceedingly miserable plight.

After Liberation, especially following the formation of the agricultural cooperative, a good number of water conservancy works were built, which increased the farm output and improved the peasants' living conditions. But the small size of the cooperative still prevented it from carrying out large projects or making overall plans. It could only do small jobs and patch work. The land was still subject to the menace of flood or drought, though only partly. In the seven years from 1949 to 1955, flood occurred in four years and drought in two years to 25,000 mou of the lowland.

## Lesson Well Learnt

In the winter of 1954, an attempt was made to pool the manpower of 13 Agricultural Producers cooperatives—including Tushan, Lienho, Tamakang, etc., with an actual number of 600-odd able-bodied labourers attending the work—to enclose a 9,000-mou tract of lowland with a dike. But owing to the fact that only the cooperatives that would directly be benefited by this project showed enthusiasm for the work, while others stayed cool, the work was suspended five days after it was started. This event taught the local peasants a bitter lesson, who voiced: "Only by merging small co-ops into a large one can we carry out projects of building dikes and ditches."

In the autumn of 1955, after Chairman Mao Tse-tung's directive on agricultural cooperation reached Shuangchiao, the local peasants made a serious study of

it. Their political consciousness was raised and their minds were emancipated. Those already in the cooperatives asked for the expansion of their organisation, and those outside requested admission.

Uncle Wu of the Tungwang village, who in the pre-Liberation days had for 15 years left his native place to seek a livelihood elsewhere, now hearing the news that a "big cooperative" would be organised and the lowland would be enclosed by dikes, returned home. Eleven poor peasant households in Yang Village came with food to the office of the new organisation's preparatory committee, asking for admittance.

## Discussions And Decision

Under those circumstances, to facilitate its planning, the preparatory committee put forward the question—"How to run our enlarged coopera-

# RURAL

tive well?"—to all the local people for discussion. In the course of the discussions, the rank-and-file members concluded that the business of the new greater organisation should start from dike-building and ditch-digging, so as to put the 25,000 mou of lowland into an enclosure and end the disasters of water-logging and drought once for all.

They figured it this way: the larger the enclosure, the more advantageous it would be. On the basis that a well protected field could yield 300 more catties of grain per mou than the old field, an enclosure of 14,000 mou would yield 4,200,000 more catties per year, whereas a 25,000 mou enclosure could fetch 7,500,000 more catties.

To build the larger enclosure would destroy 400 mou of land, but it could utilise the old dikes and old river beds and enclose in 2000 mou of swamp land. A smaller project might cost a little less land, but it would require the opening of new canals and building of new levees, leaving 2000 mou of swamp land outside the enclosure.

Manpower was another important consideration. A 2,000 household cooperative would provide only 2000 to 3000 men for the work, far short of requirement. But a 5,000-household co-op would be able to furnish 6,000 labourers, quite adequate for the job.

## Big Projects Started

Summing up the opinions of the masses, the preparatory committee decided in favour of the 25,000-mou larger enclosure plan. At the same time the cooperative was expanded, with membership increased from the original 2,000 to 5,071 households.

The 5,000-peasant households thus became one family.

## ★ by CHANG LI-CHIH and WANG CH'UAN-CHING

Many projects which were beyond the power of the former small co-ops could now be handled by the big co-op. Dike-building and ditch-digging involved in the large enclosure project were started at once. The peasants, who had been for generations subject to the ravages of natural disasters, displayed extraordinary enthusiasm and energy in the work. Overcoming many difficulties and hardships, they finally completed a dike 20 li long, excavated a drainage ditch 16 li long, opened three trunk irrigation canals and built 52 culverts and sluiceways.)

Not only was the 25,000 mou of lowland thus effectively protected from the menace of excessive rainfall, but, because the land could be irrigated by water from the Tungkung Dam, it was protected from protracted drought. The 2,000 mou of swamp land was also

# EFFICIENCY

converted into fertile fields. The completion of the water conservancy projects was immediately followed by busy spring sowing. But the separation of the township and the co-op—each working its own way—created new problems. For instance, when the township asked for information and figures on spring sowing, the co-op did the same. The peasants had to submit the same figures and the same report twice. To facilitate fieldwork and management, it was necessary to combine the dual systems into one. So the merging of political administration and cooperative management was put into effect.

## Efficiency Improved

As a result, matters submitted by the lower levels for settlement began to be settled in good time, and the orders of the upper levels could be carried out much faster by the lower levels. Efficiency was greatly improved—work that used to take two days to get through now required only one day. This also permitted a reduction in the administrative personnel, and seven cadres were sent down to take charge of the work in the production brigades. Administrative expenses were cut by half.

Since the enlarged co-op was formed by the peasants' own free choice, the members spared no efforts in order to make everything a success. Under the leadership of the Party, the members of Shuangchiao Super Co-op conquered typhoons, floods and droughts. In the summer of 1956, a devastating typhoon swept the locality, followed by a terrific rainstorm. More than 3,000 mou of ripe early rice crop was blown down, 500 mou of cotton crop was damaged, 10,000 odd mou of mid-season

rice was inundated, and some 800 rooms were wrecked. Under these conditions, the Party Committee of the Super Co-op, with full determination and courage, led the members in a valiant struggle. For three days and three nights, they did their utmost in reaping the prostrate rice plants, draining flood waters, replanting the drained fields with red rice and buck-wheat. The wrecked houses were repaired and restored. Thanks to the large size and therefore the increased strength of the co-op, the yield of grain for the year still amounted to 465 catties per mou, a 14 per cent increase over 1955.

## Fighting Flood And Drought

In 1957, an extraordinarily big flood occurred, inundating over 20,000 mou of farmland. The co-op mobilised 4,700 men to drain the water, who completed the whole job in two days. The co-op also sent a labour force to Tungkung Hsiang, a neighbouring co-op, to stop a dangerous dike-breach. For the year 1957, the Shuangchiao Co-op's grain yield reached 480 catties per mou, or 15 catties more per mou than in 1956. In 1958, an unprecedented drought lasted for 100 consecutive days. But thanks to the water conservancy works and



★ At the Chunshu People's Commune: (LEFT) women, liberated from household drudgery, begin to learn the letters while (RIGHT) their children are well-looked after and fed in the nurseries and kindergartens. ★

the strenuous efforts of all its members, the Super Co-op successfully fought off the effects of the protracted drought and scored a bumper harvest. Yield of grain for that year reached 800 catties per mou, or 20 per cent to 40 per cent higher than that of 14 neighbouring agricultural co-ops.

From its very inception the Shuangchiao Super Co-op had the rudimentary features of a people's commune. The members of Shuangchiao and all surrounding Agricultural Producers' Co-ops, realising that a large organisation was much superior to a smaller one, desired to make the Super Co-operative still bigger. Hence, as soon as the

Chinese Communist Party issued the call for the establishment of people's communes in 1958, Shuangchiao at once responded with great enthusiasm. Countless people rejoiced at the news, sending in applications for membership in the forthcoming people's commune. Thus, the Shuangchiao Super Co-op was readily reorganised into the Shuangchiao People's Commune by amalgamating 14 agricultural producers' cooperatives in the two neighbouring townships. The new Commune had 14,207 households, 57,000 individual members, and 116,400 mou of land.

The formation of the people's commune made the organisation much larger in scope and greater in manpower, richer in financial and material resources. As a result, large water conservancy projects were built, which completely eliminated flood and drought disasters, put local water resources into full use, and stepped up the rapid and all-round development of all lines of production.

Before the commune was formed, the water conservancy projects were handled separately, but now they were put under a centralised planning committee. More than 4,600 irrigation canals and ditches, with an overall length of 70 kilometres were either built or deepened on the basis of the old ones. Supplemented by 1,700 odd ponds, embankments, dikes and moats, this new network of channels formed a

be accustomed to shopping in the evening. Over 3,500 families now had electric light, so the housewives could do their sewing and children their homework under the bright light. The husking and flour mills were able to process 125,000 catties of grain per day, more than enough to satisfy the food requirements of all local people.

The unified irrigation system also created favourable conditions for raising fish and other aquatic products. Soon after its formation, the commune built a fish pond, in which 13.8 million small fish have so far been placed.

The year 1959 saw particularly rapid development in

the commune's various activities of production. The commune's gross income for the year reached 14,240,000 yuan, a 55.6 per cent increase over the great-leap-forward year of 1958. The yield of food grains jumped to 1150 catties per mou, or 43.8 per cent higher than in 1958.

Following the increase in output, the commune members' standards of living have been raised, with each individual member earning an average of 135 yuan for the year, a 26 per cent increase over 1958 and 2.1-times that of 1955, the year before the Super Co-op was formed. At present, filled with confidence for still greater achievements, all the commune members are forging ahead in big strides.

# IN PEKING

★ by CHU CHI-HSIN

THERE are still countless old residential areas in Peking, where rows and rows of ancient houses line along both sides of narrow and crooked "hutungs" or lanes. Most of these houses are situated in the so-called "big mixed compounds", where several or even dozens of families live in the same courtyard. While all go through the

dergartens, nurseries, neighbourhood service centres are hung everywhere. If you talk to any housewife, she will tell you cheerfully what a new life she is leading. The Chunshu People's Commune embraces a spare block of residential area with some 13,000 families, or more than 56,000 people. Before the formation of the people's commune, a little over 30,000 of them were employed or going



★ At a service centre, which does all sorts of miscellaneous household chores. Workers at the centres are called "collective housekeepers." ★

to school. Out of the remaining 20,000, aside from the old people, children and invalids, about 6,400 people were able to work but were prevented from doing so by family duties. The people's commune was started by organising these people into productive enterprises.

One evening, Chou Shu-ying, a housewife who lives at No. 24 Nanyuhsiang Lane, ran into the Neighbourhood Committee office to see Pai Hsiu-chin, the director. She said excitedly, "Didn't you say that we housewives should contribute some bricks and tiles to support Socialist construction? Here are a few dollars I've saved. Please buy some bricks and tiles as my contribution." Then, she took out a purse from her pocket and handed it over to Pai Hsiu-chin.

After a moment of hesitation, Pai Hsiu-chin understood what Chou Shu-ying meant. With a smile she pushed the purse back, saying: "What I mean by contributing bricks and tiles to support Socialist construction is not the solicitation for fund. My idea is to organise ourselves and take part in some kind of productive work."

This rather embarrassed Chou Shu-ying. She said, "I'm really muddle-headed. My sweat all over, but no one cared. After hours of joyous work, the first lot of product was brought out and found to be up to standard after inspection. Everyone was happy that ordinary housewives could make chemical products. Their success aroused the interest of their neighbours, who flocked to see the shop. Some volunteered to stay and work. In this manner the shop began to grow up step by step. On my visit, I was amazed to see a factory with several workshops and more than 300 workers, whom were housewives who had just been relieved of their household drudgery. But who were doing their housework? 'Collectivisation', as a local saying goes. This is not a simple matter; it required a complete network of public welfare services which the commune had already set up. It comprises 23 community canteens, 76 nurseries and 25 neighbourhood service centres. There are three large community dining-halls using machines, each capable of accommodating a thousand diners at a time, located in the factory districts, aside

from a large number of medium and small canteens scattered around. Workers was doing their housework? can have their meals by walking only a short distance. Those eating regularly at the canteens, and children eating in nurseries total over 5,100. The Shansi Street Community dining-hall is one of the three larger ones in the commune. The spacious and airy dining-room here can be compared with any large restaurant. Owing to the use of all kinds of mechanised equipment, the 30 odd kitchen workers can prepare meals for over 1,800 diners, while the quality of the food is well up to standard. The menu on a large blackboard consist of dozens of different dishes which the diners can choose from. The canteen is subdivided into the general dining-room, the mother-and-child dining-room, the Moslem dining-room and the guest dining-room.

## Beginning From Scratch

A vacant yard of about 200 square metres at No. 49 Nanyuhsiang Lane was converted into an open-air workshop for the new venture. Two large jars and a broken bellows were borrowed from the Neighbourhood Committee, several hundred catties of hard coal were collected among themselves and 2.40 yuan was spent for buying some simple tools and gloves. This was all they had. Raw materials were the acid waste from a nearby factory and scrap iron from a metal works. They began to produce ferrous sulphate. It was a terribly hot day when they opened shop. They poured the acid waste into the cauldron, made a fire underneath and stirred the iron scraps inside laboriously with a wooden rod. The burning sun overhead made them

producing scores of varieties of products. Chou Shu-ying, the first volunteer, had become the foreman of one of the shops. Almost all the other factories run by the people's commune were started from scratch like the chemical works. Liu Yung, a leader of the people's commune, told me that there are at present 18 factories making a variety of products. Among these there is a scientific instruments factory, the glass factory, a woodworking factory which makes daily articles, a tailor shop, a paste workshop with about 30 workers, and a plastic factory with over 500 workers. The policy of these factories is to serve large industrial plants and municipal construction, and to meet the needs of the people. Among the 159 varieties of products, there are precision instruments, high-grade dyestuffs, handsome plastic rain-coats, handbags, etc. The speed of the growth of output is amazing. The total value of output in the second half of 1958 did not exceed 310,000 yuan; in 1959 it grew to 8,500,000 yuan, while for the first three months of this year it jumped to 12,600,000 yuan. From its reserve fund the people's commune has purchased more than 400 new machines, such as lathes, planers, milling machines, punch presses and electronic heat combination machines. Residents taking part in industrial production and other social work of the commune had reached a total of 5,700, the overwhelming majority of

★ SEE OVERLEAF

# ... AND URBAN

brain has been dulled by my kitchen duties. How fine it will be to organise for production! I'll register for such work."

"Of course I like your enthusiasm, but we can't do it by ourselves. We must mobilise all those who can do so..." Without waiting for Pai Hsiu-chin to finish her talk, Chou Shu-ying interrupted, "I'll go to consult the others." That evening eight women registered. What would they do? Tsang Nien-yao, an old neighbour who was working in a chemical factory, suggested the setting up of a small chemical shop. They agreed and started to work.

A couple who were taking their meals together told me that the canteen had solved a most difficult problem for their family. Before, each used to eat in their respective organisations, while the three children had to cook their own food after school. Not only their studies were affected, but not knowing how to cook, they often ate half-

# CONTINUING LEAP FORWARD

strengthened the weak links of our national economy, promoted the rational distribution and avoided the over-concentration of our industries. Also through this wide-spread development, we have succeeded in inventing new techniques and training great numbers of technical and administrative personnel.

China is a vast country, her rich natural resources are found in widely scattered areas. But the geographical distribution of her industries in the past was most abnormal. For instance, in 1957, throughout China, only 22 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions could make iron; 17 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions could make steel, and there were altogether 95 large and small iron and steel works.

## Imbalance Removed

Since 1958, however, as a result of the rapid establishment of small enterprises using modern and native methods of production throughout the country, all provinces, municipalities and autonomous re-

gions with the exception of 110-6 can now make iron and steel. At the end of 1959, there were a total of 1,400 iron and steel works of various sizes throughout China, plus 3,000 small iron and steel works using indigenous method. Thus, the unbalanced distribution of industries in the past was quickly corrected.

Our experience in this respect has shown that a wider and better distribution of industrial units will make it easier to mobilise the local initiative and the peasant masses in building industrial enterprises and to exploit more thoroughly the natural resources. Moreover, medium and small enterprises as a rule require less capital investment and can obtain quicker returns. As the techniques of operation can be easily learned, they can train large numbers of cadres in short time. All this will greatly accelerate the development of our industry.

Fourthly, a new policy of fundamental significance in the acceleration of the Socialist construction of China is the development of diversified enterprises and comprehensive utilisation of materials. Our experience shows that this will break down the

boundaries between trades and departments, and encourage industries to engage in other productive enterprises which they need and which are within their ability. This will also enable the plants to fully utilise their existing equipment, technical personnel, raw materials and capital fund in undertaking capital construction or expansion, so as to meet the requirement of less investment, quicker returns and relying on one's own resources.

Furthermore, the processes of production in many enterprises can be coordinated more effectively, so that unified leadership and rational division of labour in Socialist production can be achieved. For instance, a certain measuring and cutting tool factory in Szechwan province, for the last two years, has built a total of 14 satellite plants to produce its own needed materials, such as iron and steel, bricks and tiles, chemicals, cement and saw dust. Today the factory has well grown into a complex, with the manufacture of measuring and cutting tools at the centre, surrounded by iron and steel works, chemical works, building materials works, and so on. As a result, its present production capa-

city has increased more than four-fold the originally planned maximum.

## Important Measure

It shows that the development of diversified enterprises and the comprehensive utilisation of materials make it possible to fully utilise materials, change waste into useful materials, turn little and one use into large and many uses. Hence, the carrying out of this policy has become an important measure in speeding up our Socialist construction.

Fifthly, in order to ensure the continued leap forward in the national economy, it is necessary to launch an all-out mass campaign on all fronts for technical reform and technical revolution. Old China had a very weak technical foundation. Since the liberation, especially since the big leap forward, although our technical level has been considerably raised, it still remains quite low. This condition is clearly not suited to the high-speed development of our social forces of production. Then, in 1958 and there-

after, as a result of the big leap forward of our industry and agriculture and other enterprises, a relative shortage of labour began to be felt on our industrial and agricultural fronts. It has become obvious that to start a mass movement for technical reform and technical revolution with a view to increasing immediately labour efficiency or bringing about higher output without increasing labour power, is no longer a matter of exclusive interest to one particular department or locality, but a problem of fundamental importance to the progress of the Socialist construction of the whole nation. In the course of this unprecedentedly great movement for technical revolution in our national economy, the Chinese people have demonstrated utmost ingenuity. With indigenous methods and a combination of indigenous and modern methods, they have made many technical innovations best adapted to conditions in China, and greatly accelerated the progress of our science and technology.

## New Moral Standards

For instance, the 10,000-volt high-tension (electric) bridge was built by a small instrument plant in Shanghai. Many production units or departments have shown equally amazing achievements. "Keep the difficulties to ourselves and give the conveniences to others," and "Learn from the advanced, emulate the advanced, catch up with the advanced, and help the backward" have now become the new moral standards. In addition, the high tide of the technical reform and technical revolution movement has brought about a wave of enthusiasm among the rank-and-file workers to study cultural and technical subjects. This gives a further impetus to the deepening of the movement itself.

The new situation brought about by the continued big leap forward in China's national economy since 1958, especially in the current year, is a concentrated expression of the earnest demand of China's 650 million people to transform their nation from one of poverty and backwardness into a powerful Socialist State. This once again testifies to the correctness of the General Line of Socialist construction calling for "going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results" as put forward by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

## No Quarrels Now

During my interview with these women, they all told me that there is no longer any quarrel among them. On the contrary, everyone is vying with the other in cleaning up the courtyard and doing work of common interest. The whole compound has been transformed into a big family of good neighbours. Because the housewives begin to work, their family incomes have been increased and their living standards improved. Out of the 15 families, ten have now bank savings. Clothing and bedding added during last year numbered no less than 150 items, worth over 2,000 yuan. In talking about their commune, these women were so cheerful that they smiled all the time.

The Chunshu People's Commune has registered such remarkable achievements in less than two years of its existence. Its future prospect is certainly bright. Liu Yung, a leader of the commune, has rightly said: "The people's commune is an organisation with infinite vitality. We have only taken the first step!"

# People's Communes

\* FROM CENTRE PAGES

cooked, burned or cold food. When the couple returned home on week-ends, husband and wife had to busy themselves in the kitchen. Now in this dining-hall, all can have hot and wholesome food at low prices from early morning to late at night.

In the dining-hall I happened to meet Chin Hsiu-hsiang, matron of a kindergarten who invited me to pay a visit to her institution. I readily agreed. The kindergarten is situated next door to the dining-hall. In the neatly arranged courtyard, several scores of children were playing games. A few nurses were washing the hair for some children in the bathroom, while another group of children were playing with building blocks. By way of introduction, Chin Hsiu-hsiang told me that the kindergarten paid special attention to the cleanliness of the children and gave them nutritious food. Quite a few showed increase in body weight after admission.

## Parents' Gratitude

Some of their parents sent tatepao posters to express their gratitude. One of the posters in her office says: "My daughter Chang Kuei-ying, before coming to the kindergarten, was weak in constitution, slow in motion, rude in manners, shy to strangers and did not know anything about cleanliness. Since she entered the kindergarten, however, she has become a new person. She has become plump, lively, polite, tidy, besides being able to do physical exercises, dance, sing and tell stories."

The 16 workers at the kindergarten, mostly housewives, carry on their daily routine while studying child education. Half a day per week,

they attend lectures at the special training class arranged by the Peking Municipal Board of Education.

There are altogether 76 nurseries and kindergartens run by the commune, caring for some 3,400 children. Some of the children are boarders, while others stay there only in the daytime. Parents pay only the expenses for food, while the salaries of the nurses and workers and other expenses are subsidised by the commune.

Aside from cooking food and taking care of the children, there are a lot of miscellaneous household chores which worry many a housewife. In the Chunshu People's Commune, all these sundry duties may be entrusted to the care of the neighbourhood service centres. Workers at the service centres are called "collective house-keepers", because they can do practically everything for you. At each service centre there hangs a list of services, including serving boiling water, cleaning rooms, laundry, mending shoes and socks and so on. But sometimes they may forget some items. That doesn't matter. Just mention it, and the service centre will meet your request without fail.

## A Baby Is Born

Once at the Chuchia Street Service Centre, the following event took place. One afternoon when Keng Chun-lien, head of the centre, was discussing some work with Aunt Wang, a pregnant woman stumbled in. She picked up the telephone hurriedly and asked her husband to come home, because she was on the verge of giving birth to a baby. She was told that her husband was out of town on business. While she was worried and restless, Keng Chun-

lien came over to console her. "Calm down", she said, "the service centre will help you." The pregnant woman was greatly moved by such sympathy and tears began to flow down her cheeks. But she was in labour pain and could not utter a single word. Seeing the situation, Keng Chun-lien immediately asked Aunt Wang to send for a doctor, as it was too late to go to the hospital. Meanwhile she herself helped the pregnant woman to her home.

When the husband returned that night, a healthy infant had already been safely delivered. Both mother and child were well taken care of and everything in the home neatly arranged by the workers of the service centre.

The charge for any service is very low, and some services cannot be computed in terms of money at all.

## New Look

The "big mixed compound" has become a big family. This is the opinion of all members of the commune.

No. 3 Mienhua Toutiao Hutung is one of such big families. On entering the compound, one sees that every nook and corner is spick and span and a quiet air prevails. The compound comprises 15 families with 72 people all told. All able-bodied people have gone to work and the 30 odd children are either in the kindergarten or nurseries, leaving only four old people to take care of the compound with the keys of every family in their trust.

Conditions in this compound before the formation of the commune were not like this at all. In the old days, the 17 housewives were tied down to their household chores. When their husbands

went to work during the daytime, they became mistresses of the compound. They used to quarrel over trifles, while dirty water and rubbish were left unswept everywhere.

The high tide of the commune movement swept these 17 women out of their homes. Some of them have become factory workers, and others saleswomen in stores or nurses in kindergartens. Chang Shu-min, mother of six children, is now manager of a non-staple food store, and the 48-year-old Kuo Chun-hua, who had been tied about to kitchen work for half of her life, is now the matron of a kindergarten.

## No Quarrels Now

During my interview with these women, they all told me that there is no longer any quarrel among them. On the contrary, everyone is vying with the other in cleaning up the courtyard and doing work of common interest. The whole compound has been transformed into a big family of good neighbours. Because the housewives begin to work, their family incomes have been increased and their living standards improved. Out of the 15 families, ten have now bank savings. Clothing and bedding added during last year numbered no less than 150 items, worth over 2,000 yuan. In talking about their commune, these women were so cheerful that they smiled all the time.

The Chunshu People's Commune has registered such remarkable achievements in less than two years of its existence. Its future prospect is certainly bright. Liu Yung, a leader of the commune, has rightly said: "The people's commune is an organisation with infinite vitality. We have only taken the first step!"

# WELCOME, FREE NIGERIA

**WELCOME, Free Nigeria!** After sixty years of fight against British imperialism, Nigeria, the biggest colony of Britain, after the independence of India, is free. Free Nigeria with a population of 36 millions and an area of 373,000 square miles would exert a deep influence in strengthening Africa's role in world affairs.

Nigeria is Africa's biggest democratic State, with a democracy that is anchored in federalism; three stable political parties (the Northern People's Congress, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons and the Action Group) led by three seasoned politicians (Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto; Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, popularly known as ZIK, and Mr. Obatemi Awolowo) entrenched in their respective regions (North, East and West) and a great statesman, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Balewa, and so balanced in the Federal Parliament that none can rule alone.

Though the Nigerian Federation does not have the advantage of being led by a single party, yet the three political parties, ruling the different regions, provide sufficient safeguard to its independence and democ-

cracy. Politics has taken deep root in the country and a dozen outspoken newspapers have spread the habit of criticism. Democracy is secure, also because each of the three parties controls one of the regional Governments and a party which controls a regime has to act with responsibility to safeguard its position. In these circumstances the Government cannot adopt a policy of repression against any of the parties and become undemocratic.

**THE NORTHERN REGION**, under the influence of the aristocratic Muslim Emirs, has been the least advanced, democratically and the Northern People's Congress (NPC) the most conservative of the three parties. It is still rubbing its eyes in the unaccustomed light of the new world. It is the largest party in the Federal Parliament, with 134 seats and provides the Prime Minister of the Coalition, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Balewa, a respected figure but without popular appeal.

**IN THE WESTERN REGION**, the bourgeoisie is strong and dominant; the chiefs form an important section of this class. The leading party in the West has been the Action Group

led by Chief Awolowo, leader of the opposition in the Federal Parliament. It places emphasis on social reforms but is closely associated with the traditional chiefs and is Rightist equally in home, continental and international affairs. It is different from most African political parties in being committed to the Western Power bloc. The Action Group has 73 seats in the Federal Parliament.

**THE EASTERN REGION** has the strongest political party, the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons, led by ZIK, who is to become the Governor-General of the Nigerian Federation. The NCNC, which has 89 seats in the Federal Parliament, is the most radical of the parties, appealing to Nigeria as a nation rather than to the older tribal loyalties. ZIK stands for closer union among the African States, non-alignment and positive neutrality. He also favours the membership of the Commonwealth of Nations as do the Action Group and the NPC. The NCNC has some influence in the North and West also.

Cameroons, a German colony before the First World War, now a trust territory of Britain, after a



Nnamdi Azikiwe

plebiscite in 1960, will be free to choose whether to

join the other half of the Cameroons, now a free State or to rejoin Nigeria. Till now Cameroons have been administered by the British Government through the Governor-General of Nigeria.

Nigeria is carrying out a plan of economic development of the country covering the period 1955-62, involving a total expenditure of £ 340 millions. Of this considerable amount, Nigeria is finding over 80 per cent from her own resources, £21 millions in grants and £3 millions in loans have come from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. To this has been added £ 12 millions from the Commonwealth Assistance Loans tied to the purchase of British goods.

Nigeria is not a 'one-crop' country but has a wide range of natural resources, with groundnut, cotton, tin, hide and skin in the North, and cocoa, palm oil and timber in the South. To these has recently been added mineral oil, which may become a significant addition to the country's wealth and earn foreign exchange for the purchase of capital goods for its own industrialisation.

The British Government wanted to impose arbitrary conditions on the granting of independence which would have limited the new nation's sovereignty by establishing a military base in Northern Nigeria. The British could not succeed in making Nigeria a base for NATO activities because of the unanimous opposition of the Nigerian leaders. The British Government has postponed the idea of what they call a 'defence agreement' with Nigeria until Nigeria is a sovereign State.

—V. P. G.

# PARTY NEWS

**THE four-day session** of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India, which concluded at Sirsa in Hissar District on September 22, adopted the draft of the Political-Organisational Report for the forthcoming Provincial Conference of the Party to be held at Nangal from October 12 to 16.

The draft, presented by the Council's Secretary Harkishen Singh Surjeet, dealt with the political situation in the State, the changes that have taken place in the last two years in its economy and their impact on the State, the position of the various political parties and the agitation for a linguistic Province. Forty-one members of the Council took part in the discussion of the report which was adopted with some amendments and additions.

The Council then discussed the situation created by the recent floods. The reports from the flood-affected districts made it clear that the floods were no natural calamity but a man-made disaster. It was not created by the rains but by a break-down of the drainage system. It was a repetition of what had happened in 1955 and 1958.

Nearly three weeks after the flood waters first hit

Rohtak, the whole town was still full of water and filth. All these days the main railway line from Delhi to Ferozepore had remained closed. The other flood-affected districts were also still surrounded by water and to add to everything, the floods have accentuated the water-logging problem in the Punjab.

It is generally admitted now that the damage

## Nehru's Charges Refuted

In a resolution on Prime Minister Nehru's charges against Communist activities in the border areas, the State Council said:

The Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India repudiates the charges levelled by Prime Minister Nehru in Parliament the other day that Communists were carrying on anti-national activities in the areas bordering on Tibet like Himachal Pradesh and Kangra as totally baseless and slanderous.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India has categorically stated in its resolution that it stands for the territorial integrity of our country. Party leaders and organs have again and again re-

caused by floods this year has been far more than by the 1958 floods. The Council characterised the official figures of loss through the floods in the State as a serious underestimation and placed it at no less than Rs. fifty crores. Hence it demanded that the amount of Government relief to the flood-stricken people be raised from Rs. 2½ crores to ten crores.

It condemned the partisan utilisation of relief measures by the ruling party and demanded the

setting up of all-party relief committees at all levels. It also demanded the remission of land revenue, abiana, khush halaiti, local rate and postponement of realisation of tax-cavi loans and other government dues in flood-stricken areas and giving the panchayats the authority to estimate the loss of crops.

The Council resolution also demanded the setting up of a committee of experts and non-official popular representatives to investigate into the cause of floods and the government responsibility in the failure of its anti-flood and anti-water-logging measures and called for a master plan to solve the problem within two years.

It directed its units to participate vigorously in relief work in cooperation with all parties and public bodies.

In another resolution the Council protested against the failure of the State Government so far to review and withdraw all the cases arising from the Central Government employees' strike and the prosecutions going on against many Government employees and also leading Communist workers such as Avtar Singh Malhotra, Satish Loomba, Satyapal Dang, Baba Kartar Singh, Rachpal Singh, Narendra Sharma, Madan Lal Didi and others. It demanded withdrawal of all the cases, the release of those convicted and reinstatement of the employees dismissed or suspended.

of the foreign policy of the Socialist countries and a reliable bulwark of peace and friendship among the nations." The Bucharest Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in June this year, confirmed with fresh strength that they unanimously support the conclusions of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU, which exercised immense influence on the international situation in the interests of peace and Socialism, the principles of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto.

**New Factors**

Does the conclusion that it is possible to prevent war imply any recognition that the essence of imperialism has changed? Imperialism remains a rapacious vulture. Aggression, international banditry and the striving for a revision of the world among the competing capitalist groups are still the constant attributes of the external policy of imperialism.

When the Marxist-Leninists say that war is not fatally inevitable, they proceed from the new alignment of forces in the world arena. Wars were inevitable when imperialism was a dominating force in the international arena, while the social and political forces which were not interested in war were weak, inadequately organised and could not as a result curb the imperialists and compel them to desist from wars.

The situation in the world is different nowadays. The Marxist-Leninists take account of all the new factors which have come into play after the Second World War and assumed a dominating role in historical development. The decisive factor is the transgression of Socialism beyond the framework of one country and its conversion into a world system.

V. I. Lenin prophetically foresaw the conversion of the national dictatorship of the proletariat into its international form. He wrote that the dictatorship of the proletariat existing in one country is not capable of determining the world's policy while the international dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat at least in several advanced countries, is capable of having a decisive effect on world policy. Now that the Socialist camp exists and unites more than 1,000 million people, the period foreseen by V. I. Lenin, the period of the international dictatorship of the proletariat, has come. Now not imperialism, but Socialism has become the decisive force in world politics.

The cause of peace is also upheld by the peaceful countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, holding the anti-imperialist position and forming, together with the Socialist countries, an ever expanding zone of peace; it is the cause of the international working class, the liberation movement of the peoples of colonies and semi-colonies, and the mass peace movement of the peoples.

It is these factors that the Marxist-Leninists take into account when they draw the conclusion that it is possible to prevent war. It is impermissible, under

different conditions, mechanically to repeat the conclusions drawn 50 years ago and reiterate that imperialist wars are inevitable as long as capitalism exists.

The correctness of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence has been verified by life. This principle serves exclusively the interests of mankind and the realisation of its Socialist ideals.

The peaceful coexistence policy consistently pursued by the Soviet Government and other Socialist countries has strengthened the Socialist camp and the entire international Communist movement.

Under the conditions of peaceful coexistence the Socialist countries are developing their economies at a quick pace and realising their advantages over capitalism to an ever greater extent. Our Party is doing its utmost to win in competition with capitalism as quickly as possible and thereby to increase the appeal of Socialism. The July Plenary Meeting of the C. C. CPSU, graphically showed how the Party is mobilising all reserves and possibilities for the pre-schedule achievement of the Seven-Year Plan targets.

Initiated and successfully implemented under the guidance of the CPSU, the majestic programme of peaceful construction and the consistent struggle of the Soviet Government for peace expose the lies and slanders of the bour-

**NEW ALIGNMENT OF FORCES**

geois propaganda claiming that the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp are the potential aggressors planning to conquer the capitalist countries and implant Communism there by violence. Owing to the constant activities of the C. C., CPSU, and Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, the truth about Communism and its chief aspiration—to ensure the people's prosperous life and eternal peace—reaches the masses of the capitalist countries.

With tireless energy and great passion, Comrade N. S. Khrushchov is popularising the Soviet Union's peaceful policy, calling for the consolidation of the forces of peace and exposing the criminal plans of the instigators of war. His trips to different countries have shown the mounting prestige that the Soviet Union enjoys.

A radical change is taking place in the consciousness of the peoples of the capitalist countries. The truth about Socialism and Communism is winning fresh millions to the side of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

**Socialism And Peace**

The most far-sighted bourgeois propagandists are well aware that the banner of peace carried aloft by Communism makes the latter invincible. A book by the rabid anti-Communist Schlamm has

recently been published in the West. . . . the essence of the conflict between Communism and the West—this is so improbable that no one dares to mention the fact—is that Communism thrives on peace, wants peace, triumphs in peace. This bourgeois propagandist correctly understood why Communism is strong. Therefore, he is howling at the top of his voice: don't grant peace to Communism, start a war against the Communist countries.

Now even our enemies cannot but admit that Socialism is developing successfully, that it needs not war but peace, for it is in peace that it prospers.

**Class Struggle**

Sometimes one comes across these questions: does not the principle of peaceful coexistence interfere with the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the development of the national-liberation movement?

The answer should be blunt: these questions betray the unwillingness to grasp the essence of the principle of peaceful coexistence which is nothing less than the highest form of the class struggle between the two opposite systems: Socialism and capitalism, the struggle in which

contributes to the development of the national liberation movement and is a guarantee of the independence of the countries that have won liberty. By its efficient actions the USSR frustrated the imperialist plans to enslave the peoples of Egypt, Syria and Iraq and presently extends its powerful hand of help and support to the peoples of Cuba and Congo. As was recently aptly put by 'Humanite', "Moscow is becoming a capital of hope for millions of Africans who until recently knew nothing about Communism. In any case this is one of the most outstanding events of our epoch, one of those phenomena which will entail major consequences."

Peaceful coexistence facilitates the development of the proletariat's class struggle in capitalist countries and the defence of its interests, as well as the struggle against American domination. In conditions of war preparations the ruling circles of capitalist countries suppress all opposition and curtail democracy. But in conditions of peaceful coexistence they are compelled to give an outlet to opposition forces and liberalise the regime. The upsurge of class struggles in Japan, Italy, Belgium and France is a natural development.

Not long ago Comrade Thorez remarked correctly: "The popular movement acquires greater scope in conditions of easing inter-

nationalism has suffered unprecedented setbacks.

The imperialist camp is torn apart by contradictions between its leading countries, between big and small States, between the USA and all the other countries. A fierce class struggle is going on in all the capitalist countries.

As the appeal of the Rome meeting of the Communist Parties of European capitalist countries correctly stresses: "We live at a time when Socialism is demonstrating its superiority in all spheres of political, economic and social life. We live at a time when with the development of co-existence and of peaceful competition, more and more millions of people with differing social background can be sooner won for the great ideals of Socialism."

World war is not a prerequisite for revolutionary development. Every world war is fraught with crises conducive to revolution. But it would be a mistake to link every revolution and revolutionary situation with a war crisis. The ideas of Socialism are so omnipotent that they have no need for bombs to pave the way for them. War is not necessary to advance the ideas of Socialism. The future belongs to Socialism, which will inevitably replace capitalism throughout the world. This is an objective law of development of society.

**Vigilance And Mobilisation**

The struggle for the triumph of the principle of peaceful coexistence calls for the resolute, determined actions of all peace-loving forces and their mobilisation in the struggle against the threat of war.

The 21st CPSU Congress stressed: ". . . at present the possibility that the imperialists might start a war exists and the threat of war must not be underestimated. For this reason, the Socialist countries and all the forces of peace must be vigilant to the utmost and must extend their struggle for safeguarding peace."

A feature of the present period is that there are powerful social and political forces capable of preventing the imperialists from unleashing a war, and should they

\* SEE PAGE 14

**NEW AGE**

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**NEW COAL FIND**

**Will Govt. Resist Pressure And Work The Area On Its Own?**

EVERY patriotic Indian will be thrilled to learn that in the bowels of his country's earth lie hidden immense amounts of metallurgical coal which will enable the country to have more and more steel plants.

The latest discoveries of this coal—three in number, and qualitatively of Grade I—have been made in the Bokaro and Raniganj areas of Bihar. These, according to the Minister of Mines and Oil, "will change the entire picture in the field of heavy industry, especially in the steel sector."

The discoveries assume new significance in the context of a shortfall in production of metallurgical coal due to private mineowners' reluctance to work their mines optimally, unless they were given leases of the adjoining areas as well. This has already resulted in considerable delay in commissioning the third blast furnaces at Rourkela and Bhilai and in a set-back to production at both these plants.

These mineowners had been holding mining leases in thousands of square miles, but, as the Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel, Swaran Singh, said at the meeting of the Central Advisory Council for Industries last week, "except for pricking here and there" they had been sitting pretty.

**Government's Weakness**

The Government's own weakness lay in letting them do it, and in not developing new mines speedily. The result was a scarcity—aided by the railways' incapacity to haul coal from the pitheads to places of consumption. The private sector—always ready to snatch an opportunity to point out the inadequacies of the public sector—exploited it to buttress its case for lower steel targets.

The new finds, which are said to be easily workable, should help the Government to silence these detractors. But this it can do only if it goes ahead full blast with its programme, without heeding to counsels suggesting that they be handed over to established lessees, who also have the know-how.

**NEW CURBS ON LOANS**

THE Reserve Bank came out last week with a new series of curbs on lend-

ing by commercial banks from October 1. As a result of these curbs, it is claimed, the "high pressure of monetary demand which has been pushing up the commodity prices" will be relaxed.

New Age has time and again stressed the need to control lendings by banks for speculative purposes. It has, therefore, no hesitation in welcoming the new measures which envisage charging of a penal rate of interest on borrowings by banks above a stipulated quota. With the speculators in the commodity markets now disinclined to enter into fresh commitments the first impact of the measures can also be said to be good.

**Subterfuges Possible**

And yet, there is every likelihood of the speculators devising subterfuges before long to circumvent their salutary effect. As it is they will have to pay only a higher rate of interest on their borrowings from the commercial banks, which, in their turn, will be liable to pay a penal rate on loans from the Reserve Bank if they overshoot the quotas. These are speculators and affluent businessmen, however, who will be able to bear the burden of even the higher rate, and yet prosper.

The Reserve Bank's measures may curb the speculative tendencies, but will not stop them altogether. To achieve the latter result a blanket ban will have to be put on lendings to banks beyond their quotas, even at a higher rate—which most of their borrowers can pay. Also their credits should be limited to schemes considered desirable by the Government.

The aforesaid suggestion might seem too drastic to a Government which allows a privately-owned banking industry to flourish as a matter of policy. Still, in the light of the strategic position it holds in controlling the growth of private enterprise, and influencing prices, it is not necessary that its wings are clipped to prevent it from flying too high, and too far away from the path chosen by the nation?

**REVEALING STUDY**

THE Reserve Bank Bulletin for August carries a very valuable and revealing study on India's investment income liabilities abroad, a terminology which in common parlance means nothing else but the income payable to foreign-

**INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES**

About reinvestments of the profits made, the study confirms the widely held belief that "more has been taken out in recent years by non-residents who have invested here" (Indian Finance, September 24). According to it the share of retained profits in total profits after tax declined to 25 per cent in 1957 and 1958 from 40 per cent in 1956.

**Inroads Made By U. S. Capital**

The study also brings out the inroads which the United States capital has been making into India's economy. Its share in the total investment income went up from 15 per cent in 1956 to 23 per cent in

1958. The share of the U.K., on the other hand, declined from about 75 per cent of the total in 1956 to 56 per cent in 1958.

The study has thus conclusively brought out the fact that in her national product India has allowed foreign investors a considerable share; also that the major consideration with investors is not the growth of the economy as such but repatriation of profits home. One wonders if these twin findings will serve as eye-opener to the Finance Minister who has gone to the United States to invite more of such investors here.

—ESSEN

September 27.

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# OUR LONDON LETTER

FROM OHEO GOOPTU

## Scarborough Prepares For Show-Down

THE grand alliance that had so far existed between the Right-wing Parliamentary leadership of the Labour Party and the most important trade unions in the country is at long last beginning to break up.

There is no better mirror of this momentous development in the British labour movement than the Ninety-second Trade Union Congress, which concluded its annual conference a few weeks ago.

### Left Wing Dominant

Gone are the days when the Deakin-Bevin-Williamson axis misused the massive combined block votes of their unions to strangle any attempt to lead the party towards Socialism. Decades of heroic, tenacious and militant struggle waged by the numerically small Communist Party and other progressive elements within the labour movement is at last bearing fruit, bringing about a change in the balance of forces within the Labour Party in favour of Left-wing and Socialist policies.

We all know how, in spite of all the trickeries and the sordid manoeuvres of Gaitskell and his henchmen, the demand of the British people to renounce the nuclear bomb and abolish the war tie-up between the United States and Britain broke through with a vengeance at the TUC Conference, resulting in the victory of the Transport and General Workers' Union resolution by 4,356,000 to 3,213,000 votes.

The TUC repudiation of the policies of Gaitskell, Crossland, Strachey and other important Right-wing leaders, not only on defence matters but also on public ownership, has acted as a spur to many hundreds of delegates at the Labour Party Conference to set the seal on this defeat of the Right wing. So, as we go to press, the battle has already begun at the SPA Grand Hall, Scarborough, where the Labour Party is meeting for its crucial Fifty-ninth Annual Conference.

Two important issues will once again figure most prominently at the conference, i.e. the vital principle of common ownership of the country's economy and, of course, defence and disarmament.

Having defeated the leadership in its attempts to revise the constitution of the party to lead it away from the basic principles of Socialism, the progressive for-

## Right-Wing Leaders Face Defeat At Labour Party Meet

Government should press for an international agreement on complete disarmament and in the meantime, demands the unilateral renunciation of the testing, manufacture, stockpiling and basing of all nuclear weapons in Great Britain."

In the clash of policies on defence, Gaitskell will throw all his weight in favour of the joint declaration of the TUC and the Labour Party, which is based on the retention of the bomb and the American bases in this country. He will be supported by only one of the major unions, apart from such Labour leaders as Strachey, Healey, Sir Tom Williamson, etc.

Unless the trade union delegations decide to defy the clearest mandate of their respective unions under Right-wing pressure, the adherents of a progressive peace policy will in all probability win the battle of Scarborough.

### Right-Wing Plans

In such an event, it would be natural for Hugh Gaitskell to resign as the leader of the party. But already plans are afoot to ignore the decisions of the Scarborough Conference! And undoubtedly any such calculated defiance of the majority will bring about a deep crisis involving the whole future of the Labour Party.

Already many front-rank Right-wing leaders of the party are asserting that the "annual conference does not instruct

the parliamentary party". They are insisting that if the coming conference throws out Gaitskell's policies, the Labour M.P.s will simply carry on as before, disregarding the verdict of the conference. According to them, what really binds the Labour M.P.s is the election manifesto.

The party which has always proudly asserted its role as the greatest custodian of democracy is now being urged upon to defy the decisions of the annual conference!

### Disastrous Policy

The fact of the matter is that so long as the Right wing could rely on the major unions to support its policies, they were satisfied. Now the fact that their votes are likely to be cast against the establishment at the conference has led to talks of "independence" of the M.P.s from the conference decisions!

Yet Lord Attlee (then plain Mr. Attlee) in *The Labour Party in Perspective*, published in 1937, wrote: "In contradiction to the Conservative Conference, which simply passes resolutions that may or may not be acted upon, the Labour Party Conference lays down the policy of the party and issues instructions which must be carried out by the Executive, the affiliated organisations and its representatives in Parliament and on local authorities."

This, as anyone could see, is

the parliamentary party". They are insisting that if the coming conference throws out Gaitskell's policies, the Labour M.P.s will simply carry on as before, disregarding the verdict of the conference. According to them, what really binds the Labour M.P.s is the election manifesto.

### PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

\* FROM PAGE 12

try to begin one, of dealing the aggressors a stunning blow and felling their adventurist plans. The principle of peaceful coexistence and the disarmament programme put forward by the Soviet Union serve as a rallying call to mobilise the masses to the struggle for the implementation of these ideas, and this programme.

Feeling that it is losing ground, that the bell of history is tolling for it, imperialism may well plunge into any adventure. The aggressive nature of imperialism is not being blunted, but on the contrary, is growing more acute. By their aggressive and provocative actions the imperialists would like to make the Soviet Union give up its efforts to achieve a relaxation of international tensions, the liquidation of the cold war, and the normalisation of relations between States. But these calculations are groundless. The Soviet Union pursues, and will continue to pursue, its general line which was formulated by the 20th and 21st CPSU Congress, the line of peaceful coexistence and strengthening of peace.

Those who play with fire should always bear in mind the Soviet Government's warning that not only will planes invading Soviet air space be shot down, but blows will be dealt at the bases from which they take off.

The decision of the July Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee points out: "The Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union must continue tirelessly to unmask all machinations and aggressive designs of the imperialists, to raise the vigilance of the peoples, strengthen the might and improve the defences of our country, firmly and consistently to promote the Leninist line of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, while seeking the peaceful settlement of controversial international problems."

The working class and all the peoples of capitalist countries are called upon to play an important part in stepping up the struggle for peace. Comrade Togliatti remarked justly: "...The more we shall be able, through the manifestations of solidarity among the peoples of all countries of the world, to isolate the leaders of imperialism in our struggle against them, the easier will it be to evade war."

The Labour movement in the capitalist countries possesses tremendous possibilities for increasing pressure on its Governments so as to force them to abide by the principles of peaceful coexistence. And if the peoples muster all their forces, struggle resolutely against the aggressive policy of imperialism and display the necessary will and energy, they will curb the aggressors and force them to give up their adventurist plans.

(Reprinted from PRAVDA)

### Struggle For Peace

The working class and all the peoples of capitalist countries are called upon to play an important part in stepping up the struggle for peace. Comrade Togliatti remarked justly: "...The more we shall be able, through the manifestations of solidarity among the peoples of all countries of the world, to isolate the leaders of imperialism in our struggle against them, the easier will it be to evade war."

Every effort will be made by the vested interests to confuse the issue by jugglery of words. If the delegates yield an inch on the question of the supremacy of the conference over all other sections within the party, it would be calamitous for the entire labour movement. That is why it is of supreme importance to the conference not only to defeat the Right-wing policies on Clause 4 and defence but also to clearly de-

OCTOBER 2, 1960

# LEGAL BATTLE IN MADRAS

THE RELEVANT ARTICLES

\* FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE present hearing before the Full Bench of five Judges of the Madras High Court of a petition for the issue of a Writ of Mandamus against the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly has a history behind it.

### Origin Of Controversy

The whole controversy was sparked by the appointment to the post of Government Pleader of Sri A. Alagiriswami who until the day prior to his appointment was functioning as a District and Sessions Judge.

Immediately after the appointment, the Madras Advocates' Association representing the entire Bar in Madras passed a resolution unanimously protesting against the appointment on the ground that it was against all convention and tradition as the appointment to posts like that of Government Pleader, Public Prosecutor, or Advocate-General had always been from members of the Bar.

This resolution was communicated to the Government and in particular a deputation of the President and Secretary of the Advocates' Association met the Law Minister and put before him the point of view of the Bar.

At this stage, however, the Law Minister entirely justified his conduct saying that the Government felt that this particular incumbent should be appointed to the post because of his excellent career as an official of theirs and in particular because of his experience.

The next chapter opened with the filing of a Writ Petition in the High Court challenging the validity of the appointment of the Government Pleader. The Writ Petition came up for hearing before two Judges of the High Court, P. V. Balakrishna Iyer and Jagadisan JJ.

### Criticism Of Law Minister

The two Judges dismissed the Writ Petition. But while dismissing it, Justice Balakrishna Iyer made some very trenchant observations regarding the conduct of the Law Minister in particular stating in the course of his judgment that he felt that the appointment was not to use the mildest language, above board and specifically criticising the role of Sri C. Subramaniam, Law Minister, in making this appointment.

After this judgment had been delivered the scene shifted from the court to the Assembly. There motions were tabled in the Assembly on September 5, 1960.

OCTOBER 2, 1960

FIRST, a motion by S. Lazar, a back-bencher of the ruling party, seeking to commit the Court for breach of privilege of the Assembly because the Court by this judgment had usurped powers of the Assembly and called into question and adversely commented upon the conduct, character and prestige of a member and Leader of the House, the Law Minister, Sri C. Subramaniam.

SECOND, the motion by Communist leader M. Kalyanasundaram seeking an adjournment of the Houses on the basis of a motion calling for the attention of the House to the serious irregularities adopted in the procedure of the appointment of the Government Pleader as pointed out in the judgment of the High Court.

THIRD, a motion tabled by P. S. Chinnadural, PSP leader, expressing no confidence in the Government in view of the trenchant observations of

## Crucial Question Of Relations Between Legislature & Judiciary

the High Court criticising the manner in which the Government Pleader was appointed.

When the matter of privilege raised by S. Lazar came up before the Assembly it was adjourned to enable the Speaker to consult the leaders of the various parties. The adjournment motion of M. Kalyanasundaram was also adjourned till the 7th for discussion.

The next day, A. Ramachandran, an Advocate of the Madras High Court who was the petitioner in the petition questioning the validity of the appointment of the Government Pleader, filed two petitions in the High Court.

First was for the issue of a Writ of Mandamus to direct the Speaker, Dr. U. Krishna Rao, to forbear from allowing consideration or discussion of the privilege motion tabled by S. Lazar.

### Speaker's Stand

The second prayed for action against Sri Lazar for contempt of court in that his moving of a privilege motion amounted to threat to the members of the judiciary that in the event of their criticising any member of the Assembly or its Leader in any judgment they will be threat-

ened with action for breach of privilege by the Assembly.

When the notice was served on the Speaker, to appear before the High Court, the Speaker refused to obey the summons since he appears to have taken up the position under Article 212 of the Constitution that he could not be summoned to court in respect of any matter of procedure adopted by him in the Legislative Assembly.

However, the matter was considered by the Judges of the High Court to be of such importance that it was posted by the Chief Justice, Sri P. V. Rajamannar and Justice K. Veeraswami to be heard by a Full Bench of the High Court on Monday, September 19.

### Before Full Bench

The petition, therefore, came up before the Full Bench consisting of four more senior Judges of the High Court Chief Justice P. V. Rajamannar,

211 of the Constitution, on whom lies the responsibility to enforce Article 211—on the Court or on the Speaker, the regulator of procedure in the Assembly.

Two, the scope of the jurisdiction of the High Court to interfere if the Legislative Assembly usurps powers which do not belong to it and permits discussion on matters in violation of law and contrary to law; whether Article 212 of the Constitution is a bar to interference of the High Court in matters of conduct of procedure in the Assembly; the extent of the immunity given to the members of the Assembly by virtue of Article 194 Clause 2.

It can thus be seen that most important questions have risen for determination by the Full Bench and there can be no doubt that a clear determination of these issues will help in preserving the independence of both the important organs under the Constitution, the Legislature and the Judiciary, both of which are necessary for the effective functioning of Indian democracy.

ARTICLE 194 (2)

No member of the Legislature of a State shall be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in the Legislature or any committee thereof, and no person shall be liable in respect of the publication by or under the authority of a House of such a Legislature of any report, paper, votes or proceedings.

ARTICLE 211

No discussion shall take place in the Legislature of a State with respect to the conduct of any Judge of the Supreme Court or of a High Court in the discharge of his duties.

ARTICLE 212

(1) The validity of any proceedings in the Legislature of a State shall not be called in question on the ground of any alleged irregularity of procedure.

(2) No officer or member of the Legislature of a State in whom powers are vested by or under this Constitution for regulating procedure or the conduct of business, or for maintaining order, in the Legislature shall be subject to the jurisdiction of any court in respect of the exercise by him of those powers.

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NEW AGE

NEW AGE



# KHRUSHCHOV AT U. N.

It is above all the triumph of the great vision of Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchov that the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations has assumed its present proportions. Not only an unprecedentedly large number of the most responsible and topmost statesmen of the world have assembled there, but for the first time in the organisation's history problems that have been accumulating for years and assuming ever more threatening urgency are being given their due importance.

THOSE who managed to manipulate the U.N.'s voting machinery for many years and who still manipulate its executive organs have all along avoided solution and even discussion of those problems, and it was in keeping with their general line that they were so hysterically opposed to Khrushchov's proposal of heads of Governments, etc., leading their respective delegations to this session.

That their obstructionist plans miscarried and their hysteria backfired on themselves is sign of the changed times which Khrushchov's majestic vision perceived as he set out on the long and slow cross-Atlantic voyage in the Baltika.

The U.S. administration is today in the dock before the bar of world opinion for all its organised and sponsored obstructionism and vulgarity in connection with Khrushchov's, Castro's and other leaders' work at the U.N. It was the crudest demonstration of the fact that they have all along considered the U.N. as their property and estate where they could throw about their weight as they pleased.

They are utterly out of tune not only with world opinion, but also with opinion at home, inside the U.S. itself. Their idea that they could whip up hysteria and carry the American people by the tit-for-tat argument—making out that they were only doing to Khrushchov what he did to Eisenhower in Paris—has not worked and all their best commentators have recognised it and are crying over it.

For one thing the lie that it was Khrushchov who was tough and rude at Paris has not stuck despite its persistent repetition. The fact has not been and cannot be obliterated that on the eve of Paris and in Paris itself Khrushchov gave numerous opportunities to Eisenhower to extricate himself, if he wanted, from the U-2 debacle. He did it through various feelers and intermediaries. But Pentagon brass was determined to wreck Paris and would not allow Eisenhower to meet Khrushchov.

## Rigid Line —USA's

Moreover all that has happened since Paris—whether it was the predicted show-down over Berlin and Cuba and the Congo or the ominous predictions about the fate of the U-2 pilot Powers—has confirmed more the suspicion in the USA that, despite its determination to defend its national sovereignty and national interests and giving support to peoples sought to be unjustly pushed about, it was not the Soviet Union but the USA which was taking a tough and rigid line in world affairs.

The USA's petty-minded shortsighted foolish rulers, sticking like leeches to their positions calculated that they would not allow Khrushchov to land or make it so hot for

him that he would have to pack up and sail back, and seeing Khrushchov's fate other world leaders would also choose to desist from risking that gruelling experience. They worked out a fool-proof plan to quarantine and gag him while he was on U.S. soil.

All these neatly laid plans have pitifully failed and actually backfired. From the raving madness they displayed over Nkrumah's address, calling him a Communist to the pitiful plea for "voices of reason" after Fidel Castro's blistering four-and-a-half hour attack on the U.S. shows the catastrophic fall in temperature.

Every possible device—from the high and mighty attitude of ignoring and thundering at people and proposals to pitiful cries for sobriety and reason—is being employed to somehow get over the unpleasant pros-

IN these stirring and decisive developments our country and our Prime Minister play a definite and positive role. The talks Nehru had with Guinea's President and Poland's Prime Minister in New Delhi immediately before setting off for New York focussed attention on the issues in which India has to throw its full weight, the issue of Congo's independence and the issue of growing threat to world peace from West German rearmament and bellicosity.

Nehru's tentative reactions to Khrushchov's proposals for the reorganisation of the U.N. executive have lent themselves to jubilant headlines in the die-hard U.S. Press over which Nehru himself has had to protest.

It is obvious that action along the lines suggested by the Soviet Premier has assumed unavoidable urgency. It would not only retrieve the U.N. from the morass in

triumph of science." It declares: "The time has come for the complete and final liberation of the peoples languishing in colonial servitude... Peoples, oppressing other peoples, cannot be free. Each people must help all peoples still oppressed to gain freedom and independence."

## 100 Million In Shackles

It rejoices over the fact that so many peoples have become free in recent years, and as a result, "the myth of the colonial people's inability to administer, to construct and to create was smashed to smithereens." Still, "the liquidation of the colonial regime is not completed yet," and, "the United Nations member States cannot be indifferent to the fact that more than 100 million people continue to languish in colonial captivity in the ancient lands

lages have been burned down and destroyed, one-fifth of the country's population has been driven into concentration camps. Many sons of France are losing their lives in the struggle for an unjust cause.

"Can such a situation be further tolerated?" asks the Soviet Draft Declaration and replies: "No, it cannot be tolerated, if we prize the interests of the great cause of peace, the interests of humanity and progress."

What lends further urgency to the question is the grave threat it has now become to world peace.

## Danger To Peace

"The peoples more than once have felt to their own cost the grave danger of colonial wars growing into a new world war. Now the intervention against the Congo Republic has aggravated the international climate, has endangered the cause of peace in Africa, and not Africa alone..."

"Along with big colonies and trust territories," points out the Draft Declaration, "certain Powers have also retained footholds in various areas of the world such as West Irian, Okinawa, Goa, Puerto Rico and elsewhere; not to speak of Taiwan with regard to which the United States has committed an aggression by occupying this territory of the People's Republic of China..."

"There can be no two opinions but that these footholds are retained to threaten the national independence and security of the peoples of the adjacent areas."

The Draft says that abolition of the colonial regime would not result in the estrangement between the countries of Africa and Europe. On the contrary it will lead to greater cooperation.

The bonds and relations between peoples formed in the colonial times must be replaced by new relations based upon equality, friendship and mutual respect regardless of the social and political system of States, of the world outlook and political views of the peoples, or the colour of their skin.

"The peoples of the colonies must get real and not fictitious independence which in fact would keep them under a modified colonial regime..."

"Exact and early dates must be fixed for negotiations and the possibility of pressure and aggression on the part of the colonial Powers must be excluded."

"If nevertheless, these Powers remain deaf to such an appeal, if they delay the liberation of the colonies, if they suppress the liberation movement of the colonial peoples, the peace-loving peoples must render every moral and material assistance to the peoples which are fighting for independence."

—ZIAUL HAQ

## SOVIET DRAFT

# Magna Carta Of People Fighting For Liberation

pect of having to adjust to world realities.

Khrushchov is charged with seeking to destroy the U.N. By whom? By the very people who argued that the U.N. General Assembly was not important enough for each nation's topmost leader to lead his delegation. What a humdrum routine affair would this General Assembly have remained, like the previous ones, but for Khrushchov's initiative!

Does this initiative strengthen or weaken the U.N.? What they really want is that the U.N. should not become the real world authority on world problems, as Khrushchov's proposals seek to make it, but should remain as before the rubber-stamp and executor of decisions taken by them elsewhere—in the inner coterie of the few top NATO allies.

## Threat From Imperialism

It is they, the U.S. rulers and their close allies, who seek either to keep the U.N. as their preserve and instrument or failing that to stultify it and make it ineffective as the instrument of real world authority and to completely destroy it if necessary. The world organisation truly faces its greatest crisis, but the threat to its existence comes from NATO, the present-day holy alliance of imperialism.

which the U.S. and allies have landed it in Congo. It would be a safeguard against future crises of this nature and increase the authority of the U.N. as never before.

In the comprehensive programme set out by Khrushchov, the most stunning for the imperialists has been the Soviet proposal for the immediate declaration of independence of all colonies and subject territories.

## Violent Reactions

Herter has in the right master-race style called it an incitement to rebellion. Nearer home Jaiprakash Narayan, doughty fighter for freedom that he is, has found it necessary to come out most shamelessly in opposition to the proposal, linking it to dubious and irrelevant causes so dear to his heart.

The very violence of imperialist reactions underlines the tremendous significance and timeliness of the proposal. The Soviet draft declaration for "Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" is a document of far-reaching historic importance destined to become the Magna Carta of all peoples fighting for national liberation.

It starts off with defining the present epoch as "the epoch of quick regeneration of society, an epoch of the reaffirmation of the most progressive and most just forms of life, and of the

of Africa and Asia, on the islands of Oceania, on the lands of the Caribbean area, etc...

"Violence and lawlessness still reign in these countries, where the supreme law is the profit of the foreigner whose interest means everything and the inalienable rights of man, of the people, mean nothing."

"Can we turn a deaf ear to the groans of the people of Kenya, where for the past eight years the colonial authorities are killing the local population, which is driven into reservations, jails and concentration camps, to the sufferings of the Omani people, who are victims of an aggressive war waged against them?"

"Who can remain calm seeing how short work is being continuously made of the population of Nyasaland, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Randa-Urundi, South-West Africa, Tanganyika and Uganda."

## Intolerable Situation

"In our age... the situation cannot be tolerated where France is waging a colonial war in Algeria, resorting to aviation artillery, tanks, napalm bombs and other means of mass annihilation of Algerians, who for almost six years are valiantly fighting for the freedom and independence of their homeland."

"Hundreds of thousands of Algerians have been killed, many Algerian towns and vil-