

# UNITE TO DEFEND MOTHERLAND

**T**HE National Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting in New Delhi in the present grave period of national emergency, appeals to all sections of the Indian people to unite in defence of the motherland against Chinese aggression. The Communist Party joins hands with all our patriotic people who stand behind the Prime Minister's stirring appeal for national unity in defence of the country, says the National Council of the Communist Party of India, in its resolution entitled "National Emergency Arising Out Of Chinese Aggression" adopted in New Delhi on November 1. The resolution further reads—

The National Council pays its humble tribute to the remarkable heroism of our soldiers in the face of extreme odds. The National Council salutes the memory of those sons of India who have given their precious lives for the defence of our borders.

The last few weeks have seen an unprecedented mass upsurge of our people against Chinese aggression and for the defence of the country. In various parts of the country, State and District Committees of the Communist Party have joined hands with other patriotic forces to mobilise and unite the masses for national defence.

## Violation Of Solemn Undertaking

In violation of the solemn undertakings given by the Chinese Government during the last three years, not to cross the McMahon Line, Chinese armed forces in large numbers have openly crossed this international frontier and are today in many places inside Indian territory. The Chinese forces have also simultaneously launched big offensives against our positions in Ladakh.

The claims which have again and again been put forward by the Chinese Government on the grounds that the McMahon Line is "illegal" because it was the result of an agreement made at a time when British imperialists ruled over India, are completely untenable and on no account can such arguments justify their launching aggression on India. The crossing of this line, under any excuse or pretence whatsoever, indisputably constitutes aggression and violation of our territory.

The National Council congratulates the members and supporters of the Communist Party who have joined the national defence efforts in large numbers and participated in different forms of patriotic action.

The National Council calls on every Party member and supporter to intensify his efforts in support of the defence of the country—in unity with all people.

The National Council extends its full support to the position taken by Prime Minister Nehru in regard to the conditions for the opening of negotiations for the settlement of the border dispute. India had all along declared its willingness and its desire to settle the border dispute by peaceful negotiations, and even today, in the face of the invasion of our territory, the Prime Minister has reiterated his willingness to negotiate with the Chinese Govern-

ment, while taking all the necessary measures for the defence of the country. But such negotiations can take place obviously on the basis of the withdrawal of Chinese forces at least to the positions they held before the present aggressive actions began—that is, as the Government of India has suggested, to the positions held before September 8, 1962.

## Appeal To Friendly Countries

The National Council of the Communist Party appreciates the efforts of friendly countries and Governments to end the present conflict and pave the way to negotiations. It appeals to them and to all progressive and peace-loving forces in all parts of the world to throw their weight in favour of stopping of hostilities, to secure the withdrawal of Chinese forces as proposed by the Government of India so that an atmosphere for negotiations is created.

It should now be clear to all that the continuation of this con-

# NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. X, NO. 44

NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 4, 1962

25 nP.

ism" in order to secure more dollar aid.

The Communist Party in its Sixth Congress at Vijayawada had already stated that the Government of India under the leadership of Nehru, is pursuing a policy of peace and non-alignment and of opposition to war and colonialism; it is not expansionist nor serving the interests of U.S. imperialism, though there have been errors in the consistent execution of such a basically correct policy.

In his broadcast to the nation, Prime Minister Nehru has reiterated that India will continue to pursue a policy of non-alignment. The Communist Parties of the world have again and again acknowledged the contribution to peace of the non-aligned countries and particularly India.

strengthening of the opponents of non-alignment. The result of Chinese aggression has been to give a tremendous fillip precisely to these forces.

## Reaction's Game

These reactionary forces seek to take advantage of the situation created by the Chinese aggression, to make India give up its policy of non-alignment, foment war hysteria and drag India into the imperialist camp. To this end, they are spreading panicky rumours and slanders to discredit the defence administration and leadership; they are openly accusing the Government and the Prime Minister of 'appeasement'

for stepping up production, mobilising funds for the armed forces, etc.

The Communist Party pledges itself to participate fully in all activities for the promotion of national unity, defence and the strengthening of the morale of the people.

In this situation, the National Council draws the attention of all to the warnings given in the Prime Minister's Appeal against anti-national vested interests who will try to profit by raising prices or hoarding, etc. The Council hopes that the Central and State Governments will take stern measures against the vested interests, who, as past experience shows, utilise such situations of national and international crises to enrich themselves at the cost

# AGAINST CHINA'S OPEN AGGRESSION

lict disrupts Afro-Asian solidarity, weakens the common struggle against imperialism and for national independence, and threatens world peace.

While defending the sacred soil of our country from aggression, our people are conscious of the fact that a full-scale war between two such big powers of Asia is a disaster that everyone must exert his best to avoid.

## Chinese Propaganda

The National Council totally rejects and repudiates the characterisation made by the Chinese authorities in their press and radio propaganda, of Prime Minister Nehru as "an agent of U.S. imperialists" and the leader of "reactionaries" and an "expansionist", and of the Government of India acting as a "tool of U.S. imperial-

As long ago as last December, our late General Secretary Ajay Ghosh publicly repudiated the wrong Chinese understanding of the character of the Indian Government and the policies pursued by it.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India never expected a socialist country like China, to settle a border dispute with India by force of arms, and make astounding claims against a country which is engaged in peaceful consolidation of its newly-won independence, which belongs to the peace camp, which follows a foreign policy of non-alignment, which has all along maintained friendship with China, and whose Government is run by a parliamentary democracy and not a military dictatorship.

By its wrong and mistaken attitude, the Chinese Government has facilitated the strengthening of the Right-wing reactionary parties and groups in this country,

and 'vacillation' and calling for a total reversal of foreign policy.

The Communist Party of India stands for the strengthening and building of the unity of all patriotic forces in this national emergency. The Communist Party of India is not opposed to buying arms from any country on a commercial basis. But it is opposed to the import of foreign personnel to man the defences of this country. The people and armed forces of India are capable enough to defend their country once they organise and move in their millions as a solid united force. Supreme efforts both by the Government and people will have to be made in this direction.

## PM's Call Responded

The people have responded splendidly to the call of the Prime Minister for united national effort,

of the toiling people, to the detriment of the defence of the country.

## Revoke Anti-People Measures

The great common mass of toiling people, who already live in poverty but who by their labour on land and in factories will be working in the rear to fulfil the needs of production, also need to be protected against the anti-social vested interests.

While sharing the tasks of the defence of the country, the people want to be assured that all the burdens of defence are not cast on the poor toiling people. Hence the Council hopes that those unpopular measures which have been on the anvil of the legislatures are set aside and the defence efforts are so organised

\* SEE BACK PAGE

**Communist Party National Council Resolution**

# WORKERS' RIGHT TO BONUS

We give below some excerpts from the AITUC's reply to the questionnaire issued by the Bonus Commission:

To begin with, bonus was considered as a 'gift', a payment made by the employer to the employee over and above what the employee was paid as his wages. It was considered to depend purely on the will, the whim, the pleasure, kindness, or generosity of the employer. It was anything but a right of the worker. It was all ex gratia payment. Having received it once, for whatever reasons, the worker had no right or grounds to expect the 'gift' to be repeated.

Thus bonus had no place in the logic of the economic activity of the employer and the employee. It had no rules and no relations with wages or profits. It was a gift proceeding from the employer, who owned the means of production, the product and the results of production. Generally, he was pleased to give it because he was pleased with the large gains made. But those gains and the gift had nothing to do with the workers' activity as such. But this notion, of course, could not survive very long. And in the recent period, it has been exploded altogether.

## NO MERE GIFT

Now bonus is no longer a mere gift. It has become a right. Its origin lies not in the whim or the kindness of the employer. It is found in the 'contribution' of labour to profits. It is made a rightful part of wage and called 'deferred wage.' Though profits are said to belong to the owner of capital, a share of it is forced out of the unwilling hands of capital because labour has not been paid its proper value. Its quantum is discussed not only in relation to the volume of profits, but also and mainly in relation to the level of wages, whether

they are below subsistence, fair or living wages. Profits are no longer the attribute solely of capital and disposable by the owners of capital at their will. They are being claimed as a social product, though they arise from the productive activity and production relations of capital and labour.

The old concepts of the political economy of capitalism have been challenged by the new concepts of the political economy of the working class. The supremacy of capital and its ideology is being slowly displaced by the strength and ideology of the working class, though we are living in India under conditions of capitalist development. The evolution of bonus, in our country is one example of it.

The sole property right of capital over profits has now to be shared with the rights of the working class and written into the law of the land with all the social sanction that a law and right should command. This is a result not only of the movement and struggles of our working class. It is also the reflection of the growth of socialism and its ideology the world over.

Wages, profits and bonus are inter-related and are, in their present meaning and form, essentially categories of capitalist economy. They will be found in the world of socialist economy also. But therein their meaning, form and objectives undergo a fundamental change.

The bonus we are considering here is one which is demanded annually and is paid generally out of profits made during the year. The question is: do not profits belong to the capitalist and made by him? What right has the worker got to the profits, which are 'the reward of capital just as wages are the reward of labour?' The worker was hired for a

certain sum to give his labour to the employer, having done his job and got his payment by the day or the month, he has no longer any claim left, any relation with the result of his labour, which now belongs solely to the employer. It may give him profits or losses. The worker shares in the profits? Thus argued old political economy and even now some echoes of it are heard, though in weaker voices.

## ARE THEY PARTNERS?

Some people even from the side of the working class maintain that both labour and capital are equal partners in industry, the one contributing labour and the other capital. Hence profits must be shared between the two partners. By the same logic these gentlemen are prepared to accept voluntary wagecuts and loss of bonus, when the other partner is in crisis and losses. Examples in the history of Indian trade unions are there on record on this matter. We do not accept this theory of equal partnership of two loving brothers, who essentially, according to them, should recognise their brotherhood though temporarily estranged by ideas of classes and class struggles.

Wages and profits (hence bonus also) are a historical category. They arise out of the needs of society at a given stage of development and when those needs are satisfied, they give place to new relations and new categories. There were no wages and profits in ancient or medieval India as the dominant form of economic activity and relations. These are essentially the attributes of capitalist relations, which have arisen in our country in the last hundred years.

What then are the origins of capitalist profits, from which we demand a share as bonus? The process is described as follows. A capitalist entrepreneur brings in, say, one lakh of rupees. When private property arose and slave-owners came into existence as a historical social necessity, productive labour power assumed the form of slavery, the surplus from which was appropriated by the slave-owners. The slave got his daily bread and the owner took the surplus wealth arising from his labour. When this mode of production became uneconomic, it was displaced by the feudal mode. Production rose to a higher level, social wealth increased. Here again, the surplus of values or wealth created by serf labour became the rent paid to the landowner or the king. In our Indian society, this surplus or rent had to be paid on the basis of caste relations. The two lower castes were assigned the role of production and paying the rent or a portion of their production (which was supposed to be the surplus) to the two higher castes. The higher castes alone held the state power and rights and titles to land, rent and exaction of taxes.

Mahabharata is of great interest to the Soviet reader as an encyclopaedia, the most important source for studying the life of the ancient Indian society, its state and social system. The Sabhaparva, prepared for the press by Boris Larin, Academician of the Lihuanian Academy, has its Indian water-colours reproduced from the originals kept in the Academy's Institute of Ancient Peoples.

Now, Kalyanov is translating the fourth book of Mahabharata (Virataparva). The third book (Aranyakaparva) is being translated by his pupil, Svetlana Levina.

With that he buys machinery and raw material and hires workers and sets about production. He sells the product on the market and realises, say, two lakhs of rupees (assuming that all capital is reproduced within one cycle of production in one year). This additional one lakh which he makes over the one lakh he put in is his profit.

The question is: how did the value of one lakh of rupees double itself; what element in the production process added to the original value and multiplied it?

It is recognised by all schools of thought that neither machines nor raw material multiply their original value during the process of production. They merely transfer it to a new form. Ten looms and hundred pounds of cotton yarn costing a thousand rupees, when turned into a hundred yards of cloth, do not multiply their value to two thousand rupees. Their transformed value is just one thousand and nothing more nor less.

The additional value that ultimately is christened as profits arises from the labour power of the worker. It is over a hundred years since political economy postulated that labour is the source of value and hence of surplus value and profits.

It is human labour power alone that has the capacity, the ability, the attribute to create more value than it consumes. The constantly growing wealth of society and the constantly growing production and consumption, the vast accumulation of wealth, are the most vivid proof of this quality of human labour power.

When man created tools of production and evolved them in the process of production and evolved himself as man and human society developed, human labour power became capable of producing a surplus of value. He could live on less consumption and give a surplus of production.

Thus, when the worker demands bonus as a share in the profits, he is asking a share of what he himself has produced. He is not asking something that is not his own. And the thing from which he asks a share, all of it is his by virtue of the process of production. But it looks as if it is not his, by virtue of the production relations of capitalism, in which the worker once he has received his wage loses all his right over the results of his production, all of which — the original plus and surplus created by labour — belongs to the owner of the means of production, that is, capital.

When private property arose and slave-owners came into existence as a historical social necessity, productive labour power assumed the form of slavery, the surplus from which was appropriated by the slave-owners. The slave got his daily bread and the owner took the surplus wealth arising from his labour.

When this mode of production became uneconomic, it was displaced by the feudal mode. Production rose to a higher level, social wealth increased. Here again, the surplus of values or wealth created by serf labour became the rent paid to the landowner or the king.

In our Indian society, this surplus or rent had to be paid on the basis of caste relations. The two lower castes were assigned the role of production and paying the rent or a portion of their production (which was supposed to be the surplus) to the two higher castes. The higher castes alone held the state power and rights and titles to land, rent and exaction of taxes.

This highly organised division of labour in society, though based essentially on relations of exploiters and exploited, helped to raise productivity of labour to a higher degree and spread the fame of

Indian wealth to other countries, the natural blessing of climate and fertility also being an additional element in production.

The rigidity of this caste system and this division of labour later on became a hindrance to growth, until it was broken by the arrival of the capitalist mode of production through the invasion of the British.

This new mode, the capitalist mode of production, was unlike all that the previous epochs had witnessed. Here all the small producers who worked on their own means of production were divorced from their means of livelihood and production and were thus forced to hire themselves out to the capitalist owners of factories as wage-earners.

They worked on a daily, weekly or monthly basis of payment and did their job of production. They were neither owners of the means of production nor of the product. They were not tied to one employer or one factory, if they so chose. They were completely free in theory either to hire themselves out or not. But under compulsion of poverty and being devoid of the means of production, which now were all in the hands of the capitalists and landowners, they had no alternative but to become wage-labourers.

## SURPLUS FROM LABOUR

Their labour power was sold on the market for a price and it produced value not only of what it was paid, but a surplus. This surplus was now appropriated by the new owner of the means of production, the capitalist entrepreneur. The surplus value produced by the workers, when related to the total capital is named as profits. Labour power of the worker, his labour is the source and origin of all profits.

When private property arose and slave-owners came into existence as a historical social necessity, productive labour power assumed the form of slavery, the surplus from which was appropriated by the slave-owners. The slave got his daily bread and the owner took the surplus wealth arising from his labour.

When this mode of production became uneconomic, it was displaced by the feudal mode. Production rose to a higher level, social wealth increased. Here again, the surplus of values or wealth created by serf labour became the rent paid to the landowner or the king.

In our Indian society, this surplus or rent had to be paid on the basis of caste relations. The two lower castes were assigned the role of production and paying the rent or a portion of their production (which was supposed to be the surplus) to the two higher castes. The higher castes alone held the state power and rights and titles to land, rent and exaction of taxes.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR

This highly organised division of labour in society, though based essentially on relations of exploiters and exploited, helped to raise productivity of labour to a higher degree and spread the fame of

The Twentieth Session of the Standing Labour Committee was held in New Delhi on October 17. Though the agenda was quite heavy—16 items to be considered including amendments of certain Acts—it was disposed off in one day instead of two as originally proposed.

ONE of the main issues before the Committee was the question of victimization, taking its thread from the last session of Indian Labour Conference. The INTUC had prepared a memorandum on the question of security of jobs and the present practices and legal rulings. It suggested in the main:

- A proper domestic enquiry within a time limit.

- Direct approach to the Industrial Tribunal by the workers.

- Authorization to tribunals to ignore the employers' enquiry proceedings and judge on their own the conduct of the employers also and appropriateness of the punishment and right to modify it, and

- To do away with the practice of discharge without assigning reasons from the standing orders. It also said that the burden of proof of the guilt should be with the management and suggested that all cases of re-employment to be discussed by impartial machinery. The practice of discharging temporary employees without assigning any reasons was severely criticized and has to be done away with.

Amendment of Section 33 of Industrial Disputes Act and certain additional measures of protection against victimization and reference of such cases to arbitration was also on the agenda. To rebut the case for additional measures of protection against victimization, the Employers' Federation of India submitted a 10-page memorandum at the meeting, arguing mainly that the existing laws are a sufficient check against victimization and that this problem is not of such a magnitude as to need any change in the present state of affairs.

The INTUC was represented on the Committee by its Asst. Secretary, who acted as an observer. Consideration of this important item was therefore, deferred till next meeting. Meanwhile the Ministry was asked to submit a report on the magnitude of the problem of victimization.

However, under the present defective laws the trade unions were able to get one thing cleared. It was that cases of victimization should be referred to arbitration, to the utmost extent possible. Secondly, when arbitration is not agreed to, all such cases should ordinarily go to adjudication.

Cancellation Officers will meet the union representatives after finalizing their reports, explain the position and also show them the material on which their decision is based. If the unions do not agree with the views of the Cancellation Officer, it will be discussed at the C.L.C. level with the representative of the Central T.U. Organisation concerned. In the case of disagreement at this level, the case will be referred to adjudication.

The trade unions, specially of the AITUC, had complained several times of discrimination and delay in reference of cases. Even Government figures show that adjudication was refused in 65 per cent. The demand of the

trade unions that all cases should be referred to adjudication and the law should be amended accordingly, withdrawing the discriminatory powers of the Government to refer a case to adjudication has not yet been accepted. However, the present decision is expected to go to some extent to meet our demand.

Another positive victory of workers in amending the law was agreement to amend Section 25 FFF of I.D. Act so as to provide full compensation in case of closure of an undertaking on account of expiry of lease or licence. Real benefit to the workers will accrue if the amendment has less of 'ifs' and 'provisos'.

As regards Mines when any mine is to be closed or is being exhausted, this subject will be discussed first in the Industrial Committees on Coal Mines and Mines other than Coal.

Unsatisfactory progress of the ESI scheme was voiced by the workers' delegates. It was suggested by the Assam Labour Minister K. P. Tripathy that partly it is due to the defective structure of this scheme, when implementation is no one's responsibility. Between the ESI Corporation, State Labour and Health Ministries, the responsibility is shifted from one to another. It was decided to appoint a tripartite Committee under the chairmanship of J. L. Hathi, Minister of State for Labour, to go into the matter and suggest modifications required.

## Social Security

Further consideration of the report of the Study Group on Social Security was postponed for three years until the rate of contribution of both employees and employers under the Provident Fund Scheme, is raised to 8 per cent, which had been pursued vigorously. Meanwhile, a modified scheme involving compulsory insurance of contributions under Provident Fund Act is to be examined.

It was agreed that the wage limit of Rs. 500 be raised to Rs. 1,000 under the Provident Fund Scheme for eligibility to membership of the fund.

A proposal to amend the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act so as to make model standing orders applicable to industrial establishments till standing orders are certified was also accepted.

The employers' representatives agreed that at least half the time required by workers for attending union level classes under Workers Education Scheme will be granted from their working time.

As regards the expenses of the excursions organised by the Central Board for Workers Education, the employers' contribution is still optional.

Employers were, however, very vehement in their opposition to a proposal that they should give time off to the workers for participating in workers education schemes sponsored by the trade unions and aided by the Central Board. The lukewarm attitude of the Labour Ministry and the Chairman of the Central Board for Workers Education on this issue clearly pro-

# TWENTIETH SESSION OF STANDING LABOUR COMMITTEE

By K. G. Sriwastava, Secretary, AITUC

ed, if it was necessary, not only their hostility to AITUC but the complaint that the Government wants to keep the workers' education scheme its own preserve with the help of employers and some independent educationists instead of giving the responsibility to the trade unions.

It was pointed out in the initial discussions that Works Committees in U.P. are non-existent and that this was a case of violation of the code and statute by the U.P. Government. The explanation which H. N. Bahuguna, Deputy Labour Minister of U.P. tried to give did not satisfy even the chairman and he was asked to review and report.

Representatives of employers complained in the meeting that States were going ahead with legislation ignoring decisions of ILC and SLC and the case of M.P. was particularly cited.

There were a number of items suggested by the employers and government to modify Acts and rules against the working class.

The proposal for amendment to Section 79 of Factories Act regarding sanction of leave was rejected, while amendment of section 80 regarding calculation of average wages of workers after promotion and work in higher category was deferred till a real case was made out by the employers.

A proposal to amend the Trade Unions Act empowering the Registrar to cancel the registration of the union in the case of non-compliance of registered rules was strongly opposed by the trade union representatives. It was agreed that the Registrar need not be given very wide powers. The State Government representatives were asked to discuss difficulties, if any, in this connection, first with the State Labour Advisory Committee and then, if necessary, bring the case to ILC or SLC.

A proposal suggesting acceptance of the principle of no work no wage, was also shelved. Employers succeeded in again deferring the proposal to amend section 33 of I.D. Act, to empower Tribunal to adjudicate upon application made by employers to dismiss a workman.

It was agreed that the constitution of National Safety Council should be expedited.

It was brought to the notice of the Committee that new series of consumer price index numbers for industrial workers will be based on 1960. For the purpose of calculating D.A. which is being paid at many centres on the existing series of C.I.I. when the new series come into force, a conversion factor for estimating index number on the basis of the old will simultaneously be published so that the existing arrangement for linking dearness allowance may continue till such time as there is complete change over to the new series.

Natural wastage as recommended in the tripartite decisions on rationalization in the 15th & 16th ILC includes vacancies arising out of: (i) Death; (ii) Supernatuation; (iii) Invalidity caused due to accidents, and (iv) Resignation. It will not cover vacancies caused by discharges and dismissals.

It was agreed that as more and more arbitration is resorted to, reference of cases of Law Courts will be reduced and also the number of pending cases in Supreme and High Courts.

The Indian Trade Unions Act (XVI of 1926) will be suitably amended, so that disputes among rival office bearers of a registered trade union are referred directly to a Labour Court for settlement as against the Registrar of Trade Unions, as at present and in some cases to the normal Courts of Law.

There was consensus of opinion that the membership fee of seasonal workers should not be reduced from Rs. 3 per annum.

## Nanda On Plan

The Chairman, G. L. Nanda, while concluding the meeting pointed out the fact that industrial production in the first year of the Third Five Year Plan has been only 6% per cent higher instead of the target of 11 per cent. He also referred to the shortage of foreign exchange to implement the Five Year Plan and appealed to the committee to consider ways and means to tighten up discipline and ensure that not only there is no loss of production but that it goes up and we make up the gap.

While employers' and workers' representatives both replied that they are for stepping up production, each accused the other of responsibility for loss of production. Naval Tata accused the Government of putting different interpretations on the tripartite decisions specially of the Code of Discipline.

The workers' representatives held responsible the employers and their attitude of not listening or doing anything until work stoppage was either threatened or carried out, even on implementation of awards, rules and statutory rules. The latest examples of the bonus struggle by Bombay textile workers and Times of India struggle were cited. Secondly, workers must be arising out of increased production, their due share will be paid. It has not happened in the Two Five Year Plans. Thirdly, they complained about the implementation of the Code of Discipline against the workers.

On the suggestion of the AITUC representative, the Chairman agreed to call a separate conference to discuss the issue and before

Attention of the chairman was also drawn to the strike and lockout in the rayon and paper factories in Sirpur Kaganagar (Andhra Pradesh). The naked goondalism displayed there by the INTUC union has resulted in this. G. L. Nanda directed R. L. Mehta to study this along with employers' representative and the INTUC representative. In this a departure was made in that the Labour Minister agreed to intervene when the lockout and strike continued as against the practice followed until now not to intervene unless the strikes or lockouts were withdrawn.

Further, it will be seen that in this Standing Labour Committee meeting there have been some decisions which will help the working class and trade unions. Reference of individual cases of victimisation to adjudication or arbitration, payment of full compensation on expiry of lease or licence, raising of provident fund contribution to 8 per cent and compulsory insurance under Provident Funds Act, raising of limit for eligibility under PF Scheme to Rs. 1,000, application of model standing orders till standing orders are certified, overtime from working hours for participating in Workers Education Scheme, reference of disputes regarding office-bearers to Labour Court instead of Registrar, are some of the gains.

Employers' and State Governments' attempts to amend Section 79 and 80 of Factories Act against workers, application of the principle of 'no work no wage', effort to give wider powers to the Registrar of Trade Unions to cancel registration on flimsy grounds were resisted successfully.

The employers were able to defer consideration of the important item regarding job security and certain amendments to the Acts in the name of collecting data to assess the magnitude of the problem.

The Government stands fully exposed that the Workers Education Scheme of the Government has full support from the employers because the training therein has been heavily weighted in favour of capitalism and not socialism. And it is being done with the help of representatives of employers and the so-called independent educationists. That also explains why the Central Board for Workers Education is not keen on handing over this work to the trade unions. The AITUC had already made criticisms on this score in a memorandum an year ago.

K. G. Sriwastava, Secretary, AITUC and Y. D. Sharma attended the meeting on behalf of the AITUC.

# Mahabharata In Russian

Leningrad, October 27: "It gives me a great joy to participate in the first complete academic edition in Russian of the Indian epic 'Mahabharata.'" Vladimir Kalyanov, head of the Indian Department at the Institute of the Asian Peoples of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said in a TASS interview.

The second book of the great academic series "Monuments of Indian Epic, Sabhaparva, translated by Kalyanov, was brought this out in Leningrad today in the distinguished Soviet Sanskritolo-

gist, was published in 1960, with Academician Alexei Baranikov as editor.

Kalyanov supplemented the translation with scientific commentaries citing original Sanskrit sentences, written in Devanagari. He stressed later that the publication for the first time of the full text of Mahabharata testified to the greatest importance attributed in the Soviet Union to acquainting the people with the best works of Indian literature and the literature of other Afro-Asian countries, to their cultural rapprochement with the peoples of these countries.

Mahabharata is of great interest to the Soviet reader as an encyclopaedia, the most important source for studying the life of the ancient Indian society, its state and social system.

The Sabhaparva, prepared for the press by Boris Larin, Academician of the Lihuanian Academy, has its Indian water-colours reproduced from the originals kept in the Academy's Institute of Ancient Peoples.

Now, Kalyanov is translating the fourth book of Mahabharata (Virataparva). The third book (Aranyakaparva) is being translated by his pupil, Svetlana Levina.

**NEW AGE**

NEW AGE PUBLICATIONS

EDITOR:  
E. M. S. Namboodripad

Printed by D. P. Sinha at the  
NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS,  
Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi,  
and published by him from 74,  
Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

Telegraphic Address  
MARKETAD  
Phone: 225794

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

INDIA: Yearly Rs. 12.00  
Half-yearly Rs. 6.00 and  
Quarterly Rs. 3.00.

FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 20.00  
Half-yearly Rs. 10.00.

All cheques and drafts are  
to be made payable to  
T. MADHAVAN and not to  
NEW AGE.

# FROM THE STORMING

"As a result of the devoted labour of the Soviet people and the theoretical and practical activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, there exists in the world a socialist society that is a reality and a science of socialist construction that has been tested in practice. The high-road to socialism has been paved. Many peoples are already marching along it, and it will be taken sooner or later by all peoples." — From the Programme of the C.P.S.U.

ALMOST 16,500 days have passed since the unforgettable moment when Vladimir Ilyich Lenin proclaimed in the white-columned hall of the Smolny Palace, the establishment of the Soviet state. Each of these days has been filled with remarkable accomplishments.

Having overthrown, in October 1917, the rule of capital, the workers and peasants of Russia, led by the Party of Lenin, marched forward along the road of building socialism. It was a road of heroes and pioneers. The revolution had won in a comparatively backward country ravaged, in addition, by the war. The Soviet people were building the first socialist society in the history of mankind. For many years the U.S.S.R. was the world's only country where power belonged to the working people. This fact accounted for special difficulties, which have never been experienced and will not be experienced by any other people in the world.

Inside and outside the country the numerous enemies desperately resisted the building of a new society. Twice the imperialists waged big-scale wars against the Soviet state. In the Great Patriotic War, alone 1,710 towns and workers communities, more than 70,000 villages and 1,135 coalmines were destroyed, 98,000 collective farms ravaged and about 25 million people made homeless.

Having scored a history-making victory in the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet people, guided by the Leninist Party, have accomplished in new unexampled exploit in peaceful constructive labour, in the building of socialism and communism.

## Overtake Or Perish

"Either to perish, or to overtake advanced countries and outstrip them also economically..."

"Either to perish or to go at full steam forward. That is how the question is posed by history."

— V. I. Lenin

This conclusion, drawn by V. I. Lenin in September 1917, characterised very accurately the position of Russia on the eve of the Great October Revolution. By that time the imperialist war had destroyed the national economy of the country, which even without that had occupied one of the last places among the main capitalist powers. As V. I. Lenin noted in 1918, Russia had an equivalent of one-fourth of the modern means of production of Britain, one-fifth of those of Germany and one-tenth of those of America.

"To propose that within some twenty-odd years we overtake states with a centuries-old culture is a demand which should not be made, gentlemen." These words were

PAGE FOUR

happen? No! Is such a thing possible? History itself, will give the Bolsheviks an imperative answer to such a "crazy question." This was actually stated by the reactionary newspaper *Novoye Vremya* only two months before the October armed uprising.

History did give an answer to this question. B. P. Smirnova, a weaver from Tyokhgornaya Manufaktura, Textile Mill, and agriculturist T. Akhunova are members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Sh. M. Gasanova, woman collective farmer from Azerbaijan, is Deputy Chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Peasant Sh. M. Arushanyan is President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Armenian S.S.R.

Thousands of workers and peasants have been elected deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republics and a total of 1,800,000 people have been elected deputies to the local Soviets.

It is worth recalling here the fact that there was a total of 439 deputies elected to the Fourth State Duma (1912-17), and 80.6 per cent of these were landlords and capitalists, while workers and artisans made up only 2.5 per cent. The only real representatives of the working people were five workers-Bolsheviks, and even these were exiled to Siberia by the tsarist Government.

## Socialist Democracy

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (1982) has a total of 1,433 deputies, 44.8 per cent of which are workers and collective farmers, directly engaged in production, while the rest of the deputies are also workers, collective farmers and Soviet intellectuals appointed by the working people to work

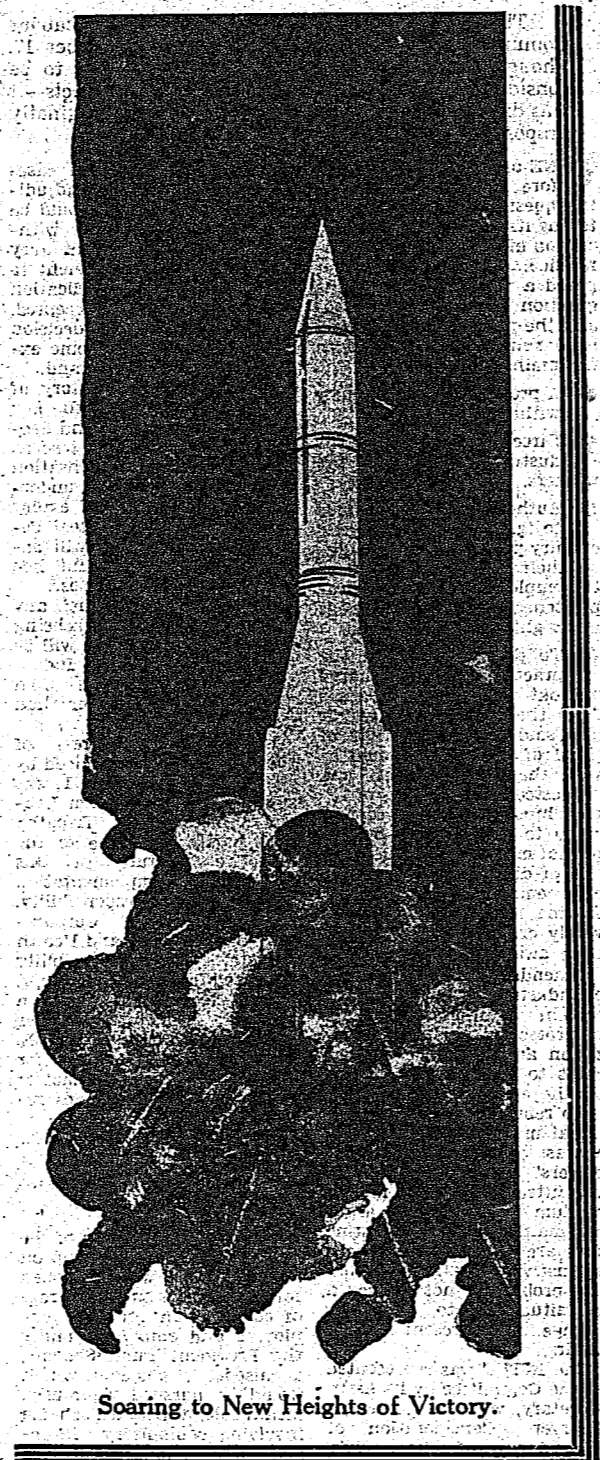
# OF WINTER PALACE

in various state and public organisations.

Before the Revolution the population of the country's outlying provinces was deprived of voting rights. Right now there are representatives of 56 nations and nationalities among the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Such broad representation of nations is unprecedented in history.

As a result of restoration of the Leninist standards of public life Soviet democracy has been ensured an even broader development.

The practice of nation-wide discussions of the most important state and party documents has become a component feature of Soviet life. The theses on the target figure of the seven-year plan were discussed at mass meetings of working people. And in the course of these discussions more than 4.6 million people came out with proposals and amendments. The same number of people spoke at the na-



Soaring to New Heights of Victory.

tion-wide discussion of the draft C.P.S.U. Programme.

Millions of working people are members of comrades' courts, public order squads and other public organs.

The C.P.S.U. Programme points out that the further development of socialist democracy will be accompanied by a gradual transformation of the organs of state power into organs of public self-government. This communist self-government will include the Soviets, the trade-union, cooperative and other mass-scale organisations of the working people. In that way it will be possible to ensure the active participation of all the members of society in the management of socialist affairs.

For instance, compared with 1940 the sale of meat to the population through the state and cooperative trade systems increased last year more than five times, of milk and dairy products nearly 6.5 times, sugar 4.6 times, and foodstuffs in general roughly 3 times.

Few people can imagine today the living conditions of the workers and peasants before the revolution.

The annual prod of N. Vlovrov, an industrial magnate, equalled the wages of 40,000 workers for the whole year. Every landowner had on the

"The aim of socialism is to meet ever more fully the growing material and spiri-

\* SEE FACING PAGE

# DETECTION AND CONTROL OF NUCLEAR TESTS

According to the general acknowledgement of the world public, one of the means for eliminating the threat of a new war is the cessation of nuclear weapon tests which is a most urgent task that makes up the beginning of all the beginnings.

A refusal of the nuclear powers to carry on test explosions could contain the nuclear arms drive and in the long run play an important part in the solution of the basic problem of our times—the problem of implementation of general and complete disarmament.

Everyone knows very well the Soviet Union's stand on this question. The Soviet Union proposes that a treaty, be it once concluded on the immediate banning of all nuclear tests, without exception, in the atmosphere, in outer space, under water and underground. As to the supervision over the implementation of such a treaty, the Soviet Union accepts as the foundation for its proposals made by eight neutral countries in the 18-Nation Committee. A part of their extremely popular memorandum, these proposals provided for the banning of any nuclear tests, with control established on the basis of the national means of detection.

However, the Western powers do not want to agree to concluding a nuclear test ban treaty. Under such conditions the Soviet Union expressed readiness to sign at this stage an agreement on the banning of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, outer space, and under water. As to the underground nuclear explosions, the Soviet Union proposes that the states make a pledge not to carry out such explosions until the negotiations on their banning are in progress. In that way the Soviet Union once again tried to meet halfway the Western powers and took another important step towards coming to an understanding on the immediate banning of all nuclear tests.

## "On-The-Spot" Control?

What is it, however, that interferes with eliminating forever the nuclear test explosions, that spell irreparable disaster to mankind? It is the stubborn position of the Western powers who are persistently trying to use the ill-starred international "on-the-spot" control as a basis for the nuclear test ban agreement.

The Soviet Union has stated a number of times right from the start that the demand about "on-the-spot" inspection does not in the least serve the purposes of control over the implementation of the agreement, but is rather an attempt to legalise the intelligence activities of the Western powers on Soviet territory.

The actual nature of the demand about "on-the-spot" inspection is confirmed by the fact that it has focused itself even from a scientific point of view. There was a time when, referring to the conclusions of their scientists (which, incidentally, were not published), the Western representatives declared that modern science and engineering are incapable of distinguishing an earthquake from an underground nuclear explosion and that, therefore,

"on-the-spot" inspection is necessary. These assertions were exposed by famous scientists from Britain, the US and other countries. However, this did not make the Western representatives change their stand in the negotiations.

At the beginning of this year the Western press carried new reports on the detection of underground nuclear explosions. At first these reports were presented as rumours, but then they flooded all the Western press organs in a wave.

Papers and news agencies announced that there were secret negotiations between the US and British scientists specially devoted to the new discoveries. And in this connection the US President recalled Arthur Dean from Geneva for consultations. Dean was the President's representative in the negotiations at the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee.

As was expected, the results of the secret negotiations between the American and British scientists in London were not made public, in the same way as Kennedy's consultations with Dean in Washington. However, objective commentators noticed another thing: the sudden disappearance of this vital topic from the press. As if following a command, all subsequent discussions of the new search data came to an end. Moreover some of the American press organs came out with old deliberations alleging that it is not possible to distinguish in any way an earthquake from an underground nuclear explosion.

## Pugwash Conference

But it is impossible to hide a dephiant in a pile of straw, and after thorough investigations scientists in many countries came to an indisputable conclusion that there is no need for "on-the-spot" inspection. They maintain that there already exists a firm base using which one can easily dispense with the "on-the-spot" inspection.

One thing that merits close attention in this connection is the proposal of the scientists, who took part in the Pugwash Conference, about setting up automatic detection stations. They proposed that sealed seismographs be installed in agreed places and agreed numbers, and that their readings be automatically transmitted to a control centre.

The Western and Eastern scientists, who participated in the 10th Pugwash Conference came to the unanimous conclusion that the setting up of such automatic stations would fully conform to the requirements of control, and would help to break the dead-lock in the nuclear ban negotiations. This proposal conforms to America's demand of proofs being provided about no tests taking place. It also eliminates the risk of espionage without threatening the security of any state.

The proposal of the Pugwash

Conference participants evoked a lively interest everywhere. The world public and the press hail the quests of the scientists aimed at reaching accorded decisions on the banning of nuclear weapon tests. Even the Western press organs were forced to acknowledge the value of these proposals: "... It provides a new favourable opportunity, which it is hard for diplomats to ignore" wrote the London magazine *New Scientist*.

We have given here a detailed account of the conclusions of the scientists just to show once again that they convincingly confirm the view of the Soviet Union.

# To The Storming Of Outer Space

\*FROM FACING PAGE

average as much land as 333 poor peasants had. Some 15 per cent of the peasant households did not sow crops.

Before the revolution 325,000 Muscovites lived in mean dwellings without any primitive conveniences. The Moscow guide-book said: "People usually got a bed of three planks, without mattresses or bedding. There were flats in which dozens of people huddled on the plank beds or on the dirty floor under them." Not infrequently one bed was tenanted by two or three persons. They slept on it one after another, and it did not get cold.

The family of T. M. Matveyev, a worker at the Putilov Plant in St. Petersburg (and the grandfather of the first Soviet Cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin), consisted of 14 children, but only five of them survived. The entire family lived in one small room.

In Soviet years the dwelling space in the towns and workers' settlements has increased 5.8-fold. In the last five years nearly 50 million people, or almost one-quarter of the entire population, moved into new houses. In recent years the Soviet Union has been building nearly twice as many flats per 1,000 of the population as the United States and France, and more than twice as many as Britain and Italy. The Party Programme sets the task of providing every family with a comfortable flat. Within 20 years the dwelling space will increase approximately three-fold.

The Programme says that the real income per head of population will increase by more than 250 per cent in 20 years. An abundance of material and cultural benefits will be attained in the course of the second decade, and material prerequisites will be created for the transition to the communist principle of distribution according to need.

## Highway To World Cultural Revolution

"The Red October opened up the highway for a world-wide cultural revolution." V. I. Lenin

NEW AGE

which has been patiently trying to convince the West for a long time that national means are sufficient for detecting underground explosions and that there is no need for inspection.

That is how matters stand now with the detection of nuclear explosions and with the system of control which opens the way for the implementation of a nuclear test ban treaty.

Thus, the Sodankyla Geophysical Observatory in Finland (incidentally, it was built way back in 1881) managed to register very well the American high tests over the Pacific.

One could continue enumerating facts and examples of this kind, but there is really no need for it. Suffice it to say that they are very well known in the United States. According to Dogens

Nyheter, a newspaper published in Stockholm, the USA has already 125 stations installed in different parts of the globe for the detection of nuclear weapon explosions and earthquakes.

All this shows that the national nuclear explosion detection means can and should provide an inter-state basis for a nuclear test ban treaty.

The Soviet delegation at the 17th UN General Assembly session has once again called upon the governments to take a resolute step towards strengthening world peace.

"The Western powers," said Soviet Foreign Minister A. Gromyko in his speech at the Assembly, "initiated the argument about control in order to wreck an international treaty, banning nuclear tests. Science and experience show that the states now have at their disposal the means necessary for checking with sufficient accuracy the observance of a test ban treaty. The experts of the US Defence Department as well as now forced to admit this."

(APN)

When the working people took power into their own hands, there were quite a few "prophets" who predicted the doom of civilisation in Russia. "Our country will perish," the *Russkie Vedomosti* (Russian News) croaked. "Religion, ethics, science, art and all other values of the human soul will perish. Fear for the very life of our culture rises up in all its horridy stature."

Today, these utterances sound ironic, to say the least.

In the U.S.S.R. illiteracy has, in effect, been eradicated long ago. Today, for 10,000 of the population there are 120 students, which is 15 times more than in 1914. Meanwhile in the U.S., France and Britain the figures are respectively 111, 44, and 29.

Today, in the U.S.S.R. three odd times more engineers than in the U.S.A. graduate annually. One out of four studies.

The cultural standards of the working people in the national areas have changed beyond all recognition. There are more than 68,000 students in Byelorussia, more than 14,000 in Uzbekistan and 14,000 in Turkmenia—though in 1914 none of these republics, as too, neither Armenia, Kazakhstan, nor several other republics, had a single institution of higher learning.

Let us see what has happened to the "prophecy" of the *Russkie Vedomosti*, that mouthpiece of the Russian bourgeoisie, as to the "doom of science" in the country after the working class took over power. We see quite the opposite: under socialism science has received broad opportunities for development.

The Soviet scientists are creditably doing their duty to their country. The achievements of the Soviet scientists have scored in physics, chemistry, mathematics, cybernetics and biology, in agricultural crop selection, in the discovery and exploration of major mineral deposits, and in automation, telemechanics, radio-engineering, electronics, metallurgy, machine building, and other fields are widely known.

NEW AGE

The Soviet Union launched the world's first artificial earth satellite. Soviet space rockets were first to break the earth's clutches and strike out onto inter-planetary trails. The Soviets were the first to deposit their emblem on the Moon and to photograph its hidden side. The Soviet citizens Yuri Gagarin, Gherman Titov, Andrian Nikolayev and Pavel Popovich were first to make triumphant space flights.

The Soviet scientists are all imbued with one common enthusiastic desire to make a still better contribution to the effort to lay the material and technical foundations of communism and to carry out with colours flying the task the CPSU Programme has set which is to take the leading place in the world in all basic trends of science.

Soviet society has a most instructive history. Besides infusing one with pride for what has already been done, it engenders a dead-set certainty in coming victories, in the inevitable triumph of communism. It attests to the Soviet people's invincible strength, to the wisdom of the Party's leadership, and to the great viability of Lenin's ideas.

## Road To Communism

The Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 was a revolution that opened up to mankind the road to communism. And today, more than 1,000 million people in the countries of the mighty socialist camp are following this road.

It will soon be a year since the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party adopted the Programme for the building of communism. The months that have passed demonstrate anew that under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people will build a communist society. The present generation of Soviet people will live under communism. The Soviet people are successfully continuing the great trek they started out on 45 years ago.

PAGE FIVE

NOVEMBER 4, 1962

NOVEMBER 4, 1962

# FOR ALGERIA'S TOTAL INDEPENDENCE

Following the Evian agreements, of last spring, the Communist Party of Algeria issued a Programme, dated Algiers, April 18, 1962, whose title page read: "For Total Independence: Land and Bread; Work and Education; Peace and True Democracy. To open the Road to Socialism." Some extracts from an English translation of this historic and interesting document which has now become available are given below:

**THIS** is a programme of national liberation, of true democracy and of economic and social progress. This is the programme of the building of an Algerian national democratic State which is to open the way to a socialist Algeria.

This programme should not be considered as an ensemble of inflexible principles which will never change. It should be adapted and corrected as new

realities develop and as new problems arise from its first being put into practice. Moreover, our Party calls upon all patriots to study it as of the present time so as to be able to improve and enrich it. For the Algeria of tomorrow will be the work not of one class or one party, but rather of all Algerians within fraternal and enthusiastic mass emulation and a common discipline freely agreed to for the greatest good of the nation.

## WHAT THE REPUBLIC IS TO BE

The Republic is the form of government endorsed by a large part of the liberation movement well before 1954 and which our Party chose as of July, 1948. The ACP will propose that such be the form of the modern Algerian state, product of the Constituent Assembly which will be elected after the self-determination referendum.

The Evian agreements ensure:

(a) The principle of the independence and sovereignty of Algeria at home and abroad.

This implies that the Algerian Republic will have all the prerogatives of sovereignty, its own constitution, its own flag, its own army, its own diplomatic corps and will be free to determine its own foreign policy as well as its own political and social regime at home.

(b) Territorial integrity.

This excludes any foreign rule over whatsoever part of the national territory (both to the south and to the north); this implies, sooner or later, the evacuation of the French armed forces.

(c) The unity of our people.

This implies the end of any privilege held over from the time of colonization. It is not in contradiction with the guarantee of the legitimate non-colonial interests of the Algerian minority of European or Jewish origin which will be granted equal representation in the elected assemblies and will be shown respect in matters concerning its linguistic, cultural and religious peculiarities, in the framework of Algerian law.

Aspiration of democracy has become ever deeper and more conscious among our people.

Before 1830, the semi-feudal political regime of Algeria and the decline of liberal and progressive thought in the Moslem world had not prevented certain traditions from surviving (djemaas, etc.) in several parts of the country.

Despite the oppression of our people by colonial occupation, the Algerian patriots carried on a fierce political fight to exact from the colonialists, at certain periods after 1918, the few democratic liberties which they were able

## PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALGERIA

to use to help the national movement develop and this in turn brought the conditions for insurrection to ripeness.

While these struggles and the war for liberation were going on, the Algerians and their liberation movement increased and enriched their democratic conscience from contact with workers' democratic French organisations and with the great democratic sweep which becomes more and more characteristic of the movements for political and social liberation throughout the world.

Expressing the opinion of all Algerians, the GPRA has already endorsed without reservation the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, making clear in the General Declaration included in the Evian agreements that "the Algerian State will base its constitution on democratic principles."

### TRUE DEMOCRACY

Today, true democracy is an urgent and vital necessity to construct the country. Democracy is indispensable to arouse the enthusiasm of the popular masses and imbue them with both the desire to build their own future and to strengthen independence. Democracy implies the rejection of authoritarianism and restraining measures against the masses.

It implies a great confidence in the creative energy and the initiative of the people and the working class in the constructive exchange of opinions with the same objectives in view. The enjoyment of democratic liberties should be extended to all the country's national and anti-imperialist forces, should encourage their free development and should not exclude any of them, especially the most progressive. The only groups to be restricted and opposed should be the counter-revolutionary and re-

actionary forces in the employ of the imperialist enemy.

Above all it is the popular masses, the far-seeing patriots and their organisations who should unceasingly preserve, enlarge democratic methods and introduce them into the life of the people.

True democracy should also make itself felt in the institutions of the Algerian State such as will be drawn up by the National Constituent Assembly.

(a) This National Constituent Assembly (NCA) should be elected by a single electoral college, universal suffrage and secret ballot by all Algerian citizens, men and women alike, 18 years and over. Any Algerian of 20 years of age and over is eligible for candidacy.

To permit representation for all national and progressive tendencies in the country, this Assembly should be elected by proportional ballot.

(b) The NCA is to rapidly provide the country with a written Constitution providing for, among other things:

● A Parliament made up of a single National Assembly elected under the same conditions as the aforementioned NCA with the term of office renewable every 4 years;

● A cabinet chosen from the Parliament and responsible to it;

● A President of the Republic whose election and powers will be established by the Constitution;

● Assemblies elected by universal suffrage in the various administrative subdivisions as well as in the cities, towns and douars;

A national non-professional, popular army. This army will assist in the civilian reconstruction tasks inasmuch as it is not involved in duties pertaining to national defence. It will be at the service of the Republic, of the people, of democracy and peace.

The people will see to it that this army, made up of its sons, is not used as the instrument of reactionary and anti-democratic politics, as has been the case with many countries in the Middle East and Latin America;

● The guarantee by law of the rights of man, of individual and public freedom of thought, opinion, press, religion, association and religion, respect for the right to organise and right to strike;

● The guarantee by law of equality before the law and before duty for all Algerian citizens without discrimination as to race, origin, sex, social status, political or philosophical opinions;

Justice freed of political power; the drawing up of a modern code of justice which takes into account current realities, drawing inspiration from the democratic traditions of our people and from everything which is progressive in Muslim Law, but free of anything which is inflexible or conservative in this law;

● Severe penal sanctions against all propaganda of a racist character, whether written or verbal, against all racial, political or other discrimination forbidden by the Constitution;

● Neutrality and non-interference of the State in religious affairs, mutual respect and tolerance among the different beliefs, philosophical conceptions.

### A SOCIAL REPUBLIC

Political independence alone does not bring profound changes in the situation of the masses; true economic independence and radical social measures must accompany it. Moreover, economic independence and social progress strengthen political independence.

What is the economic situation of our country on the eve of self-determination?

Firstly, ties of domination and dependence imposed by the colonial regime. Direct domination: ultra-colonial landowners possess the best lands and French and foreign monopolies have control of the mining and resources, the industrial enterprises and the banks. Thus the greatest part of the country's production is not controlled by Algerians whose national resources are pillaged and whose manpower is exploited. Indirect domination exists also, as seen through such colonial institutions as the customs union, freedom of capital transfer, the monopoly of the flag, control over public investments and bank credit, etc.

What changes do the Evian agreements provide for in these fields?

Cultural and technical co-operation between Algeria and France is envisaged. The extent and beneficial aspect of this co-operation will mean the formation of the trained personnel necessary for the progress of Algeria, provided we see to it that this assistance forms the leading personnel quickly, that it is not a means for the French to indirectly interfere in our public life through "technical assistance".

French financial and technical assistance to Algeria is envisaged: this assistance will amount to about 100 billion old francs a year for a period of 3 years and may be renewed. The Algerian State will not be sole judge of the use for this money. For example, if the plan for construction of a factory is not acceptable to French authorities, it will not benefit from French assistance.

Therefore, to keep French assistance from becoming a means of economic or political pressure, our country should seek loans free of any political counter-part, from all countries and first of all from countries in the socialist camp.

Algeria will be in the franc zone and this, in view of the scale of Franco-Algerian trade, may serve to facilitate commercial relations between the two countries. However, the Evian agreements affirm

Algeria's commercial and customs autonomy and the end of the monopoly of the flag. The Algerian State will be able to restrict such imports as might hurt the development of the national industry. Algeria will have its own currency, its own money-printing office and its own reserve of foreign currencies.

However, a common treasury with France is envisaged, as well as the setting up of common rules, for trade with countries outside the franc zone. Theoretically the transfer of capital out of Algeria will be free. Nevertheless some control will be exercised over such transfers to prevent them from becoming detrimental to the development of the country. Yet the Algerian State will not be sole judge in deciding what restrictions should be applied to them; as the commission that is planned to exercise this control will be Franco-Algerian.

To avoid the man-to-man debate which the neo-colonialists would like to impose upon us, Algeria will have to multiply trade relations with all countries on the basis of mutual advantage.

It is understood that the land reform will take place by means of repurchase, with French financial aid (the form of which, gift or loan, has not been decided); this repurchase clause together with the way it will be applied threaten to leave the reform entirely in the hands of the French bourgeoisie.

It is understood that Algerian will be given priority for Sahara oil and natural gas, in accordance with her needs. The country will benefit from the profits realized on the sale of these products to foreign countries, France paying for them in francs. But the Evian agreements are an obstacle to the nationalisation of these two Algerian national resources.

To conclude, the economic and financial side of the agreement represents considerable progress over colonial situation. It admits the principle of Algeria's economic and financial sovereignty. But it also limits this same sovereignty in various fields, more particularly as concerns land reform and the nationalisation of our natural wealth.

The colonialists hope to prevent the rapid independent development of the Algerian economy. By so doing, they seek to prevent its developing in a non-capitalist manner. They want to maintain links of economic dependence between Algeria and France and to keep a large sector of economic domination for the benefit of the big French monopolies as well as for the French colonialist bourgeoisie in Algeria.

Yet it is impossible to put an end to the tragic underdevelopment of our country if an end is not put to this economic domination and dependence. It is the ultra neo-colonialist control which is responsible for the frightful misery and ignorance of the so-called "traditional" underdeveloped Algerian sector which comprises more than three-quarters of our people,

while the "modern" privileged sector, made up of Europeans for the most part, develops itself as an enclave within the country, attracting all the riches which are drained out of the country or are used within to nurture parasitic activities from which the country gains nothing.

### ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES

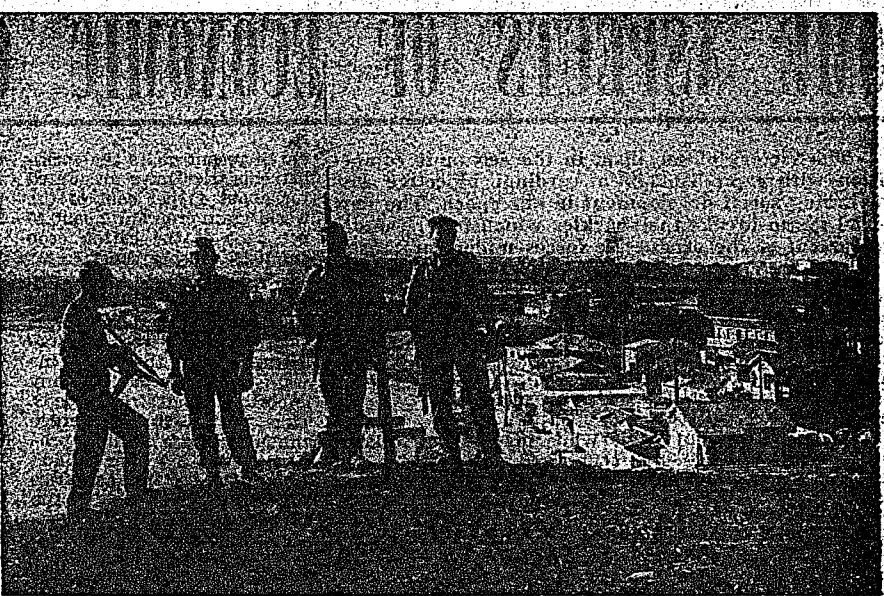
Therefore, the ACP has the following objectives:

1 To completely sever the links of economic and financial dependency with French imperialism, to eliminate the stranglehold of French and international monopolies, to eradicate the privileges of colonialization and feudalism.

2 To quickly put an end to misery by developing the national economy in such a way as to help the poorest social groups first, and at the same time lay the basis for future stepped-up development.

3 To radically transform the economic, financial and social structures which have resulted in the constant impoverishment of the "traditional" sector to the profit of the "modern" sector.

To elaborate a plan of development for the whole country, the goals of the plan being the development of the



Algerian fighters guarding the Ferruch bay—Here, 132 years ago, the first French invading army landed; here, too, the Algerian people offered their first resistance to colonialists.

national economy, its unification, the diversification of production, a fairer distribution of the income and the improvement of the living standard of the people.

This plan must have the following essential bases:

Land reform, which should lead to a radical change in the distribution of the land and of the agricultural income;

● National mobilisation of savings for high investment, notably in heavy industry;

● Work for all, to be achieved by putting the mass of people, now unemployed, to work in enterprises of national interest.

## CONDITIONS FOR RAPID SUCCESS

### A Correct Orientation in the Choice of Our Way of Development

The speed of economic and social progress is not simply a technical problem. It depends on the political orientation.

The decisive condition for rapid progress is that our people choose from the beginning an essentially non-capitalist way of development for the key sectors of the economy. For the capitalist way means sufferings for the masses of people, means that our riches are being pillaged by foreign capitalist monopolies, and it means the enrichment of but one social class, the bourgeoisie, which in our country has yet no strong or wide economic foundation.

The non-capitalist way of development can only be carried out by strengthening mutual aid and co-operation, in particular with countries in the socialist camp. It is only the efficient unconditioned aid from the socialist camp which will permit Algeria to create both a heavy industry, the foundation of its economic independence, and a light industry.

Considering its limited savings possibilities, without such aid it would take a long time and necessitate heavy sacrifices before Algeria could have such an industry; the country would remain dependent upon

together should take place within one single party. What would the programme and ideology of that single party be? The Algerian Communists' response will depend upon the answer to that question.

The ACP is against the idea of a single party based on nationalist bourgeois ideology. Such a party, even though its composition be on a popular basis, even though its leadership issue from the working class or the poor peasantry, will sooner or later become the instrument of domination by the bourgeoisie over the working masses, even though that bourgeoisie today lacks strong economic foundation in the country.

Let us take the example of the UAR as a single party. Under the pretense of national union, it represents a bourgeois militaristic dictatorship domesticating the unions, muzzling freedom, imprisoning the democrats, the communists and the true unionists. It has depoliticized the Egyptian masses. It has not suppressed and cannot suppress the exploitation of man by man.

If the social political conditions are achieved, the ACP will pronounce itself in favour of the single party on the ideological basis of the working class; it will be the latter's best promoter because the objective of the ACP is the suppression of classes, the elimination of exploitation of man by man, a source of

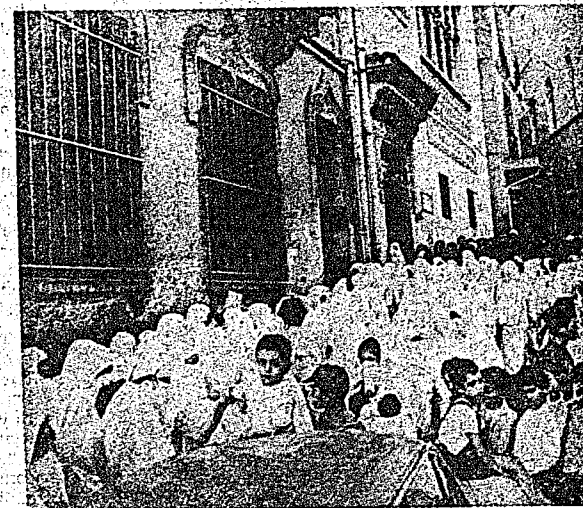
struggle and division within the nation. That party following the example of Cuba's socialist party, will be formed from all the forces of progress in Algeria, on Marxist Leninist principles. The ideology of the working class, once freed and once in power, shall liberate the whole people and shall exercise constraint only against counter-revolutionary agents and exploiters.

But while working for the single party system on such bases and while waiting for the political and social conditions necessary to the existence of such a party, the ACP is not in favour of suppressing the parties that reflect the interests of the anti-imperialist bourgeois or petty bourgeois classes.

The ACP will not refuse any discussion which might mark the beginning of the single party system. It will participate with the firm desire to clarify ideas and to help bring about the normal political unity of our nation. But those discussions should not take the people away from the tasks which independence has set.

Within the political and social realities which are those of today's Algeria, and within the struggle against neo-colonialist control, the union of all the national energies, the union of the nationalists and communists should take place within the FLN (National Libe-

\*SEE PAGE 10



A scene before a polling station—For the first time, freedom and dignity have come into the lives of these Moslem women.



Vine cultivation is the most important branch of Algerian agriculture. Nearly 400,000 hectares are cultivated with vine.

# SOME ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH OF WORLD

The victory of socialism in the economic competition with capitalism is a cardinal objective law governing social development in our epoch. The new social system breaks the shackles which fetter the development of the productive forces under capitalism.

**EVEN** before the complete victory of socialism throughout the world as a result of socialist revolutions, the world socialist system will score victory over the capitalist system economically. The countries of the world socialist system, drawing on the advantages of their social and state system, will ultimately surpass the most developed countries in the capitalist world for per capita output and ensure their peoples a higher living standard as compared with any capitalist country. Victory in competition with capitalism will be an important turning point in history, it will accelerate manifold the rates of social change throughout the world.

The following main features are characteristic of the new stage in the economic competition of the two world systems:

- "The profound qualitative changes that have taken place in the socialist countries and in relations between them," N. S. Khrushchev pointed out at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU "are evidence of the growing maturity of the world socialist system which has now entered a new stage of development. The chief thing now is, by consistently developing the economy of each socialist country and all of them collectively, to achieve preponderance of the socialist world's absolute volume of production over that of the capitalist world."
- The Soviet Union, the leading country of the socialist camp, in the immediate future will surpass the United States, the principal capitalist country, both in total production and in per capita production.
- The world socialist system has already overtaken the world capitalist system in per capita industrial and agricultural production. The socialist countries are confidently marching to victory in competition with capitalism. This can

In recent years the socialist countries have accounted for about 45 per cent of the world grain crop and about 40 per cent of the cotton crop (in 1958, 4.2 per cent).

be judged by the steady rise of their share in world industrial output.

## Faster Development

While in 1950 the socialist countries accounted for less than 20 per cent of world industrial production, in 1961 their share already exceeded 36 per cent. The socialist countries contribute about 50 per cent of the world production of coal (in 1950—28.7 per cent), 20 per cent of electric power (in 1950, 14.9 per cent), 30.9 per cent of steel (in 1950, 19.2 per cent), etc. Their share in the world output of agricultural produce is still great-

er. In the last five years the world socialist system has outstripped the world capitalist system for the actual increase in the output of many important industrial goods. Thus, in 1956-60 the average annual increase in steel production was 8.7 per million tons in the socialist countries and 5.4 million tons in the capitalist countries; the respective figures for pig iron were 8.5 million and 3.8 million tons and for cement 9.3 million and 2.6 million tons. During this period, coal production in the socialist countries rose 85.2 million tons annually on the average, while in the capitalist countries it declined 5 million tons.

## Rise in Labour Productivity

The development and introduction of new machinery and advanced technological processes, over-all mechanization and automation, electrification of production, introduction of chemical processes, labour enthusiasm and technical skills of the workers, make for a steady and substantial rise in labour productivity, the decisive condition for the economic victory of socialism over capitalism.

The rise of labour productivity acquires special importance at the present stage in the development of the world socialist system. With the completion of socialist industrialization and the creation of the material and technical basis of socialism in the People's Democracies, most of the expansion in industrial output will be achieved not with bigger number of workers, but through higher labour productivity.

What is characteristic of the present stage in the economic development of the socialist countries is that bigger out-

production in the socialist countries differ radically and favourably from the conditions in the capitalist countries.

## Changes In Economic Structure

Big changes in the structure of the national economy are under way in the fraternal socialist countries. Socialist industrialization, the consistent policy of priority growth in the output of means of production, have converted many socialist countries such as Bulgaria, Rumania and the Korean People's Democratic Republic into agrarian-industrial states. While under the old regimes agriculture dominated their economy, now, a high level of modern industry determines their aspect.

A progressive structure of the national economy, ensuring the advance of all branches of material production, has taken shape in the fraternal socialist countries. This is attested to specifically by the increase in the share of industry in the aggregate output of industry and agriculture, rise in the share of the means of production in total industrial output and, lastly, the bigger share of the engineering and chemical industries in the output of the means of production.

## Change in the Structure of the National Economy of some Socialist Countries (per cent).

Country	Share of industry in the aggregate output of industry and agriculture		Share of Department I in total industrial output	
	1937-39	1959-60	1937-39	1959-60
Czechoslovakia	57.0	85.9	49.3	59.8
Hungary	42.0	71.0	44.8	66.3
Rumania	40.5	66.8	45.5	60.2
Bulgaria	24.8	70.6	22.6	47.4

## Economic Growth Rates

The advantages of the new social system find their concentrated expression in the economic growth rates of the Soviet Union and the

production in the socialist countries differ radically and favourably from the conditions in the capitalist countries.

	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Socialist countries (in present territory)	225	257	292	328	362	404	445	521	610	681
Increase (per cent as compared with preceding year)	18.5	14.3	13.6	11.5	11.0	11.6	10.3	17.1	17.0	11.7
Capitalist countries (in present territory)	162	165	178	180	199	208	215	210	231	244
Increase (per cent as compared with preceding year)	8.3	2.2	7.5	1.0	10.9	4.5	3.4	-2.5	10.2	5.4

People's Democracies which greatly exceed the economic growth rates of the capitalist states. Superiority in growth rates shows that the conditions for extended re-

The year 1961 again demonstrated to the world that the line of development of the socialist system is one of steep and steady advance. Industrial output in the Soviet Union increased 9.2 per cent in 1961. In one year Soviet industry produced almost as much as in the first post-war Five-Year Plan period. Total industrial output in the first two years of the Seven-Year Plan period rose by 32 per cent instead of the 27 per cent called for by the plan.

In the fraternal socialist countries industrial output in 1961 rose as follows: Bulgaria, 9.9 per cent; Hungary, 12 per cent; the German Democratic Republic, 6.2 per cent; Poland, 10.5 per cent; Rumania, 15.6 per cent; Czechoslovakia, 8.9 per cent; the Korean People's Democratic Republic, 14 per cent; the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, 13 per cent and the Mongolian People's Republic, 24.3 per cent.

The allegations of bourgeois scientists that the countries highly developed industrially must have lower growth rates are refuted by the experience of the socialist states.

The huge scale of capital construction enables the socialist countries swiftly to renew their fixed assets, to commission new productive capa-

ties and to ensure steady technical progress in all branches of the national economy.

Machine-building plays an immense role in strengthening the economic potential of the socialist states. The machine-building industry is supplying all branches of the national economy with most up-to-date machines, lathes, equipment and apparatuses, as well as creates appropriate export funds. Machine-building is the material embodiment of technical progress. The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies have concentrated in this section great resources. The machine-building industry is developing by outstripping rates. The advantages of the socialist system and its ability to attain steep growth of productive forces manifested espe-

# SOCIALIST SYSTEM

cially vividly in the achievements of this section.

Per capita production of major industrial goods has increased substantially in the socialist countries as compared with the pre-war period. At the same time the production levels in separate countries have drawn much closer together in the case of many goods. This is graphically seen in the case of the textile, footwear and sugar industries where the gap in per capita production between individual countries in 1960 was much smaller than before the war.

from 933,000 in 1950 to 1,985,000 in 1960; in China, from 1,300 to 80,000 respectively; in Poland, from 25,000 to 76,800; in Bulgaria, from 8,700 to 41,000; in Rumania, from 16,700 to 65,300. The consumption of mineral fertilisers per hectare of farm land in 1958-1959 increased as follows as compared with pre-war: Rumania 20 times; Hungary, 14 times and Poland, 6.5 times.

At present Soviet agriculture consumes more than three times as much electric power as was generated altogether in tsarist Russia in 1913.

As a result of the social and



Cosmonaut Pavel Popovich with family.

Republic and 162 per cent in Rumania. A high growth rate of the national income is characteristic of all the

the productive forces makes it possible to bring production nearer to the sources of raw material and to consumers, to develop comprehensively the economy of separate countries and to create the most efficient international power and transport systems.

Scientific and technical co-operation is playing an important part in accelerating technical progress in the socialist countries. They widely practice the free exchange of scientific and technical information, designs for capital construction, etc. For example, in 1958 and the first half of 1959, the USSR gave the People's Democracies 6,684 sets of technical documents and received from them 1,774 sets.

Taking into account the objective tendency of setting up in future one world communist economy, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist community are systematically working on developing and improving the organization of economic co-operation among the socialist states, deepening international specialisation and co-operation of production, forming new, progressive national economic proportions on the scale of the world socialist system.

The building of the material and technical basis of socialism and communism, the rapid advance of the people's living standard, the steadily growing economic unity of the socialist countries—all this testifies to the development and consolidation of the economy of the world socialist system. The peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, under the leadership of their Communist and Workers' Parties, are confidently marching to their common great goal—communism.

(Excerpts from an article by I. Dudinsky)

## PER CAPITA OUTPUT OF SOME GOODS IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Country	Electric power, kilowatt-hours		Coal and lignites, in terms of coal, kg.		Steel, kg.		Cement, kg.		Cotton fabrics, metres		Footwear, pairs		Sugar, kg.	
	Before war	1960	Before war	1960	Before war	1960	Before war	1960	Before war	1960	Before war	1960	Before war	1960
USSR	225	1,365	787	2,074	94	305	30	212	16	24	1.1	2.0	11.1	29.7
Poland	106	988	1,095	3,670	43	225	38	222	10	22	—	2.8	14.7	46.5
Czechoslovakia	285	1,787	1,904	4,749	159	496	88	370	26	34	3.8	7.0	43.7	64.5
German Democratic Republic	866	2,338	2,302	4,517	74	194	104	292	—	20	0.9	1.5	—	39.5
Hungary	152	758	493	1,702	70	188	35	157	16	24	0.3	2.1	10.9	38.0
Rumania	72	413	94	197	18	98	38	166	7	14	—	1.6	6.1	21.3
Bulgaria	42	592	130	1,118	—	32	36	202	5	28	—	—	4.0	21.7

Per capita oil production rose as follows as compared with pre-war: USSR, from 159 kg to 680 kg; Hungary, from 47 to 121 kg and Rumania, from 42.7 to 625 kg. The output of cotton fabrics in the USSR, German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Rumania is given in square metres.

Agriculture of the socialist countries too, has scored great successes. The Soviet Union, which was the first country to carry out the Leninist plan for the socialist transformation of the countryside, has built up a large-scale highly mechanized agriculture capable of accomplishing the tasks put forward by the Party for ensuring the rapidly growing requirements of the population in foodstuffs and of industry in raw materials. The material and technical facili-

ties of agriculture have been reinforced in all the socialist countries. This is expressed in an increase in the number of agricultural machines, electrification and the application of chemical products in agriculture. Here are some figures. The number of tractors (in terms of 15 H.P. units) increased in the Soviet Union

technical changes in the agriculture of the socialist countries. The productivity of this important branch of material production has grown substantially. The reinforcement of the material and technical facilities of agriculture, the great aid rendered by the working class to the countryside, and the resultant greater productivity of all branches of agriculture brought about an increase in total agricultural output of the world socialist system.

socialist countries. The successful development of the national economy and the advance in the living standard of the people are inseparable from the new type of relations which arose between the socialist countries. Life has proved irrefutably that fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance of the socialist states represent a very great constructive force and are an important factor making for the growth of their productive forces. Mutual assistance of the socialist countries means the pooling of effort for the utmost development of production in each country, the consolidation of the might of the entire world socialist system and the building of the material and technical basis of communism.

Further extension of the economic co-operation of the socialist countries is characteristic of the present stage in the development of world socialism. These countries have now gone over to the direct coordination of their national economic plans, to the wide development of direct ties in industry, science, technology and trade.

The constant expansion of production and greater planning of reciprocal economic ties are expressed in the rapid growth of the foreign trade of the socialist countries.

In 1950-1960 total foreign trade of the socialist countries rose 3.2 times and their goods exchange increased 3.4 times, reaching 68,000 million rubles. During the same period trade of the capitalist states increased only two times.

In 1961 foreign trade rose as follows as compared with 1960: Poland, 13.2 per cent; Rumania, 17 per cent; Hungary, 11.9 per cent; Czecho-

## Economic Cooperation Of Socialist Countries

The growth of the national income is the main general index of the advance in the living standard of the working people in the socialist countries. The national in-

come rose as follows between 1951 and 1960: 167 per cent in the USSR, 106 per cent in Poland and Czechoslovakia, 143 per cent in the German Democratic



It is good to feel like going into space. A scene in a recreation centre.

READ  
**WORLD MARXIST REVIEW**

(English Edition of Problems of Peace and Socialism)

Monthly published from Prague)

Price per issue 0.75 n.p.  
Annual Rs. 7.50 n.p.

Place orders with  
**People's Publishing House (P) Ltd.**  
Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi

# GROMYKO'S VISIT TO BERLIN

BERLIN, OCTOBER 28  
The Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko straight from his talks with Kennedy on Berlin question flew in to Berlin on Tuesday morning and immediately conferred with leaders of the GDR Government.

**D**URING his two-day stay in Berlin he discussed with Walter Ulbricht, Chairman, Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister Lothar Bolz ways and means of stabilising peace in Central Europe. Gromyko's visit was interpreted by some West German papers as planning retaliatory measures in Berlin "to avenge" Cuban blockade.

Whatever the speculations, the real purpose of his visit was to let the GDR Government know full details of his talks with U.S. President and to discuss the outline of the urgently required German Peace Treaty which the Western powers are refusing to conclude.

All talks of war-mongers of a retaliatory Berlin blockade is false. It is asserted by highly placed GDR sources that the Soviet Union and GDR will not set out on a reckless retaliatory policy in Berlin to match the U.S. madness in Cuba though in a matter of hours the Soviet Union and GDR can bottle up the occupation forces in West Berlin and wipe out the hot bed of war in the heart of Europe.

Berlin is comparatively calmer this week except for massive war exercises going on in West Berlin conducted by American forces. The access route from West Germany to West Berlin

ment between the Soviet Union and GDR on all aspects of the Berlin and German questions. He said, GDR wanted to solve all questions relating to peace treaty through negotiations with Western powers. "If the Western powers refuse to sign a peace treaty with us, no imperialist power on earth can prevent us from concluding a peace treaty between our Republic and states prepared for it."

## Solidarity With Cuba

Meanwhile the people of Berlin have rallied to a man in support of revolutionary Cuba, threatened by U.S. aggressors.

The national flag of heroic Cuba was flying all over Berlin from the hour the Cuban blockade began. Berliners who are already threatened by the American occupation of West Berlin are pledging everything to defend Cuba against the common enemy Hands off Cuba, Halte Kennedy, End Blockade now are some of the slogans which one hears today everywhere in Berlin.

On October 25th, 250 thousand working people and students demonstrated in Berlin. "Cuba si yanhi no", the popular

port of revolutionary Cuba, threatened by U.S. aggressors. The national flag of heroic Cuba was flying all over Berlin from the hour the Cuban blockade began. Berliners who are already threatened by the American occupation of West Berlin are pledging everything to defend Cuba against the common enemy Hands off Cuba, Halte Kennedy, End Blockade now are some of the slogans which one hears today everywhere in Berlin.

On October 25th, 250 thousand working people and students demonstrated in Berlin. "Cuba si yanhi no", the popular

Latin American slogan was on every lips.

On the wide square in front of the Humboldt University (where fascists used to have bonfire of books Hitler did not like) flags of Cuba and GDR flew side by side before the monument of Humboldt brothers. Blas Roca, member of the Cuban revolutionary leadership who is now a guest of GDR addressed the mammoth rally.

When Roca slowly stepped before the microphone, thunderous ovation lasting for several minutes

greeted him. Roca told the anxious Germans that "Socialist Cuba would never be defeated." He said, U.S. is not only a danger for the Caribbean but also in West Berlin, Formosa, Korea, Vietnam, Africa, Asia and all Latin America. U.S. is playing the role of world gangster of reaction which it has assumed on itself.

Roca said that all the armed forces of U.S. imperialism were mobilised to annihilate Cuba, but if the U.S. invade Cuba again, they will find that Cuba is more stronger than last time.



Agreement to continue trade and for mutual delivery of goods between India and GDR was signed in Berlin on Oct. 21, 1962.

## From P. K. KUNHANANDAN NAIR

create a situation in Europe and in the world in which dangerous hotbeds of war would exist no more.

Agreement with Western powers on conclusion of a German peace treaty is possible only on the event of Western powers withdrawing their occupation troops from West Berlin and creating normal conditions there.

Soviet Union and other socialist countries would never permit even a slightest violation of the sovereign rights of GDR.

GDR Foreign Minister Lothar Bolz added that there is full agree-

## Algerian Party's Programme

\* FROM CENTRE PAGES

**ration Front** considered as a front and not as a party, where the independence of the ACP would be respected. The independence and the strengthening of the ACP, which have been beneficial to the fight and to unity during the war, will continue to be so during peace.

The patriots should drive out exclusive rights and sectarianism, detrimental to the Algerian people. They will have to oppose anti-communism, a weapon of division and diversion used by the enemy, and an obstacle to the democratic and social aims of the revolution.

(b) It is through united, uninterrupted action, involving the largest possible masses, that such a programme will be carried out. Any efforts to impede the programme will have to be vigorously opposed. The realization of high objectives is achieved thanks to the daily accomplishment of humble, or important, tasks preparing for the fundamental changes.

(c) Fraternal democratic emulation is necessary for fruitful mobilization and true national discipline. This is why authoritarian anti-democratic methods will have to be discarded, and why enforcing measures in a bureaucratic way will have to be avoided.

The use of certain methods of constraint on patriots, dangerous in time of war, must be completely discarded in time of peace. They must be reserved only for incorrigible counter-revolutionaries. On the contrary, it will be necessary to

sary to interest the masses in the conscious building of their future, to explain and persuade, to stimulate individual and collective emulation.

## People's Initiative

We need a country with a free voice, mouths that open freely in the djemaa as well as in the national assembly, in the district committees as well as in the unions or political parties, in offices and construction sites alike. In the papers, on the radio, on TV, we will have to popularise initiatives, encourage the exchange of experiences throughout the country.

(d) Raising the standard of living of the people in a spirit of progress, together with education, will facilitate the mobilisation of the masses.

At the time of space rockets and of socialism our people and our youth especially, eager to emancipate themselves while respecting our healthiest and most progressive traditions, will have to carry on the struggle already begun during the liberation war between the leftover feudal and colonial society, against the confidence men who would like to use religion for their political, counter-revolutionary and conservative purposes, against facility and selfishness, against all that perverts conscious thinking and solid mores.

Teaching, education and setting a good example will have to act as encouragement for the forces of progress, the

democratic consciousness, the ideal of solidarity and friendship with all peoples, the love of work, honesty and respect of public wealth, the devotion to reconstruction tasks and the growth of the family and entire equality for the married partners, affection and harmony among its members. In the framework of the progress and the interests of the country.

Evian agreements really fruitful and strong because such cooperation will be freed from all that is constraining in our country. It will bring happy and peaceful solutions to the problem which history has set for both the French and the Algerian peoples;

Links of cooperation and friendship with all countries, without exception, and notably with those of the socialist camp. The strengthening of world-wide peace and the socialist camp have created the most favourable conditions in Algeria.

This is the reason why our government will have to support on every occasion the peace efforts of the USSR in favour of peace and of general and complete disarmament, which would notably result in making our fight for the evacuation of French bases easier and would create immense new resources in the world to put an end to underdevelopment.

To those who pretend that Algeria, because of its geographic location, would once and for all be subjected to Western influence, i.e., to the influence of the imperialist powers and committed to trading with the Europe of the Six, limited to the role of an appendix to that Europe, we say: the proximity of the USA has not prevented Cuba from becoming a Socialist Republic.

Support from the socialist camp will make it easier to resist imperialist conditions and pressures. No outer force will then be able to stop the Algerian march toward progress. This will depend above all upon our people, on their determination of their own fight, the level of their organisation and the degree of national and social consciousness reached!

# "IN THE INTEREST OF PEOPLES, FOR THE SAKE OF UNIVERSAL PEACE"

## Text Of Pravda Editorial

MOSCOW, October 25;

The following is the full text of Pravda editorial entitled "In the Interests of the Peoples, For the Sake of Universal Peace", published today:

**T**HE Soviet Union and the other socialist countries regard it as the chief aim of their foreign policy the ensuring of peaceful conditions for the construction of a new society and for the development of the world socialist system, consolidation of friendship among all peoples, and the ridding of mankind from the threat of a new world war.

This position is consistently adhered to by the Soviet Union and countries of the socialist world in settling all world policy problems. Counterposing to imperialism the new type of international relations, the socialist states persistently and purposefully uphold the principles of freedom, national independence, sovereignty and the possibility for the people of every country to decide their destiny.

The countries of the socialist camp act as genuine friends and allies of the peoples in their struggle against colonialism and the intrigues of the imperialist powers. The young sovereign states have inherited many unsolved problems from the grievous past. The imperialist quarters never miss an opportunity of taking advantage of difficulties connected, specifically, with all kinds of border issues and disputes. In their aggressive aspirations U.S. imperialism and its allies in NATO, SEATO and other military blocs pin special hopes on exploiting the unsettled border issue between the People's Republic of China and India.

The question of the Sino-Indian border is a legacy of the times when the British colonialists held sway on Indian territory, arbitrarily cutting and recutting the map of Asia.

The notorious McMahon Line, which has never been recognised by China, was imposed upon the Chinese and Indian peoples. The imperialist quarters did their utmost to use border conflicts connected with this line for provoking an armed clash. The imperialists dream of setting these great powers against each other, and also of undermining the Soviet Union's friendship both with fraternal China and with friendly India.

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are bound by many years of unbreakable friendship. This friendship rests on the community of aims: the building of socialism and communism; its firm foundation is constituted by a uniform economic base, a uniform political system, a common ideology—Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet Union, China, and all the countries of socialism are at one in the struggle against imperialism for peace all over the world. The joint forces of the socialist camp reliably guarantee every socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction. When four years ago, in 1958,

negotiations to settle the question of the Sino-Indian frontier. It has expressed the hope that the Indian Government will be agreeable to having both sides respect the line between territories actually controlled by both sides along the entire Sino-Indian frontier and, to avoid contact, will withdraw their armed forces to within 20 kilometres distance. The Chinese Government believes that there should be another meeting between the Chinese and Indian Prime Ministers at a reciprocally suitable moment.

The Chinese Government has called on the Indian Government to energetically respond to its proposals. It has urged the Afro-Asian governments to exert an effort to facilitate their realisation. It has likewise called on all the peace-loving countries and peoples to bend their efforts to promote Sino-Indian friendship, Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace.

The fomentation of the conflict between the two great Asian powers brings grief to the mill not only of imperialism in general but also of certain reactionary circles inside India, most intimately associated with foreign capital

and imperialist forces inimical to the Indian people. To adjust the conflict peacefully India's progressives must redouble their efforts. One, of course, must realise that when relations are strained as they are now, even some progressively minded people may succumb to nationalism and become jingoists. However, one cannot do that, when questions of the struggle for peace, of the solution of international issues, are at stake. In this case, one must be an internationalist and strive not to fan animosity and exacerbate the conflict but settle it peacefully through negotiation. Of course, there can be misunderstandings in relations between states. But it is imperative from the point of view of plain common sense to show good-will on both sides and not dictate any preliminary terms when adjusting disputes.

As for the Soviet people, they take the Chinese Government's statement as an expression of its sincere concern for its relations with India and of its desire to end the conflict. We think the Chinese Government's proposals constructive. Without impairing the prestige of

either side, they provide an acceptable groundwork for starting negotiations and for peacefully settling controversies in a way taking account of the interests of both the People's Republic of China and India.

## Together Against Imperialism

A friendly settlement of the Sino-Indian frontier problem would once again demonstrate the great power of the principles of the peaceful co-existence and co-operation of states with different systems. It would also promote the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples and largely facilitate the consolidation of international security in Asia and the world generally. Further, it would strike a fresh blow at the forces of imperialism and colonialism and against the machinations of the aggressive quarters of the U.S., who in the last few days have embarked upon an extremely perilous venture, which is directed not only against Cuba and the socialist states but against all lovers of peace in general.

# Yemen Republic Victorious

The Yemeni Premier Abdallah al Sallal told a Cairo correspondent on October 27 that the Republican Government of the Yemen had been able, in the month since the beginning of the revolution, to put down the unrest provoked in the frontier regions by King Saud; King Hussein and the ruler of Beihan.

Now, he said, "we are dedicating all our efforts to the economic advance of Yemen. We hoped to set about doing this from the very first day of the revolution, but the conspiracies of our enemies hampered us. Of course, the defeat which Saud, Hussein and the Beihan ruler sustained, will not stop them. They will continue sending their mercenaries, arms and gold to Jaul and Marib regions in order to provoke unrest. That is why we shall continue enhancing our vigilance."

Meanwhile, MEN Agency correspondent from Marib reports that after bitter fighting, troops of the revolutionary Government of Yemen captured a height dominating Marib. In the course of the engagement, which lasted an hour, 170 rebels were killed and wounded and 100 others were taken prisoner.

Yemen aircraft discovered and strafed mercenary forces near the road between Marib and the British Protectorate of Beihan.

The Al Ahran correspondent reports from Sanaa that Yemen revolutionary troops have blocked another attempt by mercenaries to enter Yemen from the North-East.

"Our government," Abdallah al Sallal said, "has already drafted an economic programme. It has been submitted to an economic conference now taking place at Sanaa. Above all, we must set up a central bank. We have also started various agricultural reforms. Above all, we must enlarge cotton crops and new markets for our farm produce. We shall try to obtain loans from various countries since the treasury had been empty at the time of the revolution. We shall invite specialists from the whole world and ask for their help."

## \* Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund \*

**L**AST week, Bires Chatterji, Secretary of the Press Workers' Committee of the New Age Printing Press gave me Rs. 556.20 being the contribution of workers in the Press. The Committee had earlier issued an appeal to all the workers in the Press to contribute at least a day's wage. Not only was this done but some among them gave more than a day's wage. Your contributions are gratefully accepted.

The AITUC unit here has sent its second instalment of Rs. 558. Mahendra Sen and Satish Chatterji have sent Rs. 100 and 500 respectively. Mr. and Mrs. Srivastava have given Rs 51 while Achuttan and Ramdhari have given

S. N. have sent in Rs. 10 each. K. A. Kuttan from Nilgiri has sent in Rs. 3. Delegates attending the Madurai District Conference sent in Rs. 137. Autar Singh Malhotra from Punjab has given his personal contribution of Rs. 50, while he has collected Rs. 151 from S. P. Anand of Calcutta. A comrade who is working in the Party Headquarters for the last seventeen years has given Rs. 25. Arumgam from Coimbatore has sent in his modest contribution of Rs. 5.

S. Sachbi from Mathura has sent Rs. 5. Comrade D. P. Sinha has forwarded to me the contribution of Rs. 140 from Partha Sarathi Sen Gupta of the New Age Press. Sukhendu has sent in another Rs. 101 being the amount he collected from Purushottam Patel of Bombay. Surendra Jaiswal and

S. V. GHATE

Delhi, October 30, 1962.

NEW AGE

NOVEMBER 4, 1962

# KHRUSHCHOV'S BOLD STEP FOR WORLD PEACE

★ From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, October 30

*In the Soviet Union as in the rest of the world there is a feeling of profound relief that a world wide nuclear conflagration has been averted.*

**D**URING this week many a time the fate of millions hung in balance and it seemed there was no alternative to the holocaust of war and a head-on conflict. But it was the Soviet Government again which found a way out and saved the world. Instead of sticking to petty considerations of "face" or false bravado and prestige, Moscow worked with only one aim to avoid an atomic war and to preserve the independence and freedom of Cuba.

It was obvious to people here that on the question of the freedom of Cuba there could be no compromise, that the Soviet Union will never leave the heroic Cuban people alone at the mercy of the American arms, and there were continuous demonstrations all over the Soviet Union expressing solidarity and support for the people of that heroic island. It was made clear that an attack on Cuba would mean war.

## Soviet People Confident

But the Soviet people were fully confident that the Soviet Government will do everything possible to prevent war and world-wide destruction, will never lose its nerve, will never for a moment forget its duty and responsibility before mankind and human civilisation.

And the Soviet Government and Nikita Khrushchov did not let the world down and drifting to the catastrophic brink. The Soviet Union rose to the occasion, found enough wisdom and courage to deal with the situation and worked tirelessly to find a solution.

The reconciliatory gesture of removing the rockets from Cuba as soon as Kennedy promised that the USA would "give guarantees against the invasion of Cuba" created a new situation of hope for everybody. And Khrushchov in his message on Sunday could tell Kennedy "thus in view of the assurances you have given and our instructions on dismantling there is every condition for eliminating the present conflict."

The feelings of the millions of the world were best expressed

sed by the great humanist and thinker Bertrand Russell who sent this telegram on Sunday:

## Russell's Tribute

*"My dear Mr. Khrushchov, I should like you to know of my personal feelings about your solution of the Cuban crisis. I have never known any statesman act with the magnanimity and greatness that you have shown over Cuba and I wish you to be clear that every sincere and honest human being pays you homage for your courage. With lasting esteem, Bertrand Russell."*

The reaction of the press here is the same as of all right-thinking people all over the world. Today's headlines of the papers declare: "Preserve peace on earth. We value peace and shall defend it. The whole of humanity welcomes the wisdom and the love for peace shown by the Soviet Government. Security of Cuba is the foundation of the peaceful solution of the conflict."

It is clear that the world has rightly understood the peaceful initiative of the Soviet Union and is grateful for it. The moral prestige of the land of Soviets has gone up in the eyes of all right-thinking individuals.

From the very beginning of the crisis the Soviet side understood the world public opinion and showed consideration for the moves of the fifty neutral nations for a peaceful solution of the conflict which changed the situation and made the retreat from the precipice possible.

It is pointed out here that the American promise not to attack Cuba and to work out reciprocal measures for peace in the Caribbean area is a definite advance. And as the solution is to be worked out in the United Nations it will be difficult for the USA to keep their Guantanamo base on Cuba. The majority in the UNO will be against keeping the U.S. base on Cuban soil while working out a full settlement and Cuba's sovereignty will have to be guaranteed.

Now that the American dance on the brink is over and a new atmosphere has been created by Soviet flexibility and determination, there is more hope of genuine business-like negotiations. The competition between the armed forces and diplomacy has been won by the latter in this round and it is the desire of Moscow that it should be made a starting point for constructive advance.

Khrushchov in his last message, to Kennedy spoke of the need of "providing conditions for a more thoughtful appraisal of the international situation fraught with great dangers" and said "vested with trust and great responsibility we must not allow the situation to become aggravated and must stamp out the centres where a dangerous situation has arisen fraught with grave consequences for peace. And if you and I with the assistance of other people of goodwill succeed in eliminating this tense atmosphere we should also make sure that no other dangerous conflicts arise which could lead to a world nuclear catastrophe."

Khrushchov speaks of regulating relations between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries and finding a reasonable solution. He says that the Soviet side would like the exchange of views on prohibition of atomic thermo-nuclear weapons and on disarmament to continue. He points out that irresponsible people would like to invade Cuba and thus touch off a war.

"If we do take practical steps and proclaim the dismantling and evacuation of the means in question from Cuba, in doing so we at the same time want the Cuban people to be sure that we are with them and do not absolve ourselves from responsibility for rendering assistance to the Cuban people."

In the end the Soviet leader expresses confidence that reason will triumph, war will not be unleashed and peace and security of the peoples will be ensured. The cause of satisfaction here today is the fact that at this stage reason has certainly triumphed over madness and mankind today has more hope in pursuing the aims of peace, thanks to the Soviet Union.

The Indian minister of Mines and Fuel, K. D. Malaviya had a two hour talk with Khrushchov in which the whole border question came up. It has been said that the Soviet side has

## ATTACK ON PHQ

The National Council of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on November 1.

**L**AST night the Headquarters of our Party at Asaf Ali Road was attacked by a crowd led by the Jana Sangh and the PSP. The attack was clearly premeditated. For the crowd had been earlier incited by the leaders of these two parties at a meeting held at Hauz Kazi. The premises of the Party office were set on fire. Furniture was burnt and the crowd made a bonfire of hundreds of books, including the biography of Gandhiji.

This orgy of cowardly arson and violence went on unchecked

ed for nearly three quarters of an hour.

The office of the Delhi State Committee of the Party was also subjected to a cowardly attack by the same crowd.

Such fascist-like vandalism and provocations will disrupt public life in our country.

These actions lower the prestige of the country in the eyes of the world. We are confident that these criminal actions will be condemned by all right-thinking persons in the country. We appeal to all patriots and democrats and all those who stand for decency in public life to do all in their power to prevent recurrence of such provocative violent incidents.

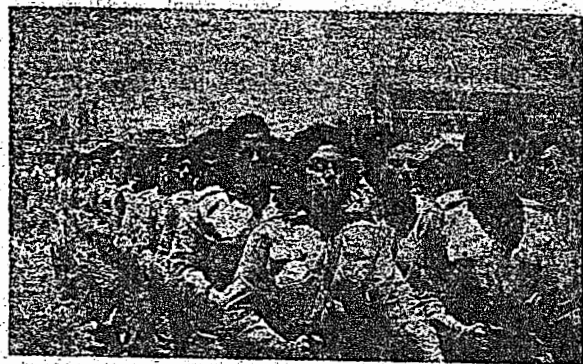
## PRESS LIES NAILED

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on October 31.

**T**HE story published in the Hindustan Times and some Delhi papers this morning regarding a so-called secret circular issued by the Central Executive Committee on October 17 is nothing but a fabrication. The Central Executive Committee has, in fact, issued no circular at all on the subject. It has been deliberately manufactured and spread by people who are interested in whipping up anti-Communist hysteria and disrupting national unity in this grave hour in the life of

the nation. We would request all those who are interested in finding proper solutions for the grave problems facing the nation not to countenance the efforts of those who resort to such base methods.

We would also take this opportunity to repudiate the false stories spread by the correspondents of some newspapers regarding the present meeting of the Central Executive Committee and the National Council. One such report was carried by the Delhi edition of the Statesman on October 30. We would request all friends who are interested in truth not to be carried away by such fabrications and lying reports.



Cuban women too are ready to defend their country against US aggression.

been listening to the Indian point of view the patience and sympathy. Before leaving for Warsaw Malaviya pointed out that he had fruitful negotiations on the questions of fore-

ign trade, geological research and extraction and processing of oil. With Soviet help India has built her own oil industry independent of foreign firms, he said.

## CHINA'S ASTOUNDING CLAIMS

\*FROM FRONT PAGE

as to enthuse the mass of people and unite them for greater voluntary sacrifices for the defence of the country.

The Council notes that reactionary elements in the country are trying to misuse popular indignation against Chinese aggression to rouse feelings against the Communist Party of India. In the present situation, this amounts to nothing but national disruption and defiance of the Prime Minister's call for national unity. The Council is confident that the patriotic and democratic forces in the country will give a fitting rebuff to all such attempts.

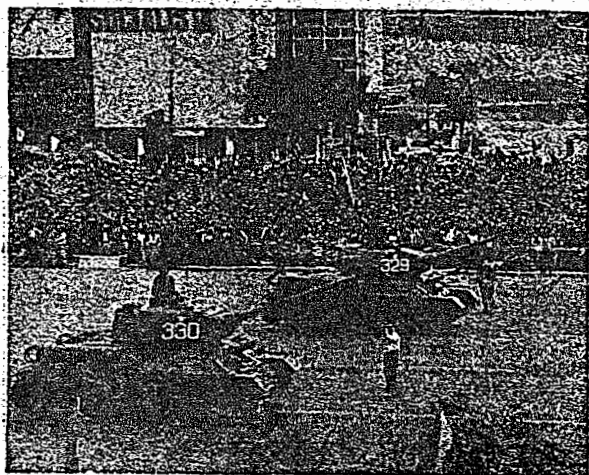
The Council calls on Communist Party units, members and supporters everywhere:

1. To take an active part in the work of the popular committees which are being set up in support of the defence efforts;
2. To exert their best to build up the National Defence Fund;
3. To work resolutely for increase in production for defence and people's needs;
4. To mobilise public opinion against price rises, blackmarketing and profiteering and other anti-social activities, which hit the working people and the nation;
5. To campaign tirelessly against those groups, parties and elements which seek narrow political

advantage out of the present crisis;

6. To oppose attempts to force India to give up her foreign policy of non-alignment and peace and thereby put her at the mercy of the imperialist camp and involve India in a prolonged full-scale war;
7. To support all moves taken by the Government of India to bring about a peaceful settlement, consistent with the honour and dignity of the country.

The National Council is confident that all Communists will stand at their posts of duty and work together with the rest of the Indian people, to the greater glory of the Motherland.



A Military parade in Havana, Capital of Cuba.