

CEASE-FIRE— WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

Editorial

THE NATION STANDS calm and determined, more solidly united than ever before behind Prime Minister

Nehru in this hour of trial. The Chinese aggression, stripped of its last pretences, lies naked before all mankind. The relentless, obviously pre-planned drive of the Chinese army with heavy mortars and artillery, with tens of thousands of trained soldiers, threatening the oil-fields and tea-gardens of Assam, has opened wide the eyes even of those in other lands who were unable to see the exact nature of the hostilities and were consequently deliberating as to who is right and who is wrong. As the Chinese offensive advanced, their claim that they were only defending against India's "aggression" fell hollow. The efforts of non-aligned countries to halt the war gathered momentum. The Chinese became more and more isolated from world opinion. For everyone began to see that this was a war and one that might lead to world war.

It is in this context and confronted by the united strength of the Indian people, roused as never before in their history, that the Chinese Government suddenly announced its proposals for a unilateral ceasefire and withdrawal of its troops. Even these proposals calling for a cease-fire repeat false accusations against India. With a full-scale invasion army deep inside Indian territory, the Chinese Government still seeks to paint the picture of "frontier guards" "defending" against "Indian aggression".

India is not concerned now primarily with the abusive chain of untruth which accompanies the Chinese Note: we are concerned with the concrete proposals made. The Government of India is, at this moment as *New Age* goes to press, giving these proposals its serious consideration. Since the Chinese Note announces unilateral action, India will "wait and see". Tomorrow is to be the first day of China's proclaimed cease-fire and India waits to see how it will be implemented.

There is every reason for India to display the utmost vigilance. For, the unscrupulous violation of all previous undertakings and invasion of our soil by the Chinese forces has taught India to be vigilant.

There is every reason for India to continue with ever greater zeal, to build up and strengthen our armed defence potential, to rally and strengthen the defence economy, so that the aggressors may never again dare to enter our land.

The Prime Minister has again and again made our position clear: we shall not talk or negotiate till the Chinese forces are withdrawn at least to the positions they held before September 8, 1962. The Chinese Note claims that when they have completed their proposed unilateral withdrawal, their forces "will be far behind their positions prior to September 8, 1962."

Prime Minister Nehru has rightly stated that we have "to watch how they (the Chinese) give effect to it (their announcement of withdrawal) before we can form any opinion."

Leaders of certain rightwing parties in Parliament demanded an outright rejection of the Chinese Note and the giving up by India of its position in regard to negotiations. The motives of these gentlemen are clear enough. The Prime Minister spoke for the nation when he answered them:

"We do not shift it (our position) every 24 hours. I think it is a good position and a strong position... To that we have stuck all along and to that we stick now."

No negotiations till the pre-September 8 position is restored—this is the will of the nation. If after clarifications, the Government of India is satisfied that Chinese withdrawal in essence means the vacation of the aggression since September 8, the Government of India will be justified in starting preliminary talks as previously contemplated and since suggested by a number of non-aligned countries.

United behind the Prime Minister, India watches the developments on our front-line. The last three days have been in many ways the most decisive days for India since we won our independence. These have been the days when a storm of interested and ill-informed criticism sought to make us lose faith and confidence in our own strength, and give up for ever the sheet anchors of our honour and independence—the policies of non-alignment, of peace, of defending our sovereignty and integrity with our last drop of blood—which have made India great.

Let the world hear the united voice of our people, let our determination and our strength be known, let the voice of the Prime Minister ring out for all to hear:

"We have no desire for any territorial expansion in any direction and our aim is to live in peace and amity with our neighbours."

(November 21)

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. X, NO. 47

NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 25, 1962

25 p.p.

Determined And Confident

● FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

Parliament met this week under the most severe strain it had ever experienced. The startling course of events on the border, the further reverses suffered by our gallant forces and then the sudden Chinese proposals for a cease-fire, both upset and astonished the members and buffeted them about in a sea of anxiety.

NATURALLY tempers were frayed and arguments sometimes tended to be incoherent and unhelpful. But the firm determination of all to meet every challenge and offensive by the aggressor despite the temporary setbacks in our strong positions, and the calm judgement and sober guidance of the Prime Minister asserted themselves at every stage and helped to keep the situation under control.

HIGHLY PERTURBED

It was a highly perturbed and agitated Parliament that met on Monday to hear the Prime Minister give the grievous news of the fall of Walong and Se la ridge into the hands of the enemy during the two days' recess after last Friday.

Making the statement in the Lok Sabha, the Prime Minister gave information about the reverses on the front and the fierce fighting going on and added:

"This is bad news. I cannot go into further details at this stage. I should like to add that in spite of the reverses suffered by us, we are determined not to give in in any way and we shall fight the enemy, however long it may take to repel him and drive him out of our country."

Instead of receiving faith and strength from these words of the Prime Minister, a small section of the House — mainly some PSP and Lohia Socialists — created a scene in the House, shouting and gesticulating and making panicky utterances — as Khadihar described it the next day — disregarding of the repeated attempts by the Chair to call the House to order.

As the Prime Minister himself and the Speaker also put it, there was no doubt that everyone in the House was deeply distressed by the news of the reverses. But the few members who created the undignified scene in the Lok Sabha had little justification for their conduct. As Khadihar remarked on the next day — almost in a similar situation — these utterances certainly "did not show the nerve of the Parliament which it should exhibit."

Tuesday brought further anxiety by the announcement of the

fall of Bomdi la. Both these occasions were utilised by the PSP — Jan Sangh — Swatantra benches to pose questions in such a way that the Government could be persuaded to give information regarding matters of strategy and our defence strength.

But the Speaker intervened and arrested this trend and asked Members to meet the Prime Minister separately and get such details as they wanted instead of demanding information on the floor of the House which may not be helpful to the country.

The Prime Minister assured Parliament on more than one occasion that every effort was being made to get arms and other equipment from foreign countries and that there was not and will not be any slackening in strengthening our forces fighting the invader.

Meanwhile, on Tuesday, the Prime Minister informed the two Houses that General P. N. Thapar had applied for long leave on

grounds of health and that he has been granted leave. In his place Lt. Gen. J. N. Choudhury has been appointed to officiate as Chief of the Army Staff.

The unexpected turn of events following the Chinese Government statement of November 21 added to the confusion. On Wednesday, members understandably raised a number of doubts about the proposals. Some of them however demanded that the Prime Minister consult Parliament before he sent a reply to the Chinese Government when its proposal was officially received.

FIRM STAND

The Prime Minister, however, was firm on his stand and refused to commit himself. He told the House that we would have to carefully consider all aspects of the Chinese proposal and only after that a decision could be taken.

As regards consulting Parliament before a reply is sent, the Prime Minister pointed out that it was not a normal procedure and would be undesirable. The normal practice is for Parliament to discuss the principles which

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SECRETARIAT STATEMENT

ON ARRESTS

THE Secretariat of the Communist Party of India notes with surprise the large-scale arrests of the leaders and workers of our Party in different parts of the country under the Defence of India Ordinance. Many of those who have been arrested were in fact actively engaged in mobilising popular efforts for national defence against Chinese aggression and in building up national unity behind Prime Minister Nehru.

These arrests are an attack on the Communist Party of India as a whole. This does not help to build national unity today to which we are all pledged. We would appeal to the Government to ponder over their actions and we hope

the arrested comrades will be released. It would be most unfortunate if our Party, whose stand for the cause of national defence against Chinese aggression is well known and which is solemnly pledged to work with the rest of our people under the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru at this hour of crisis were to be so subjected to wholesale repressive measures.

(November 21)

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Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the General Secretary of the Party was arrested this morning while he was attending a meeting of the Secretariat at the Party Office, on a warrant from Kerala.

(November 22)

news from states

ASSAM

The Assam State Council of the CPI held an emergency meeting on November 13 and 14 to discuss the situation arising out of the unabated Chinese aggression.

The Council fully endorsed the resolution adopted by the National Council of the CPI and greeted the people of Assam in particular and of the country in general who have risen to the occasion in a big way. They have promptly and magnificently responded to the call of the Prime Minister for national defence.

The Council paid homage to the jawans of our armed forces who have laid down their lives fighting at the front.

The resolution of the Council, inter alia denounced the "attitude shown so far by the leaders of the Chinese Government towards the reasonable proposal" put forward by Indian Government for withdrawal of Chinese forces to positions held before September 8.

"In view of this attitude of the Chinese Government, the duty of every citizen of our dear motherland is to prepare for and do everything possible to throw out the aggressors from the sacred soil of India," the resolution said.

The Council called upon every party member "to be in the forefront in helping the Government in its national defence efforts, collecting funds for defence, helping to strengthen village defence, homeguard and civil defence measures and also in guarding against the fifth column activities of the anti-social and anti-State elements."

The Council exhorted the Party members to intensify the holding of public meetings, demonstrations etc. for rousing the people and organising them for national defence and to mobilise their united support behind Prime Minister Nehru. It also directed the members to explain to the masses of people the resolution of the National Council of the CPI.

Calling upon the workers and peasants of Assam, the Resolution emphasised that they should work harder, leave no land uncultivated and help to meet defence needs to the maximum possible extent.

It urged upon the Government to make all fallow land available to the working peasants for cultivation and to keep all evictions in abeyance. It has also requested the Government to see that "no difficulties are created by the landlords and employers to disrupt production by breach of peace in the industrial as well as agricultural sectors."

BIHAR

The Singhbhum District Council of the CPI, in its meeting held on November 11 and 12 fully and unanimously endorsed the resolution of the National Council of the Party on the question of Chinese aggression.

The meeting also planned a district-wide programme to implement the 7-point task set out in the resolution.

The Party in Jamshepur and elsewhere in the District came out openly and publicly against the Chinese aggression immediately after the opening of large scale fighting at the front.

On October 30, the Party held its Central rally at Bari Maidan in which the Singhbhum Party and the Bihar State Executive's resolution on the Chinese aggression was explained. Call was given to contribute one day's wages by all industrial workers to the National Defence Fund, to enrol as volunteers in the National Volunteer Rifles and for donation of blood for the injured Jawans, fighting at the front.

Since the Central rally at Bari Maidan held on October 30, the Party in the district has already held ten mass rallies in the district.

In all these meetings the resolution of the National Council of the Party was explained and workers and other people were exhorted to associate themselves fully with all the steps of the Government for national defence.

No political party singly, besides the CPI has yet held any mass rally in Jamshepur or elsewhere in the district.

On October 29, a public meeting was held on behalf of the PSP, Congress, Swatantra Party, Bharshand Party and the Bharat Sevak Samaj. This meeting excluded the CPI although earlier invitations were extended by the sponsors.

The PSP and the Swatantra elements together with the INTUC group in Jamshepur indulged in virulent anti-Communism. During the first week after the fighting started, planned efforts were made by these elements to incite people to attack the District Offices of the Party at Sarkar Building, Sakchi and the Party's Branch office at Golmuri. But unfortunately for these

elements nobody from among the workers and other people in Jamshepur could be collected to implement this programme.

Exasperated at this failure of their plans, the PSP and the INTUC leaders adopted different tactics. They realised that they won't be able to disrupt or disturb any meeting called by the CPI or the JMU or if their goondas do it, the people of Jamshepur will take care of them.

When a meeting of the JMU

PUNJAB

The Punjab State Council of the CPI held a special meeting on November 16 and endorsed the resolution of the National Council on Chinese aggression.

The Council called upon all Party members to implement the seven point programme of the Party and to forge broad-based unity of the people on the basis of this programme.

It congratulated the patriotic forces who have started uniting on a common platform for the common aim of country's defence and expressed satisfaction that at many places Congressmen and Communists have taken out joint demonstrations and held united meetings.

In this connection, the Council made a special mention in its resolution, of the cooperation and united action between the State branches of the INTUC, INTUC and other trade union organisations.

In a resolution adopted at the meeting, the Council decided to hold 500 public meetings in towns and villages during the next two weeks to explain to the people the policy of the Party regarding the Chinese aggression.

The resolution called upon the Party members to intensify the work of collection of defence fund and sale of defence bonds. It sharply criticised the activities of the Right Reactionary forces at the forefront of which are parties like Jan Sangh, Swatantra, PSP and Akali and appealed to all democratic forces to unite to defeat the nefarious game of these parties.

The resolution also suggested measures to be taken to strengthen popular morale and to stop rumours from being spread. It has urged the workers and peasants to increase production. The Council lodged its protest against the arrest of 40 Communist and Kisan Sabha workers at Sira on November 13 and urged upon the Government to immediately release them. Arrested among these persons were two members of the State Council, Dhupal Singh and Leeladhar Dikhl and a Municipal Commissioner.

From Our Correspondents

ANDHRA

The Andhra Pradesh State Council of the CPI in a meeting held on November 15 fully endorsed the National Council resolution on the Chinese aggression.

In a resolution adopted at the meeting, the Council has called upon all the communists, sympathisers and other sections of people to make all-out efforts for the defence of the country.

The resolution paid homage to martyrs at the front and urged upon all patriotic forces to join hands for national defence.

It congratulated all Party committees and members who took initiative for the preparations of defence through collection of money etc. and urged them to intensify their work.

It further directed that the party members should contribute to the Defence fund with great vigour and purchase bonds, and donate blood. Party legislators have been asked to contribute one month's allowances. It has also advised the Party

units to maintain close relation with all the democratic elements and participate in joint activities to all possible extent.

The resolution further added: "The Pradesh Council appeals to all the workers and peasants to work resolutely in this emergency situation for more production on the industrial and agricultural fronts."

The resolution also urged upon the Government to help produce more agricultural crops and suggested measures to that effect to be accepted by the Government.

It regretted that the representatives of the CPI were being excluded from various defence committees and stated that such actions did not help the defence efforts. It requested the Government to reconsider its decision in this respect.

KERALA

The Kerala State Council of the Communist Party meeting at Trichur has endorsed the resolution of the National Council of the Party and pledged full support for all steps to strengthen national defence, increase production and throw out the aggressors from our sacred soil.

The meeting of the State Council was presided over by C. G. Sadasivan and a report on present situation was presented by C. Achutha Menon, Secretary of the State Council.

The Council discussed in detail the steps for implementation of the tasks set out by the National Council, resolution and worked out concrete measures for collection of money and materials for Defence Fund and stepping up agricultural and industrial production.

Prominent Party leaders have been directed to tour taluk centres and address mass meetings during the next fortnight to rouse popular support for defence measures. The Council stated that "Our patriotic duty is to centralise all national activities round the one supreme task of national defence."

In this connection, the Council pointed out that production of goods and services at the rear is as important as fighting at the front and it is "our paramount task to increase production" for the army as well as the people.

The Council stated that the Communist Party is confident that in discharging this duty, the organised working class and enlightened peasantry of Kerala will be in the forefront.

This was evinced by the fact, the Council added, that the Kerala workers have set an inspiring example in the very first days of the emergency coming forward to contribute one day's wage to the defence fund.

The State Council called on the trade unions and peasant organisations to take initiative in convening production conferences based on factories and villages and in cooperation with all sections of people and take concrete steps to increase production.

The Council greeted the Party members, trade unions, students, peasant organisations, etc. who during the past three weeks have defied behind the call of the Prime Minister to the Nation and exhorted them to intensify their activities for strengthening the

defence measures.

The Council regretted that the State Government and State Congress Party were acting against the spirit of the Call of the Prime Minister—the spirit which was so manifestly expressed in the Resolution of Parliament by excluding Communists and other progressives from the Defence Committees.

It felt that the Kerala State Government and Congress have considered this situation opportune to isolate and destroy the opposition rather than unifying the resources and the people. In this, they have thrown to the winds the call of Prime Minister for unity and the example set by the Chief Ministers of various states.

The State Government and Congress leaders were engaged in a slanderous and provocative campaign against the communists, the Council alleged. The Council appealed to all honest and patriotic Congressmen to take note of these activities and correct them. It appealed to the Government to revise its stand and to reconstitute the Defence Committee.

The Council called upon all party units to intensify defence efforts despite the obstacles and mobilise people's support. It adopted a resolution on need to hold the price line of essential commodities and protested against withdrawal of subsidy for rice distributed through fair price shops. It requested the Government to open more fair price shops and restore the original price.

Referring to the recent judgment of the Kerala High Court, which declared null and void the Agrarian Relations Act in its application to Ryoarvaki areas of Malabar and Pandaravaki lands in Travancore, the Council urged upon the Government to issue an Ordinance ensuring protection of tenants who were faced with insecurity and uncertainty. Only such steps, the Council stated, could enthuse them to discharge their duties to the fullest extent.

We give below some extracts from Prime Minister Nehru's speech in the Lok Sabha on November 14 in reply to the debate on the Chinese aggression:

During the last three weeks or a little more we have had a glimpse of the strength of the serene face of India, strong and yet calm and determined, that face, an ancient face which is ever young and vibrant. We have not had seen her face, but rather this House saw a million faces representing that face of India or Bharat Mata.

That has been an experience worth having for all of us and it has been our high privilege to share in that emotion and experience. Whatever the future may bring, I do not think that we shall ever forget this powerful emotional upheaval that India has had in which we have all shared. I repeat, all of us whatever party or group we may belong to.

Any person who gives thought to these matters will realise and, I hope, other countries also realise—I hope that even the Chinese Government realises that—what this signifies, because it seems to me

A TREMENDOUS TASK BUT IT WILL BE DONE

NEHRU'S PLEDGE

preparing, sought peace all the time. I am not sorry for that. I think, it was a right urge and it is that right urge that has led to this enormous upheaval in the Indian mind.

Wars are terrible and millions of people die; much destruction is caused. Yet, after all, death comes to all of us and if it comes a little earlier than otherwise in the great cause, it is not to be sorrowed for. We have to face it as men. Death in a good cause is not a thing to regret even though we may regret the parting with our colleagues and comrades. But brutality is something which degrades a person. Death does not degrade a person. Brutality and hatred and the offspring of these things do degrade a nation and the people.

So, I should like to say right at the beginning that, I hope no such emotion will rise in our country and, if it does rise, it will be discouraged. We have nothing against the Chinese people. We regret many things that their Government has done. We think that their Government has acted infamously towards us. . . . Anyhow we must always distinguish between the people of any country—much more so of a great country, great in size, great in history—and its government and not transfer somehow our anger and bitterness at what has been done by the Government to the people.

And that is a great gain. They should be affected in this way. Why should we lessen the effect of that by telling them that it is a wrong manifesto?

So, I welcome that manifesto and we should take full advantage of it in forging the unity against aggression that we have in fact forged.

ISSUES OF VAST IMPORTANCE

Today we are getting large numbers of arms and equipment from other countries, and we are very grateful to the United States, to the United Kingdom especially, and other countries. But please remember that this kind of thing, and this kind of response, could not have occurred in peace time. Obviously, it is when danger threatens us, just as we feel in a particular way, others feel too, and they think as they rightly think, that this is not a mere matter of India being invaded by China, but it raises issues of vast importance to the world, to Asia, and realising that they do it. They help us; that is, they feel, this involves many issues in which they themselves are intensely interested. This could not have happened in peace time.

We did build up, I think fairly adequately, our armaments industry, not as much as we could have liked. It was being progressed. . . . It has grown about 500 per cent. I would like to say a few words about the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has been, as the House knows, consistently friendly to us all along. It has been put in a very difficult position in this matter because, they have been and are allies of China, and hence the embarrassment to them as between a country with which they are friendly and a country which is their ally. We have realised that and we do not expect them to do anything which would definitely mean a breach over there. It is not for us to suggest to any country.

But we have had their goodwill and good wishes all along, even very recently, and that is a consolation to us and we certainly hope to have that in future. One thing more. There has been some criticism about our

offer for a cease-fire. We have said that before we discuss anything, the Chinese forces must go back and restore the position as it existed before the 8th of September, that is, a little over two months ago, when they first came over the Thagla pass.

They have suggested something different and something that is apt to delude the people. They say, let us go back to the position of November 1959. Now the people who do not know this might well wonder, they are going back three years, not now.

FIRST CLAIM

But November 1959 was roughly the date or period when the first claim was made by the Chinese Government, by Mr. Chou En-lai, to these territories according to their maps. Previously they were included in their maps but nobody had made any official claim.

In fact, officially they have said that their maps are old and not up-to-date and they will revise them. But in 1959, for the first time, they claimed them, meanwhile, of course, they had gone into a good bit of Ladakh.

In 1959 our counter-measures started taking effect. In 1959, 1960 and 1961 we went into Ladakh much more and more and established many posts there. Now we realised, as I think I told this House then, that the object of these posts is to prevent their further advance unless they fight it out. It was difficult for us to have a major armed conflict with them there because they had great advantages. Their roads came right up there. They could bring all kinds of weapons, tanks, etc. there from Tibet which is near, which is relatively a flat country, while for us, although we made some progress and the road is recently made—at that time even that was not made—it is very difficult; it meant months of effort to get there.

Nevertheless, we put up those posts to check their advance and they did check their advance. In fact, we pushed them back a little. In the NEFA area, we had previously put up our posts at the border or just under it, because one cannot have a high ridge post. Even in Thagla pass, our post was two or three miles on this side, but not on the pass itself.

Now, if we accept their proposals, which seem so innocuous, they would retire, they said, upto the McMahon Line, but then they add that their idea of McMahon Line was different from ours; and it is on this side of the ridge, and we should have to retire from where we are today—another 20 kilometres, that is, leaving about 40 kilometres of territory which was not occupied either by their armies or ours.

That is to say, they would have a fixed base on this side of the Thagla pass, an

Message to the Nation

In course of his message broadcast to the nation on November 19 Prime Minister Nehru said:

Nearly a month ago I spoke to you on the Radio and told you of the Chinese invasion of India that came across our frontiers in the North East Frontier Agency, at first in small numbers and then in ever-increasing numbers. Suddenly on October 20 they made a massive attack with overwhelming numbers on our military posts and forces stationed there. That was a severe setback for us and it naturally grieved us.

Now, today, I have to tell you of further setbacks which have occurred for the last two or three days and even today. Huge Chinese armies have been marching in the northern part of the NEFA, and we have had several reverses at Walong, on the Sela Ridge and today Bomdila, a small town in NEFA, has also fallen. In the north also, in Ladakh, in the Chushul area, the Chinese have been attacking fiercely. They have been held.

Invitation Without Reason

We see the grossest form of imperialism functioning across our borders. China has said often enough that it is anti-imperialist. Now we see this so-called anti-imperialist country becoming itself an imperialist of the worst kind and committing aggression and invading a friendly country without rhyme or reason or excuse and justifying it by saying that they are being attacked.

I must confess that I have seldom come across such a travesty of truth and decency in international behaviour. We must stand up to it not only we, but all decent-minded persons who value their freedom anywhere in Asia or Africa, Europe or America.

I should like to say that we are grateful for the speedy help that came to us from our friendly countries abroad more especially from the United States and the United Kingdom. We shall require more help and we will ask them for it and we shall certainly use all the help they can give us because this is a matter of survival for us. It is not a game that we are playing; or if you like it is a game of life and death—life and death of a nation and life and death of millions in this country.

We are going ahead whatever happens with the firm conviction in the righteousness of our cause and that success and victory will be ours. I want you to join in this conviction and not to be down-hearted at any time. And so let us all say today with the real meaning and repeat our old cry "Jai Hind."

Therefore, on this day which has been a sad day for us bringing news of reverses and setbacks, I want to send my greetings to people of Assam, especially to the people of NEFA, and to the rest of India and to tell them that we must not get worried about this; and we must not despair; but we must train our-

selves and we must steel ourselves to meet all these reverses and even make our determination still firmer and do all we can to repel and throw out the invaders from India.

We shall not be content till the invader goes out of India or is pushed out. We shall not accept any terms that he may offer because he may think that we are a little frightened by some setbacks.

..... this menace is not only for Assam or Ladakh or India alone; it is a menace for Asia and for the entire world.

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AGAINST CHINESE INVASION

COMMUNISTS EXPLAIN THEIR STAND

★ From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

Calcutta, November 19:

The opening of the winter session of the West Bengal Assembly on November 16 was marked by a bitter attack against the CPI. The House began discussing a Congress resolution, condemning the unabashed Chinese aggression on India, which was moved by Dr. Pratap Chunder, a leading Congress member.

Dr. Chunder made a highly provocative anti-Communist speech moving the resolution which was deplored by Jyoti Basu, Communist leader of the opposition.

Jyoti Basu said: "Won't you give us the opportunity to implement the resolution of our National Council?"

"Even after the provocative speech made by Dr. Chunder," said Jyoti Basu, "I want that there should be no two opinions regarding the defence of the country and that the entire nation must stand united to a man."

"Even those who criticise us have approved of the resolution of our National Council. The Council has directed us to implement it, and we will carry out the directive."

Explaining charges made personally against him Jyoti Basu said: "A personal statement of mine published on October 30, 1962, i.e. before the National Council Resolution was subjected to criticism by Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Home Minister. He was surprised that I as an Indian should ask both China and India to seek the help of friendly mediators and not stick to each others point of view."

"I did make such a statement before the resolution of the National Council of the Communist Party of India."

NOT A DIFFERENT STAND

"But now my stand does not and cannot differ from the resolution of the National Council, i.e., that the Chinese should go back where they were on September 8 and then only the possibility of negotiations will arise. Sri Shastri has also asked whether I am for defence of that territory which China regards as Indian territory or something else."

"My categorical reply is that I am for defence of that territory which the Indian Government claims as its own. It will be decided by the Government of India."

Initiating the debate on the second day, Communist leader Somnath Lahiri made a forceful speech. Supporting the resolution, he pointed out that he did not agree with many things which the mover had said.

He said that Dr. Chunder had rightly drawn the attention of the House to the vitriolic anti-Indian and anti-Nehru broadcasts over the Peking Radio. But another kind of vicious propaganda was also being made by the Peking Radio every day. The CPI was being vilified. The call was being given to ostracise the Party and to smash it to pieces.

"God forbid, if the Chinese advance a little further, the Communists will be the first target of the invaders." It was not difficult for Dr. Chunder to understand this much.

"If this realisation is there, can there be, even then, any misgiving regarding Communists?"

ideal to such an extent that they were now unable to understand even this implication.

With the occupation of every inch of our territory, they would make 45 crores of the Indian people bitterly hostile against the Chinese people, against the world peace camp.

Chinese aggression had delivered a terrible blow to this ideology. That was why Communists raised their voices against it. They were sincere fighters for the cause of national defence.

Somnath Lahiri further said that there was no doubt that Communists had hesitations in the past. They had to carry on a ceaseless fight in their minds with what they had previously believed. But they had now come to the decision that China had deviated from international ideology. The fact that such a decision was taken after over-coming past hesitation was a proof of the Communists' sincerity and loyalty to truth. He emphasised that with the

adoption of the resolution by the highest body of the CPI, its National Council, calling upon all Party members and sympathisers to respond to the stirring call of the Prime Minister and to throw themselves wholeheartedly into the work for the defence of the country along with the people, all hesitations among the Communists had ended.

The views of some Communists in the past would now seem to be wrong or short-sighted in the context of the resolution of the National Council. But the decision of the National Council had put an end to all controversies. It was now the decision of all Communists.

Pointing out that the main work at the moment was in the rear—in the field of production, which would augment our military resources—Somnath Lahiri said that Communists were already trying their best to see that production went up. No one with a sense of realism would deny the importance of the Communists' role in stepping up production. Those who would, today, make attempts, on account of narrow interests or spurred by passions, to shut out the Communists from this work, would be doing harm to our defence efforts.

Pointing out that it was a matter of pride for the nation that it had responded in an unprecedented manner to the call of the Prime Minister, he said that this inspiration itself was a sure guarantee for the defence of our

country and of our independence. But side by side, certain ominous signs also were to be noticed.

If we ignored them at this hour of excitement, the future would not forgive us.

Congress circles were also beginning to realise it. He referred in this connection to the editorial of Amrita, a Bengali weekly journal.

Would not the storm which Dr. Chunder was seeking to raise against the Communists contrary to Nehru's policy, recoil against Nehru's policy and Nehru himself, he asked Dr. Chunder.

Somnath Lahiri further said that the fight against the enemy was not merely a battle for territory; it was also a fight for preserving our moral and political values. If we degenerated to the level of provocation to murder on the very first day, the first casualty would be our moral values.

He emphasised that Communists would continue to work for the defence of the country. They certainly committed mistakes. If these were pointed out, they tried to correct them. But the Communist Party could never be wiped out by threats to imprison them or to take their lives.

He firmly declared: "We do believe that we shall be able to remain united with our people in thought and action, in service and sacrifice and shall be able to share in the victory of the nation by working for the successful defence of our country."

FOR THE DEFENCE OF COUNTRY

BIHAR'S UNIQUE RESPONSE

★ From ALI ASHRAF

Patna, Nov. 18:

About a month after the massive Chinese offensive began against our borders, struggle is still waging in Bihar between those who want to unify and rally all patriots for defence behind the Prime Minister and his policies, and those others who are out to oppose him, scuttle his policies and disrupt national unity.

BIHAR'S response to the call of the motherland was unique. Bihar—so far as it means the common men, women and children of Bihar—rose as one man to do his bit for the defence of the country. Cash and gold poured in. Workers in factories, and petty, low paid clerks in the banks and offices—men who would ordinarily resist the tiniest cut in their meagre salaries came forward to donate their day's income.

The local Blood Bank in Patna was unable to cope with the vast number of donors. The students and staff of the colleges in Patna changed their teaching hours so that afternoons could be free for all to get some emergency training to work for the country's defence as National Corps Cadets or as nurses.

Such is the spirit of service and sacrifice that pervades. It is an unprecedented surge of mass enthusiasm unknown in its sweep and depth even in the best days of the struggle for national emancipation.

It transcended all bonds of narrow caste or group loyalties. All parties were simply swept away—not off—in this mighty current. Voluntary meetings were held all over the state and it was a unique experience to see Congressmen and Communists, Praja Socialists, Swatantra and Jan Sangh people, all cooperating from the same platform to rouse and mobilise the mass of people.

But this lasted only for a few days till the reactionaries decided to gather their forces to counter-attack.

The Bihar Committee of the CPI had, immediately after the start of the Chinese offensive

condemned it, first through a statement of the State Secretariat, and subsequently, in a resolution by the State Executive Committee.

The Committee, in view of the grave national situation, cancelled its earlier plan to hold demonstrations against land revenue surcharge bill, and requested the Government to respond by withdrawing the same. That was before the national emergency ordinance was promulgated. The Bihar Government did rise to the occasion by accepting the suggestion.

Even before the National Council of the Communist Party of India Resolution, Bihar Communists had thrown themselves, heart and soul, in the work of mobilising effort, collecting funds, organising blood donors and in other activities. The Party's Hindi Weekly Janashakti devoted itself to build this popular mobilisation.

COMMUNISTS TAKE LEADING PART

Communists took leading part in joint all-parties meetings in places like Bhagalpur, Darbhanga, Phulwari Sharief, Arrah, Champaran, etc. In working class centres like Giridih, the communists took initiative in getting such meetings convened. And in places like Jaunshapur where the official group in the INTUC would not brook any cooperation the communists had to do it alone—and rouse the workers to their wartime responsibilities in innumerable area and mohalla meetings. Ultimately they succeeded in winning a section of the dissident INTUC leadership to joint defence work.

Bihar is one of the two states—the other being Madras—where due to this preliminary work Communists could not be debarred from serving on the State Defence and Jawan Welfare Committee set up under the Chairmanship of the Chief Minister of the State.

While this expresses a healthier attitude to the problem of defence mobilisation on the part of the State Government, it cannot be said that this has become the common guiding line of the policy-making and executive bodies of the State Government at the various levels.

The Labour Minister, for example, still seems to be chary of the idea of holding meetings of all Union representatives at various centres for fear that this may amount to virtual recognition of the unions which the employers have kept out of bounds. That such a dog-in-the-manger policy will act as a damper in the working class areas where genuinely popular unions are unrecognised, does not occur to the bureaucratic heads of the Labour Department.

This has been symptomatic of a general vacillation on the part of the ruling party which the reactionaries and anti-Nehru disruptors of national unity were not slow to take advantage of. They came in to disrupt.

The reactionaries raised anti-Communist slogans. But from the very first they aimed at nothing less than—Nehru himself. At Muzaffarpur the Jan Sangh organised a procession with the slogan: Nehru Menon sota hai—Desh par hamla hota hai! (Nehru and Menon sleep while the country is being invaded).

That was when Krishna Menon was still in the Defence Ministry. But Menon was only a cover. The Jan Sangh speakers directly demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Nehru himself. Acharya Kripalani has been going about demanding that the peace-time government should yield place to a war time administration headed by generals and ex-generals.

The Acharya, at one of his meetings at Dinapore, went to the extent of decrying all defence efforts under Nehru say-

ing that all this will be wasted unless the Government was changed.

It is true that all this has not gone wholly unchallenged. At the Dinapore meeting the Acharya's remarks caused the District Congress Committee Chairman, Ram Lakhan Yadava to intervene and protest. Thereupon "complete pandemonium" prevailed in the meeting (Indian Nation, Nov. 6.) till the Acharya excused himself to go to another meeting.

At Arrah, the anti-Nehru speeches at a public meeting organised by the Lohia Socialists repeated, a similar scene, and the redoubtable Dr. Lohia could begin his speech only after apologising for his colleague's indiscretion!

COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN

These cannot be dismissed as the usual aberrations of a Kripalani or Lohia. In their individual capacities they need not be taken too seriously. In the Patna Gandhi Maidan meeting PSP Chairman Basawan Singh was sharply and publicly pulled up by the Chief Minister who presided, for his attacks on the CPI.

What is ominous, however, is that the Acharya and the others are a part of an organised campaign. And in Bihar this campaign derives much of its significance from the fact that ex-President Rajendra Prasad has chosen to stand at the head of the campaign.

It was not accidental that the ex-President, in defiance of the line taken by the Prime Minister and in violation of the declared policy of the Government of India, gave the call for the "liberation" of Tibet. He readily gave up his "above Party" neutralism when the open partisanship of Acharya Kripalani was challenged at Dinapore. Dr. Rajendra Prasad who was presiding over the meeting came out in defence of the anti-Nehru tirade of the Acharya as being a "true criticism" of the "actual" state of affairs.

★ON PAGE 1

Against Chinese Aggression

Sunday, November 4, 1962 was a red letter day in the history of the capital city of Tamilnad, Madras. Thirty thousand workers, toiling middle-class and peasants from districts all over the State marched in procession under the banner of the Communist Party for nearly ten miles through the main streets of the city, shouting slogans, condemning Chinese aggression and stressing the determination of the Indian people to defeat it.

The procession culminated in a mammoth rally at Tilak Ghat attended by over a lakh of people. This biggest rally in the history of Tamilnad was the culmination of a fortnight's most powerful propaganda carried on by the Madras District Communist Party. From the time that the Chinese launched their massive attack, the Communist Party in this City had taken the lead in mobilising the entire people to fight Chinese aggression.

The campaign began with the procession on October 23, headed by K. Baladandayatham, Secretary of the District Committee of the Party and Mohan Kumaramangalam which marched through six miles of the city. Though a small procession, not more than about a thousand in number—because it was called at eight hours' notice and in the rain—it attracted the notice of the entire public since it

was the first procession in the City, calling upon the people to fight back the Chinese aggressors and pledging full support to Pandit Nehru's policy.

On each of the succeeding days till the day of the rally and the mammoth procession three and even four meetings a day were being held addressed by leaders of the Party, explaining the policy of the Party, the present crisis facing the country and also the reason for the convening of the seventh State Conference of the Party. As a result, by November 4, the entire people knew that an important conference of the Communist Party was being held in the city.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

Simultaneously, with the holding of dozens of public meetings throughout the

Resolution Of Special Conference

THE seventh Tamilnad Special Conference of the Communist Party of India (November 5 to 8) considered with serious anxiety the emergency created as a result of the Chinese aggression on our soil and formulates the following tasks on the basis of the resolution passed by the National Council:

This Conference calls on the party members to be prepared for all sacrifices in defending the borders of our motherland.

This Conference appeals to all Tamil people to stand united and participate wholeheartedly in the efforts to defend our country. This Conference while welcoming and congratulating Tamil people for the powerful demonstration of unity and enthusiasm for the defence of the country urges upon all people to further strengthen this unity and fervour.

All party members, sympathisers and the masses rallied behind the Party are urged to take full part in the Defence Committees that may be formed and to support all efforts taken for defence.

The Conference further urges on all party members, sympathisers, and followers to place national defence in the forefront of their work and discharge the following urgent tasks:

● To strive for maximum production in all industries and agriculture.

● All toilers should contribute at least one day's wages for the defence fund.

● All able-bodied men should donate blood for the army.

The conference urges upon the Government to undertake

the following tasks in order to strengthen national defence:

● In order to increase production, improve transport and to build good relationship in industrial establishments the Government may immediately call a tripartite conference.

● In this national emergency, committees composed of the people and Government servants should be immediately formed in order to curb anti-social activities such as profiteering and black-marketing indulged in by reactionary elements, who are out to exploit the situation of national emergency.

● In order to increase agricultural production at



A view of the mammoth rally in Madras called to condemn Chinese aggression during the Seventh Tamilnad Special Conference of the Communist Party.

TAMILNAD'S PLEDGE

length and breadth of the capital city, arrangements were made in every district of the State under the leadership of the various District Committees for tens of buses to go to Madras to participate in the grand rally on November 4. The result was that on Saturday November 3 and Sunday November 4, there was an unbroken stream of buses coming from the South and West pouring into the city carrying peasants and workers from all parts of the State.

With red flags and red banners, these hundreds of buses brought to the notice of the entire people of the city that this was more than the Conference of a party, it was an all-out gathering of a national character. The estimate is that some 190 to 200 buses came to Madras on Saturday evening and Sunday morning.

With this background, the Conference started off with a huge gathering, probably about 15 to 20 thousand on the morning of Sunday November 4. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, A. S. K. Iyengar set the tone

to the conference by stating that this conference would display to the people of our country the determination of Indian Communists to see that India was "effectively defended and that the progressive policies of Pandit Nehru's Government were carried forward. Iyengar commending the resolution of the CPI National Council to the people emphasised that every Communist whether he be a big leader or a rank and file was bound by this resolution and would implement it.

Kalyanasundaram, leader of the Communist group in the State Assembly inaugurating the conference emphasised that the responsibility of maintaining the independence of our country would be discharged as it always has been in the past by the toiling people, workers and peasants.

The procession started at

three in the afternoon from Mint. The road was a sea of red flags and at a modest estimate, at least 30 thousand people marched in the procession which was headed by leaders of the State Council of the Party. Behind these 30 thousand persons came about 150 buses, 25 vans and cars and innumerable cycles. The procession took some four hours to reach Tilak Ghat, marching about 10 miles through the most crowded areas of the city.

Slogans, "Down with Chinese aggression", "We shall defeat the Chinese invader" dominated the entire procession. Also significantly prominent were the slogans that "We shall fight and defeat separatism", "There is no room for separatism and for division of the country"—these being directed against the D.M.K.'s disruptive role.

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Workers and peasants from districts arrive in bullock carts to join the Madras demonstration of November 4.

taken up the banner of anti-Communism openly to achieve this end. They are trying to weaken the democratic forces and strengthen themselves by shouting hoarse to ban the Communist Party. The very same reactionary forces are striving to create internal disruption and changes in the Government that undermines democracy at a time when national unity and defence have got to be strengthened. In Tamilnad, the reactionary parties like Swatantra and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam are indulging in such activities.

This Conference resolves

that a province-wide campaign should be conducted in support of Nehru's non-alignment policy, national defence and national unity in order to frustrate the efforts of these reactionary forces. Further, this conference resolves to give full support of all the efforts of Nehru Government to achieve a peaceful solution of this conflict consistent with our national dignity and honour. This conference empowers the new State Council to evolve tasks in each front on the basis of this resolution with a view to strengthen the national defence.

TOWARDS UNITED NATIONAL DEFENCE

Resolution of the Maharashtra State Council for the implementation of National Council Decision

A meeting of the Maharashtra State Executive of the Communist Party of India took place in Bombay on November 9 and 10 to consider the question of the implementation of the National Council resolution calling for united national defence from Chinese aggression.

At the outset the Executive paid homage to Mahatma Annasahb Karve, the pioneer and doyen of the cause of women's education and uplift in Maharashtra and expressed deep sorrow at his demise. The executive called upon all members of the Party to start taking active and vigorous part in national defence activities without the slightest delay.

It enjoined upon every Party member to donate his blood for blood transfusion. It directed Party members to organise a campaign through mass organisations and by house to house visits for collecting funds for the National Defence Fund.

It appealed to all trade unions, and particularly those where Party members hold leading positions, to organise a drive for increasing production and the stopping of strikes; while guarding the just interests of the workers in the matter of their existing wage standards and conditions of work. It appealed to the Government not to exclude trade unions affiliated to the AITUC or unaffiliated trade unions from the joint machinery organised for the purpose of mobilising the workers for national production.

GEAR UP OF PARTY MACHINERY

The Executive decided to gear up the entire party machinery for carrying out the new tasks and responsibilities and to make such organisational changes at various levels of the party as may be needed for a proper implementation of the party policy. Every party member would have to carry out the policy of the National Council in letter and spirit.

The Executive protested against the mass arrests of party members in the State. The President and General Secretary of the Congress had appreciated the National Council resolution and called for time being given to the party for implementing it and making such organisational changes as the party may deem fit and necessary. Instead of carrying out the policy laid down by the Congress President, the State Ministry had taken to repression.

The Party would not be provoked by such acts but the Executive pointed out that such measures only weakened the defence efforts of the country and fed those elements that were opposing the policies laid down by the Prime Minister. The Executive welcomed the Statewide popular upsurge for united National Defence. It noted with satisfaction that

in the various districts of the State the first efforts to organise united defence committees were made by Congress-

men, Communists and the representatives of other political parties. Very successful united mass meetings were also held. It was only after Communists were excluded by the Citizens Committee formed by the Chief Minister in Bombay at the end of October that the process of excluding Communists started in the mofussil districts.

AIYF Executive's Call To Youth And Students

DEVOTE ALL ENERGY TO DEFENCE OF MOTHERLAND

Condemning the Chinese aggression on India, the Executive Committee of the All-India Youth Federation has called upon the youth of the country to rise to the occasion and devote their entire energy to the task of defending the sacred soil of the motherland against the aggressors.

MEETING in Delhi on November 13-14 the Executive pledged the Federation's full support to the policies of the Prime Minister. It also addressed a message to him greeting him on his 73rd birthday, wishing him long life and good health and assuring him of all support on behalf of its two lakh members. An amount of Rs. 500 collected from among the members of the Executive was also forwarded for the National Defence Fund.

The resolution adopted unanimously by the Executive reads as follows: The Executive Committee of the All India Youth Federation takes note of the serious situation that has arisen out of the Chinese armed aggression on our northern frontiers. The Executive Committee unequivocally condemns the premeditated Chinese invasion of Indian territory and pledges the support of two hundred thousand members of the AIYF in defending the sacred soil of our motherland.

Breach Of Solemn Promises

The progressive youth of India, who cherished great admiration for the People's Republic of China and held high hopes that China together with India would hold high the banner of peaceful co-existence and Panchsheel, have been rudely shaken by the breach of their solemn commitment not to cross the McMahon Line. The Executive Committee believes that the recent developments only show that the Government of China has thrown overboard the principles of peaceful co-existence and wants to decide the border dispute by demonstrating its military might.

No country with self-respect and honour, can accept

This process was simultaneously accompanied by parties and elements which openly assailed the policies and leadership of Prime Minister Nehru getting an upper hand in the joint defence committees.

The Executive appealed to all Congressmen, democrats and patriots in Maharashtra to realise that the policy of excluding the Communist Party from united defence committees only weakened national defence and brought those elements to the forefront whose purpose is to undermine the leadership of the Prime Minister in the name of defending the country from Chinese aggression.

The Executive called on the Chief Minister of the State promptly to end the policy of Communist exclusion.

The Executive focussed attention on the fact that a campaign of terror, hoodlani-

sm, vandalism and incendiarism was being worked up in Bombay City and the State against the Communist Party, its offices, cadres, meetings etc. Non-Communist democrats and patriots were also being subjected to terror by being dubbed as communists.

It decided to submit a memorandum to the Chief Minister demanding that all such violence, lawlessness and incitement to violence must be immediately put down by the Government. Its continuance would lead to anarchy and chaos doing damage to national defence. The leaders of the terror campaign were foremost in denouncing the policies of the Prime Minister.

The meeting ended with a concluding speech by the Chairman of the CPI, S. A. Dange, appealing to the members to rise to the occasion at this crucial and testing time in the history of free India.

the greater honour of our country.

The Executive Committee of the AIYF calls upon all its members and the entire youth of India to rise to the occasion and boldly face the trial which history has put before our country, with patriotism, love for independence, democracy and peace.

Indian youth must devote all its energy and show its heroism in defending India's sacred soil and stand behind the Prime Minister in safeguarding our policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence.

The Executive Committee appeals to all the patriotic youth organizations and particularly to the national youth and students committee to guard against sectarian actions which would hinder in any way the united effort of our youth for the cause of national defence.

STUDENTS' HEALTH HOME

Resolve To Render Medical Services

Following is the text of the resolution adopted at an Emergent meeting of the Working Committee, Students Health Home, held on November 8.

IN the present hour of national emergency, the Students Health Home considers it to be its patriotic duty to participate to the fullest extent in medical services necessary for the country's defence.

It resolves therefore: 1 to conduct a campaign amongst the student community for donation of blood (in intensification for instance of the drive already started by the Students Health Home at the Jadavpur University.)

2 to offer to the Government space, in the almost-completed ground floor of the new building of the Students Health Home situated at

142/2 Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose Road, Calcutta 14.

a for the location of a Blood Bank or a Blood Collection Centre there in a way to be decided by the Government.

b for opening a Centre for training first-aid volunteers and making bandages.

c for opening, if necessary a transit camp for wounded soldiers and civilians.

d for a city civil defence centre.

3 to instruct its staff and members to help in every practicable manner the organisation of medical relief for defence purposes.

MARXISM MASSACRED

Li Wei-han: *The Struggle for Proletarian Leadership in the period of the New Democratic Revolution in China.* (Foreign Languages Press, Peking). Price 85 nP.

THE Chinese aggression against India, Pandit Nehru has correctly pointed out, has nothing to do with Communism. It is the most brutal and damaging expression of the dogmatism, sectarianism and narrow nationalism that has vitiated the theory and practice of the leadership of the Communist Party of China for quite some years now. Long before the invasion of India the Chinese Communists had begun the massacre of Marxism.

A rather good example of this sin against science is the pamphlet under review, whose author is the Director of the Department of united front work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

It is significant, in the first place, that this pamphlet was written at all. Quite obviously in China the struggle for proletarian leadership in the new democratic revolution is an academic question, since that stage of revolution itself is over for quite some time.

It is meant then to serve two purposes: to influence the thinking and action of those Communist Parties that are still in this stage of revolution, and to provide a theoretical framework for the foreign policy of the Chinese People's Republic with regard to the newly independent states which are not under working class leadership.

On both these questions the world Communist movement had prolonged discussions and reached common conclusions which are embodied in the Moscow Statement of 31 Communist Parties, November 1950. It is certainly not without significance that not a mention is made of this statement anywhere in this pamphlet.

Nor could there be any mention of this Statement since the whole intention is to substitute and oppose its cardinal formulations by a revised edition of garbled quotations of Mao Tse-tung's writings summing up the revolutionary experience of the Chinese people. Evidently we have here an attempt at ideological hegemony of the world Communist movement by a single Party, which considers its experience and wisdom superior to that of the movement as a whole. What else is this but a manifestation of serious narrow nationalism?

Indication Of Two Alternatives

The crux of the understanding which the pamphlet wishes to convey to its readers, is that colonial peoples have only two alternatives: either the new democratic path under working class leadership or the colonial and semi-colonial path proposed by the imperialists and their allies.

Li Wei-han puts it quite categorically that the working class has to struggle both against the colonial and semi-colonial road represented by the big bourgeoisie and

the old-democratic road represented by the national bourgeoisie.

He goes on to make the observation that "the struggle against the old-democratic road is, in the last analysis also the struggle against the colonial and semi-colonial road."

Drawing on the rather specific and exceptional experience of China he comes to the conclusion that if the national bourgeoisie does not accept the leadership of the working class it is bound to capitulate to imperialism. In China "the national bourgeoisie, long wavering between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution, was unable to develop into a really independent political force, much less independently realise its political views."

And again and again it is emphasised that this is be-

INDIANS IN BRITAIN

Hail Nehru's Stand

FROM OMO GOPTU

LONDON, November 15:

This correspondent has reported last week on the activities and reactions of Indians living in this country and of British friends of India in connection with the Chinese aggression against India.

PROGRESSIVE British opinion, in general, has fully realised the justice of India's case on the issue. They have realised that the root cause of the Chinese actions is to be found in their perverted assessment of the present-day realities of the world. These sources have expressed satisfaction at the balanced political approach on this issue of the Communist Party of India and, in particular, the recent statements of Chairman S. A. Dange.

Progressive quarters are no doubt alarmed at the possible change in India's policy of non-alignment, and the adverse effect the Chinese actions might have on India's democratic set-up. Prime Minister Nehru's recent declarations, firmly pledging continued allegiance to the basic principles of his foreign policy, have however assured these friendly quarters to a great extent.

The reactions of India's enemies have been somewhat different, to say the least. To any serious observer this is clear enough.

The reactionaries are extremely troubled at the continued friendly relations between India and the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. The second Pravda article has damped their great expectations in no small measure.

They are chagrined at Nehru's forthright declaration that it is not Communism which is India's enemy, but Chinese expansionism comparable to 18th and 19th century imperialism. They had genuinely hoped that Nehru would abandon his progressive world outlook because of Chinese breach of faith and embrace the "free world" with a glorified status as a big satellite in it. At present there is a competition among

BRITISH GUIANA PROSPECTS

THE flare-up at India's northern frontiers and the Cuban emergency have, as was to be expected, struck a heavy blow at Dr. Cheddi Jagan's efforts to secure a final dateline for independence for Bri-

the inevitable going over of national bourgeois-led States to the colonial road, the leadership of the Communist Party of China is obviously going to make a totally wrong evaluation of a country like India and of its leader, Pandit Nehru.

And this is exactly what they have done. According to them Nehru has led India into the imperialist camp and is now in the "same lair as the imperialist jackals!"

The facts go against such an analysis. But what after all are facts against the "thought of Mao Tse-tung?"

The Communist Party of India in its Party Congress makes a fundamentally different assessment. Its late General Secretary, Ajoy Ghosh, publicly repudiates the

Chinese assessment. Its Chairman, S. A. Dange, reiterates this repudiation as does its National Council. And the Chinese pour vitriolic scorn on all this as the product of "self-styled Marxists" and "falls of bourgeoisie!"

The world Communist movement highly assesses the role of the Government of India in the struggle for peace and against imperialism. It outlines a perspective of the completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution by an alliance which includes the national bourgeoisie. Naturally the Chinese Communist Party combines its invasion of India with thunderous tirades against the "modern revisionists" and a scarcely-veiled at-

tempt to weaken Jagan's position in the Caribbean. Yet, a responsible source has pointed out that any delay in agreeing to Guianese independence would, instead of weakening Jagan's hold in the country, actually strengthen it.

Whitehall's intentions have always been to weaken Dr. Jagan's hold in the country. Nine years ago, they suspended their own constitution under which PFP had emerged victorious and dismissed the government led by Jagan. They have done everything possible to sow discord and disunity in the country.

But, in every election, people's verdicts have gone in favour of the PFP. There is no observer here who would deny that he is the strongest and the ablest leader in the country and that his party has remained as popular as ever.

It is no secret that at the conference Dr. Jagan was willing to make important concessions in order to present a united front to the Colonial Office for immediate independence. But his move, from the very beginning, was disregarded and ignored.

The latter's irresponsibility finds sufficient expression when Mr. d'Agular goes on to echo imperialism's propaganda and shouts that Dr. Jagan has committed himself 'hopelessly' to get himself into orbit and to make Guiana a satellite of the Soviet system.

Prior to his departure for home, Jagan declared that he and his party intended to launch a campaign in favour of his just demand in the Commonwealth countries and the United Nations. Solidarity of the Indian people, he told me, would be greatly appreciated and valuable in the present context.

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DANGE OUTLINES ROLE OF INDIAN WORKING CLASS

MEETING OF A.I.T.U.C. GENERAL COUNCIL

The Indian working class consciously undertakes the responsibility to render its best for meeting the production requirements of national defence and voluntarily accepts the restraints enjoined under the Industrial Truce. In the task of defending country's freedom and for dispelling the Chinese aggressors from its sacred soil, the working class will not lag behind any section of the people.

THIS was the spirit that was evinced at the meeting of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress that met in Delhi from November 16 to 18. The meeting was specially called to discuss and decide the role of the trade unions and the workers in the context of national emergency arising out of the Chinese aggression.

The Council adopted a detailed and comprehensive resolution on the tasks of the trade unions in the present situation, setting out in clear and unequivocal terms its stand with regard to the Chinese aggression. Elaborating the tasks before the working class, the resolution also outlined two other major issues which the working class has to take note of.

One of these issues, as presented by the resolution, is the common front which the Indian working class will build with all classes of people in order to fulfil its patriotic duty, taking its stand on the basis of sound and healthy nationalism of an independent

and anti-colonial country. This nationalism is distinct and different from chauvinism and the working class will not forget its international duties falling a prey to it.

The other issue is the question of utilising the opportunity as presented by the present situation to cement the breach existing within the ranks of the working class and forge a trade union and class unity from below and alleviate the maladies which today hamper the interests of both the country and the working class.

Among other resolutions adopted at the Council, one is on Cuba which pledges the support of the Indian working class to the Government and the people of Cuba in their heroic fight for the defence of national sovereignty and building of socialism.

The Council began its session with an analysis of the situation and its background by S. A. Dange, General Secretary of the

All-India Trade Union Congress. Members of the Council from various States also detailed their experience on this issue. The summing up speech of S. A. Dange covering the major aspects of the development, gave a clear and sharp picture of the working class position in this conflict.

In a masterly exposition of the philosophy of working class struggles, S. A. Dange explained as to how the nationalism of the Indian workers was not contradictory to their international duties.

ONE COMMON PILLAR

Referring to the two pillar policy of AITUC of defending the interest of the country on one hand and that of the workers on the other, he said that in this existing near-war situation, both have merged together and the interest of the working class became complimentary to that of national defence.

Such a situation, that is, the question of defence of the country with all the best that the workers can render, is not a new issue for the workers. They will discharge their responsibilities in their glorious tradition and make all other considerations subordinate to country's defence. For

them, national defence is the main task.

Dange said that the question of unstinted support to national bourgeoisie at this juncture of history was not a matter contradictory to the principles of working class movement.

Dealing with the question as to whether a Socialist Government can commit aggression on any other country's territory, Dange said that it could be so when the Government of the Socialist country took up positions violative of the guiding principles of Marxism. Such a situation can arise despite the fact that a socialist country due to the nature of its economy does not require expansion of its territory.

"The working class", he said, "does not accept an unjust war", but the present conflict with China, inasmuch as the Indian working class is concerned beyond doubt the justness of India's cause and is therefore to be supported wholeheartedly. The mistakes are on the side of the Chinese and therefore the working class has got to take a clear and specific stand on it.

The present Industrial Truce as accepted in the tripartite conference of the representatives of the Government, workers and employers, was not an acceptance of

class collaboration but a conscious and voluntary acceptance of obligations by the working class for the defence of the motherland. This fact has got to be realised by the workers.

"During this period of emergency, the workers will have not only to produce for the purposes of defence but also for the civilian needs," Dange added.

Dange said that the workers should also see that the private employers do not effect greater exploitation for their narrow interests taking advantage of the situation. They should also be watchful against falling victims to provocations and try to give maximum production of goods and services.

Dange said that the working class would be failing in its duty if it did not guard against reactionary moves, hatred and hysteria.

VOLUNTARY OBLIGATIONS

Concluding Dange emphasised that the Indian working class has voluntarily and consciously undertaken the obligations for the defence of the motherland and it therefore supported the defence efforts wholeheartedly. It will never allow its country to be gobbled up by another country, be it China or any other.

Mere eschewing of work stoppages, though essential, is not enough. All obstacles in the path of the workers' productive capacity must be removed. No selfish vested interests can be allowed to frustrate the workers' energy and to sap his patriotic enthusiasm.

It is precisely from this standpoint that the Industrial Truce Resolution of November 3, 1962 suffers from serious weaknesses.

The General Council of the AITUC is of considered opinion that for successful implementation of the Industrial Truce Resolution, the workers' unstinted efforts for production and voluntary restraint on strikes must be supplemented by the following assurances and measures on the part of employers and Government:

a. The workers must be given effective protection against attacks by selfish capitalist interests; For this,

b. If the price-line obtaining on the eve of declaration of national emergency cannot be held despite the Government's best intentions, any increase in prices of essential commodities should be neutralised by adequate Dearness Allowance, so that existing real wages do not fall. Failure to provide even this minimum protection will have ruinous effects on the morale of the working class;

c. The AITUC notes with concern that several employers have been emboldened by the state of "emergency" and by the voluntary restraint on direct action accepted by the trade unions, to impose unilaterally all sorts of changes in working and service conditions and to attack the existing rights and benefits enjoyed by the workers. Certain unions are sought to be suppressed and union functionaries to be harassed and victimised.

If employers are permitted to nullify in this manner the obligations accepted by them under the Code of Discipline in 1958 and to provoke the workers thereby, the responsibility for hindering production will be theirs.

d. Joint Production Councils should be set up in all important plants with representation for all the existing trade unions in the plant concerned or the powers of the statutory Works Committees should be extended to enable them to play an effective role in helping better organisation of the production process.

e. The Standing Labour Committee of the Indian Labour Conference should be called as early as possible and more often, to work out the concrete application of the general policy adopted. It should become a more effective and functioning body on all-national tri-

partite level. At the State level, the State Labour Advisory Boards should discharge the corresponding functions.

The AITUC also urges upon the Government to take the following steps:

● Since the country needs all hands to be at work, retrenchment and lay-off schemes and schemes of rationalisation which entail throwing out of so-called surplus labour should be held in abeyance;

● No hoarding, speculation and profiteering in industrial goods or raw materials for industry should be permitted; agricultural production should be stepped up to meet the increased needs of the situation;

● Excess Profits Tax should be imposed.

Concrete measures should be adopted for ensuring as per Clause 3(ii) of the Industrial Truce Resolution that all advantages accruing to industry as a result of extra effort by the workers go to the consumer and/or are made available for defence efforts.

The General Council of the AITUC calls upon its affiliated unions and their workers to perform their heavy duties and responsibilities without falling prey to any provocations by our opponents and class enemies. It appeals to the INTUC, HMS and UTUC to cooperate with the AITUC for all-in-unity in the common cause of national defence, and not to exploit the situation for exacerbating inter-union rivalries and strife. This kind of mutual sniping and political vendetta would be the worst disservice to the soldier at the front.

OFFER OF COOPERATION

The AITUC, for its part, offers its hand of cooperation to all trade union organisations in discharging the workers' patriotic responsibilities and making the employers and Government discharge theirs. At the same time, the AITUC will stand resolutely against all slanderous allegations and abuses hurled against it by disruptors of national unity, against all provocations and sabotage.

In this grave and difficult situation, the AITUC appeals to all workers and employees to build up unity from below on the solid foundations of patriotism and defence of the Motherland against aggression, production for the Army at the front and the civilian population in the rear, and protection of the vast mass of toilers from the attacks of selfish vested interests.

These new tasks, and their fulfilment, provide a great opportunity for the working class to heal the breach with-

in its ranks, a breach which has, time and again, been sought to be created on the basis of political differences, in regard to national tasks and the duties of the patriotic working class in relation to its country. Today, trade union unity can be achieved more speedily in the real atmosphere of discharging common national tasks.

Those who obstruct the development of trade union and class unity, in the present conditions will be hampering the interests of both the country and the working class.

Our working class, taking its stand on the basis of the sound and healthy nationalism of an independent, anti-colonial country defending itself against foreign aggression, will build its common front with all classes of our people in order to fulfil its patriotic duty.

At the same time, the workers of the AITUC are conscious of the fact that they are living under a capitalist system, and that their task of achiev-

ing socialism is not abandoned just because they have joined hands with the other classes including the bourgeoisie for national defence and production. In this connection, the AITUC welcomes the repeated insistence of the Prime Minister that emergency conditions must not be permitted to do away with the basis and the goals of planning for the economic and social uplift of the masses.

In fact, in the fight for the defence of the country against aggression, the workers by forging their unity within the common front, can strengthen their positions for the eventual achievement of the socialist goal.

The AITUC calls upon the workers, while defending the country, not to fall a victim to chauvinism and to forget their international duties. To preach racial hatred against any people, even in conditions of war, is not healthy either for winning victory or for the cause of peace and socialism. No nation can exterminate another nation. All people of

all countries are immortal. Indian culture and tradition have always preached the noble ideal of peace and friendship with all nations and peoples. The working class must carry this tradition forward.

To preserve world peace, to live in peaceful coexistence on the basis of the national independence of each country, to remain anti-imperialist and anti-colonial and not to allow the policies of non-alignment to be reversed in favour of joining any camp—such are the political tasks of the working class and its obligations to socialist internationalism, which are also fully in conformity with the healthy, anti-imperialist, nationalism of an independent and non-aligned country's working class.

Faithfully discharging its duties and upholding its best traditions, the working class will stand shoulder to shoulder with all the people of India, overcome the disruptive forces, build trade union unity and defend the country against foreign aggression and take it forward to socialism.

TASKS OF TRADE UNIONS IN NATIONAL EMERGENCY

The General Council of the AITUC meeting in Delhi from November 16 to 18, adopted unanimously the following resolution on the Tasks of the Trade Unions in the National Emergency Arising out of Chinese Aggression:

IN the present grave situation confronting our Motherland as a result of the Chinese armed aggression in NEFA and Ladakh, the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress calls upon all sections of the Indian working class to stand unitedly for the supreme task of defending the country's territorial integrity and defeating aggression.

The AITUC pays its solemn and respectful homage to the brave soldiers and officers of the Indian Army, who have been fighting heroically against great odds for the defence of our borders, and so many of whom have made the supreme sacrifice. The courage of the Jawans has also shown what fearless patriotism the sons of the common working people of our country are capable of.

The AITUC warmly congratulates all those trade unions and workers in different parts of the country who have been enthusiastically participating in patriotic demonstrations, organising collection of donations to the National Defence Fund, and contributing in other ways to the national defence efforts. The initiative of the organised workers is a

big factor in the strengthening and building of the unity of all patriotic forces in the present national emergency.

The AITUC while standing four-square for defence of India's territory against aggression, also fully supports the stand of Prime Minister Nehru for the opening of negotiations with the Chinese Government for a settlement of the border dispute. The precondition for such negotiations is the withdrawal of Chinese forces to the position held before their aggressive actions were launched on September 8, 1962.

CHINA MUST WITHDRAW

Only such a withdrawal can create the proper climate for negotiations and can help to avoid such a full-scale war between two great Asian powers as would be a major disaster for mankind.

The AITUC deeply regrets to find that a socialist country like China has resorted to armed force to settle a border dispute with a peace-loving, non-aligned, anti-colonialist

and friendly neighbour like India. The AITUC totally rejects the arguments advanced by the Chinese Government to justify its aggression and, particularly, the arguments that the Government of India is a "tool of U.S. imperialism" and Prime Minister Nehru is a "reactionary expansionist".

WRONG UNDERSTANDING

This utterly wrong and distorted characterisation of the Indian situation has not only led to the present tragic conflict but has strengthened the hands of the worst reactionary parties and groups in India. Taking advantage of the Chinese aggression, these reactionary forces are now trying to reverse India's foreign policy of peace and non-alignment, to drag our country into the imperialist camp, to whip up war hysteria, and to discredit even the Prime Minister. The strengthening of these reactionary forces is a serious danger, which the working people can ignore only at their peril.

The AITUC appeals to all progressive and peace-loving trade union organisations all over the world to realise that this India-China conflict weakens Afro-Asian solidarity against Imperia-

lism and for national independence and is a potential threat to world peace. It appeals to them to exert all their efforts in favour of securing the withdrawal of Chinese forces as proposed by the Government of India, so that hostilities may be ended and the proper atmosphere for negotiations created as soon as possible.

The Jawans, at the front, guns in hand, must be backed up solidly by the nation's industry. The AITUC is keenly conscious of the fact that the man at the lathe and the blast furnace, at the coal-face and the engine's driving wheel, is also today a front-line soldier in the sense that on him depends the foundation of a strong rear for the country's defence effort.

UNINTERRUPTED PRODUCTION

It is because of this that the Prime Minister in his broadcast to the nation on October 22, 1962, appealed particularly to the workers "not to indulge in strikes or in any other way which comes in the way of increasing production."

And it is because of this same awareness of its responsibilities to the nation that the AITUC has already endorsed the Resolution on Industrial Truce which was

adopted at the Delhi Tripartite Conference of November 3, 1962.

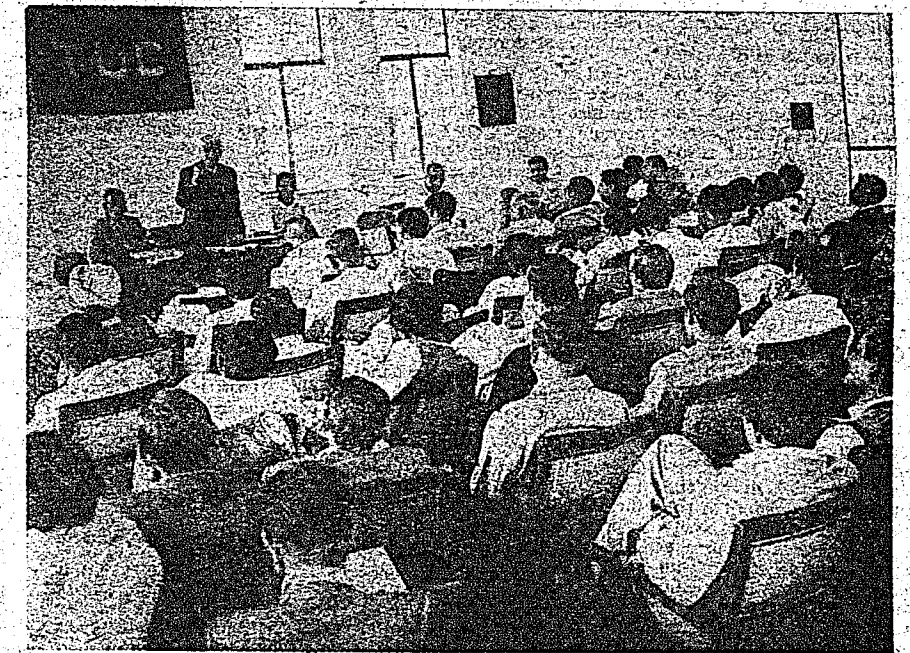
The AITUC has thereby undertaken the obligation, along with other central trade union organisations, of fulfilling the production goals set by the country's defence requirements and of avoiding all interruptions in or slowing down of production of goods and services.

While unhesitatingly accepting this obligation as its patriotic duty, the AITUC cannot forget that control over production does not rest in the workers' hand under the present system. As a capitalist system, the dominant control is in the hands of private employers and the Government, and labour is denied any voice in the control or regulation of industry.

The AITUC also knows that while many employers sincerely want to serve the country's interests, many others would put profits before patriotism. Past experience shows that selfish, profit-mongering interests try to utilise an emergency situation such as the present, to their own narrow advantage, to raise prices, fleece the working people and themselves grow still richer.

The AITUC is therefore of the firm opinion that the worker must be positively assisted to unleash the full strength of his capacity for providing the goods and services urgently needed today both for the Army and for the civilian population.

And it is because of this same awareness of its responsibilities to the nation that the AITUC has already endorsed the Resolution on Industrial Truce which was



Dange addressing the General Council of the AITUC.

ON ARRESTS OF TRADE UNIONISTS

THIS meeting of the General Council of the AITUC views with grave concern the arrests of some trade union leaders in various States, like Coms. B. S. Dhume, S. K. Sanyal, A. B. Bardhan, B. N. Mukherjee, Ratanlal

Brahman, Sudhir Mukhoty, Sallen Paul, and others.

Some of the spokesmen of State Governments, as reported in the press, seem to justify these arrests on the ground that these leaders were arrested for certain views which they held and which were dangerous for the security and defence of the country. The General Council is of the opinion that arrests for alleged views based on police reports are not justified and are unhelpful to the situation in which all the trade unions have agreed to carry out their duties in defence of the coun-

try and the tasks following from the needs of defence.

The Council therefore urges upon the Government to release these arrested trade union leaders in order to enable them to implement the policies adopted by the AITUC.

ON GOA

By another resolution the General Council of the AITUC has urged upon the Government of India to extend to Goa, the Indian Trade Unions Act and other labour legislations, without any further delay.

IN DEFENCE OF MOTHERLAND

tack against the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence.

This is a strange twist of history. The big contribution that Mao Tse-tung once made to the theory and tactics of the Communist movement was his enunciation of the policy of the united front with the national bourgeoisie (unity and struggle and struggle for the sake of unity). In its now repudiated 1948 "left" period the Communist Party of India denounced Mao precisely on this point. And today the roles are completely reversed!

Another experience of the Chinese Communists is sought by Li Wei-han, to be raised to the level of an universal truth. He states that in order to gain and consolidate the leadership of the working class in the united front and to carry the revolution to victory, the political party of the working class must become "adept at both armed military struggles and peaceful political struggle."

The 81 Parties Statement correctly warns that the reactionaries may force the working class and the democratic movement to take to the path of non-peaceful revolution. But it equally stresses that the possibility has arisen in several countries for a peaceful form of revolution. It goes on to point out that "the actual possibility of one or other way of transition to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historical conditions."

If one is to honestly accept the implications of the formulation that "the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means", one cannot, as Li Wei-han has done, insist that for the victory of the revolution all Communist Parties must become "adept at armed military struggle".

POSSIBILITIES CONFUSED

One becomes adept at armed struggle, in the final analysis by engaging in it. It is scarcely necessary to point out the disastrous consequences of the Communist Parties in countries of bourgeois democracy trying to become "adept in armed military struggle"! Li Wei-han is proposing a path of suicidal adventurism. He has confused the two possibilities outlined by the 81 Parties Statement as two stages of the same revolution in the same country. In this, publicly at least, he has been preceded only by the Albanian Party of Labour.

Li Wei-han does not say so, but the understanding is implicit in his pamphlet that the working class state in its relations with a national bourgeoisie state could as well become adept in both these forms of struggle! Presumably, this is what the Chinese Communists imagine they are doing by invading India.

What in actual fact they are doing by such aggression is to wage armed struggle against the entire people of India, in the thick of whom stand the Communists of India. This act on the part of China is the greatest disaster and blun-

der ever committed anywhere and at any time by any Communist Party.

And the disaster was anticipated long ago by Marx, Engels, and above all, Lenin. The founder of the Soviet state had to forcefully face this problem in the shape of the notorious "permanent revolution" theory of Trotsky.

It is not surprising that the

recent Chinese writings—quite contrary to the experience even a decade ago—have been welcomed by the theoreticians of the Fourth International. They wrote in their official magazine in the spring of 1960 that the Chinese views "stood in sharp distinction to the honey-sweet official Russian statements on the possibilities of 'peaceful coexistence'. Revolutionary Marxists can only welcome this distinction...

China is orientating towards a more revolutionary policy on a world scale. This can only be welcomed by every revolutionary Marxist". (Fourth International, spring 1960).

Let the Chinese Communist Party's leadership take what comfort it can from such tributes. But it is obvious that the Communist Party of India, as also every other Communist Party that adheres to the

81 Parties' Statement, can only demarcate itself from and denounce such adventurous and discredited policies.

Li Wei-han's pamphlet will have proved useful if it alerts all its readers to the fact that the ghost of Trotsky—and not insubstantial either—is abroad, oddly enough, in the country which refuses to denounce the cult of Stalin.

TO KATANGA AND BACK

By CONOR O'BRIEN

Reviewed By IDRIS COX

AFTER its tortured history since June 1960 the Congo is still in the melting-pot.

Not only is Tshombe still in the saddle in Katanga but the so-called "central" government in Leopoldville is almost in a state of dissolution.

Its new proposed "constitution" providing for 21 provinces instead of the present six is still in cold storage.

Last week the new sessions of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies failed to muster a quorum, except on one day when 40 members attended and demanded the release from detention of Gizenga and other MPs.

Tshombe has given still another "pledge" to accept U Thant's federal plan, but the idea is also being canvassed in the corridors of U.N. that Tshombe should head the central government in Leopoldville. It is argued this is the only "peaceful" way to end the secession of Katanga.

The full story of the Congo liberation struggle has still to be written, but glimpses of these tangled and tragic events appear from time to time.

At the moment it is provided by Conor Cruise O'Brien, formerly the political adviser of the United Nations in Katanga in *To Katanga and Back* (Hutchinson, 35s).

A CASE HISTORY

The book is described as "a case history" and this it certainly is! It relates the personal experience of the author in the service of U.N., the political pressures behind the scenes in the U.N., and the scheming and manoeuvring in the Congo to distort the meaning of U.N. resolutions and to prevent their practical application.

The author, from his own experience, has no doubt of the forces at work within the U.N.

"Washington wielded tremendous influence in the General Assembly and the Security Council. It is almost certainly true to say that any Secretary-General who lost the confidence of Washington would have to resign (p.56).

WITHDRAWAL

O'Brien firmly believed that his mission was to implement the resolution of July 1960, which he interpreted as a mandate to demand the withdrawal of "all foreign officers and mercenaries from the Congo."

From the time of his arrival in Katanga in June 1961, he did his utmost to achieve this aim. But the odds were against him.

There were the manoeuvres of Hammarskjöld himself, and his minions in Leopoldville and Katanga.

There was the combined resistance of the Belgian officers and foreign mercenaries, U.N. Miniere, the Rhodesian copper trusts, Sir Roy Welensky and British Tory leaders.

As for Tshombe himself, O'Brien sums him up in a few words:

"Neither statements of fact nor written engagements could be relied on; no contradiction, no detected lie, caused Mr. Tshombe the slightest embarrassment" (p. 121).

No wonder Dr. O'Brien laughed loudly when told of Tshombe's new "pledge."

At long last the pressure within the U.N. (especially from the African States), was so strong that it had no option but to launch an offensive in August 1961 to end the secession of Katanga.

Tshombe sought refuge with the British Consul in Elisabethville, and was then taken by Rhodesian troops to Northern Rhodesia.

The British Press waged a raging campaign against U.N. "atrocities" and the "lobby" got to work within the U.N.

Hammarskjöld gave orders to stop the offensive on the eve of its success, and rushed to Katanga.

Without taking the trouble to find out what had really happened Hammarskjöld decided to fly to meet Tshombe in Ndola.

This was his last flight. The plane crashed on the way, and the cause of the "accident" is still a matter for speculation.

The plot against the Congo

has many victims—the murder of Lumumba, the removal of Dayal because he urged the convening of the Congo Parliament, the death of Hammarskjöld, the arrest of Gizenga (still in prison) and the enforced withdrawal of O'Brien.

Tshombe and his evil gang still remain, with a rump "Government" in Leopoldville, propped up by American money—81 million dollars in the past two years.

O'Brien goes into much detail (rather too much) about his own experiences. The book tends to be discursive and to hide the wood amid the trees.

While rightly exposing the role of Tshombe, Welensky, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Home, Union Miniere and other vested interests in their support of Katanga's secession, he does not explain why the United States is recently at variance with British policy in pressing for the integration of Katanga in a new Congo federation.

Moreover, he accepts the Hammarskjöld interpretation

of the resolution of July 14, 1960, that the expulsion of mercenaries and the ending of Katanga secession should be done by U.N. forces, forgetting its specific terms:

"Decides to authorise the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps, in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo, to provide the Government with such military assistance as may be necessary..." (My italics—I.C.)

While Lumumba was alive the U.S. was not keen on ending the secession of Katanga. Even after his death they were afraid that Gizenga would be strong enough to carry on the struggle for Lumumba's aim of a united Congo.

Only after Gizenga's arrest did the U.S. exert its pressure to force Katanga into line, against strong British and Belgian opposition.

It seems clear that the U.S. aim was to step up its stranglehold on the Congo, even at the expense of British and Belgian imperialist interests.

ADENAUER'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

—By D. GODKOV

Commentator, Novosti Press Agency, USSR

Fate would have it that the 86-year old West German Chancellor Adenauer, who has definitely earned the reputation of a "cold war" apostle, was the first statesman to be met by the US President after the dramatic days of the Cuban crisis.

In this respect the meeting acquires a certain interest as a kind of a political indicator of the present international situation. It is common knowledge that Chancellor Adenauer becomes particularly active when any prospect of rapprochement and negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union emerges.

It is easy to see that this time too, the prospects of the two great powers coming to an understanding, prospects so fearsome to him, made the aged Chancellor leave the Schaumburg Palace at a moment of an acute political crisis in West Germany.

It was not an easy thing at all for the Chancellor to leave Bonn these days. Actually only an hour before his plane left, Adenauer decided not to take along Krone, the Minister for Special Assignments, who is regarded by everyone as a man in the Chancellor's confidence. Krone

remained in Bonn to eliminate the domestic crisis while Adenauer headed for Washington in order to (as the Bonn newspaper General Anzeiger put it) "warn the American Government from engaging in any negotiations with the Soviet Union."

Why is Adenauer so afraid of such negotiations? Apparently the thing is that the present complicated and tense situation in the centre of Europe a situation fraught with the danger of a serious conflict, suits very well those circles in Bonn which regard the international tension as a kind of nutritive medium for West German militarism. Let everything, say these circles, remain as it is until Bundeswehr gains full strength so as to join the dangerous game.

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"The EEC (European Economic Community) is an instrument of the NATO, an instrument for the preparation of a new war against the socialist countries and a means of neo-colonialist subjugation of the less-developed countries", stated Max Reimann First Secretary of the Communist Party of West Germany, in an exclusive interview he gave to New Age recently in Berlin. For six years now, the heroic Communist Party of Germany has been under ban in West Germany as it used to be in the days of Hitler.

FOLLOWING is the lucid analysis of the European Common Market and the political integration of Western Europe that is now proceeding around it given by Max Reimann in course of his interview with New Age:

Against National Interests

"The EEC is the alliance of West European monopolies which is spearheaded against the West European peoples, against the socialist countries, and equally against the non-aligned countries.

"Please keep in mind: Hitler fascism was in need of the war potential and the economic resources of the other West European countries to prepare its aggression against the Soviet Union. In those days this was achieved by military conquest and occupation, with some fascist ideologists describing this act of violence as 'unification of Europe'.

"Today the German monopolists and militarists are even more in need of the economic resources of the West European countries than they were in the past, in order to achieve their aggressive and revenge-seeking aims. Now, German imperialism is using the EEC to extend its economic predominance over Western Europe.

A NATO Instrument

"The EEC is an instrument of the NATO, an instrument for the preparation of a new war against the socialist countries and a means of neo-colonialist subjugation of the less-developed countries.

"It would be a mistake to believe that NATO and the EEC could curb the German imperialists and militarists in their striving for their revenge-seeking goals.

"The monopoly bourgeoisie tries to counteract the decline of imperialism by means of such economic blocs as the EEC. This, however, is a great illusion, for, historical development shows that our time is characterised by the triumphant advance of socialism

and success of the great democratic and national movements.

"Adenauer's European policy, of unification, or, as Herr Strauss calls it, the Atlantic community, is first and foremost spearheaded against the national interests, the national sovereignty and the right of self-determination of the West European countries. Their economic and military preponderance has enabled the West German monopolies to play the decisive role within the EEC already now; and they would dominate also a united political community of the West European countries.

"Naturally, the EEC does not solve the contradictions between the imperialist countries and the monopoly groups of Western Europe. On the contrary, the West German and French monopolies struggle fiercely for hegemony.

"Britain's entry into the Common Market will aggravate these contradictions still more.

"It seems to me that the last Commonwealth Premiers' conference made clear how vigilant some countries are. They are fully justified in their fear of Britain's entry into the Common Market, opening the door to the expansion of West German monopoly capital. The further intrusion of West German imperialists into India's national economy could hamper its development.

"It is already obvious that it will be the German imperialists who will really win in this struggle and that their preponderance will make itself felt to the disadvantage of the national interests of other EEC countries.

"The alternative to the EEC, the economic bloc serving the interests of the NATO, is an economic policy which respects the national interests of every country, champions good economic relations with all countries of the world and promotes world trade in a way that is mutually advantageous and unhindered.

"This would correspond to the interests of the West German economy and our national interests, and, equally, to the national interests of other countries."

West Germany, No Democratic State

In reply to another question, Max Reimann characterised the West German state as "a clerical-militarist dictatorship and a police-dominated state."

"The so-called parliamentary democracy of the Federal Republic", he said, "has become a mere cloak to cover up the dictatorship of the monopolies and the increasing militarisation of public life. The Bundestag (Parliament) just receives the Federal Chancellor's orders. Whenever important political decisions are

WEST EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

P. Kunhanandan Nair Interviews Max Reimann

concerned, it is not even asked or convoked later for confirmation....

"Every step towards militarisation and a policy of violence makes the Bonn state more anti-democratic and augments the arbitrary actions against the peace-loving democratic forces.

"It all began with the Communist Party of Germany being unlawfully banned. That was followed by the ban on other democratic organisations and peace movements. Peace champions are persecuted and put in jail.

"They have established a whole system of persecution for political convictions, ideological coercion, suppression of oppositional views, defamation of dissenting opinion and persecution of supporters of pacifist and neutralist ideas.

"Over the last few years 200,000 political preliminary proceedings have been launched, thousands of people have been put on trial, sentenced and deprived of their franchise for no other crime than supporting a policy of peace and understanding."

Summing up the policies of the West German rulers as "aggression outward and reaction inward", Reimann outlined the growing volume of resistance to these policies and its shortcoming ("... we realise that the movement of the democratic and peace-loving forces does not completely use the considerable facilities at hand and does not meet the great requirements of the present situation").

Speaking of the Communist Party of Germany he said:

German Communist Party

"It is the strength of our Party that it becomes ever more closely linked with the masses of the people. The ban on the Communist Party did not enable the Bonn rulers to exclude it from the political and social life of the Federal Republic.

"Even now, six years after the ban, our party is a strong political factor, despite its illegality. This is not questioned even by the West German Minister of the Interior or by the bourgeois press.

"The great social campaigns of the West German workers, the strikes of the metal workers and the miners, the manifestations by the peace-loving forces expressing themselves against nuclear armament, the activities of the trade unions against the emergency laws—all this is emphatic proof that the Communist Party of Germany is working and fighting wherever the people defend their rights. And that is why our ranks strengthen constantly and new people apply for membership."

"We regard as our priority concern a united front of all peace-loving and democratic forces on the basis of joint demands for the preservation of peace", said Reimann, adding, "the first task will be to establish unity of action among the working class."



MAX REIMANN, First Secretary, Communist Party of Germany.

The First Secretary of the Communist Party of Germany also dwelt in course of the interview on the problems of achieving a peaceful, unified Germany. He said:

Problem Of Unification

"The two German states have to come together for negotiations and have to agree upon the mutual renunciation of force and of the production, storage or stationing of nuclear weapons; an arms-stop in the two German states; a pact of nonaggression; the prohibition of revanchist and war propaganda.

"The key issue, however, is", he said, "the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states and the settlement of the West Berlin problem. That is the point for the time being."

ADENAUER'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

* From Facing Page

well as Bonn's plans on Bundeswehr's participation in a "break-through" to the frontline city.

Commenting on Adenauer's visit to the White House, the British newspaper Daily Express said: "Every one knows what the West German Chancellor wants. He wants a clash in which he would be able to get back the lost German territories."

However, Bonn still lacks the atom bomb that would enable it to take part in large gambles. That is why Adenauer's diplomatic baggage carried the familiar plan of "reorganisation of NATO". The essence of this plan, now, slightly revised, is in turning NATO into the "fourth atomic power" and equal partner of the US.

A good illustration for these plans of Adenauer could be provided by the ceremony of placing another Bundeswehr's division (this is the 10th already) "under NATO command".

In this ceremony which took place a few days ago Friedrich Foersch, ex-Naz General

and now Inspector General of the Bundeswehr, handed over the West German division to Hans Speidel, another ex-Nazi General and now Commander-in-Chief of the NATO forces in Central Europe. So you can easily see in whose charge the atomic weapons of the reorganised Atlantic alliance will be.

It is interesting to note that Adenauer used quite a simple diplomatic manoeuvre for substantiating his claims to the American atomic weapons. On the eve of the Chancellor's negotiations with the US President, a memorandum was published in Bonn. In this document Bonn stated its plan of the "French-West German Cooperation."

However, judging by all things, those in Washington are in no hurry to be involved in Bonn's military gambles as a result of which Americans would have to pull chestnuts out of a very dangerous fire.

Yet, Adenauer's Western allies still often follow in the wake of Bonn's policy. The British newspaper Guardian, which does not approve at all of Adenauer's

visit, stated a few days ago: "The firm stand of the British and American Governments, coming out against any form of disengagement of the armed forces in Central Europe in the spirit of the Rapacki plan, was taken out of respect for Bonn's opinion."

When mankind was placed face to face with the danger of nuclear war, a realisation began growing in the world that the most complicated international problems, including the peaceful settlement for Germany, can be solved without detriment to the prestige of any side and without harm to the countries concerned. These sentiments should not be allowed to ebb. One cannot but use the present favourable situation for the relaxation of international tension.

The world public opinion should rise up in arms against those statesmen who still think in the terms and conceptions of the 19th Century. Today the closest possible attention and vigilance should be displayed concerning the West German Chancellor's activities, so dangerous for the cause of peace.

PAGE ELEVEN

NEW AGE

EDITOR: E. M. S. Nambodiripad

Printed by D. F. Saha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, East Broad Road, New Delhi, and published by him from 7/A, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

Telegraphic Address: MARKBADI 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.

RESULTS AND SOME LESSONS OF ELECTIONS

U. S. Communist Party's Statement

In a record off-year vote on November 6, the majority of voters within the limitations imposed by the two-party system, and despite a number of setbacks and defeats, gave a clear indication of their desire for peace, administered a serious rebuff to the ultra-Right and gave a new impetus to the struggle against Jim Crow (racial segregation) and for greater social and economic security.

This election took place after an unprecedented ten days of history when every American felt the danger of thermonuclear world war over Cuba. The promise of peace on Sunday, November 4, was the dominant event which brought the Kennedy Administration votes on Tuesday, November 6. That vote was expressed mainly in the repudiation of the ultra-Right, "Invade Cuba" candidates.

The defeat of Senator Capewhart in Indiana, of Senator Wiley in Wisconsin, and Congressman Judd in Minnesota, the shattering defeat of Richard Nixon in California, are defeats of those most closely associated with outright opposition to peaceful co-existence and with war incitement. It is a vote against those demanding a tougher policy and outright invasion of Cuba.

The defeat of Nixon and incumbent Congressman in California who openly flouted their association with the Birch Society represents a serious setback to all those who would make anti-Communism the yardstick of patriotism, loyalty and devotion to country, and who would take our country on the road to ruin through fascist barbarism and nuclear war. The overwhelming and decisive defeat of the anti-Communist Francis amendment to the California State constitution is a popular verdict against the McCarran Act thesis. This is an important victory for all supporters of the Bill of Rights and political liberty.

The election of such outspoken supporters of Medicare as Senator Ribicoff in Connecticut and Congressman Pepper in Florida, and Fulton of Tennessee, among many others, the defeat of some of the sharpest opponents of this and other legislation, open the way for a renewed and successful drive for the enactment of such legislation by the 88th Congress.

Increase Of Negro Candidates

There was a substantial increase in the number of Negro candidates running in both parties, although the total number is still very small. The election of a Negro as state senator in Georgia, the winning of a number of state offices in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Michigan, the increase to five of the number of Negro Congressmen and the increase in the number elected to the State legislatures, are important gains but only symbolic of things to come, as the enfranchisement movement of the Negro people in the South gains ground.

All these victories are a result of the initiative, unity and struggle by the Negro people themselves, but also through the support of increasing numbers of white citizens. They open the way to a final assault on the entire system of Jim Crow and against those who would hold back this progress through tokenism and gradualism.

These election results explain the real meaning of the Kennedy administration's success in reversing the off-year trend when the

Congressman Davis in the primaries. There are other cases.

In all these elections where more moderate elements defeated arch segregationists and reactionaries, the Negro voters were the balance of power.

The Negro voters generally are giving their support to the more moderate and progressive elements in the Democratic Party in both primaries and final elections and in increasing numbers are putting forward their own candidates and seeking support among the more moderate and progressive white masses.

New Political Ferment

The struggle, movements and lessons of Little Rock, Arkansas, Albany, Georgia, and of Mississippi are creating new political ferment and organization in the South. This election only reflects a beginning of that growing upsurge.

The GOP in the South increased its congressional delegation.

The full meaning of this trend for both the south and the nation needs to be studied and assessed. One thing is already clear, except for some isolated local cases where GOP candidates represent some alternative to the Dixiecrats, the GOP in the South represents an alliance of the big monopolists and the Dixiecrats, symbolized in the Congress in the reactionary coalition of the Dixiecrats and the Goldwater Republicans.

In this election the GOP was the beneficiary and consciously sought after this racist support from those who wished to express their opposition to President Kennedy's sending of troops to Mississippi.

In contrast, the alliance of labour, the Negro people, the Mexican-Americans and other progressive and liberal forces in Texas, indicates the possible new political realignment in the entire South. Labour can and must play a more decisive role in this movement. The Dixiecrat rebellion in Mississippi places the ousting of Dixiecrats from the Democratic Party and from the seniority seats of power as a first task of the Democratic caucus of the 88th Congress.

A highly positive development in the 1962 elections was the growth in the number of peace candidates running in both major parties as well as independents. Some on major party tickets were elected and others rolled up substantial votes.

In other cases such as Prof. H. Stuart Hughes, in the Massachusetts Senatorial election, peace advocates ran as independent candidates. They, and Hughes in the first place, exerted very great influence on the electorate which cannot be measured only by their vote which in the case of the Hughes candidacy was some 50 thousand.

The two-fold lesson of the peace and independent candidates is this. On the one hand such candidates can play a very important role in bringing forward the issues of presenting a challenge to the two old parties and an alternative to the more politically conscious and progressive voters, as was shown especially in the Hughes campaign.

But on the other hand, the great mass of the voters are not as yet ready to go outside the two old parties, and tend to find expression for their views and aims in the primaries within each of the old parties and in the

election between the candidates offered by the two old parties. Obviously a large number of voters in Massachusetts who supported the Hughes peace programme cast their votes for one or the other Senatorial candidates. For the Communists, as well as for the other forces of the Left, and for the conscious peace and progressive forces, this poses a challenge.

First, to unite and concert their efforts and thus multiply their influence manifold.

Secondly, to promote, help develop and strengthen the independence and unity in political action of labour, the Negro people, the farmers, professionals and other popular forces.

And finally, to examine in each case realistically the possibility of independent candidates, not as the only overall policy in elections, but as an integral part of, and for the purpose of, influencing the selection of candidates and platforms, the determination of the results of elections with the tens of millions through the instrumentality which they, the millions are using.

Only in this way can the Left and progressive forces continue to play a responsible role in determining affairs today under the conditions of the two-party system, while at the same time, stimulating, promoting and, when conditions become ripe, be a part of and play an influential role in the inevitable political realignment in which labour, the Negro people, the peace forces, and all other anti-monopoly forces will

unite to give battle to Big Business and the political parties controlled by them through a party of labour, the Negro people, the farmers, and other popular forces.

The election results fully confirm the correctness of the electoral policy of the Communist Party and enabled the party to play an important role. The election policy of the Communist Party, as it developed historically, centres on three objectives:

First, to participate in the electoral struggle with the millions in helping to shape events and determine the election outcome and the legislative battles after the elections notwithstanding the odds under which the people operate today under the two-party system.

Second, to develop in the course of the elections the greatest possible unity and independence of labour and its allies, both for the purpose of being able to exert influence on immediate events, as well as prepare the ground for political realignment of labour and its allies against the monopolists and their controlled parties.

Third, to bring forward the Communist Party and its programme, both its immediate objectives and its socialist goals, where possible, its candidates, to build its press and its organization in the course of the elections. One of the major tasks in the interest of all our people is to win mass support for a campaign to remove restrictions directed against the Communist Party.

CUBA BLOCKADE ENDS CASTRO WRITES TO THANT

A great victory for the peace-loving peoples of the whole world and especially for the people of Cuba has been the announcement on November 21 by President Kennedy of the end of the blockade of Cuba.

Following Kennedy's withdrawal of the blockade the Soviet Union and all Warsaw Treaty States have revoked the emergency measures they had taken in connection with crisis in the Caribbean.

While the world heaves a sigh of relief over the easing of the crisis, Kennedy remains dissatisfied over the issue of on-the-spot verification, which is a demand with no basis in law. We give here a moving document which brings out its implications.

Following is the text of a letter sent on November 15 by Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba to U Thant Acting Secretary General as made public in unofficial translation from Spanish:

The conciliatory action which you are conducting as Acting Secretary General of this world organization is very closely linked with the latest world events concerning the crisis in the Caribbean.

There is no need, therefore, to dwell upon each and every one of the events, circumstances and incidents which have occurred in these weeks of extreme tension.

I should like to refer solely to the following matter: we have given you—and we have also given it publicly and repeatedly—our refusal to allow unilateral inspection by any body, national or international, on Cuban territory. In doing so we have exercised the inalienable right of every sovereign nation to settle all problems within its own territory in accordance with the will of its government and its people.

The Soviet Government, carrying out its promise to Mr. Kennedy, has withdrawn its strategic missiles, an action which was verified by United States officials on the high seas.

ACT OF SELF-DEFENCE

We should like to repeat once more that the installation of these weapons were nothing other than an act of legitimate self-defence on the part of the Republic of Cuba against the aggressive policy which the United States has been pursuing against our country since the very triumph of the Revolution. This did not confer any right upon the Government of the United States with respect to Cuba, since all our actions have been effected within the framework of international law and in exercise of the sovereign prerogatives of our state.

It was, however, the pretext used to perpetrate acts of force which brought the world to the edge of war. The pretext has now disappeared. Nevertheless officials of the United States Government declare that they do not consider themselves bound by any promise, among other reasons because Cuba has not permitted the inspection of its territory.

The United States, resorting to the law of force, is constantly violating our territory through the use of air forces based in various parts of the Caribbean and in aircraft carriers which it is employing against us.

We have given proof that we are ready for a worthy peace. We have put forward

of a group of spies trained by the CIA and directed by it, here in Cuba, has shown us how the photographs taken by the spying planes serve for guidance in sabotage and in their operations and has also revealed, among other things, a design to cause chaos by provoking the deaths of 400 workers in one of our industries.

This impairs in its essence the security of our nation and outrages the dignity of our people. The object has been not only to secure advantages for military and subversive purposes through information and detailed knowledge of our industrial installations and defence arrangements, but also in addition to humiliate and demoralize the Cuban people.

HITLERITE METHODS

These are typically Hitlerite methods for softening the resistance of peoples.

Mr. Acting Secretary General, no sovereign state can allow its air space to be violated in this manner without feeling an impairment of its dignity. If in addition this violation is perpetrated by the reconnaissance aircraft of an enemy which openly threatens our country, tolerating it means more than a lack of dignity, a shameful submission to the enemy. We cannot be asked to accept this by virtue of the discussions which

DETERMINED AND CONFIDENT

lakh rupees, introduction of a 5 to 15 per cent cut in salaries over Rs. 1,000, utilisation of accumulated resources of companies, utilisation of foreign assets of princes and others for buying things from abroad, unearthing of gold hoards, taking over of foreign trade by Government, excess profits, tax and scrapping of prohibition at least for the emergency period.

Gopalan focussed attention on need for raising agricultural production and suggested that all wastelands should be distributed to landless labourers free. He pointed out the necessity of keeping the morale of the peasantry in this emergency and urged upon the government to ban all evictions of tenants from their lands.

There was almost near unanimity in the suggestion that prohibition should be scrapped to raise resources. Both Congress members and members from opposition put up a strong case for this. A. C. Guha (Congress) also demanded excess profits tax, capital gains tax, and a small tax on salt.

However, apart from these suggestions, PSP and Swatantra came out with the demand that the size of the Union Cabinet should be reduced and that the Cabinet should be reorganised into a smaller one.

N. G. Ranga went a step further and suggested a coalition government of all "non-Communist parties." The Swatantra leader appears to be unable to restrain himself from attacking the Prime Minister even in this emergency. Here is a choice passage from his speech to the Lok Sabha on Monday:

"Is not the Prime Ministership a big enough responsibility? Does it not call for almost a superman today? Is it right that this country should be blessed with a leader who is not satisfied and who

are taking place with regard to the crisis, for the integrity of our physical space and the sovereignty of Cuba will never be negotiable.

We for our part have not failed to give constant warnings to the aggressors.

On October 27, in the midst of the crisis, the Cuban Government declared that it would never acknowledge the vandal and piratical privilege of any airplane to violate our air space since this was essentially a threat to our security and facilitated the conditions for a surprise attack. Cuba's right to resist such violations can never be renounced.

And even if we should die, our banner would fly victoriously because we are defending something even more sacred than our right as a sovereign nation in the concert of free nations of the earth.

DESTRUCTION THREATENED

We are sounding the necessary alarm for the defence of world peace, we are defending the right of the small countries to be considered on a footing of equality, we are telling all the peoples of the earth that before the imperialist enemy there can be no weakening. The path of calm and stern vigilance, strong in the security of a response commensurate with the magnitude of the aggression, is the only way to the salvation of peace.

Our right to live is something which cannot be discussed by anyone.

But if our right to live is made conditional upon an obligation to fall to our knees, our reply once again is that we will not accept it.

We believe in the right to defend the liberty, the sovereignty and the dignity of this country, and we shall continue to exercise that right to the last man, woman or child capable of holding a weapon in this territory.

May I reiterate to you the expression of my highest consideration.

to reinstate, in fact, these militaristic and imperialist privileges.

The long history of struggle of our country, culminating in full sovereignty and national dignity after a century-long fight written in blood and heroism, cannot be reversed. A powerful military force could annihilate us, but it could never make us yield and we should first demand a very high price of the pliers who dared to invade the soil of the Cuban fatherland.

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★ From Back Page

BIHAR'S UNIQUE RESPONSE

FROM PAGE 4

On November 18 again the ex-President inaugurated a "Save Himalaya" conference organised by the Lohia group with the express aim of opposing the Prime Minister's offer to the Chinese to withdraw behind September 8 positions for negotiations to take place, and to denounce his defence policy of throwing out the Chinese from Indian soil but not invading Tibet. This was a total refutation of the Prime Minister's stand. Even the BPCC dissociated at the last moment. But not the ex-President. He spoke in favour of these aims of the Conference.

Thus Dr. Rajendra Prasad has come to be the centre of a campaign opposed to the Nehru Government and its policies of national defence in this crisis.

Already in Bihar two State centres for receiving donations are functioning. One is headed by the Chief Minister and another by the ex-President, himself. It cannot be denied that there is no coordination between the two. Instead they are functioning as rival centres. Instances have come to the notice of this correspondent that when voluntary collections were made (e.g., in a local college) dispute arose as to the centre to

which the collection should be directed. And ultimately a way was found by ignoring both and sending it direct to the Prime Minister's fund. This is how the energy of the people is wasted in petty rivalries.

In Bihar for example the caste groupings inside the ruling party have only taken a new cover. The official group led by the Chief Minister, of course, stands behind the Prime Minister's policies and despite its vacillations, has tried to build all-in national unity behind his policies.

Another group standing at the other extreme and openly opposed to the Prime Minister's leadership of the country's defence has slowly gravitated round the ex-President.

The third group led by Revenue Minister Mahesh Prasad Sinha is finding itself in a quandary. Link-

burdened with? Is it proper?" Prime Ranga recommended that the Ministership should divest himself of "all other responsibilities" and begin to play the role of the Prime Minister as "hundred per cent Prime Minister."

In this situation the Congress has failed to play the leading role which it owed to the people and the nation. Even while Nehru's policies have been openly denounced and his Government assailed, Congressmen have found themselves tongue-tied. On the other hand, some Congressmen covertly, and some overtly like the redoubtable Mahamaya Prasad (at present Congress MLC and Patna host of Kripalani) have been openly lending their weight to the anti-Nehru lobby.

Needless to say, this state of affairs is preventing the full mobilisation of the people and resources in the service of the defence of the country. It is causing confusion among people. The main responsibility for ending this state of affairs rests with the leaders of the Congress and other Progressive parties supporting the Prime Minister's policies. They together can defeat reaction's disruptive efforts.

Another group standing at the other extreme and openly opposed to the Prime Minister's leadership of the country's defence has slowly gravitated round the ex-President.

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Ayurvedacharya.

NEHRU'S REPLY IN LOK SABHA

*FROM PAGE 3

open territory which they can walk across any moment they like. It was impossible for us to agree to.

And in Ladakh, it meant our withdrawing still further from where we are, and their not exactly marching immediately, but our facilitating their advance in the future if they want to come. So, we rejected those proposals.

We said there should be a reversion to the September 8 line both in NEFA and Ladakh. That meant in NEFA not only their going back but our going forward to those posts that we held, with no vacant space left.

Some people say, "How can you say that? You must not negotiate. You must not have any talk with them till you completely push them out from the Indian territory." That is a very good thing. But one does not talk with anybody whom one has defeated completely and pushed out. The question of talks does not arise. If we have gained our objective without talks, the question of talks does not arise.

I would suggest to the House to remember that in these matters one has to take a strong view, but a realistic view. The suggestion that we have made, they have rejected, because it strengthens us and weakens them (insofar as launching future aggression is concerned—Ed.)

What is more, the suggestion we have made about the September 8 line is one which has been appreciated in a great part of the world—non-aligned countries and others—because merely saying that we shall not talk to you till you have confessed defeat is not the kind of suggestion that any country makes to another.

Our Stand Appreciated

So I hope that the House will realise that what we have suggested is a right suggestion and will support it fully.

Some members talked about our stating that we are going to liberate Tibet. It is really amazing to see that some other members and some outside talk that we should lay down that we would liberate Tibet. It is a very happy idea if it is liberated. But our undertaking that job at the present moment or at any moment seems to me extraordinary and fantastic and having no relation to reality.

I have said that in a war between India and China, it is patent that if you think in terms of victory and defeat—there might be battles and we might push them back, as we hope to—but if either country thinks in terms of bringing the other to its knees, it manifestly cannot and will not happen. Let us be realistic. Are we going to march to Peking?

I appreciate that a war like this cannot be ended as far as I can foresee by surrender by either party. They are two great countries and neither will surrender. Therefore some way out has to be found to finish the war in terms honourable to us.

Way Must Be Found

We have said that we will finish the war when we liberate our own territory which is in their possession. Our saying that we are going to liberate Tibet is a thing which we cannot do; even if we had the atom bomb, we could not do it.

It is manifestly absurd to talk about it, and it justifies everything that China has said about it, in the sense they have always been saying that their chief grouse against us is that we have been encouraging a revolt and rebellion in Tibet. That is the thing which ultimately turned them against us. If we say that, it will justify their argument, which had no foundation, and give them in international circles and everywhere considerable strength. It will mean our saying something which we cannot possibly, feasibly do. It is impossible.

We have got a big enough task, a tremendous task, which we should realise, to push them back to their own territory from our own country. We are going to do it. It

AITUC General Council Resolution On Cuba

The General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress meeting in Delhi on November 16-18 adopted the following resolution on Cuba:

THE AITUC, in common with all lovers of peace and freedom, warmly welcomes the noble and courageous stand of the Soviet Government and Dr. Fidel Castro of Cuba in defeating the dangerous provocation of the U.S. imperialists which threatened to spark off a nuclear war by imposing a naval blockade on Cuba.

The bold decision of the Soviet Union to withdraw its missiles from Cuba in exchange for a categorical assurance by President Kennedy that Cuba would not be invaded has not only saved the world from a nuclear holocaust but has ensured the freedom and sovereignty of Cuba from the immediate danger to it. The U.S. monopolists find it impossible to tolerate the continued existence and growth of a socialist Cuba in the Western hemisphere. In order to destroy the revolutionary Castro regime, the Americans prepared the ground for armed intervention by falsely accusing Cuba of becoming a base for aggression. This falsehood was exposed and the essentially defensive purpose of Soviet missiles on Cuban soil

was established by Premier Khrushchov's bold decision to withdraw them in return for the U.S. pledge that Cuba would not be invaded.

The AITUC warns the U.S. reactionaries that neither Cuba nor the world will any longer tolerate interference with Cuba's freedom and sovereignty. The U.S. naval base at Guantanamo is a dagger aimed at the heart of Cuba and Dr. Castro's demand for its removal is fully justified.

The AITUC also demands that the brazen U.S. violations of Cuban air space and the continuance of U.S. naval blockade be immediately stopped.

Unless these steps are taken, the assurance of President Kennedy, while a welcome one, cannot afford grounds to the people of the world to relax their vigilance against the machinations of U.S. imperialism.

The AITUC pledges the support of the Indian working class to the Government and people of Cuba in their heroic fight for defence of national sovereignty and building of socialism.

is going to be mighty difficult; it might take us a long time. So I hope that while we should be strong and determined, as we must be, we must not just for the sake of appearing braver than others, say things which are, I regret to use the word, manifestly nonsense.

Now the resolution I have placed before the House is a fairly comprehensive one. It is a resolution of resolve, of determination and of dedication. I hope, therefore, that in accepting the resolution, as I hope this House will, the House thinks in terms of dedication, not in bombast, not in tall talk, but realising that we have a very difficult task before us; we are determined to fulfil it however long it may take and whatever the consequences might be.

And in doing so, we will be heartened by the biggest thing that a country can do and which India has done thus far and that is, produce this enormous emotional upheaval that we see all over India among men, among women and, perhaps more than all, among children.

So I put forward this resolution before the House in the hope, faith and with the strong determination that all those who are present here and the country will abide by it and will act up to it.

JUST OUT

WORKING CLASS AND NATIONAL EMERGENCY

(Resolution of the General Council of the AITUC, Delhi, November 16 to 18, 1962)

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NEW AGE

NOVEMBER 25, 1962

TAMILNAD'S PLEDGE

*FROM PAGE 5

The entire route of the procession was lined with people watching this magnificent procession marching down to the Beach.

At Tilak Ghat, more than a lakh of people gathered to hear the principal speakers. A. S. K. Iyengar presided over the meeting and the National Council resolution was commended for adoption by the rally by one of the veteran leaders of our Party in Tamilnad, P. Jeevanandam.

Jeevanandam explained the character of the resolution of the National Council and in particular emphasised that the party was united behind this resolution and in its determination to implement it.

The next speaker was Mohan Kumaramangalam who strongly criticised the Chinese Communists for putting, as he said, a weapon in the hands of reactionary forces in our country with which they were trying to strike at the progressive movement. He also criticised the attempts on the part of the reactionary forces to exclude Communists from the Defence Committees pointing out that the Communists commanded great support among workers in industry and in agriculture and their exclusion would not certainly be a gesture of earnest endeavour to mobilise the entire people for the defence of the country.

P. Ramamurthi also spoke, stating that all Communists were bound by the resolution of the National Council.

The conference proper started on the evening of Monday November 5. A Presidium was elected, consisting of V. Subbiah, veteran Communist leader of Pondicherry, Kathamurthi, District Secretary of Tanjore, V. Meenakshinathan, one of the long-term prisoners recently released and a leader of Tirumelveli District, K. Murugesan, one of the oldest members of the party who came into the movement nearly 30 years ago and Parvathi Krishnan, former M.P. and trade union leader of Coimbatore.

National Council Resolution Adopted

The proceedings actually began with a discussion on the resolution of the National Council on Chinese aggression which was adopted unanimously amidst thunderous applause. A large number of speakers participated in the discussion on the resolution who emphasised that it was not enough merely to have this as a general resolution but practical details of how the Communist Party can effectively contribute towards defence of the country must be worked out.

Many comrades emphasised that the implementation of the National Council Resolution demanded the development of resolute unity among the progressive forces in our country behind Pandit Nehru and the Government of India to fight back the reactionary offensive launched by the Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party aimed to reverse the progressive foreign and internal policies of the country.

After the resolution of the National Council had been

unanimously approved, the next item on the agenda was the discussion of the resolution on the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and its character. Before however this could be taken up for discussion one of the delegates moved that the conference should not take up the rest of the items on the agenda in view of the national emergency but should merely address itself to the adoption of the resolution on the present emergency itself and the task before the party in Tamilnad and proceed with the election of the new leadership.

The conference adopted this proposal, obviously because delegates felt that it would be unreal to indulge in a detailed and long discussion of the D. M. K. or organisational question when the urgent need of the hour was for all comrades to get back to their posts of duty and mobilise people in the struggle for the defence of the independence of our country and the policy of the Government. The Conference thereupon adjourned to enable the resolution to be drafted. The resolution was brought forward by Manali Kandaswami and it was adopted unanimously.

The conference then proceeded to elect a new State Council of 101 members. The panel was proposed by the outgoing State Council and this panel, after voting, was accepted.

In the afternoon, the new State Council met to elect a new Executive Committee and new Secretariat. A list of 25 names were proposed for the Executive Committee by Mohan Kumaramangalam and another 5 or 6 names were then added. The new Council then voted with these 30 odd names and the following 25 were declared elected members:

Manali Kandaswami, P. Jeevanandam, M. Kalyanasundaram, N. K. Krishnan, A. S. K. Iyengar, Parvathi Krishnan, P. K. Ramaswami, Mohan Kumaramangalam, K. Baladandayutham, E. Jayaraman, V. Subbiah, M. Kathamurthi, P. Ramamurthi, M. E. Venkataraman, A. K. Subbiah, K. T. Raju, R. Umanath, K. T. K. Thangamani, M. Ratnam, V. M. Gopal, S. Narayanan, M. V. Sundaram, S. A. Muruganadham, Manickam and G. Samuel.

PORT & DOCK WORKERS' UNSTINTED SUPPORT

The leaders of port and dock workers' trade unions in the country met in New Delhi on November 18 and discussed the ways and means of strengthening national defence in the face of wanton aggression by China on our country.

A statement issued same day, signed by Indrajit Gupta, M.P., Debbanur Ganguly, S. Y. Kolhatkar, A. S. K. Iyengar, Gerald Pereira, M. V. Bhadrani, K. A. Rajan, T. M. Aboo, A. K. Shah, Shantilal Vasa, S. Muruganandham, V. Subbiah, Vasu and Amirtlingam representing the port and dock workers of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Marmagoa, Vizagapatam, Cochin, Kandla, Jamnagar, Tuticorin, Pondicherry and Cuddalore, called upon the workers to pledge unstinted support to strengthen our national defence and make generous contributions to the defence fund.

The statement added: "Port and dock workers occupy a very strategic and key position in our national defence. Their strenuous and conscientious work in the quicker turn-round of vessels is of urgent importance to our country. Towards this end, the conscious and total implementation of the Resolution on Industrial Truce is the sine qua non of all activity of port and dock workers."

"In order to see that this resolution is properly translated into action by port and dock workers, the representatives of trade unions who are signatories to this Declaration, do hereby constitute a Coordinating Committee with A. S. K. Iyengar as the Convener, to faithfully implement the aforesaid Resolution on Industrial Truce and thus serve the larger interests of the country.

"We hope and trust that the Government of India and the authorities in various ports would extend their hand of cooperation in constituting all-India and local tripartite committees at port level for settling expeditiously in terms of the Resolution on Industrial Truce, disputes, if any, that may arise at any time, as well as existing disputes.

"The representatives of port and dock workers who are signatories to this Declaration, emphasise in unmistakable terms, their determination to educate the port and dock workers in upholding the interests of the nation, in this hour of great trial."

IN FOCUS

Plethora of Lies

Whose cause are the communist-haters and their broadsheets in this country serving—India's or the aggressors' from across the Himalayas?

THE patent lies which these circles propagate in their mad rush to pour calumny on the Communist Party of India are turning out to be grist for Peking's propaganda mills. In the first week of November, the anti-communist papers in this country spread the news that the Alleppey Municipal Council had refused to call China aggressor. According to them, this was perfidy incarnate, because the Council is controlled by the Communist Party.

Peking Radio did not lose any time to pick up this filthy fib to be quoted against India. It broadcast that "even local governments in India were refusing to toe the anti-China policy of the Nehru Government."

Example quoted: The Alleppey Municipal Council had refused to pass a resolution, sponsored by the followers of Nehru, calling China an aggressor. What are the facts? The meeting of the Council on November 2 had two resolutions before it on the Chinese invasion of India. One was from the leader of the United Front, under the leadership of the Communist Party, which controls the Municipal Council. The other from the leader of the minority Nagara Sewa Samiti, under the leadership of the Congress.

The Chairman of the Municipal Council, T. V. Thomas, stated at the meeting that it was a tradition in parliamentary practice to give precedence to a resolution moved by the majority party when there were two motions on the same subject before any meeting. And so, he called upon the leader of the United Front to move his resolution.

THE RESOLUTION

The resolution moved by the Front leader, P. K. Padmanabhan (Communist), read:

This meeting of the Alleppey Municipal Council views with protest and anger the savage, brutal and ungrateful invasion which China has launched against India's freedom and integrity. The meeting remembers with respect our courageous soldiers who had sacrificed their lives in the effort to throw out the Chinese troops from our soil and promises our unqualified support to the Government in all its steps to drive away the enemy. All members of the council, forgetting all party considerations, pledge to rally behind our Prime Minister in this sacred war.

This resolution was passed unanimously by the Council. The Samiti members had walked out of the meeting and therefore it was passed in their absence. Reason given for the walk-out was that the Chairman had ruled out two amendments which the Samiti leader wanted to be included in the resolution.

One amendment wanted to qualify China as "imperialist communist." The other sought to add to the resolution that the Council welcomed the "Prime Minister's declaration that there would be no negotiations unless and until the Chinese withdrew from every inch of Indian soil."

Apart from asking whether this was refraining from calling China an aggressor, attention has to be drawn to the incongruity of the amendment. Is there any need for negotiations if China had vacated all her aggression from the Indian soil? And where did the Prime Minister put such a condition for negotiations? As far as we know, the Prime Minister had only declared that the Chinese had to withdraw to the positions held before September 8 before negotiations could start. He has also reiterated this in his speeches to the Parliament.

ALLEPPEY FIRST TO CONDEMN

It may not be out of place to mention here that the Alleppey Municipal Council was the first such body in Kerala to pass a resolution condemning the Chinese invasion of our motherland. More; it was the Communist Chairman of this Council, T. V. Thomas, who took initiative to call a citizens' meeting to formulate ways and means to strengthen the country's defence efforts.

That citizens' meeting was held even before the Council passed the resolution. Unfortunately, that meeting was picketed by the Congress councillors of Alleppey, for they did not like the idea of a Communist calling a meeting to condemn Chinese aggression.

It is quite understandable that the communist-baiters and their slander sheets in this country are not bothered about facts. But the question remains here as to who have come out with more "feathers" in their caps, from this — propagandists of Peking Radio or the professional communist-baiters in this country?

—ARGUS

CEMENT WORKERS TO WORK ON SUNDAYS

WORKERS of the Cement Factory and National Defence Fund till the emergency existed.

1,600 workers of the Factory and the quarries had already contributed about Rs. 8,000 this month to the National Defence Fund in response to a decision arrived at a joint-meeting of the AITUC and INTUC affiliated Unions.

The meeting in a resolution, while condemning the Chinese aggression, pledged for united efforts at increased production.

contribute that day's wages

MAHARSHI KARVE

On November 9, death laid its icy hand on the great son of India, Maharshi Dhotid Keshav Karve, who dedicated most of his 104 years of life for the cause of liberation of women in Maharashtra and development of education in the country.

THE life of Maharshi Karve had an inspiring example of sacrifice and devotion. The Government of India rightly honoured him by awarding him the title of Bharat Ratna in 1958 when he completed 100 years of his life.

Maharshi Karve was born on April 18, 1858 in the village of Sharavall in Maharashtra. He was educated in Ratnagiri district of Konkan area and he graduated in 1884 from Bombay University. He worked as a teacher in Bombay for some time and became lecturer of Mathematics in Ferguson College, Poona, in 1891.

D. K. Karve while doing his work as a lecturer took special interest in the problems of women, who were severely oppressed in the society.

In those days women were considered unfit to have any rights and the movement in the direction of giving them equal status was not only severely ridiculed but also condemned by the dominant strata of society.

women's education as a step towards their liberation. These institutions brought forward a number of prominent women in Maharashtra who later on became the backbone of the women's movement for their liberation.

Government of India awarded him the highest honour of "Bharat Ratna" and his centenary was celebrated all over the country. The Prime Minister of India personally attended the celebration in Bombay. In front of lakhs of people and the Prime Minister of the country, Karve boldly expressed his last desire in life, i.e., the formation of Samyukta Maharashtra.

His desire was fulfilled and the people of Maharashtra won a great victory after a long drawn struggle under the leadership of Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti. The University of Poona conferred on him a Doctorate to honour his services to the country.

The township of Hingane near Poona has become a living monument to Maharshi Karve. He was living in the same place till the end of his life.

New Age joins the people of our country in paying homage to this great son of India.

When he retired from the Deccan Education Society in 1914, he founded a number of institutions for the upliftment of women. He had to work day and night to collect funds for these institutions. He went round from house to house appealing to people for funds.

Prominent among the institutions he started were Hingane Anath Balkishram, Mahila Vidya Peeth, Institution to Encourage Widow Re-marriages, Samata Sangh, All India Women's University, etc.

Karve devoted a great deal of attention to the question of

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MASSIVE CAMPAIGN OF LIES TO COVER MASSIVE AGGRESSION

If one were to believe Peking's propaganda the massive invasion of India they launched on October 20 was in sheer "self-defence" against Indian attacks on Chinese "border guards".

THESE "border guards" had been exercising "exemplary self-restraint" in face of Indian "provocations". At long last their fund of "self-restraint" was exhausted with the alleged "massive Indian attack" both in the eastern and the western sectors on October 20 morning. It was then, according to the Peking version, that these poor frontier guards, simultaneously both in the east and the west, launched their action in "vigorous self-defence".

"Pressed beyond the limits of forbearance and forced to where no further retreat was possible, the Chinese guards were compelled to strike in self-defence" (Chinese Note, October 20)

Striking "in self-defence" the Chinese "border guards" pushed beyond the "illegal McMahon Line" (which China had pledged never to cross), penetrated deep into Indian territory and, according to a later official Chinese statement, took 927 Indian army-men as prisoners. On the Western sector "the frontier guards" recovered entire "Chinese" territory which India, according to Peking, had "illegally occupied" since November 1959, capturing all the Indian checkpoints established there.

Performed by "border guards", it was thus indeed a remarkable feat! No armies and no divisions had gone into action! No large-scale invasion had been undertaken! It was only the border guards that had been "compelled to strike back in self-defence" against "massive Indian attacks". The result was nothing more than a few border incidents—true, a little more serious than before, but nothing more than border clashes. There was no Chinese invasion of India!

This is how Peking put across to the world what had happened on October 20.

This was the calculated, well-thought-out, pre-planned Big Lie that Peking dished out. It had obviously been planned with as much cunning and calculation as the invasion itself.

It served its purpose, and quite a large number of countries and big chunks of public opinion everywhere were taken in by it. They were taken in because over a number of years they had become accustomed to expect this sort of behaviour from a different set of countries. Open, unabashed aggression was something they associated only with imperialist powers.

Still this so-called "self-defence by border guards" was nothing less than a massive invasion. It was no different from what Britain, France and Israel had done to Egypt in 1956 or what the USA has been trying to do without success—to Cuba since 1959. Only this particular invasion was camouflaged by a BIG LIE which sought to reduce

its magnitude. At the same time it sought to take full advantage of the wide-spread belief that "a socialist country can commit no aggression".

It also took advantage of the fact that the outside world knew so little about these remote mountainous regions and had no independent source of knowing what was happening there.

After the first big military push, for the next whole month, till they launched their second massive offensive which brought them to Bomdila and the foothills of Assam, Chinese propaganda kept up the fiction of Chinese "frontier guards" being under constant attack by Indian troops. All the time while they were right inside Indian territory they kept saying that "attacks" by Indian troops were going on in Chinese territory.

Sheer Self-Defence!

And once again their patience got exhausted and once again in sheer "self-defence" they took the offensive on November 16 and came rushing down to Bomdila and occupying Towang in a strength of several tens of thousands! In five days they penetrated 160 miles deeper inside India. Still they told the world that they were fighting only in self-defence and on Chinese soil!

More and STILL BIGGER LIES were invented in the meanwhile to prepare the ground for this second and much bigger round of the massive invasion. India was accused of having rejected the magnanimous offer of Chou En-lai of October 24—an offer which unabashedly demanded that China be allowed to keep the fruits of her massive aggression launched on October 20. India was accused of seeking to "broaden the border conflict", and that too with the aid of U. S. and British imperialists.

Then on October 27 the People's Daily came out with its basic attack on Nehru—two full pages and more than twenty thousand Chinese characters of "More on Nehru's Philosophy". What had till then been presented as a border dispute was now announced in a big way to be an ideological conflict of deep going significance. The obvious implication was that China's peaceful coexistence with such a rotten regime as Nehru's in India was well-nigh impossible.

Yet, for the benefit of world opinion and of the governments of the non-aligned countries a constant reiteration of the magnanimous peace offer of October 24 was kept up.

On November 4 Chou En-lai sent another letter to Nehru and the People's Daily on November 8 wrote another edito-

rial calling on Mr. Nehru to "stop and think again".

Here is the charge-sheet as framed by this editorial:

"It transpired that the Indian authorities have proclaimed an emergency throughout the nation, put in force the 'Defence of India Ordinance' formulated by the British in 1942, called by retired army-men, organised volunteers, national guards and special emergency police force.

"The Indian Government received large quantities of weapons from the United States, Britain and West Germany and has rushed them to the areas of conflict. Responsible officials of the Indian Government are frantically fanning up war hysteria and shouting themselves hoarse about driving away the last Chinese from Indian soil and fighting an all-out war. Some even call for the 'liberation of Tibet'.

"Obviously these are not meant to end the armed conflicts along the Sino-Indian border; on the contrary they reveal that India is determined to expand the armed clashes."

● This is typical of how Peking paints the process that was touched off by the first-ever full-scale invasion of India by a big power since independence, the process of the entire people waking up to the realisation that their newly-won independence was in danger and rallying to meet that menace.

● This is typical of Peking's projection of its own entirely subjective reading of what is happening in the outside world and at the same time of its technique of presenting things to the world in its own upside down fashion.

No Use For Non-Alignment

While non-alignment and India's adherence to it had long become subject of Peking's derision, a frontal and massive attack on it was launched in a People's Daily front page article on November 11. It wrote:

"As the Nehru Government is relying ever more on U. S. aid, its non-alignment policy is seen more and more clearly as a signboard to deceive others."

"Now the Nehru Government is receiving U. S. military aid in addition to its economic aid. This is a development of historic significance, which points to the fact that the Nehru Government has at last shed its cloak of non-alignment."

Peking is so full of triumphant glee in announcing this to the world. It gloats that at last its efforts to bring about this consummation have succeeded!

And yet it is angry too with those who still refuse to agree with it. It says:

"But there are people who seem still blind to these glaring facts and continue to regard Nehru as an embodiment of the policy of 'non-alignment'." It is not that Peking appro-

ves of non-alignment and is angry with India for being set on the path of abandoning it. The two fundamental editorials, one in Red Flag and the other in People's Daily, ostensibly dealing with the Declaration and the Statement of the world Communist Parties' Moscow Conferences of 1957 and 1960 make it clear that Peking has no use for non-alignment.

According to these authoritative declarations, non-alignment is an invention of revisionists and a cover for opening the door to neo-colonialism. Says the People's Daily editorial of November 14:

"Under the signboards of 'peace', 'neutrality' and 'non-alignment' the Tito group peddles in Asian, African and Latin American countries, the neo-colonialism of the United States in an attempt to weaken and disintegrate the national liberation movements".

As has been noted the world over—openly by the bourgeois press—these two editorials following the Chinese campaign over Cuba, which kept suggesting that the Soviet withdrawal of missiles amounted to a second Munich, constituted an open challenge to the world Communist movement. Calling for head-on collision with imperialism (by everyone else except China!) these two editorials contradicted all that was said in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement about the possibility of averting world wars, about peaceful coexistence and about peaceful transition to Socialism anywhere in the world, refusing to recognise even once the possibility of new forms like national democracy.

It is as part of this challenge to the assessments made by the world Communist movement that the latest frenzied attempts of

the Peking dogmatists on non-alignment have to be seen.

At the same time, it is no mere coincidence in time that this challenge to all accepted conclusions of the world Communist movement and to its present line in international affairs on the one hand and a full-scale military assault on India on the other are taking place simultaneously.

Some Frenzy

And it is the same frenzy that characterises the Chinese attacks on both fronts. Speaking of India the People's Daily on November 11 said:

"Hard facts have taught the Chinese people that only by waging necessary struggles against these rabid adventurists will it perhaps be possible to make them a bit more sober."

So it was in pursuance of this that the second wave of massive invasion was launched a few days later!

And now, following these "necessary struggles" waged with the purpose of making this country "sober", has come the latest statement of the Chinese Government. Whatever the merits and demerits of its operative part, its propagandist side is in line with the whole campaign of covering up the massive aggression with massive lies. It repeats unashamedly all the perverse falsehoods that Peking has dished out to the world since October 20 in explanation and exaltation of its crime against peace and progress. The world will not swallow it so easily and Peking's propaganda mills will have to work much harder.

—Zia-ul Haq

Determined And Confident

*FROM FRONT PAGE

should govern the Government's decision and to leave details to the Government.

H. V. Kamath tried to make out that, the Prime Minister had already changed his position as regards negotiations if the Chinese withdrew to the positions held before September 8. He contended that in his last broadcast to the Nation on Monday, the Prime Minister had declared that there would be no negotiations unless and until the aggressor was thrown out of every inch of our territory.

The Prime Minister in his reply refuted this contention and firmly reiterated his stand that we would negotiate if the Chinese withdrew to positions they held before September 8. He declared that this decision had been taken after careful consideration and it had not been changed.

Hiren Mukerjee, Deputy leader of the Communist Group, pointed out that only the other day the House had passed unanimously a resolution which meant that the Government, led by Prime Minister Nehru, will have a free hand in the matter. Swatantra leader, N. G. Ranga was immediately on his feet to say that no such free

hand has been given to the Prime Minister.

The discussion on the supplementary demands for grants under the current year's budget demonstrated further unity of all sections in the House in supporting all measures to strengthen our defence forces. Out of over one hundred crores of rupees covered by these supplementary demands, 95 crores is for defence purposes.

Members were only too anxious that more should be spent, if necessary, to strengthen our defence forces in every way. Many criticised the Finance Ministry for not coming forward with a comprehensive revised budget which could reflect the needs of defence for not only the next four months, but for a longer period.

A. K. Gopalan, Leader of the Communist Group, lent full support to the supplementary demands and outlined a number of measures which the Government should take to raise resources to meet the present emergency.

Among the suggestions he made were: taking over of banks for the emergency period, stopping speculation and speculative trade, suspension of privy purses over one

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