

Since the beginning of the Chinese aggression the Swatantra-PSP-Jan Sangh lobby has been working overtime to create a bogey of Soviet "hostility" towards India and for this, the most widely used canard in their stock-pile was the one about the MIG deal being "off."

On Tuesday, this high-priced fib was given a decent and conclusive burial when the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister told the Lok Sabha that there has been no question at any time of the Soviet Union breaking its commitment, on the delivery of MIGs and of setting up a plant here for the manufacture of this aircraft. The Prime Minister assured the doubting Thomases that the MIGs are definitely coming.

**I**N fact, the statement of the Prime Minister to Parliament on Tuesday was only a reiteration of what he had said even before. But certain interested circles in this country would not be content by his earlier statements and every other day the jute press doled out "scoops" picked from foreign newspapers of the same fraternity to tell our public that the MIG deal was off. They had more faith in the words of British Commonwealth Secretary Duncan Sandys and such other "well-informed," "authoritative" and "unimpeachable" sources outside than in the words of our own Prime Minister. Their game was quite simple; to raise the Sino-Indian conflict to an ideological level, to import the cold war into this country, to show that the Soviet Union would not carry out her commitments to India after the Chinese aggression and therefore non-alignment had failed. The lobbies of Parliament had hummed early this week

with the talk of the MIG deal being off. Mr. Duncan Sandys' statement in London on his return from his recent visit to this country that he understood that the Soviet Union had informed the Government of India that since India was involved in a dispute with China she could not at the moment supply MIGs to India added an edge to the rumour and spirits rose in the Swatantra lobby. It was all sunshine to the cold war combatants. The statements by the Defence Minister and the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha on Tuesday therefore constituted a clear and complete denial of this rumour spread by interested circles here and abroad. In response to a Calling Attention Notice by seven opposition members, the Defence Minister, Y. B. Chavan said: "The agreement between the Government of India and the Government of the USSR was principally for the building up under licence in India of a plant for the manufacture of

# MIGS ARE COMING

FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

aircraft. It was further agreed to supply a few MIGs in December 1962, and some next year and some later.

## According To Schedule

"Our Ambassador in Moscow has been in touch with the Government of the USSR and he has reported that the agreement for the building up of the plant will be proceeded with according to schedule. Also that the MIGs will be supplied in December 1962, or a little later." The balloon was definitely pricked. But the friends who cherished the dream of an Indo-Soviet rupture appeared to still entertain some hope of salvaging the wreck of this collapsed dream. It was surprising to hear H. V. Kamath of the PSP quoting Duncan Sandys and behaving as though he could not understand where

the truth lay, whether in the words of our own Defence Minister or in the statement of a British Minister. The Speaker promptly admonished him by saying: "When the Government gives a definite and positive information, why should they be confronted with the question that somebody else in some other place said something?"

The ghost of Sandys' statement was finally laid when the Prime Minister rose to intervene and said categorically:

"I am afraid, Sir, many hon. Members have been misled by all kinds of reports appearing in the Press; not only in the press here, but rather elsewhere, because many people have taken a great deal of interest in this transaction. But the fact is, there has been no question at any time of the Soviet Union breaking out of the commitment they have made, and they have made it perfect-

ly clear to us that they will proceed with this.

"There was, if the hon. Member wants to know it, some little difficulty, so we understand, — nothing to do with China or anything — in view of the world situation being rather critical because of what happened in the Caribbean. That was partly a reason for certain uncertainty about the time. But apart from that they have always said so. Our latest account is that they will do so.

## Plant Is Main Thing

"The main thing is the building of the plant. The rest was really some for training purposes and samples. A few were to come in December, a few next year and a few in 1964. They said that they will abide

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# Non-Alignment: Our Sheet-Anchor

by Romesh Chandra

Those who can never and shall never understand the spirit of India, gloated gleefully during the last days, over what they regarded as our humiliation, arising out of temporary military reverses.

**T**HE aggressors themselves thought it fit to abuse and insult us, in their hour of advance into our territory, to accompany their cease-fire proposals with words which smacked of the attitude of the victor towards a defeated adversary. But India remained calm and refused to be provoked at this crucial hour. The panic-stricken were only a handful—the nation as a whole continued steadfastly to strengthen military defence and gear its economy to the needs of defence, while waiting to see how the Chinese would implement their declared cease-fire and withdrawal of forces. It was not the aggressor alone who sought to take advantage of what all believed to be India's military weakness, "India's catastrophic unreadiness for war", as the U.S. Time magazine put it in a brutal and scornful diatribe titled "India Lost Illusions" (November 30). Inside the country, those reactionary and rightwing forces who had always been opposed to the basic national policies, now sought political advantage and partisan gain from the nation's difficulties. They dressed up their old rotten anti-national views in a "patriotic" garb and sought to sell them as fresh commodities born out of the emergency. The main target of the forces

seeking to use our difficulties for their own ends has been the policy of non-alignment. The argument was simple. It was non-alignment which was responsible for all our troubles", they said, "non-alignment had not prevented China from invading India; our non-alignment had encouraged China; non-alignment had only meant military weakness; non-alignment had now ipso facto been killed by the attack on India by a powerful member of one 'bloc'; obviously now we could expect help only from the other bloc". It seemed to be "logical", this trend of argument, and a military pact with the West began openly to be advocated. The anti-Indian article in Time quoted above, typical of comments in the West, put it in a nutshell for the interests it represents: "India's catastrophic unreadiness for war stems directly from the policy of non-alignment, which is devised by Nehru and implemented by his close confidant Krishna Menon. Says one Indian editor: Non-alignment is no ideology, it is an idiosyncrasy... His (Nehru's) policy of non-alignment has not been jettisoned. It has just ceased to have any meaning." Time could have added K. Hanumanthayya's quip from the platform of the anti-Nehru

"Committee Against Chinese Aggression" that India's talk of non-cooperation, non-violence and non-alignment and non-this and non-that sums up to just one thing—non-sense. It could have added the words of Rajaji, who has said much the same thing as Time. With high-powered American and British military missions in India, perhaps even the closest friends of our people could have had misgivings as to whether their pressure meant the abandoning of non-alignment. Throughout their stay in our country, however, the statesmen who headed these missions were at pains to stress that the arms and equipment being supplied to India for its defence had no political strings attached. And even after the

departure of the missions from India, the diplomatic representatives of the United States and Britain have repeatedly protested that "there was no question" of either Government "interfering with the foreign policy of India." (Sir Paul Gore-Booth at the Calcutta Press Club, December 4.) India has received arms and equipment for its defence with satisfaction and precisely with the understanding that no political strings are attached. Our requests for further assistance are also made with the same understanding. At the same time, the whole world can hear and be heartened by Prime Minister Nehru's call to the nation not to depend too heavily on others to defend us

—for if we do so, we shall be losing our freedom, that very freedom which we seek to defend. That is why we are emphasising so much the need to build up our own defence and heavy industries, which are the bedrock of our security. In some ways it was with that statement by the Prime Minister that the people began to rally against the prophets of who preached against self-reliance. Stand by the basic policies of the nation—they are the sheet anchor of national defence, the sheet anchor of national honour, of national freedom—this was the essence of the Prime Minister's address to the Congress Parliamentary Party last week. The Hanumanthayyas, on top of the world a week earlier, were now compelled to express regret. Those who had challenged and sought to replace Nehru himself were now in a hopeless minority; they had overreached themselves and like

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# NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY



## INDO-PAKISTAN TALKS

**Editorial**

IT IS A MATTER OF satisfaction that fresh efforts are now being made to resolve the 15-year old differences between India and Pakistan.

Started at the very time when the two States were formed, these differences have not only marred the relations between the two peoples who till then were leading a common life, but also led the two newly-formed States to engage themselves in a war on Kashmir. Even after a cease-fire was declared, the Kashmir dispute persisted and led to a state of continuous cold-war. This and the other disputes of an economic and political character which have persisted between the two countries have prevented them from developing their economic potential, improving and advancing the standards of living and culture of the masses of the two countries.

So far as India is concerned, our Government has always made it clear that it would do its utmost to put an end to this undesirable state of affairs. Our Government has repeatedly suggested to Pakistan that the two Governments should jointly make a no-war declaration. This had it been accepted by Pakistan, would have removed the perpetual fear in both countries that "the other side" is intent on settling the disputes between them through force. Unfortunately, however, not only did Pakistan reject this proposal, but also went to the extent of joining military pacts directed against India. India could not naturally succumb to the pressures put on her on the basis of such military threats; she too had, therefore, to devote a not inconsiderable part of her resources for defence against attacks from the other side.

The state of perpetual tension between the two countries, which followed as a consequence of the above-mentioned attitude of the Government of Pakistan, is deeply regretted by the Indian people. They would, therefore, feel happy and satisfied if the new round of negotiations envisaged in the joint communique issued in New Delhi and Rawalpindi on November 29 leads to a relaxation of tension and ultimately to a settlement of disputes between the two countries.

This satisfaction would, however, be tempered by anxiety and concern arising out of the particular background against which these fresh efforts at negotiations are being made. For, those who are the most vocal in their enthusiasm over the new development do not hide their view that, in order to arrive at a settlement with Pakistan, India will have to renounce her basic stand on vital issues. What they want is not such a settlement between the two neighbouring peoples and their Governments as would conform to the honour and dignity of both. They, on the other hand, want India to show "boldness and statesmanship", not to take a "rigid" stand, to "accommodate" Pakistan, so that the Governments and peoples of the two countries may jointly organise defence against Communism.

It is significant, in this connection, that Prime Minister's statement in the Lok Sabha on November 30, to the effect that "anything that involved upsetting of the present arrangements would be very harmful to the people of Kashmir as well as to the future relations between India and Pakistan", caused a furore in Pakistan and also among the British and American ruling circles who were trying to set the two Governments on the path of negotiations.

It made the British Commonwealth Minister, Duncan Sandys, rush from Rawalpindi to New Delhi to remove the "misunderstanding". This raises the legitimate doubt as to whether the difficulties which India is now facing with China are not sought to be utilised to make her accept what she has consistently refused to accept till now.

Prime Minister Nehru has made it clear on behalf of the Government of India that this will not be acceptable to us. While India would not stand in the way of any question (including Kashmir) being raised in the talks between the representatives of the two Governments, she would not agree to any arrangement which will fundamentally alter the existing position.

The "accommodation" that is demanded of India cannot be such as to help those who want to use these talks as the means through which India's basic policy of non-involvement in military pacts is reversed, or her legitimate and justifiable right are surrendered.

Government's stand of firmly adhering to its fundamental position, while being prepared to talk with Pakistan, deserves the support of all those who want a reasonable settlement of the issues in dispute between the two countries. (December 4).

West Bengal Newsletter

\* From AJAY DAS GUPTA

# MAGNIFICENT RESPONSE

CALCUTTA, December 2:

The response of the people to the call of national defence is growing in all dimensions in the State. More and more people are coming out to help strengthen the national defence efforts.

THIS week the Central Government employees working in this State and the State Government employees have come out with their firm determination and resolve to work indefatigably and to make all sacrifices for the defence of the motherland.

A meeting of the Central Government employees was held on November 30 at the call of the Co-ordination Committee of the Central Government Employees' Unions and Associations which, while condemning Chinese aggression and pledging to drive the aggressors out from Indian soil, expressed their determination to stand united behind Prime Minister Nehru.

This meeting called upon the Central Government employees to contribute to the National Defence Fund, donate blood and volunteer to work under the Defence Department, field service, civil defence, etc.

Earlier the Co-ordination Committee of the West Bengal State Government employees called off their movement for improvement in the Pay Committee's recommendations and pledged all their energies for work to defend the country against aggression.

From a general meeting of the West Bengal College and University Teachers' Association a detailed plan for participation in defence work was adopted on November 28. The teachers expressed their desire to enrol themselves in the NCC and Civil Defence work, to donate blood and to contribute one day's salary every month till the emergency continued.

## Students Demonstrate

They also decided to take initiative to enthuse the student community for these tasks. The teachers and students of Bangabasi College and the Surendranath College (Evening Department) staged a joint silent demonstration in front of the Chinese Consulate. The WBCUTA has decided to bring out a procession of all College teachers on December 15 or 16. Secretaries of 16 Students' Unions have also announced a programme of National Defence Week from December 1 to 7, when they will donate blood, collect money for NDF, enrol for NCC and nursing courses and bring out demonstrations.

Artists have also come forward in a magnificent manner. An exhibition has been opened in the Academy of Fine Arts where 131 paintings and sculptures by nearly 30 artists, including such veterans as Atul Bose, Satish Sinha and Ananda Munshi have been contributed along with other well-known as well as comparatively young and unknown artists.

All the sales proceeds will be donated to the NDF. Some

Secretariat of the Party, who besides attending the important State Council meeting held on November 27 also addressed the Calcutta and 24 Parganas District Councils, leading cadres at the local and branch level of Calcutta, as well as the comrades working in the Party's Bengali daily newspaper Swadhinata, was an important event.

He explained the significance of the National Council resolution in the light of subsequent developments. These meetings have helped the comrades to have a better understanding of the present complex and difficult situation and to enthrust them to carry out the decisions of the National Council more energetically.

## Response From Dist. Councils

Meanwhile, the district Councils of 24 Parganas, Howrah and Midnapore, have expressed their full support to the new provincial Secretariat and the statement adopted at the State Council meeting on November 27.

Appropriate and necessary organisational steps, necessitated by the arrests have also been taken. Central programme of work has also been worked out by various party committees.

In Jalpaiguri, the Party took initiative to launch a campaign to mobilise the people for defence efforts and Prime Minister's policy of non-alignment.

M. N. Govindan Nair, while in Calcutta, met the State Chief Minister, P. C. Sen. Talking to pressmen, Govindan Nair said that he had drawn the attention of the Chief Minister to the large number of arrests in the State and the attacks on the Communist workers and offices.

He did not want any answer immediately but asked P. C. Sen whether such actions would help defence work in the State. Govindan Nair requested the Chief Minister to give opportunity to the Communists to implement the National Council resolution.

He told pressmen that if the Congress and the Communist Party stand unitedly behind Prime Minister Nehru's policy of peace, non-alignment and utmost preparedness for national defence, the reactionaries can be completely checked in West Bengal. He also said that the spirit of the National Council Resolution is both national and international.

He emphatically said that this resolution is in full conformity with the understanding of the international Communist movement, barring China and Albania, of India's position and role in the international affairs. Expressing the urgency of the situation, he said, "in this national emergency, none of us has any time to waste or lose. We all have to discharge our duties to the motherland and do it here and now and very quickly."

of these works are devoted to the theme of national defence.

Famous singers, including Suchitra Mitra, Nirmalendu Chowdhuri and others are going round Calcutta streets singing patriotic songs. A number of well-known film and stage actors have performed poster dramas in city parks purported to rouse the people against Chinese aggression.

Campaign among the workers is also going on. In Budge Budge, Birlapore area workers in petroleum, jute and other industries are holding gate, bustee and mass meetings and they have already raised nearly fifty thousand rupees for NDF and are raising more.

A 5,000 strong rally was held at Burnpore where the leaders issued a ringing call to the workers to increase production to help strengthen defence potential and to stand behind Prime Minister's policies of non-alignment and planned economic development. It is to be noted that a few days earlier, at the same place, Michael John, the INTUC leader, spoke not only against the Communists but also against Pandit Nehru.

## Exhortation To Workers

The West Bengal Committee of the AITUC in an extended meeting of its Working Committee has fully endorsed the resolution concerning national defence and the working class, adopted recently by the General Council of the AITUC and called upon the workers of this State to rise to the occasion and to carry out the tasks enjoined by that resolution.

Already meetings are being held of Federations and representatives of AITUC Unions to chalk out concrete plans of work. In Kidderpore, representatives of 15 unions of workers in Port and Dock, Engineering and other industries have already taken concrete decisions. Federations of Metal and Engineering Workers' unions, Jessop workers, motion picture employees, jute workers at various centres are doing the same.

A member of the Executive Committee of the Paharpur Works (CEC) Employees' Union, Jatindranath Dhar has joined the Indian Air Force and on December 1, he was given a hearty send-off by his colleagues who pledged to increase production and to donate one day's wage to the national defence fund.

News is also coming from mofussil towns and villages, such as Purulia, Canning, Bhangar, Haroa, Aranghata, Bara Jagull, where meetings have been held at the call of the Communist Party to rouse the people for national unity for national defence.

The Communist Party is also further reorienting its activities to strengthen national unity for national defence. The visit of M. N. Govindan Nair, member of the Central

## on cease-fire proposals

THE following is the text of Mr. Nehru's letter to Mr. Chou En-lai released to press on December 1.

Thank you for your message of 28th November, which was delivered by your Charge d'Affaires to our Foreign Office at midnight on 28th-29th November 1962.

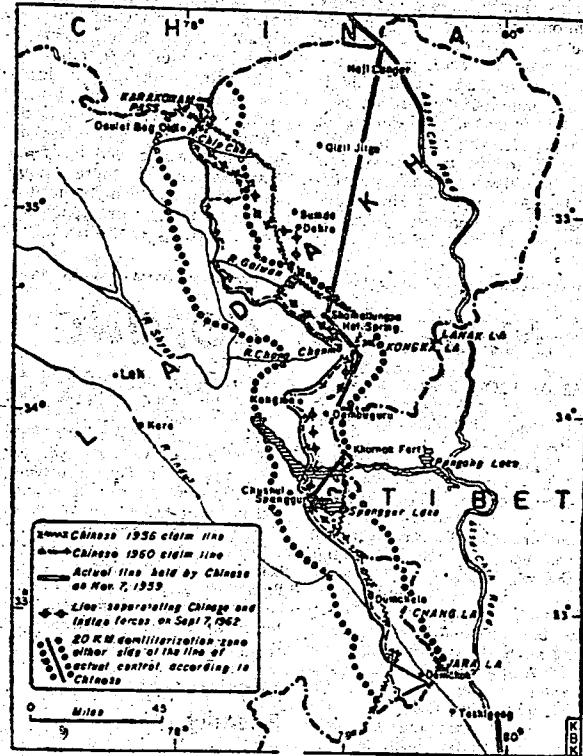
In the letters that have been exchanged between us since the further aggression by your forces commenced on 8th September, 1962, the following principles, on the basis of which our differences can be resolved peacefully, have emerged:

(i) We should create a proper atmosphere for peaceful settlement of our differences. (This has also been mentioned in your message of 28th November).

(ii) We should settle our differences in a friendly way through peaceful talks and discussions. (This has also been reiterated in your mes-

age "the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959" can be as delineated in your maps 3 and 5 which were sent as accompaniments to your letter of 15th November to Heads of States/Governments of some Asian-African countries and to which reference was made in the clarifications given regarding "the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959". I would in this connection refer you to the last but one paragraph of my letter of 14th November, 1962, which gives, what we regard, as the line of actual Chinese control as it existed on the ground on 7th November, 1959.

You have mentioned in your letter that this line cannot be defined or interpreted according to the free will of either side. This is exactly, however, what your Government have done in the clarifications given to the Indian Government regarding "the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959".



Map of the Western Sector showing the various lines.

sage of 28th November). If we fail, we can consider what other agreed peaceful method of settling our differences should be adopted (my letter of 27th October, 1962).

(iii) There should be no attempt to force any unilateral demand on either side on account of the advances gained in the recent clashes. (Your letter of 4th November, 1962).

(iv) The necessary preliminaries for talks and discussions suggested should be consistent with the decency, dignity and self-respect of both sides. (Your message of 28th November).

(v) The implementation of these proposed arrangements will not in any way prejudice either side's position in regard to the correct boundary alignment. (Your message of 4th November and your message of 28th November, 1962).

The withdrawal arrangements, however, that you propose behind what you refer to as "the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959", are inconsistent with the principles mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

In spite of the clarifications given, I cannot understand

what you call "the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959" in the western sector was only a series of isolated military posts. You are aware that in November 1959 there were no Chinese posts of any kind either at Qiziljila, Shinglung, Dehra, Samzunling or any areas to the west of these locations, nor did the Chinese have any post to the south or west of Spanggur.

Despite this, "the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959" as your Government now claim in Ladakh, is along the line of control established by your forces after the massive attacks mounted since 20th October, 1962. This is a definite attempt to retain under cover of preliminary cease-fire arrangements, physical possession over the area which China claims and to secure which the massive attack since 20th October, 1962 was mounted by your forces. This we cannot agree to.

This also violates principles (i), (iii), (iv) and (v), mentioned in paragraph 2 above, which you have been reiterating in all your communications.

The same remarks apply to "the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959" defined by your Government in the central and the eastern sectors, Barahoti, which your Government call Wuje, had never been under Chinese control. As a matter of fact, if you will refer to the past communications on this subject, you would find that there is an understanding that the administrative control of Barahoti will remain with the Indian side, only unarmed civil administrative personnel being in charge of the area.

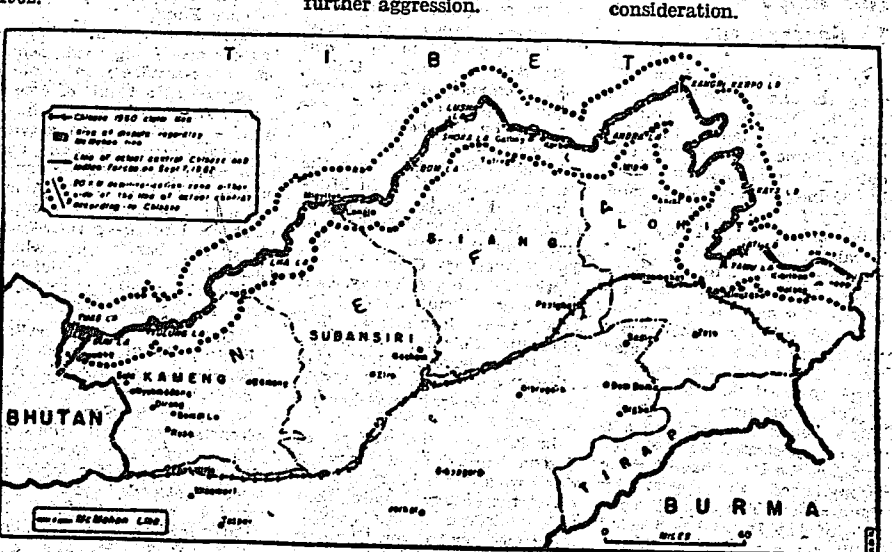
As regards the eastern sector, Longju was under Indian administrative control till August 1959 when Chinese forces attacked the Indian garrison there. Since then it has not been under the administrative control of either side. Again various communications exchanged between our two Governments would show clearly that Khinzamane and the Dhola region to the south of the Thagla ridge, which the Chinese clarifications describe as the Kechilang river and Chedong area, have always been under Indian administrative control till Chinese forces started their further aggression on 8th September, 1962 in this region.

The three-point proposals of October 24, 1962 and the statement on cease-fire and withdrawals of 21st November, 1962, clearly aim at securing physical control of areas which were never under Chinese administrative control either on 7th November, 1959 or at any time prior to 8th September, 1962.

What you call "the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959" is, nor can that line be unilaterally determined by the Chinese Government either on the basis of their alleged claims or on the basis of the position reached as a result of their further aggression.

In any case, if the Government of India are to take any attitude to the so-called unilateral measures of cease-fire and withdrawals announced by the Chinese Government, they must clearly know what the "line of actual control as of November 7, 1959" is, nor can that line be unilaterally determined by the Chinese Government either on the basis of their alleged claims or on the basis of the position reached as a result of their further aggression.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.



The Eastern Sector of the Sino-Indian Boundary.

NEW AGE



# KERALA RESPONDS TO CALL OF DEFENCE

## Communists Lead Campaign

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

"This country is ours; it does not belong to a handful of people in the ruling party alone"—with these words, C. Achutha Menon, Secretary of the Kerala State Council of the CPI, a few minutes before he was arrested on November 21, exhorted Party members to carry forward the task of strengthening national defence, undaunted by arrests and provocations.

**A**CHUTHA MENON and most other Communist leaders in Kerala are behind bars. Active trade unionists and Kisan Sabha workers have been arrested in all the districts. Industrial citizens like the Mayor of Calicut, who had just started a Mayor's Defence Fund, and the Chairman of Alleppey Municipal Council, are also among those arrested. Communists have been excluded from the officially sponsored defence committees.

Despite all this, the Communist Party continues to be in the vanguard of all activities for national defence in this State. If anybody had hoped that by arresting Party leaders, Communists would be provoked to relax their efforts to promote national defence, he would be sorely disappointed. The pride of place of leading the mass of people in Kerala in the patriotic task of fighting Chinese aggression continues to be held by the Communist Party.

The State Home Minister, when he was met by a deputation of Communist leaders to represent to him about the arrests told them that the arrests had been made as part of an all-India policy. Whatever that may be, it is common knowledge even to a child in Kerala that the arrest of Party leaders in this state has nothing to do with their views or actions.

For, it is a fact that these arrested leaders had been in the forefront of the campaign for national defence, to collect donations of money and blood for the jawans and to rouse the people to the call of the nation for united and determined resistance to the aggressor.

### Full Support To Government

In the statement issued to the press just before his arrest, Achutha Menon had pointed out that even before the National Council of the Party adopted the resolution condemning Chinese aggression and offering full support to the Government, the Party in Kerala had thrown itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for national defence against the aggressor.

He asked Party members and the people not to be provoked by these arrests, but to carry forward this task in a dedicated and peaceful manner. Party units everywhere and the newly elected State Secretariat of the Party have further strengthened this appeal by their action. The State Executive of the Party has elected S. Kumaran as Acting Secretary in the place of C. Achutha Menon and P. T. Punnoose,

nP, equal to their one day's wages. Beedi workers in Kanhangad gave Rs. 1814. Estate workers and staff of E & S Co., Chirakkara have contributed one day's salary, Rs. 1555.

While the workers of Union Tile Works in Chengamanad gave Rs. 260, the Municipal Workers' Union, Mattancherry, contributed Rs. 263.25 and the women beedi workers of Muthuvattur came forward with Rs. 151. There are numerous cases of similar contributions.

People from all walks of life have come forward with donations. The recent tour by the Governor of Kerala, V. V. Giri, of the districts resulted in giving further encouragement to these collections. In Quilon, the Governor was given Rs. 2,60,000. In Alleppey he got Rs. 1,12,153 and in Kottayam Rupees two lakhs. A garland presented to the Governor in Kottayam was auctioned for Rs. 3062.

### Substantial Contribution

By the end of November, the Chief Minister's Defence Fund had received over Rs. 21.25 lakhs. The State Defence Committee has decided to intensify the collection drive in the first week of December and the Communist Party has pledged its full support to the drive.

The most popular drama troupe in the State, the KPAC, under the auspices of the Party has launched a programme of appealing for funds daily at the end of their programme. Thus by the end of the third week of last month they had collected Rs. 1,123 and remitted to the Chief Minister's Defence Fund. The KPAC collection programme is to continue in the coming months also.

One of the richest temples of Kerala, the Guruvayur Dewaswam has decided to invest all their gold in gold bonds. On November 27, the Kerala Non-Gazetted Officers' Union contributed Rs. 6,490.25 to the Defence Fund.

Party units and mass organisations are giving warm send-offs to ex-service men recalled to service as a result of emergency. Among those who have been thus recalled to service are also Party members and they were given rousing send-offs by local party units. Apart from trade unions, other organisations like co-operative societies and banks in which Communists have a leading position have all contributed funds for national defence.

One of the biggest rallies held in the State to mobilise the people for the nation's fight against Chinese aggression took place in Cannanore on November 25 under the auspices of the Communist Party. Over half a lakh of people attended the rally which was addressed by Party leaders, A. K. Gopalan, M.P., P. T. Punnoose and Rosamma Punnoose.

In Korathi, the workers of Junna Thread Mills gave a day's wages (Rs. 1308) and decided that every month they will contribute at the rate of one rupee per worker. The first instalment paid by tappers in Valkom was Rs. 1350.35

The entire district had been mobilised for the rally and peasants and workers from the interior came in their thousands, on foot and in carts and buses with placards and tableaux. The rally was preceded by an impressive parade of thousands through the streets of the town led by uniformed Red Volunteers and the district leaders of the Communist Party. The demonstrators chanted: "India is one, the people are one, that is our slogan", "we give funds and we give blood to defend our frontiers", "glory to the brave jawans defending the honour of the Motherland".

Collections in kind and cash were made at the rally for the Defence Fund. A small elephant carved in rose wood, donated by a businessman, was auctioned for Rs. 600. Similar rallies are being held in other district centres also.

While the working class of Kerala and its party, the Communist Party, have conclusively demonstrated that they are in the vanguard of the movement to protect the country from the Chinese aggressor and this is being increasingly recognised by larger and larger sections of the people, the only unfortunate factor in the situation is the inability of some Congress and PSP leaders to rise above their narrow partisan interests and to see the people as a

### Vanguard Of Movement

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## MIGS ARE COMING

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

By that. There may be a little delay, they said. "This is quite authoritative. I do not see how Mr. Duncun Sanjays said or anybody else can say can take away the authority of the statement that we make on the information that we receive."

This clear and authoritative statement by the Prime Minister has been welcomed by all who were earlier disturbed by the mischievous reports constantly appearing in the press that the MIG deal is off. Only those who went about spreading this false rumour are today disheartened.

For that, they have only to thank themselves, because it will be recalled that never, at any time, had any spokesman of the Government of India, or for that matter, of the Government of USSR said anything to give credence to such a story. On the other hand, the Prime Minister himself on more than one occasion indicated that there was no substance in the rumour.

### USSR's Help

For instance, addressing a mass rally of Central Government employees in Delhi on November 9, the Prime Minister had said: "Russia, notwithstanding her alliance with China has been friendly to us and has helped us in setting up a number of industries. A few days ago we decided to buy some planes from Russia. According to the agreement these planes are to be delivered in December. I am completely confident and they have also assured us that the planes will be delivered on time."

Speaking in the Rajya Sabha during the debate on Chinese aggression and the proclamation of emergency, the Prime Minister said on November 10: "I may add about the Soviet Union that all the previous commitments they made, I believe, they stand by them. When further commitments they will make, I cannot say. We have asked them, we have not got an answer yet. But on previous commitments they have said that they stand by them in spite of these developments."

Replying to the debate in the Lok Sabha on November 14, the Prime Minister had stressed that despite Chinese aggression, the Soviet Union has been consistently friendly to us. He then said:

whole rising as one man in this national crisis. They would rather keep up their anti-Communist tirade and in the hands of the worst reactionaries who question the very leadership of Prime Minister Nehru than co-operate with the Communist Party in the sacred task of national defence.

### Settling Old Scores

It would seem that they are more interested in settling old scores than in mobilising people's unity for the defence of the country. Particularly mischievous in this regard has been the role of C. M. Stephen, General Secretary of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, who recently issued a malicious statement attacking the Communist Party and reeling out absurd excuses for the arrest of Party leaders.

The reactionaries and rowdy elements to exploit the situation to attack Communist Party meetings and assault Party workers. In Pattambi, a meeting organised by the Communist Party was attacked and dispersed by Jan Sangh goondas. Eight comrades were admitted to hospital with serious injuries as a result of this attack on the meeting. In Meppadi, another meeting was attacked by some rowdies led by some Congressmen. All these have been promptly brought to the notice of the government and the authorities in the area.

## CONSISTENTLY FRIENDLY

"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.

### Consistently Friendly

"I, on behalf of the Assam State Council of the CPI, greet the people for this unity and courage and appeal to them to do everything and extend all help and cooperation for strengthening our defence capacities, to throw out the aggressors from the Indian soil. I also appeal to them to prepare for all the eventualities that may have to be faced in this regard.

Our party is doing its best to help the Government in its efforts to strengthen our defences and meet the Chinese aggression, which has become a menace not only to our country, but to the peace and prosperity of the entire humanity including the part of it in China itself.

The Chinese aggression across our border and the news of advance of the invading Chinese forces have not engulphed the people of Assam with any despair. It is heartwarming that our people, have shown very high morale at this crucial hour. It appears that the temporary reverses have only helped the people to develop in them the iron will and grim determination to resist aggression at all costs, and by all means and to hold high the banner of independence and sovereignty with dignity and honour.

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# ASSAM

## news from states

★ From Hadhusudan Bhattacharyya

SHILLONG, November 25: Even when the Chinese aggressors posed a serious threat to the plains of Assam, the people of this border State demonstrated their high morale and firm determination to meet the challenge of the aggressors. This will be evident from the fact that until they were officially asked to evacuate, the people of Tezpur, which appeared threatened by the invading army did not leave their home and hearth.

It was only after they had been officially asked to leave that the people of Tezpur began leaving for various places on the south bank of the Brahmaputra. But still, as subsequent reports indicated, a section of the civil population stayed back, though the civil administration had been withdrawn hastily without much planning.

At the first stage after the fall of Bomdila the then Deputy Commissioner of Darrang (Tezpur is the district headquarters of Darrang) headed off his post with charge to his successor. He has since been placed under suspension. How that Deputy Commissioner had fared will be evident from the fact that the convicts lodged in Tezpur jail had been set at large and even some of the inmates of the lunatic asylum were let loose.

### COMMENDABLE COURAGE

But even in the midst of this situation, the youth showed commendable courage and sense of discipline. Those of them who stayed back, patrolled the streets of the town, opened foodgrain shops and even looked after the patients lodged in the civil hospital who had been left to their fate by the hospital staff. When a fire broke out near the deserted railway station, they were the ones who came forward to put out the fire and they could salvage some goods.

### Phani Bora's Statement

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received about Rs. 3 lakhs for NDF. The collection is still going on.

In addition to the problems of defence preparations Assam is faced with the problem of accommodation and provisions for the evacuees from NEFA and Tezpur. While some of the evacuees from Tezpur could find shelter with their relatives and friends elsewhere in the State, those from NEFA, i.e. the tribal population from there are entirely dependant on Government help.

The State Government have been receiving substantial help in this task from various non-official voluntary organisations, NCC boys and girls also have been rendering big help to the Government in this matter. But still it has meant a strain upon the material resources of the State. The Union Government have assured all assistance to the State to enable it to meet the situation.

In the midst of this situation when all the political parties have been working together in this State, the large-scale arrest of leading Communists has come as a surprise to the people of this State. Except those Congress leaders who have taken up the fight against the Chinese as a "fight against international communism," other sections of the Congress were also taken by surprise by these arrests.

It is noted that from no quarter in the State was there any allegation against the Communists of this State of harbouring any "pro-Chinese" views not to speak of any activity which might be construed as "anti-national." On the contrary, Communists had been included in the defence aid committees at the district and sub-divisional levels—there is no State level People's Committee in Assam—and all reports indicated that the Communist Party workers had been working shoulder to shoulder with others in this State for national defence efforts.

### ARRESTS OF COMMUNISTS

Among the arrested Communists are leaders like Gaurishankar Bhattacharyya, a member of the State Secretariat of the Party, who attended as the Party's representative the all-party meeting at Gauhati on October 31 last which was convened by the State Chief Minister. His speech in that meeting was reported to have been appreciated even by the Chief Minister who also accepted some of his suggestions for strengthening defence efforts in this State.

Again there is Ramesh Sharma who was a leading member of the Chinese Aggression Resistance Committee at Tezpur and who had been doing commendable work along with his Congress colleagues of that committee.

### Political Resolution

THE Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India once again condemns the naked Chinese aggression on India. Confronted by the national strength of the Indian people and workers for greater production during the period of national emergency, and to suspend all application of the APTUC. He too was arrested together with Choudhury, the general secretary of the APTUC and Bishan Hazara, another leading figure in the trade union movement of the State.

It may be mentioned here that the Secretariat of the Assam State Council of CPI had taken an unequivocal stand against Chinese aggression and had assured full cooperation to the Government in all measures for national defence in a resolution adopted as early as October 27. After the meeting of the National Council, the State Council met in an emergent session on November 13-14. That meeting fully endorsed the resolution of the National Council on the Sino-Indian conflict and chalked out a concrete programme for implementing the resolution of the National Council in this State. The members of the State Council had gone back from that meeting to their respective districts to mobilise the entire Party in terms of the resolution of the National Council.

In this background the Communist Party in this State least expected such an attack. The Party's workers who have received a shock at these arrests of their leaders, however, are reported to be continuing their efforts for national defence. But they are in a state of uncertainty as it is apprehended that more arrests will soon follow. Even distant sympathisers and friends of the Communist Party are said to be apprehensive that they too might be rounded up. This is hampering full mobilisation behind national defence efforts, it is said by Party sources.

According to reports received here till the time of writing about 40 Communists and a few non-Communists, including two workers of the RCPI and one independent trade unionist have been rounded up and detained in different parts of the State.

It is significant that the Assam Press has maintained silence about these arrests. Assam Press, it may be mentioned, did not conduct any campaign against the Communist Party except in the initial stage when its attack was directed against the party in West Bengal, and not against the State unit or any member of it.

Other political parties in this State also have kept silent about it till now; nobody has lent any support to this action of the Government, though nobody has taken the risk of becoming "unpopular" and even endangering his own safety by openly opposing these arrests.

## PUNJAB

★ From Our Correspondent

An emergency meeting of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India was held in Jullundur on November 29 under the presidency of Arjan Singh Gargaj. The Council adopted a political resolution and a resolution on the arrests of Communist Party leaders and workers.

The Council also took certain organisational decisions. Avtar Singh Malhotra, member National Executive was elected to work as Secretary. Jagjit Singh Anand was appointed Chief Editor of Daily NAWAN ZAMANA and Arjan Singh Gargaj Party Treasurer. The Council decided that the available members of the State Executive should function for the State Executive and Secretariat till the next meeting of the State Council which will take place on December 15 and 16, 1962. These members are Avtar Singh Malhotra, Satya Paul Dang, Jagjit Singh Anand, Satish Loomba and Kishori Lal as Chairman of the Control Commission.

It was also decided that before that meeting District Councils should meet to take necessary organisational decisions. These meetings are to be attended and guided by representatives sent by the State Executive. These decisions were all taken to meet the situation created by the arrests and in order to enable the Party Organisation to carry out the tasks laid down in the National Council resolution.

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# Assam Communists Work For Defence

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Long before, and certainly since the National Council of the Communist Party passed the historic resolution on Chinese aggression, Party units in Assam had taken a bold stand and have been running a patriotic campaign to mobilise the masses for national defence.

Big mass meetings were held; defence committees, village defence organisations, home guards, even suicide squads (in Tezpur) were formed, at the initiative of the Communist Party workers.

Phani Bora, Secretary of the State Council, Barin Chowdhury, Bishnu Bora, Gaurishanker Bhattacharya, all members of the State Party Secretariat held big public meetings in Gauhati, Tezpur, Tinsukhia, North Lakhimpur, and many other places where Congressmen and others also were present and participated.

Many more meetings were held in different districts and villages where the entire Party leadership campaigned for national defence. In Dhubri, Kokrijar, Goalpara, Nalbari, Rangia, Gauhati, Tezpur, Rangapara, Choocha Bihpuria, Ranlook, North Lakhimpur, Dibrugarh, Digoal, Tinsukhia, Margharita, Sibsagar, Jorhat, Titarah, Golaghat, Nowgong, etc., i.e., at places both on the North and South bank of the Brahmaputra and adjacent to the foothills of NEFA were meetings held.

Many of these meetings were presided over by local Congress leaders, and in many meetings all parties jointly participated. Many of these meetings were held even before the National Council resolution because the people as well as the Party in Assam being nearest to the battlefield, were much more aware and concerned with Chinese aggression than in other places.

As a result of these meetings the Party was able to raise the morale of the masses, rouse the sentiment of unity for national defence and formed committees and collected funds.

After the National Council resolution, the State Council wholeheartedly endorsed the same and worked out its practical line of implementation and the process continued in spite of the fact that everywhere Party units were not provided with scope by the Government to do their best in this regard.

Then came the Bomdila and Sela reserves. The Chinese came much nearer the foothills on November 19-20.

## People Determined

The people were indignant in the State; after the initial shock and nervousness they were able to regain their morale and determination.

The people of Assam are standing up with courage and discipline to do their best to see the aggressor driven out of the soil of our Motherland, yet they are not against peaceful negotiations to secure national integrity with honour and dignity.

In general they support Prime Minister Nehru and have faith in him.

Before the general arrests took place all over the country, there was no arrest of any Communist Party member in Assam. But on November

20 when Tezpur was evacuated Communist Party leaders there who were working till late at night for defence together with Congress leaders like Biswa Dev Sharma, Mahikendra Das and K. P. Tripathy (Minister in the State Government) were taken to prison and transferred from there.

The next day, i.e. on the 21st, came the general arrests all over the State and on 22nd and after they continued. All the leading members of the Party and trade unions who were actively engaged in the work of defence of the country were rounded up and detained under the

## Ahmad Explains Resolution

D. R. Z. A. Ahmad, member, Central Secretariat, CPI, told pressmen in Jullundur on November 30 that the recent National Council Resolution on Chinese aggression was not a tactical move as certain critics made it out to be; it rather arose out of deep and well-considered understanding on the part of the Communist Party of India.

Dr. Ahmad said that the thesis that no socialist state could ever launch an aggression, though basically valid, could not be taken as a dogma, because in a particular context, wrong understanding on the part of the leadership of a socialist country may lead them to launch adventurist actions. He mentioned in this context the utterly wrong and perverted understanding of the Chinese leadership in regard to the nature of the present era, and on the questions of peace and

war, peaceful coexistence, on the role of non-aligned powers in maintaining peace, etc. For them, he said, India had gone "pro-imperialist" long ago and this is why they insist that Nehru and the British imperialists are "jackals of the same lair", thereby throwing overboard elementary commonsense about present day realities and going not only against the understanding arrived at by the Communist Party of India but also by the 81-Parties conference held in Moscow.

It is common knowledge, he said, that the 81-Parties conference emphasised the need of strengthening the peace camp, whose constituent the 44 crores of Indian people are. The Chinese Government on the contrary, is hankering after barren mountains and is out to throw these 44 crores of people into the imperialist camp by its policies of adventure and aggression. If the Chinese persisted in their mad actions, he said, the consequences would be disastrous not only for the Indian people and the progressive forces in this country but for the whole of the world.

Herein, he said, came the responsibility of the CPI to throw its weight in order to thwart such an eventually. This was demanded and dictated by its policy of internationalism. Dr. Ahmad emphasised. Referring to the recent proposals of the Chinese Government, Dr. Ahmad said that ceasing fire was always a good thing, but the Chinese proposals warrant careful scrutiny. Apparently, he said, these proposals hardly match our position that they should at least withdraw behind the positions of September 8, 1962. He hoped that the Government of India's stand would be peace-loving as always, and in consonance with national dignity.

He sharply denounced certain reactionary elements who are now mounting their attack on Prime Minister Nehru and his nationally accepted policies. He warned that national chaos and disintegration would be the only alternative to Prime Minister Nehru Dr. Ahmad said it was time to strengthen the hands of Nehru and his policies.

Dr. Ahmad reiterated that the Communist Party was not opposed to buying arms from any source, but they should come without political strings. He also emphasised the need for gearing up of our country's external publicity services.

Defence of India Rules as ordinary prisoners. Only a handful, some three or four leading people, are left. The Party is paralysed and has been deprived of the opportunity to do its best in the patriotic cause.

The Chief Minister himself, approached by the Secretary of the Party's State Council, could not deny the fact that most of the Party leaders who have been arrested had been working sincerely for the cause of the country's defence.

Despite the provocation, Assam Communists are going on working as best as they can to rouse the masses to contribute to the defence fund, enrol as village defence volunteers and home-guards, organise first-aid, increase production, etc.

While Communists in the State call upon the masses to stand behind the Prime Minister and support him, right

reactionaries of the Jan Sangh, Swatantra—overnight patriots—and also the PSP and Socialist Party are joining the chorus against Nehru and against the policy of non-alignment and peace. Meanwhile, Congressmen have not picked up courage enough to defend Nehru.

It is the Communists who have been defending Nehru and his basic policies despite the temporary reverses. It is the Communists who have been taking to the people the call of Nehru to unite for creating an independent base for defence.

Assam Communists have noted with disgust the campaign of slander let loose by the PSP and other reactionaries in the faraway plains about the activities of the Communists in Assam. No common man of Assam will take the slanderers seriously because they have seen the Communists in action.

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## PUNJAB FROM OVERLEAF

The Communist Party and the Council directs all party units and members to continue to work enthusiastically for the cause of national defence. They must:

i) activate still more all mass organisations in which they work for contributions to the national defence fund, purchase of bonds, blood donations and increase in production, both for defence and people's needs;

ii) work in full cooperation with the local defence councils where these have been officially set up;

iii) build up unity with all progressive forces who subscribe to the nationally accepted policies of Pandit Nehru, and to combat reactionary slogans and rumours and thus build an all-in national unity for the defence of the Motherland.

# UNITY FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE AND NATIONAL POLICIES

The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India which met in New Delhi from November 29 to December 1 adopted the following resolution on Unity for National Defence and National Policies:

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, meeting in New Delhi one month after the adoption by the National Council of the Defence of the Motherland Against Chinese Aggression, reiterates more forcibly than ever the Party's appeal for national unity in support of the basic policies being pursued by Prime Minister Nehru: the policies of all-out national defence against Chinese aggression; of implementation of the Plan and the gearing of our economy to our defence needs; of preservation on non-alignment; and of steadfastly seeking an honourable settlement on the basis of the variation of the present Chinese aggression.

The Committee joins the rest of the Indian people in expressing its sense of satisfaction at the magnificent response of the whole nation to the call for efforts and sacrifices by every Indian for the supreme task of national defence. All sections of our people are taking part in this mass upsurge against Chinese aggression and for the honour and integrity of our country.

The Communist Party has taken its due place in this popular upheaval for the defence of our soil. State and district committees, branches and units, individual members and supporters of the Party are contributing and collecting for the National Defence Fund, giving and registering donors of blood for the jawan mobilising and organising, trade unions for increase in production and participating in all other national activities which are vital for the defence of the Motherland.

Unprovoked by vicious slanders, by the violent attacks on Party offices and widespread arrests, Communists have remained at their posts of duty, giving of their very best for national defence in every sphere of work.

At the same time, the Government is correctly displaying utmost vigilance and continuing with zeal to strengthen the country's defence potential and economy. Prime Minister Nehru has spoken for the nation when he made it clear that India holds the same view to which it has held all along that we are willing to talk and negotiate if the positions of the two sides existing before the present aggression began on September 8, 1962 are restored.

The Central Executive Committee extends its full support to the positions taken by the Government of India in regard to the cease-fire and to the proposals contained in the Chinese Note of November 21.

Since the moment the cease-fire was announced, elements opposed to the basic policies of the country have concentrated on attacking the Prime Minister and the Government on their attitude towards the cease-fire. These elements are organising what they call "No Negotiations" weeks and rallies to denounce the position of the Government of India in regard to the starting of talks if the present aggression is vacated.

The right reactionary forces want to demolish all the progressive policies, and particularly the policy of non-alignment, pursued by the Government. They demand that not only non-alignment be given up but that the main author of that policy, that is, Prime Minister Nehru, be removed from the Government and leadership of the country.

They attack the policy of non-alignment as being responsible for the Chinese invasion, and

A full-scale war between two

great powers in Asia was imminent and the threat of a world war following from it loomed large, as a result of the adventurism of the Chinese leadership and Government which were behaving in flagrant violation of all the policies and principles of the international Communist movement.

This was the context in which the Chinese Government announced its unilateral cease-fire and withdrawal in its Note of November 21.

The Government of India, while repudiating the slanderous statements which preface this Note, did not reject the Note out of hand, but decided to ask for clarifications of the ambiguities of the withdrawal proposal and

they pretend to put forward their slogan of "no negotiations" as an "alternative to the alleged policy of 'surrender' by those who speak of negotiations to settle the dispute on the basis of honour and integrity of the country. They allege that the policy of negotiations means refusal to defend the country.

These allegations are totally unfounded. The policy of negotiations with honour and integrity of the country can be pursued only with complete preparedness to defend the country against aggression. The policy of negotiations with honour and integrity of the country means to restore to our country the territory that is ours and bringing about peace on the basis of a just and honourable settlement.

Those who are taken in by the propaganda of the votaries of "no negotiations" fail to see this. They also fail to see the fact that their policy would lead our country into a total war and even a world war, into militarism and

ruin of all our plans of future development.

The Committee firmly believes that the policy of non-alignment, far from obstructing or weakening national defence, is, on the contrary, vital for India's defence. It is the pursuit of this policy which enables India to mobilise the greatest strength and support in its cause. Non-alignment provides the conditions for obtaining the maximum military and economic assistance from all sides without political strings.

At the same time, this policy assists in the development of the maximum self-reliance and the consequent building up of our own defence and heavy industries which alone can be the sure basis of the country's military strength. It is the pursuit of non-alignment which enables India to rally the maximum moral and political support from all countries of the world without binding ourselves to any camp and consistently with our principles of anti-colonialism.

The Committee supports the stand of the Government of India in receiving arms and equipment without political strings from any country, while laying the utmost emphasis and stress on the necessity to build up our own strength. As Prime Minister Nehru has restated in Delhi this week, "Aid is welcome, but if we forget our duty towards preserving freedom and depend on others to defend us, we lose half our freedom."

The Central Executive Committee welcomes the sending by the Government of India of influential official missions to non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa to ask for support against

Chinese aggression and to explain India's position in regard to the conditions which could create the basis for negotiations with China. The Committee is confident that all progressive forces and countries will use their influence to urge the Chinese Government to accept the reasonable proposals of the Government of India so that the way to an honourable settlement can begin to be opened.

The Central Executive Committee wishes to draw the attention of all the democratic forces in the country and particularly the millions owing allegiance to the Congress and Prime Minister Nehru, to the fact that when India suffered a temporary setback under the massive Chinese offensive, reactionary elements openly raised the slogan of removal of Nehru. It was a surprising thing that even a few leading Congressmen were found

due to the advance of reactionary forces in the country. Strong realistic measures for military defence of the country and moral political unification of the people were sought to be replaced by wild and unwise slogans of the removal of Nehru and scuttling of all the progressive policies of the country. It was sad to note that a large number of Congressmen stood tongue-tied or neutralised in the face of this dangerous offensive of reaction.

The Central Executive Committee is glad to find that now this situation is changing and the Congressmen and Congress organisations have begun to mobilise in support of the basic policies of the country.

The Central Executive Committee appeals to all Indian patriots—and in particular to Congressmen—to rally together in support of the Prime Minister's basic policies at this vital moment in the life of our country. Through the defence of these policies and of our sacred soil—the common task of all Indians today—our people are defending the great causes for which all humanity strives—peace, national independence, the struggle to eliminate hunger and poverty.

The Central Executive Committee appeals to all members and supporters of the Communist Party to redouble their efforts to implement the National Council Resolution. Communists refuse to be provoked or confused by the dastardly attacks of interested forces and will continue with ever greater vigour to work for the defence of the Motherland and for all those policies of peaceful India which have won for it a high place in the hearts of millions in all lands.

Above all, considering that Communists are a vital part of the working class movement in the country, Government have to realise that the removal of trade union functionaries from their post of duty harms the task of rousing and mobilising the working class for increased production.

Government have also to note that the arrest of members of the Communist Party of India actually helps those elements that are resisting the policy of all-in national unity for the defence of the Motherland.

The Committee notes that some arrested members of the Party have been released and particularly our General Secretary, E. M. S. Namboodiripad. But what is needed is a reconsideration of the policy of indiscriminate mass arrests and the release of arrested members of the Party.

The Committee also urges upon the Government to refrain from using the Defence of India Rules against members of our Party, the trade union and other democratic organisations dedicated to the cause of building united national efforts for the defence of the country.

The Central Executive Committee calls on all members of the Party not to be provoked by the arrests but carry out the policies of the Party with calm and cool determination.

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## Reaction's Offensive

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# Resolutions of CPI Central Executive

## ON ARRESTS

The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its grave concern over the widespread arrests of members of the Party and prominent trade union functionaries and activists all over the country. The vital need of the hour is the unification and utilisation of every patriotic element in the country, pledged to national defence.

The arrests took place after the National Council of the Party adopted the resolution giving full support to the Government for defending the country against Chinese aggression. The seriousness and sincerity of the resolution have been demonstrated by the fact that tens of thousands of Communists all over India have gone all out to strengthen national defence during the last month. Under the circumstances, mass arrests of members of the Party and trade union functionaries actually engaged in increasing production is seriously harmful to the cause of national unity and defence.

The Central Executive Committee records its protest against this unjustified attack on the Party and demands that the Government reconsider its policy in the matter and release the arrested members of the Party and trade unionists. The national situation is too serious to permit arrests on extraneous considerations.

The Committee also urges upon the Government to refrain from using the Defence of India Rules against members of our Party, the trade union and other democratic organisations dedicated to the cause of building united national efforts for the defence of the country.

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# TRIUMPHANT BANNER

Our impetuous era of revolutionary transformations of the world has changed our usual conception of time. Each year now contains so many history-making events that it can be frequently equalled to decades of development in the not-too-distant past.

Only five years have elapsed since the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in 1957, but what vast, irreversible advance mankind has made in this period on the road of social progress!

The Meeting, at which the Declaration and Manifesto of Peace were adopted, played a big part in consolidating the world communist movement and working out its new policy, activating in every possible way the fight for peace, democracy, national freedom and socialism.

The collective elaboration by the Marxist-Leninist parties of the chief problems confronting the world communist movement was further developed at the 1960 Moscow Meeting, which adopted a Statement and Appeal to All Peoples of the World.

The Declaration and Statement, world-known documents of creative Marxism-Leninism, constitute a single whole. They have become the militant programme of the world communist movement at the present stage of its struggle for the strengthening of the community of socialist countries, for the advancement of the cause of socialism and the entire liberation movement for the salvation of mankind from a thermonuclear war. They have armed both the Communist Parties of the socialist countries and the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries with a mighty ideological weapon. They have made the entire world communist movement stronger.

The five years, which have elapsed since the 1957 Meeting, have seen fine work accomplished for communism. The forces of peace, democracy, and socialism have grown considerably whereas those of war, reaction, and imperialism grew weaker. World history and human society are developing in favour of socialism and to the detriment of capitalism—this is the main conclusion which can be drawn from developments of the last five years.

## I. Example of Creative Marxism-Leninism

The documents of the Moscow Meetings serve as an example of a truly Leninist approach to revolutionary theory, the essence of which lies in its being combined with loyalty to Marxist teaching and being enriched with new conclusions corresponding to the changed situation.

V. I. Lenin urged that changes in historic situation be studied carefully, that their principal determining features be discerned. He stressed that only on this basis, i.e., taking into account, first of all, the main features of difference of various "eras" (and not separate incidents in the history of separate countries), is it possible for us to draw up our tactics correctly, and only knowledge of the principal features of a given era can serve as the foundation in calculating more detailed features of one or another country.

### Most Important Conclusion

The international forums of the Communists, following Lenin's behests, subjected the world situation to a thorough analysis and drew a conclusion of world historic importance: imperialism has stopped being the dominating force in the world; the main content, main trend and main features of development of human society in the modern era are being determined by the world socialist system, by forces fighting against imper-

ialism and for the socialist reconstruction of society. The most important conclusion drawn by the Meetings is that there is no fatal inevitability of a world war in modern conditions. This does not in the least mean a change in the aggressive nature of imperialism. The latter was and till its last day will remain aggressive. As long as it exists, ground for an outbreak of war will also exist. What is new is that for the first time in history, the fight against war is being waged by vast, organized forces, whose united action can safeguard peace. This can be done only by consolidating the socialist camp, by spreading the struggle of all nations of the world.

The Marxists-Leninists do not raise the peaceful way to the level of the absolute. They maintain that in cases when the exploiting classes resort to violence against the people, a non-peaceful transition to socialism is unavoidable. Those oblivious of the fact that the ruling classes can resort to most atrocious violence in an attempt to save their power, those who do not prepare the working class for non-peaceful forms of the struggle do harm to the development of the revolution.

### False Propaganda

It is in this, and not in the hopes, falsely attached to them, of "persuading" imperialism, that the Marxists-Leninists see genuine guarantees of peace and the preservation of the freedom and independence of nations.

To spread such conceptions of "persuading" imperialism means undermining the unity of the anti-imperialist front, undermining faith in the main forces, which are really waging decisive battles for peace and socialism.

This conclusion of the Conferences inspires mankind, shows clearly to it that its struggle for peace can and must be crowned with suc-

cess, calls it to active steps against warmongers. At the same time this conclusion reveals with particular clarity the great mission of the Communists devoting all their efforts to the struggle for the happiness of the masses, for ruling out thermonuclear war.

The development of Lenin's theory of the revolution by the Conferences is of exceptional importance. One of the distinctive features of our epoch lies in the fact that practically any country, irrespective of the level of its development, can take to the road leading to socialism, that the peoples rising to a revolution can rely on the support of the socialist countries in the struggle against the attempts of the world reaction to export counter-revolution.

### Roads To Socialism

The radical change in the correlation of forces on the world arena, the increased force of attraction of socialism for the masses open up to the working class of the capitalist countries fresh favourable prospects in the struggle for socialism.

The possibilities of reforming a socialist revolution by peaceful means, first discovered by Marx and Lenin, are growing. Those who do not see such a possibility or ignore it hamper the rallying of the masses and the progress of their struggle, slow down the development of revolutionary processes.

Each of the principles worked out by the Conferences is Marxism-Leninism in action. Taken together, the conclusions of the Conferences signify a new stage in the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory, determine the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement.

The Communists are loyal to Lenin's instructions to the effect that the working class must take over all forms and aspects of social activity without the slightest exception, must be prepared for the speediest and unexpected change of one form by another.

### National Democracy

One of the biggest services of the Conferences is the fact that they worked out the ways for the development of young national states, the thesis on the national democratic state, new for the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The great national-liberation revolution, shaking one of the principal mainstays of world im-

perialism will not choke, or stop half-way. The countries which have got free from colonialism are now at the crossroads. The struggle for setting up a national democratic state offers favourable prospects for the development of the national-liberation revolution.

Of course, the transition of the newly-independent countries to the road of socialism can and will proceed both along the routes already trodden and the roads to be trail-blazed by the people's movement.

The Conferences took place at a time when many Communist Parties became ruling parties, in the absence of a single international organization of Communists.

In these conditions the elaboration of the principles for relations among socialist countries, among Communist Parties, was of great import-

ance. The principles worked out by the Conferences are guarantees of fraternal friendship, solidarity and close unity of the countries belonging to the world socialist system and of all Communist Parties.

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At present they continue their attacks on the decisions of the Conferences, trying to falsify and distort them. But the historic development sweeps away both dogmatic backwardness and revisionist opportunism, confirming the great truth of the Marxist-Leninist conclusions of the Conferences.

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## II. Historic Offensive of Socialist Forces

WHAT have the main trends of world development been like over the past five years?

First, under the Marxist-Leninist banner of the new CPSU Programme the Soviet people are successfully carrying through the full-scale building of communism, inspiring by their example the working people of the world. The USSR's economic might is mounting from year to year.

The Soviet Union already accounts for 20 per cent of world industrial output, which is nearly as much as Britain, West Germany and France produce together.

The USSR is confidently catching up with the US, the most powerful capitalist country.

Here are some characteristic figures, demonstrating our progress over the past five years.

In 1957 the Soviet coal output was only 85 per cent of the US level; meanwhile, in 1962 it is already 117 per cent. The corresponding percentages for iron ore are respec-

tively 79 and 178; for coke, 71 and 130; for metal-cutting machine-tools, 77 and 140; for tractors (in terms of 15 hp units), 78 and 134; for grain harvester combines, 294 and 369; for cement, 58 and 104; for milk, 97 and 110; for butter, 108 and 128. (The percentages for iron ore, coke, tractors and grain harvester combines are given in relation to US levels for 1961).

The day is not far off when the USSR will have beaten the US on all economic points.

Of paramount importance is the fact that the USSR is firmly in the world lead as regards the decisive branches of science and technology.

Secondly, the world socialist system is gaining in strength and going forward; it is making the world capitalist system retreat. One more country has broken away from capitalism. This is heroic Cuba, whose people, captained by their outstanding leader comrade Fidel Castro, have effected a revolution and embarked on the socialist path.

A new stage has begun in the economic cooperation between the socialist countries. This stage is marked by the decisions taken at the Moscow Conference in June 1962 of the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties and Heads of Government of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, which provide for further improvement in economic cooperation and serve to accelerate the rates of economic development of the world socialist system and bring nearer the victory of socialism in the competition between the two systems.

Thirdly, national-liberation, anti-imperialist revolutions are gaining in scope. In the past five years 25 countries have won national independence.

The heroic struggle of the Algerian people has culminated in victory. The revolution in the Yemen has planted the seeds of liberty in the Arabian Peninsula.

Today colonies account for only a fifteenth part of world territory and have a population of around 50 million, which is only 1.5 per cent of the world total. In countries where the colonialists are still in sway, peoples are vigorously struggling for national emancipation.

The national-liberation revolutions are rising to still higher levels, striving to make the newly free countries economically independent.

Fourthly, the class struggle in the capitalist countries has grown still more acute. This is an expression of the increased might of the working class. The army of factory and office employees in the capitalist world totals today around 270 million people.

The political activity of the working class is demonstrated in the increasing scope of the strike movement. In 1954,

### Socialism's Economic Superiority

Socialism is more and more clearly displaying its economic superiority. In the past four years (1958-1961), the average annual rate of industrial increase in the socialist countries was about 13 per cent, which is nearly three as much as in the capitalist world.

In 1955 the socialist system accounted for 27 per cent of world industrial output; today it accounts for 37 per cent. In 1955 it accounted for 37.5 per cent of the world coal output; in 1960 it accounted already for 51.9 per cent.

Corresponding rises for pig iron have been from 24.5 to 35.2 per cent; for steel, from 23.3 to 30.8 per cent; for electricity, from 16.6 to 20.4 per cent; for cotton textiles, from 26.8 to 30.2 per cent; and for woolen textiles from 26.8 to 32 per cent.

The Moscow Conference participants found it necessary to point out in the Declaration that the historic decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress were not only of great significance for the CPSU and the communist construction in the USSR but also marked the beginning of a new stage in the international Communist movement, promoted its further development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The conclusions of the Moscow Conferences, the new strategic line of the international Communist movement were worked out in the struggle against the dogmatists, who did not want to break off with the fallacious methods of the period of the Stalin personality cult, and against the revisionists, with the former and the latter offering fierce resistance.

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13,800,000 people were involved in the strike movement, in 1961 the figure was more than 60 million. In the seven months of this year more than 55 million people have gone on strike.

It is particularly important to note the increase in the number of the political strikes. In 1956 only half a million people took part in political strikes; in 1961 the figure was already more than 50 million.

Over 1958-1962 there has been a total of some 80 nation-wide strikes in nearly 40 capitalist countries. Such events as the general strikes in Belgium, Japan, Italy and Brazil, as the strikes of the Spanish miners and metalworkers, the American metallurgists and the Argentine railwaymen will go down in the annals of the heroic history of the international working-class movement.

The cardinal features of the present stage in the revolutionary working-class movement are: that these battles are taking place in a time of peaceful coexistence; that the bulk of the strikers come from new working class generations;

able guarantee of peace and of curbing the warmongers. To successfully develop the productive forces means to fulfill one's duty to the socialist camp; and help to revolutionize the minds of the people in the capitalist countries;

to ensure foreign policy conditions for building socialism and communism, and together with all the peace-loving peoples to, rid mankind of a world destructive war, to firmly pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence which is a specific form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism on an international scale, which provides all the opportunities for the struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries against the capitalist system, for the struggle of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries for their liberation;

to render effective moral and material assistance to those detachments of international socialism mostly threatened by imperialism. An example of this is furnish-

### Indication Of Social Change

One of the indications of the profound social changes that are taking place in the world is the numerical growth and organization of the vanguard of the revolutionary forces—the Communist and Workers' Parties. In five years

another 13 Communist Parties have appeared and established international connections.

The ranks of the communist army have increased by nearly ten million people. There are today about 90 Communist and Workers' Parties embracing in their ranks 42,500,000 people. This is a great success of Marxism-Leninism and the entire liberation movement of mankind.

Communism has become an acknowledged, mighty force in the world—this is a conclusion proudly drawn by all the fighters of the international army of communists.

The forces of socialism, the working class and national-liberation movements, are on the historic offensive. The

Communist Parties see their international duty in facilitating by their deeds the development of this offensive against imperialism in every way.

It is impossible to maintain the position of teaching the entire communist movement how to fight imperialism while actually standing aloof from this struggle, without facilitating the development of the revolutionary processes, and carrying out provocative actions that do not strengthen but undermine the cause of peace and socialism which the Albanian top leadership is doing in practice.

To fight against imperialism means, in our days, for the Communist Parties of the socialist countries primarily:

to consolidate their economy, develop industry and agriculture, make the maximum contribution to the historic battles with capitalism in peaceful competition. Only a steady economic rise strengthens the armed might of each socialist country and the whole of the socialist camp, which is the most reli-

able guarantee of peace and of curbing the warmongers. To successfully develop the productive forces means to fulfill one's duty to the socialist camp; and help to revolutionize the minds of the people in the capitalist countries;

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to render effective moral and material assistance to those detachments of international socialism mostly threatened by imperialism. An example of this is furnish-

ed by the all-round tremendous and ever-increasing assistance rendered by the USSR to Cuba.

The main idea of this assistance is to strengthen the given detachment of the international army of socialism in the struggle against imperialism, to protect it against the armed blow of imperialism and not to allow it the entire socialist camp and the whole world to be drawn into a rocket-nuclear war;

to strengthen the union of the socialist camp

Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties. It is a policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

With the present level of science and technique peaceful coexistence has become an urgent demand of the time non-observance of which may have really fatal consequences for mankind.

The past years, during which many serious international crises arose, were the period of a severe test of the Communists' conclusion on the possibility of averting a world war.

The gravest crisis in the postwar years was caused by the aggressive circles of the

Government, which was fully aware of its historical responsibility, the interests of peace and socialism, the interests of mankind, and owing to the heroism of the Cuban people supported by peace lovers throughout the world, peace was saved and the aggression against Cuba staved off.

The Cuban people preserved their revolutionary gains intact and protected their right to follow the path they had chosen, namely, the path of socialism. Neither bourgeois propaganda nor other falsifiers will be able to conceal or distort this main fact.

\*\*\*\*\* by \*\*\*\*\*  
**B. PONOMAREV**  
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with the countries that have freed themselves from colonialism, that do not belong to imperialist blocs, remembering that the masses of these countries hate imperialism and are called upon to play a big role in defence of peace and further development of the mighty anti-imperialist movement. It is clear that the peoples of these countries must not be alienated from the only right course;

to strengthen the solidarity with the working class of the capitalist countries and its communist vanguard, to support but not to ignore their heroic struggle, to inspire them with the successes of socialism and the right socialist policy.

The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries maintain that to wage a struggle against imperialism in our days means to defend the interests of the working class, the working people, to launch constant attacks against monopoly capital, against the forces of reaction and war, rally around themselves ever new sections of the workers and all the working people, to strive to strengthen and expand the class positions of the proletariat and to train a political army of socialist revolution.

It is precisely the Communist Parties of the developed capitalist countries that are heroically waging this struggle, surmounting incredible difficulties, fierce onslaught of anti-communism, and very frequently under the fire of the gendarmerie. On the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in their countries the Communist Parties determine the course of their struggle and its forms and methods.

To fight imperialism also means for the entire communist movement to come out in a broad front against anti-communism, conduct unremitting ideological struggle on the basis of the firm principles of Marxism-Leninism, combat revisionism, dogmatism and nationalism, and faithfully observe the documents adopted. This is precisely what the Marxist-Leninist parties are doing.

All this is being done by the Marxist-Leninist parties and the organizations and trends in the newly-free countries which are close to them.

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## III. Communists—In Forefront of Fight for Peace

LIFE confirmed that the only correct policy in international relations is the one worked out by Lenin and carried forward in the decisions of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU and in the documents of the

United States in the Caribbean. The US military planned to invade Cuba, strangle the Cuban Republic and make it the "Sarajevo" of a third world war.

As a result of the firm and flexible actions of the Soviet

Government, which was fully aware of its historical responsibility, the interests of peace and socialism, the interests of mankind, and owing to the heroism of the Cuban people supported by peace lovers throughout the world, peace was saved and the aggression against Cuba staved off.

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# OF COMMUNISTS

# OF THE WORLD

\*SEE OVERLEAF



# TRIUMPHANT BANNER OF

## FROM OVERLEAF

What did the events in the Caribbean Sea show? What lessons can be drawn from them?

## Lessons Of Cuba

People in all countries became clearly convinced on the concrete example that communism saves the world, while imperialism threatens to plunge mankind into the abyss of a thermonuclear war. No malevolent propaganda can disprove the fact that many governments, noted public leaders, including those who are far from sympathizing with communism, and the broad masses of the people thank the Soviet Government and its head N. S. Khrushchev for their decisive contribution towards saving mankind from a nuclear catastrophe.

The events around Cuba clearly showed the people once again how right the Communists were in persistently warning them against the danger which imperialism led by the US monopoly groups represents for mankind. Life fully confirmed that the military, the ultra-reactionary circles of the United States are ready to act recklessly, pushing the world to a thermonuclear catastrophe, even ignoring the fact that this will spell the death of millions of people in the United States itself.

For the first time in the postwar period and, perhaps, for the first time in their history the American people felt the burning breath of a nuclear war. There is abundant evidence that the broad sections of the American people did not and do not want war and are coming out against it.

Progressive Americans state that as a result of the latest international crisis the anti-war sentiment in the United States has become much stronger. It is very significant that the most rabid warmongers were blacklisted during the recent elections to US Congress. Ever broader masses of the people want neither the McCarthyist line in home policy nor the Dulles line in international affairs—such is the main conclusion drawn from these elections.

The events in the Caribbean Sea also revealed that behind the claims of unity and complete identity of interests of all member countries of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc lie in fact profound contradictions; the centrifugal tendencies of the acute struggle and the reluctance of many countries to threaten their existence because of the criminal actions of the US military. This, no doubt, will help to intensify the struggle of the anti-war, patriotic forces in many countries for the withdrawal of the US and NATO military bases situated on their territory.

The Caribbean developments have strikingly revealed the great international role played by the countries that have shaken off the colonialist yoke. As a rule these

countries categorically opposed the aggressive act of the US and advocated the right of every state to follow the road its people have chosen; they have given moral and political support to revolutionary Cuba. Life has shown that the united effort of the peoples of the newly liberated countries, and of the peoples of the socialist states in the struggle against the war danger represents a major factor for universal peace.

The upshot of the crisis once again fully corroborated the correctness of the conclusion drawn by the Communists as to the possibility of staving off a world war by vigorously and decisively struggling against the aggressive imperialist forces. This enhances the prestige of the international communist movement, the Soviet Union and all peace forces, and holds out new prospects in the movement for peace and socialism.

The Soviet Union, the entire socialist camp and all the peace forces are striving to have the Caribbean crisis settled once and for all, to protect Cuba from the encroachments of the reactionary and aggressive forces, and to consolidate peace and the security of the peoples.

The Communist Parties regard the struggle for peace as their paramount task. The theses of the Moscow conferences still remain their slogan and programme of action.

These theses are that to struggle for peace today one must maintain the greatest vigilance, tirelessly expose imperialism's policy, keep one's eyes open for the intrigues and machinations of the warmongers, stir up the sacred wrath of the peoples against all heading for war, organize still better all the peace forces and steadily amplify vigorous mass action for peace.

## IV. For Marxist-Leninist Unity

The principal determining trend of today is the mounting strength and prestige of communism. The further growth in number, authority and influence of many Communist Parties of the capitalist countries irrefutably demonstrates the correctness of their general line.

It goes without saying that the communist movement does not develop evenly in different parts of the world; in some places it is going forward rapidly, in others it is still entering strength, and in still other places it is overcoming serious difficulties and weaknesses.

The Communists in the capitalist countries are carrying on a grim and difficult struggle. They are hounded and persecuted by the whole of the bourgeois state machine. In the capitalist world nearly half of the Communist Parties have been driven underground.

However, nothing can weaken the influence of the Communists because there is no other political force, except the Communist Parties, that would rightly express the interests of the working class

The objectives of the Communists are to have the arms race stopped, nuclear weapons and their testing and manufacture prohibited, foreign military bases dismantled and foreign troops withdrawn from other countries, military blocs disbanded, a peace treaty signed with Germany, and West Berlin converted into a free demilitarized city; they want to achieve universal disarmament and to straitjacket the insensate militarists, firstly of the US.

## Struggle Necessary For Peace

The working-class movement and the masses were unable to prevent the first and second world wars. The main reason was that the ranks of the international proletariat had been split by the Right-wing leaders of Social-Democracy. Today there again rises in all its acuteness the question: Will the peace forces be able to avert the conflagration of a third world war? Today, when the Soviet Union commands unprecedented might, when there exists such a thing as the powerful socialist camp, when imperialism's possibilities have shrunk, this is immeasurably easier to do.

One cannot presume, however, that peace will be secured without a struggle or by empty incantations.

# WORLD COMMUNISTS

bombast and the brandish- ing of cardboard swords.

To prevent a world war, all the forces of the socialist camp and of the working-class, national-liberation and peace movements must be united; they must take vigorous, joint action against the aggressive imperialist circles.

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is their desire to critically analyse their activity in the light of the lessons to be drawn from the recent international crisis. The main conclusion they arrive at is that to paralyse the doings of the aggressive imperialist circles to let another world war loose and of the reactionary quarters to curtail democracy, they must, in the present conditions, greatly enhance the political militancy of all their organisations as well as of the mass organisations of the working class and all the working people, and learn how to quickly muster all their forces and start a well-organized and powerful offensive against the positions of imperialism and reaction.

The Communist Parties of the advanced capitalist countries are rallying all the sections of society, fighting against the yoke of the monopolies and against the imperialist integration, which means the intensification of exploitation of the popular masses and pursues the aim of suppressing all the democratic freedoms and undermining the national liberation movement.

In spite of the opposition of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders, there appear ever more opportunities for the joint actions of the working class, for we can now see that the workers' movement in many countries has turned to the left, feeling greater responsibility for the preser-

# WORLD COMMUNISTS

defence of peace and for the growing attempts of the ruling imperialist circles to establish the regimes of dictatorship.

The Declaration quite justly points out that in order to have a real rallying of the working class, of all the working people and of all progressive mankind, it is necessary, first of all, to rally the Communist Parties themselves.

"A resolute defence of the unity of the international Communist movement, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian internationalism; and the prevention of any actions that can undermine this unity," runs the Statement, "are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for a successful solution of the problems of socialist revolution, construction of socialism and communism."

The chief danger in the Communist movement is revisionism, whose ideology has been expressed in the fullest possible way in the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. And though crushing blows have been inflicted on revisionism, the struggle against it still remains an important task of the Communists.

The Declaration also emphasises the danger of dogmatism and sectarianism in the communist movement;

"If a consistent struggle is not waged against dogmatism and sectarianism in the theoretical and practical work," noted the Meeting, "they can

also become the main danger in this or that stage of development of separate parties." The Meeting's documents speak as forcefully as possible of the danger of nationalism and national narrowness.

## Dogmatists Up In Arms

Dogmatism, sectarianism, nationalism and the redundant loyalty to the personality cult made up the rotten soil which gave birth to the splitting activities of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour, to their attacks against creative Marxism-Leninism, the socialist community and the international communist movement.

Right now there is not a single thesis in the documents of the International Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties against which the Albanian leaders have not risen up in arms. They have started a particularly shameful and definitely provocative campaign in connection with the Caribbean crisis.

Whereas formerly they hypocritically talked of the policy of peaceful coexistence, giving it an anti-Leninist content, recently they openly started pursuing a policy of undermining peaceful coexistence and pushing mankind towards a thermonuclear war. They come out against the peaceful settlement of international problems, against different forms of transition to socialism and against the disarmament struggle.

# WORLD COMMUNISTS

The Albanian leadership embarked upon a path of unbridled calumny against the USSR, the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties. It is actually in this that it links with the imperialist propaganda.

Recently the US imperialist ideologists proposed that use should no more be made in their "general anti-communist strategy" of the principle of "one who is not with us (i.e. with the US imperialists), is against us," and instead of it the principle of "one who is against the CPSU and Soviet policy is with us" should be employed.

## Albanian Attack

The Albanian leaders' attack against the generally acknowledged vanguard of the world communist movement brings them into the same camp with the anti-communists, for according to the definition of the Moscow Meetings, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which shoulders the main burden in the struggle against imperialism and renders the greatest and most effective support to all the progressive emancipatory movements, was and remains in the lead of the world communist movement.

Pseudo-revolutionary phrases and calls cannot conceal the major fact that the activities of the Albanian leaders inflict harm to the cause of socialism and communism. In the present situation V. I. Lenin's following words sound

# NEW HUNGARY FORGES AHEAD

FROM OMEO GOOPTU

THE imperialists of the world have been pursuing, true to their aims and traditions, vicious anti-Hungarian campaigns with great ruthlessness, ever since 1956.

The world has now become accustomed to the inclusion of the so-called Hungarian question as an annual feature in the proceedings of the United Nations. This is done under imperialist sponsorship (and the debates—'slanders' would be an appropriate description—are usually in the best tradition of the cold war embellished with strong Dullesian flavour.

But in spite of Voice of America, USIS, Wall Street and Pentagon lobbies scattered as they are, in many areas of the world, the international position of the Hungarian People's Republic has been greatly consolidated.

This finds a partial expression in the United Nations itself. Whereas in 1961, 51 member-states voted to put the 'question' on the agenda of the UN General Assembly with 15 against, in 1962 only 43 voted in favour while 35 member-states led the opposition.

During the last three years, Hungary has negotiated diplomatic ties with 18 more States, taking the total to 37 countries. In the same period, she has concluded 48 treaties and agreements with as many non-socialist countries.

This is as it should be. The country has no doubt to solve many problems in her endeavour to build socialism. Mistakes are made in the planning and execution of socialist programmes.

It would be utterly wrong to claim that everything moves smoothly and the Party and the government do not encounter difficulties in a socialist country. Far from it.

## ALL-ROUND PROGRESS

But even anti-communist sources today are being slowly forced to admit that the country has made a significant all-round progress in recent times. Hence the growing awareness of the never-ending attempts by the imperialists to inject cold-war attitudes into the Hungarian issue.

The fact of the matter is that in the region of Tisza and the Danube, a socialist Hungary is being constructed at a steady pace in an atmosphere of international peace and over-all confidence. Hitler's retreating army ruined 40% of Hungarian industry. Over 2,000 bridges were blown up and one-fifth of the country's locomotives were destroyed. The war cost the nation 1/2 of her cattle population, 54% of her horses and 63% of her pigs.

The city of Budapest, the beautiful capital, was reduced to a jungle of rubble and in the final six-week battle for its liberation 40,000 people were found dead in the Budapest streets.

How much recovery has been made since and in what manner, are the big question. In the post-1956 period, after the removal of the Rakosi-Gero clique from the leadership (and the oppressive policies associated with them), the Hungarian go-

vernment launched a 3-Year Plan of national development which was concluded successfully in 1960.

The national income, as a result, increased by 25% instead of the target of 13%; industrial production shot up by 40% instead of 22%. The agricultural production went up by 12%. The per capita real wage and the per capita real income increased by 12% and 16% respectively.

Today, Hungary is in the midst of her second 3-Year Plan which was started in 1961. It is difficult yet to write accurately about the extent of the success achieved so far in the execution of the current Plan.

The statistical figures of 1961 however reveal that the industrial production surpassed by 3% of the original target which, incidentally, was about 12% higher than that of 1960.

According to the combined data of the first 9 months of this year, industrial production compared to last year is 8% higher, the cash income of the population is up by 5% and the retail trade by 4%.

## TARGETS FULFILLED

It is obvious, in other words, that the success achieved so far in the building up of the national economy has been in tune with the Plan targets, even over-fulfilling them in certain sectors.

To any impartial visitor to Hungary today, the above figures are substantiated by the evidence of his eyes and ears. Rents are ridiculously low in common with other socialist countries. At the same time, there is an acute shortage of housing as there is also in other socialist countries. The government is not yet able to satisfy the tremendous and urgent demand for new flats. But it is making genuine efforts to do so. Between 1958-60, it built 137,000 apartments whereas in 1961 16% more were built than the last year.

The population is evidently well fed. Shortages in particular items do take place from time to time. But judging by the meals served in ordinary canteens and restaurants, I must confess that, like the Russians, they eat too much even by most European standards.

Only a nominal charge is made for the Health Service, and in general, social services including social security system could make any non-communist from abroad quite envious.

As was to be expected, I found that splendid facilities are given throughout the year for varied cultural activities and sporting events. Much of the leisure activities of the working class are provided for, at insignificant cost, by the country's powerful trade unions. Modern jazz could be heard at innumerable clubs and restaurants in and around Budapest.

Even by West European standards, Budapest shops are well-stocked with goods of daily use, and they are not of inferior quality at all. As opposed to some East European countries, the Hungarians are proving their superb capability for tasteful interior decoration in private and public buildings and admirable sense of elegant window dressing. No account of the Hungarian scene is complete without refer-

ences to its agriculture, whose importance is great in the national economy.

Agricultural production has not gone up adequately recently. Plan targets have not been fulfilled. This is essentially due to the fact that for the last two years the country has been unfortunate in suffering from severe droughts.

Fortunately, this period also coincided with the socialist reorganisation of agriculture which has been realised by an honest adherence by the Party and the government to the principles of voluntariness.

## AWARENESS OF PEASANTRY

The difficulties on the agricultural front, arising mainly from the above reason, would have increased 10-fold but for the timely awareness of the peasantry of the need to pool their talents and resources in a common endeavour to increase production and increase the standard of living.

I was aware of the grave mistakes committed in the past (and not only in Hungary) in this sphere, in particular, due to dogmatic and sectarian understanding. But I was repeatedly assured (and I received confirmation from non-communist sources) that this achievement has been realised by using methods of democratic persuasion as opposed to crude force.

Janos Kadar is thoroughly sincere when he declares that the foundation of any lasting victory can be fool-proof only if sound democratic methods in all essential respects are used to realise that victory.

In fact at the Party Congress, a section of the delegates wanted the Party to energetically intervene immediately to bring about amalgamation of medium co-operative farms into bigger units. Whatever the merits of the demand, Janos Kadar in his closing speech rejected this, saying the Party would go ahead in this respect only by taking the peasant masses into confidence. He thought it wrong to reorganise everything, all at once, in a haphazard manner. Whatever the Party must do, it must study carefully both home and international experiences and consult the competent persons.

In spite of the droughts, during the period of socialist reorganisation of agriculture, the country's livestock has increased, irrigated area expanded, and so have viticulture and horticulture. The real value of the peasants' consumption has grown by more than 21% since 1956. Meat consumption too has gone up by 17% since then.

Janos Kadar and other speakers at the Congress made moving references to the wonderful and heroic efforts of the peasantry to increase production in face of natural difficulties and in spite of the fact that this was done in the absence of large-scale administrative coercion.

I couldn't agree more with a political commentator when he said that: "Planning in Hungary is ceasing to mean enforced sacrifices, steel statistics and promises of a better life in some distant future. It is beginning to pay off in goods that people can eat, wear, use and live in. The better life is arriving—now."

# WRITERS AGAINST AGGRESSION

A statement published in Hyderabad on December 1, 1961 reads:

In this hour of grave national crisis when our country has been invaded by the armed forces of the Chinese government, we the writers and intellectuals of Andhra Pradesh wish to express our feelings of solidarity with the rest of the Indian people and the Indian Government headed by Prime Minister Nehru. We declare that all our moral, spiritual and material resources shall be devoted for the defence of our motherland, for fortifying the will and the strength of our people to defeat the Chinese invaders, to preserve our freedom, maintain the honour and dignity of our country, and the democratic life and values which we have always cherished.

We believe that the only correct way of solving disputes and differences between two countries today is through friendly and peaceful negotiations and not through the use of force, violence and war. However, the Chinese Government abandoned this method, invaded our frontiers and left no choice before us except to meet force with force to defend our boundaries and our territory.

All Indians are united in this determination. Defence of the sacred soil of our motherland is our one slogan today. We also want to affirm that we are raising this slogan today in order to protect and maintain the freedom and integrity of our country so cruelly violated by the armed forces of the Chinese Government; and furthermore that we adhere firmly to the policy of non-alignment and anti-colonialism and peace pursued by the Indian people and Indian Government headed by Prime Minister Nehru.

We appeal to all our brother writers in Afro-Asian countries to condemn in unequivocal terms Chinese aggression against India and the violation of the Panch Sheel agreement and the Bandung Principles by them.

We wish to tell our writer colleagues in all Afro-Asian countries that the allegation made by the Chinese Government that India has committed aggression against China is totally false. Equally untrue is their baseless accusation that the present Government of India has been instigated by some Western powers to launch an attack on China. The Indian Government and Indian people are non-aligned, and wish to live in peace and friendship with all neighbours including China and the whole world.

We appeal to all Afro-Asian writers and intellectuals to demand the unconditional withdrawal of invading Chinese forces from Indian territory to positions which they held before the outbreak of present hostilities (viz., before September 8) prior to starting negotiations with the Government of India, for a peaceful settlement. This is the only way to restore Afro-Asian Solidarity, the only way to restore peace between the two great Asian countries, the only way to avert this grave danger to World Peace.

The statement is signed by the following:

Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani, MLC, Prof. Habibur Rahman (Secretary, Anjumane Tareqi-e-Urdu), Mohammad Fazlur Rahman (Director, Motilal Nehru National Unity Centre), Yudhvir (Editor, MIlap), Abd Al Khan (Editor, Siasat), K. Rajgopal Rao (Editor, Vishal Andhra), Makhdoom Mohiuddin, MLC, Alam Khundmiri (Philosophy Department, Osmania University), Vansh-dhar Vidyalankar (Principal, Oriental College), Najma Sami, Amina Abul Hassan (Urdu Short Story Writers), Prof. R. B. Madhekar, Prof. B. S. Kabalekar (Marathi Department, Osmania University), Prof. K. Laxmi Ranganam, Dr. B. Rama Raju (Telugu Department, Osmania University), Dr. Masood Hussain Khan, Dr. Hafeez Qatli (Urdu Department, Osmania University), Prof. P. V. Rajgopal, Dr. Rashiduddin Khan (Political Science Department, Osmania University), Dr. Raj Kishore Pandey, Srinivasa Lahoti (Hindi Prachar Sabha), Amjad Yusufzal, Mohit Sen (Journalists).



# News from brother parties

The Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party which was the focus of attention of the entire Bulgarian people during the ten days that it lasted, has already entered the annals of the Party's history. Its meaning and purpose are current and topical and will have their effect on our present and future life.

FOR we can say without exaggeration that from November 14, 1962 on, when the Congress ended, our country will develop entirely in accordance with the decisions made by the Eighth Congress.

The Congress marks a new stage in the development of the Party and the country in the real sense of the word.

It has brought to an end the actions connected with the decisions of the April Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to do away with the personality cult in Bulgaria and its harmful effect on Party life and the Government. In the light of the decisions made by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, our Party drew far-reaching conclusions as to the incompatibility of the personality cult with the socialist system and the need of fully restoring the Leninist principles of Party and Government life, which had been trampled upon during the period of the personality cult.

By **ALBERT COHEN**

The practical application of these conclusions was a difficult process. It encountered the resistance of some high officials connected with the system of the personality cult, who were personally responsible for serious violations of the socialist laws. The Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party held before the Congress removed these persons from the Central Committee and dismissed them from their responsible posts.

The Eighth Congress fully approved the decisions of this session and closed an unhappy page in the history of the Party. It consolidated the solidarity of the Party ranks along the line of the April Plenary Session of 1956 and cleared the path for the further accelerated development of the country.

Had not this been done by the Congress, the Party and the people could hardly have tackled with success the solution of the main task set by the Congress Directives: in the next twenty years to complete the construction of the material and technical basis of socialism and begin building the material and technical basis of communism.

As is known, the draft Directives were discussed by the whole people and the collective mind of the working masses made numerous suggestions for improving and working out in detail the 20-year plan. The Eighth Congress rounded off this discussion of the millions.

It took into consideration the most important and valuable suggestions and approved the draft, making it a practical programme for the country's development in the next two decades. This programme maps out the main lines of socialist construction in our country, based on scientific foundations, up to the moment of the gradual transition to the construction of a communist society.

By voting these remarkable Directives, the Eighth Congress gave the Party and people both a concrete working programme and a clear conception of the entire development of the country in the next two decades.

The typical feature of the 20-year plan is that it defines the tasks and lines of development not in an isolated, but in a general manner concerned with the world socialist system, of which our country is an integral part.

This plan takes into consideration the growing co-operation and the international division of labour which is gaining more and more ground within the framework of this system. This gives us the right to call it a plan of international socialist solidarity.

On the other hand, it is designed for peaceful construction and involves the preservation of peace as the main prerequisite for its achievement. That is why we

## Zhivkov's Speech

THE 8th Congress has unanimously confirmed the general line of Bulgaria's policy," T. Zhivkov, the First Secretary, told the closing session of the Congress on November 14.

"The Congress has declared in a most impressive manner that the foreign policy pursued by the Central Committee and the Government is based on and should be based on the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. Under present international conditions and with the growing preponderance of the forces of socialism and peace over the forces of imperialism and war, there is no sensible policy but that of peaceful co-existence."

"Our Party," T. Zhivkov emphasized, "will continue to be strictly guided by the principles of the international communist and working-class movement, which were worked out, jointly. The Party will go on waging an unrelenting struggle against all attempts to discredit or neglect this standpoint of ours, which has been generally acknowledged."

### Maximum Flexibility

Todor Zhivkov said that maximum flexibility should be used in the struggle to avert the kindling of a nuclear war on a worldscale by the imperialists and that the search for a peaceful settlement of the controversial issues between states with different social systems should be unflagging. He pointed out that left sectarianism and dogmatism continued to handicap the struggle against imperialism and war.

"The policy of peaceful co-existence," Todor Zhivkov said, "is the only sound and sensible policy when the recent crisis broke out in the Caribbean."

"Every man of common sense must give his approval to the Soviet Union's action in this crisis and to that of the other socialist countries and the peace-loving forces throughout the world, when they prevented imperialism from plunging the world into an atomic war. Every sensible man and woman must admit that this action was the only right and proper one and

might also call it a plan of peace. The Eighth Congress, therefore, laid great stress on the questions of strengthening the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and acknowledgment of the leading role played by the Soviet Union and the CPSU.

It reaffirmed the profound conviction of the Bulgarian communists and the Bulgarian people that our country's friendship with the great Soviet Union is a decisive factor in the building of socialism and the transition to communism in Bulgaria. Expressing the unshakable loyalty of the Party and country to the socialist camp and to the family of Communist and Workers' parties, the Eighth Congress also condemned the schismatic behaviour of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour.

The spirit of proletarian internationalism which prevailed at the Eighth Congress was enhanced by

the participation of the delegates of over 60 communist and workers' parties. Practically all the delegates of the fraternal parties expressed their full unanimity with the views stated by Todor Zhivkov in the report he read on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, with regard to the unity of the international communist and working class movement.

The Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party thus turned into a strong unifying link of international communist solidarity. Doing away with the consequences of the harmful personality cult, voting the programme for the accelerated construction of the material and technical basis of socialism and consolidating the unity of the international communist and working class movement—these three main lines in the work of the Eighth Congress are indissolubly linked together and represent the three sides of an inseparable whole.

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## FOUNDRY FORGE PLANT-RANCHI

# Production To Begin Next Year

—Says Skoda Representative

Two representatives of the Skoda Works of Czechoslovakia were in the capital last week. They were Messrs Sterner (Deputy General Manager) and Rottenborn (Export Director).

It is the world-famous Skoda Works of Czechoslovakia which has been entrusted with supplying the machinery and equipment and rendering all technical know-how for the construction, erection and operation of the Foundry Forge Plant at Ranchi, being built by Heavy Engineering Corporation of India.

Addressing pressmen on Nov. 30 they said that they had been to India to get a detailed view of the actual construction work and to help in harnessing all efforts for its speedy completion.

"I am glad to say" said Mr. Rottenborn, "that after overcoming initial difficulties, the work is now in full stride and it is supposed to start initial production in the second half of the next year. Full production to its capacity however will be possible only after three years, as it is a very big plant and is being established in three stages."

This Foundry Forge Plant will be the largest project of its kind in Asia and is one of the largest complete plants ever exported by Czechoslovakia. The Foundry Forge Plant at Ranchi will supply castings and forgings for the Heavy Machine Building Plant at Ranchi (being established in collaboration with the USSR) and the Heavy Machine Tools Plant, built in collaboration with Czechoslovakia, also at Ranchi.

The Skoda representatives emphasized that the Czechoslovak

experts and technicians feel very much enthused and encouraged by working with their Indian counterparts of the Heavy Engineering Corporation.

"The Indian technicians and workers have taken great interest in getting all experience from their Czechoslovak co-operators and have shown unfathomable talent in mastering it in the shortest possible time," they said, and added: "One of the most significant features is the working out of all working drawings and further designing by the Indian technicians themselves with the cooperation and advice of Czechoslovak experts, which should mean that in future the Indian friends would be able to plan and prepare any project of this kind on their own. Quite a good number of Indian technicians and other workers are also getting practical training and experience at the Skoda Works in Czechoslovakia itself."

The Skoda Works is also co-operating with other Czechoslovak concerns for supplying machinery and equipment etc. for other projects in India, for example, the Heavy Machine Tool Plant at Ranchi and for Heavy Power Equipment Plant at Hyderabad.

Skoda has over a 100 years tradition and reputation at its back

and is one of the biggest plants in the world. Skoda Works is at present building 16 complete plants abroad and is participating in the establishment of scores of others.

While it occupies a position of pride in the establishments of new plants in Czechoslovakia itself, it also exports complete plants and machinery equipment to 70 countries. In its history, the Skoda Works has built about 500 complete plants — Sugar Mills, Breweries, Power Stations, Cement Factories, Rolling Mills, Foundries and Forges, Mining Equipment,

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My visit to Washington has enabled me to meet President John Kennedy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. I have had pleasant meetings with Mr. Llewellyn Thompson and Mr. Stuart Udall—these "American Muscovites."

The talks with the President and the Secretary of State were useful. They helped us to clarify our respective positions on Cuba, Berlin and many other questions. The general impression of all our meetings in the U.S. is that a possibility is in the offing for bringing closer the viewpoints of the two sides on a number of important international questions.

The Soviet Union and the United States are not only the most highly developed industrial powers. They also possess the most powerful nuclear weapons in the world. This is a very important factor. If our relations are good, peace on earth can be regarded as safe. That is precisely why our two countries must have the highest awareness of responsibility in the approach to a solution of international problems.

There are no territorial disputes between the Soviet Union and the United States. Yet, there are often difficulties in our relations. And unless we discuss ways of eliminating them, unless we are eliminating them step by step in good time, serious dangers to peace might arise.

The head of the Soviet Government, Nikita Khrushchov, carrying through the policy of our Communist Party, is striving for an examination of disputed issues together, one after another, safeguarding peace for the peoples.

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Coal Washeries, Engineering Plants, Chemical Plants etc. in almost all countries of the world.

Skoda is in a position to supply and erect full steel plants, they said. Actually it was building a four-million ton steel plant at present in Eastern Slovakia.

Before the Second World War and during it, the Skoda Works produced heavy arms i.e. guns, tanks etc. but since 1945 it has completely switched over to production for peaceful purposes and now no arms are produced.

Commitment Will Be Fulfilled

Declaring that Czechoslovakia will fulfil every commitment to India with honour, Mr. Rottenborn told the press conference that Skoda "is paying its utmost attention to the projects built in India."

He said: "The workers and technicians of the Skoda Works know fully well that their Government, the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, is following a policy of peaceful cooperation with all

countries, especially with the developing countries, and endeavours to help industrialization leading to increase in employment capacity and rapid rise in the standard of living of the people in these countries. It means strengthening of economic independence in the developing countries.

That is why, the employees of the Skoda Works take their work very seriously and are fully conscious that by fulfilling their duty diligently and in time, they would be serving the cause of strengthening friendship between nations and securing lasting peace and happiness to all mankind. Every employee of the Skoda Works has taken this to his heart and does his job humbly.

The people of Czechoslovakia including the employees of Skoda Works value the friendly relations with India very highly, and I would like to take this opportunity to declare on behalf of the Skoda Works that every commitment in India will be fulfilled with honour."

Judging by everything, President Kennedy understands what war means in our time, and for his part tried to avoid it. All must display a reasonable approach to the solution of international problems.

You have a fine weather here now, and you can rejoice that nature pampers you so. I would like to wish that the weather here should always be fine, and not only in nature, but also in the international situation, in the relations between our two countries.

I wish the American people success. Good-bye.

Speaking a few days earlier at UN Headquarters when correspondents asked him to explain Cuba's attitude towards inspection, Mikoyan had told them: "The position of the Cuban Government is set forth in that declaration quite clearly and it would be fine if the American press printed this declaration in full. It is known that in its declaration the Cuban Government agrees to the UN inspection on its territory provided the inspection is reciprocal and would be extended also to a part of the U.S. territory, Puerto Rico and some other areas of the Western hemisphere where active preparations for aggression against Cuba are under way."

"Cuba has advanced fair proposals and we support them," Mikoyan pointed out. "To make inspection acceptable to Cuba, international inspection must be carried out on neutral and equal basis." Mikoyan spoke highly about Cuba's latest proposals set forth in the above-mentioned declaration, and supported the lawful demands of the Cuban people expressed in Fidel Castro's five points.

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# BULGARIAN PARTY CONGRESS

no doubt that the stubborn struggle of the Cuban people, of the Soviet Union, of the socialist countries and of the peace-loving forces will compel the USA not only to lift the blockade but also to give up their intention of encroaching on the freedom of Cuba and upstaging its socialist progress and acquisitions.

Todor Zhivkov pointed out however, that moral and political support alone would not be sufficient to bridle the imperialists. If the defence of Cuba had been confined only to moral and political support and declarations, Zhivkov said, the US imperialists would not have hesitated for a moment and would have launched an invasion to do away with the people's regime in Cuba.

"A reliable guarantee for the freedom and independence of socialist Cuba is the willingness of the Cuban people, the Soviet Union and the other socialist

countries to resist by every means within their power, even with the most modern weapons, every attempt of the US imperialists to encroach upon this heroic country. The invincible power of the socialist camp and, above all, of the Soviet Union, their steadfast, unshakable resoluteness to safeguard socialist Cuba is what has proved to be of the greatest help to the Cuban people in their struggle to defend the freedom and independence of the Cuban Republic.

"The Cuban people have the right to choose their own way of life and to organize their public life as they please. The Cuban people have the right to insist on the US military base in Cuba being done away with and on having the whole of their territory at their disposal with sovereign rights over it. Socialist Cuba will

situations drift apart to their respective national quarters and conduct a nationalist policy toward other peoples, the Marxist-Leninists deem it their sacred duty to strengthen in every possible way the friendship of peoples of the socialist countries, the friendship and solidarity of the entire world family of Communist Parties, to be together both in clear and stormy weather, to bend national interests with international interests, by all their actions not to undermine, but to consolidate the communist movement, the entire front of progressive forces, and to check their watches against the chimes of all Communists of the world—the Declaration and Statement.

The working class of all countries and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard face a task of the greatest responsibility, that of rallying their ranks closer, further strengthening to the utmost the world socialist system, increasing the vigilance and activity of popular masses for aims of preventing a new world war and securing swift progress toward the great targets of the revolutionary liberation struggle.

A reliable guarantee of new successes in the great struggle of the Communists for a bright future for all mankind, for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism, lies in loyalty to their militant banner, the documents of the Moscow Meetings.

There was plenty of steam-letting along these lines—in

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# V.V.N. TRIAL

★ From P. Kunhanandan Nair

THE West German Government launched a monstrous trial against the Association of Victims of Nazi Persecution (VNN) in West Berlin last Thursday.

A Federal Administrative Court, equal to a High Court, under the Chairmanship of Herr Werner who is accused of having been a Nazi and an SS storm trooper during Hitler's reign is empowered to conduct the trial.

The Bonn Government has launched this illegal trial in order to ban and declare illegal this Association of Victims of Nazi Persecution, the only democratic organisation of the opposition not yet banned in West Germany. This organisation consists of anti-fascist fighters many of whom were in concentration camps for many years and several hundreds of whom have been crippled for life as a result of fascist torture and war.

Their real crime has been to campaign for clearing out the former Nazis from high places in Bonn. In addition, they have opposed rearmament and especially giving nuclear arms to the Bundeswehr.

Foreign Minister Schroeder began the move to ban the Victims of Hitler when he was Interior Minister. As in Hitler's days he first banned the Communist Party as a first step to ban other opposition, dubbed as "communist front" organisations.

The West German Federal Administrative Court itself is illegally established in West Berlin far away from the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany

within another State. This is done in order to produce an impression that West Berlin comes under the legal authority of the Bonn Government.

Even the imperialist British Government has recently stated that West Berlin is not a part of West Germany.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic has lodged a vigorous protest against setting up of this Court in West Berlin in the heart of the GDR.

The ban on the VNN is to provide the basis for the persecution in West Germany of legal organisations whose programme and activities are clearly anti-fascist and whose members before and during World War II fought against Hitler fascism in a united front with the peoples of countries of the anti-Hitler coalition.

When the trial began on November 29 morning, resistance fighters from all over the world and outstanding jurists from the West had packed the Federal Court room. The West Berlin police at short notice and on instructions from imperialist occupation powers banned a rally of West Berlin Association of Victims of Nazi Oppression which was to welcome West German and foreign observers to the VVN trial.

Historians and politicians consider this trial as important as the Leipzig trial in 1933 when Dimitrov and the German Communists were falsely accused by Hitler. Today when fascism is thrown into the garbage heap of history, it is shocking that the Bonn Government has embarked on a course trading shamelessly in the footsteps of Hitler.

On the very first day of the trial, the whole table was dramatically turned against the accusers and the impartial nature of Bonn organs of justice. Immediately after the formal charge-sheeting by the Federal Prosecutor, an accused, one of the leaders of the Resistance Fighters, Herr August Braumgartel addressed the Court and said:

"Your Lordship, I have to present something very serious here. I charge that Professor Werner, the Presiding Judge, has been a member of the Nazi Party and of the stormtroopers too. I want to protest that we anti-fascists are put in the dock of a court headed by a Nazi." There was sudden animation in the courtroom packed with international representatives and press.

In the pin-drop silence that followed, Herr August further charged that the Presiding Judge Werner had glorified and defended Hitler's National Socialism in his thesis for his doctorate in the

University. Herr August there upon presented to the Court a packet containing documents and photostat copies to prove the fascist past of the presiding judge.

The counsel for VVN defendants showed me a photostat which reveals that Werner was a member of the stormtroopers since 1933 and a member of the Nazi Party since 1937.

There was total confusion in the high tribune where the judges sat flanking this ex-Nazi. The court was adjourned for a week. The presiding judge did not make any statement at all to deny the charges against him, thus indirectly confirming that an ex-Nazi is now trying anti-fascist freedom fighters under the Bonn Government, which in every way follows Hitler's policies.

The VVN trial no doubt is a diabolical plan of the Bonn politicians to suppress all shades of opposition to fascist revival in West Germany. The activities of the VVN have been in full accord with what the Western Powers solemnly proclaimed at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences: the extirpation of German Fascism and militarism. The VVN was officially recognised and licensed by the three Western occupation powers of Ger-

many as entitled to function upon presented to the Court a packet containing documents and photostat copies to prove the fascist past of the presiding judge.

The world public protest against this attack against anti-fascists is now mounting. Bonn Government's attorney in the trial in his opening speech very unintentionally stated that during the last week 2000 protests from all over the world were received by the Attorney-General of the Federal Government against the trial and planned ban on the VVN.

The GDR Parliament meeting in Berlin on November 29 has passed a resolution strongly protesting against this illegal trial. In a note sent by the GDR Government to 53 States of the anti-Hitler Coalition it has drawn attention to this trial and proposed ban. The note said that proceedings against VVN are clearly designed to increase tension in Europe and Germany when world statesmen are making Herculean efforts to ease tension and put out war flames kindled by the Caribbean crisis.

The Soviet Union in its note to the three occupation powers in West Germany has protested against the trial being permitted to be held in West Berlin and charged that West is in open complicity with suppression of anti-fascists.

Following are some of the arrested leaders: George Vaz, General Secretary, Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union (North Goa); Divakar Kakodkar, President and Raymond Cardoz, General Secretary of Goa Khann Kamgar Union (South Goa); Chandrakant Kakodkar, General Secretary, Goa Mining Transport Workers' Union; Nagush, Naik, President and S. V. Mogue, Treasurer of Marmagoa Port, Dock & Transport Workers' Union; Narayan Palekar, General Secretary, Taxi Drivers' Union (Marmagoa); Narayan Desai, President, Goa Kisan Sangh. The Convenor of Goa Trade Unions' Committee further states in his letter to Lt. Governor Sivasankar:

All these trade union leaders have unequivocally condemned the unprovoked Chinese aggression on our country, and in fact all were busy mobilising public opinion and collecting funds for National Defence Fund when they were rounded up.

The Goa Trade Unions' Committee through which all these Unions are coordinated has given a call to the workers throughout Goa to step up production, to contribute one day's wages in addition to other contributions and we have all voluntarily accepted the Industrial Truce Resolution of November 3, 1962, mutually agreed upon by the Central Labour Ministry and the Four Central Trade Union Organisations.

Your Excellency will be aware that it was Marmagoa Port, Dock & Transport Workers' Union which was the first organisation in Goa to come out openly to condemn the Chinese aggression against our country, and in fact the general strike by 7000 workers of Dock, Transport and Port Railway which was to start from October 25, 1962, was postponed sine die in response to the call of our Prime Minister and in view of the national emergency.

Likewise, the strike at Sanvordem and round-about mines which was to start from November 1, was cancelled for the same reasons by Goa Khann Kamgar Union.

Your Excellency is also aware of the mass rally called by Marmagoa Port, Dock & Transport Workers' Union, Mazagaon (Goa) Dock Workers' Union, Oil Workers' Union, Taxi & Bus Drivers' Union (Marmagoa) and General Employees' Union at Vasco da Gama on October 26, 1962 in order to condemn the Chinese aggression. Nagush Naik was the President of the rally while Gajanan Patil and a few others including myself addressed the rally.

At the October 30 public meeting at Panjim called by the Citizens' Committee for National Defence under the presidency of Justice Jose Paulo Teles, I was

one of the speakers. On November 4, a public meeting was held at Santacruz (Ilhas) under Frente Popular and was addressed by Narayan Palekar and myself.

Under the aforesaid circumstances to arrest the trade union and kisan sangh leaders is to do injustice to the very cause for which they are supposed to have been arrested. It is wrong and incorrect to state that any of them are pro-Chinese, yes — an insult to our dignity, honour and above all our unquestionable patriotism.

We are, however, aware that a small group of smugglers, black marketers mine-owners and big zamindars are certainly carrying on their nefarious campaign saying that while the Chinese attacked our northern frontier, the Portuguese would very soon open a second front and occupy Goa.

Your excellency did not think it advisable to round up these

treacherous elements but unfortunately arrested the patriots who fought for Goa's freedom and stand for the territorial integrity of our motherland against not only Chinese but all aggressions.

NEW AGE (Monthly)

It is regretted that for various reasons we have to suspend publication of New Age (monthly) from December, 1962. The November issue is just out.

—Manager

We therefore would urge upon your Excellency to reconsider your stand and release all the trade union and kisan sabha leaders so that all of us can positively and actively contribute to the defence of our Homeland — Mother India.

We would also request your Excellency to call a tripartite conference of the representatives of employers, employees and the authorities: in order to establish some machinery to solve industrial disputes and to find out ways and means to step up production and to keep entire industrial wheel moving without any strikes and lockouts.

## Arrest Of Trade Unionists In Goa

# PROTEST TO GOVERNOR

We are shocked at the sudden arrests of some of the prominent leaders of the Trade Unions and Kisan Sanghs in Goa. The mere fact that they have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules, would not by itself, justify their arrests, which are unwarranted by circumstances and provocative by nature. This is stated by Gerald Pereira, General Secretary, Marmagoa Port and Dock Workers' Union and Convenor of Goa Trade Unions Committee in a letter addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor on November 29.

Following are some of the arrested leaders: George Vaz, General Secretary, Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union (North Goa); Divakar Kakodkar, President and Raymond Cardoz, General Secretary of Goa Khann Kamgar Union (South Goa); Chandrakant Kakodkar, General Secretary, Goa Mining Transport Workers' Union; Nagush, Naik, President and S. V. Mogue, Treasurer of Marmagoa Port, Dock & Transport Workers' Union; Narayan Palekar, General Secretary, Taxi Drivers' Union (Marmagoa); Narayan Desai, President, Goa Kisan Sangh. The Convenor of Goa Trade Unions' Committee further states in his letter to Lt. Governor Sivasankar:

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# "THEIR MEMORY LIVES ON"

By ART SHIELDS

Seventy-five years ago, on a November day of 1887, the Chicago court, fulfilling the will of the owners of slaughter-houses, farm machine manufacturers, railway magnates and bankers, passed a death sentence on the heroes of the eight-hour workday movement Albert Parsons, Augustus Spice, Adolf Fischer and George Engel.

A hastily framed-up charge of murder was brought against them. But that charge was only a false pretext. "I don't believe these people are guilty of any crime," said a big Chicago capitalist then in a moment of frankness. "But I believe that the labour movement must be crushed."

Times have changed, but the methods, the ways of persecution of progressive-minded

internationalism. He recalled Georgi Dimitrov's words that the main criterion for the real internationalism of any Marxist-Leninist party and of any communist was their attitude to the Soviet Union and to its Communist Party, and that this was the touchstone for their loyalty to the interests of the working class and their loyalty to socialism.

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet nation," T. Zhivkov said, "are the decisive, the shock force of the international communist movement and of the world socialist system. They are their natural rallying point and vanguard."

"We, Bulgarian Communists, who are fellow-workers and pupils of Georgi Dimitrov, regard it as still more inadmissible and dangerous to peace and socialism and absolutely incompatible with internationalism to spread slander and insults directed against the Soviet Union, against the CC of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, as is now being done by the Albanian leaders. They are hiding behind slogans and declarations of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and friendship with the peoples of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union included—but without the Central Committee of the CPSU and without Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Central Committee."

Zhivkov said further that the 8th Bulgarian Communist Party Congress was a remarkable demonstration of the boundless loyalty of the Bulgarian Communist Party to the principles of proletarian

internationalism, they have proclaimed nearly all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties as being bogged down by "contemporary, modern," etc. revisionism.

"To keep silent about the sectarian and risky actions of the Albanian leaders"—T. Zhivkov went on—"about their hypocrisy and dissident activities, has never been and could not be a serious Marxist-Leninist approach to manifestations of this kind. Neither Marx, nor Lenin acquiesced in opportunistic deviations from the principles of scientific socialism. They never concealed and glossed over these deviations, and according to their principles waged a resolute struggle against them until they were wiped out.

"We are convinced that a Leninist approach by all sister parties to the deviations of the Albanian leaders from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and criticism of these deviations based on principle, would be of great help both to the Albanian Party of Labour and to the unity and cohesion of the international communist and workers movement in the world.

## Bangalore's Resolve

From Our Correspondent

The Bangalore District Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India met on November 27. The Executive noted with satisfaction that the Party units and members have already moved in the efforts of national defence against the Chinese aggression.

It also noted in particular that the trade unions—more than a dozen unions—have already collected money towards the National Defence Fund and mobilised the workers in support of the Government of India. The Engineering Workers Union has called upon its members to work one holiday every month till the emergency exists and donate the wages to the National Defence Fund.

The Executive noted with satisfaction that the working class in Bangalore is in the forefront of the efforts of national defence. The executive called upon the Party members and units to continue their efforts for national defence with more vigour till

the aggression is vacated from our sacred motherland.

At the same time the executive noted with regret that the Government have arrested the Party leaders and workers throughout the state. Those who were arrested were doing their best to mobilise the entire people behind the Government of India in defence of our motherland.

The Executive was of the opinion that such action on the part of the Government was not helpful to unite the people and urged upon the Government to reconsider their decision.

The Executive condemned the activities of Right-wing parties such as Swatantra, Jana Sangh etc., which are exploiting the situation of national emergency created by the Chinese aggression to further their political ends, to force Pandit Nehru and Government of India to give up the declared policies of non-alignment and Socialism.

It urged upon the Government to take note of the anti-national and reactionary moves of these Parties. In this connection the Executive welcomed the AICC circular issued to all Congress Committees and Congressmen warning against the propaganda of Jana Sangh and Swatantra, urging upon them to fight their anti-national propaganda.

The Executive called upon the democratic forces to unite and rally round Prime Minister Nehru to fight the Chinese aggression and the moves of the reactionary forces to reverse the policies of non-alignment and Socialism.

once again India's close affinity to the West. "If we go into the substance, we find that the ideals of religion and culture that we uphold in which worship of the collective happiness is latent in individual inspiration, lead us nearer to the nations which speak of individual freedom (however small the element of truth be in that)", he has pleaded. (Yug Dharma, Raipur, Deepavali Special)

And Dr. Lohia has piped in with the demand that India should enter into a military pact with the U.S.A.

It is notable that even a person like Jayprakash Narayan was, for once at least, constrained to concede the merits of non-alignment.

Speaking at Surat, he said that non-alignment "was justified by the apparent neutrality of Russia in Sino-Indian conflict. Although China was her Communist ally, Russia did not openly support that country in her adventure in the Himalayas. Could India come out and tell Russia, that she did not care for her friendship, he asked.

"He welcomed Western military aid to India and said that Russia might not supply the MIGs she had promised. But that should not matter until she openly sided with China in the conflict," he asserted. (Times of India, November 26)

But it is futile to hope that the subverters will desert from their sinister course.

The strangest part of the whole business is that Shastriji's Home Ministry, which showed itself as active in apprehending a large number of Communist workers has evinced no sign so far of sharing the awareness of the danger constituted by this internal subversion. (December 3)

## SPOTLIGHT

By GARUDA

# SUBVERTERS AT WORK

ONE notices the growth of a new awareness in the capital. This is about the danger of internal subversion.

While Chinese forces overrun parts of Indian territories on the border, certain elements go hectically busy to remove or at least discredit Nehru and end India's independent policies. Going hammer and tongs at non-alignment, they sought to make India a camp-follower of the West.

The cease-fire, no doubt caused a setback to those elements, but they still are at the game. It is a motley crowd, in which one sees the PSPers vying with the Swatantrites and the Jan Sanghites marching in company with the Lohaites.

But the Swatantra leader C. Rajagopalachari remains their most outspoken spokesman. Once again, Rajaji has declared in the latest issue of his Swarajya (December 1): "Non-alignment has no meaning any longer. He is all for India getting unreservedly under the protective wings of the West. He has argued:

"There is a silly argument going about that as the Western powers do not ask for anything more than non-alignment on our part, we had better stay where we are. We had moral power once and the West much desired our alignment. No one need now expect any Western power to take the initiative and ask for our alliance or any other form of alignment. It is great of them (!) to act unilaterally and give us prompt assistance. They are not worried like us about dogmas. Almost unasked they have come forward to help because they are intelligent and far-sighted as well as good (!)."

And he has categorically demanded that India, along

with south Asia, "must join up with the West for offence and defence." (Swarajya, December 1).

Swatantra's twin-brothers, the Jan Sanghite leaders, pursue the same line though they have not the boldness to couch their demand in Rajaji's categorical terms. Deen Dayal Upadhyaya (how modest of him!) only demanded that "harping on the old themes of non-alignment must stop." But the propaganda organs of the party go full steam ahead at India's friends of the East and Asia and Africa.

A typical tirade is led by weekly Panchjanya of Lucknow in its issue of November 12:

"Russia which used to sing paeans for friendship with us has today betrayed us.

"...After all one can never depend on the kind of friendship which Russia is used to practise. This is revealed by the Cuban developments when America declared a naval blockade of Cuba. Khrushchev so famous for his roars, quietly slunk away..."

Follows an attack on all the neutral nations: Yugoslavia, Cambodia, Ceylon, UAR, Ghana and the others.

"The so-called neutral nations bloc, which Nehru regarded as his bosom friends has proved perfidious."

"Nasser only wants to sell his surplus and useless arms to India."

And the conclusion: "India should establish closer relations with countries of South-East Asia like Malaya. Their friendship will be reliable and firm. If our policy does not change after the Chinese aggression, when else will it change?"

Gurujii Gokulkar has already in his latest thesis demanded that India, along

## Zhivkov's Speech

\*FROM PAGE TWELVE

not only continue to exist, but with its fine example will show the way to a bright future to the whole American continent.

"Our Party and Government, along with sister parties, the governments of the other socialist countries and all the peace-loving forces in the world, are closely watching the actions of the US imperialists in the Caribbean and are prepared to come to the aid of the fraternal Cuban people."

T. Zhivkov expressed the firm will of the Bulgarian Communist Party to fight to consolidate the fraternity and cohesion of the international communist and workers movement, to wage an irreconcilable struggle, a struggle involving principle, against any manifestations of revisionism and dogmatism.

"Could our Congress, pass over in silence the anti-Marxist, nationalistic and dissident activities of the Albanian leaders? Could it sound no warning about the damage done to the cause of our common struggle for peace and socialism by their hazardous foolhardy appeals and actions? The Albanian leaders stop at nothing, they invent the vilest lies and spread them all over the world—slander and falsehood about fraternal socialist countries, communist sister parties, the Bulgarian Communist Party included.

"They are trying, by all means in their power to undermine our joint activities in international public organizations, by handing out vast numbers of slanderous stories for anti-communist propaganda.

"To conceal their sectarianism and footholdiness, their complete retreat from Marxism-

Leninism and proletarian internationalism, they have proclaimed nearly all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties as being bogged down by "contemporary, modern," etc. revisionism.

"To keep silent about the sectarian and risky actions of the Albanian leaders"—T. Zhivkov went on—"about their hypocrisy and dissident activities, has never been and could not be a serious Marxist-Leninist approach to manifestations of this kind. Neither Marx, nor Lenin acquiesced in opportunistic deviations from the principles of scientific socialism. They never concealed and glossed over these deviations, and according to their principles waged a resolute struggle against them until they were wiped out.

"We are convinced that a Leninist approach by all sister parties to the deviations of the Albanian leaders from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and criticism of these deviations based on principle, would be of great help both to the Albanian Party of Labour and to the unity and cohesion of the international communist and workers movement in the world.

"History is the best judge. This has been proved over and over again and it is now so in the case of the Albanian leaders, showing once again that both rightist and leftist deviations from Marxism-Leninism are harmful to the international communist movement and to socialism, that they both bring grist to the mill of imperialism.

Zhivkov said further that the 8th Bulgarian Communist Party Congress was a remarkable demonstration of the boundless loyalty of the Bulgarian Communist Party to the principles of proletarian



# PAKISTAN REMAINS TIED TO IMPERIALIST CHARIOT

★ By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

*The convulsions that Pakistan has been undergoing since the Chinese decided upon their course of massive aggression against India are only now showing some signs of abating. For almost two months, Pakistan had been convulsed by one of the worst ever attacks of anti-Indian hysteria which it has continually had ever since it came into being a separate State. The paroxysms it has had during this span of time would suggest that it was not India but Pakistan that had been aggrieved and was under attack from an unscrupulous aggressor.*

IN a sense, one should say that the intensity of the reaction in Pakistan to Chinese invasion of India is a tribute to a basic unity of what is now called the "sub-continent" but had historically been one country till only 15 years ago. An event of the magnitude of a foreign invasion, nothing like which had taken place for the last two hundred years, could not but shake Pakistan to its roots. For the people of the two countries, India and Pakistan remain flesh of the same flesh.

Only the reaction across the border got distorted because of the peculiar distorted development of consciousness that has taken place in them ever since the seeds of Pakistan were sown in the "sub-continent" in 1937 or so. This distorted consciousness was once again summed up by the supreme ruler of the day in Pakistan who said the other day that "Hindu Imperialism" and no one else was Pakistan's Enemy Number One. The continuity of this thought from the days of the Quaid-e-Azam to the current reign of Field Marshal is unbroken.

Yet there have been many strands in the latest upheaval, the biggest being perhaps the anti-imperialist urge of the people that has long been seeking to break away from the shackles of imperialist tutelage that have enmeshed Pakistan in the bonds of the various military pacts. Ever since the Iraqi Revolution of 1958 which broke asunder the Baghdad Pact, the people of Pakistan have been restless and trying to assert themselves.

In the fall of 1958 they were looking forward to and preparing with great elan for the first ever general elections on the basis of adult franchise. Those elections and the opportunity for the assertion of the popular will that they held never materialised. The ruling classes prompted by their foreign masters realised the danger and struck, betimes to clamp down a military dictatorship. The darkness that had reigned Pakistan since its birth became deeper and darker.

## Marginal Outlet

Yet it could not last long in its original unmitigated form. The bottled up dynamite that kept accumulating ever more beneath the apparent calm, imposed by military rule could not escape the watchful eyes of the masters. It was to provide a release for this combustible material that the marginal outlet of basic democracies and a national assembly indirectly elected on the basis of an incredibly limited franchise was provided.

Along with this, postures of

independence in external relations—both in the political and economic fields—began to be adopted. This had also become necessary and possible because of the fact that despite the ever changing political set-up, a certain bourgeois economic development had been continuously taking place.

Despite these concessions to the twin popular urges for democracy and non-alignment, the people refused to be satisfied. They saw through the

phony character of these concessions and grew ever more insistent on having the real thing. The demand grew apace for a really democratic constitution with elections based on adult franchise, for the release of the imprisoned popular leaders and removal of restrictions from those who had been EBOed (debarred from holding public office), and for Pakistan leaving the military pacts.

## Only Diversion

The only diversion that Pakistan's rulers ever had to sidetrack people's attention from their urgent democratic and anti-imperialist demands was to work up anti-Indian hysteria over Kashmir. But even this had become played out over the years and had ceased to have its original appeal. Still Ayub in his desperate straits did his

best to revive it, particularly by his dramatic confrontation with the U.S. President last year.

The two leading Western powers, the USA and Britain, had in the meanwhile never given up their search for an opportunity to grab Kashmir via Pakistan. They found it necessary to do whatever they could to sustain their protégé in his shaky saddle of power. Hence the repeated attempt to bring up the issue again and again before the Security Council, where the determined stand of the Soviet Union always foiled it.

It was in this background that the Chinese aggression against India took shape and matured. USA and Britain through 1960-61 peddled the idea of joint Indo-Pakistan defence, to net India along with Pakistan in their military alliance system. In face of India's resistance, however, this plan at that stage failed to make

much headway. Nevertheless, the seed was sown.

From the stage where China had, unlike all other socialist countries, refused to recognise the status of Kashmir as an inalienable part of India, she now passed to the stage of making overtures to Pakistan, announcing in early May this year the agreement to open so-called border talks with Pakistan.

*Blinded by its narrow nationalistic aims China set herself on the course of allying with a regime which had all the time served the interests of imperialists and was still doing so. With the massive invasion of India launched two months ago, this fraternisation became more than ever open and unashamed.*

In the situation created by this invasion the rulers of Pa-

★ On Page 13

## NON-ALIGNMENT: Our Sheet-Anchor

★ From Front Page

the frog who wanted to be a bull, burst from self-inflation.

But the battle was not over by any means. The story was spread and published in the daily press from a hundred different angles: the Soviet Union has repudiated its promise to supply India with MIGs. And this was again used to restart the entire argument against non-alignment.

This story was so vital to the opponents of non-alignment that to give it currency they used all possible methods. When asked about the MIGs deal at his press conference, Mr. Averill Harriman described it as a \$4,000 dollar question and to put an end to all "doubt," Mr. Duncan Sandys, British Commonwealth Relations Secretary, speaking in the British Parliament on December 3, "authoritatively" declared that the MIGs deal was off.

## ATTEMPT TO CREATE ILLUSION

Once again, non-alignment was made to appear to the Indian people as of doubtful value. It was suggested that "even the Soviet Union, which had always emphatically declared that non-alignment was of positive value for peace, had by its attitude towards its commitments to India at this hour of need, shown its actual contempt for non-alignment in practice."

The architect of non-alignment, Prime Minister Nehru, was quick to answer. Speaking in the Lok Sabha on December 4, with the authority which in the case only he could have, he nailed the lies of the wishful dreamers of Soviet non-fulfilment of the MIGs agreement.

Smt. Lakshmi Menon, speaking in Colombo on December 4, at the end of her mission to non-aligned Asian States, dismissed as "nonsense" the suggestion that India should

join the Western Bloc as a consequence of the Chinese aggression. She categorically refuted the canard that India would invite foreign troops and personnel to defend its territory.

*The wheel had turned full circle: It was not non-alignment which was nonsense (as had been said only a week earlier); it was alignment which was nonsense, absolute and utter nonsense.*

The struggle continues without respite. Non-alignment and all our basic policies continue to be attacked. The wolves remain on the prowl.

## ATTENTION SHIFTED

Attention has shifted to the question of Indo-Pakistani negotiations and to Kashmir. The interest of the U.S. and British Governments is clear enough, and has been stressed in the public utterances of Mr. Harriman and Mr. Sandys, and of even President Kennedy.

What is significant at this moment is the background information which Indian correspondents in Washington are giving us in their latest despatches.

The Times of India's Washington correspondent says:

"U.S. officials do not admit that the U.S. is making Kashmir a pivotal precondition for long-term military aid. But it comes close to that when it is stated that it cannot justify the giving of aid to India when the two neighbours, India and Pakistan, are dissipating some of the resources provided by the USA....

"Weakened on the battlefield and ignored by its Russian friends, India, it appears, is being considered unusually susceptible to extraneous pressures." (Times of India, December 5)

The Hindustan Times correspondent writes:

"It has been made clear here that, while settlement of Indo-Pakistan differences is not a pre-condition for future aid, the Kennedy Administration will find it easier to help if U.S. opinion is satisfied that both the countries are using U.S. equipment to meet the threat from China rather than in defending themselves against each other." (Hindustan Times, December 5)

The Express News Service despatch opens with these significant paragraphs:

"The Harriman Mission, in its report to Mr. Kennedy, has underlined the importance of Indo-Pak accord to ease the flow of western arms aid to fight the Chinese aggression.

"The mission appears to have confirmed the view that in the long run there has got to be an arrangement between India and Pakistan for the joint defence of the sub-continent and that will require a Kashmir settlement." (Indian Express, December 5)

## NOT STRINGS BUT HAWSER

All this amounts to the same thing. The London Times (on November 27) published a despatch which quite clearly said:

*"Looking at from the Indian point of view, the arms aid that was so promptly and lavishly offered now appears not to have mere strings attached but a veritable hawser—the condition of its continuance is a settlement with Pakistan."*

And what would be this settlement? The Times correspondent said: "Nothing but a fundamental alteration in the status of at least the Valley of Kashmir would convince Pakistan that justice had at last been done."

The New York Times on December 1 put forward the idea of "partition" of Kashmir "acceptable to a majority of the peoples of the separate parts" or a "condominium."

India's answer has already been given. We are anxious to end the present tension with Pakistan and will do all we can to this end.

But, as the Prime Minister has said, any upsetting of the present arrangements would be harmful. The Home Minister has categorically rejected any talk of partition. The Kashmir Prime Minister has assured the National Conference workers that the State will "remain as it is."

## SETTLEMENT NOT BY PRESSURE

Our Government and people seek an honourable settlement with Pakistan. But this cannot be achieved as a result of pressure of any sort from outside this country. We have always been in favour of negotiations without preconditions. We have been anxious for a no-war pact.

But, as in everything else, our basic policies remain and we shall stand by them.

*When all is well, it is easy for a people to be strong and upright and principled. But the testing time for a nation comes, when all is not well, when the sharks begin to hover around hoping to feed on the carcass they expect to be thrown overboard, of the principles and values for which the nation has stood for so long.*

Never has the nation been faced with problems of such magnitude as those with which it has been faced over the last fortnight. Still India has stood firm, unbowed and unbeaten—refusing to abandon what it believes to be the right road for the protection of its honour and its integrity.