

# FORWARD TO

**T**HE nation, united and determined to defend its honour and integrity, looks forward to 1963 with hope and confidence.

The year that is closing, began at a moment, when the liberation of Goa had given new strength, new faith, new self-reliance to our people. The NATO allies of the Salazar dictatorship—above all, the USA and Great Britain—had whipped up a smear campaign against India. They had sought to intervene even militarily against India through the Security Council, but the Soviet Union had decisively vetoed their anti-Indian resolutions and conspiracies.

India stood strong and resolute, fully aware that the friends of Salazar were a minority in the world: the Socialist countries, the Afro-Asian non-aligned Governments and the freedom and peace-loving peoples of the whole world were with India, and had openly declared their solidarity with us in our action to throw

# 1963

the last vestiges of colonialism off our soil.



The year 1962 is ending with the opening of talks between representatives of India and Pakistan on Kashmir. The last weeks have seen a repetition of the same kind of blackmail and pressures as were exerted against India over Goa; and it is the same forces which are behind this blackmail.

The announcement right on the eve of these Indo-Pakistan talks of "complete agreement in principle" between China and Pakistan, in regard to the border between Sinkiang and the

areas of Kashmir illegally occupied by Pakistan, is a clear indication of the common sinister designs of those who would thwart India's progress.

India's repeated warnings against negotiations by any power in regard to the borders of territories which rightfully belong to our country have been wilfully and designedly ignored.

The Sino-Pakistan agreement brings 1962 to a close, blowing sky-high the conspiracies of those who would have India yield to the blackmail, in the name of so-called "joint defence of the sub-continent".



1962 will be remembered, above all, for the courage and the heroism of our people, at the front and in the rear—in the defence of the Motherland against Chinese aggression. It will be remembered for the calm, unwavering and principled stand of the country, led by Prime Minister Nehru in defence of our basic policies of non-alignment and peace, of planned economic development, of parliamentary democracy, of secularism.



It is these policies which have made this country great; it is these

policies which won for us world-wide support when we liberated Goa. It is these policies which have secured for us international solidarity for the defence of our country against Chinese aggression. It is these policies again which can enable us to defeat the blackmail and pressures being exerted against India today.



This land of ours enters 1963, ready as always to negotiate and talk with our neighbours to settle all disputes... but not under military threats, not under economic duress—but with honour, without sacrificing the nation's cherished principles.

With the rest of peace-loving mankind, we shall strive as always, during 1963, for the achievement of world peace, general and complete disarmament and the liquidation of colonialism.

We go forward to 1963, firmly united behind the basic national policies of the country, of which Prime Minister Nehru is the guide and the pilot.

# NEW AGE

## COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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25 nP

Unite For National Defence And National Policies



# NATIONAL POLICIES VINDICATED

## Detractors Exposed In Assembly

Calcutta, December 23: A marked change was noticeable in the atmosphere of the session of the West Bengal Legislature held for four days last week from that held in November. In the November session an anti-Communist hysteria was raised inside the legislature and provocative speeches were made by all non-Communist Parties and groups; attacks were mounted against India's non-alignment policy and its symbol Prime Minister Nehru. A joint military pact with Pakistan and participation by India in the SEATO and CENTO were openly advocated.

This session saw forceful defence of the policy of non-alignment and scathing exposure of its detractors including Congressmen; by Somnath Lahiri, Acting Leader of the Communist Bloc.

So clearly and effectively did the Communist spokesman make his point, that Chief Minister, P. C. Sen, himself declared that all members of Congress and the State Government fully supported Prime Minister Nehru and his policy of non-alignment in its totality. He spoke out against the "wrong notion among some here" that almost all Communists in the state were "pro-Chinese".

Rejecting the demand of a section of the PSP, Forward Bloc and Congress members to withdraw the word "wrong", the Chief Minister reiterated his stand and said that he was ready to accept participation of "nationalist" Communists in defence work.

Somnath Lahiri speaking on the debate on Civil Defence measures pointed out the lack of enthusiasm in the House in the matter. He said that the collection to the National Defence Fund in the State was only 163 lakhs, mostly donated by workers, peasants and common men, and a scrutiny of five lists of donors so far published did not show any personal contribution from the Tatas, Birlas or Sir Biren Mukherjee.

He said that the criterion of recruitment to Civil Defence personnel should be patriotism and political conviction, which can inspire people to face all hazards including death.

### CONGRESSMEN WITH CARIAPPA

Lahiri expressed his amazement at the fact that Congress leaders, including a Minister of the State Government, Sulo Mukherjee, associated or even presided over meetings addressed by General Cariappa.

Pointing out that while Anandabazar Patrika was almost daily criticising Nehru and his policies and inciting people against them, its Editor and proprietor Ashok Sarkar is still a leader of defence measures. Lahiri requested the Chief Minister to take proper steps in this matter.

Somnath Lahiri cited examples as to how the Labour Minister was trying to coerce the workers to leave AITUC unions, while accepting donations to NDF from them. He pointed out as to how some employers were attacking the workers' long standing privileges and rights and are thereby creating an atmosphere of discord, obstructing workers' heartfelt participation in the tasks of national defence.

Bhadury, in his speech, showed how India's policy of non-alignment helped to isolate China from world public opinion in the Sino-Indian border dispute. He appealed to the Govt. to abjure partisan policy in the matter of civil defence measures and pleaded for holding the price line.

Chief Minister P. C. Sen in his reply gave brief report on the Civil Defence measures already undertaken and the future plans for the same.

## Teachers' March Past

HIGHLIGHT of this week's mobilisation for

national defence was the spectacular "MARCH PAST" of more than ten thousand secondary teachers and students saluting Indian National Flag and taking their Unity Pledge to "stand unitedly behind the National Government in all efforts to resist the enemy, to drive out the invaders."

The ceremony was held on December 20, at the Ravindra Sarovar Stadium, Calcutta, at the call of the All Bengal Teachers' Association.

Many processions from different parts of the city and suburbs converged in the Stadium and the ceremony began with "VANDEMATARAM". The National Flag was hoisted by Sambhunath Banerjee, an ex-Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University. The MARCH PAST took place while the band was playing "JANA GANA MANA"; Chief Guest Nandagopal Sen Gupta, the noted journalist,

read out the pledge which was uttered by vast gathering and then Satya Priya Ray, MLC, General Secretary of the ABTA, gave a report of the widespread activities of the Secondary Teachers in the work of national defence. The Chief Minister sent a message to the rally.

A handful of people, among whom were non-teachers also, tried to disrupt the function but their attempts did not have full success, though there was some confusion for some time and in the scuffle which took place there a few people were injured.

The next day, as usual, a section of the daily press called the ten thousand teachers and students assembled there "goondas" and those who tried to create trouble and even did not respond to the National Anthem, "patriots."

But the teachers and the students of West Bengal know those people for what they are and they are determined to carry on with the patriotic work they are doing.

## ECONOMIC NOTES

### HOW REAL IS TEXTILE CRISIS?

THE Indian textile industry is said to be in the throes of a crisis, created by a large accumulation of stocks with the mills. The brunt of this crisis has naturally fallen on the workers, a good many of whom have been thrown on the streets because of mill closures.

In Gujarat alone, as many as 2500 workers are reported to have been retrenched as a result of the closure of shifts in 31 out of 107 textile mills.

In West Bengal too large-scale retrenchment is said to be on the way.

What lies behind the "crisis", and how real is it? These questions naturally agitate the people. Let us first have the facts. The stocks with some mills are said to equal two or three months' production, while with the majority they amount to only one or two weeks' production.

The industry attributes this accumulation to the stringency in the money market, following the Reserve Bank's restrictive credit policy. But, as the Economic Weekly has said, "it does seem a trifle far-fetched to attribute the accumulation to monetary stringency alone."

The Minister of International Trade, Manubhai Shah, has blamed the present unsettled situation for a reduced off-take, especially in the north-eastern states. But can this circumstance, even if valid, explain, let alone justify, the curtailment of production in far-off Gujarat?

The fact is that the prices of some varieties of cloth, now compulsorily stamped, are highly inflated, which leads to a stiffening of what the economists call the "consumer resistance" towards them. This, no doubt, leads to a lesser off-take of these varieties, and accumulation of their stocks. But the millowners should in such a situation reduce the prices, and push up their sale. What they have done instead is to shut down some shifts and slash production. Even the INTUC in Gujarat has been critical of this policy of the millowners, and has demanded its reversal.

But the latter have so far shown no readiness to heed this counsel. They, in fact, continue to clamour for a relaxation of the Reserve Bank's credit policy, although the Government has repeatedly assured them that all their genuine needs would be met.

The textile "crisis" thus raises an all important question: whether any industry, vital to the nation's economy, can be allowed to hold the country to ransom by first artificially creating a situation, and then exploiting it to safeguard its inflated profits? The workers have voluntarily agreed to a truce in the national interests, but can the employers too not be disciplined into conforming to a patriotic behaviour? And if they are not amenable to such a discipline, what prevents the Government from taking over their establishments and running them in the country's interests?

### PRIVATE SECTOR'S SECRET PROFIT-PLANS

THE textile magnates' tactics are of a piece with the general policy of the leaders of our private sector. In public they wax eloquent about the need to strengthen the sinews of production and hold the price line. But, in private, they resort to strategies, like the one cited above, to exploit the emergency for their own ends. They in any case, neither want to share its rigours equitably, nor let it unduly affect their profits.

An instance of this "double-thinking" is provided in the latest issue of Blitz (December 22). On December 15, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) publicly expressed its "satisfaction over the appeal to the business community to contribute to the National Defence Fund, step up production and hold the price line."

But on December 7, the FICCI had, in a communication to the Government on the bills for levying War Risks Insurance, which were incidentally meant to benefit the business community only, said that since "the scheme... will have some effect on the cost structure... the Government should anticipate and allow a proportionate rise in prices."

"The public," the communication added "is very sensitive to any price increase and it is the responsibility of the Government, therefore, to prepare the necessary climate so that the prices are accepted without any adverse repercussions."

The statement, if true, is a clear indication of the way the leaders of the FICCI, representing the dominant sections of our industry and trade, want to exploit the emergency for their own ends. What is more, they want the Government to be their handmaid in their selfish game.

Black, however, is never weary of poking his nose into our affairs. He is back with his piece this time in the columns of the Financial Express. In an exclusive interview, published in the newspaper on December 24, he is reported to have said that "the mix in India's economic policy should be changed and the major emphasis placed on private enterprise." Further, "foreign private capital should not merely reluctantly be allowed to come in, but wooed." Exploiting India's current difficulties, he said that a "reconsideration of India's petroleum policy was now more important than ever because of the new burdens imposed by the Himalayan war."

Coming from Black this certainly is not a new advice. Such advice, have often been made and rejected. And yet, in the present climate, when the real character of US intentions sometimes gets blurred, it is necessary to be doubly cautious about not losing sight of their real purport. Today, when many things seem to be in a flux in India, it is worthwhile to remind ourselves that Black and his intentions have not changed a wee bit.

And what were these "services"? Black counselled against the setting up of any basic industry in our country when our first plan was yet on the anvil. Later, he sent the notorious "Black letter" to T. T. Krishnamachari, when he was the Minister of Finance, a letter thrown out by an indignant nation as a con-

temptible piece of interference in our internal affairs. The same Black subsequently won kudos for bringing into being what is known as the "aid-India Club," but this, as is now known, was inspired by the US, which wanted the aid burden to be equitably borne by other advanced western countries.

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Those who come to the Capital these days complain that there is no sign of emergency here. True, Delhi is calm now and there is a lot of Christmas gaiety around. But Delhi, just a little over a month ago, was like a steaming cauldron in which passions, hopes and fears boiled and brewed. Of course, there were also thieves who tried to steal the pot when the cooks turned their faces.

THE Chinese aggression and emergency brought terrible convulsions to the Capital. Deep anger at the sudden attack launched by the aggressor and questions, there were together with bewilderment and anxiety about the reverses suffered by our forces marked the initial reactions to the news from NEFA after October 20.

The City did not even pause to recover its breath after the first shock and plunged headlong into feverish activity for helping the Defence. The broadcast to the nation by the Prime Minister on October 22 galvanized the people into more intense activity, for collecting funds, for donation of blood for the jawans, for knitting woollen garments for our forces fighting in the bitter cold and for various other things, including a mass rush on the recruiting centres for the army.

Everyone wanted to do his bit for the brave jawans on the front, but the difficulty was there were too many people trying to do too many things and stepping on each other's toes. It took a little time before the administration itself could introduce a little order into this confusion.

While the average man in the street was deeply concerned about the situation on the front and rightly demanded answers to his many doubts and questions, there were others who saw in this upheaval a golden opportunity to pitch their tent in the Capital for a rear attack on Nehru's Government.

While the rumour-mongers were active and the monopoly press breathed fire at the Prime Minister, the PSP-Jan Sangh-Swatantra loud speakers blared violent propaganda and tried to exploit the emergency for their own purposes. The attack on the Head Quarters of the Communist Party was a symptom of this frenzy worked up by reaction in the Capital.

But Delhi has recovered from that epidemic of reaction. The determined effort of progressive forces to counter this offensive has had its results. Congressmen and Communists have done a great deal in the Capital to mobilise popular enthusiasm for defence and to fight back the reactionary offensive against the basic policies of the nation.

Even before the National Council of the CPI adopted the resolution condemning Chinese aggression and pledging full support to the Government, Delhi Communists were active in the cause of defence. They held a number of meetings and took out processions in the working class areas. The AITUC Unions in which the Communists have a leading position were in the forefront of the campaign to mobilise working class support to the Government.

On October 25, a mammoth procession of workers went to the Prime Minister's house led by B. D. Joshi, A. C. Nanda and Ramchandra Sharma and conveyed to him the full support of the workers to the Government in repelling Chinese aggression. The unions also embarked upon a campaign for collections to the National Defence Fund. The venture had the joint support of a number of non-AITUC unions also.

Textile workers are one of the most organised sections of working class in Delhi. Nearly 20,000 workers are employed in the DCM, Swatantra Bharat and Birla Mills. Led by the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union (AITUC), these workers have made substantial contributions to the National Defence Fund. On the call of the Union, the DCM workers and workers of Swatantra Bharat Mills worked on two holidays, on October 29 and December 11, and contributed the entire earnings from this extra work including their D.A. amounting to nearly Rs. 1.5 lakhs to the Defence Fund. The Birla Mills workers contributed Rs. 22,101, their entire earnings from extra work on holiday.

In addition to this, the textile workers have contributed nearly Rs. 50,000 either through the unions or through the management out of their normal wages. Hundreds of workers have also come forward to donate blood for the jawans and hundreds have joined the Territorial Army.

Funds have been raised by workers in many ways, foregoing their daily needs. On the call of the Union, workers decided to forego smoking and tea on December 15 and thus collected Rs. 1,551 which was presented to Smt. Indira Gandhi. In DCM, AITUC representatives are also in the Provident Fund Trust Board. They along with other trustees have taken a decision that the Trust should buy Defence Bonds to the value of Rs. 2 lakhs.

Other sections of workers also have contributed generously to the National Defence Fund. Thus, DTU workers have contributed Rs. 37,000, Bank employees more than Rs. 50,000 CPWD employees Rs. 85,000, Hotel employees Rs. 65,000 and Petroleum employees more than Rs. 35,000.

The bank employees in Delhi observed November 14, the Prime Minister's birthday, as National Defence Day. They took a procession to the Prime Minister's house early morning that day and presented

# DELHI DURING EMERGENCY

By Our Staff Correspondent

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The bank employees in Delhi observed November 14, the Prime Minister's birthday, as National Defence Day. They took a procession to the Prime Minister's house early morning that day and presented

him with a cheque for the National Defence Fund. Meanwhile, the arrest of some of the leading AITUC workers has naturally caused surprise and regret among the working class in Delhi. For instance, Y. D. Sharma, who is under arrest is the Secretary of the Petroleum Workers Union and President of Hotel Workers Union and was actively engaged in mobilising workers' contributions and support to the Government. In a memorandum submitted to the Government, it has been pointed out that the workers and employees under the leadership of unions with which "Y. D." is associated have contributed more than a lakh of rupees to the National Defence Fund. Apart from organising workers' contributions to the Defence Fund, a great deal of other types of campaigning also has been undertaken and successfully carried out by the Communist Party and AITUC Unions. Through handbills and posters and meetings, the public were educated about the Chinese aggression and the offensive of reactionaries against the Government's policies and public opinion created

When the Mayor of Delhi, Nuruddin Ahmed, convened on October 25 a meeting of leading citizens to discuss measures to mobilise popular effort to strengthen defence against Chinese aggression, the PSP and Jan Sangh opposed the inclusion of Communists in the proposed Mayor's Defence Committee and threatened that they will not join the Committee if Communists were taken on it.

On the other hand, Y. D. Sharma speaking in that meeting offered complete support of the Communist Party to the defence efforts. The Mayor and Congress leaders present at the meeting were quite disgusted by the Jan Sangh-PSP outburst and the Mayor decided to postpone the formation of the Defence Committee.

However, the Mayor later excluded Communists from the Defence Committee, when it was formed, as a result of this Jan Sangh-PSP pressure. At the same time even parties like the Swatantra and Forward Bloc which have no representation in the Corporation were taken on the Committee. But Communists, though excluded from the Mayor's Committee did not relax their efforts to mobilise people in support of the Government.

Despite pressure from the Jan Sangh-PSP combine, Congress leadership in the Capital, by and large, have refused to succumb to the anti-Communist hysteria. In fact, they warned the people against the activities of the Jan Sangh and their attempt to undermine the position of the Prime Minister. They organised a number of public meetings also to this purpose. The local Congress leadership issued a circular to its lower units forbidding Congressmen from speaking at joint meetings with other parties where the policies of the Government and the Prime Minister are likely to be attacked.

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## In Convalescence

In Convalescence, one needs a restorative tonic. At this stage SADHANA SIDDHA MAKARADHWAJA acts quickly and most effectively.



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## MAKARADHWAJA

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

DECEMBER 30, 1962



# NOTES OF THE WEEK

## Criterion For Detention

It is nearly two months since several members of the Communist and Lal Nishan Parties in Maharashtra were arrested and detained. Nearly a month and a half has also passed since the country-wide arrests of a large number of Communist and trade union workers took place.

These arrests naturally made large numbers of democratic-minded people all over the world wonder whether the military aids received from the imperialist powers in the wake of Chinese aggression, were not behind these arrests. Such apprehensions were

publicly expressed in several countries. This was answered by the spokesmen of the Government of India with the argument that the arrests and detentions do not mean attack on the Communist Party as a Party. An official spokesman of the Government stated on November 30 that "many of the Communists detained not only belong to what was called the pro-China lobby, but had openly advocated the theory that no socialist country could ever commit aggression on another country. The implication of this attitude was that they did not accept that China had committed aggression on India and, what was more, they equated India and China. This kind of approach and activity was definitely harmful to

the country. Such persons had to be detained, so that they could not hinder the country's war efforts."

The Communist Party contested this argument. The Central Executive of the Party pointed out that members of the Party and trade union functionaries were actually engaged in strengthening national defence and increasing production.

The State and lower units of the Party have prepared memoranda and submitted to the Government which conclusively prove that many of those who had been detained as "pro-China elements" were loyal and faithfully carrying out the decision of the National Council to support the Government's defence measures.

The force of the argument advanced by the Communist Party has now, in a way, been admitted by Union Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri himself. He is reported to have advised the State Governments to review the cases of Communist detenus, since he has received a number of representations that the charge laid against them of being "pro-China" is baseless. It is reported that several State Governments are now in the process of such a review of the individual cases of Communist detenus. A small number has been released.

This belated decision, however, does not do justice to the case advanced by the Communist Party. For, it appears that the proposed review is intended only to rectify a palpable injustice in that even those who are "anti-China" have been included in the category of "pro-China" elements. In other words, the review would not affect those who are reported by the CID to be "pro-China" elements.

One would like to know whether those who are alleged to be "pro-China" elements have done anything to obstruct the collection to the National Defence Fund, organisation of blood donations, mobilising the women for the knitting of woollen garments for the jawans, and other activities undertaken by the Government in order to further the war efforts? This, after all, is the important point.

The contention of the Communist Party is that even those who did not subscribe to the views held by the majority of the National Council when the resolution on Chinese aggression was being debated are bound by the resolution of the Party. Whatever view they may have held before, they have been trying to do their best to implement that resolution. As a matter of fact, large numbers of them have actually engaged themselves in various forms of activity in order to strengthen the defence efforts.

That was why the Central Executive Committee in its resolution on the arrests stated that "the removal of trade union functionaries from their posts of duty harms the task of rousing and mobilising the working-class for increased production" and that "the arrest of members of the Communist Party actually helps those elements that are resisting the policy of all-India national unity for the defence of the motherland."

The injustice becomes all the more glaring in that those who have been arrested and detained include large numbers who have been forthright in condemning Chinese aggression. Despite the wild assertion made by the official spokesman, and repeated ad nauseam in the anti-Communist press, that all those who have been arrested and detained are the so-called "pro-China" elements, the fact remains that almost the entire leadership of

## AJOY GHOSH MEMORIAL NUMBER

On the occasion of the first death anniversary of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, the issue of NEW AGE dated January 13, 1963, will be a special 20-page memorial number.

The number will include special articles, reminiscences and tributes from all over the country and from fraternal Communist Parties abroad.

Party Committees and agents are requested to send orders for this special number immediately.

—Editor

some Party units which came out against Chinese aggression even before the National Council resolution, have been put behind the bars. It is also a fact worthy of note that several trade union functionaries who were actively working to make the national Defence Fund collections successful and mobilising the working-class for increasing production have been arrested and detained. As a matter of fact, if a close scrutiny is made, it will be found that they have been detained only because

of the political prejudices of some leaders of the ruling Party and pressure put on them by the INTUC bosses.

It is, therefore, to be hoped that the Union Government will abandon the criterion on the basis of which it proposes to make the review—the criterion of what views the detenu held privately. The criterion should be whether the person concerned has done anything to obstruct national defence; no body who is not charged with such action should be kept in jail even for a day.

## SOCIALIST UNITY ?

WHEN the Legislature Parties of the PSP and Socialist Party in U.P. decided to merge their organisations in order to form a United Socialist Party, it was taken by many as a development arising out of the peculiar conditions in that State.

Subsequent developments have made it clear that this was far from correct. A large number of leaders of both parties have come forward to support it. Among them is the General Secretary of the All-India PSP, N. C. Corey, who said in Poona on 25-12-62: "I may be permitted to appeal to our former comrades of the Socialist Party to give serious consideration to the unification of the Socialist Party and the Praja Socialist Party."

Socialist leader Dr. Lohia is also reported to have stated that he favoured the merger, provided "it is based on principles."

Large numbers of ordinary members of both parties appear to favour the merger, as is clear from the resolutions adopted, and statements issued, by various individuals and units in both parties in several provinces. This growing volume of opinion favourable to the merger seems to have had its impact on some of the leaders who were originally opposed to it. Notable among these is the Socialist leader, Raj Narayan Singh, who in the beginning opposed the move, but did in the end gave support to it.

This is not surprising. For, ever since the split in the PSP took place and the new Socialist Party headed by Dr. Lohia took shape, members and sympathisers of both parties have been feeling that it was an unfortunate development. The justification for the split given at the time was that the policy pursued by the PSP was so incorrect that people cannot be moved by it.

A "more militant" line was, therefore, advocated as the remedy for the ills which the Socialist movement was then suffering. It was claimed that the new Party will electrify the whole country with such a militant mass line. Dr. Lohia had given his slogan of step-by-step strengthening the Socialist movement through a series of militant mass actions.

All the hopes raised by these

claims have been shattered. The Socialist Party led by Dr. Lohia has proved to be as ineffective in mobilising the people as the PSP. Its flamboyant "calls for action" have, by and large, been ignored by the people. The appeal to the electorate made by the Lohia Socialists also failed to move the mass of voters. As for the PSP, it has been going further and further down in the estimation of the people.

But, will the merger that is now proposed help the two parties to overcome their separate weaknesses? Will the joining together of the two parties, each of which separately has been rejected by the people, strengthen them? The answer depends on the policy which the new Party proposes to follow.

It appears from the pronouncements of the leaders of the two Parties that they do not want to learn any lesson from the past. They still do not see that the negative policy of anti-Communism, the refusal to adopt a policy of uniting all sections of the people in defence of their interests, has been the basis of their weaknesses among the people.

On the other hand, it appears that the very purpose with which the two parties propose to merge is to further strengthen their anti-Communism. If that is so, there is no doubt that the United Socialist Party will as surely fail as the two separate parties did.

It is interesting, in this connection, to recall the prophetic warning given by the late Ajoy Ghosh when the then KMP and Socialist Parties were being merged in order to form the Praja Socialist Party. He asked the question: "Against whom will the edge of the new Party be directed" and answered:

"It is obvious that the Socialist leadership desires it to be a party which will fight not only the Congress but, primarily, and above all, that will fight 'Communism', i.e., the unity of the democratic masses. If any of them think that the 'new' policies will strengthen their position, they will be soon disillusioned. No democratic party, no democratic movement, can go on the basis of disruption of the democratic movement, brought about under the camouflage of anti-Communism."

Needless to say, the warning has come true. It is, however, idle to hope that the lesson will be learned.

Such was the framework of the "Little Summit's" activity. It was clear therefor

—E. M. S. Namboodiripad

## "Behind The Little Summit"

As a member of the delegation sent to Colombo by the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, I had an opportunity of attending the opening and closing sessions of the "Little Summit" (as the Ceylon papers affectionately call it) and to meet with some public leaders and the press.

SINCE the proceedings of the Conference itself have been fully reported in our country, I shall content myself only with trying to give our readers an idea of the tone, spirit, atmosphere and the unpublished reactions to the India-China problem of a fair cross-section of Ceylon's public life.

The Conference opened in the small Senate House in which apart from the delegations, only the heads of the diplomatic corps and the Press were allowed.

Mrs. Sirmavo Bandaranaike, the only woman Prime Minister in the world and the brave Asian who is carrying forward the banner of non-aligned progress raised by her illustrious husband, walked with regal demureness to the mike and set the note to the entire Conference.

She declared: "The concept of non-alignment and its moral force today is due after all in large measure to the powerful advocacy of India and the personal example set by the Indian Prime Minister in his tireless efforts to promote the idea of non-alignment throughout the world." This made it clear that none of the non-aligned would ever forget India's great role in favour of non-alignment.

The question which however faced the Little Summit was not one of declaring their sympathies but one of finding a solution. Why were they bothered about it? Mrs. Bandaranaike made the following points:—

1 India and China are the two biggest Asian countries.

2 They were joint architects of the Bandung Conference which laid the cornerstone of Afro-Asian Solidarity.

3 It is a great tragedy that these two should themselves have been involved in a mutual armed conflict.

4 This conflict between India and China was about disputed territory, national integrity and dignity, but for the smaller non-aligned countries it constituted a grave threat to their non-aligned way of life itself.

5 The Sino-Indian border conflict has also afforded an opportunity for the power politics of the Cold-War to penetrate into the affairs of the Afro-Asian World.

6 The fact that India has been obliged to seek arms assistance from the Western Powers and the eagerness shown by those powers to give it points to the kind of entanglement with power blocs that such a conflict might give rise to. Such a thing would be contrary to the cardinal principles of non-alignment.

7 The "Little Summit" powers wanted it to be clearly known that they were friends both of India and China, that they did not set out to judge or adjudicate or suggest final solution of the conflict.

Such was the framework of the "Little Summit's" activity. It was clear therefor

## How Ceylon Looks At China's Aggression On India

By A. S. R. Chari

A. S. R. Chari, Senior Advocate of the Supreme Court of India was a member of the delegation that went to Ceylon, on behalf of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, at the time of the recent Six-Nation Afro-Asian Conference at Colombo. In this article, Chari describes the attitude and reactions of the various parties in Ceylon to the Sino-Indian conflict.

gression and declared support for India. Such support far from helping India in Ceylon makes India's case more suspect in the eyes of the other parties.

i) The U.N.P. together with the Federal Party (F.P.), it is said, organised a demonstration of college students which marched to the Chinese Embassy in Colombo, condemned the Chinese aggression, alleged to have thrown some stones and were man-handled there.

They were also responsible for the posters that I saw plastered all over Colombo aimed at the Chinese: "Cuba for the Cubans. But India for the Chinese?" The parties, trade union organisations and representatives of the fairly large Indian population in Colombo are of course for India and against the Chinese aggression; they are coming forward with contributions of money and gold to our National Defence Fund.

I learnt however that our official representatives in Colombo cannot accept any offers of gold until they discuss it with the Government of Ceylon and decide what is to be done.

RULING PARTY

So far as the ruling party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) is concerned it will

## CHANGE IN OUTLOOK

We give below a note published on the front page of the influential Ceylon weekly TRIBUNE (December 22). This note pays remarkable tribute to the delegation of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, which visited Ceylon a few days ago, led by Aruna Asaf Ali. This is what non-officials can do.

THERE is no doubt that there has been a significant change in enlightened political circles in Colombo in the last fortnight, particularly among radical and leftwing groups, in their attitude to developments in India. For sometime now, it must be admitted, leftwing circles in Colombo had tended to think that Nehru and his progressive colleagues had been submerged by the Right (within and without the Congress) to such an extent that non-alignment and progress had been swept away in New Delhi.

It was on this footing that the developments on the border had been examined and the conclusions were highly critical (mainly in private) of the Indian Government. The situation was transformed by the arrival of the three delegates from the Indian branch of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee: Aruna Asaf Ali, A. S. R. Chari and Homi Daji (M.P. from Indore). In the week they were in Colombo, they met a large number of persons among all progressive parties and groups and impressed upon them that the Right in India, though they had become stronger as a result of the border conflict, had not yet taken over the government and the country. Indeed, after the ceasefire, the tables were being slowly turned on the Rightists.

Furthermore, they put forward the Indian case for the disputed territory (never before adequately made in Ceylon) in language, idiom and logic which was understandable to the politically enlightened (who ultimately really make opinion in Ceylon).

The visit of this delegation of three did not get headlines, but they have probably done more than anybody or anything else to bring better understanding of the Indian case in the progressive circles in this country.

It cannot be said that they have convinced everybody that India is right in her territorial claims, but there is no doubt that they have made many want to study the Indian case from basic documents which are still not available in Colombo even to those most anxious to examine the dispute.



S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Architect of Ceylon's policy

adverse balance of trade with India, the problem of the so-called "Stateless" that are nearly a million Indians, who the Ceylon Government says cannot all be given citizenship rights and we say nor can they be admitted as Indian Citizens—all these provide an undercurrent of vigilant watchfulness of Indian economic policies, a certain suspicion of the "Big Brothers".

As we all know China's economy has not yet reached the stage when it can help set up large scale heavy industries in other countries.

But China has got a trade agreement by which China has agreed to buy a large quantity of Ceylon's rubber at a price 5 cents per lb. higher than the world price. She has agreed to supply rice to Ceylon, which she obtains from Burma.

In addition I am told she gives 15 million rupees a year, as a gift, to further the planting of more rubber. If we remember that nearly 2/3 of Ceylon's land is not yet under cultivation or plantation we can see how much of a help it is.

In fact on Friday, December 14, the Ex-Minister Incharge of Trade and who was responsible for signing the Rice-Rubber Agreement with China, openly declared at a public meeting that if Ceylon took India's side in the dispute with China, then there was grave danger of the trade agreement being repudiated by China.

I found that among mem-

bers of the SLFP, whom we met, there were certain common reactions to the Indian situation, arising largely out of massive Chinese propaganda. (Of course, there are variations of emphasis and there is quite a wide range of different individual and group opinions). These common reactions were:

- That the India-China problem is "essentially a border dispute, each side advancing into the territory claimed by the other."
- That therefore talk of "aggression and invasion" in such a situation is "subjective exaggeration."
- That the Right reactionary forces are "dominant" in India and thus "pushed out" a progressive minister and a champion of non-alignment—Krishna Menon.
- That the immediate summons to America and Britain for arms and the round-up of Communists is "clear proof that though Pandit Nehru is still the Prime Minister, it is not his policies but that of the big bourgeoisie of India that now obtains."

It was clear to us that all these ideas of theirs were erroneous, did not correspond to Indian reality, and were influenced by ubiquitous and effective Chinese propaganda and inadequate counter-propaganda by India.

There were similar reactions among members of the Lanka Sama Samaj Party and, the Communist Party and other left and progressive circles. In long, patient talks and discussions with some friends belonging to these parties, we made them see that, though under the impact of Chinese aggression, the Right reactionary forces in the country have become vocal and pressurised government into certain actions, this is a temporary phenomenon and it is not true that a swing to the Right has already taken place; that the aid which the Socialist countries including the USSR, are continuing to give India shows that it is still non-aligned; and that Pandit Nehru has made it clear that there will be no reversal of gears.

In many cases we found that even important political leaders in Ceylon did not have facts and material which would help to explain the Indian side. It showed the unsatisfactory features of reliance only on official media for propaganda. The talks we were able to have, on a non-official level, with many leading personalities in Ceylon were certainly helpful in making known facts regarding the Indian situation, of which many Ceylonese friends were totally unaware.

## SALUTE TO CUBA



On the occasion of the Fourth Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, New Age salutes the heroic Government and their great leader Fidel Castro.

The Indian people salute the many achievements of the Cuban revolution in every field of life during these memorable four years since the overthrow of the Batista dictatorship.

We take this opportunity to reiterate India's complete solidarity with the Cuban people in the courageous struggle to defend their country against the repeated threats of invasion by U.S. imperialism.

The major victory for the cause of peace in 1962 was won round the events in the Caribbean, which

endangered Cuban sovereignty and independence and brought mankind perilously close to a thermonuclear war.

Thanks to the policy of peaceful co-existence in action, pursued by the Government of the Soviet Union and fully supported by the Cuban Government and people, and by the peace forces of all continents, world peace was saved and the attack on Cuba averted.

Aggressive quarters in the USA have still not abandoned their nefarious conspiracies. But peace-loving mankind stands firmly by Cuba and in support of Prime Minister Fidel Castro's well-known five points.

Cuba can count on India's solidarity.



## NET RESULT OF TWO PLANS

# MORE WEALTH IN HANDS OF FEWER PEOPLE

## Gadgil's Speech At Punjab University Convocation

★ From Our Correspondent

CHANDIGARH:

N. V. Gadgil's address to the fifteenth annual convocation of the Punjab University on December 22 has aroused considerable interest in political circles here.

THE former Governor of the Punjab in his address to the young graduates did not spare the administration for its failure to inspire confidence in the common man by boldly tackling the economic problems facing him.

Gadgil who has always been looked upon as a stormy petrel of Congress politics lived up to his reputation when he delivered his remarkably frank and full-of-punch oration to the new graduates.

### For Benefit Of Common People

In the context of the paramount tasks facing the country following the Chinese aggression, Gadgil laid particular stress on the need to implement with more vigour and determination the Socialist policies adopted by the Government for the benefit of the common people.

Gadgil said: "There is no doubt we have a democratic apparatus but even that apparatus is not free from the influence of the business lobby. It is, therefore, necessary to restate once more clearly and categorically what is going to be the ob-

jective for which our Indian State stands.

"We are called upon to sacrifice unreservedly for the defence of freedom. That call must be answered. But it is necessary all the same to restate the fundamental objective of the Indian State.

"Our Prime Minister has very wisely stated we must not only win the war but must win the peace. A statement, clear and categorical, as suggested above, is needed to give necessary incentive to the people at large and to convince them that economic development on the lines visualized in the Constitution will not be suspended or abandoned during war time."

The former Governor pointed out that "the net result" of the two Plans has been more and more concentration of wealth in the hands of fewer people. He regretted that no remedy has been taken to prevent this, even though the concentration of wealth was one of the objectives stated in the Constitution itself.

"It is true that India has accepted a planned economy and industrialization is one of its main objectives. The

way in which the policy of industrialization is being followed leaves the impression after a careful analysis of what has been done during the last 12 years that risk has been eliminated in fields which are left to more or less private capitalists.

### Priorities To Private Capital

"Private capital gets priority in the matter of resources, material and financial. The

# Shankar In The Footsteps Of Hanumanthaya ?

★ From Our Correspondent

TRIVANDRUM:

Chief Minister R. Shankar is a much harassed man these days. By criticising the foreign policy of the Government of India in a public speech, he has become the centre of a controversy in which Shankar finds himself ranged against the press and the influential public in the Capital.

THOUGH it had been easy for Shankar to tell the Congress High Command that the press reports of his speech at the Law College on December 13 were incorrect, and perhaps get away with that "explanation", it had not been that easy for him to face the public here.

Those who heard Shankar at the Law College function and the pressmen who reported his speech are naturally disgusted with this attempt of Shankar to wriggle out of his own thoughtless utterances and to put the blame on the press.

What is more, many Congressmen themselves are genuinely disturbed by this incident. They feel that the High Command should fully probe into the incident and find out the facts instead of being satisfied by the bland denial of Shankar himself.

### Speech Tape-Recorded

In this connection, it is pointed out that the speech by Shankar at the Law College was tape-recorded by the Trivandrum Station of the All India Radio and therefore it would not be difficult to establish the veracity of what he said then.

Kalathil Velayudhan Nair, a former Minister and one of the prominent leaders of the Kerala Pradesh Congress, has followed up the controversy by openly demanding that disciplinary action should be taken against Shankar for his speech at the Law College. He told pressmen that anyone who questioned the country's foreign policy, particularly at this hour, was a "traitor".

system of licensing has resulted in creating a sort of oligopoly in certain industries which were in existence before the adoption of planned economy. Collaboration with foreign capital is allowed and encouraged and that policy has helped the private capitalists more than what they expected in their wildest dream.

Another important point made by Gadgil was that in the last 12 years direct taxation has become less and indirect taxation is on the increase. Referring to the idea of a Socialist State, Gadgil said:

"The wealth accumulated in the country during the last 30 years is not the result of any extraordinary skill or extraordinary evidence of talent on the part of the business community but is direct result of conditions created by the State."

"One cannot conceive of a Socialist State unless important and key industries are

owned and controlled by the State," he added.

Gadgil advocated that "dangerous times require dangerous remedies" and said that an ordinance demanding declaration of possession of gold should be issued, and allowing, say three to five tolas with an individual, the rest should be handed over to the Government whenever required in lieu of gold bonds.

He also suggested that Indian nationals who have secretly invested abroad should be compelled to declare their investments, in which case the amount may come to Rs. 200 crores or even more. A capital levy should be levied to meet the requirements of defence.

Gadgil said: "Poor people will contribute blood and sweat as they have no money; but those who have earned it as a result of social circumstances must pay it to the State. If they do not do it cheerfully, the State will be justified in taking it by way of taxes."

Mr. Govinda Pillai, former Principal of the Law College and an eminent lawyer, who was also the chief guest at the Law College function on December 13, came out sharply against Shankar and declared that Shankar did speak "contemptuously" of India's foreign policy in his presence.

Mallur, a former Dean of Faculty of Law in Kerala University and a member of the Syndicate, told pressmen that the Chief Minister had stated in "unequivocal terms" in his speech in the Law College, that it was because of the policy of non-alignment followed by India that the country was now in jitters.

The press and the public generally here would welcome any attempt by the AICC to get at the truth of Shankar's speech, after this statement by Mallur. Otherwise, it is pointed out, it may become a precedent that any responsible Congress leader can attack the Government's policies, and only a formal denial would exonerate him from the guilt.

### Shah's Attention Drawn

When his attention was drawn to the press reports of Shankar's speech, AICC General Secretary K. K. Shah stated in Patna on December 16 that he would try to find out from Shankar if that report of his speech was correct. Shah had also then significantly said that it would be wise for Congressmen to put some sort of self-imposed restrictions on expressing their views in the present emergency.

Shankar when he went to Delhi recently denied to K. K. Shah, in reply to the latter's enquiry, that he had criticised the Government's foreign policy. He claimed that the report of his speech was incorrect. Returning to the State Capital, Shankar told pressmen that he had no differences with the Government's foreign policy and that in his Law College speech he had only tried to give the "background" of that policy.

But this did not work. Mal-

Taking advantage of national emergency arising out of the Chinese invasion on our northern frontiers, the INTUC has been trying its best to wean away the workers from the AITUC. But this was not just an accident.

EVER since INTUC came into being, it has been consistently following a policy of disruption in the trade union movement. This was intensified greatly recently, because it expected to dislodge AITUC in this crucial period from the position of leadership it holds among the workers.

It may be recalled that during the last Tripartite Conference, called specifically at the request of the AITUC to meet the new situation following emergency, the INTUC refused to sit with the AITUC representative at the beginning. They were, of course, made to abandon that stand later.

The INTUC working committee resolution of November 26 is a significant pointer in the direction of its anti-AITUC bias. The whole resolution smacks of aberrations, more in tune with Ranga and Kripalan's utterings than the exhortations of Prime Minister Nehru and other Congress leaders, whose ideals the INTUC professes to follow.

This resolution, among others, specifically demanded a ban on the Communist Party and called for disowning the AITUC. The resolution, contrary to what the Prime Minister and other leaders of the Congress have painstakingly tried to explain, describes the border clash as a war between democracy and communism and

that "International Communism is a new form of imperialist expansion." The resolution further expresses the regret of the INTUC that the government had "even now not thought fit to ban the CPI". The resolution of the National Council of the CPI which has been described by the Prime Minister, among others, as "as good as drafted by any non-communist", was interpreted by the INTUC as "belated and half-hearted aggression" and "only a tactical move to subvert the interests of International Communism as a measure of expediency."

And now the INTUC weekly Indian Worker has come out on December 17 with an editorial "Disown the AITUC" because it is "the labour wing of the CPI". And because it is affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The journal has exhorted the workers to dissociate themselves from the AITUC but, perhaps, knowing that such chance is extremely bleak, has urged that "it is also for the Government to consider whether it (AITUC) should be allowed to function freely."

Reiterating the INTUC resolution, the editorial affirms that the CPI's "belated and half-hearted denunciation of the aggression" leaves "no doubt to which side the CPI would owe its allegiance."

# WORKERS CONTRIBUTE THEIR MITE TO NDF

## Maharashtra

THE workers of Godrej Soap Private Ltd. decided to work on Sunday in the last week of December and donate their wages to the NDF. The workers sports team donated the Gold Medal which they won in the recent tournaments. The staff of the Company contributed their one day's salary for the cause of defence. Earlier, in October the workers had contributed their one day's wages.

The workers of Ganges Printing Inks Factory Ltd. worked for two Saturdays in December and donated their salary for NDF.

Nearly Rs. 5,000 were contributed by the employees of CIBA India Ltd., for NDF which comes to one day's wage bill of the factory.

Employees of Unichem Laboratories donated their one day's salary in December in addition to the same amount they contributed in November. Employees in Swastik Oil Mills, Pioneer Rubber Co., Britannia Biscuits, J. B. Advani Printing Inks Co., Noble Paints & Varnish Co., Greaves Foundry Service and Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical works contributed their one day's wages for the cause of National Defence.

Greaves Cotton employees, workers and staff contributed Rs. 501 from the Union Funds. Workers in Ruston and Hornsby and at other small factories in Chinchwad contributed Rs. 4,100.

Three members of the Greaves Cotton Employees Union have gone to the front and they were given a warm send off by the Union. Four members from the Chinchwad factory also went to the front.

# INTUC Stand Does Not Help To Build Unity

The editorial has further expressed "surprise" that some state governments have given representation to Communists on Defence Committees and called for action against Communists and "fellow travellers who masquerade as independents". The editorial has further attempted to show the "anti-national" role of the AITUC and that some of the workers of the AITUC "are not at all enthusiastic about the dynamic awakening that has occurred among the workers as a result of the Chinese aggression". It has further discovered that these people "would not be unhappy if the workers adopted a lukewarm attitude towards the defence efforts".

While the INTUC questions the patriotic feeling of the AITUC, it will be interesting to mention that, except for a few among the INTUC leaders, most of them had no relation with India's freedom movement. On the other hand, most of the AITUC leaders are tried fighters for India's freedom.

And as far as the working class is concerned, defence of the country is more fundamental to them than to the exploiting classes and they have shown their concern for defence of the country by their

work during the current period. And certainly, it does not require an INTUC to teach them Patriotism.

The AITUC stands by its proletarian internationalism—the brotherhood of workers the world over. This is in no way contradictory to the national tasks, as has been properly explained by the AITUC General Secretary S. A. Dange in a recent General Council meeting of the AITUC. It is futile for the INTUC to try to counterpose these two positions and no amount of such posture can disprove AITUC's fulfilment of its national tasks.

Behind the AITUC organisation today, there is the tireless work of 42 years, these years punctuated by long terms of imprisonment of its leaders. It has not been built in the easy way in the post-independence period with active cooperation of "obliging employers" who lend their muster rolls to be copied down into membership registers as some of the INTUC unions do these days and become overnight "recognised".

It is not a question of mutual recriminations in this crucial period, but it is good to be reminded that those who fought the British imperialists for the country's freedom need no lesson about patriotism. It is proclaimed that the INTUC carries out the precepts of Mahatma Gandhi in the Indian trade union movement, but its activities do not indicate that it is always truthful in its pronouncements and that its functioning is conditioned by purity of means.

It is painful to note that the INTUC leaders shut their eyes to reality and go abegging for borrowed ideology about "in-

ternational Communism" and all that. It has been conclusively established that the international Communist Movement does not approve of the adventurist behaviour of the Chinese and they have made it clear in so many words.

Even the Congress accepts that position, but the INTUC, just to somehow put flesh in its propaganda against the AITUC and the CPI, goes against that position and uses epithets contrary to the policy of its parent organisation.

### Need For Unity

Swear-words constitute no argument, for less any proof of fact and democracy is in no way strengthened by consecrating rights to some people to declare others as traitors. Today unity and all-in-unity alone can constitute the main plank of our defence against aggression.

Significantly, it is the AITUC, as the premier organisation of the Indian working class, true to its responsibility in the matter of country's defence that has come out with an unequivocal call for unity at the trade union level and exhorted the workers to close their ranks for rendering the maximum to meet the demand of defence.

This call follows from the Industrial Truce Resolution adopted at the last Tripartite conference and it is now for the INTUC leadership to realise the necessity of unity at this hour.

# WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

English Edition of  
PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM  
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Socialism in the Historical Offensive — ANTONIN NOVOTNY  
Epoch of Great Revolutionary Change — MAURICE THOREZ

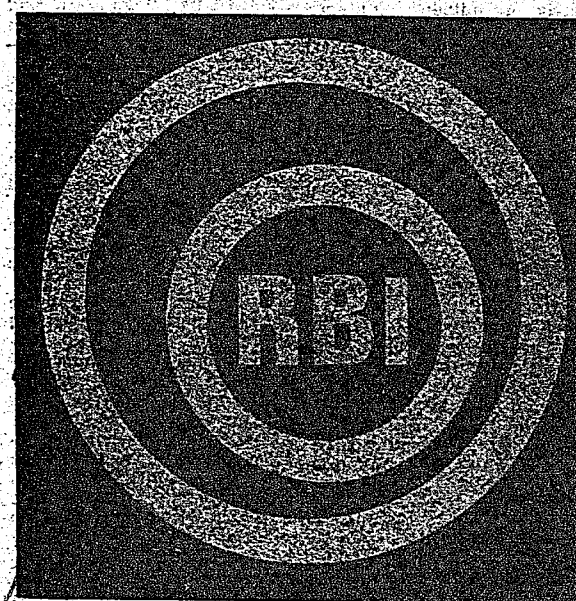
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# Dogmatism Violates Leninist Policy Of Peace And Coexistence

## Unite Against Actions That Damage Marxism-Leninism

### FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY'S RESOLUTION

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party concluded a session on December 15. Tass reports from Paris that by a resolution adopted on Raymond Guyot's report the Plenary Meeting approved the activities of the French Communist Party's delegation at the congresses of fraternal Parties in Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and Czechoslovakia.

**THE** Plenary Meeting considers that the latest events fully confirm the correctness of the theses adopted by the 1957 and 1960 Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, says the resolution. These documents point out the need for an energetic struggle in protecting and strengthening the unity of resolve and action of the Communist and Workers' Parties as well as the necessity of uniting the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism against all actions which can cause damage to them.

### Cuban Events

If the events in the Caribbean, the resolution points out, confirm the aggressiveness of the imperialists, they at the same time show the possibility of keeping them in check and of securing peace. The American imperialists by their threats against Cuba placed the world on the brink of a terrible thermo-nuclear war. The Soviet Union's indefatigable will for peace, its wise policy, its search for a

compromise which would accord with the interests of all peoples the world over provided the opportunity for avoiding this terrible threat, preserving the national independence and sovereignty of the Cuban people.

*These actions of the Soviet Union in upholding peace received the warm approval of the French people and of all other peoples the world over. The French Communists once again declare their profound solidarity with the heroic Cuban people, with the people of the Soviet Union, with their Communist Party and with Comrade Khrushchov.*

The Plenary Meeting expressed satisfaction in connection with the ceasefire on the Chinese-Indian border. Together with the entire French people, the Communists fol-

lowed with anxiety the development of the border conflict between the two great Asian countries.

The Plenary Meeting has pointed out that the development of the international situation bears out the fact that peace is won by constant struggle of the peoples of all countries.

In conformity with their joint decisions and the decisions of their congresses the Communist and Workers' Parties will continue to work for peace, peaceful coexistence and general disarmament which they consider to be their basic task.

### Moscow Statement

By unanimously endorsing the Statement of the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1960, the resolution goes on to say, all the parties have pledged themselves to oppose any activities capable of frustrating the political and ideological unity of the movement.

However, the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour has not stopped its campaign against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other

fraternal parties, but, on the contrary, have intensified it, not stopping short of open splitting activities. Their conduct has been condemned by the entire communist movement.

### Stubborn Opposition

The Chinese comrades, instead of joining this necessary condemnation, have backed the stand of the Albanian leadership.

They also continued to express disagreement with the main aspects of the policy worked out jointly by all the parties. They stubbornly and openly question the policy of peaceful coexistence, the need to solve international disputes by negotiation, the possibility of transition to socialism by peaceful ways too, the just struggle against the vestiges of the Stalin personality cult, the preservation of the unity of the communist movement, and consequently the denunciation of any attempts capable of undermining it.

*These positions of the Chinese comrades, which damage the interests of the whole movement, have aroused*

legitimate concern on the part of the Communists in all countries.

The French Communist Party, the resolution points out, will continue its work to ensure the policy worked out by the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties so as to preserve and consolidate the unity of the ranks of the world communist movement. While continuing its active fight against revisionism, it will struggle without a let-up against the danger of dogmatism and sectarianism which has recently become the main danger for the world communist and working-class movement.

It will do so jointly with all fraternal parties, with the universally recognised vanguard of the communist movement—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Keeping allegiance to the spirit of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and abiding by the decisions of the 15th and 16th Congresses of their Party, the French Communists will continue to work for the unity of all workers' and republican forces in the struggle for a new democracy, for peace and socialism.

(Pravda, Dec. 18)

The Albanian leaders have broken with Marxism-Leninism, they were founding ever deeper in the bog of leftist opportunism, splitting tactics, and sectarianism. The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour have turned their anti-Leninist conceptions into the State policy of their country.

**THEY** are pursuing an isolated, adventurist foreign policy, refusing to cooperate in the international arena with the other countries of socialism, interfering in every possible way with the efforts of the latter directed towards the consolidation of peace and relaxation of international tension.

Some people, repeating the correct theses of the Statement of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, accent one-sidedly only the danger from revisionism, and mention Yugoslav revisionism in place and out of place.

But one must look at things concretely. In the crisis concerning Cuba, which we have just lived through, the Yugoslav Communists took a correct position, while the dogmatists who claim to be genuine Marxists-Leninists, took a

## Albanian Leadership In Left-Sectarian Disorder

provocative stand. It follows, therefore, that a thesis once recorded cannot be repeated without a Marxist analysis, or interpreted one-sidedly. The Cuban crisis exactly showed that the chief danger came from those who have held and hold positions of dogmatism.

### Pseudo-Revolutionary

The modern leftist opportunists and sectarians, of whom the Albanian leaders are the most open spokesmen, cover by noisy pseudo-revolutionary phrases their struggle against the Leninist policy of peace and peaceful co-existence. As it has already been said, they have slipped down onto Trotskyite positions.

It is not hard to see that such a policy undermines the unity of the forces coming out against imperialism, that it plays into the hands of the most aggressive imperialist circles of the Western powers, encouraging

their anti-Communist designs. The cult of Stalin's personality had, as one of its negative effects in the international Communist movement, the spread of left-sectarian, dogmatic views, which seriously harmed the great cause of Marxism-Leninism in broad masses of the people. As V. I. Lenin warned, under-estimation of the struggle against left-wing opportunism resulted in the disorder becoming neglected, ceasing to be infantile long ago.

The peculiarities of the development of the Communist movement in our time when the peoples of countries with most diverse levels of economic and social development are taking the road of socialism, create favourable conditions for the spread of left-wing Communism. It has always found a foothold in the instability of representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, in their jumping from one extreme to another.

The left-sectarian disorder is nourished by nationalism and nourishes nationalism in turn. It becomes intolerable when it is manifested in the activities of a ruling party on the policy of which the destinies of the people depend to a large degree.

It becomes dangerous since it is directed against the policy of the Communist movement on such vital problems as problems of war and peace, which affect the destinies of mankind.

It cannot be denied that due to all these causes, left-wing opportunism, dogmatism and sectarianism are more and more becoming a serious danger in the world Communist movement. Not to see this means to be afraid to face the facts, it means to turn away from reality and fall to realise the responsibility borne by Marxists-Leninists in our time.

—Extracts from Khrushchov's Report to Supreme Soviet

## DISTORTED CHINESE UNDERSTANDING Completely Opposed To Principles Of World Communist Movement

The Chinese never tire of repeating their so-called faithfulness to the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. The People's Daily editorial of December 15 (with which we dealt in part in our last issue) swears by these two documents. In fact it is a classic instance of the lady protesting too much.

**THE** recent congresses, those of the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and Czechoslovakia were held in the background of the crisis over Cuba, when the highest pitch of tension since the end of the Second World War was reached, and the world stood nearest ever on the brink of disaster.

### Correct Thesis

Since the 1960 Moscow Conference of 81 Parties which on behalf of the entire world Communist movement confirmed the 20th CPSU Congress thesis on war not being inevitable, this was the first crisis of its kind in which that thesis was put to test and proved correct once again.

But this time, unlike earlier occasions of the crises over Suez, Lebanon and Iraq the way the Soviet Union handled the crisis—and solved it in so far as averting a thermo-nuclear holocaust of global magnitude and warding off the imminent threat to Cuba's independence was concerned—somehow did not meet the wishes, and did not prove to the liking of Chinese and Albanian leaders.

And they made no secret of this fact. Not only the Albanians but even the People's Daily described the Soviet Union's handling of the Cuban crisis as appeasement and a new Munich.

Even official pronouncements of the Chinese government kept on warning Cuba that maybe the Soviet Union was going to sell it down the river. Chen Yi, Foreign Minister and Deputy Premier of the PRC and a member of Polit Bureau of the CPC in a letter addressed to Cuban Charge d'Affaires in Peking on November 1 wrote:

"Cuba's destiny is in the hands of the Cuban people, and not in the hands of any other countries....  
"Cuba's independence and sovereignty can never be negotiated; Cuba's freedom and rights can never be bartered.... (emphasis added).

### Open Instigation

What is this if not an open instigation to Cuba not to place any faith in the Soviet Union? It was an instigation to a terribly harassed and harried people in a moment of greatest threat and anxiety that any people has ever faced to fall prey to any of the thousands of provocations which the war maniacs in the U.S. camp were then engineering. To a highly complex situation full of so many explosive possibilities, it was adding another most serious complication and a possible source of explosion.

Even upon sacrificing Cuba to appease the American imperialists just as Chamberlain sacrificed Czechoslovakia in 1938 by the infamous Munich accord, the Chinese government kept on warning Cuba that maybe the Soviet Union was going to sell it down the river. Chen Yi, Foreign Minister and Deputy Premier of the PRC and a member of Polit Bureau of the CPC in a letter addressed to Cuban Charge d'Affaires in Peking on November 1 wrote:

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### Reckless Exercise

But so far as the leaders of China and Albania are concerned, was not their behaviour in the Cuban crisis a reckless exercise in sheer provocation?

The significance of this behaviour went far beyond enhancing the immediate threat of war. It was an open bid, from a long-range point of view, to discredit the Soviet Union in the eyes of all peoples fighting for their independence and to preserve it in face of imperialist onslaughts.

The fact of the matter is that quite some time before the 1960 conference the Chinese Party leadership had started resiling from the world Communist movement's position on the averability of war. At the 1960 conference it was not honest in putting its signature to the Statement.

Togliatti in his report to the Italian Congress never mentioned China by name when he criticised the adventurists in connection with the Cuban crisis. Nevertheless he did say the following which throws light on how things had developed:

"In this connection (i.e. the Cuban crisis), a lively controversy arose in the working class and Communist international movement. This problem was debated at length in the 1960 Conference of the Communist Parties. The Chinese comrades put forward then some views that the assembly rejected, and a common clear position was reached.

"These views, however, are now being presented again in an open and clearly polemical way, and are taken up and spread, particularly by that misleading loud-speaker, which the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour are. It is affirmed that

war cannot be avoided, since this would mean that the nature of imperialism is changed, which is not the case and cannot happen."

It was this chorus against the stand of the 81 Parties' Statement—which we know on Togliatti's testimony the Chinese had ceased to accept even in 1960—that was sought to be raised. And when it met the

## Moscow Documents Turned Upside Down

Exactly a month before the present People's Daily editorial under review, two editorials had simultaneously appeared, one in People's Daily, and the other in Red Flag, the theoretical fortnightly organ of the CPC. The editorials ostensibly commemorate the anniversaries of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960.

In fact they are monuments of distortion which mangle the two documents beyond recognition, giving an absolutely one-sided interpretation of them.

Laying down the strategy for the present epoch—the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, the epoch of "triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale"—the 1960 Statement says that "today it is the world socialist system and the forces

fighting against imperialism... that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society."

The countries of victorious socialism, says the Statement reiterating Lenin, influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic construction. In course of time it visualises the defeat of the capitalist system by the socialist system "in the decisive sphere of human endeavour, the sphere of material production." It says:

"The consolidation and development of the socialist system exert an ever-increasing influence on the struggle of the peoples in the capitalist countries. By the force of its example, the world socialist system is revolutionising the thinking of the working people in the capitalist countries;

it is inspiring them to fight against capitalism, and is greatly facilitating that fight" (emphasis added).

While pledging "every support" to all peoples still languishing in colonial bondage and declaring it to be the internationalist duty of socialist countries to help the peoples who have thrown off the imperialist yoke "in strengthening their independence", the statement considers that the principal role of the socialist countries in hastening the world-wide transition to socialism lies in winning the economic competition with capitalism and influencing the course of history by the force of example.

"This necessarily implies a constant struggle to defeat imperialism's plans to provoke a world war and local wars which can develop into a world war. It implies a persistent struggle to establish peaceful coexistence of the two systems on a firm basis, a struggle to abolish the threat of war altogether.

In this grand strategy of achieving the world transition to socialism, the peoples struggling for national liberation and those who have successfully attained it have a role only second in importance to the socialist system. They are the closest and foremost allies of the international working class and its main shock force, the world socialist system.

In their editorials of November 15 supposedly commemorating the anniversaries of the two Moscow documents,

### No Role For Economic Construction

Believe it or not, neither of the two editorials even once mentions the economic construction of the countries of the socialist camp as the factor of foremost importance in advancing the world transition to socialism, the victory of world revolution. It is no slip, but a deliberate, calculated silence. Because from this indifference to and underestimation of this most potent and powerful weapon of world revolution flows their whole line on peace and peaceful coexistence. This is the source of their whole dogmatic backsliding from the position of the Moscow documents.

The two editorials devote themselves, entirely to reiterating the well-known and undisputed facts that the main enemy of mankind is imperialism, that the nature of imperialism has not changed and will not change, that a firm struggle must be waged against imperialism all the time. Only the way indicated for this struggle to be waged is not in conformity but in sharp variance with that of the two Moscow Documents.

\*\*\*\*\* by \*\*\*\*\*  
**ZIA-UL HAQ**  
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tion movements which are engaged at the moment in a direct face-to-face fight against imperialism are revolutionary and maybe even the main force of world revolution. And unless there is an early, almost immediate, "head-on" clash between the forces opposing imperialism on the one hand and imperialism on the other, world revolution will stand betrayed.

The only way indicated to bring about the unity of all forces opposed to imperialism is exposure of the enemy, exhortation to struggle, and struggle itself. Among the forces opposed to imperialism there is no room for any unstable elements like the vacillating capitalist classes of newly independent countries—only such of them who firmly oppose imperialism all along the line can be united with.

Standing in the path of the realisation of this grand strategy of "head-on struggle" against imperialism according to Red Flag and People's Daily are the modern revisionists. Their treachery consists above all in deliberately opposing the national movements to the

### STAND ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

From this specific charge which related to the Cuban settlement the Red Flag November 15 editorial went a step further. It brought against the "modern revisionists" the more general and far-reaching charge that, "they (the modern revisionists) hold that when imperialism still exists and when the systems of exploitation and oppression still exist,

world peace movement, for the sake of a false peace they go to the extent of betraying the revolution.

### Theory Of Head-On Clash

It is emphasized that "the modern revisionists... instead of waging a resolute head-on struggle against imperialism, are spreading illusions about imperialism, publicising the allegation that the nature of imperialism has changed, and wanting people to believe in the assurances, promises, reason and goodwill of such imperialists as Kennedy." (People's Daily, November 15).

In straight and simple terms, this statement which appeared three weeks before the Czech or the Italian Congress was held and just on the eve of the Hungarian Party's Congress amounts to saying that Cuba should have been made the occasion for a head-on clash for only that would have brought about real peace to the world and real guarantee of freedom to Cuba.

### STAND ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

It is possible to eliminate war and eliminate arms throughout the world."  
In other words, the Red Flag said that those who think of outlawing war and achieving complete and general disarmament in the world even while imperialism and other systems of exploitation and oppression still exist,



# U.S.S.R.'S RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA

## Khrushchov Denounces Dogmatist Slanderers And Splitters

I want to dwell in somewhat greater detail on the question of the relations between our country and the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia. You know that the friendship of the peoples of our countries is rooted in the far past.

**D**URING the Second World War the fraternal relations of the peoples of our two countries were cemented in blood in the struggle against the common enemy.

Unfortunately, the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were spoiled soon after the Second World War ended.

Such was the situation in the past. But we, Communists, must look ahead, we must see the future of our peoples.

At present, our relations with Yugoslavia are good. Comrade Tito and other statesmen including Comrades Rancovic and Vasinovic are spending a holiday in our country on our invitation and are present here in this hall.

We welcomed them like friends, and have already had a number of useful talks with them, which have done very much for better mutual understanding. We see that the Yugoslav leaders, like ourselves, are making efforts to overcome the existing differences, to bring about an improvement in the relations with our country.

I must say that it has been confirmed once again that on many international issues, on questions of inter-state and economic relations we have a common understanding, common views.

The Yugoslav leaders and we are profoundly convinced that the further development of the relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia is not only in the interest of our countries, it is also in the interest of strengthening all the forces fighting for peace, for democracy, for socialism and Communism.

As for our position in the question of the development of relations with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, it ensues wholly from the line determined by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU. This is the line of strengthening unity between the CPSU and all fraternal parties, of consolidating all the forces of the anti-imperialist front.

### PAST RELATIONS

In the past the Yugoslavs swore at us and we repaid them with the same coin. At present we and the Yugoslav Communists follow the road of improving our relations. It cannot be said that all the resentment and difficulties which existed in the relations between the CPSU and the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia are over.

There were and still are serious differences on a number of ideological questions which found a reflection in the programme of the LCY, as was noted in the Statement of the Conference of Fraternal Parties. But we on our part are prepared to do everything to overcome the differences.

This depends not only on us but on the position of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, of its leadership. We are convinced that the restoration and consolidation of unity between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and all fraternal parties on ideological questions on the basis of principles of Marxism-Leninism

hood of the peoples of the entire globe will be established.

On the way to this cherished aim we must do everything possible to resolve differences if they arise between Communists of different countries. It is our duty to help a Party that has made mistakes or deflected from the norms of the international revolutionary labour movement, from Marxism-Leninism, to understand its mistakes and correct them, so that it may assume a worthy place in the family of all fraternal parties.

It must be said that the steps recently taken by the Yugoslav Communists, by their leaders, in both domestic and foreign policy have removed very much of what we had considered erroneous and injurious to the building of socialism in Yugoslavia.

This has found a reflection in a number of speeches of Comrades Tito, Rancovic and other Yugoslav leaders. But if we do not yet have a common understanding of some questions, it does not at all mean that we must build our relations on the basis of the remaining differences, that we must close our eyes to the steps taken by the Yugoslav Communists towards a rapprochement and unity with the entire world Communist movement. This would be a policy aimed at disunity rather than unity.

And it would be still more incorrect to apply the still-existing differences to interstate relations. On the contrary, the consolidation and development of economic contacts, of relations along State and public lines, between our countries provide the ground for bringing our positions nearer on ideological questions too.

The Albanian sectarians and dogmatists are doing everything in their power to prevent an improvement of relations between the socialist countries and Yugoslavia. They have raised a howl particularly now that Comrades Tito, Rancovic,

and other Yugoslav leaders have come to the USSR. The Albanian splitters clearly dislike the fact that we are meeting the Yugoslav comrades in a fraternal manner.

We are being told that it is prejudicial to have good relations with Yugoslavia along State lines and in the economic fields so long as certain ideological differences with the LCY remain. And this is said by people calling themselves Marxists-Leninists! But this is simply silly. Even the imperialists seek to overcome and smooth over their differences.

### SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA

There are some who assert that Yugoslavia is not a socialist country. It is known that for a long time there have been no landlords or capitalists in Yugoslavia; no private capital, no private enterprises, no landlord estates, no private banks. We see also that the Yugoslav Communists and their leaders are directing their efforts towards development of the economy, towards consolidation of the socialist gains.

Hence, if we proceed from the objective laws, from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, we cannot deny that Yugoslavia is a socialist country.

This is what we are proceeding from in our policy and build up our relations with Yugoslavia as with a socialist country. Today, there are grounds for a further development of relations between our countries.

## JOINT ACTION OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES Need Stressed By President Tito At The Supreme Soviet

"We agree, in the main with what Comrade Nikita Sergeevich has said in his report about the relations between our countries," said President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia in his address to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on Dec. 13. He went on further to say:

I would not like to speak of the past, for this is a long and complicated story. Since some differences still exist, we shall be eliminating them jointly in the course of constructive cooperation. In this short period of time we have seen that not only the leaders but all your people want friendship and cooperation with the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Comrades, the relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia over the last years have been gradually developing in the direction of friendly cooperation both in the sphere of our bilateral relationships and in the field of foreign policies.

The barriers that were artificially set up in our relations in the past are being gradually removed, realistic relations and confidence have been built up and are being built up, bringing great benefit not only to our two countries but also to the strengthening of world peace, to the further successful development of socialism and strengthening of progressive forces of mankind.

The visit of Comrade Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the comrades accompanying him to Yugoslavia in September of this year has greatly contributed to a better mutual understanding and the consolidation of friendship between our peoples. I am deeply confident that our stay here and the exchange of opinions on diffe-

rent questions will be a new great contribution to the cause of strengthening and expanding our relations. I want to assure you, dear comrades, that in this respect there is full readiness on our part and I am sure that your point of view coincides with ours.

We strive for the same goals: build up a new society, build up socialism, communism, ensure peace, required to achieve these goals, for they can be achieved only under the conditions of peace, bearing in mind the fact that, given modern destructive military means, nuclear and other weapons, a war would be a catastrophe for mankind as a whole.

### Views coincide

Therefore, our views on all major international issues coincide or are close. On the questions of war and peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament, abolition of colonialism, the German question and other issues that agitate the world today, our points of view are identical or closely similar. We must continue to patiently clear up everything that could interfere with our relations, and secure a constructive cooperation for the benefit of progress, socialism and world peace.

For all the tremendous scientific and technical achievements which could already today ensure life in plenty and peace for all man-

kind, the atmosphere of the cold war is still being preserved and aggravated. Certain reactionary and imperialist circles in the world are interested in fanning out the cold war and associate their existence with the keeping up of unstable and strained international relations. This situation arouses grave concern.

Therefore, I think that need for joint action of all progressive forces and responsible factors, especially socialist countries, is of greatest importance for ensuring a real peace and implementing equal cooperation in the world in the present complicated international situation.

In this connection I should like to point out that together with you and the peoples of the entire world we shared the great anxiety over the very dangerous events that have taken place in recent months in particular, I have in mind the crisis in the Caribbean Sea. We were faced with a most dangerous alternative.

At the present time when the crisis is over thanks to the peaceful and constructive decision of the Soviet government and the United Nations actions, I want to express my satisfaction and the satisfaction of the peoples of Yugoslavia with this ending of affairs connected with Cuba, although we cannot yet say that everything has been settled. On my part I should like to express gratitude to the Soviet government and personally to Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchov for their bold action in a critical minute, consideration of the interests of all mankind and for their vision of true statesmen.

# Growing Dimensions Of India's Trade with Socialist Countries

By SADHAN MUKHERJEE

Chinese aggression on our northern border notwithstanding, the year 1962 has brought about greater economic cooperation and trade between India and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Europe.

**I**NDIA'S trade with these countries in ever increasing volume, has evolved a new and powerful constituent in the direction of our foreign trade. The most interesting feature of this growing trade between India and the Socialist countries is that the trade is not only increasing in traditional goods, but possibilities are also taking shape for the export of Indian non-traditional goods.

It is heartening to note that some of the Socialist countries are showing interest in buying Indian engineering and consumer goods, like sewing machines, electric lamps and switches, refrigerators etc. From the discussions I had with the representatives of various Trade Representations of the Socialist countries, I could gather that they are presently engaged in compiling market information and qualitative study of such Indian goods. It will really be a good sign of India's improved trade position, if her exports in the near future are no longer restricted to oil cakes, tea, coffee, cashew nuts, raw hides and similar traditional goods.

## RS. 100 CRORES IN 1963 PROSPECT FOR INDO-SOVIET TRADE

**S**OVIET Union during the last few years has increased its trade with India many fold. From a total trade turn-over of less than rupees one crore in 1953, it had reached rupees 56 crores in 1961, and the commitments for 1962 having been already fulfilled, the outturn has exceeded Rs. 60 crores.

It should be mentioned here that five-year trade agreement signed between the governments of the USSR and India in November 1958 stipulated that all payments would be effected in Indian rupees. This term, on the one hand, saved India from spending her foreign exchange, and on the other the Soviet Union utilised the repayments in purchasing Indian goods.

The main feature of Indo-Soviet trade relations in 1962 was the starting of delivery apart from other machinery and equipment.

In September 1962, a long-term economic assistance agreement for supply of equipment for the Patratu Thermal Power station near Patna, which will be one of the biggest Thermal Power stations in our country, has been signed. The Soviet trade organisations will use the amount to be repaid by India on account of supply of equipment (Rs. 20 crores) for buying Indian goods.

In November this year, another contract was signed for the supply of earth-moving and road-building equipment valued at more than Rs. 3 crores. Another long-term contract will soon be signed between the USSR and India for delivery of three-lakh tons of furnace oil and in 1963, India will receive ten lakh tons of oil products, mainly kerosene, from the USSR.

It is worthwhile to remember that Soviet Union has already agreed to set up plants for the manufacture of MIG aircrafts and helicopters in India and detailed plans for these factories are being worked out.

Manufactured goods accounted for approximately 40 per cent of the total export to the Soviet Union from India and included among others, jute cloth and bags, cotton and woollen textiles, footwear, handicrafts and coir products.

Negotiations are currently on for conclusions of contracts for Soviet medical and veterinary instruments on the one hand and Indian shaving blades, raw jute, iron and steel etc., on the other. Soviet Union has also offered newspaper, cellulose, caustic soda, rails, rolls for the Bhilai plant etc.

The total trade volume in 1963 between the Soviet Union and India will be more than Rs. 100 crores. For this extra cargo turnover, a shipping agreement between the two countries has been already signed last month.

At the present moment, the Soviet Union is constructing in India 32 big industrial projects in significant branches of economy, like iron and steel, heavy engineering etc. The total amount of long-term loans which the Soviet Union has granted to India comes to near about Rs. 38 crores.

During the year 1962, Rumania has supplied to India, according to the schedule of the agreement concerning the supply of oil-drilling equipment, four rigs and spare parts. Among these four rigs, two are of the most modern type.

On December 24 an agreement was signed in Delhi, in terms of which Rumania will supply drilling equipment to India worth Rs. 75 lakhs in 1963. The value of drilling equipment supplied in 1962 amounted to Rs. 2 crores.

Rumania is in a position to supply to India complete plants for the manufacture of cement, petro-chemicals, and power stations and talks are going on between the two governments for enlarging further the variety of goods for both import and export.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA : OUT-TURN TO INCREASE BY 12 PER CENT

**T**HE economic agreement concluded between the governments of Czechoslovakia and India, envisaged Czechoslovak collaboration in the establishment of a foundry forge plant, heavy machine building plant, heavy power equipment plant, boiler plant etc., for the Third Five Year Plan in India.

Already Czechoslovakia has extended to the Government of India long-term credits to the tune of about Rs. 40 crores to cover the cost of this equipment and machinery.

The Czechoslovak government has also offered to India a further sum of Rs. 60 lakhs, as a gift, for the establishment of a Central Machine Tools Institute at Bangalore.

Indo-Czech trade has increased by seven times in 1962 as compared to 1954. The total turn over in 1962 amounted to Rs. 38 crores. More than 80 per cent of Czechoslovak exports consisted of capital goods, machines and complete plants.

## RUMANIA : 100 PER CENT INCREASE IN 1962

**R**UMANIA has helped India in her oil extraction scheme to a very great extent. In 1961, the total trade turn over amounted to Rs. 5 crores only, but in 1962 it has just doubled with equal import and export quantum.

There have been recently two long-term agreements signed between these two countries effective for five years and within the scope of these agreements, there will be substantial increase in the trade turn-over in 1963.

Rumania has shown interest in purchasing Indian manufactured goods, such as textiles etc., and Rumanian experts are currently studying the Indian market in this respect.

## GDR : INTEREST IN ENGINEERING GOODS

**T**HERE has been no economic assistance agreement between the German Democratic Republic and India, but the trade between these two countries has been steadily going up.

In 1961, GDR exported to India goods worth Rs. 9.1 crores and India, Rs. 6.3 crores. In 1962, GDR's export increased to Rs. 11 crores while that of India to about Rs. 9.8 crores.

The 1959 agreement which was to expire in December 1962 has recently been extended to 1963 also and within the framework of this extended agreement, the Indo-GDR trade is expected to increase by about 15 to 20 per cent.

During 1962, GDR supplied to India, machine tools, fertilisers, chemical goods including cinema and x-ray films, precision instruments and optical goods including microscopes, printing machinery etc. Indian exports mainly consisted of cashew nuts, tobacco, coffee, oil cake etc. out of 37 items exported. Tobacco was exported to GDR for the first time in 1962 and accounted for Rs. 1.1 crores.

GDR is now interested to purchase from India engineering goods including refrigerators etc., and possibilities in this connection are being explored. Newer items have been also included in the 1963 agreement, among others, walnuts, ground nuts, and tortoise meat.

## BULGARIA : TRADE TRIPLED

**T**HERE has been substantial increase in Indo-Bulgarian trade also during the year 1962. In 1961, the total import and export amounted to Rs. 2.2 crores but in 1962, it amounted to Rs. 6.5 crores.

Among the main items which Bulgaria exported to India during 1962 were cables, electrical apparatus, electric hoist, chemical goods, dyes for textiles, etc. India in her turn supplied to Bulgaria, mostly traditional goods like mica, tea, jute bags, oil cakes, shoes, etc.

A new agreement has been signed between the governments of the two countries

On December 25, 1962 in Sofia, which envisages an increase of about 15 per cent over the out-turn of 1962.

Apart from these agreements on governmental levels, Bulgaria has concluded several agreements with private concerns in our country. These are mainly for electrical goods, battery separators etc., and include technical help, machinery supply and project establishment.

Lately, interest has been seen in Bulgaria in Indian sewing machines, and it is understood that some provisional agreement has been arrived at for supply of sewing machines.



# Distorted Chinese Understanding

\*FROM CENTRE PAGES

plottation and oppression are still in existence are not Marxist-Leninists but revisionists and deviators from Marxism-Leninism. Leave aside the fact that the entire policy of the Soviet Union and all Socialist countries (except Albania and China, on their own admission) is directed to this very purpose, let us have a look at the Moscow Statement. What does that document to which China protests so much loyalty, have to say on this point? It says: "The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries. In conditions of peace the socialist system increasingly reveals its advantages over the capitalist system in all fields of economy, culture, science and technology. The near future will bring the

forces of peace and socialism new successes. "In these conditions a real possibility will have arisen to exclude war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth with capitalism still existing in a part of the world" (emphasis in original). Far from considering as revisionist the position of fighting for the elimination of war and achieving general and complete disarmament even while imperialism and other systems of exploitation continue to exist on a part of the planet, this is exactly what the Moscow Statement enjoins all Communist Parties and socialist countries to strive for. And this is what the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, after having signed the Statement in 1960, now brands as revisionism. If this is not sliding into a position of dogmatism, adventurism and Trotskyism, what else is it?

## PAPER TIGER

The People's Daily (December 15) is at great pains explaining what is meant by describing imperialism as a paper-tiger. It says that this description is expression of slighting imperialism strategically, that is having the faith and carrying that faith to the masses that imperialism is destined to defeat and elimination from history. No Communist Party in the world can be accused with any justification by the Chinese and Albanian leaderships of not believing in this, of not slighting imperialism strategically. To insinuate against them that they do not do so, as is being done all the time by Chinese and Albanian organs, is nothing but slander. The trouble arises only because — contrary to People's Daily's protestation that facti-

cally imperialism and all reactionaries should be dealt with seriously—the concept of imperialism being a paper-tiger is transferred indiscriminately from the realm of strategy to that of tactics. This is exactly what the Chinese organs are constantly doing, completely ignoring all the basic Leninist precepts regarding helping the masses to learn from concrete experience and winning allies, however unstable, by patient struggle.

When this dangerous error which results in disruption of the growing anti-imperialist front is pointed out to them, instead of pausing to think, they start shouting and calling names, charging everyone else of being "scared stiff" of imperialism.

## NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The same is the position about nuclear weapons. People's Daily tells us that China has a special stand on how to deal with nuclear weapons. Masses of people and not weapons, not even nuclear weapons, are the decisive factor, we are told with an intensity and indignation which imply that every one else except the Chinese and the Albanian leaderships has perhaps been denying the decisive role of the masses. As far as our limited information goes, Marxist-Leninists have always been opposed to war—except for the just wars imposed upon the people fighting for national independence. It can be said with certainty that even if the atom and hydrogen bombs, rockets and all the rest had not been invented, Communists would have been fighting today to avert a world war with passion.

And with the changed correlation of forces in the present epoch they would have certainly advanced the slogan of war not being fatalistically inevitable and the real possibility existing of preventing a war—nuclear weapons or no nuclear weapons. The primacy of the fight for peace and averting a world war for Communists was there before nuclear weapons were invented and remains there after they

are in existence. The difference made by nuclear and other weapons of colossal and massive destruction coming into existence lies in the fact that the abhorrence for war has grown among the masses of people in proportion to the destructiveness of the weapons. They understand and hate war much more than in any previous epoch, and they are prepared to fight with unprecedented determination for peace. The growth of the forces of peace and the diverse movements for peace in the last whole decade and more has demonstrated this fact. Thanks to the altered correlation of forces in the present epoch, every exercise in brinkmanship on the part of the maddest representatives of imperialism has so far crashed on the rock of the revolution on the part of the masses of people against a new war.

The masses organised and represented by so many governments of socialist and non-socialist states and movements, made more conscious and aware of the danger of war by the emergence of nuclear weapons, have so far succeeded in preventing war. To advance and develop their unity and articulation still more in this direction and take these to the consummation of total outlawry of war, of

making general and complete disarmament a fact, putting an end to the perilous arms race—that is the perspective placed before humanity by the Communist parties in their declaration and their Statement of 1957 and 1960.

To see in this perspective and in the day-to-day struggle to implement it, a conflict with the cause of advancing the revolution, as the People's Daily does, is downright sectarianism which seeks to ignore and bypass the masses.

To accuse other Marxist-Leninist parties of having become advocates of the theory of the omnipotence of weapons as against the decisive role of the masses, or "having blind faith" or "being paralysed with fear of nuclear weapons is baseless slander to cover up one's own lack of faith in the masses. It is not being loyal to the Moscow Statement which declared: Peace is the loyal ally of socialism.

Backsliding from and repudiation of the Moscow Statement's positions on cardinal issues inevitably leads, as seen in the case of Albania, to the position of first of rejecting in practice a coordination of policies in world affairs with the rest of the socialist camp, then undermining and subversion and finally to practising provocations. The Chinese leadership too now formally and openly rejects policies laid down in the Moscow Statement. The People's Daily editorial is nothing but an open and clear declaration to that effect.

The perfectly just and absolutely necessary criticism at the recent Congresses of Chinese leadership's positions as revealed in the Cuban crisis, the expression of alarm over this development and the request that these positions should be reconsidered are termed as "slander" of the Chinese Communist Party and that the declaration is made that "these slanders and attacks, calling black white, will be of no avail."

They declare that even if all the Communist Parties of the whole world disapprove of their actions and disagree with their policies, they will not "submit" to the "majority", because according to them this majority is fictitious and the real majority is only "the people". All criticism, they say, only proves "that we have done the right thing."

The Parties voicing criticism and alarm, let us note in passing, are inheritors of a long tradition of struggle dating back to the founding of the first Communist League, about a century and a quarter ago. Their tradition includes struggle in all its diverse forms, open and underground, legal and illegal, armed and peaceful, under parliamentary systems and under fascism, in capitalist rule and in conditions of building socialism. It would not do to dismiss them with any dark hints.

From the pose of being sole repositories of Marxist-Leninist wisdom and being the foremost upholders of the purity of the doctrine, the Chinese Communist Party leadership seems fast to be sliding to the position of attacking the Soviet Union and the CPSU ever more openly. Accusing the

CPSU of having initiated the process of what they call "splitting" the Communist movement, they charge it by implication with big-nation chauvinism, with trying to impose its views by orders and fiat on other Communist Parties.

## Anti-Sovietism

Those who never tired of calling the CPSU—the vanguard of the Communist movement only a few years ago seem to be coming out in the open to denounce that great Party. Shouldn't they have paused to think that this has been the logical road of all renegades from Marxism-Leninism during the last 45 years? What is wrong in somebody asking them to reconsider their views in view of this alarming trend?

Only two years ago they signed the Moscow Statement which said in so many words: "The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains the universally recognised vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steered contingent of the international movement..."

## On Yugoslavia

Among the "crimes" of the CPSU which they enumerate is its attempt to normalise relations with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. "But there are some Communists who laud that renegade to Communism, Tito, to the skies and are on intimate terms with the Tito group", says the People's Daily editorial of December 15.

Apart from the fact that the CPSU, the Communist Parties of East European countries and of Italy are in a much better position to know what is happening in Yugoslavia, one may ask the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party whether it has been laid down for all time that things should always remain in relation to Yugoslavia at the same stage where they were in the worst phase of its relations with the other socialist countries.

Even the Chinese Communist Party cannot claim that it has been consistent in its implacable hostility to the Yugoslav Communists. In 1958 the Chinese Party had comparatively warm and fraternal relations with the League of Yugoslav Communists. The Chinese Party then invited a delegation of the LYC to its Eighth Congress in 1958 and the speech of the Yugoslav fraternal delegate was warmly applauded there.

The 81 Parties' meeting criticised the LYC Programme and nobody has suggested that the criticism should be withdrawn. In fact at the various congresses and at the Supreme Soviet it has been openly stated that serious ideological differences continue to exist with the LYC. But these differences cannot blind Communists to positive aspects of the LYC and its activity.

The present hysterical hostility of the Chinese leadership to the LYC cannot be considered to stem from a

genuine desire to seriously fight revisionism and eliminate it from the Communist movement. It arises really from the Chinese leadership turning its face against the course charted by the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

The Chinese leadership joined all other Communist Parties in trying to normalise on a principled basis relations with the LYC so long as the Chinese leadership was loyal to the course set by the 20th Congress. Once the Chinese leadership decided to turn its back upon that course, it returned to Stalin's attitude of blind hostility towards Yugoslavia and is now carrying that blind hostility to limits where it ceases to be a serious struggle against revisionism and turns instead into a cover to defend dogmatic positions.

While the CPSU's resumption of efforts to normalise relations with the LYC and those efforts bearing fruit, is logical continuation of the 20th Congress stand, the Chinese leadership's stand is its direct negation. And while they repeat the Moscow Statement's words about Yugoslavia they conveniently forget the integral unity between the 1960 Statement and the 20th Congress. Both the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement emphasised the continuity of development with the 20th Congress. The 1960 Statement says:

"The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU are not only of great importance for the CPSU and Communist construction in the USSR, but have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement, and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

Thus it will be seen that it is not the CPSU and other Communist Parties but the leadership of the Chinese Party which, reverting to blind opposition to LYC characteristic of the Stalinist cult period, opposes the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the world Communist movement.

It is from this recoil all along the line from the accepted positions of the world Communist movement that the Chinese turn-about on India has arisen, leading step by step over the last four years to the recent massive aggression. This aggression the People's Daily in its December 15 editorial lauds to the skies as something almost just, necessary, and positive in its results, because it arises from their "pure" Marxist-Leninist "class" analysis of the Indian situation. This aggression on the other hand is deplored and opposed by the rest of the Communist movement.

The Chinese Communist Party which has undoubtedly scored great achievements in the past follows today on every vital issue facing the world a course which is far in divergence from the stand evolved by the 81 Parties together and embodied in their Statement of 1960. Despite all their pledges to the contrary, they are showing a dangerous disregard for the unity of the world Communist movement.

The brother parties have done nothing more than sound a note of warning against this course and nobody can say that they sounded it too early.

THE NATION

# FROM THE MANGO-GROVE IN SANTINIKETAN

\* By Romesh Chandra

In the famous mango-grove at Santiniketan, on Christmas eve, a man spoke for the nation. And it was as if the spirit of Gurudev were present once more among us. And while this man spoke, another man of another race wept silently... the fruit of the tree which was watered by his tears will be sweeter than any fruit has ever been...

INDIA has always been proud of its passionate attachment to the ways of peace. Prime Minister Nehru reiterated this faith of ours, when he spoke at the annual convocation of Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan; "We must not allow ourselves to become victims of fear and hatred," he said.

And again, referring to the Cheema Bhawan, he pointed out that the functioning of this institution shows that "we have no quarrel with Chinese culture and people," "we are not at war with the great Chinese civilisation or the Chinese people as such."

"We must fight the aggressors," declared the Prime Minister forcefully, "but it would be wrong to go against certain basic principles."

It is not always easy to stand by such basic principles. When one's country has been attacked, when the entire people are roused as never before to defend the Motherland, it is so much easier to sink into chauvinism, into what the Prime Minister described as "an exaggerated form of nationalism."

The opponents of India's basic policies are up in arms once again against the Prime Minister? An article by an editor in Times of India (December 28) roundly says that the Santiniketan speech leads to "Weakening the National Will"; and the same article condemns the Prime Minister for his efforts to discourage the tendency to lay the blame for the Chinese aggression on the "impact of Communism."

The Prime Minister's utterances do not weaken the national determination to defend the Motherland. On the contrary, it is his words which have again and again stirred the people into action in support of our defence efforts.

AITUC Publication

FOR DEFENCE OF OUR MOTHERLAND, TRADE UNION UNITY AND SOCIALISM!

BY S. A. DANGE  
Report to the AITUC General Council  
(Delhi, November 16-18, 1962)

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# Greetings To Rumania

New Age sends warm greetings to the Government and people of Rumania on the occasion of the 15th Anniversary (December 30) of the proclamation of the Rumanian People's Republic.

DURING these fifteen years, the lives of the Rumanian people have completely changed. Since August 1944, when the people's revolution overthrew the regime that had enslaved Rumania to fascist Germany and foreign monopolies, the Rumanian people have been building for themselves a new life. Rumania's solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has been demonstrated again and again.

The stupendous development of Rumania is underlined in all fields of activity.

India congratulates Rumania not only for these achievements, but also for its firm adherence to the policy of peaceful co-existence. It is in pursuance of this policy that Rumania has

acted as a member of the 18-nation Disarmament Committee, and on numerous issues in support of peace and disarmament in the UNO. Rumania's solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has been demonstrated again and again.

India regards with profound satisfaction, the growing economic cooperation between our country and Rumania, particularly the help Rumania is giving India in regard to our oil industry.

May the friendship between the Indian and Rumanian peoples grow with every year!

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# Punjab Communists' Proposal For National Defence

A ceiling of 50 tolas of gold per family and confiscation of the surplus by Government, and deduction of fifty per cent of the privy purses of all princes — these are some of the concrete suggestions to ensure equality of sacrifices and to mobilise the maximum resources for defence made by the extended plenary meeting of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party held at Jullundur on December 22.

The main resolution, unanimously adopted by the forty-nine participants in the meeting, reiterated its full support to the national policies of Prime Minister Nehru and called for national unity for national defence and full mobilisation of all resources for defence. The resolution supported the policy of self-reliance, non-alignment, and planned development of our economy. It fully supported the policy of the Prime Minister regarding the cease-fire and Government's efforts to find a peaceful solution consistent with national dignity. The Council welcomed the announcement made by the Punjab Government that funds

should be collected voluntarily. But a few reports of alleged forced collections by some local officials have been received. The Party is urging Government to attend to these reports and take necessary steps.

The Council also noted that despite the clear cut declarations that profiteering amounts to betrayal of the country, prices of some articles of daily use such as kerosene oil, cement, bricks, cycle tyres etc. have risen and an artificial scarcity has been created in these articles.

The Council welcomed the decision that prices should be displayed at all shops, and suggested that prices should not be allowed to rise beyond the level prevailing on October 20, deposits for supply of kerosene oil etc. should be opened, and steps should be taken to ensure cheap grain in villages in the coming months.

The Council condemned the efforts made by Pakistan and Western imperialist countries to blackmail India on the Kashmir question.

The resolution warns the people against the attacks on the national policies by Right reactionaries. In this connection the Council welcomed the growing consciousness among Congressmen and Congress Committees that parties like the Jan Sangh, Swatantra, and PSP are utilising

joint platforms to attack the national policies and particularly the Prime Minister.

The Council emphasised that cooperation between the CPI, which fully and enthusiastically supports the nationally accepted policies, and the Congress can alone form the basis of a wide unity of patriotic forces.

In this connection, the resolution noted that the arrests of Communist leaders had hindered the process of this unity, which was earlier developing, and had given a handle to reactionaries to carry on a slander campaign against the CPI and to disrupt the united local defence committees in many places. The Council appealed to all patriots, specially to Congressmen, to rise above anti-Communist prejudices and build unity for support of national policies.

Through another resolution, the Council urged the release of Communist detainees, and better jail conditions while they were still detained.

## Andhra Communists Appeal To Congressmen

In a sharp and pointed appeal to Congressmen, the Executive Committee of the Andhra Pradesh Council of the Communist Party at its meeting on December 16, 17 and 18 at Hyderabad said:

"Congressmen and other democrats and progressives should take the initiative to counter the campaign of the reactionary parties to reverse the progressive policies pursued by the Congress under the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru... and to overthrow Pandit Nehru from leadership. Those Congressmen who, taking advantage of the national emergency, attack the Communist Party should realise how harmful it is to the defence of the country to do so. They should join hands with the Communist Party, which has taken a pledge to defend the country."

The resolution adopted by the Committee has outlined a detailed programme of activities by the entire Party membership in the State to implement the resolutions of the National Council and Central Executive Committee of the Party.

The resolution calls for a concerted mass campaign to explain the stand of the world Communist movement. It says:

"The reactionary forces are seriously striving to utilise the Chinese aggression on India, to depict it as a 'war between communism and democracy', and destroy the friendly feelings the people of India have towards the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and to attack the Communist Party of India."

"The Chinese aggression on India is contrary to communist principles. The Chinese Communist Party's understanding and statement of the Moscow Conference of 81 Parties regarding world war and peace, the role of the non-aligned countries, and the ways of achieving socialism. That is the reason why the Party Congresses of Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, have sharply criticised the attitude of the Communist Party of China."

## NIKITA KHRUSHCHOV SPEAKS FOR PEACE

In the books listed below are gathered ideas of the great leader of the Soviet People Nikita Khrushchov, ideas that had great impact on the world:

**THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY:** (In English, Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Oriya and Assamese) Report by N. S. Khrushchov to USSR Supreme Soviet, December 12 1962. 0.30

**HAPPINESS AND PEACE OF THE PEOPLES** Speeches at the receptions in honour of Prime Minister Khrushchov during his visits to India, Burma, Indonesia and Afghanistan 1.31

**LET US LIVE IN PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP** Speeches and statements made during the visit to the United States: 1.31

**FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE FOR ALL COLONIAL PEOPLES SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF GENERAL DISARMAMENT:** The clarion call of Prime Minister Khrushchov to the Statesmen of the world: 0.19

**KHRUSHCHOV SPEAKS** Records of interviews granted to foreign correspondents and speeches dealing with problems of Soviet foreign policy and international relations: 1.14

**FOR VICTORY IN THE PEACEFUL COMPETITION WITH CAPITALISM** Records of speeches, articles and interviews in 1958 with world statesmen and pressmen: 2.25

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**AWAKENED EAST (in Two Vols.) BY A BAND OF SOVIET JOURNALISTS** Vivid, lively account of Nikita Khrushchov's visit to India, Afghanistan, Burma and Indonesia portraying how the people of Asia have awakened to a new life. each Vol. 1.67

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**VISHALAANDHRA PUBLISHING HOUSE,** Buckinghampet, Vijayawada-2.

The resolution calls for all efforts to achieve the target of three and a half crores for the NDF taken by the Chief Minister for the State's collections. The Committee suggests:

"The taxes that are being evaded by the millionaires should also be strictly realised. Payment of the privy purses to the princes should be suspended. Economies should be effected in Government expenditure...."

"The Government should take note of the people's opinion and immediately abolish prohibition which any how is existing in name only. These revenues should be utilised for defence purposes."

Calling for greater agricultural production, the resolution says: "Party units in the villages

should take up the task of increasing agricultural output. They should cooperate with Congress and other parties in this regard. The Ryots and agricultural labour associations should come forward. To entice the agricultural labour, efforts should be made to redress their demand for just wage and other issues.

"In order to increase agricultural production, schemes regarding the execution of new canals, minor irrigation projects, repair of old tank channels, drainage canals and electricity for agricultural purposes in upland taluks, as well as protection of crops from pests and insects, should be executed. District Communist Councils should take up one scheme per region and mobilise all the Party members in the realisation of the same."

## DESPITE DIFFICULTIES

# Communists Mobilise People For Defence Efforts

## M. N. Govindan Nair Interviewed

M. N. Govindan Nair, Member of the Secretariat of the National Council of the CPI who returned to Delhi after a short visit to Madras, Kerala and Mysore States gave his impressions in an interview to New Age.

In Madras, he said, the largest number of arrests of Communists had taken place. The number of arrested comrades had reached 108.

Immediately after the National Council had adopted its resolution calling for National Unity in Defence of the Motherland Against Open Chinese Aggression, a special State Conference of the Party was held. The conference unanimously endorsed the National Council resolution and elected a new leadership with Comrade Manal Kandaswamy as Secretary.

## Biggest Demonstration

The biggest demonstration and the biggest rally organised by our Party anywhere in India in support of the defence efforts and to voice popular determination to resist Chinese aggression were held in Madras city on November 4. The whole Party swung in for the campaign to raise funds for the NDF.

With the Party having strong bases in the working class, it brought forth magnificent response. One day's wage was contributed by all workers whether they followed the AITUC or the INTUC; the total amount realised thus in November came to Rs. 15 lakhs.

Among the peasantry also where the Party is strong it was able to effect a good mobilisation, as in Tanjore where Rs. 10,000 were contributed by the peasants to the Defence Fund.

It was in this background that the arrests took place. Naturally they came as a big surprise for the people as well as the Party. Because they saw that the very people who were most active in defence mobilisation—raising funds, bringing blood donors, and so on—were clamped in jail. In Coimbatore for instance, trade union leaders who had presented Rupees 1½ lakhs to the Chief Minister raised from workers for the NDF were arrested the day after this ceremony was held. The Chairman of the Coimbatore Municipality, Bhupati who was in the forefront of this activity was also arrested. Same was the case with Port & Dock Workers' leader, A. S. K. Tyengar in Madras.

It was clear that the bureaucracy had not bothered to inquire about or understand the concrete situation. The most obvious target for them were the most active people and those particularly in the trade union movement. It

came as a great shock to the people of the State. All important units of the Party were affected.

Still the Party rallied from the blow. A section of the top leadership elected newly in November had been left untouched. They have been going round filling up the gaps, enthrusting and mobilising the people for defence efforts. The response they are meeting among the people and from the Party ranks has been very encouraging.

"We hope and expect," said M. N. Govindan Nair, "that the Government of Madras which is a staunch supporter of the Prime Minister's political stand will soon review the cases of our comrades now in jail."

In Kerala half the membership of the State Council has been put in jail. Here even before the National Council, the State Council had adopted a similar resolution unanimously. Everyone saw that right from the first day of the massive aggression, the Party was in the forefront of defence activity. The Kerala arrests shocked the State population and even non-Communists outside Kerala familiar with the situation in Kerala and the stand of our comrades there.

It appeared to them that what had more to do with this development was the domestic situation of the ruling party itself rather than any apprehension, however remote, of defence efforts being affected.

The open controversies that have arisen there underline this aspect of the situation. Congress factions are interested more in undermining each other's positions rather than in strengthening defence efforts based on national policies. It would appear that the obvious thing in the circumstances is for the Central leadership to awaken them rather vigorously to the needs of the situation and to the fact that petty quarrels have no place in it.

## Active Despite Arrests

Despite arrests, the entire Party is active in Kerala. Units have been reorganised and gaps are being filled. They are engaged in the patriotic task of implementing the National Council resolution. The release of Comrade Achutha Menon has been widely welcomed, it is hoped that this step will be followed up.

One thing which can escape nobody's notice in Kerala is that while workers and the poorer sections of the population have contributed and are contributing liberally to the Defence Fund, the richer classes remain indifferent. Even the Chief Minister has had to draw pointed attention to this fact. There are stories

leading positions or command considerable influence. Nobody could accuse our comrades there that they had not been in the forefront of defence mobilisation right from the beginning. Workers under Party influence have given one day's wage for the NDF, worked without wage on holidays, and they still continue to do so. Where the management has been prepared to advance the money, they have offered to buy defence bonds agreeing that the money be realised every month from their wages.

Yet there are large number of arrests, particularly among Communist trade unionists, and unlike the leaders of the Union Government, some people in authority tried to give an ideological colour to this.

## Arrest Of Trade Unionists

The arrest of trade unionists gave the impression that Government wanted to give employers and managements a free hand, not trusting

workers' patriotism but the bosses danda to bring about the required increase in production. Considering the fact that here too the upper sections are rather unenthusiastic about defence efforts, this is a dangerous line to adopt in the matter of production.

The working class on the other hand has demonstrated its enthusiastic support for all efforts for increased production for national defence. They rather than the bosses deserve to be given more opportunity to display their initiative.

As in the other two states, the Karnatak unit of the Communist Party too has reorganised its branches to fill up the gaps created by the arrests and it is doing its best to mobilise the people to bolster up defence efforts.

The shock of arrests has been well absorbed everywhere and the Party, far from being immobilised, is going ahead to implement the National Council Resolution. In the interests of national defence and to further strengthen it, it is now for the Governments to review the arrests and release those clamped in jails.

## IN FOCUS

By ARGUS

# TEXTILE RACKET

Ever since the Chinese invasion, textile stockists and traders are not lifting their quotas of goods, thereby causing accumulation of large surplus stocks in the mills in Ahmedabad and Bombay, the main centres of textile industry in the country. As a result, we are told, the textile industry is facing a "crisis".

The mills have taken steps on their own to meet the "crisis". In Ahmedabad, ten mills have closed their third shifts, and three or four mills have closed, their second shifts too. About twenty mills have suspended operation of looms on a large scale.

In Bombay, all the mills have resorted to suspension of working of looms. In the Kaiser-E-Hind mill alone, four hundred looms are kept idle ever since the beginning of the emergency. The mills are also not taking in 'badali' workers in place of the permanent workers going on leave, as had been the practice hitherto.

We are told by the mill owners and the jute press that the "crisis" is the result of bad planning by the Government. On the one hand the Government had asked the people to reduce consumption of articles like textiles, and on the other, the same Government exhorted the industry to step up production without scheming for the disposal of the surplus goods. Result: accumulation of stocks with the mills and a "crisis" threatening the very existence of the textile industry.

But is the present "crisis" the result of just "bad planning" on the part of the Government? Or, is it a "crisis" manipulated by the millowners?

INTUC leader G. D. Ambedkar partly answered these questions when he said that the textile industry had seen worse days. According to him, the stocks with the mills in Bombay in December 1957 were as much as 660 thousand bales, while now they were only 500

thousand bales. Which means that the "crisis" is after all not bigger than it had been in December 1957.

One result of the "crisis" is the decision of the millowners to ditch the work-A-DAY-A-MONTH-EXTRA scheme initiated by the Bombay textile workers to swell the National Defence Fund. Under the scheme, the workers would have contributed to the NDF total earnings of the extra day's work, while the employers would have made a matching contribution of a day's profit. The amount contributed by the workers thus on November 4, the day on which they worked extra last month, was Rs. 15 lakhs.

By their decision not to work the mills one day extra in the month because of the "crisis", the millowners have not only grieved for themselves their part of the contribution, but blocked the workers from contributing a tidy sum to the NDF. No wonder that even such a sympathetic labour leader like G. D. Ambedkar felt that the millowners were not "very patriotic".

The textile workers are today facing hardships. More than six thousand workers have already been thrown out of jobs in Ahmedabad as a result of the closure of shifts. In Bombay, 20 thousand 'badali' workers are starving because they have lost their sole source of income when the millowners decided not to make placements for workers going on leave.

Yet, they have risen to the occasion and decided to contribute the "widow's mite" to the NDF in December also. The two lakh textile workers in Bombay have decided to give five rupees each to the NDF from the second instalment of their bonus due by the end of December. And this would fetch the NDF a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs.

## Madhya Pradesh: DEMAND TO BAN CPI REJECTED

BHOPAL: The Madhya Pradesh Assembly rejected the demand for a ban on the Communist Party, when it defeated an amendment moved by a Hindu Mahasabha member, to the Chief Minister's resolution condemning the Chinese aggression.

Arjun Singh, another Congress member, declared in unequivocal terms that this country had to defend her ideals along with her territorial integrity. He said, ideals were as important as the country itself, and that this country had "no future without socialism."

Almost all Congress members opposed the demand for a ban on the Communist Party. The role of the PSP and SP members was not particularly commendable during the session. They also joined the chorus of anti-communism initiated by the Jan Sangh leader. While abusing Communists, the PSP and SP members did not say anything against the Jan Sangh, and the dangers it represents.

The Executive Committee of the Madhya Pradesh State Council of the Communist Party, at its recent meeting in Bhopal, commenting on the Legislature session, said: "It is gratifying to note that in the latest session of the State Assembly, the democratic members including those of the Congress Party, have done an important job by overwhelmingly defeating the proposal for banning the Communist Party of India in the State — a demand raised by the reactionary elements."

The Executive Committee appeals to the Congress as well as the democratic elements to understand the fact that the main object of those who demand the banning of the Communist Party of India in the State, which stands foursquare behind the policies of the Government, is to change the basic policies of the Congress as well as the Congress Government, and that they are moving in this direction in a planned way."

Vow for Victory —Produce More —Save More



LONDON, December 25

Progressive circles in Great Britain had last week their first opportunity of hearing a first hand exposition of the present policy of the Communist Party of India through the speeches made in London by S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Party, at two public meetings.

THE meeting at Conway Hall, organised within a very short time, was largely attended not only by Indians, but by several others—British, Africans and Asians.

In a forthright speech, Dange declared that it was reaction that had gained most as a result of the Chinese attack. During the height of the crisis, even the Prime Minister himself was not spared by the reactionaries. The silence of a large number of the Congress MPs in face of Right-wing attacks, was most shocking. He urged Congressmen to launch a vigorous counter-offensive, basing it on the progressive policies of the Nehru Government, against its rightwing critics.

### Detailed Background

Dange gave a detailed background of the recent developments, and explained the resolutions of the National Council and Central Executive Committee of the Party, on the Chinese aggression. Criticising the Chinese argument that the McMahon Line was "illegal" because it was "created by the imperialists," Dange said that if this argument was universally applied, then no country's inherited boundary would be safe and everyone could be drowned in mutual aggression. The whole of India, he went on, was a product of history out of which the modern India was born.

He criticised those who presented a one-sided picture of Indian economy and always spoke of the role of Western assistance alone. He referred to the significant role that the increasing assistance from socialist countries to India was playing, which he characterised as progressive.

The assertion made in certain quarters that because of increased Western assistance, the Indian Government had "gone over to imperialism," was totally unfounded and unscientific.

Dange declared that the present emergency had brought out even more sharply the rightness of the policy of non-alignment. Non-alignment provided the conditions for obtaining maximum military and economic assistance from all sides without political strings.

Above all, the policy of non-alignment—the greatest contribution of independent India to the world—enabled the country to mobilise the greatest strength and support in her cause and gave her an effective say in world affairs.

Speaking on the arms supplies from the West, he said that the Communist Party had made it clear that it did not object to India receiving arms from any quarters on a commercial basis. But he strongly opposed any attempt by the West to import its policies into India, together with the arms. "As long as

# London Hears Dange Explain CPI Policies

★ From OMEO GOOPTU

Nehru is at the helm of affairs in the country," he declared, "this danger would not arise."

### New Elements

Dange emphasised the new elements in the Indian political scene: the absence of armed hostilities and intervention of the Colombo Conference of non-aligned Afro-Asian countries.

Dange strongly repudiated the suggestion made by a questioner from the audience that the Indian Government was opposed to negotiations with China. He pointed out how on innumerable occasions, Prime Minister Nehru, who was one of the signatories to the Panch Sheela, had expressed his readiness to negotiate with China, and there was ample evidence through all these years of India's desire for friendship with all countries.

Of course, the reactionaries, both within India and abroad, are, for obvious reasons, opposing the Government policy of solving the disputes with China through

negotiations, on mutually acceptable terms. He said these reactionaries are trying to import a cold war atmosphere into India and their plans must be defeated at all costs.

Replying to another question, he repudiated the view that "in no case can a socialist country commit mistakes," and that "in all cases of conflict between a 'bourgeois' Government and a socialist country, the 'bourgeois' State 'must always be at fault'."

Another meeting at Southall was organised by the local Indian Workers' Association, under the leadership of J. S. Dhami, President and Vishnu Dutt Sharma, General Secretary. The meeting was held in the newly-built Welfare Centre for Indian workers under the management of the IWA.

Speaking extempore, Dange said that the Chinese action had harmed the progressive forces in India and strengthened the hands of the reactionaries. He again stressed the vital significance of non-alignment.

This policy of non-alignment, as well as the progressive as-

pects of India's national policies, always enjoyed support of the CPI, while the parties of reaction such as the Swatantra, Jan Sangh, etc. were their most bitter enemies.

The Chinese armed actions had emboldened these reactionary parties to make a frontal attack not only for the removal of Krishna Menon, but they had been actively engaged in campaigning for the removal of the Prime Minister himself.

In the absence of any actual fighting on India's northern frontiers and following the intervention of the Colombo powers, the reactionaries in India, including those who are within the ruling party, had been forced to cease firing at Nehru, and the progressive forces had been carrying on

### Tremendous Enthusiasm

LONDON:

Dange's visit to London has generated tremendous enthusiasm not only in the vast Indian community here, but also in Afro-Asian and progressive British quarters in this country.

A PART from the two public meetings, Dange held discussions with the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, with representatives of mass organisations, including the influential Movement for Colonial Freedom, and members of Parliament.

Dange's visit to London has helped progressive circles in Britain to understand the truth regarding the India-China question, as they never understood it before, because of the massive Chinese propaganda offensive. Many facts which Dange gave were completely unknown to many among those he met or addressed.

Dange has given a new fillip to the activities of the Indian workers and students in Britain for national defence, and in support of national policies.

a determined campaign to rally the country behind the Prime Minister.

Dange strongly criticised the arrests of CPI members. He said this action was senseless and had done damage to India's prestige in foreign countries. The Indian Party, he declared, would go on working for their release as vigorously as possible, until all its members were released.

Answering questions from the floor, Dange said that China's actions were such that no socialist country was expected to do. He told another questioner that it was likely that pressure of the world Communist movement was responsible for the cease-fire.

## Imperialist Pressure On Kashmir

### Editorial

PRIME MINISTER Nehru did not mince words when he said that Pakistan was "displaying an attitude of blackmail" to which the Western powers were also "to some extent" parties.

He made it clear that, "while we are prepared for greater contact and greater trade between Kashmir and Pakistan and for adjustments in the present ceasefire line, which is not a very sensible one, we are persuaded that any major change would be the ruin of the valley."

This is in line with the reasonable policy which the Government has always been following. On Indo-Pak questions in general, and on Kashmir in particular, our Government has done its best to normalise and improve its relations with Pakistan. But the leaders of Pakistan, with the support which they have always received from the Western imperialist powers, have refused to adopt a reasonable attitude and settle outstanding differences with India.

Both Pakistan, as well as the Western imperialist powers thought that the Chinese advance into our territory gave them a golden opportunity to beat India down and force her to accept terms which she has so far resisted. On the one side was Pakistan carrying on talks with China, thus giving an open threat to India that the two Governments would join hands against India. On the other side were the Western powers putting pressure on our Government to resume talks with Pakistan and settle the Kashmir problem; they made it clear that this would be a pre-requisite for them to give long-term military assistance to India.

At the time when this pressure began to be exerted, many in our country did not realise its serious implications. They looked upon the Western powers as "India's friends in need", supplying the much-needed arms with which to resist the aggressor. The good offices being used by the British and American statesmen for bringing India and Pakistan together were also appreciated. It was hoped that their efforts

would at least make Pakistan refrain from attacking us at the very time when the Chinese armies were advancing deep into our territory.

Subsequent developments, however, have shown that the Western powers are using this opportunity to dictate terms to India. It is being made clear by them that the type of long-term military assistance demanded by India would be forthcoming only if India gives substantial concessions to Pakistan on Kashmir. All sorts of proposals are made, such as partition of Kashmir, making the valley part of Pakistan; a joint administration of the State by the two countries; giving Pakistan "access" to Kashmir valley; etc.

The seriousness of these moves is realised by the Prime Minister and other leaders of the Union Government, as well as the leaders of Kashmir headed by Prime Minister Bakshi. They have all made it clear that, while our Government is prepared to have reasonable adjustments on the ceasefire line, they will not accept partition of Kashmir, joint Indo-Pak administration of the State, or any thing else that would basically alter the present setup in the State.

There are, however, elements in the political life of the country who do not stand behind the Union and Kashmir leaders in this respect. Several leaders of the Swatantra and other parties put such emphasis on a settlement with Pakistan that they would prefer acceptance of the terms dictated by the Western imperialist powers to the absence of a settlement. A joint Indo-Pak defence of the sub-continent with Western help is the panacea they offer to the problems of the country's defence. Whatever adjustments are necessary for this purpose, they demand, India should be prepared to make.

We are confident that all the democratic-minded and freedom-loving people in the country would reject this advice. Leaders of the Union and Kashmir Governments require the firm support of the country in the difficult task of resisting imperialist pressure even while being fully prepared to make such accommodations with Pakistan as are honourable.

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