

USSR & WORLD PEACE

N. S. Khrushchov Reports To Supreme Soviet

"We have been able to prevent war in the case of Cuba with the help of a reasonable compromise — and the world was literally on the very brink of war. But will it be possible to loosen the knot should imperialists pull it tighter again? One cannot vouch for this," stated Soviet Premier N. S. Khrushchov reporting to the Supreme Soviet on the present international situation and the foreign policy of the USSR on December 12 in Moscow.

Following are some extracts from the official summary received in Delhi as we go to press:

TO the people (in the West) who follow a 'tough' policy and are ready to follow an even tougher policy, one can say: "Do you think that we can undertake, under your pressure, to withdraw rockets from the Soviet Union, or be frightened by the threat of bombing? I shall tell you frankly, gentlemen, if you build your policy on such calculations, you will make a gross miscalculation."

Khrushchov noted that "during the peaceful adjustment of the conflict in the Caribbean, shrill voices of discontent could also be heard from another quarter, from people who call themselves as Marxist-Leninists, even though their actions have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism."

With the Albanian leaders in view, among others, Khrushchov said that "their criticism of the Soviet Union in effect echoed that coming from the most reactionary bellicose circles of the West."

To judge by their statements, the Albanian leaders are obviously dissatisfied with the liquidation of the Cuban crisis. They describe its solution as a retreat, while some go so far as to say that the Soviet Union capitulated to imperialism.

"In what way have we retreated, one may ask? Socialist Cuba exists. Cuba remains a beacon of Marxist-Leninist ideas in the Western Hemisphere. The impact of her revolutionary example will grow. The Government of the US has given a pledge not to invade Cuba. The threat of thermo-nuclear war has been averted. Is this a retreat?"

Khrushchov stressed that the "preaching of the solution of international disputes by war is madness which can bring only suffering and privations to the peoples."

PROPER OUTLOOK

Khrushchov said one must be very careful and not rush in with irresponsible charges, like, for instance, that some people follow an orthodox policy while others follow a mistaken policy towards the people who fight against imperialism and are intolerant of it while others allegedly display liberalism. These questions can be correctly understood, and this or that action can be correctly assessed, only by taking account of the time, the place and the circumstances in which the action was taken.

In this connection Khrushchov said: "Will anybody censure the People's Republic of China because fragments of colonialism remain intact. It would be wrong to push China to any actions which she regards as untimely. If the Government of the People's

Republic of China tolerates Macao and Hongkong, there must be weighty reasons for this. It would therefore be ridiculous to level against it the accusation that this is a concession to the British and Portuguese colonialists, that this is appeasement."

Khrushchov stressed that it was not in the interests of socialism to permit the crisis around Cuba to develop into a world thermo-nuclear war.

"On the one hand, a new war is eagerly desired by the aggressive 'adventurist' forces of imperialism, the madmen who have lost the hope that capitalism will hold its own in peaceful competition with socialism. And on the other hand, developments are prompted in the same direction by people who call themselves Marxist-Leninists but who actually are dogmatists who do not believe in the possibility of the victory of socialism, communism, West."

in the conditions of peaceful co-existence with capitalism."

"These people, it would seem, are poles apart in their thinking, and yet their positions coincide, they hold the same views and act in the same way in this vitally important question," Khrushchov observed.

"We do not need war," he continued. "The Soviet people, who raised the banner of struggle for socialism and to whom has fallen the honour of building communism, desires peace. We are confident that we are right."

*ON PAGE 13

NEW AGE

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DANGE MEETS KHRUSHCHOV

MOSCOW, Dec. 11: S. A. DANGE, Chairman, Communist Party of India, had an interview with N. S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and discussed with him a wide range of subjects, including the relations between India and the Soviet Union. N. S. Khrushchov expressed sentiments of deep friendship of the Soviet people for the Indian people. N. S. Khrushchov said that

the Soviet people highly appreciate and value the economic and cultural relations between India and the Soviet Union, and expressed his confidence that the existing economic and cultural agreement between India and the Soviet Union will contribute to the further development of these relations between the two countries.

N. S. Khrushchov also hoped that the India-China border conflict would be settled by peaceful negotiations.

COLOMBO INITIATIVE

Editorial

IN A FEW DAYS FROM now, the Prime Minister of Ceylon is expected to visit New Delhi and Peking in order to convey the results of the deliberations of the Conference of the six non-aligned Afro-Asian countries, which has just concluded at Colombo.

The communique issued at the conclusion of the conference gives no indication of the nature of the suggestions which have been unanimously made by the Six. The text of their conclusions has deliberately not been published, lest premature disclosure may prejudice their endeavours.

The Government and people of this country welcome the visit of the Ceylonese Prime Minister to our capital. Her personal clarifications and explanations will enable the Government of India to understand more fully whatever suggestions have been made by our non-aligned friends.

Government, Congress, Communist and other patriotic spokesmen have during these days repeatedly reaffirmed India's continued devotion to the path of peace, to the policy of non-alignment, to the spirit of Bandung and the Panch Sheel. If we have been forced into a war, it is the result of the wanton Chinese aggression.

The Right reactionary forces in this country continue to cry for a reversal of our national policies, but they do not represent the nation's will.

In his recent speech in the Lok Sabha, the Prime Minister restated India's basic position in regard to peaceful negotiations:

"We shall always seek peaceful methods to resolve any dispute. But conditions for a peaceful approach have to be created if it is to yield fruits... The gains of aggression must be given up before the two parties can try peaceful methods to resolve their dispute."

The Prime Minister's readiness to refer the disputes and claims about the frontier, at the appropriate time and when the present aggression is vacated, to an international body like the Hague Court—is further proof of the fair and reasonable approach being taken by India.

The speeches made at the opening and closing session of the Colombo Conference reveal concern among our non-aligned friends at the pressures being exerted on India to abandon its policy of non-alignment.

The Ceylonese Prime Minister in her speech of welcome expressed her view that the problem they had met to consider is a threat to non-alignment itself, for the conflict between India and China had "afforded an opportunity for the power politics of the cold war to penetrate as it were into the affairs of the Afro-Asian world." She referred to the necessity which had been forced on India to receive arms from the Western powers and pointed out how any kind of entanglement with the power blocs would be contrary to the cardinal principle of non-alignment.

Our Afro-Asian non-aligned friends can be confident that India under the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru, despite all the pressures that may be put upon it, will never give up its basic policies. The Prime Minister remains, as Mrs. Bandaranaike herself said, "the foremost champion of non-alignment."

Let the Colombo Six have no doubts in regard to the constructive approach and attitude of this land. The Bandung spirit is the spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity. It is the spirit of firm defence of national independence, of opposition to imperialism and aggression, of striving for world peace.

Any proposals which come in that spirit will always receive India's sympathetic attention. When they come from good and close friends like the Colombo Six they are bound to be received with even greater regard and consideration.

Speculation regarding the text of the Colombo proposals will not be helpful.

The Parliament has adjourned, placing its full confidence in Prime Minister Nehru to defend the honour and integrity of the country. The people fully endorse this expression of confidence given unanimously by both Houses.

(December 12)

Unite For National Defence

and National Policies

Communists Lead Campaign For Defence

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Unprovoked by arrests of nearly thirty Communists in the State and by the exclusion of Communists from Defence Committees at State and district levels, Communist Party units all over Andhra Pradesh and Communist leaders working in kisan sabhas, trade unions and other mass organisations have been leading a consistent campaign in towns and villages in defence of our country against Chinese aggression.

IMMEDIATELY following the Chinese massive attack of October 20, Communist Party units took the initiative in forming all-party defence committees to organise the defence effort in Rajahmundry, Guntur, Vijayawada, Eluru—and many other important cities and towns in the State. Contributions for the National Defence Fund were collected on a mass scale.

The Hyderabad City Committee of the Party was the first organisation in the whole State to hold a public meeting and organise demonstrations condemning the Chinese aggression.

The initiative was also taken by Communists working in trade unions. Once again, it was the Praga Tools Employees' Union under Communist leadership which was the first trade union in the State to come forward with a declaration to work on Sundays and contribute that day's wages to the National Defence Fund.

It was this initiative of the

mittee of the AITUC had addressed a letter to the Government urging the convening of a tripartite meeting to consider ways and means to increase production, and regulate management-labour relations in this period of emergency. There is no doubt that if this suggestion is accepted by the Government, it would be of considerable value in increasing production.

In the context of these initiatives of the Communist Party from all defence committees can only be considered as unfortunate. There appears to be no objection to take into the committee elements which, day in and day out, attack the non-alignment policy of our country and its architect Prime Minister Nehru himself but there is still hesitation and consequent refusal to include in the defence committee members of the Communist Party, which has been shown above, has been in the very forefront of the defence efforts.

Despite the arrests of some leading Communists, the Party has continued the national defence campaign with determination. Scores of meetings have been held during the last weeks, addressed by the top Communist leaders of the State, in towns as well as taluk headquarters.

At each such meeting, Communist leaders have condemned the Chinese aggression and explained the whole political background and called for national unity in defence of the Motherland. The right reactionary forces, seeking to reverse our national policies, have been thoroughly exposed in these meetings, which have called for full support to the Prime Minister.

Workers' Contribution

Workers' unions led by Communists, of workers' in Road Transport, in Cement and Tobacco industries, at Nagarjunasagar and in the Singareni collieries have been ceaselessly working for defence: according to figures given by trade unionists, over eight lakh rupees have already been donated by workers organised in the Communist-led trade unions.

Even the Chief Minister of the State, in a special appeal to the people on November 3, quoted the enthusiastic response of workers in Singareni collieries under Communist leadership, who have contributed two lakh rupees.

The Andhra Pradesh Com-

SAHITYA AKADEMI'S APPEAL

"As citizens we pledge our material resources and as writers we pledge our pen to defend and uphold the freedom and honour of our land. In upholding this honour we uphold our own".

THESE stirring words are from an appeal issued on behalf of the Sahitya Akademi by its Secretary K. R. Kripalani. The appeal points out:

"To the writer no possession is dearer than freedom. This freedom we have enjoyed in the framework of our national freedom. Today the nation is faced with a challenge to its very existence. This hour of grave peril is the real test of our manhood, of our guts and our capacity to defend what gives meaning and value to life. We can hardly claim to deserve freedom if we are not prepared to die for it.

Punjabi Writers' Pledge

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand was the principal speaker at a one-day convention of Punjabi Writers held at Jullundur on December 2, under the auspices of the Kendri Punjabi Lekhak Sabha.

IN his stirring address, Dr. Anand appealed to the intellectuals of Punjab to unite in defence of the motherland and all the progressive policies of the Prime Minister.

The Convention was presided over by Giani Heera Singh "Dard", the veteran revolutionary and well-known Punjabi writer. Prominent among those who attended the Convention were Prof. Mohan Singh "Panj Darya", Prof. Sujan Singh, Jaswant Singh Kanwal, Prof. Attar Singh, Sadhu Singh (Editor Ajit Daily), Shadi Singh (Editor Akali Patrika Daily), Jagjit Singh Anand (Editor Nawan Zamana Daily), Santokh Singh Dhir and S. S. Mishra.

The Convention adopted a 7-point declaration which pledged that the services, capacities and possessions of the writers and intellectuals of the State were at the disposal of the Prime Minister for the defence of the sacred territory and sovereignty of the country.

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand appealed to the writers to prepare to take up guns instead of pens

when they are called upon to do so. He said: "We must realise that we cannot live at the mercy of others, we must strengthen ourselves so that we can defend our sovereignty".

Dr. Anand gave a sharp warning against the forces of right reaction which seek to slander the Prime Minister and his policies and thus weaken national defence. He castigated the efforts of certain sections of the press and of those who sought to profit from the emergency.

He reminded the writers of the grim peril of the rise of fascist ideas which had been concentrating around the fantastic demand for the "removal" of Prime Minister Nehru. Intellectuals and democrats have always been the first victims of fascism. And that is why all writers must unite in defence of the basic national policies of this country.

Dr. Anand condemned the dogmatism and adventurism of the Chinese Government and appealed to writers all over the world to support India's just stand.

More Indian Writers Express Indignation At Chinese Aggression

NEW AGE continues to receive more and more signatures of Indian writers on the Statement of Writers published in the issue of November 8.

THE following additional signatures have been received by us through the Progressive Writers' Association, Delhi:

Punjab:
Dr. Mulkraj Anand; Nanak Singh; Gurbaksh Singh; Navtej Singh.

Lucknow:
Yashpal, Amritlal Nagar, Anand Narain Mulla (ex-judge, High Court, Urdu poet), Ali Abbas Husaini, Satish Batra, Ramlal, Prof. Masoodul Hasan Adib, Hasan Shaheer, Masibul Hasan, Abid Suhail, Anwar Husain Zaidi, Nassem Kunjahi, ab Aktar, Yusuf Sirsawi,

Varanasi:
Dr. Namwar Singh, Dr. Chandra Bali Singh, Vishnu

Saghar Mehdi, Iqbal Umar, Fareed Ishrafi, Ibrahim Alvi, Najmul Hasan.

Kanpur:
Lalit Mohan Awasthi, Devi Prasad Dohawal "Vikal", Dr. Shyam Narain Pandey, Munnilal Mishra "Munindra" Tilak, Siddheshwar Awasthi, Dr. Balmakund Gupta, Naresh Chandra Chaturvedi, Dr. Prem Narain Shukla, Dr. Shri Narain Agnihotri, Sadguru Saran Awasthi, Musli Ram "Som", Dr. Brijlal Verma, Yadav Chandra Jain, Bhagwati Prasad Bajpai.

Bombay:
Dr. Namwar Singh, Dr. Chandra Bali Singh, Vishnu

People's mobilisation against Chinese aggression has manifested itself very powerfully this week, particularly through a students' demonstration, a mass rally of women and increased activities of the organised working class.

ON December 3 a mammoth demonstration of students went to the Chinese Consulate General and presented a memorandum which said that the unprovoked attack by China has caused damage not only to the progressive movement in India and Asia, but throughout the world. It further expressed the firm determination of student community to do all in their power to drive out the Chinese and at the same time hoped that good sense would dawn on the Chinese Government, even if belatedly, and the aggression on the Indian soil would be vacated.

where a resolution was passed which reminded the students of their patriotic tradition and warned them against reactionary attempts to undermine democracy and the progressive policies of the Government.

The PSP and Jan Sangh student-leaders however assailed the non-alignment policy of Government of India, while some Congress student leaders indulged in disruptive anti-Communist demagoguery in their speeches.

With the slogans "Aggressor China—Quit India" and "Students' Unity Zindabad," rending the air, the procession wound its way through city streets to the Consulate. Several small processions also came and converged with the main one. A notable feature was the participation of a large number of teachers and professors in the procession.

In a statement issued after the demonstration, the BPSF called on the students to stand firm behind Prime Minister Nehru and to continue to participate in concrete national defence activities.

Reports from districts indi-

CALCUTTA, December 9:

STUDENTS' MIGHTY DEMONSTRATION

★ From AJAY DAS GUPTA

cate that students and teachers everywhere are coming forward jointly for practical work and for mobilising public opinion for national defence and in support of the progressive policies of Prime Minister Nehru. Special mention should be made of Jalpaiguri, where students brought out a big procession and nearly 150 students have enrolled as blood donors.

TRADE UNIONS TAKE STEPS TO HELP DEFENCE

A big rally of 5,000 people at Santoshpur in Malda district and another big rally at Gopalpur nearby are the highlights of the activities in the mufassil area. The area is inhabited predominantly by Muslims and is near Pakistan border.

6 lakhs of rupees from their respective factories and mills. When full reports from 300 affiliated unions are received, the BPTUC representatives asserted, the collection will exceed double that figure.

Anti-AITUC Tirade

Following their earlier activities the organised trade unions particularly under the leadership of AITUC are coming out on a bigger scale. On December 4 nearly 100 representatives of 20 trade unions in Khidderpore area in Calcutta met in the office of the Port & Dock Workers' Union and fully endorsed the AITUC resolution on National Emergency and the Working Class. Jolly Kaul, Vice-President of the Port & Dock Workers' Union, explained the situation arising out of China's adventurist policy and wanton aggression on Indian soil and chalked out the tasks before the working class.

The workers made a firm resolve to increase production, ensure quicker loading and unloading at the Docks and to continue to contribute to NDF and Blood Bank. It was reported that workers in this area have already donated more than a lakh of rupees to the NDF.

The BPTUC in a meeting of its active workers held on December 8, under the presidency of Indrajit Gupta Secretary, AITUC, decided to hold a Workers' Production Convention to discuss and to decide on the ways of increasing production for national defence and to meet people's needs. Reports so far reaching the BPTUC office showed that more than 100 of its affiliated units have already helped collection of more than

Rs. 25,000. The BPTUC has called upon the workers not to be provoked by such attacks and to carry on steadfastly with their work and to discharge their patriotic duty to the motherland.

BIG BUSINESS SPEAK OUT

IN the "good old days" of British Raj, the annual meetings of the Associated Chambers of Commerce & Industries were the forum from which the economic policies of the Government of India were dictated. In independent India though that overbearing importance no longer exists, yet these meetings are nevertheless important events on many counts. Here the big bosses of British industrial and commercial concerns spell out their demands on the Government of India and give advice on how to develop the Indian economy.

Held during the national emergency due to Chinese aggression on our soil, this year's meeting on December 1 had acquired added importance. The fact that the Finance Minister gave a detailed reply at the meeting to the Association President's address lent the occasion even greater significance.

Mr. Mackay Tallack, President of the Chamber, declared its firm resolve "to put themselves unreservedly, at the disposal of the Government", and said "it must be our duty to consider by what means we can best contribute in harnessing the country's production resources". Very noble and very welcome indeed, coming as it did from a group which still controls a considerable segment of India's economic activities. And what are the steps suggested by Mr. Mackay Tallack to harness the productive resources of the country?

"High production costs should be attacked on every front..." And we know from our bitter experience that whenever any question of lowering production costs comes, the bosses want to attack the wages of the workers and to pay less for raw materials. They don't find any other item of expenditure capable of curtailment. And already Jute is selling at such a low price for peasants, that the Central Jute Committee itself has to come out with a statement that steps would be taken to ensure a floor price.

By lowering production costs, the Chief of the British businessmen hopes that the export drive will be facilitated and more foreign exchange will be earned. But that will not suffice to meet the need for money for defence and development. Then how to raise the resources? Mr. Mackay Tallack has a ready answer: "The present circumstances provided unique opportunity for mobilising support on a truly national scale" and further, "There were still large areas of the economy on which tax burden fell very lightly and while individual untaxed capacity to pay was not great, collecting a considerable contribution to national exchequer was possible either through the medium of Central taxation or by suitable State levies".

What this means is that Government should tax the common people—workers, employees, teachers, professors, small traders etc.—more and more, through indirect "Central taxation" or State levies which always fall mainly on poor peasant masses.

The common people are fully prepared to bear the burden of national defence, because this country belongs to them.

But when the big capitalists talk of making "best contribution" for nation's cause one would expect that they will volunteer to bear their share

of the burden also. But what has Mr. Mackay Tallack to say on this score?

"In the campaign for national savings, endeavours should be made to ensure that industry and trade were not called on to transfer funds that were required to maintain essential economic activity or finance development". A very clear statement indeed.

Plea For No More Taxes

He also asks the Government to remember that "so far as income tax is concerned, its incidence was one of the highest in the world." So no more increase in income tax, no super profit tax or any other taxation on the richer section!

And don't touch the corporate profits either, such is the dictum. "It should be borne in mind, however, that company revenues form the life blood of commerce and industry and that resources had in most cases been stretched to the limit by recent expansion or development. Greater production could be financed only by greater investment in fixed capital and would require substantially enlarged liquid resources. Measures of taxation which impinged on the capacity of the industry to maintain and increase production would be self-stultifying. It might be more important to have goods in the production line than to increase the Government tax receipts by the money which would provide them."

So private enterprise must be allowed to grow and fatten itself, even if Government revenue suffers and public sector is stultified. A novel way "to put them-

ves unservedly at the disposal of the Government" indeed!

Not only do they refuse to pay higher taxes, they want more industries and sectors of power and transport in their grip. So observers here feel that the offer of support to the Government by Associated Chamber is veiled attack on the Government's efforts to mobilise national resources for national defence. "Jugantar", an influential Bengali daily, managed by the family of Tarun Kanti Ghosh, State Industries Minister wrote editorially:

"No Government can accept such demands, at least not during the crisis created by the war".

Morarji Desai in reply to the British President's address said, "It is not always that a Finance Minister has the good fortune of being invited to touch the pockets of the people, and I am sure, I am revealing no great secret when I say that I find this particular invitation rather attractive."

Assembly Resolution

The Andhra Legislative Assembly's discussions on a resolution moved by the Chief Minister condemning Chinese aggression threw into relief the attitudes of various parties and forces on the present national emergency.

CHIEF Minister Sanjiva Reddi in his introductory speech roundly condemned the Chinese Government for planning "all these years to commit aggression with treachery and deceitfulness".

He roundly defended the policy of non-alignment and the expressed gratification at the unprecedented unity and solidarity shown by the people in this hour of crisis, and their determination to go ahead and strengthen Prime Minister Nehru's stewardship. The Chief Minister also defended the step taken by the Government in arresting some Communists.

Attack On Basic Policies

While several Congress MLAs followed the broad lines of the Chief Minister's speech, there were some who sought to convert the legislature into a forum for attacking the Communist Party and then going on to criticise the basic national policies themselves—and even the Prime Minister.

Swatantra Party speakers openly called for "alignment"; they moved an amendment to ask for "all

dynamic symbol of the nation's aspirations. He answered the criticisms of the policy of non-alignment, which, he said, had helped us at this hour of our need.

The resolution against the Chinese aggression was adopted unanimously by the Assembly, all members standing.

kinds of help" from other countries, which was generally interpreted as a plea for foreign personnel to defend our borders, in complete contradiction to the Government and national stand of confidence in our own jawans and our own armed forces.

Communist Party spokesmen gave full support to the defence efforts (and could point out concretely the contribution made to defence by Party members and supporters all over the State), and came out with a firm call for unity in defence of national policies of Prime Minister.

Congress MLAs like ex-Minister K. Obul Reddi, INTUC leader G. Sanjiva Reddi, P. Seshagataram, K. Venkataratnam and other were critical of the policy of "untouchability" adopted towards the Communists and defended the policy of non-alignment.

The Chief Minister in his reply to the debate said that Prime Minister Nehru is "our biggest weapon", the embodiment of the determination of the people to throw back the Chinese aggression and protect the integrity of the country,

India And The Soviet Union

The news communique from Moscow (front page) on the interview which S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Communist Party of India, had with N. S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, emphasises the "deep friendship" of the Soviet Union for our country. The news communique, after pointing out that the discussions covered "a wide range of subjects including the relations between India and the Soviet Union" states:

"N. S. Khrushchov said that the Soviet people highly appreciate and value the economic and cultural relations between India and the Soviet Union, and expressed his confidence that the existing economic and cultural agreements between India and the Soviet Union will contribute to the further development of these relations between the two countries."

During the last week, Prime Minister Nehru has again and again stressed the vital significance for India of this friendship with the Soviet Union. Addressing the Congress Parliamentary Party on December 11, he said that "the Soviet Union was continuing to be friendly towards India and nothing should be done to harm friendly relations and goodwill between the two countries." (*Hindustan Times*, December 12) The Prime Minister "thanked the Soviet Union for the friendly feelings it had shown towards India." (*Statesman*, December 12)

A few days earlier in an interview to the French Television, the Prime Minister restated appreciatively that "the Soviet Union has continued to be friendly to us." Similar statements had been made by the Prime Minister several times in Parliament, in public meetings and other occasions.

Wishful and interested sections of opinion have gleefully sought to use the present situation, following the Chinese aggression, to paint the picture of a growing gulf between our country and the Soviet Union, of increasing estrangement and even of a rupture in economic and cultural relations.

In certain circles abroad, also, this same wishful thinking has prevailed. Last week the entire British press front-paged and flashed the declaration made by Commonwealth Secretary Sandys on his return from India, that the Soviet Union would not carry out its agreement in regard to the supply and manufacture of MIGs. The same newspapers, with one or two exceptions, tucked away in an insignificant couple of paragraphs, the news of Prime Minister Nehru's categorical contradiction of the Sandys canard, and his assertion that the Soviet Government had informed our Ambassador in Moscow that the MIGs deal would be fulfilled as scheduled.

The wishful ones see in the maintenance of Indo-Soviet friendly relations a major and insurmountable obstacle in the way of their ceaseless campaign against our national policy of non-alignment.

The latest statements of Prime Minister Nehru and Chairman Khrushchov quoted above, and the reality of ever-flowing and ever-increasing economic assistance to India from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, should put an end once and for all to the pipe-dreams of the crusaders against non-alignment. As Prime Minister Nehru has emphatically stated this week in the Lok Sabha:

"We have long followed a

policy of non-alignment and I firmly believe that this was the right policy. That policy, I believe, should continue."

Kashmir

WHILE public attention has been focused this week on the six non-aligned governments' meeting in Colombo and on the debate in Parliament on "the border situation resulting from the invasion of India by China," Indo-Pakistan relations continue to receive urgent attention not only in our country and in Pakistan, but also abroad.

"Ambassador Galbraith called pressmen on December 7 to deny the charge which was roundly made all last week, in despatches from nearly every Indian correspondent in Washington, that the U.S. Government was putting pressure on India to concede Pakistan's demands on Kashmir."

"Let me make it clear here," said the Ambassador, "that we are not applying pressure and certainly we are not advancing any formula or a 'pat' solution of a very difficult problem."

That the U.S. Ambassador had to follow the British High Commissioner in protesting against any suggestion of "pressure," is indicative of the fact that the attitude taken by the U.S. and British missions to India and the statements made by them had led to a very widespread belief in this country that real all-out aid from the two Western powers was more or less conditional on a settlement with Pakistan on Kashmir.

Mr. Averell Harriman in a radio interview in Washington, was specifically asked "whether a settlement of the Kashmir dispute would be a condition for massive U.S. aid to India."

The very question shows how strong was the belief not only in India but in the USA itself, that this condition did exist. Harriman replied saying: "We should do everything possible to help in a settlement being achieved, but we cannot make it a condition."

Despite these protestations, certain sections of Indian opinion continue to campaign for a "realistic," "generous" approach on the Kashmir question—and make clear that, in their opinion, a settlement on this question is necessary in order to obtain adequate help from the West. While the USA and the U.K. governments themselves formally deny the precondition, their Indian supporters rally to impose the precondition on their behalf.

The *Indian Express* editorially calls for "a speedy settlement with Pakistan" as a "first imperative" and says:

"The menace which now threatens our very existence should induce realism, however unpalatable its consequences may be... This newspaper has consistently supported the Government of India on its stand on Kashmir. But a time sometimes arrives in the lives of nations as of individuals when faced with a cruel choice, a realistic and resolute decision must be made. The safety and existence of India are at stake and in order to safeguard them, we must be prepared to make some concessions to Pakistan. Let us do them realistically and generously." (December 11).

The same paper the next day again editorially discussed the Indo-Pakistan question and posed

NOTES OF THE WEEK

the question why the principle of reference to the Hague Court (as mentioned by the Prime Minister in regard to China) should not be acceptable in regard to Pakistan.

In the same issue a leading article pointed out once again that it would be "much more difficult to resist the pressure from Washington and London to settle with Pakistan"; for "they have already hinted that we would not get any large-scale and long-term military aid unless India made up with Pakistan."

The *Express News Service* correspondent from Washington hinted that private American hopes appeared to hinge on an agreement which "would enable Pakistan to be brought in on a non-religious basis for joint control of the valley as part of the mutual defence arrangement."

The *Hindustan Times* correspondent has flashed news efforts for "some form of mediation" on Kashmir (December 12)

"Realism and generosity," the Hague Court, "joint control," "mediation"—the pot is definitely boiling.

The voice of patriotic India was heard when Prime Minister Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad told the Congress Parliamentary Party that while he welcomed the coming Indo-Pakistan talks and any lessening of tension, he would caution against any step which would lead to India abandoning its basic policies, under anybody's or any country's pressure.

Bakshi Sahib rightly demanded that the principles which have won India world-wide recognition must not be thrown overboard; and the principles he stressed were those of non-alignment and socialism.

As regards reference to the Court, Prime Minister Nehru has explained to the Rajya Sabha that there is no parallel with the dispute with China, which being essentially a border question, could be referred to a judicial body.

The country looks forward to the Indo-Pakistan talks and will support any settlement consistent with India's honour and integrity, which does not mean the abandoning of our basic policies.

Defence Burdens

THE question of defence burdens has been raised by the Congress Socialist Forum. At a meeting on December 11 under the chairmanship of Planning Minister G. L. Nanda, the Forum is reported to have "felt that only if the burden was placed more on those who could bear it, could the necessary mass enthusiasm be mobilised for the defence effort."

The Forum is expected to issue a declaration supporting this view and also calling on its members to "work for the adoption of Socialist principles for pushing the economy forward even during the emergency period."

In the Lok Sabha, the Planning Minister has announced that a proposal to amend the Constitution with a view to protecting land reform legislation is under the consideration of the Union Government. Meanwhile the Governor of Kerala has issued an ordinance which aims at giving protection to tenants following two recent judgements on the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act of 1960 declaring it unconstitutional in its application to the major portion of the

lands in the State (see earlier report, page 11). These are welcome steps.

The increasing needs of national defence require the urgent attention of the entire country. Workers and peasants and all sections of the common people of India are fully prepared to take their full share of the economic burdens, which national defence entails. Proof of this readiness can be found in the reports of the magnificent response of the working class and peasantry all over the country to the call for increased production and for contributions to the defence funds. A glimpse of this response in some States can be had in the pages of this issue of *New Age*.

But the Congress Socialist Forum is right in emphasising the need for more equitable division of the burden by placing more on those who can more easily bear it. Such a division seems to be obvious. But it is not yet clear whether this "obvious" principle is being observed or will be observed in the coming days, when questions of increased taxation are being considered.

There is considerable concern among all sections at the reluctance with which the big business magnates, princes and others capable of paying large sums, are contributing to the Defence Fund. On another page we have given some facts regarding the contribution of some Indian Maharajas and Maharanis. The latest to join the reluctant ones is the Nizam of Hyderabad who has declared that he is "too poor" to pay anything out of his privy purse of 50 lakhs a year.

It is true that business houses are making contributions. But what about the personal contributions of the magnates?

The demands put forward at the Annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India (see report on page 2) are an indication of the desire on the part of sections of big business in the country—and particularly those connected with British capital—to escape meeting their obligations and pass on the bulk of the burdens to those who can ill-afford to pay more than they are doing now.

The Finance Minister's declaration at the annual meeting that "I find myself in agreement with practically everything that you have said" has been unfortunate. Capital has interpreted it to mean "a close identity of views" between industry and government; it remarks that "not often in recent years can an assembly of business men and government spokesmen have yielded a greater measure of accord..."

Perhaps this is reading more into the Finance Minister's remarks than is justified. But a clear restatement of government policies is required. Here again it is a question of sticking firmly to basic policies with the full understanding that while the mass of people are glad and willing to make their maximum contribution to the defence efforts, it is necessary to take concrete steps to ensure that those who can pay more are not allowed to evade their proper and equitable share.

—Romesh Chandra
December 12.

Condition Of Detenus In Jail

THE Government has stated that it is reviewing the cases of Communists arrested under the Defence of India Act.

Following the release of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, E.M.S. Namboodiripad on November 28, some Communists have been released in Punjab and elsewhere.

While the cases of arrested persons are being reconsidered, attention has been drawn to the necessity for clear instructions in regard to the jail conditions of the detenus.

It is also reported that detenus in some States are being placed in C Class; in one State at least the detenus are divided into different classes and isolated from each other. Such classification and separation was not there before when people were detained in 1947 or in 1952.

Previously all the detenus were put in the same class and kept in the same enclosure of each jail. All the detenus used to have a common kitchen and the representatives of the detenus could draw whatever ration they liked, provided the cost did not exceed the limit set by the Government.

The minimum necessities of life like clothes, toilet, newspapers, etc., were provided at

the expense of the Government and over and above that, extra money was allowed to be received from outside for the purchase of books, extra food, if one liked. Moreover, government used to pay some family allowance to the detenus during the period of detention at varying rates.

Instructions regarding these concessions and facilities, it is reported, are still awaited and certain States have not granted them yet to the Communists who have been detained under the Defence of India Act.

Representatives of the CPI met the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and discussed with them the question of release of the arrested Communists. Attention has also been drawn to the facts regarding conditions of the detenus in some places and requests made for immediate action to improve the position.

Ten Punjab Communists Released

Ten members of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party have been released this week. They include Jagir Singh Joga, MLA, leading trade union functionaries and the Secretaries of some District Councils of the Party.

P. K. Kunhanandan Nair Reports On Czech Party Congress

The high rostrum of the 12th Congress of the 2-million strong Communist Party of Czechoslovakia witnessed unprecedented ideological isolation of the Chinese and Albanian dogmatists from the international Communist movement.

UNDER a huge portrait of Lenin overlooking the 2,000 delegates and guests, fraternal delegates from several Communist Parties openly criticised the Chinese Communist Party for its opposition to peaceful co-existence and support to the Albanian leaders who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and violated all norms of proletarian internationalism.

Just as the Indian Communists and friends of socialism were wondering why the Chinese resorted to aggression on India Communist leaders from several countries in their speeches asked the question: "Why is the Chinese Communist Party adopting this anti-Marxist ideological position?"

Chinese Attitude

The open criticism of the ideological position of the Chinese Party was provoked by the speech of the leader of the Chinese delegation, Wu Hsiu-chuan, himself, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on evening of December 5.

He used the platform of a brother Party for dogmatic propaganda harmful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian organisational principles of criticism. In order to defend Albanian dogmatists, whose

politics were sharply criticised by delegate after delegate, the Chinese leader challenged the right of the Congress to question the dogmatism of Albanian leaders.

This part of his speech was accompanied by expression of surprise on the part of the Congress delegates. The whole Congress showed indignation when Wu defended Albania. Antonin Novotny had to caution the agitated delegates, with a wave of his hand and after the Wu Hsiu-chuan's speech, the Chairman of the session said: "We can assure the Chinese Communist Party that we will always adhere to the principles of proletarian internationalism."

All the delegates to the Congress rose to their feet to applaud this remark of the Chair. But the Chinese delegation sat tight in their seats showing supreme contempt for the sovereignty of the Congress. Soon after this, the Chinese delegates left the Congress hall probably to demonstrate their rude manners. They came back after two hours.

Taking the floor immediately after the Chinese delegate, the leader of the Paraguayan Communist Party, Martin Rodriguez criticised the Chinese Party for attacking the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

He said: "Our Central Committee last year in a declaration had appealed to the Chinese comrades to review in a self-critical manner their policy of supporting the harmful activities of the Albanian leaders. We were proceeding on the basis of the spirit of the Moscow declarations of 81 Communist Parties, which we also have signed."

"We are sorry to see that even though facts are much more clear now, the Chinese comrades are still going on the faulty path. It is impossible to mistake this as accidental. Exactly when Titania called the Soviet-Cuban

fraternal delegate in the Italian Party Congress (which was currently in session in Rome) has openly criticised the policy and programme of the Italian Party."

He also referred to the "India-China border war" as "nonsense", and as a part of the Chinese ideological distortion, but expressed relief that the Chinese have ceased fire and were withdrawing. He hoped the dispute would then be settled by peaceful means and not through war.

The French and several other delegations criticised dogmatism as a danger that destroys the

the Communist Party of China considers a breach of the principles of proletarian internationalism and violation of the decisions of the Moscow conference.

Novotny said that the Albanian and the Chinese themselves have to bear the responsibility of their isolation. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has requested the Albanian Party several times to hold discussions jointly to resolve differences. But the Albanians have rejected this brotherly offer and they started an attack on the Communist

IDEOLOGICAL ISOLATION OF DOGMATISTS

policy 'a treason' the press in Peking is evaluating it as a 'new Munich—a peace policy which saved mankind from atomic war. Once again, we appeal to the Chinese comrades to halt their harmful propaganda which only helps imperialism."

The Italian delegate Cesareo Reduzzi, Member of the Central Committee, also sharply criticised the Chinese ideological position and practices. He said, when Chinese representatives here challenged the right of this Congress to criticise Albania, the Chinese

growth of the working class movement in the present situation: Full text of these speeches criticising China have been published in the *Rude Pravo*, organ of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

166 leaders of the world Communist and Workers Parties from 74 countries attended the Congress. The Congress concluded its 5-day session on December 9.

C. Vladimir Koucky, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czech Party in a powerful speech blasted off the Chinese ideological standpoint.

He said: "The world leadership of dogmatism and sectarianism would whisper in the ears of Albanians what they should speak and Hoxha would cold-bloodedly come out against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and great Marxist-Leninist Parties like Italy and India."

"Dogmatism today identifies itself with reactionary nationalism. All delegates of this Congress disagreed with the speech of the Chinese delegate. We reject in a most energetic way the accusation of the Chinese comrade that our Congress is hampering international proletarian solidarity. We must not develop enmity but friendship with newly independent anti-imperialist States."

William Stokoy said, answering the Chinese position: "No one has the right to deprive this Congress of its freedom to discuss ideological problems and criticise those who are working against the Soviet Union and the international proletarian movement."

The Mexican delegate also criticised China.

Chinese Protest

Hundred and fifty delegates spoke on the report of the Central Committee and in the concluding session, Antonin Novotny read out an official letter from the Communist Party of China handed over by the head of the Chinese delegation.

It said that the Chinese Party "is opposed to the practice of Congress of one Party criticising another Party." The letter finally suggested the convening of a consultative Conference of all Communist and Workers Parties, including the Albanian Party, to discuss these problems.

Novotny in his reply said that the new Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party will send a proper reply to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The Chinese letter said that many Czech delegates and several representatives of the brother Parties have attacked the Communist Party of China which

Party of the Soviet Union and other brother Parties.

Novotny went on: "While the Chinese comrades speak of unity, they are openly supporting the splitting activities of Albanian leaders and encourage them. We want to tell the Chinese Party that we cannot agree with the Albanian position and the Chinese support to them." Novotny said, "Why don't the Chinese comrades ask the Albanian leaders to stop their attack on brother Parties?"

Novotny highly appreciated "the revolutionary part of the Chinese Communist Party; its struggle against imperialism and Chiang clique, its glorious achievements in creating a new order" and added that "we have never shown any disrespect to the Chinese people and the Communist Party. We once again request our Chinese comrades to study all international questions self-critically."

Comrade Novotny also made out following important points:

- 1 This Congress is an expression of the full unity of the Czech Party, its entire membership round the Central Committee.
- 2 This Congress expresses full loyalty to international Communist movement and proletarian internationalism.
- 3 It pointed out our lags and tasks in the national economy, in building the base of Communism.
- 4 69 Brother Parties have approved the work of this Congress and appreciated our development. They recognised that the Czech Party is in full conformity with the principles of proletarian internationalism.
- 5 To strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement is the main task of all Communist Parties.
- 6 The Soviet Union is the vanguard of the international Communist movement and the chief defender of world peace.

The Congress asked the new Central Committee to re-examine in four months time all political trials held during the days of personality cult.

The Congress adopted a message to all brother Communist and Workers Parties of the world which inter alia says "unity of the international working class movement is the main task."

The Congress also adopted a message of thanks to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The new Central Committee elected Antonin Novotny as the First Secretary of the Party.

Pravda Editorial on Congresses Of Fraternal Parties

A TASS SUMMARY

"There is nothing more sacred for the Communists of the whole world than to preserve in crystal purity the teaching of Marxism-Leninism," Pravda writes in an editorial captioned "The Mighty Force of the Ideas of Communism."

THE article is devoted to the results of the recent Congresses of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Congresses of the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and Italy, that ended yesterday (December 9) as well as the forthcoming Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The Congresses of these fraternal Parties sum up the results of struggle and victories, the editorial says, and are of great international importance. They demonstrate the growing might of the world socialist system, of the entire international communist and labour movement.

The paper points out that the decisions of the Congresses of these fraternal Parties and the pre-Congress documents of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany "express the determination of Communists to stint no efforts in multiplying the might of the world socialist system, to consolidate the unity and cohesion of the world communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

"A Marxist-Leninist Party proceeds from the fact—and the Congresses which have just ended have confirmed this with new force—that unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist commonwealth and labour movement, are the main conditions for the victory of the working class, of all working masses, over imperialism, and that

the documents of the Moscow Conference, both on questions of theory and practice of socialist construction as well as on questions of the struggle for peace.

"The representatives of the many-million-strong army of Communists of the whole world stressed at the Congresses that the peoples are obliged to the great firmness and reasonableness of the Soviet Union, its Government, the great Leninist Party, for averting a world nuclear war during the crisis in the Caribbean Sea area."

The editorial also notes that it has been again stressed with great force at the Congresses of the fraternal Parties that the world communist movement, as has been declared at the Moscow Conference of fraternal Parties, regards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as its acknowledged vanguard.

"The Communists of the whole world believe that the entire activities of the Leninist CPSU, all its work in the guidance of communist construction, are an outstanding examples of revolutionary creativeness. The bold liquidation of the aftermaths of Stalin's personality cult benefited the life of the Party and of the whole country, facilitated the restoration of the Leninist spirit and style of work in the life of fraternal Parties, in the relations among them."

Pointing out further that the new CPSU Programme, adopted at the 22nd CPSU Congress, has still further increased the mighty creative forces of the communist movement, PRAVDA stresses that "the Communists of the world believe the attitude of the CPSU, the first socialist state, to be the touchstone of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism."

PRAVDA writes further that the events of recent years have convincingly proved the correctness of the conclusions contained in

PRINCELY TRADITIONS

The name and fame of Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur had travelled far and wide during the last general elections as the "Queen of the Freedom Party" fighting the menace of Congress socialism in India.

HER husband, Maharaja Man Singh, is no less a dynamic personality. His association with the Swatantra fold is not as official as that of his illustrious and charming wife.

The Maharani has missed no chance in Lok Sabha, where she is the Deputy Leader of the Swatantra Party, to praise the services the former rulers have been rendering to the country and the nation. The privy purses which these former rulers enjoy were merely remuneration for these services, according to Gayatri Devi.

It was only natural then, that people would have expected the rajah and the rani to be among the first to respond to the Call of the Nation when it came.

Somehow weeks elapsed before we heard anything from the Maharaja and the Maharani about any donation to the National Defence Fund. And when it came at long last, what was the nature of the donation?

Two lakhs of rupees — a sum which falls into a bleak perspective when seen against the huge sum which the Maharaja is drawing annually as his privy purse. What is more interesting is that the Government of India has not yet received any intimation of the Maharaja's contribution.

The Maharaja's announcement of this "bounteous" donation to the Defence Fund

was duly reported in the press, but certain other portions of his speech at the meeting were somehow missed in these reports. One related to the constitution of a defence fund in the name of his own wife, Gayatri Devi, to be managed by a committee headed by herself.

This announcement was prefaced by Maharaja Man Singh with an exhortation to the people that they should hand over their contributions for defence only to the "proper people."

The implication was quite clear: neither the Prime Minister nor the Rajasthan Chief Minister, who have issued calls to contribute funds were "proper people" to be trusted with the funds. Hence he has taken the trouble of constituting a defence fund with a "proper" and reliable person to head it.

The Maharaja did not end his speech with this. He took the opportunity to spit venom at the Prime Minister. In his words, "panchis" at the helm of affairs today should only deliver speeches behind the lines and leave the front to be manned by "martial races." (We understand that one of the Rajasthan Ministers was present at the meeting, but had to remain silent without answering this "thrust" by the Maharaja at the Prime Minister "awed by royalty," no doubt.)

Subsequently, the chelas of the Maharaja elaborated their master's points. These gentlemen called for a national government in which the "talents" of the Maharaja should also be utilised "in the defence and administration" of the country.

The sacrifices which this former ruler has been making to the cause of the nation are further evinced by the response he has made to the

Government's fervent appeal to all those holding foreign exchange to surrender it and receive back payment in rupees.

The Maharaja's sterling and dollar holdings, earned through, among other channels, hotel business, are reputed to have run into sizable sums — some say into crores. And yet, we have not heard of a single naya paisa in foreign exchange being surrendered by him.

Gayatri Devi, the devoted wife that she is, has copied her husband's example. She is understood to own more gold ornaments than any other woman in the country, though she is modest enough not to wear them in her "work-a-day" life. We still yearn to hear of even a paltry ten grammes of this gold trickle into the Defence Fund or the Gold Bond scheme.

The other rajahs and rani in the country also appear to be very reluctant to part with much money or gold, Chinese invasion or not.

So far only 115 former rulers have intimated the Government of any contributions to the Defence Fund out of their privy purses. The total of these contributions comes to just near Rs. 24 lakhs.

The number of Rulers in India is 554, who draw among them about Rs. 5.8 crores as privy purses. (These figures indicate the position as it was at the time of States Integration.) May be, it is not in the "glorious" tradition of these princes to part with possessions, unless they are vanquished in the battlefield and commanded at the point of swords.

Isn't it high time that Shastriji made a review of his policy of "voluntary cuts" as far as the privy purses of these reluctant princes are concerned.

—AGRUS

CARIAPPA'S DISCIPLINE

A reader from Jalpaiguri writes: Ex-General K. M. Cariappa on December 1, while addressing a meeting on Chinese aggression in the local Ananda Chandra College said: "Whenever you find a Communist beat him up, be he your father, mother, teacher or your fellow student. They are like snakes. I stand by you. I shall take your bail if you are arrested, but see that there be no witness."

Mr. Cariappa gave this call while he was asking the students

to follow discipline. One of the professors of the college pointed out to him that he should not excite the students to indulge in lawlessness in this hour of national crisis.

The Professor remarked "I fail to understand why a Communist should be beaten up if he is not proved to have betrayed the country. The Communist party, as the Government says, is a legal party, having its newspapers and helping the Government in country's war efforts."

At this the Ex-General became furious. He lost his temper, called the Professor names and told the students to disobey that Professor and made objectionable observations.

In the evening a public meeting organised by the PSP was addressed by the Ex-General. In that meeting he also delivered provocative speech. In the night a gang of men rushed to the quarter of the Professors in search of the said Professor in order to beat him. But they could not find him out.

The teachers and the students of the college as well as the local public have taken serious excep-

Letters From Our Readers

tion to this and have united to stand boldly against such hooliganism. A spokesman of the professors of the college told that they would protest against Mr. Cariappa's uncalled for and injurious speech calculated to disrupt the good relationship between the teachers and the students.

Uttar Pradesh Minister Govind Sahai, speaking in the U.P. Legislative Assembly on December 7, roundly attacked the Jan Sangh. "It was a tragedy," he said, "that while the Sangh talked of supporting the war effort, it did not implement the war programme of the Government..." Those who attacked Mr. Nehru, who was the

RSS CHIEF'S TIRADE

Another reader from Jabalpur writes: "Guru" Golwalkar, the boss of the fascist RSS addressed a public meeting at Jabalpur on November 24, which deserves the urgent attention of the people and the Government.

In his speech he demanded indirectly the release of some persons imprisoned in the Mahatma Gandhi murder case, and accused the Government of inhuman cruelty and unfairness.

Quite shamelessly he compared this with the release of Vir Savarkar from life imprisonment by the British rulers and paid them an open tribute for preaching again the same theory which caused the murder of Mahatmaji. He went ahead to say that India is only the nation of the Hindus and "CHATURVARNA SYSTEM" alone can save the nation. (When the vital need is for

national unity for national defence, such statements are more dangerous than ever before.) He described the collection of NDF, people's donations of gold ornaments, etc., as mere "extracting" which has exposed the "bankrupt character" of the Government of India, to the world.

Accusing the national leadership including the Prime Minister and the Home Minister, of faulty measures and narrow mindedness and selfishly using the emergency, he said that they have no courage to tell the truth. Hence some other "stronger and principled hands" should be at the helm of national affairs.

"Guruji" tried to ridicule the defence industry and said that the defence factories were busy producing plastic bags at the time of aggression. He described the SHAKTIMAN trucks as nothing but a "toy" of two and a half tons. How long are such speeches — disrupting national unity and weakening our defence — going to be permitted by the Government of India?

Just Out

REPLIES TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF CENTRAL WAGE BOARD FOR IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

Submitted by AITUC

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The silence with which some Congressmen used to take the terrific onslaught of Right reactionary forces, some of them even swallowing and repeating the most dangerous of the anti-national slogans of these forces, has been broken.

THE Prime Minister himself gave the lead at a meeting of the Congress parliamentary Party on November 29 when he said that the public pronouncements, speeches and writings of the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party needed close attention and scrutiny.

Nehru said that these parties were offering cooperation to the Government in the defence effort, but they were opposed to the Government's policies, in fact they appeared to be more interested in political power than in national defence. Instead of cooperating they were working for a change of Government.

Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, speaking in the Rajya Sabha on December 8 in reply to the debate on the Defence of India Bill, said that the liberty given to political parties to criticise the Government "could not be allowed to be abused to the point of creating disaffection against the Government and impeding the war effort."

RSP And RSS

The Home Minister of course defended Government action against the Communist Party. But he criticised some of the speeches delivered by Praja Socialist Party members which he said "created dissatisfaction."

Lal Bahadur Shastri said that he was most amazed to read a speech by a prominent RSS leader. The facts were "absolutely wrong and the speech was definitely actionable," said the Home Minister.

Uttar Pradesh Minister Govind Sahai, speaking in the U.P. Legislative Assembly on December 7, roundly attacked the Jan Sangh. "It was a tragedy," he said, "that while the Sangh talked of supporting the war effort, it did not implement the war programme of the Government..." Those who attacked Mr. Nehru, who was the

symbol of national resistance, were spreading defeatism and frustration" (Times of India, December 8).

Congress Members of Parliament are also taking advantage of all opportunities to speak up against the Right danger. In the Rajya Sabha debate on the Defence of India Bill, there were effective speeches made against the Right reactionary forces.

Akbar Ali Khan (M.P. from Andhra Pradesh) said it was regrettable that some leaders of the PSP while extending support to the Government were "trying to make a distinction between peace time leadership and wartime leadership," which was an implied attack on the Prime Minister.

Shanta Vashist (M.P. from Delhi) said the actions some Jan Sangh and PSP leaders ran counter to their professions of support to the Government.

The forthrightly Socialist Congressman in its issue of December 1, editorially writes on "Reality of Anti-Nehrus." In the course of its analysis, this paper says:

"In one word they (the anti-Nehru trend in the country or the Congress) represent reactionary vested interests who do not naturally like the democratic transition to a Socialist pattern of society which the Congress and the nation have accepted under Nehru's leadership."

"Naturally enough, these interests, persistent in their efforts to divert the trend of India's march but ever defeated in the attempt, have seized the situation created by Chinese perfidy to mount up their anti-Nehru tirade."

The growing realisation in Congress circles of the real menace of the Right will help in the forging of that national unity for the defence of the Motherland, and of our basic policies which is so urgent today.

ON GUARD!

THE outpourings of the Jan Sangh journal ORGANISER have been the subject of comment in Parliament and in State Legislatures. The latest issue (dated December 10) of Organiser continues to speak in the same voice that has won for it notoriety all over the country. The question being asked by people everywhere is this: Do these writings not undermine national unity for national defence? Do they not seek to demoralise our people?

OF course the Organiser fails to achieve its purpose — our people are not taken in by its sinister propaganda. But what exactly is the Jan Sangh Journal seeking through its scurrilous verbiage? Let every Indian judge for himself from just these extracts from the latest issue of Organiser:

(i) The insistence on the 8th September line is thus seen to be a miserable subterfuge to save one face, not the face of the country. The provoking reiteration of it gives, not the impression of an inflexible will, an outraged sense of honour or righteous indignation, but that of a peevish old man who stands on a non-existent dignity...

(ii) Why does China like NEFA more than Formosa? Answer: Because she likes Pandit more than Kennedy, whose Seventh Fleet stands between Mao and Taiwan.

(iii) Pandit Nehru has written: "Success comes to those who dare and act; it seldom goes to the timid."

Answer: He didn't know the virtues of non-alignment when he said that! (It does not require a very high degree of knowledge of the English language to understand whether all these statements help or disrupt national defence.)

From the Question and Answer column titled "In-

CONGRESSMEN SPEAK UP

New Age does not wish to soil its pages by publishing all the vicious slanders and abuses hurled against the Prime Minister by all types of little men. But we feel our readers should know the depths to which the slanderers go.

We are therefore quoting below just one extract from the letter by the three pl-

lars of the so-called Committee Against Chinese Aggression in Delhi, which has been replied to by Mir Mushtaq Ahmad in a letter to all MPs. This is a sample of the stuff which is allowed to pass as "patriotic criticism" and its perpetrators permitted to go scotfree:

"In olden times one in

his (the Prime Minister's) position would have crawled hundreds and thousands of miles to beg forgiveness of one's fellow-beings and of the gods that may be. He at least can tender an unqualified public apology. The people of this country would not deny forgiveness to an old man, if he were really repentant..."

Mir Mushtaq Ahmad, the INTUC and Congress leader of Delhi and former Chairman of the Delhi PSP, has been among the many Congressmen who are today speaking up against the sinister anti-Nehru campaign which seeks a reversal of all our basic policies.

IN a letter to all MPs, drawing attention to a circular letter signed by three organisers of the so-called "Committee Against Chinese Aggression" which virulently attacked the Prime Minister and demanded his removal, Mir Mushtaq says:

THE real question is not the one posed by the three scribblers. It is this: how long can patriotic India put up with the expression of such views, which preach open revolt at a time of national emergency, when national unity behind the Government's Defence efforts is vital and essential for our victory?

I would not have taken notice of these three gentlemen, if it were not also a fact that the organisation of which they are the organisers — the so-called Committee Against Chinese Aggression — is patronised by leaders of some parties and even by some Congress leaders. In the name of fighting Chinese Aggression, these persons are carrying on a sinister and dangerous campaign.

Those who seek political advantage out of the present national emergency may find common cause for the moment with the perilous campaign conducted by these letter signers and others of this brand. But the cause of the nation is ill-served by these methods. Only the aggressors can gain from such slanderous attacks on the Prime Minister.

Fortunately for India, our 450 million people are not of the same views as Sarvashree Dharampal, Roop Narain, & N. N. Datta. Our people love this land of ours. We are prepared to give our lives for it.

But we know that the way to defend the Motherland is to give unstinted and full support at this time to the man who led us to freedom, who has helped India to win a great name in the world, and who is leading us today in the glorious struggle to regain our lost territory from the aggressors. It was Nehru who led us to independence. It is Nehru who leads us in the struggle to retain and defend the independence.

Let the little men scream. The nation and Nehru stand alert, strong, confident. Victory shall be ours.

How Communists Work

Communists in every part of the country are implementing to their maximum capacity the call of the Party to work tirelessly for national defence. We give below extracts from a letter sent to the Mayor of Delhi by M. Farooqi, Secretary of the Delhi State Council of the Party. They deserve to be noted carefully. Farooqi rightly points out that the record of the Party should be contrasted with those who "can only shout" and "have nothing substantial to show by way of work for national defence."

themselves as volunteers to donate blood for our Jawans fighting on the front;

7 Women members of our Party are knitting sweaters for the Jawans and are organising a campaign among women in this connection.

(Extracts from the letter to Delhi's Mayor sent on behalf of the Delhi Provincial Council of the CPI by its Secretary, M. Farooqi.)

HOW JANSANGH WORKS

IN its Uttar Pradesh Newsletter, the Times of India (December 10) has this certificate to give the Jan Sangh of that State:

"The Jan Sangh too is obsessed with speech-making. Its leaders and followers talk a lot but their contribution to the war-effort is not impressive. It has a strange base in the trading community, which could contribute more to the Defence Fund... Both the Jan Sangh and the Socialist Party have been trying to exploit the emergency to strengthen themselves. They have been fishing in troubled waters, which naturally hampers the war effort..."

PARTY NEWS TAMILNAD

FIGHT REACTION'S ATTACKS ON NEHRU'S POLICIES

The Executive Committee of the Tamilnad State Council of the CPI in its meeting held on December 3 endorsed the resolution passed by the Central Executive Committee of the Party on "Unity for National Defence and National Policies" and pledged its full efforts to carry out the tasks embodied in that resolution.

THE Executive Committee in a resolution drew "the attention of the people of Tamilnad to the open and shameless campaign conducted in the State against Prime Minister Nehru's basic policies," particularly the policy of non-alignment, by the Swatantra Party, and the Indian Express-Dinamani group of newspapers directly and by the D.M.K. in an indirect subtle form."

The resolution further stated that these forces have also intensified their provocative campaign of lies and slander against the Communist Party. The aim of this campaign is not merely to hit the

Communist Party, but to disrupt and weaken the progressive forces in the State and thereby facilitate reversal of Prime Minister Nehru's basic policies.

"The forces of reaction are even getting bold enough to demand that Nehru be removed from leadership of Government and the country."

The Executive Committee called upon all Party units to work steadfastly and patiently, without falling a victim to provocations, to rally maximum unity of all patriotic forces to combat anti-Communism and defend Prime

Minister Nehru's basic national policies, particularly the policy of non-alignment.

The resolution also stated: We must explain how anti-Communism, by weakening and disrupting national unity, harms the cause of defence of our motherland against the Chinese aggressor. We must likewise explain how, only on the basis of the policy of non-alignment, can our nation gather the maximum strength for defence, both internally and externally."

The Executive Committee appealed to "all patriotic parties, groups and individuals, in particular to Congressmen, to realise the danger to our basic national policies coming from the attack of reaction."

It appealed for maximum unity and cooperation between our Party and all other patriotic forces of our State, particularly Congressmen, to beat back reaction's attack and defend and strengthen Prime Minister Nehru's basic national policies.



Moving that "the border situation resulting from the invasion of India by China be taken into consideration", the Prime Minister made the following statement in the Lok Sabha on December 10, 1962:

ABOUT a month ago, on November 8, I placed a resolution before this House on the proclamation of emergency resulting from the aggression and invasion by China. This was followed by another resolution dealing with this aggression and invasion and how China had betrayed the friendship and goodwill of India as well as the principles of Panchsheel which had been agreed between the two countries.

After recording the high appreciation of the House of the valiant struggle of men and officers of our Armed Forces and paying its respectful homage to the martyrs who had laid down their lives in defending the integrity of the motherland, this House recorded its profound appreciation of the wonderful and spontaneous response of the people of India to the emergency and crisis that had arisen. The House affirmed the firm resolve of the Indian people to rid the sacred soil of India of the aggressor, however long and hard the struggle may be.

Resolution On Defence

There was a long discussion on this resolution and a very large and record number of Hon'ble Members spoke on it.

On November 14, this resolution was passed not only unanimously but in an unusual manner by all members standing and pledging themselves to what it contained. By that pledge we stand.

Two or three days later, the Chinese forces mounted a massive attack on our position at the Sela Pass and at Wanglung. This resulted on November 18 in our forces having to withdraw from Sela and Wanglung and somewhat later, from Bomdila.

On November 21, the Chinese Government issued a statement making unilateral announcement of cease-fire as from the midnight of November 21-22 and a withdrawal of their forces from December 1. On the 23rd, we asked for some clarifications and received a reply on November 26. On the 30th we sought further clarifications.

Conference Of Non-Aligned Countries

On November 22, the Government of Ceylon announced that they had called a conference of six non-aligned countries in Colombo. The date for this was subsequently changed and it is due to begin or rather has begun in Colombo today.

On November 23, a letter was received from Premier Chou En-lai urging the Prime Minister of India to give a positive response, that is, to accept the Chinese offer of cease-fire and withdrawal with all the other provisos contained in it. I replied to this on December 1.

These letters have been given in full together with some maps in the pamphlet issued by the External Affairs Ministry entitled "Chinese Aggression in War and Peace."

NEHRU ON CEASE-FIRE PROPOSALS

The cease-fire took effect as stated, though there was a number of breaches of it on the Chinese side in the first few days. It is not yet quite clear how far the withdrawals of the Chinese forces have been effected. To some extent, this has been done, but considerable Chinese forces are apparently still in some forward positions.

On December 5, the Chinese Red Cross handed over 84 wounded and sick prisoners of war to the Indian Red Cross Society at Bomdila. They have stated that they will hand over more such wounded prisoners within the next few days.

Soon after the Chinese attack on October 20, a three-point proposal was made by the Chinese suggesting a cease-fire and a withdrawal of their forces provided India agreed to these proposals; otherwise the fighting may restart. On October 27, we stated that we were unable to accept this proposal and that our proposal of the restoration of the status quo prior to September 8 was a simple and straightforward one. This was the only way of undoing at least part of the great damage done by the latest Chinese aggression.

The Chinese proposal made on November 21 for cease-fire and withdrawal was a repetition of their proposal of October 24 with the addition of a unilateral declaration of cease-fire and withdrawal.

I wrote to Premier Chou En-lai on December 1 indicating that the three-point proposal made by the Chinese violated the principles that the Chinese had themselves been advocating in their documents and correspondence. We could not compromise with this further aggression nor can we permit the aggressor to retain the position he had acquired by force by the further aggression since September 8, 1962, as this would mean not only letting him have what he wanted but exposing our country to further inroads and demands in the future.

China Gives No Direct Answer

To this letter, no direct answer has been received from Premier Chou En-lai. But the Peking Radio has broadcast yesterday a long statement rejecting our proposal about the restoration of the status quo prior to September 8. There was a further broadcast later yesterday which stated that our Charge d'Affaires in Peking had been given a note asking the Government of India three questions. These questions are:

- 1) Does the Indian Government agree or does it not agree to a cease-fire?
- 2) Does the Indian Government agree or does it not agree that the Armed Forces of the two sides should disengage and withdraw 20 kilometres each from the November 7, 1959 line of actual control?
- 3) Does the Indian Government agree or does it not agree that the officials of the two sides should meet and discuss matters relating to the withdrawal of the Armed Forces

of each party to form a demilitarised zone, establishment of checkposts as well as the return of captured personnel?

Before I answer these questions, I should like to remind the House of the past history of these incursions and aggressions started in Ladakh. That has been repeatedly stated in this House. But I should like to remind the House that, before September 8, 1962, there was no active aggression on the NEFA frontier by the Chinese except in regard to the small frontier village of Longju. Not only was there no further aggression there, but, in the past, repeated assurances were given that the so-called McMahon Line would not be crossed by the Chinese, and that, although they considered this Line an illegal one and imposed by the British authorities, they would acknowledge it as in fact they acknowledge the continuation of this Line in Burma.

Thus the aggression across this Line near the Thagla Pass on September 8, 1962 was not only at variance with these assurances, but constituted a major crossing over of their frontier for the first time in history. This was a clear case of imperialist aggression and expansion. The Chinese forces continued to cross the frontier in large numbers and, on October 20, they delivered massive attacks on the Indian positions and overpowered them by superior numbers.

Massive Attack For The First Time

In the five-year long story of Chinese aggression this was the first instance when massive attacks were made by large forces and a regular invasion of Indian territory took place. No longer were these mere frontier incidents, as previously in Ladakh. A well-organised and well-prepared invasion on a big scale had been mounted by China.

On the same day, a similar invasion took place in the western sector in Ladakh. Thus, it was obvious that this was a fully coordinated attack along various parts of our frontier.

Soon after, that is on October 24, the Chinese made their three-joint proposal which, if agreed to, would have given them the benefit of their recent invasion and placed them in an advantageous and dominating position for further aggression in the future. We could not possibly accept this and consequently we rejected it.

I would like to repeat that these invasions which took massive shape on October 20, can only be described as imperialist aggression. It is to be noted that the Chinese Government, which often states that it is against imperialism, has itself committed one of the grossest acts of imperialist aggression.

The fact that the Chinese had never entered into the NEFA territory previously is very relevant. But, for the moment, we may set aside the question of the merits of their claims. Even according to them, the McMahon Line was indicated about fifty years

ago. This was not a line drawn up by McMahon, but a recognition of a previous fact, that is, the watershed was the frontier. Ever since then and, in fact, long before that, it is clear that the Chinese were not there. Since our independence, we have tried to develop this area of NEFA and built schools, roads, hospitals, etc.

Suddenly the Chinese break through our frontier and deliver massive attacks. Is this the way of peaceful negotiation and settlement by peaceful methods? I repeat that whatever the claims may be, this well-prepared invasion was at variance with the Chinese professions and can only be described as blatantly imperialist expansionism and aggression.

We Demand Status Quo

In answer to this, we stated that we could not proceed with any talks with them until at least this latest aggression was vacated and the status quo prior to September 8, 1962 is restored both in NEFA and in Ladakh. This was the least we could do, and that is the position we have consistently held during the last few months.

Anxious for peace as we are, we suggested this minimum condition which might lead to a peaceful approach. They have rejected our proposal. The result is that at present there is no meeting ground between us. We have repeatedly laid stress on our considering this matter by peaceful methods, but it is not possible to do so when aggression continues and we are asked to accept it as a fact.

As for the three questions that have been asked on behalf of the Chinese Government, the first one is whether we agree or do not agree to a cease-fire.

The declaration by the Government of China was a unilateral one. But in so far as the cease-fire is concerned, we accepted it and nothing has been done on our behalf to impede the implementation of the cease-fire declaration.

The second question is, do we agree or not that the armed forces of the two sides should disengage and withdraw twenty kilometers each from November 7, 1959, line of actual control? We are in favour of the disengagement of the forces of the two sides on the basis of a commonly agreed arrangement.

But such an arrangement can only be on the basis of undoing the further aggression committed by the Government of China on Indian territory from September 8, 1962. If the Government of China disputes that this was Indian territory, this is a matter for a judicial or like decision.

The fact, however, is that it had long been in Indian occupation, and this cannot be disputed. The Government of India have given their understanding of the so-called line of actual control of November 7, 1959. They do not agree with the Chinese interpretation, which is, not in accordance with actual facts. It should be easy to determine

the facts even from the correspondence between the two governments during the last five years.

Chinese Line Not Acceptable

The Government of China cannot expect us to agree to a so-called line of actual control of November 7, 1959, which is manifestly not in accordance with facts. What we had suggested is a simple and straightforward proposal—that of restoration of the status quo prior to September 8, 1962 when further aggression began. This is clearly factual and is based on the definite principle that the aggression must be undone before an agreement for a peaceful consideration can be arrived at.

The third question is Does the Indian Government agree or does it not agree that the officials of the two sides should meet and discuss matters relating to the withdrawal of Armed Forces of each party to form a demilitarised zone etc.?

It is obvious if the officials are to meet they must have clear and precise instructions as to the cease-fire and withdrawal arrangements which they are supposed to implement. Unless they receive these instructions, which must be the result of an agreement between the Governments of India and China, they will be unable to function. Therefore it has to be determined previously which line is to be implemented.

Between the line of actual control immediately prior to September 8, 1962 and that on November 7, 1959 as defined by China, there is a great difference of about 2500 sq. miles of Indian territory which China occupied as a result of invasion and massive attacks during the last three months. The Chinese Government by defining this line in its own way wants to retain the advantages secured by the latest invasion.

Any person who studies the painful history of the last few years, more particularly of the recent months, will come to the conclusion that Chinese interpretation of various lines changes with circumstances and they accept the line which is more advantageous to them. Sometimes they accept part of a line and not the rest of it which is disadvantageous to them.

It is perhaps not easy in the course of a discussion in this House to go into the many and changing factors which have governed the situation during the last five years. Nevertheless, the major facts are quite clear and, apart from any claims that the Chinese may have, it is on these facts that any temporary arrangement can be made and not on changing lines which the Chinese put forward as the lines of actual control.

There has been, the House must have, no doubt, noticed, an amazing cynicism and duplicity on the Chinese side in these developments and these discussions. They accuse us of being aggressors. We are supposed to aggress on our own territory and they

come as defenders on our territory. They come to a place where they have never been, so far as I know of history, at any time of history. And, they preach against imperialism and act themselves in the old imperialist and expansionist way. Altogether their policy seems to be one of unabashed chauvinism.

They have referred, as hon. Members may have noticed, to their frontier guards being attacked by Indian forces and acting in self-defence. It is curious that acting in self-defence they have occupied another 20,000 square miles of Indian territory.

the last five years, and even more so the last three months, have brought out the basic expansionist and imperialist attitude of China. This is a continuing threat to the independence and territorial integrity of India. We cannot submit to this challenge and must face it with all the consequences that it may bring.

As the world knows, we are a peaceful people and have always tried to adhere to peaceful methods. It is not any of ours that we have been driven to war-like activities. But the defence of our motherland is the first essential duty for every

and to protect our motherland. But, at the same time, we shall always seek peaceful methods to resolve any dispute, but conditions for a peaceful approach have to be created if this is to yield any fruit.

What China has done is an insult to the conscience of the world. That is clear from the great response that we have received from a large number of countries. We still hope that our peaceful and reasonable approaches will be agreed to. Otherwise, this conflict may spread and bring disaster on a wide-spread scale, not only to India and China

avenues of settling these questions peacefully.

I am prepared when the time comes, provided there is approval of Parliament, even to refer the basic dispute of the claims on the frontier to an international body like the International Court of Justice at The Hague. I submit that there is no fairer and more reasonable approach than what I have indicated.

But that also can only come when the aggression is vacated and the position as it was before September 8 is restored.

The Colombo Conference which is meeting today is con-

I Am Prepared When The Time Comes . . . Even To Refer The Basic Dispute Of Claims On The Frontier To An International Body...

The whole thing is so manifestly and so outrageously, what shall I say, improper and wrong, and utter misuse of words, that it is a little difficult to deal with persons who use words with different meanings, what we may call, double talk. I regret to say that I have been forced to the conclusion that the word of the Chinese Government cannot be relied upon. The Chinese threat against India is a long-term one and

Indian, and imperialist and expansionist challenge to that is not only a challenge to us but to the world, as it is a flagrant violation of international law and practice. If this aggression is tolerated and acquiesced in today, it will continue to be a threat not only to India but also to other countries in Asia and will be a bad precedent for the world.

We will, therefore, endeavour to the utmost of our ability to face this challenge but to the world. Once these preliminary conditions that we have suggested are met, we can consider further the peaceful methods that should be used for resolving the basic disputes.

Hon. Members may have read the pleas which we have repeated several times in our communications to the Chinese Government or the Chinese Premier that we should explore avenues of peaceful approach; apart from meeting each other, explore other

considering what recommendations honourable to both sides they might make to resolve the differences between India and China. We recognise their friendly feelings, and their well-meant attempts to solve, or at any rate to lessen, this crisis.

I trust, however, that they will appreciate that there can be no compromise with aggression and an expanding imperialism and that

* ON PAGE TWELVE

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PEACE COUNCIL APPEALS TO WORLD OPINION

Ever since the present full-scale Chinese aggression began, the All-India Peace Council has been acting ceaselessly to ensure that the true facts regarding the invasion of our territory are made known to the peoples of the world, so that they may use their influence to bring the Chinese aggression to a halt.

ON October 23, the Secretariat of the AIPC unanimously condemned the Chinese aggression and appealed to "all men and women who stand for peace" all over the world, to raise their voices against this aggression on our territory and for the withdrawal of the Chinese forces so that conditions are created for the immediate opening of negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

On November 11, the Presidential Committee of the Council met in New Delhi and decided on detailed measures to counter a Chinese propaganda abroad.

In pursuance of this decision the Council has addressed a letter to all National Peace Committees in all the continents explaining the truth about the aggression and seeking world support for India's proposal for the creation of the necessary atmosphere for preliminary talks and India's stand in regard to the Chinese cease-fire and proposals of November 21.

Letter To Peace Committees

In the course of this letter to National Peace Committees the All India Peace Council says: "The Indian Government and people sincerely desire that hostilities should not be resumed. And to this end, Prime Minister Nehru has made repeated proposals that the status quo before the present hostilities began on September 8, 1962 should be restored. World public opinion can, we are sure, help to bring this about so that negotiations can then begin, with the present aggression ended and completely withdrawn.

"The Government of India, in the interests of peace, has not peremptorily turned down the Chinese proposals, precisely be-

cause they are accompanied by a ceasefire. India wants to see how the Chinese Government will carry out its offer of a unilateral withdrawal.

"We hope world public opinion, which succeeded in helping to halt the Chinese invasion, will use its influence to persuade the Chinese Government to vacate at least the present aggression since September 8, 1962, as demanded by our Prime Minister."

The Council has also sent an

MESSAGE TO COLOMBO

"At this moment, the eyes of justice and peace-loving people in all lands are turned towards Colombo and towards each of the delegations participating in your conference: mankind hopes you and the conference, as a whole will speak out aloud for justice and peace, in condemnation of the wanton aggression of the Chinese People's Republic against India."

SORNS a message signed by Diwan Chaman Lal, M.P. on behalf of the All India Peace Council to the heads of the delegations participating in the non-aligned states conference at Colombo. The message goes on to say:

"We believe that the non-aligned countries whose representatives are assembled at Colombo, must use their influence to urge the Chinese Government to withdraw its forces in the first instance at least to the positions held before the present aggression began on September 8, 1962. This will help to create conditions in which talks may be held....

"India's adherence to non-alignment cannot be destroyed, whatever Chinese propaganda may have to say about it and

appeal to the heads of the delegations participating in the Colombo conference of non-aligned governments, urging them to act to persuade the Chinese Government to accept India's fair and generous proposals.

The All India Peace Council and all the State Peace Committees are taking part actively in all aspects of national defence work.

Already two cheques of Rs. 1,001 each have been sent by the Council for the National Defence Fund.

Offices of the State Peace Committees have been converted into National Emergency Centres where blood donors can be registered and literature and other materials on defence measures obtained.

whatever the pressures exerted against us.

"It is as a non-aligned nation, as a nation which is determined at all costs to defend and preserve this policy of non-alignment that India wishes your conference success.

"Non-alignment has never meant and can never mean neutrality between the aggressor and its victim. And we are confident that the Colombo meeting will contribute towards steps which can ensure not only the vacation of the Chinese aggression but also the prevention of any recurrence of aggression in the future. The constant threat of renewed aggression must be lifted for all time. That is in the vital interests of all that we hold dear: Afro-Asian solidarity, national independence and world peace."

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Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity

COUNTERS CHINESE PROPAGANDA

Aruna Asaf Ali, Vice-President of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity is heading a group of members of the Association, who are visiting Colombo.

THE members will meet different organisations and people with a view to explaining the truth about the Chinese aggression and to obtain informed support for the stand taken by the Government and people of India. The group will be in Colombo during the non-aligned governments conference.

On December 5, Rameshwari Nehru and other leaders of the Association sent a detailed letter to important personalities of the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement in every country in the two continents, in which they explained the actual facts.

The leaders of the Indian Association in the course of this letter said: "We appeal to those of you who have stood for peaceful co-existence, peace and non-alignment and for Afro-Asian solidarity to persuade the Chinese Government to implement their decision to withdraw their forces, and to pull them back to September 8, 1962 positions as suggested by Prime Minister Nehru.

"The restoration of the status

quo as before the Chinese offensive is the only honourable and just course for creating the atmosphere necessary for a peaceful settlement of the border question.

"In this great task, the citizens of Asia and Africa, who have struggled for their freedom and who want to guard it against new aggressions, must themselves and through their Governments, exert pressure and exercise influence to repair the great damage done to Afro-Asian solidarity by the Chinese aggression and occupation of Indian soil.

"The slanders and abuse which Peking is daily hurling at Pandit Nehru and his policies, apart from being very far from truth, cannot help any settlement. Today, as never before, the Indian people and all parties and organisations are one in their support to Prime Minister Nehru and his Government in the steps he is taking to defend our country and in the condemnation of the Chinese aggression and treachery.

"The Indian people and Prime Minister Nehru have always stood for negotiations and even today want negotiations despite this treacherous attack, not only on our land, but on centuries of trust and friendship. But the terms for settlement cannot be dictated by show of force which the Chinese are doing.

"We therefore, trust that you, who have always stood against aggression and for the rights of the newly-independent countries, who want to preserve peace in Asia and Africa, will intervene in this grave situation, on the side of truth and right and raise your voice against Chinese aggression and for the restoration of the positions as before September 8, 1962."

"The Association has been taking several other steps both in regard to defence efforts and to influence world public opinion. Immediately after the massive attack on October 20 the Association issued a statement condemning the aggression and calling for Afro-Asian support. The Association sent cables to the heads of several Afro-Asian Governments urging them to use their influence in support of India's stand.

WOMEN WORK FOR DEFENCE

From Our Staff Correspondent

The role of Indian women in the defence of motherland and concrete steps flowing from it, are being actively propagated in various meetings which are being held in many places by the National Federation of Indian Women.

THE NFIW on October 30 issued a call to all Indian women to stand unitedly for the defence of the motherland and her frontiers and to "take measures in which they may best lend their support for strengthening the defence of our country."

Already the NFIW has contributed 200 pull-overs, socks and similar warm garments for the Jawans and a cash donation of over Rs. 2,000 to the NDF. The wool for each pull-over said Renu Chakravarty, M.P., General Secretary of the NFIW, in an interview with NEW AGE, costs Rs. 14.50 nP, and this amount has been collected from "ordinary housewives, teachers, nurses, working class women, students and not from society elite."

There have been numerous meetings in various states at the initiative of the local branches of the Federation. There were meetings of housewives, working women and women of other ranks of life, in Delhi, Calcutta, and other cities and in remote villages. In all these meetings steps were taken to render active assistance

to defence efforts in the form of contributions in cash and kind, besides explaining the details of the Chinese invasion.

The campaign is in full swing and the response has been good. Meanwhile, on December 3, the NFIW addressed a letter to Women's International Democratic Federation, the General Council session of which opened on December 7 in Berlin, requesting it to take note of the seriousness of the Chinese aggression.

In its letter, the NFIW has explained the Indian case on the border issue in great detail, pointed out the grave consequences of the Chinese invasion, and urged the women of the world to raise their voices against the use of military might and the violation of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The NFIW has also urged upon the WIDF to include in the Agenda of its V Congress, which will be held in Moscow in June next year, the questions of Peace and Disarmament and the attacks on peaceful coexistence.

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INCREASE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Kerala Kisans Pledge

★ From Our Correspondent

TRIVANDRUM: The Kerala Karshaka Sangham an affiliate of AIKS has taken the initiative for calling production conferences in all panchayats to discuss ways and means of increasing agricultural production to meet the needs of national emergency and the country's defence against Chinese aggression.

THE Karshaka Sangham which commands the respect of majority of peasants in the State recently held a special conference of its Council and workers from the NES Blocks at Trichur and adopted a resolution calling upon the peasantry to intensify efforts to increase production.

Severely condemning Chinese aggression, the resolution declared: "In the fight to safeguard the territorial integrity, sovereignty and freedom of India, the entire peasantry of Kerala will rally behind the Government of India with ever greater force and determination. The conference calls upon the entire peasantry and patriotic people to contribute all their mite for the defence of the country."

Recalling the Prime Minister's appeal for increased production in this war situation, the resolution said: "The conference wishes to stress the special task of the peasantry in enriching the agricultural sector by bringing under plough all cultivable lands, by increasing production from agricultural lands, by raising two and three crops from single-crop lands and by raising short-term crops also.

"This is a matter which has caused great apprehension and anxiety to the peasantry in the State and there has been insistent demand that the State Government should immediately file an appeal before the Supreme Court and obtain a Stay-order on this judgement and that an Ordinance should be issued to protect the interests of the peasants under the Act, pending further legislation and amendment of the Constitution itself.

The Karshaka Sangham has been pressing upon the State and Union Governments to move in the matter and A. K. Gopalan himself has made a number of representations to the Union Government and the Planning Commission in this regard. The Trichur Conference of the Karshaka Sangham also focused the issue.

Latest reports indicate that the Kerala Government has decided to file an appeal before the Supreme Court and that an Ordinance might be issued. This is welcome news and will certainly entice the peasantry in the State to make further intensive effort to increase production.

The judgement of the Kerala High Court which declared the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act invalid for virtually the whole of Malabar where the ryotwari system of land tenure exists and in the case of nearly sixty per cent of lands in the Travancore-Cochin area has created a serious situation.

Hundreds of thousands of peasants, who are the beneficiaries of the Act in the matter of rent reduction, fixity of tenure, right to

Mobilising Peasantry

While chalking out detailed measures for mobilising the peasantry for national defence and increasing food production, the Karshaka Sangham conference also appealed to Government to move immediately in the matter of protecting the rights of tenants affected by the recent judgement of the Kerala High Court invalidating the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act in its application to large areas of the State.

Necessary Measures

"The conference draws the attention of the peasantry to the measures being devised by the Government in development sectors so as to expedite and strengthen production. The Sangham should take steps to fully utilise Government's proposal for taking up small irrigation schemes which will help immediate increase in food production.

"The peasantry should come

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DECEMBER 16, 1962

purchase of ownership of land etc., would be completely deprived of those benefits, if the situation is not immediately remedied.

It is more than a month since the High Court judgement was delivered and the tardy manner in which the State Government has proceeded in the matter has caused great concern.

Agricultural Relations Act

It will be recalled that the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act which was passed during the time of the Communist Ministry, while being hailed by all peasantry, had met with stiff opposition from the landlords. They went to the Union Government and the President in an attempt to prevent Presidential assent being given to the Bill.

Following the dismissal of the Communist Ministry, the Bill was put into cold storage for a long time. The Bill was then returned to the State Assembly for modifications. One of the modifications was that the retrospective effect of the Act regarding the clause

invalidating the transfer of land from the date of the publication of the Bill was removed and such transfers which took place only after the President returned the Bill were declared void.

This in itself had affected the peasantry adversely, because during the long period lasting more than two years between the publication of the Bill and its return to the legislature, many landlords had transferred lands in order to defeat the provision of ceiling on ownership.

It is worth recalling here that one of the agreements advanced by the Congress-PSP Coalition government for the delay in the amendment and re-enactment of the Bill passed during the tenure of the Communist Ministry was that the Bill was full of legal flaws. The way the Act has now run into difficulties shows how well the legal minds of the present rulers were applied in rectifying these alleged flaws!

Ruling Of Supreme Court

After the Act came on the Statute Book, the Supreme Court was moved against some of its provisions and the Supreme Court in a judgement invalidated the Act in its application to the ryotwari area of Kasargod. The basis

TRADE UNION ROUND-UP

There are 60 industrial towns in the country where more than 1,500 factories are producing goods so vital for us, apart from many other factories which are situated in sparsely populated areas or in the neighbourhood of big towns and cities.

IN all these factories and towns where life throbs with the machine, workers have given expression adequately of their unstinted support to the national defence, both in terms of physical efforts in raising production as well as in cash contributions.

During the preceding weeks, we published reports from various centres about workers' contributions. Here are some more reports.

The Samyukta Khadan Mazdoor Sangh in an appeal issued on December 1 has congratulated the workers of Rajhara, Nandini and Hirri mines and of Bhilal factory for "having made many a production records." The union has submitted a scheme to the Union Ministry for Steel for workers' monthly contribution to the defence fund and hundreds of workers have listed their names for blood donations.

The Bombay Engineering workers at the call of the General Engineering Employees Union, have, till the end of November, contributed Rs. 94,287.94 nP. to the National Defence Fund. The factory-wise break-up of this contribution is as follows:

Larsen and Toubro — Rs. 22,000; New Standard Engineering Co., Rs. 15,000; Laxminagar Engineering Works — Rs. 15,000; Crompton and Parkinson — Rs. 13,000; Hind Cycles — 10,200; India Tool Manufacturers — Rs. 8,000; Estrela

Batteries — Rs. 3,000; Hasambhoy Jetha — Rs. 1,800; Hierl Ltd. — 1,186.94 nP; Bharat Barrel — Rs. 1,001; Metalica Works — Rs. 1,600; Berks Engineering — Rs. 300; Bharat Tool Mfg. — Rs. 500; Sewri Engineering Works — Rs. 750; George Motors — Rs. 300 and Industrial Manufacturers — Rs. 150.

The workers of the Singareni group of collieries and the citizens of Kothagudem have contributed Rs. 50,000 on December 3.

WORKERS CONTRIBUTE THEIR BEST

ed Rs. 97,302 to the NDF. Similar contributions were made on December 4 by the workers of East India Metal Co., — Rs. 5,000; Bangswar Cotton Mills — Rs. 1,250; and employees of Salt Lake Reclamation Dept — Rs. 1,323.27 nP.

The workers of Delta and National Jute Mills donated Rs. 5,880.33 nP. to the NDF. It may be stated here that the workers of one department in National Jute Mill which is controlled by Congress, did not contribute any amount to this fund.

The Calidonian Jute Mill workers have donated their one day's wages to the NDF amounting to Rs. 2,439.29 nP. Workers of Hastings Mill have donated Rs. 17,151.

Workers and Employees of Shalimar Industries — Rs. 1,821; workers of Srirampur Silk Mill — Rs. 1,501; workers of Howrah Cotton Mills — Rs. 901; employees of Diamond Products — Rs. 1,379; workers of Anantpur Textile Mills contributed Rs. 190.91 nP. and their union donated Rs. 1,001 from its general fund.

The workers and employees of Dunlop Factory have donated

of the Supreme Court judgement was the interpretation of the term "estate", as defined in the Constitution.

Now the Kerala High Court, on the basis of the Supreme Court ruling has held that the Act is not applicable to practically the major portion of the State.

The situation becomes clear when it is understood that over a lakh of petitions have been filed before the land tribunals constituted under the Act, that over twenty thousand cases are pending before the tribunals for transfer of ownership and about three to four thousand cases have been reviewed.

Lakhs of rupees have been spent by the peasants to file petitions before the tribunals. Also hundreds of tenants have got their rents drastically reduced by process of fixation of fair rent during this period.

The demand of the peasantry is therefore immediate government action to set right matters. It is demanded that besides issuing an Ordinance to meet the situation created by the High Court judgement and filing an appeal before the Supreme Court, steps should be taken to amend the Constitution also in the light of the Supreme Court judgement.

It is learnt that the Union Home Ministry and the Planning Commission are considering amendment of the Constitution in the next session of Parliament.

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Mobilising Peasantry

While chalking out detailed measures for mobilising the peasantry for national defence and increasing food production, the Karshaka Sangham conference also appealed to Government to move immediately in the matter of protecting the rights of tenants affected by the recent judgement of the Kerala High Court invalidating the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act in its application to large areas of the State.

Necessary Measures

"The conference draws the attention of the peasantry to the measures being devised by the Government in development sectors so as to expedite and strengthen production. The Sangham should take steps to fully utilise Government's proposal for taking up small irrigation schemes which will help immediate increase in food production.

"The peasantry should come

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NEW AGE

PAGE ELEVEN

OUTCOME OF FRENCH ELECTIONS

★ From P. K. Kunhanandan Nair

The results of the November elections to the French National Assembly have revealed two distinct results:

1. For the first time in 15 years, the elections have introduced an absolutely new factor in the political life of France, viz. the unification of left-wing forces.

2. For the first time in the post-war history, one single group (the Gaullist UNR Party) has achieved an absolute majority.

The Gaullist majority was due to a conservation of right-wing forces around his personal power, a process which has been intensifying after the Algerian settlement. But one should not forget that this right-wing victory was not based on an overwhelming swing of the electorate in de Gaulle's favour.

For, in the first round of elections held on November 19, Gaullist candidates got only 31.9 per cent of the votes. Yet they secured nearly 50 per cent of the seats and nearly 40 other elected deputies pledged de Gaulle their support. This has been possible because of the deceptive electoral techniques imposed by de Gaulle in 1958.

The Communist Party of France, which in the first round showed that it is the main force opposed to de Gaulle had made great efforts to ensure that there was a United Front against de Gaulle's personal power.

CALL FOR BROAD ALLIANCE

Confronted by the threat of a dangerous dictatorship, the French Communist Party, which constitutes the main political leadership of the country's democratic forces, gave a call for forming a broad alliance of Communists, Socialists, Radicals and other Republicans against the personal power of de Gaulle.

The leaders of the non-Communist left-wing groupings had rejected for a long time such a policy. They were clinging to, in essence, an anti-Communist alliance with the extreme right-wing parties of independents, and the Catholic MRP.

However, the differences between these two arch-reactionary groups

and the present regime were now of a secondary nature and actually the real bases of these parties, the French monopoly bourgeoisie considered that the mustering of reactionary forces around a strong power was more important now for imperialist integration than their own internal feuds.

LAST MOMENT AGREEMENT

Sensing the complexity of the situation emerging from this, on November 18, on the eve of the first round of elections, after being heavily pressurised by public opinion and rank and file agitation, the General Secretary of the Socialist Party, Guy Mollet, made a careful statement that in the "rare cases" when a victory over a Gaullist candidate can obviously be won only by a Communist, the socialists will vote for a candidate of the French Communist Party.

Deriving lessons from the first round of the elections, the Communist Party agreed to recall its candidate when it was necessary to ensure a victory of a candidate opposed to de Gaulle's personal power.

As a result of the left unity that has been growing from below and facilitated by electoral adjustments in the last minute, the Communists and Socialists have twice as many seats in the new Assembly as in the old.

And if the Radicals are added, the figure will be 150 now as compared to 90 in the last Assembly. Most Radicals got in with Communist-Socialist support in the second round.

The final position of deputies elected throughout the country partywise are tabulated here with that of the 1958 position.

The most striking feature of the current elections over which the whole world democratic movement can rejoice is the increase in strength of the French Communist Party. In the dissolved Assembly, Communists were only 10 and they are today 41.

Party	Strength in new Assembly (1962)	Strength in old Assembly (1958)
French Communist Party	41	10
Socialists	65	41
Radicals	44	41
Gaullists	230	177
Independents	47	123
Popular Republicans	38	57
Other Extreme Right-wing groups	0	13
Without Label	4	24

In the first round of elections itself, the Communist Party got more than 4 million votes. The Communist Party's votes increased from 19 per cent in 1958 to 22 per cent in 1962. In 9 districts, Communist candidates have won with an absolute majority of votes.

At the same time, the Socialists and Radicals have lost part of their popular votes while the Catholics, Independents and other extreme right-wing groups parted with a substantial part of their votes to UNR (Union for the New Republic) party of de Gaulle, to uphold his dictatorial regime.

The most reactionary electoral law existing today and fresh delineation of boundaries of constituencies favourable to reactionaries have deprived the Communists and left Parties of many seats.

Nehru On Cease-Fire Proposals

★ From Centre Pages

the gains of aggression must be given up before both the parties try to resolve their disputes.

We have long followed a policy of non-alignment, and, I believe firmly that this was a right policy. It means our not joining any military bloc for military purpose. I think that policy should continue. But we must take all necessary measures to defend our motherland and take the help of our friendly countries who are willing to assist us in this sacred task.

We are very grateful to the countries which have come to our aid at this moment of crisis and have extended their full sympathy and support to us. I believe that even they appreciate that it would be wrong for us to abandon the policy of non-alignment.

China Opposed To Non-Alignment

It is odd—it is well to remember—that the one country that does not approve of non-alignment for us or for anybody is China; they take some satisfaction in that. They go on repeating that by circumstances they will compel us to abandon it and so we have abandoned it.

So, it is clear and hon. Members can themselves realise how the Chinese outlook in this matter is utterly different not only from ours but from that of most countries in the world.

All of us in this House and in the country, naturally, and

De Gaulle in 1958 has done away with proportional representation system and introduced the most fraudulent election mechanism in order to deprive the Communists and Leftists of their seats.

The three Left Parties have polled together nearly half of the total votes cast, but they have secured less than one-third of the total seats.

The Communist Party alone secured more than one-fifth of the total votes polled. But it received less than one-tenth of the seats in the National Assembly. In proportion to votes, the Communist Party of France should have today well over 100 seats.

In the second round of elections on November 25, the Socialists and Radicals voted for many Communist Party candidates. Communists voted for many Socialists and Radicals. For example, Socialist leader Guy Mollet and the Radical leader Mitterand and several others were elected, due to the support of the Communist Party.

Their United Front defeated former French Premier and leader of the Government Party (UNR) Michael Debré and several leading personalities of the Gaullist reaction.

The tragedy of the situation is that the Socialists united with the Communists only at the last moment and even that with all kinds of reservations, precautions and emphasising the temporary character of this unity. A full fledged left unity in France today can end the personal power of de Gaulle and save democracy.

Commenting on the election results, a French Communist Party spokesman has said: "The results of the second round of voting confirm entirely the right-

ness of the policy of unity of all workers and Republican forces declared and applied by the Communist Party. The concentration of reactionary forces around the UNR continues to present a danger.

"It is indispensable that the unity of all workers and democratic forces, the unity of action of Communists, Socialists, Radicals and Republicans should develop broadly."

POSITIVE RESULTS

The French Communist Party is today stronger than ever before. Some 1,300 Mayors of towns, rural municipalities and about 25,000 Councillors are Communists. There are in total 38,000 Communes and 47,800 Municipal Councillors in France, four-fifths of whom are in rural areas.

The French Communist Party has launched a new membership campaign along with recent political and election campaigns. These campaigns have revealed the great enthusiasm among the working people and intellectuals to join the Party.

During the last few months, 48,000 new members have joined the Party, according to a recent Polit Bureau statement. Over 1,350 new basic branches have been formed in plants, towns and villages this year.

The Polit Bureau said that the fact that four million Frenchmen have approved the policy of the Communist Party in the recent Parliamentary elections demands a further strengthening of the Party.

(November 28)

★ By Zia-ul-Haq

We are on the eve of a memorable date in the history of our national independence struggle. On December 19 will be the first anniversary of Goa's liberation.

THE action taken a year ago after many postponements and long delay achieved the completion of India's national independence. The whole country rejoiced and the peoples of the Afro-Asian countries and the socialist world applauded the Government of India's action. Only the imperialists were unhappy.

They did not bother to conceal their annoyance and continued to nurse their grudge against India, taking every opportunity to vent their anger against India for having taken that action. They have still not forgiven us for that. Their "out-of-tune loud-speaker" Pakistan and its press even today keeps talking of India's "aggression" in Kashmir, Hyderabad, Junagarh, Manavadar and Goa.

The Prime Minister, reply-

ing to their criticism had told his press conference on December 28, 1961 that India considered that action just and necessary and stood by it. The whole country stood and still stands with him in considering the liberation of Goa as just and necessary and India's basic policy underlying that action as the only correct policy.

Thanks to India's determination and the active support from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries and the whole non-aligned world, the imperialists failed in their plans to prevent the union of Goa with the motherland and dared not take any steps to restore Portuguese role in Goa (as they very much wanted to) once it was liberated.

Today, when India is faced

with massive aggression from another quarter—from the People's Republic of China—let us recall the patriotic spirit which united our nation for the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu. It is this spirit of courage and sacrifice which guides our people today in the struggle to defend our Motherland.

It is also moot to recall today that till the very last moment of our armed action to liberate Goa, China was casting doubt on our capacity to take this decisive anti-imperialist action. Our dear departed leader, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, had to remind them exactly a year ago, just three

days before the Goa action: "Comments in the Chinese press give the impression that they seem to think that India has almost gone over to imperialism. This is not only totally contrary to facts but shows a lack of sense of proportion. Evidently, our views differ radically from those of the Chinese Government regarding the foreign policy of India."

Ajoy Ghosh had then said: "... our basic assessment is that the Government of India's foreign policy is a foreign policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism. As such, we extended and even now extend our support to this foreign policy."

ment, as against the Chinese, that was confirmed three days later when Indian forces marched in to liberate Goa.

In a changed situation today, India is trying against heavy odds to uphold those very basic principles of non-alignment that it proclaimed so forcefully through the Goa action a year ago. In this, the people of India stand with their Government as they stood a year ago.

The anniversary of Goa's liberation is being observed by the Indian people as a day of re-dedication to the cause of the honour and integrity of this land of ours by intensifying our efforts for national defence.

Khrushchov Reports . . .

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

we are confident of our strength.

In the interest of preserving peace, preserving the great gains of socialism, we are prepared to agree and do agree to reasonable political compromises. Lenin time and again stressed the possibility and need of compromises in politics.

Khrushchov pointed out with satisfaction that "in these tense days the inviolable solidarity and effective co-operation between the forces of peace were manifested with special force."

"The policy of peace has scored a great moral and political victory," Khrushchov said. "At the same time we must continue to work tirelessly to preserve and consolidate peace. The situation requires unflinching vigilance on our part and tireless struggle for enduring peace on earth."

Khrushchov said the events along the Indo-Chinese frontier were grievous. He pointed out that world imperialist circles were hatching far-reaching provocative plans in connection with the aggravation of the Indo-Chinese conflict.

"Khrushchov said: "We regard as reasonable the step taken by the Government of the People's Republic of China when it announced a unilateral ceasefire and the withdrawal of troops beginning with December 1. We are very pleased with this and welcome such actions of the Chinese comrades."

We, Khrushchov said, believe in the wisdom of the leaders of China and India and hope that they will not succumb to provocations and achieve a reasonable solution of the conflict. It is our ardent desire that the great po-

wers, People's China and India, fully restore and strengthen their ancient traditional friendship.

The head of the Soviet Government declared: One must, at last, restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, it is high time to return to the People's Republic of China her ancient land — Taiwan.

Khrushchov reported to the deputies on the relations between the Soviet Union and neighbouring states.

Our relations with Yugoslavia are now good, Khrushchov said. "The Yugoslav leaders and we firmly believe that the further expansion of contacts between the USSR and Yugoslavia would accord not only with the interests of our two countries, but also with the interests of strengthening all forces fighting for peace, for democracy, for socialism and communism."

"As regards our position on the development of relations with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, it wholly emanates from the course set by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU. This course aims at strengthening the unity between the CPSU and all fraternal parties, the rallying of all forces of the anti-imperialist front," Khrushchov said.

"It must be said," Khrushchov remarked, "that the steps taken of late by the Yugoslav communists, their leaders, both in domestic and foreign policies, eliminated very much of what we regarded as erroneous, as prejudicing the cause of building socialism in Yugoslavia."

"The Soviet Union, true to the policy of friendship with all peoples, is doing and will do its utmost to strengthen the unity of the forces fighting for peace and social progress. And if this our policy is subjected to hit-and-run attacks by some people, this only shows that these people are not genuinely interested in strengthening the ranks of the communist movement, in rallying all our forces."

Khrushchov further remarked that in their attempts to smear the Leninist course of the 20th CPSU Congress, the Albanian leaders are trying to give another boost to the Stalin personality cult.

They are clinging precisely to what was the most negative in Stalin's activity, what characterised his retreat from Marxism-Leninism. The anti-Leninist ideology of personality cult underlies the entire present vicious line of the Albanian leaders.

"The Albanian leaders," Khrushchov said, "have broken with Marxism-Leninism, are sinking ever deeper in the quagmire of leftist opportunism, splitting tactics and sectarianism. The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour elevated their anti-Leninist concepts to the level of state policy of their country. They carry through a separatist, adventurist foreign policy, refuse to co-operate in the international arena with other socialist countries, try hard to hamper their efforts aimed at the consolidation of peace and the relaxation of international tension."

"Khrushchov once again stressed the correctness of the proposition contained in the statement of representatives of communist and workers' parties in 1960 that revisionism was the main danger in the world communist movement. At the same time he noted that sectarianism and dogmatism, unless consistent struggle is waged against them, may become the main danger at some particular stage of development of the individual parties."

There are some, he said, who, twisting the correct propositions of the statement of the meeting of communist and workers' parties, make a top-sided accent only on the danger of revisionism mentioning Yugoslav revisionism in and out of context.

Khrushchov declared: "In the crisis we have experienced over Cuba, Yugoslav communists took a correct position, whereas dogmatists who pose as true Marxists-Leninists, took a provocative position."

"What the crisis over Cuba has shown was that the main danger was represented by those who stood and stand on dogmatic positions."

The present-day left opportunists and sectarians, Khrushchov said, the most outspoken mouthpieces of whom are the Albanian leaders, use shrill pseudo-revolutionary phrases to cover up their struggle against the Leninist policy of peace and peaceful co-existence.

Should one scrape well the leftist trumpeters, the dogmatists, one will easily see that behind their brave front lies nothing else but fear of imperialism, lack of faith in the possibility of beating the capitalist system in peaceful economic competition.

Khrushchov added: "Left-wing opportunism, dogmatism and sectarianism are emerging more and more as a serious danger in the world communist movement."

The head of the Soviet Government declared: "The Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence is the general line of our foreign policy, the banner of all socialist states, the coveted aim of all the peoples."

Ranga's Discomfiture

★ FROM BACK PAGE

destroying everything and winning the war has no meaning at all."

The Prime Minister emphasised that we have to convince other nations that our case is reasonable and just. Hence the political and diplomatic approach. The Prime Minister approvingly quoted Khadilkar and said that the Sino-Indian conflict was something infinitely more than a dispute over some territory, though the question of territory was important. But the issues involved in this conflict are far more serious and important and the rest of the world is deeply concerned in it.

When Prof. Ranga interrupted the Prime Minister on one occasion he retorted: "My difficulty is that Professor Ranga pretends to be an expert about things he knows nothing about."

The House roared with laughter and as Ranga writhed and gasped, there came from a back bench a cooing voice, apparently to save the Professor from his discomfiture. Maharani Ga-

yatri Devi was heard to demur: "If the hon. Prime Minister had known anything about anything, we would not have got into this mess today". While the Speaker tried to pacify the Maharani pointing out that she need not worry and that Professor Ranga is capable of defending himself, the Prime Minister dismissed the princely intervention by saying: "I cannot bandy words with a lady member".

Throughout his speech the Swatantra leader and some PSP members tried interrupting him and every time they were hit back. In the course of one of the interruptions, H. V. Kamath wailed: "This is hardly fair, he wants to twist us".

As for Ranga, the Prime Minister in one of his sallies said: "He asked me as to why I did not say that I referred to China as Communist China. China is Communist, of course. We all know that. But China is developing a peculiar form of Communism which is considered dangerous and harmful for even the other Communist countries and if you bunch them all together and needlessly

increase the animosity and opposition to you, it is not the path of wisdom. I am stating it very frankly. I could go very much deeper into it, but I hope with his acute intelligence he would grasp the point".

The Prime Minister reiterated his offer about the September 8 line and pointed out that we had consistently put forward this for the last two months or so.

He categorically rejected Ranga's plea to allow the Dalai Lama to set up an emigre government here. "We will not permit a government to be established in our country," he declared, and pointed out that it was a political matter of high importance and would do us harm in many ways.

The Prime Minister said that it would mean not only an undertaking to remove the aggressor from our territory but also undertaking to free the whole of Tibet. It would give a justification to the Chinese to say that much that they have said about us in the past has been correct, he warned.

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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PEACE IS OUR FIRST AIM

Togliatti Tells Delegates To Italian Party Congress

The maintenance of peace was the first objective in the advance toward socialism, General Secretary Palmiro Togliatti told delegates to the Italian Communist Party's tenth Congress when it opened on December 2 in Rome.

LISTENING to him were 876 delegates representing 1,754,000 members of the Party, the largest Communist Party in the capitalist world.

On the platform were fraternal delegates from 33 brother parties. Frol Kozlov, member of the presidium of the Soviet Communist Party, led the Soviet delegation, "La Pasionaria" (Dolores Ibaruri) that of the Spanish Communist Party.

In today's situation, Togliatti said, a world conflict could only be an atomic war, involving the destruction of most of civilisation.

It was fruitless to discuss the type of social system, the few remaining survivors would have.

A war of defence against the aggressor was always just, and this was why the Socialist countries had to arm, Togliatti continued.

However, if the arms race were considered as inevitable, a catastrophic situation might arise.

A new system of international relations must be established. Atomic arms must be set aside, eliminated and destroyed. Only thus could catastrophe be avoided with certainty.

Such a state of affairs could only be obtained by a radical reduction of international tension and the general acceptance of peaceful coexistence.

New Relationship Of World Forces

The recent Cuban crisis had confirmed the new relationship of forces in the world.

In the past the Cuban people would hardly have succeeded in saving its independence, but American imperialism had not been able to carry out its aggressive plans.

At the decisive moment the Soviet Union had acted in such a way as to avoid war, proposing and accepting an honourable compromise.

At this point the whole assembly rose to its feet and warmly applauded the Soviet delegation. The only ones remaining seated were the three delegates from the Chinese Communist Party.

Continuing Togliatti recalled that a controversy had broken out in the international working class movement.

The matter had been discussed amply at the 1960 conference of Communist Parties, when the Chinese Communists had defended certain positions rejected by the conference.

These same ideas were now being represented in an open and polemical way, "particularly by this out-of-tune loudspeaker, the leader of the Albanian workers' Party."

War, it was claimed—and that was the core of the controversy—could not be avoided for the nature of imperialism had not changed.

It was not, however, a question of the nature of imper-

alism which had not, of course, changed, but of the international relation of forces.

It was a question of the existence and strengthening of the Socialist world, creating a situation in which imperialists could no longer do what they wanted.

It was a mistake not to see the changes in the objective situation or to maintain that imperialism was simply a "paper tiger" capable of being overthrown by a push of the shoulder.

Turning to the question of Italy Togliatti strongly underlined the vital necessity of the unity of all democratic forces.

This, he said, was essential in order to bring about a real turn to the left and to enforce the necessary changes in the country's economic and social structure.

He called for nationalisation of the sugar, cement and chemical industries, for a thorough land reform under the slogan "The land should belong to those who work it", and for a basic reform in Italy's educational system.

To rousing cheers he concluded with the predominant theme of the Congress: "Forward to Socialism in democracy and peace."

Kozlov greeting the Congress stressed that abiding by the behests of Marx and Lenin, the glorious continuer of their cause in Italy, Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Communists were tirelessly working to consolidate the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, to bring up the masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, to rally all the progressive sections of the nation to struggle against monopoly capital.

Kozlov On Soviet Policy

Kozlov dwelt on the foreign policy pursued by the CPSU and stressed that, in full accordance with the teaching of V. I. Lenin, the CPSU holds that the struggle to safeguard peace, to settle peacefully urgent international questions should combine firmness and principledness with proper flexibility and revolutionary wisdom.

Touching on the frontier conflict between the People's Republic of China and India, he said that all progressive mankind had received with satisfaction the news of a cease-fire on the Chinese-Indian frontier. We all want sincerely the dispute on the border between the two great Asian powers to be solved peacefully.

Stressing the importance of international solidarity, the unity of Communist Parties, especially today when imperialism is staking particularly on a split in the camp of socialism, F. R. Kozlov said:

We note with satisfaction that the Italian comrades, who have made a creative contribution to the drafting

of the programme documents of the Communist Parties, are resolutely working for the unity of the international working class movement on the principles of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism, are fighting against revisionists, splitters, against opportunists of all hues.

We, said Kozlov, are in full accord with the description of the present anti-Leninist line of the Albanian leadership given by Comrade Togliatti. Everybody who really strives for the unity of the communist movement, who prizes the achievements of socialism, who strives to consolidate the cause of peace, who cares for the interests of the popular masses, resolutely and wrathfully condemns the dissident line of the Albanian leaders.

The Albanian leadership comes out against the agreed documents of the meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties, attacks the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Italian Communist Party and the other fraternal parties with such monstrous slander to which even some anti-Communists from the camp of imperialism do not dare resort.

The provocative activity of Albanian leadership in the international arena adds grist to the mill of the most aggressive adventurist quarters of imperialism.

In conclusion F. R. Kozlov expressed feelings of heartfelt

fraternal solidarity of the CPSU and all the Soviet people with the struggle of the Communists and popular masses of Italy.

The Chinese Communist Party's representative addressing the Congress expounded his Party's line against the universally accepted Marxist Leninist positions on peace and peaceful coexistence. He attacked all other Communist Parties for their open criticism of the Albanian leadership.

Italian Communists Cheer

A leading member of the Italian Communist Party, Signor Pajetta, speaking at the Congress on December 5 rejected the attacks made by the Chinese delegate, saying, "The name of Khrushchev, categorically means peace."

"For us Italian Communists," he said, "the name of Khrushchev, categorically means peace."

Italian Communists, he said, had their differences with the Yugoslavs but as for the Chinese allegation that the Yugoslavs were returning to capitalism, "we have never found capitalists in Yugoslav factories."

Looking towards the Chinese delegation, Signor Pajetta said they should not misinterpret the applause given to Mr. Chao the day before.

"The whole Congress is unanimous in approving the policy of the Central Committee and in rejecting your unacceptable attack and in condemning your incorrect positions," he declared. He maintained the Chinese were not consistent when they declared themselves against the public airing of disputes, and then publicly expressed their own criticisms of other Communist Parties.

The Chinese attitude caused "deep concern and even pain" among Italian Communists, Signor Pajetta said. Signor Pajetta said Italian Communists were ready to discuss matters privately, as the Chinese had suggested, but the Italians would stick to their positions.

At the end of Signor Pajetta's speech, the delegates rose to their feet and applauded him—but the Chinese remained sitting, and did not applaud.

The Yugoslav fraternal delegate to the Congress, Lazar Kolisevski, speaking on the 6th accused the Chinese Communists of uttering "calumnies and insults" against his Party.

Amid applause, he added that the Chinese representative's "calumnies" might "make people forget the fraternal cooperation between the glorious Chinese revolution and our own revolution, and...weaken the Chinese revolutionary contribution to the workers movement."

Democratisation Of Economic Management In USSR

★ By Prof. Alexander Birman

As you probably know, in the period between congresses, these extended meetings of the party central committee are the supreme organ of the party.

THEIR decisions are obligatory on all other leading party bodies.

Many prominent statesmen, scientists, economic executives, workers and peasants take part in the work of the meeting, though they may not be members of the central committee—or even of the party.

All this makes every central committee meeting widely representative. Its agenda includes vital questions of economy, policy and ideas.

Five Years

The November meeting discussed further improvement of management in the economy and construction.

It is now more than five years since the industrial ministries were replaced by territorial economic councils.

In all, 104 of these councils were set up, each managing through boards the industry and construction work in its region.

The reorganisation has well proved its value. During the

five years, more than 3,700 large industrial enterprises have gone into operation, apart from big "overplan" production of goods by both light and heavy industry.

More than 3,700 large enterprises!... On the average, three factories, plants or mines were opened each day during the last four years. And that is in addition to railways, shops, schools, homes and agricultural enterprises.

In that case, why the need for the central committee discussion?

Because five years' experience has shown that improvements are still possible, that it is possible to make fuller use of the great advantages of planned socialist economy.

Larger Areas

The economic councils could cover larger areas to good advantage, it is now clear. And so, instead of 104 there will now be about 35-22 to 24 in the Russian Federation, seven in the Ukraine, and so on.

The resulting extension in each council's scope of work will enable it to improve specialisation in its enterprises and co-ordination of their work.

To overcome the weaknesses that appeared in the previous years of the industrial ministries, we had to find out what enterprises, organisations and institutes were working in each region and town, and which of them would be amalgamated and reorganised.

Necessary Changes

It was also necessary to enlist workers, local engineers, economists, party and trade union workers and scientists in the active management of production, and to publish journals and bulletins.

This tedious work could, of course, be carried out more easily when we had comparatively small economic regions. Now it is time to go over to another stage. We have been preparing for it gradually.

Already co-ordinating councils exist, through which neighbouring economic regions jointly solve the main problems of

★ ON FACING PAGE

On U Thant's Speech in Baltimore, Anglo-American Reaction Of

SHOCK AND SURPRISE

★ BY SADHAN MUKHERJEE

One could hardly expect that the first speech of U Thant following his election to the office of UN Secretary-General will taste so bitter to the British and American spokesmen.

THEIR reactions were a mixture of surprise, indignation and injured feeling mingled with the airs of damaged prestige as if U Thant had let them down.

U Thant was speaking at the John Hopkins University in Baltimore on December 2 before a large audience and though the occasion seemed to be rather unimportant, the speech itself furnished enough proof to show that in the coming years the UN Secretary-General would be following a well balanced policy in the international affairs. To U Thant, who assumed the charge of Acting Secretary-General of the UN on November 3, 1961 following the death of former Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld in a plane disaster, and who was elected unanimously Secretary-General for a full four-year term on November 30, 1962 world politics have undergone a radical change and he therefore, and rightly so, looks at them from the standpoint of proposing mutual trust and understanding which is so vital for maintaining world peace.

He had therefore to say in regard to Western Powers that they do not seem to appreciate the full significance of this obvious change of political climate.

U Thant expressed firmly, "If we are to survive in this nuclear and space age, we must move forward, however slowly, away from the concept of the absolute freedom of action of the sovereign state, towards the community of ideas and identity of interest that cut across national, cultural and ideological boundaries."

He stated very clearly that "the world will not live in harmony so long as two-thirds of its inhabitants find difficulty in living at all."

CHANGE IN USSR-US RELATION

Referring to the 30-year relationship between the Soviet Union and the USA, U Thant said "the changing character of relationship" between the two powers "had had a major impact not only on the contemporary world but also on the work of the United Nations".

U Thant declared that the international situation today was "less grim than it was before World War II".

The Secretary-General said that during the nineteen-fifties most Western leaders viewed the world as a battlefield between the capitalist and communist systems. Therefore, he said, they believed compromise was betrayal and that "evil could be held at bay only by ironclad alliances" that restricted the scope of decisions.

U Thant explained that this concept continued even "when the character of Soviet challenge was already changing" and it was "perhaps partly responsible for many newly independent countries' pursuing a policy of non-alignment."

TRIBUTES OF KHRUSHCHEV

Referring to Premier Khrushchev's role in the international affairs, U Thant said that he "belongs to a different category of leaders, with a coherent philosophy of the

world based on the thesis, not of inevitability of war but of the imperative of competitive coexistence."

"We may or may not agree with his philosophy or with his aims, but we have very good reasons to believe that he does not want war." U Thant criticised the West for having failed to grasp this particular point.

He hoped that the "spirit of compromise that marked the discussions between the Soviet Union and the United States" over the recent Cuban episode might "help the solution of some of the outstanding cold-war issues of the world today". There were issues such as Berlin, the Secretary-General expressed hope, where "it may become imperative to reach solutions on the basis of compromise and the principle of give and take on both sides."

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This outspoken analysis of the trends of the present-day world could not naturally not please the West. They did not expect U Thant, in whom the USA had placed so much stake as a counter-blast to Soviet suggestion of three-man Secretariat of the UN, to indict the West for their gross failures—failures which touched off series of unnecessary complications in Asia, Africa, Europe, Latin America and so on.

The British Foreign Office fretted with injured dignity and next day, December 3, in a statement accused the Soviet Union on its "performance over Cuba, Berlin and nuclear testing"; precisely those issues over which U Thant had categorically praised the restraint, sincere desire for peace and co-existence on the part of the Soviet Union.

WEST NOT PLEASED

The reason for British Foreign Office's annoyance is not far to seek. Evidently, relaxation of tension in international politics will very badly affect British policies, both on the home front as well as on the foreign.

Staggering growth of unemployment, greater finances for nuclear arms development—on which Lord Home so precariously balances himself; and similar myriads of issues will be far more difficult to explain if greater understanding is reached between the conflicting forces of the world today.

There has been so far no official comment by the State Department on U Thant's speech like that of British Foreign Office but if *New York Times* is indicative of American official mind by any standard, the reaction is quite clear: They just don't relish what U Thant has spoken.

Editorially writing on U Thant's speech, which it describes as "U Thant's view of U.S. Policy", the *New York Times* on December 4, has sought to counter all the argu-

ments and reasons which U Thant has advanced in support of his analysis of world situation.

Referring to the nuclear tests and seeking to put the blame for failure to ban tests on the Soviet Union, the Editorial says: "In the current impasse in the nuclear test negotiations, it is the Soviet refusal to accept any compromise on even the limited on-site inspection advocated by the neutralists that has made futile many previous concessions on the part of the United States and Britain."

MOST PUZZLING

Describing U Thant's views that most Americans in some way opposed the rise of formerly colonial peoples to independent nationhood, as "most puzzling", the editorial seeks to justify the United States' policy of so-called "helping hand to new nations" but finally admits that "much of this assistance was at certain period based—and

probably too much so—on military considerations."

It refers to the USA's foreign aid programmes and tries to argue that "...it is still true that from President Truman's Point Four Programme a decade and a half ago to the Alliance for Progress and Peace Corps today, this country has established a record without equal for generous economic and technical aid throughout the world."

Finally the editorial beams: "We would be the last to claim that American foreign policy has been perfect since the war, or that it has not had serious faults of both omission and commission; but we think the Secretary-General, astute observer though he is, has failed to do full justice to the basic philosophy of the American peoples as they look out on the world around them."

These explanations and the accusation of U Thant of failure "to do full justice" to American philosophy, do not explain away the gross failures of American policies or their intransigence and provocations for breach of peace. Peoples of

Asia and Africa cannot but look at American aid programmes in their totality, carrying as they are with them strings with far-reaching repercussions for the aided country's political atmosphere.

VOICE OF HUMANITY

What U Thant has said reflects the feelings of the non-aligned and peace-loving countries—in fact the vast majority of humanity—concerning the burning issues of the world today. If there is some relaxation of tension in the world today, if the world can look forward to better days free from the horrors of nuclear holocaust, it is because the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is powerful enough to arrest the adventurism of imperialists; because this is a new epoch in the social and scientific spheres of civilisation and not because there has been a change of heart in imperialism. It is just no longer that powerful as it used to be in comparison with the forces of peace.

Economic Management

★ FROM FACING PAGE

economic development. Now the councils will work still more closely together. A "Council of National Economy of the USSR" has been set up, to exercise general guidance over the economic councils.

When the economic councils were set up, it was realised that industries might become somewhat dispersed.

The old industrial ministries hadn't only shortcomings! Their positive feature was that every branch of industry was centralised on a country-wide scale. This made it easier to pursue a single policy in technology.

The formation of the economic councils somewhat dispersed the branches, and to remove this shortcoming all-union committees have been set up to run basic industries.

They are responsible for united policy in technology on a country-wide scale.

CHANGED ROLE

The meeting decided to change the roles of these committees.

They will now run scientific and design institutes and their powers in the financing of modernisation, mechanisation and automation will be extended.

These national committees have also been charged with control of the introduction of new techniques and machinery

by economic councils and enterprises.

It was considered necessary to single out our building organisations for attention. The vast scope of construction would have been impossible without steady and substantial progress in this important branch of the economy.

Indeed, in the past few years the technology of construction work has changed radically. Large excavating, welding, assembly and transport machines, including helicopters, flats of prefabricated parts and shops built of large panels—this is the picture of construction today.

To leave construction under the control of the economic councils, the main task of which is to produce manufactured goods, would mean to slow down technical progress.

All building organisations, therefore, have been amalgamated into specialised branches, directed by appropriate committees.

DRAFT RULES

The draft rules for the economic councils are being worked out with due regard for the need to grant them broad rights, and to guarantee them from petty patronage.

A draft law on socialist enterprises is also being worked out now. Its aim is to extend the rights of managers and heads of building

organisation, and to draw working people into more active management of the economy.

In recent years the rights of trade unions and other mass organisations have been considerably extended. Regular production conferences of workers discuss all the main questions of the work of their enterprises and pass recommendations which must be taken into account by the managements.

Another step is now being made in enlisting the working people in management.

PRODUCTION COMMITTEES

Production committees are being elected at enterprises. The manager of the factory or shop will have to give an account to them and seek their advice.

The final decision will, of course, have to be made by the managers; who will also be responsible for the course of work. As I have said, a new law on the rights of enterprises is to be drafted. The press is already carrying articles and proposals about it.

There will, of course, be hundreds and possibly thousands of them.

The legislative commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet will thus be able to take into account the opinions of a large number of competent people who are concerned with the matter.

CEASE-FIRE & AFTER

week in parliament

★ FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

By setting its seal of approval on the Government's policy, the Lok Sabha has taken a significant step further towards strengthening Government's hands to meet both the military and diplomatic offensive of China. It was with an unmistakable sense of confidence that the House rose on Monday after a day's discussion on the Chinese cease-fire proposals. The next day, the House adjourned till January 21.

MEMBERS knew that the government was proceeding in the right direction and that our position vis-a-vis China in the race to win world opinion has considerably advanced and gained and that this is bound to pay dividends in the ultimate solution of the problem.

This sense of confidence was largely the work of the Prime Minister himself. The way he approached the problem and elaborated it for the benefit of the members showed that he was on firm ground and would not be shaken either by Chinese threats and ultimatums or by the wayward tendencies of some of our own people. "My mind is, for various factors, convinced that China cannot have her way and we will have our way in this matter", he said and drew loud applause.

This confidence was imparted to the House as a whole with the result that even those who usually make an effort to contradict the Prime Minister and prove their own superior intelligence were this time plainly on the defensive and prepared to learn. What remained of their resistance was only a tattered display of their inhibitions, ignorance and long ingrained prejudices, to cure which perhaps a longer course of treatment will be necessary.

Nevertheless, it was interesting to watch the moral conversion of the PSP leader, Surendranath Dwivedi, into a strong votary of non-alignment. No missionary who had touched the heart of a heathen and raised in him pious thoughts through persistent and sustained appeal would have been more glad and satisfied than was the Prime Minister himself by this achievement. It was a good sign, and the House welcomed this late-comer with a hearty applause.

About a month back, on November 14, the Lok Sabha had stood up and pledged itself to the task of freeing the country from Chinese aggression, however long and hard the struggle may be. On Monday, it reiterated that pledge. It also set on record that the tortuous events of last months have not only not shaken its confidence, but actually strengthened it in the correctness of our basic policies.

It was very pertinent to the situation that the Prime Minister in his opening speech told the members that it was well to remember that the one country that does not approve of non-alignment for us or for anybody else is China. China wants to force us to give up our policy of non-alignment. That we shall not give up this policy because of Chinese aggression is a matter of strength to us and not a weakness. As the Prime Minister pointed out, "the Chinese outlook in this

matter is utterly different not only from ours but from that of most countries in the world."

CHINA ISOLATED

Members, one after another, reverted to this theme and, no doubt with some satisfaction they underlined the point that China is today isolated even in the communist world, whereas India's case has won the sympathy and support of large number of countries. Hiren Mukerjee, whose speech was widely applauded, the Prime Minister himself joining in the applause, pointed out this moral isolation of China. Only Albania has pulled its weight in favour of China.

"The international Communist Movement, in so far as the meetings of the Communist Party of Italy or of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are any indications, has very definitely told China that her behaviour is absolutely out of conformity with the canons

of the Communist ideology which China professes to further."

"It is very clear that China in her pseudo-revolutionary arrogance has spurned some of the basic tenets of Communism. It is not unusual in the history of revolution that degeneration of this sort takes place. In the French Revolution, we noticed not only the reaction of Thermidor but the appearance of Bonapartism. But China should know that Communist Bonapartism is a contradiction in terms.

"Communism is not a matter of export. If Communism is to grow in this country, it has to grow from within. It cannot, and must not, come in the baggage of an army, to whichever country that army might belong. These are the lessons of revolution, the lessons of international Communism, and it is for China, which in her arrogance today has forgotten those lessons, to learn those lessons over again."

It was in the context of the Colombo meeting of six non-aligned nations that the Lok Sabha discussed the border situation resulting from the invasion of India by China. The Peking Radio, very much in the form of an ultimatum before the Colombo meeting, had declared the previous day China's rejection of India's demand that China withdraw to the line prior to September 8 before negotiations could start. Also Peking had put three questions to our Ambassador

concerning her proposals of November 21 regarding cease-fire and withdrawals.

In sharp contrast to this threatening posture of China was the reasonable and firm position taken by Prime Minister Nehru in his speech to the Lok Sabha on Monday morning, when he answered the three questions posed by China and reiterated that the status quo ante September 8, 1962 should be restored before any fruitful steps can be taken for negotiations and peaceful settlement.

Answering the three questions put by China, the Prime Minister said that though the cease-fire was a unilateral declaration, we had accepted it and we have done nothing to impede its implementation. As for the disengagement of troops and meeting of officials, these can take place only if the results of further aggression by China, which started with her massive invasion of India beginning on September 8, are undone.

PEACEFUL METHODS

While making it quite clear that India cannot acquiesce in to aggression and her determination to meet the Chinese challenge was as firm as ever, the Prime Minister took particular care to emphasise that India is

tween the Kashmir question and the Sino-Indian border question. There is no question of a boundary dispute in Kashmir. In the case of the Sino-Indian border, while it is true that sovereignty of India over a certain part of her territory is involved in this, it was, however, essentially a question of where the frontier lay.

The Lok Sabha discussion on Monday once again disclosed that certain circles in this country, particularly the Swatantra, have a different approach to the problem, an approach which is very harmful to the country and the cause of peace in Asia and the world. They made it amply clear that they are opposed to the political and diplomatic approach adopted by the Government in seeking a solution of the question.

SWATANTRA BID

While the Swatantra leader N. G. Ranga said he was disappointed with the speech by the Prime Minister, P. K. Deo repeated his party's opposition to the Government's stand on September 8 line, wanted the cease-fire to be rejected and advocated our joining military blocs to fight China and urged that the Chinese aggression be referred to the United Nations. Professor Ranga wanted Government to allow Dalai Lama to set up an enigre government

know that our wishes are certainly that we do not let the world be convulsed in a conflagration....

OUR DUTY

"We can only do our duty, that is to defend the integrity of our country, knowing fully well that we shall succeed in doing so because we have not only the determined will of our own people, but the support and moral conscience of the world. And that is why we have to keep in mind not only the desirability, the urgency, the absolute paramountcy of our doing our national duty, but also the desirability of keeping our minds and hearts fixed on the idea of peace for the entire world". Hiren Mukerjee in Lok Sabha and Bhupesh Gupta in Rajya Sabha emphasised the support of Parliament to the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister's reply to the debate in the Lok Sabha was hard-hitting on his critics and marked by a keen sense of humour. The witty retorts with which he hit back at his detractors who constantly tried to interrupt him and got the worst of it proved highly stimulating.

The Prime Minister pointed out that war cannot be considered in a vacuum, saying that it is war. War has a great deal to do with propaganda and publicity. Referring to S. N.

GOVT. STAND VINDICATED

of the Communist ideology which China professes to further."

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prepared to seek all peaceful methods to resolve the border dispute, provided conditions are created for such a peaceful approach. It was in this connection that he offered to refer the basic dispute and the merits of the claims regarding the frontier to the International Court of Justice at The Hague, after the status quo ante September 8 was established.

This offer was further clarified by the Prime Minister when he made a statement to the Rajya Sabha and answered questions from members on Wednesday. The Prime Minister pointed out on that occasion that such a reference to the International Court of Justice was possible only if both parties agreed to it. But as far as he was concerned, he felt that such a step would be an eminently right step in the circumstances and would be in conformity with the conscience of the world.

The Prime Minister pointed out that there are three methods of resolving a dispute. One is through direct talks, conciliation, mediation etc. Another is through war and the third method is some kind of judicial determination. The Sino-Indian border dispute is a question which is capable of judicial determination.

Replying to a question by a member why he had not agreed to refer the Kashmir dispute to The Hague Court, the Prime Minister pointed out that there is considerable difference be-

in this country and to liberate Tibet.

Jan Sangh leader U. M. Trivedi saw in the acceptance of the cease-fire "abject surrender". He was also opposed to the September 8 line. PSP leader S. N. Dwivedi said that even a moment's thought should not have been given to the Chinese cease-fire proposal. According to him there can be only one attitude towards China, and that is to fight "For years we have run after this mirage of peaceful negotiations", he cried and reiterated his opposition to the September 8 line. He also opposed the Prime Minister's statement about referring the dispute to the International Court of Justice.

This kind of approach to the problem was categorically rejected by the House. An amendment moved by the Swatantra leader to the official motion for consideration of the border situation resulting from the invasion of India by China was negatived and instead the House adopted a Congress member's amendment endorsing the Government's policy. Members like Khadilkar, Dasappa and Indulal Yagnik lent able support to the Prime Minister.

Hiren Mukerjee made the issue very clear when he said: "We shall take all necessary measures, we shall do our duty. Our duty is to defend our country. That comes first. I

Dwivedi's criticism about the non-official delegation sent by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee to Colombo, the Prime Minister said that while the delegation was not sent by him, he was glad that they went. "I definitely think that they would do possibly more good than many others who might be, in the opinion of some hon. members, perhaps more stouter champions of our cause".

He pointed out that the question was who can approach a certain party with some effect. Provoked by Ranga's interruption, he said: "If I have to send a person to the Soviet Union, I will send a person, whose approach, whose voice counts there. It is no good sending Professor Ranga to the Soviet Union. There can be no doubt, I say so with all respect to Sri Ranga, that his going there will ruin our cause, so far as the Soviet Union is concerned".

Stressing the point about diplomatic approach to the problem, the Prime Minister told the House: "You have always to think, even when you are warring, in terms of politics and diplomacy. That is an essential part of it. In the biggest war, in the most fatal war, the second world war, diplomacy and politics always played their role in publicity, propaganda etc. I say all this because this idea that we must go like a bull in a china shop,

★ ON PAGE 13

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