

SUPPLEMENT TO

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**NEITHER REVISIONISM NOR
DOGMATISM IS OUR GUIDE**

REPLY TO THE CHINESE "MIRROR"

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VII For Unity of World and Indian Communist Movement

THE unilateral cease-fire declared by China on the night of November 21, with the readiness to withdraw troops to the "line of actual control" from December 1, was a wise step. They could appear before the world as really desiring a peaceful settlement once again.

India reciprocated by observing the cease-fire on her side but wanted the Chinese forces to withdraw, not to an undefined line of "actual control" but the line they held on September 7, 1962, before any negotiations could be thought of.

In the argument that followed the cease-fire, it was stated that the Chinese "line of actual control" was the one they had in 1959. This line, they said, was even better in some respects than the line of September 7, 1962, asked for by the Indian side. If it was so, why would they not agree to September 7, 1962?

In the meanwhile, the Government of UAR, Ghana, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia and Cambodia, met and proposed to mediate on this question of where to withdraw in order to begin negotiations for a settlement. The mediation of the Colombo Powers or Colombo Six, as they are called in this dispute, was accepted by both sides.

Colombo Powers' Proposals

When the proposals of the Colombo Six with their clarifications were made known to India and China, India accepted them in full, that is, the proposals with clarifications. The Chinese leadership first gave an answer of "positive" response, when they were not yet sure of India's acceptance. But when India made known her acceptance in toto and asked China to do the same, the Chinese leadership refused to do so.

In fact, at one stage, some of their leading spokesmen charged the Colombo leaders of not giving "identical clarifications" to both parties. When this was denied, they just stalled and refused to say anything but did not accept the proposals, thus creating a deadlock.

This deadlock facilitated the scheme of Rightwing reactionary forces in India and the imperialists, abroad.

When the Chinese side refused to accept even the proposals of six non-aligned nations of Asia-Africa, who were friendly both to China and India, they lost whatever good impression and relaxation of tension they had achieved by their unilateral cease-fire. Those who had admired their "unprecedented generosity" of the cease-fire were embarrassed by their new perversity in not accepting the Colombo proposals.

After a few days of shouting about "harassment" and "persecution" of the Chinese citizens in Indian detention camps, they announced that they would release all the Indian prisoners of war in their hands. The Government of India also agreed to allow the Chinese nationals to leave India, if they wished, in the

Chinese ships that were sent for them.

Though the situation in India has undergone a material change since the cease-fire and the Colombo mediation, yet the refusal of the Chinese side to accept the Colombo proposals has kept up the feeling of suspense alive. People can be persuaded to lend a sympathetic ear to the question: "Will the Chinese start again and when?" The resolution of the Central Executive Committee of our Party in its meeting of April 15, 1963, says:

"The Central Executive Committee deeply deplores that the Chinese Government unreasonably persists in pressing forward its unilateral proposals and in carrying forward its unilateral proposals and in carrying on a propaganda campaign of slander against India.

"The ensuing deadlock in India-China relations keeps up the political climate of suspicion and fear of China, which the Indian Rightwing forces planfully utilise for their campaign of seeking military aid from the imperialists and challenging the progressive policies of the Nehru Government. The Chinese attitude thus strengthens the very forces which do not desire India-China negotiations and a peaceful settlement.

"The adamant Chinese attitude, coupled with their threatening notes and disruptive moves, encourages the demand for ever greater military aid from the West. It is a dangerous development which weakens India internally as well as internationally.

"The Central Executive Committee once again calls for vigilance against the U.S. proposal for an 'air umbrella' and its demand for bases on Indian soil.

"Not only that, The U. S. Government, however, has made no secret of its demand that the price of its continuing and increasing military and economic aid to India is our willingness to hand over Kashmir to Pakistan."

It says further:

"Though the Government of India has rejected the U. S. demand to change India's basic policies, yet it has made serious concessions in the name of Emergency by agreeing to the stationing of the U. S. Military Mission in Delhi and by granting U. S. Military Observers the right of inspection, etc., and thus allowing them to interfere in defence matters. This cannot but encourage the U. S. imperialists to keep up the pressure against the policy of non-alignment and threaten Indian sovereignty."

"... India's firm adherence to our independent self-reliant defence policy will get us all our military requirements from all friendly countries, without in any way compromising our basic policies. Weakening before imperialist pressure will encourage Indian rightwing, damage Indian sovereignty, weaken non-alignment and cause dismay among all the peace-loving countries.

"Prime Minister Nehru has repeatedly stated that India is opposed to a military solution of our dispute with China. The Communist Party of India extends its full support to the Government of India's offer of arbitration to settle the dispute, if negotiations fail."

Opposition To Tax Proposals

The exigencies of a war-like situation and the continuation of the deadlock was bound to evoke a demand for raising money for defence and development. The makers of the new year's budget fully knew that the people will accept the logic that defence needs money and money means taxes. The new budget imposed heavy taxes on the people to make provisions for defence and development.

The reaction of the tolling masses to the budget and the new taxes were one of opposition because the taxes lay heavily on them alone. Noting this fact, the CEC on April 14, 1963, adopted its resolution on "The Budget Proposals and Alternative Sources of Funds for National Development and National Defence," in which it says:

"There cannot be two opinions that for our economic development, as well as for building up of the country's defence potential, additional resources are to be raised. The real point at issue is where and how to find the needed resources.

"In the recent months, it has been amply demonstrated how our people are ready to make the greatest measure of sacrifice when called upon to do so in the interests of the nation. Indeed, it is the working people of our country, suffering from many a want, who contributed most to the national defence fund and otherwise to the cause of the nation's defence. This, however, cannot be said of the millionaires, monopolists and other sections of the wealthy people. They have, on the contrary, sought to exploit the Emergency to gather benefits for themselves. It was expected that the present budgetary proposals will be so devised as to compel these rich people to make their due contributions towards the fulfilment of our national purposes.

"Instead of raising adequate resources from the rich, and adopting other effective economic measures, such as nationalisation of banking, oil industry, etc., which has become an urgent necessity for the future of our economy as a whole, the current budget proposals place new economic burdens on the masses who are already over-taxed and struck by constantly rising prices.

"The greater part of the additional taxes and levies un-

der the Central Budget is proposed to be raised through Union Excise duties, compulsory deposit schemes, surcharge on income-tax of even those belonging to the lowest income brackets. Almost all the necessities of life in the country are already taxed. Yet additional levies are imposed even on such necessities of life as kerosene, tobacco, sugar, tea, soap. Prices of postcards have also been increased."

Thus nationalisation of the banks and some of the big monopolies is the solution to the problem of resources and taxes.

What do these resolutions show? They show that while the Party, in the emergency of the November war-crisis was all out for defence of the country, it has not given up the defence of people's interests. While recognising the needs of defence and development and money for the same, it has shown where to find it without harming those very toiling classes who are the real producers of wealth and defenders of the country. To defend the country, it is not necessary to hit the people and save the rich — that is the way, we ought to think and do that.

During this very period, the trade unions have been able to secure from the Government and the employers, certain wage-increases and beneficial awards. Despite the attacks made on our trade union workers, we have been able to make good gains in a number of cases, such as wage-awards and agreements in iron and steel, coal, coffee, life insurance, etc., etc. The ATTUC has not deserted the defence of the working class, as the Chinese slander campaign suggests.

Taking advantage of the emergency, monopolists have tried to strengthen the positions of private capital and secure a curb on the expansion of the State Sector and have succeeded in some cases as in shipping, oil, etc. At the same time, the Gold Control Order, insofar as it seeks to weaken smuggling and reduction of gold price has not pleased them. The bans on certain speculative markets was also not to their liking.

While agreements with the imperialist bloc for trade and "aid" are sought on a larger scale, trade with the socialist countries and their assistance to the growth of independent Indian economy have also grown.

Such in brief is the way in which our Party looks at the situation that is developing in the new year.

And because we refuse to give up the defence of the people, while fully standing for the defence of the country, the reactionary forces and the Government have tried to weaken and disrupt our Party by arrests of Party and trade union leaders and workers.

Campaign For Release Of Communists

The National Council and the Central Secretariat have taken a number of steps to secure the release of our comrades. A number of deputations, since the days of the very first arrests till now, have been continually meeting the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, the State Chief Ministers, for this purpose.

Mass meetings have been held and questions raised in Parliament and State Assemblies to answer the allegations against the arrested comrades and to get them released. Every Party paper has campaigned for them. As a result of this movement, a number of comrades in some of the States have been released. The campaign to secure the release of the remaining ones will continue, until all are out.

The Party in every State is gathering new momentum. Under

its auspices and its Red Flag, mighty demonstrations are taking place against the attacks of the monopolists on the life and living of the working people and the toiling intelligentsia.

In Tamilnad, for example, 40,000 people organised a mighty demonstration against the Swatantra Party and its reactionary policies. Thousands of new members from the ranks of the working class and toiling peasantry are joining the Party.

In several States, the drive for Party funds has received enthusiastic response. Is this the picture of a Party that has betrayed the masses, that is disintegrating because of its "revisionism" and desertion of Marxism-Leninism?

The attitude of the Chinese leaders with respect to the acceptance of the Colombo proposals, resulting in a cold war, has armed the reactionaries to perpetuate the emergency and its use against the Communist Party of India as a whole.

The reactionary forces in the country have kept up the anti-Communist drive by splitting the democratic forces. However, undeterred by these difficulties, the various units of the Communist Party are steadfastly discharging their duty.

Uphold Unity Against Splitters

Thus it can be seen that the basic line of the November resolution foiled the moves of the right-wing reactionaries and imperialists to isolate the Party from the masses and thereby kill it. It enabled the Party to hold on to its bases and its class.

The subsequent changes in the situation and resolutions following from it enabled the Party to activate the masses, to coordinate the defence of their class interests with the interests of the country, against the monopolists and big landlords and their selfish parasitic interests.

The further development of the basic line thus foils once again the game of the right-wing reaction and imperialists to capture the mind of the masses and impose their policies on them, which are both anti-national and anti-people.

The Chinese leadership may conveniently ignore these facts but they will not be able to conceal the truth, by their noise, from the progressive forces in the world.

The three campaigns — for the defence of workers and toiling people's standard of living, against the taxes on the poor in the budget and for the release of Communist prisoners — combined with support to the needs of defence and development of the country — that are being conducted under the banner of the Communist Party of India, while under fire from the reactionaries and the emergency laws used by the Government against the Communist Party, are irrefutable testimonies against the false and slanderous allegations made by the Communist Party of China and those who support it.

Contrary to the interest of the unity of the world Communist movement, the Chinese leadership has, through these allegations, virtually given a call for a split within the ranks of the Communist Party of India.

We are, however, confident that international Communist unity and the unity of the Communist Party of India, so precious to the Marxists-Leninists all over the world, will be saved and wisdom will ultimately prevail upon the Chinese leadership and dissuade them from their splitting activities.

We, of the Communist Party of India, will leave no stone unturned, to defeat every splitting move and uphold the banner of Communist unity.