
RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED
BY THE CENTRAL
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF COMMUNIST PARTY
OF INDIA

New Delhi

24 to 27 September 1965

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

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PRESENT SITUATION & OUR TASKS

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India expresses its satisfaction that a ceasefire has been given effect to. At the same time, it warns the people against the serious obstacles that stand in the way in the restoration of peace, consistent with India's honour and territorial integrity and for the promotion of good-neighbourly relations with Pakistan.

With the ceasefire between India and Pakistan begins a new stage in the Indo-Pakistan crisis—the stage of uneasy armed truce, combined with political and diplomatic battles.

The Central Executive Committee draws the attention of the entire Party and the people to the fact that this new stage has arrived in the wake of a new political situation developing in the course of India's glorious defence against the aggressors. It is characterised by a significant change in the consciousness of the entire people and the political parties.

After taking stock of the new developments, the CEC concludes that the key features of the changed situation may be broadly summed up as follows:

— An upsurge of national unity and secularism to defend the motherland against aggression, the like of which this country has never seen since the attainment of independence;

— National pride that, based on our indigenous defence equipments production (the Gnat, etc.) and the skill and valour of our jawans and pilots, India has been able to give telling blows to the Pakistan military machine built up by the Anglo-American powers (American Patton

tanks, sabre-jets and F-104s) under a system of aggressive military pacts and alliances;

— Rousing of anti-imperialist feeling and consciousness on a scale never seen till now; this is expressed in the anger against the British imperialists as seen in the demand for quitting the Commonwealth being raised from all sections and rising discontent against the US imperialists as well;

— Feeling that the Soviet Union is the only sincere friend that has stood firmly by India throughout this period of crisis.

Our Party throughout this period reacted correctly to the changing situation and took steps to orientate Party activity so as to make national defence the key overall task. The Party moved the people on the slogans:

- All out for national defence;
- National Unity for national defence;
- Against Anglo-American intrigues and conspiracies;
- For communal harmony;
- For safeguarding people's interests.

The Party's intervention met with widespread popular response.

Coming Period—Armed Truce—Diplomatic & Political Battle

The latest Security Council resolution falls into three parts. Firstly, cessation of hostilities. Secondly, subsequent withdrawal of the "armed personnel" of both sides to the positions before August 5 under the supervision and guidance of the UN Secretary-General. Both these provisions are mandatory. Thirdly, the Security Council has decided that steps be taken to assist towards a settlement of the political issues underlying the present conflict. It is, however, left in no doubt that Pakistan and her imperialist patrons are going to raise the Kashmir issue as the key political issue.

The implementation of the second and third provisions above will involve a whole period of protracted and complicated political and diplomatic struggle against a background of armed tension and insecurity all along our borders arising from Pakistan-Chinese collusion. The Anglo-American powers on all basic issues will throw their weight on the side of Pakistan and against India.

During the second stage of effecting withdrawal of the "armed personnel" of both sides to the pre-August 5 positions, India will have to wage a firm and skilful fight for withdrawal by Pakistan of its aggression through the infiltrators as well as for the creation of effective guarantees against all future Pakistani aggression across the ceasefire line. There cannot be any effective guarantee against further aggression unless India has, for instance, satisfactory control over the strategic mountain passes leading across the ceasefire line into the Valley, especially in the Uri-Poonch bulge. India is faced with the need for suitable modifications of the ceasefire line or other steps which would ensure the security against future aggression, open or veiled.

Induction of larger numbers of UN military observers will not serve the above purpose. Besides past experience had demonstrated that the Military Observers' Group is generally partial towards Pakistan.

Already the appointment of the Commander of the team of UN observers without consulting India and the sinister attempt to change the Security Council resolution in U Thant's letter in which the clause "withdrawal of armed personnel" has been replaced by "withdrawal of troops" indicate which way the wind is blowing. It shows that India's legitimate demand for the withdrawal of the infiltrators is sought to be bypassed by interested forces and pushed into the background.

During the third stage of attempt to solve the political issues underlying the present conflict, the key problem will, of course, be Kashmir.

Pakistan has already made its position clear and called for a plebiscite in the name of "self-determination". The Pakistan representative during his speech to the Security Council, as well as Ayub himself, made it clear that unless the Kashmir issue is solved to their satisfaction, "bigger and wider conflagration" will break out. Bhutto has threatened that unless the Security Council solves the issue by means of a plebiscite "within reasonable time", Pakistan will quit the UNO.

The Chinese leaders have lent their full support to Pakistan's demand for plebiscite in Kashmir and maintain their policy of continuing armed tension in different forms on the India-China border in order to strengthen Pakistan and weaken India and create difficulties for our country, as well as for all those who are genuinely interested in improving Indo-Pakistan relations.

The fact that the Chinese leaders had chosen this time to give an ultimatum to India, demanding the demolition of structures alleged to have been raised outside the Sikkim border as early as 1962 and the very fact that they went to the extent of opposing ceasefire shows that the path to the restoration of peace in the sub-continent is by no means going to be a smooth one.

The Anglo-American powers support Pakistan's demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir. They will utilise the past UN resolutions to this effect. They will further utilise the "Chinese threat" to pressurise India and thus wield the weapon of blackmail in various ways, political, economic and military.

Right reactionary forces inside our own country represented by Rajaji have joined the chorus of the Anglo-American imperialists that self-determination for Kashmir is the only political solution for "settling the Kashmir problem" between India and Pakistan.

India's stand on this question is clear. The Kashmiri people have already exercised their right of self-determination through the Constitution framed by their freely-elected

Constituent Assembly under the leadership of the Kashmir National Conference in 1951—as a result of the victory of their historic anti-feudal anti-imperialist struggle "Quit Kashmir" led by the National Conference. Their accession to India was the expression of the exercise of this right of self-determination and has been more than once confirmed by subsequent general elections. Kashmir is an integral part of the Indian Union, constitutionally, politically and in every other way.

In this situation, India will have to carry on an uncompromising political fight against the blackmail and pressures of the Anglo-American imperialists at every stage. Such a fight can only be successfully conducted if India relies firmly on the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries and goes all out to win the support of the Arab and Afro-Asian world. The situation demands that the Indian government overcomes its weaknesses and vacillations in the matter of implementation of the national policy of non-alignment and takes all necessary steps for strengthening its anti-imperialist content. This alone will enable it to successfully fight back Anglo-American intrigues and pressures. This is equally necessary for countering and defeating unprincipled Chinese diplomacy in support of Pakistan.

The Soviet Union has offered its good offices to further bilateral negotiations between India and Pakistan to settle the problems between India and Pakistan by peaceful methods. The CEC notes with satisfaction that India has accepted the offer and regrets that Pakistan has virtually spurned it.

India must not accept the idea of a "UN peace-keeping force" or Commonwealth or Anglo-American mediation in any form.

National Defence in New Period—For an Independent National Defence Policy

The coming period characterised, as has already been pointed out, by the protracted and complicated political and diplo-

matic battles will be one of armed truce and of armed tensions with possibilities of conflicts not ruled out.

While steadfastly pursuing our line of a peaceful settlement with Pakistan, it must be realised that the question of defence acquires a new special importance in the coming period. A re-orientation in our defence policy is urgently called for. There must be a reorientation in the economic policies of the country at the same time.

During the six weeks of the undeclared war the Government of India correctly emphasised that its objective in fighting Pakistan was not the annexation of its territory, but to paralyse the attacking forces of Pakistan in order to counteract and throw back its aggression. The Government of India correctly avoided any escalation of war in East Pakistan. It gave a sober and wise rebuff to the Chinese ultimatum. This whole approach followed from the principles of peace and peaceful co-existence and the policy of non-alignment which India has adopted. The experiences and trials which India has gone through recently have fully vindicated these principles and policies.

However, the war has sharply exposed the danger of a policy of continuing to rely mainly on the Anglo-American powers in the matter of national defence. A radical break has to be made with this policy.

An independent national policy of building a self-reliant defence potential has become a vital necessity for safeguarding the security and territorial integrity of our country. Urgent steps must be taken to enlarge and strengthen our defence industries rapidly. All possibility should be explored in the fullest measure to secure the help which the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist and anti-imperialist nations are prepared to give us in regard to the urgently needed defence equipments and training of personnel and for building up our own independent defence industries. Both the immediate needs, as well as the long-term needs, will have to be separately planned for on the above basis.

Under no conditions must India agree to accept any kind of "air umbrella" the imperialists may propose or any other form of involvement with the imperialist powers.

The monopolists and their political spokesmen have already raised the demand that the private sector be allowed to enter the field of defence production. This must be firmly resisted and the effective state control over defence production must in no case be relaxed or weakened.

Reoriented Economic Policy—Its Outline

In order to make India's sovereignty and territorial integrity invincible and strengthen India's defence potential, a new policy in the sphere of economic development, in the context of the Fourth Plan has to be worked out.

The essence of it is that in the specific context of today, the present political direction of the Congress government's planning policy has to be changed and given an anti-monopoly, democratic orientation. In this connection, the CEC views with concern the moves on the part of the government to slacken the tempo of economic development on the one hand and on the other impose fresh taxes and economic burdens on the masses.

The requisite reorientations of the economy demands:

— *Nationalisation of Oil*: To leave this field any longer in the hands of the Anglo-American monopolies means taking the gravest risks with our national security, as the experiences of the war has fully demonstrated.

— *Nationalisation of Export-Import Trade*: This is urgently needed to prevent the loot of scarce foreign exchange by the Indian and foreign monopolies in a situation where the maximum squeeze against India is going to be exerted by the imperialists and the crisis of foreign exchange is bound to get more acute.

— *Nationalisation of Industries under British control* and immediate curb on the remittances of profits, dividends, etc. of the foreign concerns operating in India.

— *Maximum Expansion and Diversification* of our trade with the socialist States and other friendly States in the Arab and Afro-Asian world.

— *Acceleration* of the rate of growth of the public sector in the Fourth Plan. No cut on any account in the physical targets for the heavy and other nation-building industries.

— Major levers of economy must on no account be left in the hands of the monopolists. Similarly, strict control is needed over strategic and vital materials like steel, coal, cement, etc. both in relation to distribution and to prices.

— The combined requirements of defence and development will call for vastly increased resources. The problem of finding the necessary resources will be an acute one for the coming period, but the problem is by no means impossible of solution given the correct approach.

The Planning Commission and the Finance Minister seem to be of the view that "it may not be helpful to enlarge the tax incidence on corporate income"—which means a tax holiday for the monopolists and increasing burdens on the common man. The taxation measures now brought forward by the UP Ministry are a pointer. Such a policy will prove disastrous to the nation at this critical juncture. A truly national defence potential cannot be built by hitting the interests of the working people.

A break with this policy is urgently called for as far as mobilisation of resources is concerned. Anti-monopoly measures as well as steps for unearthing black money have urgently to be worked out as alternative sources for mobilisation of resources. Monopolists and the rich must be

made to pay their long overdue share for the cause of the country's defence and development.

— Steps must be worked out immediately for democratic control of the public sector with full and unfettered participation of the trade unions. Only thus can the present bureaucratic corruption, waste and inefficiency be ended and the efficiency and output of the public sector industries which occupy a key place in relation to defence rapidly increased.

— The question of increasing food production and holding the price line occupies a key place in bringing about the orientation in economy as a whole.

The policy of relying on continued PL-480 imports from the USA is fraught with the gravest danger. The Americans are going to use this as one of their most powerful weapons of blackmail against India in order to pressurise and browbeat us to yield to their dictates.

Statutory rationing must be immediately introduced in the towns and cities with over one lakh population and in acutely deficit areas. The only effective measure for control of stocks that will make the above possible is monopoly purchase by the government direct from the producer guaranteeing him a fair price. The State must take over the entire wholesale trade in foodgrains. The Union Food Minister has announced certain steps in this direction. This must be properly implemented and extended and on no account must the government be permitted to resile from it.

Nationalisation of banking must be pressed for as the most decisive way of stopping speculation, making cheap credit available for the peasant and mobilising resources for the Plan.

A Grow-More-Food campaign based upon distribution of fallow land to agricultural labour, land to the tiller and making available to the peasant his necessities (fertilisers, implements, improved seeds etc.) at reasonable prices has to be

systematically conducted. This may be linked with direct procurement through an exchange basis.

Political Campaign

In our political campaign we must broadly concentrate on the following:

- Explanatory campaign on Kashmir;
- The defence of India's territorial integrity;
- Concrete exposures of the intrigues and conspiracies of the Anglo-American powers; immediate campaign must be organised on the "Quit Commonwealth" slogan;
- Concrete exposure of the opportunist and incendiary role of China in the recent developments;
- Concrete exposure of the slogans and intrigues of right reaction;
- For increasing cooperation of India with the Soviet Union, friendly socialist countries and with the Arab and Afro-Asian world;
- For civil liberties and democratic and trade union rights;
- For communal harmony;
- For defence of people's interests.

The campaign for communal unity, for the protection of the right of the minority community, for strengthening of the ideals of secularism, must be continuously carried on by the Party in the coming period. The continued need for this campaign must in no way be under-estimated.

During the period of war, communal peace was maintained and it was a demonstration of strength for India's secular unity. The urge for national unity had grown so much that even communal elements found it difficult to put across their usual slogans openly. The fact that the armed infiltrators did not obtain support among the people of Kashmir and Muslims did not remain behind others in deeds of heroism and sacrifice in resisting the aggressors has brought about a new atmos-

phere of Hindu-Muslim unity. This achievement must be preserved and carried forward.

The campaign for communal unity must be viewed as part of the wider political campaign for *national integration* without which our national defence cannot be strengthened in *today's conditions*.

The imperialist scheme of plebiscite for Kashmir (in the name of self-determination) must be viewed in conjunction with their intrigues in Nagaland and in the NEFA region. Such intrigues will assume more serious proportions in the coming period, as anti-imperialist feeling and consciousness rise among the people in our country. In such a situation, when forces of dismemberment and disruption are going to be given every support and encouragement by the imperialist forces in order to weaken and pressurise our country the task of strengthening national integration becomes a vital part of strengthening national defence.

The policy which the Congress leadership has been pursuing in this respect has already led to serious setbacks for the democratic movement and encouraged fissiparous forces.

It is necessary to take up particularly the *language question* as well as the demand for the reorganisation of Punjab on a linguistic basis in this connection and carry on an energetic campaign on the basis of the Party Programme and National Council resolutions.

Indo-Pakistan Relations—Our Perspective

The British imperialists partitioned India in 1947 in continuation of their cold policy of "divide and rule" in a new form. The policy of the Anglo-American powers regarding Kashmir has been a part of the wider policy—of fostering conflict between India and Pakistan in order to weaken both countries and further their neo-colonialist designs on this sub-continent.

The ruling circles in Pakistan have played up to this policy all these years. Strangely enough, the present policy of the

Government of the People's Republic of China is objectively helping the game of imperialism and reaction on this sub-continent.

In this situation, our perspective is that, while taking all steps to safeguard the security and territorial integrity of our country, India should work towards a peaceful settlement of our disputes with Pakistan as a first step towards closer cooperation between these two countries.

The people of India and the people of Pakistan are kinsmen and brothers; it is the imperialists and their agents who artificially cut us asunder. This is all the more why we have to work steadfastly towards a peaceful settlement of our disputes with Pakistan despite all obstacles, however hard the struggle may be. The common struggles against imperialism and neo-colonialism, mutual and closer cooperation between the two peoples is of great importance. A No-War pact between India and Pakistan would be a decisive step in this direction.

India has repeatedly offered Pakistan such a No-War pact but the rulers of Pakistan, tied to the imperialists through Seato and Cento have rejected it.

Such a No-War pact can be really effective and can lead to closer mutual cooperation only in the context of Pakistan getting out of aggressive military pacts and alignments.

A policy of mutual help and cooperation between India and Pakistan can become effective only on the basis of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence.

Our Party's perspective is to work in this direction even while taking all measures to strengthen national defence in the present critical period of tension and conflict.

The anti-imperialist, democratic movement in Pakistan, especially in East Pakistan and among the Pakhtoons, is rapidly gaining strength. During the recent period of armed conflict, particularly noteworthy was the fact that the democratic movement in East Pakistan was strong enough to keep communal harmony in most difficult circumstances.

The inner conflicts and the instability of the Ayub regime have markedly increased in the recent period and as a result of the military reverses it has suffered. They are bound to get aggravated in the course of further developments.

In this situation, our Party will work for strengthening the mutual solidarity of the democratic movements of the two countries.

Though all our efforts to settle the border disputes with China have failed, India should continue its efforts for a peaceful and honourable settlement with the good offices of friendly powers.

Realisation of such a political perspective alone can be an effective guarantee for the security of our borders and at the same time can strengthen the cause of world peace.

Carry Forward Anti-imperialist Consciousness

Experience of the last six weeks has sharpened the anti-imperialist consciousness and sense of national urgency of our people. This has produced a healthy positive impact inside all democratic political parties, including the Congress party itself. The progressive sections inside the Congress party have been strengthened; the parties of extreme right reaction like the Swatantra have been put on the defensive.

Our task is to prevent at all costs the dissipation of this anti-imperialist consciousness and sense of national pride and urgency. On the contrary, this must be carried forward and strengthened through political national campaigns.

New opportunities have opened up today for building up the *widest possible national democratic campaign* around the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and popular demands thrown up by the present situation. The Party should keep this perspective in view and develop united actions and united campaigns on as wide a basis as possible.

QUIT COMMONWEALTH

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the bias, prejudice and open hostility against India which have marked the attitude of the British Government towards the India-Pakistan conflict.

The British Government has not only thrown its own weight behind the Pakistani aggression. It deliberately attempted to strike at India's defence capacity, taking advantage of our dependence on Britain for certain essential materials. The British Government was instrumental in encouraging the Cento powers—Iran and Turkey—to support the Ayub dictatorship with vital armaments and oil.

The British Government deliberately refused to supply India with submarines, which were vital for India's defence. Later, when India was able to secure submarines from the USSR, the same British Government raised an unseemly outcry, suggesting that Britain's "defence" would be endangered!

British oil companies played a dastardly role with American companies in attempting to sabotage our defence needs during the Pakistani aggression.

The role of the British press and the BBC has been particularly reprehensible. They have slandered not only our people, but also our armed forces through a scurrilous campaign of lies and distortions. Tendentious propaganda has been the hallmark of British newspapers and radio.

The Indian people have learnt bitter lessons during the six weeks since the Pakistani aggression began. One of the most important of those lessons has been that both the US and British imperialists entertain a poisonous hatred for India, particularly because of the pursuit by this country of its independent foreign policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence. India has firmly refused to allow the imperialist powers to establish bases on its soil. India has equally firmly refused

to join any imperialist military pact, directly or indirectly, or to accept any form of imperialist nuclear "umbrella" or "shield".

The imperialists have always sought to bring pressure on this country to reverse or weaken its independent foreign policy. Pakistani aggression was again fully supported and inspired by the US and British imperialists for their own sinister purposes. These include, again, besides securing bases through direct or indirect control in the strategic Kashmir Valley, also the weakening of the Indian policy of non-alignment.

The Communist Party of India has consistently demanded that the Government of India should quit the Commonwealth because of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist crimes of the British Government and some of its White partners and their support of the Salazar dictatorship and of the racist regime in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

The British imperialists wantonly supported the Portuguese imperialists in maintaining their stranglehold on Goa, Daman and Diu and did their best to foil India's action in liberating them.

On the Kashmir issue, the British Government's record is a long and unbroken one of hostility to India. In 1947-48, the British imperialists were responsible for engineering the Pakistani aggression and compelling India to accept a disastrous ceasefire line which was so drawn as to allow Pakistan to keep one-third of Kashmir in its possession and also enable it to infiltrate at will into the rest of the Valley.

In the Security Council, all these years Britain has done its worst to keep the so-called Kashmir issue alive even after the people of Kashmir had decisively decided their own destiny as an integral part of the Indian Union.

Recently when the Pakistan Government committed aggression in Kutch, again it was the British Government which helped to bring about the so-called agreement, which provided actually the curtain behind which the aggression of August 5 was planned.

The recent conduct and hostility of British imperialism is known well enough. It has become increasingly clear to the Indian people that participation in the Commonwealth not only is of no value to this country; but it has become a liability. Dependence in any form on the British Government for any part of our defence needs jeopardises our defence at the most critical moment.

The widest political circles are today urging on the Government of India to quit the Commonwealth.

The recalling of the Commandant of the Indian National Defence College from the recent conference in the UK on Commonwealth Defence problems and the "boycott" by India of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference in Jamaica are welcome steps.

The Communist Party joins its voice with the rest of patriotic India in the demand "Quit Commonwealth". Let this slogan reverberate through the length and breadth of the country.

The Communist Party appeals to all members of all parties in the Lok Sabha to support the resolution moved by Shri Bhagat Jha Azad so that the entire nation's voice can be recorded in favour of the demand that India leaves the Commonwealth.

The Communist Party extends its support to the call of the All-India Peace Council and other organisations for the observance of October 10 as "Quit Commonwealth Day". It appeals to all Party units to hold meetings and demonstrations on this day in cooperation with all other parties and organisations.

The Communist Party is confident that patriots and democrats belonging to various parties and organisations will join hands in this vital national campaign through all forms of action, including conventions, seminars, exhibitions and signature campaigns.

The Communist Party calls for a continuous, non-stop campaign to support the demand of the Indian people that this country leaves the Commonwealth without delay.

SALUTE TO OUR ARMED FORCES AND OUR PEOPLE

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India salutes the memory of all those valiant sons of India, officers and men of the armed forces, who laid down their lives in defence of the Motherland.

These heroes of our people shall never be forgotten. By their martyrdom they have written unforgettable chapters in the saga of India's struggle for the defence of its sovereignty and integrity.

The Communist Party of India offers its warm congratulations and gratitude to all those brave members of our army and air force, who took part in the glorious battles to fight back Pakistani aggression. Our armed forces have given a splendid account of themselves, as loyal and disciplined defenders of our borders. The Indian armed forces have not only covered themselves with glory as a result of their courage and their prowess, but have also contributed, through their own fraternal unity, to the strengthening of the solidarity of the whole nation. Men belonging to all religions — Hindus and Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis — all stood arm-in-arm risking their lives and cementing the secularism which is the pride of this country.

To those who have lost their dear ones, the Communist Party sends its heartfelt sympathy. Their loss can never be repaired. But they can be proud that their sons and brothers, fathers and husbands in the armed forces have made the supreme sacrifice for the great cause of the nation's defence.

The Communist Party earnestly urges the Government to take all measures to ensure adequate relief and pensions for the relatives of our dead heroes. The families of all of them must be fully provided for and special arrangements made for the education and upbringing of their children. The present meagre allotments are totally insufficient and must be substantially increased.

The Communist Party salutes also the memory of all those men, women and children who were killed by the inhuman bombings by Pakistani planes of towns and villages. Even after the ceasefire had been announced, the Pakistani air force threw 1000-pound bombs on Chheharta, an industrial suburb of Amritsar, and other places nearby, taking a terrible toll of innocent lives.

The heinous attack on the civilian plane carrying the Chief Minister of Gujarat resulted in the death of all the passengers and crew members — an example of the dastardly manner in which the aggressors have acted against civilians all along.

The Communist Party of India congratulates all sections of the people who have acted with remarkable courage and unity in the face of the aggression. All the efforts of the Pakistani forces, even the use of the horrible napalm bombs, could not break the morale of our people.

The Communist Party pays a special tribute to the people of Kashmir and Punjab and of all the border areas who stood like a rock in the face of aggression.

The country can be proud, above all, of the unity and solidarity of working masses and of all democrats and patriots during these critical days.

These days have steeled our people, cemented our solidarity, made us more vigilant participants in the defence of our country and in shaping its policies.

The memory of India's martyrs shall never die. The unity and solidarity of our people stand guard over the sovereignty and integrity of our motherland.

SECULAR UNITY

One of the most outstanding achievements of the Indian people during the recent military attack launched by Pakistan against our country was a massive nationwide assertion of the spirit of secularism and patriotism.

The rulers of Pakistan, as also the Anglo-American imperialists, counted on India being engulfed by communal riots and bloodshed following the clash of arms on India-Pakistan borders. Through provocative propaganda and other incitements, they tried to foment communal conflict in India in order to disrupt our rear and weaken our defences. They also sought to exploit the agitation for "Punjabi Suba" in the vain hope of weakening the loyalty of the Sikh community to the Motherland.

The Indian people have defeated these sinister designs in a most decisive manner. The people of Kashmir, both Muslims and Hindus, stood as a solid rock against Pakistani infiltrators and in defence of India's territorial integrity and her secular, democratic ideals. The blood of our jawans and officers belonging to all communities, including Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, mingled in a common stream on the battlefields of Kashmir, Punjab and Rajasthan.

In the rear, the entire people of India, irrespective of differences of religion or language stood together shoulder to shoulder for carrying out their responsibilities in an hour of grave national crisis, by organising civil defences, air raid precautions, maintaining vigilance against enemy agents and in the border areas, rounding up and capturing Pakistani paratroopers, providing food and transport facilities to our armed forces. All this was done in an atmosphere charged with intense devotion, self-confidence, mutual trust and the spirit of communal harmony and goodwill.

This glorious and all-pervading demonstration of national solidarity has once and for all given the lie to the vicious and disruptive propaganda of the Jana Sangh, RSS and other similar communal organisations that the Indian Muslims, as a community, are anti-national and cannot be trusted. Even when our Muslim jawans and officers were spilling their life-blood on the battlefields against the Pakistani aggressors, some of them like Abdul Hamid winning the highest military honours and when the mass of Muslims in Kashmir under the leadership of G. M. Sadiq and in all other parts of the country had given

indisputable proof of their patriotism and secularism, these communal organisations did not abstain from carrying on surreptitiously their hate campaign against the Muslim minority community through false rumours and stories, sparing not even the tallest among the Indian Muslims, who have to their credit outstanding records of patriotism, loyalty and service to the nation. Such propaganda should be mercilessly exposed and nailed down as being disruptive of our national unity, a propaganda which brings grist to the mill of our national enemies.

A primary duty of all Indian patriots today, while the nation still faces the dangers of armed attack from outside and intrigues and machinations of reactionary, disruptive forces inside, is to preserve, strengthen and carry forward the rich heritage of national solidarity, unity and communal harmony, which in this moment of peril we have secured after great sacrifice.

It is in this context that the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India notes with concern the arrest and detention of many Indian Muslims in different parts of the country on suspicion of being potential Pakistani agents or for allegedly harbouring pro-Pakistan sentiments. The reports received from the States indicate that these arrests have been carried out by local officials in an indiscriminate manner, in many cases on flimsy grounds and on the basis of information supplied by certain communally motivated persons and organisations. It is a fact that amongst those arrested and detained are Muslims of unquestionable patriotic past, including some active members of the Communist Party who cannot possibly be accused of having pro-Pakistan sympathies.

The Communist Party cannot but raise its voice of protest against such arrests which violate the principle of secularism, thereby weakening our democracy, and which objectively go to strengthen Hindu communal reaction in India and also provide propaganda weapons to Pakistani rulers.

While in war-time strict vigilance against spies and saboteurs is absolutely essential, it is politically wrong, unfair and undemocratic to suspect and cast shadows of doubt on members

of one community alone. Experience has shown that it is only the dregs of society, ready to sell their country for a mess of pottage who become enemy agents or spies. Such degradation or treachery has nothing to do with any particular religious community. In the massive upsurge of patriotism as displayed by the entire nation during this war, there have been some black sheep drawn from different communities who have acted as spies.

The Central Executive Committee urges upon the Government of India to intervene in the matter effectively. The cases of all the arrested persons should be reviewed and all those who have been arrested or detained merely on suspicion or on the basis of false or flimsy reports, should be released immediately. The work of reviewing the cases should not be left to the local or State officers who have arrested them. The Central Government should set up its own mechanism for this purpose. It is also essential that members of the Parliament and State legislatures belonging to non-communal, secular political parties should be actively associated with this work.

The Communist Party notes with satisfaction that healthy secular forces in East Pakistan have also asserted themselves effectively in this period and have succeeded in preserving communal harmony and peace there despite the provocation created by the conditions of war. This is a welcome development and will give renewed confidence to the democratic forces of all communities in India in the task of strengthening secular unity and defeating communal disruption.

The Central Executive Committee calls upon all Communist Party members and units to be in the forefront of the struggle in this period for strengthening and consolidating the bonds of secular unity among all sections of the Indian people and for defending the life, property, honour and all legitimate rights and interests of the minority communities so that our independence, secular democracy and national integration are further strengthened and consolidated.

REPRESSION IN BIHAR

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India condemns the utterly lawless reign of terror established in Bihar by the Sahay Ministry. Vindictive and indiscriminate mass arrests, combined with other unbridled repressive measures, have become the order of the day.

A mass movement of students, NGOs, teachers and all other sections of the people spread over the entire State late in July and early August. Food and other essential commodities had vanished from the market and could not be obtained except at prices altogether outside the reach of the common people. School fees were enhanced. The Left political parties took a lead in giving expression to popular discontent which was so intense and universal that any number of Congressmen, educationists, lawyers and other sections were also drawn into the struggle.

More than three thousand political workers and common citizens were arrested in early August, combined with brutal police violence against students and workers and physical assaults even on members of the State Legislature. Prominent leaders and cadres of the Communist Party of India, SSP and RSP and even Congressmen were put behind prison bars. Members of Parliament visiting the State were arrested or externed. Even the Editor of *Searchlight* was arrested under the DIR which was a most reprehensible attack on the freedom of the press.

With the massive attack of the regular armed forces of Pakistan on India in the latter part of August, all patriotic elements in the country, including the Left Parties, came out in full support of defence and such measures as were necessary for strengthening the rear. The *bandh* movement of trade unions and Left Parties, which was to reach powerful forms of direct action in the third week of September was suspended and turned into a campaign for national defence. The working

class led by various TU Centres came forward enthusiastically for increasing production.

In Bihar also, the Communist Party and other Left Parties, trade unions, students and teachers' organisations and the NGOs' organisation came forward unconditionally to carry out their patriotic duty despite the fact that thousands of their active workers were in jail. Faced with the supreme task of defence, under directions from the Central Government, Congress Ministries in other States released a large number of persons arrested earlier in the food movement.

Only the Sahay Ministry pursued and continues to pursue a diametrically opposite course which must not only be denounced as vindictive and undemocratic but criminally anti-national. Arrests of members and leaders of the Left Parties, students, teachers, NGOs, etc. were continued on a greater scale.

Political workers released on bail or otherwise like Ramavtar Singh, MLA (CPI) were immediately rearrested. Communist legislators like Sunil Mukherjee, Indradeep Sinha, Suraj Prasad, Basta Soren, Rajkumar Purbey and Tejnarain Jha were released from detention because their orders of detention were the same as the order issued against Lohia who had been ordered to be released by the Supreme Court. But all of them were served with fresh detention orders at the jail-gate immediately on release. Comrade Jagannath Sarkar, acting State Secretary of the CPI, was arrested even after he had attended the State Citizens' Defence Committee meeting on the invitation of the State Government.

The President and Secretary of the Bihar State Students' Federation have also been similarly arrested.

Long lists of students, NGOs and teachers with a known record of popular service have been prepared on the slanderous plea that they are a danger for national defence. Even now they are liable to be arrested any moment.

All these repressive measures go to prove that the anti-people and factional policies of the Congress Ministry in Bihar have gone to the length of undermining the cause of national de-

fence at a time when the energies of every section of the people have to be concentrated on it as a common task surmounting all other political differences.

Prominent citizens, deputations of Left Parties and Mahamaya Prasad Sinha, Congress MLC from Bihar, have interviewed the Central Home Minister to protest against the lawless repression and terror prevalent in Bihar and to demand that all political prisoners be released and the terror regime ended but no action has been taken by the Central Government.

The Central Executive Committee most emphatically demands the immediate release of political prisoners in Bihar and the restoration of civil liberties. It calls for prompt and effective intervention by the Central Government for terminating the terror regime in the State.

TRIBUTE TO THE PEOPLE OF PUNJAB

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India pays its tribute to the valiant people of Punjab, who have played a heroic role in the urgent tasks of national defence. They rose like one man to back the Indian army in action whether in the Lahore sector or the Sialkot sector or the Jammu sector. Towns-people and village people set up canteens and *langars* on the widest scale, supplying tea, milk and food and fruit to the armymen. Men and women in their thousands came forward to donate blood. Huge funds were collected besides lavish gifts and presents for the wounded armymen.

Railway workers, bus transport workers and truck drivers, post and telegraph workers, MES and other workers carried on with their work even in conditions of great danger. Lakhs faced air-raids and gun-shelling daily without fear. On the border, lakhs stuck to their places even at great risk to their lives. Whole villages turned out *en masse* to track down and

catch the paratroopers, even unarmed kisans overpowering the armed paratroopers.

The whole people rallied unitedly as a rock on guard against enemy spies and paratroopers against rumour-mongering and disruptive gossip, for civil defence duties and for guarding bridges, rail tracks, etc., showing unprecedented initiative, vigilance and courage. The unity and people of all communities, their spirit of self-sacrifice and patriotism has set a glorious example which must be highly commended.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India pays its homage to the hundreds who laid down their lives in the fighting on the front or during the air-raids in the rear. It sends its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families. It particularly condemns the dastardly bombing of the people of Chheharta after the acceptance of ceasefire, by Pakistan. It appeals for relief for the families which have suffered through this wanton bombing attack.

The Central Executive Committee supports the demands of the people of Punjab that the Centre should give effective help for the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers and relief of people who have suffered from enemy bombing, shelling and other operations. The Government should take full responsibility of all expenditure for defence purposes that is incurred here and special attention should be paid to the development of means of communication and necessary defence works in this border State. It supports the demand of the State that immediate steps be taken to link up Chandigarh, the State capital, by rail with Ludhiana. It also regards as fully justified the demand that in the matter of financial allocation and allotment of industrial projects Punjab should receive better attention in the Fourth Plan.

The Central Executive Committee congratulates the Punjab unit of the Communist Party, all Party members and supporters throughout the State who have stood with the people and discharged their duties to the Motherland with honour. In cooperation with other patriotic elements, they actively discharged

their responsibilities for civil defence, for strengthening the rear in every way, serving the army and the people, consolidating popular unity and morale through unremitting work and facing serious risk to their lives.

The Central Executive Committee is fully confident that in the coming days of trials and tribulations, the people of Punjab will again rise to the occasion and the Communists in the State will prove worthy sons and daughters of their heroic people.

APPOINTMENT OF CABINET SUB-COMMITTEE ON QUESTION OF PUNJABI SUBA

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India welcomes the appointment of the Cabinet Sub-Committee and the Parliamentary Committee to go into the question of the Punjabi Suba. It hopes that the Committees will, in cooperation with all healthy patriotic forces of the State, find a solution of the problem based on the democratic principle of linguistic reorganisation which was applied in the case of other States of the Indian Union. The Central Executive Committee hopes that all this will lead to the early establishment of the Punjabi State and Haryana Prant, thus solving the problem once and for all.

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APPENDIX A

STATEMENTS OF CENTRAL SECRETARIAT ON THE PRESENT INDO-PAK CONFLICT

I

The penetration of over 5,000 Pakistani army personnel into Kashmir disguised in civilian clothes and carrying heavy arms, including machineguns, grenades and rocket launchers, constitutes nothing short of an invasion of our country. It is virtually a repetition of the 1947 attempt by Pakistan to seize the Kashmir Valley by force.

The manner in which the attack was launched, its timing, its targets, in fact, the whole plan of action behind it, as revealed indirectly by the so-called Sada-e-Kashmir Radio and the statements made by the arrested infiltrators go to show that it was a very well planned and carefully organised attempt to capture and occupy the Kashmir Valley, overthrow the Sadiq Government, announce a new Provisional Government and then face the world with a *fait accompli*, representing it as a successful revolt of the Kashmiri people.

Hence, any complacency in regard to the gravity of the situation would be totally unwarranted and extremely dangerous.

The Indian people, as also the Government of Kashmir, have always been suspicious of the bonafides of the UN personnel on the ceasefire line. The correctness of these suspicions has been fully confirmed. The Pakistani aggressors could not possibly cross the ceasefire line in such large numbers and with such heavy arms and other materials except with the co-

operation or at least the willing connivance of the UN authorities.

General Nimmo, whose close links with the American Foreign Office are well-known, is now seeking to cover up his complicity in the matter by stating that the ceasefire rules permit civilians with arms to cross the line without let or hindrance.

The Anglo-American support to this adventure of Pakistan is further underlined by the fact that the official propaganda organs in Britain and America are, by their tendentious reports, giving credence to Pakistan's case.

It is indeed a matter of great concern that the intelligence service of the Government of India could not detect in time this mass infiltration of armed men up to considerable depths into our territory. It has to be investigated as to how our Central Intelligence Service on the borders of Kashmir functions.

Relentless in their pursuit of territorial aggrandisement in Kashmir, the Pakistani rulers would leave no stone unturned to continue and prolong this offensive by attacking our borders at various points, sending fresh bands of infiltrators inside and by developing some sort of a guerilla warfare within Kashmir.

There is enough evidence to show that the present infiltrators are digging in, that many more of them are sought to be pushed in and that the Pakistan army stands poised on the borders to intervene directly at an opportune moment.

India should, therefore, prepare herself for every eventuality since to all appearance, it is going to be a bitter and long-drawn-out struggle.

The Sadiq Government has given an excellent account of itself. But the Central Government, which is responsible for the defence of the country, shall be answerable to the Indian people if it shows any complacency, vacillation or weakness in the defence of Kashmir.

One can foretell from the reactions in UN circles and in the American and British press that the Anglo-American im-

perialists will try to intervene in the situation for bringing about a settlement favourable to their imperialist designs and global strategy.

Whatever may be the role of the Chinese Government in this case, it is ultimately the Anglo-American bloc that would pressurise India to arrive at a compromise with Pakistan which would go against our national interest.

Let it be clearly understood and let the Government of India be forewarned that the Indian people would never accept any proposal from whatever quarter it comes, which barter away our national territories and gives Kashmir to the aggressor. Under no conditions should the Anglo-Americans be allowed to intervene in the situation at any stage.

The Government of India should learn from the experience of its dealings with Pakistan on the border question.

It should seal the entire border along the ceasefire line.

It should demand the recall of the present UN personnel posted on the ceasefire line and particularly of General Nimmo whose complicity in this aggression is beyond doubt.

The Government of India should deploy armed forces in full strength all along the border and ensure that our supply lines are properly protected and all further infiltration is prevented. In order to mop up and completely eliminate the infiltrators and scotch sabotage activities, the Kashmir Government and the armed forces should win the active cooperation of all patriotic elements in Kashmir, rouse and organise them into popular fighting units in the spirit of 1947 resistance.

The people of Kashmir have proved their patriotism and loyalty to the Motherland in this crisis. This gives the lie to the propaganda of all those reactionary communal parties and groups which have been defaming the Kashmiri people as pro-Pakistan and also utilising the situation to stir up communal conflict. These disruptors cannot be allowed at this moment to carry on their nefarious activities and poison our national political life. Communal harmony and peace have to be maintained at all cost.

The people of India are a peace-loving people. Time and again the Indian Government has offered a no-war pact to Pakistan, whom we consider to be our nearest and closest neighbour in every respect. This offer still stands though Pakistan has spurned it. If the Pakistan rulers, however, misconstrue our desire for peace and friendliness as a source of weakness and seek to annex our territories by armed force, our people shall give them a befitting reply.

(August 17, 1965)

II

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India congratulates the armed forces of our country for their valiant defence of the territorial integrity and honour of the country against the naked aggression the Ayub dictatorship has now launched in Jammu and Kashmir. The Secretariat notes with profound admiration the calm resolve with which our brothers and sisters in Kashmir are facing the diabolical challenge. The Communist Party of India pledges them our full support in this hour of grim trial.

The present open aggression which has come so soon after the thinly veiled but threatened invasion by thousands of Pakistani infiltrators, trained and equipped by the Pakistani Army and directed by its officers, would clearly show that the Ayub regime is bent on using war and aggression as an instrument of its national policy in relation to India. The Ayub dictatorship is out to enlarge and escalate the military conflicts. This constitutes the gravest threat to the security of our land and to the peace of this subcontinent and the entire Asian region.

The aggression which Pakistan has launched is not only a flagrant violation of the ceasefire agreement, but even of the very principles and basis on which that agreement was signed

in 1949. This present aggression contains all the elements which make it patently violative of the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. It is a plain crime against international law.

The Communist Party deems it necessary to emphasise the fact that behind the foul aggression lies the lavish US arms aid, under an aggressive military pact to Pakistan, and unconcealed encouragement and support to the Ayub regime by US and British imperialists.

Our Party has always warned that US arms aid to Pakistan is, first and foremost, directed against India. Today in Kashmir these US arms and equipments, including US Sabre-jets and regiments of Patton tanks are being openly used against India.

It will be noted that, apart from making some meaningless so-called enquiries about an open fact, the US Government has done nothing whatsoever to restrain the Ayub regime and stop the use of US arms against our country.

This and other developments leave no room for doubt that the US imperialists and their British allies are accomplices of the Ayub dictatorship in its acts of open aggression and violation of elementary codes of international behaviour.

But for this arms aid and support from Anglo-American imperialism, the Pakistani rulers would have never dared to embark on their career of unmitigated belligerency and military adventures against our country. Everybody knows that if these imperialist patrons of President Ayub Khan had so wished, they could have easily brought the latter to his senses. But then the Anglo-US imperialists want continued hostilities between India and Pakistan for furthering their evil designs, not only against the peoples of these two neighbouring countries, but against all freedom-loving Afro-Asian peoples.

The Pakistani aggression has, therefore, to be viewed in this larger context of the Anglo-American strategy for the carrying out of which, on this subcontinent, the Ayub regime is backed militarily and in every other way.

The Communist Party is firmly of the view that, alongside fighting back the Pakistani aggressor, every step must be taken by the Government of India to fully expose the Anglo-US imperialist game before the bar of world public opinion. This has become all the more urgent in the present situation to force the US Government to stop its arms supplies to Pakistan, as well as for preventing the US and British imperialists from instigating and supporting the Ayub regime.

It is overdue that the Government of India publicly declared that India considers the US arms aid to Pakistan as an unfriendly and hostile act on the part of USA against our country. So long as the US and British imperialists do not withdraw their support to Pakistan, they have no right whatsoever to address any appeal to India. The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India warns the country against new manoeuvres by these two Western powers in the guise of "mediation".

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India notes with surprise the public appeal of the UN Secretary-General, issued after consultations with the American Ambassador Goldberg, in which the aggressor Pakistan and the aggressed India have been equated.

The so-called appeal of the Secretary-General does not have a word to say against the Pakistani infiltrators: on the contrary, his proposal leaves the infiltrators free to remain and operate on our side of the ceasefire line. The task of the UN authorities, however, is to call the Pakistani aggressors to order.

The Communist Party repudiates this approach of the UN Secretary-General, which, far from easing the situation, will only encourage and embolden the aggressor.

The Pakistani aggression, backed by US and British imperialism, has created a situation in which the utmost vigilance and the united exertions of our entire people are called for to meet the challenge. In this context, it is the bounden duty of all of us not only to maintain communal amity but

further strengthen it. The Communist Party is happy to note that the secular and democratic forces in Pakistan are steadily asserting themselves, despite all terrorism of the Ayub regime. Every peace and freedom-loving people will naturally set great store by the emergence of these healthy forces in Pakistan.

The Communist Party is firmly of the view that the aggressors must be driven out to the last man and necessary conditions, both military and otherwise, must be created so that it is no longer possible for the Pakistani forces, whether openly or in disguise, to violate at will Indian territory and commit aggression.

It must be impressed upon the Ayub dictatorship that aggression does not pay and that it must seek the ways of peaceful settlement, which India has repeatedly offered but the Pakistani rulers have spurned. This is a paramount task of the hour facing the Government and the nation which cherish peaceful good-neighbourly relations.

These tasks must be fulfilled with unshakable resolve.

In order to play its part for rallying and rousing the people in the cause of defence of the territorial integrity and honour of our country against the Pakistani aggression and its Anglo-US abettors, the Communist Party calls for the observance of "Kashmir Day" through meetings and demonstrations on September 11 and 12, 1965.

(September 3, 1965)

III

The Pakistan rulers have deliberately escalated their aggression against India. Frustrated in its diabolical infiltration in Kashmir, as a result of the heroic resistance of the Kashmiri people and the Indian army, the Ayub dictatorship has now launched a fullscale military assault on India. Using American

Sabre-jets and Patton tanks, the Pakistani aggression is now no longer confined to Kashmir alone.

The visit of Marshal Chen-Yi to Rawalpindi and his statements of full support to the Pakistani aggression are ominous developments. The Chinese leaders' opportunism evidently knows no bounds. They are willingly throwing themselves in support of the Ayub dictatorship and consequently in support of the imperialist hand behind the dictatorship—a hand which is so blatantly evident in the use of American planes and tanks.

The Indian armed forces are taking all necessary steps to fight back the invasion and to deliver effective hammer blows at the seats of aggression.

The Communist Party of India calls on the Indian people to throw their full might into the efforts to defend the Motherland against aggression. The Indian armed forces have the backing of the entire people in their heroic battle against the invaders. Every day new chapters of glory are being added to Indian history as the officers and men of our army and air force acquit themselves with honour in performing their sacred duty of driving out the aggressors.

It is at this moment that the UN Security Council has adopted its resolution calling for a ceasefire.

Indian people have always stood for a peaceful settlement of all problems. They, therefore, earnestly desire an end to the fighting which is now taking place.

But an unconditional ceasefire, which ignores the fact of Pakistani aggression, which enables Pakistan to maintain its infiltrators inside Indian territory and to send in more of them at will, would not be a contribution to peace. Such a ceasefire would only enable the aggressors to continue their aggressive infiltration, while depriving India of the means to defend itself.

Indian people recall today the Kashmir ceasefire of 1949 imposed by the imperialist powers on our country at a moment when the Indian forces were in a position to drive the Pakis-

tani aggressors out of the entire Indian territory of Kashmir. That ceasefire agreement was violated several hundred times every year since 1949 by the rulers of Pakistan. The imperialist powers throughout this period supported the Pakistan Government not only in retaining its illegal possession of a sizable portion of Kashmir, but in making demands for the rest of Kashmir also.

The ceasefire line of 1949 has been virtually destroyed by the Pakistani aggressors since August 5. Thousands of men of the Pakistan army, in civilian clothes, have marched across the ceasefire line with the so-called UN Observers standing helplessly by.

The story of the manner in which the Ayub dictatorship prepared for the present aggression behind the cover of the Kutch ceasefire agreement, is recent history.

The Indian people are not prepared to accept any longer such ceasefire agreements, which are only a mask for the intensification of Pakistan rulers' aggressive activities. A ceasefire can have meaning only when there is an effective guarantee that Pakistani aggression will be vacated, all infiltrators removed from the Indian soil of Kashmir and provision made to ensure that no further infiltration or aggression is possible.

The Government of India must convey the views of the Indian people in regard to its resolution to the Security Council. It is amazing that the resolution makes no reference whatsoever to the Pakistani infiltrators or to the responsibility of the Pakistan Government for the present conflict—in regard to which the UN Secretary-General's own report to the Security Council makes clear reference.

The US and British imperialists have all along been anxious to secure control, directly or indirectly, over the strategic Kashmir Valley. It has been this sinister design which has all along guided them in their attitude towards Indo-Pakistan relations. Today, once again, they would do their utmost to interfere in Kashmir, in one guise or another. Utmost vigilance is required against any new move as part of this conspiracy,

whether it comes under the mask of a "UN police force" or in any other form.

The Communist Party wishes to make it clear that the fight of the Indian people is directed only against the aggressive policies of the Ayub dictatorship and not against the peace-loving, democratic people of Pakistan. The Communist Party is happy to note that the secular and democratic forces in Pakistan are steadily asserting themselves, despite all terrorism of the Ayub regime. The Communist Party warmly greets the heroic Pakhtoon people and their rising struggle for freedom. At this critical hour, the Communist Party of India extends its warmest solidarity with the democratic forces of Pakistan struggling against the tyrannical Ayub regime.

The Communist Party urges the Government of India to take all necessary steps to ensure that the entire strength of the nation can be mobilised for the supreme task of national defence.

The Communist Party once again urges the Government of India to meet the legitimate and most urgent demands of the people, provide food and other necessities at prices within the reach of the vast masses, penalise blackmarketing and strictly control prices. This has become a vital necessity in the interests of the defence of our country itself.

It is also necessary for the Government to pass immediate orders for the release of the thousands of political prisoners belonging to the Communist Party of India, the Marxist Communist Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Peasants' & Workers' Party, the Republican Party and other parties, who are either detained under the DIR or imprisoned under other laws. Many of them have been in prison since December 1964. Thousands more have been thrown into jail more recently for their part in the food movements in Bihar, West Bengal, Maharashtra and other States. By their continued incarceration, not only is the Government acting in violation of all canons of democracy, but is losing

their active cooperation in the defence of the country when such cooperation is most needed.

It is also necessary for the Government to take a positive stand in regard to the acceptance in principle of the just demand for the reorganisation of the present Punjab State on a linguistic basis. The tension in the border State of Punjab, caused by the decision of Sant Fateh Singh to fast unto death, must not be allowed to continue at this crucial moment. The Communist Party strongly urges upon Sant Fateh Singh to abandon his proposed fast in the light of the latest developments.

The communal forces have launched their offensive. Poona is a danger signal. It is only a vigilant people who can defeat the communalist conspiracy.

The Communist Party appeals to the entire people to act with resolution and determination against all those who seek to utilise the present crisis, for their narrow political and other ends. Above all, the fight has to be waged against the right reactionary communal forces in the country—against the hoarders and profiteers, against all those whose treacherous role has once again become a menace to the country's future.

All these steps are urgently necessary in order to strengthen the morale of the country for defence.

The Communist Party had called on all its units, members and supporters to launch a nationwide food movement from September 10 to 21. In view of the escalation of the Pakistani aggression, the Communist Party has decided to observe this same period as a period of action for the mobilisation of the entire people for the defence of the Motherland, for communal harmony, national unity and people's interests.

(September 6, 1965)

The Security Council has adopted a resolution on September 6, calling for a ceasefire in India-Pakistan conflict and asking all armed personnel of the two countries to retire to positions held by them before August 5, 1965. This resolution follows the earlier resolution by the Security Council of September 4.

A call for cessation of hostilities coming from friendly countries, as well as from the UN, certainly merits most serious consideration from us. There can be no underestimation of the gravity of the consequences following from further escalation of the conflict. Indeed, the basic policy India has been pursuing all these years has been one of peace and friendship with all her neighbours, particularly Pakistan. India has taken up arms only in self-defence against Pakistani aggression.

But a ceasefire between India and Pakistan in today's context cannot be divorced from what precedes and what follows it. A ceasefire has to be a prelude to real peace and not a mere manoeuvre to help Pakistan to secure better vantage grounds for new aggression and resumption of war in the future in one form or another, as has happened more than once in the past.

A ceasefire, therefore, can have meaning only when it is combined with effective guarantees that Pakistani aggression will be vacated, all infiltrators removed from Indian soil and effective provision made to ensure that no further infiltration or aggression is possible in future.

It is to be emphasised that the Security Council resolution of September 6 envisages withdrawal of the Pakistani infiltrators, as is clear from the significance of the date August 5 mentioned in the resolution.

Secondly, the UN Secretary-General has himself recommended to the Security Council that the Pakistan Government must "take effective steps to prevent crossing of the ceasefire

line from the Pakistan side by armed men, whether or not in uniform."

It is only on the basis of the creation and implementation of such guarantees for securing India's borders against direct and indirect attacks that withdrawal to the positions before August 5 can be accepted by India, following a ceasefire.

This, in our view, is the crux of the matter which has to be discussed by the Government of India with the UNO Secretary-General.

In this connection, a proposal is being mooted at the instance of the Anglo-American powers for a so-called "peace-keeping force" of the UN, manned by the military forces of some countries.

The Communist Party of India wishes to impress that while showing readiness for a genuine ceasefire, we should firmly reject any proposals for sending a UN "peace-keeping" military force in the name of "safeguarding" the ceasefire line. This will be a violation of our sovereignty and integrity and a cover for further imperialist interference in our internal affairs. The role which the Anglo-American powers and the UN Observers have been playing in Kashmir all these years is well-known to our people.

Experience has also shown that a so-called UN "peace-keeping" force, as in the Congo and in Cyprus, has been used by the imperialists to further their neo-colonialist ends. Our people know very well that the UNO peace-keeping forces in Congo, despite India being a part of it, was not even able to prevent the murder of Patrice Lumumba or the return of the Belgian mercenaries to the Congo.

A real and lasting peace between India and Pakistan, so essential for the prosperity and well-being of both the people and for which we have all along striven can only be achieved through the renunciation of the resort to force in the relation between the two countries and the signing of a no-war pact. All outstanding problems between India and Pakistan have to be

solved only through direct peaceful negotiations between the two countries and without imperialist intervention.

India has repeatedly offered to sign such a no-war pact. It is for the Pakistan Government to agree to such a pact which alone can form the basis for real guarantees against further aggression. It is to be hoped that friendly countries will prevail upon Pakistan to agree to such a course.

(September 9, 1965)

APPENDIX B

UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON
INDO-PAK CONFLICT

I

TEXT OF RESOLUTION OF SEPTEMBER 4, 1965

"Noting the report of the Secretary-General (QS/6651) dated 3 September 1965.

"Having heard the statements of the representatives of India and Pakistan.

"Concerned at the deteriorating situation along the ceasefire line in Kashmir:

"1. Calls upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all steps for an immediate ceasefire.

"2. Calls upon the two Governments to respect the ceasefire line and have all armed personnel of each party withdrawn to its own side of the line.

"3. Calls upon the two Governments to cooperate fully with the UN military observer group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) in its basic task of supervising the observance of the ceasefire.

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council within three days on the implementation of this resolution."

(Statesman, 6.9.65)

II

TEXT OF RESOLUTION OF SEPTEMBER 6, 1965

"The Security Council

"Noting the report by the Secretary-General on developments in the situation in Kashmir since the adoption of the Security Council ceasefire resolution, September 4, 1965 (S/REW/209, 1965) being document (S/6661) dated September 6, 1965.

"Noting with deep concern the extension of the fighting which adds unmeasurably to the seriousness of the situation.

"1. Calls upon the parties to cease hostilities in the entire area of conflict immediately, and promptly withdraw all armed personnel back to the positions held by them before August 5, 1965.

"2. Requests the Secretary-General to exert every possible effort to give effect to this resolution and the resolution of September 4, 1965, to take all measures possible to strengthen the UNMOGIP, and to keep the Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the resolutions and on the situation in the area.

"3. Decides to keep this issue under urgent and continuous review so that the Council may determine what further steps may be necessary to secure peace and security in the area."

(*Statesman*, 8.9.65)

III

TEXT OF RESOLUTION, SEPTEMBER 20, 1965

"The Security Council, having considered the reports of the Secretary-General on his consultations with the Governments of India and Pakistan, commending the Secretary-General for

his unrelenting efforts in furtherance of the objectives of the Security Council's resolutions of September 4 and 6.

"Having heard the statements of the representatives of India and Pakistan.

"Noting the differing replies by the parties to an appeal for a ceasefire as set out in the report of the Secretary-General (S/6683), but noting further with concern that no ceasefire has yet come into being.

"Convinced that an early cessation of hostilities is essential as a first step towards a peaceful settlement of the outstanding differences between the two countries on Kashmir and other related matters.

"1. Demands that a ceasefire should take effect on Wednesday, September 22, 1965, at 7 a.m. GMT (12-30 p.m. IST) and calls upon both Governments, to issue orders for a ceasefire at that moment and a subsequent withdrawal of all armed personnel back to the positions held by them before August 5, 1965.

"2. Requests the Secretary-General to provide the necessary assistance to ensure supervision of the ceasefire and withdrawal of all armed personnel.

"3. Calls on all States to refrain from any action which might aggravate the situation in the area.

"4. Decides to consider, as soon as operative Paragraph One of the Council's resolution 210 of September 6 has been implemented, what steps could be taken to assist towards a settlement of the political problem underlying the present conflict, and in the meantime calls on the two Governments to utilise all peaceful means, including those listed in Article 33 of the Charter to this end.

"5. Requests the Secretary-General to exert every possible effort to give effect to this resolution, to seek a peaceful solution, and to report to the Security Council thereon."

(*Times of India*, 21.9.65)