

SOMETHING HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. AFTER A LONG, LONG TIME, MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE ARE FEELING THAT SOMETHING HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. AND MILLIONS OF MIDDLE-CLASS PEOPLE HAVE ALSO THE SAME FEELING. THEIR STRUGGLES HAVE NOT GONE IN VAIN.

THE CDS has gone and gold control is half gone, the other half being on the way out. Two fascist-like measures and two fascist-like ministers have fallen. Not a bad harvest, after all!

Shall we congratulate the new Finance Minister and the Government? For what?

When that horrid budget with its CDS and surcharges

We certainly congratulate the Government for the two steps forward they have taken, with the hope that they will not go three-steps backward again.

The two steps, however, are not enough. Even on the question of the CDS and the gold control, they should have done more with immediate effect.

The CDS, as it remains for the income-tax payers, is a

daily quotations in the press is nothing but an indicator and a signal to the international smugglers as to the state of the market and the prospects for them. Why then does he not close the bullion exchange?

But we need not judge him too soon. Of course, we do not expect any very revolutionary changes from the government, so long as it is wedded to protecting monopoly capital. At the same time, we may not forget the fact that these gentlemen of the national bourgeoisie, even from the point of view of their overall class interests and the crisis of their own system have to make changes in their policies from time to time, when they threaten to lose their mass base and thereby endanger the interests of their own party and class.

Hence, the further necessity for the masses to unite and act, and act in a disciplined way with sober and clear perspectives.

The relief that the masses



94th Birth Anniversary of Gandhiji

cial crop mandis must be hounded out, as in cotton, oil seeds, pepper, tobacco, raw jute, etc.

While fighting for its day-to-day living and thereby defeating the policy of the monopolists, the working class has also to intervene in the political scene.

are actual members of the organisation. Morarji and Patil, driven out of the government, will now try to re-gain this membership for their policies. One cannot forget that the ministerial and organisational wings belong to one and the same class.

Patil, while in a welcome

now for

was announced, last February, the Communist Party and trade unions of the AITUC called for resistance against it. Even some Congressmen were critical. We do not know whether the Union Cabinet was divided or unanimous on the proposals. The so-called profound knowledge of finance on the part of Morarji Desai, supplemented by his supreme arrogance and insolence, overwhelmed all and the "dissidents", if there were any, on the questions of the CDS, the gold control and the taxes.

Then the masses rose up in protest, with strikes, petitions, marches, satyagrahas. Goldsmiths went to the grave by suicides of poverty. But the government did not move.

And then the arrogance, the steel frame, suddenly collapsed one fine morning. The Kamaraj Plan came to "revitalise" the Congress in the service of the people. Then things followed.

WHOM TO CONGRATULATE?

Shall we congratulate the ruling party for all this? First for losing sense and then for recovering it, however, partially? First, for being innocent blind men in February and then recovering sight in September?

Yes, we should. We should first congratulate the millions who resisted, who acted as the surgeons on the blind and the arrogant. We should congratulate the Communists, the Socialists, the democrats, the Congressmen and others, who protested, resisted, organised, united and fought. The strike of 'Bombay Bandh', the one crore Petition and the two lakh red-bannered marchers before Parliament—these deserve the first congratulations. And one should note that the Communist Party, its Central Executive Committee, was at the head of it all.

Then, congratulate Nehru and the Cabinet—for still retaining the capacity to respond to this mass upheaval and concede the demands; congratulate the new Finance Minister for not following into the footsteps of the "Man-Eater", his "distinguished" predecessor.

relief to them, no doubt, from the heavy surcharge. But, it is the demand of the trade union movement that the surcharges on the lower income-tax group should go and along with that their CDS also. The limit for that should be Rs. 750.

In gold control, it is good that the gold control board

has been abolished and that old ornaments of pure gold can be converted into the same pure type by home-working goldsmiths. That practically is the end of the 14 carat ornament. But the continuance of the ban on new ornaments above 14 carat will only continue the harassment of the excise officials and force the ornament makers and goldsmiths into a ring of corruption. Hence it is necessary to abolish that 14 carat rule altogether.

Smuggling cannot be stopped by all these measures and it failed to be even slightly reduced in the last nine months, since the foolish gold control was introduced.

The buyer of smuggled gold is not the small ornament maker, but the tax-evader and black-profitier. Morarji Desai sheltered the thief and attacked the small income man. The remnants of the order and the statement of the new Finance Minister that the "basic features" of the gold policy of his predecessor were sound, show that he has still not unhooked himself from the "basic features" of his predecessor of disastrous fame. Unless he does so, he cannot find the correct road to sound economic policies.

SPECULATIVE TRADING

For example, when he scrapped the board and the old order, he could have stopped with immediate effect the futures market in speculative gold trading. He knows that when free gold is not sold in the market, the existence of the futures market and its

have got is not at all substantial. The economy cannot go further in favour of the people, in the matter of production or supplies or prices unless monopoly capital is shaken from its commanding heights, that is, from banks, export-import, oil and wholesale trade in food. That battle is not an easy one. We have to make further

sacrifices for it. Banks and wholesale food trade must be our immediate targets.

Along with this, we must fight for direct relief to the working class. Immediate linking of dearness allowance with cost of living index in all industries and particularly the big state sector, increase in the D.A. paid today and an all-round minimum bonus, on a national scale, of one month's wages in all industries, in this very year, must become the form of positive relief to all the working people including salaried employees.

Trade unions of all affiliations must consult together and evolve a joint programme. We are just indicating a few points for thought, to be further elaborated.

Similarly, a programme of positive relief to the peasant masses has to be undertaken. For example, all surcharges wherever imposed must go. The whole sugarcane area must be roused for higher cane prices. The monopoly speculators from all commer-

a new programme,

a new action

No doubt, Right reaction has suffered a retreat. But, it is regrouping and attacking. The removal of Morarji and Patil from the Cabinet is not enough. Rank and file Congressmen must be helped to see that these Right reactionaries and their henchmen are removed from positions of power in the Congress organisation

meeting organised for him by the biggest food speculators in Bombay, made a hysterical speech and vowed to destroy the Communists in India. So, that is his revitalisation programme in the organisational wing. And in his definition of "Communists", he is now inclined to include even Nehru and Nanda and anyone else, who supported his ousting

from the Cabinet. One is reminded of the American general, a diehard warmonger opposed to peace, who has denounced Eisenhower, Truman

by
S. A. DANGE

man and all as "crypto-communists". Patil that way inherits everything American—ideology and dollars, including Tammany Hall methods.

* On Back Page

NEW AGE

* COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY *

7 ARK-5
Copy 1/1964

Patil's Challenge To Progressive Forces

★ From AJAY DAS GUPTA

CALCUTTA, September 23: S. K. Patil, the self-professed champion of "Free Enterprise", made a two-day uncheduled dash to Calcutta, on his way to Patna as AICC observer to the Bihar Assembly Party poll, and foamed in his mouth at the way the Kamraj Plan is being implemented and charged Prime Minister Nehru, of course without naming him, of bringing complete chaos and deadlock in the administration of the country. He also expressed his desire that Atulya Ghosh be the next Congress president.

ATULYA GHOSH arranged this unscheduled visit and Patil was given a royal reception. At Dum-Dum airport were present to receive Patil, Pradesh Congress President, Mayor of Calcutta and many other Congress leaders. Decorated arches were erected on the way, as directed by the WBPCC through a circular. Patil drove as usual, to the Alipore residence of S. P. Jain.

Speaking at a meeting of businessmen known as the Eastern Study Group, Patil said that the Kamraj Plan, the basic objects of which were good, was being differently implemented by different people and, as it percolated from the top, even administration was being damaged to a certain extent. He further said that for the past month uncertainty hung over the ministers and the administrator had virtually "come to a stop."

He then thundered—nobody had the right to mar the administration and added that in some places some people were using it for their own ends and to get rid of the minister they did not like. He obviously had Prime Minister Nehru in mind, as it became clear when Patil addressed a mass meeting at Naitani on September 21 said that Nehru might have removed him from the Union Cabinet but none would be able to dislodge him from the Congress organisation.

He again said that demarcating Right and Left in the Congress was a Communist tactic, who, he said had their own differences. Perhaps, people would "call me a reactionary because of my pleading for the private sector," he said, but he liked to talk straight. He said that democracy did not mean casting vote after every five years, but democracy was the right to do what one liked, provided that did not endanger the state.

He further opined that the government's task was to administer and not doing business. In a generous mood he declared that he was not against the public sector, which should only come in where expenses were beyond the reach of the private sector. Amidst cheers of the businessmen audience Patil declared that he was personally partial to the private sector. As for the food problem he trotted out his old recipe of buffer stock.

Speaking at a Calcutta Maidan rally on September 22, Patil turned out to be a great admirer of Bengal, which sounded strange to many who knew Patil. Waxing eloquent on the contribution of Bengal in the freedom struggle he came to this conclusion: "I would be delighted if Atulya Ba'bu became the next Congress President, because that office has not gone to Bengal for a long time."

He complimented Sucheta Kripalani on her election to the post of leader of the UP Congress Legislature Party and praised her. Atulya Ghosh in his turn paid fulsome tribute to Patil and

KAMARAJ PLAN IN W. BENGAL

LAST Monday Chief Minister P. C. Sen gave out his final decision on the reorganisation of his ministry in the light of the Kamraj Plan. Only two cabinet ministers — Ajoy Mukherjee and Shankardas Bannerjee will be dropped.

This brings down the size of the Cabinet to 12 with four ministers of State. But in deciding the exclusion of Cabinet ministers, P. C. Sen has failed to touch the favourites of Atulya Ghosh, who remain in tact in the Cabinet and both Mukherjee and Bannerjee are known supporters of Sen.

Of course, Ajoy Mukherjee, who still carries more prestige

almost indicated that the Kamraj Plan was to a great extent Patil's contribution. Both Patil and Atulya Ghosh, of course, did not forget their tirade against the Communist Party.

Does this visit of Patil presage a move to strike up a reactionary combination in the AICC, is the question posed by the political observers here.

Economic notes

THAT an ever-expanding trade between India and the Soviet Union should not be to the liking of the Wall Street is understandable, but that the Wall Street should stoop to slanders and lies to cover its chagrin is to say the least disgusting. But this is precisely what the NEW YORK POST has done to cast a shadow over the Soviet Union's trade practices.

In a recent issue this 'Post' of the 'Free World' alleged that the increase in Soviet imports of cashew nuts from India was not an index of the Soviet Union's genuine interest in this commodity for her own consumption, but of her intention to make gains on the sly by its re-export to the United States. To this the Soviet trade official Spandrian has answered in the only way he could have: by telling the New York Post and those whose voice it is, that their slanders — born out of their pique at the developing Indo-Soviet trade and the success of Moscow exhibition of Indian products—cannot deter the two countries from further cementing their bonds of friendship through firmer economic and trade relations.

But what about the cashew-nuts, and their alleged re-export by the Soviet Union to the US? The Minister for International Trade, Manubhai Shah, has time and again laid the ghost of the allegation that the Soviet Union has ever been guilty of re-exporting our goods to other countries. THE FINANCIAL EXPRESS, which cannot be accused of any bias in favour of the Soviet Union, has also editorially ruled out the possibility of such re-exports, because of a low level of consumption in the Western European markets.

As regards the USA, it

than any other Congress leader in the state for his long record of organisational work and service, himself wanted to quit the government to devote himself to organisational work. This is not being liked by Atulya Ghosh and his group, as Mukherjee will have a big pull in the organisation and may eventually challenge Ghosh.

But Sankardas Bannerjee had to go for his nearness to Sen, as he could not touch anybody else and the exit of only Mukherjee would have looked odd. It was thus a surrender to Atulya Ghosh.

VINDICTIVE ACTION

AFTER 98 days' glorious strike, the workers of the EMC factory at Dum-Dum decided to call it off and join work on the assurance of the Union Labour Minister, Gulzari Lal Nanda and the State Labour Commissioner.

The assurances were that no worker would be victimised for the strike, sufficient time to rejoin would be given to persons who have gone home, and that

the management would consider grant of some amount to the workers considering the hardship etc.

But just after the workers joined work, the management transferred 12 employees from the main factory and then charge-sheeted them. This was a flagrant violation of the terms of the agreement, to which government is also a party. But the owners are said to be enjoying the favour of the Labour Minister and hence this impunity.

Ram Kumar Expelled

PROFESSOR Ram Kumar who was a member of the Executive Committee of the Subzi-mandi (Delhi) district committee of the CPI has been expelled from the membership of the Party for his disruptive and anti-Party activities.

This decision was taken by the Delhi Provincial Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India in its meeting held on September 23.

"FREE WORLD" ETHICS

reminds those making this allegation, that the US "continues to absorb about 55 per cent of our total exports (of cashew nuts) and that it was only when our virtual monopoly in the exports of cashewnuts to the US was threatened by competition from East Africa and South America that (we) began looking to other markets for increasing our exports."

We are a sovereign nation, free to sell our goods wherever we deem proper, and it is highly unbecoming of the US, or any other country for that matter, to try to vitiate our trade relations with our partners by casting aspersions on their or our trade ethics.

But the US cannot but be concerned about our affairs — our trade, as well as economic development. It wanted to help us with Bokaro in the only way its fidelity to the interests of its steel tycoons could permit. And when we, out of our fidelity to our industrial policy, could not find our way to accept its offer, it has not stopped worrying about our steel shortages. "It has offered" — so says the FINANCIAL EXPRESS September 21, "an integrated American steel plant of 300,000 ton capacity free" leaving it to us to "use (it) in the public or the private sector." "There are no conditions attached" says the Express — which means that the plant is virtually a "gift."

How magnanimous of the US to "gift" us this plant of a 300,000 ton capacity, after refusing a 4 million ton Bokaro? But whom do its leaders want to deceive by this pose? For the US, the plant is "surplus equipment" — an "obsolete" junk — which it is more economic to gift away than to keep in operation. Workers in the US have to be paid 5 dollars an hour, which the tycoons consider a waste, if the products turned out are not the most modern. But for India — when it is still developing — even such junk, and outmoded products may

be something to be thankful for, so these tycoons calculate.

Is this not like adding insult to injury done to us by the US — and an example of boorishness, which only the prosperous of the capitalist variety are capable of? For India, such offers and 'gifts' can have no appeal, because, besides immense possibilities of installing much higher capacities on its own, and with the help of friendly countries, it has also its self-respect to defend.

U.S. Patronage To Private Sector

THE United States' interest in fostering private enterprise in our country, principally in partnership with its own free enterprise, has now crossed the bounds of propriety. No longer content with using international organisations — like the World Bank or its own PL 480 funds — to influence our policies in this direction, it has now decided to make one of its own financing companies, the American International Investment Corporation, enter the field in a big way to finance Indo-American joint ventures.

The FINANCIAL EXPRESS (September 17), which has credited this Corporation with a "forward looking approach", which shows that it will not be dilly-dallying in its business.

We have enough private enterprise of our own — unmixed, as well as mixed with British, American and other collaborators from abroad. We have also an Investment Centre with an office in New York to facilitate "collaborations" and a whole set of lobbyists — from the FICCI down to a number of executives in our economic ministries — to help in this wedlock of our own and other foreign private sectors. Why should we now need a full-fledged American Corporation to foster Indo-American collaboration?

—ESSEN

One of the most important issues which will be discussed by the forthcoming All-India Peace Congress to be held at Amritsar on November 1, 2 and 3, will be the Moscow Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty.

FOR years, the peace-loving peoples of the world had been demanding an agreement to ban tests and the Moscow treaty, though only partial and hedged with many limitations, is yet a big advance and opens up the way to further progress. The Indian people, and in particular, the working class, which had been, in an organised way, raising its voice for a ban on thermo-nuclear tests, rejoice in this success of the peace forces all over the world.

Unfortunately, on this question, controversy has arisen and is not confined to the ranks of political parties only. On August 14, 1963, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a lengthy statement. In the course of the statement they say:

"This treaty is a big fraud to fool the workers and people of the world." And, further on, "the international working class, as the most advanced class of all mankind, should condemn this dirty deal which exalts imperialists and greatly grieves the peace-loving people; they should alert the people so as not to fall into this trap."

They have attacked the General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Louis Sallant, for the crime of welcoming the Treaty, claiming that such a stand "evidently runs counter to the stand of the WFTU of opposing imperialism and persisting in class struggle" and accusing him of "talking behind to serve the needs of the diplomacy of a certain country."

The WFTU has been in the forefront of the fight against imperialism and has rendered concrete and valuable help to workers struggling against monopolies and imperialists in various countries all over the world. To say that the WFTU, by welcoming the Moscow treaty, has abandoned this stand is absurd.

Imperialism breeds war. Today when socialism has emerged as a world system, when one colony after another has broken away from imperialist domination and has set forward upon the road of independent development, possibilities have arisen for the first time of imposing peace. Growth of the working class movement in all countries and the desire for peace in many people, the very emergence of thermo-nuclear weapons of mass destruction — all are factors which exert influence on the situation today.

In such circumstances, socialism — the system which needs peace and whose ideology stands for international peace — has been able to make a beginning, however small it may be, to impose its law of peace on the imperialist law of war. To say that this is not a concrete sign of a profoundly anti-imperialist nature is totally wrong and a negation of socialist ideology. The Moscow treaty is not an abandonment of class struggle but its further sharpening.

The trade unions must however, understand that the Moscow treaty is a limited treaty. Since it was signed on August 5, USA has carried out five underground nuclear tests. U. S. nuclear bombers still maintain 24 hours 'vigil'.

France is going ahead with tests and has refused to sign the treaty. Therefore, the questions of a total ban on tests, destruction of stockpiles and total disarmament are all yet alive, and a sustained campaign has to be carried on to achieve success.

The trade unions cannot fall to note that for the first time in its history, the WFTU has been openly assailed by a constituent unit and an appeal issued to workers all over the world to condemn what their international class organisation has hailed. It

may be asked: Does this open manifestation of disunity which harms international solidarity of the working class carry forward the struggle against imperialism? Or does it aid those very imperialist forces which are against ban in any shape or form?

Hence, today, the question of the Moscow treaty intimately concerns the organised working class not only because of its importance per se, but also as one which is related to the effort to preserve

development. Hence the policy of nonalignment pursued by most of them — a policy made possible by the emergence of a world socialist system, ending the monopoly of imperialism as a world system — is, in the main, a policy of peace. Thirdly, a policy of peace is anti-imperialist by its mere existence, since war is a product of imperialism.

It is therefore, that Afro-Asian solidarity is of tremendous importance in the fight for peace. And it is therefore, that solidarity and unity between the non-aligned Afro-Asian countries and the socialist countries assume great importance.

Realising the tremendous importance and potentialities of Afro-Asian unity, imperialists have always tried to subvert it. The

struggle of the people of South Vietnam against the puppet Diem government, the struggle of the Laotian people for the preservation of their independence and

aberrations and hesitations of the government in consistently carrying forward this policy and the departures, whether under pressure or otherwise from it, have to be opposed.

This brings us to the question of the notorious VOA deal and the Joint Air Exercises.

The VOA deal, which permitted the imperialist cold

to be the thin end of the wedge to resuscitate it.

The trade unions have to rouse the working class and rally other sections of the people against such acts which go against the policy of nonalignment and peaceful coexistence and, in fact, constitute imperialist inroads into our country.

The All-India Peace Congress will thus have really

by Satish Loomba Secretary, AITUC

ALL-INDIA PEACE CONGRESS

AND

TASK OF TRADE UNIONS

the unity and solidarity of the WFTU. The task is to properly explain the significance of the Treaty to the mass of the workers, to win their active support for it, and mobilise them for the tasks ahead. Preparations by the trade unions for the All-India Peace Congress must include an intensive campaign on this question.

Afro-Asian Solidarity

Another important item on the agenda of the Congress will be Afro-Asian solidarity. Solidarity of the newly-liberated countries of Asia and Africa has been acknowledged to be an important weapon in the fight for world peace.

Almost daily, colonial countries are winning their national liberation struggle — some through insurrections, some peaceably. A few of these have embarked on the road of building socialism. A few have again fallen a prey to imperialist machinations and have lost their independent status in all except name.

But the vast majority have remained independent and are taking steps to overcome the havoc wrought by the colonial rule. The point to be underlined here is that the national liberation struggle of these countries is an anti-imperialist struggle. Further consolidation of their independence, through economic, social and cultural development is objectively an anti-imperialist act, although the economic system may be capitalist.

Secondly, these countries require world peace for their

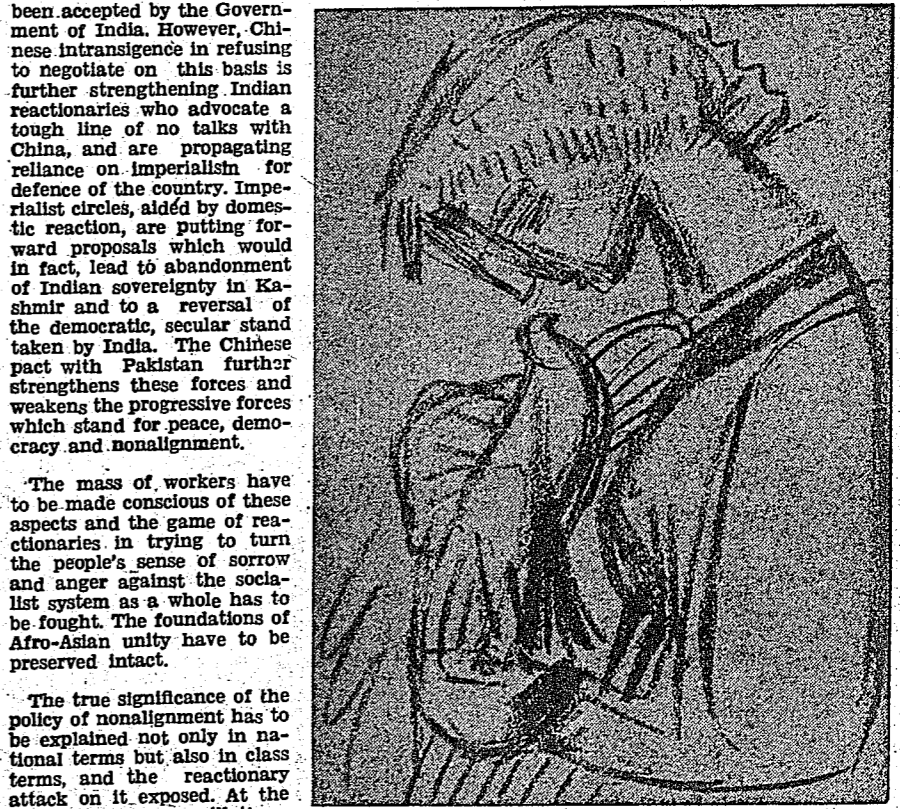
war voice to be broadcast over the nonaligned, peaceful, Indian air, was in fact an infringement, not only of the policy of nonalignment but of our sovereignty as well.

That despite the Swatantrites, the Jan Sanghites and their like, the government was forced to reconsider the deal is a tribute to the healthy nationalism and anti-imperialist traditions of our people. At the same time, the fact that such a deal could be negotiated shows the weakness-

es of the situation and makes reiteration of Laski's famous phrase both apt and necessary: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

The joint air exercises, in the name of training defence personnel in the use of radar, constitute a serious threat to the country's freedom. The air umbrella having gone, these exercises may well prove

ference by all unions. The Moscow treaty, the policy of nonalignment, Afro-Asian solidarity, the imperialist attempt to subvert national independence of newly-liberated countries, the VOA deal, the joint air exercises — all are questions which concern us intimately both as a nation and as a class. The trade unions must gear up to discharge their task.



The true significance of the policy of nonalignment has to be explained not only in national terms but also in class terms, and the reactionary attack on it exposed. At the same time, the vacillations,

Unity Against Splitters

Editorial

THE LATEST STATEMENT of the Soviet government in regard to the campaign of slander and disruption launched by the Chinese leadership is a major contribution to the unity of the socialist camp and of the world Communist movement. Firmly, but painstakingly argued, the statement is a clear and categorical warning to the Chinese leadership to come to the path of comradely discussion and end its splitting activities—or face the resolute rebuff of the Soviet Union and of the entire Communist movement.

The Chinese leadership's campaign of slander and disruption seems to know no end. Every day sees new additions to its lies and falsehoods, new attempts to sabotage the unity of the world Communist movement, at weakening the peace efforts of the Soviet Union, at driving a wedge between the socialist countries and the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa, between the Soviet Union and the national liberation movements. Every day sees new manifestations of a perilous adventurism, which has already reaped poisonous harvests.

New facts of the Chinese leaders' treachery revealed by the statement will naturally fill all peace-loving humanity and especially all Communists with a deep and profound anger. The fact that the Chinese leaders are carrying out the most provocative actions against the Soviet Union—5000 violations of the Soviet border in 1962 alone!—is proof enough of the dangers into which the Chinese leadership is plunging the socialist countries and the entire struggle for peace and socialism.

The Soviet government's statement rightly describes the attitude of the Chinese leadership towards nuclear war as callous, inhuman and totally unacceptable.

The statement tears off the mask which the Chinese leadership seeks to don all the time, of being the champion without parallel of the national independence struggles everywhere. The hysterical screech of the Chinese leadership will not bring victory to the revolution.

The world Communist movement must strip the Chinese leaders of their self-donned garb of being the most revolutionary fighters. If words could destroy imperialism, the Chinese leadership would have killed it many times over. Unfortunately for the dogmatist shriekers, it requires concrete practical work, practical battle to do so, and not words. It is time the Chinese leaders' hoax was ended.

The Indian people and particularly the Indian Communists have known from their own bitter experience what is the result of Chinese adventurist policies and actions. The Soviet government statement rightly criticises the Chinese leadership for getting itself "involved in an armed clash on the India-China border", precisely at a moment when relaxation of tension became apparent in 1959. The statement says that this clash was "in the final analysis, aimed at weakening the relaxation of international tension".

The Soviet government is again perfectly right when it says that "it is now clear to all that the Sino-Indian conflict on the Himalayas had the most adverse consequences for the cause of peace, caused great damage to the unity of the anti-imperialist front in Asia, and put the progressive forces of India in an extremely difficult position". The attitude of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Sino-Indian conflict is further revealed in the PRAVDA editorial, "Dangerous Seat of Tension in Asia" (see pages 8-9).

Indian Communists warmly welcome the Soviet government's latest statement. They patiently endorse the reiteration of the call for an end to polemics even at this stage. Indian Communists desire nothing more dearly than the unity of the international Communist movement.

At the same time, it is necessary for all the Communist Parties of the world to take concrete steps to halt the peril to our common cause, which arises from the Chinese leadership's lunatic actions today. We cannot continue to sit by idly bandying words when the danger to all humanity has grown to such large proportions, when the entire Communist movement is threatened with disruption and split.

The international Communist movement cannot continue to tolerate the sinister and lunatic attacks of the Chinese leadership. It cannot look with equanimity any more on the activities of the Chinese leadership, on its opposition and sabotage of every peace measure taken by the Soviet Union, on its adventurist search for militarist solutions of international problems, on its flirtations with reactionary, imperialist and pro-imperialist agencies.

The Soviet government statement must be followed by equally sharp warnings from all fraternal parties to the Chinese leadership, to desist from their destructive activity, or face the united rebuff of the Communist Parties of all countries. There is no room for such militarist and anti-Communist, anti-Marxist-Leninist activities and policies being carried out within our family, under our glorious banner.

Indian Communists still greatly hope that the Chinese leadership will heed the voice of fraternal Communist Parties and return to the road of Marxism-Leninism before it is too late.

UNITE AGAINST RIGHT REACTION

The Great March to Parliament on September 13 has been rightly hailed as the mightiest political demonstration ever held in the Capital. The Communist Party received congratulations of innumerable men and women, belonging to various parties as well as those who are completely independent.

THE success of the March itself was so overwhelming, precisely because the demands behind the Great Petition corresponded to the most urgent questions before the nation as a whole. The demands were not party demands, but demands of the entire mass of working people in this country.

The campaign was not organised as a narrow sectarian movement, of interest only to the Communist Party. Throughout the campaign, concentration was on the broadest issues, commanding the support of all democrats, irrespective of their political views or prejudices; the Communist Party took the initiative and the lead, but sought the support of all who stand by the demands in the Petition.

The people are right when they say that no other party could have organised so great, so disciplined, so militant and yet so peaceful, a March. The Communist Party is also right when it says that the triumph is equally that of the entire working people.

The hated CDS was trampled under the feet of the two lakhs in the Great March; the dust has scarcely settled on Parliament Street and the CDS has been greatly relaxed.

The gold control order has also been modified. In the wake of the Great March has also followed a new counter-offensive by Right reaction. For the first time since the Chinese aggression, the Right had been put on the run during the last several weeks.

The crash of Morarji-Patil—as the slogans of Bombay Bandh rent the air, as the core signed the Great Petition—was the first open sign of a halt to the dangerous shift to the Right, which followed the Chinese attack and the advantage taken of it by the imperialists and reactionaries, and of which the victory in by-elections of Kripalani and Masani was the climax.

But make no mistake about it. Reactionaries, both inside and outside the Congress are determined to hit back as never before. The elections to the leadership of the Congress Assembly parties have become the battleground for the Right to seek to consolidate their power. The election of Sucheta Kripalani as Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh is being openly

hailed as the defeat of Nehru. In Gujarat, Morarji Desai interfered to secure the removal of Jivraj Mehta and to install in his place Balvantrai Mehta as Chief Minister.

In other states also the sinister game is being played. The "outsoken" speeches of S. K. Patil are a clear indication of the conspiracy of the Right inside the Congress. Patil's latest utterance in Calcutta openly supporting the private sector, attacking the Prime Minister almost by name, and publicly sponsoring the reactionary Atulya Ghosh for Congress Presidency is the beating of the war-drums.

Linked with the Congress Right is the Right outside the Congress. The Swatantra-Jan Sangh combine has used the NEFA debate in Parliament to launch a new offensive against the basic policies. What is even more sinister is the manner in which the names of ex-generals are being once again put up by Rightist spokesmen, as men who should "take charge" of our defence.

The Swatantra (Rajaji) attitude in regard to Kashmir calls for the utmost vigilance.

The Right is ganging together as never before. To fight

notes OF THE week

★ by Romesh Chandra

the Right reaction, the anti-Right forces — all the national democratic forces — who stand for the basic policies must come together.

The Great March and the victories it won have shown the way. In the coming days, the struggle within the Congress will intensify. The supporters of its basic policies within the Congress have a special responsibility. Will they fight back the offensive of reactionaries? Will they follow up the ouster of Morarji-Patil from the Cabinet, by seeing, through firm action, that the Right is not allowed to undo the gains of the Kamaraj Plan by capturing the Congress organisation and more state ministries?

The people as a whole, irrespective of party affiliations, are vitally interested in the struggle to defeat the Right reaction, to halt the shift to the Right on government policies. The working masses will not rest after the Great March. They are on their feet and will intensify the struggle in the coming days for the demands of the Great Petition, against the stranglehold of the monopolists.

To break the back of the Right reaction, a national democratic union must be forged.

It is with all other democrats, especially those inside the Congress, that the Communists seek united action today against the elements of the Right. (Sept. 24)

"DIE WAHRHEIT" ON GREAT MARCH

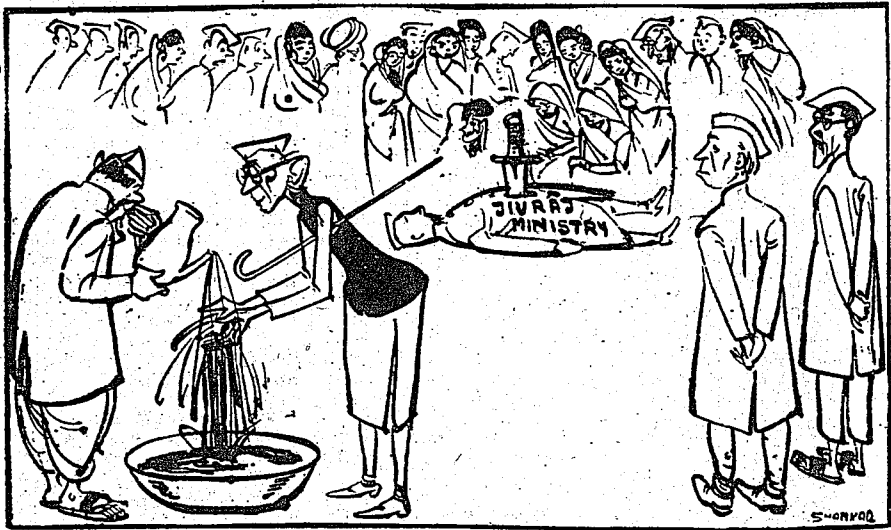
★ From P. Kunbanandan

BERLIN, September 23: "DIE WAHRHEIT" organ of the executive of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, West Berlin devoted one full page for the Great Petition March with the headline: "India's Great Battle Against the Rightists."

SUMMARISING the recent developments, it said: "Here is something India has not experienced before. In Parliament Prime Minister Nehru had to defend himself for the first time in his long period of office against a motion of no-confidence. A general strike stopped all work in the city of Bombay with its five million people for full 24 hours."

"A drastic government reshuffle ousted six leading ministers from the Cabinet. The Communists collected no less than ten million signatures under a Great Petition to Parliament and marched to Delhi in the biggest ever demonstration. All this took place in three short weeks which doubtlessly constitute the climax in the great defensive battle of the Indian masses against the Rightist danger."

Striking a balance in conclusion it stated "The battle against the Rightists continues on all fronts. Whether the worst has been surmounted will have to be proved by the future. The Left has with its appeal to unified actions pointed the road, except which there is no alternative, if India wants to defend with success her achievements against the attack from the Right. India would have been spared many bitter experiences, of late, had the democratic forces formed together a united front against all attacks of reaction."



Courtesy: Shankar's Weekly

CPI Central Executive Resolution ON TEST BAN TREATY

The following resolution on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India which met in New Delhi from September 14 to 17:

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India congratulates the over eighty governments of the countries who have by now signed the treaty to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in space and under water. The Committee expresses the hope that other countries, which have still not done so, will join hands with the vast majority as early as possible and thus make the ban universal.

Despite its obvious limitations and essential partial character, the test ban accord has rightly been hailed as a small but precious victory for the worldwide forces of peace. The agreement has been reached following years of relentless struggle by the peoples of the world for disarmament and the banishment of war. This initial step must be followed by further action and struggle towards the goal of general and complete disarmament.

The Communist Party of India hails the test ban accord as a major success of the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and Comrade Khrushchov. The painstaking and persistent efforts for peace made by the Soviet government and people led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have borne their first fruits. The imperialist makers of war and the votaries of the arms race have received the first blow. The way has opened up for further progress towards peace; confidence in the strength of the forces of peace has grown; the imperialist war-manacles are on the defensive.

Ever since the discovery of nuclear energy and its use in manufacturing deadly weapons of mass destruction, ever since the fall-out of the nuclear tests began to contaminate the air and water, and even the food of the people, all socialist countries and all democratic and peace-loving forces demanded a cessation of tests by the nuclear powers.

The newly-liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America demanded the ban on tests, not only because these tests led to the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction and strengthened the imperialist warmongers, but also because territories and waters within and near Africa and Asia, such as the Sahara and the Pacific Ocean islands were used by the imperialists for their tests, thus endangering the health of the peoples of the region.

CUBA EPISODE

The Caribbean crisis of last year and the determination shown by the Soviet Union to protect Cuba's freedom and socialism with Soviet missiles and its readiness to fight if a war was forced on the Soviet Union, while being ready to negotiate peace, prepared further ground for negotiations to reduce world tension and for disarmament in which the first step would be the banning of the nuclear tests.

The defence of Cuba by the Soviet Union, in alliance with the government and the people of Cuba, also showed that the Soviet nuclear power is built not only for its own defence, but also for the defence of all countries of the socialist camp and of all freedom-loving countries of the world.

This was the background to the chain of developments that led to the signing of the limited test ban treaty in Moscow on August 5, 1963, by the governments of the USSR, USA and Britain.

Though the Test Ban Treaty is limited in the sense that while tests are banned in the atmosphere, under water and in space, it does not cover underground tests, the treaty is a valuable success in that it stops the most direct and extensive poisoning of people's health and gives new confidence to the

democratic peace-loving people throughout the world that the imperialists can be curbed in their mad ventures of nuclear annihilation.

Though the treaty does not rule out manufacture of the atomic weapons and their proliferation, yet in its preamble it proclaims as its principal aim "the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations, which would put an end to the armaments race and eliminate the incentive to the production and testing of all kinds of weapons including nuclear weapons, seeking to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time, determined to continue negotiations to this end and desiring to put an end to the contamination of man's environment by radioactive substances."

It is for the forces of peace throughout the world to ensure that this obligation is translated into practice.

The intervention of the Soviet Union against imperialists in their attack on Egypt, Lebanon and Iraq, the concrete help that the Soviet Union rendered to the countries fighting for liberation such as Algeria, demonstrated to the imperialists that their policy of blackmail and violence was not succeeding, that the forces of socialism, national liberation, peace and democracy were becoming stronger every day and superior to the forces of imperialism.

The imperialists were warned in the most decisive way possible that if they unleashed a world war, with atomic weapons, their own countries, their own people and they themselves would be subject to nuclear annihilation. The protests of the people, especially of the working class, in these countries themselves against the alarming increase in the poisoning of the atmosphere and their food, and the growing strength of the world Peace Movement helped to compel the imperialists of the USA and Great Britain to pay some heed to the proposals of the Soviet Union to ban the tests—the most urgent demand of the time.

SUICIDE AND PERVERSE

But the world communist movement and peace-loving people were surprised and shocked to find that the government and the leadership of the Communist Party of China also denounced the Treaty and refused to sign it.

Not only they refused to sign it. They denounced the Treaty as a "fraud" and accused the government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for imposing such a "fraud" on the world's progressive and peace-loving people. Going further, they have accused the Soviet Union and its Communist Party of having become agents of American imperialism and having become the enemies of freedom and democracy.

The statement of the Chinese leadership says:

"The indisputable facts prove that the policy pursued by the Soviet Government is one of allying with the forces of war to oppose the forces of peace, allying with imperialism to oppose socialism, allying with the United States to oppose China, and allying with the reactionaries of all countries to oppose the people of the world."

Any country may or may not sign the Treaty, may not agree to banning the tests, but a socialist country like China has no right to hurl such slanderous accusations against the Soviet Union.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India is shocked that the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese government should make such slanderous statements against the Soviet Union, the first country in the world, which having fought imperialism and successfully built socialism, is now building communism and is the acknowledged vanguard and leader of the world communist movement and the Socialist camp and is the mighty defender of all the oppressed

and underdeveloped countries of the world. Without the fraternal help of the Soviet people, Party and government, the Chinese Revolution itself would never have achieved its successes.

The Communist Party of India condemns these statements of the Chinese leadership and calls upon all Party members to combat these slanderous falsehoods which are sought to be spread clandestinely among the Indian people and the Party ranks.

The propagation of such statements by the Chinese Party and their supporters aims at destroying the love which the working masses of all countries feel for the Soviet Union and at undermining its successes in building socialism, its revolutionary role as a defender of the oppressed and underdeveloped nations, its role as the leader of the international working class and vanguard of the world communist movement.

It is for the forces of peace throughout the world to ensure that this obligation is translated into practice.

It was not unexpected that the most dihard mad-men among the American imperialists, the West German revanchists who are yearning to possess the atom bomb and General de Gaulle have disapproved of the Test Ban Treaty and insist on their "right" to poison the people's health by their own test of weapons of mass murder.

SHOCKING AND PERVERSE

It was not many years ago that the Chinese leaders themselves fully supported the demand for a test ban and also the unilateral stoppage of tests by the Soviet Union, which was hailed as an act of courage in defence of peace and mankind. Their opposition now, when a ban on tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space has been agreed upon even by the American imperialists reveals a strange and perverse attitude. Their open demand that more and more nations should become nuclear powers is in complete contradiction with their earlier position.

The Communist Party of India calls upon the Chinese leadership to give up this road of disaster of splitting the Socialist Camp and the world Communist Parties and come back to the path laid down in the Moscow Declaration, and Statement, embodying the unanimous agreement of the world Communist movement.

The Communists Party of India expresses its sense of satisfaction that the Government of India was among the first to sign the Test Ban Treaty. India has always supported the goal of complete and general disarmament, and has taken several initiatives in the UNO and elsewhere for the banning of nuclear tests.

The Communist Party urges Government of India to extend its full support to all proposals

* SEE CENTRE PAGE

Spotlight On Kerala Govt. Misdeeds

★ From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: September 22: The two-day debate on the no-confidence motion against the Shankar Ministry, moved by the deputy leader of the Opposition, C. Achutha Menon, concluded with 45 members of the Communist, Praja Socialist and Revolutionary Socialist parties voting for, and 65 Congress members voting against it.

But these figures did not provide a true picture of the isolation which the Congress faced in the Kerala Assembly during the debate.

The Muslim League speakers were vehement in condemning the partisan and corrupt administration of the Congress though the League had remained neutral during the voting.

Even the Congress members lacked enthusiasm in their support for the Shankar Ministry, their only defence against charge of corruption being that their party had insisted on a probe into the charges and that the matter was pending with the Prime Minister.

The Opposition's attack was powerful, backed as it was by irrefutable facts. Achutha Menon brought forward two more charges of corruption against Chief Minister R. SHANKAR; a powerful impeachment of Home Minister P. T. CHACKO's handling of the law and order portfolio came from K. R. GOWRI; and independent member V. R. KRISHNA IYER arraigned the government for having introduced the rule of the individual and the party in place of the rule of law.

The spokesmen of the PSP, which had conducted the "liberation struggle" against the Communist-led Ministry and later shared office with the Congress were "bitter in their criticism of 'maladministration and rule for the benefit of the party'."

Muslim League spokesman charged the Congress government of being the enemy of the backward classes who formed 70 per cent of the people in Kerala. Otherwise, how could the government have failed to represent their case before the High Court in justification of reserving seats for the backward communities in professional colleges, he asked.

The RSP's lone member in the Assembly declared that Shankar and his colleagues had lost the moral right to continue in office because they were able to cling to the office only with the support of the communal forces and pandering for the interests of the feudal reactionary elements.

Achutha Menon's Charges

Achutha Menon's was a superb performance, when he moved his second no-confidence motion against the Shankar Ministry in eleven months. He charged Shankar with an attempt to influence the judiciary in

his favour in a case in which he himself was involved.

C. J. Devassy, District and Sessions Judge of Trivandrum, when he was the chairman of the Land Board had asked for a special remuneration for the additional work, and the High Court and the former Law Minister recommended it. But Shankar, who was the Deputy Chief Minister then and also held the finance portfolio, turned down the request.

When the case which Shankar filed against the Communist newspapers for his alleged truck deal was pending before the same judge, the file regarding the judge's additional remuneration reappeared and Shankar ordered payment with retrospective effect.

Achutha Menon said he was not opposed to the special allowance being given to the judge for the additional work he had done, but the way in which Shankar had first refused it and later on ordered its payment at the particular time showed that the Chief Minister was prepared to do anything to save himself.

Second Charge

The second charge which Achutha Menon brought against Shankar was that the Chief Minister's wife, along with four others, got a total of 1010 acres of land on long lease for a nominal rent of one rupee per acre a year from a landlord, Kavalappara Moolip Nayar. In return, Nair was given a substantial reduction in the agricultural income tax that was due from him.

Achutha Menon also dealt with the land Bill introduced by Chacko to replace the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act which was the "result of the cumulative wisdom and effort of two legislatures and two successive governments and which had been implemented in parts." This was done to placate the feudal interests, the planters and the Kayal kings of Kuttanad.

The Kerala Congress government had thrown to winds the sanctity of legislative measures, continuity of progressive land legislation and the principles of agrarian reforms adumbrated by the Planning Commission, he said.

A powerful indictment of the government and the way in which the rule of law was being undermined by Home Minister Chacko to please his own community and its communal interests was made by K. R. Gowri.

Citing the case now well-

known as the "Thakkal cemetery case" she said the police officers and the District Collector had stood guard at the behest of the Home Minister to bury dead bodies in the compound against the express orders of the Health Officer. The High Court had passed severe strictures against the officers for contravening the Health Officer's order.

Gowri charged Chacko to be a rank communalist, known as the "Thakkal cemetery case" she said the police officers and the District Collector had stood guard at the behest of the Home Minister to bury dead bodies in the compound against the express orders of the Health Officer. The High Court had passed severe strictures against the officers for contravening the Health Officer's order.

PROTEST AGAINST NEW LAND BILL

TRIVANDRUM, September 23: The jeep jatha organised by the Kerala Karshaka Niyama Samrakshana Samiti (Committee for Defence of Kerala Agrarian Relations Act) was given a rousing reception today in the state capital.

The leaders of the jatha, Pandaram P. R. Madhavan Pillai, B. R. Wellington, Paul V. Kunnil and Vishnu Bharathiyar were led in a big procession to the meeting place.

Leaving Cannanore on September 5, the jatha visited all the nine districts of Kerala and covered more than 400 miles in 18 days. On an average, the leaders addressed 40 meetings, big and small, daily. In all they talked to more than a million people.

Wellington, who is the leader of the Malanad Karshaka Sangham, told New Age that everywhere the jatha went the tenants and agricultural labourers had come in their hundreds to receive it irrespective of their political affiliations and religious affinities. They had assured their staunch support for the agitation against scuttling the Agrarian Relations Act, he said.

A. K. Gopalan, president of the All India Kisan Sabha, addressing the public meeting held to welcome the jeep jatha, said the Union government had brought forward the Constitution (Seventeenth Amendment) Bill to protect the 124 land legislations of various States. The Swatantra Party and its followers in the Congress were opposing that Bill. The Kerala government was also in the company of the Swatantra in opposing this measure.

The Planning Commission had been all along wanting to include the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act of 1961 in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution, but the leaders of Kerala government were able to bring pressure on the Commission to permit them to bring forward a new Bill. The state government wants to include the new Bill in the Ninth Schedule in the place of the Agrarian Relations Act.

The new Bill if implemented would increase the fair rent by 100 per cent, nullify all the ceiling provisions and

the exemptions given, and

who utilising his powers as Minister in charge of revenue, police, home, judiciary and anti-corruption, could get anything done and intimidate into submission anybody who dared to differ from him.

Krishna Iyer characterised the present government as the "Congress Private Limited Company". He cited instance after instance to show how offices in the industrial tribunal, district road transport authorities, Social Welfare Board, Harijan Welfare Board were given to only one class of people, that is, the upper class, the Congress class.

The latest instance of this nepotism cited by him was the appointment of Panampilly Govinda Menon, a Congress MP, to appear before the Supreme Court on behalf of the State government on a "socialistic remuneration of

only Rs. 1650 daily" on days of appearance.

He also condemned the McCarthyism practised by the Kerala government in refusing the right of employment in government service on the ground of "kinship with left".

He quoted from a circular of the Home Department which directed heads of departments to refuse jobs even to selected people on grounds of political affiliation.

All the government spokesmen had to say in reply to this imposing charge-sheet was whimpers about the "record of the Communist Ministry." Chief Minister Shankar even went to the extent of contradicting his own followers and accusing his party leaders of "resurrecting the corruption charges which were withdrawn and long since closed."

The main Enquiry Officer, Lt. Gen. Henderson Brooks was by virtue of his Army rank not in a position to examine personally other high commanding officers who were of equal or higher rank. Therefore, this Enquiry Commission could not personally examine either the commander of the task Force, who was also a Lt-General nor the then Chief of the Army Staff who was a full-fledged General.

They may have submitted written reports and no doubt, they have, but examination on the basis of written reports and personal examination are two very different things. Therefore, I do not take this report — in fact, it is not the report, because I have not seen it — or the statement on an investigation into this matter.

The entire Opposition, except the Muslim League walked out of the House in protest against the move.

When the minister rose to introduce the Bill, K. R. Gowri, president of the Kerala Karshaka Sangham, got up to say that she was opposing the very introduction of the new Bill. A wordy duel ensued between the Opposition and Congress benches, but ultimately the Speaker ruled that opposition could not be permitted at the introductory stage.

Immediately after the ruling, K. Chandrasekharan, former Revenue Minister and president of the Kerala Kisan Panchayat, led the walkout by the PSP members, stating that the PSP could not be a party to the "murder of the Agrarian Relations Act". The Communist and RSP members also walked out.

Members belonging to these parties kept away from the House for an hour, during which time Chacko introduced the Bill and moved that the Bill be referred to a select committee.

Memorandum To Governor

A delegation consisting of the jeep jatha leaders later met the Kerala Governor, V. V. Giri, and presented a memorandum conveying the statewide protest of the entire tenant class against the new Bill and requesting him to take all steps to save the tenants for extinction.

A foretaste of the opposition which the Kerala government would have to face in its attempt to impose a retrograde land Bill on the people was provided in the Ke-

MUZAFFAR AHMAD RELEASED

MUZAFFAR AHMAD, the veteran Communist Leader under detention from November last, was removed to the Medical College hospitals in serious condition on September 14 suffering from enlarged prostate gland.

The CEC of the CPI passed a resolution demanding his release. In Calcutta Dr. Narayan Roy and others on behalf of the Party met Chief Minister P. C. Sen. Muzafer Ahmad was ordered to be released on September 18. He is still in the hospital in a serious condition. Bhowani Sen, secretary of the POC and other Communist leaders have visited him at the hospitals.

It is reported that many other detenues are suffering from various ailments, Nirupama Chatterjee, the woman leader of Howrah district, had also to be transferred to the hospital. Nandagopal Bhattacharya, the general secretary of the BPSF is also in the hospital.

Taking part in the debate on NEFA Enquiry Report in Lok Sabha on September 20, Indrajit Gupta drew pointed attention of the House to the failures in defence arrangements which were clear from the report itself. He said:

My feeling is that if the full NEFA Enquiry Report could not be placed before the House on grounds of security, it would have been better not to place any report at all rather than give the statement which has been given to us. This statement does not add very much to our knowledge. I am rather afraid that it might provide some fresh ground for speculation and gossip.

I must say at the outset that this report cannot be taken as the last word on the subject. The Enquiry by the very nature of its constitution had its own limitations.

The main Enquiry Officer, Lt. Gen. Henderson Brooks was by virtue of his Army rank not in a position to examine personally other high commanding officers who were of equal or higher rank. Therefore, this Enquiry Commission could not personally examine either the commander of the task Force, who was also a Lt-General nor the then Chief of the Army Staff who was a full-fledged General.

They may have submitted written reports and no doubt, they have, but examination on the basis of written reports and personal examination are two very different things. Therefore, I do not take this report — in fact, it is not the report, because I have not seen it — or the statement on an investigation into this matter.

Admissions

However, I am not inclined to go into much of a postmortem, as some of my other friends here are seeking to do except in so far as material is provided by this statement itself. I do not know whether this is a summary of the original report or the Defence Minister's own conclusions on the basis of the report or the Army Headquarters' conclusions on the report — I have no idea of what it is supposed to be. However, certain admissions are made in cautious language, but made nevertheless, that are within the pages of this statement, itself.

The first admission made is that the concepts of mountain warfare which the higher commanders had were wrong and need to be corrected.

The second admission, which is made indirectly, is that the leadership of the army was inadequately trained, because a positive statement is made that training in leadership is the need of the moment. Obviously, it could not be the need of the moment unless the training was inadequate.

The third admission is — this is, in my opinion, a very contradictory statement — that our weapons were adequate and even could match the weapons of the Chinese, the only difficulty was that because of poor logistics, communications and transport, we could not bring them at the right time to the right places where they were required. However, the admission is made that certain types of weapons such as automatic rifles and so on would have been useful if they had been available.

The fourth admission made is that there was some departure — I do not know; it is very carefully and cautiously worded, but I have tried to pull it out of it — at some stage by somebody from the accepted chain of command, that there was a lack

of responsibility at various levels, that there was too interference by the higher echelons of army command in tactical operations of a local nature which would better have been left to local commanders on the spot. These are all contained in this statement.

The fifth admission made is that the collection, evaluation and dissemination of intelligence were faulty.

The sixth admission made is that General Staff work and procedures were not of the quality which they should have been of.

The seventh admission made — here also a statement is made which I had better read out because I do not know what exactly it purports to say — is that even the largest and best equipped of armies need to be given proper policy guidance and major directives by the Government whose instrument it is. I am in full agreement with this statement. Then, "These must bear a reasonable relation to the size of the army and the state of its equipment from time to time."

These two sentences are being interpreted differently throughout the country. I would like the Defence Minister to let us know what he means to indicate by these. One interpretation is that the government is being criticised for not having given proper policy guidance and major directives, as it should have done — this is held by a wide section of the press and perhaps by some members here. It can also be interpreted to mean that guidance was given, but the guidance was not the correct guidance perhaps because military advice was not correct. I do not know what is meant by this equivocal statement. I do not know what lessons are supposed to be drawn from this.

But one thing is certain, that whatever guidance was given, whatever policy directives were given, whether by the government independently or by the government acting on military advice, in so far as it relates to that statement the Prime Minister made on October 12 giving the country the impression that the army had been ordered and was in a position, therefore, to drive the Chinese out, it was a very unwise statement to make, which was unrelated to the size of the army and the state of its equipment from time to time. Subsequent events have proved that.

The eighth admission made — this is not a very major admission — was the condition to which the famous 4th Division was reduced by reason of many of its original units having been deployed elsewhere. By 'elsewhere' I take it to mean in the plains of the Punjab to guard against the possibility of a simultaneous thrust from Pakistan.

These admissions are made. What corresponding corrective action is proposed to be taken is not very clear. Some points have been indicated in a very haphazard and unsystematic way. I would have preferred if against each of these points the corresponding course of action and remedy proposed to be adopted now had also been indicated. It is not being done in that way.

For example, about the higher command, in the other statement regarding defence preparedness, there is ample evidence that some considerable physical expansion of the army and training institutions

LET'S TRY TO STAND ON OUR OWN FEET

Indrajit Gupta's Plea in Lok Sabha on Defence Preparedness

and the number of officers being trained is taking place. But that is the very least we can expect. But regarding the quality of this training and correction of the wrong concepts etc. which are alleged to have been there, all we are told is—perhaps he cannot tell us more, I do not know—that they are "being made aware" of their shortcomings.



Then about the weapons which were claimed to be adequate though not available at the right place at the right time. We are again told of a quantitative expansion. The output of ordnance factories is being doubled. Very good. Some of the old plant and machinery, to which my hon. friend referred, is being modernised and renovated—that is good.

But what is the climax of the whole thing as put forward here? The top achievement is that we have just entered the period when the production of semi-automatic rifles is commencing! When it will go into mass production, I do not know. If it does, well and good. It will be some advance on the 303 rifles, about which so much was said here in October-November.

But my point is, so far as reports go, that the Chinese were armed not with semi-automatic rifles but with automatic rifles, not only self-loading but self-firing.

Arms Production

Therefore, the production of the semi-automatic rifles, even on an initial scale, may be a good thing, but it shows that we are far behind the level of requirements.

Out of the proposed six new ordnance factories — this is the most alarming of all — only two can even be started now, by virtue of some assistance from the US for making ammunition in one and from the UK in another. That is all the progress that has been registered in the last nine months in regard to our claim about new ordnance factories. Our government has only acquired land and put up buildings and arranged for water supply and so on, but now we are waiting to see where assistance will come from. We do not even know which particular factory is going to produce what; it depends entirely on what assistance we get from some country or other. This is stated here.

About intelligence, it is stated that a major overhauling is required and will take place under

the personal supervision of the Defence Minister. I am very glad. The report does not tell us anything about a point I had raised during the discussion — on the demands for grants of the ministry last April — whether it is a fact that the army command is going to be equipped with its own intelligence system, independent of the Central intelligence Bureau of the Home Ministry, upon which we had to depend last November.

There is a small sentence put here about the DMI — Director of Military Intelligence. So far as I know, the DMI's job, at least in the past, up to now, was mainly concerned with intelligence within the armed forces — some sort of a counterpart of the CID in relation to the civil. But that is not the type of military intelligence we were concerned with. I want to know whether we will go on depending on the Home Ministry's apparatus or whether the army is going to have its own intelligence a properly organised system of military intelligence. It is not indicated.

I cannot avoid making some criticism, well deserved criticism I think, of some sectors of our high command, military command. The Prime Minister, who happens not to be present here, always seems to get irritated for no particular reason if any criticism is levelled against a particular person who was the Commander of the Task Force.

General Staff

It has been said here, for example, about the poor quality of general staff work. Before he became the Commander of the Task Force, he was the Chief of the General Staff. Therefore, if general staff work and procedures were of a very poor quality, it is an indirect reflection on the same gentleman. What was he doing when he was CGS?

Apart from that, he was made the Commander of the Task Force despite the fact that never in his past military record had he any spell of active service to his credit, actual active service in the field. His past, if one goes into it, is a past of dealing entirely with things which are rather in the field of the Quarter Master General, that is supplies and that kind of thing. The Chief of the General Staff is the chief post, as the Defence Minister has stated here, for coordinating the whole thing, long-term operational planning, logistics, transport, supplies and so on.

So, during his tenure as CGS it seems that grave lapses were committed, though the matter is not stated here clearly, and when he was appointed Task Force Commander, the post of Chief of General Staff was left unoccupied.

I want to know whether it is a fact or not. Why is it not mentioned here? If anything contributed to confusion and chaos, what could it be but this fact that the Chief of the General Staff was switched over as Commander of the Task Force and the post of the Chief of General Staff, which is the

vital link in the whole machine, was left unoccupied during the very time when the attack was taking place?

I want to know whether it was Lt. Gen. Kaul or not who advised the Prime Minister on this question of adopting the forward policy, which was reflected in that famous statement of the Prime Minister? He should have been in a position to know the real state of our preparedness and our military equipment and so on visa-vis the Chinese.

Did he or did he not give this advice that we were strong enough to carry out probing movements? Was he or was he not responsible for the movement of troops from Tawang to Dhola — which led to the immediate attack?

Complacency

We may have been lulling ourselves into complacency thinking that probing attacks would not invite a big counter-attack, but who was responsible we would like to know, because we are told here continually that somebody sitting in armchair in Delhi sent orders there and pressured the army command into doing something which, left to itself, it would not have done. My knowledge is that certain Generals who combine incompetence with belligerency and have Napoleonic ambitions gave advice of this type.

And if that advice was acted on unwisely, nevertheless the responsibility must be fixed on those military commanders. And I am really surprised — Shri (Prakash Vir) Shastri has already mentioned it — that even before the enquiry is concluded, this gentleman is permitted to fit himself into a nice, cushy job on Rs. 10,000 a month. Is this what is supposed to be good for the morale of our jawans?

Similarly, about the Commander of the Fourth Division. He may have been thoroughly justified as the local commander on the spot in thinking that discretion was the better part of valour, and that to save his men was better tactics than to die a glorious death. I do not know. He may have a hundred justifications, but I want to know whether he was ordered or not to hold the Sela position at all costs while reinforcements were being brought up behind to deal with the Chinese roadblock at Bomdila, and whether, in spite of the order, he decided to withdraw and give up the Sela position without a fight.

My point is, if he acted on his own in defiance of the orders given to him, could he not have been found a better job to do than that of inculcating discipline in our youth as Director of the National Discipline Scheme? That is all I say. These things are not good for morale, anybody's morale.

We have been assured here in this House on a previous occasion that there was no interference, that there was no governmental interference in tactical, field operations at any stage.

What I wish to state here is that while we must see this

(The following is the text of Pravda's editorial of September 19 dealing with the Sino-Indian border conflict.)

The conclusion of the test ban treaty and its signing by the overwhelming majority of states is an important step towards improving the international atmosphere. This is a generally recognized fact, and this is how the Moscow Treaty was assessed by world public.

AMONG the nations there is fresh hope that disputed international questions will be settled by peaceful means, through talks and the liquidation of seats of tension which still exist in the world.

Unfortunately, there is still combustible material in the world, liable to flare up at any moment and create grave dangers for the cause of peace. One such seat of tension, which persists for a long time already and does not lose its sharpness, is the Sino-Indian frontier conflict in the Himalayas.

A whole series of pronouncements have appeared on this score in the Chinese press of late—"Statement of a Spokesman of the PRC Foreign Ministry", editorials and leading articles of the principal Chinese papers, devoted to the Sino-Indian boundary dispute.

All these pronouncements are keynoted by a desire to whitewash all the actions of the PRC Government in the border dispute and stir the policy of other states. These statements abound in numerous slanderous fabrications about the stand of the Soviet Government on the Sino-Indian conflict.

ABSURD ACCUSATION

The Chinese leaders absurdly accuse the Soviet Union of "cooperating with American imperialism", of "collaborating with India in her fight against China". They blame the Soviet Government for believing that India is an "important part of the peace zone". Thereby they fully ignore the Declaration of 1957 which stresses that the peace-loving states of Asia and Africa are an important factor in the struggle to prevent war and form, together with the socialist states, "an extensive zone of peace".

The actions of the PRC Government in the Sino-

Indian conflict contradict the common, co-ordinated course of the Marxist-Leninist Parties on peaceful co-existence and on supporting the national-liberation movement.

At the recent session of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization, the Chinese representatives distorted the meaning of Soviet assistance to India to such an extent as to advance the monstrous charge that the Soviet Union "is instigating India to a conflict with China". This absurd statement is not corroborated by facts, of course. And this is perfectly natural, because there are no such facts in existence.

AID TO INDIA

The Government of the People's Republic of China is well aware that Soviet assistance to India is exactly of the same nature as that rendered to the other newly independent states.

The stand taken by the Soviet Union on the Sino-Indian conflict, no matter how the Chinese leaders try to distort it, has always pursued the purpose of contributing to the early settlement of the conflict.

It was natural to expect that this policy of the Soviet Union would meet the understanding and support of the PRC leaders. Strange as it may seem, however, everything has been done in Peking to distort this position.

As to the latest statements of the Chinese leaders, concerning the Soviet stand on the Sino-Indian border conflict, it is difficult to understand what predominates here—hostility towards the first socialist country or the desire to discredit the policy of peaceful co-existence, consistently pursued by the Soviet Government, or attempting to conceal behind a verbal

On Sino-Indian Border Conflict

smokescreen their retreat from the agreed line of all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world on questions of policy of the socialist countries towards the young independent states.

It is common knowledge that for many centuries the neighbouring peoples of India and China had lived in peace and friendship. There were no wars between them, no territorial problems.

After the Indian people achieved independence in 1947 and the Chinese revolution triumphed in 1949, friendly, good-neighbourly relations were established between the two countries. The borders between them remained as they were, but no border conflicts took place. In 1954 the Government of the PRC and the Republic of India signed the well-known five principles of peaceful co-existence—the Pancha Shila.

Together with the other peace-loving states of Asia and Africa they solemnly confirmed their adherence to these great ideas at the Bandung Conference.

The first armed clashes on the Sino-Indian frontier began in mid-1959. The events became particularly dramatic last autumn. Fighting broke out between China and India, involving large military units. Many thousands of people were killed, wounded and taken prisoner.

ANXIETY ON CLASH

Clashes in the Himalayas evoked feelings of great anxiety among the peace-loving people. The Soviet people as well as the peoples of the other socialist states received this news with particular concern.

The TASS statement of September 10, 1959, which expressed the view of the Soviet Government on this matter, pointed to the dangerous consequences with which this conflict is fraught for the cause of peace in Asia and throughout the world. "The Soviet leading quarters", the

mutually acceptable basis. The Soviet Union has proceeded and also now proceeds from the belief that this conflict benefits only the forces of imperialism and reaction, which are interested in perpetuating seats of international tension.

The Chinese leaders, however, are dissatisfied with the Soviet Union's peaceful stand. Is it that they wished to solve the frontier dispute with India by military means and hoped to receive Soviet assistance in this matter?

If this is what the Peking leaders wanted, well, then they do have reason to be "angry" at the Soviet stand. No matter what is said in Peking, the Soviet Government, loyal to its Leninist policy of peace, has always done and will go on doing everything to extinguish seats of international tension and not stir them up, will contribute most resolutely to the safeguarding and consolidation of peace.

We have always believed and still believe that there were no reasons for starting a border conflict between India and China, and specially for bringing this conflict to an armed clash.

AFRO-ASIAN STATES WORRIED

The border conflict in the Himalayas has given rise to serious anxiety among the young Afro-Asian states, which know from their own experience that the weakening of unity of the young independent states and friction and dissent among them play into the hands of none but the imperialists and colonialists. In autumn 1959, when big military clashes on the Sino-Indian border were at their peak, President of the United Arab Republic, Nasser, head of the Algerian Government, Ben Bella, President of Tunisia, Bourguiba, Premier of the Somali Republic, Shermarche and many other prominent Afro-Asian leaders addressed an appeal to the PRC and India, urging them to stop the bloodshed and solve the dispute peacefully at a conference table.

After the cease-fire, initiated by the Chinese side on the Sino-Indian frontier last October, all the people of goodwill hoped that the conflict should be settled quickly and a tragic page in Sino-Indian relations would be turned over.

There were all the more grounds for such hopes since the PRC Government had found ways to settle disputed territorial questions with other neighbouring nations. Frontier agreements were achieved with Nepal and Burma, and, as noted by the Premier of the Government Council of the PRC, Chou En-lai, "the frontier question between China and Burma was much more difficult than the problem of the Sino-Indian frontier."

statement said, "express the conviction that the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of India will not let the forces, which want not the easing of international tension but the aggravation of tension in international relations, profit by this incident."

This has been and is the only correct line towards the solution of this problem, a line supported by the peace-loving nations.

Later on, the Soviet Government has repeatedly issued calls to end the existing tension in the Himalayan area and to solve the conflict on a

CENTO military-political alignments set up by the Western powers.

In their statements the PRC leaders say that the Afro-Asian peoples allegedly "sneer" at the stand of the Indian Government on the frontier conflict. However, they keep silent over the fact that peoples in these countries are either surprised at the stand of the PRC Government in the frontier conflict or openly condemn it.

The peoples of this part of the world are alarmed by the situation prevailing on the Sino-Indian border. They hold that given the goodwill and desire to settle the frontier dispute at a conference table, peace and tranquillity on Sino-Indian border could have been restored long ago. But these hopes still remain hopes.

It is common knowledge that last December, on the initiative of the Ceylonese Prime Minister, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the leaders of six non-aligned countries (Ceylon, the UAR, Ghana, Burma, Indonesia and Cambodia) drew up at the Colombo Conference proposals aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The conference expressed the hope that its proposals "would contribute to the consolidation of the armistice and, if implemented, would pave the way to negotiations between the two countries."

It is significant that although the PRC Government strives to put all the blame for the conflict on the Indian Government, the nonaligned Afro-Asian nations, which attended the Colombo Conference, found it necessary to urge none other than the Chinese Government to withdraw its forces twenty kilometres from the line which they reached as a result of major military operations in the autumn of 1952.

"ACCEPTANCE" OF COLOMBO PROPOSALS

The papers of many Afro-Asian countries call attention also to the fact that the PRC Government first announced its acceptance of the Colombo proposals "in principle", but then declared that it could not accept them all because "not everything was clear", and demanded clarifications.

When the clarifications came, the PRC Government stated that they were given only by representatives of a part of the countries that attended the Colombo meeting and therefore, as stated by the Jenmin Jihpao, "are not a lawful document of the conference." The Chinese press also advanced other arguments, questioning the very competence of the Colombo Conference.

In its statement of August 20 the Chinese Government again insisted that it was ready to accept "in principle" the proposals of the Colombo Conference. However, it did not go further than these general declarations.

Unfortunately, the voice of reason, expressing the will of the Afro-Asian peoples, was not heeded to in Peking.

WHAT STANDS IN THE WAY?

What was the matter? What prevented the peaceful settlement of the conflict?

There is no doubt that were the two sides to sit down at a conference table to discuss calmly, soberly and unbiasedly their mutual charges, the conflict would have been settled long ago and the seat of tension in this area of the world would have been done away with.

At the same time the newspapers of many countries call attention to the fact that though the Indian Government had responded positively to the proposals of the Colombo Conference, had accepted them fully without any reservations and expressed readi-

ness to start talks with the PRC on the basis of these proposals, the PRC Government has still not accepted the proposals of the friendly neutralist states and has not manifested its readiness to conduct talks on the offered basis.

The Chinese Government found it possible to limit itself to issue only a statement approving these proposals "in principle". This was not followed up by any constructive steps on the part of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic.

The countries of Asia and Africa call attention to the fact that the PRC Government itself had twice issued calls to the countries of Asia and Africa, in October and November of 1952, to "display initiative" and "contribute to the opening of direct talks between India and China. However, the PRC Government did not avail itself of the good offices of these countries when they were offered.

"ACCEPTANCE" OF COLOMBO PROPOSALS

The papers of many Afro-Asian countries call attention also to the fact that the PRC Government first announced its acceptance of the Colombo proposals "in principle", but then declared that it could not accept them all because "not everything was clear", and demanded clarifications.

When the clarifications came, the PRC Government stated that they were given only by representatives of a part of the countries that attended the Colombo meeting and therefore, as stated by the Jenmin Jihpao, "are not a lawful document of the conference." The Chinese press also advanced other arguments, questioning the very competence of the Colombo Conference.

In its statement of August 20 the Chinese Government again insisted that it was ready to accept "in principle" the proposals of the Colombo Conference. However, it did not go further than these general declarations.

It is not without reason that many people now say that the PRC Government, while extolling in every way the initiative of the non-aligned nations and declaring that "values" and "pays tributes" to their good services, actually ignores these efforts and does not display any desire to profit by the proposals drafted at Colombo.

The Afro-Asian public opinion links the policy of the PRC leaders on the frontier question with their stand on the wider sphere of international relations and draws appropriate conclusions. The Nigerian newspaper West African Pilot says, for instance, that Peking "does not have faith in peaceful co-existence, and the sooner we realize this, the better it will be for all the world."

The peoples of the Afro-Asian countries express great alarm over the fact that the Sino-Indian border conflict jeopardizes greatly the cause of unity and solidarity of the peoples that are fighting for national liberation, against imperialism and colonialism, for peace. They cannot but see that the policy of the PRC Government betrays a desire to set India at loggerheads with other countries of Asia and Africa.

Noteworthy is the fact that the Chinese leaders have of late started an extensive propaganda campaign to prove that Nehru's government is imperialist and expansionist, that it strives, allegedly, to create a huge empire which would be bigger than the British empire.

In the light of such claims it is difficult to believe the sincerity of the Chinese leaders who make assurances that they are striving to achieve a peaceful settlement of the frontier dispute with India.

The impression is created that people in the PRC capital do not wish to understand who benefits by this conflict. The latter has already caused and continues to cause great damage to the peoples. It is common knowledge that the imperialists have immediately pounced on the Sino-Indian dispute, striving to fan up a war in the Himalayas. With this they link far-reaching designs and eagerly offer weapons to India and the taking of joint military actions.

The imperialists rejoice particularly over the fact that one of the sides involved in the conflict is a socialist state. They would gladly use the fact for discrediting the idea of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, for discrediting friendship and cooperation of the socialist nations with young independent states of Asia and Africa. Behind all this is a desire to use the conflict as an instrument to keep alive this dangerous seat of tension.

GREAT DAMAGE CAUSED

Indeed, what has the Sino-Indian conflict led to and what are its consequences?

This conflict has already caused great damage to the unity and cohesion of the Afro-Asian countries in their joint struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

It has also caused great damage to the unity and cooperation of the newly independent states with the socialist nations, particularly of India with the People's Republic of China.

China and India have already suffered big and absolutely unjustified losses from the military clashes. The frontier dispute between the two countries, which have lived in peace and friendship for ages, has led not only to the rupturing of fast bonds of good neighbourliness, but to grave economic consequences, too. Suffice it to say that

lately military spending in India have grown almost four-fold. They weigh heavily on the shoulders of the working people. Extra taxes and levies have been imposed on the population.

The reactionary forces in India are using the conflict to step up chauvinism, to attack the progressive forces of the country, to push India off the road of neutralism and to draw her into Western military political blocs. Leaders of the reactionary Swatantra, the Jan Sangh, the Praja Socialist Party, and the most extremist nationalist elements in the ruling Indian National Congress, are fanning up at meetings and rallies, in newspapers and in Parliament a chauvinistic, anti-Chinese campaign, are coming out against talks with the PRC, which could bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict, and demand a tough policy with regard to the People's Republic of China.

An emergency situation has long since been clamped down on the country and the democratic rights of the peoples have been restricted. Many hundreds of Communists and trade union leaders have been arrested and jailed.

The Indian reactionaries demand curtailment of the programmes of economic development, the use of the country's limited resources for military purposes, the creation of a big military machine.

REACTION'S OFFENSIVE

One of the latest statements of the PRC Foreign Ministry expresses satisfaction that during last May's byelections to the Indian Parliament the candidates of the Indian National Congress had suffered a defeat. But the PRC Foreign Ministry keeps mum about the fact that the extreme reactionaries, Kripalani and Masani, got the upper hand during these elections. Success of these reactionaries at the elections is actually presented by the Chinese leaders as a victory of Indian democracy.

Unwillingness to understand the situation is also evident in the assessment by the PRC leaders of the events taking place in the Indian Parliament. The newspaper Jenmin Jihpao, for instance, writes with open delight about the no-confidence motion against Nehru's government in the Indian Parliament. The newspaper does not care that the initiators of the no-confidence motion were the selfsame extreme rightist quarters of India, that are striving to alter the home and foreign policies of India and steer them into a reactionary pro-imperialist channel.

IT MUST NOT CONTINUE

There are no comprehensible justifications for the continuation of tension in this area of the world. The ending of the Sino-Indian conflict would strengthen peace in South-East Asia and through-

out the world, would give the peoples of India and China a chance to concentrate their efforts on the solution of the problems of economic development which face them.

The Soviet people wish good-neighbourly relations to be restored between the two major powers of Asia—the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India. On questions of frontier disputes we adhere to Leninist principles and are convinced that there are no questions which could not be solved peacefully, through talks, without bloodshed. These are precisely the positions from which the Soviet peoples assess the events on the Sino-Indian border.

All these facts convincingly show what grave consequences have already been caused by the Sino-Indian frontier conflict. Particularly alarming in this connection is not only the absence of any real efforts to solve the conflict, but accumulating evidence that the conflict may again be aggravated.

Persisting tension on the Sino-Indian frontier is fraught with grave consequences. When soldiers of two neighbouring states stand with rifles aimed at each other, especially if fierce fighting had taken place between them earlier, there is, naturally, the danger that bloodshed may be started by an accidental rifle shot.

All the sincere champions of peace and friendship among nations have the right to hope that those on whom the settlement of the conflict really depends should rise above the considerations of formal prestige, sit down at a conference table and find a mutually acceptable solution to the conflict. The peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian dispute would benefit the interests of the Indian and Chinese peoples, would do away with this grave seat of tension, would do good service to the cause of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

PRAVDA Editorial

nationalism and chauvinism became active and grew rapidly during the Sino-Indian conflict. Anti-Chinese feelings began to spread in India, and anti-Indian feelings in China. The present situation leads objectively to the further growth of mutual hostility in the two countries.

The matter has of late gone to such lengths that the conflict is being used to poison the atmosphere at different international forums. This was the case at the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Moshi, for instance, as well as at the World Congress of Women in Moscow, where the delegation of Chinese women tried to foist on the Congress a discussion on this question.

All these facts convincingly show what grave consequences have already been caused by the Sino-Indian frontier conflict. Particularly alarming in this connection is not only the absence of any real efforts to solve the conflict, but accumulating evidence that the conflict may again be aggravated.

Persisting tension on the Sino-Indian frontier is fraught with grave consequences. When soldiers of two neighbouring states stand with rifles aimed at each other, especially if fierce fighting had taken place between them earlier, there is, naturally, the danger that bloodshed may be started by an accidental rifle shot.

All the sincere champions of peace and friendship among nations have the right to hope that those on whom the settlement of the conflict really depends should rise above the considerations of formal prestige, sit down at a conference table and find a mutually acceptable solution to the conflict. The peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian dispute would benefit the interests of the Indian and Chinese peoples, would do away with this grave seat of tension, would do good service to the cause of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

IT MUST NOT CONTINUE

There are no comprehensible justifications for the continuation of tension in this area of the world. The ending of the Sino-Indian conflict would strengthen peace in South-East Asia and through-

out the world, would give the peoples of India and China a chance to concentrate their efforts on the solution of the problems of economic development which face them.

The Soviet people wish good-neighbourly relations to be restored between the two major powers of Asia—the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India. On questions of frontier disputes we adhere to Leninist principles and are convinced that there are no questions which could not be solved peacefully, through talks, without bloodshed. These are precisely the positions from which the Soviet peoples assess the events on the Sino-Indian border.

All these facts convincingly show what grave consequences have already been caused by the Sino-Indian frontier conflict. Particularly alarming in this connection is not only the absence of any real efforts to solve the conflict, but accumulating evidence that the conflict may again be aggravated.

Persisting tension on the Sino-Indian frontier is fraught with grave consequences. When soldiers of two neighbouring states stand with rifles aimed at each other, especially if fierce fighting had taken place between them earlier, there is, naturally, the danger that bloodshed may be started by an accidental rifle shot.

out the world, would give the peoples of India and China a chance to concentrate their efforts on the solution of the problems of economic development which face them.

The Soviet people wish good-neighbourly relations to be restored between the two major powers of Asia—the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India. On questions of frontier disputes we adhere to Leninist principles and are convinced that there are no questions which could not be solved peacefully, through talks, without bloodshed. These are precisely the positions from which the Soviet peoples assess the events on the Sino-Indian border.

RESPECT FRONTIERS

As to the Soviet Union, it treats with respect the countries bordering on it. It understands that good-neighbourliness is possible only if the frontiers existing between states are respected.

The Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Nikita Khrushchov, has set forth with ample clarity the view of all the Soviet people when he expressed last December, at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the hope that the Governments of the PRC and India would "settle the existing misunderstanding with due account for mutual interests and in the spirit of traditional friendship between the peoples of China and India."

The stand of the Soviet Union represents a consistent and honest policy, pursued by the Soviet government and the Leninist Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, aimed at safeguarding peace, at strengthening international friendship.

The most difficult talks are better than war, and disputed questions must be solved by peaceful means at a conference table, and not by military methods.

The Soviet people come out resolutely for ways to solve peacefully the Sino-Indian frontier conflict, for the early liquidation of the seat of grave tension in this area of the world.

tional campaigns, demanding that the Test Ban accord be followed by further positive steps for disarmament and peace.

The struggle for world disarmament is inextricably linked with the Indian people's struggle to defend the sovereignty and integrity of our motherland, and with the efforts to preserve and strengthen the policy of nonalignment, against the attacks made on it by the imperialists and their Right reactionary allies in the country.

The Communist Party appeals to all sections of the Indian people to join hands in the coming days in the biggest possible united na-

DANGEROUS SEAT OF TENSION IN ASIA

CPI RESOLUTION

*FROM PAGE 5

which would ensure further progress towards disarmament and, in particular, immediate efforts for the banning of the underground tests, for a non-aggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty Powers, and for the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various regions of the world.

The Communist Party appeals to all sections of the Indian people to join hands in the coming days in the biggest possible united na-

MUNICH: 25 Years After

★ by Rajeev Saxena

A quarter of a century has passed since the disgraceful diktat of Munich. Yet the issue could not lie buried in the historical archives of nations. Again and again it comes out raising its ugly head in international negotiations. Not long ago, the American Ambassador in Prague told the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs that his government would not be a party to signing a peace treaty with Germany, for this reportedly would be "a new Munich."

COMMENTING on this attitude, the Czechoslovak President Antonin Novotny had exclaimed:

"We are taken aback, how a representative of a Western Great Power can compare with Munich our wish to finally end the state of war with Germany, our wish to conclude a peace treaty with both German States and thus establish peaceful relations in Europe. By concluding a peace

treaty with Germany we want to put the final end to the policy of Munichism and to Munich once and for all."

Really, how can one compare the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and liquidation of the remnants of the last World War with the disgraceful deed of Munich in 1938? Commenting on this Western position, Kingsley Martin stated in the New Statesman of September 15, 1961: "It

is a mistake for Washington and London to talk about 'concessions'; it is a mistake because to make a German peace treaty is not a concession, but a world necessity."

Nobody will believe that Washington and London do not understand this fact. It can only be a deliberate attempt to falsify the historical significance and implications of Munich.

Jawaharlal Nehru had given the following appraisal of Munich at the time it took place:

"The past is done, with it is the future that concerns us. But in understanding the future we must have a clear understanding of the motives of Mr. Chamberlain and the British Government. Munich has not changed them. These motives are to build up a fascist-imperialist alliance to resist democracy all over the world and

in particular to oppose the Soviet Power, ultimately to restrict democracy in England itself and to hold down the colonial countries with a familiar grip." (The Hoax, National Herald, October 25, 1938).

In other words, Munich represented the ganging up of Fascism and Imperialism against the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia was sacrificed at the altar of German militarism to drive it towards East, against the land of Socialism.

Unfortunately, that spirit of Munich is still alive. It may not have the black coating of Nazism, but it has the same content.

Ruling circles in Bonn still consider the criminal Munich diktat legal and have gone to the extent of extending German citizenship to Czechoslovak citizens of German origin living at present in Czechoslovakia by the law of February 22, 1955, which refers to the Nazi decree of April 20, 1939, issued on the basis of the occupation of Czechoslovakia. The journal Deutsche Soldaten

Zeitung, financed by the West German War Ministry, has been systematically emphasising the validity of Munich:

"The Munich agreement is valid and the Sudetanland is German, today as it was twenty years ago." (No. 7, May 1959).

"No yielding! No yielding! No yielding! The Sudetanland is German, now, as it was twenty years ago, it is an integral part of Germany, it is nothing, but German state territory, unlawfully occupied by the Czechs." (No. 11, June 1960)

The revanchist organisations headed by Minister Seebom and patronised by Chancellor Adenauer, have been demanding restoration of pre-war frontiers, i.e. frontiers won "peacefully" by Nazis right up to the Munich diktat. They neither recognise the Polish border on the Oder and the Neisse nor the present borders of Czechoslovakia.

Neo-Munichism is thus a menace which might lead to a general conflagration if it is not liquidated in time.

Communist Party Central Executive Resolution: RELEASE ALL DETENUS

Following is the resolution on the release of Communist detenus adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India which met in Delhi from September 14 to 17:

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India notes that, while all Communist detenus have been released in the States of Andhra, Kerala, Madras, Karnataka, Orissa, Rajasthan and Delhi; hundreds still continue to languish behind the bars in West Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab, U. P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Tripura, Manipur and Himachal Pradesh.

The central government has not laid down a firm policy on this question to be followed by the States. The state governments, on the other hand, are allowed by the Centre to act arbitrarily and do whatever they like on such a vital issue which involves the personal freedom and fundamental rights of hundreds of Indian citizens.

An extremely reprehensible aspect of the situation is that several detenus who have been ordered to be released by the High Courts have been immediately re-arrested on the spot, or outside the courts or have been served orders of re-arrest even inside the jail under the Preventive Detention Act. This is a flagrant violation of the rule of law and a blow to democracy.

Eminent jurists of the country have stated unequivocally that the Defence of India Act under which these Communists are being detained is against the provisions of the Constitution guaranteeing fundamental rights. Even the Supreme Court has recently held that the Act is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution on fundamental rights.

The Central Executive Committee directs all Party members and units to launch immediately a sustained and vigorous mass campaign and mobilise all sections of the people for undoing this great wrong and securing the release of all detenus.

a short story

O H, no! I am not a stranger to you. Remember Mulk Raj Anand's story—"LOST CHILD?"—about the little boy who had gone with his parents to the Festival of Spring in a village and was so much fascinated by the symphony of colours and the gay panorama of life that he ran ahead of his parents and lost his way in the sea of humanity and how in that multitude the child felt utterly miserable and lonely

to give up studies, to search for a job. In School, I had joined the RSS like many of my school mates, but when the Mahatma was assassinated and the Sangh boys distributed sweets, something in my heart snapped. I felt again lost and forsaken because I could not belong to them. In fact I felt a deep aversion for all political parties and groups. Moreover, I had no time to belong to any other group as the struggle for survival was becoming harder every day.

For several months I was on the roads looking for a job. My only interest in the daily newspaper was the vacancies' column. Like millions of youngmen in free India, I experienced the humiliation of knocking at every door in vain for a job. Then I tried my fate at all kinds of odd

makes life worth living. But then something happened.

At a local library where I was employed to help in the cleaning and dusting of books, I came across a story by an American writer. It was in the form of a Letter to President Roosevelt, written on behalf of a poor Negro farm-hand. I read through it and I felt that I should also write a letter to Prime Minister Nehru. He has always been the idol of every Indian. Despite my sufferings, I have never lost faith in Nehru and have secretly nursed my love for him. And I felt that perhaps Nehru does not know that millions like me are helpless victims of poverty and injustice. Perhaps he is never told the truth, otherwise he would have done something to see things right. After all he was building great dams and factories to increase production in the country, but perhaps he gets no time to look into the sufferings of individuals who are forced to live in sub-human conditions.

This idea gripped me so intensely that I spent many sleepless nights thinking about the draft of my letter to Nehru and when I could no longer shake it off, I borrowed pen and ink from a student and began to pour my heart on paper. It became a long document and I felt that it was not as good as the American's letter to President Roosevelt, but then I am no writer. But I had written it as if with my own blood, and each word in it was true.

"Who are these people!" I enquired

"Communists!" was his cryptic reply which sent a shiver down my spine. Communists! I had heard a great deal about Communists and had also read many things about them in newspapers. The RSS organisers also used to speak about Communists as anti-national people. From these accounts I had formed an idea that Communists were very dangerous, evil and violent persons and per-

I decided that after delivering my letter to Nehru, I shall wait for three months to see if something happened to restore a sense of human dignity to me. If nothing happened, I would commit suicide and be done with this humiliating wretched life.

But the letter to Nehru lies torn somewhere on the Parliament Street, before the Broadcasting House, where I had squatted today along with countless other men and women to hear a frail, little man, called Dange! I could not reach Timurni to deliver the letter and now I feel it was good that I never reached there.

Nothing would have come of it. How naive of me to have imagined that nobody tells the truth about our lives to Nehru and that my letter would be a revelation to him! Countless other unfortunate wretches like me must have written to him earlier. So it does not matter whether my letter is thrown into a wastepaper basket by a white collared secretary or I myself tear it to pieces and throw it on the street.

And believe me, I did so not with any sense of bitterness or acrimony, but with a feeling of triumphant joy while shouting in unison, with a million throats, slogans, which in other words, said something which I had said in my letter. Sitting there and listening to this frail, little man Dange, and involuntarily raising my voice along with others, in acclamation, I instinctively felt that something historic, something stupendous was happening, that this stupendous, historic thing was lifting me out of my individual shell where I used to retire to lick my wounds, that my soul had joined with others and I was no more a solitary individual, condemned to bear my own cross, a superfluous entity; a dead weight on so-

city, but was an organic part of this great concourse of humanity, that I was wanted and needed to fight for that transformation in society which these men were demanding and which alone will deliver men from exploitation, injustice and misery and harness their energy for great deeds.

But this realisation in me was not a sudden growth. I had got up in the morning with the sound of marching feet. For three days, I had walked on foot to reach Delhi in sweltering heat to deliver my letter to Nehru. Tired and hungry I lay down in a verandah and was asleep before one could count ten. In the morning while still half asleep, I felt that a mighty rhythm was approaching and a crescendo of voices had suddenly burst over my head. I opened my eyes and was bewildered to see a huge procession carrying red flags, posters and banners coming.

The tide carried me to Ramlila Grounds and there I saw something which I shall never forget: Here was a great festival of red colour. The whole ground and sky had gone RED. Countless hands raising aloft countless red banners! Here was a great festival of peoples' also! Countless buses and trains had carried hundreds of thousands of people from all parts of the country to Delhi for this Great March, and people attired in their different national costumes were pouring in from all sides, singing and dancing! The whole of India was here in all its variety of languages and cultures.

I realised for the first time how vast is my country and my heart swelled with pride. And this India, of which I was a part now, was going to present the People's Petition to Parliament! What is evil about it? How strange that I had imagined Communists to be evil men! See here they are demanding that evil must be root-

ed out from our lives! Does not this Great Petition mean this? Only they don't beg but demand! But that is what it should be. The whole of India is here: All the peoples of our great country are here. It is they who have elected those who sit in Parliament. They can and must demand from them that the evils rampant everywhere must be done away with at once.

In that vast multitude at Ramlila Grounds, I did no longer feel a lost child. The young and loving face of Mother India was reflected in the faces of all men and women and I felt that here every one was for every one, we all belonged to a great fraternity.

Perhaps that was also the feeling of countless spectators who watched the Great March from Ramlila Grounds to the Parliament House.

Like me they also felt exhilarated by the great spectacle of Indian people again on the march. Involuntarily, I snatched the Red flag from a 'comrade', held it aloft and danced with joy!

And when I heard that frail, little man, Dange, I took out the letter from my pocket and tore it to pieces!

by SHIVDAN SINGH CHAUHAN

SPOTLIGHT

R.S.S. Editor's Performance

After evincing this piece of arithmetical erudition (and political pedantry), the ORGANISER staff naturally felt over-inflated, and it declared very solemnly that the pressmen of Delhi were a lot of ignoramuses. "They betrayed poor knowledge of the Three R's," wrote the ORGANISER!

As I have noted several times before, you can always trust the RSS boys to take the least intelligent line in everything. It is not surprising that their mouthpiece has come out with such a stupid performance with so great an aplomb. Nor should it be surprising that they quarrelled with their own cronies of the reactionary press for the latter having been impressed by the historic march. (Even the rabid American lobbyistman, Faizbazar THOUGHT called it "an impressive shout.")

But there is one more aspect to this matter. As is well known now, certain foreign interests in Delhi had, after seeing the Great March, began frantically to pull wires to get some sections of the press in India to come out minimising the number of marchers. All that they succeeded in getting was to stop some of the dailies (for instance, the HINDUSTAN TIMES) from giving any estimate of their own of the mammoth crowd. No one dared fly in the face of facts to carry their hehest. Only the ORGANISER has now obliged them.

For this, credit must go to the intimate links forged between the Sangh and the American anti-communists since the editor of this weekly was sent to the States for a course of training in journalism. The ties have evidently deepened since this gentleman returned after his grooming in America. He is reported to be maintaining very close contacts with his American friends in Delhi. Not unoften you find him playing American gramophone records in issues involving a tussle between Indian and American

interests. Often enough, he is so reckless that he would not desist from abusing Indian leaders just because they have dared defy American interests. ORGANISER's odd report on the Great March is just another instance of this foolhardy approach. Not only has it fallen foul of the whole Indian press, it is even recklessly at variance with the Jan Sangh Parliamentary leader Vajpayee's assessment of the Great March who found in it an evidence of the Communist Party's virility and urged the strengthening of the anti-communist front. The ORGANISER report, however, deduced from the Great March the lesson that "the CPI is without much root in the country." Its editor's performance beats that of the she-monkey tethered to the Madari's rope!

ORGANISER's arithmetic induces me to indulge in some of mine own, with apologies to our readers. The journal has a total space of 1,578 square inches excluding the advertisements. Out of it fully 157 inches i.e., about 10 per cent were devoted to write-ups on the Great March. The heading alone—a double-row, 72 point banner—occupies 17.6 square inches of space. This alone serves to disprove what the Sangh mouthpiece wished so ardently to prove. Could not the obtuse RSS heads realise this?

Tailpiece

Jan Sangh general secretary Deendayal Upadhyaya has received an invitation to visit Dollarland for a six-week tour. Atal Behari Vajpayee had earlier been invited for a similar visit and he carried with him a special message from Guru Golwalkar. It is not yet known what message of the great Guru Upadhyaya will be carrying in his pocket.

—GARUDA

GDR's GROWING RELATIONS WITH AFRO-ASIAN COUNTRIES

★ FROM P. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN, September 22: The Republic of Ghana has set an excellent example for the governments of all Afro-Asian non-aligned countries. Dr. NKRUMAH acted fearlessly when he established an economic and trade mission in the German Democratic Republic ignoring threats from West German government that recognition of GDR would be considered an unfriendly act.

LEADER of Ghanaian Trade Mission J. Mensa Bonsu presented his letter of credence last week to Herr Balow, GDR minister for international trade. Ghana's Trade Consulate has opened in Berlin.

Bonn has recalled its Ambassador in Accra for consultations. A few weeks ago the Federal Republic of Germany had granted Ghana a loan of twenty million Marks for construction of a bridge across the Volta river.

The notorious Hallstein doctrine which threatens independent states, with West Germany severing "diplomatic connections with them should they recognise GDR, has received yet another blow now.

Though West Germans have forced a "special proviso" in twenty million Mark loan agreement with Ghana that the credit will not come into force should Ghana take up diplomatic or consular relations with GDR, now it is emphasised in Bonn that there is no intention of regarding the establishment of the trade mission by Ghana as an unfriendly act which could lead to severance of diplomatic relations.

This should allay fear of countries like India that West Germans may retaliate which is the only reason now for not recognising German Democratic Republic.

While Bonn foreign office is in a quandary, holding consultations with their Accra ambassador and economic experts to decide what to do, the head of Ghana's economic and trade mission in GDR threw a festive reception in Berlin last Friday, just like any other, to celebrate the 51st birthday of Dr. Nkrumah. GDR State Council's Deputy Chairman, Deputy Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Head of Planning Commission and many other leading government representatives attended this reception.

In his speech the Ghanaian Consul-General said: "This evening is a historic occasion primarily because it is the first time a representative of Ghanaian government in GDR was giving a reception."

doctrines. We are even afraid of raising our national flag in our pavilions in Leipzig, international fair while all other countries of Asia and Africa whether they recognise GDR officially or not do hoist their flags.

How long are we going to fold up our flag and put it in the pocket wherever we meet West Germans in GDR? Now, we should be thankful to Ghana, and see that this Hallstein doctrine is like a dummy bomb which won't explode.

Indian Peace Marchers Arrested in Paris

THE two Indian Bhoodan workers Prabhakar Menon and Satish Kumar, who for 15 months are on an anti-nuclear march from New Delhi via Moscow to Washington and have covered 15,000 kilometres so far, were arrested in Paris on Monday, in front of the Elysee Palace, the residence of President de Gaulle. Together with a West German and a Danish peace partisan they had demonstrated in front of the Palace with a flag carrying the

On the other hand, Ghana is very much irritated by economic and political aid the West German government is rendering to South Africa. Chairman of Board of Directors of German Bank, former Nazi financier Herr Abs who has just returned from a trip to South Africa, announced in Frankfurt-on-Main last week that expansion of business and financial relations between West Germany and South Africa would grow in coming months. The Verwoerd regime has for years been West Germany's biggest trade partner in Africa while majority of States in the United Nations are boycotting this racist regime.

VISITORS FROM INDONESIA & CEYLON

THE same week Ghana was setting up her trade mission here, two distinguished visitors from Indonesia and Ceylon were holding important talks with representations of GDR government. Indonesia's Minister Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, Deputy Chairman of Provisional People's Congress who was leading a Parliamentary delegation met Walter Ulbricht and discussed matters mutually beneficial to both countries.

In a speech broadcast by GDR radio Sastroamidjojo favoured consolidation of friendly relations between Indonesia and GDR. He said: "We return to our country with a deep understanding. This will certainly be a fine basis on which we can develop closer and more friendly relations between our two peoples."

The other distinguished visitor was the Ceylonese Ambassador in Moscow Subasinghe. The famous Ceylonese dance troupe "Chitra-sena Ensemble" was a Berlin whose leader brought a very warm message from Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike to the government and people of GDR. The Ceylonese Ambassador said he was deeply impressed by the great strides GDR has taken in industrial advance.

There was a time when India was leading in establishing fresh ties of friendship with countries of progress. Today it seems we are moving slowly. Was it not in our economic interest to have set up an economic and trade mission in GDR long ago to look after our sales and purchases? Our trade volume with GDR is much greater than Ghana's. But our Ministry of International Trade is afraid of West Germany's Hallstein

words "Peace March New Delhi Moscow-Washington." When marching through the German Democratic Republic the two peace partisans were assisted by the Peace Council and had been received by Foreign Minister Dr. Lothar Bolz. They had voiced their gratitude for the hospitality they had found everywhere in the GDR (see New Age, June 23).

AITUC Statement on CDS Changes

Satish Loomba, secretary, All-India Trade Union Congress, issued the following statement on September 21:

THE AITUC welcomes the announcement made in the Lok Sabha today by T. T. Krishnamachari, the Finance Minister, scrapping the CDS for all classes of people except those who pay income-tax.

Ever since this invidious scheme was introduced, the AITUC, reflecting the sentiment of the broad masses of the working people, has been opposed to it. Among the trade union organisations, it was only the INTUC which welcomed this anti-people measure as a device for increasing capital formation and keeping prices down. But the Bombay Bandh struggle and the Great March to Parliament showed that the people were opposed to it and would be satisfied only if it was scrapped. Even now the income-tax payers are subject to CDS and the AITUC hopes that the government would again review the position and exempt the

lower income-tax paying group also withdrawing the surcharge levied on them. The People's Petition to Parliament and the Great March, backed by the organised strength of the people, have begun to bear fruit. However, prices have yet to be pegged and the campaign for nationalisation of banks, oil and import-export trade has to be carried on.

The AITUC congratulates all the millions of workers and common people who raised their powerful voice for abolition of the CDS, and appeals to them to unite ever more firmly for securing the rest of the demands contained in the People's Petition to Parliament.

The AITUC calls upon all unions to popularise this big victory of the people and to rouse them to press forward further to greater victories.

The session of the executive committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation from September 10 to 12, in Nicosia, Cyprus, was an important landmark.

THIS session took decisions which defeated the attempts to isolate the movement from the progressive movements and organisations of other countries and reduce it to a vehicle for the advancement of the policy of certain countries. It defeated attempts at splitting the organisation and establishing rival forums.

The committee gave full and unqualified support to the nuclear test ban treaty signed at Moscow. It decided to establish closer liaison with the organisation set up by the Addis Ababa Conference and thus help the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa and Asia. It decided not to support any Afro-Asian conference or seminar which is not held under the framework of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation and its secretariat and refused to give support to the proposed trade union conference to be held in Jakarta.

Support To Colombo Proposals

In the history of the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement, it was the first time that the India-China issue was raised and discussed in such a manner. The delegation from Lebanon strongly condemned the Chinese aggression on India and delegates from a number of countries including UAR, Soviet Union and South Africa gave full support to the Colombo proposals and demanded China to settle the dispute peacefully.

Moshi Resolution Reiterated

The meeting once more reiterated the resolutions adopted at Moshi on the question of India-China border dispute and supported the Colombo proposals.

It was not easy to arrive at such important decisions. The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, which had sent ten representatives, was working very hard for the last many months to block the way

of the executive to adopt any such decisions.

In spite of their mounting pressure a number of countries came out strongly in favour of discussing these issues in plenary session itself. The chairman set the ball rolling by giving full support to the test ban treaty, to the struggle of the Afro-Asian people against colonialism and imperialism and strongly criticising China on the India-China border dispute and asking it to accept the Colombo proposals and settle the dispute in the spirit of Bandung principles. Many delegates followed this clear cut path.

Support To Colombo Proposals

In the history of the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement, it was the first time that the India-China issue was raised and discussed in such a manner. The delegation from Lebanon strongly condemned the Chinese aggression on India and delegates from a number of countries including UAR, Soviet Union and South Africa gave full support to the Colombo proposals and demanded China to settle the dispute peacefully.

When India's representative Aruna Asaf Ali strongly criticised the Chinese policy and demanded acceptance of Colombo proposals, she received a very warm response. The Chinese delegation strongly protested against these

CHINESE BID FOILED

★ From Our Special Correspondent

speeches and demanded permission to speak again and reply but it was refused by the chair.

Speaking in the executive committee meeting of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation, Aruna Asaf Ali said:

LIKE people in all other parts of Afro-Asia, the people of India are intensely interested in the triumph of the struggle for liberty in every part of Africa. This struggle is becoming every day more forceful because African unity is being consolidated with great purposefulness.

She added: We would like to suggest that this Executive Committee should take decisions for observing throughout Africa and Asia and other parts of the world Special Days of Solidarity

with the African peoples fighting against colonialism and racialism.

(a) A Day of Solidarity with Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies. (b) A Day of Solidarity with South African peoples. (c) A Special Day dedicated to the fight against racialism in all its forms. This should be linked up with solidarity with the great struggle against racialism in the USA itself....

It is our view that the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement must make the question of solidarity with the people of South Vietnam in their struggle against the Diem government and its US protectors an urgent and immediate part of its programme.

An outstanding victory for our cause has been the signing of the treaty to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in space and under water. The Afro-Asian Solidarity movement which has at every one of its meetings expressed itself in favour of banning of nuclear tests, is naturally relieved and happy that the first step in the direction of disarmament has been taken....

It is a matter of special concern to us in Asia and Africa that the government of France refuses to sign the agreement and is planning a new series of tests in the Sahara, thus threatening the African peoples with all the dangers of radio-activity. The US imperialists themselves continue to carry out under ground tests and to pile up nuclear arms....

We in India have been shocked by the decision of some Asian countries to follow in the footsteps of France and oppose the test ban treaty and carry on a worldwide propaganda against that treaty. Their attitude makes them the colleagues of the forces of reaction in the USA and West Germany and strengthens the war-mongers and imperialists all over the world. Afro-Asian people for whom peace is absolutely necessary for economic development and stabilisation of independence will regret this attitude....

This executive committee must go on record in support of the stand taken in signing the Mos-

cow treaty by all African governments and the vast majority of Asian governments.

We are particularly regretful that the India-China conflict has still not been resolved. The Moshi conference had expressed its appreciation of the proposals of the six nonaligned Afro-Asian countries which have met in Colombo. But, unfortunately, these proposals have still not been accepted by the Chinese government and for this reason negotiations have not begun. Meanwhile the situation has recently deteriorated considerably due to large concentration of armed forces on our borders.

NEW AGE Special Number

WE regret to inform our readers that due to certain technical difficulties, it will not be possible for us to bring out the Tenth Anniversary Number of the NEW AGE on October 13, as announced earlier. The issue dated October 20, will now be the anniversary number.

—Editor.

The Indian people are deeply conscious of the fact that as long as India-China differences are not resolved, Afro-Asian solidarity remains weakened and incomplete. Only the imperialists and the most reactionary forces gain through the continuation of the present tension on our borders.

It was because of this conviction that the six nonaligned Afro-Asian governments intervened in the dispute between India and China. The proposals of the Colombo Powers have been warmly supported by all who stand for Afro-Asian solidarity.

We therefore appeal to all the Afro-Asian countries to take steps for the implementation of the Colombo proposals, so that the way is cleared for a peaceful settlement....



Paramount necessity for the formation of health

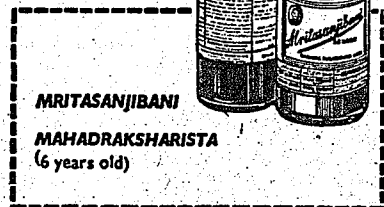
You feel tired to work... do not get energy to work or suffer from colds... or perhaps you have not a desire for food or what you take does not digest even.

Then it would rapidly improve your health if you take two spoonful of Mritasanjibani mixed with four spoonful of Mahadpraksharista (6 years old).

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACCA
36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road
Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 48



Adhyaksha Dr. Jagesh Chandra Ghose, M.A. Ayurved-Sastri, F.C.S. (London), M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.



MRTISANJIBANI
MAHADPRAKSHARISTA
(6 years old)

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

TWO BIRTHDAYS

THERE are two Diwalis and two Dussehras this year. For over a month pundits and purohitis were fighting it out over the exact dates. They were wrangling over the Hindu grahas.

And the astrologers who orbit around the ministerial grihas in the Capital tell me that this phenomenon has occurred after an interval of 81 years. The peculiar planetary configuration has knocked out a whole month of this year. Hence the confusion over festival dates.

And for this reason the Rashtrapati celebrated his birthday twice this month. On September 5 it was formally celebrated as it is every year. He received felicitations from Heads of States from all the world over.

But according to the Hindu calendar his birthday fell on September 20 and there was another celebration at an informal level. We do not grudge the respected Rashtrapati this double pleasure.

But we are rather intrigued to find an invitation card issued by Jan Singh secretary DEENDAYAL UPADHYAYA in connection with the second round of celebration. We have seen this card ourselves. Pundit Deendayal (or is he a Purohit?) invited a couple of hundred Hindu de-

votes for a bhajan session on September 20.

Now, we have no objection to any citizen of the Republic of India inviting the President to celebrate his birthday on any other day dear to him. But we do venture to say that the Jan Singh boss has no right to invite people to Rashtrapati Bhavan for this purpose.

We say this because we do not know of any previous occasion on which the doors of the Rashtrapati Bhavan were opened to Dayals or Dalals of any political party. And what a political party this one! The bulk of the RSS who still sing the praise of Nathuram Godse is found in this party. And who during the last general elections circulated leaflets in Delhi saying that Jawaharlal Nehru goes to Ashoka Hotel every evening to eat beef!

The bhajan session is a feather in Deendayal's cap but we are not sure how much it has added to the standing of the President of India.

IT will take some weeks for the joint air exercises to commence. But already the Yankees are quite exercised over its global publicity.

Three of their publicists have already pitched their

Whispering Gallery

tents in New Delhi. They are Bair, Jones and Richard. They have brought a blueprint for world publicity. Apart from other things, they want to televise the whole project and show to the world what a wonderful thing they are doing for India.

The Yankee trio has the support of the Washington Patriots in the Foreign and I. & B. ministries. But happily there is also a section opposed to such aggression by propaganda. It is for the Prime Minister now to decide.

TALKING about Washington Patriots, we hear that Nawab Singh, who signed the notorious VOA deal is being asked to find another berth. He came to the Information and Broadcasting ministry from the Planning Commission. He might find a place there.

Before that he was the chief secretary in Punjab. But Kairon is hesitating to take him back.

He certainly deserves this fate because he was one of those who sold out our voice behind the back of the Cabinet.

But what about Foreign Secretary Desai, his partner-in-crime? We hear he is getting a promotion. Equity indeed!

—Vijayan

NEW AGE
Subscription Rates:
Inland: Yearly Rs. 12
Half-yearly Rs. 6
Quarterly Rs. 3
Foreign: Yearly Rs. 20
Half-yearly Rs. 10
All Cheques, drafts etc. are to be made payable to T. Madhavan and not to New Age
Managerial Office
7/4 Asaf Ali Road,
New Delhi
Phone: 271002 & 271794

DEFENCE PRIORITIES MUST BE FIXED

★ FROM PAGE 7

thing in its proper perspective, many of my friends are so overwhelmed by the retreat of our forces, that they see only the retreat. They do not see the retreat of the aggressor.

Frank Anthony: And the reason?

Indrajit Gupta: Yes, we want to know the reason. Did they go back because of our superiority of arms?

Frank Anthony: Because Krishna Menon was sacked.

Indrajit Gupta: May I know whether the Anglo-French and Israeli troops which launched an all-out military attack by sea and air on Egypt in 1956 had to retreat because of the superior military might of little Egypt? Did the Chinese have to go back from NEFA because suddenly they thought we were becoming so strong that they would not be able to advance further? The whole point is there are other forces abroad in the world, which Shri Anthony and his friends are totally ignorant of. There are forces abroad which stand for peace, democracy and progress, and those forces are strong enough today to compel aggressors to retreat or to hold back the hand of the aggressor.

USSR's Help

Many of the gentlemen in this House who in November last were talking about the identity of Russia and China, saying that we should never trust any of them, should be thankful today that the mighty Soviet Union has come out categorically in our defence against the Chinese aggressor, and they should reckon with this.

Policy is part of defence too, and my friends who see only one part of it, the weakness of the policy which led to our being in a comparative state of defence unpreparedness, do not see the other aspect also which has enabled us to isolate the aggressor and to push him back.

In my opinion, the single biggest lesson which emerges out of this Report and the statement of the Defence Minister is the question of developing our self-sufficiency in defence production.

Shri Prakash Vir Shastri says that we must have no inhibitions as to purchasing or borrowing or getting by way of gift all the equipment and weapons we want from various countries. We have no objection to that, but my point is that it can only be a stopgap measure, it can only be a supplementary measure to fill the gap, provided that simultaneously we are taking resolute measures to stand on our own

feet and acquire self-sufficiency. Until we are able to do that, this country's defence will always be at the mercy of others.

Therefore, I am pointing out that this progress that is claimed, the switching over from 303 rifles to semi-automatic rifles, this sort of hesitant step — starting one or two ordnance factories — and all these things, are not adequate. It is just a drop in the ocean compared to what is required. We are actually frantically trying now to buy whatever we can from wherever we can. This famous shopping list of India's arms requirements, I regret to say, has become quite a joke in some parts of the world. If you read the western press, you will find how they joke about it.

Western Aid

May I quote from the editorial of the Statesman dated September 19, 1967?

"The eagerness of the right wing critics to get 'massive aid' from the West — a phrase they first used in the dark days of November and have stuck to since — must cause some amusement in Western capitals. The reluctance is as great there as in Mr. Nehru's heart to go in for a massive involvement in a border war in the Himalayas except if another big attack by China seems more imminent to them than it does just now. Their present eagerness does not go much beyond making the arrangements already being made for receiving their help effectively, should the need for it arise; they are not willing to do much more at the moment, however great the disappointment for some people in India. Nor does it seem to be desired by them (or desirable for us) that we should make an aggressive display of anti-Communism."

Of course, we shall buy whatever we require from wherever we can get it although it amounts to this, namely, the standardisation of our equipment is being given the go-by. Later on we will get into the ditch over questions like spare-parts. That cannot be helped perhaps. But it can only be the supplementary step.

As far as aid from the west is concerned, we must remember it has very severe limitations in the fact that there are strings attached; the fact that we have already given an undertaking that this equipment will not be used against Pakistan. We have given that undertaking without which we would not have received this aid.

Ranga: Nothing wrong with that.

Indrajit Gupta: Also, whatever aid we get from the west, I am sure full information with regard to it can go to the potential aggressors due to the very system of military alliances within which they are. Therefore, aid has been limited mainly to transport, communication, etc.

The British are also giving aid to China, as you know, according to the papers. They are sending equipment and transport planes to China as well. Therefore, there are limitations.

Take, for example, the UAR, a smaller country than ours, much smaller and much weaker. What are they doing after their experience of Suez? It is reported in the papers. Their minister was here only yesterday. His statement has appeared in the press. He has said that Egypt has already built a supersonic jet factory at Halwan to which we are sending some Indian technicians also. If they can do it, why cannot we?

They have got missiles which were displayed in their parade in Cairo on their independence day. They have got automatic weapons. Their minister, Mr. Salaam said yesterday in Delhi that this is being paid for. The money for it is found by the fact that the Government of UAR has nationalised the whole of their export-import trade — 85 per cent of their capital industries and 25 per cent of their domestic trade. This is how a poor, underdeveloped country gets the required finances for building up an independent defence potential, and that is what we have always been pressing for.

Of course, it is admitted that our resources are limited. Once again I want to remind the Defence Minister of the little request I had made of him last April: please fix up your priorities, but priority No. 1 is the development of our independent defence potential, for which the development of heavy industries and basic industries — everything — is essential.

Without steel, without heavy foundries, without heavy forge, without alloy steel, we cannot build the kind of defence potential that we require. Therefore, all the critics who are shouting about our defence unpreparedness and at the same time, are violent opponents of the scheme of development of heavy industries and strategic industries and they are wrapping

themselves up in a contradiction which can only have some political motive behind it.

I conclude by saying that history is replete with examples of the fact that the aggressor always has the initial advantage. It does not depend only on the equipment, and weapons, that the defenders will be able to prevent even a single inch of their ground from being taken.

The French were sitting behind their wonderful Maginot Line in 1940 and within 24 hours they found themselves routed. The Soviet army which was certainly not unprepared and which was well-equipped, had to go several hundred miles back into its own territory before the Hitler hordes, before it was able to stage a comeback.

Therefore, finally, I want to say that we should not see this thing in the incorrect perspective as though there has been disaster from which it is impossible to recover. Certainly we were very pained at what had happened, but the point is to gird up our loins and go forward on the correct lines, so that our defence system can be properly overhauled and put on its own, independent footing and that alone, combined with the correct political foreign policy which has got us allies throughout the world, will enable us to guard our borders securely in the future.

JULLUNDER: The no-confidence motion sponsored by the Communist group in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha was an important event. It is widely rumoured that the High Command has taken a decision to relieve KAIRON and the decision has actually been conveyed to him. They are waiting so that the heat generated during the past few weeks cools off and nobody claims any credit for the job.

Among those who have been carrying on a campaign against the Chief Minister are the parties and the leaders of the Right and some opportunist politicians. The recent Supreme Court judgment which charged Kairon with taking administrative action against Dr. Pratap Singh because of personal vendetta gave a further impetus to the "Kairon Must Go" campaign.

The Punjab unit of the CPI has always taken a principled position vis-a-vis the Kairon ministry. While giving it its due for industrial and agricultural development in certain spheres, the Party has determinedly opposed its capitalist character. The Party staunchly defended the interests of the workers and the peasants.

Kairon's tall claims in regard to peasantry were thoroughly exposed during the anti-Betterment Levy agitation. His police shot down a dozen peasants including women and imprisoned nearly 17,000. But he had to yield and reduce the quantum of the Levy.

NO CONFIDENCE IN KAIRON Communist Motion Discussed

★ From Prem Singh

The working class in Punjab have had to resort to strike and other mass actions in order to defend their rights.

It was quite natural, therefore, that the Communist group in the Vidhan Sabha should have come out with its own motion of no-confidence stating clearly its reasons and demarcating from the stand of the Rightist parties.

The Party's reasons are: serious growth of corruption and arbitrary interference in administration, imposition of sales tax on food-grains, increase in the rate of general sales tax and the passenger tax, levy on commercial crops and the failure of the government to check floods and water-logging.

The Party demanded nationalisation of Road Transport, implementation of the State Trading Scheme and imposition of graded

agricultural income tax. The Party further demanded the implementation of the recommendations of Resources and Retrenchment Committee as also of the Betterment Levy Committee.

The Party also demanded the release of Communist detainees. The Communist group's no-confidence motion was the first to be ever moved in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha. It naturally attracted great attention. There was all-round stir and a lot of rethinking. Other opposition parties and leaders supported our move. Thus it was admitted.

Jagir Singh Joga, MLA made a sober hard-hitting speech. He said that the cabinet was responsible for corruption and interference in administration. He listed out the main negative features of the Ministry and demanded its removal. He said that government had failed to check the rise of communal forces. He clearly stated that these very communal forces were opposing tooth and nail the nationally accepted policies of non-alignment and planned economic development.

He emphasised the urgent necessity of unity of all patriotic elements in view of the danger on the borders. He criticized the government policy of taxation. He said the government was imposing heavy taxes on the masses while the richer sections were making enormous

amounts of money. He said, "We are not interested in Congress factionalism. We want a principled demarcation based on policies."

He listed out various instances wherein the Chief Minister was directly responsible for undue interference in the affairs of administration. He referred to cases of suicide of officers resulting from such interference.

The leaders of the opposition parties charged Kairon mainly for corruption and administrative interference. While the Communist speaker brought home the failure of the government, the leaders of the opposition parties concentrated their fire on the person of Kairon. Except a few picked men none of the Congress speakers defended the person of Kairon. They, however, defended the Kairon cabinet.

Under a whip, the Congress Parliamentary Party had forbidden some of its members from speaking. Only the chosen few were allowed. Others kept quiet in the Vidhan Sabha, though they continued their behind-the-scenes activity to oust Kairon.

Kairon is straining every nerve to keep himself in the saddle. He sent over a hundred Congress legislators to Delhi to convince the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is reported to have disapproved of the move. The outcome of the present battle will be known shortly.

U.P. Victory For Morarji-Patil

★ From Ramesh Sinha

With the "election" of SUCHETA KRIPALANI as the puppet Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, the anti-Nehru, anti-Kamaraj clique of MORARJI-PATIL and Company has, after its infamous kill in Gujarat, annexed the country's biggest State.

FROM the moment C. B. Gupta's resignation was accepted under the Kamaraj Plan, the cohorts of the outgoing Chief Minister had declared an undisguised and vulgar war on Nehru and his plan to revitalise the Congress administration.

Most indecent propaganda of the personal type was carried on against Nehru, his sister Vijaya Lakshmi, Pan'it, his daughter Indira Gandhi and Kamaraj, "whom Nehru in his lust for dictatorial power" was using "as a tool."

The political pindaris of Uttar Pradesh, surrounding C. B. Gupta, pouring ridicule over the Kamaraj Plan declared that "it was all a trick to clear the path for Indira at the Centre and to instal Vitaya Lakshmi Pandit in U.P.!" They proclaimed they would fight to the bitter end and dig the "grave of the Kamaraj Plan and Nehru in Uttar Pradesh."

Let there be no doubt about this also that theirs was no local battle. What they were openly engaged in, is an all-India battle in which they had solicited and had been abundantly rendered all-India help by the all-India clique of Morarji-Patil and its indigenous and alien supporters.

Not only the Ram Ratan Guptas and Jaipurias of Kanpur, not only the representatives of Shanti Prasad Jain and Birla were present here with their purses during the election, present were also Mr. Schaffer, Second Secretary of the American Embassy, and two of his other American colleagues dressed up as some sort of correspondents.

It is not easy to prove it, at least just now, but everybody says that nearly nine lakhs of rupees have been spent on winning this election for Gupta's dummy. Even some members of the Guota group have admitted in private talks that

nominee of the completely discredited Gupta group, he had with him the sympathy of the common people thirsting for a change of the stinking regime. He had got the sympathy of all who wanted a change in the unhappy state of affairs here.

This was evident from the grief-stricken response of nearly eight thousand people who had gathered in front of the Council House. As they learnt of the result, first they refused to believe it and, gradually when the stark reality began to sink in their consciousness, they left the place quietly and sullenly. The nightmare had not ended for them. It had assumed an even more ghastly form.

The State has been presented on the platter of the capitalists' silver to the politics of J. B. Kripalani, that archbishop of reaction and spokesman of dollar imperialism from the Opposition platform.

Husband and Wife

Even at the time of the Amroha election, in an obvious appeal to the electorate, Sucheta had come out with a statement eulogising the great and unrivalled virtues of her husband. She is what she is because of what he is.

She is, therefore, nothing if she is not a link between the Acharya and the Gupta group, which is now openly, avowedly and defiantly espousing the politics of Morarji-Patil. B. Kripalani axis—the axis of Right reaction inside and outside the Congress.

Sucheta was chosen to be Gupta group's puppet in this contest precisely for this reason. She was chosen "to show N-hru" his place, to—as a bludgeoning buffoon of the Guota group went about babbling—"slap N-hru in the face."

For the rest she is utterly undistinguished, an utter nonentity, incapable of running even a small department of the government—for which all she need not really be blamed. Nor has she got any standing whatsoever either among Congressmen of the State or among

POLICE EVICT PEASANTS Sordid Tale of Atrocity

★ From Madhusudan Bhattacharyya

SHILLONG: In the wake of national emergency appeals were made to peasants to augment food production as a second line of defence. It is known to all how the peasants of Assam responded to this call. But an attempt to evict peasants with the help of police surely does not help the campaign to grow more food; rather this creates a tension that is most undesirable in today's context. Yet this is what is happening at Dangdhara area in Amguri-Kharikatiya Mouza, under Jorhat subdivision of Shibsagar district of Assam.

PROMULGATION of prohibitive order under section 144 Cr.P.C. criminal cases against peasants, arrest of a large number of people, posting of police pickets — all the familiar features of eviction operations are there and what is more, there is an attempt to incite fratricidal clash among the land hungry peasants.

Dangdhara forms a part of a grant enjoyed by the East India Tea Company. But the area is a little off from the tea garden of the EITC and hence could not be utilised for extension of plantation. The area had been lying fallow, covered with jungles where only wild animals roamed. About twenty years back the Company began to invite landless peasants of the neighbouring areas to cultivate the area and as a special inducement assured that the cultivators would not be required to pay any land revenue for the first few years.

Induced by this offer landless peasants from the neighbouring areas rushed to Dangdhara. They reclaimed the area, cleared jungles, fighting against venomous snakes and other wild animals. The labour of the sturdy peasants converted the once waste land into a fertile area and a few hundred peasant families settled there. They began to enjoy the fruit of their own toil. And then attempts started to evict the peasants from Dangdhara, to deprive

Majuli, the biggest river island of the world. The peasant occupants of Dangdhara maintain that they have every sympathy for the flood and erosion affected people of Majuli and indeed they themselves had earlier helped the Majuli people by contributing seedlings, rice and paddy for their relief.

But they would not accept this policy of robbing Peter to pay Paul. Why must rehabilitation of one group of peasants mean eviction of another group from the soil that the latter themselves reclaimed with the sweat of their brow?

The occupants of Dangdhara approached the Majuli people and told them that the government scheme was not aimed at rehabilitating them but was aimed at inciting clash between one group of land hungry peasants and another. So, they requested the Majuli people not to come to Dangdhara, but demand rehabilitation elsewhere.

Meanwhile, they submitted representation again to the Commissioner of Plains division requesting him to distribute this land among the present occupants and regularise their occupation by giving them formal title deeds. This was followed by promulgation of prohibitive order under section 144 Cr.P.C. and posting police pickets in the area. Some persons were also arrested by the police. A deputaion led by some Kisan Sabha leaders of the area met the Chief Minister and the Revenue Minister and sought their personal intervention in the matter to restore peace in the area, but with little result. Information till the time of writing this shows that further arrests and other forms of harassments of the peasants of Dangdhara have been continuing till now.

Just Out: *In English*
RESOLUTIONS OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
 (September 14-17) Price: 15 nP.
COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION
 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi

CORRECTION
 IN the text of the CPI Central Executive Committee's Resolution on the Test Ban Treaty appearing on Page 5 of this issue, in Column 4 under the sub-heading "Intolerable Slander"—
 Para Two (beginning "To slander the Soviet Union...") the second sentence which now reads: "Such slanders is nothing but doing the national liberation movement from the socialist camp," should actually read: "Such slander also seeks to isolate the national liberation movement from the socialist camp."

its people. She has been a pitiable, albeit ambitious, tool in the political game of her husband and his allies inside the Congress.
 And she will be used only for promoting this game. Her sponsors have already given the slogan of a "homogeneous cabinet", which means that they will try, this time, to keep out of the new Ministry everyone who does not fully and completely support them and their game.

If the Kamaraj Plan was meant to rid the Congress administration everywhere of deadweight on its policies and to give a much-needed push to it in a direction of fulfilling some of the pledges given by the Congress to people, it has been defeated and buried, at least for the time being in Uttar Pradesh. There is disappointment and, in certain quarters, justifiable bitterness against the Congress High Command and Nehru. They had called C. B. Gupta and the two contestants to Delhi a few hours before the secret poll here. Nothing was settled there.

And the people supporting Tripathi were put to some disadvantage because, after their return from Delhi, Sucheta began telling people here that Nehru and Indira Gandhi had blessed her candidature, which was, of course, untrue. Prabhakariv, looking at the claims of both the groups, the Congress High Command and Nehru had decided, not to interfere in the election. The result has been disastrous.

It underlines the lesson that half-heartedness in politics, as well as in life, does not pay. In the name of imaginary impartiality and non-interference, this important state has been handed over to greater instability, greater uncertainty, and greater misery and suffering for the people.

I shall end this story by narrating an incident which took place at the residence of Ram Murti, one of Gupta's Ministers in the last

RS. 5,000 FOR ONE VOTE

"In spite of the Kamaraj plan, which was supposed to place the party above power, the leadership elections in the Hindi-speaking States of Bihar, U.P. and Madhya Pradesh were marked by malpractices. It is reported that in the home state of the Prime Minister at least one vote fetched as much as Rs. 5,000."

—INDIAN EXPRESS, Delhi edition, September 25 Page 5, Column 2.

IN THE CITY OF JALLIANWALA BAGH

BIGGEST PEACE CONGRESS EVER

During the Great March to Parliament on September 13, among the many slogans raised by the never-ending demonstration were those condemning the Voice of America and the joint air exercise agreements. Each one of the demonstrators knew well the meaning of these shameful violations of our basic policy of nonalignment.

DURING the meeting addressed by the Chairman of the Communist Party S. A. Dange outside the Parliament House, the vast gathering raised their hands and shouted approval, when they were asked to support the policy of nonalignment, the nuclear test-ban treaty and the Colombo proposals.

It is with a view to focus public attention on all these vital questions that the All India Peace Council has decided to convene the All India Peace Congress at Amritsar on November 1, 2 and 3, 1963.

Over a thousand delegates from all over the country and many guests from other lands will attend this important

gathering of the peace movement.

Tens of thousands will come from all over Punjab to participate in the mass rally to be held in connection with the Congress.

It is already clear from the point of view of its size and significance, that this Congress will be the greatest manifestation in support of peace ever organised in this country.

It is being preceded by state and local conferences and conventions.

The issues which will be discussed are themselves an indication of the vital importance of the Congress.

The question of defence of

nonalignment will naturally occupy the central place in all the discussions. The appeal issued for the Congress says:

1 "The policy of nonalignment is in the best interests of our country.

2 "Nonalignment is essential for building up the self-reliant defence potential which can protect our country's sovereignty and integrity.

3 "Nonalignment is essential for the maintenance of India's independence today.

4 "Nonalignment is essential for the strengthening of Indian economy in the manner best suited to our needs."

Recent Events

Recent developments have made clear to the entire people that nonalignment is under grave attack of the worst Right reactionary, pro-imperialist sections inside the country. The Peace Congress will undoubtedly discuss these developments and take steps to bring into action the united will of all Indian democrats against those who would drag this country, by one means or other, into the system of military pacts.

The Congress is meeting at a time when world interest has been roused as never before on the question of disarmament following the signing of the nuclear test-ban treaty at Moscow. The Congress will not only support the test-ban treaty and call for further steps towards disarmament: it will also express its resolute opposition to the madmen who are opposing the treaty, refusing to sign it, and describing it as a fraud and a betrayal.

Of special concern to the Congress will naturally be the defence of the security and integrity of our Motherland. The peace movement in India during the critical days following the Chinese aggression was in the forefront in lending its support to the Government of India in all its efforts to defend the country and at the same time work for a peaceful solution.

Today it is the concern of every patriotic and peace-loving Indian to see that worldwide pressure is brought to bear upon the Chinese leaders so that they may accept the historic Colombo proposals, and thus assist in creating the climate for fruitful negotiations.

Recent days have seen a sharp intensification by the Pakistan Government of tension on our borders. The city of Amritsar is only a few kilometres from Pakistan. The common ties which bind us to the people of Pakistan can never be wiped out. The Congress is bound to devote its attention to the question of Indo-Pakistan relations and the pro-

Release All Detenus

That the government has no justification for continuing the detention of the detenus arrested under the Defence of India Rules was never in doubt. It became abundantly clear during the discussions that took place on the subject in Parliament recently. The reasons given by government were hardly convincing for any one.

FOLLOWING the Supreme Court judgment, the moral obligation on the part of the Government to rectify the position became all the more overpowering and the Law Minister was seen trying his best to justify government position only through hair-splitting legal arguments.

It was pointed out by Bhupesh Gupta that the Act and the rules thereunder were ultra vires of the Constitution. Except for the Presidential Order, there was nothing in favour of government and even that also could not enhance the lawmaking powers of Parliament.

It was reported that faced with mounting pressure from various quarters of the country, the government has de-

ecided to review the cases of all detenus. According to reports, it is learnt that government may "for security reasons" re-arrest after release some of the detenus under the Preventive Detention Act.

The suggestion of "re-arrest" in this context is most unfortunate. Persons detained under Preventive Detention Act cannot be kept in detention for more than one year and the detenus under DIR have already undergone detention for about the same period. Now to release them and again to arrest them under P.D. Act will constitute only a most vindictive step. What is required is the final and outright release of all political prisoners.

blem of Kashmir, and to denounce the imperialist conspiracies which seek to take virtual possession of the Kashmir Valley by sinister schemes under one label or another.

The Sino-Pakistan pact which has created new perils for our country will undoubtedly figure prominently in the discussions.

As at all congresses of the Indian peace movement, urgent attention will be paid to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Two Commissions are likely to be set up to discuss these questions—one with special reference to Afro-Asia; and the other dealing with the problems of Latin America.

Cultural and economic problems connected with the question of peace will, of course, occupy an important place in the deliberations.

There will be sectional meetings of workers, peasants, writers, and artists, youth and students, women, lawyers, doctors, etc.—which will discuss ways and means to intensify the work for peace in their respective sections of the people.

The cultural festival to be organised in connection with

the Congress is expected to be a great spectacle of the best Punjab can offer us, as well as gems from other parts of the country.

Amritsar has a glorious tradition in the national movement. It is the city of Jallianwala Bagh. Among the first activities of the delegates will be to place flowers at the monument in memory of the martyrs of Jallianwala Bagh.

And as they do so, they will pledge themselves to carry forward the battle to defend our independence, to win which so many sacrificed their lives—shot dead by the butcher-general Dyer.

The struggle for peace today is the continuation of the struggle which led to the winning of our national independence. Peace is the shield which defends our country's independence.

The Amritsar Congress will lead to a nationwide militant struggle against those who would sell our independence, destroy it, and hand over our motherland to the imperialists once again.

The All-India Peace Congress will also be a powerful demonstration in support of the world peace movement and against the splitting activities of the Chinese leaders.

FOR A NEW ACTION

* FROM FRONT PAGE.

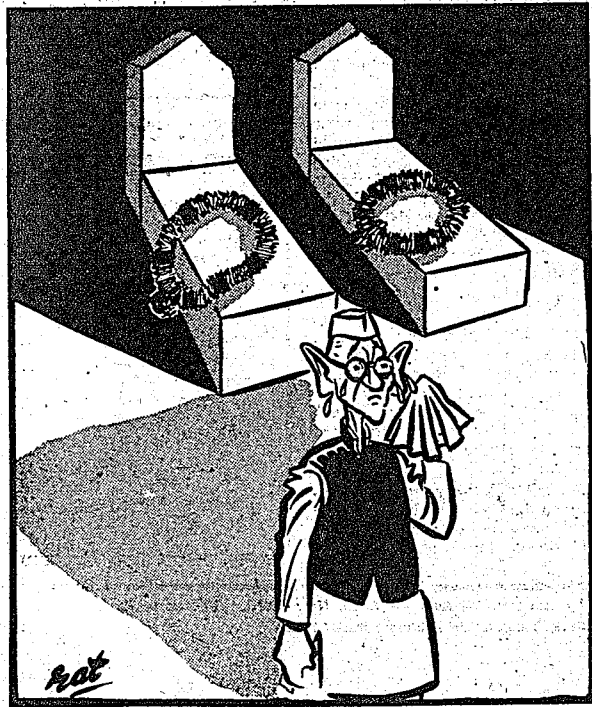
So the working class and democratic forces have to be more active and vigilant and not rest content with the small gains that they have made.

Let all those one crore that signed the Great Petition to Parliament and those two lakhs who marched to Delhi once again move in their factories, offices, villages to report on what they have achieved, and what they have yet to achieve. Let them discuss and

give us new ideas, new suggestions for common demand and common action—not a big omnibus long charter of all possible demands, but such as are acute, immediate, felt by all. Let them evolve new forms of mobilising action, capable of bearing immediate fruit. Let them write to the Party in their areas and to the Centre, on their suggestions, so that things move forward.

We are on the right road. Unite and struggle further to win more successes.

Two of my best prodigies . . .



OPEN LETTER

of CPSU Central Committee to Party Organisations, to all Communists of Soviet Union

CPI Publication

In English, Hindi, Bengali, Punjabi, Urdu, Marathi, Tamil, Malayalam and Assamese.

Price : 15 nP

Book your orders through Party Committees or direct from

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
RANI JHANSI ROAD, NEW DELHI 1.