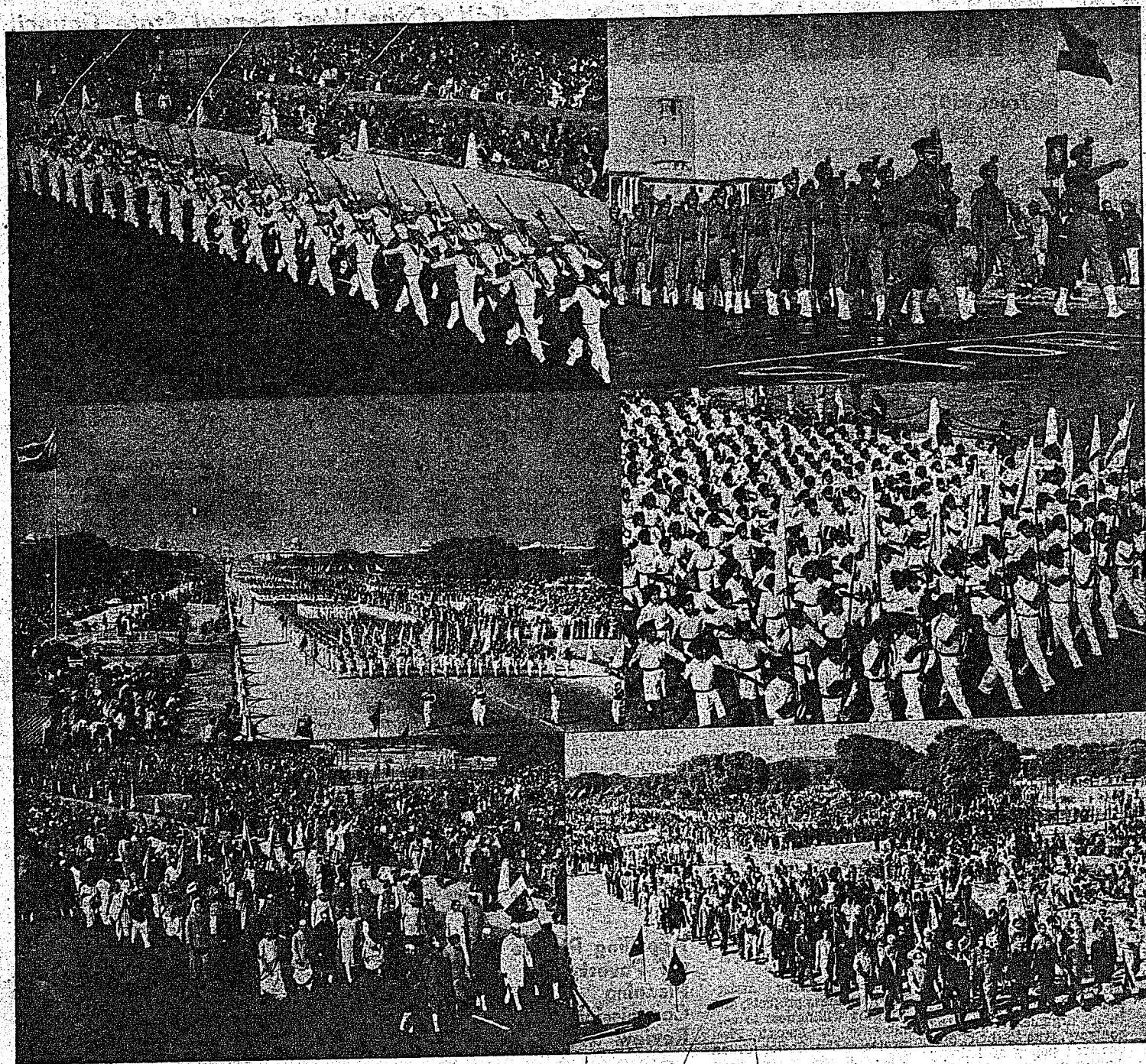


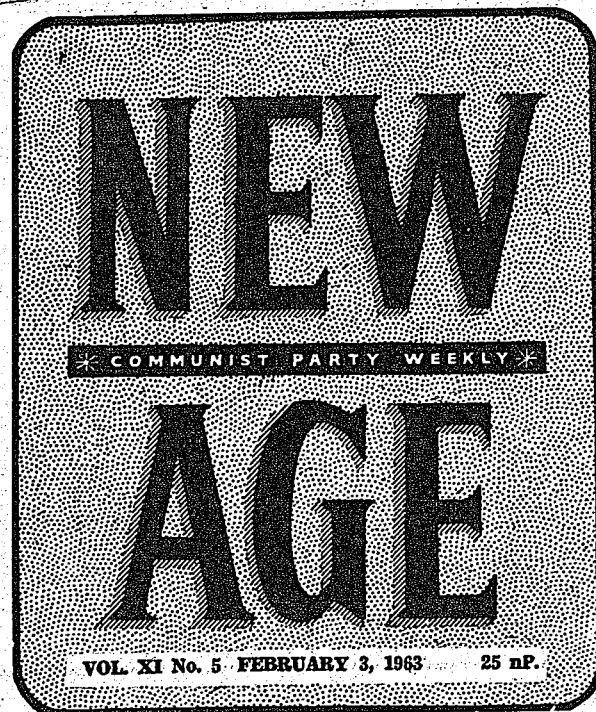
NATION PLEDGES ANEW



7 APR-6
Copy 1961



For The Defence
Of The Republic,
Its Honour And
Integrity



Republic Day Celebration In New Delhi.
Pictures: Top—Navy and Army contingents; Middle—Students and NCC Cadets; Below—Left—Members of Parliament led by Prime Minister Nehru, Right—Workers led by trade Union Organisations. Photos by Virendra Kumar and J. Ballabh.

UNITEDLY DEFEND BASIC POLICIES OF THE REPUBLIC:

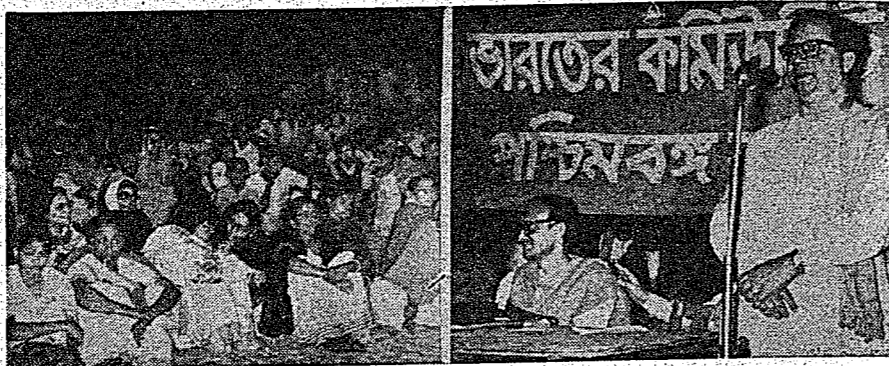
Call of the West Bengal State Council of the CPI on Republic Day

From AJAY DAS GUPTA

CALCUTTA, January 27: Republic Day Celebration in Calcutta this year was a bit different than past years. On this occasion the Communist Party had its public meeting in Calcutta after nearly three months' enforced silence due to refusal of the Government to allow it to use loud-speakers.

The Congress Party did not hold any meeting on its own, but placed all resources at its command at the disposal of the Chief Minister who presided over a meeting convened by the India Defence Aid Committee, president of which is no other person than Atulya Ghosh, president of the State Congress. This meeting was a semi-official one being inaugurated by the Governor, Padmaraja Naidu. Some other parties held a joint meeting at the

foot of the Monument. The official programme consisted of a ceremonial parade on the Red Road in the morning and a staging of the play 'Anandamath' by the Folk Entertainment Wing of the West Bengal Government at the Ranji Indoor Stadium. The meeting convened by the Communist Party was held at the Park Circus Maidan and was presided over by Surhid Mullick Chowdhury, Marxist Forward Bloc leader. Bhowani Sen and Somnath



Surhid Mullick Chowdhury addressing the Park Circus rally. On his right is seated Bhowani Sen.

Lahiri were the speakers. The meeting opened with Vande Mataram. One minute's silence was observed in honour of the jawans who have laid down their lives in defending

the motherland. The meeting unanimously passed two resolutions. The one on "Pledge to Defend the Republic" read: "On the occasion of Republic Day

this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta being held under the auspices of the Communist Party of India (West

* ON PAGE 16

Economic Notes

By ESSEN

INCREASING SOVIET AID

When the Chinese rulers wrote their epitaph on the hollowness of India's policy of non-alignment in the 'People's Daily' last October, they made it a point to ignore the assistance which non-aligned India was receiving from the socialist countries.

Thus they thought they could wish away the fact of this assistance and show India up as wholly dependent on the capitalist West. They could not of course succeed, for, none, and least of all the socialist countries, were impressed by the "profundity" of their argument. On the contrary, true to their oft-declared policy of helping developing countries like India, to reconstruct their national economies, these countries have gone ahead with their business of growing new links with India in the economic field.

The Polish Foreign Minister, during his visit to India, discussed the setting up of an industrial complex with assistance from his country. The Czechs have advanced new proposals for machine tools and other projects, and now the Soviet Union has showed interest even in the Fourth Plan, and offered to discuss in good time collaboration in projects to be included therein.

We have mentioned these facts not to score a point against the Chinese, although we consider it of the highest importance that the falsity of the Chinese thesis in relation to our country is exposed. We have chosen to bring them to our readers to tell them, that, unlike what the Chinese say, it is, in fact, the socialist countries which have been the foremost to

give us assistance, and that too in sectors in which we need it most.

Following the visit of the Secretary-General of the External Affairs Ministry, R. K. Nehru, the USSR has agreed to collaborate in setting up additional 15 projects in the Third Plan itself, and offer for them assistance worth Rs. 54 crores. These projects include ball bearing, compressor and pumping set plants, blast furnaces with capacities ranging from 1,000 to 1,500 tons, alloy steel and heavy engineering plants.

Besides offering assistance for these projects, and showing willingness to collaborate in Fourth Plan projects, the Soviet Union has offered to at least double the trade with India in 1963. Under the new trade agreement, to be negotiated next month, it has agreed to incorporate a more diversified pattern, which means that, in future, it will import from India more of her processed and manufactured goods, like textiles, pig iron, leather and jute manufactures, than it had been doing earlier. How unlike our "traditional" Western partners who want our exports to be confined to raw materials, and that too at a reduced level!

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have thus shown no flagging of their interest in our onward progress. On the other hand, they have, as in the past, spurred us to think not only in terms of our immediate needs, but also in relation to our Fourth Plan requirements.

In this respect too their attitude contrasts so glaringly with that of the Chinese on the one hand, who have already written us off

Appalling Picture Of Poverty: Planning Commission's Review

COMING back to our future requirements, the Planning Commission is understood to have given some thought to them, and the conclusion it has arrived at is, according to the Statesman (January 29) "staggering in its nakedness".

This conclusion is that "at the current rate of economic growth and the increase in population—at least a third of India's population will continue to be below the bread line at the end of the 20th century". The reason for this slow advance, in the Commission's opinion, is that "the pace of progress towards a square meal for every citizen has been slow and must be accelerated".

The Commission, and the entire nation for that matter, is conscious of the gains made by us since independence. And yet, how inequities has been the distribution of these gains is shown by the fact that more than a third of the entire national income at

present goes to the top 10 per cent, who also account for a fourth of the country's aggregate consumption.

Here are some more facts given in the Planning Commission's review, as told by the Statesman:

"The poorest 10% of the people earn less than 2½% of the national income, and consume less than 3% of the goods available to the nation. In absolute terms, the average monthly income of the poorest 10% is less than Rs. 7 per head. The 10% in the next 'upper bracket' earn less than Rs. 10 per month and the 10% in the 'still higher bracket' less than Rs. 12 per month.

"For a further 10% of the people, the average monthly income is below Rs. 15 and for the next 10% below Rs. 18. Yet another 10% of the people earn no more than Rs. 21.50 per month.

"In other words, 60% of the population earns much less than the overall national average of per capita monthly income of Rs. 25, while experts have conclusively proved that a man must eat food worth Rs. 35 per month to attain the minimum standards of health and nutrition."

Which Indian there is who will not be staggered by this dismal picture, painted in the lurid hues of an inequitable system? The harm such a system has done to our prospects of building socialism is known to all, and yet how little has been done so far even to mend it? In fact, the system and its damaging consequences have been so much with us that we have almost ceased noticing them.

Else, why should there be not even a ripple on our

placid waters even after the Vivian Bose Commission's 'expose' of the frauds indulged in by the Dalmia-Jain Group. Why, even the Commission itself has come to accept such frauds as normal in business, and has taken exception to them in this case only because of the undue benefit they brought to the group.

The Report of the Commission has been published in the press, and need not be recounted here. What we would like to impress upon our readers, however, is the fact that quite a few of the 'high and mighty' of our business world, whom the Report has indicted, are still flaunting themselves as respectable citizens of our great land. Ramkrishna Dalmia, no doubt, is in jail, serving a sentence for another 'fraud', but what about Shanti Prasad Jain, whom the Commission has described as the "key man, second only to R. Dalmia"?

And what about Sriyans Prasad Jain, who, according to the Commission, garnered Rs. 7 lakhs in "compensation" for a "premature" termination of a sine cure job? He is the President of the FICCI lending lustre to this august organisation.

We do not want these "gentlemen" to be made "untouchables". The FICCI is welcome to honour them for their "talents" of which they have perhaps given ample proof. But we want them to be made accountable for every naya paise of the unsuspecting shareholders, whom they have swindled, and we want their hegemony to end on our economic system so that our people are not left below the breadline in spite of their hard labour.

January 29.

MOSCOW, January 28:

Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, speaking here recently at a luncheon in honour of R. K. Nehru at the Indian Embassy declared that "India's policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence and Soviet-Indian friendship had stood the test of time." He also said that India's foreign policy was "an important factor for world peace."

AND speaking on Moscow Television on the Indian Republic Day, India's Ambassador T. N. Kaul said that the friendship between India and the Soviet Union had been tried and tested in recent months and was not transient. It will live for centuries. "The friendship between our two countries grew much faster during the last 15 years than friendship between many countries for centuries." The reason for this he said was that "both our people and Governments strove for peace."

The ambassador noted with satisfaction that India's policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence was respected in the Soviet Union. But that non-alignment was not the same as neutrality—"when freedom and peace are threatened we shall not be neutral," he said. India did not remain aloof when freedom was threatened at Suez and in Indonesia.

Peace above all meant prosperity for the people and it was precisely this positive aspect of peaceful coexistence that was the specific feature of Indo-Soviet cooperation. He thanked the Soviet Union for the generous help given to India in her development.

India's Progress

To illustrate India's progress during the last 15 years, Kaul gave the following figures: industrial production increased by 100 per cent, agricultural production by 60 per cent and national income increased by 50 per cent. The number of school-going children had increased from 25 to 50 million. India had to overcome the colonial backwardness of centuries and here much remained to be done and that is why India wanted peace.

Earlier on the eve of the Republic Day at a Press Conference held at the Indian Embassy, R. K. Nehru, Secre-

tary-General of India's External Affairs Ministry, declared that the friendly contacts established during his visit here were of great value and he had explained to the Soviet representatives some of the problems India was facing. Asked if the relations between the two countries had improved during the last 16-months R. K. Nehru said, "Yes, there has been a steady growth in our friendly relations."

All Requests For Defence Aid Accepted

Asked about military aid from the Soviet Union, R. K. Nehru referred to the MIGs which were to reach India in the very near future. And Soviet experts were to go to India to prepare plans for setting up the factory to produce MIGs in India. The MIG-21 fighters were more suitable for us because they were a simpler craft of latest design and were easy to handle. They were less expensive for us and besides payment could be made in rupees. R. K. Nehru said that whatever requests India had made to the Soviet Union for aid in her defence had been agreed to by the Soviet Union.

T. N. Kaul pointed out that Indian pilots were being trained here, some had returned and more were to come. There was a constant traffic he said.

R. K. Nehru said that India was more interested in producing her own defence equipment to become self-sufficient and the Soviet Union was helping in this. The MIG factory will be ready in about two years' time, he said.

Answering questions on the India-China border dispute Nehru said that his impression was that the Soviet leaders had a sympathetic understanding of India's position on this question. Asked whether the Soviet leaders condemned the Chinese position, he said, "I did not expect them to condemn or sup-

Indo-Soviet Friendship Has Stood The Test Of Time

Republic Day Celebrations All Over The USSR

★ FROM MASOOD ALI KHAN

port the Chinese position. My purpose was to explain our position and they had a sympathetic understanding of our position."

"Soviet Union is anxious that this problem be settled peacefully. So are we. We want peace with honour. We are not for pacifism." Asked whether he thought the Chinese could attack again, he said, "It is not easy to analyse Chinese intentions. No country in the world could do it. What we have to do is to take necessary defensive measures." He said that any attack on Sikkim will be considered an attack on India, and that position even the Chinese had recognised, he declared.

No Change In Stand On Kashmir

Your correspondent asked whether he thought there had been any change in the Soviet attitude on Kashmir that was the whole of Kashmir was an integral part of India, R. K. Nehru said, "There has been no change in the Soviet position with regard to Kashmir. We have been authoritatively informed."

R. K. Nehru said that there was not a single disputed problem between India and the Soviet Union. Contacts and cooperation had to be extended still further. The Secretary-General dwelt in some detail on the developing trade between India and the Soviet Union and its bright perspectives. Trade was to reach 500-million Roubles each way this year. And a Soviet delegation would soon go to Delhi to negotiate a further long-term trade agreement.

The Soviet Union was willing to import India's manufactured goods in big quantities which had difficulties in

entering the Common Market. Such things as electrical appliances, sewing machines, plastic goods, textiles, leather goods and many more could be exported by India



R. K. Nehru—Momentous Mission

apart from traditional exports. A big Indian exhibition planned for July this year will acquaint the Soviet public with India's range of production.

India would welcome further aid from the Soviet Union for the implementation of new projects in her Third Five-Year Plan. She would also welcome aid for her Fourth Five-Year Plan which will soon be formulated, R. K. Nehru said. The Soviet Union

was aiding in the setting up of 30 projects now and there was hope of more aid for another 15 in the present plan. The Soviet Union had also agreed in principle to aid the Fourth Plan and more consultations on this will take place soon and Indo-Soviet cooperation will further develop and successfully continue.

India's national holiday, the anniversary of the Republic Day was celebrated in the Soviet Union by Soviet public organisations on a much wider scale than last year. All leading newspapers devoted illustrated articles to India's progress and problems and Soviet-Indian co-operation and friendship.

Crowded meetings were held in Moscow's House of Friendship, the Gorky Palace of Culture in Leningrad, at Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, and at other places. Metal workers at the Babushkin Plant at Dnepropetrovsk in Ukraine on Republic Day completed the assembly of a large industrial complex for the huge heavy engineering works at Ranchi.

Soviet students and students and youth of many lands joined in the celebrations at the Moscow University, the Lumumba Friendship University and at other schools and educational establishments. That the relations between India and Soviet Union are developing well can also be seen by the happy mood that prevails here among all Indian representatives, official and non-official.

USSR Greets India On Republic Day

MOSCOW, January 25:

NIKITA Khrushchov and Leonid Brezhnev sent messages of greetings to Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan on the occasion of India's national holiday—Republic Day.

"The relations of close friendship and all-sided co-operation between our countries," Khrushchov wrote to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, "accord with the interests of the Indian and Soviet peoples, promote the strengthening of peace and a successful solution of major international problems."

Khrushchov emphasises that "in the last 13 years the friendship between the Soviet Union and India has been developing from year to year and has already produced its wonderful results." Leonid Brezhnev's

message to President Radhakrishnan emphasises that "the peoples of the Soviet Union and India entertain sentiments of friendship and profound esteem for each other. Their common allegiance to the principles of peaceful co-existence makes possible still broader development of co-operation in consolidating universal peace." Brezhnev expresses confidence that the firm friendship and broad co-operation between the two countries would continue to gain in scope and strength from year to year.

The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) warmly congratulated the All-India Trade Union Congress on the national holiday on behalf of the working people of the USSR.

—TASS



Students of Lumumba University, Moscow, celebrating Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, October 2, 1962.

FOIL THE GAME OF THE ENEMIES OF NON-ALIGNMENT

editorial

THE CONCLUSION OF THE debate in Parliament on the Colombo proposals will be welcomed by all patriotic Indians, as well as peace-loving people throughout the world.

By rejecting, unequivocally and by a huge majority, the amendment moved by the Socialist Party which asked the Government to reject the proposals, the Lok Sabha gave its endorsement to the policy of the Government in favour of negotiations, rather than the use of armed force, to attain the nation's objective of getting the Chinese aggression vacated.

Although moved by the Socialist Party, the amendment was the joint move of all the reactionary, right-wing social democratic, communal and separatist parties represented in Parliament. For several days before the debate was to start, all these parties had carried on a persistent campaign among the people against the Colombo proposals and against the favourable response given to it by the Prime Minister and his colleagues. They had demanded that, instead of accepting the Colombo proposals and starting negotiations on their basis, the Government should unhesitatingly secure military aid from the Western imperialist powers, so that the national objective can be attained through the method of war, rather than the method of negotiations.

Having secured the support of an overwhelming majority in Parliament, the Government has informed the Colombo powers that it accepts the Colombo proposals in toto and is prepared to start talks with China the moment the latter does the same. The decision of the Government of India will be hailed as constructive by all peace-loving sections of humanity.

It was, under these circumstances, that the disappointing news came that China has her reservations regarding the proposals as clarified by the Colombo powers who made those proposals. The gap that has thus arisen between the Indian acceptance of the proposals in toto and Chinese acceptance with reservations is delaying the implementation of the declared objective of both Governments—start the process of mutual talks with a view to work out the details of cease-fire and disengagement.

It is, therefore, with gratitude that patriotic Indians and lovers of peace throughout the world look to the Colombo powers who are doing their utmost to bridge the gap. The talks which the head of state of Cambodia, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, had with our government leaders during his recent visit to India, as well as the current visit of the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Subandrio, are rightly regarded as another step in the direction taken by the Colombo powers when they decided to meet in December. It is also a matter of satisfaction that the Prime Ministers of Ceylon and UAR and other leaders of the Six Colombo powers are maintaining contacts with both Peking and New Delhi with a view to bridge the gap.

While joining lovers of peace throughout the world in wishing successes for these efforts of the Colombo powers, patriotic Indians cannot but note that, though their amendment moved in the Lok Sabha was defeated, the enemies of the policy of negotiations are not taking their defeat lying down. Swatantra leader, Rajagopalachari, has called it a moral victory for his Party and its allies.

Rajaji's challenge to the Prime Minister to dissolve Parliament and order a general election in which, he predicted, his party would win 'hands down' will, of course, not be taken seriously by anybody. No realistic champion of the policy of negotiations, however, can fail to note its real meaning. Rajaji and his colleagues will do their utmost to use the stalemate arising out of the present gap between Indian and Chinese stand on the Colombo proposals to launch another offensive against the very policy of negotiations.

This should, therefore, be taken as a warning to all champions of the policy of peaceful negotiations. Let them make redoubled efforts to strengthen the hands of our own Government and of the Colombo powers, to foil the games of the enemies of non-alignment.

Bihar

GROWING UNITY AGAINST RIGHT REACTION

★ From ALI ASHRAF

PSP leader Ramanand Tiwary's criticism of the functioning of the State Citizen's Defence Committee at its first meeting held sometimes back, could have been taken at face value but for his simultaneous attempt to turn it into an anti-Communist tirade against state ministers addressing joint meetings with communist leaders.

THIS effort to exploit the occasion for partisan ends was too crude to impress anybody. People remembered that a week earlier, when the Citizen's Defence Committee organised its first public meeting to be addressed by Jagjiwan Ram, the PSP and all its political allies of communal and Right Reaction like the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party, etc., kept themselves aloof from it.

These parties together with the Congress were the constituents of the Committee. While the Communists who are excluded from the Committee did everything to make the meeting a success.

In fact, the Communists' active contribution to the popular defence efforts was recognised when some of the party's leading workers in the district were invited to attend the Patna district Congress workers' meeting to be addressed by Jagjiwan Ram. The DCC President Ram Laxman Singh Yadava said that "some leading political workers of the locality but not belonging to the Congress have also been invited. This is because of the active role they are playing in the defence efforts in the district."

This, in fact, represented in embryo, a new alignment of forces. But it had not come about all of a sudden. During the height of the national crisis following the Chinese invasion on the northern borders, there was a time when Patna had almost become a storm centre of Right Reaction in the country when Kripalani, Lohia, Asoka Mehta, Jai Prakash, Upadhyaya and Cariappa all raged in the local Gandhi Maidan against the policies and leadership of Nehru.

It was not only the alling ex-president Rajendra Prasad who voiced the slogan of Right Reaction to liberate Tibet. Quite active on his behalf was Congress MLC Mahamaya Prasad who had come back to the Congress-fold after a somewhat long sojourn in the PSP, and acted more or less as the liaison of the ex-President.

But inspiration came from other and more influential congressmen—among them the State Education Minister Satyendra Narain Sinha. When Cariappa decided to come to Patna, a spurious citizen's Defence Committee was set up overnight to provide the ex-general with a ready platform.

Interested Coterie

The meetings of this 'defence committee' were held at the Education Minister's residence—and the latter's association played no insignificant part in persuading the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University to accept the chairmanship of this committee and to preside over Cariappa's meetings in public as well as in the University campus.

But the fact that Cariappa drove from the University campus straight to a RSS rally where he exhorted his militant audience to take law and order in its own hands—albeit against the com-

munists—seems to have placed the Vice-Chancellor in a somewhat awkward situation. It is learnt that Bihar Government considered it necessary to remind the Vice-Chancellor that he still continued to be an IAS cadre and that in the university he was serving only on lien.

It was after some hesitation that Congressmen loyal to the country's ideals and policies decided to come out against this offensive of the Right which by the time of the Chinese cease-fire and withdrawal, had spent most of its force. The Chief Minister himself took the initiative and sharply attacked the Rightist positions in the special session of the State Legislature.

Backbenchers like Shukoor Ahmad were more incisive. The battle was joined. The Congress in this counter offensive had only one ally—the communist Party. Congress leaders and ministers had to accept this reality. And many did so with grace and boldness.

Joint meetings with Communist Party leaders were addressed by prominent Congressmen including jail Minister Abdul Qayyum Ansari, Mahesh Prasad Singh, Deputy Minister and BPC Secretary Mungeri Lal, and Dhanraj Sharma. In Darbhanga and at Benipatti in the same district joint meetings were addressed by the Chief Minister Binoadan Jha and Communist leader Bhogendra Jha.

Tiwary's Grievance

Congressmen, otherwise too, have not been altogether inactive in this period. It would, therefore, appear, that PSP complaint voiced by Ramanand Tiwary was not so much against inactivity as against the fact that the State Citizen's Defence Committee was not allowed to be exploited by them and their ilk against the Prime Minister and his policies.

On their part these reactionary constituents of the Committee prevented it from actually defending the nation's interests and policies. In the deadlock that ensued Congressmen had to seek their allies outside.

This was the inevitable outcome of the wrong and short-sighted decision to keep the Communists out of these Citizen's Defence Committees. In the coming period, when the Prime Minister's policies are going to face greater attacks from the combined forces of the so called 'left' and from Right Reaction, these Citizen's Defence Committees are going to be more and more bypassed unless the basic error in their constitution is not rectified.

It is obvious, however, that 'bypassing' cannot fulfil the requirements of the situation. For one thing, there has been a visible cooling off in the people's enthusiasm. Governor Iyengar in the same meeting of the Defence Committee complained of the waning enthusiasm of the people. He again returned to the subject

in his Republic Day Address. There is no doubt about the phenomenon. But nobody can be glibly enough to believe, that speech making was all that was required to rouse the people's enthusiasm to contribute their mite to the building of the nation's defence.

Nothing has been practically done to mobilise active participation of the workers and peasants. Kedar Das, President of the Janshedpur Mazdoor Union offered the Union's cooperation to increase production in the TISCO. The 1958 struggle as well as the results of the last general elections have left no doubt that JMU is the mass of the working class in this first Steel City of India.

The President of the JMU pointed to the lag between production capacity and actual production in the TISCO (as against the over-fulfilment of the target in the Bhilai factory) and promised that given the opportunity, the workers in TISCO can do as well. He exhorted the Tatas to get over the bitterness generated by the 1958 struggle and to accept his hand of cooperation in the interest of higher production.

Tatas Did Not Respond

But the Tatas did not respond. The Government of Bihar pretend as if nothing has happened. But more than that it should have been the responsibility of the Bihar State Defence Committee to see that the hand of cooperation extended by the workers of Janshedpur and their organisation is not spurned. But the Committee is indifferent. And then it is complained that people's enthusiasm is waning!

Bihar Kisan Sabha Secretary Bhogendra Jha has worked out concrete proposals for increasing agricultural production. Similar proposals were worked out by the District Kisan Sabha in Bhagalpur. Under the aegis of the Kisan units 'Increase Production' conferences are being organised in Gaya and other districts.

But so far, no concrete steps have been taken by the State Government and its local agencies to help these efforts. Instead, the Government launched a drive to realise the arrears of loan and rent from the Kisans, and even certificate proceedings are being initiated against them.

How does it square with the mobilisation of peasant efforts for increasing production for the defence of the country?

In fact it was the Chief Minister Binoadan Jha who, in one of his speeches at Benipatti (in Darbhanga district) stressed the importance of agrarian reforms of a contented and prosperous peasantry in the context of the country's defences.

Addressing an audience, which had sent a Communist to represent it in the Legislative Assembly, he spoke of the agrarian reform measures of the Congress and of its goal of socialism. "A peasantry groaning under the oppression of zamindars," he said, "was likely to confuse the invaders as their liberators." Having abolished zamindari our peasants have something to fight for. The peasants certainly appreciated this approach, though in the subsequent congress workers' meeting the Chief Minister had to

★ ON PAGE 17

BORDER STATE'S REQUIREMENTS SPELLED OUT IN MEMORANDUM

★ From Madhusudan Bhattacharya

SHILLONG:

THE imperative need of building a strong defence has been brought into sharp focus by the Chinese aggression. It is now admitted on all hands that a strong defence can be built up only on the foundation of a strong economy.

The Government of Assam recently pointed out in a memorandum to the Union Minister for economic coordination and defence production, that Assam forms the "core of the entire eastern zone of the country comprising Assam, Manipur, Tripura and NEFA.

Hence it is essential that Assam, the "core" of the eastern zone of the country, is built up in a way that she will be able to meet the defence requirements of the country and discharge her responsibility as the frontier guard of the country, a responsibility that geography and history have placed upon her.

Assam's Red Letter Day

★ FROM ARAVIND GHOSH

January 16 was a red letter day for the State of Assam when the first passenger train crossed the newly-constructed railway bridge over the mighty Brahmaputra.

THE people of Assam had to consider its decision and start work on it in the current Plan period. The river valley project is a must if agricultural production is to be raised and at the same time for saving agriculturists from almost regular flood devastation.

★

VARIOUS trade unions of Assam affiliated to the AITUC are making vigorous drive for raising National Defence Fund. The Jorhat Tea Mazdoor Union has deposited Rs. 1,000 to the NDF and is arranging to collect more.

The Tinsukhia Motor Workers' Union under the leadership of its General Secretary Baren Ghosh has already deposited Rs. 131. The Plywood Workers' Union has deposited Rs. 47.50 n.p. as its first instalment. The Tea-Garden Workers' Union of Dibrugarh has collected Rs. 113.

The Plywood Workers' Union of Mariani has deposited Rs. 800 as its first instalment.

It is really heartening to see that the workers are coming forward for the successful implementation of the defence efforts. Had not the prominent labour leaders been arrested, the efforts of the workers would have been redoubled.

306.50. The sector-wise distribution of the State income in percentage was agriculture—48.1; tea—14.1; mining—1.6; manufacturing—2.3; small industries—7.6; commerce, transport and communication—13.8; other services—12.6.

ONE-SIDED ECONOMY

These figures themselves show that to this day the major share of the State's income is derived from Agriculture which is itself an indication of the pace of development of this State.

It may also be mentioned that 68 per cent of the total working population of the State are engaged in agriculture "mostly as owner cultivators of small plots". The last contention is, however, not without any room for dispute. Some competent sources maintain that landlessness among the cultivators of this State has been growing.

The said memorandum itself admits, "Over the past decade the per capita State income at constant prices has remained almost static due to the very rapid growth of population. The income from agriculture fluctuates widely from year to year depending mainly upon vagaries of monsoon (floods and droughts). The income from tea also varies with seasons and world market prices. The contribution from other organised industries is still very meagre."

Some of the production figures given in the memorandum throws light on the nature of the State's present economy. All the figures are for 1961-62. Food grains—1,715 thousand tonnes; tea—183 million kgs; jute—1,131 thousand bales; sugar—8,486 tonnes; oil seeds—42 thousand tonnes; coal—744 thousand tonnes; petroleum refining capacity—1.25 million tonnes crude; sillimanite—8,113 tonnes (the only reserve of this is said to be in Assam); power (installed capacity)—32 thousand KW; match—3,060 thousand gross boxes.

This stagnation of the economy of Assam is not because of any lack of bounty of nature; it is, on the other hand, due mainly to failure to harness all the gifts of nature. There is a wide disparity between the potentialities and actualities. That is why the growth of population is looked upon as something alarming, though to this day the density of population in the State as a whole is only 252 per square mile—the highest in Nowgong district being 559 and the lowest in Mizo district being 33 per square mile only.

To appreciate the potentialities of this State certain illuminating facts may be quoted from the said memorandum. It says, "With abundant rainfall and the fertile valleys Assam's plains dis-

tricts are suitable for cultivation of a variety of crops; the principle ones being rice, oil seeds, sugarcane, jute and tea. The last two are major foreign exchange earners. The hills offer good scope for cultivation of cotton and for growing fruits like oranges and pineapples. Quite a large area of Assam is covered by forests... about 12 per cent of the total geographical area of the State (under State-managed reserve forest)...

"Forest produce consists of timber—both hard and soft—firewood, bamboo, reeds, cane etc. The principal known minerals of Assam are coal, limestone, petroleum and sillimanite. The State's riverine system commands a hydro potential of about 12 million KW" of which only 32 thousand KW has so far been harnessed.

NATURE'S BOUNTY

With all these resources available—the list is not exhaustive and there is room for further geo-physical survey to ascertain the actual extent of all the available resources—the economy of the State still remains mainly dependent on agriculture which is also dependent on vagaries of nature as pointed out in the memorandum of the State Government resulting into a stagnation of the entire economy upon which her population becoming only a burden rather than a producer of wealth.

It goes without saying that the way out lies in accelerating the industrial development of the State to harness all the available resources. It requires aug-

way wagons and the number actually available. The total number of wagons required for the entire zone for both civilian and non-civilian needs has been estimated at about 1200 MG Wagons a day. As against these requirements, experience has proved, the memorandum points out, that only 430 wagons of which 170 are earmarked for non-civilian traffic are now available over the railway link. Thus the actual carrying capacity of the railway is far less than the actual requirement.

Even the proposed improvements, the memorandum points out, could not overcome this wide gap.

Assam's dependence on the river route running across East Pakistan is evident from the fact that out of about 75,000 tons of monthly import to this State, as much as 38,500 tons are carried by rail-cum-river route. The recent experience of the strike by the Pakistani ratings brought in sharp focus the unreliability of the existing river route, particularly at the time of an emergency.

TRANSPORT DIFFICULTIES

Road transport plays a vital role for internal transport and this has an important role to play even in maintaining transport and communication with the rest of the country. This has been revealed at the time of the recent crisis.

Judged against this background of potentialities and requirements of the State, the Plan allocation under different heads for the development of this strategically important but economically back-

PLAN ALLOCATION	(in million rupees)		
	1st Plan	2nd Plan	3rd Plan
Agricultural programmes	46.5	73.8	128.9
Community Development & Cooperation	2.0	76.4	117.5
Irrigation & Power	46.1	68.3	347.8
Transport & Communication	34.9	65.5	101.5
Industries & Mining	1.0	43.8	97.5
Social Services	74.6	201.6	398.4
Misc.	—	15.4	13.1
Total	205.2	544.8	1,200.0

menting power generation and above all developing a network of transport and communication. Transport bottleneck, it has been repeatedly pointed out, stands in the way of Assam's industrialisation and this must be overcome to break the industrial inertia. Development of transport is essential directly for defence as also for giving a fillip to the industrial development of the State.

Pointing out the transport needs of the State the said memorandum gave details of the daily requirements of rail-

ward State has been far from adequate. As a matter of fact the emphasis to this day has not been where it should have been.

Thus it is seen that as in the First Plan so also in the two subsequent Plans the largest chunk of the allocation has gone to Social services and the smallest share for Industries. This is surely not the way to lift this State out of her economic backwardness.

The memorandum, therefore, rightly points out, "The

★ ON PAGE 8



Smt. Padma Jeevanandam (right) bids farewell to her late husband

AN APPRECIATION

★ By MOHAN KUMARANGALAM

It is difficult to realise that Comrade Jeevanandam well because he had not had the good fortune of a university education but by dint of labour and self-education he learnt to read English and understand it enough to tackle the most complicated English books.

But even after all this when he had gone to Soviet Union, and come back he told E. V. K. Sampath, leader of the Tamil National Party one day that after seeing the new society and new world that had been built up in Soviet Union, he was convinced all the more that mere speech-making by him would not meet the needs of the movement in India but it was necessary for him to sit down, study, educate himself, write out all that he had learnt so that the movement could benefit thereby. This was only a week or two before he passed away. So fresh and so eager was his desire to learn and study even at this late time.

That is why even though time has not yet come to pass judgment on him since no judgment can be passed on any man so soon after he has left this world, yet we can say that his life is one of which the people of Tamilnad will never forget. Even now all Communists can proudly claim that in Jeeva was embodied all the best traditions of the Tamil people, the tradition of fighting imperialism for he was in the thick of the National Movement from the early 1920s, the tradition of the Tamil literary upsurge and cultural renaissance; Comrade Jeeva was a renowned poet and acknowledged to be one of the outstanding disciples of Subrahmanya Bharathi. The tradition of the rebellious upsurge of the toiling masses of Tamilnad workers and the peasants whose inspirer and leader he has been ever since from the 1930s that he turned his face towards socialism; the tradition of the struggle for a new Tamilnad as a part of new socialist India which has inspired the sacrifice of thousands upon thousands of sons of the Tamil people.

Memory Will Remain Ever Green

So it is that his memory will remain green in the hearts of the millions for whom he lived and worked and died and the mighty procession that followed him to his last place of rest and bid him farewell was the proof if any proof was necessary of the fact that Jeeva will live for ever in the hearts of the people of our Tamilnad, the people whom he served so long as breath moved his body.

HE was a brilliant orator in Tamil, one of the acknowledged orators of our people over all these decades. When he got on to the platform and took, as it were, charge of a minute or two it was as though an electric current had passed through the entire audience; for he was a master of oratory; of raising the tension in his audience, taking them up to a climax and then using understatements anti-climax to build up again towards a further higher climax.

His Contributions To Literature

He could make an audience rock with laughter and with equal facility make it weep. And it was not only on the political platform that he commanded such a high standard among the people. No cultural function of any magnitude in our State was

considered complete without his participation.

Dr. Varadarajan, one of the foremost Tamil litterateurs speaking at the funeral meeting said that ordinarily he has nothing to do with politics or politicians but he always eagerly looked forward to Comrade Jeeva's contribution at any cultural function. In particular, almost sadly, he said that at the Festival to celebrate Subrahmanya Bharathi's birthday in December last year he was worried for a moment whether the political situation in our country would prevent Comrade Jeeva's voice being heard and he was immensely relieved when ultimately in all its glory Jeeva's contribution came in that literary festival.

In fact, it was almost as though the last two months of Comrade Jeeva's life was the crowning glory of the life of this leader of our people. A number of persons during these last two months have commented to me that Jeeva's speeches had reached a new level, particularly his cultural and literary speeches recently when he spoke at the Bharathi festival.

His contribution then in the presence of the principal leaders of the Government, political workers and literary and cultural leaders was outstanding and made a special mark of its own. Only a few days before he died he spoke at the Pongal meeting festival of M. P. Sivagnana Gammal, leader of the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam and because he was always one with the people of Tamilnad, his speech was the most non-sectarian and unifying of all.

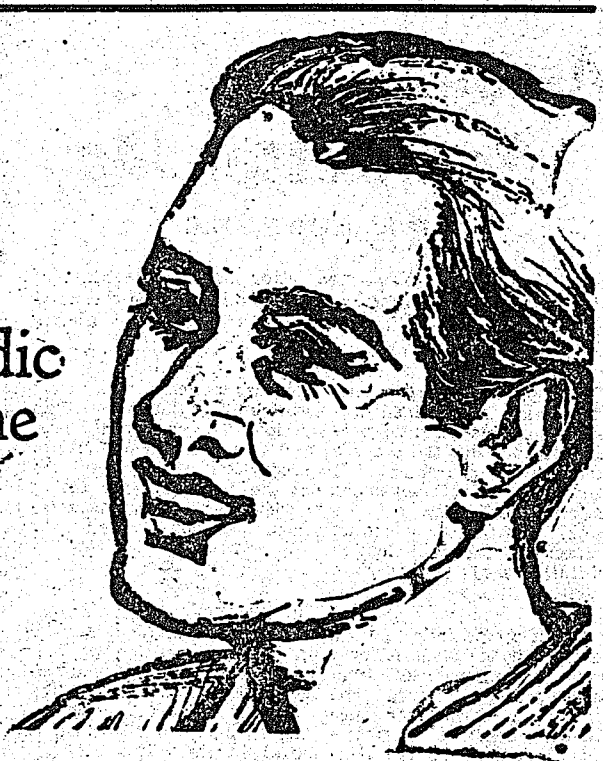
Desire To Study

Another side of Jeeva's life was his continuous desire to study and improve himself which remained till the last days of his life. He did not know English

P. JEEVANANDAM

tion but by dint of labour and self-education he learnt to read English and understand it enough to tackle the most complicated English books.

That is why even though time has not yet come to pass judgment on him since no judgment can be passed on any man so soon after he has left this world, yet we can say that his life is one of which the people of Tamilnad will never forget. Even now all Communists can proudly claim that in Jeeva was embodied all the best traditions of the Tamil people, the tradition of fighting imperialism for he was



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BIGGEST CONCERN OF PURE AYURVEDIC MEDICINE

Under the caption, Patriot or Judas? "Hindustan Times" in the Emergency, the Socialist Congressman of January 26 carried an article exposing the anti-national role of one of the biggest in the family of the jute press in this country. Owned by the Birlas, the Hindustan Times has played the key role in the propaganda offensive by Right Reaction against Prime Minister Nehru and his policy of non-alignment. We are reproducing in full this interesting exposure by Socialist Congressman for information of our readers.

It has been widely acknowledged among thinking sections of public opinion that if there is one single element in the national life today which has tried to sow disruption, demoralization, and disaffection against the Congress and the Government since the Chinese invasion of India, it is the Hindustan Times. It has tried to undermine the people's morale and confidence in the Government's capacity to defend the country and gone out of the way to try to create a feeling of utter helplessness and dependence on certain foreign powers.

The mischievous headlining, tendentious reporting and unbalanced editorial-writing have been pressed into service with a determination and purposefulness which would be considered anti-national by any independent observer.

The enormous resources owned by monopoly capitalism give the journal supreme confidence to behave in the most arrogant manner towards the highest personalities and Organization in the land in a situation which called for moderation and understanding. The journal has ridiculed the Congress Organization, the Government led by it and their policies day in and day out. Leaders of the Opposition parties which have been rejected by popular vote have found sympathetic support in the journal. Irresponsible statements of their leaders and the puny meetings addressed by them find disproportionately large coverage.

The Headlines: Their Mischief

Those were critical days. Our troops were falling back and the nation was bravely standing a period of national disaster and humiliation. Under such situation, on October 21 the Hindustan Times came out with a eight-column bold banner headline:

INDIAN TROOPS FALL BACK IN NEFA AND LADAKH DHOLA, KHINZEMANE POSTS ABANDONED

The Times of India, in contrast to this, carried the following headline:

ALL-OUT CHINESE DRIVE IN NEFA KHINZEMANE AND DHOLA POSTS FALL

On October 30, the Hindustan Times came out with front page headlines as follows:

JAWANS WITHDRAW FROM TWO MORE POSTS IN LADAKH AREA INDIAN CASUALTIES PUT AT 2500

Whatever the inner thoughts, the headlines indicated an obvious glee in the retreat of our forces. Those responsible for the journal hoped to create conditions of a political crisis and were in the meantime engaged in bringing about panic and loss of confidence.

Such headlining is not casual or rare. On November 10, one write-up carried a headline:

HOW DELHI'S CIVIL DEFENCE GOT BOGGED DOWN

On December 19, it gave the following headline to a special correspondent story from Tezpur:

WHY CIVILIAN MORALE CRACKED UP

These 'bogged down' and 'cracked up' show a certain tendency

to take pleasure in finding and trumpeting our shortcomings.

Playing Up Opposition, Playing Down Congress

The utterances of certain leaders over the arrest of three gentlemen in Delhi, who wrote an Open Letter to MPs were given a 5 column headline as follows:

J.P. KRIPALANI WARN GOVT. AGAINST ABUSE OF POWERS

It is a matter worth consideration if the statements were of such earth-shaking importance as to deserve so much publicity.

In news-coverage the activities of the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra receive a weightage in this paper. The two parties had planned a demonstration at Parliament House when it opened in November. Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee had announced the decision to take out a mighty demonstration. But the journal had thought fit to give naturally greater space and prominence to Jan Sangh Swatantra, demonstration. The DPCC demonstration however, was disposed of at the tail end in a brief notice.

Later, on December 7, the journal clarified the position better. It said: "The Congress is not the only party in the country. There are other parties with a sizable following."

Obviously the journal had transferred its loyalties to them from the Congress. The soul of Mahamana Madan Mohan Malaviya who built up and nurtured the paper in its infancy with paternal care might well hurl a holy curse, at what the present owners are making of it.

However, let that pass. We can see the more considered writing in the paper which shows the same unpatriotic, anti-national desire to prejudice popular opinion about Governmental action and capacity and thus to pressurize it.

Maligning Jawans: Depressing People's Morale

Immediately after the invasion, the editor of the paper thought of making known a bit of his mind more loudly by printing a special editorial on front page. On November 1, the editorial said: "The jawans' weapons are out of date, their clothing is inadequate and they are ill-shod." Is such writing calculated to raise people's morale and rouse them to greater effort?

From the outset there is a determined effort to show that the Government is helpless and incapable of solving the crisis. A devilish desire to thrust every wrong in the situation on the Government even when it had little or no control over certain situation is most marked. The policy was to create a sense of utter lack of confidence in the Government.

Writing on November 2, the editorial captioned Wrong Man began:

"Even if we are not to have a Ministry of All Talents, it is clearly reasonable that we should at least have a few Ministers of some talent in the present emergency." (Italics as in original). The inference was that not a single Minister possessed any

ROLE OF JUTE PRESS EXPOSED

talent whatsoever. Perhaps the mighty monopoly House owning the journal would have been obliging enough to loan a few talented persons from its pay roll!

Writing on November 26, the journal said: "India may have brought the present disaster on herself by misguided policies." And further: "The humiliating defeat of the Army and the near collapse of the administration in Assam are not..."

The initial reverses at the front had become according to the journal the "defeat of the Army", and what happened in Assam in the tension of war was "near collapse of the administration."

While every true son of India was shedding an honest tear at our national humiliation and preparing himself for a tougher fight, the journal was jubilantly talking of the "defeat of the Army" and "near collapse" of administration. The enemy could not have drawn small inspiration from such writing.

Arrogance Towards Nehru

It was making desperate effort to make people believe that the Government cannot meet the situation thus creating a sense of helplessness. The editorial in issue of December 10 concluded: "...but the question that faces us today is whether we can remain in the fight at all by making time on Chinese terms." (Italics S.C.)

And pray, what are the reasons for this defeat and collapse? The Hindustan Times had a ready answer. On November 26, it wrote: "The failure has been at the level of leadership." Now it only remained for the worthy journal to suggest that the sins of monopoly be put in the saddle, in place of a tried and trusted leader like Jawaharlal Nehru.

On December 10, under the caption 'SURVIVAL' the Hindustan Times tried to instil fear and panic in people's minds thus: "We still do not know what indignities are in store for India as a result of years of past neglect and unpreparedness." The journal has never missed an opportunity to throw mud at the Government for 'neglect' and 'unpreparedness.'

Prior to this, the editor of the daily had made a bold effort to show that the Government leaders were slow-witted dunces. Writing under the column 'National Affairs' under headline 'The Test in NEFA' the editor (SM) wrote in issue dated October 10:

"To sensible men not under the euphoric spell of Panchsheel, there never appeared to be any future in a negotiated settlement with the Chinese of their border claims on India. It has taken the leaders on the Government three long years to come to a similar conclusion." (Italics S.C.) The hint was plain that some wise men sitting in a monopoly office had a wisdom which leaders of the Government lacked.

What was the direction of all these ill-mannered outpourings? The direction was clear. The journal under expert local and foreign guidance, was pressurizing the Government to change its policies or else, was trying

to change the Government itself.

In the column referred to above, SM (the editor) made it "plain to everybody concerned that the defence of the country's integrity is a matter beyond anybody's discretionary decision." He pontificated further: "It is the elementary duty of the Government which if it cannot fulfil, it loses all right to continue in office." (Italics S.C.) The obvious hint was that Nehru considered defence of country's integrity as a matter of his personal whim, a matter of discretion, and for such a crime the only alternative was to lose the right to "continue in office."

What can one say of a nation whose leader is not "bold and tidy" in managing his Cabinet and who after 15 years is fumbling by the process of "trial and error"? It would not be far wrong, according to Hindustan Times, for him to take a lesson in "bold and tidy" management from the Chairman of the Board of Directors of a capitalist concern.

Insults Hurlled At Nation's Idol

One may as well ask: If Shri Jawaharlal Nehru considers the integrity of the country as a plaything, why on earth he led a long battle against the domination of this country by England, why on earth he courted the dungeons of jail not once but repeatedly? Has this great leader of the mighty roused nation of 45 crore people come to such a pass that he needs lessons in the need of defending our motherland's integrity?

Fortunately our great country and its great leader have not come to such a pass. The truth is that there was an element of treason in the air and conspirators were looking for an opportunity to create governmental crisis. This could only be done by making wild charges against Government and making sly hints for its detroning.

In this entire episode, while the nation rallied behind Prime Minister Nehru as one man and expressed its determination to fight and die if necessary, the Hindustan Times continued shamelessly to pour ridicule against him. While Nehru became the rallying point of nation's determination and unity, for the Hindustan Times he became only a stumbling block in the realization of its mad designs. Here are a few select examples.

The editorial in issue dated November 2, under caption 'WRONG MAN', said that Menon's demotion "has surely not added to the Prime Minister's by no means abundant reputation for being able to choose the right minister for the right job." (Italics S.C.)

On November 8, writing under the headline 'Forward In Unity', the editorial certified the great monopoly truth: "The faith in Mr. Nehru was not unshaken in the days of uncertainty which preceded Mr. Menon's exit" (Italics S.C.)

The faith of the monopolists, in Nehru may have been shaken but not of the people.

Eight days later, commenting on the Prime Minister's speech in the Lok Sabha, the journal (issue dated 16-11-62) called it a "singularly off-key performance" because, "Mr. Nehru did not respond to the mood" of the monopoly tycoons. His reference to Tibet was "astounding". The journal gave the benefit of its great wisdom by warning: "Mr. Nehru is obviously getting some very bad advice if he rates the task of ousting the Chinese from Tibet as an impossible one". Not content with this, the

next day (issue dated November 17) the Hindustan Times editorial said: "The Prime Minister has never been a bold and tidy director of men and matters of his Cabinet and it is possible that Mr. Nehru may arrive at a tolerably efficient reordering of the character and composition of his Cabinet only through a process of trial and error."

What can one say of a nation whose leader is not "bold and tidy" in managing his Cabinet and who after 15 years is fumbling by the process of "trial and error"? It would not be far wrong, according to Hindustan Times, for him to take a lesson in "bold and tidy" management from the Chairman of the Board of Directors of a capitalist concern.

Pygmies Seek To Educate P.M.

On December 10, the journal editorially castigated the Prime Minister for his "wobbly attitude". Such references are far too common in respect of Nehru. But an interesting cause has apparently been given by the journal for this "wobbliness". The "National Affairs" column in issue dated October 10, refers to the Prime Minister's desire of "exhibiting our superior refinement". In plain words, the journal asks Prime Minister to give up his own culture and refinement, and adopt that of the monopoly.

However, again on December 12, it returned to the task of educating Nehru in methods of diplomacy. Commenting on the inadvisability of allowing a non-official delegation led by Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali to go to Colombo to explain Indian case on the eve of the Colombo conference, the journal said: "Such actions do not demonstrate diplomatic skill. They only expose a lack of clear direction in our thinking." The nation's leaders had better learn a lesson or two in "diplomatic skill" and "clear thinking" at the hands of agents of monopolists?

In the height of the crisis the journal covered itself with glory by publishing certain cartoons. One of them showed the Prime Minister in Napoleon's dress on horseback in retreat from Moscow. The implications were far too obvious. Even the editor of the Peoples Daily of China could not have desired anything better.

More recently, when the integrity of Kashmir was being subjected to humiliation by certain foreign powers, the journal came out with a cartoon ridiculing Chief Minister Kairon and Bakshi Sahab.

Even some of the pictures of Prime Minister Nehru are printed not with the best of intentions.

Normally there is no need to take note of these cartoons but the mental make-up and the intentions of those responsible for the journal are exposed for anybody to see.

We do not desire to go into several other details of the policy of the journal at the moment. But we cannot refrain from pointing out one instance of calculated fooling of the people by enunciating bogus, baseless theories.

In the wake of China's invasion, certain foreign tunes

SEE PAGE 13

PAGE SEVEN

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REACTION'S NEW SLOGAN

A new slogan is in the air today. "War to wipe out national humiliation" is the new call.

THE RSS in its executive meeting first asked for it. "Reject the cease-fire summarily," it cried aloud.

Jan Sangh, meeting in its annual conference, next week duly echoed the call. "India's prestige can be retrieved only by ousting China with our military might," it declared.

And now the Swatantra Party has called out with great solemnity: "The de facto acceptance of the insulting action of the Chinese has resulted in national humiliation."

Is it not wonderful how they vie with each other?

Their action was climaxed in Parliament when they declared, each louder than the other, the Colombo proposals. Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party, with the PSP and Socialist Party lining up prominently behind them, demanded that the proposals be summarily rejected and war with China be resumed forthwith.

UNHOLY ALLIANCE

But this unholy alliance failed to impress. "No one can honestly claim that the Opposition (the reactionary alliance—G) distinguished itself during the recent debate in Parliament," commented the Times of India. (January 16)

"War to wipe out national humiliation" is as deceitful a slogan as was the slogan of "war to end war" in its time. The imperialists had succeeded in fooling the masses for some time with the latter slogan. Their disciples in India, however, have miserably failed at the very start. Even their friend

and patron, the Times of India has turned round to ask:

"Can they be so incredibly naive as to assume that India is in a position to mount a massive counter-attack even if, in the present context, such a military operation were politically feasible?"

The question, sir, is a waste. What might appear to be a case of naivete, seems, on evidence, a matter of downright knavery. Trying to sound patriotic these gentlemen are actually making an open drive to sell the country to their foreign masters.

PERMANENT WAR

They actually want permanent war with China. For this purpose they show as if they are itching to snatch by force and by force alone, the border areas. But when the question of shouldering the burdens of war comes up, they slink away to take their seats in the very last row. That is the crassest experience of our "war efforts". The complaint has been rising in a crescendo that the rich have shown tardiness in the matter of making sacrifice.

The famous words of Rajaji—Gold is better on the bodies of our womenfolk—pithily sums up their attitude. Their loudest cry—whether that of the Swatantraites or the Sanghis—has been that there should be no coercion in the matter of collecting the "defence fund". There is not a single speech of Sangh Guru Colwalkar in recent weeks in which he has not harped on the theme of "no coercion in collecting defence fund". Resolutions of the RSP and Jan Sangh have formally raised the same outcry.

Can these gentlemen explain how they square these two demands of theirs? On the one side, they ask that there should be no let up in the border war and

on the other they cavil against collection of defence funds. This is sophistry which no amount of casuistry could cover.

Their real purpose in opposing peace talks is no more a secret. It is to drive India under the protective umbrella of NATO, SEATO and the imperialist masters who rule the roost there. Rajaji has propounded the thesis that India is weak by herself and there is no way out for her except to accept a position of subordination to the West. Still if he wants India to "permanently" fight China, that is only in order to hustle her into the military camp of the West. He has again pleaded plaintively:

"It is only if we decide to fight and resist China by force, that we can expect America or Britain or other like-minded countries to assist us in full. None of them can be expected to take up our battle until we have made it clear that

it is our serious intention to fight China." (Swarajya, January 19)

And the Parliamentary Board of the Swatantra Party has shown the temerity to ask India to shelve her sovereignty and swallow national pride. It has asked her "to take into full consideration those countries of the world who are with India to enable the attainment of the common objective", namely the "ideological war" against Communism (not the patriotic defence of the border).

RELIABLE TREATIES?

That the Jan Sangh is at one with the Swatantra is revealed once again, in the prominence given to Rajaji's message in its latest issue demanding a "drive for reliable treaties with Western Powers."

This lobby is prepared even to work for the notorious sell-Kashmir-formula in order to gain its nefarious end.

As the Times of India (January 24) has reported, Shri J. P. Narain in his latest speech in Delhi, "wanted India to come to an agreement with Pakistan over the Kashmir issue even if it had to make some concessions. India, he believed, would benefit from such a settlement particularly in regard to the defence of its North-western border." In other words, pay even the price of Kashmir but do carry on the war with China!

That is the value of their exhortation. "War to wipe out national humiliation" is truly the slogan of a deceitful clique. Unfortunately for it, its game has been exposed rather too quickly.

(January 29)

Border State's Requirements

*FROM PAGE 5

development programmes envisaged are too meagre viewed against the magnitude of the build-up necessary for defence against an unpredictable neighbour like China. For this, the economy of Assam is to be lifted out of its current stagnation and the rate of growth pushed up far beyond what would normally be possible within the framework of the Five Year Plans.

"For this and also for defence requirements in the near future it is imperative firstly, to take adequate measures for developing the economic overheads viz, Power, Transport, and Communication; secondly, to ensure stability in agriculture through adequate protective and development measures; thirdly, to exploit the rich resources of the State to build up the State's industrial structure on a scale related to her potential; fourthly, to augment the supply of scientific and technical personnel in particular and to equip and train the manpower in general to meet emergency situations."

With this perspective the State Government suggested increasing the carrying capacity of the railway in Assam and for this purpose construction of a broad gauge line in addition to the existing meter gauge line. They also suggested construction of a few railcum-road bridges in the State, extension and improvement of about 951 miles of road as also upgrading of about 970 miles of road, considering construction of Ganga-Brahmaputra canal as an alternate river route.

"The power sector has been very badly neglected in this State during the pre-plan period as well as during the First Two Five Year Plans." The memorandum shows that the

per capita consumption of electricity in Assam on March 1, 1961 was only 2.45 KWH as against an all-India average of 31.62 KWH.

To augment power generation the State Government had submitted a plan for Rs. 42 crores for the Third Plan. But while agreeing with the physical target set by the State Government, the Planning Commission cut the financial allocation to only Rs. 27½ crores.

With facts the State Government had pointed out that unless another sum of Rs. 10 crores would be provided by the Planning Commission to make up the shortfall for the two Power projects already undertaken, the tempo of construction would be slowed down with adverse repercussion on the industrial development of the State and adverse impact on the mind of the people of the State. The memorandum further points out that to achieve the physical target of power accepted for the Third Plan an additional amount of Rs. 16.31 crores would be required and other wise that target could not be reached.

The memorandum has also very rightly pointed out the political consequences of the present stagnant economy of the State. It has drawn particular attention to the growth of the secessionist movement in Mizo hills. These kinds of movements, it has long been maintained by the sober sector of political observers here as also some political parties, like the Communist Party, in the hill districts are the result of the frustration of the people of the hills on economic fronts and that unless the problem was tackled on that front appeals for integration would appear to them as mere pious platitudes.

The State Government seem to have realised this when they drew attention to the extreme backwardness of the economy, particularly of the system of transport, in Mizo hills leading to the growth of secessionist movement there. The same holds good in the case of other hills also, though the State Government memorandum is silent about it.

ECONOMIC POTENTIALITIES

The memorandum has pointed out the economic potentialities of that district and has said that these could be harnessed only if the transport bottleneck was broken by construction of roads in that district surrounded on two sides by foreign countries. It has also argued the case for further extension of air transport in this State. Roads in Mizo hills, it has pointed out, are needed as much for economic regeneration as for security.

The Union Minister reportedly indicated that there might be a broad gauge link from Siliguri to Jorjigopa in Goalpara district of Assam. Welcome as this indication is, it is felt here that the overall economic picture of the State given in the State Government's memorandum deserves serious consideration by the Union Government and the Planning Commission.

The bulk of the fund for the development works needs must come from the Centre. The State may also profitably think of tapping certain internal resources like increasing the rate of agricultural income tax on the tea planters etc. The defence needs of the country demand that immediate measures are taken to regenerate the economy of the State.

Restore The Unity Of The International Communist Movement

Daily Worker, organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain, carried on January 14, 1963, the following statement of the Executive Committee of the CPGB:

THE present position in the international Communist movement arouses the deep concern of every Communist.

The public display of division and discord causes immense satisfaction to our enemies. The capitalist governments, press, radio and television are bent on exploiting these divisions between the Communist Parties and the Socialist States and are speculating on the possibility of a split in the international Communist movement. They will seek to use this situation to press ahead with their war plans and the spread of nuclear weapons.

Any split would be a disastrous setback to the international working class and the cause of peace. It is unthinkable to any Communist Party worthy of the name. On the contrary the most urgent duty facing every Communist Party is to do everything in its power to restore the unity of the world Communist movement and resolve its differences in a principled fashion on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

We do not believe that the present method of public polemics can resolve the differences. Nor do we believe, as is said by our opponents, that the dispute is a Soviet-Chinese quarrel. The basis for international Communist unity exists in the unanimously adopted Statements of the world meetings of the Communist Parties in 1957 and 1960. All Communist Parties supported and signed those statements, including the great Communist Party of China, a Party which led the Chinese people to victory in the momentous Chinese revolution, an event second in importance only to the historic October 1917 Revolution.

No differences occurred in the 1957 Conference. The 1960 Conference took place because of differences which occurred subsequently. These were not differences of principle.

ences between the CPSU and the Chinese Communist Party, but between the Chinese Communist Party supported to a degree by a few others, and the overwhelming majority of the Communist Parties. In our view, in the preparatory discussions preceding and at the 1960 Conference, the Chinese Communist Party had an erroneous standpoint on a number of key issues. But the important point to note is that the Statement of the 81 Parties in November 1960 was adopted unanimously.

The present controversy is, as before, a dispute between the overwhelming majority of the Parties of the international Communist movement, and the Chinese Communist Party and those who share its views.

We must express our grave concern at this turn of events. It is a position which worries Communists everywhere. Far from the present public debate resolving the differences, it is more likely to strengthen the tendencies making for a split. Such a debate acquires a momentum of its own. Positions harden. Differences proliferate. A solution inevitably becomes more difficult.

All Communist Parties are independent and have equal rights. They make their own decisions based on Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, however, the 81 Parties assembled in Moscow recognised that there must be established rules of conduct and a recognition of the international duties of the Parties. We all declared then that the "Supreme internationalist duty" of every Marxist-Leninist Party was to work continuously for the greater unity of the world Communist movement. This was the essential precondition for our common victory.

It is now the overriding duty

and responsibility of every Communist Party to fulfil that pledge.

Our meetings further declared that "the interests of the Communist movement require solidarity by every Communist Party in the observance of the estimates and conclusions on the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, and socialism, jointly reached by the fraternal Parties at their meetings." This, in our view, is the essential basis for restoring the unity of the international Communist movement. Unity is the burning need, not division into "minorities" and "majorities" of Parties in our movement. This brings no solution and is fraught with danger.

If the road of public debate is not the solution to our differences, what is?

What now must be considered is the preparation for a further international conference to promote the unity of our movement.

Our Soviet comrades in their Pravda article wrote that the Communist Parties have a tested method of settling contentious issues by way of collective discussions. The CPSU has always advocated this method. Our Chinese comrades have also suggested that the issues be settled by international conference. The whole international situation and our responsibility to preserve peace and promote the cause of international working class solidarity and socialism demands this of us.

It may be that differences on international policy will occur during this period. But every effort must be made to avoid them, to keep them within our movement and present a united front to our common class enemy. Certainly no Party should intervene in the internal affairs of another.

A further international Conference must be dedicated to promoting the unity of our movement and that spirit to assemble in a spirit of perpetuating division would be worse than useless. In

such a case, it would be better if no Conference took place.

In the light of this, we think that the following provisions are vital if an international Conference is to succeed in this task:

First, the present public polemics between Parties should stop and be replaced by serious internal preparation for such a conference.

Second, completely adequate time must be taken to prepare for the Conference. The matter cannot be hurried if success is to be

based on the November 1960 Statement of the 81 Parties. This declared that world war was not inevitable. It called for mass action of the people to preserve peace based on the conviction that forces exist which if united could prevent war.

The time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed. World war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world Socialist camp, the international working class, the nation-

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

sult. We need as much preparation as is necessary calmly and in a Communist fashion to examine and weigh up honestly-held differences; to assess how far, in fact, they exist and what are the possible lines of solution. Only the preparation itself will show how much time we need.

If this kind of approach is made, we are sure that our Marxist-Leninist Parties will reach a common solution. The whole international situation and our responsibility to preserve peace and promote the cause of international working class solidarity and socialism demands this of us.

It may be that differences on international policy will occur during this period. But every effort must be made to avoid them, to keep them within our movement and present a united front to our common class enemy. Certainly no Party should intervene in the internal affairs of another.

THE KEY ISSUES

The issues of dispute in our international movement are the key questions; confronting humanity—war and peace, peaceful coexistence instead of thermo-nuclear war, disarmament, national liberation and forms of transition to socialism.

They are vital for the correct development of the working class movement and the Communist Party. On all of them our Party Congresses since 1951 have taken clear and unequivocal decisions. Above all, they concern the substance of our programme, "The British Road to Socialism."

WAR AND PEACE

The supreme issue is how to preserve peace, banish the threat of thermo-nuclear war and replace it with peaceful coexistence.

For the past 15 years, our Party has made the struggle for peace its central and urgent concern. All along the Communist Party has worked with the confidence expressed in our Programme published in 1951, that war is not inevitable, and that new and powerful forces have emerged which can prevent it.

The daily growing strength of Socialism—the splendid victories of the National liberation movement and the growth of the powerful Peace movements in the capitalist countries have given us greater confidence than ever that peace can be preserved.

What, then is the essence of the dispute in the international Communist movement? The struggle of the Communist Parties to preserve peace has been

al liberation movements, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces.

Our Chinese comrades in their People's Daily editorial of December 31 say that they agree that world war can be prevented, but that the new situation "has not changed the aggressive nature of imperialism, and cannot possibly change it." They further argue that those who oppose their position actually "oppose" the exposure of imperialism in a hundred and one ways."

No Communist Party has said that the nature of imperialism has changed. To suggest, even by inference that the CPSU has said so is completely incorrect. The CPSU has shown its understanding of the nature of imperialism in its entire foreign policy, in the United Nations, and especially in the political and material help to the national liberation struggle. Its policy in this respect has been a model for all Communists.

Our Party has fought imperialism since its very birth. We have never prettified imperialism, and never will. Our record stands for itself. For years our Party has struggled against the stream in Britain in exposing and resisting the new post-war imperialist Anglo-American NATO alliance as the centre of the war danger.

We have consistently exposed the role of U.S. imperialism, fought to get Britain to break with the alliance and led the struggle against the rebirth of west German imperialism.

The Chinese comrades say that the struggle for colonial liberation is inseparable from the struggle for peace. We agree. But where we disagree is in their repeated statements and suggestions that those who are in dispute with them "are in fact placing the struggle in defence of world peace in opposition to the movement for national liberation."

Our Party has fought against every colonial war and repression conducted by British imperialism. Our record in relation to the Middle East, Africa, Guiana, etc., is well known. Far from the successful development of the peace movement, undermining support for national liberation, the solidarity movement in Britain has seldom been more widespread than it is today. We have exposed and resisted all forms of "neo-colonialism" especially in the Common Market.

The point is not whether imperialism has changed, but whether we have exposed and resisted all forms of "neo-colonialism" especially in the Common Market.

FOR THE HONOUR AND INTEGRITY OF THE MOTHERLAND

Republic Week was inaugurated in Delhi on Jan. 20 when Indira Gandhi unfurled the national flag and lakhs of citizens pledged to live and die for the honour and integrity of the Motherland.

Historic Sixth Congress of

BERLIN, January 24:

The historic Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany concluded here on January 21. The Congress and its decisions are of cardinal importance to the world working class movement and to the German People. The platform of this Congress turned out to be a very significant international get-together of leaders of Communist and Workers' Parties from seventy countries.

SINCE the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, no other recent Communist Party Congress has been so eagerly watched. The entire world, from the imperialist policy-makers in the White House to coal diggers in the remote African mines had been listening to this Congress with great interest. Because, as Walter Ulbricht put it in his concluding speech, "It is here in Germany that the two world systems meet and it is here that peaceful co-existence must be developed concretely."

The major speech delivered by Comrade Khrushchov which was aimed at abolishing war and winning a lasting peace in the world and at consolidating the unity of international Communist movement, was published almost in full in all Western newspapers and read by hundreds of millions of people all over the globe.

Yugoslavia Invited

After a long break an official delegation from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was invited to the Congress of a working class Party in power. This is considered as a just measure to rehabilitate Yugoslav Communists into the world family of Communist and Workers' parties from which they were wrongly expelled. This is a measure which totally rejects the policy of "excommunication" as Khrushchov described it.

For us Indians this Congress is all the more valuable. For the first time from the platform of a Communist Congress, a head of a socialist state and one of the top leaders of the world socialist system frontally rebuked China for having launched the attack on the Indian Republic.

Chinese Party Isolated

This open reproach and the significant disclosure that the Socialist camp was not consulted or even informed by China about its border conflict with India goes far beyond any statement that has hitherto come from an international Communist leader outside India. Several speakers shared Ulbricht's opinion. Member of the S.E.D. Politbureau Comrade Hermann Matern in his major speech said, "As to the India-China border conflict Comrade Walter Ulbricht in agreement with the Party Congress has made clear the standpoint of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany."

Now, on the India-China issue it is the Communist Party of China and not the Communist Party of India that stands isolated from the international Communist movement. The S.E.D. Congress once again shows that international communism had nothing to do with the Chinese aggression against India.

The speeches delivered by the leaders of the fraternal

Communist and Workers' Parties from this platform too will have far-reaching effect. Every one of them (the Chinese with some reservations) agreed with Khrushchov's proposal to call an immediate halt to polemics between Communist Parties and to stop criticising other parties inside one's own party. Gomulka characterised this kind of polemics as "irresponsible".

All the fraternal delegations, with the exception of the Chinese, supported Khrushchov's view that an international Communist conference immediately, without letting the passions subside and without proper preparations, would not help to resolve differences. It is generally agreed here among international leaders to stop the polemics on ideological differences in the press and "give time a chance to work for itself".

The Sixth Congress contributed to a very great extent to consolidate the unity of international Communist movement. The urgent task today is to prevent a war and work for realisation of peaceful co-existence—on this point all Communist Parties except China agreed with the CPSU.

Latin American Declaration

A declaration made by the leader of Chilean Communist Party, Comrade Orlando Millas, on behalf of the seventeen Communist Parties of Latin America, (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, El Salvador and Uruguay) fully supporting the Soviet Government's policy during the Caribbean crisis and measures taken for achieving international Communist unity will go down in the annals of the working class movement as a great contribution. This

was a telling blow to dogmatists who always boasted of Latin American support.

Similarly the speeches of heads of delegations of Communist and Workers' Parties of Mongolia, Cuba, USA, Algeria, Australia, Japan and from several other capitalist countries reiterated their conviction that the Soviet Union is the vanguard of international proletarian movement and that they will work tirelessly for unity. These delegations rejected the idea of an immediate international conference without proper preparations and before letting the heat subside.

Probably after Lenin's fight against Trotsky and "Permanent revolution" there has been no other occasion in the history of the international Communist movement when the dogmatic sectarian ideologists and "proletarian warmongers" were so completely isolated from the great stream of world revolutionary forces.

Since After Lenin's Fight

Therefore, the German Party Congress will help to dispel all pessimistic outlook of friends of communism who have been greatly worried by recent developments. The great demonstration in Berlin that Soviet Communists are true and resolute adherents of unity of all Communist and Workers' Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the declaration by Khrushchov that there is complete unity of views on all questions of principle between the CPSU and Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the full approval of the work of this Congress by fraternal parties, and their passionate call for unity, with the CPSU as the vanguard—all these have demoralised the imperialists and their ideologists who pinned their entire hopes of capitalist recovery on a split in the camp of international Communist movement which would amputate the forward marching forces of socialism and national liberation.

Even the illwishers of communism conclude from this Congress that the danger of split in the international Communist movement is averted now. The tone of all fraternal delegations' declaration at the Congress was very restrained and sober, and patient and persistent measures are now being taken by all Marxist-Leninist Parties headed by the CPSU to heal the wounds of recent ideological conflicts in the quickest possible time and reestablish international Communist brotherhood based on Leninist principles.

New Programme Of Socialist Unity Party

INTERNALLY the most important work of the Congress was the adoption of the new programme of

the Socialist Unity Party and the new Party Statute.

The Congress also adopted the Report of the Central Committee on its work since the Fifth Congress in 1959 and the Outline History of the German Working Class Movement prepared by a Historical Commission headed by Walter Ulbricht.

The new programme is valid for the entire period of socialist construction and transition to communism in Germany. With the adoption of this programme on January 19 the new era of all-round construction of socialism in German Democratic Republic was heralded.

This thirty-thousand-word document which covers all fields of social life, ideology and economic development declares, "Now that socialism mode of production has been victorious in the GDR, the next stage is the all-round construction of socialism."

For the last two months millions of Germans had discussed the draft programme. Thousands of amendments were submitted to the Congress and in all sixty-eight amendments were incorporated

P. K. KUNHANANDAN NAIR

in the final Programme adopted by the Congress. It is an historic document which points to the future Germany. Khrushchov in his speech departing from his prepared text and turning to the press gallery for Western journalists had said, "Gentlemen of the West, remember this is Germany; here is Germany, the future."

Some salient features of the charter for future Germany of the working people are:

The revolution.... "The German bourgeoisie can no longer take the country forward—the new epoch has opened in the history of German people, the epoch of socialism... the Socialist Unity Party has accomplished the great mission of overcoming the split in the working class movement, inaugurated the greatest revolution in German history and has brought to victory socialist production relations in GDR."

The future.... "the future belongs to socialism in the whole of Germany and not only in GDR."

The economy.... "there will be a steady increase in the national income and in real income per head in the period of socialist construction. The differences between the low and the higher income will gradually decrease" (GDR's national income will be boosted from 77 thousand million marks in 1963 to 104 thousand million marks in 1970).

The ideology.... "in order to achieve a clearly aimed and consistent socialist ideology, the Socialist Unity Party con-

bats both the deviations of dogmatism and revisionism... there is no question of ideological coexistence with the bourgeoisie."

Coexistence... "the Socialist Unity Party is guided by Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. Peaceful coexistence is a form of class struggle."

"The most suitable way to bring about peaceful co-existence in Germany would be the formation of a German confederation of the two German states which could be joined by the free city of West Berlin."

ship of both German states as a pre-requisite for a normalisation of travel. Stop to discrimination and unequal treatment of citizens of two German states, both in Germany and abroad.

6 Establishment of normal relations in the field of sports and culture between the two German states. The Federal Republic should renounce the discrimination abroad of GDR citizens by FRG representations when representatives of two German states participate in international conferences. End NATO discrimination of GDR citizens through its travel office in West Berlin.

7 Conclusion of trade agreements between the Governments of two German States with the aim of extending and developing trade between them.

Alternative Proposals Invited

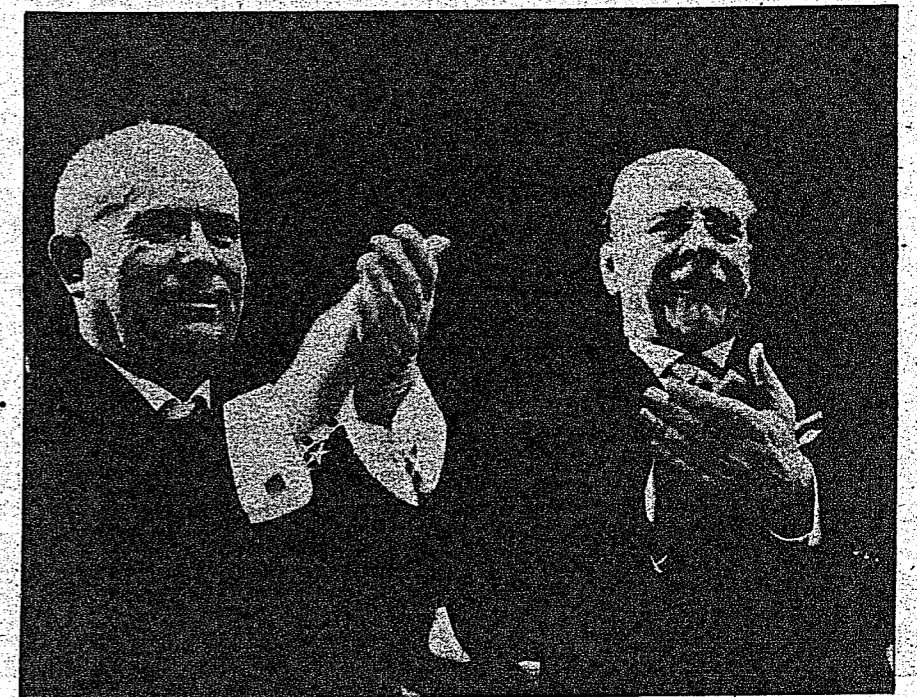
Ulbricht invited alternative West German proposals serving the same aim if they could not accept these proposals. He expressed the hope that after the conclusion of the peace treaty it will be possible to gradually develop the co-operation of the two German States.

The Congress adopted the new statutes of the Party which will enable the whole party to acquire new organisational qualities and enable it better to fulfil the tasks in the economic, political and ideological fields which it is called upon to tackle during the period of full-scale construction of socialism.

From

establish normal relations with West Germany. For achieving peaceful co-existence, for an agreement of reason and goodwill between the two German States, Walter Ulbricht in his speech on the new programme made a seven-point recommendation to West German Government.

The new constitution puts added stress on ideological work. As the report on it points out, "Our struggle on the Western front of the socialist world system in Europe makes it necessary for us always to pay special attention to ideological activity, clarify one's own position as to trends of bourgeois ideology and com-



N. S. Khrushchov and Walter Ulbricht First Secretaries respectively of the CPSU and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

but the vestiges of the capitalist way of thinking".

The constitution extends the duties and rights of party members and inner party democracy based on principles of democratic centralism. A leading party organiser told me, this is the most democratic constitution the German Communists have ever had.

The Socialist Unity Party now has 1.5 million members and ninety-five thousand candidates, organised in 53 thousand basic units.

The Sixth Congress was attended by 1881 delegates with votes and 577 delegates without votes.

Fifty-five per cent of delegates elected were from the working class occupying leading positions in the party and state apparatus and in mass

organizations. 1700 guests participated in the Congress.

Ulbricht who was re-elected first secretary.

The closing of the Congress witnessed a touching scene full of great inspiration. All delegates and fraternal guests stood up and greeted the new Central Committee. Khrushchov embraced and hugged Walter Ulbricht.

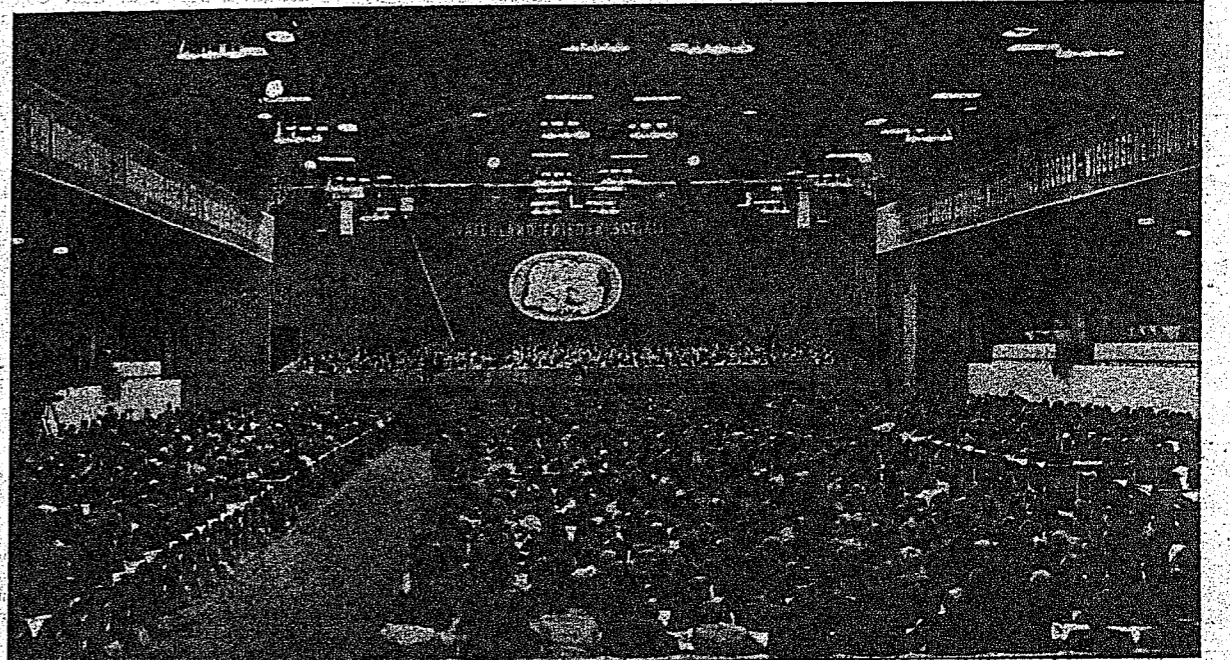
But the Chinese delegate Wu Hsiu-chuan, lonely and obstinate, sat with his head hanging and his arms folded on his desk, as the entire Congress stood up and gave a roaring ovation to Khrushchov and Ulbricht when the Congress concluded deliberations. When the delegates from seventy Communist and Workers' Parties began to sing the 'International' along with German delegates and guests, the Chinese Communist Wu Hsiu-chuan gathered up his papers and left the high tribune.

The Congress unanimously elected the new central committee headed by Walter Ul-

Socialist Unity Party

These are proposals to create step by step pre-requisites for normal relations between GDR and FRG:

- 1 Respect the existence of the other German state and its political and social system. Solemn renunciation of force in any form.
- 2 Respect the borders of the other German state. Solemn renunciation of all attempts and endeavours to touch or change these borders. To fix and to confirm the existing German frontiers with other countries.
- 3 Renounce test, possession, manufacture and acquisition of nuclear arms as well as power of command over such weapons.
- 4 Arms stop in both German states linked to the obligation not to raise expenditure for military purposes. Agreement on disarmament in both German States.
- 5 Mutual acknowledgement of passports and citizen-



A view of the Congress in Session.



Delegates follow the proceedings with rapt attention.

Yugoslav Delegate Greets Berlin Congress

GREETING on January 19, the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party.



Veljko Vlahovic

of Germany, the head of the delegation of the Yugoslav League of Communists.

nists, Veljko Vlahovic, according to a report of the Yugoslav News Agency TANJUG, stated that the future of mankind places the greatest obligations and responsibilities on all the socialist and progressive forces.

Socialism, being a huge material force in the world, is capable of assuming these obligations and at the same time, of decisively influencing the further development in the world. Socialism, said Vlahovic, is no longer an isolated, surrounded island, but the principal feature of the present epoch and a united social process which needs peace for its further affirmation. Owing to this, Vlahovic pointed out, renouncing this war and threats to use force for the victory of one social system or another has a decisive significance for the

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First Secretary of Polish Party W. Gomulka addressing workers of Leuna during recent visit to GDR.

CHINESE HYPOCRISY

In 1956 They Called Yugoslav League Of Communists, A Fraternal Party

CHINESE propaganda organs are today shouting themselves hoarse, branding practically the whole of the world Communist movement as traitors who have gone over to revisionism.

Most palpable proof of this, they say, is the fact that a delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was invited to and given a patient hearing at the recent Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in Berlin, attended by representatives of 70 Communist and Workers' Parties.

Not long ago—only in 1956—the Chinese Communist Party held its Eighth Congress. Its documents were officially published the same year from Peking in three volumes. A "Publisher's Note" appended to these says: "Volume three contains speeches made by representatives of the fraternal parties, telegrams and messages of greetings read at the Congress which total 61".

Number 17 in these "speeches made by representatives of the fraternal parties" is the speech of no one else than "Comrade J. Veselinov, Head of the Delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia". It extends to eight pages of the volume (p. 109 to p. 116).

If the Chinese Communist Party could invite and give a patient hearing at its Congress to a fraternal delegation of the Yugoslav Communists without fear of becoming revisionist, one might ask its leaders today, why the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Parties whose delegations attended its Congress must be branded as confirmed revisionists for the same "crime".

To remind the Chinese Communist Party leaders of the days when they were acting correctly and in the spirit of the international Communist movement, we reproduce here a few very brief extracts from the Yugoslav fraternal delegate's speech at their Congress and as published by themselves in the official volume on the Congress.

Comrades, In greeting, on behalf of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the true representatives of New China, I wish to stress that our Central Committee has accepted with great joy the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to send its delegates to this Congress.

(Comrade Veselinov after showering high praise on the Chinese Communist Party for its achievements and giving its leadership its due, proceeded to say:)

There is a great deal of discussion in the various parties about the specific paths of socialist development, and about the taking over of power by the working class.

The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has a great significance also in that it has approached this question in a Leninist way,



J. Veselinov, Headed Yugoslav Delegation to CPC Congress in 1956

pointing out that there are many paths in the development of the working class movement and socialism in

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Yugoslav Delegate's Greetings

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world and for the future of socialism.

In pointing to the need of drawing clear lessons from the critical phase now reached in international affairs, Veljko Vlahovic said that peace became indivisible more than ever before and that every attempt to solve unsettled international issues by the use of force was fraught with the danger of a destructive nuclear war. The policy of force and the policy of threatening or hampering independence and freedom of the people, of interference in internal affairs and of claiming what belongs to another must be rejected and condemned as the basic cause of international conflicts, crises and instability, stated Vlahovic adding that this not in the least simplifies or diminishes the profound significance and inevitability of the contemporary social struggles.

LESSONS OF CUBAN CRISIS

According to Vlahovic, the Caribbean crisis has given the lesson that the cold war should be put an end to and further aggravation of international relations prevented.

The head of the delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia then said that the working class movement has oriented itself towards carrying out further social changes in conditions of peace between peoples. Pointing out that such an attitude was in

Chinese Hypocrisy

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various countries. This represents a great advance...

As we all know, relations in the world have changed enormously since the Second World War. Prior to that there existed only one socialist country—the Soviet Union—encircled by the capitalist world. With the victory of the democratic and socialist forces in China, Yugoslavia and a number of other countries, with the liberation of India, Burma, Indonesia and other peoples from the imperialist yoke, as well as the permanent struggle of colonial and semi-colonial peoples for freedom and independence, and with the growth of democratic and socialist forces in all the lands, new relations have been created in the world, the forces of imperialism and reaction have weakened to a great extent.

These new relations require and require much new in the international working class movement, in the struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence.

By making this speech part of the official record of their Eighth Congress, the Chinese Communist Party leadership recognised the general validity of the above and similar statements made by the Yugoslav Communists' representative.

Today, when they have become hell-bent upon opposing the whole course initiated in the international Communist movement by the 20th CPSU Congress and given its final shape in the Moscow Statement of 1960, they see nothing but evil in every word and deed of the Yugoslav Communists. Along with the latter, they want to ostracise the entire Communist movement for trying to achieve, despite differences, a measure of understanding and unity of action with the Yugoslav Communists in the common cause of achieving world peace and peaceful coexistence.

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the interest of the working class and mankind, Veljko Vlahovic expressed the view that the problems which arise owing to the existence of countries with different social systems need not be the cause of international conflicts. We consider as possible, he emphasised to secure peace by a consistent application of the principles of peaceful co-existence and development of all-round cooperation between peoples and countries on that basis.

"We will not stop pointing to the principle of negotiations and searching for solutions on the basis of mutual concession, together with full respect for sovereignty and vital interests of all countries, as the sole constructive and efficient way for reaching an agreement on outstanding questions to eliminate existing tensions and threats of war", Vlahovic stated.

The correctness of such a course, he added, was confirmed by the recent Cuban crisis while the actions of the Soviet Government aimed at preventing the dangerous crisis in the Caribbean corresponded to the most essential interests of peace and was welcomed throughout the peace-loving world. "In preventing this crisis Yugoslavia did everything she could and at the same time gave the fullest support to the Soviet initiative",

Vlahovic said that Yugoslavia is deeply interested in the preservation of peace in Europe and fruitful cooperation

between European peoples. In these efforts, he said, Yugoslavia takes no heed of those who irresponsibly label fear and cowardice to such a policy.

GERMAN PROBLEM

Referring to the German issue, Vlahovic pointed to the need for the German people to take its place among European countries as a factor of progress, on condition that it radically settles accounts with the Hitlerite past. Deplorably, Vlahovic said, this is not consistently carried out in West Germany, which is also manifested in the policy of that country's Government. Recalling the fact that West Germany gave asylum to Fascist war criminals and that Yugoslav citizens were arrested or murdered in the Bonn Republic, Vlahovic emphasised that Yugoslavia, in spite of that, does not lose hope that democratic forces in West Germany will be capable of launching a more constructive policy.

The attitude of Yugoslavia

towards the German and Berlin problems is based on the reality of the existence of the two German states. It seeks to contribute to the creation of conditions as suitable as possible to that effect and in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Veljko Vlahovic said further that general and complete disarmament is the only way to remove the threat of war. According to him disarmament could ensue from the creation of a definite favourable atmosphere and from the settlement of a series of questions which are easier to solve, such as for example special arrangements on security in central Europe and the formation of atom-free zones in that part of the world.

One of the essential features of Yugoslav policy, said Vlahovic, is the universal cooperation with all countries regardless of the difference in social systems. Yugoslavia is particularly interested in cooperating with socialist countries, being a socialist country herself.

Vlahovic also spoke of relations in the international working class movement and said that the discussions being currently held in that movement were of general interest. According to him it (was no longer the question as to) what forms these relations should take, but

which tasks and objectives should be considered primary at present and in which direction the international labour movement should aim its main efforts.

As regards the character of the discussion, Vlahovic said, an account should be taken of the facts by and large, and not only of one or some facts, and added that one should have in discussions a more developed sense for reality and for the character and tendencies of further fluctuation of social development. These attitudes determine our relationship towards attacks by the leadership of the Communist Party of China on the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Vlahovic said: "I did not intend to speak of this at your Congress because it is your Congress, because of being convinced that you yourselves, without any comment of my own, understood the gist of the problem. This is what you have shown with a dignified reaction to the outburst of the representative of the Communist Party of China."

Yugoslavia, he said, is the least that is involved; it is much more the question of the attitude the Communist movement has to adopt towards the questions of war and peace.

(TANJUG)

JUTE PRESS EXPOSED

FROM PAGE SEVEN

started singing odes to need of Indo-Pakistan understanding while the same sources had aided Pakistan to adopt a bellicose posture despite India's best desire to befriend Pakistan.

However, dancing appropriately to this tune, the Hindustan Times took up the cause of India-Pakistan collaboration with increased zeal. Working for and insisting upon Indo-Pakistan understanding was by itself not wrong. But an effort was made to press home the point by concocting meaningless, absurd theories.

An article, 'A New Approach to Pakistan' by Shri Som Benegal in the issue of November 16 stated: ".....the Indian sub-continent is indefensible except as a whole. The extraordinary division of the sub-continent into India and Pakistan, grievous as it may be in many ways, is particularly so in terms of defence. And more urgently in terms of defence against an attack from the north such as we are faced with today."

Czechoslovakia were situated along her border. Of England did not remain immune from Napoleon's attack simply because the former was separated from France by a Channel.

In war and defence, each country has to fight with whatever geographical conditions it is endowed with and it does not make nonsense of strategy and defence if one neighbour is not with us. The theory that "the Indian sub-continent is indefensible except as a whole" is a pure fiction of imagination.

But the Hindustan Times is in great hurry to spread lies, falsehoods and all mistaken notions to further its own misdirected interests and fancies.

HAND OVER DEFENCE INDUSTRIES

Among the innumerable solutions advanced to meet the present situation, the Hindustan Times has ventured to press one particular solution time and again. On November 2, it editorially complained against "Mr. Menon's ruin policy to keep the private sector out of Defence production....." and called for the use of engineering empire of the "Private" industry.

More bitterly complaining about the same thing the journal demanded on December 20: "A programme for integrating industrial capacities in the defence establishments with those outside is basic to any scheme for building up the nation's defence preparedness."

In simple words, allow the monopolists a share in defence production to reap high profits and run a mighty arms racket that is what the monopoly mouthpiece wants.

The Government has stubbornly refused to bend before sweet and not-so-sweet threats of the monopolies, to hand over defence

production. That is the source of rage in monopoly heaven. But the Government and the people of India, have enough strength to crush this rage and, if need be, the heaven itself should it fail to return to sanity.

WHAT THE SUBSCRIBERS NEED

Such are the facts about the despicable role of Hindustan Times during the Emergency. It has played the role of the organizer and spearhead of reaction, the chosen murderer in the conspirators' gang the brain and tongue of enemies of the people, the Congress and the Government. It has sought to bring our leadership into ridicule and disrepute and has worked for loss of people's confidence in the Congress and create a governmental crisis in the most critical phase of our nation's history.

It is time that the crimes of this monopoly mouthpiece are properly assessed and suitably dealt with. Public opinion is frankly exasperated. The scribbles who scribble for the monopolists' money are obviously devoid of any conscience and may be regarded as beneath contempt, but then the harm their exuberance does to the cause of the nation cannot be ignored.

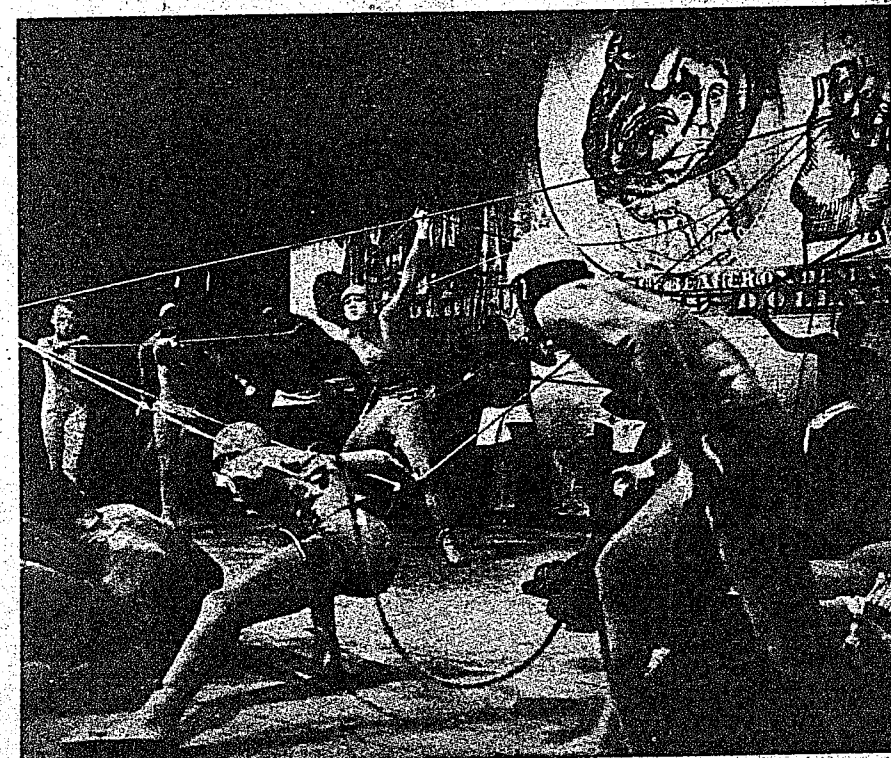
These scribbles are no doubt men of straw lacking any courage, and one danda from the Home Ministry would be enough to bring them to their senses.

We stand for freedom of press and speech, but this is an emergency and no nonsense can be tolerated, much less from stark careerists and nincompoops who, in British days, fattened in foreign service and now sell their pen and conscience to the monopolists.

The interests of the people of India and the integrity of the Nation are supreme and no monopolist or his paid conscienceless scribbles should be permitted to monkey with it.



W. Gomulka and Polish Prime Minister, J. Cyrankiewicz in Berlin with Walter Ulbricht.



"HANDS OFF", A GDR ballet depicting the African Peoples' Fight for Freedom.

Statement of the Executive Committee

*FROM PAGE NINE

ther the balance of world forces has changed so that imperialism can no longer do what it likes. As the Statement puts it:

"Had the imperialists been able to do what they wanted, they would already have plunged mankind into the abyss of the calamities and horrors of a new world war. But the time is past when the imperialists would decide at will whether there should or should not be war."

This is what is new.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

But the real issue is much greater than this. It was put clearly and unambiguously in the 1960 Statement:

"Peaceful co-existence of countries with different systems, or destructive war—this is the alternative today. There is no other choice."

Our Chinese comrades signed this Statement. In their People's Daily editorial of December 31, they reiterate that they believe in peaceful co-existence. They add that "it is inconceivable that peaceful co-existence can be achieved without struggle," and that it is inconceivable that it can "eliminate class struggle in the world arena and abolish the antagonism between the two systems and the antagonism between oppressor and oppressor nations."

No Communist Party says that peaceful co-existence can be achieved without struggle, so why do the Chinese comrades raise this question? The Socialist States are waging a prolonged struggle for peaceful co-existence by a variety of means. The capitalist States are bitterly resisting. We will make the battle for peaceful co-existence a central feature of our Congress, for what is involved is the political defeat of the entire NATO cold-war policy, of British imperialism, and setting Britain on an entirely new course.

In the same editorial our Chinese comrades write that they recognise the necessity to "enter into negotiations on one issue or another with the Governments of the imperialist countries... for the purpose of easing international tension and reaching some kind of agreements subject to the principle that such compromises and agreements must not damage the fundamental interests of the people." Compare this half-hearted statement with the comprehensive and detailed aims outlined in the 81 Parties' Statement. It declared that peaceful co-existence is a basic Leninist principle, the "firm foundation" of Socialist foreign policy. The Statement spelled out in detail what the aim was:

"By upholding the principle of peaceful co-existence, Communists fight for the complete cessation of the cold war, disbandment of military blocs and dismantling of military bases, for general and complete disarmament under international control, the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, respect for the equality of States and their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, extensive development of trade, cultural and scientific ties between nations."

We firmly believe this is a realistic aim which can be won by struggle, partial victories leading to greater victories, despite setbacks and trials.

Does the struggle for a policy

Do the Chinese comrades think so? The whole effect of their current statements is to imply a challenge to this position. This is particularly seen in their attitude over the settlement on Cuba.

In practical terms the struggle for peaceful co-existence involves the issue of negotiation between the Socialist and capitalist powers. If it is not to be war between the States, it must be negotiation between the opposing States.

We have always rebutted the vicious slander that the Chinese Communists and the Chinese People's Republic want war. In their statements on the Cuban settlement, however, the Chinese comrades used statements implying that the Cuban settlement was a "Munich". Subsequently, they said in the People's Daily editorial of December 31 that they did not think that the avoidance of thermo-nuclear war in the Caribbean was a "Munich". "What we did strongly oppose, still strongly oppose and will oppose in the future, is the sacrifice of another country's sovereignty as a means of reaching a compromise with imperialism. A compromise of this sort can only be regarded as 100 per cent appeasement, a 'Munich' pure and simple." At the same time they add that the Cuban people succeeded in winning another great victory over United States imperialism.

The Cuban crisis was the most dangerous world crisis since 1945. The world was on the brink of thermo-nuclear catastrophe. The aim of Soviet policy on Cuba, an aim endorsed by progressive opinion all over the world, was to prevent nuclear war and to prevent the invasion of Cuba. Nuclear war was prevented. Cuba was not invaded. For this, world humanity must, above all, thank the Soviet Union.

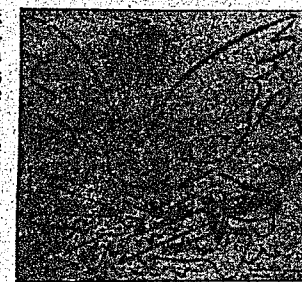
The agreement was a compromise settlement with the United States, with the imperialists. Has it undermined Cuba's sovereignty and national independence? No. On the contrary, the Soviet Union made clear its uncompromising support of Fidel Castro's five points. We know Munich well, Munich mutilated. Czechoslovakia's frontiers as a prelude to Hitler's invasion. Cuba's frontiers have been preserved. It remains a bastion of Socialism in the Western hemisphere. The Cuban settlement was a victory for Cuba and for world peace. The danger of American aggression remains, but the Cuban people, backed by the Soviet Union and the entire Socialist camp, and progressive people everywhere can avert future dangers as they averted the present crisis.

Of course, the antagonism between the two social systems will continue. But the point is to avoid that struggle between the capitalist States being resolved by war, to conduct it above all in the sphere of economic competition in which the superiority of Socialism spells inevitable victory.

Of course, the antagonism between oppressor and oppressor nations will continue. But the experience of the national liberation struggle to date shows that the struggle can be won without world war.

As for the condition that such agreements must not damage the interests of the people: this is common ground to Communists. None of the aims set out in the section on peaceful co-existence would damage the interests of the people; on the contrary, they are all vital for the interests of the people.

Does the struggle for a policy



of peaceful co-existence waged by a Communist Party in a capitalist country lead it to preach class collaboration in internal affairs? No. In our country our Party has fought the Tories, the monopolists, and the Rightwing Labour leaders on every issue of class struggle. Indeed, the winning of workers who understand the need for class struggle on home affairs to the understanding to fight for a class position in foreign affairs is to win them for one of the highest forms of class struggle.

In view of all this, how can a responsible Communist journal like Red Flag, the theoretical organ of the Chinese Communist Party, argue that what are called the modern revisionists believe that under present historical conditions, "it would be good enough just to muddle along, so what is there in differentiating classes,

differentiating the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, imperialism from the oppressed nations, capitalism from socialism, just wars from unjust wars and revolution from counter-revolution?"

Everyone knows that the phrase "modern revisionist" means the Communist Parties who disagree with our Chinese comrades. Such totally irresponsible charges simply cannot be taken seriously.

NUCLEAR WAR

Our Chinese comrades grossly underestimate what a thermo-nuclear war involves. True, they say that it would be an "unprecedented calamity." But then they argue that the existence of nuclear weapons changes nothing in principle. They say in the People's Daily editorial of December 31 that if nuclear war does break, "it would result in the extinction of imperialism and not in the extinction of mankind." "In the final analysis," they argue, "neither nuclear teeth nor any other teeth can save imperialism from its fate of inevitable extinction." The people, not nuclear weapons, will decide the destiny of mankind.

In the same editorial, they say the way to ban nuclear weapons does not lie in being afraid and

in trembling. "In no circumstances must Communists act as voluntary propagandists for the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail." Presumably they use such statements to imply there are Socialist States and Communist Parties who retreat in face of nuclear weapons, are afraid and systematically make concessions. If Socialist statesmen act in a responsible way to prevent nuclear war, they are not cowards but deserve the support of all progressive humanity. The Soviet Union has both done this and rejected imperialist atomic blackmail over Suez, Iraq and Cuba.

It is certain that nuclear war would result in the extinction of imperialism. It is even possible that some part of mankind would survive, but what incalculable damage would be caused to Socialism in the process!

For Britain, nuclear war would well mean our national extinction. Who would be left to build Socialism in the heap of radioactive ruins that would remain?

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It is the Tory Government which systematically hides from the people the real consequences of a thermo-nuclear war for Britain. They are well aware that if the people knew the truth there

BIGGER PRIZES for the new PREMIUM PRIZE BONDS

For every one crore rupees worth of Bonds sold in either denomination the prizes for each of the two draws would be:

RS. 100 DENOMINATION	RS. 5 DENOMINATION
1 Prize of Rs. 50,000	1 Prize of Rs. 15,000
2 Prizes of Rs. 25,000 each	2 Prizes of Rs. 10,000 each
5 Prizes of Rs. 10,000 each	10 Prizes of Rs. 5,000 each
10 Prizes of Rs. 5,000 each	25 Prizes of Rs. 2,000 each
75 Prizes of Rs. 2,000 each	200 Prizes of Rs. 1,000 each
150 Prizes of Rs. 1,000 each	330 Prizes of Rs. 500 each

TOTAL PRIZES 243

TOTAL PRIZES 568

The bond holders will be eligible to participate in two draws for prizes to be held in 1964.

No unsold Bond draws a prize

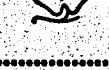
10% Premium on maturity after 5 years

* Both Prize Money and the Premium free of Income-tax

BUY PREMIUM PRIZE BONDS

STRENGTHEN INDIA'S DEFENCE POWER

NATIONAL SAVINGS ORGANIZATION



NEW AGE

FEBRUARY 3, 1963

of the CPGB

would be an ever greater revolt against their criminal and suicidal foreign policy. The movement against nuclear weapons in Britain is the strongest in the capitalist world and one reason for that success has been the spreading by the Peace movement and the Communist Party of the real truth concerning nuclear war.

Far from this making the British people afraid and trembling and susceptible to U.S. atomic blackmail, it has roused them to fight U.S. imperialism, to break with U.S. policy, to clear out U.S. bases. At the greatest testing time on Cuba the threat of nuclear war did not result in the demand to "let the U.S. have Cuba—anything to avert nuclear war." On the contrary, the slogan was "Save Cuba, Save Peace."

The fact that the Soviet Union possesses nuclear arms along with their unprecedented destructive power has created a new situation. For the first time in history a war waged with nuclear weapons could destroy capitalism.

This is a fact which caused division in the ranks of imperialist statesmen. It is a powerful basis for agreement to ban them, a powerful argument in favour of peaceful co-existence.

Of course, in the final analysis, nuclear teeth, or any other teeth, cannot save imperialism. But what is the purpose of arguing like this? The supreme issue for us and for humanity is to prevent thermo-nuclear disasters. Peace is the ally of Socialism. We want to, we can, and we must advance to Socialism without nuclear war. Communists have no need of war to bring Socialism.

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What was new in the 1960 Statement of the 81 Parties and in the 1957 Declaration was the conclusion reached that in the

transformation, least of all nuclear war.

A ban on nuclear weapons would rob imperialism of its supreme weapon. There is nothing imperialism resists more at the moment. Certainly the people, not nuclear weapons, will decide humanity's fate. It is because we have faith in the fighting ability of the people that we are confident they will win the battle to ban nuclear weapons, and that imperialism will be finished without dooming hundreds of millions of people to nuclear death.

The Statement of the 81 Parties puts the issue correctly: "The struggle against the threat of a new war must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall..."

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new world situation in a number of capitalist countries the opportunity now exists "to win State power without civil war" and to secure a firm majority in Parliament and "transform Parliament into instrument serving the working class."

All this was endorsed by the Chinese Communist Party at both world conferences. The statements they continue to make show, however, that they do not really accept this. True, they still say that "whenever the possibility of peaceful transition appears in a given country the Communists should strive for its realisation." But they then argue that "possibility and reality are two different things. Hitherto history has not witnessed a single example of peaceful transition from capitalism to Socialism." (People's Daily editorial, December 31)

Our Party's position regarding the transition to Socialism in Britain is well known. It was stated in "The British Road to Socialism" in 1951. It has been endorsed in every Congress since.

Our programme declared that in Britain, due to historical and political conditions and the change in the balance of world forces, the peaceful way to the social revolution was possible. Political power could be won and Parliament transformed to carry out fundamental social change. This required mass political struggle, working class unity, and a broad political alliance embracing the overwhelming majority of the people, isolating the Tories and monopolies. It warned of the resistance a Socialist Government could expect, but was confident that with the support of the working class it would have the power to defeat all resistance.

The ruling class, while never hesitating to use the forces of the State against the people have always distorted the Communist attitude to violence. But the Marxist-Leninist position is clear—it is that in the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against the people, they will be answered in a similar fashion.

But the Chinese statements show that they do not believe in the possibilities of peaceful transition. We see no reason for revising our Programme. It is they, not us, who are questioning the Statement of the World Communist Parties, which is the Leninist position.

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TRAICHO KOSTOV HONOURED

THE Presidium of the National Assembly of Bulgaria issued a decree on January 12 awarding posthumously to Traicho Kostov, the former Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party the honorary title of Hero of Socialist Labour, the "Gold Star" and the Order of Georgi Dimitrov, for his great merits in the struggle against capitalism and fascism and for his work in the building of socialism.

The Publishing House of the Bulgarian Communist Party will soon bring out a volume of Traicho Kostov's selected works.

By a decree of the Presidium of the National Assembly three more former party functionaries who were victimised during the period of the personality cult, have been posthumously awarded the Order of Georgi Dimitrov for their merits in the struggle against fascism and capitalism and in the building of socialism. They are: Vassil Markov, a former member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Ilya Boyadzhiev, former candidate-member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and Manol Sekelarov, the former Minister of Electrification and Building.

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international Communist movement. The most extreme example of this is shown in the political position of the Albanian Party of Labour and the disruptionist activities which have arisen from it.

The struggle against dogmatism in the international Communist movement is vital for its practical political implication: whether the Parties are to have a correct political line to win the masses, to defeat war, combat imperialism, defend democracy from fascist and authoritarian attack, build up the mass anti-monopolist front and advance to socialism.

The critical test facing all our Parties now is how we fulfil our responsibility and duty to promote the international unity of our movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The road to the split is the road to disaster.

At this moment the imperialist Western Alliance is riddled with divisions. But feverish efforts are being made to patch them up and present a united front against Socialism, national liberation and peace. The efforts will fail because these differences are insoluble and the working class movement alongside the efforts of the Socialist States and the national liberation struggle will win the battle for peaceful co-existence, national freedom and Socialist revolution.

Our differences are not insoluble, they have no objective basis in the Socialist system or our class position. On the contrary, they can and must be overcome.

Let us reply to imperialist disunity with Communist unity, and our common victory is certain.

(January 12, 1963)

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PAGE FOURTEEN

NEW AGE

PAGE FIFTEEN

MACMILLAN FACING WORST CRISIS

LONDON, January 29

After Hugh Gaitskell's death, eulogies have been pronounced and rituals observed. His friends have mourned him, while others have pretended to.

THE common agreement is that his unexpected death brought about the greatest possible god-send to a reeling and pun-drum Government. The latter is already drawing comforts from it and preparing to exploit it mercilessly.

He died, according to *Guardian*, when heading to become Britain's next Prime Minister. The nation, according to *Daily Herald*, accepted him as the natural alternative Prime Minister.

Barring exceptional developments, common knowledge is that Labour Party would come victorious in the next general election, which Macmillan cannot put off for long. The entire edifice of Tory policies lies wholly in ruins.

Surrender at Nassau, de Gaulle's contemptuous treatment to the British attempt to gain entry into ECM, rising unemployment which now stands at the colossal figure of one million, troubles in Central Africa, Brunei, Aden, Tshombe's defeat — are shattering blows, to name only the main headings on current agenda. The Government, in fact, according to James Cameron (*Daily Herald*) has betrayed the past and jeopardised the future.

The *Guardian* declared that the Tory back-benchers were losing confidence in their Government and beginning to reconcile themselves to a period out of office.

It was in such a moment that the Opposition lost its leader. Conservative propaganda makes out that with his death, Labour's chance of winning the next election is killed.

However, this over-simplification cannot stand much scrutiny. The results of general elections over decades have not depended

on the standing of individual leaders. Individual prestige does play a part but only a small one. It is policies advocated by them that ultimately determine the electorate vote this or that party.

A classic example of this was made glaringly obvious when the British people went to the polls immediately after the war in 1945. Churchill then was at the summit of his personal popularity in the country. The Tories fought mainly on his personality while Labour, under the leadership of a less-known figure, called Clement Attlee, fought the election on a policy based on the progressive aspirations and programmes.

But the people gave an overwhelming verdict against a return to pre-war conservatism with its Munich and all that. It was not as widely predicted. For Winston Churchill, the British people showed gratitude but it was Clement Attlee and his Labour Party which received their overwhelming mandate.

The plain meaning of all this is that provided Labour Party now launches an all-out attack against Tory blunders from a progressive standpoint, the Macmillan Government could be pushed to the opposition benches within a short time, thus opening up new vistas in the entire British people.

While on this subject it would be utter folly to assume, as the *Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Express*, etc., are trying to preach that the general policies around which Gaitskell tried moulding the Labour Party during his leadership were by any means most correct ones in the present context of British world politics.

Such an assumption is totally incorrect.

Who can deny that throughout his political career, especially since becoming Labour's leader, he tried to impose policies directly, in contradiction to the aspirations of those he hoped to lead.

His ideas of socialism and theirs, his outlook on the world and theirs, "jarred and clashed." How else to interpret the efforts to amend the cherished Clause 4

of the Party's Constitution on public ownership of means of production or according to the *New Statesman*, his initial reaction to Suez or his imposition in 1951 of charges on those who used the health service, his open defiance of Party Conference decisions on Britain's unilateral nuclear disarmament of Scarborough (1962).

But his speech on the Common Market at the last Labour Party Conference was an act of brilliance and tremendous significance. For the first time, he was touching the chords within the Labour rank and file's hearts and soon established himself as leader of a more united and robust party.

The public, too sick of the antics of Macmillan — the entertainer, came to think of him as

an alternative Prime Minister. His performance at the Conference was a sharp departure rather than continuation of his usual pattern of thinking. It made him popular in the public eyes. This is a lesson which the Labour Party must learn and elect a new leader accordingly.

At the moment, there are three candidates — Harold Wilson, George Brown, and James Callaghan. Of these, the first is already assured of the support of progressive Labourites. It is difficult to prophesy now who will emerge successful.

That Wilson's election would open up new possibilities for British politics is beyond question. Whether, with the election of a new leader, it would be followed up by giving a progressive orientation to the Labour's whole policies remains to be seen.

Republic Stands On Four Pillars :

Non-alignment, Peaceful Co-existence, Parliamentary Democracy, And Public Sector

FROM PAGE 2

Bengal State Council takes the solemn pledge to defend the Republic of India which the Indian people have won after years of suffering and to safeguard its freedom, territorial integrity, democratic institutions and basic policies of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and social progress.

The other resolution on "Release" reads: "The meeting of the citizens of Calcutta organised under the auspices of the Communist Party of India (West Bengal State Council) expresses its regret at the continued policy of arrests of Communists and other progressives and urges upon the Government to release immediately all those who have been arrested merely because they are Communists, trade unionists or kisan workers or democratic minded individuals."

Somnath Lahiri in course of his speech said that many years back on a winter night on the bank of the river Ravi the nation pledged to achieve full freedom of the country and the people. The fire of patriotism burning in the hearts defied the intense cold of the January night. Founding of the Republic of India signified the attainment of freedom from imperialism and created a firm basis for rapid advance of the country and the people.

He said that it was our own task to build up the country, to map its path of advance and to eventually establish socialism. For this we wanted peace with the outside world. But attack by China, which is a socialist state, shattered our hopes of rapid advance. The reactionaries have gained by this aggression.

Lahiri said that this fact has again proved how correct the Marxist position — "Revolution cannot be exported" — is. He further said that war has been thrust upon us and while we fight it, we fight for attainment of peace, a peaceful settlement with honour.

He lent the support of the Party to the Colombo proposals and said that the policy of non-alignment has strengthened India.

Bhowani Sen said that the Republic of India rested on Four Pillars composed of Non-alignment, Peaceful Co-existence, Parliamentary Democracy and Public Sector. During the years of Republic these

pillars have gathered strength. But the Chinese aggression has brought to fore the forces who want to demolish these four pillars of the Republic.

But the health of India is basically sound and because of that it could survive the worst days after the fall of Bomi La, when senseless Chinese aggression and reckless attacks of the right reaction tried to overturn the Republic, he said.

He further added that some people have mistrust about the patriotism of the Communists, but "we shall stand shoulder to shoulder with all patriots including Congressmen, in defence of the motherland."

Exposing the reactionary forces and the vested interests, he said that in West Bengal the Congress Government has launched a virulent attack on the Communists and the progressives, perhaps at their behest. Why the people who have consistently attacked the basic policies of the nation and Prime Minister Nehru are not apprehended, he asked.

Finally he appealed to Congressmen and other patriots to unflinchingly work with the communists to fight back the attack of the Right Reaction and to defend the pillars of the Republic in the changed political context of the country.

The Chairman of the meeting, Sushil Mallek Chowdhury said that some people were trying to make capital out of the differences in the communist movement, but they would see that all Marxists-Leninist Parties would settle their differences and the patriotism of the communists will be proved by their deeds.

Maltreatment Of Prisoners

ON January 23, Bhowani Sen, Somnath Lahiri and Biswanath Mukherjee, members of the Secretariat of the West Bengal State Council had an interview with Narayan Chowbe, MLA; Sushil Chatterjee, Sadhan Sen, Nandagopal Bhattacharya and others at their request at the Dum Dum Central Jail.

It is learnt that the prisoners are being treated badly.

They are all undertrial class I prisoners, but in reality worse than Class II convicts. They are not given any clothings, not even napkins. Coconut oil which was given for bathing purpose has been stopped arbitrarily. They are kept in blocs adjacent to which are kept the lunatics, and their ravings make it impossible for the detenus to sleep even at night.

Medical care is absolutely inadequate and even after a long waiting, X-ray is not done, though recommended by the physicians. Undertrial prisoners are being treated as ordinary criminals. Representations to the authorities have so far failed to improve the matters.

Reply To Anandabazar

TWO weeks back samples were given in these columns about the indecent remarks about Bhavaji made by Anandabazar Patrika. Voices have already been raised against this newspaper.

At a meeting of the Calcutta Corporation, a Councillor some days back raised protest against Anandabazar's attack on Bhavaji. Swadhina and some weekly journals have also exposed the villainess of the journal's tirade. Now has come a most scathing exposure of Anandabazar's attack against and the forthright defence of the Sarvodaya leader's words and actions from Charu Chandra Bhandari, one of the foremost Sarvodaya leaders of the State.

In an article captioned "WHO IS TRAITOR OR ANTI-STATE?" he has accused Anandabazar of slandering Vinoba and even misquoting him, and asked why did the Anandabazar make such attacks?

Finally he posed the question — "Who is traitor or anti-State in this situation? Vinobaji or those who are trying to push the country to the path of destruction by abandoning the path of non-alignment?"

Anandabazar Patrika has now started publishing in its Letters to the Editor column such letters stating that Bhavaji and his associates forcibly took away milk from the starved children for their own consumption.

Greeting Ceylon on her national day which falls on February 4 the people of India this year cannot but feel a special gratitude and attachment to our close neighbour. Its Government and its Prime Minister's efforts to help India settle peacefully the problem of Chinese aggression strike a deep responsive chord in every Indian's heart.

WISHING Ceylon and its people well in the coming year, we cannot help noticing that once again the imperialist forces are trying to interfere in a most obnoxious manner in her internal affairs.

As a pretext for pressure the United States is using the question of paying compensations to foreign oil companies for the property requisitioned from them by the Ceylonese Government. The USA has stated that it will stop all "aid" to Ceylon as from February 1, if no compensation is forthcoming.

The point is that for many years the American oil concerns Caltex and Esso as well as the British corporation Shell have brought oil to Ceylon, selling it at prices they liked and making huge profits. When the Ceylonese Government started to strengthen its national

economy, it had of necessity to take measures to restrict, if not to stop altogether, these arbitrary practices.

Last April a Ceylonese oil company was founded. Part of the property of the American and British companies was transferred to the control of the state. Ceylon secured favourable contracts for oil deliveries from the UAR, Rumania and the Soviet Union. The state-established corporation began its activities, successfully competing with foreign firms.

The Government of Ceylon had never refused to pay indemnities to oil companies for the nationalised property. What is more, the Ceylonese oil corporation had more than once made inquiries on this matter, but none of the companies concerned produced any

Imperialist Pressure On Ceylon Condemned

Finally, on January 19, negotiations opened in Colombo between the Ceylonese Ministry of Trade and the company spokesmen.

It might seem that the issue is clear. The oil companies are, to all appearance, in a position to come to agreement with the Government of Ceylon and to adjust their relations in a proper way. But nothing of the sort happened! The actions undertaken by the USA indicate that it is not a question of compensation.

The United States has resorted to the threat of discontinuing its economic "aid" to Ceylon. This is nothing but another manoeuvre in the all-out attack of the imperialist circles on the policy of neutrality which is be-

ing pursued by the Government of Ceylon.

From the time Ceylon took the path of non-alignment with military blocs, of maintaining friendly relations with all states and of making transformations in the interests of achieving economic independence, external and internal reaction has not abandoned its attempts to reverse this policy of Ceylon. The reactionary forces were responsible for the assassination of Premier S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. They persist in attempts to overthrow the present Government by conspiracy, slanderous propaganda against the Ceylonese people, against its leaders following a national policy.

The United States pressure on Ceylon has increased at the very moment when Mrs. S. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister, has been making great efforts to help settle the India-China conflict. The pressure on Ceylon is thus,

part of the vigorous campaign of the United States imperialists against the non-alignment policy pursued by Asian and African countries.

Actions of this kind, naturally, cannot but arouse a most resolute rebuff on the part of the people of Ceylon. All progressive sections have protested against the United States threats. "There is no doubt," L. Goonewardene, secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, declared, "that the United States Government is conducting a deliberate campaign against the carrying out by our government of measures aimed at the economic advance of the country. This is an intolerable interference in the internal affairs of our state."

In the threats being posed against Ceylon the Indian people will stand foursquare with our close neighbours. It is part of the same battle, battle to defend non-alignment and achieve economic independence.

FRAUD, SWINDLE & CHEATING

Nefarious Activities Of Dalmia-Jain Group Revealed In Vivian Bose Enquiry Commission's Report

The number of tycoons who go about in the country with the airs of benefactors of the people and under that garb all the time fill up their coffers is not small. But rarely they are apprehended and if at all, somehow through adept wire-pulling, they manage to escape the punishment they deserve. The Mundhra story and the like are quite wellknown to our people already.

ON January 23 the report of Vivian Bose Enquiry Commission was presented to Lok Sabha and the findings which took five years to be officially pronounced contain an all-out indictment of the Dalmia-Jain group of business magnates who have been held responsible for fraud, manipulation of accounts, personal gains at the expense of the shareholders' money as well as the Exchequer and cheating the Government by avoiding taxes.

Five industrialists of the much-vaunted private sector have been held responsible by the Commission for committing these malpractices but obviously all that has come to light is not the full story of the racket which these enterprising tycoons had been carrying on. The Commission itself has admitted that the working of the group was so "interlocked and complex because of black money, secret undisclosed assets, and undetermined income tax liabilities that this was found not to be easy....."

The Commission adds: "Loans and advances running into many crores of rupees were outstanding against the companies of this group, the financial position of some of which was 'unsound.'" These loans and advances were given to this group from companies in which public had invested.

Not only were these loans and advances given without security and at low rates of interests, in some cases, money was given to R. Dalmia personally. There had been, the Commission recorded, improper transfer of assets from one company to another, within a few months by mere book transfers.

The Commission pointed out that after "the public companies were squeezed dry", the favorite method to discard the husks was "to bring the companies to voluntary liquidation, appoint a willing liquidator who fell in with the scheme, get a scheme of arrangements sanctioned by courts, hand over all the assets and records and books to a purely R. Dalmia concern in which the directors were the tools of R. Dalmia, and then to get the transferee company to destroy the books and records so that traces of the frauds and manipulations were destroyed." The Commission has censured the conduct of two liquidators and one auditor in this connection.

The Commission records: "Evidence that would have been material was deliberately with-

holding their concerns as selling and managing agents of public companies but also by deliberate and premature termination of these agencies which enabled them to get heavy compensation.

There are other findings of withholding declaration of dividends, by this group, of companies which made profits and thereby depressing the value of shares and enabling R. Dalmia to purchase them at reduced rates causing loss to the investors.

The Commission has set out in detail the numerous ways in which this group has avoided payment of income tax etc., and through these methods, these tycoons have fattened their personal wealth to a very considerable extent.

We would now anxiously await the steps which the Government of India will take to deal with these cheats for swindling public money, apart from implementing the recommendations of the Commission to effect some changes in the existing Companies Act.

held, and most of our efforts to get at the truth were successfully foiled."

The Commission has stated that the funds of public companies, banks and insurance companies were improperly used by this group to buy shares of other companies with large accumulated resources to obtain control over them. This was done, the Commission held, "for improper ends. In these cases it was the public companies that suffered and the investing public along with them."

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In contrast, what was the attitude of the Rightists? Hear again the PSP leader Nath Pal: "... what has been introduced here as the Colombo proposals are basically Peking proposals

which, instead of taking the direct route from Peking to New Delhi, chose to make a circuitous route of Cambodia, Rangoon, Colombo and New Delhi. But if we tear away the label, meaning Colombo, we see the original product, the genuine Chinese"

Such rude and malicious references to the friendly non-aligned nations and their proposals brought revulsion. The Prime Minister strongly deprecated this tendency to speak contemptuously of other countries and pointed out its adverse consequences. He said that such remarks have a "worse effect than all the propaganda that can be made by China against us. I want the House to remember that one has to speak rather carefully about other countries, specially other countries which are friendly to us."

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INDIA ACCEPTS COLOMBO PROPOSALS

FROM BACK PAGE

Sabha: "Unless you reject the 8th of September position, you cannot reject the Colombo Proposals. That is why some of our friends who want to reject the Colombo Proposals, instead of going into the merits or demerits of the Colombo Proposals, have started attacking the 8th of September position."

Bhupesh Gupta paid tributes to the Colombo powers for their constructive efforts "because whatever happens the efforts they have made shall be enshrined in the hearts of men and shall find a place in the pages of history in shining letters which neither condemnation nor derision will ever be able to efface"

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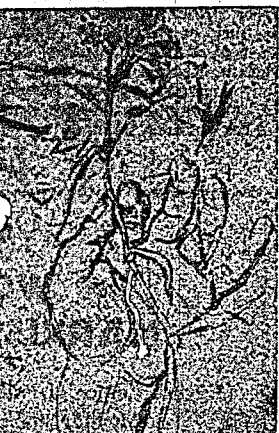
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Verwoerd's Vandalsism Peace Council's Protest

THE South African Peace Council has issued a statement expressing its deepest concern for the recent dangerous events that have occurred, as a result of Verwoerd's policies, in that unfortunate country. The statement reads as follows:



To an increasing extent bannings, banishment, the cruel action of house arrest, the arbitrary closing down of the "weekly newspaper" "New Age" — all these acts, added to previous oppressive acts and legislation, have given rise to deep uneasiness and tensions in our country.

We greatly deplore the brutal murders in Paarl, but feel that such senseless acts arise directly from oppressions and frustrations created among the people.

Our Council believes in the necessity to ease all tensions, internally and internationally, in the cause of peace. As recent government action has only added to tensions, we

protest vigorously against these acts, and appeal to all peace-loving people in our country to voice their abhorrence of them, demanding both individually and through their organisations, societies, trade unions, churches and any groups that the Government withdraw its bans.

Unless such an easing of national affairs takes place, we view the future prospects in our country with alarm.

COLOMBO PROPOSALS

India's Complete Acceptance

★ By Our Parliamentary Correspondent

A great deal was heard in Parliament last week about India's honour being at stake and there were voices which warned the government against betraying that honour. The occasion was only a discussion on the Colombo proposals. It was therefore that the Prime Minister was provoked to say: "Patriotism does not depend on the passionate speeches that we might deliver here or elsewhere. It requires a deeper insight and a deeper character and ultimately it is exhibited by a person's life and not by a few words or phrases that he might use".

NEHRU was addressing that lobby of highly loquacious 22-carat patriots that has emerged in our country in the wake of the Chinese aggression and demands for itself the sole right to sit in judgement on what is patriotic and what is unpatriotic in the actions of the government of the day. That the Prime Minister was provoked to say these words, even as the nation is experiencing the most wonderful emotional upsurge of national pride and patriotism since Independence, should indicate that in this upsurge some chaff has got mixed up with the wheat and has got to be separated before the latter can be consumed.

The lessons of the recent Parliamentary debate on the Colombo Proposals for a Sino-Indian meeting seem to possess a validity of their own quite apart from the merits of the disputed issues. The debate and the voting which overtook it in the Lok Sabha showed a unity of purpose among the two major political

parties in the country, the Congress and the Communist. They stood together and spoke in the same strain, defended the government's understanding of such vital issues as war and peace, the international situation and our foreign policy, the crisis of confidence created by the Chinese aggression and the military and diplomatic approach to a solution of this most harmful conflict in Asia.

On the other side of the fence stood the joint forces of the Swatantra, the PSP, the Jan Sangh and the Lohia Socialists, all tied together by a string of fundamental opposition to the government's understanding on all these vital issues.

The common factor of this combination was the opposition of each one of them to the policy of non-alignment and peaceful settlement of international disputes. In the particular context of the Colombo Proposals, this opposition assumed an accusing tone directed

against the government and the Prime Minister specially for accepting the Proposals as a satisfactory basis for negotiations with China. The government was accused of heaping dishonour on the country, of surrender to the aggressor out of fear and other similar charges.

The issues were finally settled by a vote in the Lok Sabha. There were only 59 who voted for the view—expressed in a substitute motion moved by the leader of the Socialist group—that the Colombo Proposals "are not in keeping with the honour, sovereignty and integrity of India".

Overwhelming Support

Against this were cast 349 votes, votes which gave a decisive and complete rebuff to the critics of the Colombo Proposals. The original motion by the Prime Minister for a discussion on the Proposals did not envisage a positive vote of acceptance of the Proposals, as it was not thought necessary, but the effect of the voting on the substitute motion of the Socialist leader, was that the House, by an overwhelming majority came to accept these Proposals.

This was pointed out to the Opposition by the Prime Minister himself who in his reply had to deal with the exasperating, hair-splitting arguments of his critics that Parliament had not approved of

his policy of negotiating with the Chinese if the status quo ante September 8 was restored.

These arguments were adequately met by him when he pointed out that on numerous previous occasions he had explained this stand of the government to Parliament and on December 10, the Lok Sabha after considering the situation resulting from the Chinese invasion had adopted a motion approving the policy of the government.

Also, it had then thrown out by an overwhelming majority a substitute motion by the same Leader of the Socialist group which demanded that the policy of the government to enter into negotiations on condition of withdrawal by Chinese to the pre-September 8 line be rejected by the House.

In order that there should be no ambiguities as regards the outcome of the present debate on the Colombo Proposals, the Prime Minister offered in the course of his reply to move a substantive motion for acceptance of the Proposals, if the House thought it necessary.

He said: "... if the House wants a clear direction, I am prepared to have a direct vote on it. It is immaterial. But the fact is that I want the House to realise it. I do not want it to be said that I did something behind the back of the House, or which the House did not accept. That must be made perfectly clear".

So the result was that Parliament has approved of the government's stand on the Colombo Proposals. All these technical arguments about the government's right to proceed with its policy of seeking negotiations on condition of Chinese withdrawal to the pre-September 8 position and its acceptance of the Colombo Proposals as a necessary corollary to this policy came into prominence because the Swatantra-PSP-Jan Sangh-Socialist combination went into the very fundamentals of the question—far beyond the scope of the Colombo Proposals—and challenged the position of the government that it is committed to negotiate if the Chinese withdraw to the pre-September 8 line.

Obviously the approach to the Colombo Proposals also differed in fundamentals. The Prime Minister's desire to accept the Colombo Proposals was clearly based on the understanding that since these Proposals conformed to the government's stand about the pre-September 8 position they have to be accepted. Further, he also felt that the implementation of the Colombo Proposals would definitely be advantageous to India and not to China.

On the other hand, the Rightist opposition, refusing to recognise the September 8 line or any other line except a line of their own, did not see any need for negotiations. The Colombo Proposals were therefore anathema to them, because the basis of these Proposals was the creation of stable cease-fire and conditions for a meeting of India and China so that the actual

dispute between the two countries could be settled through negotiations.

The Rightists were opposed to the very idea of negotiations. Their present performance in the debate on the Colombo Proposals was therefore only a symptom; the psychosis was there even much earlier.

However, this amalgam of Swatantra-PSP-Jan Sangh-Socialists created a great deal of noise. Arrogating to themselves the sole right of guardians of the country's honour, they sought to question the integrity of others.

Hear the PSP Leader Nath Pal: "Let it not be said, Mr. Speaker, that the heir of Mahatma Gandhi, the one Indian who to millions of his countrymen became a symbol of their self-respect, was to be seen suing on bended knees at the feet of Peking. We must spare this humiliation and in that lies the salvation of this country".

How profound! So we are told that the PSP leader is a

Communists Detained—Official Figures

In reply to a question by Indrajit Gupta and three others, Minister B. N. Datar, revealed in the Lok Sabha on January 23 that 910 people had been detained all over the country under the Defence of India Rules and that 769 of them were Communists. Among the non-Communists, the figures provided by the government also showed that there were quite a number of AITUC comrades and even some described as "pro-CPI".

It was also stated that 161 persons have been released so far. Except in the case of Gujarat, Kerala, Madras, Maharashtra, Punjab and Goa, in other states most of the cases have not been reviewed, it was disclosed.

CHINA'S "POSITIVE RESPONSE" REVEALED AS REJECTION

However the fact may be covered up, it can no longer be hidden that China's so-called "positive response" to the Colombo Proposals is actually one of rejection of these proposals.

SIX non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa, who could neither singly nor collectively be branded as partisans of India, met on their own and keeping in view only the larger interests of Afro-Asian solidarity, worked out certain proposals to help soften the conflict.

India, misunderstood even by many friends and maligned on a colossal scale the world over by China, approached the Colombo Conference and its outcome with trepidation while China pretended to welcome it with great fanfare and announced—following the visit of the Colombo emissaries to Peking—its "positive response" to the Conference proposals.

India's Prime Minister taking the people and Parliament into full confidence waged a heroic fight overcoming genuine apprehensions on the part of the people as well as interested opposition from Right-wing quarters, and secured what amounted to an overwhelming vote of approval for his government's acceptance of the Colombo proposals.

Following India's acceptance China has been left with no alternative but to come out in the open and spell out what its so-called "positive response" really means. People's Daily's 4,000-word editorial of January 28

blames Colombo Powers of not being equitable in their proposals.

It makes out that these proposals are unfair to China because they do not ask India to confine its defence positions in the eastern sector to where China's massive aggression after October 20 pushed them.

They are unfair to China, according to the People's Daily, also because in the western sector they want to clearly establish, by allowing civilian posts of both sides in the disengagement zone, the fact that stabilisation of cease-fire does not mean confirmation of China's claim to the territory acquired by her following the assault since October 20.

No proposals which do not compel India to give up her claim to the 2,500 square miles of territory acquired by the Chinese as a result of military action since October 20, will be acceptable to China... that is what the People's Daily asserts.

Unless, the Colombo Proposals are changed to meet this Chinese demand, they cannot be considered equitable from the Chinese point of view. To call this stand, an "interpretation" of Colombo proposals is a massive fraud.

A demand for drastic revision of the proposals to suit one

party's ends can only be termed "rejection" of the proposals; not an "interpretation" by any stretch of imagination.

This is China's "respect" for the six non-aligned nations and her "appreciation" of their efforts.

The People's Daily declares that the Chinese Government does not make acceptance of its own "interpretations" a pre-condition for negotiations. This is asking India to come to the negotiation table not on the basis of the non-partisan Colombo Proposals as interpreted and clarified by the Colombo powers themselves, but actually in spite of China's non-acceptance of these.

India's position has been made crystal clear by the Prime Minister in course of the Parliamentary debate. India has accepted the Colombo proposals and the accompanying clarifications in toto and as they stand in black and white for anybody to see.

For the Chinese to try to distort this clear stand by suggesting that it amounts to an "interpretation" is nothing but a device to deceive world opinion. It is an exercise which is becoming more futile with every resort to it.

The world will expect the Chinese Government to accept the Colombo proposals as they stand and as they have been clarified by those who framed them. India stands committed to the next step once the Chinese do that.

—ZIA-UL HAQ