

# the great question

# WHY CHINA IS DOING IT

(This political commentary is based on the notes made by NEW AGE while S. A. Dange, Chairman of the CPI was answering some questions put to him by some non-party friends. —Editor)

The India-China conflict is ceasing to be a mere border conflict. Its core still remains the border. But its ramifications are now becoming world-wide.

It began as a difference of opinion on maps. It developed into an argument. Then tension came. Small clashes occurred. And things flared up into war-like action. The two biggest countries of Asia at present are settled into positions of a small war, an undeclared war at that.

## Danger Of A World War

But everyone recognises that a small war can lead to a great war, which today means a world war.

Those who thrive on war may like it in a limited sense. Wars do mean profits for some. But in today's conditions, even warmongering imperialists hesitate before the prospect of a world war. It should be much more so with these two great countries of Asia.

And is there any doubt in anybody's mind that if India and China try to fight it out to the finish, it will not involve the whole world in a world war? They are sixty-five crores and we are sixty-five. But war is not decided by numbers alone. The Indians will fight it as

much doggedly as the Chinese. Arms will not be wanting on either side, whatever the position today.

Hence, it is the duty of all countries to see that this small war does not lead to a world war and that the small one also is quickly settled.

What does China want really? Is it all so much for territory. Her territory is already vast enough. China is not a bottled-up nation.

Is it in need of economic gains? What economic gain lies in the rocks of Ladakh or the mountains and jungles of NEFA? Maybe, big hidden mineral wealth for future gains? Does China need go there or need have gone there for economic gains? There is enough wealth in the vast territory of China at easy access.

If territory and history, economic gains and positions were so much needed by China, there is the most tempting thing nearby within hardly ten miles' distance—the big rich colony of Hong Kong which has been China's territory for more reasons than she can give for Ladakh or NEFA.

Then why this quarrel with

## WE DEFEND AND WE APPEAL

### Editorial

WE SHALL DEFEND our country. We do. And we appeal to the nations of the world and all progressive people to try their all and halt this offensive and adventurous career of China, which has led her to commit aggression against peace-loving India.

Let us all remember even small wars can also lead to a world war.

Interests of world peace demand of you to act in time.

The peoples of Asia and Africa do not like these two great countries to go at each other's throats.

India is not at fault. But do not sit in judgment whose fault it is and what.

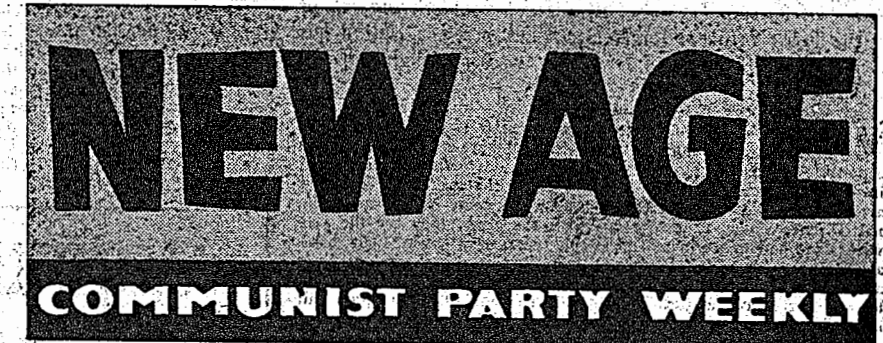
India says: Stand back where you were before September 8 and talk.

This is not a term of dictation or humiliation. None should read it thus.

The Indian people are united behind Nehru. Make no mistake about it. And Nehru is neither an expansionist, nor a warmonger, nor a pro-imperialist. He today expresses the will and desire of the overwhelming mass of the millions of peace-loving Indians.

Not diplomatic notes but positive steps for peace and stopping war, hurting no one's prestige and honour is the need of the hour.

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India? Everyone asks this question. They ask the Communists for reply. The genuine questioners, who are worried over the prospect of a world war, think that perhaps, we, as Communists, knowing Communist policies and Communist mind, we, as internationalists, must be able to fathom the depths of a Communist mind everywhere.

It is not so. Just adherence to the philosophy of communism does not make all Communist minds one and the same or enable every Communist person, party or country to fathom the workings of the mind of everyone or all of them. We admit failures to do so in many a case.

In this case, we admit our failure to understand China. Why is it doing all this?

### What Does it Want?

Does it want to establish its Great Power leadership over Asia? Even if it wants to, it knows that this cannot be done by showing that she can or has defeated India. By humiliating India? Such things do not impress history very long. Even totally defeated nations have staged a comeback. Let there be on illusions on that score.

Does China think that India has become a tool of imperialism, that Nehru has ceased to be a good progressive democrat, and that India now is in need of "liberation" from an imperialist or fascist regime of the big bourgeoisie and landlords of India. Does she think that India is so economically gone and her masses so disoriented that they will welcome the Chinese army of socialism to "liberate" them?

If it would almost look so from the ridiculous propaganda broadcasts that are poured out from the Peking Radio.

But it is the Chinese themselves who agreed with all Communists of the world that revolution cannot be exported by force of arms. Till yesterday, they held the view that India was a non-aligned country, that it was not in the imperialist camp. The leading parties of the world Communist movement firmly hold the

view that India is a peace-loving country, that she is non-aligned, that she is carrying out independent economic development, though it may be on capitalist lines. Then, why should China have a quarrel with such a country, even to the point of war?

It is just here that something has foundered. If all the Peking Radio broadcast and newspaper articles are an indication, the Chinese believe that India has ended her progressive non-aligned, anti-imperialist role. Hence, it is India that has become expansionist and aggressive. Hence, India wants China's territory. Hence China would fight even a world war for every dot on the map.

The Chinese maps are more valid because they were made by Chinese Emperors (who were, of course, not expansionists but perhaps pioneer socialist) and inherited by "socialist China". The Indian maps are invalid by the very fact that they were drawn by the British imperialists and inherited by "bourgeois India".

### History Can't Be Argued Backwards

If history is argued backwards at that rate, then no country's inheritance, history and boundary would be safe and all can be drowned in mutual aggression. We need not go into the thousand and one illustrations with which the pages of history are replete.

We do not at all agree with these arguments of the Chinese ruling leadership. Hence our break with them on these issues.

It is the duty of all progressive forces in the world to see that China halts this mad adventure against India.

Some people who diligently follow communist writings and literature, even though they may not be Communists, want to tell us that China is behaving like a typical peasant nation. To the peasant's mind, his country and his farm are one and the same. Both must expand. There lies glory and patriotism. Even for an inch of a hedge, the peasant will lay

down his life and fight against his neighbour and brother.

Some say that China is having a wave of "national communism", which throws to the winds all international solidarity.

Some say that, for a long time, China has been speaking of "Sinification of Marxism", and thereby developing its own brand of not only practice but theory also. Many politically minded people ask these questions.

We cannot go into all that here, however, tempting and educative: the questions may be. Since the last few years, our theoretical discussions have not remained within the confines of private seminars. But we started this note, not with that in view. We have been asked by very sincere and honest Congress leaders, not expansionists nor chauvinists—could you tell us why China is behaving like that?

The likeliest answer is that her political understanding of India has gone wrong, her understanding of the progress of world phenomena, as a whole, has gone wrong.

If that is so, why is she not quarrelling with the other Asian and African "bourgeois" countries? Why has she made up with Burma, Nepal, Indonesia, etc.?

Who says she did not quarrel with all of them? She had trouble with Indonesia on the Chinese population there. She had border trouble with others also. Some she settled as a matter of tactics and diplomacy.

Otherwise, what has socialist China common with Nepal or Pakistan? Or is a monarchical rule or para-military presidential dictatorship better than India's parliamentary democracy?

The battle that India has to wage is a hard one. It is not only or merely military. It is political, economic, ideological, diplomatic also.

All the democratic masses must be drawn into it. Asking for men, money and munitions is not enough. The people will give them but there must be consciousness of understanding. There must be conscious understanding. Mere war-



# NATION ROUSED FOR DEFENCE

A nation up in arms against an invader does not pause to consider the casualties or sacrifices of the struggle. It throws everything, men, money and materials, into the one supreme task of defending the country against the danger from without. The last few days have shown that our people can meet the challenge of Chinese aggression with confidence and determination. Shaken out of its complacency, galvanised by the stirring call of the Prime Minister for National Defence, the Nation has reared itself and risen to match the very heights of the Himalayas.

VIEWED from any point, it is a breath-taking panorama of activity. The masses have moved in their millions, to join the army, to contribute to the National Defence Fund, to pledge, to work more and to work hard and above all, to provide a strong and effective rear to the front lines of our brave jawans. It is impossible to capture in these pages the magnitude of this mass upsurge.

It is not only the millionaires, the Maharajas and the tycoons who have contributed gold and money to the National Defence Fund. The poor people, the toilers

in the fields and factories of this vast land have made an enormous contribution to this national effort to expel the aggressors from our soil. They are the people who join the army, they are the people who have given their hard-earned wages, unmindful of their privations, to the cause of National Defence. Reports from all parts of the country show that the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, have magnificently responded to the call of the Prime Minister for unity and sacrifice in the cause of National Defence. We give here only a few reports reflecting a small part of this activity.

## KERALA

The Communist Party took the initiative in Kerala to mobilise the people for National Defence against Chinese Aggression. And this task is being splendidly carried forward with enthusiasm and success. In response to the call of the Kerala State Council of the Party, Party units all over the State have been carrying on demonstrations and meetings and collections to the National Defence Fund.

Even before the large-scale Chinese invasion started on October 20, A. K. Gopalan, Leader of the Communist Group in Parliament addressing a public meeting in Calicut on October 19 called upon the people to sink their differences and stand united to defend our freedom and sovereignty against aggression. Immediately after the massive Chinese offensive started, on October 21 C. Achutha Menon, Secretary of the Kerala State Council of the Party issued a statement pledging full support to the Government and declared: "We will never allow a foreign army to put its foot on our sacred soil. We wholeheartedly support the call of the President, the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister to the people of India to rally as one man behind the Government and the army in their efforts to protect our motherland." He also announced the cancellation of the proposed mass hunger strike before government offices on November 1, decided earlier by the State Council, to demand the location of the fourth oil refinery in Kerala.

The same day, P. Balachandran Menon, General Secretary of the Kerala State Trade Union Council (AITUC) in a statement, called upon the workers to rally in the defence of the country against Chinese aggression. Leaders of other mass organisations have also called upon their members and followers to dedicate all efforts for National Defence. C. H. Kanaran, Secretary of the Kerala Karshaka Sangham exhorted the Kisans to increase food production to help strengthen the rear in this national emergency.

On October 23, the State Council of the Party issued a directive to all Party Units to organise meetings all over the State and to mobilise support to the defence efforts of the government. This was followed later by a resolution of the

State Council condemning Chinese aggression, pledging full support to the government and support to the Prime Minister's declaration that the Chinese should first withdraw to the 8th September line before any negotiations can start. In the course of his tour of the State, A. K. Gopalan, addressing a public meeting in Palghat declared unqualified support of the Communist Group in Parliament to strengthening the defences and for vacating Chinese aggression from our land. Meetings, demonstrations and collections to the National Defence Fund have been going on in factories, offices and schools all over the State. Workers, NGOs, teachers, women's organisations and cultural and sports associations and other mass organisations have taken up enthusiastically the cause of raising National Defence Fund. Even the poorest of the poor have responded to the call for funds. Only some cases are listed here.

In Alwaye, the industrial heart of Kerala, a mass rally of trade unions on October 26 pledged full support to government and called for workers' donations to the National Defence Fund. Workers of the FACT offered to give a day's wages which will be matched by an equal amount by the management. The workers of the Asoka Textiles decided to work one day extra and contribute the earnings to the National Defence Fund, the management also promising an equal amount. The workers of the Indian Rare Earths and the glass and aluminium factories and other industries have also come forward to contribute one day's wages. In Koratti, about 1,400 workers of the Jamuna Thread Mills decided to contribute one rupee each as their first instalment.

In Trichur, a joint meeting of representatives of AITUC unions of the district on October 28 called

upon the workers in all factories to contribute one day's wages to the National Defence Fund, to desist from strikes in this national emergency and to work their utmost to increase production. A citizens' meeting presided over by the Trichur Municipal Chairman on October 26 took a decision to collect immediately Rs. 10,000 as first instalment. The staff of the Cochin Malleables gave Rs. 1,001. It was decided to organise handi collection in the town for which the DALCO gave 2,000 tins. The toddy tappers' unions in different parts of the district have also moved in a big way to raise collections. The

the 16th anniversary of the heroic Punnappa-Vayalar struggle in which the workers fought pitched battles against the police of the hated Sir C. P. regime in former Travancore and laid down many lives, the meeting presided over by Mrs. Gouri Thomas, former Minister in the Kerala Communist Ministry collected Rs. 201.07 and donated it to the National Defence Fund. In these parts the people, who are mostly engaged in the traditional crisis-ridden coir industry are extremely poor and often unemployed. The collections at the meeting ranged from one naya paisa to two rupees. Vendors selling their wares at the

Electricity Board and many other small and big unions have come forward to contribute one day's wages to the National Defence Fund. R. Sugathan, veteran trade unionist and M.L.A. has sent Rs. 101 to the National Defence Fund. The NGO Central Council meeting in Trichur pledged to collect Rs. 10,000, while 1,700 workers of Alagappa Textiles offered their one day's wages. The students of Fatima College in Quilon gave Rs. 1300, while the local Food Grain Head Load Workers' Union came forward with Rs. 101. The labourers of Kaladi Rubber Plantation Scheme gave Rs. 150 and

## WORKERS CONTRIBUTE DAY'S WAGES

Laxmi Mills workers of Trichur have offered their one day's wages to the National Defence Fund. A citizens' meeting under the chairmanship of the Mayor, C. R. Das which met in Trivandrum on October 27 set the target of collecting Rupees two lakhs to the National Defence Fund and Rs. 563 was collected on the spot. The first contribution of Rs. 50 came from C. Achutha Menon, Secretary of the Kerala State Council of the CPI. The AITUC unions promised to collect Rs. 10,000 and the P & T Employees' Union Rs. 2,000. In Vayalar, on the occasion of

meeting place gave eggs, fruits, beedis and biscuits etc., which were auctioned and proceeds included in the collection. Every day there are more and more reports of collections from all over the State. Among the first instalments reported from Kottayam are Rs. 101 by Postal Employees' Union, Rs. 1001 by workers of a cement factory, Rs. 501 by the inmates of the Reserve Camp and Rs. 151 by the Press Club. The Rayons Factory workers of Perumbavoor, the Malabar Transport Employees' Union, the Star Tile Factory Workers of Calicut, Cashew workers in Quilon, the employees of the Kerala

the Municipal employees in Calicut Rs. 501. On October 30, popular film stars of Kerala went on foot through the streets of Trivandrum and appealed to traders and others to donate liberally to the National Defence Fund. In a few hours time they reported a collection of Rs. 5000 in cash and gold and more was being collected. Thus continues the story of these collections, big and small, by workers in factories and fields, by all other sections of people in enthusiastic response to the Prime Minister's appeal for National Defence Fund.

## MAHARASHTRA

HERE is a news from Bombay which shows that our organised working class is fully conscious of its role in this national emergency. Nearly five lakhs of Bombay's industrial labourers have enthusiastically responded to the call of their different trade unions to work more and contribute their earnings to the National Defence Fund.

The call was to work on Sunday, November 4 as an extra effort for National Defence and contribute the day's wages to the Defence Fund. Among the organisations taking lead in the campaign are the Mumbai Gimi Kamgar Union, the State Trade Union Committee of the AITUC, the Mill Mazdoor Sabha, the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh and many other unions. Western Railway employees had contributed Rs. 50,000 towards the National Defence Fund on their last pay day, November 1. Among the many other collections from the city already announced are Rs. 12,273 by the Reserve Bank of India employees, Rs. 5,001 by ESSO Refinery employees, Rs. 11,000 by the management and workers of Sadhana Textile Mills, Rs. 10,000 by the management staff and workers of the House of Patawala, Rs. 50,000 by the employees of Godrej Co. Workers in all Industries have responded to the call for donations to the National Defence Fund. About Rs. 40 lakhs was collected from workers and business houses in

Bombay on November 2 alone. Moving tales of poor people donating their life-savings for preservation of the country's freedom are being reported daily. Sahakar, a mill worker, who had saved Rs. 4,500 for his daughter's marriage, donated the entire amount to the Defence Fund. "If my services are needed for the Indian Army, I am even ready to enlist myself," said middle-aged Sahakar. Office clerks have come forward to donate gold rings and their wives' jewellery and part of their salaries. Taxi-men, manual labourers, intellectuals and students are enthusiastically taking part in the campaign for National Defence Fund. Pledges to augment production and to donate blood are being taken by mill-workers and other industrial labourers.

AMRITSAR: Nearly 3,000 employees of the Northern Railway offered to contribute two percent of their salary every month. Representatives of political parties and other organisations have decided to collect Rupees five lakhs. On November 2, the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union sent Rs. 194 to the Prime Minister's National Defence Fund. Collections are continuing. The Punjab Trade Union Council (AITUC) will collect Rs. 1.25 lakhs. FARIDABAD: Seven hundred workers of Bata Shoe Workers Union decided to work extra on holiday and contribute Rs. 5,000. The Company also promised to contribute Rs. 15,000.

CHEHARTA: The Mill Committee of the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union has forwarded on November 2 Rs. 400 to the Defence Fund. JAMSHEDPUR: Workers in the industries of Jamshedpur have decided to contribute one day's wages.

KALAKOT: Employees of Kalakot Coal Mines decided to contribute five per cent of their monthly wages to the National Defence Fund. BHLAI: All the five Registered Trade Unions of workers of the Bhilai Steel Plant have called upon workers to close up their ranks and speed up production to meet the challenge of Chinese aggression. Workers have offered to contribute one day's wages to the National Defence Fund. MYSORE: Eight Thousand workers of the Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works have offered to contribute one day's wages to the National Defence Fund. They have also decided to work day and night to increase production. GWALIOR: About 8,000 workers employed in the textile mills of Gwalior decided to work on October 30, their "bhaadooj" holiday

# POPULARISE PARTY RESOLUTION

S. A. Dange, Chairman of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has issued a circular on November 6, to all party units on the question of popularising the resolution of the National Council on the Chinese aggression.

The circular is reproduced below:

THE Resolution of the National Council on "National Emergency Arising Out of Chinese Aggression" has already been published in the New Age. Some newspapers have published it in full and some in an abridged and edited form. The Party Centre is immediately bringing out a small pamphlet containing this resolution in English, Hindi and Urdu.

All steps should be taken to publish the full text of the resolution in all our Party journals and make them available to the public also in pamphlet form in your regional language. This is absolutely essential for mass popularisation of this resolution. The Provincial Committees should

bring out the pamphlet without any loss of time. The pamphlet should contain the same title as the New Age caption: "UNITE TO DEFEND MOTHERLAND - AGAINST CHINA'S OPEN AGGRESSION."

All Provincial and District units and indeed all units of the Party should see to it that the people are acquainted with the full-text of the resolution. Particular care should be taken to make this resolution available to influential public figures in all walks of life, including the members of the State Legislatures and Parliament. Copies of the resolution can be sent to them by post or delivered personally whichever

method is expeditious. The democratic mass organisations and their leading workers should similarly be provided with the copies of the resolution.

All Party units beginning with the State Councils and District Councils should immediately hold their meetings, where this resolution should be explained and the concrete tasks for strengthening national defence and national unity should be formulated in the light of the seven-point programme. These meetings are naturally meant for the explanation and the implementation of the resolution.

In the situation of emergency that we are in, there is no room for long-winded discussions. The spirit of the resolution must be carried forward in all its completeness, and all necessary organisational steps should be taken at all levels to give effect to the resolution. All Party units are called upon to implement this resolution with zeal and strict

discipline. Any deviation from the resolution in word or deed is impermissible.

In view of the urgency of the situation, every Party unit should concretely fix up its programme of work and assign specific responsibilities to the Party comrades for popularisation and implementation of the resolution. In this connection naturally the concrete tasks will have also to be fixed for the Party unit as a whole and for its individual members.

It will, of course, be necessary to call general body meetings of the comrades where the resolution should be explained not only

generally but in terms of concrete practical steps for its implementation. This is essential for quickly moving the Party members.

Along with this, mass meetings, bathnaks, etc. should be organised. Special effort should be made to organise public meetings in important political centres and as well as in the Centres of mass activity. Such meetings should be, as far as possible, properly reported in our Party press and we should also try our best to get them reported in the non-Party newspapers as well. The reports should also be sent to the New Age Weekly.

## SPOTLIGHT

By Garuda

### DISRUPTIONISTS WORK THEMSELVES INTO A FRENZY

WHILE the nation girds its loins to make a supreme effort to meet the challenge of foreign aggression, disruptionists of national unity engage themselves in a veritable devil dance. The cry goes forth to achieve what could not be got through the democratic process of the general elections some months ago. "Topple down the Nehru Government," seems to be their battle-cry.

The Swatantrites are, of course, most active in the field, but the campaign is spearheaded in Delhi and some other places by the fascist shock-brigade, the RSS-Jan Sangh. The press has already reported that two Jan Sangh leaders were arrested for their complicity in the cowardly attempt to burn down the unguarded Communist Party headquarters in Delhi on October 31.

Their mouthpiece, the Organiser has come out in the open to give vent to their lurid thoughts and designs. Thus one reads in its issue of November 5, the Sangh Gurjil asking for "Nehru's retirement to the background, if only for two years."

Echoing the same cry, an editorial says: "We want a leader other than Nehru." "We have been betrayed, brother!" shrieks the tabloid on another page. It says: "The Prime Minister should now confess that he had betrayed the trust which millions of his countrymen had placed in him."

It is noteworthy that the same scribe had penned a lengthy series of eighteen essays last year to prove that Lenin was a "blackguard," Hitler and Mussolini were great patriots, and Nehru was a "crypto-Communist."

In other ways too, RSS-Jan Sangh have already proved that they have no intention at all of associating themselves with the Nation's call for unity and honest effort to build the country's strength in order to meet the challenge of a foreign invasion.

In Delhi they have tried to divert every demonstration of popular anger and will to face the Chinese aggression into

disruptive channels. They led some youth to sage such acts of vandalism as the wrecking of shops and restaurants. Any one who saw these frenzied mobs in action could see that it was not building national strength but frittering it away in the most wanton manner.

The Jan Sangh Working Committee has come out again with its old slogan: "Prune the Plan." On the other hand, the Sangh, which could make a big contribution in getting hoarded gold out to fill the country's coffers has opposed such a measure through an Organiser editorial titled "Hands off the People's Gold". It keeps blinking at this issue instead of giving a call to its followers to disgorge gold.

In its meetings the Sangh prefers to indulge in the dirtiest demagoguery. A crass instance of this was Balraj Madhok's speech on the October 28 at Anaj Mandi, Shahdara. He railed against Nehru in most intemperate terms. "Jawahar has betrayed the country by his stupidity and shamelessness," he said. This roused the anger of the audience to such an extent that the Sangh's meeting could not be proceeded with and Madhok had to flee and hide himself in the local Arya Samaj Mandir.

I do not know how far the puny leaders of this fascist organisation have correctly gauged the real mood of the masses, but they certainly are gravely mistaken if they think that they can exploit the present national emergency to gain their narrow anti-national ends.

The Organiser has approvingly quoted these words of the vicious "PSP" leader in Delhi, Bhij Mohan Toofan: "God forbid, we do not have to render our hands in the blood of our own brethren. But as things are, these Peking patriots will have to be taught a lesson."

"Peking patriots" in the dictionary of the fascist scum means, as everyone knows, every progressive Indian! Let not the cheeky vermin forget that the country does not need a civil war, nor are we in the throes of a general election. Their intemperate talk is not only ridiculous and out of place it is positively harmful to the country. No decent Indian will tolerate their disruptionist frenzy.

November 6

# Call To All Trade Unions

Explaining the gravity of the present situation of national emergency arising out of the Chinese aggression, S. A. Dange, General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress has addressed an appeal to the trade unions on November 6, to realise and discharge the responsibilities that remain with them for the cause of defence of the country.

AMONG other things, he exhorted the workers to forge unity from below both for helping the defence as well as safeguarding themselves from the attacks of the vested interests.

Following is the text of the appeal: In the situation of national emergency arising out of Chinese aggression, the trade unions have a great responsibility to discharge. While the army at the front will defend the country with arms in hand, the workers in the rear at the production front will defend the country with the machines in hand, and keep the flow of supplies and goods running at top gear.

Goods for the people and the country are as much necessary as for the needs of the Army. Both production for defence and production for civilian use require an integrated attention from the working class and its trade unions. While it is a fact that many of the employers also want to serve the interests of the country, as past experience shows, profit-mongering interests will try to use the situation. Prices will rise and workers' real wages may

deteriorate after some time. Workers' rights and welfare will suffer as a setback. After all, workers know under what system we are living. Hence the trade unions have a two-fold task to perform. They have to take up the responsibilities of fulfilling production goals set by the country. And side by side with that, they have to see that the most important force in discharging this task — namely, the worker — is also not subjected to attacks by selfish capitalist interests.

The appeal which the Prime Minister issued to the nation mentioned both the aspects of the questions. While he warned against strikes, he also warned against price-rises and anti-social interests. After his appeal, I wrote to him a letter, which has already been published, outlining the two-fold tasks before us.

The Tripartite which met in Delhi on 3rd November was really expected to discuss this question in all its aspects. But it failed to do so. It formally adopted a resolution and dispersed in ten minutes without discussing any concrete measures.

The employers, the INTUC and the HMS had demanded just on the eve of the conference that the AITUC should be excluded. But the move did not succeed.

The aim of this move is clear. These people want to isolate the AITUC unions by making the slanderous allegation that we are not in the Government's defence and incite the Government, the employers and workers to attack us. They wish to break the AITUC; their long-cherished ambition.

We refused to be provoked by their allegations, abuses and provocations. I would appeal to the INTUC and HMS to realise that this is

## AITUC General Council

THE AITUC Secretariat has announced that the General Council meeting of the AITUC which was scheduled to be held in Delhi from November 13 to 17, has been postponed to November 16 to 18.



# DUPLICITY AND THREATS

The latest Chinese Notes placed before Parliament and appearing in the Press give no ground for any complacent feeling that the Chinese have any intention of backing down from the rigid positions they have assumed or of going back from the deep interior of Indian territory where they have penetrated.

ON the contrary, available evidence shows that while insisting on acceptance of their own conditions for cease-fire and talks, they are preparing to mount new offensives against what is admitted even by them to be Indian territory in the Western sector (Chushul and Tinuzhe) and hitherto unviolated territory south of the McMahon line like Walong.

These are hard facts which have to be taken cognizance of, however unpalatable they may be, by all concerned, both inside the country and abroad.

In its statement of October 24, the Chinese Government advanced the deliberately ambiguous condition that both sides withdraw twenty kilometres behind their "actual line of control," keeping it open to themselves to claim the bulk of the fruits of their post-October 20 massive invasion and pushing India back by another 20 kilometres.

Now in his latest letter the Chinese Premier wants India, for the purposes of this withdrawal, to accept what China regards as the "traditional customary line" in Ladakh in exchange for China withdrawing behind its own version of the line which it pledged never to cross in the Eastern sector, namely the McMahon line. This is advanced as a "highly reasonable," even a "magnanimous," offer.

## WE PROTEST

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India met in order to consider the arrests that have taken place in Maharashtra and issued the following statement on November 8.

THE Secretariat learnt with shock of the arrests and detention of forty-one Communist Party members in Maharashtra and five members of the Lal Nishan Party in Bombay. Newspaper reports state that these arrests were made for the pro-China views alleged to have been held by these members of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party has declared its policy in relation to the India-China conflict in its resolution adopted at the Delhi meeting of the National Council. As is well-known, resolutions of the Communist Party are binding on all its members, once they are adopted and the Party enforces its discipline on all, whatever opinion one may hold before a resolution is adopted.

The arrests are all the more regrettable in view of the fact that they are not done on the basis of any views or acts of these members after the resolution of our National Council.

It is noteworthy that one of the arrested persons Comrade S. K. Limaye had just come to Delhi to attend Parliament and place there his views. Another arrested person, Comrade B. N. Mukherjee is a patient seriously suffering from cancer and has been under treatment of the Tata Cancer Hospital.

We appeal to all Party members not to be provoked by such acts of the Government. The Party will not be deflected from its accepted line by provocations from anybody.

The Secretariat protests against such arrests and urges upon Government to release these arrested comrades.

a devil as China paints it, could have avoided negotiations and settlement?

The final trump in this latest manoeuvre to isolate India is the argument of accepting U.S. arms. "What is especially serious," says the Chinese Note of November 6, "the Indian side is relying on the United States for the supply of large quantities of arms."

One would like to ask the wise leaders of China what is the alternative they have left India in the present situation. Are they prepared to supply India with the arms she needs to defend her national security, integrity and honour in this hour of peril?

They think that they alone know the risks involved for any country in seeking U.S. arms. Not that they would remove the necessity of India doing so; they rather feel happy that India has to seek U.S. arms because it

gives them another handle to defame this country. They would refuse to see that the whole of India and all sections of opinion in this country are agreed that necessary weapons for defence have to be got at any cost and from anywhere, even if it be from the devil himself.

The country as a whole (leaving aside the noisy stooges of U.S. imperialism) is today mature enough to realise that arms which are sought for preservation of national freedom should not become the means of bartering that freedom. In trying to escape the frying pan, we should not fall into the fire itself—this the country knows very well.

China and the whole world have to realise that when the Prime Minister talks of standing up at all costs to the menace posed by the current invasion, it is no empty talk. The people

# NEHRU'S REPLY

We publish below the text of Prime Minister Nehru's reply of October 27 to Premier Chou En-lai's letter of October 24 forwarding the Chinese proposals. In cogent and courteous terms the Indian Prime Minister placed before his Chinese counterpart the only reasonable course to end the present conflict, namely a withdrawal by China to positions held before September 8.

The letter is a testimony to India's deep desire for a peaceful settlement and restoration of friendly relations with China, something which the Chinese leaders refuse to see.

THANK you for the copy of your message of 24th October, which was delivered to the Ministry of External Affairs by your Charge d'Affaires in Delhi on the evening of 24th October along with a copy of the statement issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China on the morning of the 24th.

Nothing in my long political career has hurt and grieved me more than the fact that the hopes and aspirations for peaceful and friendly neighbourly relations which we entertained, and to promote which my colleagues in the Government of India and myself worked so hard, ever since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, should have been shattered by the hostile and unfriendly twist given in India-China relations during the past few years.

The current clashes on the India-China border arising out of what is in effect a Chinese invasion of India, which you have described as "most distressing," are the final culmination of the deterioration in relations between India and China.

I would not, in this letter, go into the long history of this deterioration in India-China relations or argue as to where the fault lies because you are quite familiar with our views on this subject. All I would say is that the long preamble to the statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China of 24th October, enclosed with your letter, gives a distorted picture of the history of India-China relations.

We should Look Ahead

I agree with you, however, that we should look ahead and consider what can be done not

merely to turn the tide as you suggest, but to reverse it and make a serious attempt to restore the relations between India and China to the warm and friendly pattern of earlier days and even to improve on that pattern.

As regards the three points mentioned in your letter which were put out in the statement of 24th October, the Government of India have already indicated their official reactions to the proposals in these three points. I enclose a copy of this official reaction for ready reference.

My colleagues and I have carefully considered the appeal made in your letter. We are not able to understand the necessities of the Chinese three-point proposals which talk about "lines of actual control," etc. I believe several other Governments interested in peaceful settlement of our differences have also not been able to understand or appreciate what these proposals actually mean.

Clear And Straight-Forward

We are of the considered view that a clear straight-forward way of reversing the deteriorating trend in India-China relations would be for Your Excellency to accept the suggestion made in point (V) of the official reaction of the Government of India and to revert to the position as it prevailed all along the India-China boundary prior to 8th September, 1962. If this is agreed to, it can be implemented by both sides.

We will, thereafter, be glad to welcome you or a delegation from your country at any level that is mutually acceptable to discuss and arrive at further agreed measures which can facilitate a peaceful settlement of our differences on this border question, in one stage or in more than one stage as may be necessary.

There have been repeated declarations by the Government of the People's Republic of China that they want to settle the differences on the border question with India by peaceful means, though what is happening today is in violent contradiction with these declarations. I would, however, presume that your letter is a reaffirmation of the earlier declarations and indicates a desire to revert to the paths of peace and peaceful settlement.

On this common basis of eschewing war and violence in the settlement of border differences, our proposal to revert to the status quo along the entire boundary as it prevailed before 8th September 1962, should be acceptable to you. We could, after this is implemented, discuss our differences and see whether we can arrive at agreed measures and settle the differences either in one stage or in several stages.

If we fail, we can consider what other agreed peaceful method of settling our differences should be adopted.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

# GLIMPSSES INTO THE CHINESE MIND

## Perverse Understanding of Indian Situation

The Peking People's Daily has come out on October 27 with "an article written by its Editorial Department." Entitled 'More on Nehru's Philosophy in the Light of the Sino-Indian Boundary Question,' it claims to "lay bare the essential truth of the matter and elucidate the root cause and background of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute."

ANY impartial observer anywhere in the world reading this article would inevitably be faced with the question: With the understanding of the "root cause" of the conflict as elucidated in this article will the Chinese leadership be really be able to and strive for a peaceful settlement of the border dispute which they all the time claim to be seeking with India?

For, with the diabolical character of the Indian Government that the People's Daily article portrays, there can be no hope of any "peaceful settlement" being arrived at so long as the present Government lasts in this country.

It would have been far more honest for the Chinese leadership, whose mind the People's Daily article reflects, to declare that intensification of the border conflict with India is inevitable and there is no use talking of the possibility of a peaceful settlement. The present double-faced tactics of proclaiming China's preparedness all the time to seek a peaceful settlement through negotiations and at the same time trying to prove to the world that the basic "philosophy" of Nehru makes intensification of the conflict only inevitable should in any case be given up.

## UNBRIDLED AUDACITY

It is not our purpose here to show up the basic fallacies of the Chinese understanding of the Indian situation, both in its theoretical and practical aspects. The last Congress of the Communist Party of India (Vijaywada, April 1961) clearly pronounced itself on the subject and the latest resolution of the National Council of the Party has emphatically reiterated it. The Chinese leaders who have arrogated to themselves the right of being the sole guardians of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, characteristically disclaim any intention of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, especially India; and yet through this article they virtually call upon the Indian people to overthrow the Nehru Government if a peaceful solution of the India-China border question is to be achieved and peace on our Northern frontiers is to be secured.

At the same time they call upon the ranks of the Indian Communist Party to get rid of their present leadership. The Chairman of the National Council of the Communist Party of India is described by the article in question as a "self-styled Marxist-Leninist," who is accused of having "departed from the interests of the Indian people, from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and from proletarian internationalism."

## UTTER BLINDNESS

This over-simplified understanding of what happened in India in 1947 was rejected long ago by the Indian Communist Party as well as the world Communist movement. Putting the clock back by at least twelve years is a credit which only the ideologues of China living in their ivory towers can claim. Their attempt, however, to foist it now on the Indian Communist Party will meet with no success. They go on to adduce one-sided data of spurious quality to prove their case and end up in the process by proving their utter blindness to the Indian reality as a whole.

Incidentally, it is not without significance that the People's Daily article scrupulously avoids mentioning the fact that British imperialism being forced to abandon India, at least politically, truncated India's independence by dividing the country and creating a safe base for itself and its sister imperialism of USA in Pakistan. If British interests remained intact, why then did they divide India? How is that the Chinese leadership said to be expert in viewing all phenomena in all its contradictions, has become so blind to this aspect even? Obviously the blindness is caused because they have fallen in the grip of national chauvinism and in order to realise their objectives against India they are seeking to ally with a member of imperialist military blocs like Pakistan against India. Hence the omission of the mention of Pakistan even in a "profound" article on political philosophy.

Who except the frenzied Chinese leadership, would believe in this arrant nonsense? The whole world including the imperialists themselves recognise and have to reckon at every step with the fact that despite the weaknesses in the consistent execution of its foreign policy India occupies an important position among the non-aligned, anti-imperialist Powers of the world. It is precisely India's non-alignment that is so galling to extremists of all hues, and as the resolution of the National Council of the Communist Party of India points out, the latest phase of Chinese aggression has the effect of helping those very forces which seek to put an end to this non-alignment.

## TAINTED UNDERSTANDING

To proceed with the argument of the People's Daily article, India's independence, for whatever it was worth, brought about the following transformation in Nehru:

"After India proclaimed independence, Nehru, who once represented to a certain degree the interests of the Indian national bourgeoisie gradually, as the class struggle developed at home and abroad, became a loyal representative of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords of India. The Nehru Government has substituted reactionary nationalism for the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, and collaborated ever more closely with the imperialist and feudal forces. ... the class nature and economic status of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords determine that the Nehru Government depends on and serves imperialism more and more."

## BASIC PHILOSOPHY

Apart from the fact that these sweeping, unfounded and wrong statements have been at every step contradicted by life during the last ten years—the most glaring being the instance of the liberation of Goa in face of the bitterest imperialist denunciation—one wonders how thin is the Chinese faith in the Communist Parties' Statement which they signed only two years ago in Moscow and which characterised the epoch in a certain way and spoke of newly liberated and non-aligned countries, their new progressive role, the weakening of imperialism, their strength to the camp of Peace and Democracy.

Increasing American aid, according to the People's Daily, has finally done the trick of transforming Nehru into a stooge of imperialism, compared to whom Ayub or any other dictator in Asia is an anti-imperialist:

"...over the past few years Nehru has practically thrown away the banner of opposition to imperialism and colonialism in international affairs, suited himself to the needs of U.S. imperialism, become a busy spokesman for U.S. imperialism, and even made Indian troops serve as international policemen for U.S. imperialism in its suppression of national liberation movements."

present article highlights the limit of 'unbalance and hysteria' reached.

Nehru is accused of holding the views that China should remain eternally poor and weak, that it should not develop its industry rapidly, that it "should not have so large a population," that it "should not be India's neighbour but should change its geographical location!" In line with earlier tirades, he is called a "lackey of the imperialists," accused of holding that "India cannot live in friendship with China," and so on.

The article concludes with a long lecture on what the Chinese leadership considers proletarian internationalism to be. It is an open incitement to abandon of national interests and a call to Indian Communists to support China's claims. Coming on the eve of the recent meeting of the National Council, the purpose of

The People's Daily article does not seek to disguise the fact that it hates India's policy of non-alignment. To justify this hatred it makes out that "the policy of 'non-alignment'"

\*\*\*\*\* by \*\*\*\*\*  
ZIA-UL-HAQ  
\*\*\*\*\*

publicized by Nehru has obviously (sic!) become more and more a mere facade behind which he is actually carrying out a policy of opposing the national revolutionary movements of various countries, opposing socialism and serving imperialism."

Under cover of this false propaganda the People's Daily would have the world believe that its rabidly hostile campaign against India carried to the extent of large-scale invasion of Indian territory by crossing the McMahon Line which they pledged not to cross, is more than justified. According to them, it is in the interests of the anti-imperialist forces of the world. How else can one explain this massive campaign to discredit India in the eyes of the world, of which the present People's Daily article is but a small manifestation.

The raving hatred for Nehru that the article once again reveals painting him as the arch-villain of the piece in the whole Sino-Indian conflict is really astounding. It is nothing new in the Chinese propaganda. But the "political education" of the world at the hands of the Chinese leadership. The prime necessity of the hour is to avoid war between these two powers. Such articles, only help in fanning animosity. It would be in the interest of all, if such articles were not written and broadcast.

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## WORKERS:

# JOINTLY MEET TO HELP DEFENCE

Following the recent massive Chinese attack on our border and their consequent occupation of our territories, Prime Minister Nehru in a broadcast to the nation on October 22, called upon the entire people to remain united and firm to beat back the Chinese invaders.

HIS call to the nation evoked a great response from all sections of the people of our country and facts have proved how solidly our people stand behind the Government of India in its defence efforts. Never before the country was so united as it is today.

Among other sections of people, Prime Minister Nehru called upon the workers "not to indulge in strikes or in any other way which comes in the way of increasing production." He also said that "We must prevent any rise in prices and we must realise that those who seek profit at a time of national difficulty are anti-national and injure the nation."

S. A. Dange, General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress immediately responded to the Prime Minister's appeal and addressed a letter to him on October 24, urging upon him, among other things, to call a tripartite meeting to take steps for ensuring maximum production for defence purposes.

S. A. Dange in his letter stated: "I was on tour when you broadcast to the nation appealing for national unity in defence of the country against Chinese aggression. I agree with your appeal."

## LETTER TO NEHRU

I am, however, writing to you in order to make a suggestion. The needs of defence production now acquire paramount importance. The whole of the production front has to be put on a more organised basis in order to meet the needs of the rear, as well as the needs of the front, that is the people.

It is well-known from the experience of the past, that it is just in such periods of national and international crisis that the profit mongers and money speculators who have all the strings of the economy in their hands loot the people by hoarding and high prices. As a result, the workers and the middle class people who already live in the brink of starvation are forced to act in order to defend themselves against those anti-social and anti-national forces of profit-mongers. Your appeal also in a way hints at these things.

Hence, I would like to suggest that you should call a Tripartite National Conference of representatives of workers, employers and Government to discuss the problems of the production front and defence in such a way that the needs of the army-at the front are fully met and at the same time the working people in rear do not fall a prey to the attacks of the profit-mongers. Such a two-fold approach alone will create that enthusiasm for national production which we all desire and build a live unity for defence. I am sure that the trade Unions of the All India Trade Union Congress whose General Council is meeting next month will be prepared to take their due place in the fulfilment of this task.

Labour Minister Gulzari Lal Nanda on November 3, called a tripartite meeting of the representatives of employers, workers and Labour Ministers. Before the

## EMPLOYERS:

stance of the aforesaid aim. Both sides should exercise restraint and forbearance, so that nothing is allowed to come in the way of their single-minded and concerted endeavour, in support of the defence of the country. Positive steps should be taken to promote constructive cooperation between managements and workers, in all possible ways.

## II. Industrial Peace

(i) Under no circumstances shall there be any interruption in or slowing down of production of goods and services.

(ii) In respect of their economic interests both workers and employers will exercise voluntary restraint and accept the utmost sacrifice, in an equitable manner, in the interest of the Nation and its defence efforts.

(iii) There should be maximum recourse to voluntary arbitration and adequate arrangements should be made for the purpose. If necessary for a reference to adjudication arises, the process, connected with it should be completed with the utmost promptness.

(iv) The industries mentioned in the First Schedule to the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, and such other industries as may be considered necessary, e.g., petroleum and its products, chemicals, etc., may be declared as public utility services under sub-clause (vi) of clause (n) of Section 2 of the Act.

(v) All complaints pertaining to dismissal, discharge, victimisation and retrenchment of individual workman, not settled mutually, should be settled through arbitration. For this purpose, the officers of the Conciliation Machinery may, if the parties agree, serve as arbitrators. Dismissals and discharges of workmen should, however, be avoided as far as possible.

(vi) The Labour Administration at the Centre and State should be streamlined so that grievances and disputes are settled promptly and cordial industrial relations are maintained.

## III. Production

(i) All impediments in the way of better and fuller utilisation of men, machinery, and materials should be removed. There should be no idle plant capacity or waste. Managements should exercise the maximum economy in their operations.

(ii) To maximize production, establishments should work, wherever possible, extra shifts, extra hours or on Sundays and holidays by mutual agreement. Full cooperation should be extended by all in this respect. All advantages accruing to industry arising out of the extra effort of the workers should go to the consumer, and/or be made available for defence efforts.

(iii) Absenteeism and turnover should be discouraged and reduced to the minimum. Negligence of duty, careless operation, damage to property and interference with or disturbance to normal work should be denounced by the unions. Similarly any lapse on the part of the Managements that contravenes the spirit of the defence effort should be condemned and put right forthwith.

(iv) Technical and skilled personnel in short supply should be switched over to emergent work having a bearing on defence. Simultaneously steps should be taken to increase the supply of technical and skilled personnel through apprentice-

## GOVERNMENTS:

ship and other training programmes.

(v) In the production drive the well-being and health of the working class should not be ignored.

## IV. Price Stability

(i) Every effort should be made to ensure that prices of industrial goods and essential commodities are not allowed to increase.

(ii) To ensure supply of essential commodities at fair prices to the working class, steps should be taken, whenever necessary, to organise Consumers' Cooperatives in each unit and in industrial areas.

## V. Savings

(i) The imperative necessity of increasing savings in the larger interest of the country should be brought home to workers and managements and arrangements to facilitate greater savings should be provided forthwith.

(ii) Workers may be persuaded to contribute to National Defence Fund and/or invest in Defence Bonds every month an amount equivalent to at least one day's earnings. Managements also agree to contribute liberally towards National Defence Fund and/or invest in Defence Bonds on the basis of their contribution will be settled in consultation with Government.

## DANGE WRITES TO NANDA

Following is the text of the letter which S. A. Dange wrote to G. L. Nanda on November 3, after the tripartite meeting:

THE AITUC attended the consultations and the Tripartite as per your invitation today. But the results of the meeting will not be very much to the liking of the workers, though they will agree with the general policy of doing everything for production to meet the national emergency. The reason is that too many burdens have been put on the workers and the unions have been asked to do things which are not altogether in their power. If the employers and the market prices behave as they always do, things will be impossible to manage the way everyone desires.

The AITUC in its consultations pointed out these things and also suggested two most vital amendments.

These were on the same line as was explained by me to the Prime Minister in my letter of 24th October wherein I myself suggested calling of the Tripartite.

May be due to the hurry and emergency of the situation, a proper consultation was not possible. But I feel that our amendments should have been incorporated.

In the meeting itself, as the usual procedure of the tripartites could not be followed, we could not obviously raise all these questions there and had to remain silent. The AITUC had no opportunity to say anything in the meeting as regards its amendments as, after your short speech, the meeting terminated almost abruptly. I do not know if the other TU organisations had anything to say or not.

The two vital things that require mention here are that the resolution puts a blanket ban on strikes, irrespective of what the employers do. Secondly, no clear protection is assured to the workers against rise in prices and fall even in the present level of real wages which is low enough.

I feel that the Conference should have given time to this. The emergency of the situation should not have prevented more careful consideration of such vital decisions.

By writing this, I am not trying to give up our responsibility towards the needs of defence of the country, but I am only stating that this resolution, without the modifications we suggested, leaves the workers very much unprotected, which itself is likely to reflect on the defence efforts, which they want to put in.

When this question is taken concretely at the State levels, our State TUCs are being asked to once again emphasise those aspects which we communicated to you just before today's conference, asking for those vital modifications referred to above.

I will be sending you a copy of the circular I am issuing to our State Committees. We have agreed in general to the policy but in its working out in concrete, the resolution is not only weak, but, I am afraid, it will be very much used against the workers. I hope Government will call another Tripartite, after gaining some experience, in the next one or two months, of the working of this policy resolution, to remove its defects which to my mind are extremely serious. In the meanwhile, the Standing Labour Committee should be called to work out the concrete application of the general policy adopted.

Let us all hope, however, that the situation will so develop, for the whole country that this state of emergency will end before long.

## AITUC AMENDMENTS

Text of the letter from S. A. Dange to the Labour Minister suggesting amendments to the resolution:

In the brief consultations with you today, we have agreed in general with the draft you gave us. The Secretariat of the AITUC considered the draft in detail and it would like you to make the following modifications. So please see that the necessary amendments are made as they will then enable the workers and trade unions to do their duty better.

In Section II (i) under the heading "Industrial Peace," the first sentence should be re-drafted as follows:

"There should be no interruption in or slowing down of production of goods and services."

In Section III (iii) under the heading "Production," the second sentence should be omitted and the third sentence should be amended to apply to labour as well as management personnel.

In Section IV, under the heading "Price stability," the following should be added:

"Any increase in prices of essential commodities should be neutralised by adequate Dearness Allowance, so that existing real wages do not fall."

# FASCIST ATTACKS ON PARTY OFFICES

An impression has been sought to be created among the public that the attack against the headquarters of the Communist Party of India on October 31 was the result of the so-called equivocal line of the CPI on the Chinese invasion of Indian borders and some of the provocative acts of members of the Communist Party.

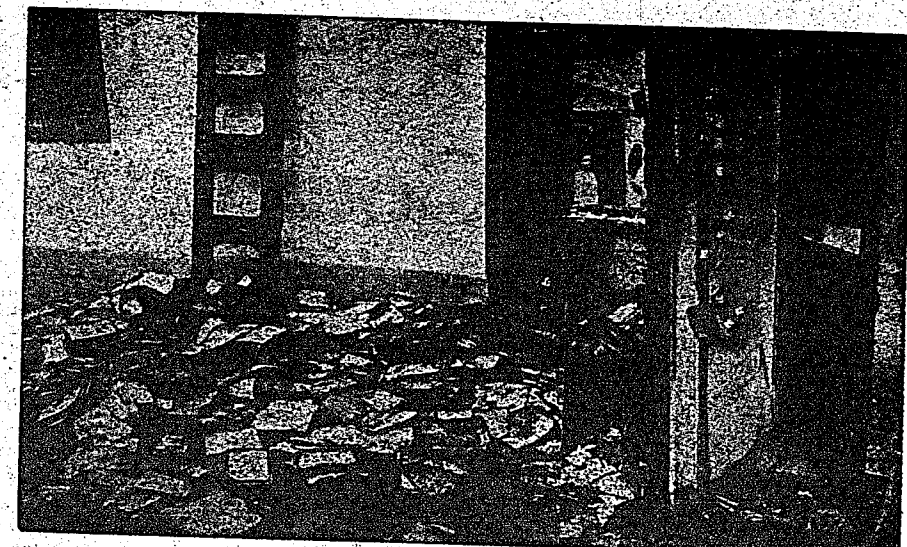
NOTHING can be farther from truth than this line of propaganda carried on by some of the reactionary circles in this country and their organs of publicity, ironically called "the free press". The attack on the CPI headquarters as well as on the Parliamentary Office of the Party that followed the next day were pre-meditated, well-planned and carried out under expert directions by goondas under the control of the RSS, the Jan Sangh and the PSP.

The course of events and the manner in which the "operation storming" was carried out on both days amply prove that it was not just a burst of passion of the moment on the part of a crowd, but the result of careful planning, if not of days, of hours by the fascist-oriented organisations in Delhi.

On October 31, a meeting was held at Hauz Kazi where leaders of the Jan Sangh and the PSP made highly inflammatory speeches inciting the gathering to violence against the Communists. The Communists were called traitors, who by their treacherous role had been responsible for the massacre of the Indian jawans at the border! And then, the leaders gave the call, "blood for blood", and



Some of the books burnt by the goondas.



The charred remains of the library room in PHQ.

not even have any means to retaliate. Neither were there any stones nor even sticks to defend.

After a few minutes, the stone throwing abruptly stopped on an order from somebody in the crowd. And then a gang of about hundred people rushed into the building and swarmed the office. The goondas were trying to enter the office rooms from all directions, some even climbing up the terrace and jumping down into the building. One comrade who went up to the terrace was caught hold of and beaten badly.

The goondas broke open the door of the nearest room to the staircase, which incidentally housed part of the library. They pulled down the book-stacked almirahs and pouring petrol over them set them on fire. The furniture in the room was broken and thrown into the fire. They also carried whatever furniture they could remove from other rooms and stacked it over the burning pile in the library room and threw some on the road.

Breaking open another room, the goondas beat up severely some comrades who were inside. They went the whole length and breadth of the building, banging on doors and trying to break them open.

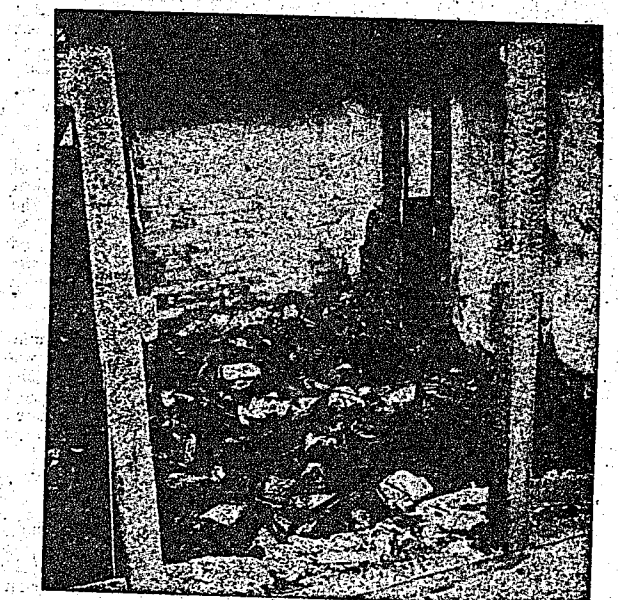
By this time, the fire had spread and had eaten up the whole of the room in which it was lit. It was threatening to engulf the whole building. When some of the comrades who were trapped inside the

building tried to ring up the Fire Brigade and the Police, it was found that the telephone was dead—the wires had been cut by the goondas. Only one Comrade could somehow come out of the building and he reported the incident to the Parliamentary Office of the Party.

Just when the Fire Brigade arrived, somebody was heard shouting to all the "demonstrators" to leave the building.

Within a few minutes, the Fire Brigade reached the spot, though it is not known how they got the

OVERLEAF



Another view of the burnt room.



# Delhi Workers' Mighty Support For Country's Defence

Immediately after October 20 when the Chinese forces launched a full-scale attack against our defences on the border, the whole nation became electrified. In its true patriotic tradition, the working class also straightened up and with a heave embarked upon the task of fulfilling their sacred duty.

The workers of Delhi, organised in about 200 trade unions also did not lag behind. They voiced their unstinted support to Prime Minister Nehru and pledged themselves to the task of National Defence.

## Meeting With Prime Minister

On October 25 morning about 4,000 workers from the cloth mills, shops, hand cart trade etc., assembled near the Parliament and later went in a procession to the house of the Prime Minister. The assembly was addressed by V. K. Krishna Menon and all-in-one the workers expressed their desire to contribute their mite to the defence effort.

A 9-man delegation of the workers, including among others, B. D. Joshi, A. C. Nanda, President and General Secretary respectively of the Delhi Committee of the AITUC, Ramchandra Sharma, General Secretary of the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union, met the Prime Minister and conveyed to him the decision of the workers to stand by all his efforts to dispel the Chinese aggressors from the country and dedicate their mite in the production of goods for the strengthening of the defence.

Following this demonstration, most of the unions in Delhi started collecting money for the National Defence Fund. On October 29, about 12,000 workers employed with the DCM group of mills and factories in Delhi worked extra foregoing the Diwali holiday and contributed their entire wages including dearness allowance, to the Defence Fund. This amounted to about Rs. 80,000. The employers also agreed that the profits accruing to them out of the extra production would also be contributed.

## Target Set At Rs. 15 Lakhs

But in order to centrally organise the collection drive, it was necessary for all the unions to move in unison and with that end in view more than 150 representatives of trade unions in Delhi belonging to AITUC, Unions of Central Government Employees, Delhi Newspaper Employees' Federation, Delhi Bank Employees' Federation, Coordination Committee of Commercial and Mercantile Employees, Shop Employees Federation etc., met in a meeting on November 1 and formed a Committee.

It was called Delhi Trade Unions' Anti-Chinese Aggression Committee and apart from carrying on campaigns in support of defence measures, butter production, price control etc., it decided to call upon the workers to contribute one day's wage to the National Defence Fund. The amount which was set as the target of this collection was Rs. 15 lakhs. It will be collected within the month of November.

Times employees (Rs. 7,000), Ashoka Hotel Employees (Rs. 16,000), P & T Federation (about Rs. 50,000), Central Government clerks (Rs. 25,000), Imperial Chemical Industries Employees (Rs. 1,500), CPWD Union (Rs. 12,000) etc.

The Bank Employees Federation in Delhi in furtherance of their All-India body's decision appealing to all bank employees to contribute one day's wages, decided that the working committee members of the 40 bank unions in Delhi would contribute seven days' wages to the Defence Fund.

Besides the contributions of the DCM workers, other known contributors to this fund from among the workers were the Hindustan

have decided to contribute two days' wages.

If was found in the course of a round-up of the industrial areas in Delhi that there is a lot of enthusiasm among the workers over this issue and apart from contributing one day's wages to the defence fund, they will spare no effort for giving their maximum output. At the same time, they are determined to resist any attempt at profiteering and anti-worker steps.

A. C. Nanda, General Secretary of the Delhi Committee of the AITUC, in an interview with NEW AGE stated that he

was confident that the target for the collection of Rs. 15 lakhs will be fulfilled and by November 10, the bulk of the collection will be over.

He added that it was gratifying that all sections of workers in Delhi have magnificently responded to the call and despite attempts of various elements to drive a wedge between the solidarity of various unions and to bring about a cleavage in their united efforts, there has been no set-backs in the collection drive. Every worker is readily giving his mite realising his responsibility and task for the defence of the motherland.

# ATTACK ON PARTY OFFICES

\*FROM PAGE SEVEN

adding a warning that the police had arrived. But, came a reassuring voice from the road, that it was only the Fire Brigade. When the police arrived some minutes after, the same voice again gave the order to the "demonstrators" to get out of the office all and quick.

The police freed the encircled Fire Brigade officials, who then proceeded to put out the fire. The crowd sent up another volley of stones against the building and marched to Juna Masjid, where the Delhi unit of the Communist Party has its offices.

At the offices of the Delhi unit, however, a police posse was ready to protect the building and the office. The so-called "infuriated mob" could not do much harm, except climb to the top of the building, pull down the Red Flag and the nameboard and destroy them.

On November 1, the goondas again tried to attack the Parliamentary Office of the Party. The Delhi students had held a demon-

stration and meeting at Connaught Circus that day and the attempt was to pass on the responsibility of the attack to the students.

And so, a "section of the gathering" at the meeting proceeded to demonstrate at the Parliamentary Office. The aim of the organisers was, however, foiled since the students' leader has issued a statement later on that the demonstration before the Parliamentary Office of the CPI had nothing to do with the students.

When the goondas arrived at the Parliamentary Office, there were only a few policemen on duty there. But the office was not as unprotected and taken by surprise as the Party headquarters. A few volunteers were there to protect the office from goonda attacks and trespass.

Still, the "demonstrators" made an onslaught on the building, pulled down the nameboard and destroyed it. Despite the best efforts of the volunteer comrades to keep the goondas out of the office, two of them managed to get into the building. The two found themselves at a loss without

their friends, and were shown out of the office through the backdoor.

By this time, the police arrived on the scene in large numbers and the crowd melted away, only to reassemble when another demonstration arrived at the place. Strengthened by this second wave of demonstrators, the earlier group again took shape. The combined demonstration then wanted to search the office, because they alleged that the comrades inside the office had caught hold of some of their friends and were keeping them inside.

Accompanied by some police officials, leaders of the demonstration went inside the Parliamentary Office and searched the whole place but could not find anybody confined there. "Disappointed at this 'turn of luck', the crowd dispersed by about 9 p.m., that is, three hours after the demonstration began.

That these attacks were pre-meditated and preplanned was very clear. For instance, an advance party of the goondas had arrived before the Party headquarters and started throwing stones even before the demonstration proper had reached the place.

The steel bolts of the doors of the office were sawed by hacksaws which the goondas had brought with them, to gain entrance into the office. And, of course, they had petrol ready with them to pour and light the fire.

Some attempt has been made to make out that the burnt books were Chinese publications. While there might have been some Chinese publications also among the books burnt by the goondas, they certainly included such Indian books as Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Biography of Gandhiji, works of Pandit Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose, India After Partition, India and the Constitution, etc. One could also see charred remains of photographs of Gandhiji, Nehru and Bose when the fire was put out.

The baseness of the goonda gang was also evident from the fact that they had no considerations whatsoever for the property of citizens of this country. The headquarters of the CPI is situated in a crowded business locality, and the loss in life and property that would have occurred, if the fire had

spread to the neighbouring buildings, is unimaginable.

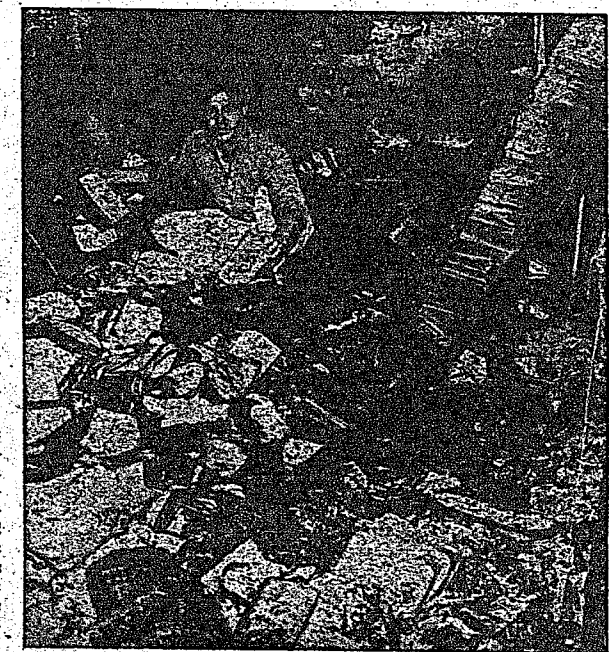
That these RSS and PSP goondas did not have any feeling for human lives was further evidenced by the fact that they did not allow the resident staff of the headquarters and some members of the National Council, who were trapped inside the building, to come out. They were destined to choke and die in their rooms had not the Fire Brigade promptly put out the fire. Included among the trapped were the wife and the nine-month-old child of a comrade working in the headquarters.

These wanton attacks against the offices of a political party, which occupies the position of the main Opposition in the nation's Parliament, has certainly evoked protest and condemnation from all sane sections of the people. Congress President Sanjivalal, soon after the attack on the CPI headquarters was known, issued a statement calling on Congress leaders to dissuade people from any such attacks.

Prime Minister Nehru was more forthright in his condemnation. He said that those who were responsible for "this shameful act" were "disgracing Delhi and disgracing India in the eyes of the whole world." "This is no time for such vulgar rowdiness and misbehaviour. A great nation does not behave in this manner. Those who indulge in such acts are dissipating the energies of the people which should be conserved for fighting the enemy."

The Prime Minister has made very apt remarks about the RSS-organised and PSP-inspired attack against the Communist Party offices. These attacks were certainly not an aberration of the moment, since both the organisations are notorious for their hatred against the CPI. They never miss a chance to bait the Communist Party, and on this occasion only exploited the situation created by the Chinese attacks on our borders.

Only a word of caution need to be added to the Prime Minister's considered words: These incidents are reminiscent of the rise of fascism in certain European countries. Hitler and Mussolini rose to their positions by such vandalistic attacks on the Communists and their establishments and the tactics of Communist-baiting in their countries. It is for the people of this country to nip such trends in the bud.



After the Fire Brigade had put out the fire in the Party headquarters.

## Proposal To Solve India-China Border Crisis

# Statement of UAR Presidential Council

The Prime Minister speaking in the Lok Sabha on Thursday commended particularly the efforts of the United Arab Republic in helping to bring about a ceasefire in the current Chinese invasion of Indian territory. We publish here for reference the text of the statement of October 31 of the Presidential Council of the UAR on the subject.

THE United Arab Republic had been following with much concern and anxiety news of the dispute between India and China concerning their frontier problem, while entertaining the hope that the matter would not degenerate to the extent where it becomes a source of danger or where force is used.

Clashes and engagements, however, took place on the Sino-Indian border on October 20, 1962 which helped to widen the gulf and led the dispute to assume proportions of an armed conflict which has had the most painful effect on the citizens of UAR bound to Indian and Chinese peoples by close ties of friendship and cooperation.

Such being the gravity of the situation, the UAR could not adopt for itself a stand among spectators. Motivated, however, by the spirit of Bandung and the principles of Afro-Asian solidarity, the UAR has hastened to assume its incumbent role of positive action and to take such steps as are required to stop these armed clashes, clear away the growing shadow of danger and contribute to a peaceful solution of the problem and eliminate the causes of the dispute between India and China, both of whom occupy positions of prominence and great influence among the community of African and Asian countries.

Accordingly President Nasser cabled on October 21, a message to China's Prime Minister Chou En-lai and Indian Prime Minister Nehru exhorting them to accept

conciliation and offering to place all his resources with concerted co-operation of nonaligned countries in Africa and Asia, in the interests of restoring peace between the two countries.

At the same time and in pursuance of consultation and exchange of views current among friendly States on all events, President Nasser communicated with the Heads of States and the Heads of Governments of Afghanistan, Indonesia, Algeria, Sudan, Morocco, Ceylon, Ghana, Guinea, Cambodia and Mali inviting them to join in a common effort of the Casablanca Charter Countries and non-aligned countries in Africa and Asia to ward off the danger on the frontiers between India and China, to dissipate the shadow of war in that area and to restore peace to the continent of Asia.

UAR's hopes were fortified by the spirit of willingness expressed in replies of Mr. Chou En-lai and Mr. Nehru to President Nasser's messages. Both welcomed the efforts of friendly states to settle the dispute and both included their viewpoints on the problem of frontier standing between the two countries.

UAR studied the matter from all aspects in the light of the letters received from China and India as well as those received by the President from Heads of African, Asian and nonaligned countries.

On October 26, President Nasser again wrote to Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai advancing UAR's proposals for a solution of

the problem as follows: **Firstly:** Fighting be ended forthwith.

**Secondly:** Both sides revert to positions they held prior to the recent armed clashes which began on October 20, that is, behind the line where their forces stood on September 8 last;

**Thirdly:** Demarcation of a demilitarised zone to separate the forces of the two countries; and

**Fourthly:** Opening of negotia-

## "...Non-Alignment and Peace Adds New Force to Our Case Against China"

\* From Back Page

Chinese radio and press are calling Prime Minister Nehru an agent of U.S. imperialism, expansionist, tool of U.S. imperialism, etc. May I mention that the progressive people of the world do not share the view of the Chinese in regard to Prime Minister Nehru. On the contrary, they acknowledge with profound respect and gratitude the constructive part Prime Minister Nehru has been playing in the international arena.

The sooner the Chinese side returns to truth and objectivity in regard to the assessment of Prime Minister Nehru and his Government, the better for them and for all those who are interested in strengthening the camp of peace and freedom. Normal relations with India can never be restored on the basis of this totally wrong assessment.

Deploring the attempts on the home front of some people to exploit the grave situation to attack and undermine the policy of non-alignment and peace and foment war hysteria, Bhupesh Gupta declared that once again, it was the non-alignment policy which had brought India glory and honour that is under fire. "We congratulate the Prime Minister that he has again reiterated India's firm adherence to this policy. He can count on the support of all patriotic and right-minded people within the country and the blessings of all humanity abroad."

By selling the nation's independence at one counter, you cannot defend it in another place. Such has been the experience of contemporary history. The policy of non-alignment is not merely a question of relation of India with other States. It is a question of our independence, our dignity and of our moral stature in this world of today. We have to uphold it, while at the same time fighting and striving for regaining what we have lost on the frontier. The policy of non-alignment and peace adds new force to our case against China.

We have noted with great satisfaction the Prime Minister's condemnation of certain violent actions indulged in against our Party. The reactionaries are trying to misuse the popular indignation of our people against the Chinese aggression in order to rouse their feeling and frenzy against our

tions between the two sides to settle all points relating to the border dispute by peaceful means.

President Nasser also cabled these proposals to the Heads of non-aligned countries in Africa and Asia which have common views and efforts for restoration of peace between China and India in place of hostilities.

President Nasser and members of the Presidential Council while watching developments and studying all measures taken in this direction consider that the proposals sent by the President to each of the disputing parties provide a suitable basis for a peaceful solution which would eliminate mounting danger of war between the two countries and stop the fighting which has broken out on their border.

The President and members of the Presidential Council are of the view that peaceful negotiations would lead to stoppage of bloodshed between the citizens

of two "friendly" nations bound together by ties which reach back into the depths of history and who are now assuming a major role in the structure of two continents — Asia and Africa.

While UAR believes in the principles of Bandung which call countries of the world to solve their international problems through means other than the use of force, it still holds an unshakable faith in the need for an application of this call in particular to the problem between the two countries which are signatories to the Bandung Charter — China and India — both of whom contributed to the establishment and to a widespread adoption of the principles of the Charter.

The UAR asserted that it would spare no effort to preserve the wonderful image of Afro-Asian solidarity, blemished by drops of blood and battles between countries working for peace.

Party. And yet, they pretend that they are responding to the Prime Minister's call for unity. Concluding his speech, Bhupesh Gupta referred "with deep sorrow and agony" to the arrests of a number of Communists in different parts of the country. He urged that "the Governments will realise that all this is absolutely needless and unwarranted and a waste of energy on their part. I hope they would find their way to releasing the comrades who have been arrested."

## Hiren Mukerjee Speaks In Lok Sabha

Lending full support to the Prime Minister's stand in the current emergency created by Chinese invasion, Deputy Leader of the Communist Group in the Lok Sabha Hiren Mukerjee told Parliament on Thursday.

THE Prime Minister has tried to place the events of today in the perspective of world history and he has made certain observations which are not observations which can be dismissed just like that and which, therefore, should be received in the receptive mood which the country has a right to expect of our Parliament.

As far as we are concerned, it may be that we take a certain amount of time in exercising whatever grey matter providence has given us; but once we come to a decision, we proclaim it unreservedly without any kind of qualification and here are two Resolutions to which we can give absolutely categorical support. On account of a quirk of destiny, said Hiren Mukerjee, we are confronted with aggression by our neighbour China, which has openly violated our borders and invaded our territory. This is a situation which can only be answered by determination to defend our motherland and this, whatever differences we may have in certain regards, is a categorical imperative.

After paying tribute to the heroism of our magnificent soldiers who had already, "fighting against heavy odds, shown something of the glory of our people's character," Prof. Mukerjee said that he had tried his best to discover if there was any sense in the kind of thing which was being done by China on our border.

We have been trying to find out what possibly could have been the motives; what madness has seized the People's Govern-

ment of China today, I do not know. I cannot even hope to be able to fathom.

What we have discovered, however, is that our country's patriotic pride has been hurt and our people's sentiments have not been respected. Nothing in the world can justify armed invasion of the type which China, according to the reports presented to us by the Prime Minister, has perpetrated on our borders.

No ideological or other kind of sophistry, no jugglery of geographical or political claim on China's part can justify this invasion. They have hurt us and they have hurt us in a manner which would go against the interests of the people not only of these two countries but the people of all the world.

Therefore, at the moment, the only thing which we can do is to be determined to be ready for the worst. We are determined to face whatever is happening. While getting ready for the worst, he said, I would like to say this that we still have a hope that the world's conscience will be roused in a strong and effective enough manner in regard to this matter.

Hiren Mukerjee said further: The way the Prime Minister has proceeded in order to give a chance to the other side to come to an agreement has our complete support. The date-line which is given, namely September 8, 1962 as the date-line which could be observed by either side, in order that necessary withdrawals might take place and then negotiations would happen, is a date-line which we certainly support with all our enthusiasm.



## BRITISH REACTION TO CUBAN EPISODE

The Cuban drama which shook the world for ten days has put the problems of disarmament including that of military bases in an urgent context.

SOBBER and serious considerations of the issues involved growing beyond anything which has previously been considered possible are generally thought to be necessary and desirable.

Many interpretations have been offered on Soviet actions in this entire episode and questions are still asked if dismantling of the missiles in Cuba constitutes a victory or otherwise to her and the rest of the peace-loving peoples all over the world.

There is a tendency in most of the British Press to regard the Soviet gesture as a victory for Kennedy and a 'climb down' by Khrushchov. It has been noted in responsible quarters however that Kennedy himself has been careful to avoid giving that impression. In fact, the belief is now growing perhaps belatedly, that it was essentially a victory for the forces of sanity and good sense as a whole.

London opinion has generally considered the actions of the American government in imposing a blockade a flagrant violation of the international law and some of its other activities against Cuba thoroughly illegal. Many agree that they should be totally exposed before the world public whenever possible.

However, American nervousness, once the presence of missiles on the Cuban soil was known was understandable. And to the extent that the Soviet Union has agreed to dismantle them, the West may regard it as a victory for them.

But the story, fortunately, does not end there. One of the immediate effects of the presence of Soviet missiles, only 90 miles from the United States territory, has been to awaken Western public opinion and their governments to the unbelievable danger of the existence of these missiles, particularly when they are pointed towards them. The logic of the Soviet opposition against the bases surrounding her territory all these years are better understood and appreciated at last.

### Salient Points

Whatever may be the public reaction of the Western leaders, the entire issue of foreign military bases, of missile bases in particular, are from now on going to be in the agenda of East-West talks at the very highest level. Kennedy knows about this as much as anyone else.

Secondly, if the assurances given by the President are to be believed and the agreement does not breakdown as a result of exceptional developments, then the sovereignty of Cuba and the independence of Fidel Castro's government will be respected by its chief self-confessed enemy, the United States government.

It is no secret that with American support and encouragement, Cuba was about to be invaded this time, unlike last year, with much superior forces and proper planning from Florida, followed by actual U.S. occupation of the country. There is no reason to doubt this as even those Press who are considered mouthpieces of Ameri-

LONDON, November 11

Stevenson repeated in the United Nations that Communist Cuba was not negotiable and vowed assistance to the Cuban refugees and others in their efforts to 'liberate Cuba'.

There is another aspect of the whole episode which has been largely overlooked by political commentators, and that is, on the issue of British independence. It is agreed however that the action of Kennedy vis-a-vis Castro and Cuba could easily have led to a thermo-nuclear war.

With American missiles firmly stationed in this country, Britain would have been, in the event of a major war, an obvious target for Soviet missiles. Moreover, the decision to impose blockade which also involved search of ships of this country, one of the powerful maritime powers in the world, was in any case full of grave

### ASSAM NEWSLETTER

## ALL-PARTY MEETING ON BORDER DEFENCE

SHILLONG, November 4:

"This meeting is very proud of the heroism and sacrifice shown by our jawans on the front by their determined fight against savage Chinese hordes and expresses its deep gratitude to the jawans for defending the territory. The meeting further notes with pride and hope the spectacular awakening of the people to the grave danger and the people's response to the call of the Prime Minister."

THIS was the resolution adopted by a meeting called by all political parties at Gauhati at the initiative of the State Chief Minister on October 31.

The Assam Pradesh Congress, PSP, Communist Party, RCP, Socialist Party, Bolshevik Party, Swatantra Party, Jan Sangh etc. and some local parties like the All Parties Hill Leaders' Conference, sent their representatives to the meeting.

The decision of the meeting, taken unanimously, has been welcomed by political circles and the Press in this State in general. It has been pointed out that instead of frittering away the energy of different parties working separately, this meeting has been a welcome step in mobilising all the forces, in spite of their differences in other political matters, for the common objective of defending the country.

That political prejudice was not allowed to stand in the way of all these parties coming together and issuing a common call for unity has been noted with satisfaction.

Inaugurating the meeting, Chief Minister Chahina said that Assam being the frontier State, she had a special responsibility. He made a strong plea for all-in unity at this critical juncture.

State PSP Chairman Hanswami said that the people should be prepared for a long protracted war and they should be given a phased programme. He wanted special steps to prevent rise in prices.

Gaurishankar Bhattacharyya, a member of the Secretariat of the State Council of Communist Party

implications. It is difficult to overlook the way MacMillan and his government have been treated by the American President and the former's reaction to the President's decisions.

There had been no consultation, government circles admit, with the British government prior to Kennedy's announcement. Some of the conservatives have found the government 'no more than spectators at the ringside' and conscious of their impotence, at the worst to have really effective voice in the fateful decision.

In the crisis hour MacMillan could do no more than turn the sheet music while Kennedy played the tune.

Opponents of the Left are themselves slowly beginning to grasp some of the essential realities of modern British politics—that Britain's subservience to the United States is directly responsible for her enormous loss of independence in international affairs.

This feeling cut deep even through the Conservative Party, and the Cuban crisis is acting as a catalyst upon Conservative rank and file opinion. Perhaps, as is believed in some quarters, opposition to Britain's entry into the European Common Market would increase as a result of this new awareness, as

the membership would curtail British independence even more.

While in America Kennedy was making moves and in the Soviet Union Nikita Khrushchov was taking brilliant initiatives, Great Britain, once great, saw the pathetic example of her Prime Minister keeping silent and unable to make genuine diplomatic moves.

In those grim and nervous days, instead of the Prime Minister, it was the 90-year-old philosopher and nuclear disarmament Lord Bertrand Russell, who voiced the feelings of real Britain. At one time during the crisis, telegrams, messages, letters were passing exclusively between Khrushchov, Russell and Kennedy, with the British Prime Minister totally out of the picture.

Overlooking Portmadoc, North Wales, sitting by the fireside in his country home, the Summister of Portmadoc, Bertrand Russell, has done more to bring the world back from nuclear precipice and uphold British honour and dignity than the 65-year-old politician of the MacMillan Publishing House, Harold MacMillan, M.P.

The implications are far-reaching. Whether the political parties and other public bodies would be able to grasp them in their proper perspective and draw the necessary conclusions remain to be seen.

### ★ From MADHUSUDAN BHATTACHARYYA

## ALL-PARTY MEETING ON BORDER DEFENCE

to maintaining civil supplies. They have also announced their determination to hold the price line and curb any undue rise in prices. But till the time of writing, there is no indication that they have been able to curb the rise in prices. On the other hand, prices of many commodities have registered an unusual rise during the last few days. For instance, price of sugar has risen from Rs. 1.25 nP a kilogram to Rs. 2.00 a kilogram. Prices of some varieties of textile goods have also risen, though the rise is not so steep as in the case of sugar. Price of rice has also risen by about Rs. 2.00 per 50 kilogram. Kerosene is selling at Rs. 12.00 a tin now whereas it was selling at Rs. 7.00 a tin a few days earlier.

A part of this rise in prices has been explained as being due to the strike by the ratings of the Joint Steamer Company that operates inland navigation between Calcutta and Assam through East Bengal. It has been said that a fairly large amount of goods booked for Assam has been held up in East Bengal as a result of the strike by these ratings and as soon as the strike is settled these goods will arrive in Assam and that will ease the present situation in the market.

But even officials do not deny that there has been some artificial rise in prices due mainly to the greed for profit of a section of traders. These officials also admit that mere appeals to their patriotic sense is not likely to yield much result. Some stringent measures have to be taken to curb their activities that have been characterised as anti-national.

After the above mentioned all-Parties meeting, and particularly after the resolution of the National Council of the Communist Party was published, the anti-Communist elements find it rather difficult to build up their campaign against the Party. Nonetheless, the attempt continues, but without much success.

The collection of cash etc. for national defence fund has been going on in this State as much as in other States. While the people have responded to the call most enthusiastically, it has been noted for the last few days that there has been almost a mushroom growth of collecting bodies. This is said to be causing some worry to the authorities also. Recently in a Press note the Government have asked the people to pay their donation only to the authorised bodies and to demand a receipt from any one who approaches for donation. Notwithstanding this Press note, collection by a number of bodies has been continuing till now.

Recently some suggestions were made that the efforts of all the genuine bodies should be coordinated and for this purpose a common organisation embracing all the bodies engaged in this task should be formed.

Following the all parties meeting of October 31, different parties in the State have chalked out their independent programme also. Congress has laid down a 12 point programme for the Congress organisation. The State PSP also has put forward a 10 point programme with emphasis on "preparing the people for a protracted war." The PSP programme has also laid stress on "curbing prices and increasing production."

The Socialist Party (Lohia group) after a two-day session announced an eight-point programme which inter alia asserts that India's neutral foreign policy should be kept intact while bringing arms from any country. It has demanded action against those who raise prices of commodities. It has also demanded that labourers and peasants should not be deprived of the benefit of fair price.

Meanwhile the Communist Party has been holding public meetings under its own auspices to unite the people and explain the Party policy in the present situation. Gauhati town committee of the Party held such a meeting on November 3.

Last week we published the text of the Soviet Communist Party paper Pravda's editorial of October 25 on the India-China border question. On November 5 Pravda has come out with another editorial on the subject. We give below the full text of this second editorial also for reference and record. Titled "Negotiations is the Road to Settling the Conflict," the editorial reads:

It is not the first week that armed clashes resulting in numerous casualties are occurring on the India-China border. The ferocity of the clashes and political tension are mounting instead of diminishing. This causes serious concern to world public opinion, all those who stand for peace and progress. Soviet people, the peoples of socialist countries, are deeply concerned over the developments.

The point is that these are clashes between two great countries, one of which is a socialist state, and the other a great force in a large group of young sovereign states actively participating in the struggle against colonialism, for peace and international security. More the conflict has arisen between neighbour countries which in the past maintained traditional friendly relations.

Can the People's Republic of China or the Republic of India be interested in the development of the armed conflict? By no means.

The Chinese people are dedicating their efforts to constructive labour, working with enthusiasm for realising the plans of socialist construction. The desire for war is alien to the very nature of a socialist state.

Military complications can only worsen the position of the Indian people too. The continuation of the conflict exhausts the economic resources of India, limited as they are, sidetracks the Indian people from solving the tasks of social and cultural regeneration of the country, that confront them, of carrying to the end the anti-federal, anti-imperialist revolution.

Facts show that it is those circles in India which strive to suppress the progressive democratic forces of the country, to push India from the position of non-alignment into the arms of aggressive military blocs, that want to see for their own purposes the atmosphere of war hysteria.

The expansion of the scale of hostilities on the India-China border can profit only the imperialist camp, the forces of world reaction which never miss a chance to set friendly peoples at loggerheads, to sow dissension in the ranks of the fighters for peace, democracy and progress, to contrapose the socialist countries to young sovereign

states which have achieved national independence.

The imperialist circles are trying to utilise the present conflict for their own incendiary purposes. The main participants in the aggressive military blocs of the Western powers would like to make some pickings out of the hostilities on the India-China border. The imperialists plainly strive to set the two great Asian nations at loggerheads.

Persistently they are trying to butt into the conflict, with a persistence worthy of a better cause, they are pouring oil on the flames, they are persistently offering arms and assistance to one of the sides, expecting thus to increase the scale of the clash. It is not accidental that on the part of the ruling circles of the United States and other Western powers one does not hear appeals for a cease-fire on the India-China border.

Such intrigues of the imperialist camp are all the more dangerous that they are taking place in the conditions of continuing attempts of the forces of war to keep up international tension caused by the provocative actions of the militaristic quarters of the United States in the Caribbean area. The present international situation makes imperative the consolidation of all peace-loving forces in order to wage a joint struggle for ensuring international security.

As to the Soviet Government, from the very beginning of the conflict on the India-China border, it has urged a negotiated solution of the dispute.

The People's Republic of China is a state whose relations with the Soviet Union are fraternal and based on the common fundamental aims of building socialism and communism. With India the Soviet Union is bound by good friendly relations which we prize highly. The Soviet people cannot remain indifferent seeing how flows the blood of our brothers and friends, the Chinese and the Indian peoples.

Therefore, the Soviet people feel that in the present situation nothing should be done to aggravate it, but it is necessary to cease fire and sit down at the round table of negotiations without setting any terms.

### Tirade Against Khrushchov

The Albanian News Agency ATA is reported to have released on Monday, according to AFP, the text of a speech delivered by Albanian Premier, Enver Hoxha, ten days earlier at the Tirana University. A report on the contents of the speech appeared in the Indian papers on November 6.

The Albanian leader is reported in this speech to have described Soviet Premier Khrushchov as a "renegade" and a "traitor to Marxism." Khrushchov is called by Hoxha "a sworn enemy of the Socialist camp and of the international working class movement."

Referring to Khrushchov as a "revisionist," Hoxha is reported to have said that the revisionists were not "attacking openly." He said they invoked "new conditions" and their attempts were aimed at "masking their treason."

Once again through this speech the dogmatists in the world communist movement, whose open spokesman Enver Hoxha is, have revealed their

despicable character. Writing in the context of such pronouncements, the latest issue of Problems of Peace and Socialism (World Marxist Review) says:

"Enver Hoxha and his group have themselves torn off their mask, and by doing so they have made easier the struggle against modern dogmatism."

"Dogmatism has become the complete dismissal of the new theoretical, political and organisational achievements of Marxist thought." Dogmatism, it said, was also "acquiring a character increasingly hostile to the Communist movement."

"It is true," says Problems of Peace and Socialism, "that in principle the dogmatists are not at all against fighting for peace and peaceful co-existence. But as soon as there appears a need for concrete action, the dogmatists begin moaning and call such action 'retreat from principles. They begin making accusations of 'betrayal of capitalism and even a 'rejection of revolution'."

## PRAVDA'S Second Editorial On INDIA-CHINA BORDER CONFLICT

The threat of expansion of the India-China conflict and the dangerous plans which the Western militaristic forces are hatching in this connection, evoke legitimate anxiety of the peoples which are India's and China's neighbours.

Deeply concerned are all the states which, together with representatives of India and China, took part in the Bandung conference and signed the historic declaration on peaceful co-existence which made a major contribution to the cause of world peace. Public opinion of these countries with present conflict harms both sides participating in it, harms all peace-loving peoples, and insistently suggests that it be settled peacefully.

"Indonesian workers," says for instance, a letter addressed by the Central Federation of Indonesian Trade Unions to the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China, "like the people and workers of India and of People's China, do not want war between two Asian countries which support the ten Bandung principles. Neither side will gain from differences among Asian and African countries. These differences can profit only the imperialists."

"We who are friends both of India and China," declares the Cambodian newspaper Depeche du Cambodge, "believe that at all costs it is essential to avoid the use of force."

The Cairo Al-Gumhuriya writes: "...The serious events occurring on the Sino-Indian border fill with bitterness the hearts of all Asian and African peoples."

Appeals to end hostilities were addressed to the participants in the conflict by many outstanding political leaders of Afro-Asian countries.

It is perfectly obvious that the longer the conflict lasts, the more casualties there will be, the more obstacles to a peaceful solution will accumulate on each side. If firing continues, the conflict will extend and deepen, an ever greater part will be played not so much by questions of disputed territories, as by considerations of prestige. The continuation of the conflict would lead to more exten-

sive mobilization of manpower and material resources on both sides, which could lead to a prolonged bloody war.

This would bring tremendous calamities on the peoples of both states, and would most adversely affect the international situation.

There is a way out of the present situation. The long experience accumulated by the history of international relations shows that to end a conflict it is necessary to start with the main thing, to cease fire, to overcome the war hysteria. The bloodshed cannot be allowed to continue.

The Soviet people are of the firm opinion: in the present

situation the thing to do is to cease fire and start negotiations on a peaceful settlement of the conflict. They sincerely want the representatives of India and China to sit down at the conference table as quickly as possible.

It is necessary to patiently analyse the questions at issue, display a spirit of understanding and co-operation, to make an effort to find a mutually acceptable solution. Such a decision would be in the interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples, would serve the cause of preserving and strengthening peace in Asia and the world over.

### Brezhnev Stresses Soviet-Indian Friendship

MOSCOW, November 5:

THE Government and people of India, dedicated to the policy of peace and friendship with all countries, highly appreciate the efforts of the Government and people of the Soviet Union aimed at the maintenance of peace and relaxation of tension." This statement was made here today by T. N. Kaul, Ambassador of India to the USSR, at the ceremony of presenting his credentials to Leonid Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

"Our friendship with the Soviet Union," the Ambassador emphasized, "is not transient, it rests on the firm foundation of mutual respect and sympathy of mutual understanding of each other's views." The Ambassador expressed gratitude for the Soviet assistance in the building of various development projects in India and expressed the hope that this cooperation would still further strengthen in the months and years to come.

"The relations between India and the Soviet Union," Brezhnev said, "are a good example of the successful application of the principles of peaceful co-existence." "The Soviet people," Brezhnev said, "highly appreciate India's efforts aimed at a solution of such major international problems as general and complete disarmament, nuclear test ban, the final abolition of the disgraceful colonial system." He expressed confidence that the Soviet Union and India "will continue successfully to co-operate for the sake of enduring peace on earth, for the happiness and progress of the peoples of all countries."

— TASS

## SECURITY DEPOSITS IN WRITS UNCONSTITUTIONAL—Supreme Court

Rule 12 of Order XXXV of the Supreme Court Rules empowering the Court to require a petitioner applying to the Supreme Court under Article 32 of the Constitution for the enforcement of his fundamental rights to deposit a security was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in a majority judgement delivered on November 6.

THE Court held that the power to demand such a security impaired the content of the fundamental right to move the Court as guaranteed by Article 32 of the Constitution. On this view the petition by one Garg and another person against the Excise Commissioner, U.P. and another was allowed and directions for the furnishing of security set aside.

An important consequence of the decision will be that hereafter people invoking the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to protect their fundamental rights and the issue of habeas corpus and other writs will not be required to make a deposit to secure the costs of the

said the right to move the Supreme Court had been guaranteed by the Constitution. The question for consideration was whether an order for a security could be said to retard or obstruct the assertion or vindication of a fundamental right under Article 32. In the opinion of the Court, in cases where the petitioner was unable to furnish the security deposit and his petition was dismissed as a consequence, the order would act as an absolute bar and in other cases it would be a hindrance.

Since the impugned rule, in so far as related to a security for costs, impaired the exercise of the right granted under Article 32, it was struck down as unconstitutional.

The petition was heard by the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Gajendra-gadkar, Mr. Justice Wanchoo, Mr. Justice Das Gupta and Mr. Justice Shah.



## Bhupesh Gupta In Rajya Sabha

# Communists Pledge All Support To Nehru

*With all the galleries full and overflowing and long queues waiting throughout the day to gain admittance Parliament met on Thursday in an emergency session. The much-advertised demonstration by all combined opponents of non-alignment—Jan Sangh, Swatantra, PSP, etc.—was eclipsed by another much bigger demonstration organised in support of Prime Minister's policies.*

In a sober and yet forthright speech the Prime Minister underlined the gravity of the threat India was facing and her determination to meet it at all costs. He outlined the basis of honourable negotiations and reiterated the country's determination to follow its chosen path of non-alignment.

While Swatantra and other opponent of non-alignment took the opportunity for running it down, Communist spokesmen in both Houses supported wholeheartedly the Prime Minister both in his determination to stand up to China's aggression and in continuing to stick to non-alignment.

Bhupesh Gupta told the Rajya Sabha that China had to make a right about turn and withdraw to September 8 positions. He paid homage to the officers and jawans defending the frontiers and said:

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**T**HE nation is now in the midst of a grave situation face to face with the challenge to its territorial integrity and its honour. This has forced upon us the state of emergency and compelled us to direct our energies to the maximum possible extent so that India's honour and integrity is upheld at all costs.

It is a tragedy that the Indian Republic and its Government which have been pursuing a policy of peace and tirelessly working for friendship among nations, for the promotion of peaceful co-existence should have today been subjected to this open aggression.

I think we are now dealing with a situation the like of which perhaps many in this House never anticipated or expected. I fully agree with the Prime Minister that the crossing of the McMahon Line by the Chinese forces was quantitatively and qualitatively a new development.

Let alone the earlier period, even during the last three years, time and again the Chinese Government has given an assurance both in writing and otherwise that it would not cross the McMahon Line.

Today not only have they crossed the McMahon Line but they are in occupation of large parts of India's territory to the south of that line. This is an open aggression.

### Shocking Arguments

We are shocked at the arguments that have been given by the Chinese side to justify the crossing of the McMahon Line and the wanton violation of the solemn pledge given to our country. It is simply fantastic on their part to say that the Chinese had to cross the McMahon Line in order to prevent what they falsely call the aggressive actions of the Indian forces to the north of the McMahon Line. I repudiate this charge and allegation.

I repudiate the charge that the Indian troops have crossed the McMahon Line to the north. The military operations have since proved the hollowness of this argument. Anyhow, an act of aggression so patent and unabashed cannot be covered by such fatuous arguments. I think in this matter the Chinese side is doing less than justice to our commonsense.

Simultaneously with the large-scale military offensive in the south of the McMahon Line, they have also launched an offensive in the Ladakh sector. All these have enlarged the conflict not only militarily but even otherwise.

What is more, this aggression took place at a time when the representatives of the Government of India were getting ready to meet the representatives of the Chinese Government for talks in regard to the border question and for paving the way for its solution through peaceful negotiations. The

Prime Minister is right when he said that the aggression came to us as a thunderbolt.

This is surely not how a constructive, peaceful gesture on the part of India should have been met by the Chinese side. The aggressive action on the part of China contradicts all their protestations about peaceful negotiations.

It is surprising that even today the Chinese side have not realised that they must vacate aggression and restore the position that existed before the 8th of September. We are disturbed to read reports about further concentration of the Chinese troops both in the McMahon Line area and in the Western sector.

I may frankly tell that the only right and honourable course for the Chinese side is to make a right about turn and return to the positions where they were before the 8th of September.

The Chinese aggression has rightly roused the indignation of the entire Indian people. The manifold barriers of party, region and other affiliations which divide our people have as far as this issue is concerned simply disappeared. The nation has risen as one man to meet the challenge. We fully share the just patriotic indignation of our people.

### India Cannot Be Intimidated

It would be the greatest folly on any one's part to imagine that a great nation like India can be intimidated, humbled and humiliated. India has not fought for long years and won her national independence to see it trampled underfoot on her frontiers. We have not become a free nation to have our freedom thus attacked and menaced.

Hence along with the entire nation, our Party joins hands with all patriotic people and stands behind the Prime Minister's appeal for national unity in defence of the country.

Let it not be thought by our friends abroad that this recourse to arms by India was what she really wanted. India has been forced to take up arms, specially by the recent Chinese aggression. What else could she do when she saw the Chinese forces coming down the mountains into the sacred soil of our country? Surely no

## November 14 National Solidarity Day

The Bharat Sevak Samaj has decided to celebrate November 14, the birthday of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as the National Solidarity Day.

**T**HE Secretariat of the CPI has called upon all Party units to cooperate with all other patriots in the observance of the day.

In course of a circular to Party units it states: "The Secretariat calls upon all Party units to celebrate November 14, the birthday of our Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the National Solidarity Day in cooperation with the Bharat Sevak Samaj and other patriotic organisations and individuals. This has acquired added importance in view of the Chi-

nese aggression and sinister efforts of the right reactionary forces to change the progressive policies of Pandit Nehru."

Thanking the Bharat Sevak Samaj for its invitation to CPI to cooperate in the celebration, the Secretariat has also written a letter in which it has been stated inter alia that: "The Communist Party will certainly join hands with all patriots in the country on that day to express our national solidarity in face of common danger arising from the aggression against our country."

nation which is not morally or physically ruined can be expected to allow such a thing to pass unchallenged and uncountered.

We appreciate the efforts of the friendly countries and Governments to end the present conflict and pave the way to negotiations. This is certainly what should be their basic approach. But we would expect them, and indeed all peace-loving forces to exert their influence and moral power in order to bring about the cessation of hostilities. The way is to impress upon the Chinese side to withdraw their forces at least to the position which they occupied before they started the military operations on the 8th of September.

It passes our comprehension why the Chinese side should not have responded positively to this proposal and indeed accepted it.

It is not enough merely to say that one is for negotiations. It has become absolutely essential and desperately urgent to match this profession and protestation with concrete practical deeds. So far the Chinese side has shown none.

### Indian Territory Must Be Vacated

It is no good whatsoever to go on repeating the proposals that were made by China on the 24th of October. No negotiation can start by compromising the dignity and honour of our country, or by making it look as if aggression pays.

India's proposal is that India must at once get back what belongs to her and has been occupied as a result of the recent military operations.

Let China at least get back to the north of the McMahon Line in terms of the Government of India's proposal regarding the 8th September position. Let China give up the position which she has taken recently through military operations in the Ladakh sector. This will be a constructive approach and we hope will bring to an end the present hostilities and open the way to negotiation.

It is surprising that the Chinese authorities think that the acceptance of India's proposal would be a surrender to India's military might. Nothing could be a more absurd argument in the situation either in point of logic or in point of fact.

We totally repudiate the Chinese accusation that Prime Minister Nehru does not want negotiations, or he wants a military solution of the problem. The sooner the Chinese side has an objective and correct understanding of the sincerity of the positions of the Prime Minister in this matter, the better for all concerned.

Both the Government of India and the people are too anxious to avoid a major conflagration. But then they cannot be expected to surrender to aggression. Never will India surrender. This should be understood. Aggressive actions run counter to principles of peace, independence and brotherliness among nations.

We are shocked that the

★ON PAGE NINE

Mighty upsurge of Indian people. Youth offering for Recruitment to the Army at Delhi's Red Fort.

