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25 nP.

E. M. S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary, CPI and Editor of NEW AGE, who was arrested on November 22, has been released on November 28.

West Bengal

The West Bengal State Council of the CPI in its meeting on November 27, adopted a resolution wholeheartedly supporting the Resolution of the National Council on National Defence against Chinese aggression. M. N. Govindan Nair, member of the Central Secretariat attended the meeting.

NEW STEPS NEW LEAD

THE resolution expresses the firm determination of the State Council to make positive contribution to the tasks arising out of Chinese aggression on India's soil and reiterates its unconditional support to Prime Minister Nehru, for national unity, for strengthening national defence and adherence to the policy of nonalignment.

tion of the political situation in West Bengal. While analysing the causes, it has made a study of its position stating that our Party as a whole was too late to realise the truth that the Chinese forces have committed aggression, because it could not understand why a socialist country should do it by repudiating all norms of international behaviour.

Referring to the cease-fire proposals of the Chinese, the resolution expresses satisfaction that the Prime Minister is carefully watching the situation and studying it, simultaneously making serious efforts to obtain clarifications of the text sent by the Chinese government.

But even after the National Council realised it and adopted a resolution calling upon the Party to take active part in national defence against Chinese aggressors, the West Bengal State Council was unable to follow up the same in spite of the fact that all other state units endorsed the stand of the National Council.

The State Council expresses its deep concern over the deteriora-

It has expressed regret that at a time when the National Council was taking serious steps to get its resolution implemented in West Bengal, the government suddenly arrested a large number of Party members and made the task more complicated for the National Council.

FROM OUR CALCUTTA CORRESPONDENT

Nevertheless the State Council is now determined to take steps for the implementation of the National Council resolution

and demanded the release of Party members.

It viewed with great anxiety that, contrary to the Prime Minister's call for national unity, certain political elements were taking recourse to lawlessness in order to paralyse all activities of the Communist Party. Party offices are being raided and burnt and meetings convened by the Party are being broken up. The resolution urges upon all patriotic people to stop these attacks and build up all-in-unity for national defence.

Bengal. The Council felt that the need of the hour was unity of Congressmen, Communists and all other patriotic forces behind that symbol of nation's will and determination today, Prime Minister, Nehru.

Unity was all the more necessary when there were elements in the country who were carrying on propaganda against Nehru himself and his policy of non-alignment.

Calling all party members and sympathisers to face the situation with courage and calmness, the Council was confident that no matter how severe the trials, the party members would stand at post of duty in service of the motherland.

The State Council unanimously elected a new Secretariat of eight, comprising of Bhowani Sen, Somnath Lahiri, Ranu Chakravarty, Jolly Kaul, Biren Roy, Biswanath Mukherji, Ronen Sen and Indrajit Gupta. Bhowani Sen has been elected the Secretary of the State Council and Somnath Lahiri, the Chairman of Editorial Board of Swadhinata.

The Council declared that no matter what oppression was unleashed against them, they should not falter in their task of national defence and their duty towards the motherland. It urged the Government to release the arrested persons since "we had begun the struggle to implement the National Council resolution in our State."

The Council was pained to see some political parties carrying on campaign of calumny and slander against Communist Party in West

COLOMBO CALLING

Editorial

THE PRIME Minister of Ceylon has taken a most valuable initiative: she has invited the heads of Governments of leading Afro-Asian non-aligned States to meet at Colombo next week to discuss ways to help bring Sino-Indian hostilities to an end. The six countries which have agreed to participate in this vital non-aligned conference are, besides Ceylon itself: Burma, Cambodia, Ghana, Indonesia and the United Arab Republic.

India warmly welcomes any initiative taken by friendly nations for an honourable settlement. For, India stands for peace and good relations with all our neighbours as Prime Minister Nehru has reiterated only the other day. If friendly nations can help us in putting an end to the present hostilities and to restart negotiations on a basis which does not amount to surrender and does not condone aggression, our Government and people will be more than grateful.

The fact that all the nations participating in the Colombo Conference are non-aligned, makes India's attitude towards the Conference even more positive.

The importance which the Government of India attaches to the Conference is underlined by the sending of two delegations—headed by central Ministers Ashok Sen and Lakshmi Menon—to meet the Government leaders of the six countries participating in the Conference.

The cynical have already begun to question the possibility of any constructive outcome of the Conference. Those in our country who have never supported India's non-alignment policy, have an equal distaste for the non-alignment of others. Some question the motives of the six participants in the Colombo meet.

But the fact remains that the non-aligned nations have always opposed aggression, always given their support to countries fighting for their national independence. There is no doubt that in the present case of Chinese aggression against India, for some time confusion seems to have prevented some non-aligned countries from seeing the realities.

India expects the non-aligned nations to continue their role of opposition to aggression, undeviated by the new confusions sought to be injected by the latest "peace" and propaganda offensive of the Chinese Government. Our stand is firm and reasonable. We want the status quo before the present hostilities began on September 8, 1962, to be restored, so that the tension may be relaxed and conditions created for negotiations to begin.

The Colombo Conference can perform a historic task, if it can use its influence to persuade the Chinese Government to modify its stand and to accept the principled position taken by India and thus clear the way to negotiations.

Fears have arisen that taking military aid from the Anglo-American camp will influence India in giving up non-alignment and joining into a war-alliance with them. While one must be cautious about such aid, one should not draw hasty conclusions. The Prime Minister in his speech at the Red Fort last evening said:

"Aid is welcome, but if we forget our duty towards preserving freedom and depend on others to defend us, we lose half of our freedom."

The Colombo Conference should act with courage and faith in the millions, who want to live in peace and freedom in their homeland, to be friendly with everyone, aligned with none but the common ideals of humanity.

November 28

ARREST OF TRADE UNIONISTS

Dange's Statement

S. A. Dange, General Secretary, AITUC issued the following statement on November 22, regarding the large-scale arrest of trade unionists:

A large number of prominent trade union leaders in various parts of the country have been arrested. It is not only shocking but also surprising, especially after the ceasefire. The All-India Trade Union Congress is doing all it can for defence and has subscribed to the Industrial Truce Resolution.

It seems the Government thinks the best way to help industrial truce is to arrest some of these very people who can effectively work for it. It is useless to be indignant with people who show such wisdom. I can only request them to retreat their steps which they are taking in unfounded panic and on the advice of most reactionary elements.

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S. A. Dange's Speech at AITUC General Council Pages 5, 8, 9 & 13

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Hungarian Party Congress Page 15

news from states

WEST BENGAL

★ From Ajoy Das Gupta

CALCUTTA, November 26:

The call of National Defence has evoked a magnificent response from the people of West Bengal. People from every walk of life have expressed their unequivocal condemnation of the Chinese aggression and the determination to resist it.

THE workers and employees in particular have come forward in an organised manner to contribute to the defence efforts. Donations to the National Defence Fund are pouring in every day.

Workers in many factories have taken initiative to work over time and on holidays to increase production. At the same time, workers, as in Bata Shoe Factory, in Jay Engineering Works, Texmaco and other places, have donated their extra earnings to the National Defence Fund.

While people are contributing their mite and expressing their eagerness to serve the cause of national defence, a campaign run by FSI, Jai Sangh and in some cases, even Congress, in this State is directed not so much to give concrete lead to the people and formulating precise tasks in which every individual might participate, but more to anti-Communism.

ALSO SEE
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A virulent anti-Communist campaign is being run by big business and press. Communists are being dogged as traitors and marked as enemy number one and incitement to even physical violence is being made.

General Cariappa and Acharya Kripalani, while speaking at Calcutta meetings made it their main plank. Even prominent Congress leaders in the Assembly spoke in inopportune language. Attacks on offices of the Communist Party and even the godown of the National Book Agency took place.

These elements have not stopped at anti-Communism but have begun attacking the policy of non-alignment and Prime Minister Nehru personally.

While the anti-Communist campaign is going on unabated, the Communist Party is being denied permission even of using microphone for meetings in Calcutta. This is putting a hurdle in the way of the Communists mobilising the people for national defence in accordance with the resolution of the National Council of the Party.

However, the Party is approaching people through posters, printed copies of the National Council resolution and through personal talks. In some districts, meetings are being held in spite of attempts to break them up.

In Midnapore district meetings have been held at Tamaluk, Pargana, Keonpur, Mahi-

sadal, Balluk; in the industrial belt of Calcutta at Bala-nagar, Budge Budge, Barrack-pore, Srirampore, Garden Reach, Rishra, Belghuria and other places and also at Basirhat, Barasat and some other mofussil areas.

These meetings were addressed, among others, by Bhowani Sen, Biswanath Mukherjee, Renu Chakravarty, Gita Mukherjee, Kanak Bhowmik, Deben Das, Aurobinda Ghose, and Arun Sen.

Notable was the meeting at Keonpur which was held jointly by Congress and the Communist Party and addressed by S. Jyotsna Foray, Sandhya Ghosal and Bankim Behari Ray, an M.L.A. of the Congress and Biswanath Mukherjee and Hari Mitra of the Communist Party.

While various units of the Party throughout the State were affirming their acceptance of the National Council resolution and gearing up the organisation to launch a mass campaign for national defence according to the resolution, there came the State-wide arrests of Party leaders.

So far more than 70 leading Communists of the State, including Jyoti Basu, member of the Central Secretariat of the Party, and almost the entire Provincial Secretariat and Secretaries of many district committees have been arrested.

Four members of the National Council of the Party present in West Bengal, Bhowani Sen, Somnath Lahiri, Renu Chakravarty and Jolly Kaul in a statement expressed surprise at the large-scale arrests at a time when our Party was making every possible effort for defence of the country against Chinese aggression and for mobilising the people behind the Prime Minister's call for national unity in this hour of crisis.

Tasks Will Be Fulfilled

While urging upon the Government to release the arrested persons, the leaders called upon the Party units and members to work unflinchingly among the masses to resist Chinese aggression and not to spare efforts to carry out earnestly and unflinchingly the line adopted by the National Council and to fulfil the tasks laid therein.

Bhowani Sen, Somnath Lahiri and Jolly Kaul met Chief Minister P. C. Sen on November 22 to discuss the large-scale arrests and the attacks on the Party Offices, etc.

The Chief Minister told them that these arrests were made under the instructions

of the Central Government and the State Government had nothing to do with it. He also said that he thought it inadvisable for the Communist Party to hold any public meetings just at the present moment and hence permission for use of microphone was being withheld.

He however, expressed his hope that the Communist Party would help the defence efforts in other ways. When his attention was drawn to the attacks on Party Offices and rowdism against Communists, the Chief Minister told the Party representatives that this was not the policy of the Congress Party or the Government.

In this situation, in face of repression and provocation, the Communists in West Bengal are doing their best to fulfil their responsibility for mobilising the people for national defence and national unity, for safeguarding the policy of peace and non-alignment.

ASSAM

★ From Madhusudan Bhattacharyya

SHILLONG, November 18:

(This dispatch about the magnificent response of the people of Tezpur to the call of the Motherland was written by our Correspondent in Shillong just on the eve of the Chinese attack which brought the aggressors so close to Tezpur.)

The tiny district town of Tezpur which is now an internationally known place was taken by surprise when in the later part of October all of a sudden its inhabitants found some of our battle weary Jawans arriving there. Tezpur is as it were the rear of the northern front in the eastern sector. Some of the Jawans had to be hurriedly evacuated from some of the forward positions for re-

grouping. THESE Jawans had to leave their forward positions rather at a short notice. Transport was not easily available for carrying all their belongings, the little transport that was available had to carry mainly their arms and ammunitions. Many of them could not bring with them their full winter uniform. But the winter was already there in the wind.

When these Jawans arrived there, the people naturally felt a deep anxiety that the Chinese perhaps were close behind them and Tezpur also would perhaps be overrun by the invaders. In this situation some of the local leaders of the Congress and the Communist Party came forward to prepare the people to rise to the occasion. They realised that neither party by itself would be able to meet the situation. This almost instinctive realisation brought them together. They met and discussed the situation and immediately formed one popular committee, with Congressmen, Communists and others. This committee went into action without delay.

They told the people about the situation and called upon them to come out with their generous contribution to the cause of national defence.

The response of the people was indeed magnificent. Clothes,

WRITERS' APPEAL

The writers, journalists, educationists and cultural workers of West Bengal in a statement have unequivocally condemned the Chinese aggression on India's soil.

THE statement is signed, among others, by Vivekananda Mukherjee, Premendra Mitra, Satyajit Ray, Bishnu Dey, Monoj Basu, Narayan Ganguly, Sallajandanda Mukherjee, Sushovan Sarker, Nandagopal Sengupta, Parvez Shahidi, Manmatha Roy, Suchitra Mitra, Rithwik Ghatak, Mirinal Sen, Bimal Chandra Ghose, Akhili Neogy, Dakshinranjan Basu, Hiran Kumar Sanyal, Dwadesh Chandra Sharma, Charrya, Subhas Mukherjee, Digin Bannerjee, Manindra Ray, Sudhi Ranjan Mukherjee, Bijan Bhattacharya, Krishna Dhar, Gholum Quddus, Mangala Charan Chatterjee, Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya, Chrimohon Sehanabis, Dipendranath Bannerjee, Siddheswar Sen, Mihir Sen, Mihir Acharya, Chitta Ghose, Prafulla Nath Mitra, Giri Sankar, Kani Pakrash.

We are unreservedly behind our Government in this struggle against unrighteousness. If necessary, we have to be prepared to sacrifice our all for the needs of our national defence.

Being on principle supporters of peace we, Indians, will welcome wholeheartedly any peaceful settlement which does not damage our national prestige in the least.

We also appeal to our people, particularly the writers, artists and intellectuals to be vigilant so that in this disturbed situation, no disruptive movement takes place or mutual animosity grows in our country which may impair our tradition and ideal of peace and non-alignment.

ROAD CLEARED

NOVEMBER 19

Headline on page one: "Wake up, Panditji!"

For God and Country's sake Do Not Demoralise the Country!

Editorial: "Why should anybody be upset if somebody thinks the Prime Minister had better be gone? Surely, Nehru is not a sacred cow..."

"Why should anyone lose his sleep if somebody suggests that Nehruji's oft-repeated wish to retire may be respected, since a leadership admittedly conditioned to peace cannot, in all fairness, be expected to put its heart in a war? While all people must be, and actively are, loyal to the country and its constitution, they can hardly be expected to be loyal like a lap dog to an individual..."

NOVEMBER 26

Headline, page 9: "Shri Aurobindo, Warned in 1950 But Nehru would Not Listen!"

Headline, page 11: "How Nehru Lost Tibet"

The above are only a few specimens from the last two issues of the Jan Sangh mouth-piece.

Earlier, Gurti Golwalkar had given a call for Nehru's exit, if only for two years. And yet Vajpayee talked glibly in Parliament about his party too being behind Nehru in order that the country's united effort should not be hampered. And Deendayalji, Jan Sangh General Secretary, has talked of "all parties being rallied round the Prime Minister."

★ ON PAGE TWELVE

The weekly MAINSTREAM invited the Chairman of the CPI to elucidate how the Chinese aggression could fit in with Marxism. We reproduce here Chairman S. A. Dange's reply as it appears in that journal.

MAINSTREAM has put to me the question: How is it that a Socialist country can commit aggression? The question is quite natural and legitimate. It arises from the fact of history itself.

Way back in 1959 when we were confronted with the beginnings of the India-China border clashes, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India at its Calcutta meeting held the opinion that a Socialist country, like China, cannot commit aggression, and a free democratic India does not want to launch a war.

Now, three years after that the National Council of our Party states that China has committed aggression. Does this not show that the theory of Marxism-Leninism has gone wrong?

Some people, in fact, take special pleasure in saying that in the present clash between India and China, Marxism-Leninism has become a casualty.

Some people might ask whether in such strenuous times, it is necessary to raise questions of abstract theory.

I think it is necessary. Problems of war stimulate problems of theory in all fields and become its testing ground.

With Communists, as everyone knows, everything has to proceed on the basis of theory and its application. Even our opposites, the bourgeois, have also their theory of development. Without theory, practice becomes blind. But, some times even with correct theory, practice goes wrong.

terrific din over the "imperialist", "illegal" origin of the McMahon Line, their another din alleging that India is "neo-imperialist", "expansionist" and hence "aggressive" against peaceful China.

Border Left Far Behind

The "aggressor" must be fought, hence the march over the Himalayas and threatening the plains of NEFA and Assam. The disputed border lines are left far behind.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism, in the initial stages after the Chinese revolution, in which our whole country rejoiced, brought them to the positions of "Panch-sheel", which constitute the essence of what State relations should be between States with different social systems; particularly between a Socialist State and a newly independent bourgeois-democratic State.

But practice went severely wrong and now threatens even world peace, by the theory being overcome by sentiments and emotions of chauvinism, something of Bonapartism, which is incompatible with Socialism. That happens when a proletariat is not strong enough in the social forces of a country that is just stepping out of feudalism and bureaucratic capital.

Even in bourgeois theory and practice, bureaucratic capital never shows the wider visions of anti-imperialist thinking of national industrial capital. Hence the representatives of the Chinese bourgeoisie and the Indian bourgeoisie have been many times poles apart in their attitudes in the anti-imperialist period. This is a line of argument worth looking into when time and circumstances permit.

I have raised this subject because both India and China have developed theory over the ages and different periods of history. Man, anywhere, any time, cannot live without theory, that is, philosophy. That is why Nehru is described as a philosopher-politician, while some are only politicians.

Hence the Marxist-Leninists of Socialism, however much abused today, have to think in terms of philosophy. And war and tensions make men think more of philosophy; if not while it is actually after it is over. Asoka found his great humanism after the carnage of the Kalinga War and corrected himself even on his Emperor's throne. Attila and Asoka looked at war differently.

So does our Socialism of the new epoch, when preserving peace and preventing world war became the paramount duty.

But Socialism of the Chinese leadership does not think that way. Hence, I think, their wrong practice, so harmful to the working class of the whole world.

Marxism & Aggression

—BY S. A. DANGE

SPOTLIGHT

by GARUDA

DOUBLE TALK

PEOPLE who might be lulled into a sense of complacency by the assurances of Jan Sangh representatives in Parliament that they will be abjuring their disruptionist tactics and will be cooperating fully with Nehru in tiding over the national crisis should know the kind of vile and vicious propaganda this party still continues to pour out. I have before me the last two issues of the *Organiser* and here are some pieces of its vituperations:

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How does this double talk strengthen defence of India?

Relevant To Recall

It is good that the Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri uttered the home truths he did the other day in Parliament about some upstarts donning the robe of ferocious nationalism and patriotism.

The thrust seems to have gone home, for the *Organiser*, came out whimpering with what purported to be an editorial rejoinder. The charge that Jan Sangh people had not taken part in the freedom movement and that they had never suffered for the country was sought to be answered by the amusing plea that the Jan Sangh was "the manas putra of all the national heroes going back from Shivaji to Rama and Krishna." That this manas putra is only the not so secret Gandhava putra of the notorious RSS which has existed in India since 1925 without ever daring to oppose the British rule during its heyday or suffering at the latter's hands, is conveniently omitted.

Nor is it mentioned that it still plays a communal disruptionist role in national politics with its slogan of "Hindu" dictatorship in India.

It is relevant to recall the above truth today when this Hitler-worshipping coterie seeks to gain prestige by beating the drums of patriotism.

Organiser's most vociferous anti-Nehru trader these days is a gentleman who regards Hitler and Mussolini as "real patriots" and Nehru a "Communist".

From The Frying Pan Into The Fire

The Jan Sangh's "patriotic" slogan today needs to be seriously taken note of.

They want India to give up her independent foreign policy that is popularly described as "non-alignment". They evidently think that the opportune moment has come for giving a call to the country to get on the SEATO band-wagon. Deendayalji has demanded that

"harping on the old tunes of non-alignment" must stop.

"Now when our very existence as a nation is threatened we can hardly afford the luxury of pseudo-philosophical attitudes. Enough of such sophistication, jump from the frying pan into the fire, he advises the country.

The *Organiser* editor has taken Nehru to task for having referred to the "arms racket in USA" and recalling the British action in Suez as an example of "imperialist adventure".

He has also advised that "India should not bite the hand that feeds it".

As everyone knows, India has been forced by the Chinese aggression to take arms from the West and it is also thankful to the latter in this regard; but to talk of "biting the hand that feeds us" or give a pledge of goodboyism to anyone goes against the grain of any self-respecting people above all the Indian people. Ever in adversity—more than normally claiming to be national should sustain, not besmirch, the nation's self-respect.

It is perhaps to the good that the Jan Sangh publicists have spoken out in the above terms. They have, thereby, revealed their true character.

It is interesting to note that what the Jan Sangh General Secretary has said in whitening terms has been stated quite outspokenly by the Swatantra leader Rajaji. He had called on India "to eat the humble pie" and make "a total change of policy."

"Without a complete de-facto alliance with the Western Powers India cannot cope with the present crisis," he has advised. (*Swarajya*, Nov. 17).

Thus does the conspiracy unfold itself. Aided and abetted by the Chinese cussedness, the parties of Right reaction seek to exploit the national emergency in order to gain their nefarious end of getting India into the notorious SEATO and CENTO camp. No wonder they clamour vociferously for the removal of Nehru.

Debate On Defence Of India Bill

From Our Parliamentary Correspondent

On Wednesday, the Lok Sabha unanimously passed the Defence of India Bill, 1962. It was yet another important action by Parliament, meeting in emergency circumstances, to strengthen national defence and give the Government its full backing to every step intended to repel Chinese aggression.

The closing scene in the Lok Sabha before it passed the Bill was surcharged with emotion and a deep sense of responsibility when the representatives of the people jointly placed in the hands of the Government, enormous and absolute power, which in normal circumstances they would not have granted.

Here were the custodians of the highly-cherished freedoms and liberties of the individual calling upon the Executive to take all these freedoms and liberties and utilise them properly, wisely and correctly to defend the greater and more prized freedom of the nation. While fully recognising the necessity of arming the Government with such absolute power, they rightly cautioned the authorities who will exercise this power not to misuse it in any way.

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, Deputy leader of the Communist Group, in a moving speech, well received and appreciated for its sincerity and emotional appeal, said that the Bill, as the wisdom of the House has fashioned it, has the "complete and unambiguous support" of the Communist Party and expressed the hope that in implementing these powers, the Government would act no doubt firmly but also with justice.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, the Swatantra leader reciprocated Hiren Mukerjee's sentiments and said that his heart was heavy at this hour and he hoped that not only the government but also the officers who implement the provisions of the Bill will display the greatest possible respect for the freedom and rights of the individual.

Congress member Mahavir Tyagi rightly pointed out that by their support to this Bill the Opposition was placing a heavy moral burden on the Government and the ruling party. The trust that the House has vested in the Government should not be in the least betrayed, he said, and urged the government to see that these powers are used judiciously. The same sentiments were expressed by many others and indeed it was the dominating theme that ran through the long debate on the Bill lasting for six days.

NOT AN ORDINARY BILL

For, the Bill was not an ordinary one. It reminded one of the vast powers ruthlessly exercised by the British rulers through a similar Defence of India Act in the days of the Second World War. Members on either side had been victims of that cruel authority exercised by an alien power and naturally they had their misgivings of giving such powers to the Executive.

In order to blot out this remembrance of that past when the British used the Defence of India Act to stifle our freedom movement and in order to emphasise the fact that today the government of Free India was being armed with similar powers only to safeguard the freedom and defend the country from external aggression, an appeal was made to the Treasury benches to change the name of the Act into National Defence Act.

An amendment to this effect moved by S. M. Banerjee from the Communist Group had the

support of all other opposition parties and of Congress members as well and the Speaker himself joined the appeal. Unfortunately, the Minister of State for Home Affairs, B. N. Datar would not accept it under an unconvincing plea that such a change would be "out of place".

Datar in his reply assured the House that the provisions of the Bill will be properly implemented and that the Government while using these powers "sternly" against all anti-national activities would also see that they are used at all levels, "as fairly as possible, as humanely as possible."

DEMAND FOR SAFEGUARDS

While the Government claimed that it had accepted a number of suggestions from the Opposition as a result of mutual consultations, it however, refused to yield to some of the most significant demands of the opposition, designed to introduce effective safeguards against misuse of very drastic powers laid down in the Bill.

This was particularly so in the case of the right of a detainee to make representations against his detention, the constitution of Advisory Boards to review the cases of detainees, the composition of Special Tribunals and the right of appeal of persons convicted by these Special Tribunals. A very large number of amendments were moved from the Opposition on all these points, and more than once the Opposition pressed for a division.

Thus, an amendment by H. V. Kamath to provide that a detainee, under the Act shall be served with the grounds of his detention and that he shall be permitted to make a representation in respect of those grounds and against his detention to an Advisory Board consisting of a High Court Judge, whose advice shall normally be acted upon by the government, was rejected by 124 votes to 54 in a division. Kamath then remarked that it was a moral victory for the Opposition.

In refusing to accept the Opposition plea to constitute Advisory Boards for detainees, the Law Minister A. K. Sen contended that it could be done only in peacetime. The plea for Advisory Boards and the right of a detainee to know the grounds of his detention was pressed by Communist members also through their amendments.

Another important point on which the opposition fought vigorously was with regard to Clause 5, which, with its sweeping provisions, lay down that anyone who contravenes any provision of Section 3 or the rules thereunder could be sentenced not only to imprisonment for life but even death penalty. The Opposition was very much apprehensive about these sweeping powers and many pointed out that the clause was too vague and dangerous.

On many other points also, Communist members and other opposition members expressed their apprehensions and moved amendments to remove these apprehensions. Some of their very valid and cogent arguments related to the necessity of appointing people with judicial experience to the Special Tribunals, of retaining the fundamental right to appeal in

criminal cases, of recording evidence in full, etc., etc.

The feelings of the Opposition were not assuaged by the manner in which the Government met their criticism or argued its own case. Datar would not even agree to incorporate a penal provision in the Bill to check abuses of power by officials exercising the powers under the Act. His strange argument was that Government Servants' Conduct Rules will take care of such erring officers!

Among the official amendments moved and adopted, in an attempt to meet some of the criticism from the Opposition, was one which suggested that persons appointed

to Tribunals should have a minimum of three years' experience. Another provided for recording of evidence in full in cases involving offences punishable with five years' imprisonment or more.

However, the Opposition was not satisfied and their fears were not allayed on very many points, as the Government seemed to take a stiff attitude at almost every step. Homi Daji complained that even suggestions accepted by the Government in the consultative committee were not incorporated in the amendments.

A very unfortunate and disturbing feature of the debate was that notwithstanding the

support of the Communist Party to the Bill and in spite of the fact that the Prime Minister himself had favourably commented the resolution of the Party's National Council pledging full support to the Government to fight Chinese aggression, some members still questioned the bona fides of the Party and sought to create a scare of communist subversion.

In this connection, the speeches of Frank Anthony (Nominated) and Hem Barua (NSF) were hysterical in the extreme. Carried away by the power of his

*SEE BACK PAGE

IN FOCUS

The Retired General

When our retired Commander-in-Chief, General K. M. Cariappa, walked into a recruiting office in Bangalore and demanded enlistment "in any branch of active service", the charitable amongst us had thought it was just a gimmick designed to catch headlines in the press.

The General, who occupied the highest position in our armed forces set-up one day, was "blatantly taken by surprise" when told that he was too old to be recruited to the Army as a simple Mr. Cariappa.

Since then General Cariappa has embarked upon a marathon cross-country tour. He has become very active, giving the line of action to all and sundry from the common man up to the Prime Minister of the country. And many of the things he has been saying have made us sit up and take note of this General.

Before embarking from Madras, he decided, the nation's leaders for having asked the people to donate all the gold and ornaments they have to buy arms for the defence of the country. He commanded the people: "Don't give away all the gold you have; give only half of it."

It was entirely wrong on the part of the Government to have asked the temples to donate all their hoarded gold to the Defence Fund and the Gold Bonds, the General said, and asked: "If all the gold in the temples are donated to the Defence Fund, what will happen when people go to the temples for worship? They will be demoralised beyond limits when they see the deities denuded of all ornaments."

By the time the General reached New Delhi, he had passed on to more serious matters than mere gold. He declared that Communists were all "security risks" to the country and they were "more dangerous than the Chinese". Therefore, he wanted all the Communists "to be put in jail or even shot".

Having thus "finished off" the Communist "menace", the General turned to his own specialised field—military affairs. He started by criticising the military intelligence organisation, where, according to him, "some-

one had slept or slipped up".

The organisation "costs the taxpayer large sums of money every year", the General said, and therefore wanted to know (even in Parliament, nobody would have asked for this) "what had this organisation been doing whilst the Chinese build-up was going in such strength under our very eyes and nose". Foremost of all, he wanted "the set-up of our intelligence machinery overhauled, immediately."

The General did not stop there, either. He did not like the idea of having a National Defence Council, with as many as 31 members in it. It was "too unwieldy", and therefore, he wanted a War Council with only eight members.

Who these eight members should be, was given out by the Organiser, organ of the Jan Sangh. Pride of place, among the chosen eight, of course went to General Cariappa.

The Organiser, interestingly, has been supporting the General's other causes also. Though it felt that it was "good and right" to contribute to the Defence Fund, "there is nothing to worry about payment for arms imports". For, the Reserve Bank had a "gold hoard" of Rs. 300 crores (later corrected as Rs. 165 crores), it said. The paper had also wanted to "liquidate" the Communists.

Coming back to the General, is it because he is a member of the Central Citizens' Committee that he is allowed to go round preaching sedition?

But then, is General Cariappa still a member of the Central Citizens' Committee? There have been reports that he has refused to join the Committee because of "attitude of petty quibbling" on the part of the leaders.

What this "petty quibbling" is, has been revealed again by the Organiser. It is refusal to give representation to the Jan Sangh (and perhaps the Swatantra Party) in the Committee. The Jan Sangh organ has even tried to tarnish the Central Citizens' Committee by saying that the Committee's refusal to join the Committee was "followed up with an offer from the Committee to make him the Committee's Vice-Chairman". The sly hint, we hope, needs no elaboration.

So, this retired General goes round the country spreading disloyalty to the nation's leadership, sowing seeds of distrust against the armed forces, campaigning against donations to the Defence Fund and inciting people to violence against fellow-citizens.

Following is the text of the opening report made to the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress on November 16 by S. A. Dange, General Secretary.

THE situation which we have to discuss today is an extremely serious one. The seriousness is evident from the fact that the state of national emergency is already declared and the normal functioning of social, economic, political life is completely upset.

The national emergency of course means that most of the ordinary constitutional rights are also suspended. Only one thing has not been suspended which under such conditions generally becomes the first casualty. And that is Parliament. It still functions. In spite of conditions of war and declaration of national emergency, Parliament did meet and did have deliberations.

Now, when the national emergency is declared, it must affect the working class which is most vitally concerned with the national emergency and which has a difficult role to fulfil. I want to discuss in brief, I say, in brief because I would like to discuss it better when we have had the reports from the States and your experiences.

But certain things are already plain and on them, I shall put down certain of my thoughts in brief.

What is the nature of the national emergency and from what does it arise? That question has to be answered by the AITUC as a trade union organisation. It has been answered by political parties. But we also must speak on it. The AITUC as such will have to define its attitude in relation to events which led to the declaration of national emergency.

Aggression On Border

And that issue is the India-China border aggression on the border, violation of our territory, the question of invasion of our territory and conditions of near-war. Officially, war is not declared but everything which follows from a situation of war has taken place in this country.

Conditions of war have arisen because of what we call Chinese aggression. Do I need to go into all the discussion? I do not think. The AITUC last year had adopted a Declaration on this question in its General Council. From that Declaration to the present stage, lots of things have taken place.

The question is: has this country of ours a border or not in the north at all? Because, some other country—whether capitalist, socialist or communist—says that "we don't accept your border". Therefore, do we in India say that because somebody does not accept that border, we have no border in the north? This is a fantastic position to take.

What follows if you do not hold that we have a border of our own? If you do not accept a border of a country even for yourself, then there cannot be a crossing of the border, and if there is no crossing of the border, there is no violation of territory, and if there is no violation of territory, there is no question of defence and national emergency does not exist at all.

One cannot accept national emergency and accept fulfilment of tasks in relation to national emergency unless the basic cause of the emergency is accepted.

The fact that the Government of India has laid down the cause of the emergency need not make it binding on the AITUC to accept it as such. The need for defence cannot be admitted unless and until you admit that you are at

Opening Address By Dange

that this is not the first time in our history of the TU movement that we are faced with the question of support or no support to war, national emergency, tasks of working class therein etc.

At that time, it was the imperialist bourgeoisie which ruled the country. The national bourgeoisie and the working class, the whole nation was in conflict with that Government, and its war efforts. Now the situation is different. The national bourgeoisie has the government and the country is free.

So twenty years after, the question of war is posed before us in quite different conditions. Moreover, the question is complicated by the fact the conflict has arisen

normal struggle—between the exploited and the exploiters. Normal capitalist means what happens in a developing capitalist country which has become recently independent; therefore, our economic tasks are for strengthening independence. That strengthening is taking place on the basis of the development of the State sector of economy, as well as private sector and so on. But we have stated in the resolutions of the AITUC that the total development is towards capitalism.

Modification Necessary

So when such conditions are created, the working class is forced into the problem: what shall be my relation with the national bourgeoisie which is the ruling class in conditions when the country as a whole is in a certain situation of war. We have to re-define our attitude to the bourgeoisie and the new national problem.

The answer to this question has got to be: yes—these normal employer-employee relations of class struggle have got to be modified.

Does the AITUC accept in principle that modification of these fundamental class relations become necessary in certain national situations? This was answered 20 years ago by the majority of the unions of the AITUC—and affirmatively, and in a national situation, which raised serious doubts about the scope of those modifications.

And the modification of class relations that is required is called industrial truce. In industrial relations, the projection of a political position translates itself into an industrial truce, if we accept that modification of our relations with the bourgeoisie is necessary. This is the logic of my position.

And therefore we say that under conditions of the national emergency, defence and near-war conditions require that the trade unions of the AITUC do modify temporarily their normal relations with the bourgeoisie, their functioning and approach to the questions of the working class. We agree to modify and we then decide as to how we modify. To what extent does the modification go?

Some people put the question thus: does the national emergency eliminate questions of exploitation, competition, burdens on the working class and profiteering? Does the national bourgeoisie declare that all profits are extinguished or that all profits belong to the nation? No, it does not. Since they have not accepted that condition, I cannot accept the condition of not protecting myself as a worker from the attacks of the exploiters, which must be modified by them also. They also have to modify.

But there is a difference in their modification and ours. After all, it is the bourgeoisie. The question of national obligation is more fundamental and real to the exploited classes than to the exploiters. In conditions of war—the working class behave differently from the established exploiting classes. We do not lay down conditions for defending our country. Because the country belongs to the people, I do not hold the view that in a condition like ours, we should decide our behaviour by asking whether the country is ours or of the national bourgeoisie. The country belongs to the people.

In the present conditions, the country has to be defended because a sudden change because a new problem affecting the whole nation has arisen.

*ON CENTRE PAGES

WORKING CLASS IN THE CONTEXT OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY

with a country which is a socialist country.

Moot Question

There may be people and there are people who say that calling that country socialist is wrong, do not accept that. It is a socialist country, for the simple reason that the means of production are not owned by capitalists and the fundamental relations of production in that country are socialist. The question whether a socialist country can or should commit aggression or not, has to be separated from the question whether that country is socialist or not.

Socialist economy does not require aggression to build itself. Because of the fact that the relations of production which exist in such an economy do not create crises, do not hamper production and consumption in the way in which capitalist relations do, the driving force of such an economy is not aggression. It does not have any need for it, that is, grabbing territories and population for garnering wealth, taking surplus value out of the conquered for enrichment of its economy or class.

But I am doubtful whether a socialist government may or may not trip itself into aggression. The government of a socialist country is one thing and socialist economy is another. But this is a thing which we need not discuss just now.

Now the question posed by some people is: can the working class of a country like ours, taking note of its international relations with the working class of other countries, refuse to defend our country because a national bourgeois Government exists? Does the working class fighting for socialism change its fundamental relation of opposition to the national bourgeoisie because an aggression is taking place?

In our view, we were undergoing a certain direction of development, and suddenly the direction changed. What is the change? The direction of development before this war started was a

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RAJASTHAN

For the last one month the political situation in the State has been dominated by the question of gearing up all resources fully for the defence of the Country against the Chinese attack.

RAJASTHAN Legislative Assembly was in session at the time the Chinese launched their massive attack. Two days later came the rousing appeal by Prime Minister Nehru and the whole of this state as represented in the Assembly responded magnificently to his call.

It was only a Socialist M.L.A. Ram Kishan who feebly tried to attack the policies of Nehru and also made sly references against the Communist Party.

On that very day with the support and consent of all the parties it was announced that every member of the Assembly would give 5 per cent of his salary for the defence, and would continue to give it till the emergency lasts.

In line with this general sentiment and atmosphere, the ex-Ruler of Jhalawar, Harish Chandra, who is the Minister for FWD made a welcome gesture. He announced that he would contribute 15 per cent of his Privy purse for the Defence Fund.

All this was a good beginning made by the representatives of the people. Next day a Special Fund known as the Chief Minister's Soldiers Benefit Fund was started and work started all over the State.

The people of Rajasthan have responded admirably to

JAIPUR, Nov. 18:

the Party unit had declared its firm support to the defence of our country. In cities and towns the Communists were in the forefront in collecting funds. In Ganganagar and Jodhpur the Communists were the first to get their names registered for donating blood.

In this need of the Nation. The youth and the workers look to the lead and organised processions condemning the aggression by China and pledging their full support to the Government.

Meetings were held where the same determination was expressed. And the good and the wonderful thing was that in the first phase, when the immediate reactions to a grave emergency came to the fore, all the programmes at almost all places were jointly held.

The Congressmen, the Jan Sangh, the PSP and the Communists all were together in these programmes.

As a matter of fact in the Committee set up for coordinating the Funds Collection and other activities at the State level at this stage the Communists too were included.

Communist Initiative

The Communists were amongst the first to take initiative in all this work. The trade unions in Jodhpur came out with a leaflet denouncing the Chinese aggression and took out a big procession in the city. Workers contributed one day's wages for the Fund.

As early as October 20 at a public meeting held at Beawar,

the Party unit had declared its firm support to the defence of our country. In cities and towns the Communists were in the forefront in collecting funds. In Ganganagar and Jodhpur the Communists were the first to get their names registered for donating blood.

Changing Political Scene

However after the first week the political situation started changing and changing rapidly. The intervention of All-India centres of the reactionary parties had its impact. The Jan Sangh was the most ferocious to take up its disruptive line. It started holding meetings, where it not only denounced the Communists, but attacked the whole defence work as some thing utterly incompetent.

"Our people have to fight without shoes, and clothing and even ammunitions. They are forced to die like dogs, etc. such was the refrain of their public speeches. In private conversations the gossip went even further. So many thousands have been killed, such and such regiments have been wiped out and so on. So, paint demoralising picture of our frontline, and spread panicky rumours combined with attack on Menon and the Prime Minister; and of course a vicious attack on the Communists became their line.

The pressure of reactionaries had its effect even on the leaders of the State Government. From the earlier position of united effort, Chief Minister Sukhadia shifted to the position of sometimes stating that this was a struggle for "Democracy against Communism." Quietly the question of inclusion of the Communists in the State Committee was reopened behind their backs, and their names dropped. For some days it looked that the reactionaries were on the offensive.

Of course, in this respect the main campaigner was the Jan Sangh. The Swatantra Party which on the All-India level is taking the lead in this furious campaign, was as far as Rajasthan is concerned hardly active.

The Jan Sangh propaganda however roused the

shortage of Kerosene oil has artificially been suddenly created in this State.

When reports reached the State Government about the disappearance of kerosene stocks in Ahmedabad and various other areas, State's Minister for Civil Supplies, Vijaykumar Trivedi came out with a warning that the Government would not hesitate to take stern measures to deal with hoarders and profiteers. However, this warning too has gone unheeded.

Reports from Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat, Rajkot, Gondal and other towns indicate that people were experiencing hardship in getting their daily requirements of kerosene.

The State Government have now made arrange-

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS

nationalist elements to the danger of this party and its role. In the local dailies like Rashtradoot and Lokwan, strong editorials appeared denouncing this trend of the Jan Sangh. Another daily the Nav Jyoti even wrote saying that if this was not disrupting the National Defence, then what else it was?

But the Jan Sangh and in many places the PSP and the SP aligned with it, failed to reach the necessary pitch. At some places they made efforts to break the meetings organised by the CPI, At Raisinghnagar, they tried this trick but the audience rallied behind the Party, drowned the disruptors' attempts by slogans.

Notwithstanding this campaign of the reactionaries the Communists continued their energetic efforts to mobilise for the defence of the country. Unions led by

meeting of the CPI by their campaign, yet by the show of determined opposition they were able to drive fear into the minds of the Congress elements, many of whom too had their own local and other petty prejudices.

The result was that at many places the Communists started getting excluded from meetings, and as speakers. Various explanations were given, sometimes even of lack of time, but the real reason was the campaign of the Jan Sangh and sometimes the PSP, the SP and the Swatantra.

However, though they did not succeed in breaking any

* ON PAGE ELEVEN

KARNATAK

The Communist Party in Karnataka has enthusiastically rallied to the call for the mobilisation of the people for the defence of the country.

THE Provincial Council of the Party which met in Bangalore on November 9 and 10 discussed the resolution passed by the National Council and fully endorsed it. It has called upon all the Party units and Party members to carry this message throughout the State and rally the masses behind this appeal.

The Council has also called upon the working class to give up strikes and hunger-strikes etc., and urged upon the employers not to resort to lock-outs etc., during this emergency.

The Party units everywhere have held meetings and demonstrations against the Chinese aggression and expressed solidarity with the other sections of the people in organising the defence of the country. Most of the trade union organisations have decided to contribute one day's wages to the Defence Fund.

In South Kanara over Rs. 10,000 have been contributed by the workers. The Hindustan Aircraft workers have paid nearly 1½ lakh rupees. Shabad Cement Factory workers have paid nearly Rs. 4,000.

Practically all sections of the workers and employees have contributed to the defence fund. They have also held meetings and demonstrations against aggression.

(The Communist M.L.A.s have come forward to contri-

ments to bring adequate stocks of kerosene from Bombay. Meanwhile, some 12,000 tins of kerosene lying with the various agents here had to be requisitioned and arrangements made to distribute one gallon of kerosene to each family on ration cards.

After about a decade, people of Ahmedabad have thus had once again to go back to the card system to get kerosene. It has also to be stated that though vigorous steps have now been taken by the State Government, it was suddenly caught napping in respect of artificial kerosene shortage, to start with. Further, little or nothing has been done in the matter in towns other than Ahmedabad where similar conditions exist.

Encouragement To Reactionaries

This has indirectly encouraged the reactionary forces like the Jan Sangh and others to openly attack our Party meetings and Offices.

All this is due to the mistaken attitude of the Chief Minister and therefore the Jan Sangh and the RSS dominated the huge rally held in Bangalore on November 14 organised by the State Defence Committee. Only the Congress, RSS and Jan Sangh people were allowed to address the rally. All the other parties were kept out. It is now reported that the Chief Minister is going to inaugurate the RSS rally in Bangalore soon.

All these are causing grave anxiety to the progressive forces here who want to strengthen the hands of the Prime Minister in defending the basic policies of the Government of neutrality, planned development, strengthening of the public sector etc. The offensive of the reactionaries can be successfully fought only if the Government takes a firm stand on these basic policies. The Communist Party has been pointing out the dangers from these right reactionary forces. The Party has urged upon the Chief Minister to take a firm stand.

but their one month's salary towards the Defence Fund.) The plantation workers in Coorg, the municipal, cement and other workers in Bijapur, various working class organisations in Mysore and Bangalore, the gold miners in KGF have all contributed a day's wages. Others are also moving in the same direction.

The attitude of the State Government in getting the co-operation of all the parties and organisations behind the war-effort has caused some confusion. While the State Government has nominally taken the representative of the Communist Party in the State Defence Committee and in such Committees in some Districts, the speeches of the Chief Minister and some other ministers have been giving an impression that Communists are suspects.

WHAT IS NOV. 7, 1959 LINE?

Following are extracts from Prime Minister Nehru's letter dated November 14 to Premier Chou En-lai which along with accompanying Memorandum was placed before Parliament on November 22.

MY colleagues and I have carefully considered the elaboration of the three proposals of the Chinese Government of October 24, given in your letter (of November 4).

Apart from the Chinese claims regarding the territorial boundary in various sectors of the India-China boundary, one fact stands out quite clearly. This is the basic fact that till September 8, 1962, no Chinese forces had crossed the frontier between India and China in the eastern sector as defined by India, that is, along the highest watershed in the region, in accordance with the Agreement of 1914.

It was on September 8, 1962, that your forces crossed this frontier and threatened the Dhola frontier post of India. We took limited defensive measures to reinforce this post and at the same time made repeated approaches to the Chinese Government to withdraw their forces beyond the Thag La ridge which is the frontier in this region. Your forces not only did not withdraw to the position they occupied before September 8, 1962, but after some probing attacks mounted a massive attack and are now in occupation of large areas of Indian territory in this region and also in various other frontier areas of NEFA.

The three proposals of the Chinese Government of October 24, 1962, have been examined carefully and in detail. The result of the examination is given in the memorandum that I am attaching to this letter. The memorandum speaks for itself.

You have mentioned in your letter that according to the Chinese proposals, the Chinese armed forces will have to withdraw by more than 20 kilometres from their present positions and that the fact that the Chinese Government have taken as its basis the 1959 "line of actual control" and not the present "line of actual control" between the armed forces of the two sides, is full proof that the Chinese side has not tried to force any unilateral demand on the Indian side on account of the advances gained in what you still choose to call "recent counter-attacks in self-defence".

What you call the 1959 "line of actual control" was no line but a series of positions of Chinese forces on Indian territory in Ladakh progressively established since 1957, which forcibly and unilaterally altered the status quo of the boundary. This was done even while assuring us since 1954 that China had no territorial claims against India. So far as the Central sector is concerned, the Chinese forces were always to the north of the Himalayan watershed ridge which is the traditional and customary boundary in this area.

The damage to the very principles of good neighbourliness and peaceful co-existence done by the further aggression since September 8, 1962, must be corrected before any other constructive step can be taken.

You have referred to the peaceful friendly relations between our two countries till 1959 despite the differences on the boundary question and asked why we could not have these relations after 1959 despite the differences on the boundary question. The reason I feel should be clear to you.

What you call the 1959 "line of actual control" was no line but a series of positions of Chinese forces on Indian territory in Ladakh progressively established since 1957, which forcibly and unilaterally altered the status quo of the boundary. This was done even while assuring us since 1954 that China had no territorial claims against India. So far as the Central sector is concerned, the Chinese forces were always to the north of the Himalayan watershed ridge which is the traditional and customary boundary in this area.

The line of actual control in November 1959 was no line but a series of positions of Chinese forces on Indian territory. These positions had been progressively established since 1957 by forcibly and unilaterally altering the traditional status quo of the boundary, even while the Government of China were assuring the Government of India that they had no territorial claims against India.

In November 1959 Chinese posts in the western sector were at Spangpur, Khurnak Fort, Kongka La and along the main Aksai Chin Road. Within three years i.e. by September 1962, the Chinese had constructed a large network of military roads and posts beginning with posts opposite Daulat Beg Oldi in the north, along the Chip Chap river valley and across the Galwan river to the Pangong and Spangpur lake areas. At certain points the network of mili-

itary posts was more than one hundred miles to the west of the Chinese positions in 1959. The Chinese three-point proposal, taken with its clarifications, is that in the western sector, both parties agree to respect the "line of actual control" between the two sides. In his clarificatory letter Premier Chou En-lai states that "the line of actual control" is basically still the line of actual control as existed between the Chinese and the Indian sides in November 1959." The normal deduction would be that this line of control would, therefore, be a line connecting Spangpur, Khurnak Fort, Kongka La and proceeding northwards to join the main Aksai Chin Road.

However, Premier Chou En-lai's letter states that "in the Western and Middle sectors it (the line of actual control) coincides in the main with the traditional customary line." In short, while referring to the line of control as it existed in 1959, the Chinese actually project it to the line they claimed in the meeting between the officials of the two sides in 1960 and the line they physically hold, now since their massive attack which commenced in this region on October 20, 1962.

According to the Chinese proposal, after this "line of actual control" is determined, India would have to further withdraw yet another 20 kilometres inside territory accepted by the Chinese as undoubtedly Indian, while the Chinese withdrawal of 20 kilometres would be only 20 kilometres inside Indian territory claimed by them leaving the Chinese forces well over a hundred kilometres deep into territory belonging to India.

The total effect of this would be that the entire network of Chinese aggressive posts which existed on October 20, 1962, and some more would remain intact poised for a further attack, while all Indian defence posts in Indian territory claimed by China will be eliminated and even posts in territory accepted as Indian including such key posts as Daulat Beg

terms to this: because India had been pressing China to remedy the forcible alteration of the status quo since 1957 in the western sector, China has undertaken since September 8, deliberately and in cold-blood, a further massive aggression and occupied larger areas of Indian territory and is now making the magnanimous offer of retaining the gains of the earlier aggression plus such other gains as it can secure by negotiations from the latest aggression on the basis of the Chinese three point proposals.

If this is not the assumption of the attitude of a victor, I do not know what else it can be. This is a demand to which India will never submit whatever the consequences and however long and hard the struggle may be. We cannot do less than this if we are going to maintain the principles we cherish, namely, peace, good neighbourliness and peaceful co-existence with all our neighbours including China. To do otherwise would mean mere existence at the mercy of an aggressive, arrogant and expansionist neighbour.

Despite the crisis of confidence created by the earlier Chinese aggression, we are, as I said in my letter of October 27, prepared to consider entering into talks and discussions to deal with our differences and to re-establish good neighbourly relations on the basis of peaceful co-existence between our two countries, each following its own way of life, provided it was agreed that the status quo along the entire boundary as it prevailed before September 8, 1962, should be restored. This is the minimum corrective action necessary.

The damage to the very principles of good neighbourliness and peaceful co-existence done by the further aggression since September 8, 1962, must be corrected before any other constructive step can be taken.

You have referred to the peaceful friendly relations between our two countries till 1959 despite the differences on the boundary question and asked why we could not have these relations after 1959 despite the differences on the boundary question. The reason I feel should be clear to you.

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Nehru's Letter To Chou En-lai

What Stands In The Way

It was in January 1959 that you put forward a claim for 50,000 square miles of Indian territory under the guise of a boundary dispute. This was not a small adjustment of the boundary here and there involving a few hundred square miles but a demand for surrender of large areas of Indian territory.

You did not stop at this preposterous demand. Though we agreed to talks and discussions at various levels to examine the relevant historical, cartographic and other data on the subject, your forces continued to forcibly occupy substantial areas of Indian territory even while these talks and discussions were going on.

This process continued throughout the subsequent years and, on September 8, 1962, your forces started the further aggression in the eastern sector which had been quiet and peaceful all these twelve years except for the minor differences over Longju.

In your letter as well as in the official note of your Government, there are references to the line of actual control as on November 7, 1957, as the basis of the three-point proposals. If the Chinese Government really mean what they say regarding the restoration of November 7, 1959 positions of their forces in all sectors of the boundary, their withdrawal to those positions and the restoration of the positions of the Indian forces as they were prior to September 8, 1962, would, by and large, meet the problem of disengagement as there will be enough distances between the position of the forces of the two sides to prevent any risk of a clash.

To put it concretely, in the eastern sector the Chinese forces will go back to the positions they held on November 7, 1959, that is, they will be on the other side of the boundary along the Himalayan watershed which they first crossed on September 8, 1962. In the central sector the position will be the same, that is, they will be to the north of the highest watershed ridge. In the western sector the Chinese forces will go back to the position they held on November 7, 1959, as given in the attached note, that is, along the line connecting their Spangpur post, Khurnak Fort and Kongka La and then northwards to join the main Aksai Chin Road.

The Indian forces will go back to the various defence posts they occupied in all the three sectors prior to September 8, 1962. This arrangement will secure not only adequate disengagement of forces of both sides but will not in any way prejudice either the alignment of the customary and traditional boundary in the western and the central sectors as claimed by the two sides or the alignment of the McMahon line boundary in the eastern sector.

MEMORANDUM

THE implications of the three-point proposal of the Chinese Government presented on October 24 and further elaborated upon in Premier Chou En-lai's letter dated November 4, 1962, are given below:

The line of actual control in November 1959 was no line but a series of positions of Chinese forces on Indian territory. These positions had been progressively established since 1957 by forcibly and unilaterally altering the traditional status quo of the boundary, even while the Government of China were assuring the Government of India that they had no territorial claims against India.

In November 1959 Chinese posts in the western sector were at Spangpur, Khurnak Fort, Kongka La and along the main Aksai Chin Road. Within three years i.e. by September 1962, the Chinese had constructed a large network of military roads and posts beginning with posts opposite Daulat Beg Oldi in the north, along the Chip Chap river valley and across the Galwan river to the Pangong and Spangpur lake areas. At certain points the network of mili-

itary posts was more than one hundred miles to the west of the Chinese positions in 1959. The Chinese three-point proposal, taken with its clarifications, is that in the western sector, both parties agree to respect the "line of actual control" between the two sides. In his clarificatory letter Premier Chou En-lai states that "the line of actual control" is basically still the line of actual control as existed between the Chinese and the Indian sides in November 1959." The normal deduction would be that this line of control would, therefore, be a line connecting Spangpur, Khurnak Fort, Kongka La and proceeding northwards to join the main Aksai Chin Road.

However, Premier Chou En-lai's letter states that "in the Western and Middle sectors it (the line of actual control) coincides in the main with the traditional customary line." In short, while referring to the line of control as it existed in 1959, the Chinese actually project it to the line they claimed in the meeting between the officials of the two sides in 1960 and the line they physically hold, now since their massive attack which commenced in this region on October 20, 1962.

GUJARAT

AHMEDABAD, November 21

Defence efforts are going on at a high pitch in the State. Though surprise has been expressed among the people as well as political circles here over the latest Chinese announcement about ceasefire and withdrawal, hardly any one is inclined to accept Chinese good faith.

IN fact, the first reaction to the Chinese move is one of extreme scepticism and it has been an added stimulus to the defence efforts, specially among the people, even though the more sophisticated tend to make it a subject of hot discussion.

The people are now aroused and will not let the events of the past one month repeat themselves any time in the future, because of lethargy or complacency, that is a typical comment heard. That this is not an exaggerated picture of the people's mood is evident from their response so far to the challenge that the country has faced and is still facing.

A report from a small town, Chotila near Rajkot, will make this more graphically clear than lifeless statistics, however impressive they otherwise might be. Members of the Town Defence Fund Committee who were going round the town for collections just passed by the small cabin where a cobbler works. They were aware of his hard life and did not think that he would be able to contribute anything. But to their great

Sacrificing Common Men

As against such self-sacrificing spirit on the part of the common man, it is rather sad to note that the richer sections are still busy with their calculations about their share in the donations.

The Textile magnates of Ahmedabad, for instance, have still to announce their donations. Only now, after much deliberations, it is understood that an agreement, has been reached to raise a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs from among the various trade associations of Ahmedabad which number about 40.

More shocking than the rather disappointing performance of Ahmedabad's textile magnates, however, are the activities of the hoarders and profiteers.

In spite of repeated assurances that there were adequate stocks of petroleum products in the country, an acute

DEFENCE: MORAL-POLITICAL DUTY OF THE WORKING CLASS

FROM PAGE FIVE

cause it is not an imperialist country, fighting a war to enslave others. It is not tied up with imperialism and is not such a capitalism that has suppressed all democracy and has built itself as fascism, for world domination. When such conditions exist, the people share the responsibility and the tasks of defence of the country because the country is theirs and in such conditions, defence of the country becomes a moral political duty for the working class despite its quarrel with the ruling bourgeoisie.

So, if war is imposed on us, it is the task of the Indian working class to consider it as a national war, whoever may be the attacker, whether it is Pakistan or China, whether it is pro-imperialist or socialist. In such conditions, all classes must defend the country, and we as an exploited class, accept our national duties and obligations.

That can be so only if the war is a just war. At present, it is not a war as such and government does not call it a war. But even in near-war conditions, when a whole front is flaring up, in that case, we accept the obligations because we consider the country is ours, it has to be defended, it is not a counter-revolutionary or pro-imperialist government we are defending, nor a bourgeoisie which has surrendered to imperialism.

We say we defend, because the cause is just, because the wrong is on the other side.

Therefore, the working class accepts modifications of class relations with the bourgeoisie in relation to the defence of the country and therefore comes to an industrial truce which, of course, is a temporary thing.

WE MUST DEFEND OUR CONDITIONS

However, within the framework of the truce, we argue: you are not going to cease making profits, nor control the price lines, so we, as the main force of defence, must also guard our conditions. Does Government accept this obligation or not? We do not expect the government to abolish exploitation. That is socialism. But we ask them to control the national bourgeoisie and also control us, if we are endangering defence.

So, even to fulfil the tasks of defence, a certain defence of the workers will be necessary.

Industrial truce is, in a sense, "class collaboration". But it is consciously accepted because both classes are faced with a situation when a developing, peace-loving free nation is in danger. Unless this understanding is there, we cannot work and we cannot understand our tactics.

The Government of the bourgeoisie is more than the bourgeoisie because the bourgeois government can understand the total class relations while each bourgeois section understands only its own sectional interests. Therefore, the national bourgeois government sometimes has to hit some sections of the bourgeoisie also. As we have seen, they have banned forward trading in gold. This is not foolproof action against speculation but they are taking some steps at least.

The actions taken by the bourgeois government against sections of the bourgeoisie should be taken advantage of by the working class and we should press for more such actions. For instance, we should ask for take-over of the banks. Price line can be controlled only if the total volume of money in circulation and the direction of spending and investment is controlled through take over of all banks. That cannot be controlled only by the Reserve Bank. Take-over of the banks is not nationalisation but only taking over for the limited purpose of controlling investment and prices in the national interest.

Similarly, we should ask for converting the secret reserves of banks into defence bonds.

We give these suggestions from the trade unions in the matter of economy, so that the economy can be controlled in the national interest. And as a counter-obligation, namely, smooth functioning of production, we do guarantee interruption of production on questions of disputes, etc., should not take place as in normal times.

OBLIGATIONS FROM THE OTHER SIDE

But what is the obligation from the other side? It should be that real wages shall not fall and that all those practices which provoke the workers should not be resorted to. We fulfil our obligations and you fulfil yours. This is the essence of the Industrial Truce Resolution which we have accepted, subject to your sanction.

The formulation of that resolution is done in usual bureaucratic bourgeois way. As you have seen from my letter to the Labour Minister, the whole procedure was of that type. The INTUC and HMS were refusing to sit with us. The conference was called on our initiative. I had written to the Prime Minister about this, stating that defence at the front must also mean defence of the people. For the bourgeoisie, war is an opportunity to enrich itself. That is its fundamental law. But they have to control it.

The conference was held on November 3. Sri Nanda made a speech about the situation and said 'this is the resolution, which we all have accepted'. And then the conference ended in ten minutes. There were no speeches or amendments. So we put our view on record that though it was a good resolve in principle, in working out the resolution, we will face tremendous difficulties.

The first difficulty is that our rivals are more worried about our existence than about national defence. They say this is a god-sent opportunity to finish us off. If we accept industrial truce, provoke us, if we don't condemn us.

There will be two kinds of arrests—one for certain views and then there will be arrests of trade unionists on allegations of sabotage, etc. Certain elements in the country will want to provoke us and thereby eliminate the trade unions of the AITUC. In that the employers also will help.

Accepting the Industrial Truce will increase our difficulties. Without certain safeguards on wages,

dismissals etc., no strike and full production at any cost will not work for long for the simple reason that it will at first embolden the employers to attack and exasperate the workers. It will tempt them to take revenge for past struggles. So production and elimination of disputes will have to be done in such a way that the working class understands that its interests are not totally attacked.

INTERESTS WILL SUFFER

Certain interests are bound to suffer. A war cannot be fought without affecting the people. But there must be a limit to it.

Let us not do it in a hypocritical manner. I am for a straight understanding. Do I accept a wage-cut? No. But that does not mean that tomorrow I take up all the outstanding wage notices and agitate and start a strike.

Also, there should be no over-enthusiasm. In the old days of 1944 there was the example of a carpenter in the old GIP workshop in Bombay, during the last war, who fulfilled his entire quota of work for six months in six weeks. He thought he was faithfully implementing the production line, and never bothered to find out whether his output will be absorbed in other departments or will fit in with the production pattern in the workshop.

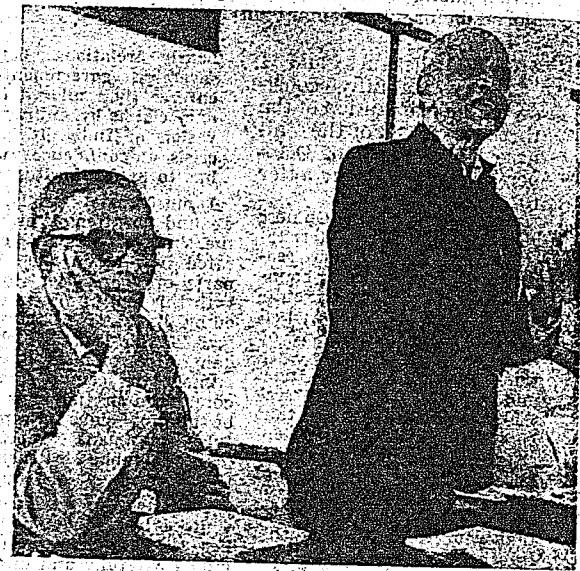
I am not making my support conditional. I unconditionally accept my obligation but at the same time, request others to accept theirs. Fortunately, the Government of India has not denied its obligations and has accepted some of them. When we point out to the question of fall in real wages, they have said that all wage claims are not and cannot be barred.

Yesterday, I got the news that the iron and steel wage board has announced an interim award. That shows that the Government is not going to shut its eyes to the demands of workers on the grounds of national emergency. There is some balance.

Let us try to evolve that balance to protect our rights. I do not expect real wages to rise. But protection of existing real wages has to be envisaged. So the interim award of the Iron and Steel Wage Board is a very welcome thing.

And I don't think it is a bad award. In the present conditions, I would say it is a good award. I do not, of course, give the guarantee that the bourgeoisie is not going to try to freeze wages and paralyse the working class in the matter of its claims.

Now about some problems of functioning of our organisation. In this period, functioning will have to be changed, quite a lot. One thing which I would request all comrades to do is to give us quick and correct information about what happens. Then we can help the States and States can help us to evolve a proper line. We will be sidetracked, harassed, our opponents will try to weaken us. So central functioning is all the more important. I mean by central functioning both at the All-India Centre and the State centres also.



Dange addressing the General Council. On the left is S. S. Mirajkar, President, AITUC.

Concluding Speech

After the General Council of the AITUC had heard reports from various states and industrial centres concerning the activities undertaken by the trade unions in the emergency, S. A. Dange on November 18 summed up the discussion making certain concrete formulations in regard to the tasks facing the working class.

HE said: I had tried to put down certain lines of approach which the working class and the trade unions should adopt in the present context of the conflict or the near-war conditions that have arisen. The trade unions, as already stated, cannot avoid taking political positions. So long as you know, attempts have been made to see that the trade unions do not dabble in politics.

It was the attempt of the Government and the employers, that the trade unions should only deal with conditions of work and wages. Politics was to be admitted only insofar as helping the Government to implement the Five Year Plan was concerned. Other politics the trade unions were not to concern themselves with.

CHANGED POSITION

Today, the position has changed. Since there is a common national danger and since the country is involved in more or less a war with another country, the trade unions as a whole have to participate in the war effort, which means, actually in politics.

Because war effort is not limited to production only. The question of approach and ideology, understanding of class relations, relations with Government, etc., all these are involved when you decide either to support a war or oppose a war.

War is not such a thing that it only limits one's attention to the questions of production and strikes. Our approach to strikes and production can only be conditioned by a political approach to the problem of war. Therefore, it becomes positively a political question.

ism, cannot avoid these questions.

If we avoid them, we become people who have no politics, who have no class standpoint, and we become opportunists who may do one thing today, and another tomorrow. So we are not raising these questions as academic questions. Strike or no strike is an essential part which follows from the concrete application of the general line to the concrete situation.

Now, therefore, to put it again in short, the AITUC does accept that there has been aggression. The AITUC has to state that it is an aggression

purpose. It is relevant in the sense that all that follows in our resolution will become meaningless unless we take a stand on principle. And that principle is not chauvinism but rationalism of the anti-imperialist progressive type.



The General Council in session.

which was totally unexpected from a socialist country.

The AITUC cannot give the reasons why a socialist country behaved as it did. We do not know. It should not have behaved as it did. But it has.

But workers will ask: will you people tell us why they have done it? There are some people who might say that the Chinese were attacked by India and therefore they defended themselves and came down on us. That means there was aggression from the Indian side and therefore counter-aggression from the Chinese? This is false and double-dealing. Facts speak otherwise.

There was no aggression from Indian side. I do not want to go into details. China has published a political pamphlet saying that India's leaders from the very beginning, before and after independence, have been aggressive and aggressor.

This pamphlet, 'More on Nehru's Philosophy', etc., should be read by all. It serves to convince us of the correctness of our stand. In this pamphlet, there is a statement that Nehru was an expansionist from the very beginning. Of course, Jawaharlal Nehru since he was born, was an ex-

panionist since he never ceased to grow! One wonderful thing I found in the pamphlet was a total twist of quotations from Nehru—that Nehru was long ago thinking of India as a great power, controlling the whole of Asia, etc. The fact that the Indian bourgeoisie is aggressive, it has gone into the imperialist camp, has tied itself with all sorts of imperialists.

I did not expect profound, good leaders of socialist China to write that stuff. It is a rather very unfortunate situation and you cannot avoid dealing with it by remaining silent on the saying that it is socialism that is confronting capitalism in India. Indian capitalism is capitalism but it is not expansionist and it was born as an anti-imperialist force. So its description on those lines is totally wrong and misplaced.

CHINESE PAMPHLET

The increase in foreign capital in India is stated in that pamphlet to show how India is in the clutches of imperialism even after 1948. As if, after that nothing has changed in India. So it is a good pamphlet, it convinces you about your case. How right we are can be found from that pamphlet written to show how right they are! It is something like 'teaching by negative example', as the Chinese say.

You might say that all these things are not relevant for our purpose. It is relevant in the sense that all that follows in our resolution will become meaningless unless we take a stand on principle. And that principle is not chauvinism but rationalism of the anti-imperialist progressive type.

The AITUC while taking its stand on the internationalism of the working class, harmonises the progressive anti-imperialist nationalism of a non-aligned independent country with the working class of the working class. The WFU says we are faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism and if the AITUC deserts proletarian internationalism, it is the duty of the working class to desert the AITUC.

So within the framework of our principles we have to be clear whether what we are doing is chauvinism or whether it is on the basis of progressive nationalism which is never inconsistent with internationalism.

It is not that we are going to teach the working class opportunism. From the beginning, my standpoint is that if you want to do it for opportunism, let us not do it. I would prefer to be illegalised. Our trade unions have been illegalised so many times, and we are not afraid.

Therefore, our nationalism, defence of the country and support to the Government in face of an attack, whoever may be the attacker, does not cease to be progressive nationalism because the attacker is a socialist

country. It means that the Government of a socialist country has gone wrong though it does not mean that socialism has gone wrong.

Can there be such a thing as government of a socialist country going wrong? On how many counts, can it go wrong? Both on internal and external and foreign policy questions, it can go wrong. There is always that possibility. Being socialist does not confer on anyone the quality of being infallible. And the possibility has become a fact, that a socialist government has gone wrong in relation to the government of a country which is not in the imperialist camp.

If the India Government tomorrow takes a position in the imperialist camp and establishes a fascist rule, gives up peace and non-alignment and goes in for a policy of armaments and war of conquest or aggression, our nationalism will cease to be progressive.

Therefore, today, I am right in my progressive nationalism. Some people ask—'if tomorrow, something happens, are we going to change? Tomorrow it happens means, what happens?' That means, India gives up non-alignment joins the fascist bloc and takes all the necessary steps which follow from that line. But it is useless and harmful to speculate on such things. That is fatalism. What is required is for all progressive forces to prevent such things—happening. That is the task.

India is today a progressive, anti-imperialist nation, in which nationalism is still progressive and anti-imperialist and coincides with internationalism in the sense that all its positions on the advocacy of peace and peaceful co-existence are positions of internationalism. All positions of inter-

nationalism, in what conditions does it harmonise with internationalism? Is our nationalism today in contradiction with internationalism?

Attacks are coming on us from all sides. Reactionary critics are asking us to give up internationalism if we are true nationalists. They say, if you are an internationalist, you are bound to agree with China or anybody who supports China, that therefore your talk of nationalism is only a ruse and a tactic and that you are doing that to cheat the people and to save yourself from prison.

We have to be clear on this question. We are internationalists and as internationalists we have definite principled positions on war and peace, positions on peaceful co-existence, positions on non-alignment, positions according to which a socialist country can become dogmatist and sectarian and endanger and threaten world peace as China is doing today. If a country does that, our internationalism is to oppose that.

If an integrated understanding of nationalism and internationalism is not made, we shall be confusing ourselves and drowning the working class also in the process. The moment we assume that the two are contradictory, we are immobilised. We become thorough opportunists.

You will ask whether this is a standpoint of trade unionism or of a political party. Take the resolutions of the WFU which base themselves on positions of proletarian internationalism and discuss questions of war and peace.

Let us take the positions of the WFU, say on peaceful co-existence and on disarmament, etc. On the question of disarmament, China has taken the position that disarmament is not the most important and major question today. They reject the positions with regard to peaceful co-existence, and the role of non-aligned countries.

Therefore, as an organisation belonging to the WFU, as an organisation which takes its stand on the basis of proletarian internationalism and in terms of accepted positions on war and peace, peaceful co-existence, disarmament, relations with non-aligned countries, the progressive forces even where they are under the rule of the national bourgeoisie, I say, my supporting this national bourgeois government today is fully consistent with internationalism.

You might ask, is there any regressive nationalism. There is nationalism of an oppressed country and the nationalism of an oppressor country—both are nationalism but one is progressive and the other reactionary. Nationalism of the colonies who want to be free is revolutionary, progressive nationalism even if led by Nehru or by Mahatma Gandhi or anybody.

That was the position when there were only two kinds of nationalism—that of the oppressor country and the oppressed country. But when an oppressed country becomes free, establishes capitalism, has not gone over to imperialism, then what is the nationalism of that country? This is a new problem.

This problem did not exist before the second world war, —nationalism of a country which has ceased to be oppressed, has not become an oppressor, but is a non-aligned, independent country trying to grow, not necessarily towards socialism, what is the nationalism of this country?

S. A. DANGE
At the AITUC Council

In relation to internal questions, we fight our national bourgeoisie. In relation to external relations, we are with the peace camp. We as working class, are with the socialist camp but the Government and the country as such is in no camp.

A working class is never non-aligned. It is always aligned with the working class of the whole world, of both the countries of capitalism and socialism. But a bourgeoisie and its Government and the country ruled by it can be non-aligned as India today is.

In the trade union field also, many controversies exist, as seen in the Fifth Trade Union Congress. We take our standpoint on the basis of internationalism and our approach to the present problems of our country is guided by our progressive nationalism.

Our nationalist position harmonises with our positions of internationalism and we as the working class of a liberated, non-aligned country, are taking part in defence efforts on the basis of progressive nationalism and we are right.

This is the thing which I wanted to put before you to clear the confusion. Let us go before the working class with a clear mind.

Then the question will come—can there be a chauvinistic approach to a problem. There will be, and in the trade unions, we should be on guard. Preaching hatred against the people of another country is chauvinism. In spite of attacks from reactionaries, we cannot preach hatred between two peoples.

What we should try for is a peaceful settlement. The standpoint of chauvinism is no settlement but prolonged war. Even sane bourgeois politicians do not do it. But sometimes some insane trade unionists might attempt to do it. Because once you start, that way you start with the logic of nationalism not harmonised with internationalism. Therefore, preaching hatred between peoples should be avoided.

Secondly, a 'bitter war' means you reach Peking or they reach New Delhi. Under the pressure of reaction, we sometimes are likely to forget that we should ask for a settlement. This is not a war which is going to finish off this or that country and prolonged war between two big countries means world war.

Therefore, even a country like Soviet Union, with its military might, is moving in terms of averting a world war as we have seen in Cuba. There are, of course, so-called 'uncompromising' international revolutionaries who are opposing Khrushchov on the Cuban settlement. We are not concerned with them.

The question relating to Cuba was whether the USA will invade Cuba or not invade Cuba. They had to guarantee that they would not invade Cuba, and the entire settlement followed from this.

That does not mean that what ever their government does is right. Because we know that certain parties can become 'national-communists', sectarians and so on.

And when certain parties take that line, a whole State goes that way and its working class also goes that way. We have to stand by our nationalism because 'the other people

are not our national bourgeoisie. We are with the peace camp. We as working class, are with the socialist camp but the Government and the country as such is in no camp.

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*MORE ON PAGE 13

Chheharta, an industrial suburb near Amritsar with a population of less than 15,000, occupies an important place in the trade union movement in the Punjab. The Municipal Committee, Chheharta is the only Committee in the State, which has a Communist as its President.

THUS, it was the duty of the working class of Chheharta to ensure that Chheharta makes maximum possible contributions towards strengthening the National Defence against the Chinese invaders.

The working class is discharging this duty with honour and Chheharta as a whole too is making a worthy contribution towards the Defence of the Motherland.

The first public meeting in Chheharta to condemn the Chinese Aggression was held on October 26, under the auspices of the Communist Party. It was a huge meeting and was followed by a demonstration. The Party called upon the workers and other citizens to contribute towards the National Defence Fund, to donate blood, etc. The audience responded with determination.

Another big public meeting was held on October 30 under the joint auspices of the AITUC, INTUC and some independent unions. The union leaders appealed

to the workers to implement fully and wholeheartedly the call for donating one day's wages towards the National Defence Fund.

The Communist Party and the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union (AITUC) as also the INTUC brought out their independent posters against the Chinese aggression.

On October 31, a meeting of prominent citizens representing all sections of people was convened in the Municipal Office by the President of the Municipal Committee. The meeting was attended by trade union leaders, employers, shopkeepers, women, teachers, Communists, Congressmen, Jan Sanghis and others.

It unanimously condemned the Chinese aggression across the McMahon Line, India's international frontier as also the aggression in Ladakh. Besides other decisions, the meeting resolved to ensure that every single family in Chheharta contributed towards the Defence Fund. The Lok Istri Sabha has

CHHEHARTA INTENSIFIES DEFENCE EFFORTS UNITY IN ACTION

organised four area meetings of women and has mobilised them to participate in the public meetings and demonstrations.

A Kavi Darbar-cum-Public Meeting was held on November 4 presided over by Gurmeel Singh, Congress M.L.A. The speakers included Narain Singh Shahbazpuri, Congress M.L.A., Muni Lal Langotiwala, President of the Ekta Union, Jagat Ram Dutt, a Communist Municipal Commissioner, and Piara Lal, a Jan Sangh worker.

One of the INTUC leaders wanted to make an anti-Communist speech but was not allowed to do so by the president. "Unite for the Defence of the Motherland" was the dominant sentiment of the people. This sentiment has not remained a mere slogan. Chheharta is contributing liberally to the National

Defence Fund. Picture till November 15 was as under: Workers and staff of different mills and factories: Rs. 14,257.89, M/s Hargopal Bhalha and Sons: Rs. 1,500, Municipal Committee, Chheharta: Rs. 1,000, Municipal Employees and Commissioners: Rs. 258, Shop-keepers: Rs. 401, Staff and Students of the Government High School: Rs. 695.68, Staff and Students of Chheharta Girls School: Rs. 194.25, Some of the small employers: Rs. 241, Miscellaneous (Shopkeepers and others): Rs. 135. Total 18,682.74.

It must be mentioned that as far workers contributions are concerned, the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union (AITUC) has played an important role. The above total obviously does not include the contributions of the big employers. The O.G.M. (India) Private Limited alone has contributed Rs. 75,000 while India Woollen Textile Mills Private Ltd. and the Punjab Woollen Textile Mills have contributed Rs. 25,000 each. Others too have given handsome donations.

Two gold rings too have been contributed—one by a shopkeeper, Ram, Farkash Dhanwan and the other by Vimla Dang, a Communist Municipal Commissioner. Workers are not confining themselves to only monetary contributions. About 40-45 workers, Ekta Union members and Communists, have already registered their names for donating blood. They include Comrades Satyapal Dang, Vimla Dang, Jagat Ram Dutt, Krishan Lal and Surat Singh—all Municipal Commissioners—as well as Muni Lal Langotiwala, President of the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union.

Quite a number of workers have joined the Home Guards. The AITUC leaders are in the forefront in ensuring that no interruption takes place in

production. In at least one Engineering Mills, a serious situation has been avoided due to the efforts of the Union. The Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union has offered to work the factories on one of the 4 weekly holidays every month without wages with the entire production of that day going to the Defence Fund. The response of the employers is awaited.

To further intensify the Defence efforts, a (Joint) National Defence Committee has been set up with Satyapal Dang (Communist) as its President, Bakhshi Ram Khosla (Congress) as its Secretary and Daulat Ram (Jan Sangh) as the Treasurer. It includes representatives of all sections of people—including employers as well as all political parties in Chheharta.

Prime Minister Nehru's birthday was celebrated in Chheharta as National Defence Day under the auspices of the Defence Committee. With the cooperation of all the three schools, a huge demonstration of students paraded Chheharta shouting slogans against the Chinese aggressors and wishing long life to our Prime Minister.

A considerable number of women and workers also joined the procession which was followed by a public meeting. Besides speeches, school students gave a number of cultural items directed against Chinese aggressors.

The Defence Committee is now busy making more collections for the Defence Fund. It has also decided to enroll volunteers for donating blood. Lok Istri Sabha, Chheharta has offered to knit sweaters and socks for the Jawans fighting in NEFA and Ladakh. Such has been the contribution of Chheharta towards the Defence efforts of the country.

and educational work conducted by the Party, exposes the slanderous concoctions and calumny of the enemies of communism about the socialist system in the USSR and about the CPSU.

"The Party on the whole, under the guidance of the Central Committee, carried on a selfless struggle for the interests of the people, for building socialism in the USSR," the work points out. The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in detail shows the Party's struggle in overcoming the harmful consequences of the personality cult. In exposing and ideologically routing the factional anti-Party group of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, etc., which came out against the Party's Leninist policy proclaimed by the 20th CPSU Congress.

The 22nd CPSU Congress and its decisions relating to the overcoming of the personality cult are of enormous importance for the life of the Party, for the country's development, for the entire struggle for communism.

"The Party's principled, Marxist-Leninist criticism of the personality cult," the textbook points out, "serves as a warning against the abuse of

power and its use for personal aims".

The book, citing numerous facts from the more than 50-years-long history of the CPSU, shows that the Party, invariably guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, has done and continues to do its duty to the international communist and working-class movement.

The main result of the theoretical and practical activities of the Party and the selfless work of the Soviet people is the complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR.

Mankind has received a socialist society which exists in reality and the science of building socialism which has been verified in practice. This is the triumph of Leninism, its great ideals.

The 22nd CPSU Congress and the Programme for building communism in the USSR which it adopted are of outstanding international significance. Communist construction in the USSR is the paramount international task of the Soviet people which is in accord with the interests of the world system of socialism, of the international proletariat and of the whole of mankind.

(Fravda, Nov. 15, Abridged)

MEMORANDUM

* FROM PAGE SEVEN

Oldi, Chushul and Hanle would be dismantled and eliminated.

MIDDLE SECTOR

In the middle sector, the suggestion that the "line of actual control", whether on November 7, 1959 or now, coincides only "in the main" with the traditional and customary boundary is absolutely without foundation. The Chinese Government have never had any authority south of the main Himalayan watershed ridge, which is the traditional boundary in this sector.

Some Tibetan officials along with some Chinese troops did intrude into Baraboti on various occasions since 1954; and, in 1958, the two Governments agreed to withdraw their armed personnel from the locality. But Indian civilian personnel have throughout been functioning in the area. A conference held in 1958 to discuss the question made clear that the Chinese Government had not even precise knowledge of the area they were claiming.

EASTERN SECTOR

In the eastern sector the Chinese Government are willing to withdraw their troops to the north of the "line of actual control". This "line of actual control" has been clarified in Premier Chou En-lai's letter as coinciding "in the main" with the McMahon Line. The Chinese Government by this ambiguous statement indicate that there are portions of the "line of actual control" as envisaged by them which do not coincide with the McMahon Line. These divergencies have not, however, been revealed.

The fact remains, however, that Chinese positions have always remained to the north of the highest Himalayan ridge in the eastern sector of the India-China border and the alignment of the McMahon Line has never been questioned by China. The Chinese were nowhere in the vicinity of this watershed boundary either in November 1959 or later till September 8, 1962, when they started their aggression into Indian territory in this region.

Premier Chou En-lai has in his letter referred to the 1914 original map of the McMahon Line and the coordinates given in this map. The Agreement of 1914 only formalised what was the traditional and customary boundary in the area which lies along the highest Himalayan watershed ridges. The maps attached to the Agreement were of small scale, of 1 inch to 8 miles. They were sketch maps and intended to be only illustrative.

All that they made clear was that the boundary ran along the main watershed ridges of the area. The parallels and meridians were shown only approximately in accordance with the progress achieved at that time in the sphere of scientific surveys. This is a common cartographic feature and the Chinese Government have themselves recognised this in article 48 of their 1960 Treaty with Burma.

If the maps and the coordinates given therein were taken literally, it is impossible to explain the discrepancy between the existing distances and those given in the map between various villages in the area. Also Migyitun according to the maps is at latitude 28° 38' north while its actual position as ascertained by the latest surveys is much further north. Tulung La has been shown on the 1914 maps at 27° 47'N while its position on the ground is further north of this point.

Strict adherence to the coordinates shown on the McMahon Line maps would result in advancing the Indian boundary in both the areas of Migyitun and Tulung La further north thereby including both these places inside Indian territory. In the area east of Tsari Sarpa, strict adherence to the coordinates of Lola in the McMahon Line maps would result in advancing the boundary of India into this area by at least 7 miles to the north. This would mean including at least 70 square miles of Tibetan territory within India.

The Government of India recognising the principle underlying the McMahon Line agreement that the boundaries lie along the highest watershed ridges actually confined their jurisdiction to the area south of this boundary and did not try to take over Tibetan territory beyond the highest water-

shed ridge on the basis of the inaccurate coordinates given in the 1914 maps. This must be known to the Chinese authorities and yet they ignore this and seek to use the inaccurate coordinates given in the maps where they are favourable to their fanciful claims made to support their latest aggression.

The Chinese authorities cannot have it both ways. They cannot accept the highest watershed as boundary in parts of the eastern sector where it suits them though this is not consistent with the coordinates given in the 1914 maps and quote the coordinates in these very maps in their favour in other parts of the sector to make demands for territorial concessions from India.

The Chinese proposal envisages a further withdrawal of 20 kilometres on either side of the McMahon Line as understood by them. This would leave Chinese forces in command of the passes leading into India while Indian forces would be 20 kilometres to the south leaving the entire Indian frontier defenceless and at the mercy of any fresh invasion.

The present Chinese invasion which commenced on September 8, 1962, was known because there was a defence post near the border. If there are no border posts at or near the passes, Chinese aggression could recur without India knowing about it for quite some time.

The objective of the Chinese three-point proposal is to secure for the Chinese side guaranteed occupation of the Indian areas in the western and central sectors which they claim while they retain their right to negotiate, and negotiations failing, to enforce, whatever territorial adjustments they want in the eastern sector.

WESTERN SECTOR

Western Sector: India should not dispute on the ground, though it will be allowed to talk about its judicial claim, the Chinese occupation of 14,000 square miles of Indian territory including 2,000 square miles forcibly occupied since October 20, 1962. India has to agree not only to respect this so-called line of actual control but must also dismantle and withdraw its defences in the area a further 20 kilometres into admittedly Indian territory involving withdrawal from points like Chushul etc.

MIDDLE SECTOR

Middle Sector: The Chinese claims must be fully satisfied so far as physical occupation is concerned.

EASTERN SECTOR

Eastern Sector: The principles of the highest watershed, which is the boundary and which had been respected till September 8, 1962, should be given up in favour of whatever interpretation the Government of China decide to put on the McMahon Line. There should be a further withdrawal of 20 kilometres. Thus, India must give up control of the passes in the highest watershed ridges in the areas, with no guarantee that the Chinese side will not cross the actual line of control whichever it may be.

In short, the Chinese three-point proposal, despite the manner in which it is put forth, is a demand for surrender on terms which have to be accepted while the Chinese forces in great strength are occupying large areas of Indian territory which they have acquired since their further aggression which commenced on September 8, 1962, and the massive attack which they started on October 20, 1962.



RAJASTHAN * From Page 6

the Communists were the first to donate one day's wages. The total figure of such amount donated came to more than Rs. 50,000 already.

The union of the employees of the Rajasthan Electricity Board at Jodhpur have in a way created a record. They have not only donated one day's wages, but they have also by a resolution decided that all the provision for Workers Benefit for the year namely Rs. 18,000 should be donated to the Defence Fund.

In various Districts the Communists have jointly moved and collected thousands of rupees for the Fund. They have enrolled their names for Civil Defence and for donation of blood. This campaign received a greater fillip when the State Executive Committee met on November 11 and 12 and decided to take vigorous steps to implement the resolution of the National Council.

Consistent with their campaign, in a tripartite Conference held on the beginning of

this month, the AITUC unions along with the INTUC and other unions have unanimously decided that while the owners would not close any factory and retrench any worker, the workers would not resort to go slow or strike and would increase production, and the Government would see that steps are taken for conciliation of disputes within 15 days. As far as possible all disputes be settled by arbitration or reference to tribunal which will decide the cases in a maximum period of three months.

The President and the Secretary of the Rajasthan Kisan Sabha Chaudhary Ghansham and Radhavalabbh in a statement have called on the kisans not only to contribute their maximum in Defence Funds but enrol in thousands in the army.

The resolution of the National Council has been printed and circulated in thousands and meetings are being held everywhere for rousing the people to work as directed in that resolution.

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WHILE retaining the main content of the previous edition, the second edition is enriched with new ideas, theoretical propositions and conclusions of the greatest documents of our days—the Programme of the CPSU and the decisions of the 22nd Congress of the Party.

Reflected in it are the conclusions and estimates made by the November 1960 Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties. New materials from the archives have been used in it.

The textbook deals in detail with the activities of the Party in the recent period, its struggle for the implementation of the Leninist general line charted by the 20th Party Congress. It describes the colossal work conducted by the Party and its Central Committee headed by N. S. Khrushchov in the restoration and further development of Leninist standards of Party life and of the principle of collective leadership at all levels in the Party and at the state, in the field of foreign and home policy, in the development of industry, agriculture, science and culture.

New Chapters

Two new chapters have been written, the 18th and 19th: "The Party as the Inspirer and Organiser of Full-Scale Construction of Communist Society (1959-61)" and "The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The New Programme of the Party."

The last chapter of the book shows the history-making importance of the 22nd Congress as the congress of builders of communism, sums up the results of the implementation

of the second Leninist Programme of the Party, and gives a characterisation of the new Party Programme, which presents a philosophical, economic and political substantiation of the building of communism in the USSR.

The book shows the laws governing the development of socialism into communism and points out the ways of accomplishing the three main tasks of the period of full-scale construction of communist society: establishment of the material and technical basis of communism, transformation of socialist relations into communist relations, and education of the new man.

The textbook discusses in detail the question of turning the party of the working class into the party of the entire people, of enhancing its role in conditions of full-scale construction of communism, to which great attention was paid by the 22nd Congress. It explains the nature of the changes made in the Rules of the Party and stresses the complete triumph of the Leninist standards of Party life and the fundamental importance of the measures provided for in the Programme and the Rules to prevent any relapses of the personality cult.

The book describes the revolutionary activities of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great founder and leader of the Communist Party. The glorious history of the CPSU and Lenin's titanic work fully devoted to the Party, to the working class and all working people, to their struggle for the triumph of communism, are integrally united in the textbook.

In a comprehensive account of the tremendous ideological heritage of V. I. Lenin, the authors give a brief exposition of more than sixty works by Lenin.

The book contains criticism of the cult of Stalin's personality in line with the decisions and materials of the 22nd Party Congress. On the basis of Party documents and archive materials, it points out Stalin's numerous mistakes and major political miscalculations. It points out that the cult of Stalin's personality had gradually taken shape by the time of the 17th Congress of the CPSU (B) and that it caused enormous damage.

Cult of Personality

The personality cult acquired an especially ugly form following the murder of S. M. Kirov which Stalin used to do away with persons objectionable to him. After the 17th Congress Stalin completely ceased to take into account the collective opinion of the Party and its Central Committee, grossly violated the Leninist standards of Party life.

As a result of Stalin's arbitrary actions and violations of socialist legality many perfectly innocent Party, government and military executives, including prominent leaders of the Party, active participants of the October Revolution and the Civil War, lost their lives.

The Stalin personality cult caused serious damage to the Communist Party and to the building of socialism. Although it hampered the development of Soviet society and hindered the normal life of the Party, it could not, however, stop the forward advance of the country to socialism, it could not change the nature of the socialist system, it could not shake the organisational, political and theoretical foundation of the Party which the great Lenin built up and educated in the revolutionary spirit.

The History shows the titanic organisational, political

CPI Not Opposed To Defence Of India Bill

Taking part in the Lok Sabha debate on the motion to consider the Defence of India Bill, Homi Daji explained on Monday that the Communist Party was not opposed to the Bill but only wanted to ensure that its provisions are not misused. He strongly criticised the attempt by some members to question the bona fides of the Communist Party and firmly declared that despite the arrests of Communists and despite all provocations, "the Party will stand by its declaration of unqualified support to the Government to repel Chinese aggression."

DAJI said: The impression that seems to have been given is that we are opposed to the Bill as such. But we are not. Having supported the declaration of emergency and acclaimed the national resolve taken by Parliament and the people to fight back the Chinese aggressors, we feel that this Bill or some such measure is a necessary corollary to the emergency created by the unscrupulous aggression by Chinese armies.

What I say or my Honourable friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee said is not with a view to run down the necessity for the Bill itself. Apart from some philosophising here and there, the debate on the Bill has taken the form of putting the Communists in a concentration camp, as an Honourable Member from the Congress benches pointed out. The Bill is much more and goes much beyond than merely this.

THREE POINTS OF VIEW

It has three points of view: Fight on the front, civil defence and gearing up the rear. It is for effectively fighting at the front which we all want, for setting up civil defence which is necessary and for strengthening the rear, which means increased agricultural and industrial production which alone ultimately give you the means to implement the determination of the nation.

We do not want to give you the impression that it is our stand to oppose the Bill. Given that the Bill is necessary and that the intentions are good, the powers are so wide and so absolute that there is a possibility of missing them.

Now, let us examine them coolly and calmly without hysteria and see whether we cannot build in certain safeguards to check the abuses.

ASSAM

From Page 2

that this work they are doing without any remuneration. The students and youth have also responded to the call of the motherland in a spectacular way. One canteen has been opened at the airport where free tea and snacks are served to the incoming Jawans. Students run this canteen where college girls serve. The youth have formed their "death squad" and their target is to enrol ten thousand volunteers for this. Students and youth have been taking training in first-aid, fire-fighting and it is proposed that some of them should receive training in wireless signalling and even in the use of fire arms.

The Darang college of Tezpur is said to be the first in the State where NCC training has been made compulsory for all the boy and girl students of day shift. Physical training has been made a

regular feature in almost every school of Tezpur and the students have taken to it in full earnestness.

Home Guard enrolment and training has started and already quite a large number of people—half of them women—have joined it. Almost the entire teaching staff of the local college has also joined this.

People who are engaged in this kind of work, it is needless to say, have little time to spare for such nonsense as setting fire to the office of some political parties or dissipating their energy in futile activities. They have learnt from their own experiences that for strengthening national defence, they need the political parties and leadership of the political parties and that national defence is no monopoly of any particular party or group.

as Shri Mukerjee said. It is not a pledge qualified by any conditions.

Even in Pakistan the Communist Party said that Kashmir did not belong to Pakistan and got itself banned. In Andhra, we started the Telangana movement and got ourselves banned. The Communist movement, the world over, has not hesitated to say something, even though it may be taken to be wrong.

It is not that if we are not represented in the Defence Council, we shall cut down production. Our support is unconditional. The Bill provides for a check on strikes. There need not be any check on strikes because we have ourselves gone forward and joined the Labour Ministry in calling upon the workers that there shall be no strike and not a day, an hour or a minute to be lost in the matter of production.

The question of industrial peace is to be looked at not from the point of view of absence of strike, but increase in production. I have got a report that the Government has made an arrangement that in mine Sundays will be working days, provided there is rotation of labour.

But immediate rotation of labour could not be provided; but still in the WDC mines and Madhya Pradesh mines, despite absence of rotation of labour, we have agreed to work 7 Sundays every month and we have started working. It is not a question of strike or no strike but of positive effort to increase production. That we shall give.

NO INDIAN IS A PUPPET

But to say that puppets will be found in the Communist Party, etc., is not correct. I say not a single Indian shall be found to be a puppet. If he is, he shall not be an Indian and certainly not a Communist. Let that be clearly understood.

My friend Shri Hem Barua rightly pointed out a booklet published by the Peking regime about the reactionary bourgeois regime of the Indian Government, which was distributed in Ceylon. He should be honest enough to say that we have come out in reply to that booklet.

It is not a question of this arrest or that arrest. This facade of so-called Chinese lobby is also gone now. In one particular case, a cancer patient has been dragged out from the hospital. Such instances make us feel that the whole spirit in which the Prime Minister said that we want to make use of our resolution in order to win national unity, that spirit is being lost.

It is not a question of being provoked by this or that arrest. Let us work with that spirit. If that spirit is maintained, I am sure much better results can come through this national effort to throw out the enemy.

Everyone has been waxing eloquent about lapses here and lapses there. There is another danger. How is it that the Home Ministry has been blind to this continuous running down of the Jawans that is going on and the continuous harassing stories of the debacle, which is being openly preached in the press and on paper? The other day, a senior Congress M.P. addressing a public meeting in Delhi ran down the Prime Minister to dust as no opponent would run down. How are such things allowed?

In the Organiser dated the 19th November, 1962, it has been said: "You should not expect the people to support—the Prime Minister blindly like lap-dogs. Why should anybody be upset if anybody thinks that the Prime Minister had better be gone? Surely Sri Nehru is not a sacred cow."

I would ask my Congress friends to listen. There is another thing which has been said in the issue dated 15th October, 1962: "He reminds us (he means Pandit Nehru) of the Rai Bahadurs who used to wax eloquent on the virtues of British rule and the dangers of freedom. There is one difference. The Rai Bahadurs were at least consistent in their love of the British and all their works. Panditji is content to hang on to the coat-tails of John Bull."

Here is a letter emanating from 30, Ferozeshah Road to some of the Opposition Members. I do not know whether it has been sent to Congress M.P.s or not. In this it has been said: "If the Prime Minister cannot decide, it is for the Congress Party or the Parliament of this country or failing both, for the

head of the Indian Republic to make the choice for the Prime Minister that he retires and give India a Government which knows what it is doing, which does not talk in terms of its eventual triumph but does something today."

SNR. RENUKA RAY (Congress): That has nothing to do with the Congress. They are only traitors. DM: I agree it has nothing to do with the Congress. What I am saying is, if all these campaigns can go on and the Defence of India Rules can be silent about them, certainly we shall be having poor defence of India.

It is not for me to try to disabuse the minds of some of the Members who are still smacking of sectarianism and say "Please believe us." As far as I am concerned, the certificate that the Prime Minister has given that the resolution is cent per cent national is quite good to me.

I only want to reiterate that we shall stick to it despite provocations because it is not conditional, it is unconditional and we shall stick to it with the faith that the more we are able to build national unity in order to repel the Chinese aggression, the easier it shall be to fulfil that task.

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FROM CENTRE PAGES

are suspended. This is our first tender. So, we do not want to go on strike, we voluntarily agree to suspend pending notices and voluntarily agree to avoid strikes, but if you completely ban the strikes, that will be impracticable. If you want us to be put into a position of opposing our workers, then you are being guided by your private class interests which want to eliminate us. And we cannot agree to do so.

So, the question of the two "pillars" has to be revised. (Here Dange refers to the AITUC policy of two pillars—interest of country and working class. Ed.) The two pillars are no longer of the same value and do not stand on the same footing, though the old formula of defence of the country and class remains in essence in the sense today that defence of the class is complementary to the defence of the country. Formerly, helping the five-year plan was one pillar and defence of the class, another pillar. And defence of the class was a major weapon in building the economy.

That relation has undergone a change. Defence of the class merges with the larger consideration of national defence. And defence of the class is done and looked after in order that production for the defence of the country will continue. So, it is not a question of two pillars having the same or equal importance.

Here, the two are integrated in the same single pillar, that is defence of the country, production, and in order to do that, defence of the class and the people. This becomes a single pillar, integrating the values of both and not running parallel. And it does not mean giving up any one pillar. Both have to be integrated.

VOLUNTARY RESTRICTIONS

So, we as the working class say that for the time being, we suspend the question of strike struggles and protecting our class interests by that method. In certain cases, if you make it impossible to do so, we give a 14 days' notice. But don't make it a rule. Voluntarily try to solve the problem by arguing with them.

So we behave in a way in which we unconditionally support the war effort. We as a leading class, along with other sections of the people, undertake the responsibility and the tasks of defence and the logic of defence production and so on.

For that we lay no conditions. Do you put down conditions in order to defend your country? My unconditional support to Nehru Government is there in the matter of defence. But I certainly tell them that defence efforts can be done better if such and such things are done for the workers. And some of these things, they have to accept, in spite of that blanket ban resolution which they have written.

In this case, we are assuming new obligations in production, the first of which is that we voluntarily agree not to interrupt production. But we want certain safeguards for production which we are laying down.

But shall we, in no condition resort to a strike? As I said sometimes things will become so impossible and workers will not listen to you. In that case we will have to argue with the government and the employer, saying that what they are doing is wrong. Immediately we should see that pending strike notices

for trade union unity

people begin to argue that our contributing to bonds will be used to prove that we are not hit by price increases, it would be a wrong argument.

With regard to one day's wage as contribution, there are certain trades where wages are below subsistence level. We must approach such sections of the working class in a realistic manner and not in a mechanical manner. We cannot equate an engineering worker earning Rs. 7 a day with a beedi worker getting one rupee.

EVOLVE REALISTIC APPROACH
So, evolve an approach to bonds and defence funds according to your own industrial area and levels of wages in that area. Patriotism when translated into money terms has to be made on a realistic basis. Otherwise, we shall prove ourselves to be good patriots in words but incapable of acting up to the realities of the situation.

It would be the worst tactic to surrender your holidays in mining particularly. Mining is the worst industry. The miner underground gets a sunshine and you want to put him again into the dark pits on Sundays, too! So you must know and discriminate where to give the Sunday working slogan. Similarly, in transport, if the railway engine driver is put to work on all Sundays, you will get more accidents.

So, while accepting a thing in principle, there should be different approaches in its practical application. Otherwise, after one or two Sundays, the worker will revolt. If that is not done, you will be disowned not only by the worker who will resort to strike. When that happens your critics will say you were secretly conspiring just for that!

So, one straight donation by work of cash to Defence Fund. And go on record that such and such union has given such and such amount. Thereafter, after giving that, we give to bonds. In order to do that, where possible, I can put in extra work but that not on all Sundays. No surrender of holidays as a blanket surrender. No surrender of overtime wages, as a principle. Don't start surrendering too much. What we are doing is to strengthen the defence of the country and give greater production.

Then, about contribution to defence fund. Yes, workers should contribute. But then there are problems, as was seen in Bombay. They did one Sunday work. Then people started asking for contributions apart from Sunday work. By one day's work, the workers had contributed Rs. 5 per head. Yet people started collecting individual contributions, which is wrong.

CONTRIBUTION TO DEFENCE FUND
So there should be some balance somewhere. Defence Fund should be organised on a proper basis. After the first contributions as Defence Fund, the workers may give further contributions by way of defence bonds.

Investment in bonds means capacity to have a surplus. The worker has no capacity for a surplus but the worker will invest in bonds and that investment is also a sacrifice. If some

of democratic front but was unable to form it. New opportunities are turning up for building the democratic front in which the working class organisations and parties are a factor. So our standpoint is a new lever to build a democratic front. Some people may call it as merger of the working class with the bourgeoisie and loss of identity. There are different evaluations. One is that we are surrendering the class and merging with the bourgeoisie and thereby liquidating the positions of the class. Not liquidationism but a United Front. It is the outcome of our position. That is, however, one accusation. It is not liquidationism. It is strengthening the class in its future positions on the basis of a united front, which has new opportunities to build itself, because of the national framework of the struggle.

There is another aspect. Unity of the working class and the trade union movement. All major splits in the Indian trade union movement have taken place on political question. The first ever split took place on the basis of a political standpoint. Trade unions in India did not divide themselves first on a purely trade union question. Who inspired the split? No doubt, the bourgeoisie inspired it. First there was a split in Nagpur in 1929 on the point of tactical line of the bourgeoisie and the tactical line of the working class in relation to the movement for national independence. Then another split took place in 1930. The formal reason for the first split was on the question: Shall we have a Royal Commission or no? N.M. Joshi was on one side, the nationalists and we on the other. Then we had the AITUC and others formed a National Federation. Again there was a split in Calcutta in 1930 on the approach to the national independence movement. There came the Red AITUC, and there was the AITUC. The two united in 1936 as AITUC. In 1938, we decided to amalgamate the National Federation and the AITUC on the formula: Name to be AITUC and Constitution that of the National Federation; office-bearers half-half. So there was once again the AITUC as a united organisation of all trade unions on the eve of the second world war. In 1943, on the question of approach to war, a split was threatened. But the AITUC as such took no political resolution on war and each union was left to decide for itself. Then the split came in 1947. Congress sections broke away and formed the INTUC. Then that split was followed by the formation of HMS and then the UTUC. So the working class, in India got split organisations in various centres due to political differences. On demands, all were agreed. But the question of strike or no strike, brought in politics. So politics was the major source of disruption in TU organisation. Today, a position has come where politically the trade unions do not differ. On defence, production, etc., the working class and other major sections of the population have a common political stand. Where war once divided us, war of a new type is again uniting us. But in what position? In an unfortunate position that a socialist country is involved. So a political position that used to divide the workers goes out and because that excuse is going out, our opponents are furious. So, they shout that we have not really changed; that we are hypocrites, etc. And so there is the tremendous attempt to see that our standpoint does not go to the working class. But now when you go with a platform and say "where are we divided politically", an opportunity for political unity arises in the working class from which a jump towards trade union unity can take place, provided we behave correctly and find a correct tactical approach to the question. So, the new situation gives an opportunity to build trade union unity in a new way. Thereby, do we accept the politics of the INTUC? What is the politics of the INTUC? We define the INTUC as a projection of the bourgeoisie in the TU movement. But on what issue—ideological issue. They say the two classes are harmonised, that class struggle is anti-national, that the economy we are building is not capitalist but is heading towards socialism and they unconditionally support the Congress Government. But now taking things in general, national defence, production, etc., the split can be healed. So, from below, TU unity can be built more quickly because on production tasks we are all of the same mind. Therefore, there should be no differences from below, no disruption from below. So, TU unity from below, in today's condition when a fundamental political cleavage does not exist, becomes easier. Disruption and disunity attempts will become difficult for the INTUC and the HMS. They will have to do it by hiding behind old phrases, which have no place now. They will have to neutralise faster we move, on a political position on the basis of the Industrial Truce Resolution, worked out on a realistic basis. So the resolution which we adopt should be the basis for a greater trade union unity on a new level. Unity among the leadership is not possible today. The other day, they refused to sit with us in the tripartite. But unfortunately for them, the national bourgeoisie is itself divided. Some are for cooperating with us. The Prime Minister says our position is good. But these reactionaries in the TUs will go as far as repudiating Nehru even. By his personal position, he has become the symbol of national unity. When you have such a person at the head of the nation, and we take our correct position inside the common front, the front grows into a leading force for future development. What future development? For Socialism! This is the way in which the whole situation has to be looked at and in the light of this we will carry out our tasks in a balanced way, neither deviating to the right nor to the left.

A WORLD OF MAKE-BELIEVE

"REPORTS FROM NEW DELHI HAVE DISCLOSED THAT THE 'ENTHUSIASTIC NATIONAL CONTRIBUTION' MUCH VAUNTED BY THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT IS ACTUALLY A FRAUD TO EXTORT MONEY FROM THE LABOURING PEOPLE OF INDIA. THE REPORTS SAID THAT THE INDIAN PEOPLE LIVING IN MISERY WERE GIVING A COLD SHOULDER TO THE GOVERNMENT'S UNPOPULAR ACTION AGAINST CHINA."

(Peking, November 20, HSIHUA)

The above is just one extract from the innumerable broadcasts and news items sent out by the New China News Agency. They want the Chinese people and the people of South East Asia to believe that the Indian people are against Nehru, that he is ripe for his fall and the people are waiting for the Chinese to "liberate" them.

HERE are some facts which speak for themselves as against the Chinese propaganda.

It is already known that the Indian working class, as a whole, has decided to contribute one day's wages to the defence fund and contributions are pouring in accordingly. Some workers are even paying more than one day's wages. They are already putting in greater efforts to increase production and in some places working on rest days.

Kani, a blind widow in Naggi village (Rajasthan) has contributed Rs. 500, her life's savings to the National Defence Fund.

At Jodhpur Rs. 101, which were earmarked for distribution of sweets to the competitors of Fifth Rajasthan Girls Tournament, were given to the Fund. The girls raised a further sum of Rs. 3,700 by staging a cultural programme and donated this amount also to the Fund.

Miners In Bihar

In Bihar, the citizens of Guacomposed mainly of iron ore miners earning meagre wages, have collected Rs. 10,700 for the Fund within a period of two weeks.

At a mass rally of workers at Bihari on November 18, cash donation amounting to Rs. 2½ lakhs and several contributions in gold, gold ornaments and medals were presented to C. Subrahmaniam, Union Minister for Steel and Heavy Industries, for the National Defence Fund. The Minister also received Rs. 8,693.78 nP. from the school children of Bihari.

A sum of Rs. 136 was handed over on November 19 by a physically handicapped person to the Prime Minister for the National Defence Fund. He presented the amount on behalf of the Delhi Branch of the Indian Association for Physically Handicapped. He came all the way pedalling his tri-cycle.

A milk van driver in Delhi gave nearly half a month's salary amounting to Rs. 100 to the NDF. The owner of a small Pan shop in north Calcutta has donated one day's entire sale proceeds of his shop amounting to Rs. 52.91 to the NDF.

Nine college students, some

railway employees and newspaper hawkers of Siliguri have collected Rs. 101.15 nP. working as shoeshine boys and donated the entire amount to the NDF a few days back.

A fowl presented by an old man to the Chief Minister of Madras state, for the NDF fetched Rs. 100 when it was auctioned. 60-year-old Muthuswami Gounder of Erode, presenting the fowl said that out of his daily earnings he had saved and purchased the fowl. He had walked all the way from Erode to Madras—a distance of about 60 miles—to present it to the Chief Minister.

Steel Workers In W. Bengal

An amount of over Rs. 1.75 lakhs and 474 grams of gold were handed over to Governor of West Bengal on November 21, at Durgapur as a donation of the people of Durgapur and its neighbouring areas. This includes an amount of Rs. 100,100 contributed by the employees of the steel company in addition to Rs. 38,000 and 435 grams of gold which they had earlier donated. The Governor's garland on this occasion having been put to auction fetched Rs. 31,000.

Two boys in Bombay N. J. Mainthia and J. M. Kumar have set an example in self-denial. They have donated together a sum of Rs. 302 given to them by their parents for purchasing wristwatches.

Remitting this amount to the Prime Minister they wrote: "This amount has been given to us by our parents to purchase a watch for each of us, but when we heard your appeal, we were so moved that we thought this would be our contribution to the defence of the country."

Narpat Ram, a Daftry in the Works Directorate of Army Hq., on retirement from service last week, has donated his pension for the first three months, as also his travelling allowance from Delhi to his home town to the NDF.

In Junagarh district, the residents of the village Nanj Dhanaj have decided to contribute to the Fund at the rate of Rs. 1 per head per month till the emergency lasts. In another village, Vadai, in the same district, each peasant has decided to contribute Rs. 1.50 per month.

The fishing folk of Mangrol have given a day's earnings amounting to Rs. 2,000 for the NDF.

The members of the Barber's Union in New Delhi have sent Rs. 525, their one day's earnings to the Prime Minister and decided to raise further donations. Shanti Devi, a widow from Rahaun chahi in Jullundur district of the Punjab, presented to the Prime Minister on November 22, all her jewellery for the Fund. The ornaments donated by her weigh 335 grams.

In Orissa, B. K. Behera, Ticket Collector of S. S. Railway, has donated a month's pay for the Defence Fund.

Peasants In Madhya Pradesh

In Madhya Pradesh, all the villagers of Kokpur in Durg district have decided to contribute equivalent to half of their land revenue to the NDF. At Ratlam, the citizens have decided to collect Rs. 5 lakhs and 500 tolas of gold till the end of December. Till the middle of November, Rs. 1,25,104 and 1,025 grams of gold had been collected.

In Ahmedabad, a pensioner, P. Trivedi has decided to give his entire monthly pension to the Fund till the emergency lasts. The Railway porters at Ahmedabad Station have contributed their day's earnings, Rs. 225, while the fruit vendors at Peilad railway station have donated Rs. 301, a day's turnover.

Auto-Rickshaw drivers of Rajkot have donated their earnings of the day on November 24.

Voluntary contributions from railwaymen to the NDF have already exceeded Rs. 22 lakhs—the largest amount contributed by the employees of any public sector undertaking so far.

With a collection of Rs. 4.75 lakhs, the Central Railway tops the list of contributors, followed closely by the Northern Railway which has contributed Rs. 3.5 lakhs. Remaining six zonal railways, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, the Integral Coach Factory, the DBK Project, etc., have contributed about Rs. 13.75 lakhs.

The inmates of Rashtriya Virja Nand, Andhkaaya Vidyalaya of New Rajendra Nagar, New Delhi, have resolved to contribute Rs. 100 out of the money earmarked for messing, every month to the Fund. In addition, the staff and the inmates collected Rs. 114.33 nP, 20 blankets and 235 yards of cloth which were presented to the President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, on November 22 for the NDF.

A sweeper, Jai Narain Balmiki, working at the Hans Raj College in Delhi, has decided to give Rs. 10 out of his salary of Rs. 38 to the Fund every month.

In New Delhi, the dwellers in the refugee colonies have donated Rs. 2,220 on November 23. The amount was handed over to the Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The film artists in the country

have come out with generous contributions to the NDF. The Film Stars Committee headed by Dilip Kumar and Raj Kapoor has decided to contribute Rs. one crore. The film writers would contribute 10 per cent of the value of one of their current contracts and each lyricist would give remuneration for one song to the NDF.

The workers of Rajgarh Jute Mill have donated their salary for one day amounting to Rs. 2,591.

Money And Blood

Joginder Bhasin, Secretary of the Bhatinda City Council of the Communist Party has donated all the gold he had to the NDF. V. P. Gupta and Joginder Bhasin have donated 1,100 c.c. of blood for the jawans.

Communist Party members and sympathisers collected more than Rs. 10,000 in Bhavnagar district as contributions to the NDF.

Teen-ager Sampathkumar of Hyderabad, studying in VII standard, not only paid Rs. 6 himself to the NDF but also collected a sum of Rs. 12 from about a dozen of his classmates.

The local Party unit in Auraiya, in Etawah district, collected Rs. 151 from the villagers and remitted the amount to the NDF.

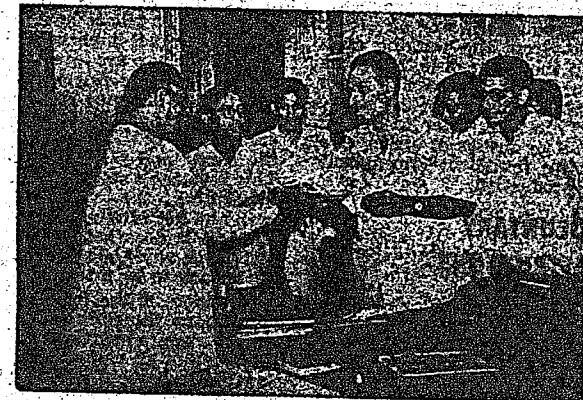
Poorna Chitralal Amma, one of the mothers of the famous Kayyoor martyrs, sent a donation of Rs. 15 to the NDF through the Chief Minister of Kerala.

Andaman And Nicobar

The people of Andaman and Nicobar islands, have formed a National Defence Aid Committee and surpassed its target of collection of Rs. one lakh by collecting Rs. 1,64,000. This includes Rs. 20,700 donated by the Government employees, Rs. 28,000 by the labourers, Rs. 20,000 by the tribal people of the Nicobar group of islands, Rs. 2,500 by the Andaman branch of the All-India Women's Food Council and Rs. 34,800 by the public.

Employees of the Dandakaranya Project have donated one day's salary amounting to Rs. 10,108.

Any one living in India and seeing things for himself, would frankly acknowledge that people of our country, especially the working people and middle classes are making collection voluntarily and from feelings of patriotism. But, the Chinese want to live in a world of their own make-believe. Thereby they not only deceive themselves but others also and land the world in a holocaust of war. What will teach them to be realists?



Calcutta Port & Dock Workers' Union Secretary and other leaders present Rs. 550/- to Chief Minister Sen on behalf of the Union.

FOR DEFENCE OF MOTHERLAND

Contribute Liberally to NATIONAL DEFENCE FUND

News from brother parties

VI HUNGARIAN PARTY CONGRESS

BUDAPEST: HUNGARY was a devastated country only 15 years ago. Hitler's retreating armies ruthlessly pillaged and destroyed as they were driven back by the combined might of the Soviet forces and Hungarian patriots during the Second World War.

Subsequently the ruthless and oppressive policies of Rakosi, Gero and others created a favourable soil for the rise of counter-revolution in 1956 which was quelled temporarily in that confusing period even by honest citizens. The entire country underwent a great upheaval during that unhappy period. Today Hungary has completed the laying down of its basic policies. Its economic situation is greatly improved and the standard of living has visibly gone up in a steady and rapid manner since 1956. As an observer from abroad, Hungary

From Omeo Gooptu

of 1962 presents an unmistakable picture of a country bouncing with confidence and her ruling party in the prime of its strength and enjoying the confidence of the masses.

Moving in this beautiful city, Budapest, the heart-throb of Hungarian revolution, one cannot but admit that post-1956 policies of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party are bringing out the best in the ordinary people and there are enough facts to indicate that both politically and economically the working people are producing good results.

Kadar's Report

It was in such an atmosphere that Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party presented his 10,000 word report to the delegates, observers and representatives of fraternal Parties attending the 6th Congress of the Party. There are several points in Kadar's report

which have great significance for the international Communist movement, particularly at the present time.

After having expressed his Party's genuine desire for a negotiated settlement of the frontier problem between India and China, he proceeded to uphold the positive role of the non-aligned powers of the world. He spoke of the role that these States could continue to play in easing international tension and in liquidating the cold war.

These countries, Kadar continued, stood for the abolition of the colonial system and anti-imperialism. Their resolute stand for the cause of world peace contributed in no small measure to improving the international political climate. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party greatly valued, Kadar said, the international role of these countries and sincerely sympathised with their consolidation of national independence.

"We consider it our duty to assist these countries, as far as our modest possibilities permit, in ensuring their economic independence and building up their national economies," he said.

Attack On Dogmatists

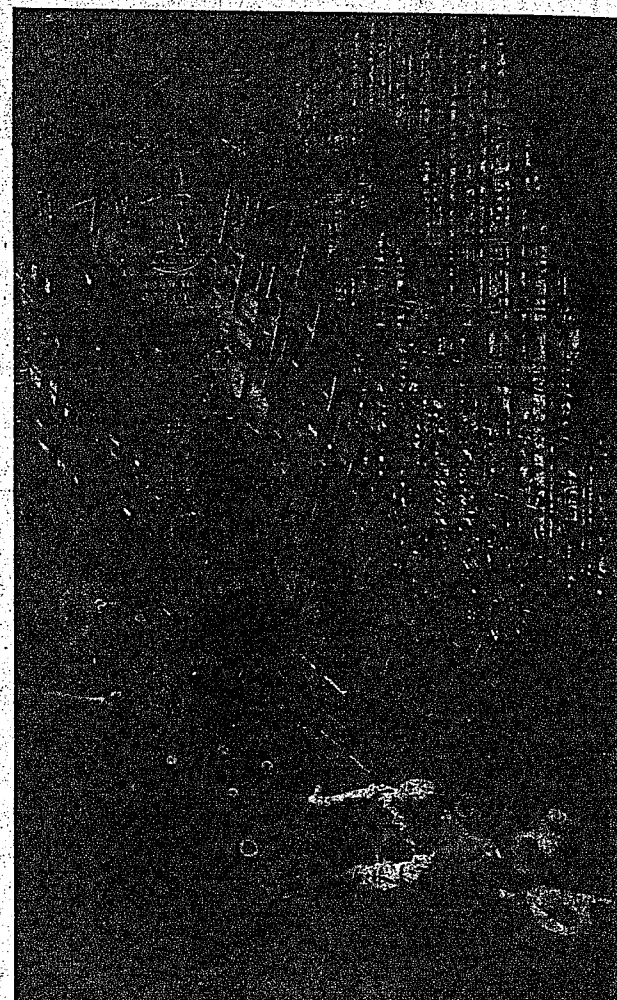
In a significant passage condemning Ever Hoxha and his followers for their dogmatic and sectarian policies, which were alien to Marxism-Leninism, Kadar directed his criticism also against all other dogmatic sectarians, symptoms making their appearance in other Parties of the international Communist movement. "We do not agree," he continued, "with those who, referring to the Moscow Statement, disapprove of the necessary and correct criticism that was inevitably levelled at Ever Hoxha and his group while, at the same time, defend and support those who, from Tirana, are directing abusive slanders at the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and against the Central Committee of that Party."

The unity which is vitally important in the Communist world movement must not, Kadar emphasised with the united approval of the packed Congress Hall, "only mean common aims and common ideals but also common action in the international sphere."

The Congress would easily be remembered for pinpointing Italian and dogmatic understanding on many urgent issues by Communist sections of the international Communist movement.

Struggle Against Revisionism

According to the Moscow Declaration, revisionism is the main danger to the international Communist movement. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party declared that this must not be interpreted by anybody as a step to forget the fight against dogmatism. It was recalled in the Budapest Congress that, if the Communists do not liquidate



New Elisabeth bridge under construction

dogmatism in time, they cannot pursue a successful struggle against revisionism.

The experience of the Hungarian people under the leadership of Janos Kadar has enabled the Party here to take a correct stand on this issue in the fight against dogmatism of all shades. The Hungarian Party is advancing the slogan: He who is not against us, is with us—which has already gained much popularity throughout the country. On the other hand, the old slogan "He, who is not with us, is against us," led to disastrous results.

India-China Border Conflict

In his closing speech to the delegates, Janos Kadar once again re-

ferred to the India-China border conflict and in the light of the Chinese offer of cease-fire he sincerely hoped that India would stick to non-alignment in spite of the difficulties on the northern border. He, however, expressed his hope that India would respond favourably to the Chinese offer of cease-fire, after which both sides should negotiate the border settlement between themselves.

He expressed his deep anxiety at the arrest of Indian Communists, including the General Secretary, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, which according to him would only strengthen the reactionary forces in the country.

It must be added that in this country as well as in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, there is sympathetic understanding of Indian predicament.

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The Revolutionary Platform of the International Communist Movement

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Against the Persecution of Democrats: Notes on the persecution of democrats in Portugal and Argentina.

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CHINESE PROPOSALS AMBIGUOUS

An official spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India made the following statement on November 26:

"It is mentioned in the Chinese Government's statement of November 21, 1962, on cease-fire, withdrawals etc., that after withdrawing the Chinese frontier guards will be far behind their positions prior to September 8, 1962. The implication is that the Chinese Government's three-point proposal is more favourable to India than the Government of India's proposal regarding restoration of the status quo prior to September 8, 1962.

"If the position was really as painted in the Chinese statement, it should be quite easy for China to accept the Indian proposal which requires that Chinese forces only go back to the positions occupied before September 8, 1962.

"The fact however, is that while making an apparent show of substantial withdrawals, the Chinese want to retain effective control not only of large areas of Indian territory that they had acquired by force prior to September 8, 1962, but also to retain control of further areas, both in Ladakh and in NEFA, that they have occupied by force since their invasion on September 8, 1962, and their massive attacks on October 20, 1962.

"According to the Chinese three-point proposal, the Chinese armies will be 20 kilometres to the east of what they call the traditional and customary boundary in Ladakh. That would mean

they will be sitting on a further 2,000 square miles of Indian territory with their army posts or with what they call 'civil police posts. This territory they did not control prior to September 8, 1962.

"They want to do the same thing in the middle sector so far as Bara Hoti is concerned, though

Bara Hoti has never been in their possession.

"In NEFA under the three-point and cease-fire proposals the Chinese army may go beyond the status quo position on September 8, 1962, but their civil posts will be holding substantial areas of NEFA in the region of Thagla ridge, Longju and Diphu pass which were not under their control prior to September 8, 1962.

"Our armed forces have on the other hand to go back 20 kilo-

metres further away into our own territory in all three sectors on pain of Chinese counter-attacks in self-defence.

"The simplest thing for the Chinese if they are really keen on a settlement by peaceful talks and negotiations is to accept the easier and straightforward Indian position—restoration of the status quo prior to September 8, 1962.

"If they want to be more accommodating as they have been repeatedly stressing in sup-

port of their three-point proposals and want to go back to the positions that the Chinese forces occupied in all three sectors on November 7, 1959, they are welcome to do this.

"They cannot, however, by mere deceptive formulae for cease-fire and withdrawals, be allowed in reward of aggression to extend their unlawful control of Indian territory."

(SEE ALSO PAGES 7 & 11)

MYSTERY SHROUDS MATTEI'S DEATH

THE Italian press and newspapers in other Western countries are still discussing the mysterious circumstances of Enrico Mattei's untimely death in an air crash on October 27.

One of the most prominent captains of Italy's economy, he had great power and followed a bold independent policy. The London New Statesman reported on November 2 that "many Italians are convinced" that his death "was contrived by his enemies."

Mattei's life story is unusual. At fifteen he was a handcraftsman's apprentice and made a spectacular climb from messenger-boy to head

of a leading chemical firm. During the war Enrico Mattei headed a guerilla unit of the Italian Resistance. The post-war economic confusion spurred him on to battle for a national oil and chemical industry. He tangled with top ministerial officials to prove that Italy had rich natural gas deposits and considerable oil resources.

Placed at the head of the ENI petroleum concern (Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi), Mattei concentrated on delivering Italy from the grip of the Anglo-American oil monopolies. Among others, he grappled with an international group of major oil concerns working Middle East oil (the so-called Seven Sisters). At the time, practically all of Italy's oil industry was controlled by members of this cartel.

Eager to end the rule of the international oil trusts, Mattei resisted their attempts to obtain monopoly oil prospecting rights in Italy. This, according to the newspapers, was when the feud between Mattei and Standard Oil of New Jersey, of the Rockefeller group, began.

Enrico Mattei organized a search for Italian oil and soon discovered giant deposits of natural gas in the Po Valley. The newly-found cheap local fuel produced an industrial boom in Italy. ENI prospered under Mattei's leadership and kept extending its interests. It controlled atomic enterprises, synthetic rubber plants, factories producing cement, plastics and fertilizers, and operated its own newspaper and a string of hotels.

Cause Of Enmity

Mattei's enemies soon accused him of obtruding upon the sacred domain of private enterprise, for ENI was government-operated.

Local and foreign monopolists were annoyed at profitable business slipping out of their hands due to Mattei's energy and gift for organization. ENI, in the meantime, got busy abroad, challenging the international oil cartel.

The Seven Sisters, of which Rockefeller's Standard Oil is the most active, pay the Middle East governments 50 per

cent of their profits for oil concessions. ENI offered them 75 per cent, and obtained oil concessions in Iran, India, the United Arab Republic, Tunisia, Morocco, Somali and the Sudan. It is easily seen what ire this evoked among the Seven Sisters.

It was reported some time ago that ENI and the Algerian government were about to conclude an agreement. Sahara oil has long stirred the appetites of the imperialists. Mattei loomed as a dangerous rival.

The OAS and the reactionary press instituted a witch-hunt against him, for the prospect of ENI's contract with Algeria, like Enrico Mattei himself, went against their grain.

He opposed discrimination in international commerce. ENI concluded a series of economic agreements with socialist countries. The biggest transaction in the history of Soviet-Italian trade, whereby Italy is to get Soviet oil and the Soviet Union is to import over \$200,000,000 worth of Italian chemical and oil equipment, was concluded through him. The reactionary press set up a howl and accused Mattei of "helping the Reds."

Undisguised Annoyance

The American press spoke of Enrico Mattei with undisguised annoyance. Time magazine, for example, warned that Mattei was "making powerful enemies" and was obviously dumbfounded by his disregard for personal gain and his consuming ambition to make Italy stronger.

International tycoons, whose own prime concern is for profit, for which they are prepared to go to any length, not short of betraying their nation's interests, did not like his way of going about things.

Press reports of Mattei's death reveal that he had lately been under strong pressure by the American monopolists. George Ball, U.S. Under-Secretary of State, New Statesman reports, visited Rome in summer for the express purpose of negotiating secretly with Mattei. The only other people present at the Ball...

Mattei talks were the U.S. Ambassador and an interpreter.

Then followed equally secret negotiations between Mattei and agents of Rockefeller's Standard Oil of New Jersey. The subject of the talks is unknown, but New Statesman believes that the Americans wanted Mattei to sign a "pact of non-aggression" with Standard Oil and an agreement with the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Fatal Flight

The London Financial Times notes that Mattei's fatal flight to Milan of October 27 was undertaken to meet David Rockefeller, the present head of the Rockefeller dynasty, owner of Standard Oil and president of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

After Mattei's air disaster his widow published an obituary notice to the following effect:

"Enrico has not come back. His wife, Greta Mattei, who had feared for his life day after day, is now in mourning and struck by grief."

The air crash is being investigated. The plane belonged to ENI. It was piloted by Imerio Bertuzzi, the ENI president's personal pilot. Approaching Milan, Bertuzzi radioed the airport, "I am at an altitude of 6,000 feet. Beginning descent to 2,000 feet."

Five minutes later, that is, two minutes before the touch down, the disaster occurred. There was enough fuel in the tanks for another 90 minutes. The plane was a new one. Mattei had bought it from a French firm no more than a year ago. Visibility was excellent. The causes of the air crash are a total mystery.

Commenting on Mattei's death the press controlled by the American monopolies writes with ill-concealed joy that hard times are ahead for ENI. That, of course, is just what the oil tycoons want.

No wonder many people in Italy are inclined to think Mattei's death was an act of sabotage. (NEW TIMES No. 47)

DEFENCE OF INDIA BILL

*FROM PAGE FOUR

dratory. Anthony even went to the extent of remarking: "As a party, I feel that the threat to the country from Indian Communism is a greater threat than the threat from Chinese Communism!"

Maharajkumar Vijaya Ananda (Congress) said that there should be a concentration camp for Communists. "Every Communist in this country should be put into a concentration camp and kept there till every inch of our soil comes back to us."

The same member had also said to say: "I am glad to see that in future the High Courts and the Supreme Court will have less work and less botheration with the writ petitions!"

In their eagerness to justify the arrests of Communists, about which Hiten Mukerjee had first spoken with much distress, some Congress members levelled all sorts of charges against Communists. A. C. Guha (Congress) said that in every government office there is a Communist cell which would be ready to sabotage anything. Frank Anthony said that Communists have infiltrated into ordnance factory unions and that it posed a "grave menace."

Effective Replies

Effective replies to both these members came from S. M. Banerjee, who pointed out that the unions of Central Government employees and ordnance factory workers were not led by Communists and there was certainly no grounds for such accusations. Banerjee pointed out that ordnance factory workers were working round the clock to increase production of arms and armaments and they deserve the praise of all for the patriotic work they are doing.

A powerful and effective reply to the charges levelled against the Communist Party was given by Homi Daji also, who categorically declared the support of the Party to the Bill even while it sought modifications in it.

While so much was said against the Communists, it was also noticed that some Congress members were very chary of criticising right reaction which has mounted a campaign against Prime Minister Nehru's leadership and his policies. The way a Congress Member, Subhadra Joshi, who spoke about the danger posed by the writings and utterances of Jan Sangh leaders, was treated not only by the rightist opposition but also by a number of her own colleagues, was a case in point.

Even more revealing was the reaction of certain Congress members when the PSP and Swatantra took objection to the recent AICC circular warning Congressmen about the danger of the Swatantra and Jan Sangh propaganda against the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru.

These members appeared to be over-anxious to allay the fears of their rightwing critics created by the AICC circular, characterised as "notorious" by H. V. Kamath. They underplayed the significance to the circular and dismissed it as a minor thing, perhaps even a foolish thing.

For instance, Mahavir Tyagi said: "A particular member of the party writes a circular to his party members. That is all. It is not a Congress policy or anything of that sort."

Harish Chandra Mathur, another prominent Congress member said: "Mr. Kamath reads too much in it. Let us understand the context in which it is written and who has written it. It is over-enthusiasm outrunning discretion. Nothing beyond that."