

We Pledge Ourselves Anew

California

ON THIS MEMORABLE DAY, when our nation is completing 13 years of its life under its Republican Constitution, our hearts go back to the historic events which

took place on the same day 33 years ago.

On January 26, 1930, our people throughout the then undivided India solemnly pledged themselves to fight hard, and spare no sacrifice, to make the struggle for complete independence successful. Thousands of villages, townships, bigger towns and cities saw on that day tens of thousands of our patriotic citizens—young and old, men, women and children—take the historic pledge to lay down their all for the cause of the nation's emancipation from foreign domination.

That epoch-making independence pledge lighted, for full twenty years, the path of our patriotic brothers and sisters who joined the struggle for freedom.

The ideals and objectives laid down in that historic document guided the Constitution-makers who deliberated for nearly three years before producing the new Republican Constitution of free India.

We, therefore, salute, on this memorable day, the hallowed memory of the hundreds of martyrs who laid down their lives, and the tens of thousands of others who underwent untold sufferings and sacrifices in order that India may be free, and after attaining freedom, establish herself

as a modern democratic nation. We pledge ourselves anew to work as hard as they did, spare no suffering and sacrifice, to ensure that the cause for which they fought and suffered may go forward from success to success.

We recall with satisfaction and pride that the thirteen years that have elapsed since the adoption of the Republican Constitution have seen significant achievements along the lines indicated by our patriotic fighters for freedom.

Free India has refused to tie herself to the British bandwagon. She is following her own independent policy in international affairs.

She has refused to fulfil the hope cherished by the British rulers that free India's economic policy would be such as enables British monopoly capital to continue its domination over our economy unimpaired. Through a series of Five-Year Plans, the national economy is being developed on independent lines and modernised.

The princely states, which had been calculated to act as a drag on the democratisation of politics and administration in the country, have been elimina-

ted as independent administrative units and merged into neighbouring states. Several reforms in the social, economic, administrative and cultural fields have been introduced and carried out.

Our Republican Constitution has for 13 years, survived all the attacks launched against it by reactionaries. During this period, it may be noted, reaction in several neighbouring countries was able to subvert democratic constitutions and establish despotic and military rule. The forces which did this in those countries are not absent in our country. They, however, have been prevented from carrying out their designs. The progressive democratic forces which are trying to carry forward the traditions of the independence pledge, adopted 33 years ago, have barred their path.

We would, however, be failing in our duty if we do not remind ourselves, on this anniversary of the independence pledge and of our Republican Constitution, that these reactionary forces are still strong and active. They are carrying on a concerted campaign against the fundamental tenets of the national policies through which the ideals and objectives that guide our patriotic fighters for freedom are being translated into practice. They want our nation to renounce

the independent foreign policy and to align itself with the imperialist powers. They advocate the abandonment of the policy of strengthening the economic and defence potential of the nation through rapid industrialisation. They launch concerted attacks against such policy declarations and measures as land reform, co-operatives and the extension of the Public

Sector. Above all, they attack Prime Minister Nehru who represented in the pre-independence years, and represents now, those policies against which they are up in arms.

Between the last anniversary and today, reactionaries have delivered some hard blows against the basic national policies. Taking advan-

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Colombo Proposals In Lok Sabha

When Parliament met this week after a six-week recess to look again at our northern borders so recently violated by an aggressor, it found, rather surprisingly, almost a different situation on its hands.

THE withdrawal by Chinese forces over large portions of NEFA, the emergence of the proposals of the six non-aligned nations who met in Colombo to seek a way for India-China negotiations and the recent meeting in New Delhi between our government and the representatives of the Colombo conference—all these meant the absence of much of the earlier tension and the appearance on the scene of new problems and new perspectives. The strategy of peace had come on top of the strategy of war.

How will Parliament combine these two and how will it react

to the new situation was the poser, when the Prime Minister placed before it the Colombo proposals and initiated a discussion on them. Once again the clash of wills between the Government and the Rightist opposition was all too apparent as soon as the discussions started.

Whereas the Prime Minister, and together with him the majority of the House including the Communist opposition, stood for an acceptance of the Colombo proposals, for exploring the path of peaceful negotiations even while keeping vigilance and building up defence, the Rightists were for rejecting the Colombo proposals, for rejecting the path of negotiations and for pursuing the quest exclusively for a military solution.

The arguments were not entirely new on both sides. For, right from the beginning, the Prime Minister had maintained the stand that even in war we will not refuse to talk to the aggressor, provided the conditions for such talks were forthcoming.

This was the essence of his offer to talk with the Chinese if the pre-September 8 position was restored on the border, in other words if the fruits of the latest aggression by the Chinese were negated. He made it clear in his speech to the Lok Sabha on Wednesday that the Colombo proposals fulfilled these tests and therefore they should be accepted. It was an honourable position and an advantageous position to us, he maintained.

His critics, on the other hand, true to their earlier objections to the cease-fire, their demand for a

majority in the House. Parliament was prepared to follow him in negotiations as well as in war with complete confidence and trust.

Moving for a discussion of the Colombo proposals, the Prime Minister told the Lok Sabha that the acceptance of these proposals did not in any way prejudice our claims regarding the border and neither did it go counter to the resolution adopted by the House on November 14 declaring the resolve of the nation to drive out the aggressor, however long and hard the struggle may be.

The point at discussion was whether these proposals met our own demand as regards the restoration of the pre-September 8 position before negotiations could take place. The Colombo proposals and their clarifications given by the representatives of the Colombo conference showed that they substantially met our own demands. "On the whole, it is a matter for our favourable consideration" the Prime Minister said.

Explaining the implications of the Colombo proposals, the Prime Minister pointed out that their implementation will restore in the eastern sector the pre-September 8 position, except with regard to the Thagla ridge area where we had the Dhola post. The Colombo powers had left the question of the Dhola post as well as of Longlu to be settled by negotiation between the two parties concerned.

In the middle sector, where there had been no armed conflict, the Colombo proposals conform to our stand that the

OVERWHELMING MAJORITY SUPPORT NEHRU'S STAND

★ By Our Parliamentary Correspondent

status quo ante-September 8 should remain.

In the Western sector, the implementation of the Colombo proposals would mean the creation of a demilitarized zone following a 20 kilometre withdrawal by the Chinese from their present positions. This zone will be administered by an equal number of Indian and Chinese civil posts. A 20-kilometre withdrawal by the Chinese and the creation of a demilitarized zone in the western sector would practically remove the Chinese threat from the area they had occupied since September 8, except in the case of two or three posts west of Spanggur which we held before and which will now remain in Chinese hands.

However, this "slight variation" with regard to two or three posts will be compensated by the fact that the Chinese would withdraw even beyond the international boundary in the Spanggur lake area and further south. The Prime Minister felt that this arrangement was "definitely better" than the restoration of Chinese military posts and large armies on the pre-September 8 line in the Western sector.

The Prime Minister told the Lok Sabha that he had sent a letter to the Ceylon Premier Mrs. Bandaranaike declaring Government of India's acceptance in principle of the Colombo proposals.

As regards the Chinese attitude to the proposals, the Prime Minister read out a telegram he had received from the Ceylon Premier in which Mrs. Bandaranaike said that Premier Chou En-lai had informed her that his Government accepted the Colombo proposals "in principle", at the same time reserved their right to a different interpretation of the proposals and hoping that the difference in regard to interpretation would be resolved in mutual talks between India and China.

On this point, the Prime Minister was firm that the Chinese also should accept the Colombo proposals and their clarifications in toto before the next stage for a Sino-Indian meeting could be reached. The Chinese stand indicated that they did not accept the Colombo proposals in toto. The Government of India held that these proposals have to be either accepted in toto or rejected.

The Prime Minister recalled that the Colombo conference was not called on our initiative. It was held on the initiative of friendly Afro-Asian nations who wanted to seek a way to bring about peaceful negotiations between India and China. Throughout this period we had not conferred with the Chinese Government with regard to the proposals of the Colombo conference. Our dealings have been only with the Colombo powers.

Clear Stand

The Prime Minister therefore made it clear that the proposals have to be accepted by both India and China and that we cannot enter into talks with the Chinese Government to arrive at an agreed interpretation of the proposals. The clarifications are there and China should accept these clarifications, just as we have done.

The resistance to the Prime Minister's recommendation of the Colombo proposals came from the Swatantra, PSP and Jan Sangh as well as from the nominated member Frank Anthony. As usual, they talked derisively of the role of the six non-aligned

powers and opposed any idea of entering into negotiations with the Chinese.

Prof. N. G. Ranga cried that the acceptance of Colombo proposals would be dishonouring and dispiriting the country. He harped upon his favourite theme of looking to the West for help and seeking UN intervention in our dispute with China. The Swatantra leader cited the example of the Korean war to emphasise his arguments.

Jan Sangh leader U. M. Trivedi wanted no negotiations. "We should go on fighting," was his profound advice. The PSP leader S. N. Dwivedi did not think that a Chinese withdrawal by 20 kilometres would restore the September 8 position. He argued that Parliament is not committed to the September 8 position even. Frank Anthony ridiculed non-alignment and called the six non-aligned powers as "emotional satellites of the image of Chinese imperialism".

Lonely Voices

But these were lonely voices. The overwhelming majority who spoke strongly supported the Prime Minister and advocated the acceptance of the Colombo proposals. The Congress Party was more unified and lent able support to the Prime Minister.

The Leader of the Communist Group, A. K. Gopalan, speaking immediately after the Prime Minister, endorsed the stand of the Prime Minister and urged the House to see that the Colombo proposals are taken as a basis for negotiations with China and the Government given a free hand to discuss and settle the disputes.

Gopalan pointed out that the Colombo proposals constitute "a reasonable basis for starting negotiations, consistent with our honour and vital interests". He praised the initiative of the Colombo powers who also follow the policy of non-alignment and who share by and large our own views.

The Communist leader strongly countered the arguments of those who opposed all negotiations and who said that we should wait till we are strong

enough to throw out the Chinese. He cautioned against the imperialists' game of prolonging the India-China conflict and to bring pressure upon us on the question of Kashmir by exploiting our difficulties. He quoted Acharya Vinoba Bhave—"it takes as much courage to leap into the area of peace as to leap into the battlefield of war".

While pleading for acceptance of the Colombo proposals, Gopalan also stressed that we should not relax our efforts to strengthen our defences. "Let us hope that the Government of the People's Republic of China will accept these proposals and come to the negotiating table. If they do not do so, the world will certainly blame them and they will have to bear the consequences", he said.

Members like U. N. Dhebar, A. P. Jain, Khadilkar, H. C. Dasappa (all Congress) and Indulal Yagnik (Independent) contributed forcefully and positively to the debate by their speeches in support of the Colombo proposals.

Replying to the Rightist attack, A. P. Jain reminded them that Parliament had by resolution on December 10 endorsed Government's stand which included the demand for restoration of pre-September 8 position before any talks could be held. U. N. Dhebar debunked their quest for an exclusively military solution to the conflict and drew attention to changes in the world alignment since October 20, 1962 which vindicated India's stand based on non-alignment.

Indulal Yagnik drew attention to the fact that by accepting the Colombo proposals we will not have to withdraw 20 kilometres from our present position which was one of the original demands made by the Chinese when they declared cease-fire.

Khadilkar pointed out that Chinese propaganda beamed to the Afro-Asian countries had its motive in showing that whereas China was prepared for negotiations, it was India and Nehru particularly who wanted to prolong the conflict. It is necessary to expose this propaganda and to counter the attempt of China to divide the Afro-Asian world.

STEP UP NEW AGE SALE

Republic Day is a good occasion to plan an organised drive to carry New Age to the widest circles.

There is growing interest in the views of the Communist Party and of the broad democratic movement—which New Age carries. There is a growing need to make the facts and the truth known.

Readers will be happy to note that during the last week new agencies have been opened in Nagarjunasagar, Sirpur, Kaghaznagar and Narasraopet (Andhra Pradesh), Dharaipuram (Madras), Bhillwada (Rajasthan), Betiani (Assam) and Ghazipur (U.P.).

Four agencies which had been closed down due to non-payment of dues have been restarted after clearing their accounts—a total of eighty copies between them.

And twelve agencies have asked us to increase their

supplies, each by a small number—altogether by 84 copies.

But this is offset by some agents who are unable to continue their sales, and some who cut their orders, for one reason or the other, due to factors arising from the present emergency period. We hope all these agents' difficulties will soon be over.

What is heartening is the news of the starting of organised sales in places like Bombay, Bhandina (Punjab) and elsewhere. Only such organised sales of the New Age, reaching out to all possible readers, and personally approaching them can be really effective in the task of increasing New Age sales.

Any news of experiences in sales drives will be gratefully received and published to help other centres in their work.

HIS MEMORY INSPIRES US



WHEN the assassin's bullets took Gandhiji's life 15 years ago, the nation wept as it had never wept before. The light had suddenly gone out, as Jawaharlalji put it. But the leaders and the people took the pledge over the funeral pyre of the Father of the Nation that they would do, in the years to come, as he would have done, had he lived.

Fifteen years have passed since Gandhiji went—and once more on January 30,

we bow our heads in his memory and look around us to see how the nation has carried out its pledge to do as he would have done.

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Gandhiji died for this nation's unity. The bullets that struck him were fired by one hand; but behind that hand stood the darkest forces of evil and reaction in this country, which sought to tear out the nation's guts, disrupt and

rend it from top to bottom. The same rotten, wicked, communal reaction, which Gandhiji strove to destroy, still spreads its poison through every vein of the body of our Motherland. Its power and influence have grown, not diminished.

The last elections saw the main party of Hindu communal reaction—the Jan Sangh—increase its influence in more than one State. And the last few weeks have once again seen the same Party riding the crest of the anti-national frenzy which they sought to whip up, together with all others who represent the worst treacherous elements among the vested interests.

And with Hindu communal reaction has grown also the communalism of the minorities, separatism and all sorts of fissiparous tendencies.

The nation has yet to fulfil its pledge made over Gandhiji's bier to unite the people and drive out from our political life the dark forces of disruption which were responsible for his murder, which stood behind the despicable figure of Nathuram Godse.

★ ★ ★

Gandhiji stood for the upliftment of the exploited,

for the Dalitranarayan. But the fifteen years that have gone by have seen the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer. And the recent weeks have again shown the failure of the nation to make the rich bear even their rightful share of the new burdens which have fallen on us, while the poor have paid and paid, voluntarily and willingly, hurting themselves all the time for the sacred cause of India's defence against Chinese aggression.

Fifteen years after Gandhiji's passing away, India has still to fulfil its pledge to him to make this a land from which hunger and poverty have been wiped away, and the exploitation of man by man ended.

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Gandhiji stood for the democratic liberties of the Indian people. And yet today, as we approach the anniversary of his assassination, over seven hundred leaders of the working masses of this land are in prison without trial. Their Party—the Communist Party—has again and again proved conclusively that the arguments given for their detention are utterly and completely false. Despite promises of reconside-

ration, they remain in prison. We have still to fulfil our pledge to Gandhiji to protect the democratic liberties of the masses.

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And yet, the picture is not all black. For, this land of ours has won for itself the regard and affection of millions in all continents for its steadfast pursuit of the basic policies of the nation—which are, after all, Gandhiji's policies, taken forward and made to conform to today's realities by Jawaharlal Nehru and the people of India.

Today these policies are under attack as never before, by the same forces which attacked and later killed Gandhiji. These forces thrive on the disunity of the democratic and progressive parties and elements in the country.

On the 15th anniversary of Gandhiji's death, let us pledge ourselves—all of us—Congressmen, Communists, democrats, all who love the country for which Gandhiji died—to unite and work together in defence of the national policies, against the enemies of India and their imperialist mentors, who seek to destroy all that makes this land of ours great.

(January 23)

Thirtieth January—one of the darkest days in Indian history, has come once again.

THE day has now been dedicated to the memory of our martyrs. Innumerable are the names of our heroes who laid down their lives for Mother India to be free from nearly 200 years of foreign domination. They laid down their lives so that the nation might wake up and rise again. The memory of each martyr stirs pride mixed with deep anguish. The most poignant of these is the supreme sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi—Father of the Indian Republic.

The Mahatma fell to the bullets of an assassin who represented a force and a movement. The Mahatma died at its hand but this force is still alive and active. Not only do Hindu communalism and its old organisations—the RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha—continue to exist; they have multiplied like maggots and even gained prestige. Such is the tragic failure of the nation.

The RSS has from 1951 onwards an openly working political front—the Jan Sangh—which has secured recognition as a political party. The taboo against communalism—which was once an article of faith with the Indian National Congress—seems to have vanished. Dr. Sampurnanand declared the other day that although fascists, the Sangh men subscribed to an "unbending nationalism".

And this very month Dr. Katju, once a Congress stalwart, once again attended a rally of the RSS at Allahabad and commended their work. Jayprakash Narain who claims to be a true disciple of the Mahatma, has led in patronising the RSS. And the "Socialist" Dr. Lohia has become an open ally of the

fascist-worshipping RSS-Jan Sangh.

These gentlemen have either forgotten the stark facts of history or become turncoats to the creed which they once avowed.

How else can one explain their having forgotten that members of the Sangh celebrated Mahatma Gandhi's murder? They distributed sweets and illuminated their houses? How else could it have been obliterated from their memory that Godse was one of the tallest leaders and organisers of the RSS? He left that body to join the Mahasabha just as Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee left the Mahasabha to join the Sangh without having to undergo a change of creed.

When Dr. Hedgewar of Nagpur, who founded the RSS, decided to start branches all over the country, he first went to Poona and, with Godse as his right-hand man, preached his gospel there. Godse left the RSS because he wanted it to have a political party of its own. His wish was not respected; then and he joined the Mahasabha, leaving behind the innumerable cadres whom he had helped to indoctrinate and train up.

An overwhelming majority of the RSS and Jan Sangh leadership today is drawn from precisely these cadres. And Godse's cherished wish, too, has now been fulfilled. The RSS has now its political front—the Jan Sangh.

Not only the same men guide the destinies of the organisation, the same gospel inspires their thought and deeds. RSS leaders, in their secret shakhas, hammer home into the minds of immature boys hatred against non-Hindus, hatred against socialism

LEST WE FORGET

★ By GARUDA

and hatred against the Indian nationalist.

The resurgent nationalism of the Indian people, which fought imperialism and pledged to build a new India freed from class exploitation and communal enmity is described to them as "sinful". The ideal of socialism is called "a foreign faith", even planned development is sought to be denounced as a "foreign concept".

Organiser, the Sangh's mouthpiece, reported a speech of RSS General Secretary Eknath Ranade at an RSS camp held in Delhi on June 25, 1961. Ranade told his listeners:

"In Hindustan Hindu is not a communal but national term... But as a result of the fallacious thoughts of some spineless people during the last 50-60 years this Hindu society, living here as a nation, has come to be considered only a community. This effort to turn the nation into a community is nothing but sinful."

This is how RSS leaders are still teaching Indian history.

They Justify The Assassination

Speeches like this justify the assassination of Gandhiji as one of the arch-perverters of "true nationalism", the ringleader of the "spineless" and "sinful" lot.

This is the faith that the Sangh leaders subscribe even today although one can sometimes see them deceitfully folding their hands in reverence to Mahatma Gandhi

when confronted by the people. Their deceit becomes patent when they openly object as they did in the Delhi Corporation last year to the Mahatma being called the "Father of the Nation". How can he really be when he preached a "sinful" and false definition of nationalism!

The Mahatma, being dead and cremated, Sangh's attention has been riveted on Nehru as the tallest among the "sinful" lot today. The same frenzy of hate and calumny that was engineered against Gandhiji is sought to be worked up against Nehru.

Ranade's speech, one of the few published records of lectures delivered in the secret RSS Shakhas and Jan Sangh training camps, again gives us the cue. Denouncing the national leaders, he concentrated fire on Nehru. The "sinful" act was still being repeated. "Why do these people do it?" he observed. "Are they not intelligent enough or do they not know history? They are intelligent and they know history. Some of them have even written books on history." The hint was unmistakable.

Avenge the "unforgivable insult" was the burden of his exhortation. Some months back the Organiser published a series of 19 essays on Nehru. The choicest epithets were showered on him in this article. He was called an ungrateful wretch ("Whatever other virtues the man may possess, gratitude at least has never been his strong point"), a shameless guy ("Nehru has prospered without a sense of shame for the past forty

years"), a dolt ("nincompoop of a Nehru"), a "turncoat" and "a lackey who licks the boot that kicks".

The article also made an open avowal of the Jan Sangh's fascist faith. It said that Franco, Hitler and Mussolini were "proud patriots" and "fascism was a desperate attempt of Italian, German and Spanish nationalism to root out the Communist cancer".

During the present national crisis, the Sanghites again struck a foul blow at Indian nationalism struggling against aggression on its borders. As soon as the crisis started, they came out with the slogan of removing Nehru. This time they were in the august company of several other reactionary parties.

Guru Golwalkar called for Nehru's "retirement" for at least two years. The Organiser significantly declared that Nehru was "no sacred cow". It brought out the writer of the notorious nineteen essays—to pen another series of denunciation against Nehru as a man lacking in "true patriotism".

Thus an attempt was made to behead the nation in a period of crisis. And this, again, in the name of true "patriotism".

Verily we are dealing with a crafty and treacherous foe—a viper living in our backyards. Let us keep ourselves constantly reminded, lest we forget!

JEEVANANDHAM: Homage From All Sections Of People

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Though Jeevanandham had been ill for quite some time and recently was in Moscow for treatment, nobody expected that he would pass away. Actually his end was so sudden that none of his old colleagues and friends could be by his side when he left us.

He had a heart attack in the early morning of January 18 at his place in Tambaram, some 16 miles from Madras City. As early as possible a car was arranged by his relations with whom he was staying and he was brought to the hospital by about 6.30 a.m. But before even his colleagues could be informed that he was seriously ill, he had passed away.

Hence the shock for every one of us, not only his colleagues and those who worked with him over the 40 years that he has been in the forefront of the liberation movement of the people but for all the people of the State who so great and all Tamilnad was feeling that someone near and dear to them has passed away.

The body was kept in the mortuary of the General Hospital till 19th morning when it was removed to the office of the Madras Harbour Workers' Union where it was kept for the public to pay their respects. A very large crowd collected before the Union office, so big that right from 9 a.m. upto 4 p.m. when the funeral procession started there was 300 yard long queue from the beginning to the end. More than a lakh of people thus came and saw the body. From the predominantly working class area of North Madras the workers, men and women, came in procession to pay their homage to their revered leader.

The funeral procession started at 4-30 p.m. The body of Comrade Jeevanandham was taken in a decorated truck followed by a large procession of about 50 thousand people. Leaders of various political parties could be seen in the procession. Among them were Comrades Manali, A. S. K., N. K. Krishnan, Mohan K. Ramamangalam, V. Subbiah, Parvathi Krishnan and other Communist leaders, M. E. Sevaganam, leader of the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam, N. V. Natarajan, Ambazhagan leaders of the DMK, Dr. Varadarajan and Appadurai, Tamil scholars.

Leading figures in the cinema and cultural world also came in the procession, important among those were T. K. Shunmugam, S. V. Sahasranamam, M. G. Ramachandran, T. K. Balachandran and others. Smt. N. S. K. Madhuran clad in black dress came weeping "Anna, Anna". In course of its five mile long route the procession was stopped in many places to be garlanded. While the procession passed in front of their office, the DMK leaders garlanded the body and paid their homage to the Communist leader.

The procession reached the Kasimode burial ground at 3 p.m. where it was cremated. Sri Natarajan, brother of Com. Jeevanandham lit the funeral pyre. A funeral meeting was held in the burial ground maidan in which all party leaders spoke. The meeting began with the homage of our Party, given by Comrade Manali Kandaswami,

the Nation.

M. P. Sivagnanam leader of the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam said that Comrade Jeeva was one among the few great leaders who fought for the freedom of the country and also fought for the cause of working class and socialism. He ranked him with V. O. Chidambaram and Thiru V. Kalanayandaram. Dr. M. Varatharajan, Tamil scholar, Professor of Madras University said that Jeeva was not only a politician but a great Tamil scholar. He was the greatest exponent of the Tamil poet Subramanya Bharathi.

Messrs. T. K. Kosairam of the Congress, N. V. Natarajan of DMK, S. C. C. Antony Pillai of the Tamil National Party, Loganathan of Dravida Kazhagam expressed their condolence on behalf of their parties. T. K. Shunmugam, a renowned stage artiste and cinema actor sang a song composed by Comrade Jeeva in 1935. Dr. Natarajan of Kan-yakumari and others also spoke.

All the speakers expressed their high esteem for the departed leader for his simplicity, sincerity of purpose, love and affection for the people and steadfastness to the cause he held close to his heart. They all expressed their condolence and sympathy to the bereaved family. A wreath was placed on the body on behalf of Chief Minister by Sri K. Diraviam, Dy. Secretary.

Sri E. V. Ramaswamy Nalaker, leaders of the Dravida Kazhagam, Sri C. N. Annadurai, leader of the DMK, Sri C. Subramanian, Central Minister have also sent messages.

The Textile Workers of Colimbatore observed a hartal on the evening of 18th. In all the District Headquarters and other important centres processions were taken as a mark of respect for the departed leader.

In Tambaram where Comrade Jeeva was residing, all shops and schools were closed on the 18th.

A Congressman who participated in the mighty funeral procession commented: after Satyamurti's funeral, a fitting tribute to him, this is even greater, a fitting tribute to Jeeva, and an index of the growth of people's movement. (See also page 7 and centre pages)

Reports have come from various parts of the country about the observance of the first death anniversary of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh. Reports are still coming. In Bihar, the new building of the State Council of the CPI was inaugurated by Bhupesh Gupta on January 13 and it has been named as "Ajoy Bhanwan".

Here are two reports from Delhi and Calcutta about the anniversary.

DELHI

Members and friends of the CPI, from many walks of life, assembled at Jhandewallan on January 13 with heavy hearts to pay homage to the memory of late Ajoy Ghosh.

The meeting was organised by the Delhi State Council of the CPI and among the speakers were E. M. S. Namboodiripad, P. C. Joshi, Dr. Z. A. Ahmad and M. Farooqi. S. V. Ghate presided over the meeting.

The speakers emphasised the various aspects of Ajoy Ghosh's life and his dedication to the cause of Communist movement and the outstanding role he played as a leading protagonist of Marxist-Leninist principles.

S. V. Ghate referred to Ajoy Ghosh's untiring efforts for the building up of the unity of the Party and stressed that after the end of emergency, maximum efforts should be made to raise the Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Building which will be a befitting monument to his hallowed memory.

Emulate Ajoy's Example

E. M. S. Namboodiripad in his speech pointed out that the ten years during which Ajoy Ghosh had been the General Secretary of the party were crucial years. Ajoy Ghosh, he said, had a correct understanding of the inner party situation and never forced his decisions on others. While he had the patience to listen and accommodate to the extent possible the views of other comrades, he never gave up his own principled stand. He fought doggedly for that and did not compromise.

Namboodiripad said that he would request all party members

to emulate Ajoy Ghosh's example. The best way to pay homage to Ajoy Ghosh would be to follow his path and carry on the ideological struggle on correct political lines and to unify the party.

P. C. Joshi carrying the theme further said that Ajoy Ghosh's policy to unify the party was not based on sectarianism but on deep and correct understanding of the situation. His great contribution was to help the party to know its friends as well as enemies.

The correctness of this line has been proved in the growth of the party during these years. Ajoy Ghosh preserved the unity of the Party and at the same time helped its advance.

Joshi further added that "our responsibility now is to accomplish the work he has left undone".

In an impassioned oration, Dr. Z. A. Ahmad paid tribute to Ajoy Ghosh's deep human qualities "invaluable in a real communist".

Dr. Z. A. Ahmad said that it was Ajoy Ghosh's foresight and correct appreciation of conditions which gave the Party a national orientation and helped it emerge from the morass of dogmatism and sectarian understanding. Giving several instances, the speaker showed how under Ajoy Ghosh's leadership the CPI had step by step discarded outmoded and false concepts.

Ajoy Ghosh, Dr. Ahmad said, had not only contributed to the Communist movement in the country only, but also contributed a great deal to the International Communist movement. His bold stand that the best judge of our situation are ourselves has stood the test of time and proved to be just and correct.

It was only on the basis of correct Marxist-Leninist understanding as embodied in the Moscow documents of the world communist movement and their application to India on lines indicated by Ajoy Ghosh that we Indian Communists could successfully build our unity, declared Dr. Ahmad.

Farooqi, paying tribute to Ajoy Ghosh referred to the interest which Ajoy Ghosh had shown in the Delhi unit of the Party. One of his aims, Farooqi said, was to develop the party in the Hindi-speaking region of the country.

FIRST DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF COMRADE AJAY GHOSH



Delhi meeting being addressed by Farooqi. Behind him seen from left to right are Z. A. Ahmad, S. V. Ghate, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, P. C. Joshi and Yogindra Sharma. (Photo: R. Parashar)

CALCUTTA

The first death anniversary of our beloved leader Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh was observed here by holding a meeting at the Muslim Institute Hall.

SPEAKERS paid tribute to the life-long revolutionary activities of Comrade Ajoy and his greatness as a leader of the Indian people and International Communist movement. The meeting pledged to carry forward the glorious heritage Ajoy Ghosh has left behind. Gopal Halder, the noted writer presided over the meeting.

Wreaths and bouquets of white flowers were laid on a portrait of Comrade Ajoy and the meeting at the outset observed a minute's silence to pay respect to his memory.

Bhowani Sen, Secretary of the West Bengal State Council of the Party said that Com. Ajoy's political acumen, clarity of thought and steadfastness to Marxism-Leninism made him an ardent patriot and outstanding communist leader who inspired and led the Communist Party of India for over a decade, which saw the Party emerging as the second biggest political force in the country.

Ajoy Ghosh fought both rightwing opportunism as well as dogmatism and sectarianism, and for this he could discern the seeds of mistake in the Chinese Party's policy long ago, Bhowani Sen said. Unity within the CPI and the international communist movement were very dear to Com. Ajoy and for this he made a visit to Peking to iron out the differences between the CPI and the CPC.

During the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the Communist and Workers' Parties Com. Ajoy played a big role and helped to preserve and further the international communist unity on the basis of firm adherence to Marxism-Leninism, Bhowani Sen added.

He declared that today, when again dissension has arisen in the ranks of the communist movement, Communists of India, true to the teachings and heritage of Com. Ajoy, will fight with all their strength to maintain and further cement the unity of communist movement. That will be our pledge as well as the best tribute to the memory of Com. Ajoy Ghosh, Bhowani Sen concluded.

NEW AGE

Struggle For Unity

Somnath Lahiri, Editor of "SWADEHINATA" narrated how Com. Ajoy became a revolutionary worker in the terrorist movement and then realising the inadequacy of that outlook and basing on his experience in the service of the people, came over to the communist movement and joined the Communist Party of India.

Somnath Lahiri said that Com. Ajoy synthesised in him the best patriotism of the 'terrorists' and the internationalism of the communists. He ardently loved the Indian people and the working class and working for their emancipation he built up the working class movement and the Party and grew as its leader.

Somnath Lahiri recalled how Com. Ajoy's theoretical formulations helped the Party to avoid right deviation and to stand for Left unity at the Tripuri session of the Indian National Congress. At Amritsar Conference of the Party he helped the Party to see the danger of rise of Right reaction and oriented the Party towards democratic unity and thereby saved the party from left sectarianism. That was Com. Ajoy's greatness, said Somnath Lahiri, as he could discern the main problem of the time and put forward the solution suited to it.

Chimmoan Seharovis, Biswanath Mukherjee and Dharani Goswami also spoke at the meeting.

NEW AGE

20% INCREASE IN PLAN OUTLAY: EXPORT TRADE STILL IN A QUANDARY

In rejecting the counsels of despair, and deciding for a 20 per cent increase in the Plan outlay for the next financial year, the Standing Committee of the National Development Council has shown a marked awareness of the needs of the situation.

IT has, for the time being at least, confounded the theorists of the reactionary circles to whom planning, as India has been practising it, is incompatible with an emergency. To these gentlemen defence ipso facto means negation of all that the nation aspires to build in peace. They forget, what the Prime Minister has repeatedly stressed, that in meeting the Chinese aggression we are not only fighting for our territorial integrity but also for the inviolability of our basic policy of planned development. What is more, even for defence almost 85 per cent of the development plans can be termed essential.

Having taken the wise and bold decision of spending as much as Rs. 1,744 crores during 1963-64, the NDC has to find resources to finance it, and it is here that its awareness of the needs of the situation, referred to earlier, will be put to a real test.

The States will naturally have to carry a substantial burden in this respect, since even with a sizeable assistance of about Rs. 400 crores from the Centre they will have to fend for themselves to the extent of about Rs. 300 crores. As to how they will actually do so depends to a very large extent on the general policy to be laid down by the Centre. Defence levies and imposts of a like nature, will, of course, form a part of this policy, and the poor who have largely to bear their brunt, will certainly not be found wanting in stoically carrying out their duty.

It is however the rich who have so far been left comparatively untouched in this respect, and it is they who should be asked to give a better proof of their much vaunted patriotism, this time. After all, social justice is as much a plank of our basic policies as planning or defence of the country. Why should it alone be allowed to suffer now when we have demonstrated such a profound awareness of the other two?

The Economic Times (January 22) has castigated the

Finance Ministry and the "other sober elements among the planners" for having "thrown in the towel and acquiesced in a much larger plan commitment than was visualised a few weeks ago".

One can very well understand the chagrin of this organ of big business at this let down by its men inside the ruling circles. May be it was not so much a deliberate let down as a partial surrender after a dogged battle. These details perhaps we will never know.

What we should, however, be concerned about is the fact of the presence of these "sober men" inside the Government and the Planning Commission. They are like the Trojan Horse of the reactionaries, whose manoeuvres have to be guarded against at all moments. Having conceded on the size of the outlay they will seek to detract the leading bodies on the question of taxes. Here too they will have to be shown the short shrift which they deserve.

The Statesman (January 22) reports that the UP Government have asked their Finance Secretary "to explore possibilities of levying heavier taxation on the richer classes". Some other State Governments too have given indication of a similar approach on the question. It is a welcome sign but the extent to which it can be transformed into reality depends as much on the vigilance of the people as on the resistance of the governments concerned to the counsels of the "sober men".

In spite of a plethora of export promotion measures adopted by the Government ever since the balance of payments position became acute some years back, India's exports have not shown any volition to pick up.

On the contrary, in what are known as the "traditional markets", they have shown a marked tendency, either to go

down or at best to stagnate. In another market, not so traditional according to prevailing conception, the exports have, however been steadily going up.

This is the East European market, where socialist economies do not stand in need of "protecting" themselves from products of developing countries like ours, which are shut out from the "traditional markets" because of cheap labour conditions prevailing here. And that not because their own labour is low paid (in fact, it is as well paid as in some of the Western countries and without the scourge of unemployment too), but because such an attitude is alien to their socialist system.

In South and West Asian markets too India's exports have declined from Rs. 72 crores in the first six months of 1961-62 to Rs. 61 crores in the corresponding period this year.

This being the background, the meeting of the Board of Trade, held at Madras last week, had assumed a special significance. And judging from press reports it was certainly not as barren in its results this time as were earlier meetings.

The Board made a concrete study of the export statistics in respect of various markets. It noted the increase of Rs. 14 crores in exports to East European countries during the half year under review and silenced those who had insinuated that these countries reexported Indian products. It noted the decline in exports to the Asian countries and also the factors behind it. The balance of payments difficulties afflicting India are also the bane of these countries.

Hence their very understandable tendency to restrict imports of certain consumer goods. Hence to concentrate on products which they cannot do without. But here India has to contend with formidable competitors like Japan and China. Hence the need to produce only first class goods and improve the sales organisations abroad.

A valuable recommendation made by the Board in this connection relates to the multilateral utilisation (with India as a party) of the assistance given to the Asian and African countries by Indus-

trialised countries. It has also suggested the setting up of five territorial directors of foreign trade to "coordinate the problems of world trade with particular attention to the trade of India".

The Board has rightly underlined the need for "coordination of the problems of world trade", because without this "coordination" the gains to the developing and underdeveloped countries from trade with one market tend to get cancelled by loss sustained elsewhere. But the skin of these problems cannot be straightened out unless all the countries of the world discuss them constructively and arrive at some mutually beneficial decisions.

It is to this end of convening an International Trade Conference that our Government, in association with the USSR and other countries, has been making concerted efforts. The worsening trend of our exports, especially in the present context of an emergency, has imparted a new sense of urgency to these efforts.

The Board of Trade has taken a special note of the decline in India's exports to the West European, or what are known as the EEC countries. As our readers will recall our difficulties in this sector were getting aggravated because of Britain's impending membership of the EEC.

Now it seems "two old men" of Europe are putting spokes in Britain's wheel. Or rather, it is one old man, de Gaulle, who has taken it into his head to form an axis with Adenauer to refurbish Western Europe into its old grand edifice. And this, he feels, can be done only by excluding the British and also the Americans of whom the former claim to be a "special ally".

This new complexion to the EEC politics has not, however, deterred Britain from continuing efforts to gain entry into Europe. In fact, as the FICCI Secretary-General G. L. Bansal has said on return from Brussels, she is unshaken in her resolve in this respect, which means that we too should remain as unshaken in our resolve to seek the best of terms from Britain and the EEC.

January 22.

By ESSEN

Madhya Pradesh During Emergency

★ By HOMI F. DAJI, M.P.

With the rest of the country, the State of Madhya Pradesh also geared itself to the national task of defence and mobilising public opinion and public resources for this supreme task.

CITIES and villages have been ever since busy collecting cash for the National Defence Fund. Workers of all the industrial enterprises—the textile mills, the Bhilai Steel Plant, the Ordnance Factories, the HEL and also the smaller factories—have donated one day's wages to the National Defence Fund.

The Textile mill workers worked an extra day for the same. Apart from the one day's wage deductions, the trade unions belonging to the Red Flag and AITUC have collected additional contributions of about Rs. 20,000. The total collections thus made by the working class would be about Rs. 50,000.

It is however significant that the employers have not made matching contributions. For example, the textile workers have contributed about Rs. 2,25,000 whereas the textile mills have given only Rs. 1,20,000. Besides, the mills have not contributed the profit for the day on which the workers worked extra for the National Defence Fund.

This is clearly against the resolution of the tripartite meeting. Yet, despite repeated protests, the mills have refused to yield the day's profit.

The performance of the Congress in the State remains disappointing. They have carried on the work of national defence in a mechanical manner. Politically also, the Congress has done very little in pursuance of the AICC's resolution to explain and defend the policies of the Prime Minister.

In fact, at Bhopal and Indore, the Congress has joined the Jan Sangh and the PSP in a joint committee. At the meetings organised by these committees, Congressmen have been helpless spectators to scandalous campaign against the Prime Minister and his policies carried on by the other parties.

OPEN SCANDAL

This very soon became an open scandal so much so that a senior Congress member, Shri Khadiwala, an ex-MP from Indore actually resigned from the Committee at Indore. Shri Ram Singh Bhai, Vice-President of the INTUC openly talked at variance with the policies of the Prime Minister and declared that although he was ready to follow the Prime Minister on other issues, he would never accept the concept of national unity and of friendship with the Soviet Union.

It is clear that in cities and areas where the Communist Party and AITUC are strong, Congressmen have been more anxious to use the national emergency for attacking the Communists rather than working for national defence. One reason that the Con-

gress was not able to throw its full weight in the campaign is that the MP Congress is bogged down in internecine quarrels. After the defeat of Katju by Shri Mandloi and the PCC Group, organisational wrangles have been going on.

The AICC dissolved the MP Provincial Congress Committee and appointed an administrator. Elections were to be held but were put off due to the emergency. The ministerial group since then has been trying for the formation of an ad hoc committee with its own majority and a chairman acceptable to the Chief Minister. The AICC has not yet sanctioned the same.

The result is that Congressmen are sharply divided, quarrelling for office in the Congress organisation and are more interested in this quarrel rather than working for national defence.

MORE PRODUCTION

The workers, however, have everywhere taken up the cause of national defence enthusiastically. Production at Bhilai not only reached the peak but even went beyond the installed capacity of 10 lakh tons of steel. In the Heavy Electricals, Bhopal, production targets have been overfulfilled. The Ordnance Factory at Jabalpur is working full time and is giving record production.

Apart from increased production, industrial relations also in these factories have been smooth and the industrial truce resolution has been carried out in its spirit by the working class. The workers have fulfilled their obligation despite the fact that in many cases the malpractices of managements continue.

For example, nepotism in appointments, delay in making temporary workers permanent and even the delay in the payment of arrears of steel wage board recommendations have not deterred the workers from fulfilling their national duty.

The Jan Sangh and the PSP have done little concretely by way of contributing to national defence. They have concentrated on vilifying the Prime Minister, criticising his policies of non-alignment and Panch Sheel and attacking the Communists.

In the last session of the Assembly, they tried to disrupt the unity on the resolution supporting national defence by bringing in an amendment demanding a ban on the Communist Party. The amendment was, however, ignominiously defeated.

This has not satisfied them and fictitious stories are put forward by these parties time and again against the Communist Party. They have openly demanded the arrest of more Communists and have

been joined by the INTUC in circulating baseless rumours.

For example, the General Secretary of the MP INTUC, Gangaram Tiwari gave out a fantastic story that in the Ordnance factories, Communist trade unionists are inciting the workers to go slow. As has been pointed out, this is far from the truth. In fact, there is no Communist trade union in the Ordnance factory. The trade union of the Defence Federation has been in the forefront of the work for national defence.

The INTUC leader again put out a story that leaflets had been distributed at Indore asking workers to wait till March then they would be "liberated" by the Chinese. In fact, no such leaflets have been found at all. My personal enquiries with the district authorities reveal that they have not come across a single leaflet of this sort. Yet, such stories are repeatedly put forward only to try to discredit the Communist Party.

Not satisfied with that, the INTUC and Jan Sangh have organised attacks on meetings convened by the trade unions or the Communist Party. At Indore actually, the INTUC goondas including their leading members attacked the meeting addressed by me and Comrade Abdul Qudus, the Municipal Corporator who was injured by a lathi-blow on his head resulting in six stitches.

The Communist Party, though weak in the State, has been from the beginning, play-

ing no small part in defending the national policies and working for the cause of national defence. At almost all the important centres like Gwalior, Indore, Rajnandgaon, Bhopal, the Party has organised demonstrations and blood donations and has joined in raising National Defence Fund contributions.

At Indore, the Communist Party together with other progressives formed a joint committee separate from the partisan committee formed by the Jan Sangh, Congress and PSP. It has been holding a series of successful meetings. After my return from Colombo, the Committee organised a mammoth meeting where about 10,000 people listened for two hours and more to my detailed report of the Lok Sabha session and the implications of the Colombo meeting. The Jan Sangh tried to create some shouting at the meeting but the people effectively stopped the same.

At Ujjain, we organised a largely attended hall meeting which was attended by many congressmen besides Party and trade union workers.

But the most inspiring meeting was held at Bhilai. The entire maidan was decorated with Red Flags and soon after the shift working was over, workers marched in their thousands and gathered at the maidan. In all about 68,000 workers came to the meeting and heard with rapt attention the explanation of the AITUC stand on national defence and fight for trade union rights. At the end of the meeting, the workers took a pledge to carry out the policy of the AITUC.

The success of this meeting was in marked contrast to the meeting organised by the INTUC and HMS together with 36 other small mushroom organisations at the same place a few days before. Hardly 500 workers turned up and this too dwindled to 200 by the

time the meeting ended, and when the PSP leader asked the audience to march to the AITUC office and burn down the red flag, out of the 200 remaining workers only 50 accompanied him. Seeing his own plight, he gave up the idea of burning the Red Flag and only went round the office raising anti-Communist slogans.

The State Party Executive meeting last month decided to carry forward its work and particularly emphasised the need to fight the disruptive anti-national role of the Jan Sangh and the PSP.

GROWING REALISATION

Slowly honest congressmen are awakening to the dangers of flirting with the Jan Sangh at this juncture. They are realising that the threat from the Jan Sangh is a real threat to all that our national movement has stood for and in some areas leading congressmen, MLAs and MPs are coming out against the diabolical game of the Jan Sangh to pay lip service to national defence and at the same time run down the national policies.

I shall explain myself briefly. Bhupesh Gupta expatiates upon the advantages of an Attorney-General who as the most eminent member of the Bar can offer his advice untrammelled by party affiliations. I do not deny that on very rare occasions the advice of an independent Attorney-General may help to curb the exuberance of the Executive and save the civil liberties of a citizen.

But it must be remembered that the extent of the liberties of the citizen is clearly defined in the Constitution and it is the Judges and the Courts that are ultimately responsible for upholding them and no Law Officer can hope to stretch them beyond what the Courts decide.

Most Important Consideration

But the most important consideration should be how far the Attorney-General can be trusted to serve as an instrument of implementing the Directive Principles of the Constitution, its progressive social objectives, the objective of minimising inequalities, of bringing about a socialistic pattern of society.

Does the so-called inde-

THE EDITOR'S STORY

*FROM FACING PAGE

Mukherjee sent a few contributions. His writings were published for a week after mutilations to give them a perverted slant not meant by the writer. Even a contribution by Mukherjee against racial oppression of Indians in South Africa was thought prejudicial to the new editor, the Chamber of Commerce. It was withheld from publication for six days.

On persuasion of the erstwhile colleagues of Mukherjee, the proprietor-editor reluctantly published the article. Mukherjee saw through the game of the proprietors and the humiliations attending on the so-called contract. He has, it is reported, sent a letter to the proprietors of Jugantar asking them to release him from the ignoble contract.

Thus the tactics of the Ghoshes bore fruit as desired. They forced Vivekananda Mukherjee to resign, showed their 'magnanimity' by offering him a lucrative contract. But in the final analysis, got relieved of the obligations of the contract without giving him a single naya paisa.

WHAT PRICE FREEDOM TO WRITE?

Story of Vivekananda Mukherjee's Sack

★ From Our Correspondent

CALCUTTA, January 20: Press baron Tushar Kanti Ghosh and his henchmen have at last got rid of the indomitable and irrepresible editor of their mass circulating Bengali daily Jugantar (briefly reported earlier).

ON December 26 last, Vivekananda Mukherjee, editor of Jugantar since its inception twenty-five years ago, had to leave his job under duress. From the next day the editorship of the paper was usurped by one of the Ghoshes, Sookamal Kanti Ghosh, a business boss and a cousin of the proprietor-minister Tarun Kanti Ghosh.

Thus the last of the great working editors in Bengal quits the field and now most of the big dailies and weeklies of Calcutta are under direct editorship of the proprietors themselves.

The news came as a shock to the thousands of readers, intellectuals and workers, when on December 27, a cryptic notice appeared on the editorial page of Jugantar stating innocuously that Mukherjee had recently retired from editorship for 'personal reasons', but his articles would appear regularly in Jugantar in future as usual.

This notice, was obviously meant to cover the pressure tactics adopted by the Ghoshes

to force Mukherjee out of the editor's chair and at the same time utilise the immense popularity of his powerful pen for furtherance of their newspaper business.

Mukherjee's forced resignation is being interpreted in the political circles as a culmination of the pressure brought to bear upon him by the proprietors on the one hand and the Congress bosses, the right reactionaries and the American lobby on the other, for the last fifteen years.

Though a working editor, Vivekananda Mukherjee never allowed the proprietors to interfere in his work. As a fearless and conscientious journalist, in these twenty-five years in Jugantar, especially after the attainment of independence of India, Mukherjee had consistently upheld the cause of the exploited people, advocated the policy of nonalignment as enunciated by Prime Minister Nehru, attacked the vested interests

and passionately fought for world peace and general disarmament.

It is due to these progressive policies followed by him that Jugantar rose to the position of an 'A' class newspaper. Now that a national emergency has been proclaimed and the right reactionaries have got the upper hand, the proprietors of big newspapers in Calcutta are dishing out false propaganda materials, attacking the progressives and undermining the Prime Minister to suit their purposes. The same and sober line adopted by Mukherjee became too hot for them. This time they decided to finish him. And thus came the sack.

It is reported that the day before the mischievous announcement of his 'retirement', Mukherjee was called to the countryhouse of the proprietor Tushar Kanti Ghosh. His minister-son Tarun Kanti was also present. It is said that there Mukherjee was told that the proprietors were under pressure from the 'highest authority' of the land to remove him from editorship.

It would be, they are reported to have argued, prudent for Mukherjee to step down

*ON FACING PAGE

Law Minister & Attorney-General

DUAL FUNCTION OR SEPARATE?

By C. Achutha Menon

and Parliament for the legal advice he gives to Government.

Here it may be objected that I am dealing with an aspect which properly does not belong to the sphere of the Attorney-General's activities, but to that of the Ministry of Law—advice in law-making.

This is not however the case. In our legal system modelled on the British, there is very wide scope for interpretations. The Judges have the power to make law through their judgments which become precedents. And the Attorney-General's duty should of course be to persuade the Judges to give such interpretations as will promote our social objectives and not

otherwise.

I do realise that Government stands in need of a correct, objective and unbiased view of the existing law also. There is however no danger that even a partymen functioning as Attorney-General will misguide the Government as regards the existing law, because that will not be of any use. That interpretation is likely to be questioned in a Court of law by competent lawyers and set aside.

No Attorney-General worth his salt would like to take that risk. If he is a loyal partymen he is likely to be more careful in this

respect than the "independent" Attorney-General.

On the whole, therefore, I think there is much to be said in favour of the Government's decision to combine the offices of the Law Minister and Attorney-General. The essence of the matter is as I see it, that the Attorney-General should be a partymen, faithfully reflecting the views and aspirations of the Party in power and trying to carry out its policies through his advice, interpretation, help etc. This according to me is a better arrangement than the present one.

January 20, 1963.

JEEVANANDAM: As I Knew Him

By S. V. Ghate

Jeevanandam is no more. When you lose your associates with whom you have worked in stress and strain, a sadness overtakes you. First Shrinivasrao, then Ajoy and now Jeeva.

WHEN I first saw him in 1936 at our Party office sitting in the corner of a room on a mat with a number of books and papers—and writing—I could not guess that there was a great man. He talked less and was always immersed in his books.

He was already in the small Party group that was functioning in Madras. He was even then the organiser of the self-respecters' Socialist Party having broken with the self-respect movement. He had rallied all the youth from the self-respecters' movement to his Socialist Party.

Even as a youngman he was inspired by the great revolutionary poet Bharati. He always used to refer to the famous revolutionary poem of Bharati: "Bharata Samudaya Valga, Valga".

During this period he wrote poems, articles in papers about socialism, equality, etc. I went to Madras on the instructions of our Party to organise the Party in the South which had not yet taken shape. Jeevanandam was in the first Party group that was formed in Madras along with Shrinivasa Rao, A. S. K. Iyengar and others. They were all in the Congress Socialist Party and continued to work in the same. In the Party Jeevanandam had finally found the haven of all his dreams and ideals.

Then came the question of dissolving the Self-Respecters' Socialist Party and in 1937 a conference was held of all the members of that Party at Trichinopoly—inaugurated by Dango—at which only one resolution was passed—to dissolve the party and join en masse the Communist Party. Most of them are still members of our Party.

We decided to start a press for Socialist publications and also a weekly in Tamil. The name of the weekly was to be

Janashakti with Jeevanandam as its first editor. With his influence in Tamilnad, sufficient money was collected and a press was set up—the first press owned by the Communist Party—and the Janashakti appeared.

It ceased publication only when it was suppressed at the beginning of the Second World War. He continued to be the editor when he came out of jail.

When he came to the Communist Party he had already made a name as an orator. He could hold his audience spell-bound for hours. One felt he was speaking poetry in Tamil.

In spite of the storm and stress through which our Party has passed, he remained steadfastly loyal to the Communist Party and became one of the exponents of its policy through his writings.

When I met him on this January 7, sitting in his editorial chair, I did not know that it was to be our last meeting.

ACHARYA SHIVAPUJAN SAHAI

IN the passing away of Acharya Shivapujan Sahai the Hindi literary world has lost one of its finest men of letters and a most ardent champion of the democratic traditions that had been laid down by Bharatendu Harishchandra and carried forward by Suryakant Tripathi Nirala and others.

Acharya Shivapujan Sahai breathed his last at Patna on the morning of January 21, 1963.

Born in a Kayastha family in Unswan village of Shahabad district (Bihar) in 1893, he received education at Arrah. After working as Nakalnavis in the Benares Civil courts in 1913, he returned to Arrah and earned his living as a school-teacher from 1915 to 1919. Fired with patriotic ardour he joined the non-cooperation movement against the British imperialists in 1920. Later he worked on the editorial boards of some of the most reputed Hindi journals like

Matawala, Madhuri, Jagaran and Samanvaya.

He was elected president of the Bihar State Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in 1941 and later as President of the All-India Sahitya Sammelan in 1944.

A living embodiment of vast erudition and pious simplicity, Acharya Shivapujan Sahai worked as director of Bihar Rastra Bhasha Parishad, during the latter part of his life. Under his able guidance the Parishad achieved unique success.

It was under his inspiration that Mahapandit Rahul Santhiyayana's Madhya Asia Ka Itihaas was published by Bihar Rastra Bhasha Parishad. For his devotion to the country and services to the literary world Acharya Shivapujan Sahai was adorned with the title of Padma Bhushan by the Government of India.

Acharya Shivapujan Sahai's writings are compiled in several volumes of Shivapujan Rachanavali.

Communist Party And Trade Unions Collect

Rs. 30 Lakhs For Defence Fund

★ From R. Ganesan

Chinese aggression on our country in the third week of October last year was condemned by all parties in our State.

The Communist Party in particular, was the first party to take out an organised demonstration, condemning Chinese aggression, when under the leadership of the Madras District Committee of the party, a procession marched through Madras on October 24.

But, as in other parts of the country, the reactionary parties, particularly the Swatantra Party and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam have done their best to utilise the opportunity to undermine the people's faith in the Government, in particular the foreign policy of non-alignment.

It is in this background that the mighty campaign launched by our Party in the State for the last two months, has to be considered and no one will deny that it is the Communist Party's widespread campaign that has pushed back the offensive of reaction in this State.

Soon after the Seventh State Conference of the Party held at Madras from November 4 to 9, 1962, a series of public and general body meetings were held throughout the State to explain the National Council Resolution on the Chinese Aggression.

More than 200 mass public meetings have been held in the past two months addressed by State leaders of the party, apart from meetings addressed by district and local leaders. These meetings were addressed by the State leaders of the party: Manali Kandasamy, Secretary of the State Council, S. Mohan Kumaramangalam, N. K. Krishnan, P. Jeevanandam, K. Baladandayutham, V. Subbiah and others.

Whenever there was a public meeting, invariably there would be a general body meeting of the members and sympathisers of the party to explain to them the Party stand and to plan the implementation of the resolution of the National Council.

More than six lakh people have been covered by these public meetings alone.

Effective Work

Party, trade unions and Kisan Sabha units have done effective work collecting donations from the workers and the peasants and the ordinary people for the National Defence Fund.

Many workers' organisations passed resolutions to donate one day's wages to the Defence Fund. The 15,000-strong Coimbatore District Textile Workers' Union, under the leadership of N. K. Krishnan, took a decision to do-

nate one day's wages in the months of November and December.

The other unions, followed suit. The State Transport Union, Madras, decided to work one day more on a holiday in a month. While comrades were thus enthusiastically rallying the people for defence, on November 20 suddenly came the arrests of Communists.

In that first round-up, Tamilnad topped the list of arrests throughout the country. In all 105 communists were arrested under the Defence of India Rules on the night of November 20, 1962.

Naturally the Communists throughout the State were surprised at these arrests, because of the fact that from even prior to the passing of the resolution by the National Council, communists in Tamilnad had taken initiative in mobilising people for condemning Chinese aggression and defending the country.

More astounding, perhaps, was that many comrades who had been in the forefront of this campaign from the time the Chinese crossed India's borders, particularly leaders of our trade union movement were arrested and put in jail. An outstanding example was A. S. K. Iyengar, General Secretary of the Madras Harbour Workers' Union, who had come back post-haste from Kottayam where he was undergoing treatment, in order to build up workers' effort in a key sector of India's economy, the Madras Port.

Important Comrades Arrested

So also the important comrades arrested throughout the State were mainly from the trade union movement such as M. Kalyanasundaram, President of the Tamilnad Trade Union Congress, K. T. K. Thangamani (a former MP), R. Umanath, MP, K. T. Raju (also a member of the provincial Executive of the party). The entire office staff of the Tamilnad Trade Union Congress including the General Secretary, T. R. Ganesan and two Secretaries, K. M. Sundaram and M. K. Ranganathan were arrested.

It is estimated that out of the 106 arrested 60 were members of the General Council of the Tamilnad Trade Union Congress. These figures would lead one to the irresistible conclusion that the emergency was made use of by the enemies of the workers who wanted to arrest the rising Communist Party influence in the trade union front and to behead the Communist trade-union lea-

their donation of Rs. 25,000. The Loyal and Lakshmi Mill workers of Kovilpatti came with a donation of Rs. 29,000. The Match Factory workers of Sivakasi donated Rs. 10,000. The Trichy Textile workers Union donated Rs. 25,000.

In Pondicherry, our comrades collected Rs. 20,000 from the workers for the Defence Fund. The Corporation Workers of Madras gave a donation of Rs. 50,000. The Dunlop Employees Union, Madras, of which Mohan Kumaramangalam is the President, donated a sum of Rs. 10,000 on December 24, to the Chief Minister of the State.

Everywhere collections were flowing in. The Kisan Sabha units in the Tanjore District could collect from the poor agricultural workers Rs. 10,000 for the Defence Fund. In Salem, the Red Flag Unions have donated a sum of Rs. 50,000, Madurai Rs. 60,000 etc. The small donations from the smaller unions and the individual party units are not included in this list.

Massive Fund Collection

From the figures collected from the Party centre, it can be safely said that the collections by the party and the Red Flag unions would have far exceeded Rs. 30 lakhs so far.

We were the first in the whole of the country to take out a protest demonstration against the Chinese aggression. Also we were

the first to donate to the Defence Fund on a party basis, having donated one thousand rupees from the Fund collected for the Seventh State Conference of the Party.

The workers have donated this huge sum to the Defence Fund while their leaders have been put behind the bars. It is needless to say that the collections would have been substantially more if their leaders had been left outside to impart the necessary drive and enthusiasm to the collections.

The State Council of the Party which met at Madurai on December 28, 29 and 30, reviewed the entire situation and congratulated the party ranks on the effective way in which they had kept the banner of the party flying despite most difficult conditions.

In fact though over 100 leaders of our party had been arrested, no other political party during this period has carried on such widespread propaganda or has been responsible for such effective collections among toiling sections of the people.

The State Council while pointing this out also further pressed for the release of Communists. And, it would appear that this has had some effect since the Government recently released 31 comrades in two batches, 12 in the first batch and 19 in the second batch. Among them were important leaders of different districts and trade unions.

(Later, further releases have been ordered.—Ed.)

dership; obviously not in the interests of the defence of the country but in the interests of those who were afraid of communist influence spreading among the workers.

Immediately the reactionary parties did their best to utilise the opportunity for developing their campaign not only against the party but also against the policies of Government. The principal daily of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Muzasoli openly headlined a demand for an explanation from the Government why S. A. Dange and important leaders of the State Party who were outside jail, had not been arrested.

A spokesman of the Swatantra Party utilised Government's widespread arrests to demand an immediate ban on the Communist party and its illegalisation. The argument was a simple one: the Communists were anti-national and in particular their campaign in defence of non-alignment was only a concealed way of preventing India from getting the full help of the West.

Naturally the foundation of the argument would lead anyone not only against the Communist Party but against the basic policies of Pandit Nehru himself.

Despite this vicious offensive the leadership of the party did not swerve from the path charted out at its State conference. The State Executive of the Party which met on December 2 and 3, while protesting against the arrests, demanded immediate release of the arrested Communist leaders and at the same time appealed to all Party units, not to relax in their work in implementing the resolution of the National Council, and also to conduct the release campaign in such a way as to combine it with their efforts for the building up of national defence.

Following the meeting of the Executive, the General Council of the Tamilnad Trade Union Congress which met at Tiruppur on December 8 and 9, further elaborated a plan for collections from the workers.

The response was tremendous. By December 10 the Red Flag Unions in Tamilnad had donated a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs to the Defence Fund.

The workers of Coimbatore had donated a sum of Rs. 1.75 lakhs out of which one lakh was from the AITUC unions. The Red Flag Valparai Estate workers' Union donated a sum of Rs. 1.5 lakhs. The Coimbatore District Mill Workers Union one lakh and the District General Engineering & Mechanical workers Rs. 25,000. The Textile Mill workers, Banyan workers, Rice Mill and Municipal workers of Tiruppur donated Rs. 14,363 in the month of October and Rs. 17,516.23 in November, in all Rs. 31,879.23.

The Madurai Textile workers Union affiliated to the AITUC has donated a sum of Rs. 28,175.97. The workers of Harvey Mills, Vikramasingapuram gave

The West Bengal Legislature which adjourned its session last month reassembled on January 7. Some important bills of controversial nature are on the agenda. These are Zilla Parishad Bill, Board of Secondary Education Bill, Meetings and Processions Control Bill and Dramatic Performance Bill.

THE last two which sought to curb the right to hold meetings and processions and to perform dramatic acts, requiring obtaining of license and prior permission, have been dropped from this session's business.

The Zilla Parishad Bill which provides for the formation of Zilla and Anchalk Parishads, has been referred to a Select Committee, after the opposition members pointed out its undemocratic character at the introduction stage.

But the Government is persisting with the Board of Secondary Education Bill. This bill is almost the same as the one passed by West Bengal Council in 1957 which lapsed as it was not placed before the Assembly during its tenure. The Bill is still going through its second reading in the Assembly and with the Congress

majority, it is sure to be passed.

But its retrograde character was brought out sharply by Somnath Lahiri, the acting leader of the Communist Bloc. Initiating the debate, he pointed out that more emphasis had been laid on the control than on the development of secondary education; and of tightening the bureaucratic control by providing that out of 31 members who would constitute the Board, 18 would be Government officers and persons nominated by the Government.

He appealed that even if the Control of the Board is kept in the hands of ruling party, let it be placed in the charge of the representatives of the people and the educationists and the aim be overall development of education.

WEST BENGAL

Retrograde Bills Before West Bengal Assembly

While such retrograde Bills are being pressed through the legislature, the Finance Minister warned that the common people would have to bear more tax burdens to meet the needs of the emergency. He also said that taxes on the rich had almost reached the optimum point. With this attitude, it is no wonder that in West Bengal more communists and workers and peasants are being arrested even now and those in the jails are being kept in appalling conditions.

More Arrests

The Chief Minister informed the House on Jan. 7 that from November 20 to December 31, 419 persons had been arrested in the State, 107 under Defence of India Rules, three under P.D. Act and the rest under Security Act. These included a Chinese and a Tibetan. Two more MLAs—B. Mitra and Mrigen Bhattacharya have been arrested.

Kamal Sarkar, a member of the State Council of the Party has been rearrested on January 12 and in districts local leaders are being still arrested. A Calling Attention motion by Dr. Narayan Roy, acting Chief Whip of the Communist Bloc on this issue was disallowed by the Speaker.

The West Bengal State Secretariat of the CPI in a press statement has appealed to the State Government to review its policy regarding the Party and to release those arrested. Recalling Prime Minister Nehru's statement that "in some States arrests might have exceeded the requirements," the statement said that the party expected that the West Bengal Government would review the cases of those arrested under D.I. Rules and Security Act and "would begin to release those still in jails. But although other States have begun to move in this direction, we are surprised that the West Bengal Government is still refusing to take any step."

The statement further pointed out that many of those arrested, including prominent persons like Municipal Commissioners are being kept in class III, and denied beds as well as other amenities and those detained without trial are not being given family allowance, which was given earlier.

VIRULENT PRESS CAMPAIGN

WHEN the Government is using its repressive machinery to stifle the activities of the Party a section of the press, unfortunately, is persisting in its attempts to rouse anti-Communist hysteria and also to sow disruption in the ranks of

the Party by publication of all sorts of fabricated news.

A section of the press raised a hue and cry over a speech of S. A. Dange in London. Publishing a completely cooked-up report from one of the party's own correspondents in London, which alleged that Dange refused to call China aggressor, questions were editorially raised as to how Government allowed S. A. Dange to go abroad and why the CPI is still tolerated as a legal party, when its leaders were engaged in anti-national activities outside the country.

The reports sent by Reuter or even one Special Representative of one of the Calcutta papers were at complete variance with the report referred to above. It is reliably learnt that the Special Correspondent's despatch was 'killed' as that was not to the liking of the bosses of the papers, even though it contained the truth. Bhowani Sen, Secretary of the CPI State Council, in a statement contradicted this vile propaganda.

But this sort of inspired stories have not ceased publication. Even the staid and subtle Statesman published on January 9 a story captioned "Pro-Peking Group Victorious" in which it painted a picture of "small underground pro-Peking group" attracting the party rank and file and having gained control of the party organisation and isolating the "nationalist wing" who were "holsted to leadership by the intervention of Party's Central Secretariat".

The story mentioned that party ranks were not responding to the call for funds to save Swadhinata and that it might close down. It went so far as to publish a story saying "Khrushchov had declined to meet Dange," as he represented only a section of the sharply divided CPI and so Bhupesh Gupta, Ranen Sen went to Moscow, when they were met by Khrushchov! Bhowani Sen in a statement nailed down these false stories and stated categorically that

"We are getting a good response for collecting funds for the daily paper, and the Party ranks are doing their best to carry out the directives of the Secretariat," and that "Bhupesh Gupta and Ranen Sen remained in India all along while Dange was abroad and they still remain in India. That Dange had fruitful talks with the Soviet leaders which were carried by the Indian press earlier."

The Statesman report also stated that the printer and publisher of Swadhinata had applied for its closure. But perhaps the Staff Reporter deliberately missed a prominent news item published in Swadhinata of January 8 that on January 7, the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta has cancelled the Declaration of Santosh Kumar Chatterjee as the printer & publisher of Swadhinata and has directed Tarun Sen Gupta to file a new Declaration as Swadhinata's printer & publisher on January 8. This has now been done.

In the course of his order on the petition of Tarun Sen Gupta to be declared as the printer and publisher of Swadhinata, the CPM rejected the contention of the counsel of Santosh Chatterjee that Bhowani Sen had no constitutional right to act as the Secretary of the WB State Council of the Party and as such neither he can dismiss him nor can appoint Tarun Sen Gupta.

The CPM further said that Santosh Chatterjee had made unacceptable his position as the printer and publisher of Swadhinata, the organ of the Communist Party, by declaring that he had left the Communist Party and he was ceasing publication of the journal.

One stiff hurdle on the way to keep the Swadhinata going has thus been crossed and there is no doubt that others will also be crossed and the Swadhinata will continue to spread the message of the Party.

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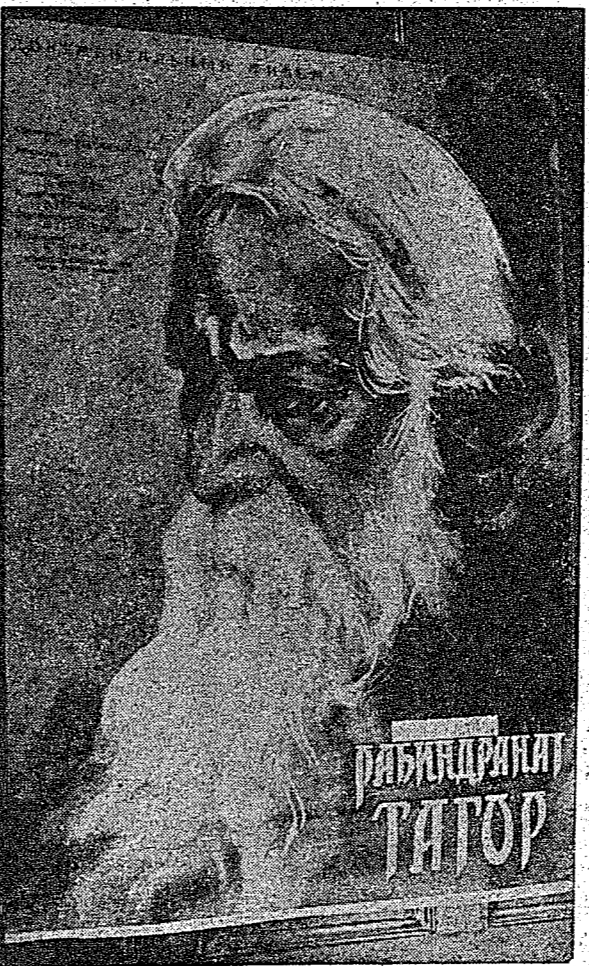
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Soviet Exhibition



An exhibition of the Soviet film posters was inaugurated a few days back at Travancore House by the Cultural Department of the Soviet Embassy. The exhibition in New Delhi will last for about two weeks.

THESE posters are painted by some of the most outstanding artists of the Soviet Union. Expressing the maximum in a minimum space, they portray a vivid, graphic and unique style in the art of poster-making.

Some of the posters exhibited also deal with the themes of famous French, Indian, American, Italian; Czech and Yugoslav feature and documentary films dubbed into Russian.

The most attractive exhibits are posters of the films "Cranes are Flying" (Russian), "Idiot" (Russian), "America as the French See It" (French), "Farewell to Pigeons" (Russian) and the documentary on Rabindranath Tagore.



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Chinese Dogmatism And The Border Dispute

India and China, in 1954, as joint architects of Panchsheel, roused new hope in a peace-hungry world. The warmongers of the West and the reactionaries at home mock at the memory of those heart-warming days. Prime Minister Nehru gives them the answer, that the Chinese violation of Panchsheel has only enhanced its value for India, for safeguarding its national independence and for keeping intact its world role and prestige.

PANCHSHEEL is another name for the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence. Pandit Nehru spontaneously and enthusiastically accepted it as the basis of good neighbourly relationship between our two great countries. He was the first non-Communist leader of a major country to openly accept Panchsheel as State policy.

Nehru does not claim to be a Leninist while the Chinese leaders swear by Leninism. Nehru's adherence to Panchsheel was a great asset for the Chinese Communists. As good realists, they had to be ready for difficulties and even provocations. As good Leninists, it was their duty to find principled peaceful solution to the problems that were bound to crop up in our mutual relations. What, however, became the reality? Massive clash of arms took place, to the bewildering shock of the common friends of India and China.

What a contrast with the picture, despite vastly greater difficulties, on the other side of the globe! As India and China are two top major powers on the Asian mainland so are the US and USSR on a world scale. The US never solemnly accepted Panchsheel and it is the No. 1 imperialist power, whose proclaimed policy is to prepare for war, in the name of preventing war. History had placed on the shoulders of the USSR the main responsibility to ensure the triumph of the principle of peaceful co-existence and save world peace. Critical event after event, during the post-war years, bears testimony to the constructive peaceful initiatives by the Soviet Government which all stemmed from the ever green and creative Leninist teaching. The latest is the bold solution of the Cuban crisis.

The blood that besmirched the Holy Himalayas is grim evidence of Leninism misunderstood and misapplied by the Chinese leaders, even in the case of a non-aligned and peaceful country. The dark clouds of war scatter.

ed to the winds over the Caribbean is glowing evidence of Leninism vindicated and triumphant under the Soviet leadership even when the other side is imperialist, with the mad militarists' and greedy monopolists abounding.

The Chinese mistake is no ordinary mistake. It is a mistake of principle. It has cost the Chinese themselves the most — friendship of the most important non-aligned country and their isolation within the Communist family itself.

Two Lessons

The Chinese leaders correctly differentiate between reactionary nationalism and progressive nationalism. They have, however, yet to learn two bitter but living lessons.

First, that their mistaken attitude and military adventure have strengthened as never before the "reactionary nationalists", champions of alliance with the West — their own worst enemies, in India, who are alien to India's best national tradition besides.

Secondly, that the Nehru leadership which they wrongly identified with reactionary nationalism has, despite the storm and stress created by the Chinese adventure, in reality functioned as a progressive nationalist leadership in very trying circumstances indeed. It did not forsake non-alignment for an alliance with the West. It did not give up the policy of friendship with the Socialist countries but sought greater understanding. It has welcomed the efforts of non-aligned powers to achieve a negotiated settlement of the India-China dispute.

A sound understanding and consistent application of the principle of co-existence could not have led to such an awful mess in India-China relations. A realistic evaluation of the various political forces in India would not have led the Chinese to mistake

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for Chakravarty Rajagopalachari!

The Chinese proudly claim to have "Sinicized" Marxism. At the 1960 Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers Parties some farsighted leaders of world Communism warned that this concept of Sinification can be the dangerous signal for slipping from the position of Marxism-Leninism to Chinese nationalism. The experience of life has proved that the Chinese Communist leaders did not heed the warning of the other comrades and the result has been that India-China relations that were once brimful of goodwill have become bitter with ill-will.

It is well-known to all Communists that to stabilise the Russian Revolution and in the interests of good-neighbourly relations and peace and above all, to isolate the imperialist powers, Lenin in his time made serious territorial concessions to Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and even Russia's European neighbours. Lenin not only conceded the right of secession to the Baltic territories of the Czarist Empire but signed peace treaties with them, based on concessions to the satisfaction of their new bourgeois rulers.

Defending the treaty with Estonia, Lenin said:

"The peace (with Estonia) was concluded under conditions by which we made a number of territorial concessions; concessions which did not completely correspond to strict adherence to the principle of the self-determination of nations, by which in deeds we made it manifest that the question of frontier was a question of secondary importance to us, while the question of peaceful relationships, the question of the suitability of waiting on the development of the conditions of life within each nation, was not merely the most important question in principle, but also one of such a nature that by it we were able to win the confidence of nations hostile to us."

Glaring Contrast

Herein lies the glaring contrast. Lenin made territorial concessions "to win the confidence of nations hostile" to what became the Soviet Union under his leadership. The Chinese comrades, who, however, swear by Lenin's name, made such territorial claims as to make a friendly country (India) hostile!

Obviously enough the Chinese example is not one from the treasure-house of Leninist experience and teachings.

One has to re-read any of the long series of official notes and letters exchanged between the spokesmen of the two countries on the boundary dispute to realise that this is just how it has happened.

Faced with national territorial claims from a peace-loving national bourgeois-led neighbour it was the Leninist duty of the Chinese leaders to make what to them may appear as concessions, in terms of Leninist wisdom and in the cause of India-China friendship and its historic importance for world struggle.

backwards, in the negative direction, causing deep concern and dismay all round, and only to the delight of Western imperialists and Indian reactionaries.

Thus the very Chinese approach to the border dispute was un-Leninist and chauvinistic, no different than Chiang Kai-shek's on this very dispute! The subsequent course of action inevitably enough became abusive, disruptive and provocative instead of uplifting, constructive, and conciliatory as would have necessarily followed by adopting the noble Leninist approach to the problem.

The Chinese comrades hide their self-righteous chauvinistic approach behind a mask of anti-imperialism. The running theme of their propaganda is that the areas they now claim as Chinese territories were added to the then Indian Empire by the British imperialists. Even conceding the Chinese point, this only makes past history. British imperialism no more controls either India on these areas to be able to use them as bases against China. These territories, on the contrary, are an integral part of the national territories of the Republic of India, bound to the People's Republic of China with the silken threads of Panchsheel.

What sort of history is it that the anti-imperialist memory of the Chinese past is hurled against anti-imperialist India of today! Historic memories of the past pursued in isolation from the present-day realities misfire, hitting the friend instead of the common foe.

Our Expectation

We, Indian Communists, expected the Chinese Communists to nurse and strengthen the anti-imperialist memory and ardour of the Chinese people and victoriously lead it, at the appropriate time, against British-occupied Hong Kong and US-protected Taiwan, with the best wishes and support of the anti-imperialist Indian people.

The anti-imperialist memory of the past is misused to begot the present India-China relations in their present day historic context and perspective. The mistake goes further. The anti-imperialist memory of the Chinese people and Liberation Armymen is roused to activate them to enforce a military solution of the India-China border dispute.

During last October as the crisis developed on the border and armed clashes took place, the People's Daily wrote editorially:

"It is high time to shout to Mr. Nehru that the heroic Chinese troops with their glorious tradition of resisting foreign aggression can never be cleared by anyone from their own territory (this was after crossing the McMahon Line, on their own admission) — PC"

"History has repeatedly proved that not the Chinese troops but the Japanese imperial army and the Yankees were cleared out of the Chinese territory. This has been the fate of all foreign aggressors on Chinese soil and this will be so in future. If there are still some maniacs who are reckless enough to ignore our well-intentioned advice and insist on having another try, well, let them do. History will pronounce its

inexorable verdict. "All Commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army guarding the Sino-Indian border, heighten your vigilance a hundred-fold."

"Your sacred task now is to defend our territory and be ever-ready to deal resolute counterblows at any invader!" It is neither good history nor sound politics to compare the tragic events following India-China border dispute with the Japanese imperialist invasion of the Chinese mainland or the US imperialist intervention in favour of Chiang Kai-shek to stabilise a puppet State against the on-rushing tide of the Chinese revolution.

To miss the historic and basic differences, obvious to all and most so to Communists the world over, except the Chinese dogmatists, leads to transforming the anti-imperialist sentiments of the Indian people into anti-Chinese hatred and corrupting of the anti-imperialist sentiments of the Chinese people and soldiers with the poison of anti-Indian hysteria.

Thus Chinese chauvinism with its self-righteousness corrupts the Chinese mind and with its arrogance turns India hostile. Exactly the opposite was demanded of Chinese Communism in terms of Communist principles and in the cause of India-China friendship.

Theory For Tactics

Such an approach to the very problem itself is theoretically mistaken, both in terms of Communist principles and historical experience.

The Chinese, however, have a "theoretical" justification for the tactics they have pursued in the dispute. They claim that the tactics they have adopted towards the Indian Government is good Marxism-Leninism. They even go further. They bitterly complain that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union pursues a different course "siding with Nehru", a bourgeois statesman, as against China a fraternal socialist country. They simultaneously sneer at the Indian Communists as "so-called Marxist-Leninists".

One of the Communist tactical principles is that in the struggle against imperialism and in the reconstruction of newly liberated countries, they pursue the tactic of unity and struggle vis-a-vis their national bourgeoisie. The Chinese Communists proved their mastery over this very tactic the way they led the Chinese revolution to victory.

The trouble, however, arises when the Chinese seek to mechanically apply their own experience to other countries. The tactic of unity and struggle describes the attitude of the proletariat of the country towards its own national bourgeoisie. It becomes a mistake in terms of Marxism-Leninism when what is itself sound internal tactics between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of a given country is made the basis of defining State-relationship between a socialist country and a country led by the national bourgeoisie of a newly-liberated country. This is what the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, Teng Hsiao-ping states:

"With regard to the countries where the national bourgeoisie is at the helm, the socialist countries must also pursue a policy of alliance and struggle in conformity with the concrete situation."

"This means supporting the positive aspect of these countries on peace, against imperialism and concurrently wage the necessary struggle against their reactionary aspect as expressed in their collusion with imperialism and in their struggle against socialist countries. Such is the Marxist-Leninist policy which the Communist Party of China is consistently following in its relations with the nationalist countries."

It is thus true that the politically provocative and practically adventurist, even militarist, course of action, that the Chinese pursued vis-a-vis India follows directly from the above, but then it constitutes a gross violation of "Marxist-Leninist policy" on "relations with nationalist countries."

The Chinese comrades would be within their Marxist-Leninist rights if they exercised their fraternal right to criticise, rightly or wrongly, the C.P. of India for not correctly following the tactic of unity and struggle towards the Indian bourgeoisie.

However when the Chinese Communists, as the responsible leadership of the Chinese Party and the Liberation Army themselves seek to implement the "struggle" aspect of their tactic, would it not become a violation of Panchsheel, and interference in the internal affairs of another country? Has not living experience exposed this mistake as such?

In the Chinese view the above is a "must" for all "socialist countries".

The other socialist countries, except the Chinese, follow a policy of unity and seek growing understanding with the newly-liberated countries led by the national bourgeoisie based on the sound Marxist-Leninist understanding that as long as they are led by the national bourgeoisie, they will pursue an independent foreign policy; and if they pursue a policy of their own they cannot but demarcate themselves from imperialism and help the cause of anti-colonialism and world peace.

There will of course be weaknesses and shortcomings but then it is the task of their own people to strengthen and correct the policy of their Government and not of outsiders. Socialist countries can help by developing greater understanding and co-operation. In terms of the law of the epoch it is the shining example of socialism that will speed up the march of the newly-liberated countries on the historic road they are traversing and the imperialist blandishments and temptations will fall, provided the people concerned see right and act right.

"Collusion With Imperialism"

The most dangerous part of the Chinese understanding lies where they consider it to be their "Marxist-Leninist duty" to wage the necessary struggle against another country in their reactionary aspect as expressed in their collusion with imperialism and

in their struggle against socialist countries. This becomes their theoretical justification for resorting to a course of action which ended up in military measures.

It is only in words that the Chinese accept the dual role of the bourgeoisie. In practice they go mostly by the negative aspect. The Indian national bourgeoisie fully exploits its non-aligned character to get economic aid from both the capitalist and the socialist countries; and we know with what success and without essentially compromising national independence. The Chinese, however, completely ignore (because they disapprove of) the socialist aid to India. They add up the figures of Western and above all US aid to India and arbitrarily relate it to the anti-China campaign with India and draw the lepid and highly exaggerated conclusion that it is because of such growing Indian "collusion with imperialism" that relations with China are worsening. This is only one side of the wrong picture.

The other side of their mistaken outlook is what they wrongly call "the struggle against socialist countries". If national bourgeois-led India does not accept the border claims advanced on behalf of the People's Republic of China, this is characterised as part of "struggle against socialist countries".

No other socialist country understands the issue thus. Not one socialist country, except Albania, supports this Chinese understanding. They all understand it as a border dispute, with rival national claims, which are not part of the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the concrete context.

Nehru is more realistic than the Chinese dogmatists. In Indian official communications and his own public speeches and statements he takes great pains to explain that India's complaint has nothing against world Communism, or even Communism in China. He has refused to play the Western anti-Communist tune despite the Chinese provocation.

The Chinese seek to hide their chauvinistic understanding and seek support for their exaggerated territorial claims under the plea that they are a socialist country, Marxist-Leninist principles and Lenin's own personal examples point the opposite way. Just because China is a socialist country it must make only just and not exaggerated claims as regards the India-China border problem.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the national bourgeoisie side will harp primarily on the theme of claims but it is the duty of the socialist side, relying upon its willingness to make concessions to pave the way to a peaceful solution so that the dispute can end with the chorus of friendship and lead to greater anti-imperialist solidarity.

We have, however, seen that the opposite actually happened, which roused India to a man and which caused the deepest concern in all the capitals where the Red Flag rules. The anti-Communists within India and the imperialists from the West are trying to drive home their lesson that non-aligned India having seen the true face of Communism through Chinese aggression must beware!

Thoughtful and patriotic Indians are discussing the living

P. Jeevanandham

Tamilnad is mourning the death by heart failure on January 18 of Comrade P. Jeevanandham, one of the founders of the Communist Party in this state and one of its outstanding leaders.

P. Jeevanandham was born in 1906 in a poor peasant family in Boothapandi, Kanyakumari District. From his early days an ardent nationalist, he joined the renowned Vaikkom Satyagraha, in which have participated almost all the Nationalist leaders of the South.

In 1927, he was elected to the All-India Congress Committee and took an active part in the Madras Congress. He was imprisoned in 1932 as a participant in the Salt Satyagraha.

Even at that time his mind was actively turning towards Socialism and about 1932 he founded the Socialist Weekly Samadhamam publishing it from Jalapet. In 1934, he joined the then illegal Communist Party, and also started the Labour Protection League in Tamilnad of which he was the President. From 1937 to 1939, he was a member of the A.I.C.C. and in 1938, he was also a member of the Working Committee of the Tamilnad Provincial Congress Committee.

Along with Comrades P. Ramamurthi, and the late B. Srinivasa Rao and A. S. K. Ayyangar, P. Jeevanandham was active in the Congress Socialist Party in those days and was the Editor of Janasakthi, a weekly Tamil paper, started in 1937. He continued till his death to edit the paper even after it was converted into a daily.

P. Jeevanandham was arrested again in 1939 on the

outbreak of the Second World War. He was released and exiled from Madras State. For some time, he had to live in Karaikkal and then Bombay, when he was re-arrested. In 1942, he was released and once more plunged into the trade union and in the freedom movement. In 1946 and 1947, he took an active part in organising mighty demonstrations in Madras and the rest of Tamilnad in connection with the R.I.N. Mutiny etc., which finally compelled the

Communist Party to participate in the Special Conference held in early November last year.

Commrade Jeevanandham was a brilliant orator in Tamil; he was also a renowned writer and poet. No major literary function in Tamilnad, whether in connection with Subramania Bharathi, whose disciple he was or in connection with Kamba Ramayana or other great Tamil literary works, could be considered complete without his participation. He was President of many Tamil literary and cultural organisations.

He leaves behind his wife Smt. Padma, now working as a Women's Welfare Officer and two daughters and a son.

In a message the General Secretary of the CPI, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, conveyed the deep sense of grief and loss felt by the entire Party over the passing away of this veteran fighter for the cause of national independence, socialism and people's well-being.

Chairman of the Control Commission Comrade S. V. Ghate a close associate of Com. Jeevanandham from the earliest days also sent a message. Another message of condolence was sent on behalf of the Communist Parliamentary Group by Comrades Bhupesh Gupta and A. K. Gopalan.

British to grant independence to India.

Commrade Jeevanandham was again arrested for his active campaigning for the demands of the workers and peasants immediately after independence. He was released in 1951 and in the first general elections in 1952 elected a Member of the Legislative Assembly from the Washermanpet Constituency. He was elected a member of the National Council of the Communist Party at the Amritsar Con-

experience that though China was under Communist leaders, it was not supported by the worldwide Communist movement, by the various socialist Governments and above all, the USSR. On the other hand, they did all they could to pull back China from its mad adventurous course. Despite the negative and humiliating experience at Chinese hands, the Indian patriots have gone through the positive and uplifting experience of Communist principles as applied in the gravest-ever crisis in India-China relations by the rest of the world Communist movement.

The Indian Communists belied the evil prophecy of the anti-Communists that in the hour of national crisis, we will betray our own borders and dear country.

The Chinese resort to arms to solve their dispute with India led to their isolation from the world Communist movement, showed them up as deviators from the noble and revolutionary principles of Marxism.

We, Indian Communists, will fight for winning peace with honour with the same doggedness and firmness we worked for the defence of our motherland and in cooperation with all patriotic countrymen of ours.

Indian Reactionaries

It is no accident that all the political reptiles of the Indian Right who yelled against "Chi-

on anti-Chinese campaign, go ahead and conduct it, the longer such a groundless anti-Chinese campaign continues the more it will prove that the responsibility does not lie with the Chinese side and the people will sooner or later see the true state of affairs and will be the wiser for it. In this precisely lies the role of lessons through negative example to which Comrade Mao Tse-tung referred."

Has not enough happened in the recent past to mock out of existence this vain boast, alien to Marxism-Leninism and worthy of arrogant chauvinism alone? Let the Chinese comrades learn in Mao's own words "the lessons from negative examples" which their dogmatist, chauvinist and adventurist mistakes have produced, which life has itself spelled out thick and large:

—Friendly India turned hostile.
—Danger of breach between the Socialist and non-aligned world.
—Damage to the principle of co-existence.
—Isolation of Chinese Party in the world Communist brotherhood.

"I told you (the Indian side) not to conduct an anti-Chinese campaign, but since you insist

(January 8)

P. C. JOSHI

by

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CHINESE PERFORMANCE AT BERLIN CONGRESS

★ From P. Kunhanandan Nair

BERLIN:

The representative of the Communist Party of China, Central Committee member Wu Hsiu-chuan used the platform of the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to attack brother Parties like the Communist Party of India and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. But he was immediately hooted down by the delegates in angry protests.

THE Chairman of the session Paul Werner interrupted Wu Hsiu-chuan's speech and warned him not to attack brother Parties whose representatives were attending the Congress.

The Chinese representative flouted the sober and passionate appeal made by Nikita Khrushchov in his speech to show restraint and patience in discussing ideological questions. Khrushchov had said two days ago that the Central Committee of the CPSU would consider it useful to call a halt to polemics between Communist Parties and requested brother Parties to stop criticising other Parties and allow some time for passion to subside.

Marked Difference

This sober appeal to help heal the wounds of ideological differences was acclaimed by all fraternal delegates and the Communist Press all over the world and friends of socialism and communism. Khrushchov himself showed great restraint in his speech. All other fraternal delegates, too, avoided mentioning China or attacking directly the erroneous policies of the Communist Party of China.

But the atmosphere of fraternity and tranquility that was maintained all along the first three days of the Congress was broken by a provocative speech of Wu Hsiu-chuan attacking the Republic of India and the CPI.

He launched a propaganda barrage with massive lies to cover up China's massive attacks against peaceful India. He lied "China has consistent-

ly sought a fair and reasonable solution (of the border dispute) through peaceful negotiations. Nevertheless, Nehru Government of India has completely rejected negotiations and made ever increasing encroachments on China's border territories."

Chinese "Self-Defence"

He further lied that Nehru had ordered to free Chinese territories. His defence of China's leap forward across Himalayas was clothed in these words: "Confronted with massive attacks of the Indian troops, China struck back in self-defence, this was a minimum legitimate measure that any other sovereign country would have taken."

His German and foreign listeners, nearly 5,000, mocked at this Chinese insolence, burying this part of his speech in a long laughter.

The Chinese suggestion of a moratorium on attacks on brother Parties was immediately broken by the proposer himself who attacked the Communist Party of India, and Yugoslavia. He equated the Communist Party of India's policy of support to India's national defence with the support given by imperialist powers to the Nehru Government. He called the leadership of the CPI "Some self-styled Marxist-Leninists". Here are the words of the Chinese representative:

"The Nehru Government is supported and encouraged by imperialists, especially by the U.S. imperialists in its opposition to China and in its increasingly reactionary domestic and foreign policies.

"The Nehru Government is supported and encouraged by imperialists, especially by the U.S. imperialists in its opposition to China and in its increasingly reactionary domestic and foreign policies.

"It is regrettable that it is also supported by some self-styled Marxist-Leninists, who have disregarded the facts and regarded right as wrong throughout the Sino-Indian border dispute. They shut their eyes to the numerous relevant documents which Socialist China published during the past three years or more; and turn a deaf ear to all the informations and explanations which the Chinese side has repeatedly made to them.

"They have actually joined Nehru in the anti-China chorus. Such a shocking stand has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

This ugly description of the policy and leadership of the Communist Party of India came as a sudden shock for the delegates. At this point, Comrade Wu was heckled and shouted down. But the stubborn Chinese would not budge.

Attack On Yugoslavia

He passed on to attack the Communist League of Yugoslavia. He called them modern revisionists who succumbed to imperialist pressure. "The Tito clique is a special detachment of the U.S. imperialism for carrying out the latter's counter-revolutionary global strategy," he said accusing socialist Yugoslavia.

Once again violent shouts of protests rose from the Congress hall. The Yugoslav comrades were sitting in the tribune of the Presidium.

The Chairman of the session rang the bell and interrupted the Chinese delegate's speech.

Wu Hsiu-chuan knew the whole world was against him. But no matter how he was isolated and hooted down, he would continue his dogmatic rigmarole and denunciation of brother Parties.

Then he theorised on the differences: "The entire experience of the international Communist movement proves that among fraternal countries and fraternal Parties dif-

ferences of one kind or other are hard to avoid."

PRIME Minister Khrushchov promptly responded and invited Willy Brandt to East Berlin for talks, in conformity with his policy of negotiated settlement on Berlin question and consistent with the dominant note of the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany that a reasonable compromise with the West is possible and necessary to remove the war danger in the heart of Europe and for normalising relations between the people of the two Germanies.

But the ruling circles in Bonn, Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union, opposed Brandt's meeting with Khrushchov.

Mayor Brandt announced two days ago that he had called off the scheduled meeting with Khrushchov in East Berlin because of the objections of his coalition parties in West Berlin City Government. Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union is the main partner, the chief opponent of talks.

CPI GREETINGS TO THE CONGRESS

On January 11, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the CPI sent the following message to the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany:

ON behalf of the Communist Party of India, the Secretariat of its National Council sends you warm fraternal greetings on the occasion of your Congress.

All progressive peace-loving sections of the Indian people look to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany as a staunch fighter for peace in the world. They hope that the struggles waged by the socialist and peace forces in the world and the peaceable foreign policy of the socialist camp would help the German people to defeat the war plans of imperialist powers and their revisionist allies in the Federal Republic of Germany.

We wish that your Congress will help you to further strengthen the German people's struggle for peace in the world and a peaceful solution of the West Berlin and other problems of German unity.

After violently running down the CPI and the YLC he gave lip service to the proposal, viz. the cessation of public attack between fraternal Parties, relaxation of strained relations and improvement of atmosphere.

He said "We will be too glad if these professions will be translated into action. The action of a Communist should correspond with his words." This once again provoked a mocking laughter among delegates and fraternal guests.

Wu Hsiu-chuan then rejected the suggestion of Khrushchov not to press for an international meeting immediately (for, the CPSU thought that "if we convene a meeting immediately there will probably be

Turning to China's internal policies, he held high the three Red Banners—the general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's communes. He said great successes have been achieved. But did not make any effort to back this claim with facts or figures.

When the Chinese delegate concluded without any applause or ovation from the Congress, the Chairman of the

VISIT THAT BRANDT COULD NOT MAKE

BERLIN, January 20

On the eve of Khrushchov's Berlin visit, West Berlin Lord Mayor, Social Democratic leader Willy Brandt had expressed a desire to meet and talk with Khrushchov on the Berlin question.

PRIME Minister Khrushchov promptly responded and invited Willy Brandt to East Berlin for talks, in conformity with his policy of negotiated settlement on Berlin question and consistent with the dominant note of the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany that a reasonable compromise with the West is possible and necessary to remove the war danger in the heart of Europe and for normalising relations between the people of the two Germanies.

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Only last May, Chancellor Adenauer openly rebuked President Kennedy for agreeing to have talks with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin and leaked out prematurely a US Berlin compromise plan to sabotage any settlement.

Brandt said the Christian

The Republic of Togoland was proclaimed an independent State on April 27, 1960. Formerly it was a U. N. Trust territory administered by France. Situated between Ghana and Dahomey, Togo is a small country with an area of 57,000 sq. miles and a population of 1,100,000 only. Lome is the capital city.

THE Republic of Togoland and Dahomey were both under French domination prior to independence and they belong to the Monrovia group of African States, in contrast to the Casablanca powers to which Ghana belongs. The Government of the Republic of Togoland headed by the late President Olympio received a great deal of help from Western powers, specially France and U.S.A.

After the Lagos Conference held on January 30, 1962 which was attended by the Heads of States of the Monrovia group, the late President

Portugal In Ferment

★FROM OMEMO GOOPTU

A development that is certainly to emerge as an extremely important and new element in the struggle to oust Dr. Salazar's dictatorship in Portugal has just been disclosed in London.

AT a secret conference somewhere in Western Europe, delegates representing all the political forces fighting against the fascist regime in Portugal decided to form a united Patriotic Front of National Liberation. Among the delegates were those who represented two sections of the socialists, the Catholics and the Portuguese Communist Party.

The aim of the newly-formed organization, as disclosed by Dr. Manuel Sertorio, 37-year-old lawyer, socialist and a prominent opposition leader, at a press conference in London, is to oust the Salazar dictatorship and wage a united war to establish a democratic Portugal.

The Patriotic Front also recognises the right of all of Portugal's colonies in Asia and Africa to self-determination and national independence. It will, as such, co-ordinate the struggle of the various forces to remove Salazar's dictatorship "with that of the movements fighting for liberation in Portugal's colonies."

A central committee to co-ordinate and lead all opposition activities was set up by the Conference. It has also been entrusted with the task of organising a delegate committee abroad to support the struggle inside Portugal within a month.

None could foresee that the life-President will not

contributing to the consolidation of peace in this part of the world.

"Nobody is capable any longer of blotting out the German Democratic Republic from the political reality of Europe. History has once and for all wrested from the German militarists the monopoly to represent Germany."

"Our Parties and countries," Gomulka declared, "are linked by strong and lasting ties of ideological community, of fraternal friendship and cooperation, of unbreakable alliance in the struggle for the victory of socialism and peace. This fact has created a new era in Polish-German relations."

"Our Party," continued W. Gomulka, "has repeatedly expressed its full support for the peace policy of the Soviet Union, having full regard for principles and full of a sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind, for the Leninist policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government. The speech made yesterday by N. S. Khrushchov expresses also the stand of our Party. We are in full agreement with the postulate put forward by N. S. Khrushchov that, despite the divergences between the CPSU and Communist Workers' Parties on one side and the leaderships of certain Communist Parties on the other, public polemics and disputes should be stopped. The divergences must be removed calmly and patiently by way of internal discussions. The public polemics and the irresponsible attacks aimed at the CPSU by the leaderships of certain communist parties have gathered strength in the period of the crisis in the Caribbean area. They were detrimental to the cause of the unity of the international communist movement."

"It is bad, it does great harm to our cause," said Gomulka "when this or that party departs in its policy from the general line, from the spirit and the letter of the resolutions of Communist and Workers' Parties adopted at the two Moscow Conferences in 1957 and 1960.

"But the harm which the international communist movement suffers in its result is to be repaired. For these parties can and should change their harmful attitude and assume the stand on the ground of the line mapped out by the international documents of the Moscow Conferences.

"This is the demand of the struggle against imperialism, it is the demand of the mission of safeguarding mankind from a nuclear war, a mission taken up by the international Communist movement, it is the demand of our common cause of socialism."

TOGOLAND

FACTS BEHIND HEADLINES

★By O. P. Paliwal

Sylvanus Olympio of Togo had visited U.S.A. On March 22, 1962, President Kennedy and President Olympio issued a joint communique hailing the creation of the Organisation of African States (O.A.S.) at the Lagos Conference as a constructive step towards African unity.

It was then reported in Washington that U.S. technical and economic aid to Togo in 1962 would be enhanced to about \$500,000. Recently on November 17, 1962 an agreement was signed between the Federal Republic of Germany and Togo, according to which the former promised to give a loan of 53 million marks for the first stage of the port of Lome.

The name of the ruling party of the Republic of Togoland is: Parti de l'Unité Togolaise. On October 20, 1962 the Party had met at Lome and unanimously elected Sylvanus Olympio as its life President. His close collaborator Rudolph Thompson was made the Secretary General.

None could foresee that the life-President will not

be alive even for three months! The President was assassinated on January 13, 1963. It is reported that unsuccessful attempts were also made on his life previously.

Among the Opposition leaders Grunitsky, brother-in-law of the late President belongs to the Parti Togolais du Progrès. He was till recently in Dahomey. After the assassination he has come back to Lome. Another exiled leader, so far in Ghana, Meatchi, is also reported back in Togo after the assassination.

In 1961, many opposition party leaders were arrested and some of them after release had left for Ghana. The Secretary General of the opposition party 'Juventu', Mr. Firmin Abalo was sentenced for three months' imprisonment and a fine of 50,000 francs for disseminating false information likely to trouble public order. He was defended by former Justice Minister Anani Santos.

Though there has been a struggle between Ghana and Togo on governmental level

over the integration of former British Togoland with Ghana, there is a non-official movement which aims at paving the way for a better understanding between Ghana and Togo.

After the assassination of the President, the nine-member insurrectionist Committee proclaimed from Lome that it was preparing the way for a new Government and did not seek power for itself. They said that the Committee represented all Togo's military and police forces. On behalf of this Committee, M. Emmanuel Gbodjovi said in a broadcast from Lome:

"Men and women of Togo, as you know the political, economic and social situation, run by a band of profiteers, has just been destroyed". According to this broadcast, the weaknesses in President Olympio's rule were flouting of democracy, increasing unemployment, the blocking of salaries, misemployment of youth and commercial decline.

Gomulka Supports S.U.P. Policy

IN his speech greeting the 6th SED (Socialist Unity Party) Congress on January 17, Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party stated: "We are in full solidarity with the general policy of your party, outlined in the report presented by Comrade Walter Ulbricht.

"The fact that on German soil there exists, develops and grows rapidly a state conducting consistently a policy of peace, constitutes one of the most important factors of a qualitatively new situation in Europe, factors

contributing to the consolidation of peace in this part of the world.

"Our Party," continued W. Gomulka, "has repeatedly expressed its full support for the peace policy of the Soviet Union, having full regard for principles and full of a sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind, for the Leninist policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government. The speech made yesterday by N. S. Khrushchov expresses also the stand of our Party. We are in full agreement with the postulate put forward by N. S. Khrushchov that, despite the divergences between the CPSU and Communist Workers' Parties on one side and the leaderships of certain Communist Parties on the other, public polemics and disputes should be stopped. The divergences must be removed calmly and patiently by way of internal discussions. The public polemics and the irresponsible attacks aimed at the CPSU by the leaderships of certain communist parties have gathered strength in the period of the crisis in the Caribbean area. They were detrimental to the cause of the unity of the international communist movement."

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such irresponsible polemics which awakens the admiration of imperialists and is the grist for the mill of all reactionary circles."

SOVIET UNION DECISIVE FORCE

Continuing Gomulka said: "The Soviet Union is the main decisive force of the socialist camp, without which no socialist country would be able to survive in the struggle with imperialism. No Communist or Workers' party must forget it particularly the parties of the socialist countries. The great might of the Soviet Union, its nuclear military might, its central place in the socialist camp, impose on the CPSU and the Soviet Government a great responsibility for its every step, for the fate of mankind. No other party, no other socialist country, carries such a responsibility on its shoulders. Even for that reason alone, one can demand from the leaders of, for example, the Albanian Labour Party, at least greater modesty, moderation, if not a feeling of responsibility.

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"Whom and what then do the accusations raised by the leaders of certain Communist Parties against the CPSU serve - accusations deprived of all grounds? One must end with

West Bengal Assembly

LABOUR MINISTER'S POLICY ASSAILED

From Ajoy Das Gupta

Calcutta, January 20. The West Bengal Legislative Assembly unanimously passed a resolution noting with appreciation that the workers were honouring the pledge incorporated in the Industrial Truce Resolution and urging the State Government to ensure its full implementation by employers also. The resolution also urged upon the Government to take measures to stop retrenchment without its prior approval.

The last day of this year's winter session saw the liveliest debate on a resolution tabled by Panchugopal Bhadury (CPI) on the labour situation in the context of the National Emergency. Speakers from opposition as well as Congress benches severely criticised the Labour Minister Bejoy Singh Nahar and the Labour Directorate under him for their pro-employer bias.

Two devastatingly effective speeches were made by Somnath Lahiri and Dr. Maitreyee Bose, the INTUC President. In face of such united attack mounted with a formidable array of facts, Nahar stood forlorn and in a pitiable condition. He could hardly make a reply and left the house after a short speech.

Panchugopal Bhadury in introducing the resolution said that though the Industrial Truce

Resolution had been passed two and a half months ago, the West Bengal Government had done nothing to implement it.

He gave examples of Kesoram, Bangswari, India Jute, Maleable Casting, J. K. Steel and various other factories where large scale retrenchment had been resorted to by closing down shifts or otherwise, workers leaders were being indiscriminately arrested, even on the 'Charge' of asking the workers to donate to the NDF. Deputy Labour Minister was running a partisan campaign against AITUC and giving handle to employers, charged Panchugopal Bhadury. He said that this was not helping to boost the morale of the workers to raise production.

Dr. Maitreyee Bose praised the tea garden workers, who stood at their work, while many Managers fled. Pointing out to the

large-scale retrenchment in Cotton Textile industry she said that the difficulties in that industry was because "employers could not get as much profit as they expected".

Then she raised a vital question: "Are we all making the war efforts for the nation as a whole of a few businessmen and industrialists out to maximise their profits?" Dr. Bose further said that increase in production does not depend on the workers only, the management have to cooperate fully.

Finally she made an appeal to all the parties, workers, employers and the Government to have a clear direction in objective to enable "us to tide over the present emergency".

Somnath Lahiri in his speech scathingly criticised the Labour Minister as "pro-employer", "speaking blatant untruths", "follower of Cariappa", "instigator of anti-social elements and coward who could not tell the house what he told outside." Lahiri gave innumerable instances of violation of the Industrial Truce Resolution by the employers and said that the Labour Minister's indulgence was responsible for this state of affairs.

He also gave examples from Nahar's speeches inside and out-

side the Assembly to show how he was inciting anti-social elements against INTUC and said that after Nahar's speech at Khargapore anti-social elements attacked the CP's Office there. Lahiri gave example of Coal miners who raised output and made huge contributions to the NDF, but they were being subjected to retrenchment, physical violence and a reign of terror.

In Hindusthan Steel also main leaders who inspired workers to raise production were dismissed without assigning any reason. He also pointed how five leaders of State Government employees had been retrenched even after 17 or 19 years of service.

Lahiri said that of course the Congress organisation as a whole and all Congressmen should not be judged by Nahar's performance. As an example he cited how Central Minister Raghuramiah intervened in a dispute in Garden Reach Workshop and settled it.

Lahiri's speech made a stir in the House and was heard with rapt attention without any interruption.

Naren Sen of Congress introducing an amendment to the resolution said that taking advantage of the emergency the employers were harassing the workers and thereby hampering rise in production.

Speakers from other parties also spoke in the same vein and all from Congress benches as well as opposition were agreed that while the employers generally were still motivated more by profit hunting than national interests, the workers had come out unreservedly for strengthening defence efforts.

Bejoy Singh Nahar in his reply had to congratulate the workers for rising to the occasion and had to agree that some employers did not behave as was desired

and warranted by the situation. He, however, tried to deny that large scale retrenchment was taking place, though admitting that employers were not behaving properly in this regard.

The resolution tabled by Com. Bhadury was adopted as amended by Naren Sen.

Anti-Communism Rebuffed

A fitting rebuff to the anti-Communist tirade has been given by the workers of the Garden Reach Workshop. In the Works Committee election on January 11, there all the nine seats were won by the candidates of the red flag unions with thumping majority, defeating INTUC union's candidates.

Nemai Roy, a fitter, and Gour Goswami who were arrested under D.I. Rules and then released on bail have also been elected. Nemai Roy is the Joint Secretary of the red flag union as well as of the outgoing Works Committee, while Gour Goswami is the General Secretary and against both of them false charges of pro-China propaganda were made by INTUC. About 827 of the total votes polled have been cast in favour of Garden Reach Workshop Mazdoor and Staff Union (Red Flag) nominees.

GOLDSMITHS' PROCESSION

THE Gold Control Order did not come as a complete surprise. But with the enforcement of the Order the entire gold market in Calcutta has ceased oper-

* ON FACING PAGE

SHILLONG: Urging the immediate release of all Communists arrested under the Defence of India Rules in Assam, Phani Bora, Secretary of the Assam State Council of the Communist Party of India in a recent memorandum to the State Chief Minister has pointed out with facts that the Communist Party in Assam had been in the forefront of those who have contributed to the strengthening of defence and that these arrested comrades were active in the cause of National Defence.

THE memorandum draws attention to the fact that even before the National Council of the CPI passed the resolution condemning Chinese aggression, the leadership of the Party in the State had categorically come out against the aggressors and there has been no opposition to the National Council resolution from the Communists of Assam.

"So far as our state is concerned, there were none whom we found to be opposed to the National Council resolution" on Chinese aggression, says the memorandum and adds: "As you might be aware of the fact, our state secretariat was the first in India to condemn the Chinese aggression and declare unqualified support to Government's defence efforts, even before the adoption of the said National Council resolution. We found none to oppose our declaration in spite of the possibility that some might have held different views in the past".

The memorandum says: "Contrary to our expectations and understanding we had from the previous discussions with you and the declarations of both the Union Home Minister and yourself, arrest of a large number of Communists is still continuing and has not yet stopped. This policy of arrest has virtually paralysed the proper functioning of the Party and has prevented

us from contributing our mite to the cause of national defence". "In most of the districts, all the district leaders and cadres have been arrested, almost ninety per cent of the state executive and council members have been arrested, and judged by the nature and extent of these arrests, the action of the Government can only be termed as indiscriminate and it cannot be justified by anybody from any consideration whatsoever..."

Refuting the argument that the arrested comrades were suspected of being pro-Chinese, the memorandum points out the cases of a number of important comrades who were active in the cause of defence and yet have been put behind bars.

"Our Comrades Ramesh Sharma and Chandra Bora were the front rank defence workers in the Darrang district from the very beginning. Comrades Gaurishankar Bhattacharyya, Bhireswar Kalita and Promode Gogoi were our Party spokesmen in the All Parties Conference convened by you at Gauhati on 31st October last and the views expressed by them had been appreciated."

"Comrade Barin Choudhry can only be proud of his role in favour of the adoption of the patriotic resolution of our National Council. Comrades Kirti Bardoloi, Jaineswar Das and

RELEASE COMMUNISTS Assam State Council's Memorandum

From Our Correspondent

many others were active members of the various defence committees.

"Comrades Pran Biswas, Sarat Rabha, Dulal Khaund, Bishnu Bora, Bishnu Rabha, Nameswar Pegu, Benoy Lahiri, to mention only a few, were actively organising the work for National Defence and rousing the masses for the patriotic task. Comrade Mohanlal Mukherjee who participated in the State Labour Conference held at Gauhati on 31st October 62, declared his support to the strengthening of the war efforts quite in keeping with the well-known AITUC line on the issue.

"Another instance of indiscriminate arrest can be cited here. Prof. Amalendu Guha, who had rejoined service in Darrang College only about a fortnight prior to his arrest after a long three years' absence for research and studies outside has also been arrested and detained in jail.

"These are only a few of so many examples to show that the criterion said to have been made with regard to the arrests does not in fact apply to our state. We consider that only proper proof of harmful activities during this emergency against the state and its defence efforts and not suspicions based on past prejudices, should be made the criterion for arrest and detention.

"We have also to state that certain arrests, it appears, are being made on the basis of local pressures from interested quarters and on concocted reports maliciously made by in-

terested influential persons in different localities.

"At a time when the right wing forces have been mounting attack against the basic national policies of the country, so long pursued under the leadership of the Prime Minister, there is all the more reason why all the forces of national unity and national progress should pull together and must be mobilised behind the Prime Minister for the defence of those policies.

"Communists form a vital part of these forces and for the sake of the nation, there ought to have been an urgent reconsideration of the Government policy regarding the arrest of Communists and their detention. We are of the considered opinion that the Government should release the arrested members of our Party without delay so as to give them the opportunity to prove in action their bona fides".

Phani Bora in his memorandum to the Assam Chief Minister reiterates the support of the Communist Party to the Government to resist Chinese aggression and to build up our independent national defence while seeking peaceful solution of the dispute consistent with the honour and dignity of our country. He criticises the attack by Reaction against the basic policies of the Nation and points out that national unity is the most essential thing today.

He has said that despite differences with the government on various other important issues, in this period of national emergency created by Chinese aggression, the Party considers it extremely necessary to put aside all those differences and unite with the government for the strengthening of national defence and the basic policies of the nation.

Kerala

Cases Of Arrest Not Yet Reviewed

From Our Correspondent

TRIVANDRUM:

In spite of the Chief Minister's assurance given in the Legislative Assembly that the Government would review the cases of arrested Communist leaders, nothing to that effect has been done so far, except the release of N. Raghava Kurup, ex-Chairman of Kottayam Municipality and K. P. Gopalan, ex-Minister.

Small Pox Epidemic In Calcutta

★ From Facing Page

ration and presented a deserted look.

What will be the effect of the order in unearthing hoarded gold is yet to be seen. But it has created a big problem for artisans in goldsmith trade. They complain that 14 carat gold will be too hard to work with and special instruments will be needed. But in the meantime artisans are facing unemployment.

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SMALL Pox is raging in Calcutta and suburbs. During the period September 1962 to January 12, there have been 353 attacks and 221 deaths. During the week ending January 5 there were 52 attacks and 46 deaths. Last year the figures for the corresponding period were 2 and 1. The Corporation authorities have not so far declared small pox as an epidemic, though it is raging unabated for a long period. A Government spokesman tried to minimise the gravity and the responsibility of the authorities by saying that this year is a

cyclical epidemic year for small pox.

If it was known beforehand that this was an epidemic year, then it was all the more necessary to take preventive measures. But out of a total population of fifty lakhs in Calcutta, only thirteen lakhs have so far been vaccinated.

Yet the authorities have refused to accept the cooperation of such social organisations as People's Relief Committee, Yuba Sabha and even Indian Medical Association to expedite the vaccination. Now high level conferences are being held to tackle the problem on "emergency basis".

But till now precious little concrete activities are observed when the dreaded disease is swiftly spreading from highly congested Burrabazar area, where it began, to adjoining areas of the city.

POLICY EXPLAINED

During the last few days two public meetings have been held in mofussil area — one at Gahr Sakshat in Midnapore district and the other at Bolpur in Birbhum district to explain the CPI's stand on the present national emergency arising out of Chinese aggression.

Renu Chakravarty, MP. member of the West Bengal State Secretariat of the Party, addressed both the meetings. She explained the Party's National Council resolution and said that it was consistent with the previous resolution of the National Council adopted at Meerut and was consistent with proletarian internationalism and at the same time patriotic.

WHEN the question of the immediate release of the arrested persons was raised on the floor of the Assembly by the Opposition, there was stiff resistance from the Treasury Benches who did not want any review of the cases of the arrested. At the same time, the Congress Party outside the Assembly also does not like the idea.

However, when entire Party units had been engaged in mobilising people's efforts for national defence, the Government and the ruling party could not shut their eyes to that fact and to the people's appreciation of Communists' work.

The arguments advanced by Government spokesmen to justify the arrest of Communists have not convinced anybody. In fact, the active role of the Party in the State in the campaign for national defence has eminently disproved the Government's case for the arrest of Communists. The conduct of the neighbouring Madras Government in ordering the release of a number of Communists arrested under the De-

She exposed the right wing reactionaries and said that anti-Communism was the thin end of the wedge, by which they want to destroy whatever is progressive in our national body politic. She explained the tasks of the peasants in the national emergency and appealed to all to unite to defend India's basic policies of non-alignment and strengthening of national economy and the defence potential inside the country.

The Working Committee of the Provincial Kisan Sabha, which met few days back has decided to hold a State Kisan Rally for National Defence and Production on January 27, to be preceded by district level conventions.

fence of India Rules has also been before the public.

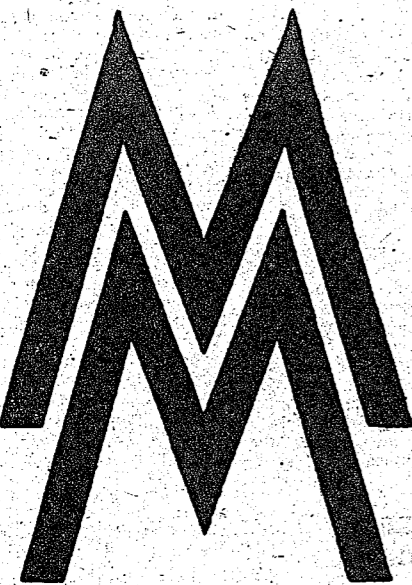
Naturally, therefore, the Government of Kerala had to bow its head before the pressure from the public. Thus, on the floor of the Assembly, the Chief Minister had to agree to review the cases of those arrested. But the assurance has yet to be translated into action.

The Party has done well in its campaign to rally the people against Chinese aggression and for donations to the National Defence Fund. In almost all villages and taluks, meetings were held to condemn Chinese aggression. No one can deny that our trade unions and peasants' organisations are active in the campaign for the collection of Defence Fund.

In fact, they stand in the first place in the collections. That was why a Congress Member in the Assembly had to openly admit that Congressmen could not get contributions to the Fund as Communists had already approached people for the same.

The irregularities in the collection of the Fund and the misuse of it by unauthorised agents were also pointed out to the Government. Most of these unauthorised agents collecting funds in the name of Defence happen to be local Congress leaders.

At the same time, the KPAC, a drama troupe led by the Party, which had been systematically collecting funds and remitting the same to the Government has been forbidden to do so by the Government out of sheer prejudice. This has naturally come in for public criticism. The Assembly discussions have revealed who are genuinely working for National Defence and who are misusing the Emergency for political purposes.



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West Bengal Assembly

LABOUR MINISTER'S POLICY ASSAILED

From Ajoy Das Gupta

Calcutta, January 20. The West Bengal Legislative Assembly unanimously passed a resolution noting with appreciation that the workers were honouring the pledge incorporated in the Industrial Truce Resolution and urging the State Government to ensure its full implementation by employers also. The resolution also urged upon the Government to take measures to stop retrenchment without its prior approval.

The last day of this year's winter session saw the liveliest debate on a resolution tabled by Panchugopal Bhadury (CPI) on the labour situation in the context of the National Emergency. Speakers from opposition as well as Congress benches severely criticised the Labour Minister Bejoy Singh Nahar and the Labour Directorate under him for their pro-employer bias.

Two devastatingly effective speeches were made by Somnath Lahiri and Dr. Maitreyee Bose, the INTUC President. In face of such united attack mounted with a formidable array of facts, Nahar stood forlorn and in a pitiable condition. He could hardly make a reply and left the house after a short speech.

Panchugopal Bhadury in introducing the resolution said that though the Industrial Truce

Resolution had been passed two and a half months ago, the West Bengal Government had done nothing to implement it.

He gave examples of Kesoram, Bangaswari, India Jute, Maleable Casting, J. K. Steel and various other factories where large scale retrenchment had been resorted to by closing down shifts, or otherwise, workers leaders were being indiscriminately arrested, even on the 'Charge' of asking the workers to donate to the NDF. Deputy Labour Minister was running a partisan campaign against AITUC and giving handle to employers, charged Panchugopal Bhadury. He said that this was not helping to boost the morale of the workers to raise production.

Dr. Maitreyee Bose praised the tea garden workers, who stood at their work, while many Managers fled. Pointing out to the

large-scale retrenchment in Cotton Textile industry she said that the difficulties in that industry was because "employers could not get as much profit as they expected".

Then she raised a vital question: "Are we all making the war efforts for the nation as a whole or a few businessmen and industrialists out to maximise their profits". Dr. Bose further said that increase in production does not depend on the workers only, the management have to cooperate fully.

Finally she made an appeal to all the parties, workers, employers and the Government to have a clear direction in objective to enable "us to tide over the present emergency".

Somnath Lahiri in his speech scathingly criticised the Labour Minister as "pro-employer", "speaking blatant untruths", "follower of Carriappa", "instigator of anti-social elements and coward who could not tell the house what he told outside." Lahiri gave innumerable instances of violation of the Industrial Truce Resolution by the employers and said that the Labour Minister's indulgence was responsible for this state of affairs.

He also gave examples from Nahar's speeches inside and out-

side the Assembly to show how he was inciting anti-social elements against INTUC and said that after Nahar's speech at Khargapore CP's Office there, Lahiri gave example of Coal miners who raised output and made huge contributions to the NDF, but they were being subjected to retrenchment, physical violence and a reign of terror.

In Hindustan Steel also main leaders who inspired workers to raise production were dismissed without assigning any reason. He also pointed how five leaders of State Government employees had been retrenched even after 17 or 19 years of service.

Lahiri said that of course the Congress organisation as a whole and all Congressmen should not be judged by Nahar's performance. As an example he cited how Central Minister Raghuramiah intervened in a dispute in Garden Reach Workshop and settled it.

Lahiri's speech made a stir in the House and was heard with rapt attention without any interruption.

Naren Sen of Congress introducing an amendment to the resolution said that taking advantage of the emergency the employers were harassing the workers and thereby hampering rise in production.

Speakers from other parties also spoke in the same vein and all from Congress benches, as well as opposition were agreed that while the employers generally were still motivated more by profit hunting than national interests, the workers had come out unreservedly for strengthening defence efforts.

Bejoy Singh Nahar in his reply had to congratulate the workers for rising to the occasion and had to agree that some employers did not behave as was desired

and warranted by the situation. He, however, tried to deny that large scale retrenchment was taking place, though admitting that employers were not behaving properly in this regard.

The resolution tabled by Com. Bhadury was adopted as amended by Naren Sen.

Anti-Communism Rebuffed

A fitting rebuff to the anti-communist tirade has been given by the workers of the Garden Reach Workshop. In the Works Committee election on January 11 there all the nine seats were won by the candidates of the red flag unions with a thumping majority, defeating INTUC union's candidates.

Nemai Roy, a fitter, and Gour Goswami who were arrested under D.I. Rules and then released on bail have also been elected. Nemai Roy is the Joint Secretary of the red flag union as well as of the outgoing Works Committee, while Gour Goswami is the General Secretary and against both of them false charges of pro-China propaganda were made by INTUC. About 827 of the total votes polled have been cast in favour of Garden Reach Workshop Mazdoor and Staff Union (Red Flag) nominees.

GOLDSMITHS' PROCESSION

The Gold Control Order did not come as a complete surprise. But with the enforcement of the Order the entire gold market in Calcutta has ceased operating

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Urging the immediate release of all Communists arrested under the Defence of India Rules in Assam, Phani Bora, Secretary of the Assam State Council of the Communist Party of India in a recent memorandum to the State Chief Minister has pointed out with facts that the Communist Party in Assam had been in the forefront of those who have contributed to the strengthening of defence and that these arrested comrades were active in the cause of National Defence.

The memorandum draws attention to the fact that even before the National Council of the CPI passed the resolution condemning Chinese aggression, the leadership of the Party in the State had categorically come out against the aggressors and there has been no opposition to the National Council resolution from the Communists of Assam.

"So far as our state is concerned, there were none whom we found to be opposed to the National Council resolution" on Chinese aggression, says the memorandum and adds: "As you might be aware of the fact, our state secretariat was the first in India to condemn the Chinese aggression and declare unqualified support to Government's defence efforts, even before the adoption of the said National Council resolution. We found none to oppose our declaration in spite of the possibility that some might have held different views in the past".

The memorandum says: "Contrary to our expectations and understanding we had from the previous discussions with you and the declarations of both the Union Home Minister and yourself, arrest of a large number of Communists is still continuing and has not yet stopped. This policy of arrest has virtually paralysed the proper functioning of the Party and has prevented

us from contributing our mite to the cause of national defence". "In most of the districts, all the district leaders and cadres have been arrested, almost ninety per cent of the state executive and council members have been arrested, and judged by the nature and extent of these arrests, the action of the Government can only be termed as indiscriminate and it cannot be justified by anybody from any consideration whatsoever..."

Refuting the argument that the arrested comrades were suspected of being "pro-Chinese", the memorandum points out the cases of a number of important comrades who were active in the cause of defence and yet have been put behind bars.

"Our Comrades Ramesh Sharma and Chandra Bora were the front rank defence workers in the Darrang district from the very beginning. Comrades Gaurishankar Bhattacharyya, Dhireswar Kalita and Promode Gogoi were our Party spokesmen in the All Parties Conference convened by you at Gauhati on 31st October last and the views expressed by them had been appreciated."

"Comrade Barin Choudhry can only be proud of his role in favour of the adoption of the patriotic resolution of our National Council. Comrades Kiriti Bardoloi, Jaimeswar Das and

many others were active members of the various defence committees. "Comrades Pran Biswas, Sarat Rabha, Dulal Khaund, Bishnu Bora, Bishnu Rabha, Nameswar Pegu, Benoy Lahiri, to mention only a few, were actively organising the work for National Defence and rousing the masses for the patriotic tasks. Comrade Mohanlal Mukherji, who participated in the State Labour Conference held at Gauhati on 31st October 62, declared his support to the strengthening of the war efforts quite in keeping with the well-known AITUC line on the issue."

"Another instance of indiscriminate arrest can be cited here. Prof. Amalendu Guha, who had rejoined service in Darrang College only about a fortnight prior to his arrest after a long three years' absence for research and studies outside has also been arrested and detained in jail."

"These are only a few of so many examples to show that the criterion said to have been made with regard to the arrests does not in fact apply to our state. We consider that only proper proof of harmful activities during this emergency against the state and its defence efforts and not suspicions based on past prejudices, should be made the criterion for arrest and detention."

"We have also to state that certain arrests, it appears, are being made on the basis of local pressures from interested quarters and on concocted reports maliciously made by in-

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RELEASE COMMUNISTS

Assam State Council's Memorandum

From Our Correspondent

Phani Bora in his memorandum to the Assam Chief Minister reiterates the support of the Communist Party to the Government to resist Chinese aggression and to build up our independent national defence while seeking peaceful solution of the dispute consistent with the honour and dignity of our country. He criticises the attack by Reaction against the basic policies of the Nation and points out that national unity is the most essential thing today.

He has said that despite differences with the government on various other important issues, in this period of national emergency created by Chinese aggression, the Party considers it extremely necessary to put aside all those differences and unite with the government for the strengthening of national defence and the basic policies of the nation.

"At a time when the right wing forces have been mounting attack against the basic national policies of the country, so long pursued under the leadership of the Prime Minister, there is all the more reason why all the forces of national unity and national progress should pull together and must be mobilised behind the Prime Minister for the defence of those policies."

"Communists form a vital part of these forces and for the sake of the nation, there ought to have been an urgent reconsideration of the Government policy regarding the arrest of Communists and their detention. We are of the considered opinion that the Government should release the arrested members of our Party without delay so as to give them the opportunity to prove in action their bona fides."

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ANOTHER section of the people who are facing a severe crisis is the jute growers of the province. While the Central Jute Committee considered Rs. 30 per maund to be the proper minimum price for jute, the Kisan Sabha demanding Rs. 45 per md., the growers are obliged to sell even at Rs. 20 in a glut artificially created in the mar-

ket by the manipulations of the vested interests including the monopoly Indian Jute Mills Association.

With large orders from the Soviet Union for hessian, the jute mills are now working at full blast — sealed looms have been unsealed — but jute prices have not gone up beyond Rs. 28 per maund. That price too was available only at places where cooperatives were buying.

The general level is Rs. 24. The plight of the jute growers can be imagined when rice is selling at Rs. 32 or 30. Out of 70 million bales produced this year, 53 million bales are estimated to have been sold by now.

Two MPs and a number of MLAs have asked the Government to buy at least 10 million bales of jute at Rs. 30 per maund from the growers in order to increase the price and save the growers from ruin.

Small Pox epidemic in Calcutta

From Facing Page

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What will be the effect of the order in unearthing hoarded gold is yet to be seen. But it has created a big problem for artisans in goldsmith trade. They complain that 14 carat gold will be too hard to work with and special instruments will be needed. But in the meantime artisans are facing unemployment.

On January 18 nearly five thousand artisans brought out a procession and later held a public meeting at the Hazra Park. They demanded increase of gold quantum for ornament making and alternative jobs.

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PEACE MOVEMENT SPLITTERS REBUFFED

McCarthyism Fails At Oxford Conference

From Our Correspondent

Reading the headlines in the British Tory press on January 6 and 7, one would have imagined that MacMillan and his press barons had suddenly become deeply interested in the popular movement for peace and disarmament.

FOR they gave considerable coverage and even front-page prominence to the goings-on at a small disarmament conference of 75 people from less than 20 countries held that week-end at Oxford.

The headlines, however, made it clear that this "interest" of the British imperialist scribes in the peace movement was purely the "interest" of the murderer in his victim!

It was a wishful "interest", outdone in its speculative hopes only by the US imperialist press. But like the wishes and hopes of the bad old witches in the fairy tales, they just didn't come true.

At Oxford was held a Conference of organisations working for nuclear arms, whose main constituent bodies are the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and its opposite number in West Germany. The European Federation thought it would be a good thing to link up with similar organisations in the USA and called a Conference to discuss such a link-up.

Main Constituents

Thus the main constituents of the Oxford Conference were to be the European Federation Against Nuclear Arms and US disarmament organisations. Of course, once the idea matured, it was decided to invite a representative or two from Canada, Australia and New Zealand (after all, the Conference was to be held in the "heart" of the Commonwealth).

And for good measure, one African (Frank Boateng of Ghana who organised last year the Accra Assembly for Disarmament) and two Asians (Siddharaj Dhadha and Suresh Ramabhai of the Gandhi Peace Foundation and the Shanti Sena Mandal) were invited.

Canon John L. Collins, Chairman of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and a President of the European Federation Against Nuclear Arms, was the chief organiser of the Oxford Conference. And believing as he does in the necessity for cooperation among all peace organisations, the Canon also invited the World Council of Peace to send a group of ten observers to the Oxford Conference.

This was not surprising in any way, for Canon Collins himself and practically all organisations in Western Europe and the USA which had been invited to Oxford had actively participated only six months earlier in the great World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace at Moscow, and had unanimously decided to further cooperation among peace organisations by all possible means.

In response to the Canon's official and written invitations to each of them, ten leading members and representatives of the World Council of Peace arrived from all corners of the globe to take part in the Oxford Conference. But the cold-war and the politics of the witch-hunt had caught up with the peace movement. And as the observers land-

ed in London, they were hurled right into the thick of it. Canon Collins had made the mistake and he admitted it to many of the entrusting selection of a good many of the US delegates to a gentleman by the name of Homer Jack, who can be found all the year round roving from one conference to the other in all the continents, never lacking the dollars to make his trips.

It is said that the vast majority of people working in American peace organisations, have a deep distrust of this Jack, some of them even alleging that, behind his supposedly pacifist exterior, lies hidden a common or garden U.S. State Department agent.

Be that as it may, Homer Jack made a bid, the like of which has not been known before, to split the world movement for peace right down its middle, raising in the typical McCarthyist fashion, the usual Communist bogey.

As soon as he arrived in Britain, with his hand picked US "delegates", Jack began a vicious attack on Canon Collins and the conference organisers for the "crime" of inviting as observers members of the World Council of Peace. He threatened that his "delegation" would walk out and go home if the World Council of Peace were allowed to come anywhere near the Oxford Conference.

Working in close collusion with the worst reactionary sections of the US and British press, Jack spread the lie across newspaper front-pages that some "Russians" had come to "gate-crash" into the Oxford Conference and were being prevented from doing so by heroic knights led by dear Homer himself. And to prove that the "Russians" were there, the British press flashed photographs of the great Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg sitting in a London hotel.

Ten Observers

Ehrenburg was one of the ten World Council of Peace observers, who were led by Prof. J. D. Bernal. Other observers included those from non-socialist countries like France (Secretary of the WCP, Yves Chollier), Italy (Senator Spano, India (Romesh Chandra, the UAR, West Germany and Venezuela. All "Russians", if one were to believe the British press!

The vast majority of the 75 delegates at Oxford were aghast at the splitting tactics of Homer Jack and his friends. They felt that the invitation solemnly given to and accepted by the World Council of Peace observers must be honoured — not only because not to do so would be discourteous and uncivilised, to say the least, but much more because all sincerely desired unity and cooperation.

Jack & Co., threatened to leave the Oxford Conference, to divide the entire world movement, if they did not have their way. It was altogether an abominable situation. Canon Collins fought hard to ensure that his invitation was honoured,

but the blackmail and pressures continued, division and disruption of a major character seemed to be on the agenda.

While the 75 at Oxford argued and debated, the World Council of Peace observers met in London under the chairmanship of Professor Bernal.

While protesting vigorously at the revocation at the last moment of the invitation formally given to them by Canon Collins himself, the World Council of Peace reiterated its continued desire for unity and cooperation among all peace organisations. To promote this, Professor Bernal proposed a joint meeting of the Oxford participants and the World Council of Peace observers' group in London.

This proposal was received with enthusiasm at Oxford. The splitters' group was completely isolated and the less vicious among them began to feel pangs of remorse and shame at their disgraceful conduct. The result of the principled and at the same time friendly attitude of the World Council of Peace resulted in bringing about a memorable joint meeting in London on January 8 of nearly every one of the Oxford participants (including the entire Homer Jack delegation!) with the World

Council of Peace members. Speakers from nearly every participating country called for cooperation and joint activity for disarmament. There was hardly one of the Oxford Conference participants who did not express regret at the McCarthyism which had raised its head at Oxford.

The US disruptors themselves were forced to come forward with a letter of apology to the World Council of Peace — but they addressed this quite consciously to serve their propaganda ends, not to Professor Bernal but to Ilya Ehrenburg! The joint meeting ended with the unanimous adoption of the following communique:

"At the invitation of Professor J. D. Bernal, those who had been attending the Oxford Conference and members of the World Peace Council met in London today, January 8, 1963. They exchanged views on questions of communication and possible cooperation in the common cause of disarmament and peace. Speakers from many countries and organisations made suggestions for common action on specific issues.

"The meeting, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, was unanimous in the feeling that the utmost cooperation in the cause of disarmament and peace must be sought for the sake of all mankind."

As Canon Collins, Professor Bernal and Ilya Ehrenburg said at the end of the meeting, the main purpose of the World Council of Peace and of the European Federation Against Nuclear Arms had almost fully been served: there had been a coming together of the different

peace organisations and there were the very best possibilities for increased cooperation in the coming days.

The Oxford Conference is expected to result in the setting up of some sort of organisation to coordinate the activities of disarmament bodies. But it is clear that any attempt to turn this new organisation into one which seeks to split the world movement by attacking the World Council of Peace will be stoutly resisted and successfully — by Canon Collins and many of the topmost figures in the world movement.

Pauling Dissociated

It was interesting to note that the famous US scientist Linus Pauling, who was also at Oxford, totally dissociated himself from Homer Jack's activities and repudiated them. So also did Mrs. Gage Colby, representative of the militant American Movement — Women's Strike for Peace. With Homer Jack were only his handpicked men — some of whom do not really represent the vital new mass movement for peace which is growing in the United States.

The future is full of possibilities for growing cooperation along the lines of the London communique. The splitters have been decisively rebuffed. And Oxford will not be the starting point of division in the peace movement as the splitters had hoped: on the contrary, after Oxford came the London meeting and its spirit of unity and friendship, which is bound to prevail.

Britain's Entry To ECM

Will She Accept French Terms?

★ From Omeo Gooptu

LONDON: If there was ever a case which proved in the most classical manner that world capitalism would always try to combine against the socialist forces and that they themselves would be rent with internal strife and violent clashes against one another, it is to be found in the attempt of the Tory-led Britain to gain admission into the European Common Market.

New Age (January 6) has already stated that de Gaulle's intransigence was primarily responsible for obstructing the Tory case for entry.

THE Common Market, after all, is the clearest expression of the West European group of monopolists, with Franco-German partnership as its central core, to present a united front to the American ruling class who have, for so long, dominated West European affairs.

American ruling class are, however, in no mood to accept such a situation. According to K. S. Karol, writing in *New Statesman*, General de Gaulle regards "Britain as Trojan horse, which America wishes to plant inside the European gates in order, ultimately, to assert her own domination."

MacMillan's servility, clearly reflected from the Nassau meet, has convinced, according to Maurice Edelman, MP, de Gaulle that Britain is now "merely an agent of US policy."

Not that the General does not want to welcome Britain into the Common Market at any cost. But the price that he is demanding, i.e., "that some day England will succeed in changing herself sufficiently to join a European Community without restrictions, reservations or preference of any kind," really means total capitulation by this country.

Indeed, MacMillan, against popular trend in this country against the Market has, in any case, surrendered during the

received. de Gaulle's speech not only expresses the duplicity of the Government, but the futility of the official Labour position. The paper calls for outright opposition by the Labour Party to British entry. "A tremendous campaign against entry would be supported by the majority of the people, and would force a General Election in which the Tories could be defeated."

Desmond Donnelly, MP, in the *Herald*, says that blows that the Tories have been experiencing "could force Mr. MacMillan to consider an election this spring... If this snap election were to take place, MacMillan would undoubtedly go to the country on a Tory policy wrapped in a Union Jack, appealing to the Dunkirk spirit to rescue Britain from his failures."

"For Mr. MacMillan," writes *New Statesman*, "it looks like the end of the road. After six years of office, his personal policies — the 'cheap deterrent', the 'special relationship', affluence at home, summitry abroad — are in ruins. "With this hope removed, there is now a yawning vacuum at the heart of his political calculation... Now the debate on the alternatives can no longer be postponed..."

Britain Truly Stirred

Britain, probably for the first time, is truly stirred by the events at Brussels. It has affected, among others, the Tory Government sharply. French pronouncements, according to the well-known political commentator James Cameron, writing in the *Daily Herald*, has left MacMillan "in the exact position of one whose chair has been jerked from under him but who has not yet hit the floor."

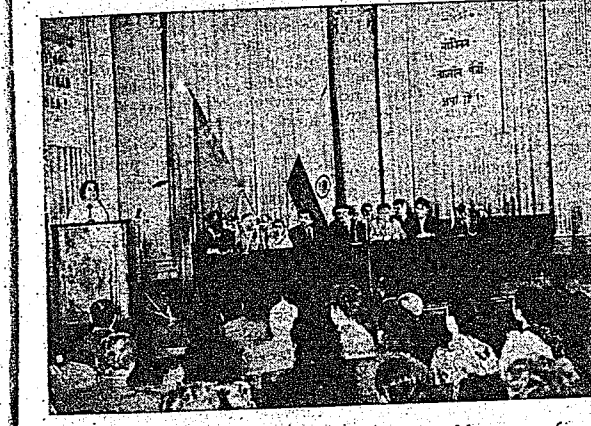
"This is the biggest slap in the face" says the *Daily Worker*, "which Mr. MacMillan has yet

INDIA'S Republic Day is marked in the Soviet Union and other Socialist states by a series of events, which seek to make India and its life and culture better known among the peoples of those countries. Cultural relations between our country and the Socialist countries continue to grow by leaps and bounds. In this special article, Sadhan Mukherjee gives us a glimpse of these growing cultural ties with the socialist countries in Europe. —Ed.

Languages differ, social systems differ and so do the culture and art of the peoples, but still there is the growing urge to know and understand each other better and exchange the best that each has — this is the feeling which is the keynote of India's increasing cultural relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe.

FROM the wind-lashed Polish border and icy eastern shores of the USSR, from the newly-built cities in the Arctic to the sunny regions of the Asian Republics, the fraternal relations of peoples and exchange in culture extend to the palm-beaches of Kerala.

This whole expanse of life and culture with myriads of Indian students in various universities in the USSR and



Indian Independence Day Celebration in Moscow, 1962

variations according to countries, customs and traditions is not just the heritage of which we talk; it is part of the new relations that are steadily growing between the peoples recently free from colonial bondage and the peoples who have built a new society.

If an Indian book has been published in Poland in 1962 (Aut Indian Philosopher — Warsaw), it remains as a fact of history which depicts the time-old interest of a people in India. But if there has been of late an exchange of students, engineers, professors, films, art objects, books and so on, it represents the desire to know each other better and impart to the other the good one has, without any hesitation.

And this is exactly what is happening through the cultural exchanges that are taking place between India and the various socialist countries. That is why this exchange differs so much from that which we have with the western countries (no admittance of Indians in hotels and restaurants in a number of places notwithstanding), where mutual respect and cooperation are always at a premium.

The growing cultural ties between our country and the Soviet Union are endorsed in every part of the country, and are known to the widest masses in India. It is natural that India's Independence Day is ceremoniously celebrated in the USSR and equally that there will be celebrations in India on the occasion of the anniversary of the Russian revolution; or for that matter Chekov will be as much known in India as Premechard is in the USSR, even if Gorky and Tagore are not compared.

Soviet Union

WE have, as is well known, by far the largest quantum of cultural exchange among the Socialist countries, with the Soviet Union. During this year, Indo-Soviet Cultural contacts will be further consolidated and expanded.

In 1962, there have been exchanges of students, films, artists, etc., between the two countries. Books and articles were translated into various languages, thousands of lectures and exhibitions were held in both the countries where life and cultural

relations have also been growing steadily.

India's rich culture and treasures of art are very much appreciated in Rumania; translations of Indian classics are avidly read by the Rumanian people. In tune with the quest of Rumanian people to know India better, Bucharest was, for instance, recently the scene of large-scale celebrations of the Tagore and Vivekananda anniversaries.

During the Tagore anniversary celebrations, exhibitions of pictures, documents and writings connected with Tagore's visit to Rumania reminded the Rumanian people of that memorable event. Exhibitions of his books and paintings as well as a number of meetings dedicated to that great man of India marked the occasion. At the time of the Vivekananda anniversary, Prof. D. D. Kosambi, the scientist along with the Hindi writer Shivdan Singh Chauhan, visited Rumania and addressed a number of meetings and gatherings.

In India, at the time of the International Books Exhibition, organised in New Delhi by the IFACS, Rumania also participated, acquainting the Indian visitors with its latest achievements in the fields of literature. A Rumanian book exhibition was also held in Indore. The famous play *Lost Letter* of the great Rumanian writer Caragiale was translated and staged with success in Calcutta. A number of writings of Caragiale and other noted Rumanian writers have been translated in various Indian languages and very much appreciated by Indian readers.

In this year, it is expected that the Indo-Rumanian cultural relations will grow further; more cultural exchanges, like those of students, visits of professors, of exhibitions and translations of books, etc., will contribute to the furtherance of friendly relations between the two countries.

Bulgaria

INDIA'S live contact with Bulgaria began with the visit of Rabindranath Tagore in 1926. It was in the notebook of Bulgarian professor Assen Zlatarov, that Tagore inscribed the famous lines:

"You brought many distant lands close to me, and of a stranger made my brother."

But that was years ago. There have been greater contacts between the two countries in the recent period. So far there have been eight Indian exhibitions held in Bulgaria including paintings of many Indian artists and valuable exhibits on loan from the Indian National Museum and other museums. In 1962, the Director of the Institute of Art at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences opened an exhibition of Indian architecture and sculpture in Sofia, which aroused keen interest among the Bulgarian people and was highly appreciated.

Rumania

RUMANIA has come to be associated in our minds with oil — in the field of which Rumania has given tremendous help to our country to break the monopoly grip of foreign capital — but simultaneously with the developing economic and commercial relations between our country and Rumania, the cul-

INDIA'S GROWING CULTURAL TIES

*By Sadhan Mukherjee

course of one month. There were a number of cultural performances by Indian artists in various parts of Bulgaria and in 1961, a Bulgarian Folk Dance and Music Troupe left indelible impressions on the minds of Indian spectators through their performance in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras and other cities. Indian and Bulgarian scientists and scientific institutes have established regular links and over 40 libraries and institutes now exchange scientific publications and books. There has been exchange of professors and scientists too.

Recently opened by Prof. Humayun Kabir in the National Art Gallery in Sofia was the first permanent section of Indian art. Just a couple of months back, a two-man scientific delegation from India and another delegation of Indian physicians visited Bulgaria. This year, Prof. Evgeni Matveev, Minister without Portfolio and an eminent planning expert, accompanied by Dr. Chavdar Kuranov, an economist visited India. Two Bulgarian journalists, Petko Roussev and Vladimir Naydenov are currently touring our country to gather first hand knowledge.

Czechoslovakia

OUR cultural relations with Czechoslovakia are on a high level. The agreement between the Governments of the two countries on cultural cooperation, signed in 1959, is valid until July 1964. Within the scope of this agreement are envisaged exchanges of representatives of education, art, culture, etc. training of personnel, scholarships, cooperation between scientific and research institutes, exhibitions of art-objects, film shows, etc., books, physical education, sports and so on.

From the signing of the agreement, the cultural relations and exchanges between the two countries have been ever increasing. Every year the Czechoslovak Government offers five scholar-

ty President of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences is in our country on a tour. Noted Indian scientist Prof. C. V. Raman has been recently elected a regular member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

Last year, in Bangalore was set up a Research Institute which was given to India by Czechoslovakia as a gift. There were a number of exhibitions held during 1962 in India and Czechoslovakia depicting the life and work of the peoples of both the countries. The "India in Construction" Exhibition in Prague last year has been a stupendous success.

Carlovy Vary International Film Festivals are already known to the Indian people; last year a number of Indian films shown at the festival were highly praised.

Yugoslavia

INDO-Yugoslav cultural cooperation is comparatively rather recent. But it is slowly gaining momentum following the signing of an agreement in 1960. Already there has been established a regular programme for the exchange of students. The Yugoslav Government is granting every year five scholarships to Indian students for specialised trainings. As a reciprocal measure, the India Government is also giving scholarships to Yugoslav students.

There were symposiums held recently in Yugoslavia on India and on the occasion of the Tagore birth centenary, his works were published in Yugoslav language. Books by Nehru and Gandhi have also been translated.

In 1962, there were exhibitions of 43 paintings of contemporary Yugoslav painters in India and Indian painting exhibitions also were held in Belgrade. An Indian ballet troupe including Minimalini Sarabhai and S. Panikkar visited Yugoslavia last year and gave a number of performances.



Zubin Mehta conducting Czech Philharmonic Orchestra during the International Music Festival (1962) in Prague.

ships to Indian students for post graduate studies and the Indian Government in response to that has this year already offered three scholarships for Czech students. There have been exchanges of a number of important figures in the fields of science and culture between the two countries and currently, Prof. Kozusnik, Deput

Translations of books by Yugoslav writers, Ivan Cankar and Noble Prize Winner (1962) Ivo Andric, have been published in our country. The latter will be visiting India shortly. The KOLO ensemble's visit to India was greatly appreciated by Indian spectators. The Yugoslav painter

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Republic Day Hopes For Disarmament And Peace

★ By Romesh Chandra

Republic Week has begun well with new hopes for an early accord on a nuclear test ban. While Indian public opinion is rightly cautious in its optimism (once bitten, twice shy!), there is universal appreciation of the manner in which Chairman Khrushchov has once again made vital concessions to the Western viewpoint, in the interests of an agreement.

A close examination of the Kennedy-Khrushchov correspondence, released to the press on Monday, reveals that the concessions made by the Soviet Union are not confined to on-site inspections alone. The Soviet Union has agreed that if the need arises, the delivery of equipment to the automatic control stations (the so-called "black boxes") and the taking of instruments readings can be carried out with the participation of international personnel. The Soviet Union has made another concession by accepting the US proposals on the actual regions for the establishment of automatic stations.

And let it not be forgotten, many scientists all over the world have again and again expressed the opinion that really speaking there is no need for inspection at all—for all nuclear tests are self-policing and national means of detection are sufficient to detect them. Yet, in view of the Western powers' insistence the Soviet Union has again and again expressed its readiness to accept reasonable proposals, provided they are not a cloak for espionage.

It was in this spirit that the Soviet Union accepted the eight neutral nations' proposals made at the Geneva Conference last year. As an added concession to the Western viewpoint, the Soviet Union later accepted the "black boxes" proposal for automatic seismic stations put forward by British scientists at the Pugwash Conference.

When the Gandhi Peace Foundation delegation headed by U. N. Dhebar visited Moscow in the beginning of October, Khrushchov, warmly reaffirmed his willingness to accept the neutral nations' proposals.

One would have expected that after the Soviet Union had made so many concessions, President Kennedy would move forward from his positions, too. But the correspondence indicates that President Kennedy once again insists on eight to ten inspections, completely denying previous proposals made by US spokesmen of two to four inspections.

Optimism: Guarded

The Soviet Union has agreed to two or three inspections annually. This number is based on scientific facts: actually, perhaps not even once in a year do seismic phenomena occur which can be taken for underground nuclear explosions, and two to three inspections are more than sufficient, even if this number includes visits to non-seismic regions as contemplated by President Kennedy.

The reason for optimism being guarded lies in the fact that the whole history of disarmament negotiations shows that each time the Soviet Union accepts a Western proposal, the USA and Great Britain move further away and

put forward fresh proposals, making an agreement as difficult as before. Nevertheless, Republic Day rightly dawned with new hopes of an agreement on a nuclear test ban, which can be the first step towards general and complete disarmament.

It is auspicious too that this week has seen the visit to our capital of the Polish Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki, author of the famous plan for a de-nuclearised zone in Central Europe. His talks with our government leaders will certainly lead to increased cooperation between India and the Socialist countries, not only in the economic field, but also in the great work for disarmament which remains as always in the forefront of our foreign policy.

Congo: U.S. Game Unveiled

UN troops entered Kolwezi, the last "Katanga stronghold" on Monday. They were "welcomed" by Tshombe. This is supposed to be the final phase of the UN "take-over". Congolese unity is supposed to have been preserved against Tshombe's attempts at disintegration.

And "God's in his heaven, all's right with the world" — that is what the imperialists would have us believe.

On Republic Day, it is good to tear aside the veil which shrouds the land of Lumumba and fill one's eyes with the truth. For the soldiers of our Republic have been fighting under the UN flag in the Congo. What have they been fighting for?

Let us recall that this offensive by the UNO against the Katanga regime is the third offensive. Each time the UN forces have been within an ace of the complete suppression of Tshombe and his gangs — and each time the UN troops have been called back, leaving Tshombe to do his worst.

And this time, too, Tshombe remains at large — boss still of Katanga, and all its riches. Tshombe has not been expelled from the Congo, not even removed from his office. The correct demand made by President Nikurmah of Ghana that Tshombe should be arrested and tried for the murder of Patrice Lumumba, has been rejected by the UN Secretary-General.

Have our men, under the UN flag, fought only to restore Tshombe to his gadi? The truth needs to be re-stated today that the crux of the Katanga "problem" lies in the battle among the imperialist powers themselves over the mineral wealth of Katanga.

The US imperialists want to gain control over Katanga's national resources — which are now in the hands of Union Miniere, the company which is largely dominated by British and Belgian capital. For this reason, Washington desires a federal structure for the Congo, in the hope that the Central Govern-

ment would in return for US support, help the US monopolists against their West European rival in the struggle for Katanga's wealth.

The Paris journal Echos says: "Armed intervention in Katanga is, above all, an episode in the economic war: certain American groups have started in the Congo as part of their effort to win a new market." The paper adds that it is widely believed in Brussels that America's first aim is to break Belgium's commercial hold on the Congo.

Already US economic grip has grown:

● Belgian exports to the Congo have dropped from 35 to 15 per cent. Competent observers believe that it is the USA which is filling the vacuum!

● The foreign exchange resources allotted to private firms by the Leopoldville Government from foreign loans are mostly for imports from the USA.

● A new oil company has been formed, two of the four partners of which are subsidiaries of leading American trusts: Mobil Oil and Texaco Africa.

● Recently when Union Miniere stocks fell after reports of serious damage to a cobalt plant and power station in Jadotville, it is reported that Americans grabbed the falling shares, since they had knowledge beforehand of the temporary nature of the fall.

The British Government has naturally vehemently protested against the anti-Katanga UN operations. It called for a "cease-fire", the moment the operations began, and encouraged Tshombe to make all his defiant statements during the last few weeks. And it has been British influence largely (backed, of course, by the Belgians) that is responsible for

the halt to the UN operations, once again when Tshombe was on the point of complete surrender.

The US imperialists have achieved their immediate ends and are quite ready to play ball with Tshombe, if he is willing to acknowledge US "interests" in Katanga's wealth. Of course, the US monopolists are now in a stronger position, as a result of the UN presence in Katanga, vis-a-vis their British and Belgian rivals.

Is it for this that we sent our troops to the Congo? We sent them to help and protect the Congolese people from the imperialists. But Lumumba was murdered, Gizenga was thrown into prison and today Tshombe is still allowed to continue his brigandage and disruption on behalf of his imperialist patrons. And the UN flag is used to sanctify all this!

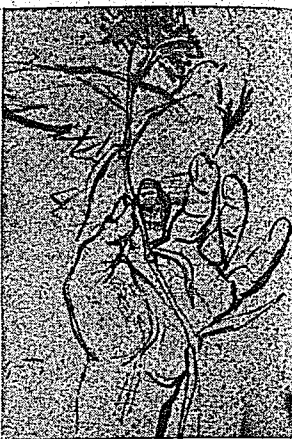
It is good to know that our troops are now coming home soon. Sometimes men in high places wonder why there are moments when African Governments and people are inclined to be angry with us.

On the Republic Day, let us remember that our failure to stop misuse of the UN flag in the Congo, despite the presence of our troops under UN command, is one BIG reason for African dissatisfaction with Indian policies.

ONE of the outstanding Republic Day presents for all mankind is the unequivocal statement reportedly made by Chairman Khrushchov yesterday to a group of West Berliners, that—

"To make war for Berlin would be nonsense, the most stupid thing."

Khrushchov is reported to have added: "I give you my word that we have no interest in taking



over West Berlin with its two million inhabitants.

"The best guarantee for West Berlin would be to set up protection troops under the UN banner. As for us, we promise not to interfere in West Berlin's internal affairs. Let there be confidence in our promises, as we showed confidence in President Kennedy when he gave the assurance not to carry out any aggression against Cuba." (AFP)

This is not an authorised version of the talks and perhaps there may be discrepancies here and there. And, of course, the quotation is by no means a full exposition of all that Khrushchov must have said.

To a world which rightly sees the German problem and the question of the status of West Berlin as powder-kegs which could set mankind afire in a nuclear holocaust, the reiteration of the Soviet Union's peaceful policies gives a welcome relief.

The fact, however, remains that unless the West German militarists who are encouraged by their US imperialist overlords, are halted in their mad adventures by the united action of the world's peace forces, unless a German Peace Treaty is signed and the problem of West Berlin settled as suggested by the Soviet Union, the heart of Europe will continue to beat dangerously for the future of the whole world.

(January 23)

RAPACKI VISIT: Amity Grows

IT is acknowledged in informed circles of the capital that Polish Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki's visit here has been eminently fruitful.

The bases for continued co-operation, both in the economic and political spheres, between India and the Polish People's Republic as a member of the family of socialist states headed by the Soviet Union, have been effectively reinforced and comprehensive mutual understanding has been attained.

Minister Rapacki had several meetings with Prime Minister Nehru as well as with other ministers handling questions of India's economic development and external affairs. At the official banquet given in his honour by the Ministry of External Affairs, Minister of State Lakshmi Menon expounded with conviction and firmness India's faith in the policy of non-alignment, while the Polish Foreign Minister dwelt on the perspectives of long-range economic cooperation between the two countries.

It is significant that following Rapacki's talks here, the date for the visit of the Polish Deputy Minister for Foreign

Trade which was earlier fixed for late spring has been advanced to February now.

In his precise and clear exposition of Socialist Poland's policies on the most urgent problems of international relations given at the Indian Council of World Affairs, Adam Rapacki voiced his conviction that cooperation between India and Poland in this sphere which has been "beneficial not only to our two countries" will continue to develop. "I am convinced", Rapacki said, "that there is need for such cooperation and this need will be even stronger in a period full of great possibilities and real dangers that we have entered."

"The Indian policy of non-alignment whose fervent spokesman and interpreter is Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, has had and should have also in the future, an important influence upon international developments. This policy... is needed by the world today and in the near future perhaps even more than before."

"Along this path", declared Rapacki, "we should like to cooperate with India further and even more closely, while developing at the same time our bilateral relations." Besides giving a clear expo-

SPACEMAN IN DELHI

The man who circled the earth 64 times in four days passed through Delhi on January 20. Soviet Cosmonaut III Andrian Nikolayev, on his way to Indonesia, broke his journey in the Indian capital for 12 hours.

HE was given a warm reception at the airport by Government officials, as well as representatives of the All-India Peace Council and the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society.

Nikolayev lunched with Prime Minister Nehru and also called on Vice-President Zakir Husain. A reception in his honour given by Soviet Ambassador Benediktov was attended, among many others, by the Prime Minister and the Vice-President.

In a speech at the reception, the Cosmonaut said:

"On behalf of the Soviet cosmonauts and builders of spaceships, I should also like to express sincere gratitude

for the greetings and high appreciation of the, Soviet achievements in outer space, made by the Prime Minister of India, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. We fully agree with the statement made in his message on the occasion of our group flight that it was absurd when people talk about war on our planet while we have a wide field open for these great experiments."

Stressing the Soviet Union's policy of peace and close friendship which exists between India and the Soviet Union, the space hero called for the unity of all the world's scientists which would enable man to make more rapid conquests of space.

MOSCOW PREPARES FOR INDIAN REPUBLIC DAY

LARGE scale preparations are being made in the Soviet Union to celebrate India's Republic Day. Although due to the emergency the usual big reception given by the Indian Embassy will not be held, public societies and organisations in many cities of the USSR are getting ready to mark the day in a big way as a symbol of Soviet-Indian friendship.

Indian students at the Moscow University marked the occasion by their traditional meeting and gala concert in

which Soviet students and students of many other countries also took part with enthusiasm. The Rector of the University and R. K. Nehru, Secretary General Ministry of External Affairs, who is on a goodwill visit here and the Indian Ambassador, T. N. Kaul also attended the function.

R. K. Nehru has met the Soviet President, Brezhnev, Foreign Minister Gromyko and Skachkov the Chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations. R. K. Nehru



With Prime Minister Nehru, Soviet Ambassador Benediktov, Polish Foreign Minister Rapacki and cosmonaut Nikolayev. Photo: Virendra Kumar

has brought a message from the Indian Prime Minister to be delivered to Khrushchov who is expected back in Moscow from Berlin.

R. K. Nehru is believed to be acquainting the Soviet side with India's point of view on all relevant matters. Yesterday he told your correspondent that in spite of the events of the

last three months, relations between India and Soviet Union continue to be good and there were prospects of further improvement. India will stick to its policy of non-alignment, he said.

He also said that there were very good prospects for the development of trade between the two countries which has already increased five times

in recent years. Twenty per cent of India's exports to Soviet Union were finished goods which were not being allowed entry into Western Europe by the Common Market, etc.

R. K. Nehru said that the Soviet Union is to help India in setting up her own defence industry.

—Masood Ali Khan

INDIA'S GROWING CULTURAL TIES

From Page 17

Peter Lubarda will shortly be coming to India to attend the opening of his exhibition. The Lalit Kala Akademi will shortly be publishing a collection of six short stories from Yugoslavia in various Indian languages.

For this year, it has been planned to have an exchange of ballet troupes between the two countries and the holding of a Yugoslav film festival in India.

POLAND

INDIA'S cultural relations with Poland started in an organised manner after India attained independence. In 1957, an agreement was signed between the two governments for cultural cooperation. Indian books of course, are being translated into Polish, since a long time and India is not unknown even to ordinary Polish people.

Today, Indo-Polish cultural co-operation stands on a very firm basis. The Polish Indian Library in Poland has done excellent work in bringing out translations of numerous Indian books including those of Tagore, Gandhi, Nehru etc. The Anthology of Indian Songs, published in Poland is the only anthology of its kind in any European language. "Indian Philosophy" by Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, "Mahatma and the Ism" by E. M. S. Namboodiripad etc., are some of the recent publications, brought out in Polish.

A number of books by eminent Polish writers have been translated into various Indian languages. The works of famous Polish Economist Oscar Lange are already well known in our country.

During the last year, there were a number of exhibitions held in both the countries; films were screened and a number of

features were published about India in the Polish press.

HUNGARY

HUNGARY has built up political and cultural relations with independent India carrying forward the teachings championed over one hundred years by Sandor Korosi Csoma, the famous Hungarian linguist and explorer who lies buried at Darjeeling.

Several exhibitions have been held in Hungary during the past ten years to popularise the ancient art and culture of India. An illustrated album was published on Indian art, edited by Ervin Bakhtay. Many books by Indian authors have been published in Hungarian during the past ten years, like the novels of Mulk Raj Anand, which are popular among the reading public. A number of selected works of Tagore are already well-known in Hungary. Several

Indian films have been shown in Budapest and other towns. In the spring of 1958 Indian films were presented in two exhibitions arranged in Budapest theatres.

At that time an attempt was made to translate the great epic Mahabharata into Hungarian by the late Professor Rezzo Honti, a co-worker of Gyula Germanus and Ervin Bakhtay in promoting Indo-Hungarian cultural relations. Professor Honti translated some important sections of Mahabharata, but was unable to complete the work. Now a working party of translators and scholars is continuing the work on the basis of Professor Honti's beginnings. Not long ago Jozsef Roman's book was published, which interprets Mahabharata for the youth.

During the past few years, many lectures dealing with Indian art, literature and culture were arranged by the Society for the Dissemination of Science. Prof. Germanus and

Rozsa Rajnoczy lectured at many gatherings in towns and villages about the impressions of India. Prof. Germanus's book on his trip through India, entitled "Bengal Flame" was published some time back.

G. D. R.

BESIDES growing commercial relations between India and the German Democratic Republic, there exist important cultural ties too.

For a number of years, the GDR has provided scholarships for Indian students and post-graduates at well-known universities and specialised institutions. In 1962, forty-one post-graduates and 11 research scholars went to the GDR.

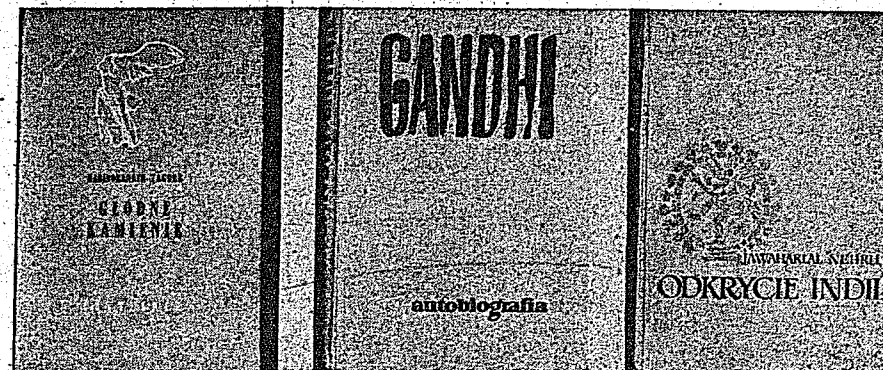
During 1962, there were 37 exhibitions held in India by the GDR, the foremost among them being the "Contemporary Paintings from the GDR." Bombay artist Satwalekar's painting exhibition in the GDR was highly commended by the German visitors.

The German Hygiene exhibition, which in Calcutta alone, drew more than one lakh visitors, was also, shown in Delhi and finally presented to Maulana Azad Medical College.

There were other exhibitions like the "Kaethe Kollwitz" exhibition in Calcutta, "Ceramics Exhibition in Delhi etc.", which presented before the Indian people various aspects of contemporary life of the German people in the GDR.

The GDR participated in the Calcutta Children's film festival with a total of 15 films. The feature film "Mother Courage" based on Bertolt Brecht's famous play on thirty-years war, was very well received in Bombay recently. It will be screened in Delhi on the occasion of "Brecht Week".

There were visits of a number of well known scientists from the GDR to India. In 1962, India offered to GDR scholarships for five GDR scientists in the fields of agriculture and forestry. Since September 1962, a young German scholar is pursuing a post-graduate study in Hindi language and literature at the Delhi University. India has also agreed to send two Hindi readers to work in the Indological departments of the GDR Universities.



Books of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru published in Poland.

UNITE AGAINST REACTION'S OFFENSIVE

While the cease-fire has taken place on our borders and we are supporting the Colombo Conference proposals for the consolidation of this cease-fire, the enemies of the nation inside our country have not ceased their fire on the basic policies of the Republic. In fact, never before have they launched so organised and so vicious a campaign against the national policies and their architect Prime Minister Nehru, as they are seeking to do now on the eve of the Republic Day.

While the main attention of the nation is focussed on Parliament's discussions of the Colombo initiative, all the parties of reaction are yelling themselves hoarse in a last-ditch stand against the sheet anchor of our Republic—the policy of non-alignment. Brazen and unashamed is the wail of these sinister forces for a military alliance with the Western imperialists. Rajaji, the arch-priest of reaction, calls for "wholehearted, allied support from the West, not merely weapons on a commercial or gift basis, but full cooperation as from allies bound by treaty"; "an unambiguous alliance with Western powers" (statement issued on January 20 in Madras).

The mask is no longer there. Full-scale entry into military pacts with the Western imperialists has been called for. And the entire activity of the parties of right reaction are directed towards this end.

The entire tactics of the rightwing junta in Parliament in demanding "rejection" of the Colombo proposals, are precisely directed towards the fulfilment of the main aim of securing the abandonment of non-alignment and putting India's head into the noose

of a Western military pact.

This is the moment for the nation to act as never before in defence of the basic policies of the Republic against the new Right offensive.

In order to defeat this offensive, what is vital is the cooperation and unity of all the forces which support these basic policies and above all the policy of non-alignment. Prejudices and narrow-minded outlooks have no place in the fulfilment of the supreme task of fighting back the conspiracy of the pro-imperialist forces to destroy all that the Republic means.

Prime Minister Nehru's clear exposition in Parliament of India's basic stand calls for the rallying of the entire nation in its support; the attempt of the Swatantra, Jan Sangh, Praja Socialist and other reactionary parties to confuse the Indian people must be defeated.

The Communist Party has offered its full cooperation to all Congressmen and other democrats in the vital national task of defending the basic policies.

In several States, Congressmen and others are already aware of the necessity to unite against reaction, in support of non-alignment and the Prime Minister's policies. Unfortunately, the pattern is not uniform. And there are still leading Congressmen, who prefer to attack the Communists rather than fight the policies of reaction.

The continued detention of over 700 Communist leaders prevents the unfolding of a full-scale campaign covering all the States in support of non-alignment and the basic policies. Despite some recent releases in Madras, Gujerat, Orissa, Punjab, Kerala and Delhi,

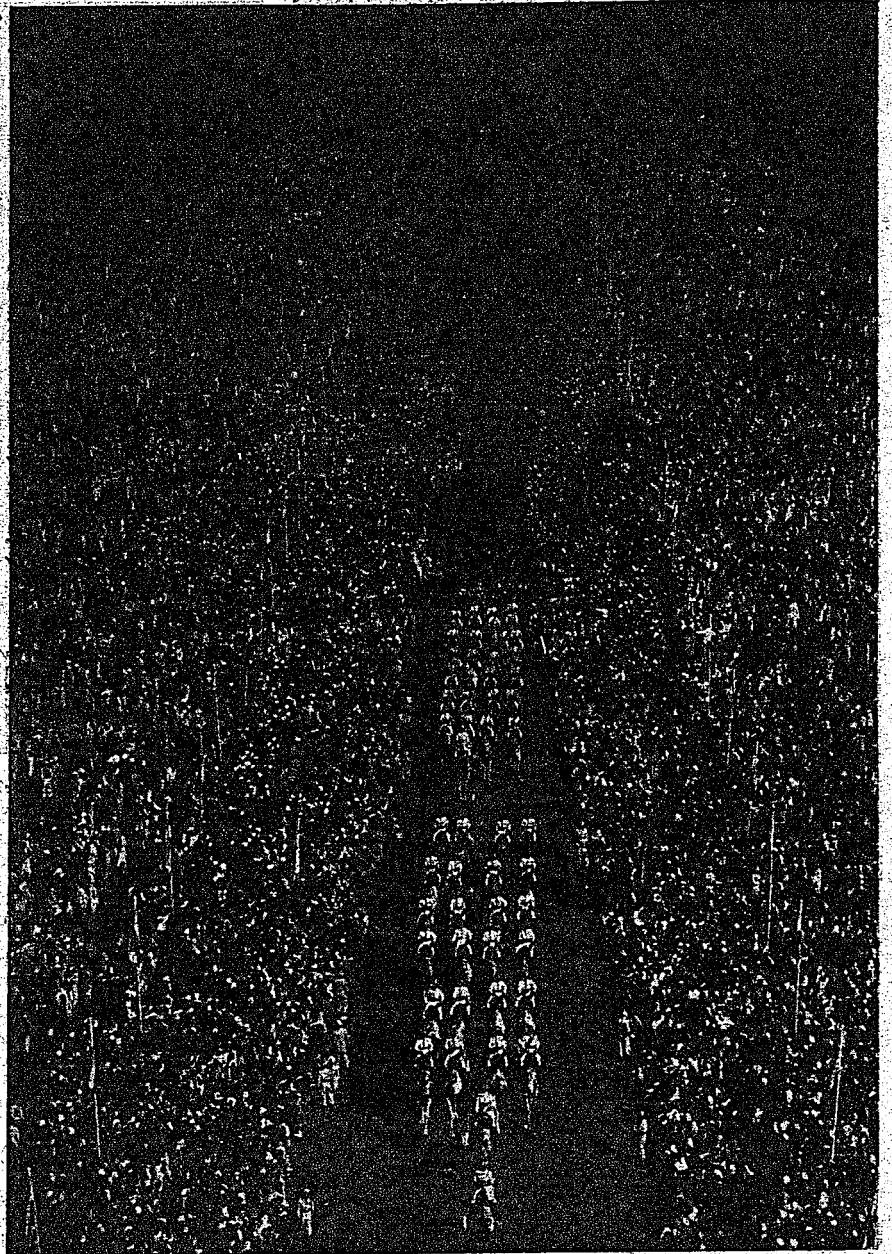
the vast majority of the detenus continue to be in prison, hamstringing the efforts of the Communist Party to act with its entire force in defence of the Republic's policies. The im-

mediate release of all Communist detenus is the need of the hour.

Republic Day must see the start of a counter-offensive, several-fold greater and more powerful

than the offensive of the Right, of all Indian patriotic forces, united in defence of the nation's basic policies.

—Ramesh Chandra
(January 23)



We Pledge Ourselves Anew

*FROM FRONT PAGE

tage of the sense of shock and indignation which our people felt in the days of the massive invasion launched by China, they boldly campaigned for the abandonment of non-alignment policy. They agitated for, and secured, the removal of one of the most competent exponents of that policy, former Defence Minister Krishna Menon, from the Cabinet. They whipped up frenzy against and organised attacks on the Communist Party—the most consistent and determined champion of the independent foreign policy and progressive internal policies. At the time when the aggressive Chinese armies were advancing further and further into our territory, they even put on the agenda the removal of Prime Minister Nehru himself. Today when the possibilities for negotiated settlement with China have become bright, they are demanding "no talks" and rejection of Colombo proposals.

On this Republic Day, therefore, we pledge ourselves

to carry on a continuous and determined struggle against these reactionary forces.

It is, of course, true that they have not attained all their objectives with which they launched the offensive in October-November. The Indian people are today more convinced than ever before that non-alignment policy is in the best interest of the nation, that Prime Minister Nehru's leadership is a source of strength to it and that, therefore, the opponents of non-alignment and Nehru's leadership are betraying the glorious traditions of the independence pledge taken 33 years ago and the fundamental principles of our Republican Constitution. They are seeing more and more that the problem of Chinese aggression has to be, and can be, solved through peaceful, not military, means.

It would, however, be a dangerous illusion to think that reactionary forces have been defeated. They are just biding their time and will avail themselves of the first opportunity that presents it-

self before them to launch another attack on the basic policies of the nation. Their characterisation of the Government's acceptance of the Colombo proposals as "surrender" is a clear indication of this stark reality.

We would, in this connection, like to remind the leaders of our Government that some of their actions are helping these reactionary forces and hindering the work of those who are determined to fight them with determination. As the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party stated a week ago, the misuse of emergency legislation to arrest several hundreds of Communist Party, Trade Union and Kisan Sabha functionaries "is indeed a severe blow at the entire democratic life of the country. This repression against the Party and the mass organisations conforms only to the interests of Right reaction who have sought to whip up anti-Communist hysteria as the starting-point of attacks on many other patriotic elements and on India's basic policies".

We would like to remind Prime Minister Nehru and his colleagues that, by making such large-scale arrests on the monstrously slanderous charge of their "pro-China" policies, the Government is putting out of action several of the most effective fighters against the anti-national policies advocated by the forces of Right reaction.

Republic Day this year is being observed in the midst of a serious national debate on the major issue agitating the Indian people. On one side are ranged the forces of Right reaction who, in the name of taking an "uncompromising stand against the Chinese aggressor", are inviting the imperialists to come to our "aid" and thus to mortgage our hard-won freedom. On the other are the forces of progress which want India to develop her own economic and defence potential and thus to defend her territorial integrity on the basis of her own inherent strength.

It is obvious that every Communist in or out of prison takes his stand with the latter and against the former. That is precisely why the former vociferously demand not

only that the arrested Communists should not be released, but that restrictive measures, including a ban on the Party, should be taken. This should be sufficient indication to the leaders of the Government that, if they are serious about defending the basic national policies from the assault launched against them by the forces of Right reaction, they should correct the mistakes they committed in November when they succumbed to reactionary pressure and launched a concerted attack on the Communist Party and mass organisations.

On this Republic Day, therefore, we pledge ourselves anew to fight still harder to carry forward the glorious traditions of the anti-imperialist struggle and of the Republican Constitution by building the broadest possible unity of the progressive and democratic forces.

—in defence of the basic policies of the nation against the forces of Right reaction, and

—for the abandonment of repression launched by the Government against the democratic forces.

January 24, 1963