

# Peaceful Coexistence In Action

## Editorial

A MAJOR POLICY declaration by the head of the Government of the Soviet Union is, at

any time, an event of paramount significance for the whole world. But the report made by Premier Nikita Khrushchov to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on December 12 is not only another important policy declaration: it marks a milestone of decisive importance in the development of the worldwide struggle for peace; it sharply underscores the arrival of the international Communist movement at a vital moment in its history.

Mankind, already deeply appreciative of the contribution made by the Soviet Union towards the solution of the recent grave crisis in the Caribbean, will warmly welcomed and support the penetrating analysis of the Caribbean events made by N. S. Khrushchov in his report. Never before was the world so close to a thermo-nuclear war as it was during the days when Cuba was threatened with invasion by the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism. And it was primarily due to the far-sighted wisdom and devotion to peace of Nikita Khrushchov and the Soviet Government that humanity was dragged away from the brink of a holocaust, world peace was saved and the independence and security of Cuba safeguarded.

In his report to the Supreme Soviet, Khrushchov rightly emphasises that the warding off of the grave threat of nuclear war during the last weeks was a great moral and political victory for the policy of peace.

The world has enthusiastically welcomed Khrushchov's clear declaration that the Soviet Union would always be prepared to accept sensible, political compromises, firmly abiding by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in order to preserve peace and the great gains of socialism. Mutual concessions and compromise are necessary for the solution of all questions by peaceful means—which is "peaceful co-existence in action."

The Soviet Union has demonstrated this policy in practice during the Cuban crisis. And the chief architect of that policy has now reiterated firm adherence to that policy.

Let the "mad men" who thirst for war, not mistake this policy, however, for a policy which will permit them to continue their lunatic plans for world domination. Khrushchov has solemnly warned these gentlemen that the peace forces of the world will never permit the forces of aggression to carry out their devilish conspiracies. In fact, the Cuban events have categorically confirmed that the present balance of forces is such that the forces of peace and socialism can curb the aggressive forces of imperialism, can compel imperialism to reckon with the will of the peoples.

## Unflagging Vigilance And Struggle For Peace

Khrushchov warned at the same time that unflagging vigilance and tireless struggle are necessary to ensure peace. For, the war efforts of the aggressive forces of imperialism continue without respite. The peace forces prevented war in the case of Cuba with the help of a reasonable compromise. But no one can guarantee absolutely that if there is another crisis caused by the imperialists of a similar or greater magnitude, the world can be pulled back from the precipice by the peace forces.

Supreme confidence in the power of the peoples of the world is a running thread of the report: the peoples, says Khrushchov, can and must say their decisive word in the struggle for peace, in which the most urgent priority problems

are those of general and complete disarmament, and a peace treaty with Germany and normalisation of the situation in West Berlin on its basis.

The Khrushchov report will go down in history not only as a textbook for the fighters for peace in the context of today's international situation; it is equally the most thorough and devastating exposure of the serious dangers of dogmatism, and a clarion call to the world Communist movement to wage a resolute struggle against dogmatism, which is not less dangerous today than revisionism and which constituted the chief danger

such vital problems as problems of war and peace, which affect the destinies of all mankind.

Three days after Khrushchov's report to the Supreme Soviet, on December 15, the Peking *People's Daily* editorially attacked the criticisms of dogmatism made in the recent Congresses of Communist and Workers' Parties. The Communist Party of China, through this editorial comment, has proclaimed its refusal to accept the fraternal criticisms made by brother Parties. Without naming the Khrushchov Report, the editorial is quite evidently intended to answer the criticisms of the

# NEW AGE

## COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. X, NO. 51

NEW DELHI, DECEMBER 23, 1962

25 nP.

during the Cuban events and in the interpretation of those events.

The Congresses of Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Italy, held during the last few weeks, correctly criticised the leftist dogmatist views being put forward in the international Communist movement, which have already become the basis for what have been described as perilous adventurist, splitting activities.

## Dogmatists Fall Into Trotskyite Positions

Khrushchov takes these criticisms further forward and points his finger unerringly at the root of the understanding of the dogmatists: behind their vaunted courage, there lies nothing but fear of imperialism, disbelief in the possibility of defeating the capitalist system in peaceful economic competition; under the cover of noisy pseudo-revolutionary phrases, they struggle against the Leninist policy of peace and peaceful co-existence; they have slithered into Trotskyite positions and are impelling the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to unleash a world war; they have lost faith that socialism can win without a war.

The danger which dogmatism constitutes today is not confined to abstract discussions in the ideological field. Khrushchov emphasises that this madness—which in essence perhaps believes that Communism can be reached only through war, by killing millions of people—can only scare millions and millions of people away from the Communist movement.

And not only that. Khrushchov points out that Left-sectarianism is nourished by narrow nationalism, and nourishes in turn such nationalism. It becomes intolerable when it is manifested in the activities of a ruling party on the policy of which the destinies of the people depend to a large degree. It becomes dangerous since it is directed against the policy of the Communist movement on

dogmatists made in that report. The *People's Daily* obviously considers that these criticisms are intended for the Communist Party of China.

The Communist Party of India, through the resolution of its Central Executive Committee adopted on December 1, has clearly stated its view that the "Chinese leadership and Government... were behaving in flagrant violation of all the policies and principles of the international Communist movement."

A month earlier, the National Council of the Party had in its resolution repudiated the wrong understanding of the role of the Nehru Government held by the Chinese Communist Party. The Communist Party of India is convinced that the Chinese Communist Party has grossly violated the common understanding of the international Communist movement in relation to peaceful co-existence and attitude to newly liberated countries and the question of war and peace; it has fallen a victim to narrow nationalistic considerations at the

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Unite For National Defence And National Policies

KERALA

Achutha Menon Released

From Our Correspondent

TRIVANDRUM:

C. Achutha Menon, Secretary of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party, who had been arrested and detained under the Defence of India Act was released here on December 15, on orders of the State Government.

ACHUTHA Menon, while in custody, had been admitted to the Medical College Hospital for observation. The Government in a statement said that it had taken into consideration the report of the Superintendent of the Hospital that Achutha Menon would require prolonged treatment and therefore he was being released.

As soon as the news of his release was known, large number of people including Party leaders and workers, visited Achutha Menon in the hospital. As he is still under treatment, Achutha Menon would continue to remain in the hospital for a few days more.

Talking to pressmen who visited him in the hospital, Achutha Menon said that as long as he was free and had health, he would continue to work for strengthening the country's defence efforts. He demanded that other Party comrades who are still under arrest should also be released.

When some pressmen drew his attention to a recent statement by the Kerala Home Minister P. T. Chacko that only those whose activities were considered likely to prejudice the defence of the country had been arrested, Achutha Menon pointed out that there was no reason for such consideration. He declared that as the Secretary of the Party in the State, he could assure anyone that the activities of Communists in Kerala would only be helpful to national defence and never a hindrance to it.

The release of Achutha Menon has been widely welcomed. Meanwhile, the motives behind Government's policy of continuing arrests of important Communist leaders is not clear. Last week some comrades including, N. E. Balram, M.L.A., Azhikotan Raghavan, (both members of the State Secretariat of the Party) and T. K. Ramakrishnan, M.L.A. were arrested.

Chacko's Argument

The State Home Minister, P. T. Chacko talking to pressmen said last week that Communist leaders were arrested in Kerala not because they were considered pro-Chinese. On the other hand, he said, only those whose free movement and activities the government feared could prejudice the defence efforts were taken into custody.

The fact that the Communist Party had been in the forefront of all activities for national defence in this State is sufficient proof against the suggestion that the arrested Party leaders were likely to "prejudice" the national effort for defence.

The Communist Party and the mass organisations led

news from states

ugh the columns of their press to malign the Party. The State Party Secretariat recently nailed some of these false reports and appealed to the public to reject them.

In one case the name of the Governor, V. V. Giri himself was used by the reactionary elements to attack the Party. It was reported in some papers that the Governor, while addressing a meeting at Alleppey, had criticised Indian Communists in very strong terms and questioned their bonafides. The report, incidentally, had also been splashed in the anti-Communist weekly of Bombay, Current last week.

When the attention of the Governor was drawn to these reports by the State Party Secretariat, the Governor wrote back to say that these press reports were completely unfounded and untrue.

Andhra Legislature :

COMMUNISTS SUPPORT GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION

SPeAKING in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council, on December 11, Makhdoom Mohiuddin, Leader of the Opposition "fully and wholeheartedly" supported the resolution moved by the Chief Minister regarding Chinese aggression and declared that the Chinese should withdraw to the September 8 line before any negotiations could start for a settlement of the boundary dispute.

In his speech, which was widely appreciated for its clarity and force, Makhdoom said that he condemned the Chinese both as an Indian for having committed aggression against our country and also as a Communist for violating the Communist principles and

Conditions Of Communist Detenus

The news of the hunger strike of Baba Gurumukh Singh, the veteran Gadhari revolutionary, in Nabha Jail has caused serious concern in all political circles in the Punjab.

IN a memorandum to the Punjab Chief Minister, the State Executive of the CPI has urged Babaji's immediate release. The memorandum points out that his patriotic past and the endless sacrifices which Babaji has made for the liberation of our country from foreign yoke and the betterment of the lives of our people, are known to all.

The memorandum while urging the release of all the 46 Communists still in detention in the State, urges the Chief Minister to look into the jail conditions of the detenus. Only the M.L.A.s have been placed in higher class, all the others are treated as common C Class prisoners. The memorandum urges that the detenus may be given the same facilities and treatment as detenus were allowed in 1948-51, and also that all of them may be kept together in one jail.

(As we go to the press, news has reached that the Punjab government has released Baba Gurumukh Singh.)

In Gujarat, of the 40 detenus,

NATIONAL DEFENCE :

Communists' Foremost Duty

—Teja Singh Swatantar's Letter

The veteran revolutionary of the Punjab, Teja Singh Swatantar, in a letter to the Daily Nawan Zamana (organ of the Punjab State Council of the CPI), has pledged his wholehearted support to the resolution of the National Council of the Communist Party of India. In the course of his letter, he writes:

I AM glad that the National Council of the Communist Party of India in its last meeting has taken a realistic view of the situation and there is no ambiguity in the stand taken by it. I wholeheartedly support the new party line of effectively participating in the national de-

fence efforts, in cooperation with all other patriotic democratic forces. The path outlined in the National Council resolution is the only path of building national unity for national defence and of upholding the national policies of peace and non-alignment.

We must gear the Party machine to the maximum for mobilisation of men and means for the defence of the country. For the surest and quickest implementation of the Party line we must gear up the Party in such a way that it becomes an effective instrument of carrying out the Party line faithfully and enthusiastically.

The letter concludes with these words:

It is the foremost duty of the Indian Communists to fight the aggression in the first line of defence, and see that the Chinese aggression is vacated. This is the only way to save the country, to remain in close touch with the patriotic masses, to preserve their confidence, thus isolate and outmanoeuvre the reactionary elements which are out to exploit the disturbed situation. That is the only way to create national unity in support of the national-accepted policies of the Government and to advance the cause of peace, democracy and socialism in India and abroad.

I am ready, as ever, to do my bit in the cause of national defence and exhort all the Party members, workers and peasants to rise as one man, and spare no sacrifice in the cause of national defence.

The Government should arrest Communists, despite the Party's categorical stand on Chinese aggression. He called for the release of all arrested Communists and said that let their bona fides be tested and proved by their work among their own people.

He recounted the contributions made by workers in such industrial concerns like the Fraga Tools, Singareni collieries, RTC and Allwyns. "The common people have contributed their mite to the Defence Fund. But what about the rich?" he asked.

In this connection, Makhdoom pointed out that big business concerns have to date contributed only a very small part of their profits to the National Defence Fund. They must be made to contribute their due share to this national effort for repelling Chinese aggression.

Makhdoom also referred to the case of the Nizam, who has said he is too poor to give up ten per cent of his huge privy purse. He has given only Rupees two lakhs. By investing 25 lakhs in gold bonds, the Nizam perhaps might be thinking that even this two lakhs he can get back by way of interest on the gold bonds. Makhdoom regretted that

West Bengal Newsletter

From AJOY DAS GUPTA

MEMORANDUM TO CHIEF MINISTER

Protests Against Attack On Communist Party

CALCUTTA December 16

The West Bengal State Council of the CPI submitted a memorandum on December 10 to the State Chief Minister concerning the difficulties facing the Party in mobilising the people for defence efforts.

Referring to the tradition of political movement in India and agreement between de-

SOMNATH Lahiri, Biswanath Mukherjee and Biren Roy, members of the State Council Secretariat had a discussion with the Chief Minister after presenting the memorandum.

The memorandum states that an extra-ordinary situation is prevailing today in West Bengal wherein the Communist Party and its branches throughout the State are being virtually prevented from functioning and organising any activity in support of the defence efforts of the country against Chinese aggression.

"A campaign of calumny and slander has been unleashed against it by some responsible members of the ruling party and attacks including arson, on its offices and offices of mass organisations are being permitted to take place with police remaining passive".

The memorandum pinpoints the attacks on party offices, trade union offices, party book shops at various places and says that "these attacks were unprovoked and most of the offices, which were closed when attacked, were broken open and even set on fire."

The memorandum cites instances of disturbance in meetings organised by the Party at various places and details how rowdism is being organised even in some municipal offices and work there rendered impossible.

Citing examples as to how some responsible Congress leaders are helping to spread in jail, all of whom have not been accorded the same status and the majority of them are being kept in 3rd Division.

SAVE SWADHINATA CAMPAIGN IS ON

While the Communist Party and the democratic masses and their organisations are fighting against heavy odds to be able to play their due role in the national defence and for defence of national policies, a hard blow fell on them.

ON December 11 in the evening, a Receiver of the Calcutta High Court sealed the rotary machine of Swadhinata.

The sealing of the Rotary Press has created great difficulty in publication of Swadhinata, which is the only medium of reaching the masses with the policy of the party, particularly when meetings are virtually banned.

With great difficulty a four-page paper is being brought out, but the number is quite insufficient to

bour Minister Bejoy Singh Nahar. The memorandum says: "The tragedy of the whole situation is that there is not a word of condemnation by the Government or any of its spokesmen".

The memorandum protests against arrest of Communist Party members, on a big scale and says, "It has been said that nobody is being arrested because of being communist, but he or she who is dangerous to the security of our country. We totally repudiate this charge so far as it is levelled against the arrested members of our Party". The memorandum cites a number of examples in this connection.

The memorandum enumerates concrete work in support of national defence carried out by the Party in spite of all obstacles. These include the circulation in large number of National Council Resolution and State Council's appeal, wide-spread poster, initiative by Party members in factories and offices for collection to National Defence Fund, enrolment for blood donation, knitting woollen garments for jawans, holding meetings and rallies.

The memorandum points out that the West Bengal Communist M.P.s have already paid Rs. 4,500 to NDF and West Bengal M.L.A.s and M.L.C.s Rs. 1,400 and many more are still to contribute.

The memorandum draws attention of the Government to the condition of prisoners in jail, all of whom have not been accorded the same status and the majority of them are being kept in 3rd Division.

tenu and the Government in 1949-50, the memorandum requested that all political prisoners be treated as Division I undertrials.

Referring to the remarks of Prime Minister Nehru on the resolution of the National Council of the Party on Chinese aggression, the memorandum mentions the frank self-criticism made about the past hesitancy and failures of West Bengal State Council and its pledge "to do all in our power to rally the entire party on the basis of the National Council resolution in defence of our motherland, to prove by our toll, sweat, labour and sacrifice that Communists are among the best sons of the motherland".

The memorandum stresses that the "need of the hour is to forge National Unity against the cruel invader... as has been clearly stated by our Prime Minister" and made an earnest appeal "to all patriotic forces in the country, to members of the ruling party and the Government to intervene in the situation prevailing in West Bengal and to see that in the name of defence this disruption of National Unity does not go on but that a new chapter of united effort and endeavour is started in West Bengal at this grave hour of crisis facing our motherland".

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Regd. No. C 3686, Phone No. 44-6062, Telegram, Press—Mazui Chas, Non Press—Swadhinata, News & Editor: 44-6062, Reporters: 44-6095, Adv. & Circulation: 44-5100, Press & Cash: 44-6676

The Secretariat of the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India issued a statement on December 12 after the Swadhinata's rotary press was sealed by a High Court receiver. Following is the translated version of the statement:

WE are compelled to give you a bad news about Swadhinata. Yesterday (December 11) evening the High Court Receiver has sealed the rotary machine of the Swadhinata following an order of the High Court granting temporary injunction and appointing a Receiver. Due to these unexpected difficulties, we could bring out only a four-page newspaper this morning.

We do not fully know the legal position of the rotary machine because the former Secretariat of the Party did not inform us anything about it. We did not find documents about the mortgage of the machine either in the Party Office or in the Swadhinata office, nor did they inform us where these documents were.

In the State Council meeting of November to last, only this much was intimated that for a loan of Rs. 50,000 the machine has been mortgaged to two ladies and that Swadhinata has some more debts besides this. The former Secretariat had therefore proposed in the State Council meeting that since the continuation of the Swadhinata in these circumstances would entail further debts, the newspaper should be discontinued and the machine be sold. The money thus realised from the sale of the machine should be utilised partly for paying off the debts and the surplus be kept for future.

Since lots of objections were raised on this proposal, the resolution was amended to the effect that the matter would be discussed with the Central leadership of the Party and if the Central leadership would not be in a position to take the responsibility of our debts then the Swadhinata would be discontinued.

The State Council is in the know of only this much and the Executive Committee too has not heard more than this. At last, suddenly on yesterday,

prioritisation of the press has gone over to the hands of the said two ladies in March 1961 itself.

However, as far as we can collect, the petition contains statement of this kind and a copy of the alleged letter by Promode Das Gupta and Muzaffar Ahmed. We will let you know further details after receiving the said petition.

Now, as a result of the injunction and the appointment of a Receiver, we have no opportunity to use the rotary machine. We realise how much pain and anger will be agitating you over the situation in which the former Secretariat has left the rotary machine, installed through the unstinted help of thousands of friends.

But now is not the time for pain or agitation. It is certain that appropriate steps would be taken against those responsible for this situation after a proper enquiry. But the greatest need of the hour is to save and continue Swadhinata. Realising fully the responsibility arising out of the situation, we promise to you that we will give our all, devote all our energy for this cause.

It will be wrong to underestimate the condition. It is necessary to realise that never before such a crisis had come in Swadhinata's life. And never before there was such an urgency for the Party to continue Swadhinata as in this period of crisis facing the party.

Time and again you have saved Swadhinata. Today when the Party is fighting doggedly in an adverse condition, let all of us take up the fight once again with that undaunted courage which only the Communists and their supporters possess.

Share with Swadhinata your daily bread, defying the pangs of hunger and meet its added expenditure by your quick and generous financial help.

Take the responsibility of reaching Swadhinata to every house. If you get down to work, none can stop the Swadhinata.

# AFTER COLOMBO

WHILE Government and all patriotic Indians have decided to wait and examine the Colombo conference proposals carefully before pronouncing final judgment, the PSP-Swatantra-Jan Sangh prophets of doom have launched a new propaganda offensive which whatever its motive, has the objective result of driving a wedge between India and her non-aligned friends of Asia and Africa.

Asoka Mehta has come to the remarkable conclusion that the Colombo conference deliberations were "the success of Chinese might, if not its diplomacy also". Speaking in Bombay on November 14, the PSP Chairman ridiculed non-alignment which had been "reduced to such a pass when confronted with the brute might of the aggressor."

Similar critical comments on what are supposed to be the Colombo proposals have appeared in the editorials of certain daily newspapers, while the main theme this week of the speeches of the Right reactionary leaders has been along the same lines.

The Prime Minister, in his recent letter to President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, has reiterated India's stand: "the simple and straightforward way of returning to the paths of peace is to restore the status quo obtaining immediately prior to this massive invasion."

At the same time, the Prime Minister again repeated that "once this latest aggression is fully undone and the status quo prior to September 8 is restored"—"we are prepared to enter into talks and discussions with a view to resolving our differences."

This is in sharp contrast with the speeches made, for example, at the so-called "Save Himalayas Conference" in Delhi last Sunday. Here Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia led the conference in "denouncing all talk of restoration of the pre-September 8 positions: nothing short of restoration of the boundary as on August 15, 1947, and no armistice till Tibet is free.

Others, who tried to make

political profit out of the saving of the Himalayas at this so-called conference were Jan Sangh leader Dr. Raghuvir, Acharya J. B. Kripalani and V. G. Deshpande of the Hindu Mahasabha.

The depth to which these gentlemen sink in their frenzied denunciations was highlighted by the unprintable remarks of Deshpande which caused an uproar in the open session lasting for several minutes. Even though the audience was composed only of strong adherents of the parties supporting the "conference", there are limits beyond which even they are not prepared to allow their leaders to go.

## CAMPAIGN AGAINST NON-ALIGNMENT

THE period after Colombo is being used to open up a full-scale campaign for a military pact with the West.

The chief campaigner for this has continued to be Rajaji. His latest speech builds up the spectre of renewed Chinese aggression, "within a week" in order to sell his alignment policy.

Kripalani spoke eloquently while saving the Himalayas in Delhi on Sunday of the "common ideology" India has with the West, while elsewhere Ranga spoke of our common "dharma".

So desperate have these opponents of our national policies become that they are making demands which would completely isolate India from all its friends. Atal Behari Vajpayee of the Jan Sangh has again demanded this weekend that all talk of negotiations at any stage should be given up, as it "demoralises" the people.

It is difficult to understand in what world these gentlemen live: India's policy reiterated by the Prime Minister this week in his letter to President Ho is a civilised policy, which is winning to it ever more adherents.

# NOTES OF THE WEEK

## WINNING FRIENDS

PRESIDENT Radhakrishnan's strong call for adherence to non-alignment and our basic policies made in his address to the Central Citizens' Committee yesterday, will inspire confidence in these policies not only in India but also abroad.

Chinese propaganda has sought to make out to India's non-aligned friends abroad that India has almost given up its basic policies. The Rightwing parties' campaign against non-alignment has added grist to the Chinese propaganda mill.

And intemperate statements calling into question our foreign policy or condemning the Soviet Union, like those reportedly made during this week by Chief Minister Shankar of Kerala and Union Minister S. K. Patil (addressing the Progressive group in Bombay) have added to the suspicions of friends abroad that India is, willy-nilly, despite all its declarations, abandoning non-alignment.

Editorial comments obviously critical of the non-aligned countries have done sufficient damage to India's relations with Afro-Asia. And S. K. Patil's reported fling at all the Afro-Asian countries, and pointedly at Indonesia, in his Bombay speech mentioned above, will not add to India's stock in the two continents, at a moment when they rightly seek their friendship more than ever.

Fortunately, leading Congressmen and Government spokesmen are mounting the counter-offensive against the Right. The Youth Congress rally in Delhi today was a resounding call for the defence of the nation's basic policies. The rally enthusiastically applauded the sharp attacks made by Indra Gandhi and the Chief Ministers of a number of States on "the foreign pressure as well as the efforts of pressure groups in the country for a change in the policy of non-alignment".

The ridicule with which the latest issue of Time (December 14) treats India is indicative of the attitude of sections of the ruling circles in the USA. This is what it says of our defence efforts:

"The Government desperately needed gold to pay for war purchases, but few patriots were willing to turn in their hoards, even on the attractive official terms for payment. Civil defence measures were a joke, slit trenches being dug in New Delhi were both too shallow and too narrow, and a scandal boiled up over the substandard cement used in air-raid shelters. So hard was the government for arms that it asked India's Maharajahs to turn over their tiger hunting guns to defenceless villagers on the northern frontier."

## KASHMIR AND SELF RESPECT

THE speeches of Kashmir Prime Minister Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad continue to be read with deep attention. They reflect a certain self-respect which is so markedly lacking in the speeches of the Rightwing crusaders. Bakshi Sahib's appeal against yielding to Pakistan blackmail finds a ready response in the hearts of all patriotic Indians.

The Kashmir question is one of the key questions being discussed at the pre-Christmas confabulations in the Bahamas by President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan.

Indian opinion has been shocked at the manner in which U. S. spokesmen like Averill Harriman have, despite all sorts of contradictory statements, made it clear that a settlement with Pakistan on Kashmir, on Pakistan's terms, is the condition for large-scale U. S. military aid. Bakshi Sahib has himself explained his concern at such preconditions and strings being attached to American help.

The Prime Minister himself has had to express himself forcefully against Pakistan blackmail in his interview with the Washington Post released today. And he has made no bones about it: the Western Powers "are to some extent parties to this blackmail."

The Prime Minister has warned against "pressure tactics", and has made it clear that "any major change would ruin the Valley", and "anything which confused the position of the Valley would only add to tensions and bitterness."

The nation is with these MPs' clear statement that Prime Minister Nehru is the symbol of our will to resist aggression."

Seven MPs have replied to Ranga, saying that it is evident that the Swatantra leader "is more concerned with the exploitation of the national emergency for partisan ends than with the people's mobilisation for national defence."

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The Prime Minister is the symbol of the nation's policies. That is precisely why he is the main target of the enemies of these policies, both in India and abroad.

## SYMBOL OF NATIONAL POLICIES

MEANWHILE the nation continues calmly to build up its defence efforts and support the policies of the Prime Minister. Swatantra Chief Ranga has made a laughing stock of himself by his criticism of defence posters carrying the Prime Minister's photograph and calling for support to him and his policies.

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—Romesh Chandra (December 19)

# KHRUSHCHOV ON

# INDIA-CHINA BORDER ISSUE

Chinese press and radio propaganda has begun a full-scale assault on the contents of the report made by Nikita Khrushchov to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on December 12. One of the principal targets of this assault is the section of the report dealing with the Sino-Indian conflict. The Indian daily press has already published this section of the report in full. New Age gives below the official text of this section, as distributed by TASS:

OMRADES Deputies, examining the current international situation, one cannot overlook the regretful events which occurred in the area of the India-China border. As is known, it was not a week or a month ago that the border conflict began there. It began as far back as 1959. Of late, this conflict has aggravated and developed into armed clashes in the course of which thousands of men fell on both sides.

The Soviet Union's position on the India-China border conflict was stated as far back as 1959 in the well-known TASS statement.

The statement expressed the hope that the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of India would not allow the forces adverse to relaxation of international tension to profit from their border incident, and that the two governments would settle the misunderstanding which arose between them with due consideration for mutual interests, in the spirit of the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and India.

The Soviet Union expressed great regret over the incident which broke out. We sincerely hoped that the governments of the two countries would quickly find the road to a peaceful resolution of the dispute. To this day we regret that the two sides did not avail themselves in due time of the possibilities to nip the incipient conflict in the bud.

Peace

For centuries there had been no armed conflicts along the border between China and India. And clearly the territory of this area itself is not of much value for human life, judging by the fact that the density of the population there is insignificant, although, as is known, India and China are most densely populated countries. It would seem that every bit of land there should be occupied by people. However, the territories over which the dispute flared up were actually uninhabited.

Suddenly, between the People's Republic of China and India there flared up a bloody border conflict in which both the Chinese people and the Indian people suffered heavy casualties. This has grieved us deeply.

War can be started by a chance rifle shot. One chance shot, two in reply, then another three in reply to these two. This is how war sometimes begins. But to end a war it is not so easy even to statesmen, wise with experience.

On the question of border disputes we maintain Leninist views. The 45-year experience of the Soviet Union suggests that there are no such border disputes which, provided there is mutual desire, could not be solved without a resort to arms. It is from these positions that the Soviet people approach the developments on the Sino-Indian border.

But in the world there also exist forces, the international imperialist circles, which rejoice in the aggravation of the India-China conflict. They

have nothing to do with Chinese aggression on India.

This Congress and its deliberations as of those others held recently are of historic significance, not only for the Indian working class movement, but also for all patriotic and progressive forces in the country who oppose Chinese aggression.

The Congress strongly condemned the Albanian leaders who have openly supported Chinese aggression against India. Delegate after delegate criticised the

has nothing to do with Chinese aggression on India.

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war to a victorious end. Such is the logic of war: The more blood flows, the more blood is needed to atone for it. Where will this end? Each day the Moloch of war will devour more and more victims.

It is insatiable, and only reason can halt the bloodshed. It is statesmen who must be possessed of such reason. Therefore, we regard as reasonable the steps taken by the Government of the People's Republic of China, when it announced that it unilaterally ceases fire and starts to withdraw its troops on December 1. We are most happy about that and welcome such actions of the Chinese comrades.

Some might say, how come that you claim this is a reasonable step if it was taken after so many lives were lost, so much blood was shed. Would it not have been better if both sides had refrained from resorting to arms in general? Yes, of course, that would have been better. We had said so more than once and repeat this again.

But if it had not been possible to prevent such a course of events, it is better to dis-

play courage now and to end the clash. Is this not wisdom worthy of statesmen!

Of course, there might be some who would say: look here, the People's Republic of China is withdrawing its troops essentially to the line at which this conflict broke out. Would it not have been better not to advance from the positions on which these troops stood at the time? Such reasoning is understandable. It shows that people display concern and regret what has happened.

But, comrades, there are some who try to put a different interpretation on the decision taken by the Government of the People's Republic of China. They say: is it not a retreat?

They also ask such a question: Is it not a concession on the part of Chinese comrades? Of course, such questions are asked and apparently will be sprung by cavillers to hurt the feelings of this or that side, to kindle enmity between India and China, to profit from that.

We trust in the wisdom of

\*ON PAGE 14

## China Criticised At Prague

New Age Correspondent P. K. Kunhanandan Nair covered the 12th Congress of the Czechoslovakia Communist Party at Prague which concluded on December 9. We print below extracts from his report of informal discussions on the Chinese aggression with several fraternal delegates to the Congress.

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which was attended by leaders of 70 Communist and Workers' Parties of the world has proved beyond doubt that international communism

has nothing to do with Chinese aggression on India.

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# PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN ACTION

\*FROM FRONT PAGE

cost of the interests of world peace and anti-imperialism in its attitude towards India.

The People's Daily is particularly vexed because "some people" have also censured China for its "correct stand" on the Sino-Indian boundary question "as if China had perpetrated a disaster."

N. S. Khrushchov in his report paid a clear tribute to India's policy of non-alignment, which he has described as having won great moral and political weight in the world. He has spoken appreciatively of India's advance in the development of her economy and culture.

The People's Daily, infuriated at the critical remarks made by leading Communists of the world in regard to China's attitude towards India, screams: "Those who accuse China of having pushed the Nehru Government toward the West are mistaking the very cause for the effect. Throughout the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, they have all along confounded right and wrong, pretending

to be 'neutral', calling China 'brother', while actually regarding the Indian reactionary group as their kinsmen."

Since the massive Chinese invasion, the Communist Party of China and those few in the international Communist movement who think as it thinks, have sought to make out that the Sino-Indian conflict is a fight in which all Communists are or should be on the side of China against India. This viewpoint not surprisingly coincides with the viewpoint of the Right reactionaries in India, who seek to paint the defence of India from Chinese aggression as a defence against Communism and to make out that all socialist countries and all Communist Parties are supporting China against India.

That the truth is entirely different has now been made clear. It is the dogmatist understanding of the Chinese Communist Party, which is responsible for its actions in regard to India. This understanding has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, with the principles of Communism.

Khrushchov's report to the Supreme Soviet is a confident exhortation to the peoples of the world to work with greater zeal than ever for the supreme cause of world peace, and to fight resolutely against those aggressive forces of imperialism, who are insane enough to seek the ways of war.

Khrushchov has enunciated the meaning of the policy of peaceful coexistence in action and called on the world communist movement to continue to adhere steadfastly to and fight all distortions of this policy. Khrushchov has brilliantly carried forward the creative application of Marxism-Leninism by the Conference of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties.

Khrushchov spoke not only to the Supreme Soviet; he spoke to the peoples of the whole world. His words give us fresh confidence and hope and enrich our understanding. They will strengthen mankind's struggle for peace and national independence, democracy and socialism.

(December 19)

# NATIONAL POLICIES

★ From Our Correspondent

The debate in the two Houses of the State Legislature on the Chinese invasion was marked by an awareness among several Congress MLAs of the danger from the Rightwing parties' campaign against the national policies.

In their speeches these Congressmen emphasised the necessity of strengthening Prime Minister Nehru's hands, both for national defence and for the preservation of our policy of non-alignment. The Chief Minister's speech was particularly notable for its strong defence of national policies.

This development in the thinking of leading Congressmen in Bihar is in sharp contrast with their attitude in the earlier phase when the Rightwing parties freely attacked the national policies, sometimes even the Prime Minister personally, and the Congress organisation remained practically passive. The association of the former President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad with the Swatantra-FSP-Jan Sangh combine gave the impression of tacit support of sections of the Congress to these slogans.

However, in recent weeks, Congressmen have begun to show concern at the attacks of the Rightwing forces. Some of them have launched an organised counter-campaign to win support for the Prime Minister's policies.

A former Minister Deosh-

ran Singh, speaking in the Legislature, made a forceful denunciation of Right reaction and said that the people must strengthen the hands and leadership of Prime Minister Nehru.

In the Assembly, Communist members extended support to the Prime Minister's leadership. The Leader of the Communist group Sunil Mukherjee was cheered by Congress members when he declared the full support of the Party for the national policies and the willingness of every Communist to sacrifice everything for the country's defence.

The Swatantra-FSP-Jan Sangh maintained their unity inside the legislature and attacked the Government policies, concealing this attack in some cases in an anti-Communist cloak.

Congressmen are acting against the Right not only inside the Legislature, some of them have started acting among the masses also.

The Provincial Congress leadership has itself called on Congressmen "to be active" and mobilise people against the Chinese aggression and "to strengthen the hands and leadership of Prime Minister

Nehru."

Over 40 Congress legislators met recently under the chairmanship of Deosharan Singh, MLC, and strongly deprecated "all campaigns" to weaken the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru, when freedom itself is in peril.

They expressed the view that the Rightwing parties and elements were making deliberate efforts to "subvert the progress of the country and change the outlook of the nation." They pledged to "safeguard the democratic and socialist values" in the life of the nation.

The meeting was attended amongst others by A. Q. Ansari, Minister of Jails and A. A. Noor, Minister of State for Information. It has been decided to hold a State Convention of workers to launch an intensive campaign against the Right reactionary forces.

It is also of interest that in this fight against the reactionary forces, some Congressmen are beginning to realise the necessity for unity with all progressive forces, who are prepared to cooperate in the defence of national policies. A number of meetings have been addressed jointly by the Congress and Communist leaders in the recent period in Patna and other districts.

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The Provincial Congress leadership has itself called on Congressmen "to be active" and mobilise people against the Chinese aggression and "to strengthen the hands and leadership of Prime Minister

trade union activities." And that is all he writes for.

K. R. Malkani, the editor of ORGANISER, perhaps, wants to be bracketed with the "great men" of the third Reich, preferably with Eichmann.

In the December 3 issue of Organiser, he has proposed a concentration camp for the Communists and all the Chinese residents of India. He has not yet suggested the location of this new Warsaw Ghetto or the Buchenwald camp but we believe that will not be late to follow.

Parliament has unanimously given Government special powers in the emergency. But only one Nazi-minded would demand as Malkani does, that: "Every single person of Chinese descent, whether he has acquired Indian citizenship or not, must be rounded up and sent to a concentration camp." (emphasis added)

"Every single active member of the Communist Party of India must, likewise, be arrested and put in a concentration camp. (The tomfoolery of putting some CPI enemy agents in 'A' class must end forthwith.) These gentlemen may be released only if they openly dissociate themselves from the party and denounce enemy agents known to them."

Thanks to Malkani that he has not offered membership of Jan Sangh for these "gentlemen." Malkani as Eichmann is alright but the point is who will be the Fuehrer? Will it be Cariappa...?

—S. M.

# Beware Of Kripalani

In today's grave situation, India faces grave dangers from people like Kripalani who are attacking the government and raising questions like whether Nehru is right or Chavan and in this way trying to sow disruption inside the Congress, said Kannamwar, new Chief Minister of Maharashtra addressing workers of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee recently.

THE meeting had been called to felicitate Kannamwar on his election as Chief Minister.

"In the name of Defence Committee, different parties are attacking the government today. This is a very delicate and dangerous situation. It is the foremost duty of every Congressman to give them a rebuff," said the Chief Minister.

Kannamwar pointed out

## Delhi Warning

Over 500 workers of the Delhi Pradesh Congress attended an important meeting under the auspices of the Pradesh Congress at the Constitution Club on December 8. The meeting heard a strong and resolute attack on the Rightwing forces by Chaudhary Brahm Prakash, M.P.

THE meeting was presided over by PCC President Brij Mohan. Brahm Prakash in his speech said:

I am not surprised at the metamorphosis undergone by some erstwhile leaders and patriots, for I have seen that those who all their lives swore by Gandhiji's non-violence, murdered in cold blood innocent children and women in the orgy of the Partition riots.

"It is funny that person like Acharya Kripalani today is so loud about our defence preparations. I remember just a few years ago he very loudly spoke in Parliament against what he called high defence expenditure and moved a cut in the same."

"Why go so far? Just some months ago there was a conference in Delhi and there some of the present critics of Nehru pleaded that India should unilaterally disarm."

"It is apparent to a person of even low intelligence that non-alignment has helped India tremendously today and China is isolated even from the Communist countries. But nobody can make those see whose eyes are blinded by prejudice and anger."

"I want to make it very clear to you that the real attack is on Nehru's policy of Socialism, for Socialism and Panchsheel stand together and fall together. Our non-alignment is a direct result of our Socialist policy..."

"And I want to say it here, and I would like to proclaim loudly that if the reactionaries persist in their vicious campaign against our leader, Delhi will rise like a surging flood-tide in support of Nehru and wash away all the reactionaries who seek to turn back the wheel of Indian history and those who are arrogant towards the idol of the nation."

## Crusaders In Jail

LAST week the New Age published extracts from a circular letter sent to all Members of Parliament under the signatures of three organisers of the so-called Committee against Chinese Aggression, Dharampal, Roop Narain and N. N. Datta. We had also published a part of the excellent rejoinder to this letter by the Delhi Congress leader, Mir Mushfaq Ahmad.

On December 15 the Delhi police arrested and detained the signatories of the anti-Nehru letter under the Defence of India Rules. It was reported in the press that Roop Narain is also a leader of the Delhi Praja Socialist Party and was the convenor of the so-called 'Save Himalaya Convention' held over the week end.

N. N. Datta, who is the General Secretary of the Committee against the Chinese Aggression has been seen at this Committee on the same platform as leaders of the Jan Sangh as well as a few Congressmen, who thought it fit to cooperate with this gentleman during this national emergency.

At a meeting of the workers of the Delhi Pradesh Congress held on December 8, Congress leader Chaudhary Brahm Prakash, M.P., referred to these three persons and said: "These are insignificant people and by themselves they do not matter, but they in reality voice the viewpoint of some people who have not the courage to come out in the open to challenge Nehru's leadership. But we know who they are, and whom and what they represent."

Meanwhile, news has also come from Patna that Bihar Government has arrested Dr. Satyanarayan, a Hindi writer, not so much known for his contribution to literature but more due to his close association with the American lobby, and as an important spokesman of Right Reaction.

Everybody realises that the question of holding the price line, in the present emergency, is not simply an economic question; though it is primarily an economic question, but it is also a question of morale.

DURING the few weeks that have passed since the declaration of the emergency, there has come into operation a very powerful and what one might call a social conscience of the community which is expressing itself in various ways and in various forms.

A certain psychological atmosphere certainly exists which is a very welcome thing, acting as a brake upon those elements in our people who would have perhaps, liked to exploit the present situation in order to raise the prices and enrich themselves. How long the effect of such a psychological brake will last is of course, a very different question.

For the moment it is really the common people of this country who are the mass of consumers, people of low income groups, middle income groups and fixed income groups which have been very vocal in different ways and they have made it very clear that the nation is in no mood to tolerate any kind of anti-social practice on the score of blackmarketing or hoarding or raising of prices.

In fact I do not wish to question the bona fides of certain very prominent organisations of captains of industry in this country. I take at their face value the very good statements that have been made and the intentions that have been expressed of doing everything in their power also to see that prices are maintained and that prices do not rise.

But, it is, above all, to the credit of the common people of this country that pressure and expression of their conscience has laid upon the captains of industry and has left them with no alternative but to come out with certain statements which are certainly very good on paper as far as they go.

Proportionately, the lower income groups have given much more in relation to their limited resources than the higher income groups have done.

If we are faced with an economic situation in which the doubling of defence expenditure plus increased expenditure required for our Third Plan force upon us a taxation bill which will generate inflationary pressures of a kind which will make it practically impossible for these groups to save any more, then, we are going to be faced with a very serious situation apart from the resentment which may be created.

There is the question of deficit financing. In the present economic system in which we are operating in this country, deficit financing, that is to say, releasing larger volumes of printed money, means that this volume of money will go, at least a big part will go, into the hands of commercial banks and from the commercial banks, through the machinery of loans, advances, discounts, overdrafts and banking methods go into the hands of the private sector.

This money expansion, in the opinion of many renowned economists of this country, has led to a degree of over-investment which is one of the main causes of price rises.

From 1954-55 to 1961-62, the volume of money in this country expanded by 60 per cent; during the same period, the national production of this country went up by 27 per cent; in other words, it lagged far behind, and in this period we find that the prices rose by 34 per cent.

This was 5 per cent higher than what it was a year previous to that. Within the general index, it is seen that

the index for food articles went up in the same period by 9.3 from 121.3 to 130.6.

There has been a subsequent fall, a slight fall, a welcome fall. But, I feel that this subsequent fall is, to some extent deceptive in the sense that we have now entered upon the usual season or period when new crops begin to come on to the market, both of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities and therefore it is natural at this time to have a slight downward trend in price level.

But, we should not allow this to lull us into complacency because I do not think it is more than a phase. Nor can prices be maintained simply on the basis of appeals to patriotism.

Defence Costs

In the next budget in February, we will be faced with a situation where the increased requirements of our Third Five Year Plan have to be augmented by a completely new factor and that is the increased expenditure for defence.

I do not know what the magnitude of the increase in defence expenditure is likely to be. Various opinions are being expressed in the country at the moment, almost doubling the normal defence expenditure, going up to Rs. 400 crores.

If that is so, it would mean that a magnitude of taxation might have to be imposed which would generate almost unbearable inflationary pressures as far as the low income and fixed income groups are concerned.

# Govt. Must Hold The Price-Line

★ By INDRAJIT GUPTA

We do not know of a war at any time in any country in the world which has not been accompanied by tremendous inflationary pressures. Inflation is and has always been a camp-follower of war; and, therefore, we have to consider this problem more seriously than to think that we can cope with it simply by setting up a few co-operative stores or asking the shopkeepers to display the prices of the commodities they sell and measures like that. These measures are very good, but they are just tinkering with the problem in my opinion.

The recent kerosene racket in Delhi was an eye-opener in the sense that it appeared to catch Government napping. My concern is not that something like this may occur here and there, now and then. But the point is that in Delhi under the very nose of the Central Government, something took place.

A flourishing blackmarket has grown up in cement in Delhi just at the time when land values have begun to fall. There is a fall in land values, but there is a steep rise in building costs. Why is this being allowed to happen? Cement is a controlled commodity, and yet, blackmarketing is taking place.

In cotton textiles, there is the same contradictory feature, namely a fall in production and a rise in stocks. Production has gone down in the mills from 423 million yards in May to 334 million yards in October. During the same period, the mills complained that stocks had gone up from 322 lakhs of bales to 431 lakhs of bales.

The mill-owners are complaining about the intention of Government to compel them to divert a larger part of their output to coarse cloth. Why is it not possible for these stocks which the mills claim are held up with them to be diverted through fair price shops to the consumers? Is it because the price of cloth generally in the country is likely to come down a bit and the mill-owners are objecting to it?

The newspapers are reporting every day that the mill-owners do not want these stocks to be released lest there should be a general slight fall in the price of cloth in the country?

But, has cloth become so cheap in our country already that the country cannot afford a further decline? These stocks have to be cleared; otherwise, tomorrow, they will have an effect on production, and production will begin to be restricted.

Then about foodgrains: the season is one when the new crop is coming in and there is a certain downward trend. But we know what may happen later on. During these

past few weeks the prices have risen. Take for example, toilet goods; take any variety of toilet soap or tooth paste or hair oils or razor blades and so on.

The Prime Minister has told us over and over again when people have raised the question of pruning the Plan in the name of defence that education is one of the things which can never be given up.

But in these few weeks, the prices of things like exercise books which students have to buy, of paper and other stationery goods have been going up.

The Prime Minister has now taken, why should not stocks of various types of goods—essential commodities—be distributed through certain planned channels as and when required?

Secondly, with all the powers Government has now taken, why should not stocks of various types of goods—essential commodities—be distributed through certain planned channels as and when required?

The prices of these essential commodities should be fixed by Government. I would also suggest abolition of taxes on foodgrains and other essential commodities. If foodgrains and other essential commodities are going to be taxed in the next budget directly or indirectly, then all the inflationary pressures will come into operation and the situation will be beyond control.

There are bank advances against foodgrains. There are lots of malpractices, misuse of credit for speculative purposes. Bank advances against foodgrains should be stopped altogether.

The present emergency therefore calls for stronger measures to put a stop to bank advances against foodgrains.

Some kind of a crash or emergency programme should be worked by the Centre in conjunction with the States for raising the production of supplementary foods like meat, fish, milk, eggs, vegetables and so on.

Another point is about the maintenance of prices of essential commodities. We are of course naturally inclined to consider only the question of price rises, but when it is a question of maintaining prices we have to consider the opposite thing also, certain commodities in respect of which the Government should prevent any undue fall in prices.

Let us, for instance, see what is happening to raw jute? The official organ of the Indian Central Jute Committee, a government body, namely the Jute Bulletin, stated that in all past wars it has been found that war or warlike conditions have always seen jute growers thriving in the past but this is the first time that there is no parallel for this odd development that the worst hit by the Chinese aggression is raw jute.

So, it is not a question just to check rising prices but also how to arrest falling prices where it is necessary to arrest them.

It has been said that in the beginning there will be 200 wholesale co-operative depots and 400 primary stores set up in cities and towns with a minimum population of one lakh each for supply of commodities.

Anybody who knows the figures will know that this is only going to touch the barest fringe of the urban population, because cities and towns with a minimum population of one lakh and more at present in our country are just 107 and the combined population of these 107 towns and cities is 3.5 crores.

Government can be assured of full co-operation from the vast mass of ordinary people in the country in every measure which they decide to take and which they care to take to hold the price line.



To cope with their requirements, we are proposing 200 wholesale and 400 primary co-operative stores or depots. This is not going to touch the fringe of the problem.

The urgent need is to have a network of fair price shops. By leaving them out and depending only on very precarious types of co-operatives, we will be heading for trouble.

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Government is experimenting with many things. They might also care to experiment with the setting up of a few price courts. They may appoint economic assessors, and let people who are suspected or accused of trading malpractices be brought up before such price courts for trial and judgment, in addition to all the other kinds of courts that we have got.

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## Jan Sangh Scribblers

According to ORGANISER (December 17), S. A. Dange, Chairman of the CPI, "...gets caught in the cobwebs of his dialectics" in course of his analysis of the Chinese aggression as explained in his address to the AITUC General Council meeting and in his answers to mainstream weekly's question as to whether a Socialist country can commit aggression.

Dange's analysis of the theoretical aspect of the India-China border dispute and the Chinese aggression on Indian territory, has been made the subject of attack by a certain Prof. V. Nagarajan, who has sought to find out the "real meaning" of Dange's analysis. This "profound" polemic of Nagarajan has been given the above heading by the Organiser, the Jan Sangh rag.

Nagarajan endeavours to show that Dange himself does not believe in the border delimitation of the country and therefore, Nagarajan has taken pains to use partial and unfinished quotations from Dange's address to prove his point. Some of the quotations are out of context.

Nagarajan categorically states: "Com. Dange therefore refuses to deal with the borders of India, but tries to discuss the more basic question: 'Why has China, a socialist country, committed aggression?'"

This is an extreme form of travesty of truth. Any one

who has read the address of Dange (New Age, December 2) will find that Dange has clearly set forth his position with regard to India border and on the top of it has ridiculed the Chinese position for having questioned this border.

Nagarajan thinks that if China is branded as a non-socialist country that alone can be an exposition of the Chinese position which is contradictory to Marxism. He finds that Dange's analysis that China continues to be a Socialist country and despite that it has committed aggression on India, is very difficult to understand. He therefore attempts to find out the "implications" of Dange's "theory".

We do not want to cast any aspersion on any body but even to a dimwit it will be clear that Dange has explained the question with sufficient precision in his AITUC address. Dange has distinguished between the "government" from the "economic system" of a socialist country. A government of a Socialist State can go wrong. And there is no "cobweb of dialectics" involved in it in which Dange "gets caught."

All the tall talks of Nagarajan about trying to find out the implication of Dange's "theory" etc., finally boils down to open anti-Communist hysteria. He is afraid that by its clear stand the AITUC will be able to further strengthen its position among the working class and not be "disrupted" as he wants it to be in the wake of Chinese invasion.

So he finally rattles out the plea of ensuring the security of the country "...by utilising the present opportunity to wipe out communists from

trade union activities." And that is all he writes for.

K. R. Malkani, the editor of ORGANISER, perhaps, wants to be bracketed with the "great men" of the third Reich, preferably with Eichmann.

In the December 3 issue of Organiser, he has proposed a concentration camp for the Communists and all the Chinese residents of India. He has not yet suggested the location of this new Warsaw Ghetto or the Buchenwald camp but we believe that will not be late to follow.

Parliament has unanimously given Government special powers in the emergency. But only one Nazi-minded would demand as Malkani does, that: "Every single person of Chinese descent, whether he has acquired Indian citizenship or not, must be rounded up and sent to a concentration camp." (emphasis added)

"Every single active member of the Communist Party of India must, likewise, be arrested and put in a concentration camp. (The tomfoolery of putting some CPI enemy agents in 'A' class must end forthwith.) These gentlemen may be released only if they openly dissociate themselves from the party and denounce enemy agents known to them."

Thanks to Malkani that he has not offered membership of Jan Sangh for these "gentlemen." Malkani as Eichmann is alright but the point is who will be the Fuehrer? Will it be Cariappa...?

—S. M.

# In Supreme Soviet

Following is the section entitled "Against Dogmatism, for the Creative Application of Marxist-Leninist Teaching" from N. S. Khrushchov's Report of Dec. 12 to the Supreme Soviet on International Situation and Soviet Foreign Policy. All emphasis and subheads are ours.

—Ed. NA

COMRADES Deputies, it should be said that in the period of the peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Caribbean area loud discontented cries were also heard from another corner, from people who even call themselves Marxist-Leninists, although their actions have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. I have in mind, in particular, the Albanian leaders. Their criticism of the Soviet

pronounce foul swear-words, and they are walking under the windows and shouting dirty curses at the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But it is their mother! They get the promised three kopecks for their swearing. When they use a more violent and sophisticated language, five kopecks and a praise are given them in addition. What do these people, who

Socialist Cuba exists: Cuba remains the beacon of Marxist-Leninist ideas in the western hemisphere. The force of her revolutionary example will continue to grow. The U.S. Government has assumed, on behalf of its country, the obligation not to invade Cuba: the threat of thermonuclear war has been averted. Is this our retreat?

The critics of the peaceful settlement of the conflict say that the United States should not be taken at its word, that history knows many instances when treaties were violated. Yes, history knows such instances.

But if only this is taken into consideration it will have to be admitted that people have no other prospect today but mutual annihilation. To assert this means to take, voluntarily or otherwise, the road of militarism, to regard war as the sole method of settling disputed issues.

## PEACEFUL SOLUTION

Must international controversial questions be settled only through war and not through negotiation? No, preaching of the settlement of disputed issues between states by means of war is recklessness which can only bring suffering and calamities to the peoples. It has nothing in common with the teaching of Marx and Engels.

It is the same as to deny the significance of international treaties and agreements, to deny the principle of peaceful co-existence. There exist reasonable standards of international relations, and we must strengthen and not undermine them. Vituperation will not help to solve disputed problems.

Basing themselves on the fact that the nature of imperialism has not changed some people say that it is necessary to expose it, to rail at it. Imperialism has to be exposed, of course, for it is an evil to the peoples of the world, but vituperation alone, no matter how just it may be, will not weaken imperialism.

It is certainly true that the nature of imperialism has not changed, but imperialism today is not what it used to be before, when it had an unchallenged sway over the world. If it is a "paper tiger" those who say so know that this "paper tiger" has atomic teeth. It still can use them, and it should not be taken light-mindedly. It is possible to agree to mutual compromises in relations with the imperialist countries, but at the same time it is necessary to have all means to defeat the aggressors if they unleash a war.

When grave conditions took shape for Cuba, some people only restricted themselves to abuse. The imperialist forces did not become weaker from loud statements, and it is doubtful whether this made matters easier for Cuba as well.

The Soviet Union acted otherwise. It not only exposed the United States' imperialist intrigues against revolutionary Cuba, it sent its arms to Cuba, sent its men who were prepared to give their lives in the struggle for the defence of Cuba.

And when a threat hovered over Cuba, our men received the order to protect Cuba from an invasion, to fight together with the Cubans and to stand



The Czechoslovak Party Congress in session.

# In Czech Congress

In his concluding speech at the 12th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, First Secretary Antonin Novotny referred to the Chinese Party-delegation's letter to the Congress. He read out the letter and then proceeded to reply to it on behalf of his Party. The People's Daily of Peking has termed this as an "anti-China" speech. Following is the relevant portion of Novotny's speech as released by TASS.

ALLOW me in conformity with the opinion of Comrade Wu Hsiu-chuan, the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of China, that by openly exposing the position of the Workers' Parties to say in conclusion a few words about the speech of Comrade Wu Hsiu-chuan, the head of the delegation from the Communist Party of China, and to read out the letter which the delegation has handed to us. (A. Novotny read out the letter the substance of the letter being that criticism at the Congress of the splitting activities of the Albanian leaders supposedly hardens differences and impairs cohesion. Novotny then went on to say:)

Our Party has always tackled the central issues of its internal affairs, and of late questions related to the building of socialism in our country, in close agreement with its rank and file, with our working people.

## DISCUSSIONS

Well known are the broad nationwide discussions in the process of which the Central Committee addresses the entire Party and the working people and puts various matters or proposals before them for discussion, taking the final decision only after a careful study has been made of people's views and opinions. This has developed into the unwritten rule of our political work among the masses, of all the Party's activity. The realization of this principle is very beneficial for improving the Party's life, for the work of its supreme organ, the Congress, as well as for the work of its Central Committee.

We proceed from the principle that if we want to build a socialist society the working people should know the principles and conditions under which they are to build socialism. The people build socialism under the guidance of the Party and they are the creator of all values.

The working people carry out the decisions of the Central Committee well only when they are convinced in their correctness and when they realize that these decisions are in accord with their views and opinions. In this case a decision becomes their own decision.

We conduct the same line in all basic questions of international policy and, from time to time, depending on the importance of the problem, inform the entire Party. Such is the principle which guides our work. And we shall not give up this principle, on the contrary, we shall extend it.

We shall go even further as we consider that we have as yet done little in order to solve all problems of the country's internal life with the widest participation of all the working people, that they, just as Party members, having a profound knowledge and a wide horizon, take to heart the problems of our work, of our development, that they take to heart the international problems and be in a position of finding their bearings.

This is why we cannot agree

with the opinion of Comrade Wu Hsiu-chuan, the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of China, that by openly exposing the position of the Workers' Parties to say in conclusion a few words about the speech of Comrade Wu Hsiu-chuan, the head of the delegation from the Communist Party of China, and to read out the letter which the delegation has handed to us. (A. Novotny read out the letter the substance of the letter being that criticism at the Congress of the splitting activities of the Albanian leaders supposedly hardens differences and impairs cohesion. Novotny then went on to say:)

Our Party has always tackled the central issues of its internal affairs, and of late questions related to the building of socialism in our country, in close agreement with its rank and file, with our working people.



Antonin Novotny speaking at the Czech Party Congress.

Albanian Party of Labour, our Congress is allegedly causing harm to international proletarian unity and is perpetrating open and one-sided attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour.

## NO CONCEALING

Perhaps you would want us to bury our heads in the sand and not inform the Party, to conceal the facts about the dangerous situation in the Albanian Party of Labour. We are not isolated from the life of the world in such a way that reports do not reach us as to what is taking place in the Albanian Party of Labour.

No one can demand from us that we conceal from the entire Party that the Albanian leaders by their hostile attacks, alien to the Leninist movement, are placing themselves outside the ranks of the international communist movement.

We cannot agree with the statements made by the Albanian leaders and with the support rendered to these statements by the Communist Party of China.

In this respect I once again stress what has been pointed out in the speeches made by a number of our delegates and specifically that our Party and people highly value the activities of the Communist Party of China on its revolutionary path, when in the course of many years it fought the reactionary bourgeoisie, the generals and interventionists and, after scoring

victory over Chiang Kai-shek, finally opened up for your great country the road to freedom, socialism and prosperity.

It is precisely due to this respect which we foster for you that we once again ask you to reconsider your point of view on major international problems inseparably connected with the unity of the international communist movement and which really consistently ensue from the 1957 Declaration and from the 1960 Statement of the Represent-

tatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties. In conclusion we once again stress that the position and the actions of the Soviet Union during the crisis in the Caribbean area were correct and the only possible ones in the situation the world found itself.

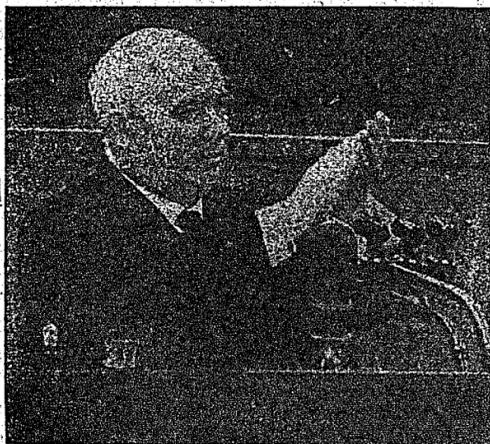
What did the American imperialist quarters strive for? To liquidate Cuba's revolutionary gains and to restore a capitalist regime on Cuba. For several years they prepared for this.

## FREE CUBA

However, revolutionary Cuba remained free. The Americans had to retreat, and the Cuban people will in the future as well build their life in accordance with their aspirations.

This does not mean — and I once again repeat what I already pointed out in my report — that we shall sit and do nothing. No! We must be vigilant in the future as well, as regards provocations against peace on the part of imperialism. We shall not be taken unaware. This is why we shall, in the future as well, strengthen the defence of our countries.

We once again declare that we are steadfastly with the Cuban people whom we profoundly respect and whom we will help in building a new socialist life as far as possible. The firm unity of the Party, confirmed at our Congress, the creative, selfless and honest labour of our people are a guarantee that the plans which we advance will be successfully carried out.



N. S. Khrushchov addressing the Supreme Soviet.

Union was in line, as a matter of fact, with criticism on the part of the most reactionary quarters of the West. Why is it precisely the Albanian leaders who are being more vociferous than others now? In this connection, I would like to tell you a story from my personal experience.

I spent my childhood and youth in coalfields. While Gorky passed the schooling of people's universities, I was brought up in a miners' "university". It too, was a kind of "Cambridge" for the working man, a "university" for the downtrodden people of Russia. My father had found himself there, and I, too, was in this "university" in childhood and youth.

## VITUPERATORS

I remember that vituperators in miners' towns used to do the following: they would find a little boy who had just learned to repeat words without understanding their meaning, teach him to pronounce the dirtiest swear-words, and tell him: "Go to the windows and tell these words to people." Or, worse still: "Go to your mother and repeat these words to her. Here are three kopecks, and afterwards we shall give five kopecks to you."

And this child would run under the windows of houses or around his mother and repeat the abuse, and this would be like a theatre for the vituperators. The Albanian leaders are acting like these silly boys. Some people taught them to

call themselves Marxist-Leninists, want? Why are they working, in fact, for what Adenauer wants, i.e. pressing for conflicts, for an aggravation of international tension? It is correctly said that if you go left you will come out on the right.

## PROVOCATEURS

If an objective view of things is taken, during the crisis around Cuba, they actually acted like people who wanted to provoke a conflict, they wanted to engineer a clash between the Soviet Union and the United States.

But what does staging a clash between these two great world powers mean? This means triggering off a world thermonuclear war.

It would be interesting to know how they themselves would act in such a war? I don't think they would be eager to take part in it. Evidently they would prefer to sit it out.

But then may it be asked: What do they want? Do they really want the blood of the peoples of the Soviet Union, Cuba and the other socialist countries to be shed?

Judging by their pronouncements, the Albanian leaders are obviously displeased by the liquidation of the crisis around Cuba. They call the solution that has been reached a retreat, while some even go to such lengths as to declare that the Soviet Union has capitulated before imperialism.

The question is: In what respect have we retreated?

to the end with the Cuban people: here is genuine fraternal sentiments, a fraternal attitude, fraternal solidarity.

Certainly this was a critical period and the government of the United States understood the possible course of events. It realised that if the U.S. armed forces kindle a war conflagration takes the lives of both the Cubans and the Soviet men on Cuba, then no force would be able to restrain the Soviet Union from delivering a crushing retaliatory blow. This is why at the decisive moment of the crisis prudence was shown by the U.S. Government.

## WAR AVERTED

When proposing a mutually acceptable solution, we took into account the sum total of all considerations. And war was averted.

Today we tell our critics: your abuse is praise for our Government, for our Party, for our people, is praise for all Marxist-Leninist Parties which adhere to the positions of the 1957 Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the 1960 Statement of the 81 Parties which uphold the ideas of the peaceful co-existence of States with different social political systems.

One should be very careful and not indulge in irresponsible accusations to the effect that, for instance, some pursue an orthodox policy, while others — an erroneous policy, that some attack imperialism and are intolerant towards it, while others

allegedly display liberalism. These questions can be correctly understood, one or other action can be correctly appraised, only when the time, the place and the conditions under which one has to act are taken into account.

## GOA'S EXAMPLE

India, for instance, achieved the liberation of Goa, Diu and Daman. These were vestiges of colonialism on Indian soil. Even when the British colonialists were driven out of India, Portugal preserved her colonies there which spread the stench of colonialism. India, her Government, showed patience in the course of several years they reconciled themselves with this and then threw out the colonialists.

Were they right in doing this? Certainly, they were. Incidentally, when this question was discussed in the Security Council, the United States and Britain actually tried to get India to be recognised as an aggressor. They tried to direct world public opinion against India. It was only the veto of the Soviet Union that prevented them from doing so.

Here is another example. When Indonesia attained freedom, the Dutch colonialists attempted to retain West Irian. The Indonesian people and their government, however, forced the colonialists out of West Irian. We did what we could to help Indonesia in her struggle and greet the liberation of West Irian, its reunification with free Indonesia. Macao is situated on China's

east near the estuary of the Quikiang. This is a tiny territory which is even difficult to find on the map. The Portuguese leased it as early as in the middle of the 16th century and in 1887, completely wrested it from China and turned it into their colony. The British colony of Hong Kong also exists there; it is situated in the delta of the Hsiangiang River, and literally, is at the very heart of such an important city as Kwangchow Canton).

## SAME ODOUR

The odour coming from these places is in no way better than the smell which came from colonialism in Goa.

But will anyone denounce the People's Republic of China for the vestiges of colonialism remaining untouched? It would be incorrect to urge China to take any actions which the latter considers untimely. If the Government of the People's Republic of China tolerates Macao and Hong Kong, then apparently there are weighty reasons for this.

It would, therefore, be absurd to attack it, advancing the accusation that this allegedly is a concession to the British and Portuguese colonialists, that this allegedly is conciliation.

Perhaps this is a deviation from Marxism-Leninism? Nothing of the kind. This means that the Government of the People's Republic of China takes into account the real situation, real opportunities.

And this by no means is tak-

ing place because the attitude of the Chinese towards colonialism is less acute than that of the Indians, that they show greater tolerance for Salazar than India. No, the hatred of our Chinese friends for colonialism is the same as that of every revolutionary. But they evidently proceed from their conditions, from their understanding and show patience.

Should we condemn them for this and claim that they have deviated from Marxism-Leninism? No. This would be nonsense.

Due to a number of conditions one at times has to live not among fragrant roses but among thorn bushes and at times even near the colonialist toilet.

But the hour will strike and the Chinese friends, recognising such a situation unbearable, will tell the colonialists for all to hear: "Get out!" And we shall greet this move. But let the Chinese friends themselves decide when this should be done. We are not egging them along. On the contrary, we tell them: "Solve this problem in such manner as is in the interests of your country, in the interests of the entire socialist camp."

And what would have happened if we during the Cuban events had not shown the necessary restraint and had listened to the prompting of "ultra-revolutionary" shouters? We would have entered into a period of a new world war, a thermonuclear war. Of course, our vast country would have held

•ON PAGE FOURTEEN

# Exposition Of Marxist - Leninist Teaching Against Dogmatism

# COLOMBO—A USEFUL VISIT

## Says Aruna Asaf Ali

Aruna Asaf Ali, leader of the delegation that went to Colombo during the six non-aligned nations Conference, on behalf of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity on her return to Delhi told the Press on December 17:

OUR delegation consisted of A. S. R. Chari, Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of India, Homi Daji, M.P. and myself. We went to Colombo with the purpose of explaining India's case to the participants, members of the Ceylon Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and the Ceylon public in general.

We handed over to the leaders of the delegations of the six Afro-Asian countries: (1) the Appeal addressed to all Afro-Asian peoples by members of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity; (2) the statement condemning the massive Chinese aggression issued by the organisation; (3) Material throwing light on the dispute issued by the Government of India including maps illustrating India's case.

### Principled Stand

The delegation also addressed an Appeal to the Heads of the Six nations in which it was emphasized that India under the leadership of our Prime Minister Nehru has consistently stood for the principles of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment and had always raised its voice against war and advocated peaceful settlement of all international disputes. India had extremely cordial relations with China and had advocated China's entry into the United Nations. Even after China had resorted to armed force and

was based upon the just and reasonable principle that no territorial advantage gained by a recent military action should be permitted. We also emphasized that India under Prime Minister Nehru had reiterated its resolve to continue policies of non-alignment.

We found that the Chinese had earlier more effectively propagated their stand in Ceylon and that many in Colombo did not have sufficient material on the Indian side of the dispute, but people were anxious to hear India's case and we found everywhere a willing-

## Parliamentarians Appeal

"We believe that members of parliament in all countries are already seriously alarmed by the Chinese invasion of India," says the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace, in an appeal to the parliamentarians of the world, issued on December 13.

The appeal says: "In order to facilitate the opening of preliminary talks, India has made a reasonable and generous proposal: that the positions before the present aggression began on September 8, 1962 be restored."

At present the Chinese Government is insisting on the acceptance of its terms (which amount to the retention of large areas of Indian territory taken even during the present aggression, quite apart from the Indian territory held forcibly by the Chinese before September 8, 1962), as a pre-condition for any talks and it is even threatening to resume hostilities if these terms are not accepted.

ness to listen to us and understand the Indian point of view regarding the situation created by China's unjustified massive military invasion in NEFA and Ladakh. In addition, we also met leaders of the major political parties and leading members of the press and public, representing a fair cross-section of political and public opinion. We addressed a meeting of the Ceylon Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. A. S. R. Chari addressed a meeting of the Incorporated Law Society on the Juridical Aspects of the Sino-Indian Dispute.

We believe that our visit to Ceylon was useful in that it helped to clear many points on which there was not adequate information and understanding. Some visible signs of this change have already been noticed in the Indian press.

We feel that India should immediately take steps for wide-spread propaganda by official and non-official missions, with facts and material in all Afro-Asian countries so that the masses of the people there are made aware of the truth and justice of India's case.

## Prof. Bernal's Call

"The crisis in the Caribbean brought the world closer than it has ever been to the horrors of nuclear war. It was the most acute of the many that have occurred since the second World War, and had reason not prevailed, its effects would have been catastrophic. On October 28 humanity won a reprieve, but it was only a reprieve; the threat of nuclear war still hangs over us all."

THESE are the opening words of a recent statement by Professor J. D. Bernal, F.R.S., Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace. The statement points out a number of urgent problems which must be tackled immediately:

1. The conclusion by the New Year of a ban on all nuclear tests on a mutually acceptable basis.
2. The dismantling of all military bases on foreign territory.
3. Agreement on a solution of the German question, and, in the first place, of the problem of West Berlin.
4. Renewed emphasis on denuclearised zones of disengagement, to reduce international tensions and as a big step towards disarmament.
5. The expansion of world trade, getting rid of all

discrimination; and the widest possible development of cultural and other exchanges. Professor Bernal says:

"To unite all partial measures into one which removes for ever the danger of nuclear war, the forces of peace need to work more powerfully and effectively than ever on a world scale for general and complete disarmament. This remains the major task before mankind."

"This work for disarmament must be indissolubly linked with a great renewed effort to convince the people all over the world that peaceful co-existence is the only possible policy in the nuclear age, and that it requires that all countries, great and small alike, must enjoy full sovereignty and independence."

## At The Italian Party Congress

# UNITY OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

## How & On What Basis?

(From Togliatti's Report to the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party delivered on Dec. 2) The general secretary of the Italian Communist Party stressed that the main problem is that of the unity of the Communist movement.

WE need it — Togliatti declared — because of the seriousness of our tasks and also of the hard blows directed against us by our enemies, who are ready to make speculations and carry out provocations whenever there is a sign of disagreement among ourselves.

We must understand, however, that today, unity can be achieved and preserved in a different way than in other situations. The scope of our movement and the differences in the conditions in which the advance to socialism takes place require an action which is based not on centralization, not on the existence of impossible international or regional centres, but on the right of each party to take autonomously its own decisions.

This increases the responsibility of each one of us in front of all the other Communist parties, because our autonomy, although allowing us to express freely our judgement and also to make fraternal criticism, will not prevent any of us from being judged also on the strength of what the Communists of other countries do.

Unity must be based on loyalty to the principles of our doctrine, as formulated in the documents issued in 1937 and in 1960, and on the strengthening of international proletarian solidarity, which is an unshakable principle. Within this framework must be debated the controversial questions, but the debate has to be carried on in a spirit of seriousness and responsibility.

### VILE CAMPAIGN

The campaign launched by the Albanian leaders under the pretext of the disagreement, also with the Chinese comrades, concerning the value of the struggle for peaceful co-existence and lasting peace, has nothing in common with a debate among Communists. The Albanian leaders have turned the debate into a slanderous campaign directed against the entire Communist movement and, in particular against the leaders of the CPSU. This campaign is inadmissible, provocative and detrimental also to those who launched it.

This campaign, allegedly directed against the revisionists, is, in fact, nothing but the defence of sectarian dogmatism which adopts high-sounding revolutionary slogans, while ignoring the real tasks that the working class has to face for the advance to socialism in democracy and peace.

The Albanian leaders reject the criticism of the myth of Stalin, namely they reject what in the past years has been the main incentive to develop our thought and action.

While declaring their intention of carrying out an all-out attack against imperialism, they reject the mass struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence, which is the most essential form of struggle against imperialism.

They claim they are internationalists, but their internationalism expresses itself in

above all never becoming isolated from the masses. Dogmatism is the most serious obstacle we are meeting in carrying out these tasks.

The decisions of the XX Congress gave great impulse to the development of our doctrine. We should strictly comply with those decisions and carry them out, pointing out without fear past mistakes and rectifying them as well as studying thoroughly the circumstances under which they were made and their nature.

The mistaken political course dictated by Stalin, the mistaken view that our enemies increase as a result of our very successes, the violation of legality and the consequent sectarian positions, represented everywhere fetters that prevented the Communist movement, at the very time when it was conquering new positions in the post-war period, from displaying all its strength, its creative power, and from showing the world that Socialism is a regime of effective democracy in all fields of social life.

We are deeply conscious of the need to avoid a position where the diverse situations in which we are acting lead to the isolation of the various parties and to incomprehensions and misunderstandings.

## DOGMATISTS DENOUNCED

Speaking at the Tenth Party Congress in Rome on Dec. 5 about the way in which Communists and Socialists faced the process of rectification, opened up by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Giancarlo Pajetta, Secretary of the Party, stressed that the Italian Communists always endeavoured to trace their own perspective, making an effort to understand reality beyond myths. Some people disappointed by the collapse of former myths, resort to other ones.

We have been urged (at this Congress) to assume our own responsibilities in face of the differences existing in the Communist movement. We already affirmed the principle that each country, although safeguarding its own autonomy, must not shut itself in, but on the contrary must make its political and ideological contribution, keeping on guard always against superficial judgments and keeping in mind the particular conditions in which the brother parties act.

Our principle has always been to endeavour to achieve the deepest possible unity without pretending, however, to reach at all costs an agreement, which would prove to be a superficial one only.

We also affirmed that under certain circumstances the debate must be public.

When we reply to the questions posed by our Party members who want to know in order to better understand, we base ourselves on the clearness of truth: when we want to say China we do not need to say Albania.

What we are after is real unity, which is to say a unity based on clearness. We said so to our Chinese comrades, when we

informed them that we are going to express here our dissent from their policy.

There are problems of internal policy — Comrade Pajetta went on — in which no interference is admissible; we never took the liberty of inquiring on the comrades nor on the number of flowers growing in the immense Chinese territory. We want, however, to avoid the danger of shutting ourselves in vain attitudes of prestige. There are problems that concern us all: for instance, the problem of peace, and we fully realised it recently when we felt how near us were Cuba and the frontier between India and China.

Pajetta underlined that faithfulness to the doctrine and documen- tation of the international Communist movement, is to be understood in the first place as acceptance of a creative non-dogmatic method. We believe that we have been faithful to these principles, enriching them by our capacity for translating their meaning into practical action.

### CHINESE ATTACK

We heard the heavy attack the Chinese comrades made on our Party and its policy. They are said to be prepared to discuss with us in a fraternal spirit and we agree with them. Nevertheless, we must reply that some questions are already clear to us and we consider them as already settled.

We reply to them that we cannot accept any attempt directed to weaken our solidarity with the peace policy of the Soviet Union. We, too, witnessed the heroic fight of the Cuban people, but when we turn back to the bitter days of that struggle, let us not forget that the Cuban people have been defended by the Soviet Union, that saved peace.

We cheered Comrade Kozlov's speech, not because of a vague feeling of affection for Lenin's Party, but because we felt in his words a passionate will for peace. The name of Khrushchov is

In his concluding speech at the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party reports TASS from Rome, Dec. 9, General Secretary Palmiro Togliatti voiced in the first place objections to certain allegations made by the bourgeois press, which had kept close watch over the proceedings of the communist congress, giving it extensive coverage.

OUR debates have aroused significant international comment and we again thank the comrades from the Communist, Socialist and Workers' Parties for having visited us, for having told us of their hopes, for conveying greetings to our Party and for tendering admissions of our strength and our political ability — which they expressed in a way, which even to us seemed exaggerated at times.

### TOGLIATTI'S REPLY

I would like to say a few words about the speech of the representative of the Communist Party of China, which introduced somewhat of a jarring note.

We reject, and moreover very firmly, the criticism made by the representative of the Communist Party of China concerning problems of an international character and even of our policy.

Incidentally the questions the representative of the Communist Party of China brought up are the ones that were discussed and on which the international communist movement took decisions. These decisions were mentioned in the course of our entire debate. These were the decisions of the 1957 and November 1960 Conferences.

These documents indicate certain key points of our political strategy in the present international situation and then allow the Parties to develop their activities depending on the specific features of their particular countries, on the conditions in which they work and struggle, on the requirements for growing class and political struggle in their respective countries.

However, there are certain basic points which have been specifically indicated in our resolutions. And among them is one first and foremost, namely concerning the fight for peace and peaceful co-existence. The strategy of the fight for peaceful co-existence stems from this thesis of the possibility of avoiding war.

The resolution on this question says that the policy of peaceful co-existence accords with the fundamental interests of all the peoples, and, therefore, those of the Italian people as well.

We heard the heavy attack the Chinese comrades made on our Party and its policy. They are said to be prepared to discuss with us in a fraternal spirit and we agree with them. Nevertheless, we must reply that some questions are already clear to us and we consider them as already settled.

We reply to them that we cannot accept any attempt directed to weaken our solidarity with the peace policy of the Soviet Union. We, too, witnessed the heroic fight of the Cuban people, but when we turn back to the bitter days of that struggle, let us not forget that the Cuban people have been defended by the Soviet Union, that saved peace.

We cheered Comrade Kozlov's speech, not because of a vague feeling of affection for Lenin's Party, but because we felt in his words a passionate will for peace. The name of Khrushchov is

This is the first question which we stressed at our Congress and which we shall continue to stress by promoting our work on the basis of the adopted decisions which should be obligatory for all Communist and Workers' Parties.

I consider that the new executive bodies of the Party should appeal to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to send their delegation here, to Italy, mainly for the reason of becoming acquainted more closely with our Party, seeing in what conditions we are working, growing convinced that we are really a Party championing the interests of the working masses of Italy, and also for us exchanging views with them which would lead to a deeper understanding in all spheres.

As regards the differences between ourselves and the Albanian Party of Labour leaders, we criticise them, because they are not conducting such debates and discussions which can and should be carried on between representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties united by international solidarity. We can give the representative of the Communist Party of China several booklets which were distributed among our sections thanks to the efforts of the Albanian Party of Labour.

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## SEN-RALEIGH

# PRESENT SNUB AND DISTANT SKYBOLT

It must be a very brave man who can, with any accuracy, predict a successful outcome of MacMillan's meeting with President Kennedy at the Barunos.

NO political pundit, on either side of the Atlantic, will admit also that this is the most opportune moment for a meeting between the two leaders from the point of view of British imperialism.

Dean Acheson's speech to the West Point cadets, is a clear point in this direction. "Great Britain," Acheson declared, "has lost an empire and has not yet found a role. The attempt to play a separate power role... that is, a role apart from Europe, a role based on a 'special relationship' with the United States, a role based on being the head of a 'Commonwealth' which has no political structure, or unity, or strength and enjoys a fragile and precarious economic relationship by means of the sterling area and preferences in the British market... this role is about played out."

"Great Britain, attempting to work out alone and to be broker between the United States and Russia, has seemed to conduct a policy as weak as its military power..."

Acheson did no more in his speech than to point out the cold logic of the present-day power-structures of the world, overwhelmingly so in the post-Cuban period.

Mr. MacMillan, however, has publicly protested saying, "Mr. Acheson has fallen into an error which has been made by quite a lot of people in the course of the last 400 years, including Philip of Spain, Louis XIV, Napoleon, the

Kaiser and Hitler." Other Tory leaders and the general British Press have spoken of the "heartlessness" of Mr. Acheson!

These outbursts, flinging cards, showing historical evidences can, however, do nothing to make the harsh logic of Acheson's speech any less credible.

It expresses the feeling of the American ruling class.

However, it is not only Mr. Acheson's bluntness that has led the Tory leaders into making a public exhibition of themselves. After all, they were as much aware of Acheson's accuracy as any other.

But what was too much for them was that the speech was both blunt and made in public and said by someone who is better qualified than even MacMillan to know the mind of President Kennedy. By making the speech in public, Acheson was in fact demolishing in one or two ragged sentences a vital part of the present Government's claim to go on governing.

A casual glance at the record of the Government leaders' public speeches over a number of years will indisputably show how the myth of Britain's great influence within the Western alliance has been carefully built up and presented to the British people, which brought to them political rewards.

It is unlikely that the electorate will forgive and forget these utterly misleading and false impressions fed to them for so

many years by the Tory leaders. The second development is in relation to the future of the Skybolt missiles, a special brand of the so-called "nuclear deterrent."

Originally, it was agreed formally between the British and the American governments that the latter would supply to Britain Skybolt nuclear missiles which was to have a range of 1,000 miles, by mid-1960's.

The entire defence strategy of the present Government has been geared to the expected arrival of these nuclear weapons from the United States. Apart from criticising the dangerous nature of such anti-Soviet postures, critics of the Government have all along doubted if these missiles would ever see the light of the day and reach the shores of Britain.

In fact, it has now emerged that in expectation of this non-existent weapon, the government have agreed to let the Americans build a base at Holy Loch, Scotland, for their Polaris submarines against which the British public have demonstrated again and again.

## American Discomfiture

Immediately following Acheson's speech, inspired reports and subsequently Mr. McNamara's own statement lent authenticity to the doubts expressed by these critics.

It is now clear that the Americans would like to wriggle out of their commitment, though it is doubtful if Kennedy will be able to overcome the stiff resistance offered by White Hall.

The American arguments, are many-fold. They now say that five flight tests of these missiles attempted so far have failed. Serious doubts about the value of the whole concept of firing ballistic missiles from aircraft in the present stage of American scientific developments have also been expressed.

The Defence Department has disclosed that the original amount allocated to the project i.e., 500 million dollars has already been spent, and the revised estimate now totals 2,800 million dollars.

British Government have counter-argued that its present V-bomber force will no longer be an effective 'deterrent' after 1965 (that is, when Skybolt was originally due) if it is not armed with a really long-range stand-off bomb like the Skybolt. The latter's non-arrival would mean leaving Britain without a role in the "nuclear deterrent strategy of the West."

These are not the only reasons why the Skybolt missiles have not yet turned up. It is no secret that the Kennedy Administration has made a thorough reappraisal of the entire defence strategy of the "free world" in recent months.

Kennedy, as part of his New Frontier philosophy, has never liked the nuclear "independence" of Britain and has frowned upon the French aspiration to follow in the footsteps of Britain in this sphere.

Even if Kennedy ultimately agrees to an "European deterrent (when France and Britain would be required to sacrifice their independent nuclear aspi-

rations), he would most definitely insist on reserving the final political control to the United States.

In all these cold arguments and calculations regarding the relative merits of weapons which even by accident are capable of wiping out whole countries, hardly any account is taken of

outside world. Unwilling to follow an independent and progressive policy in both external and home affairs, the Government has cost her the cherished independence of the British people.



the genuine and overwhelming cry for peace and general disarmament heard daily in the socialist world and the developing countries of Asia and Africa.

They ruthlessly ignore that by their insistence on negotiating from strength only with the Soviet Union, they are ruining the economy of their countries and making them more and more militant in character.

For Britain, Acheson's speech and McNamara's mathematical juggling could mean one definite thing. Britain is realising that her Government has reduced her name into utter sham in the

represented by de Gaulle and Adenauer could only make matters worse.

Great Britain could certainly become great once she relinquishes her obsession with imperialist, anti-Soviet and cold-war policies which are the reasons for her present ignominious status within the Western Alliance.

No doubt, some face-saving formula would be worked out by MacMillan at the end of his meeting with President Kennedy. That, however, could only be a clumsy patch-work and could hardly promote British independence about which he seems to be so much concerned.

## PAJETTA

\*FROM PAGE ELEVEN

which fully corresponds to the Italian people's interests, as it is proved by the fact that the bonds uniting the Party and the masses have been strengthened in the fight to impose such reforms.

On the Albanian question, Pajetta said: "We are not concerned over the fact that the Albanian leaders have suddenly proclaimed themselves masters in the Marxist-Leninist doctrine vis-a-vis the other Parties. We are only wondering what they are after and why you endorse their behaviour. He recalled that the present Albanian President was not in a position to give lessons of revolutionary militancy to the Italian Communist Party since he learnt to use his gun when he fought in Spain under an Italian commander of the Garibaldi group—Comrade Bardini."

Pajetta went on to deal with the third question, i.e., the problem of the relations with Yugoslavia. We criticised — he said — certain attitudes of the League of Yugoslav Communists, we argued with them over their Yugoslav programme, but this did not prevent us from seeing what Yugoslavia actually is.

Still addressing the Chinese delegate, Pajetta went on: "you told us that Tito restored capitalism in his country. But we visited Yugoslavia, we looked, criti-

cised and even quarrelled at times, but we can assure you that we did not see a single capitalist in the Yugoslav factories. Pajetta formulated here his wish for the successful outcome of the meeting under-way between Khrushchov and Tito.

He then reproached the Chinese comrades "for being inconsistent with themselves when they claim to be against the open admission of existing differences, whilst they hold it to be their duty to address in public their criticism of other sections of the working class movement."

If it is necessary to stress — Comrade Pajetta went on — that we deal with these problems with deep concern and even with grief. We know how deeply and decisively important is the maintenance and consolidation of the unity of the working class and Communist international movement. We do not forget what the Chinese Communist Party is, even if it adopts a policy which we do not accept.

Pajetta concluded by affirming that the Italian Communists want to act for the unity of the international Communist movement, for the unity of the entire working class movement, which must be achieved around the policy of peaceful coexistence, to isolate imperialism. This is the basic element uniting all the progressive forces.

## ASSAM NEWSLETTER

\* From MADHUSUDAN BHATTACHARYA

# PEOPLE FULLY CONSCIOUS OF THEIR TASKS

Though the guns on the frontiers are silent, the people of Assam have not been lulled into any complacency. Their morale and their vigilance are as high as ever and they want that the respite should be utilised to make our defence arrangements foolproof.

## SHILLONG:

THE mood of the people of this State can be gauged from the way they have been responding to the call for strengthening civil defence measures or from their other contributions to the national defence efforts. The youth of Assam have been rushing to the recruiting centres to get themselves enlisted for active service in the army. Every morning one comes across a large queue in front of any recruiting office in any part of the State.

Over ten thousand people are said to have already received training for Home Guards. Large number of people have come forward to get enrolled in the National volunteer force. Recently, further steps have been taken by the authorities for imparting training to the N.V.F. In certain places the training is now given by the armed wing of the civil police, while in some other places like Shillong the army has placed its services at the disposal of the civil authorities for this purpose.

Womenfolk of the State have come forward enthusiastically to receive training in various civil defence measures; some of them have also been receiving training in the use of fire arms. Home nursing, first aid etc., in which women have a special role to play, naturally have drawn the largest number of them. A selected number have also been receiving training in duties like telephone operating and signalling so that in case of necessity they may take up these works.

Besides these, the womenfolk of the State have also been playing an important role in collecting donations for the National Defence Fund. Gold and cash have been pouring in from all over the State. Even remote villages are not lagging behind in this patriotic task. More over, mothers and sisters, use their skill in knitting woollen garments for the Jawans. Recently, in one place women suggested that if adequate quantity of yarn can be supplied by the authorities, they could weave cotton dothings also for the Jawans. Assam women are adept weavers.

## Calm And Determined Efforts

Stories of calm and determined efforts by various sections of people come from different parts of the State. They do not hit the headlines

and in fact some of them are also reported to have told Press cameramen, when they tried to take snaps of their activities, that they did not work for publicity and therefore would not like to be photographed. Love for the country has induced them to do their bit and the defence of the country is the only reward they want.

At Sadiya, bordering Lohit frontier of NEFA, one thousand volunteers worked for two days and completed 4 miles of a road approaching a ferry. At Mar-kongselek in North Lakhimpur subdivision, bordering NEFA, Miri (a tribal people of the plains) volunteers completed three miles of a road that was left half complete by the P.W.D. One abandoned aerodrome was repaired entirely by the voluntary labour of the local people. There are many other similar instances.

Leaders coming from outside the State at first fail to appreciate the nature of such works. So they sometimes mistakenly think that they should "rouse" the patriotic feeling of the local people.

## Concrete Lead

The local people want rather concrete lead in how best they could devote their energy to the task of national defence; they want to hear from the visiting leaders what steps have been taken to harness their energy and what further effort is required of them for national defence.

It is recognised that the visit of some leaders may be useful for keeping the enthusiasm of the people of Assam at a high pitch for sustained defence efforts. But at the same time it is pointed out that some times some of the speeches appear to be an attempt to "convert" already "converted." This is believed to be one of the reasons why Assam Government suggested that "too many" leaders should not visit the state at this time.

The visiting leaders themselves also realise the simple but heroic effort of the people of the State after they have acquainted themselves with facts. For instance, almost every one who has visited this State during the last two months felt deeply impressed by the splendid service rendered by the students and youth of the State to the evacuees from NEFA.

New Age will bring out a special issue on the occasion of the first death anniversary of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, which falls on January 13, 1963. Readers and friends having any unpublished photographs and other material may kindly forward it to New Age at the earliest.

in fact, it is the enthusiasm of the students themselves that has made these training compulsory so that they may keep themselves in readiness to face any eventuality.

In the rural areas the peasantry have now gone in for harvesting which has just begun. But even while harvesting their crops, they are not oblivious of the prevailing situation. Rather, this time they harvest with an additional sense of duty knowing that this harvest is also necessary for national defence.

However, the people of the State have one grouse. They feel that not enough has been done to make the best use of their energy and enthusiasm. They are eager to contribute more to the defence efforts.

This feeling is partly justified. It is felt, but it is also pointed out that out of their eagerness many may have failed to take into account the limitations of the enthusiasm of the people. Steps are being taken, it is maintained by the Government, to further step up the machinery for harnessing the popular enthusiasm.

In these jobs they received good leadership from their teachers also. Other elders also helped them in various ways.

The examinations that had been postponed in view of the situation that developed in the last part of November are now being held. But while attempts are being made to see that academic life does not suffer, it is being emphasised that physical training, NCC and ACC training etc., are maintained regularly.

# People's Daily On War Path

\*FROM BACK PAGE

the anti-Soviet campaign? It appeared to many that the Chinese had turned the Albanians into what has been described as their "out-of-time loudspeaker."

It is hypocrisy of the worst order today for the Chinese Communist leadership to pose as defenders of the rights of equality, etc. for "a small country" and its Party and obliquely accuse the Soviet Union and the CPSU of "big-nation chauvinism."

## Criticism Only China's Right?

It is even more so when we consider the fact that the Chinese leadership has hardly desisted from attacking any other Communist Party during these two years that have elapsed since the 81 Parties' Conference. The Indian Communist Party has been a special target of their attack, particularly since our late General Secretary, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh publicly warned them in November 1961 of the grave consequences that would ensue if their armed forces crossed the McMahon Line. The People's Daily then openly attacked him, going to the extent of suggesting that he was speaking as an individual and not as the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India.

## Barrage Against CPI

Ever since, with their immense propaganda machine, they have kept up a barrage against the Communist Party of India, doing their worst to divide, disrupt and destroy it. Anybody listening in today to the Peking Radio can find it for himself.

At the Italian Congress when the Chinese representative spoke on December 2 he delivered a diatribe against the course that Party follows

every important town of Assam. Everywhere he recited his usual piece, the burden of which was joint defence pact with Pakistan and a tirade against the CPI. In some places he exhorted his audience to "drive the Communists out of India" and in some other places he advised his audience to "offer satyagraha before the offices of CPI until they pulled down their red flag."

The PSP played host to the General and most of the public meetings addressed by him were presided over by the State PSP Chief. It is believed that the State PSP will now carry forward the banner of anti-communism that was unfurled anew by Cariappa. Some newspapers are also there to oblige them.

Since most of the prominent leaders and workers of the Communist party are under arrest, the Party cannot naturally reply effectively to this vilifying campaign.

Meanwhile, according to a message received here from Silchar the house of Biresw Misra, the veteran Communist leader of the State, was set on fire some time in the first week of this month by some people believed to be members of an anti-Communist political party.

Misra and his wife were taken into custody on November 21. The only other inmate of the house, Misra's old sister-in-law, is now staying with a neighbour. It is not known if any arrest was made in connection with this arson.

described by Hsinhsu as "renewed... attacks on the Communist Party of China."

While for themselves and their proteges they demand the right to strike at anyone in self-assumed defence of the "purity" of Marxism-Leninism and also the "right to reply" when others exercise the same right they rush to brand them as people who have joined the anti-China chorus of imperialism.

If ever anybody tried to put himself above the rest of the constituents of the world Communist movement it is the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and no one else. If anyone ever suffered from big nation chauvinism it is the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and no one else.

## Responsibility Of Chinese Leaders

All this however concerns only the method of carrying on the controversy inside the international Communist movement; where and how differences should be aired and how they should be sought to be resolved. But even in this it is the Chinese Communist Party's leadership which has struck at the world communist movement and not the other way round. It is they who are flouting the Moscow Statement and not the others whom they accuse.

More important however is the substance of the controversy. What are the issues on which the Chinese and the Albanians have been criticised and how far are they justified in claiming that they are upholding the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the documents of the Moscow Conferences of Communist Parties? We propose to deal with these questions in our next issue.



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# STRUGGLE AGAINST DOGMATISM

\*FROM CENTRE PAGES

out although tens upon tens of millions of people would have perished!

And Cuba, probably as a result of a thermonuclear war would have simply ceased to exist. Other densely populated countries which do not possess such vast expanses, would have also completely perished on being drawn into the conflict. And those who would have remained alive and future generations would have been subjected to incredible sufferings from the consequences of atomic radiation.

## Insult To Marx & Lenin

But was this the road of development of mankind outlined by Marx and Lenin? No. Those who attempt to attribute such a world outlook and such conception to our great teachers only insult their memory.

When the revolution started in Tsarist Russia our slogan was: "Peace to the huts, war on the palaces." This was in accord

with the Party's policy of developing the imperialist war into a civil war, this was a call to the class struggle, to the struggle against the landowners and capitalists.

## Brest Peace Treaty

And when the revolution was victorious, the first decree of the Soviet Government drafted by V. I. Lenin was the Decree on Peace. And although the Germans at that time occupied a rather large part of Russia's territory, V. I. Lenin and our entire country strove to put an end to the war and to sign a peace treaty with the Germans.

A delegation headed by Trotsky, who at that time also called himself a Marxist, was sent to Brest to sign a treaty. But he went against the Party, provocatively wrecked the peace negotiations with the Germans and left Brest Vladimir Illyich was then forced to send Chicherin and a peace treaty was signed.

History has confirmed the correctness and brilliance of V. I. Lenin's foresight. It showed that the road which V. I. Lenin map-

ped out and upheld in the struggle against pseudo-revolutionaries was the only reasonable and true road. Of course, the Brest peace treaty was a temporary concession to German militarism.

## However, what was the final result? Who made a concession to whom?

Today the Marxist-Leninist banner is flying not only over the entire territory of the Soviet Union but beyond its boundaries, this banner has been raised over other countries, including the German Democratic Republic. And those German militarists who invaded our country are in their graves. Now, judge for yourself who was right.

The Leninist approach in solving such a complicated problem has triumphed.

It, of course, is certainly not a matter of some parallel between the Brest Peace Treaty and the settlement of the conflict in the Caribbean area. The thing is that each time it is necessary to take into consideration the concrete situation and the concrete conditions. A dogmatic approach devoid of a sober stock-taking of

the actual situation is harmful, as it is the source of the gravest of blunders. Marxist-Leninists must remember that there is no abstract truth. Truth is always concrete.

## Need For Proper Approach

Some of the doctrinaires have slithered to Trotskyite positions and are impelling the Soviet Union, and the other socialist countries to unleash a world war. They would like to impose the same provocative policy as Trotsky conducted in his days. Evidently the Albanian leaders and those spurring them on have lost faith in that socialism, can win without a war between the States. Perhaps in general they never realised that there is such a possibility.

believing that communism can be reached only through war, by killing millions of people.

However, this madness will never get the peoples of the other countries to follow the Communist Party. On the contrary, it can only scare millions, and millions of people away from the Communist movement.

The Albanian doctrinaires are disappointed in that a compromise was reached and that the dangerous Caribbean crisis, provoked by the American militarists was liquidated. They are upset, evidently, that no thermonuclear war was let loose, that the peoples, having surmounted a dangerous crisis, are living and working in conditions of peace.

This is what they criticise our Party and Government for, this is why they are pouring filth on the Soviet Union and its people...

# KHRUSHCHOV ON INDIA-CHINA...

\*FROM PAGE 5

the leaders of China and India, and hope that they would not fall for such provocations and would ensure a reasonable resolution of the conflict.

There are some who already say that China desisted from hostilities apparently because India started receiving support from American and British imperialists who are supplying her with armaments.

## Danger Of A Big War

Therefore, such people say, the People's Republic of China, realized that if the armed conflict would continue to develop, it may overgrow into a big war which would result in still greater casualties.

Yes, clearly, the Chinese friends considered the situation and this also speaks of their wisdom and understanding of the fact that when a war breaks out between friendly neighbouring peoples, the imperialists always try to profit by that. The United States and Britain have an overproduction of armaments and, when war breaks out, they are happy to give them to other countries which are prepared to forsake their national sovereignty to get hold of armaments, falling to realize that by this very act they are putting their heads into a noose and fall into dependence.

In 1962 these goods will account for approximately 40 per cent of the total import of the USSR from India.

## Shipping Agreement

In 1963 the USSR will subsequently increase purchases of Indian tobacco, jute bags, footwear and other goods.

In view of the forthcoming increase in cargo turnover between the USSR and India in 1963 and subsequent years, a protocol on the improvement of the work of the Indo-Soviet regular navigation line was concluded in Delhi last November.

This protocol, in particular, provides for 10 ships from each side instead of seven ships at present to serve the line.

It is not fortuitous that re-

cently there were arrests of communists and other progressive leaders in India. And tomorrow, if the war continues, anyone who says anything against the war will be considered a communist. This means that pacifists, too, will find themselves in this category. And here you have a rampage of reactionary forces, the most rabid militarists and reactionaries.

It seems that this, too, was taken into consideration by the Chinese comrades when they were studying the question of ceasing fire and withdrawing troops.

Doubtlessly, the measures of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic will be worthily appraised by the peace-loving peoples. Indeed, why wage war? Did China ever set the task of invading India? No, we reject such contentions as slanderous. And, of course we also absolutely disallow the thought that India wanted to start war with China.

That is why we sincerely welcome the steps taken by the Government of People's China and in no way consider that it made some sort of retreat. No, the Government of the Chinese People's Republic displayed reason, a correct understanding of the situation and exerted efforts to stop the military clash and normalize the situation.

## Solution By Peaceful Means

The fact that there is no more fire on the India-China border confirms that both sides have recognised that disputed questions must be solved not by military but by peaceful means, at the round table conference. And this is correct! For even the most complicated negotiations are better than war.

We ardently wish to see the two great powers—People's China and India—to fully restore and consolidate their ancient, traditional friendship.

## In Focus

# HIMALAYA BACHAO SAMMELAN

There was nothing in common except opposition to Prime Minister Nehru and his policies among the parties and leaders who assembled in Delhi last weekend in the "HIMALAYA BACHAO SAMMELAN". And the star performers at the Sammelan were two inveterate Nehru-haters, Acharya Kripalani and Doctor Lohia.

THE name could not have fooled anybody present at the conference as to the real intentions of the organisers. More than "saving" the Himalayas, the aim was to slander Pandit Nehru and call for open defiance of the Government.

It was Lohia who defined at the conference what exactly the organisers meant by the Himalayas. There were two Himalayas: one the "Indian Himalayas" consisting of Urvasium (NEFA), Sikkim, Kashmir and Ladakh and the other "Independent Himalayas" consisting of Tibet, according to him.

"India's northern border should be the east-flowing Brahmaputra," the Socialist Party leader declared. The reason given was that "our gods (and they are not minor gods, but Shiva and Parvati themselves) residing in Kailas and Manasarovar cannot be left in the hands of foreigners."

Alternatively, Lohia wanted India to liberate Tibet. In that case, he would be satisfied with having the border as it existed on August 15, 1947. This was not a matter of just 40 thousand square miles, but that of one lakh square miles, he declared. Convincedly, he did not explain as to where exactly this August 15, 1947 border was.

Kripalani was concerned with more sublime matters. His "fight" was not against Communist China alone, but against

world communism, which was "a materialist ideology determined to destroy all moral and spiritual values." In this, "our people had identity of aims with the western democracies," he declared. But then, "our virtual ruler, the Prime Minister, has no common aim with the democracies."

He was also concerned with the arrest of three persons "engaged in social welfare work" in Delhi under the Defence of India Rules. Their only crime, Kripalani said, was that they distributed a letter to members of Parliament criticising the "highly objectionable circular" issued by the AICC. He was prepared to admit that there were some "indiscreet" passages in the letter, but that did not warrant their arrest.

Kripalani even went to the extent of dragging in the name of the President of India in his attempt to defend the arrested persons. He said that the Rashtrapati should also be kept under detention if the same criterion as was used in arresting these three persons was applied to him. He quoted the Rashtrapati as having said that "we were credulous and negligent" and that India was not prepared to meet the Chinese aggression.

The arrested "social workers" had said only the same thing, according to Kripalani. (These portions were, however, omitted from the "press summary"

of Kripalani's speech distributed to the press.)

Despite all this, it was interesting to note that nobody dared to launch a frontal attack on the Prime Minister. The call to replace the leadership of Nehru by that of Lohia, made by the Akali Dal representative at the delegates session was only an exception, perhaps unwittingly made in the course of his high-flown Punjab oratory.

And V. G. Deshpande, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, who tried to abuse the Prime Minister, personally, had to eat his own words at the public meeting in the face of strong indignation voiced by a section of the audience.

Thus, lacking in courage to take a direct offensive against the target, the leaders and organisers of the Sammelan went about it

in an underhand manner. They said that the Government was in two minds as to whether to fight the Chinese or negotiate with the Chinese. "Weakness of will (to fight) is the supreme cause" for the "early victories of Chinese imperialism on India's armed forces", they declared.

The avowed aim of the Sammelan, therefore, became foisting this "will and determination" to fight the Chinese on the Government and leadership of the country. And the organisers went about this self-imposed task through an open call for the defiance of the Government.

A statement issued on behalf of the SAMMELAN said that only those who pledged that "no matter what the India Government does, I shall continually strive so that India gets back the boundary of August 15,

1947, and Tibet and the rest of the Himalayas their freedom, could be delegates to the Sammelan. (emphasis added)

All these could be called the wailings of some frustrated politicians roaming round the political field in the country like un-owned ghosts. But that does not minimise the treacherous and insidious nature of these pronouncements. Perhaps the only sane words, may be unwittingly uttered, at the Sammelan came from the Delhi Praja Socialist leader, Brij Mohan Toofan, who said that "leaders like Kripalani, Lohia and Rajaji should be kept under detention."

He was, of course, protesting against the arrest of the three "social workers" under the Defence of India Rules, and asserting that they had not said or done anything more objectionable than these leaders if what they did and said were objectionable. All the same, there is something for the Government to ponder over in what he said.

## Spotlight by Garuda

# THREE BLIND MEN

LOHIAJI has received a lusty pat on the back from Rajaji. The doyen of the Swatantrites has written in his "Swarajya" (December 15):

"It is gratifying to note that Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia is completely in line with, and has added the weight of his support to the widespread feeling in India, desiring closer association with Western Powers."

It is true that Lohiaji is one with Rajaji in demanding that India should have a firm military pact with America, and he may go the whole hog with the Swatantra ideologue in the latter's desire to kill non-alignment and give it a decent burial.

But Rajaji vouches for more than the truth when he says that the Indian people back his or Dr. Lohia's scheme. The unity and unanimity that rose in the country against the Chinese aggression is altogether different in quality and content from the factional alliance of the Swatantra, Jan Sangh, PSP, SP, and others, which aims to exploit the occasion for their own ends.

While Rajaji has patted Lohiaji on the back, Guruji Golwalkar's mouthpiece has patronised Masanji.

Its latest issue reproduces a brave little speech by the Swatantra stalwart. The latter has recalled how "Chamberlain refused to retire, he clung to office, one military disaster followed another."

After making the hint clear, Masanji has expressed gratification at the united front of blood brothers.

"The PSP has opposed very vital policies of the Government. They have just finished observing a week called 'No Negotiations Week' attacking Mr. Nehru and his Government for suggesting that they would negotiate on the 8th September line. The PSP also demands the banning or outlawing of the Communist Party of India. The

position of the Jan Sangh is roughly the same on both these issues. The Socialist Party of Lohia goes further. It has tried to move a No-confidence in Mr. Nehru's Government..."

The tune for this three-legged march is set by C. R. who has again called for "a firm alliance with the Western powers."

The Swatantra leader will not be chary even of Indian subordination to America and Britain. This is what he has written:

"It is of course difficult to retire from the neutralist club where we occupied a chair of honour, to lapse into equality with, or perhaps subordination to America and Britain... But China has compelled it..."

Comment is hardly needed. INDIA'S first President has paid handsome tributes to India's last Governor-General on the occasion of the latter's 85th birthday. In a contribution appearing in the Swarajya, he has eulogised

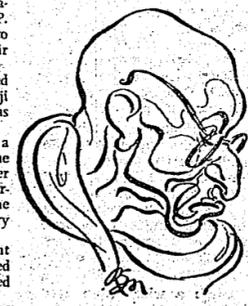
"Although the Swatantra party was formed but just a little over two years before the last General Elections, it put up candidates in the different States and in one or two of them it gained a pretty large number of adherents and in one State at least, it formed the main Opposition to the Congress party."

The eulogies to an old colleague, will easily be forgotten, but not the compliments to a reactionary party which seeks to sell Indian independence for a mess of pottage.

EX-GENERAL K. M. Cariappa of the defence-temple-gold fame, addressed a RSS camp in Patna, according to Jan Sangh sources. It was a pleasant session of mutual acclamation, the ex-General telling his communalist listeners that they were patriots of the best brood and the latter eulogising the General as a great professional anti-Communist like themselves.

After his arduous tour of the country, it must have been a good relief for the General. He had found people of his own level to talk to and be understood instead of laughed at for his antics.

"During late days he (C.R.) has felt that in a democracy, a well-organised opposition is as necessary as the party in power. With that end in view,



## WEST BENGAL

\*FROM PAGE 3

representatives put the following concrete demands to the Chief Minister:

Government of West Bengal should be more emphatic against lawlessness perpetrated against the Party and mass organisations and should adopt an attitude towards the Party similar to that of Prime Minister Nehru; the Party should be allowed to hold meetings and have the right to defend themselves against hooliganism; Ministers should

## not campaign against EPTUC and other mass organisations; arrested MLAs and MLCs should be released before the coming session of the Legislature and there should be no ban against Communists joining the Civil Defence and Home Guard organisations.

The Chief Minister is understood to have told the Party representatives that he might have fresh talks with them after an examination of the points mentioned in the memorandum.

## Students In Action

The campaign of lies and slanders found new expression this week against the students.

As reported earlier, the students observed a National Defence Week from December 3 to 10 at the call of a Committee composed of a large number of students' unions.

During this week the Calcutta University Students' Union and some other unions donated to the NDF by curtailing or abandoning the social and cultural functions or from other items of their budgets; a large number of students registered their names for blood donation.

On December 9, they brought out a magnificent procession of about 1,000 boys and girls, who, with the banner "WE ARE WITH NEHRU" went round a part of the city singing patriotic songs and shouting slogans.

When the procession was nearing the end of its march at the Surendranath College, some people including a Congress Student-leader tried to disrupt it. But, the procession ended peacefully and in an organised manner.

But the next morning, a section of the press published a completely false story alleging that the processionists were singing anti-national and pro-Chinese songs. Other newspapers gave a correct report of what happened.

At the call of the West Bengal College and University Teachers' Association, a huge silent demonstration of professors went to the Chinese consulate-General on December 15. But by that time the consulate was closed down and the Chinese staff left for China.

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NEW AGE

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# NOT ONLY MIGs, HELICOPTERS ALSO

## Soviet Assistance To Set Up Plants

The Soviet Union will soon be helping India to set up plant for manufacturing helicopters. This was revealed by G. P. Veliky, Trade Representative of the USSR in India, at a press conference in Delhi on December 12.

THE volume of trade between the USSR and India next year, it is envisaged, will be nearly Rs. 100 crores. The target was arrived at as a result of recent negotiations held in Moscow with the Indian trade delegation, headed by Mr. Vohra of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

## Notable Feature

A notable feature of Soviet-Indian trade relations in 1962 is that the Soviet Union started to deliver, within the framework of the Trade Agreement, apart from separate machinery and equipment, complete plant for the electric power station projects which are being constructed in India, the Trade Representative said.

Last November, a contract was signed for the supply of earth-moving and road-building equipment of Orissa State Government to the amount of more than Rs. 3 crores.

## Example Of Cooperation

The Indo-Soviet trade is a good example of such a co-operation, the Soviet Trade Representative said. For the past nine years, after the signing in 1953 of the first trade agreement between the USSR and India, the trade turnover between the two countries has considerably increased. In 1953, it was only 9,400,000 rupees, whereas in 1961, it amounted to nearly 560,000,000 rupees. This clearly testified to the fact that Indo-Soviet trade is mutually beneficial, Veliky said.

In 1963 India will receive one million tons of oil products (mainly kerosene) from the USSR.

V/K "Aviaexport" is expecting Indian representatives to arrive in Moscow for negotiations connected with the licence for the manufacturing of helicopters, Veliky declared.

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NEW AGE

DECEMBER 23, 1962

U.S. Information Agency  
Algeria

\* by Zia-ul Haq

# PEOPLE'S DAILY ON WAR PATH

The break-neck speed with which the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party appears to be plunging deeper and deeper into the quagmire of dogmatism and the determination and frenzy with which it is set upon this course in complete opposition to the world Communist movement will remain for long a most astounding and tragic phenomenon of present-day development.

THE People's Daily which is the official mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party leadership has now, on December 15, come out with an editorial protesting against what it calls the erroneous practice of using the rostrum of one Party's Congress to openly criticise another Party. Since much has been made of this in the editorial under reference we will deal with this Chinese objection in the first instance and at some length. We will later examine the substance of Chinese objection to the criticism made of their attitude and policies at the recently held Congresses of the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and Czechoslovakia.

Meanwhile, it must be kept in mind that it was a good three days earlier, on December 12, that First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union N. S. Khrushchov had given a comprehensive report on the current international situation, analysing recent developments and the positions adopted by various trends in regard to them and indicating certain conclusions. This masterly report is a monument to the fidelity of the CPSU to Marxist-Leninist principles and its grasp of the

concrete situation obtaining in the world today.

It must be presumed that the Chinese leadership was fully conversant with the contents of this report—though it is a fact that it has not to this day considered it necessary to make that report available to the Chinese Party's ranks and the mass of the Chinese people by publishing it in its press.

## First Salvo

One must therefore presume that the People's Daily editorial in question, while claiming to be directed against the "open attacks" levelled at the Chinese party leadership, at the recent Congresses was also the first salvo against Khrushchov's implied criticism of their policies. In his report to the Supreme Soviet, preferring perhaps to wait in order to prepare a little more the ground for an open and full-scale assault on the Soviet Union and the CPSU and confining themselves for the present only to barbed attacks against it, the Chinese policymakers have come out openly and fully against all the other

Parties which have dared to voice disagreement with their course in international affairs.

"An adverse current" has appeared in the international Communist movement during the last one month, complains the Chinese Communist Party leaders' mouthpiece, Rostrums of the recent Congresses have been used for "attacking fraternal parties". At the Italian and Czechoslovak Parties' Congresses not only were the Albanian leaders attacked but "also openly by name... the Chinese Communist Party."

"Utterly outrageous violation of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement unanimously adopted" by various parties—that is how People's Daily describes this. It says:

"At the Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress, some comrades of that Party and comrades of certain other fraternal parties wantonly vilified and attacked the Chinese Communist Party as 'adventurist', 'sectarian', 'splitter', 'nationalist' and 'dogmatic'...."

"Certain leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party made it clear that they cannot agree to the view of the Chinese Communist Party delegation, insisted on 'going further' in this practice, went so far as to ask the Chinese Communist Party to 'reconsider' its position on major international problems and even publicise this slander and attack against China to the whole world."

## Chinese Interpretation

Thus it is not merely the fact that the platform of one Communist Party's Congress has been used to criticise another Communist Party but the fact that somebody has dared to request the Chinese Communist Party leaders to "reconsider" their position on major international questions that is considered the bigger and more impermissible crime. To make such a request to them is to "slander" the Chinese Communist Party!

The "outrageous" practice of using the platform of one Party's Congress to criticise another party, the People's Daily reminds its readers, was started by the CPSU at its 22nd Congress when it brought into the open the wrong policies and criminal practices of the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour.

"The Chinese Communist Party then resolutely opposed this erroneous practice. Both at the Congress and later, the CPC made repeated earnest appeals for fraternal parties having disputes or differences of opinion, especially for the Party which first launched the attack to take the initiative, to unite again on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and mutual respect for each other's independence and equality", says the People's Daily.

Let us recall the truth of this episode.

It is true that Chou En-lai who led the Chinese delegation at the 22nd Congress in his speech greeting the Congress objected to the exposure of Albanian leaders' mistaken path and criminal ways made in the Central Committee's Report that had been presented by Khrushchov. Nobody had then supported Chou En-lai in this objection.

Still in his reply speech Khrushchov with great patience had noted the following:

"It was our duty to do so (openly criticise the Albanian leadership) because unfortu-

Khrushchov told the 22nd Congress:

"Obviously, the Central Committee of our Party had to tell this Congress the whole truth about the Albanian Party of Labour. Had we not done so, the Albanian leaders would have continued to insinuate that the CC, CPSU was afraid to inform the Party of the differences it had with the leadership of the APL.

"Our party and the Soviet people should know about the conduct of the Albanian leaders. And let this Congress, which is entitled to speak on behalf of the en-

## COMMUNIST PARTIES ACCUSED OF JOINING ANTI-CHINA CHORUS

nately, our numerous attempts to normalise relations with the Albanian Party of Labour yielded no results. I should like to stress that the Central Committee of our Party has shown the greatest patience and done all in its power to restore good relations between our two parties.

"Members of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU made repeated attempts to meet the Albanian leaders to discuss the questions that had arisen. As far back as August 1960 we twice proposed a meeting to the Albanian leaders, but they evaded it. And they just as stubbornly rejected talks with us during the Moscow meeting of the fraternal parties in November 1960.

## Provocative Actions

"When a meeting was finally arranged at the instance of the CC, CPSU, Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu wrecked it, and began actions that may only be described as provocative.

"The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour will draw arrogantly from the November meeting, thus showing that they refused to take the collective opinion of the fraternal parties into consideration.

"They rudely turned down our subsequent proposals for meeting to exchange views and remove the differences and stepped up their campaign of slanderous attacks against our Party and its Central Committee."

Khrushchov recalled the 4th Congress of the APL held in February 1961 where the anti-Soviet trend of policy was carried further. After disclosing that the APL leadership had withheld the full text of the CPSU draft Programme from the Albanian people and published only a garbled version of it, because "they fear truth like death",

the Party, take its stand on the matter, let it pass its weighty judgment.

"This Congress emphasised the readiness there is to normalise relations with the APL on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. But what was the Albanian leaders' reaction? They came out with a clamorous statement slinging mud at our Party and its CC.

"Comrade Chou En-lai, leader of the delegation of the CPC, voiced, in his speech, concern over the open discussion, at this Congress, of the issue of Albanian-Soviet relations. The main point in his statement was, as we see it, the anxiety that the present state of our relations with the APL might affect the unity of the socialist camp.

"We share the anxiety expressed by our Chinese friends, and appreciate their concern for greater unity. If the Chinese comrades wish to apply their efforts towards normalising the relations between the APL and the fraternal parties, there is hardly anyone who can contribute to the solution of this problem more than the Communist Party of China. That would really benefit the APL and would meet the interests of the entire socialist commonwealth."

This was way back in October 1961. Events since would appear to indicate that it was far from an anxiety for the unity of the socialist camp motivating the Chinese leadership when they decided to stand up for their Albanian comrades. Their entire activity during this period would suggest a case of collusion, and fractional concurrence in views on issues of substance and more. What other result than the disruption of the unity of the world communist movement could follow from their continued support and egging on of the Albanians in

\*SEE PAGE 13

## Government Urged To Release MPs, MLAs

In a statement on behalf of the Communist Group in Parliament on December 18, Bhupesh Gupta has expressed regret and surprise that Members belonging to the Communist Group in Parliament continue to be arrested and detained without trial under the Defence of India Rules. Already six such Members have been arrested.

THE statement inter alia says: "The stand of our Party in general and of our Group in Parliament in particular against the Chinese aggression is all too well-known. Anyone who is at all familiar with what happened in the last session of Parliament knows that the Communist members solidly and unreservedly supported the Government and contributed their mite in the Parliamentary arena in upholding the cause and honour of the country."

"At any time such attacks on the rights and privileges of members of Parliament would be regarded as unworthy. In the present situation when our Group in Parliament is solidly behind the Government and its basic policy, the imprisonments without trial of the Communist members would appear to be altogether out of tune with what we have known

as healthy conventions and practices in a Parliamentary set-up.

"In addition to the MPs, nearly 40 members of the State Legislatures and 12 out of 13 Members who were elected on Communist ticket to the Tripura Territorial Council have also been taken into custody."

In conclusion Bhupesh Gupta has appealed to the leaders of the Government, the Prime Minister and Union Home Minister in particular, to reconsider the whole matter, and release the arrested members of Parliament and other legislators.

"Such a wise step on their part", Bhupesh Gupta says, "will only strengthen the moral and political position of the Government and help us all in redoubling our national efforts to meet this emergency in every way."

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