

approach to colombo proposals welcomed

CPI Extends Full Support To Nehru's Stand

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, which met in New Delhi from January 15-17 adopted the following statement unanimously:

THE Communist Party of India joins the Government of India and our people in welcoming the initiative of the Colombo Conference of six non-aligned Afro-Asian countries to provide a basis for the consolidation of the cessation of hostilities, as a first step for the opening of negotiations with China.

While details of the proposals and clarifications have not been made public, a Government spokesman has told the press that the Colombo proposals "come close to the Indian stand", and that "by and large, they accepted the principle that the latest Chinese aggression must be undone before talks begin."

The Communist Party extends its full support to Prime Minister Nehru in his constructive approach to the Colombo proposals, expressing India's readiness to take all necessary measures for ensuring peace, consistent with the honour and self-respect of the country.

With these events, the perspective of reverting to the path of peaceful negotiations, for which India has always stood, opens up once again.

Our Party notes with satisfaction the developments in

and more confident atmosphere.

The Communist Party notes that, despite these favourable developments, the path to a negotiated settlement is not an easy one. Much naturally depends on how the Chinese Government responds to the Colombo proposals and to India's legitimate demands and strivings for a peaceful settlement.

The recent aggression by China since September 8 and the massive invasion from October 20 to November 20 have created a crisis of confidence, which cannot be easily dispelled. It can only end when a mutually agreed plan of disengagement is brought into operation and further negotiations begin in a proper atmosphere.

It is now fervently hoped that once these talks start, every effort will be made in order to avoid protracted negotiations and to bring about a speedy settlement of this tragic development in the true Bandung spirit and in keeping with the dignity and honour of our country. Protracted negotiations in the present case and a cold-war atmosphere between India and

the country since the Central Executive Committee's last meeting at the end of November. Apprehensions regarding the implementation of the cease-fire and the recrudescence of armed conflict have been considerably allayed. A vital part in bringing about this situation was played by the decision of the Government of India to accept the cease-fire and withdrawal as a fact.

Reactionary Offensive Beaten Back

The reactionary offensive against India's national policies and the leadership of the Prime Minister has received a setback. The prospects of a mutually agreed plan of disengagement have improved. The nation faces the task of bringing out a satisfactory and honourable settlement of the border dispute in a cooler

NEW

★ COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY ★

AGE

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CEC Resolution On Use Of Emergency Powers

Nearly three months ago, the state of emergency was proclaimed and the Defence of India Rules came into force.

IN the face of Chinese aggression which necessitated the proclamation of emergency, the Communist Party extended its support to the Defence of India Rules and other emergency measures. We were naturally guided by the paramount interest of national defence against the aggression. We expected that the emergency powers and the Defence of India Rules would be utilised solely for strengthening the defence efforts.

However, these extraordinary powers have been used, contrary to all assurances given by the Home Minister, in carrying out large-scale arrests of leaders of our Party, trade unions and other mass organisations—though our Party has been most actively engaged in the popular defence efforts.

Nearly 50 members of the National Council of our Party, 10 Communist Members of Parliament, nearly 40 members of the State Legislatures and practically the entire opposition in the Tripura Territorial Council led by our Party, the majority of the elected Secretariats of half the State Councils of our Party in the country, and a large number of other Party functionaries, trade union and kisan sabha workers have been put behind bars under the Defence of India Rules.

Over 700 Detained

Over 700 such workers have been so detained without trial, in addition to many others

who have been taken into custody, under different provisions of the Defence of India Rules and other repressive measures.

When the leading Opposition Party in the country and the mass organisations are so attacked, it is indeed a severe blow at the entire democratic life of the country. This repression against the Party and the mass organisations conforms only to the interests of Right reaction, who have sought to whip up anti-Communist hysteria as the starting point of attacks on many other patriotic elements and on India's basic policies.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party strongly protests against this wholesale attack on our Party, which is disruptive of the national unity we are all pledged to build, and which undermines the morale of the people and democracy.

Powers Not Properly Used

These emergency powers could and should have been used to check the activities of those reactionary elements who, in the name of effective national defence, sought to undermine the morale and unity of the people and shake popular confidence in the Government's capacity to defend the country.

These emergency powers could and should have been used to compel the vested interests to bear their share of

CHINA SCUTTLES POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

Ulbricht On India-China Border Conflict

★ From P. Kuchanandan Nair

The Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany opened in Berlin today—January, 15. Soviet Premier Khrushchov and Polish leader Gomulka are prominent among fraternal delegates from 70 Communist and Workers' Parties, which include a delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia headed by a Polit Bureau Member.

SEVERAL delegations are headed by First Secretaries of the respective parties.

The whole Congress stood in silence in memory of departed leaders of World Communist movement—Ajoy Ghosh, Harry Pollit, Wilhelm Fleck, W. Z. Foster and others.

In his six-hour long speech on the Programme of the Socialist Unity Party, First Secretary Walter Ulbricht also referred to the India-China border conflict. He blamed China for not adhering to the policy of peaceful co-existence to settle the dispute.



Walter Ulbricht

Ulbricht made a very significant disclosure on behalf of the Socialist States that China did not consult or inform GDR or any other Socialist States before she started the border conflict and war with India. Here is the text of his reference:

"Some comrades have not quite understood why our Party press had so much reserve in reporting the border conflict between Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India. We would request these comrades to understand

of the Chinese peoples in the struggle for liberation from imperialist slavery and construction of socialism.

Unfortunately neither we nor the Governments of the Socialist States have been consulted or even informed about the border conflict. We would have liked that the Chinese comrades should have adhered to the policy of peaceful co-existence and negotiated settlement in their approach to border dispute towards India.

"We have good relations with India, a great country which still suffers from the consequences of colonial rule. We want to continue these good relations in future too.

"We are confident that India-China border conflict which we believe to be highly unnecessary is as damaging to the interest of world peace and peaceful co-existence of peoples, as to the interests of the world Socialist system.

"Imperialists make use of this regrettable conflict to instigate more trouble and fish in troubled waters. I am speaking on behalf of all citizens of GDR and request both the States to bury their border conflict in quickest possible time in the interest of world peace. It should be possible that the representatives of the two great countries agree on a border line which corresponds to and is in conformity with natural conditions"

our reserve. Our reporting of this regrettable border conflict has been so reserved because we wanted to avoid every thing which would in any way give any impetus to the conflict.

"We had and we still have the desire that this conflict be ended as quickly as possible so that the traditional friendship between both the States that existed for centuries be restored as quickly as possible. China is our ally in the Socialist Camp. We admire the great achievements

★ON PAGE 13

★ON PAGE 13

By **ESSEN**

Gold Control Rules

Only A Half-Hearted Measure

Through his latest Gold Control Rules the Finance Minister has made bold to rob the yellow metal of some of its traditional lustre, and in so doing he has perhaps unwittingly initiated a process which can have widespread social implications.

TO gold has been attached a unique prestige value in our land, and a good part of it is bound to suffer if the importance of the metal itself is deflated. But the extent to which any measures can be effective in bringing about this social result depends on the degree of cohesion it has. It should be all-pervasive and integrated. Otherwise it would have some psychological effect no doubt, but no lasting economic impact. It is here that the Finance Minister's Gold Control Rules miserably fail, for although they cast a net all right, they leave many a hole in it for the fish to escape.

The Gold Control Rules are said to have been framed with two objectives: to curb the demand for gold and eliminate the national waste involved in gold smuggling. How important the second objective is can be gauged from the fact that the country is losing Rs. 50 crores in foreign exchange every year through smuggling, whereas all the import cuts, enforced recently, will bring to the country no more than Rs. 8 to 10 crores.

Since this huge drain on the country's meagre resources has to be stopped, the Finance Minister could have resorted to even the severest measures to this end without encountering any opposition. What he has done instead is only to attack the problem indirectly through making the possession of gold less attractive.

Limited Attack

Even this strategy could have succeeded if he had mounted an all round offensive. He has, however, chosen to mount only a limited attack, which leaves ornaments untouched. This certainly is a major loophole which has provided a convenient way out for anti-social elements. Even the stipulation of the new ornaments not exceeding 14 carats purity has not deterred these elements from continuing with their business of making pieces with a higher fineness.

In fact, according to press reports, jewellers in Bombay have

converted their residences into "pedis" where they carry on their business as usual. They have patrons enough to give them custom. Why should they not oblige them and themselves in the bargain?

The fault, therefore, lies in leaving the people with gold even in the form of ornaments. If these too had been brought under the purview of the new Rules, the jewellers would not have found it possible to circumvent the regulations.

Further, although existing dealers and refiners have been enjoined to obtain licences, and thus become subject to regular scrutiny by law, there is no guarantee that new unlicensed dealers and refiners will not spring up to cater to the business as usual. They can provide a market even for the smuggled gold which the unscrupulous racketeers will continue to supply for the "benefit" of the unenlightened sections of the population.

These loopholes in the new Rules cannot be obscure to the Finance Minister. Why has he then chosen to leave them unplugged? It can certainly not be by oversight, and yet, could it be a part of a deliberate design to so hedge a scheme that it loses all "teeth"?

Planning Minister Nanda recently said somewhere that "the present crisis can pave the way for basic changes in the economic and social order." The Gold Scheme could be a means of facilitating some such change, but the Finance Minister, for reasons best known to himself, has chosen to miss the opportunity. But then perhaps from him we should be thankful, even for small mercies. Hence all kudos to him for his "valiant efforts."

STRANGE ATTITUDE TO SHIPPING

SHIPPING is a country's life line. In times of emergency it is also the second line of de-

fence. As such it should never be made subject to desultory treatment.

In our country, however, we witness a strange spectacle of policy-makers shifting their shipping policy every now and then. The latest is their proposal (put forth in a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party on January 4) to increase the quantum of foreign participation in Indian shipping companies from the present 25 per cent to 40 per cent.

The fact that this proposal has been kept in abeyance pending its consideration by the National Shipping Board does not make its timing or implications any the less sinister.

British Hindrance

The British, realising the importance of shipping for India's economic development, never let the Indians get the upper hand in India's merchant marine. In fact, they did not let India develop any but a tiny tonnage even with their own cooperation. It was this fact which made the Government of independent India declare in its universally acclaimed ship-

ping policy in 1947 that "shipping owned, controlled and managed by Indian nationals alone would constitute Indian shipping."

Heartened by this policy statement and aided by the Government the Indian entrepreneurs were able to attain the First Plan target for shipping of 6 lakh tons GRT. The then Transport Minister Sri Shastri patted the industry on the back for its wonderful achievement.

All of a sudden in 1958, however, the pat was turned into a stab in the form of the Merchant Shipping Bill, which threw the door wide open "to everyone in the wide world to come to India and run ships which could be fully owned by them as a company with their entire control, direction and management."

All Sections Shocked

This Bill shocked all sections of the country. In fact, it incensed a wide section even of the Congress MPs who prevailed upon the Government to peg the share of the foreigners at 25 per cent. The dangers involved in letting the foreigners own the entire or even a majority stock in shipping companies were seen even by the shipping Minister Sri Raj Bahadur who said on August 14, 1958 that "if we allow foreigners to register, it might not entirely be free from danger at a time of crisis. It may prove to be a double-edged sword. There may even be a positive disadvantage because shipping is a life-line of a nation."

Foreign Exchange

As regards the problem of foreign exchange, there is already the present "pay-while-you-earn" basis, which, according to the *Economic Times*, "has already begun to pay dividends." And if it is found wanting, additional assistance should be sought for building ships within the country instead of allowing the foreigners to have a bigger share in national shipping.

The present is definitely a time of crisis, and yet the policy makers have chosen precisely this time to suggest an increase

JANUARY 15,

YELLOW

The political correspondent of *Organiser* has put forward two very interesting "mandates" for national defence.

ONE is the demand for the manufacture of A-Bombs (an elaboration of the Jan Sangh slogan for the manufacture of nuclear weapons in India to enable her to emerge as "a nuclear power at least simultaneously with China"—*Organiser*, January 7) and the other is the oft-repeated raving for a ban on the CPI (*Organiser*, January 14).

Obviously for the Jan Sangh and the *Organiser*, the economic development of the country and betterment of living and working conditions of people come last, if at all; all that they want immediately is to make India an effective nuclear deterrent against China and put her permanently in the war camp. (We do not know whether they understand what they are asking for.) All that stems from the rumour that China is shortly going to conduct nuclear tests.

The USA will naturally be interested in such a situation (and offer 'aid' we suppose) but there is a snag which the *Organiser* painstakingly explains. It says that "our friends are not sure of us" and quotes R. B. Russell, Chairman, U. S. Senate Armed Services Committee, as saying "India

is an unreliable friend" and that too because of "our softness on Communism."

To quote two instances of this "softness, it mentions the release of E. M. S. Namboodiripad and withdrawal of warrant against Teja Singh Swatantra and assures Mr. Russell that he "was of course entirely wrong" and demands that "India must not talk and act as though he might be right." *Organiser* would certainly act as its masters would like but unfortunately the country has not yet been sold out to the Pentagon businessmen to act according to their wishes.

"R. S." of *Thought* is indignant with our column for the *Yellows*. We do not know if he is prone to hypertension but he has indicated it by belching out a lot of vituperations against this columnist, the misplacement of the initials and miscalculation of age notwithstanding, and having run out of stock-phrases, has resorted to vulgarism to reinforce his attack. (*Thought*, January 12). Perhaps, that's the only method left for him.

Proceeding further in his tirade against the Communists, R. S. has harped on his favourite theme. He says: "It is absurd for any

adult person to think that simply because the Communists are raising 'Nehru Brigades' they are closer to the Prime Minister than Mr. Nehru's own devoted partymen of both Socialist and non-Socialist descriptions."

That's exactly the point—we also ask: How can an adult person (his I.Q. not being taken into account) continue unabashed with an utterly baseless canard to besmirch the Communists unless there is really something wrong with him!

We do not need to be closer to Prime Minister Nehru, but we certainly mean to be the nearest in the defence of basic national policies. But dedicated as they are to their inspirers, people like R. S. can thrive only on, shall we say, falsehood and slander. But evidently that's not enough to achieve the ends.

The Current (January 12) carried on page 7, a double-column heading: "Reds Routed In M.P."

The news below only mentions that the Communists have not been included in the Sub-Committees of the National Defence Council of Madhya Pradesh. Is any comment needed? For this excellent "Rout" story?

S. M.

HOPES KINDLED FOR A MOVE FORWARD

Delhi Talks on India-China Border Issue End

★ BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

The non-aligned nations' representatives who came to New Delhi last week with proposals to bring India and China to a conference table to resolve the border dispute have left with renewed and greater hopes for the success of their mission.

Indeed, they carried with them the favourable response of the Government of India to their mediatory proposals and the fraternal greetings and good wishes of the entire Indian people. It was a successful mission, by all accounts, and one whose effects in strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity and the policy of non-alignment, will be felt for a long time.

WHILE the Colombo proposals and their clarifications are yet to be made public and the Government of India have stated that their final response will be made known after Parliament has discussed these proposals, it was officially stated in New Delhi on Sunday that "by and large, the proposals and the clarifications provide for the principle that the latest Chinese aggression will be undone."



President of the UAR Executive Council on arrival at Palam —Photo Virenda Kumar

The Joint Communique issued at the end of the talks in New Delhi mentioned: "The Prime Minister of India informed the leaders of the visiting delegations that India on her part was prepared to take such measures as may be necessary to ensure peace consistent with the honour and self-respect of India. The Prime Minister conveyed the appreciation of the Government of India to the leaders of the three visiting delegations for the clarifications of the Colombo conference proposals given by them."

It would be premature to discuss the Colombo proposals in the absence of official disclosure, but it is generally known that these are primarily designed to bring about a consolidation of the cease-fire and disengagement of troops, so that India and China can get back to the conference table. It is also known that while there would be practically little difficulty about the restoration of the pre-September 8 position in the eastern sector, after the Chinese withdrawal, the main problem is about India's right to reoccupy the area fallen to the Chinese in their latest aggression after the latter withdraw 20 kilometres from their present positions.

At a banquet on Saturday in Rashtrapati Bhavan given in honour of the visiting leaders, Prime Minister Nehru said:

"We shall try our best to take advantage of what you have initiated. Whatever the future will bring, the step you have taken... will have justified itself, as a good step always justifies itself. We do hope the consequences will also be good and we shall endeavour to work to that end". He called the leaders of the three delegations "messengers of peace".

Mrs. Bandaranaike, in her reply, referred to the purpose of the non-aligned nations' mission and said: "Our purpose here is not to solve your problems. The solution to them must be found through direct negotiations between India and China. We sincerely feel, however, that we can, as friends, be of service to you by making it possible for your government and for the government of China to start negotiations honourably."

Stress on the need for solving the Sino-Indian border dispute through peaceful negotiations and adherence to the policy of non-alignment were the running themes in all the statements of the leaders of the visiting delegations. They emphasised the close ties between India and their countries and pointedly referred to India's leading role in shaping the policy of non-alignment, a common policy binding together in friendship the developing and newly-independent nations of Asia and Africa.

In the background of what had been happening in our own country—the reaction's offensive against non-alignment, its echo from certain circles in the ruling party itself and the daily sermons of the monopoly press—it sounded appropriate, though embarrassing to some, that these friends from abroad should remind us about the great values of our own foreign policy.

In her speech at the banquet, Mrs. Bandaranaike said: "India, as one of the foremost champions of non-alignment, has already declared that neither war nor military alliances provide a solution to international questions. If non-alignment is to remain a living force in world politics, there is an urgent need for India herself to take the lead."

CIVIC RECEPTION

On Sunday, the visiting leaders were given a warm civic reception by the Delhi Corporation at the historic Red Fort. The large gathering at the reception spoke of the deep friendship of the people of this Capital city for the Afro-Asian peace emissaries. Speaking at the civic reception Mrs. Bandaranaike said:

"For us, India is not only the spiritual home of the two great religions of Asia, but it has also inspired and moulded the thought, life and culture of the peoples of this region from the beginning of history. By the very nature of India's size and importance, every event of significance which occurs in India has its



GOOD BEGINNING: Nehru greets Ceylonese P.M. on arrival

repercussions and its effects throughout Asia.

"It is, therefore, with a sense of deep concern and sadness that we have watched the recent unfortunate developments between the two great and powerful nations of Asia, your country and the People's Republic of China. It is a situation fraught with the gravest potentialities and it seems to

us, the smaller countries of this region, imperative that something should be done to bring about a reconciliation between these two powers".

Mr. Aly Sabry, President of the Executive Council of the UAR, in his speech said:

"We have seen India, both leaders and people, adopt a

★OVERLEAF

THE COMMUNIQUE

THE Hon'ble Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, accompanied by the Hon'ble Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, M.P., Minister without Portfolio and Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence and External Affairs, paid a visit to Delhi from 10th to 14th January 1963, to explain the proposals made by the Colombo Conference of the six non-aligned countries to provide a basis for the consolidation of the cessation of hostilities as a first step to the settlement of the India-China differences by peaceful talks and discussions.

During this visit His Excellency Mr. Aly Sabry, President of the Executive Council of U.A.R., Leader of the UAR delegation accompanied by H. E. Mr. Moustafa Kamal Mortagy, Minister Plenipotentiary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and His Excellency Mr. Kofi Asante Ofori-Atta, Minister of Justice of Ghana, Leader of the Ghana delegation accompanied by H. E. Mr. A. K. Puplampu, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, joined the Ceylon Prime Minister to assist her in explaining to the Government of India the proposals of the Colombo Conference.

The Prime Minister of India informed the Leaders of the three visiting delegations that the Government of India welcomed the initiative of the Colombo Conference countries and will be placing the Colombo Conference proposals and the clarifications given before the Indian Parliament at its next session for consideration and will indicate their final response to the Colombo Conference proposals after these have been considered by the Indian Parliament.

Consistent with their dedication to peace and peaceful methods and their firm policy to explore all possible avenues of peaceful settlement of differences, the Government of

India welcomed these distinguished visitors and expressed their gratitude for the trouble taken by them in coming to Delhi to explain the Colombo Conference proposals.

Detailed discussions on the Colombo Conference proposals were held between the three visiting delegations and the Prime Minister of India and his colleagues on 12th and 13th January. Upon the request of the Government of India the Leaders of the three visiting delegations gave detailed clarifications of the Colombo Conference proposals.

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VIOLENT ATTACK AGAINST VINOBAJI

In last week's New Age news was published that Bhowani Sen and Somnath Lahiri met Acharya Vinoba Bhave on January 5 and had an intimate discussion with him. They have since issued a statement which inter alia states:

"We were glad to have the opportunity of a heart to heart talk with Acharya Vinoba Bhave at Tarapith on the January 5.

"There was a frank exchange of ideas amongst us and ultimately we came to the common conclusion that there exists ample common ground for joint work. We appreciated his views on national unity based on mutual cooperation among Congressmen, Communists and Sarvodaya workers and we reciprocated his faith that such unity is both possible and necessary, despite the differences that exist.

"We agreed that such common ground for joint work exists on a wide range of issues extending from the tasks of National Defence to many aspects of the Gramdan movement, the rational kernel of which is the reorganisation of rural society along cooperative principles.

"The time at our disposal was too short for a discussion on such fundamental questions as violence and non-violence, about which he was very keen to hear our views. We submitted that even on this question ample common ground exists because we are not wedded to violence on principle and the peaceful path for the realisation of socialism has already been embraced by the International Communist movement."

"That this development would have some impact on the State's political outlook was noted by the politically

alert section of the public and the press. But the reaction of Ananda Bazar Partika has been violent, almost amounting to hysterical ravings.

It has come out with three editorials—on January 6, 9 and 17. On January 6, abusing the Communists in its usual fashion the journal asked as to "whether Acharya Bhave has lost all his intelligence" or "whether any man possessing sense would praise a poisonous snake for its beauty", and all this for Acharya Bhave's crime of "cordially giving shelter to Communists", which in Anand Bazar's opinion would spell disaster for the country.

Arabian Nights' Love?

Then again on January 9 in an editorial captioned "Mao-Stalin-Sarvodaya" it abused Vinobaji for providing Communists with "ground" when all its former friends had deserted them. It warned Acharya Bhave by saying: "Bhaveji should ponder over the dangerous historical instances, in various countries, in various phases, when at the end of Arabian Nights' love with Communists, human heads rolled."

Still more was to come. This came after the report of a speech by the Acharya on his discussions with the Communist leaders and his article on "Sino-India conflict: The

Right Approach" appeared. The Ananda Bazar could not control itself any further. In intemperate and abusive language, it wrote a lengthy editorial captioned "Thoughts of Bhave", in which it called him "babbling", "flaunting Saintliness", "meddler in other's business", "desirous of being self-imposed leader".

Is Ananda Bazar A Govt. Organ?

It said that Bhaveji's speech was a "due part of the Communist statement", ridiculing Bhaveji's statement that "the world-conscience is now a reality and it is in order to win over this world opinion that Chinese have withdrawn" from NEFA. It warned Bhaveji that he should not think that "the long arms of law will not be able to reach him even if he worshiped the enemy".

Then the Ananda Bazar went on to warn the Government and said: "If the State power fails to perceive this diabolical conspiracy, then it will be understood that the emergency has been clamped in vain and the hundred clauses of the emergency rules are not being properly used. Bhave can be befooled by Chinese moves, but why, that will happen to power that be?"

But people are asking why the Government of India is still tolerating this journal, which has been consistently vituperating against non-alignment, planned economy, against Nehru himself and spreading chauvinistic and pro-imperialist poison?

Hopes Kindled For A Move Forward

*FROM OVERLEAF

enforce the principles and ideals preached by them. India has proved in a practical way that it will be equal to its moral faith and that it can justify its principles and keep up its enthusiasm.

"While Afro-Asian States are anxious, that causes of tension in any part of the world should be removed, they are most anxious that no sanguinary strife should develop between two Asian countries. For, not only does such a strife disturb peace, but it also shakes the strong bases, on which Afro-Asian people's solidarity is founded, and which provides their positive contribution to world peace.

"During this present period of international tension, the non-aligned policy is playing a great positive role, for the cause of preserving world peace. The efforts of non-aligned countries, proved to be constructive and fruitful in dealing with the wide world disputes. If that has been our role in the wide international field, what could be our duty, when we face a dispute as such, among ourselves and between friendly nations?"

"Any attempt at armed solution of the India-China dispute must inevitably bring disaster, that goes beyond the

concerned parties. We, who represent the Afro-Asian solidarity, belong to developing countries, and we require a long stretch of peace, during which we can build up our countries, and raise the standard of living of our people, for this is the big challenge that confronts us.

"The United Arab Republic is ready always to extend its hands sincerely both to India and China until a peaceful solution of the conflict has been justly reached. Indeed the United Arab Republic will not be free from anxiety, unless peace reigns and prevails between our two friends, India and China."

Necessary Foundations

Mr. Kofi Aasante Ofori-Atta, Minister of Justice, Ghana, in his speech said that "The history and policies of your Government, its international reputation and above all, its sincere conviction in Afro-Asian solidarity make us confident that our task here will not be in vain."

He added: "...The record of India in developing the principles of Bandung and the concept of co-existence as necessary foundations of international peace is known to all the world.

"These are ideas which find ready acceptance in Africa. For, it is in Asia and Africa that foreign domination has long held peoples in bondage, stifled their spirit and retarded their material development. In Asia and Africa the basic conditions have been the same. Hence it is that for us Afro-Asian solidarity has become a cardinal principle of our foreign policy. A particular obligation rests upon all of us, therefore, in the present problem of the India-China border dispute which has brought us here."

Prime Minister Nehru speaking on the occasion responded to these sentiments and welcomed the initiative of the Colombo mediators. He said: "The Colombo conference was called by the non-aligned countries, that is, the countries who are ready to be friendly to all but who are not willing to enter into any military alliance. This non-alignment is under severe attack. In India too, some voice is raised here and there against non-alignment.

"I think it is harmful and gives rise to misunderstanding. It is not proper that we abandon our principles the first time we receive a shock. It is highly important that we stick to our principles and determinedly face the

New Age dated January 27 will be a special Republic Day Number with extra pages and special articles and features:

PLEASE SEND YOUR ORDERS IMMEDIATELY

(Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Number was completely sold out in many places. A few copies are still available with us.)

Sirimavo Bandaranaike

By SAJJAD ZAHEER

Centuries ago,
A princess of India, Sanghamitra,
Abandoned all pomp and splendour
And went, begging bowl in hand,
To distant, far off Lanka...

And yet she carried with her
Bharat's most precious treasure—Dharma—
The noble message of Sakyamuni—the Buddha—
Lanka's heart was conquered,
Likewise did Lanka conquer her:
Her dust mingled with the good earth of that
noble green isle.

I wonder, gracious Sirimavo,
If you are not Ashok's royal daughter reincarnate,

For, you also bring to us, Indians,
The most precious of gifts!
Shanti, Maitreyi, Karuna
Peace, Friendship, Compassion.

May you succeed in your noble mission!
May a thousand million Asians
Through the soothing balm of your voice of reason
Sheathe their drawn swords
And clasp once again each other's hands in friendship,

For the greater glory of India and China
For the eternal renown of you, gentle lady, and
of beautiful Lanka.

January 15.

Reckless Adventurists

"More than that, we openly come out against those desperadoes who in view of the difficult situation and say 'Let it be even atomic war, but we must become free.' This would be not only an absurdity but madness. Our task today is, by fighting for peaceful co-existence, to prevent the world from being plunged into an atomic catastrophe on the one hand, and on the other hand, to defend the independence of peoples and to advance along the road of socialism."

"The actions of the Soviet Union during the Caribbean crisis made it possible to achieve these two aims. The atomic war was prevented precisely because a reasonable compromise was reached at the moment of utmost tension."

"At the same time Cuba's independence and its advancement towards socialism were guaranteed."

"During the Caribbean crisis," Togliatti emphasises, "it became quite clear that the imperialists may commit any crime. Therefore, we do not agree to call them paper tigers. Were they paper tigers, why should it be necessary to work so much and to fight so much to rebuff them? A correct assessment of the enemy, his forces and his intentions is the basis of good tactics and good strategy."

"We know that the foundations of imperialism are being undermined by contradictions which at a certain moment become insur-

mountable. But these contradictions come to light and become manifest only as a result of struggle which must set before itself such a goal which can mobilize the broadest popular masses, a goal which will lead to differentiation in the ranks of the enemy, increase and use all our possibilities of advancement and success. Under present conditions the striving to avoid war by establishing peaceful co-existence is such a goal."

"We have also pointed out that this new international system is realisable only through the peoples' struggle against imperialism, through successes in this struggle, through the strengthening and consolidation of the system of socialist countries and also through gradual settlement of the sharpest of the present international problems on the basis of reasonable agreements."

"We definitely hold that it is possible and necessary to avert a world war, which will inevitably be an atomic war," Togliatti continues.

He points out that atomic arms will not be destroyed by themselves. History will lead to this result. Togliatti writes, to the extent to which we shall be able, while fighting against imperialism and directing fire against its most aggressive elements, to strengthen more and more the socialist countries and develop a broad popular movement for peace, to establish a regime of peaceful co-existence.

Pointing out that atomic arms have changed the "very nature of war" and dwelling on the possible consequences of an atomic war, Togliatti raises the question: "Do we draw from all this the conclusion that now there can no longer be just wars? By no means, and this is stated clearly in the report to the Congress. However, we draw the conclusion on the need (and not only possibility) of establishing a system of peaceful co-existence."

Before the talks concluded in Delhi, the UAR Prime Minister, Aly Sabry addressing a press conference at Rashtrapati Bhavan emphasised the role of the non-aligned nations' mission as being mediatory in the Sino-Indian dispute and explained that the object of the Colombo powers was not to sit in judgment on the dispute itself. Despite the attempt of some pressmen to draw him into a controversy about the dispute itself, Mr. Aly Sabry maintained his stand of a mediator throughout the press conference.

The UAR Prime Minister was very hopeful that both India and China would agree to the Colombo proposals. The Colombo powers would continue their communications with both Peking and New Delhi till the stage for direct talks between the two is reached.

To the minions of the Marwari press who doubted the validity of non-alignment, Sabry explained with remarkable patience that the policy of non-alignment was not a matter of tactics. It was a policy which will safeguard the independence and integrity of developing nations and nations seeking independence and it was the only right policy to be pursued by them, he emphasised.

"We know that the foundations of imperialism are being undermined by contradictions which at a certain moment become insur-

Togliatti Replies To Red Flag Editorial

OUR Congress has assessed peaceful co-existence as the basic task on the strategic plane," Togliatti writes. "But we have declared quite clearly that peaceful co-existence by no means implies a status quo, that is, crystallization of the present relations throughout the world. Peaceful co-existence is a new system of international relations which is to ensure independence and freedom for all peoples."

"These articles are then published in all countries and are read by everybody. How could anyone imagine, Togliatti says, that at the Congress of such a big, active and fighting Party as ours the polemics, criticism and questions contained in the Chinese articles will not be touched upon and a reply not given?"

It would have been very strange if the Chinese comrades wanted to open a one-sided discussion in which only they could speak and others had to remain silent.

Togliatti refutes the charge that the Communist Party of China was subjected to "rude attacks" and declares that the discussion was conducted in an objective manner, coolly and without extremes.

Replying to Chinese criticism of the Italian Communists line in national affairs, Togliatti says, "We know very well what is the state and what is the character of a democratic regime while

capitalism exists. The democratic regime, however, is not a gift from the bourgeoisie but something won by the people in struggle," says Togliatti. "Must we carry on a mass struggle to better the economic and political condition of the workers while the bourgeoisie is in power or must we wait for the great day of revolution, Togliatti asks."

As far as we understand, he further says, in all the criticism which the Chinese address to us there is no sense of reality. They tell us of all the probability do not know exactly how our Constitution was won and what is its content. They do not know or pretend that they do not know what are the new conditions of the development of democratic and socialist struggle not only in our country but in the whole world as a result of the deep-rooted changes which have come about in the whole world.

Togliatti also declares that the Chinese do not even differentiate between social regimes. For example, they speak of the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia. There are differences of opinion with Yugoslav Communists but there exists a people's regime which develops in the direction of socialism.

Togliatti answers the Chinese request that an international meeting be called to discuss differences. He calls it a reasonable proposal. But he says that the preparation of such a meeting is not at all helped by the continuation of polemics in a sharp tone which cannot be allowed among comrades and which the Chinese Comrades are carrying on.

Togliatti appeals that the discussion be returned to proper rails as discussion between comrades and not as discussion in which the Chinese comrades hand out anathema, and excommunicate from religion all those who think differently from them. Everybody now recognises that such a role can be played neither by the Chinese comrades nor by any other Party," Togliatti says.

We have proposed to exchange delegations with the Chinese Party for talks. Why not let us solve the time being limit ourselves to this?

THE RAPACKI PLAN

Main Principles And Proposals

Adam Rapacki, Polish Foreign Minister and author of the plan for the creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe, known as the Rapacki Plan, arrives in Delhi on January 19.

FOR several years now Poland has been ardently advocating the idea of atom-free zones, considering that the emergence of such zones in the various regions of the world, can create the atmosphere of a detente, so needed in the international relations and at the same time making it easy to arrive at an agreement on universal and complete disarmament.

Let us recapitulate briefly the main principles and proposals of the Rapacki Plan, which has written a permanent page in the history of post-war diplomacy.

The first version of this Polish plan provided that Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic would not produce or store atomic weapons, and that equipment and installations servicing such weapons would not be erected on the territories of these states.

Simultaneously the four great powers—the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France—would be obliged not to use atomic weapons in the area of that zone, would not equip with atomic weapons their troops stationed in the area of that zone, and would not supply with atomic weapons or with equipment servicing such weapons the governments of the states in that zone. For the realization and control of the undertaken obligations a system of ground and air control was proposed to be established.

The governments of the

Europe? Why do Poland's representatives emphasize it with all their strength today?

History teaches us that Central Europe has been for decades a region where peace was particularly threatened. It is now cut by a line of two antagonistic military groupings. In this area are concentrated large forces and military equipment of both sides; here political antagonisms appear with particular sharpness. De-atomization of this part of Europe would limit the risk of war breaking out in this inflammable area. By embracing all Germany in this zone the danger would be lessened of the instigation of atomic war by those who twice in one generation set the world aflame.

The Rapacki plan was projected at the time when plans matured in West Germany for arming the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons and when the German Federal Republic began to play an ever more important role in the so-called Atlantic alliance, demanding for its forces the same armaments as those of the leading world powers. Mindful of their tragic experiences in the recent past, the Poles are particularly alive to developments in West Germany. They consider that the creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe—which will, among other things, prevent the atomic arming of the Bundeswehr—will check the aggravation of the situation in this part of the world.

Adoption of the Rapacki Plan would not be a substitute either for the solution of the German question or for the problem of total and universal disarmament. The Poles are, however, persuaded that the very creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe would hasten the solution of the German question—which is the main

source of tension in Europe—and it would undoubtedly facilitate serious discussion of disarmament, the most urgent problem of our time. As an experimental model the establishment of such a zone would also facilitate agreement on such a vital question as total and universal disarmament. Would not for instance, the proper functioning of various international control organs in the atom-free zone diminish the academic considerations regarding the question of control over disarmament?

The Cuban crisis, during which the whole world found itself on the brink of a war and humanity faced the prospect of a nuclear disaster, proved with full force the necessity of taking quick and decisive steps which would ward off the threat of a thermo-nuclear war and which would ease the solution of such an urgent question for the entire humanity as universal and complete disarmament.

Poland feels that among these steps would be the plan for the creation of atom-free zone in Central Europe. Many governments, and among them the Government of India, have already given their support to the idea of creation of atom-free zones. During the Geneva disarmament negotiations, the delegates of Brazil (the sponsor of the idea of atom-free zone in Latin America), Burma, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Rumania, Sweden, UAR and the USSR, supported the idea of de-nuclearized zones.

Prominent political figures have for the last few years expressed support for Poland's proposals. Among them are: Mexico's Foreign Minister Pallas Nervo, the late leader of the British Labour Party Aneurin Bevan, who defined the Rapacki Plan as "one of the best proposals in behalf of peace in Europe". The leader of the British Labour Party, Hugh Gaitskell, also on several occasions declared his full

Working Class

Drop Retrograde Amendment Of Art. 311

Central Government Employees' Memorandum

The recent proposal of the Government of India to amend Article 311 of the Constitution of India as placed before Lok Sabha through the Constitution Amendment Bill on November 23, 1962 has created dismay and consternation among the Central Government employees.

THIS amendment seeks to delete from the purview of Art. 311 the penalty of reduction in rank and takes away the reasonable opportunity "of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken" against a Government servant and confers only the opportunity of "being heard" in respect of the charges framed against him.

The Central Government employees have submitted a memorandum to the Government pointing out the repercussions such an amendment would give rise to and appealed that the amendment be dropped.

The memorandum inter alia showed that the reasons adduced by the Government for such an amendment are only two and they are: a) the penalty of reduction in the rank should not stand on a par with the more-serious punishments of dismissal and removal from service, and (b) only one opportunity should be given to a Government servant in respect of a departmental enquiry against him.

The memorandum stressed that if such an amendment is adopted, it will "strike at the roots of security of the services, curb independence of judgment and functioning of the ranks of the employees in the discharge of official duties, and expose the employees to grave miscarriage of justice."

Citing several judgments of the Federal Court and Supreme Court of India in support of their contention, the Central Government employees' memorandum pointed out that "in effect, the amend-

ment will take the Government servants back to the stage of conditions of service adumbrated in the Government of India Act 1935 insofar as provision of opportunity for exoneration is concerned and will be tantamount to providing, no reasonable opportunity at all...."

The unions and associations of Central Government employees further termed in the memorandum this amendment as "an act of provocation unmerited" and "inconsistent with the resolution adopted by the Conference of all unions and associations convened by the Ministry of Home Affairs on December 9, 1962. The amendment is contrary to the spirit of the resolution adopted at the Conference and will create a climate of discord and disharmony.

PWU Agreement With ESSO Increase In Emoluments

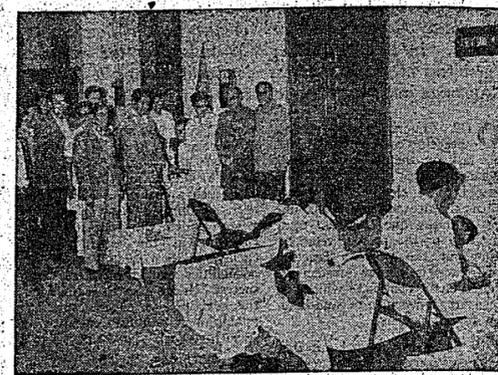
THE Petroleum Workmen's Union (AIUUC) signed an agreement on January 2 with ESSO Standard Eastern, Inc.

The agreement is for a period of two years ending December 31, 1964. For the first time this Union achieved a single collective bargaining agreement embracing the workmen not only in Greater Bombay establishments but also in the company's establishments outside Greater Bombay in the States of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Mysore.

The agreement provides revised terms in respect of salary and wage scales, bonus and a few other items. This agreement is the finalisation of new terms demanded by the union nearly a year ago and which the company offered in writing to negotiate and settle by December 31, 1962. As a result of that previous agreement concluded in March 1962, the company had paid uniform rate of bonus of 3 1/2 months and 4 1/2 months respectively for all the clerical

and other workmen throughout their Bombay territory and also paid wage/salary increases of one increment in the previous scale for all those who had reached the maximum of their scales.

A feature of the status of the workers in this company is that more than 75 per cent of the workers are those with long service and, therefore, stagnating at the maximum of the wage scales. That being the main issue before the Union which has a mass membership, the new agreement was negotiated with the particular object of bringing adequate relief for them. That has been achieved by further extending the maxima of the wage scales of all such workers with the exception of a very few categories of whose cases were difficult to resolve for a two year agreement. The lowest paid categories who are the big majority gain by the agreement maximum benefit of Rs. 10 in this extension of wage scale with the increased annual increment of



RESERVE BANK EMPLOYEES DONATE BLOOD

THE Reserve Bank Employees Association, Calcutta, organised a blood donation campaign recently, for helping the jawans. On January 5, forty members of the Association gave blood amounting to a total of 10,000 c.c.

This donation was the first instalment of blood donation which the members of the Association have volunteered for. More and more volunteers are enrolling for further donation of blood.

The blood donation of January 5 was made to the

mobile unit of the Blood Bank of the Government of West Bengal. Dr. Mitra, in-charge of the unit, praised the Association for its enthusiastic cooperation and expressed hope that its example will be followed by other trade unions.

Prof. N. C. Bhattacharyya, M.L.C., President, Prabhat Kar, General Secretary and Tarakeshwar Chakravarty, Assistant Secretary of the All-India Bank Employees Association were present on the occasion of this donation.

Rs. 2.60 per month (0.10 NP per day).

Bonus is provided at the same rate as was paid before and as cited above for 1961, for each of the years 1962 and 1963. In this connection, it must be remembered that this time last year the petroleum workers of this and other three companies in the petroleum distribution industry had to give strike notice to achieve bonus which the companies had refused to pay on the plea of price control on petroleum products imposed by the Government of India through the recommendations of the Oil Price Enquiry Committee (Damsle Committee).

The agreement is also noteworthy in achieving uniform wage scales, paid national festival holidays of 14, casual leave of 7 days and acting allowance of minimum of one increment for all the workers and clerks throughout the four States mentioned above.

All the clerks in Greater Bombay have further gained advance increments for 6 months and Bombay Installation clerks got improvement in the payment of duty allowance. Shift allowance for workers in the Terminals in Bombay has been raised to 40, 55, and 70 NP per day respectively for various wage groups payable for both the second and third shifts. This is a very substantial rise over the current tariff.

New Feature

A feature of this agreement which has come in for some undesired and vehement criticism at the hands of the defunct Petroleum Employees' Union (INTUC) which has been mainly occupied with inter-union rivalry all along, is that by agreeing to the introduction of 5-day week for the Bombay head office by which the weekly working hours have been raised

to 35 from the present 33 1/2 and holidays cut to 14 from the present 22 or 23 public holidays declared by the Maharashtra Government, the Union surrendered the rights of the office employees in clerical and peon categories. The fact of the matter is that, as monthly paid employees governed by the Shops and Establishments Act, these categories are paid for all the days of the month, and, by virtue of 52 Saturdays also, over and above 52 Sundays, being closed days with the introduction of 5 day week, they get paid for those 52 days also and they will be paid extra for each of the Saturday they are called to work.

Less Work For Same Pay

Moreover, even after converting the extra hours of the week into full days of the year, these categories will work net 3 or 4 days less for the same pay during the year. Such is not a bad bargain when it is seen that nearly a year ago Shri Meher, President of the Maharashtra Industrial Court deemed that clerks should give a fair day's work for the salaries they receive, and raised and fixed the working hours of A. C. C. office in Bombay at 36 per week to be converted to 39 1/2 when 5 day week would be introduced.

The provisions in the agreement with regard to giving up certain time concessions mostly for denominational religious purposes and certain unregulated rest hours as well as payment of dearness allowance for no work done are provisions aimed only at the abuse of these concessions which the Company wanted to correct in the interest of productivity and efficiency. Legitimate interests have not been sacrificed in that bargain as the INTUC union claims by its distortions of lack of understanding

NEW AGE gives below extracts from an Appeal issued by S. G. Sardesai on behalf of the Maharashtra State Council of the CPI. to all Congressmen, patriots and democrats in Maharashtra. This ringing and inspiring call for unity in defence of our national policies is bound to find its echo in the hearts of millions of Indians.

FELLOW countrymen and friends: It is nearly three months since China's massive invasion of India. A month-and-a-half has passed by since the de facto cease-fire.

We have passed through a bitter ordeal in this period and have learned more in a few weeks than what we had done in the preceding fifteen years since attaining independence....

In this hour of trial Prime Minister Nehru earned the confidence, respect and support of the overwhelming majority of the people precisely because he stood firm as a rock by the guiding principles of our national policies evolved through years of experience and suffering....

The sky is far clearer now. The nature and aims of various political parties and groups have been revealed in the fire of life. Not without paying a heavy price, our people have a clear understanding today of the meaning of national defence, the meaning of protecting our national sovereignty and progressive policies....

Let us clearly state these distinctions between the two policies—Ed):

1 Our national policy of non-alignment stands for strengthening India's defence by primarily depending on our own national resources of men, money and munitions, and also by taking all necessary aid, economic, industrial as well as arms, from the Western and the socialist countries. India's national independence cannot and must not be subordinated to foreign aid. India cannot join any military pacts. This is the crux, the heart and soul, of non-alignment.

The reactionaries demand "massive aid," meaning an all-out military "alliance" with the imperialist powers. The inevitable price of such an "alliance" is the surrender of our independence and sovereignty, since it cannot be brought about without accepting the Anglo-American terms which have now been exposed beyond the shadow of a doubt.

The imperialists demand an "in-

Party News

Maharashtra State Council's Appeal

pared to revert to the path of peaceful negotiations with China provided it accepts the status quo before September 8 for the purpose of disengagement. He gives cool and dispassionate consideration to the proposals for disengagement put forward by friendly Afro-Asian countries. His final aim is peace with honour, and given proper conditions, he is prepared to refer the issue of our border conflict to an international authority with the sanction of the Indian Parliament.

In contrast, the reactionaries and some misguided people, give such impractical, provocative and harmful slogans as the rejection of negotiations even on the basis of the 8th September positions. They talk of pushing forward India's border to the Brahmaputra in Tibet. They indulge in the adventurist talk of "liberating" Tibet by armed intervention and pushing back the Chinese armies to the positions they held in 1947. Adventurism cannot be met by adventurism, and can only damage our own country.

4 The Prime Minister realises the supreme importance of securing the diplomatic assistance and sympathy of the Afro-Asian and the socialist countries, of the USSR, in bringing about a just settlement with China. He recognises and values the aid and friendship given to India by the socialist countries. He knows the decisive role which the conscience of the socialist and the non-aligned countries plays in the modern world in bringing about a just settlement of international disputes. He wants the people of India to realise the immense power of this force.

5 The Prime Minister has clearly stated that what we are fighting is Chinese aggression, the expansionism of China's rulers. He has stated that this expansionism is not communism and we are not fighting communism. He has repeatedly stated that it is wrong to hate the Chinese people as such or consider them as brutal, treacherous and the like. At Santiniketan, he paid homage to the traditional Chinese civilization.

The reactionaries, on the contrary, talk of the struggle against Chinese aggression as part of an ideological struggle against communism. Chauvinists paint the entire Chinese people as if they were wicked barbarians.

6 It is our national policy that the burden of national defence has to be borne by all classes in accordance with their capacity. Workers must increase production, peasants must grow more food, the capitalists must not profiteer at the cost of the workers and the people. The rich must disgorge their hoards of gold for national defence, as the common people have already done. The national emergency does not diminish but heightens the need for an advance towards a socialist pattern of society.

In contrast, the Swatantra and Jan Sangh leaders, General Cariappa and Sri Gulzarilal, are openly campaigning against the surrender of gold to the government. The Swatantra and Jan Sangh

are closing down shops and demanding higher prices for their goods; monopoly capitalists are calling for the private sector encroaching upon the public sector. This is patently against national interest and the policies advocated by the Prime Minister.

7 The Prime Minister and also the President and the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress have declared that the entire country must unite in support of the foregoing policies which are not narrow, sectarian policies but the policies of the entire nation, the only truly patriotic policies in the present national emergency. They have declared that the services of every section of the people which is prepared to support these policies, including the Communist Party, should be utilised in the interest of the country.

As against this, the reactionaries have demanded the suppression of the CPI. They have resorted to violence and vandalism against the offices and public meetings of the Communist Party. They have subjected many honest democrats and patriots, not excluding Congressmen, to a similar treatment for the "crime" of supporting the Prime Minister's policies, and opposing reactionary slogans. Again, mainly due to pressure from the PSP leadership, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party, but due also to the pressure from certain elements in the Congress, not only Communists but many non-Communist democrats and patriots have been excluded from the all-parties National Defence and Citizens' Committees.

8 Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, Planning and Labour Minister, declared that the AIUUC and independent trade unions had to be included in the Tri-partite machinery for increasing national production and dealing with workers' problems.

But the employers, for their obvious class interest, and the INTUC and HMS for their narrow partisanship, successfully insisted on the exclusion of the AIUUC and Communist-led unions. Not satisfied with this, they have attempted to create a crisis in a number of trade unions by demanding an exclusion of communists from their governing bodies.

These disruptive and anti-working class tactics have been soundly defeated in most trade unions but it is necessary for all patriotic elements to realise their harmful nature for the cause of national production, unity and defence.

Role Of Communist Party

When the National Council of our Party adopted the resolution supporting the Prime Minister's call of national unity for national defence, it was welcomed all over India. But many people had doubts and misgivings as to whether we would put it into practice. These suspicions were further deliberately inflated by the reactionary forces and the monopoly press for whom the Chinese attack was a golden opportunity to crush the working class and peasant movement in India, and its foremost champion, the CPI....

Now, after more than two months' practical experience, there can be no question of the bona fides of our Party, of its sincerity in putting its declared policy into practice. The proof of this is

ding is in the eating. So far as the efficiency and zeal of our members are concerned, they have never been in question.

Two months ago, we openly stated that the Chinese policy towards India was a violation of the accepted principles and policies of the international communist movement. In this period one communist party after another has openly criticised the Chinese rulers on the same ground. So far as the socialist countries are concerned their valuable aid to India has not only continued and increased but they are exerting all their influence on China to come to an honourable settlement with India....

Party Has Grown

Our Party has grown facing all odds and will continue to do so in future. The vital point is that this blind or interested anti-communism ends up with the massacre of all progressives, democrats and patriots, and the victory of satanic fascism. This has happened in every country in the world, without exception, wherever blind anti-communism has won the day.

It is extremely significant that during the last three months, it is precisely the fire-eating anti-communists that have launched the most furious attacks on Sri Nehru and our recognised national policies. The connection between the two is logical and inevitable, not at all accidental.

All honest Indians must evaluate the anti-communist "crusade" of the last two months in this light. That crusade cannot defend India from China. It can only lead to the emergence of a dark-reactionary government that will be the grave of Indian democracy.

It is necessary to state briefly the contribution made by the Communist Party in Maharashtra to national defence during the last two months and a half though our own reports are still not complete. (See Facing Page).

LET every honest patriot, democrat and Congressman in Maharashtra judge for himself how much we could contribute to National Defence activities if we were allowed to participate in the all-parties Citizens' Committees, if we could do so much in the teeth of all opposition and terror.

Our expulsion from such activities cannot be defended on any grounds, of patriotism, democracy, national defence or the struggle for socialism. Only blind and disruptive anti-communists, or the spokesmen of the vested interests, can demand our exclusion after the clear enunciation of our policy and its ACTUAL execution for over two months.

We naturally make a special appeal to Congressmen. The Congress is the ruling party in the country. It is its responsibility to utilise the services of every patriotic force for national defence as directed by the Prime Minister. The Congress is also the main political party that gives shape to our national policies. Hence it is the duty of Congressmen to unite with those who support these policies and defend them from the attacks of the reactionary elements. This is the reason for our special appeal to all Congressmen.

Maharashtra Workers' Response

The CPI and mass organisations under its leadership held over three hundred public meetings during the last two months for rallying the people for national defence under the leadership of the Prime Minister.

Over seventy-five trade unions under our Party's influence, many in leading and vital industries, appealed to the workers for one day's extra work (on a holiday) without wage for national defence. This has been done.

Besides, many trade unions made direct contributions to the N.D.F. fund. The N.D.F. was collected on a big scale in all villages where we have influence, as also through Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis where we hold leading positions. Government officials in many districts have paid tributes to our work. Despite our exclusion from the all-parties Civil Defence Committees, many local officers and Congressmen have cordially invited us for the fund

collection recognising the value of our influence for the collection.

Many Party members, particularly women, gave whatever little gold they had for the N.D.F., and also collected some more.

The value of one day's extra work done by workers on our appeal and our cash collections exceeded Rs. fifty lakhs.

Most Party members registered their names as blood donors. All who were certified, including prominent Party members, have donated their blood. When the national emergency was declared, twenty-five thousand textile workers from six or seven mills in Bombay who were on strike for bonus, returned immediately to work at our call. The strikes were under our leadership. Many strikes in the offing have been withdrawn by our trade union leaders.

Our Party members and trade union leaders participated wholeheartedly in the "Vote for Victory" poll organised in Bombay on December 16. In many places, we led processions to the booths, each person in the procession carrying his one paper vote for the poll. No impediments were raised in this participation, which we hope is a sign of returning unity.

When the national emergency was declared, twenty-five thousand textile workers from six or seven mills in Bombay who were on strike for bonus, returned immediately to work at our call. The strikes were under our leadership. Many strikes in the offing have been withdrawn by our trade union leaders.

In Defence Of Peaceful Coexistence

CPUSA Statement On Struggle For World Peace

The Communist Party of the U.S. issued a statement last week discussing the world struggle for peace and, especially, how it expressed itself in the Cuban crisis. The text of the statement follows in full:

THE American people, in common with all humanity, breathed a deep sigh of relief when, in the recent Caribbean crisis, a nuclear war was averted, and the invasion of Cuba, which could have triggered such a world war, was prevented.

The stage had been set for such a dreaded armageddon by the aggressive and unilateral brinkmanship of U.S. imperialism, in particular by President Kennedy's reckless blockade of Cuba, this piratical interference with freedom of the seas, and his unwarranted intervention into the internal affairs of an independent nation.

Catastrophe was averted by the firm policy of peaceful co-existence flexibly and correctly applied, in the first place by the Soviet Union, and adhered to by virtually the entire world Marxist movement; by the peace policy of the heroic Cuban people and their government led by Fidel Castro; by the pressures for world peace exerted by the neutralist countries; and by the forces of peace in the capitalist States, including our own country, who rallied around the slogan, "No war over Cuba."

Overwhelming Combination

This overwhelming combination of peace-loving humanity on a world scale, working together at a decisive moment when the world teetered on the brink of disaster, succeeded in imposing its will for peace. The peaceful resolution of the Caribbean crisis demonstrates the soundness of the 81-Parties' statement, of the thesis of the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, that it is possible to banish war from the earth even while the world is still part capitalist and imperialist. This thesis conforms fully to the repeated estimates of the Communist Party of the U.S. It is proven in life.

The role of Premier Khrushchov in keeping open the lines of communication and negotiation in the direct moments of the crisis—resulting in the removal of the missiles, the ending of the blockade, and the promise of no invasion of Cuba (notwithstanding the attempts of the Kennedy Administration to renege on the promise)—was a triumph for courage and reason through negotiations and compromise which advanced the peace aspirations of all mankind. World peace was saved; peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition were vindicated; and the right of Cuba to determine her own way of life and her own social system was preserved.

Great Statesman Of Our Time

Premier Khrushchov stood forth as one of the great statesmen of our times, fully deserving the accolades of appreciation which arose from the most diverse world quarters for his unwavering, realistic and monumental service to the cause of world peace.

The assessment of the Caribbean crisis is not merely a matter of an abstract "post-mortem" or of Monday morning "second-guessing". The success of the whole struggle for world peace, present and future, whether over danger spots in the Far East, Berlin, Africa or Latin America, depends upon a correct evaluation of the Caribbean crisis, its outcome and significance.

The lessons of the harrowing days of this crisis are of the greatest value to all lovers of peace, irrespective of their political views. Wrong conclusions can only harm the struggle for world peace and peace-

ful coexistence, or even lead to disaster for the American people and for the world.

Powerful ultra-Right circles—enraged by the peaceful settlement of the crisis—are exclaiming that President Kennedy played a "sell-out" role, and are pressing for a more adventurous policy for U.S. imperialism in respect of Cuba and all over the world. They have already compelled the Administration to equivocate on the no-invasion promise given by Kennedy when Premier Khrushchov originally agreed to the removal of the missiles. They are pressing for the outright invasion of Cuba.

Furthermore, they have drawn the dangerous and erroneous conclusion that the "policy of strength" has been vindicated, and that it is a mandate for a so-called "harder" and more adventurous line by U.S. imperialism, especially toward the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, but also against the neutralist and newly emerging independent countries.

All sorts of fantasies are arising in their minds about the so-called "clear superiority" of U.S. atomic weapons over those of the Soviet Union, or even that the Soviet Union fulfilled its agreement to remove the missiles and bombers from Cuba out of weakness and fear. Such gambling with the lives of the American people and with the fate of the world has nothing in common with reason and soberness, nor with the common sense and realism of ordinary Americans. Such false conclusions from the Caribbean crisis are fraught with danger and catastrophe.

In the national interest of our country, and in solidarity with international Marxist and other peace forces throughout the world, the Communist Party of the U.S. decisively rejects this view and will continue to oppose it with maximum effort as a menace to the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence.

Wrong Position Of Chinese Leadership

For this reason, the Communist Party of the U.S. regretfully finds it necessary to take sharp public issue with the policy of the Chinese Communist Party in respect to the Caribbean crisis and in respect to its wrong position on peaceful coexistence in general.

In effect, the position of the Chinese Communist Party, like that of certain powerful U.S. monopoly circles, is that the resolution of the Caribbean crisis is a victory for U.S. imperialism, of its "policy of strength" and "toughness" over the alleged weakness, fear and capitulation of the Soviet Union.

This pseudo-left dogmatic and sectarian line of our Chinese comrades dovetails with that of the most adventurous U.S. imperialists and gives the

latter encouragement. Not only is it harmful and incorrect, but the Chinese Communist Party is systematically and openly pushing this line in all countries and Marxist Parties of the world, in utter disregard of the 81-Party Statement which it signed, and in violation of the norm of all Marxist Parties to fix their own policies, and finally to the detriment and disunity of the broad peace movement, in individual countries and on a world scale.

The CPUSA cannot be indifferent to the fact that the Chinese Communist Party seeks converts for its dangerous policies in our country, and that the open promulgation of its policies can only spread confusion and disruption. It rejects the line of the Chinese Communist Party and, in the interest of peace and peaceful coexistence, energetically opposes it.

The fate of tens of millions of people, not to speak of the wholesale destruction of countless treasures of civilisation, which would be entailed by a thermonuclear war, is bound up with open differences between the Chinese Communist Party and the overwhelming majority of the international Marxist movement. The CPUSA cannot remain silent.

The CPUSA had hoped that the sharp strictures by the world Marxist movement against the unprincipled anti-Soviet, anti-peace and anti-Marxist line of the Albanian Communist Party, of whom the Chinese Communist Party is the principal supporter, would have had a beneficial effect upon our Chinese comrades, at least. It had hoped that its adherence to the line of peaceful coexistence would also have carried some weight with the Chinese Communist Party. But neither of these sound and responsible attitudes achieved the necessary results.

We Speak Plainly And Bluntly

The CPUSA must now speak plainly and bluntly, conscious of its national and international obligations as the Marxist-Leninist Party in the heartland of the world's most powerful and arrogant imperialism.

The CPUSA, at the same time, reiterates its deep appreciation of the past achievements of the Chinese Communist Party, its establishment of socialism in the world's most populous country, the victory of the Chinese people over Chiang Kai-shek, the stooge of U.S. and world imperialism.

The CPUSA holds as sacred its obligation to resolutely oppose the continued occupation of Taiwan—Chinese territory—by aggressive U.S. imperialism, the occupation of Hong Kong by British imperialism; and it will continue its policy of passionate opposition to the denial of the People's Republic of China's rightful place in the United Nations. It condemns the aggression of U.S. imperialism toward our 700 million Chinese brothers as of a piece with the arrogant national and white chauvinist attitudes to-

ward all oppressed darker peoples and nations.

The erroneous and dangerous character of the policies pursued by the Communist Party of China, on which their position on the recent events in Cuba is obviously based, was already evident in its statements and declarations over a number of years. These views find their sharpest and clearest expression to date in their editorial on "the differences" with the Italian Communist Party published in the *Washington Post* of January 3.

Among other things, this editorial obviously directed against all Marxist-Leninist Parties and not only against the Italian Communists, permits itself to make the following outrageous and slanderous charges in these words:

"In the final analysis, the stand taken by Togliatti and certain other leaders of the Communist Party of Italy boils down to this: that the people of the capitalist countries should not make revolutions, the oppressed nations should not wage struggle to win liberation, and the people of the world should not fight against imperialism. Actually all this exactly suits the needs of the imperialists and the reactionaries."

Chinese Demagogy

And later, that same editorial, speaking for the Communist Party of China, says: "Nor have we ever considered that the avoidance of a thermonuclear war in the Caribbean was a 'Munich'. What we did strongly oppose and will strongly oppose in the future is the sacrifice of another country's sovereignty as a means of reaching a compromise with imperialism. A compromise of this sort can only be regarded as one hundred per cent appeasement, a 'Munich' pure and simple." Emphasis CPUSA's.

This is indeed an unbelievable and irresponsible slander against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin, and against the parties of other lands of socialism as well as the fighting Marxist-Leninist parties of the capitalist countries and others who adhere to the 81-Party Statement. It only emphasises how the Chinese Communist leaders have failed to grasp the realities of today and because of this, how far they have already departed from Marxism-Leninism.

The threat of thermonuclear world war was not and is not a paper tiger, either tactically or strategically. That threat in the Cuban crisis posed the possibility of final total disaster for millions of people, including every major city in the countries on the three continents of the northern hemisphere and that includes our

own country, the U.S., as well as the Soviet Union, Eastern and Western Europe and China. All the military installations were part of the alert and the countdown.

The victory for the policy of peaceful co-existence with its negotiations and compromises to maintain peace and the integrity of nations has nothing in common with the slanderous charge of "Munich". They are not steps to war but to peace. The use of the vile slander of "Munich" and "appeasement" is an absurd distortion of history and is unworthy of consideration by any Marxist or any serious historian.

The editorials of the *Peking Review* emphasise that the alternative policy that should have been followed is one of "blow-for-blow" and the charges "surrender" and "Munich" have only one meaning in the actual circumstances of the time: that the quarantine and threat of bombing should have been met head-on—in short a policy leading to thermonuclear war.

One could say at this point that our Chinese comrades who set an example of flexibility in their heroic struggle for liberation are even today, correctly, not following the adventurous policy in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao which they advocate for others. Why this double standard approach?

In relation to all these developments the progressive and peace forces throughout the world found very helpful the extended analysis of the Caribbean crisis given by Premier Khrushchov before the Supreme Soviet. This speech was published in full in our country only by the *Worker* as a public service.

Sino-Indian Border Conflict

As regards the unfortunate Chinese-Indian border conflict, we have already made clear our position, and have from the first day called for an end to the fighting and for the solution of this question by peaceful negotiation. But irrespective of the merits in the dispute, and recognising the justice of the Chinese position and precisely because of the danger from imperialism and its collaborators within India, the fact is that China was embroiled in this unfortunate conflict at the very moment when imperialism threatened the peace of the entire world.

Was this not also a reflection of the opposition of the Chinese Communists to the views of the world Marxist movement and specifically the 81-Party Statement?

The dogmatic and sectarian repetition of phrases by our Chinese comrades reflects a failure to grasp the essence of Lenin's admonition that Communists "must operate on the basis of scientific principles."

Leading organs and committees of several European Communist Parties had their meetings last week to discuss the current ideological controversy regarding peaceful co-existence and for the unity of the international Communist movement.

The meetings have discussed the recent articles in Chinese Communist Party journals which reinforce the dogmatic position of their leaders, especially the Red FIAC article on the Chinese understanding of revolutionary dialectics and the *People's Daily* editorial on differences between Palmiro Togliatti and the Chinese Communist Party.

Most of the Communist Parties in Europe have already rejected the Chinese dogmatic position which distorted Marxism-Leninism. European Communist Parties with the exception of the Albanian Party have fully supported Khrushchov's foreign policy speech on the present international situation delivered at the Supreme Soviet on December 12 and the recent PRAVDA reply to the Chinese theories.

In the Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party, Franz Marek, Member of Polit Bureau made a speech on the "problems of world Communist movement" in which he put emphasis on the policy of peaceful coexistence between states of different social order.

Marek welcomed the peace initiative taken by USSR which solved peacefully the crisis in the Caribbean, in favour of Cuban revolution. The Communist Party of Austria rejected the attack published in Chinese and Albanian Party organs against the policy of peaceful coexistence. It confirms

Lenin thus elaborates, "Science demands first, the calculation of the experience of other countries, especially if these other countries, also capitalist countries, are undergoing, or have recently undergone, a very similar experience; second, science demands the calculation of all forces, groups, parties, classes and masses operating in the given country, and does not demand that policy be determined by mere desires and views, degree of class consciousness and readiness for battle of only one group or party."

Here, Lenin gives a sharp warning against both narrow nationalism and against the mechanical dogmatic application of policy.

We do not accept the negative attitude of the Communist Party of China on "peaceful transition" to socialism. We hold that they fail to consider what is the new situation in the world which strengthens the struggle for a peaceful transition. Without elaboration at this time, we also differentiate from their views on the struggle against monopoly capital, and especially in regard to our own country.

We deeply regret the neces-

European Parties Speak Up

★ From P. K. KUNHANANDAN NAIR

According to Marxist-Leninist principles and to the concrete conditions of the respective country. There were different paths leading to the same socialist aim," declared the Central Committee.

The Central organ of the Norwegian Party *Friheten* stressed editorially that Norwegian Communists regard an open exchange of opinion within the world Communist movement on ideological differences with China as useful and necessary. The General Secretary of the Communist Party of Italy, Palmiro Togliatti advocated in an article in *L'Unita* the policy of overcoming differences of views in the Communist movement through calm and comradely discussions concerning questions of dispute.

GERMANY

The Central organ of German Socialist Unity Party printed

Pravda article of January 7: "Let us consolidate the unity of the Communist movement in the name of triumph of peace and socialism."

Hanna Wolf, Polit Bureau Member, SED (Socialist Unity Party), told 'your correspondent' "there is no doubt that the Sixth Congress of our Party will in a Leninist manner, discuss the basic questions of our epoch and support with all its might the consistent struggle of the Soviet Communist Party for unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

Leading organs of the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Finland, West Germany, France, Spain and many other European parties have already rejected the Chinese dialectics which distort the materialist conception of historical development.

Documents Of Moscow Conferences Shall Guide Us

A RESOLUTION passed by a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland, held on January 5 and 6, says that the staunch policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle, the unbending will of the Cuban people for the defence of their country and the vigorous resistance of all peace forces to the aggressive actions of the United States compelled the American Government to lift the blockade and accept the Soviet Government's compromise settlement of the crisis, the resolution notes.

The plan of the American aggressors to overthrow the Castro revolutionary government and again make Cuba dependent on the United States was not realised. Cuba preserved her independence and a world nuclear war to which the aggravation of the crisis could lead, was warded off. The Soviet Union's firm action against nuclear war and for universal peace decisively influenced the developments and saved humanity from a terrible disaster.

Struggle For Disarmament

Events have shown that by means of talks and mutual concessions the exacerbation of the situation to an open conflict can be prevented and the path guaranteeing peaceful coexistence among all countries paved. An important thing here is the achievement of agreement on the question of general and complete disarmament. The termination of nuclear tests and the banning of weapons of mass destruction under

strict international control could be a step towards complete disarmament.

By means of negotiation and mutual concessions it is also possible to solve the question of a German peace treaty. It is necessary to make West Berlin a free city with guarantees by the great powers, for instance, under United Nations' control, to sign a German peace treaty, to carry into life the proposals of Rapacki and Udena for turning Central and Northern Europe into an atom-free zone of peace, and many other measures aimed at maintaining peace, the resolution points out.

Soviet Stand Proved Correct

The Communist Party of Finland is of the opinion, the resolution says, that the staunch policy of peace carried through by the Soviet Union both at the time of the defence of Cuba and in settling other problems of peaceful coexistence, has been correct.

The unity of the socialist world and the international communist movement, the resolution says in conclusion, is the force by means of which one defeat after another can be put to colonial slavery in all its forms, ever more victories can be gained for the international working-class movement, and world peace can be strengthened.

This line of struggle was outlined in the documents of the meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960. These Marxist-Leninist documents continue to be the guide of action for the world communist movement.

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Against Dogmatist Onslaught

SOME FLEETING IMPRESSIONS

★ By S. S. CHAUHAN

Since I am not attempting a biography of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, whom I admired for many qualities, which one can find only among good Communists, I think the fact that my knowing him mostly from a distance may come in good stead in telling you what impressions his personality cast upon my mind.

SOME fleeting impressions have so deeply imbedded themselves in my memory that despite the fact that they may be entirely wrong insofar as his true personality is concerned, they jump out before my eyes as soon as I think of Ajoy Ghosh.

The first scene is laid during the late thirties at Tripuri Congress. We were then inside the Indian National Congress. Near the banks of the Narmada and under the distant canopy of mountains sprawled the huge Congress Nagar where the destiny of left politics in India was going to be decided, whether the national movement as a whole would take to a more radical path or the left elements in it would be thrown out into the wilderness to grope their way in comparative isolation.

While making a determined bid to put the national movement on a radical, anti-imperialist path, the Communists inside the Congress, at the same time, were equally determined to avoid any disruption in the anti-imperialist forces of the nation. They had, therefore, taken upon themselves a very delicate assignment. The whole Indian politics had never been in such a topsy-turvy state. The outlook was quite bleak—Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who had been elected Congress President pulling in one direction and Gandhiji and entire outgoing Working Committee, as if stung by this election, dissociating and non-co-operating with the President-elect.

A virtual trial of strength and tug-of-war between the two camps, and extremists on both sides exhorting their respective followers to fight to the bitter end irrespective of the fact that such an end could not but be utter ruin of the unity of the national movement.

Fighter With A Kind Heart

The Communists wanted to avert this catastrophe by mediating between the two factions and were working hard for bringing about some kind of a reasonable compromise. Ajoy Ghosh was our chief negotiator, and I remember that he did a marvellous job of it. Without knowing a moment's respite and forgetting all about sleep and hunger, day in and day out he rushed about between Netaji's camp where he lay in bed running high temperature and the Camp of the Old Guard where stalwarts of the outgoing Working Committee sat to hear from and discuss with Ajoy Ghosh the latest compromise proposals.

And then Ajoy came in

Parties of the world had just ended. On the eve of the November 7 Parade, a public meeting was held in the vast Sports Stadium, to which we were also invited. When we had taken our seats in the galleries, the veteran leaders of the 81 Communist Parties of the world filed in, led by N. S. Khrushchov and took their seats on the vast rostrum. Comrades Ajoy and Dange represented India. Comrade Ajoy was seated in the front row, perhaps second or third from the left, very near to our Foreign Guests' Gallery. You can imagine the great ovation given to these eminent leaders of the world Communist movement, who had for the first time gathered in such strength. For several minutes a deafening applause by fifty thousand hands greeted these distinguished sons and daughters of distant lands and climes. The leaders were also applauding in response to our heartfelt greetings.

Chief Negotiator

The fighter in him had taken hold of him completely. He was fighting hard on three fronts, trying to bring sense and amity between the two warring factions and to some of our own extremists who were easily provoked at the obduracy of the Old Guard, and wanted the Party to give up its effort to bring about a rapprochement. And while listening to Ajoy's vehement pleadings, his grave looks and mechanical movements, I suddenly felt, here goes a Comrade Who Does Not Laugh.

But, of course, like many of our fleeting impressions, this also was wrong, for during November 1947, when I was organizing an Indian Writers' Goodwill Delegation to the valley of Kashmir, which had suffered a wanton invasion from Pakistan, I happened to meet Ajoy at a restaurant in Delhi and found him in a jovial mood. His joviality was not expansive but bashful like a maiden's. I was with Sajjad Zaheer and Dr. Abdul Aleem and we were discussing the question of National Language and the future of Urdu. Our country had hardly recovered yet from the post-independence communal blood-bath. The atmosphere was so foul and full of venom that the future looked bleak and uncertain.

On Hindi and Urdu, the future of Hindustani etc., Ajoy was patiently listening to our hot arguments and discussion. I think he felt terribly amused also because a bashful smile would occasionally rise from the corners of his lips and would spread all over his face and his eyes would begin to dance and twinkle with evident mirth. He looked a sweet lamb at such moments, so human and warm. When we got stuck in our discussion, he laughed merrily and said, "Let both Hindi and Urdu develop independently and wait." So he was not, after all, a Comrade Who Did Not Laugh.

The second scene is laid in Moscow, 1950. The historic meeting of the 81 Communist

But to my great surprise I found that one man out of this great congregation was standing like a statue, unresponsive to our greetings, and I was suddenly reminded of the character of the famous Japanese short story by Sikkichi Fujimori, which I had translated in 1940. Yes, here in flesh and blood was the Man Who Did Not Applaud. And this man was Ajoy Ghosh!

After this disconcerting realisation I could not take my eyes off him, or at least whenever there was enthusiastic clapping I looked up in Ajoy's direction and found, to my dismay that he sat as unmoved as ever, solemn and deep in thought. What was he thinking? Was he looking far away into the future, surmising how all this would work out—this policy of co-existence and peaceful roads to socialism, when evidently there are powerful elements in the world communist movement still wedded to dogmatism? Or was he simply tired, ill as he was, and did not have the strength to join in the general applause?

Whatever may be the reason, and we shall never know it now, it was a fact that he did not applaud even once.

However, Ajoy Ghosh was neither the Man Who Did Not Laugh or the Man Who Did Not Applaud, but he was certainly The Tall Man in a Big Hurry, as was impressed upon my mind when I saw him last, only a day before his sudden

death. I had gone to meet Sajjad Zaheer at the PHQ in connection with some literary project. Zaheer said that it would be good if we consulted Comrade Ajoy also. While going in I had a glimpse of Ajoy in the office and told Zaheer that Ajoy was there and I went out to see if he was still there and could spare a couple of minutes. But as I looked down from the gallery, I saw Ajoy with his bulging portfolio striding fast across the courtyard towards the stairs. In a moment he was out of sight. He appeared to be, in such a hurry that I did not dare to call out.

Yes, he was a Tall Man in a Big Hurry. Under his stewardship the Indian Communist Party had come of age, matured and despite serious illness he had now flung himself in the election battle and was impatient to lend his supervision and helping hand to comrades in all the states, and in doing so he sacrificed himself. One may think that this could have been permitted to over-exert himself, but where will you find a true communist who can be deterred from serving the people in crucial moments for fear that it may cost him his life?

And Comrade Ajoy Ghosh was a true Communist in life and a true martyr in his death. He was in a great hurry because much had to be done and changed and created, but death willed it otherwise.

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NEW AGE

JANUARY 20, 1963

A Peace Card From Jail



Hand-painted on a scrap of cloth which seems to have been torn from someone's shirt, this New Year's greetings card arrived in the London Daily Worker's office on January 10.

It came from the political prisoners in Burgos, one of the most notorious jails in Spain in which General Franco has been holding hundreds of Spanish antifascists for periods of 20 years and more.

In three simple words it calls for "Peace, Democracy, Amnesty," for the prisoners and for Spain today seething as never before under the fascist yoke.

BERLIN, January 13

The new year gave bright new hopes of a compromise on the outstanding German question which disturbs peace in Europe.

The slogans of the German people for the year 1963 are: Peaceful co-existence between the two German States; U. N. Flag for West Berlin; and

A German Peace Treaty. The most suitable form to bring about peaceful co-existence in Germany is the formation of a Confederation of West Germany and East Germany which could be joined by a West-Berlin Free City.

After the settlement of the Caribbean crisis which avoided a disastrous nuclear war the most urgent item on the world agenda is an honourable settlement of the Berlin question. The gloom in German faces is giving way to new hopes that the Soviet Union and the United States could now very well agree to a compromise solution.

The idea of a genuine compromise to reach a peaceful solution of the German question was first put forward by Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, in a major policy speech in December. The ideological basis of this proposal is that in conditions of tough controversy between the two powerful world systems it is necessary to prevent war through peaceful co-existence. And the Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence demands compromises.

Walter Ulbricht pointed out

that the Soviet Union and the United States reached a compromise on the Cuban crisis; the U.S. Government has agreed to renounce invasion of Cuba and the USSR has withdrawn what President Kennedy said were offensive weapons.

The GDR Government was adapting itself to a realistic policy of peaceful co-existence in Germany which would lead to the Peace Treaty and the Confederation, which according to Ulbricht is the sole remaining path to reunification, which is the main slogan of Western Powers. In the present historical conditions, a confederation is the most practical form to lead to unification. Already in the relations between the Adenauer Government and Socialist Germany many compromises are involved. Although West Germany does not recognise the East German Government, between the two states there exist trade relations and several other economic and cultural connections. What is necessary is only to recognise the reality and extend these relations to Governmental levels.

On Basis Of Equal Rights

The element of compromise would consist of the fact that the compromising parties should not make demands or impose conditions with regard to the social order. The compromise should be based upon equal rights and mutual respect for sovereignty. It is here that the West German politicians are unwilling to agree. They wish to extend their capitalist order in East Germany up to and beyond the Oder and Neisse rivers and push the German frontiers far into Poland and Czechoslovakia.

On the other hand, the GDR proposes a new system of active co-existence: a Confederation of the two German States, that is to say, a relatively loose link of the two States in which various joint organs and institutions are set up, but member States retain their social system and sovereignty.

Under the present circumstances, West Germany and the GDR would not be able to renounce their sovereignty in favour of a central authority, since the life of a socialist and capitalist society cannot be governed by the same laws.

While the present social systems are untouched, the Confederation in the first place would establish normal relations between the two States. The frontiers and territorial integrity of the two States would be mutually recognised. Each would agree not to attack the other. The organs of the Confederation would work out recommendations for the Parliament and the Governments of the participants in the Confederation.

On the basis of compromise a joint policy could develop step by step. The measures to implement the peace treaty that will be signed, a ban on nuclear weapons, a general cancellation of military obligations of the two States and finally complete disarmament and neutralisation of Germany. These are the main official outlines of the German compromise Confederation.

The dogmatists who oppose

active co-existence and violate the Panch-Sheila are also attacking this German compromise formula. Those who called the Caribbean settlement a "new Munich" call this "class collaboration" and "fusion of socialism with capitalism."

The West German imperialists, too, oppose these proposals as stoutly as the dogmatists. While dogmatists attack a compromise as socialist fusion with capitalism the West German imperialist organs reject it as a programme of "silent Red expansion." As Walter Ulbricht puts it: "It is not enough only to talk about peaceful co-existence. It must be realised that it involves compromise on both sides."

The Soviet Union has taken a number of measures to come to a compromise on the German question. Despite ideological opposition from dogmatism and imperialist intrigues a concrete proposal was made by Khrushchov in his recent letter to Chancellor Adenauer. The main hindrance to peace is West Berlin; its occupation by the three Western Armies. Khrushchov made this compromise offer to Adenauer on December 24.

"If necessary troops could be left for a definite period in West Berlin, the point in dispute, mainly, is in what capacity under what flag will these forces be and

BANNING OF COMMUNIST PARTY CONTRARY TO NATIONAL INTEREST

—Writes Algerian Communist Party Secretary

"Algerian Communists and United Front"—is the heading under which L'HUMANITE recently carried an article by the Secretary of the Communist Party of Algeria, Bachir Hadj Ali, in connection with the banning of the Party.

THE unlawful decision to ban the Communist Party of Algeria, the article reads, runs contrary to the national interests of the country. There is an opinion that Algeria, allegedly, needs a single party. References are made to the programme of the National Liberation Front adopted in Tripoli and also to the necessity of "avoiding fruitless party play."

In this connection the Algerian communists declare that the question of the existence of the Communist Party should not and cannot be settled on top or by authoritarian methods.

A single party, Bachir Hadj Ali stresses, may be ultimate result of the development of the revolution under the leadership of the united front of all patriotic and progressive forces. The Algerian communists are of the opinion that the National Liberation Front, relying on the Tripoli programme, which needs improvement and more precision, may become such a united front. The access to the National Liberation Front should be open to all revolutionary forces without exception.

The advantage of such a front under the present conditions, is that it would make all the Algerian people take part in the rehabilitation of their homeland

Solution Of German Problem NEW HOPES

From P. K. Kunhanandan Nair

for what period will they remain there. The Soviet Government proposes that the forces in West Berlin should not represent the NATO countries, that the NATO flag in West Berlin should be replaced by the flag of the United Nations Organisation and that the UN should assume its definite international commitments and functions. To leave the present commitments and functions, to leave the present abnormal situation in West Berlin unchanged would be tantamount to heading deliberately towards grave international complications."

After 18 years of imperialist occupation of West Berlin this is a very reasonable proposal, a big compromise which all right-minded persons would support.

Secondly, in Washington the Soviet Union has resumed exploratory talks on Berlin with the U.S. that were interrupted by the Caribbean crisis. Soviet chief negotiator Kuznetsov met President Kennedy. According to a Washington despatch, Dean Rusk and Kuznetsov had expressed the hope that "we were entering a period in which some outstanding problems might be solved."

Thirdly, the Soviet Government paper *Izvestia* appealed last week to great powers to

come forward for a settlement of the Berlin dispute through a "reasonable compromise." The paper said the great powers were undoubtedly closer to a peaceful settlement of the German affairs than to a solution of any other international problem.

All these generate great hopes in the minds of Germans in both the States and in the divided City of Berlin. The main opponent of a compromise, Chancellor Adenauer, has lost his leadership, especially after the recent Government crisis around the Spiegel scandal. His right hand man and one who considered all these years that the Second World War had not ended is discredited and has resigned. The old fox himself has announced his decision to step down from office this September. Even though the hold of militarists is still tight on Bonn, these are good signs for peace.

The Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany which opens on January 15 in Berlin and the participation of the Soviet Premier Khrushchov, Polish leader Gomulka and several other top leaders of brother Communist Parties is expected to give powerful rebuff to dogmatists who oppose compromise and imperialists who put stumbling blocks to settlement of the German question.

work of such a front which would respect the independence of their Party.

The Communists of Algeria will continue supporting any positive moves of the Government directed towards the speediest building up of the country and its democratisation.

The Algerian communists heartily thank the Communist and Workers' Parties and all democrats who throughout the world expressed their fraternal solidarity. They particularly appreciate the solidarity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of France of the masses, the Algerian communists are confident that the decision to ban their Party would be abrogated.

In Contradiction To Civic Freedoms: Tunisian Party's Statement On Ban

In connection with the ban on the activities of the Tunisian Communist Party, the Central Committee of the Party issued a statement by its First Secretary, Mohammed Ennafa.

"This unlawful and anti-democratic step," the statement says, "stands in plain contradiction to the civic freedoms recognized by the constitution. It also contradicts all the earlier official statements to the effect that the existence of a legal Communist Party is proof of the existence of democracy in Tunisia."

"It will cause indignation among all genuine friends of the Tunisian people throughout the world."

"Tunisian communists made a worthy contribution to the

struggle of the Tunisian people for the independence of their country. It was because of this that they were persecuted and repeatedly subjected to reprisals by the colonial authorities."

"When independence was won," the statement says further, "Tunisian communists concentrated their efforts on the development of the country along the road of democracy, economic growth, social and cultural progress. This position of the Communist Party increased its influence among the masses and strengthened its ranks."

"Tunisian communists," the statement says in conclusion, "are firmly convinced that the ban can no longer prevent the growth of the influence of the Party."

Jan Sangh's Trojan Horse Plan

JAN Sangh president Raghuvira described in glowing terms the military "counterblast" built by America in Asia and the Far East. In his Presidential address at Bhopal he noted with satisfaction that the Pentagon had equipped this force with both conventional and atomic weapons. Wide awake America did this while India was asleep "all through the last fifteen years." Saying this, Raghuvira asked India to wake up now, "develop military power" and become another bulwark—American-style—in Asia. And the Jan Sangh conference solemnly resolved that India should raise an army of twenty lakhs and an air force of five thousand, start manufacturing atomic weapons and develop defence industries which, as Raghuvira said, will serve all "democracies". Very significantly, he explained that all this preparation could be paid for by others (America and NATO)! Sangh workers have been asked to popularise this Trojan horse scheme as a patriotic programme.

D. D. U's Directive

JAN Sangh General Secretary D. D. Upadhyaya set another programme of activity for his workers. He asked them to organise send offs from their village or town to all

new recruits, and, secondly to establish and maintain contacts with the families of the Jawans and offer them now and then some gifts. This is seen as an excellent scheme of R.S.S.-Jan Sangh to ingratiate themselves with the Army. A twenty lakh army, paid for by America, and the Sangh's live contact with all now recruits will, according to these calculations, prove extremely propitious for a seizure of power.

Scurrilous Attack On A Guest

THAT the Jan Sangh should act in a provocative manner on the occasion of the visit of Colombo Conference representatives is not all surprising. The Organiser greeted the arrival of the friendly Ceylonese Prime Minister with a scurrilous cartoon. The same is being reproduced here. The caption, which twists the lady's name to give it an abusive meaning, is considered as a mean and lowly attack on an honoured guest. That Afro-Asian solidarity should be lambasted in vulgar fashion by these elements is understandable. It shocked everyone, however, that a party which is always talking of "Bharatiya culture", should stoop to such discourtesy to a guest of the country.



The Ceylon Prime Minister has testified to the great 'sincerity' of China

Panchjanya Editor's Plight

THE editor of the R.S.S.-Jan Sangh Hindi mouthpiece—the Panchjanya—had an amusing escapade last month. Swept by an onrush of effusiveness, he published on December 3, a poem by the well-known nationalist poet Gopal Singh Nepali. The poem, written during the Chinese invasion of NEFA, exhorted the country for defence against Chinese aggression. There were two stanzas in

this long poem which called for an all-in national unity. The lines read:

Hindu Ke Agar Sath Musalman Na Hoga,
Phir Sath Musalman Ke
Kristan Na Hoga,
Sansar Men Azad Hindustan Na Hoga.
Har Dharm Ke Insaan Ko
Seene Se Laga Lo,
In Cheene Luteron Ko
Himalaya Se Nikalo.

Mandir Se Chalo Tham
Ke Bندوق Pujari,
Masjid Se Chalo Sath Le
Talwar Dudhari,
Kristan Chalo, Sikh
Chalo, Jat Chalo Re...

The gist of these lines is that Hindus, Muslims, Christians—sons of India—all must unite; if they do not, free India will cease to exist.

No sooner than this verse was published, the Chelas of Guru Gaiwalkar pounced upon the editor, an erring member of the same fraternity. The poor bloke was forced to come out with a recantation in the issue of December 17. He wrote:

"Many readers have objected to a poem published this month. We fully agree with their sentiments. Sometimes we have to publish pieces with which we do not agree. Such pieces sometimes contain things that go counter to our declared policies. If we do not delete these, it is because we have trust in the critical faculty of our readers."

The objections and the apology both are tell-tale.

Panchjanya is one of four notorious journals which recently received a warning from the Union Home Ministry.

C.P.I. Appeals To Congressmen, Democrats For UNITED NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

*FROM FRONT PAGE

China are fraught with harmful consequences for both countries.

It is no accident that the imperialists abroad and reaction at home are now interested in keeping alive a cold-war climate, so that they can pursue their nefarious ends to the detriment of our people and their future. Continuation of cold-war would seriously damage the independent growth and advance of our national economy.

The Communist Party has always stood for strengthening our national defence as an integral part of strengthening our country's independence itself. The Government of India, while doing everything to restart negotiations consistently with the honour of the country is, at the same time, rightly not relaxing its efforts to strengthen the defence potential of the country to make it capable of facing any new aggression from any quarter.

In this respect, our Party entirely agrees with the approval of Prime Minister Nehru when he cautions against reliance on foreign countries for arms supplies and urges the construction of our own defence factories on our own industrial base. Our Party agrees with the policy of building up a powerful defence industry and of moder-

ising our armed forces in every way.

It is from these considerations also, apart from those of national economy that our Party is of the view that the Five-Year Plan must not only be carried out, but further strengthened, especially in respect of the vital projects of heavy engineering, power, oil and transport.

The Communist Party warns the Indian people of the grave dangers to India's honour and integrity, which arise from the blackmail and pressures exerted against our country by the Western imperialist powers and reactionary politicians in India. This blackmail and pressure has reached its zenith during the last month round the question of Kashmir. Taking advantage of our difficulties in the matter of defence, the USA and U. K. Governments are laying down terms which virtually amount to the handing over of the Kashmir valley to the present rulers of Pakistan who are tied, through military pacts, to the imperialist aggressive war plans. In this manner, Kashmir is sought to be transformed into a military base of U. S. imperialism against India and the neighbouring countries.

Our Party has always stood for peaceful settlement of all outstanding problems between India and Pakistan through bilateral talks and shall continue to support the Government of India in every effort it may take to this end. But the Party is firmly of the view that no quarter should be given to any dictation or proposal designed to alter the status of Kashmir and impinge on India's sovereign rights.

RESOLUTION ON EMERGENCY POWERS

*FROM FRONT PAGE

the defence burdens and to build up resources for raising the defence potential of the country. These emergency powers could and should have been used against those prominent individuals who have in their public speeches, incited people to shoot and murder Communists and other progressive people.

The Central Executive Committee demands the immediate release of all Communists, trade unionists and others who have been arrested in the name of emergency. The Committee demands the withdrawal of proceedings against Communist and progressive newspapers which have been actively popularising national policies.

Apart from these arrests, the emergency measures are also being used in many places in unjustly harassing and suppressing people in different ways. The emergency is being used to curtail the rights of the workers and employees and for attacks on them by employers.

Certain sections of big business are trying to turn the emergency to their advantage in order to wrest unjust concessions from the Government or to force it to whittle down some of its progressive economic policies.

The Central Executive Committee demands an end to such misuse of the emergency powers.

Kashmir

Not Negotiable

The present status of Jammu and Kashmir as a constituent State of the Indian Union is by no means negotiable. Any contrary attempt, no matter from which quarter it comes, should be considered as gross interference in the internal affairs of our country.

At this crucial moment in our national life, the utmost vigilance is called for against the forces of Right reaction which, taking advantage of the Chinese aggression, have considerably grown in strength and have become active. It is they who launched a vicious campaign in the critical days of November for the removal of Prime Minister Nehru.

It is they who have been systematically attacking the policy of non-alignment which has brought glory and strength to our country and immensely contributed to progressive developments in every walk of our national life. The policy of non-alignment which has remarkably stood the test of the present crisis, is being attacked by these dark forces of reaction with a view to drive India into the arms of the West.

These forces again are opposing the cease-fire as well as the Government's wise attitude towards it. They have been violently opposed to the

Colombo Conference and the peace efforts initiated by it.

Right reaction wants to keep the tension alive in order that it can gain an upper hand in the political life of the country. It is in reality opposed to all negotiations. But our Party is confident that once the forces of democracy and progress are united, this challenge from the Right can be effectively met and their designs completely defeated.

The Communist Party notes with satisfaction that during the last few weeks, Congressmen in increasing numbers have come forward to defend the accepted national policies from the attacks made on

them by pro-imperialist and Rightwing reactionary forces.

The Communist Party, in cooperation with Congressmen and all other democratic elements will conduct a united nationwide campaign:

- To support the Prime Minister and the Government of India in their efforts to consolidate the cease-fire and to create conditions for an honorable settlement through negotiations.
- To support the nation's basic policies of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, Afro-Asian solidarity and anti-colonialism, democracy and strengthening the economy of the country through

ugh planned economic development with main emphasis on heavy industries and the public sector;

● To strengthen the defence capacities of our country through increasing rapidly our own industrial potential and expanding defence industries;

● To mobilise resources for building a strong and independent Indian economy, by placing the burden mainly on those classes, which can afford to pay and not on the poorer sections;

● To strengthen national unity and national integration and oppose all communal disruptive and fissiparous tendencies;

● To defend the economic interests and the democratic rights of the people.

The possibilities which open up with the Colombo initiative and the Government of India's reaction to it must be made a reality. The Communist Party pledges itself to do all in its power to this end.

COMMUNISTS IN DEFENCE EFFORTS

*FROM BACK PAGE

meetings failed miserably even in the most hectic days of right-wing campaigning. Hostile demonstrations were worked up in Amritsar and Ludhiana, but the attempts to attack offices failed and the small demonstration also dispersed soon after. Except at two or three places, no Communist meetings could be disturbed.

The Party held public meetings in Mansa, Moga, Nangal, Rupar, Chheharta, Jagrao, Bhatinda, Sirsa, Dharwad, etc., even before the National Council resolution.

The campaign was stepped up after the resolution and at several places Communists addressed rallies sponsored by joint committees besides their own meetings. Joint activities were developing.

This led to the formation of joint defence committees in several small towns and villages where the Congressmen and Communists were the two main active forces. On November 14, a joint Congress-Communist procession was taken out in Jullundur led by prominent leaders of both parties. At various places joint meetings were held and addressed by some leading people of both parties.

Virulent Campaign

With the Chinese advance in NEFA and raids and arrests the process was halted. The virulent campaign against the Party was stepped up. Reactionary pressure succeeded in getting Communists thrown out of Defence Committees in some places, e.g., Ferozepore Cantt., Yamunanagar, Sangru, Gurdaspur, etc. With 55 of its State Council members including 12 District Committee secretaries inside jail, the Party was temporarily paralysed.

But soon after, the State Council met and the Party organised its ranks and replied back to the rightist offensive through its daily organ, the *Nawan Zamana* and through public meetings. It hit back at the parties of right reaction, unmasking their real face and did all it could to forge patriotic unity in defence of non-alignment and other national policies.

With the cease-fire and the situation moving towards negotiations, the reactionary parties began to feel desperate. RSS Chief Gaiwalkar conducted a tour of the State and attacked negotiations, vilified Communists and the Prime Minister. The so-called Anti-Chinese Aggression Committee intensified its campaign demanding liberation of Tibet, strengthening of friendly ties with the West and understanding with Pakistan and a Regional Defence Pact. Some of its participants demanded a ban on the Communist Party.

minor organisations. Then it was taken to the ranks.

Party Schools

Now three-day schools, for all districts on the 81-Parties Statement and C.P.S.U. Programme, on the Vijayawada Congress resolution, on the present situation and our tasks, and on unity and organisational consolidation of the Party have been started.

The Party daily has been considerably improved and is being used more effectively both as a mass populariser of Party policy and as a Party educator. A memorial pamphlet was also brought out giving selections from Comrade Ajoy's writings that have a bearing on the present situation.

A Party letter in Punjabi and Urdu has also been issued to the ranks. Other steps for Party education are also being taken as part of an all-sided campaign for ideological rejuvenation.

Mass organisations are also being activated as the damage done by vilification campaigns and arrests is being overcome. With its patriotic activities—Independent and joint—especially collecting funds, with its mass campaigning in defence of non-alignment and other progressive policies of Prime Minister Nehru and sharp timely exposure of right reaction and with the vigorous patriotic initiative of its cadres through the trade unions and panchayats, the Communist Party has successfully fought back its enemies and stood the test of the crisis. It has risen in the estimation of the conscious, patriotic sections of the population; it has developed closer links with progressive Congressmen and consolidated its own mass base in face of intense reactionary offensive. (January 15)

CEC & National Council To Meet

The Next meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India will be held in Delhi on February 3 and 4. The National Council of the Party will meet in Delhi from February 5 to 12.

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SEN-RALEIGH

PEOPLE'S COOPERATION IN DEFENCE WORK

SHILLONG.

What the final outcome of the current diplomatic efforts at a settlement of the dispute between our country and China will be is still unknown. People, no doubt, will welcome any settlement in keeping with our dignity and honour.

But the people of Assam continue resolutely their work for national defence and for strengthening national policies. The State Government also has been gearing up its machinery to make it commensurate with the tasks of the moment.

It has been stated officially that the State Defence Council and its sub-committees have been functioning "vigorously". Publicity machinery of the State has been geared up. Various media of publicity to rouse the people and keep them enthused are being utilised. Non-official agencies, like various cultural organizations, have also been rendering valuable assistance in this task.

Poets, writers and artists have put their talents in the service of the motherland. In a number of places they went out in squads, reciting patriotic poems, singing inspiring songs and making other forms of appeals to the people. Leading poets and singers of the State took part in these activities.

Cash, gold and other materials like woollen clothings have been pouring in for the National Defence Funds and direct help to the Jawans. Offer of services for the defence of the country has also been coming in from various sections of the people.

Government employees have made their contributions to the defence efforts in various ways. All of them have been working extra hours without any grudge. They have accepted cut in their normal holidays. These efforts of the employees earned them the congratulations of the State Chief Minister who recently met them here and highly commended their efforts.

Coordination Committee

A coordination committee has been formed to maintain proper liaison between the employees and officers. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam has been elected its Chairman, while the General Secretary of the coordination committee of the Ministerial Officers' Associations has been elected its convenor.

The State Government has rendered help to the Defence forces in various ways by requisitioning land, buildings, vehicles etc. Certain special facilities have been offered to the Service and ex-Service personnel also. It has decided to bear the cost of a hostel for the children of Jawans and officers in certain approved schools, to reserve 7,000 acres of land for settlement of the Jawans or their dependants, to reserve certain percentage in all recruitments in the State services, to suspend recovery of dues from officers and Jawans as long as they are in active service etc.

It has been stated officially that emphasis is being laid on increasing production in both fields and factories. In view of

the backward state of industrial development in the State, it is claimed by the Government that emphasis is being given on development of industries in this State.

One Central Government team came to study the problems of small-scale industries in Assam. Its findings are not yet known. Union Minister, T. T. Krishnamachari also came here to study certain problems of the State. Addressing the industrialists at Gauhati, he is reported to have suggested to the industrialists to secure foreign collaboration for industrial development. He is reported to have stated that in view of the scarcity of foreign exchange, securing foreign collaboration to set up new industries was necessary.

He is also reported to have advised the industrialists that the nature of foreign collaboration should be such that there would not arise any question of repayment within the coming ten years. Chief Minister Chaliha who also addressed the industrialists conceded that the industrialists in this State have to function under circumstances that are more difficult than those obtaining in other States. He also assured Government patronage to all efforts for developing industries in the State.

Undertakings In State Sector

Some, however, doubt if the above suggestions will lend enough incentive to industrial development of the State. There are some who maintain that in order to lay the real foundation of industrial development in Assam, the first duty should be to undertake some major industrial undertakings in the State sector.

That this section maintains, will break the present inertia in the industrial field and create the necessary atmosphere for industrial development in the State.

In the agricultural field, steps have been taken to augment production. The winter crop where it could grow this year after the devastating flood of the last monsoon has been harvested. Obviously there was no scope to take any steps to augment the production of this crop this year. However, the Agriculture department of the State Government took steps for increasing vegetable production in the State.

With the encouragement received from the Government the peasants have exceeded the target of cultivation by about four times. While the target of 2,500 acres under "rabi" crop, already over 10,000 acres have been cultivated. The total production of vegetables, it is estimated, will be about 10 lakh maunds. Besides, "bodo" paddy (a variety of spring crop) cultivation has also been encouraged. About 458 acres of

land, it is stated officially, will be brought under this cultivation.

While according to official version there prevails a slump in the prices of vegetables in the State, the situation does not seem to be quite easy in the rice market though the new harvest has just been over. At Gauhati the price of rice has been rising "abnormally", almost defying the Government price control measures. Grave concern at this rising price of rice has been expressed by the Gauhati Municipal Board, as also by leaders of parties.

Government has, no doubt, introduced price control and has fixed the price at 0.50 rupee per kg. But there is no supply and consequently, the actual market price defies the rate fixed by the Government. It is said that the Cooperative Apex Society which has been given monopoly of procurement for the Government could not fulfil its target and hence the dearth in supply.

But it is also pointed out that though the Cooperative Apex Society was the sole agent for procurement for the Government, there was no restriction on other agencies entering the market. They could also procure for themselves or for others, but not for Government.

Rising Prices

In fact, it is said by knowledgeable circles here that the rice millers of the state also entered the market as soon as the harvest began and it is apprehended by them that the rice-millers may have cornered at least some quantity of rice,

RAPACKI PLAN

*FROM PAGE 5

support to the Rapacki Plan.

The Conference of Parliamentarians from East and West which took place at Warsaw in February 1961 declared itself in favour of an atom-free zone in Central Europe. Such well known political figures as Noel Baker, Jules Moch, Branting and Rollin participated in that conference.

The Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Uden, pronounced himself for the Rapacki Plan from the tribune of the U. N., when he advanced the project for the establishment of an "atom-free club" to be composed of states which did not possess atomic weapons.

Norway's Foreign Minister, Lange also spoke of the need to discuss the limitation of armaments in Central Europe.

The Rapacki plan found full support in the official programme of the entire British Labour Party leadership. The Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party declared itself for the de-atomization of both German states. The idea of establishing an area of disengagement in Central

ADAM RAPACKI

BORN at Lvov on December 24, 1909. A politician and an economist, Rapacki was active in the Polish labour and co-operative movement.

Before 1939 he was a research worker at the Co-operative Scientific Institute and at the Institute for the Research of Market Conditions and Prices. He was then a member of the Union of Independent Socialist Youth (ZINMS). During World War II he took part in the September 1939 campaign, then remained prisoner in German camps where he organized an anti-fascist movement.

In 1947-50 Minister of Shipping, 1950-55 Minister of Higher Education, from 1956 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Deputy to Parliament (Seym) since 1947. During 1945-48 Rapacki was member of the Supreme Council and of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party, since the unification of the Polish Socialist Party in 1948, he has been a member of the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Considerable significance is attached to his visit to India at this time. He will have talks with the Prime



Minister of India on the international problems of mutual interest to Poland and India. He will also discuss the problem of Indo-Polish economic and cultural relations. On his first visit to India, the Foreign Minister of Poland is accompanied by Mr. Jerzy Michalowski, Director General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Henryk Jaroszek, Deputy Director of the Department of Asian and African Countries at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

causing the current "abnormal rise" in prices and the actual scarcity of stock in the market.

While this possibility is not ruled out, it is also pointed out by authoritative sources that the procurement figure last year was far short of the target and actual production was also below normal. Moreover, as a result of the devastating flood of last year in a vast area of the State — that flood was officially recognised as the worst in half a century —

and drought in fairly big area of Nowgong district, rice production this year must have been inadequate — much less than the average production in Assam.

These sources maintain that to overcome the deficit in actual production in the State it is necessary to import rice from outside the state this year. Without import, it is said, Assam cannot expect to meet even her minimum requirements of rice for the current year.

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Europe, based upon the Rapacki Plan, was supported too by the prominent leader of the Italian Christian-Democrats, Del Bo. A similar position was taken also by the International Socialist Congress at Rome.

Significant Reaction

It is significant that the Rapacki Plan is mentioned ever more frequently in the United States; to mention at least Senator Humphrey who expressed a positive attitude to the Polish Plan in a TV interview in Warsaw.

President Kennedy, when questioned at a press conference in the spring of 1962 as to what was the attitude of the United States Government to the Rapacki Plan, answered: "It is a matter which must be examined". Those words were not, however, reflected in the stand taken by the US delegate at the Geneva disarmament talks.

Nevertheless, Poland has no doubt that sooner or later Western countries, and among them also the USA, will realise the reason, necessity and urgency of a realistic ap-

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Dogmatism Under Fire

★ From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW:

The centre of interest now shifts to Berlin to the forum of the German Communists. The participation of Nikita Khrushchov and other top leaders of socialist countries in the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany brings into limelight the city of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Ernest Thaelmann.

HERE today's great debate of the international Communist movement and the ideological struggle against the left-wing opportunism, adventurism, sectarianism and conservative dogmatism of the Chinese and Albanian leaders, the struggle for the unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement on the basis of trusted principles of Marxism-Leninism will move another step forward.

Meanwhile, the mighty reverberations of the great salvo fired by PRAVDA against the citadels of modern Trotskyism and heard obstinate adventurism continue to shake their foundations. The mighty world-wide echo of the PRAVDA editorial and universal support and response of the progressive and peace loving humanity prove that the article is by no means a narrow Party document.

The reaction it has evoked show that the questions it has raised go far beyond the framework of Party discussion and touch upon the vital problems connected with the very existence and survival of humanity and human civilisation. The Soviet press continues to devote considerable space to the world-wide reaction of international Communist movement to PRAVDA's historic editorial. Under big headlines like "Unity is the guarantee of victory", "The holy duty of Communists is to preserve the solidarity of our ranks", "Timely and just", "Mighty source of strength," etc., the papers continue to publish articles, speeches and letters of world Communist leaders and rank and file workers.

Czechs And French

In a letter to PRAVDA, Ladislav Stoll, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences says, "The dogmatists who have not understood that the wise and peaceful solution of the Caribbean crisis was not the result of the weakness but of the strength of the Soviet Union and of the Socialist camp, the dogmatists who have not understood that the deepest content of Marxism is the ardent feeling of real and active humanism, have not understood anything of the revolutionary Leninist teaching. The fact that the divergences of some Communist parties have more than anything else a subjective character, strengthens our belief that these divergences can and should be removed under the guidance of the firm principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

Dangerous Line-Up

During these critical events those people also showed themselves who consider themselves to be infallible Marxist-Leninists but in fact carry on their policy from positions of dogmatism, a policy which objectively leads to the unleashing of international conflicts. Political struggles have their own logic, Tsedenbal says. Opposition to the Marxist-Leninist line and anti-Sovietism lead to agreement with the worst reactionaries.

The representatives of Marxist-Leninist parties have together come out in defence of the general line of the world Communist movement and gave a principled evaluation of the incorrect and extremely harmful actions of the Chinese comrades who support and encourage the Albanian leaders in every way which is known to the world Communist movement and the imperialist camp for a long time.

The baseless charges again put forward recently by the Chinese comrades are, to say the least,

and even somewhat earlier "for indeed the Chinese comrades, the Albanian comrades, did not agree in fact with the theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU."

"They did not agree with the theses of the possibility of averting wars. They did not agree with the theses on the possibility of winning power by peaceful means. They did not agree with the condemnation of the personality cult. And despite the decisions of the meeting of the representatives of 81 Parties they gradually launched subversive splitting activities within the international movement."

"All disagreements may be examined on the condition that this will be done in the spirit of the theses of the 20th Congress of CPSU which are of general importance and in implementation of the decisions of the Comferences of 1957 and 1960. Those jointly taken decisions condemn any activity which may result in undermining the unity of the international Communist and Workers' movement."

"Therefore, wishing to overcome the existing differences we condemn the splitting activities carried on by the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour and, more and more openly now, by the Communist Party of China; the activities which run counter precisely to the settlement of controversial problems, and which, on the strength of that, can only gladden imperialism."

"We recommend that our entire Party should read and study the document published in PRAVDA and reprinted by L'HUMANITE. We shall act jointly with all fraternal parties, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is the international recognised advance guard of the international Communist and Workers' movement in the struggle for fresh victories of peace, democracy, national independence and for the triumph of Communism which brings liberation."

Innumerable articles from the Communist newspapers of many countries have appeared here supporting the principled position taken by the CPSU, TRUBUNA LUDU of Poland while supporting the general line of the world Communist movement also points out:

"The CPSU works for the strengthening of the union of Socialist countries with the young national states, wants all debates to be solved by negotiations and repudiates measures likely to weaken the friendship of the socialist states with the countries which have liberated themselves from colonialism and underlines the position of progressive forces in these states. Now the dogmatists try to make the revolutionary process in this highly varied world fit one old scheme."

PRAVDA of January 15 gave prominence to Palmiro Togliatti's reply to Chinese criticism (See page 5).

PRAVDA also published statements by the Communist Parties of USA, Austria and Great Britain. The Communist Party of Great Britain declares that the present situation in the international Communist movement causes alarm and calls for unity. The CPGB points out that today the danger of dogmatism in the international movement has increased and practical and political struggle must be waged against it. The CPGB calls for preparations to be made for a new international conference.

In an Editorial on the opening day of the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party in Berlin PRAVDA said that more than 70 delegations of fraternal Parties were attending and the Congress would be an international forum of Communists.

On British Television

From Omeo Gooptu

LONDON, January 14:

Some essential points in the great debate now going on within international Communist movement found partial expression in an important television programme "The Great Divide" in Britain.

WELL-KNOWN commentators took part in it, including K. S. Karol of Paris L'Express, Sir William Hayter, former British ambassador in Moscow and Harold Wilson of Labour Party. The narrator and interviewer was John Freeman, Editor, New Statesman.

However, reasons for popular interest in the programme was the participation of two outstanding Italian Communist leaders, Giancarlo Pajetta, Secretary of the Party and Gioglio Amendola, a Member of the Secretariat. Proceedings and decisions of the last Italian Party Congress are still reverberating throughout Britain and the presence of these Italian Communists had naturally aroused tremendous interest.

Replying to a question by Freeman as to whether he would advocate another World Communist Conference to bring about "a compromise between Russian and Chinese Communism," Pajetta said he was in favour of such a meeting, but did not think the expression "compromise" appropriate and added that a conference should try to find a basis for a general understanding on fundamental principles.

When the Italian Party spoke of unity, it did not mean every one repeating the same words mechanically, but international solidarity formed by many experiences. English people should understand it from experience of Commonwealth. "You have for a long time tried to find formula for unity. But you are not in full agreement as you were before first World War," Pajetta said.

Explaining some differences between Chinese and Italian Communist Parties, Pajetta said his Party stressed the importance of policy of co-existence for develop-

Mongolian Journal

ULAN BATOR, January 10:

In solving the vitally important question of our time—peaceful co-existence or war—the Marxist-Leninist Parties consistently abide by the Leninist principles of peaceful co-existence, says the newspaper UNEN today. In its leading article, entitled "Raise higher the banner of peace and socialism," the newspaper says that the existence of the world socialist system is the main factor capable of curbing the warmongers.

THE Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 have laid down the strategic and tactical line of all the Communist and Workers' Parties, pointing to the possibility of preventing a world war. The correctness of the Leninist foreign policy of peaceful co-existence is confirmed by the life and experience of the struggle waged by millions upon millions of people.

Demobilisation Of Popular Forces

The fact that the dogmatists have substituted Lenin's thesis on the substance of imperialism by loud phrases about "paper tigers," actually leads to the demobilisation of the popular forces, which are fighting against imperialism, and is fraught with extremely dangerous consequences. The line, which the dogmatists try to impose on the international Communist movement, arises from a lack of confidence in the strength of the popular masses, a lack of confidence that socialism can triumph in new countries without wars. This line is harmful to the cause of socialism.

For National Defence Communists Help Collect Rs. 50 Lakhs

Punjab leads the other States in its contribution to the National Defence Fund and the bulk of the collection is by the common people, the rich having sat tight on their cash and gold—a fact noted and even publicly commented upon by several Ministers and leading officials.

THE workers have generally contributed one day's wages and in many cases more. The peasantry have made generous contributions all over the State—not excluding the areas worst hit by the floods. The middle classes in the towns too have tightened their belts and responded to the call.

In other ways also — purchasing bonds, donating ornaments, donating blood, working for civil defence, etc.—the com-

munists have also been active. When they saw Communists being arrested under D. I. Rules. Seeking to exploit the sentiments for unity in their following the Akalis led by Master Tara Singh and the Jan Sangh ganged up and at the recently-held Akali Conference at Patiala the odd spectacle of Jan Sangh leaders addressing an Akali gathering was seen.

This was not a unity spectacle as it was made out to be—

rabid anti-Communism as the Jan Sangh or the Master's Akali Dal.

Where Congressmen—Ministers or State leaders—have gone to the people they have got good response, but at places the undue reliance on the bureaucracy has produced various negative features — for example multiple burdens on the common people; inequality of sacrifice; bureaucratic commandeering instead of patriotic appeals, etc.

After the cease-fire the State Congress Working Committee met at Chandigarh and decided not to permit misuse of common platforms for attacks on the Prime Minister or his policies and directed Congressmen to see that they are stopped. But it remains to be consistently applied, as instances of even Congressmen and some officials attacking these policies are still there.

The record of the Communists far exceeds any of the opposition parties, so far as Defence Fund collections go, while with regard to policies the Communists firmly defended the policies of the Prime Minister while all the other opposition parties made it their main target of attack. While Communists gave unconditional support, these parties tried to exploit the situation in a partisan manner.

Rough Estimate

At a rough estimate the collections in which the Communists played a leading role would amount to Rupees five million. Of this total Rupees one million are in the form of one-day wage contributions made by workers in Trade Unions in which Communists work. Some notable examples may be cited:

● Comrade Satya Pal Dang is President of Chhehrata Municipal Committee and leader of the Mazdoor Ekta Union. Out of the total collection of Rs. 41,315.90 from Chhehrata the workers contributed Rs. 24,071.22 and this is mainly the collection of the Mazdoor Ekta Union.

● Similarly the Phagwara workers led by the Kapra Mills Mazdoor Union contributed Rs. 40,000. The Faridabad Trade Unions contributed Rs. 25,000.

In the rural areas Communist Panchayat members, Sarpanches and Block Samiti Members played a most active role in many cases openly acknowledged by the local officials. For example, Burj Hamira is a small village in Moga tehsil. The Sarpanch, Comrade Karnal Singh, got a letter of thanks from the B.D.O. for a contribution of Rs. 2,000, i.e., double the quota of Re. 1 per acre taken in the Block Samiti. The S.D.O. acknowledged in a public meeting that the village had excelled all other villages in the Block.

Moga tehsil where the Communists won two out of the three Assembly constituencies was the worst hit in the last floods. Still it does not lag behind in fund contribution in

a district (Ferozepore) which leads the entire country.

In Bhatinda the local officials had a pleasant surprise when such villages as Siwan, Bahman Diwana far excelled other villages when they had thought that those being Communist strongholds not much could be expected.

In Sangrur district in three constituencies won by the Communists, village after village—well-known as Communist strongholds—has excelled other villages of same size. Longowal (Rs. 21,000), Bhaudaur (Rs. 13,000), Bhatol (Rs. 5,000), Sahor (Rs. 3,600), Jaldialwal (Rs. 5,500), Cheenwal Kalan (nearly Rs. 14,000) are only some of the notable instances. Dandowal, a tiny village in Jullundur District led by its Communist sarpanch Chain Singh donated Rs. 2,000. Dozens of such instances can be given from each district.

Block Samiti members actively campaigned in their areas. Comrade Sewa Singh of Boore Jatha (Hoshiarpur) was openly acknowledged by the D.C. as the most active worker. Comrade Ujagar Singh of Baghapurana block led all in that area. Comrade Kulkant Singh, member B. S. and Director, Co-operative Sugar Mill, Bhogpur took the initiative in getting Rupees one lakh contributed from a special fund.

of the mill besides local mass collections by him and his comrades.

Some instances of individual donations of gold and land may also be cited. Comrade Girdhari Ram of Mandiphoor gave 25 grams of gold. The wife of Comrade Dhaniram, Secretary of Kurali branch donated all her gold ornaments weighing 17 tolas. Women workers such as Vimla Dang, Sheela Didi, Inderjit etc. gave their only bangles and earrings. Several Communist workers gave land—for example Gunam Singh of Siwan gave one kanal and Jai Gopal of Lehre 24 bighas.

In Joint Defence Committees such as Jandiaila, Phillaur, Talwandi Bhai, Gidar Baha, where Congressmen and Communists were in leading positions, the Communists are acknowledged to have done their job most worthily. So also in other committees—a fact which even our opponents who clamoured for our expulsion dare not deny.

Reaction's Attempt Foiled

It is because of this outstanding contribution and vigorous initiative that the efforts of reaction to slander the Communists and to incite mob attacks on Party offices and

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Release Of Communists Demanded by Dange Interview with Prime Minister

The Chairman of the Communist Party of India, S. A. Dange met the Prime Minister on January 11.

HE conveyed to the Prime Minister the strong feeling of the CPI over the arrest of over 700 Communists all over the country under the Defence of India Rules. This includes 10 MPs and 40 MLAs.

Dange pointed out to the Prime Minister that there was absolutely no justification for the detention of Communists and demanded their immediate release.

Dange also gave the Prime Minister impressions of his recent tour. The countries he visited, Dange told the Prime Minister, were greatly disturbed over the Sino-Indian border conflict and were anxious that it should be resolved peacefully.

It may be recalled here that Dange had undertaken the trip to acquaint the Communist Parties in various countries with the resolution of the National Council of the CPI.

Bhupesh Gupta Meets President

ON January 8, Bhupesh Gupta, MP, leader of the Communist Group in Rajya Sabha met the President.

He drew the attention of the President to the large number of arrests of Communists and trade unionists and others which have taken place in all parts of the country under the Defence of India Rules.

He told the President that there was no need for Government to think that the Communists would in any way do anything prejudicial to the defence efforts which the Party fully supported.

Khrushchev Speaks

Addressing the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and its guests from 70 countries in Berlin on Jan. 16, Nikita Khrushchev described the recent congresses of fraternal parties as "convincing evidence of the steady growth of the fighting strength of the international working class and communist movement".

THESE congresses have "demonstrated the unshakable devotion of communists to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and their firm determination to strengthen the great socialist camp, the unity of their ranks in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism".

Dwelling on the successes of the Soviet people in the building of communism, the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said that in 1962 the industrial production topped the output of the pre-war five-year plan period.

In other words, at present one year of industrial development equals some 13 pre-war years.

In four years of the Seven-Year Plan the national income in our country has increased 91 per cent.

"We are happy to see that affairs are also going well in the German Democratic Republic," Khrushchev said.

Expressing his views on "one of the most important and acute international problems—the German problem," Khrushchev stressed that "it is a task of worldwide importance to secure, with due regard for the existing situation, the peaceful co-existence of the two German states".

He said that "far-reaching changes have occurred" since the question of concluding a peace treaty with both German states and the normalisation on this basis of the West Berlin issue was raised. "The positions of the German Democratic Republic have grown stronger."

Khrushchev characterised August 13, 1961, when the border with West Berlin was put

under control, as a historic day in the development of the German Democratic Republic.

Proceeding from the standpoint of the immediate interest of the socialist countries, the problem of the German peace treaty is not really what it was before the defence measures were taken on the GDR border with West Berlin. This does not go to say, of course, that these countries have lost interest in concluding the peace treaty. This question is still of most vital importance, Khrushchev stressed.

A settlement, which would put an end to the ranting claims of the revenge-seekers and would serve as a legal basis for post-war peace in Europe, is of equal interest for the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries, as well as for the neutral countries.

That West Berlin has become, because they seek to prolong the existence of the NATO war base in that city as a centre of dangerous international provocations and a source of added strain in Europe and the rest of the world.

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ful co-existence and do not want a new war to break out".

Some Western politicians try to assure us that the menace to peace on the part of the German revenge-seekers and militarists is strongly exaggerated. But they have "bad eyes and very short memory", Khrushchev stated.

Bundeswehr generals, he said, are straining to get atomic weapons. "Insane men! They refuse to understand as yet that if war were to break out, West Germany would burn out like a candle in the very first hour of war."

For Agreement On Disarmament

Nikita Khrushchev said: "So long as there is no German peace treaty it will probably be difficult to expect any telling progress towards a disarmament agreement." It is precisely the unsolved German problem that is prompting the arms build-up and increased military expenditures.

The people who reject the Soviet guarantee proposals regarding West Berlin do so not because they think them insufficient, Khrushchev said, but because they do not want to loosen the knot of tension



for a peace treaty & w. berlin settlement

that West Berlin has become, because they seek to prolong the existence of the NATO war base in that city as a centre of dangerous international provocations and a source of added strain in Europe and the rest of the world.

"The responsible Western statesmen should draw due conclusions from the simple lesson delivered by the crisis in the Caribbean, namely that there is no reason to expect that, having safely emerged from one crisis, one can automatically emerge from another dangerous crisis."

"To make the war threat recede, it is necessary to eliminate the causes of possible international conflicts."

Khrushchev stated that the policy of "flinging back communism", "liberating the East European countries", and the policy of balancing "on the brink of war" have suffered a complete failure. Not only did the imperialists fail to "fling back" communism, to weaken its power, but quite the reverse: they themselves keep losing their positions in the world.

Khrushchev noted that "we have no grounds for pessimism". The economy of the socialist countries is growing and gaining in strength.

lately, due to the change in the correlation of forces in the international scene, the struggle between the two world systems entered a new phase. "The imperialists have been divested of their nuclear weapons' monopoly once and for all, and have long since lost their superiority in means of delivering nuclear weapons to target. The United States, the leading power of the imperialist world, has lost the advantages it enjoyed through its geographic disposition and has become vulnerable to retaliation."

Khrushchev warned that one should always bear in mind that the forces of reaction and war are highly active. They are adding strain to the international situation and hatching manifold plans of a world thermo-nuclear war. It is therefore essential, he pointed out, that all the peace-loving forces should join more and more closely in the struggle to prevent a thermo-nuclear war and make peace more secure.

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At Berlin Congress

OVERLEAF

***FROM OVERLEAF**

the development of the national liberation movement, and the growing struggle of the masses in the capitalist countries against the monopolies.

All this is weakening the positions of imperialists in the international arena.

To be sure, the imperialists have not abandoned the notion to involve one or another of the neutral states in their aggressive policy, to inveigle it into their military blocs.

In this connection Khrushchov said that the statesmen of some countries that call themselves non-aligned and adhere to neutralist positions, defined the substance and nature of existing military blocs incorrectly and identified them.

The aggressive politico-military alignments of the imperialists should not be confused with the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, set up not for attacking other countries, not for aggression, but to prevent the threat of war, Khrushchov stressed.

Khrushchov noted also that in our time the dividing line in the world did not pass only between the military alignments. There are two opposed social systems in the world—the socialist and the capitalist. Yet military blocs cannot be identified with systems.

To obtain an accurate picture of the modern world, it is essential to see the dividing line that follows the political, economic and social principle. Thus, it is not a question of military blocs but of two different social systems.

USA Forced To Reckon With Facts

Recalling events in the Caribbean area in October last, N. S. Khrushchov said that the Soviet Government and the Cuban Government pondered on what could be done, and weighed various solutions. We wanted to bring it home to the United States imperialists that should they resolve to launch an aggressive attack on Cuba, they would have to reckon with the eventuality of thermo-nuclear retaliation.

It was only such measures that could induce the United States statesmen to appraise the realities of the situation more soberly, Khrushchov said.

"The United States President in his message to the Soviet Government gave the pledge before the world that the United States would not invade Cuba and would stop its allies from doing so. Thereby the United States Government virtually had to renounce armed intervention against the Republic of Cuba."

"It was a failure of the policy of the more aggressive imperialist circles and a victory for the policy of peaceful co-existence, of fighting against imperialism; it was a triumph for the policy aimed at preventing the export of counter-revolution."

Replying to the critics of the Soviet stand during the

crisis, who claim that the USSR had retreated by removing the rockets from Cuba, Khrushchov said.

"Yes, it was a concession we made for a concession by the other side; it was a mutual concession. The imperialists had to make a concession by renouncing an invasion of Cuba. As for us, our aim in installing the rockets was to safeguard Cuba against an imperialist invasion. It follows that our rockets played their part."

The head of the CPSU delegation stressed that the Soviet Union did not pursue the purpose of mounting a thermo-nuclear attack on the United States and thereby begin a world thermo-nuclear war. "The only reason why we installed our rockets in Cuba was to stop the United States imperialists' aggression against Cuba."

Having noted that by installing rockets in Cuba the USSR pursued the purpose of preventing the unleashing of a new world war, Khrushchov said: "If the events are assessed from this standpoint, we are the winners. It is a gain for the peace forces, for the forces of socialism, the forces building communism."

As things are in our day, Khrushchov continued, the struggle for peace has become

a most important factor in the struggle for socialism.

"The objective interests of the socialist countries, of the international working class movement and the national liberation movement are inseparable from the struggle to ward off a nuclear war."

The newly-fledged theoreticians try to create a "theory" to the effect that the road to victory for socialism runs through war between states, through destruction, bloodshed and the death of millions of people.

"One cannot solve problems of war and peace without taking the actual situation into account. One must have the courage to face up soberly to the facts as they are and to weigh with scientific precision the eventual results of a modern war, should attempts to prevent it fail," Khrushchov said.

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted that foreign scientists and military experts estimate that the United States now has roughly 40,000 hydrogen bombs and warheads. Everyone knows that the Soviet Union, too, has more than enough of this stuff.

Scientists estimate that the first blow alone would take a toll of 700 to 800 million human lives. All the big cities would be wiped out or destroyed not only in the two leading nuclear countries, the United States and the USSR, but in France, Britain, Germany, Italy, China, Japan and many other countries of the world.

Khrushchov said: "I am not saying these things to frighten anyone. I am simply citing data at the dis-

posal of science. These data cannot but be reckoned with."

There can be no doubt, Khrushchov continued, that a world nuclear war if started by the imperialist maniacs, would inevitably result in the downfall of the capitalist system, a system breeding wars. "But would the socialist countries and the cause of socialism all over the world benefit from a world nuclear disaster? Only people who deliberately shut their eyes to the facts can think so."

"As regards Marxist-Leninists, they cannot propose to establish a communist civilisation on the ruins of centres of world culture, on land laid waste and contaminated by nuclear fallout."

We have always considered and still consider the principle of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems—a principle proclaimed by Lenin—to be the only correct one, the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said, adding that "the policy of peaceful co-existence has acquired special significance in present conditions."

"Its ultimate objective is to provide the most favourable conditions for the victory of socialism over capitalism

any situation, the working class, led by its vanguard, must use it to win power. Should exploiter classes resort to the use of force against the people, the people have a right to take the most drastic measures, including an armed struggle in the interests of the victory of socialism."

"Solid unity of the world communist movement is a most important condition for our success in the struggle for peace and socialism throughout the world. Our unity is based on a common ideology—Marxism-Leninism—the principles of proletarian internationalism," the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed.

"Our duty is to unite all revolutionary forces, to steel and ideologically equip the communist movement. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union abides by the common agreed line of the world communist movement. It has adhered, and will adhere, to the platform elaborated by the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties at their meetings in 1957 and 1960."

It is true that there may arise a difference of opinion on certain problems, including vital ones, between communists of different countries. "Differences may arise and do arise in life, but we must

be an incorrect, subjective approach."

Khrushchov said: Although the Albanian leaders show incomprehension on a number of highly important issues and we are combating that, we consider that Albania is a socialist country and that its people have displayed genuine heroism in the struggle for the victory of socialism."

Khrushchov continued: "We have always firmly adhered and will adhere to the common, agreed line of the world communist movement. As far as the fundamental issues of the struggle for peace and socialism are concerned, we have never made, nor will ever make, any concessions. We have fought and will continue to fight against every deviation from Marxism-Leninism—against right and left opportunism alike, against revisionism as much as against dogmatism and sectarianism."

"We are convinced that only by this struggle can we truly strengthen our ranks, ensure a creative approach to the solution of the cardinal problems of today and achieve further successes in the communist movement."

"The Central Committee of our Party would consider it useful now to call a halt to

urgent questions for consolidation of world peace

through peaceful economic competition."

The advocates of the "theory" of the victory of socialism through war also deny that socialism can win by peaceful means, saying that this is a departure from Marxism.

Khrushchov said: "We must say for the edification of these admirers of the cult of Stalin that it was none other than Stalin who, in an interview with British communists after the Second World War, propounded the idea of using the peaceful, parliamentary way to bring about the victory of socialism."

Khrushchov again stressed that the Soviet Union supports the just wars of peoples not only through its declarations and statements, but materially. "The colonial people's wars for their liberation are holy wars, and it is for this reason that we have been, and will always be on the side of the peoples fighting for their independence."

Khrushchov refuted the allegation of Albanian leaders that the CPSU advocates only the peaceful way and rules out the method of armed struggle.

Khrushchov said: "We stand on Marxist-Leninist positions. Specific preconditions are required for the revolution to win. If there is a revolution-

not forget that the differences arising between communist and workers' parties are no more than fleeting episodes, whereas the relations between the peoples of the socialist countries are even now being shaped for centuries to come."

This is why the relations between fraternal parties, especially between socialist countries, can and should be determined by the main thing which unites us. As far as the fraternal parties are concerned, especially the parties of the socialist countries, the main thing is the common cause for which they are fighting i.e. the construction of socialism and communism.

"If we disagreed on certain questions and quarrelled, and then said at once that the socialist country whose leaders differed with us on something was not socialist, we would be showing subjectivism, pure and simple."

To cite an example, Khrushchov said, we differ with Yugoslavia on certain ideological issues. But this in itself does not warrant the claim that the country is not socialist.

"There are serious differences between the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour and ourselves. Must we therefore declare, for subjective reason, that Albania is not a socialist country? It would

polemics between communist parties, to stop criticising other parties inside one's own party and allow some time for the passions to subside," Khrushchov said. He also noted that "it would be more reasonable, in the interests of the working class and our future, to stop now the polemics in the press on the disputed questions."

Khrushchov expressed the view that it was inexpedient to call immediately a conference of fraternal parties to discuss the ripe questions. "Such a meeting would lead, not to a calm and judicious removal of differences, but to their aggravation and to the danger of a split."

"Let us give time a chance to work for us. It will help us to understand who is right and who is wrong. Moreover, during this time we should get rid of all that is extraneous and accidental."

Khrushchov said: "The communist and workers' parties of the world are conscious of their immense responsibility for the fortunes of world socialism, of mankind, and they will stint no effort to sweep out of their way all that hinders the promotion of the unity and solidarity of our ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."