

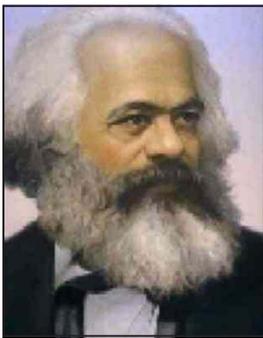
Proletarian Era

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LONG LIVE REVOLUTION



5 May, 1818 14 March, 1883

“Where the working class is not yet far enough advanced in its organization to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power, that is, the political power, of the ruling classes, it must at any rate be trained for this by continual agitation against the ruling classes and adopting an attitude hostile to their policy. Otherwise it will remain a plaything in their hands...”

— Karl Marx

[Letter to F. Bolte, 23 November, 1871]



9 December, 1879 5 March, 1953

Victory never comes of itself—it is usually won by effort...after the correct political line has been laid down, organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, its success or failure.”

— J. V. Stalin

[Report to the 17th Party Congress]

Demarcation of Sino-Indian border an urgent necessity

Behind all rhetoric of amity and peace, India and China the two big Asian countries, have long since been locked in border disputes. Heat of the dispute has waxed and waned, sometimes confined to diplomatic levels and exchange of fiery words, at others finding a let-out in exchange of gunfires. The Sino-Indian border war in 1962 was the sort of a culmination of a phase. It ended with the Chinese force capturing both the two disputed areas (discussed later) and unilaterally declaring a ceasefire on 21 November 1962 midnight. There was not, however, any formal ceasefire involving both the sides; neither was there any settlement of the dispute about the frontier. Subsequently it was more or less peaceful barring two or three small skirmishes in 1967 and 1984. For over the last one decade, both the countries appeared eager at resolving the border dispute. In 1993 and 1996 the two sides signed ‘Sino-Indian Bilateral Peace and Tranquility Accord’, an agreement to maintain peace and tranquility along the Line of Actual Control (LoAC). Very recently, the controversy is revamped, albeit still at diplomatic level with the Chinese Ambassador Sun Yuxi making remarks in January 2007 that ‘China claims all of Arunachal Pradesh as its territory’. This set the ball rolling for allegations and

counter-allegations, the latest being a more recent comment of the Indian foreign minister. These simply fractured the quiet prevailing since the 1993 and 1996 agreements. Following the ignition in 2007, prior to Chinese president Hu Jin-tao’s visit to India in January 2008, India proposed a meeting of the special representatives. But China did not respond, although in their joint declaration made public, the Chinese president and the Indian prime minister wished for a package of peaceful settlement. Thereafter, when Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh visited Arunachal Pradesh, China raised objection at the diplomatic level and made it public. In reply, Indian foreign minister sternly upheld India’s claim over Arunachal. Thus both the sides were blowing hot and cold. No doubt, these exchanges bear in them the danger of alarmingly fanning up the cold war on the border.

Dispute has a long history, shaped in present form in late fifties of the last century

The Sino-Indian border dispute has been a pretty lingering issue, that has taken the present shape particularly since the late fifties of the last century. Modern India, including its territorial

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SUCI calls the interim budget an attempt by the ruling dispensation to brighten electoral prospects presenting a rosy picture of economy

Reacting on the interim budget of 2009-10 presented by union finance minister in the parliament yesterday, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, in course of a statement issued on 17 February said that it is nothing but a perfunctory as well as camouflaged, if not utterly misleading, representation of the country’s actual state of economics. The budget speech is only stuffed with a list of so-called achievements of the current government sought to be highlighted with jugglery of figures. While the toiling people are belching blood to bear the burden of global capitalist meltdown, the budget does not contain any mention whatsoever about

the concern of the government to provide some relief to the suffering masses let alone indicating any combative measure, observed Comrade Mukherjee with disquiet. When the expectation was of certain concrete steps to improve the rapidly dwindling purchasing power of the people plagued by soaring prices of essential commodities, mounting unemployment and huge job loss, the government without caring to address this burning problem has only ended up in parroting customary figures of increased plan outlays and that too without spelling out the specific means to raise the resources, added

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Sino-Indian border dispute originated from imperialist machination

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demarcations, has been shaped during the two hundred year long subjugation under the British imperialists. This sovereign capitalist state of India emerged with independence earned in 1947 when the Indian bourgeoisie assumed the state power. Similarly, before it emerged as the Peoples' republic through the revolution in 1949, China had a long history of being a semi-feudal, semi-colonial state, with particularly its remote peripheral regions annexed into the Chinese empire but enjoying very loose administrative control. Subsequently, with counter revolution, the socialist China has now been reduced to a capitalist state. But back in the fifties of the last century, coming out of their dark past of imperialist subjugation and machination, both India and China were looking ahead towards a brighter future with peaceful, cooperative relationship with the neighbours and peaceful settlement of border disputes with them. Both the countries were enthusiast participants of the Bandung Conference of which India was one of the five sponsor Asian nations and which was attended by 24 other newly independent Afro-Asian countries including China. Held between 17 and 24 April 1955, the Conference had the objective, among others, of deliberating upon 'Peaceful settlement of disputes and peaceful coexistence of nations'. China, which at that time had just set out on its march for socialism, even suggested a few concrete measures in regard to dealing with boundary problems with its neighbouring countries. Those were put forward by the Chinese premier Zhou Enlai, at the Bandung Conference as also independently on different subsequent occasions. Thus it was suggested, first, that the concerned countries identify such sectors of their boundary which needed to be precisely defined by the neighbouring governments and declare them open for consideration. Second, it might require some time; so pending that, the neighbours should jointly agree to maintain *status quo*, with a view to avoiding contact between their armed forces, engaged in what may be called forward patrols at and around the border, because such forward

patrols always bear in them the risk of conflicts, clashes and casualties. Third, the countries should initiate negotiations to seek agreement on mutually satisfactory boundary line, taking into account relevant treaties, traditional customary boundaries etc. Fourth, it was necessary to establish a joint boundary commission to mark out the agreed line on the ground. Fifth, and the final, in each case of disputes, a new and comprehensive treaty be arrived at to put the seal on the agreement on the basis of all this. Most of such boundary problems were handed down to the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa, by their past colonial-imperialist or feudal rulers. And now for the sake of peaceful, prosperous progress of their people, it was urgently needed that those be resolved immediately. For that purpose, the Chinese proposals appeared more than words, reflecting a thoughtful rational approach. Obviously, that was also subject to further ramifications and refinement, as the case may be, to be reached through mutual discussions between concerned countries. Yet, notwithstanding all such efforts, the border disputes between India and China cropped up to fast assume alarming shape. They not only grew more tense, but even turned into an exchange of fire in August 1959, and even a war, as mentioned, in 1962.

Since then, the two sovereign countries have lived through nearly five decades. Yet the problems still stand live and dangerous. Whereas it was necessary to reach at a just and lasting solution to the boundary problems through discussions and negotiations, the issue is being dragged on and on. Rounds of talks are held on border issues only to end in fruitless fiasco. As a result, not only is the solution delayed, the continuous attrition has undermined relentlessly the friendly and cooperative relation between people of two countries. Moreover, capitalist counter-revolution has overrun the socialist China. Hence, like people of India, people of China too, now face the ruthless rule and designs of their respective capitalist states. The rulers of both the countries appear to be freshly invigorated to try fanning up the fire of border disputes instead of putting it off once for all. After all,

it is well-known that unresolved border issues only pay dividend to the reactionaries, the capitalist rulers to foment national jingoism in the respective peoples and thus to divert their attentions from the prevailing exploitative capitalist rule itself.

Over and above this, the Indian capitalism has not only assumed the imperialist character by now, it is also frantically trying to develop into a superpower in the south Asia, with the help of its hobnobbing and understanding with the US imperialism. In face of acute market crisis of the world capitalism-imperialism, the Indian capitalism is thus coming out with its expansionist design to increase its sphere of influence for the sake of ensured market in this region of world. The capitalist China is also emerging fast, though largely dormant as yet, as an imperialist superpower; it is also not free from its expansionist design for its own sphere of influence and guaranteed market in Asia. The US imperialism, in its turn, views the emergence of China as a superpower with suspicion and apprehension. These contradictions among the capitalist-imperialist countries particularly at this hour of acute market crisis the world capitalism-imperialism faces today, may also cast its shadow on the India-China border dispute. The US imperialism always infamous for its intrigues and interventions, is likely to steal into the scene to stealthily incite India and thus play upon the contradiction between India and China, to the extent of putting the emerging China in rein.

Under such circumstances, it is now high time that people of both India and China play their due role in finding the solution of these border disputes, desirable and necessary for both of them. Clearly, in the present days they face a new task, a new fight to launch. Indian people are already set to their task of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. Now, people of China face the task of developing their struggle anew to overthrow their capitalist rule and build up socialism again. Hence, both the Indian and Chinese people must feel the necessity of conducting their struggle for friendship and amity on the strength of the new bonding of anti-capitalist revolutionary ideology, on the basis of proletarian

internationalism. They, particularly the Indian people, will also have to be vigilant that the Indian rulers do not fall prey to the instigation and machinations of the US imperialism to play upon the contradictions between India and China centring round the border disputes. On the rock-bottom foundation for unity and amity developed in course of these struggles, Indian and Chinese people must put effective and definite pressure on their respective governments to speed up the discussions and negotiations, sincerely and meaningfully, to reach at just and lasting solutions of the border issues, as early as possible. And for that, they must have adequate and clear idea about the necessary details of how and why such border conflicts could crop up, from the beginning to culminating into the war and what the situation presently is. The present write-up is meant to cater to that need.

Two sectors as bones of contention

India and China share a nearly 4000 km long boundary which follows the Himalayan mountains between Burma and Pakistan. A number of disputed regions lie along this border. At its western end is the Aksai Chin region, an area the size of Switzerland, that sits between the Chinese provinces of Tibet and Xinjiang (formerly called Sinkiang). It meets Ladak of Jammu and Kashmir of India. At 17,000 feet elevation, Aksai Chin was desolate, with the only human importance in its providing an ancient trade route, that too for a brief period during summer, for caravans of yaks from Sinkiang to Tibet that carried silk, jade, hemp, salt or wool. The eastern border runs along Tibet and the present Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh (formerly called the North East Frontier Agency or NEFA, after independence of India). At both these sectors, the boundaries, rather the limits of sovereignty were indeterminate. The British rulers of India with imperialist and expansionist interests took advantage of the then semi-feudal, semi-colonial condition of China with weak administration, and encroached into the Chinese territory, particularly in the western sector of Aksai Chin and Tibet

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McMahon line was a fraud imposed by the British imperialists

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regions, as and when required. The actual border line remained unsettled and still remains so, naturally bearing seeds of dispute in them. In fact, the 1962 war was over the sovereignty of Aksai Chin and Arunachal Pradesh border regions and the acceptability of the demarcations like McMahon Line. Aksai Chin is claimed by India to belong to Kashmir and by China to be part of Xinjiang; NEFA or Arunachal Pradesh (at least a part of it is called South Tibet by China) is also claimed by both nations. A brief glance through the history may help judge these claims and counterclaims in right perspective.

Aksai Chin

In the nineteenth century the completely barren, rocky and snowy region of Aksai Chin situated north-east of Kashmir was under the peripheral control of the Chinese Empire. Border negotiations between the British and the Chinese authorities remained undecided in regard to Aksai Chin. In 1865, British surveyor WH Johnson in agreement with Maharaja of Kashmir proposed a 'Johnson Line' placing Aksai Chin in Kashmir. China rejected the arrangement, but before there was any settlement, China had erected boundary markers at Karakoram Pass on the ancient caravan route between Xinjiang and Ladakh. Throughout most of the later parts of the nineteenth century, the British imperialists did make no further move and left the Aksai Chin with the Chinese administration. Their clear intention was to leave this region to serve as a buffer zone against probable invasion by the Russian empire. The border was known as the MacCartney-MacDonald Line, and both British-controlled India and China showed Aksai Chin as a Chinese territory. British interest on Aksai Chin was further diminished in early twentieth century, and after the Russian revolution, as the British rulers grew less apprehensive of Russian invasion. The border was left unmanned and undemarcated. As commented by Neville Maxwell, the well-known political analyst and writer who had worked extensively on the Sino-Indian relationship, the British had used as many as 11 different boundary lines in the

region, as their claims shifted with the political situation. At the time of Indian independence in 1947, the Johnson Line was running to be the choice of the British imperialist rulers as India's official western boundary. The new government of independent India followed the same line. On July 1, 1954, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru definitively stated the Indian position. He claimed that Aksai Chin had been part of the Indian Ladakh region for centuries, and that the border (as defined by the Johnson Line) was non-negotiable. Political observers like George N. Patterson, were, however, critical of the 'quality of the Indian evidence' provided in the government report as proof of India's claims to the disputed area; they were even termed as 'very poor, including some very dubious sources indeed'.

After the revolution in 1949, the newly established People's Republic of China took note of Aksai Chin as a part of the Chinese Republic. During the 1950s, China constructed a road through Aksai Chin, connecting Xinjiang and Tibet via Chinese National Highway Route No. G 219. Aksai Chin was easily accessible to the Chinese, but access from India, which meant negotiating the Karakoram mountains, was more problematic. Consequently India did not even learn of the existence of the road until 1957 — finally confirmed when the road was shown in Chinese maps published the following year. Thereafter, to establish its claim over Aksai Chin, India started patrolling and establishing army posts in the disputed zone, which China considered as intrusion. This led to minor conflicts and clashes here and there, but at last in most of the cases, both the sides agreed to maintain *status quo* and committed not to open fire first.

McMahon Line

Disputes centring round British encroachment and annexation created bitterness among the governments of the then China, Tibet and the British India. Apparently to resolve the disputes and make close and friendly relations with Peking (present Beijing) and Lasha, the British government convened a tripartite conference in Simla in 1913

inviting Tibetan delegates and the representatives of Chinese central government. Henry McMahon, the then foreign secretary of British India, who drew up the proposal, decided to bypass the Chinese and settle the border bilaterally by negotiating directly with Tibet. The Tibetan representative was induced to accept a new desired border line 'scientifically' drawn by McMahon. The line started from the western end of Burma and ran upto Bhutan. "The map was not shown, of course, to the Chinese representative at the conference. But McMahon tricked him into initialling the different map, on a very small scale which, when purporting to illustrate only a proposed division of Tibet into inner and outer zones, also incorporated McMahon's secretly drawn alignment." (*India's China War*, Neville Maxwell) It was thus a British manoeuvre which tricked the Tibetan representative to sign over and thus be dragged into the trick; it was also thrust upon the Chinese counterpart with McMahon managing to get the initial of the Chinese representative on a cleverly presented map. The Lasha authority repudiated their representative's action and Peking suspecting the fraud, declared that any agreement reached between the British and the Tibetan authorities would be illegitimate and null and void. Peking later objected to the proposed boundary between the regions of *Outer Tibet* and *Inner Tibet* and did not ratify it. McMahon admitted himself: "It is with great regret that I leave India without having secured the formal adherence of the Chinese Government to a Tripartite Agreement." in the 1913 Simla Conference. Months after this Simla Conference, China set up boundary markers south of the McMahon Line. For its part, Tibet did not object to any section of the McMahon Line excepting the demarcation of the trading town of Tawang, which the Line placed under British-Indian jurisdiction. However, by such chicanery of McMahon, the British annexed some 60,000 square miles area which China regarded as their own territory, an extension of Tibet, and which was depicted as Chinese on British as well as Chinese official maps. Thus emerged the McMahon Line, a boundary demarcation under

scanner since long, which the British sent back to the backburner after this fraud had been divulged. Until World War II, Tibetan officials were allowed to administer Tawang with complete authority. And it was not until the late 1930s that the British started to use the McMahon Line on official maps of the region. Before that it had been marked as 'undemarcated', against the border alignment shown in Chinese maps that ran along the foot hills. The new maps showed the Line as a well-marked and final international boundary. As in the case of western sector of Aksai Chin, here too, the government, and obviously the ruling capitalist class of the newly independent Indian capitalist state, felt no compunction to judge this controversial demarcation inherited from its colonial past. Rather, they accepted the disputed McMahon Line as its northern border in the region up to Bhutan. Henceforth, the Indian government maintained this position in all later references. Apparently as a clarification, it claimed later that this border was intended to run through the highest ridges of the Himalayas, as the areas south of the Himalayas were traditionally Indian. The Chinese government claimed that the disputed area in the Himalayas have been geographically and culturally part of Tibet since ancient times.

Post-independence developments: disputes snowball

As mentioned, immediately after the independence, the Indian government led by Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister expressed India's willingness to maintain friendly and close relation with China and other neighbouring countries. But the course of events started to put grave doubts on its intent and purpose. Call for friendship was accompanied by claims, for instance, that the disputed borders, such as the McMahon Line was 'not negotiable'. Also, in the same manner as the British did, the Indian military, started forward patrolling and setting up posts well within the disputed areas, both in the western and eastern sectors from Jammu Kashmir to NEFA.

In fact, instead of finding a solution to border issues, the

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REMEMBERING CLARA ZETKIN

— a great revolutionary

International Women's Day emerged as an inalienable part of working class movement. It is a day dedicated to the object of forging international solidarity and unity not only in the struggle for establishing equal rights and opportunities for women but for strengthening the revolutionary working class struggle. In this connection, the name that stands apart is that of Clara Zetkin, the great revolutionary. Hers was a remarkable role that has lost nothing of its significance today. Great and inspiring was her dauntless struggle for the cause of women, glorious the example she set. Throughout her life she upheld the correct revolutionary outlook steering clear of bourgeois feminism. Her entire activities were based on the realization that dawned on her at an early stage that the condition of womenfolk could be improved alone through a total transformation of the then society.

It was Clara Zetkin who in 1910 proposed on behalf of the revolutionary socialists at the Second International Women's Conference that a day be observed as Women's Day every year in every country. Its aim was not only to strengthen the struggle for equal social, economic and political rights of women, including immediate suffrage, but to strengthen international unity and solidarity of the working class as a whole. It was firmly rooted in workers' and women's rights movements that were growing in USA and also in Europe, with mass strikes, demonstrations against the inhuman treatment of workers in factories and demands for women's suffrage, among others, on the rise. In the USA a day dedicated to the cause of such movements had been observed there on a national level the year before. Clara Zetkin's proposal got accepted at the Second International Women's Conference, along with the slogan: 'The vote for women will unite our strength in the struggle for socialism'. And subsequently 8 March came to be declared as the International Women's Day.

Clara Zetkin was born in 1857 at Wiederau in Germany into the family of H. Eissner. Her father was a teacher who had sympathized with the 1848 revolutionary movement, and her mother kept in contact with the then women's movement initiated by some women of the elite section of society. When the family moved to Leipzig Clara Zetkin got enrolled in a teaching institute there that was headed by one of the leading figures of this movement.

During her years in Leipzig she came into contact with Ossip Zetkin, a Russian emigre, who later became her husband. Through him she came to know the German

socialists. She also began to study the teachings of Karl Marx, the great leader, teacher and guide of the proletariat. Seeing the plight and sheer misery of women workers, wasting away under toil for endless hours in factories, in workshops, as charwomen and servants, or as peasants, fettered and dependent in



Clara Zetkin (1857- 1933)

every aspect, she realized early in her life that women's emancipation was possible only through socialist revolution. And what she realized as truth, what her conscience enjoined her to do, throughout her life she never hesitated for a moment to do precisely that, no matter the consequences. Such was her revolutionary mettle. Thus, despite the fact that women were then legally barred from participating in political association, and despite the Exceptional Law being in force against the Socialists, she joined the German Social Democratic Party and she took active part in the socialist movement, in the illegal work of the party. And even though her own family, hostile to socialism, separated all ties.

In 1880 Ossip Zetkin was compelled to go into political exile

in France. She followed him two years later. They lived there with both their children in extreme penury, where she accomplished the difficult task of balancing family duties, political and professional work. About her years in France, Clara Zetkin wrote: 'The greatest part of my daytime was taken up with the upbringing of my children, or else work related with it. As for my literary work, there remained only the night.'

The same year that Clara Zetkin suffered the painful loss of her life-partner with the demise of Ossip Zetkin, that same year she was one of the organizers of the founding Congress of the Second International held in Paris in 1889, where she got elected as one of the secretaries. At the Congress she highlighted the demand of equality for women, and the necessity of their involvement in the revolutionary struggle for socialism. She held : to work for a livelihood and to attain economic independence constitutes a prerequisite for women's emancipation, which is however only possible within a socialist economy. The question of woman and the question of the workers are inextricably linked and find their last solution only in a socialist society based on labour emancipated from the capitalist. Thus, Clara Zetkin clearly demarcated the socialist women's movement from bourgeois women's movement.

For the first time a woman had defended women's equality at an international gathering. It was in response to the intervention of Clara Zetkin that the Second International gave the call to socialists of various countries to draw women into the revolutionary struggle. Subsequently, under its impact, the 1890 Erfurt Programme of the Social Democratic Party of Germany demanded full economic, political and legal equality for women. In 1892 she participated for the first time as a delegate in the German Social Democratic Party Conference. Thereafter, not a single conference of the party, not a single International Socialist Congress, no social democratic women's conference was held where Clara

Zetkin did not take active part. She was much sought after as a political speaker. The American Socialist de Leon declared that when Clara Zetkin translated the speeches of the German delegates, including those of Bebel, the translations were better and more revolutionary than the original. Frederick Engels, who was acquainted with Clara Zetkin and her work, evaluated it highly.

In Germany Clara Zetkin fully dedicated herself to bring about the political organization of women in Germany in the 1890s. In this endeavour *Die Gleichheit*, (*Equality*) with her as Chief Editor, came to play a significant role. Its primary aim was to educate and develop the activists of the socialist women's movement themselves connected with the social democratic party of Germany, to make them equal to their task. From a modest 2000 copies in 1891 when Clara took charge, the circulation of *Die Gleichheit* rose to 11 000 in 1903 and further jumped to 125 000 copies in 1914. Clara Zetkin in the annual editorial of the organ clearly stated : '*Die Gleichheit* is directed especially to the most progressive members of the working class, whether they are slaves to capital with their hands or with their brains. It strives to school these theoretically, to make possible for them a clear understanding of the historical course of development and ability not only to work consciously in the battle for the liberation of the working class, but also to be effective in enlightening and training them as fighters with a clear goal.'

At the same time Clara Zetkin personally involved herself in the trade union movement. Thus, for example she herself was a member of the bookbinders' union for over 25 years and personally led the trade union movement of the tailors and seamstresses. About the fact that after slaving away for long hours, the pittance women earned was only about half of what the male workers got for identical work, Clara Zetkin commenting on the ruthless calculation of the capitalists behind this glaring discrimination, once observed, that the capitalist

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Clara Zetkin — a great revolutionary

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calculated that woman finds part of her means of livelihood as a wife in marriage or as a family member, and that as a woman, for her there was always prostitution to fall back upon! In *Die Gleichheit* she exposed the inhuman conditions of work especially for women everywhere, and pinpointed details of factory laws that could be utilized for the good of working women. The organ urged the readers to bring up their children in such a manner that girls are themselves able to break free from the conventional gender roles assigned to them and the boys too help with household work. As the reformist current within the social democratic party in Germany grew stronger, they tried to give the *Die Gleichheit* a populist orientation and interfered in many ways in the editorial work of Zetkin. As a result she was forced to issue a supplement meant for housewives and children. However she used this to spread general and cultural education, in particular, among the housewives and made valuable educational contributions for children.

True to its internationalist approach the organ also highlighted the activities of women workers and movements in other countries.

Throughout her life-struggle Clara Zetkin consistently upheld the correct revolutionary line on question of women as against the purely feminist approach. The feminist movement was oriented towards securing suffrage for women in the main and remained confined to obtaining some rights through reforms within the exploitative bourgeois system itself. Clarifying the socialist approach to the question Clara Zetkin declared: There is no such thing as a 'women's movement in and of itself' in a class divided society ... the end goal of working woman's struggle "is not free competition against men, but bringing about the political rule of the working class. Hand in hand with the men of her own class, the working class woman fights against capitalist society. "...The emancipation of the working class can therefore not be brought about by the women of all classes, but is solely the task of the working class irrespective of difference in sex.

In her struggle to steer the women's movement clear of the

pitfalls of feminism, it was the teachings of V.I. Lenin, the great leader of the proletariat that had all along provided invaluable guidance to her. In a conversation with Clara Zetkin in this context Lenin stressed, among others: "Must I again swear to you, or let you swear, that the struggles for our demands for women must be bound up with the object of seizing power, of establishing the proletarian dictatorship? That is our Alpha and Omega at the present time... The first proletarian dictatorship is a real pioneer in establishing social equality for women. It is clearing away more prejudices than could volumes of feminist literature..."

Emphasizing that the communist women's movement must itself be a mass movement, a part of the general mass movement, and discussing ways and means to involve women in movement, Lenin said: "I am thinking not only of proletarian women, whether they work in the factory or at home. The poor peasant women, the petty bourgeois — they, too, are the prey of capitalism and more so than ever since the war. The unpolitical, unsocial, backward psychology of these women, their isolated sphere of activity, the entire manner of their life — these are facts. It would be absurd to overlook them, absolutely absurd. We need appropriate bodies to carry on work amongst them, special methods of agitation and forms of organization. That is not feminism; that is practical, revolutionary expediency."

At the same time Clara Zetkin conducted an uncompromising struggle against reformist and revisionist line gradually gaining prominence in the political movement of that time. Decrying the reformist outlook of Bernstein and Kautsky as 'slave mentality', she referred to these leaders and wrote in 1906, that they were aiming to "convert social democracy into a tame lap-dog of a national social or social-liberal character, into a dog which offers its paw to every bourgeois scoundrel."

In the lead up to World War I, Clara Zetkin's political differences grew with the leadership of German Social Democratic Party that was treading the path of shameless compromise with the capitalist-

imperialist war efforts. In a blatant betrayal of the resolutions of the Second International that had called for mass action against imperialist war, the German social democratic party voted in favour of imperialist war credits in the Reichstag in 1914. Clara Zetkin strongly condemned the heinous role played by the leadership of the party and castigated Kautsky for his 'cowardly theory that the proletarian international is a weapon in times of peace only and not during a war' and began to actively organize movements to oppose the war.

In an article entitled *Working Class Women, Be Prepared*, published in the *Die Gleichheit* on 5th August 1914, Clara Zetkin argued that the war was in the interests of the big landlords and big capital. Calling on the women she wrote: 'For the working class, brotherhood between people is not a hollow dream, world peace is not just a pretty word... What must be done? There is a single moment in the life of the people when they can win all if only everyone is set. Such a moment is here. Working Women, Be Prepared'.

In the following years Clara Zetkin carried on her campaign against the war in which *Die Gleichheit* played an important role, for as long as Clara Zetkin retained the editorship despite growing interference by the socialist party's revisionist leadership. In recognition of her role, the British journal *Labour Women* wrote: "She is a socialist in her very fibre and she is a fighter ready to face death rather than give way in any issue of import in the people's struggle." Finally in 1917 she was removed as editor altogether. During the war she organized, among others, an illegal Women's Conference and brought out a manifesto, addressed to the Women of the Proletariat, who had to pay dearly with the loss of their husbands, their sons for this brutal war while capitalists were minting profit from war efforts, ending with the clarion call: "Down with war! Break through to socialism!" For this the Kaiser's government arrested and kept her in custody for several months for 'attempted treason'. After her release, Clara Zetkin along with her close friend Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, etc. became a

founder member of the internationalist Spartacus League. After the war Clara joined the Independent social democratic party and thereafter joining the Communist Party of Germany became a Central Committee Member.

From 1920 onwards Zetkin spent much of her time in USSR, partly for her work, and partly for health reasons. The executive committee of the Communist (or Third) International, Comintern, had appointed her as its "International Secretary of Communist Women" in that same year.

Despite blindness, illness and Nazi threats on her life Clara Zetkin returned to Berlin in 1932 at a time when Nazi fascist terror was engulfing the country. On the occasion of the convening of the new Reichstag, as its senior most member it fell to her to open the first session. In her speech she vehemently denounced fascism, and called for the ... "formation of a united front of all workers in order to turn back fascism." She closed her final speech in her native land with... "the hope that despite my current infirmities, I may yet have the fortune to open, as honorary president, the first Soviet Congress of a Soviet Germany."

By the time, Hitler had seized power in January 1933, Zetkin had returned to the Soviet Union, where she passed away on June 22, that same year.

On her last journey, working people joined in hundreds of thousands. Comrade Stalin, the great leader, himself was among the coffin-bearers, and other leaders included Molotov, Voroshilov, Kalinin and the presidium members of the Communist International. At Kremlin, beside the cremated bodies of Lenin and other great revolutionaries Zetkin's body was rested.

Even today, women have to surmount many difficulties in leading a political life, but in Clara Zetkin's time there were far greater hurdles to overcome. Yet Clara Zetkin reflected a unique strength of character and revolutionary determination as she stood up for the rights of the women as well as the working class. Thus, her life and struggle is a constant source of inspiration to the women, working people and the oppressed all over the world.

Sino-Indian border dispute

Rational approach to solution was there, yet disputes snowballed

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disputes started snowballing. They went on becoming bitter, gave way to conflicts and skirmishes and finally graded into the Indo-China border war of 1962. In the course, the unfortunate events and the issue itself, involving two major Asian countries, drew international attention. The imperialist hawks, particularly the US imperialists and the CIA, sniffed around to get hold of any chance to intervene, specially when one of the countries involved was a socialist state. At the same time democratic minded peace loving people of the world too felt concerned about the untoward developments between two countries, while both of them could have proved themselves as bulwark of peace and progress for newly independent Afro-Asian countries. Thus there were a number of serious investigative and in-depth studies of the issue, published at that time or later with newer and newer revelations, to probe into and ascertain which side was correct or which was not. Many of them revealed hitherto unknown or unassessed facts, marshalled them commendably or could present a rational analysis on their basis. There was hardly any scope to challenge their veracity and authenticity. Some such facts

brought out distinct incongruities in the Indian claims. Among these studies mention may be made of *India and China Crisis* by Steven A Hoffman, (University of California Press, 1990), *China's Decision for War with India in 1962*, a treatise by John W. Graver, *India's China War* by Neville Maxwell (the Australian journalist and historian; 1972) or *Unarmed Victory* by Bertrand Russel, the widely acclaimed philosopher and peace worker. Here too, the Indian government did not appear to be receptive and open-minded. They reacted even to ban the entry of some of these studies into the country. However, as chronicles of events, many of those studies remained valuable.

Thus, Hoffman corroborated Nehru's, rather Indian rulers', rigidity reflected in the repeated claim made in all negotiations, discussions or pronouncements, that the 'McMahon Line is unchangeable' and thus 'not negotiable' and the 'traditional and customary boundaries have long existed' 'geographically and naturally settled for ages'. Again "...on 20 November, 1950 Nehru proclaimed in the Indian parliament that the McMahon Line is India's border with Tibet in the north-east." Nehru conceded that maps showed a contrary border line well to the south, and had done so "for the last 30 years". Even then, he went on to add that "(Chinese) map or no map, the McMahon Line was India's boundary", and "we will not allow anybody to come across (it)" (*India's China War*, Neville Maxwell).

On the ground too, the claims were turning irredentist. In February 1951, a band of Indian officials and a strong para-military column captured the Tibetan Monastery at Tawang and ousted the Tibetan administrators. The incident took place after Tibet had already been liberated by China's People's Liberation Army from the rebellious Lama-regime and it had been accepted as a part of the People's Republic of China. Obviously, the Indian move violated the *status quo*. The newly formed Chinese government did not immediately retaliate. Shortly afterwards in 1955 there was the Bandung Conference, where, as mentioned earlier in this write-up, the Chinese proposed a few

concrete measures for settling border disputes. Apparently, they seemed to be moving with that approach, as was evident also in their dealing with other adjoining countries, such as Burma (present Myanmar).

At the same time, the Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai wrote several letters personally to the Indian Prime Minister, Nehru on the disputed issues on a cordial note. Nehru, too, answered. In course of this epistolary exchange, in reply to a Nehru's letter of December 1958, Zhou remarked that the Aksai Chin "has always been under Chinese jurisdiction" and that the Chinese guards have continually patrolled it. At the same time, the McMahon Line was a product of the British policy of aggression against the Tibetan Region of China and was thus illegal. But, for the sake of friendly relations China had with India, China was ready for negotiations. Both Zhou Enlai and Nehru agreed to maintain *status quo* in the disputed regions. But such agreeing proved fragile. As mentioned earlier, there were irrevocable pre-conditions in the Indian stand.

In the meantime, on August 25, 1959 there was an incident of exchange of fires between the Indian and the Chinese Patrols at Longju situated on the McMahon Line in the north-eastern sector of the border. Both the sides charged one another for starting the firing. It was desirable that, in the situation turning grave, there should prevail a rational and firm composure, not only of the concerned governments, but even of the people of the two countries, to ascertain what really had happened. In reality, however, India was suddenly aflame with a cry against 'Chinese aggression'. The entire parliament, the Indian government, the ruling party Congress as well as the Opposition came out with the same tune. The media was equally effervescent. A national jingoism appeared to overtake all rationalities.

SUCI presents its views

Amidst countrywide confusion and frenzy the Central Committee of our party SUCI issued a statement on 14 October 1959, based on available facts and political readings built thereupon. It contended and demanded, *inter alia*, that undemarcated and unsettled

boundaries, as they were there between India and China, would always bear in them chances of generating bitter conflict. It would tell miserably upon the unity of people of the two countries and would hinder growth and development of their revolutionary struggles. It was also pointed out that these disputes would foment war psychosis, that could be used by the Indian capitalist class to further their design at establishing fascism within the country. On the other hand, these disputes would also affect anti-imperialist peace movements, rather would push the countries like India towards imperialists and thus make room for the big imperialist powers to give effect to their designs and machinations in this part of the world. The statement also added: "(In the dispute) we find two border lines there - one, the McMahon Line, second, boundary line shown in the Chinese map. In between the two lines the total disputed area comprises of 90,000 sq. km. To resolve the difference the Chinese government have proposed, to let both the governments immediately start negotiations and a final ultimate boundary line be evolved on the basis of historical and traditional background and taking into account both the two proposed boundary lines. It has also been proposed, until this ultimate boundary line is decided, both the sides should maintain *status quo*, ... Government of India, ... argues, McMahon Line is already there and therefore no question of deciding any border line arises at all. ... Till now, the Government of India has not been able to cite a single example of the Chinese army crossing the McMahon Line, besides the incident of Longju. On the other hand, ... the Indian army has not only crossed the border line shown in Chinese map but even in some cases, has crossed McMahon Line advancing not far beyond it ..." So it appeared that "... on the question of amicable settlement of the border dispute, Government of India has refused to take into consideration the historical background and has demanded recognition of McMahon Line by the Chinese Government as the pre-condition for starting negotiation - the Central Committee ... is of the opinion that such an attitude of the

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Unresolved border disputes always dangerous for people concerned

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Indian government is totally incompatible with amicable settlement of border dispute and the policy of Panch Sheel (Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence - Ed. P.Era).

Tension mounted, Delhi Summit called

Tension, however, mounted higher. In October 1959 the Indian forward patrol party tried to set up posts at Konga Pass, north-east of Le, a disputed area in the western sector where there was already a Chinese post. There on 20 October, nine Indian army men were killed and 7 taken prisoners, following a gun battle. The Chinese contingent also suffered heavy casualties. Naturally the incident rekindled the cries of 'Chinese aggression' inside India. It created flutters also at the international level.

All this prompted Zhou Enlai to request an immediate summit meeting. Initially unwilling Nehru finally agreed to receive the Chinese premier in Delhi in April, 1960. Zhou Enlai came to Delhi summit optimistic, as he had just signed an agreement with Burma resolving far more complex and older problems and had legitimized that section of McMahon Line which covered Sino-Burmese border.

On conclusion of the talks in Delhi, Zhou summed up six points of common grounds emerging from the talks. Thus, he pointed out that the two sides recognized existence of border disputes though there was a line of actual control (LoAC) up to which the two countries exercised administrative jurisdiction. Till there was any settlement of the disputes, the two sides should keep to this LoAC without raising any territorial claim as pre-conditions. To facilitate discussions in an atmosphere of 'tranquility on the border', the two sides should also refrain from patrolling along all sectors of the boundary. Zhou also reiterated that there was agreement upon the bases of determining the boundary and those including taking into account of 'geographical principles' like watersheds, river valleys, mountain passes, as also of the national feelings of the two peoples towards the Himalayas and the Karakoram Mountains. They should also include language spoken by the local inhabitants, their religious beliefs etc. Besides, in that

meeting, China for the first time explicitly put its proposal of "reciprocal acceptance of present actualities in both sectors and constitution of Boundary Commission" (Times of India, 21.4.60). "This would mean that the Chinese accepted McMahon alignment on the eastern sector while the Indian would have dropped the claim to Aksai Chin" (*India's China War*, p.162), a proposition also confirmed by Graver in his treatise.

But Zhou added later that Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, subsequently refused to confirm the agreed points meaning that India was not accepting the LoAC and was not going to keep to it pending settlement. Rather, he stuck to the territorial claims India had been making. Naturally, the summit failed.

From Forward Policy to 'Freeing our territory' and the War

In the Delhi summit Nehru also rejected the proposal for suspending patrolling by either side. Rather, instead of maintaining *status-quo*, the Indian government and its army stepped up their 'Forward Policy'. It was a tactics of penetrating deeper into the Chinese areas in the name of patrolling and of building outposts there; naturally it was a tactics meant to build up some pressure on China and by that, gain some bargaining power during any later negotiations. 60 such outposts were created; they included 43 posts north of McMahon Line (*India's China War* and A.G. Noorani, *Fact of History*, India's National Magazine, September 30, 2003). "(The Chinese) foreign minister Marshal Chen Yi commented at a high level meeting: 'Nehru's forward policy is a knife. He wants to put it in our heart. We cannot close our eyes and await death' ... the Chinese leadership believed that their restraint on the issue was being perceived by India as weakness, leading to continued provocations, and that a major counter blow was needed to stop perceived Indian aggression" (*China's Decision for War with India in 1962* by John W. Graver).

As a part of the Forward Policy, in June 1962, the Indian forces set up a post on Namka Chu, a river below the Thug La Ridge, with a view to occupying the Ridge which

was an important strategic position north of the McMahon Line in the eastern sector. On July 22, the Forward Policy was extended to allow Indian troops to push back Chinese troops already settled in all disputed territories. (*History of the Conflict with China*, 1962 by P.B. Sinha, Athale, with S.N. Prasad, Chief Editor, History Division, Ministry of Defence, Govt. of India). By October 1962, the Policy created great tension in the western sector of the border. "Nehru, speaking to journalists on October 12, made public declaration that the Indian Army had been ordered to 'free our territory', that is, to take offensive to implement India's claim ..." (New York Herald Tribune's editorial '*Nehru declares war on China*').

In fact, this 'freeing our territory' campaign of Nehru government had already been started with the confrontation at Thug La Ridge in the eastern sector. There, acting on an order from Nehru over the radio "to drive the Chinese off the ridge", the Indian troops made an attack on Thug La Ridge on 9 October only to be repulsed by their Chinese counterparts.

On 20 October 1962, the Chinese Army (then also called Peoples' Liberation Army or PLA) launched two attacks, 1000 kilometres apart. In the western sector of Aksai Chin, the PLA sought to expel Indian forces from the Chip Chap valley, while in the eastern sector, the PLA sought to capture both banks of the Namka Chu river. Some skirmishes also took place at the Nathula Pass in Sikkim. After four days of fierce fighting, Chinese troops succeeded in securing a substantial portion of the disputed territory including some in the eastern sector that were previously administered by India. There the majority of the Chinese forces had advanced sixteen kilometres south of the border. The Indian forces retreated into more heavily fortified positions around Se La and Bombdi La. Four days of fighting were followed by a three-week lull, as Zhou ordered the troops to stop advancing.

On October 24 the Chinese Government issued a statement to put forward three proposals with a view to stopping the border conflict, reopening peaceful negotiations and settling the Sino-Indian boundary

questions. Their Premier Chou En-Lai also appealed to Nehru personally and offered a ceasefire. The Chinese proposal stated that both the sides need affirm that the Sino-Indian boundary question must be settled peacefully through negotiations. Pending a peaceful settlement the Chinese Government hoped that the Indian Government would agree that both parties respected the line of actual control (LoAC) between the two sides along the entire Sino-Indian border, and the armed forces of each side withdrew 20 kilometres from this line and disengage. The proposal further said : Provided that the Indian Government agreed to the above proposal, the Chinese Government was willing through consultation between the two parties, to withdraw its frontier guards in the eastern sector of the border to the north of the line of actual control; at the same time, both China and India should undertake not to cross the line of actual control, i.e., the traditional customary line, in the middle and western sectors of the border. The Chinese Government also proposed that in order to seek a friendly settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, there should be talks 'once again' between the Prime Ministers of India and China, at a venue agreed upon by the two sides. It was also explained in the statement that the LoAC would mean the one referred by the Chinese Government back in 1959 statement or in the April 1960 Delhi summit, suggesting to the boundary as it had been before the conflicts and complications cropped up. Thus though the Chinese force was in an advantageous position on 24 October 1962 after the advance they had across the McMahon line, China did not insist on retaining the ground. At the same time, it did not accept India's crossing the LoAC in 1959.

Nehru's 27 October reply expressed interest in the restoration of peace and friendly relations and suggested a return to the "boundary prior to 8 September 1962". Zhou's reply on 4 November repeated his 1959 offer to return to the McMahon Line in NEFA and the MacDonald Line in Aksai Chin. The efforts towards ending the conflict seemed to fall flat. In the meantime, the Indian government proclaimed a

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Sino-Indian border dispute

People must assert their role for an immediate solution

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state of emergency in the country on 29 October, 1962, thus fanning up a war psychosis in the country. The US and the UK supported India's response, and with their backing Nehru once again rejected Chou's proposal on November 14. After Zhou received Nehru's letter of defiance, the war restarted, with an Indian offensive on Walong launched from the defensive position of Se La and resumption of Chinese attacks on Aksai Chin and NEFA hours after the Walong battle.

The Chinese offensive near Se La and Bomdi La on 17 November broke through the Indian resistance. The PLA troops further advanced to reach the line that China claimed as the border. On the western theatre, PLA forces launched a heavy infantry attack on 18 November near Chushul. After fierce fighting, the Indian force lost ground. On the evening of 20 November, Nehru made an appeal to the United States for armed aid, including airstrikes and air cover. But before any U.S. intervention, China declared a unilateral ceasefire diplomatically on 19 November to start on midnight, 21 November. Zhou's ceasefire declaration stated: Beginning from November 21, 1962, the Chinese frontier guards would cease fire along the entire Sino-Indian border. Beginning from 1 December 1962, the Chinese frontier guards would withdraw to positions 20 kilometers behind the line of actual control which existed between China and India on 7 November, 1959. In the eastern sector, although the Chinese frontier guards had so far been fighting on Chinese territory north of the traditional customary line, they were prepared to withdraw from their present positions to the north of the illegal McMahon Line, and to withdraw twenty kilometers back from that line. In the middle and western sectors, the Chinese frontier guards would withdraw twenty kilometers from the line of actual control.

The Chinese withdrew to the prewar LoAC. Thus they did not retain any territory they had captured during the war, but kept disputed territories they had *de facto* control of prior to the war.

However, both the Chinese government and the Indian government stated that Chinese forces never advanced south past their claim line. According to the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, China since withdrew its claim from part of NEFA (Arunachal Pradesh). Over the following months, vehicles, weapons, and prisoners of war were returned by China unconditionally as a show of goodwill. China released 731 sick and wounded Indian soldiers in December 1962, and the remainder 3,213 soldiers, including one brigadier, 26 field officers and 29 officers of company grade, started arriving in India from April 1963 onwards. The Indian forces did not take any Chinese prisoners. 26 died due to wounds in the PoW Camp, while another 15 were repatriated in December.

Resolving border disputes, an urgent necessity

Such was, in brief, the course of events centring round the border disputes between India and China which ultimately lead to war.

The negotiation process, since started, has virtually boiled down to a stalemate. The question that arises is how to get over this stalemate and reach a just and lasting solution to the border problems between these two countries, India and China, urgently needed for people of both the countries. And that must take cognizance not only of historical background, but also of the geographic factors prevailing along and around the borders along with the necessities to maintain the administration, economic and other activities of the regions, the mutual relationships of their people of the concerned countries around the border as well as of their respective religion, custom, language and such other features, that normally create deep-rooted sentiments and emotions. Failing that, unresolved border disputes can easily provide a soft ground to the reactionary rulers to pit people of one country against the other, fan up a war psychosis and divert people's attention from the existing exploitative rules they are subjugated to. So, people must be vigilant and proactive, to force their respective governments to

settle for a just and lasting solution for the border disputes.

Dispute between India and China on their borders, should be viewed in this light. Here attention must first be paid to the necessity that one and all sorts of arrogance or coercive attitude must be shunned. The Chinese government can not force their Indian counterpart to accept any solution prescribed by them, nor can the Indian government compel the Chinese government to swallow any decision taken unilaterally by the Indian government. Once the government of socialist China tried to initiate discussion with an open mind. They also suggested what they considered should be the basis of discussion. By these years China has gone back to capitalist rule. We cannot be sure how far the government will maintain the liberal, open attitude they bore earlier in socialist China. But, it is certain it would not be easy even for their present government to shift radically from the position their government had taken in the past. Those suggestions of the socialist China could be weighed and judged if those were tenable and effective. But even for that, it was necessary and expected from the Indian government that they reciprocate with an open mind. Neither

defeatist mentality nor arrogance could be of any help.

People of two countries must step forward to hasten up desirable solution of border disputes

On such an understanding and approach, whatever be the solution, it must be reached through mutual efforts and must ensure that there is lasting peace and amity between the two countries. In that process, people of both India and China must be taken into confidence. The two governments must realize that their people look ahead to a friendly relation in an ambience of peace, cordiality and amity. India and China are two lands of long and rich traditions which, in turn, have moulded the longings and aspirations of people of both these countries. There are also glorious instances of cordial cultural-philosophical exchanges between the two countries and their people. These facts must prevail over the mood and direction of any discussion on border disputes. And people in their turn, we reiterate once more, will have to create adequate and necessary pressure on their respective governments to reach at a just and lasting solution of the entire border issue within a definite time span, as short as possible.

SUCI on interim budget

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Comrade Mukherjee. Surely, the government would resort to the easiest route of deficit financing i.e. printing of additional currency notes which will further push up the prices, warned Comrade Mukherjee. In this connection, he drew attention to the kind of manipulations the government indulges in to shield the truth. While the finance minister boasted of decline in revenue and fiscal deficit figures from 2003-04 to 2007-08, the fact as per his own admission indicates both the deficits to have sizably shot up from estimated Rs 55,184 crore and Rs 1,33,287 crore to Rs 2,41,273 crore and Rs 3,26,515 crore respectively in 2008-09. Despite such spiralling deficits, government has not refrained from substantially increasing most

unproductive defence budget to as high as Rs 1,41,703 crore. Comrade Mukherjee also pointed out that while the budget speech alludes to so-called employment generation schemes and statistics of industrial growth, it is completely mum as to how many industrial units have folded down and how many millions workers have been thrown out of employment. Even the finance minister's speech is absolutely silent over the status of much trumpeted farmer's loan waiver scheme of last year. Needless to say that sole purpose of this exercise of budget presentation has been to brighten the electoral prospects of the ruling dispensation by painting a rosy picture of the economy that has no bearing upon reality, commented Comrade Mukherjee.

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