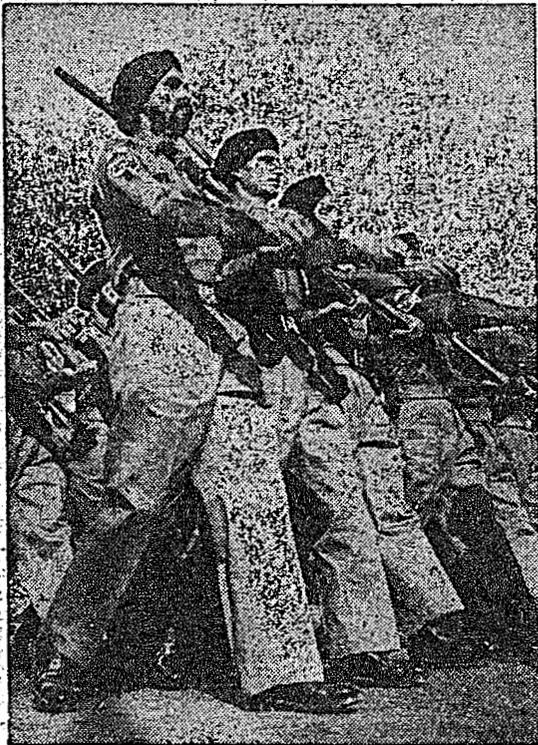


WELCOME HOME, GOA!

★ *shabash, our brave jawans!*
 ★ *hurrah, bold goan patriots!*
 ★ *salute, our motherland!*



THE SHACKLES OF PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM STAND SHATTERED. GOA, DAMAN, DIU ARE FREE AND BACK INTO THE ARMS OF OUR ANCIENT MOTHERLAND. WE SHARE WITH ALL OUR HEART THE JUBILATION OF OUR COUNTRYMEN.

The Portuguese were the first to invade India 450 years ago. They are the last to quit. They did not want to leave but had to surrender to our resurgent nation as the British and French colonialists had to earlier.

FOURTEEN years after the liquidation of British domination and the elimination of French colonial outposts, the Portuguese pockets on Indian soil have also been liberated. Now the whole country is rid of foreign rule, the entire Indian territory is free. India's independence is complete.

Goa's liberation is the culmination of Indian liberation, the last chapter in the grand saga of our struggle for emancipation.

On this historic auspicious occasion, we, Indian Communists, with joyous eyes, singing hearts and our extended arms warmly embrace all our countrymen, irrespective of any political differences, who contributed their bit towards the liquidation of this last and foul remnant of colonialism and the reunification of our ancient beloved Motherland.

We greet Prime Minister Nehru, who ultimately made up his mind that the policy of peaceful persuasion makes no sense to the Portuguese fascists, that they mistake it as a sign of Indian weakness, that it only encourages them to indulge in aggression and in silent acts of provocation.

We recall the ringing words of appeals from the leaders of the various fighting fronts of Africa, made during the New Delhi and Bombay Seminars. Their stirring call that Goan liberation would be the most effective Indian contribution to the great African liberation move-

ment, had a deep and positive impact on the Prime Minister's mind.

We are glad that after giving enough time, all the true facts, the unanswerable arguments about India's just cause to the "friends of Portugal"

***** by *****
 * * * * *
 * **P. C. JOSHI** *
 * * * * *

and overcoming his own long hesitation, he summoned the Chiefs of India's Armed Forces and ordered them to get ready and go into action and sweep out the dirty Portuguese pockets from independent India's fair soil.

With genuine pride, we hail our Jawans and their Commanders who virtually bloodlessly brought "Operation Vijay" to its victorious conclusion in record quick time, a mere 24 hours. It is a tribute to their good training, fine discipline and fighting competence and a living warning to the enemies of Indian independence.

It has been a moving demonstration of their spirit of humanism that not one civilian was killed, not one house was destroyed, not one place of worship damaged and the Portuguese wounded are being looked after like our own.

We voice the nation's esteem and trust in India's air-men as defenders of the sovereignty of our air-space,

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. IX, NO. 52

DECEMBER 24, 1961

25 nP.

In India's navy-men as defenders of our coastal waters, and in India's soldiers as defenders of our native soil. They have proved their worth anew as the irresistible liberators in Goa, Daman and Diu. Let India's enemies beware!

We greet all Goan patriots on their great dreams coming true, on their D-Day having actually dawn-

ed. We take this occasion to express our admiration for their steadfastness and keeping their patriotic faith alive and active, when it was the fashion of the day to be cynical about Goa or when so many advised them to wait for the automatic collapse of Portuguese colonialism!

We recall the wisdom of the Goan fighters who, irrespec-

tive of political differences, united the various Goan parties and groups under the banner of the Goan Political Convention, kept the flame of patriotism alive within Goa and with dogged persistence activated it against the Portuguese occupationists. The Rashtrapati's tribute to their role is the nation's own tribute.

★ SEE BACK PAGE



August 15, 1955. A batch of satyagrahis ready to march into Goa. Their leader—the late V. D. Chitale—has been garlanded. S. A. Dange is on his right.

FRIENDS & FOES

The liberation of Goa has been an uplifting event. It has not only raised the national spirit but also helped to enrich India's political experience. After the long and mortifying passivity of the Indian Government was discarded and an active national policy decided upon, it did not at all take long for Goa, Daman and Diu to be liberated. The experience was short-lived but it helped to floodlight the Indian political scene vis-a-vis the rest of the world.

THE Indian action for the liberation of Goa brought to the fore who in the present world were the supporters and who the opponents of India's national demand. As if in a flash, our friends and foes were revealed in their true colours. Every major Government of the world had to speak up and did speak up and India saw with naked eyes who are with us and who against it. It is an experience whose lessons will never be forgotten for we cannot shake our destiny with the old blinkers on.

India's stand was simple enough. It was based on the inalienable right of Goa to return to the Motherland as an integral part of Indian national territory and the failure of the Portuguese to read the sign of times aright, listen to the voice of reason and quit.

In its last note to the U.N. (December 15), the Government of India expressed its belief that "it is never too late to take the right step" and also expressed its hope that "in accordance with the immutable principles of humanity and irreversible processes of history, the Government of Portugal will leave the Indian colonies forthwith".

The Bourbons did not end with the ancien regime in France. The Portuguese are the modern Bourbons who refused to listen, learn and quit while the going is good.

Ultimately, the Portuguese approached the U.N. Security Council, charging India with aggression and asking for a cease-fire. As we shall see later, its Nato allies gave all the diplomatic support but were out-manoeuvred by the prompt Soviet veto and the irresistible march of the Indian armed forces supported by the Goan patriots.

The quick cause triumphed so quickly that the colonialists did not even get a chance to slander India to their heart's satisfaction!

Imperialists Too Weak

The Goan experience has proven that the world struggle has reached a stage when the Nato alliance is not in a position to save the remnants of colonialism anywhere in the world and least of all in India.

The failure of the Portuguese appeal to the U.N. also demonstrates that the Soviet veto is the most effective weapon in the cause of advancing colonial liberation and preventing the misuse of the U.N. for imperialist purpose.

The British attitude towards Goa in the recent crisis has clearly revealed that the imperialist tie with its "oldest ally" Portugal means more to Britain than the Commonwealth link which it seeks to use as a convenient cover for its imperialist manoeuvres.

In the beginning the U.K.

offered to mediate but drew back when our Prime Minister insisted that the only basis of negotiations could be that the Portuguese quit the same way as the British themselves and the French, not so long ago.

As India took military precautions against Portuguese provocations, the British Government in its note expressed "grave concern" over the prospect of hostilities and pressed upon the Indian Government its "earnest hope" that there will be no resort to force.

British Rage

It also supported the Portuguese proposal that international observers be despatched to Goa. To do so would have amounted to accepting Portuguese sovereignty over Goa and India rightly rejected it.

After the successful Indian action, the British High Commissioner personally expressed his Government's "deep regret" to Prime Minister Nehru. The British Tory Press split out the rest.

The Daily Express called India's Prime Minister "a traitor to peace". Even The Times, that normally manages to keep sedate, lost its manners: "He has delivered homilies, lectures, admonitions and reproofs to the rest of the world. Now he shows himself ready to use force to gain his ends and with much less justification than some of those he has censured."

"Apologists will hasten to explain it all away as they have done his behaviour over Kashmir. They will make yet another special case. The damage is done. Nothing can put Humpty-Dumpty together again. The effect will be far-reaching."

Lord Home, the British Foreign Secretary and Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary, Commonwealth Relations, strongly criticized Indian action in the two Houses of the British Parliament.

The latest nasty act of British diplomacy was to despatch a British frigate to Indian waters to evacuate the British subjects from Goa.

U.S. spokesmen repeatedly spoke out against the use of force by India. Mid-December, the U.S. President himself in a personal message to the Indian Prime Minister emphasized the importance of a peaceful settlement of the Goa issue, especially in view of India's world position as a peace-maker. It was, however, soon shown up that this flattery of India was hypocritical.

The U.S. Ambassador in India in his various speeches and press briefings has been trying to get the Indian ear, in which Dulles's statement that Goa is Portuguese territory keeps on resounding, with

NOTES OF THE WEEK

the new U.S. statement that the present Administration regarded Goa as a colony.

The U.S. side also reiterated on various occasions that it stood by the principle of self-determination to solve all colonial problems.

The Times of India, (December 17), correspondent H. R. Vohra stated that the U.S. stood for solving the Goa question "within the ambit of the U.N.". He also disclosed that current U.S. thinking was reflected in the New York Times, (December 14), editorial entitled "Policy for Goa", wherein it was stated:

"A plebiscite is in order to let the Goans decide their own fate... The United Nations should take immediate steps to propose and organise one before it is too late."

Indian memory is not so weak as to forget that the present U.S. solution for Goa is the same old one as for Kashmir. We are not yet out of the woods for trusting Washington over Kashmir then. Prime Minister Nehru had become a wiser man by not trusting the Americans a second time over Goa.

Again, Goa is no disputed territory and, hence, no question of ascertaining the will of the people arises. Enslaved Goa cried aloud not for a plebiscite but for the assertion of Indian sovereignty over Indian national territory.

The U.S. spokesmen obviously specialise in the prostitution of democratic principles.

As Goa's D-Day dawned, the New York Times report stated "the news that Mr. Nehru had decided to liberate the three Portuguese enclaves by force aroused dismay and consternation in the Administration".

American Anger

H. R. Vohra, (Times of India, December 19), from U.N. Headquarters reported that the State Department briefed the correspondents that it would support the resolution condemning Indian action in the Security Council.

"What such a step would lead to is not clear. No resolution giving succour to Portugal could pass in the Security Council without a positive Soviet vote. In the General Assembly on the other hand, India expects to win the support for her policy with Afro-Asian Group's help, not to mention that of the Communist bloc."

Why then was the drama of the Security Council debate at all staged? Just to morally blackmail India. "Several officials emphasized that the USA could not countenance a double-standard morality under which the Afro-Asian nations condemned resort to force by the former colonial powers but resort to it themselves in pursuit of their national objectives".

Not better logic but more colonial revolutions are needed to drum into the

heads of U.S. imperialists that use of force by a colonial power is unjust and barbarous while use of force by an enslaved people is just and heroic.

The New York Times, (December 18), in an editorial, characterised the Indian armed action as constituting "a serious blot on India's record as a champion of peace". Thus mud-slinging has only begun.

The Pakistan Press and politicians have once again shown that they are more loyal than the king.

The Pakistan Press has come out very openly on the side of Portugal against India. Representatives of the leading Karachi English dailies visited Goa as Lisbon's guests only to echo in their papers the Portuguese charge of imperialism against India.

Pakistan Squeaks

A spokesman of the Pakistani Foreign Office talked in the same vein as the Swatantra-Jana Sangh-FSP spokesmen in the Indian Parliament that Indian action was "intended merely to divert attention of the Indian public from elsewhere" and also that it was meant "to appease militant opinion at home on the eve of Indian General Election".

On December 18, the Pak Foreign Office spokesman accused India of what he called double-standards — "one for India" and another "not for India". According to him, whether it be Goa or Kashmir, a U.N. sponsored plebiscite was the only solution to the dispute.

Despite massive evidence to the contrary, dictator Ayub denied Prime Minister Nehru's charge of Pakistan collaborating with the Portuguese in Goa. The Pak dictator denied involvement after realising that the game was up in Goa and he did not want to share the discredit for the Portuguese fiasco!

Completely different has been the response from the USSR. Ralph Parker from Moscow writing in the Times of India, December 19 states, "the general approval was interspersed with comments like Molodtst (well done), Poora (high time)".

Soviet Support

When India went into action against Portuguese colonialism, Soviet President Khrushchev was in India as our guest and he said:

"Believing that every people had an inherent right to enjoy free and independent life, the Soviet Union comes out fervently in favour of immediate abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

He recalled Khrushchev's words spoken six years back while in India, expressing confidence that Goa would be liberated and become an inte-

gral part of the Republic of India.

The Soviet President added "The Soviet Union regarded with full understanding and sympathy the desire of the Indian people to achieve the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu from Portuguese colonialism".

At Agra, chatting with U.P. Finance Minister he assured that "India could count on the USSR's friendly assistance in times of crisis". The Soviet veto in the U.N. Security Council effectively denied any chance to the Anglo-American allies of Portugal to indulge in self-righteous hypocrisy and slander India.

Afro-Asian Solidarity

The PTI reported from U.N. Headquarters that the Afro-Asian diplomats prayed for the speedy success of the Indian Army when they heard news on radio and television that India had at long last marched troops into Goa.

Goa has evoked active and noble acts of solidarity. The UAR closed the Suez to Portuguese reinforcements. Ceylon barred its ports to Goa bound ships. The Indonesian Foreign Office spokesman stated "we are fully aware that India is a peace-loving nation. There can be no compromise with colonialism".

The African diplomats at the U.N. Headquarters said they, too, would act similarly against Angola and Mozambique when they grew strong enough unless the U.N. in the meanwhile found it possible to implement its own resolutions against colonialism.

Great Lesson

The world reactions to Goa have unambiguously revealed that the imperialist countries of the West are no friends of India, they tried to befriend Portuguese colonialism instead, when the testing time came.

They showed themselves up as hostile to India. They stand tarred as enemies of our nation.

It is the countries of socialism, headed by the USSR and the Bandung fraternity of the Afro-Asian world that expressed sympathy, solidarity and also went into action when India went all-out to claim what was its own national territory.

This Goan experience has helped to demarcate the friends of India from the foes. It is necessary to keep the lesson ever fresh in our minds in the interests of defending Indian national sovereignty itself and further strengthening our independent foreign policy in the cause of preserving world peace and liquidating colonialism from the rest of the world.

— P. C. JOSHI

(DECEMBER 19)

DECEMBER 24, 1961

Socialist World Backs Us!

From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW of course, is on our side. As news came this morning of India's just action to liberate our brothers and sisters of Goa, Diu and Daman the first immediate reaction in Moscow was of course, of full and wholehearted support for India's cause.

This is nothing but a just war if war it could be called at all. And it is fully realised here that India's patience was well and truly exhausted and that our people had been more than patient and done everything possible under the sun to avoid armed conflict. Some such drastic action was long due.

A spokesman of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs told your Correspondent this morning just after the news of last night's action was received, that, of course, the Soviet Union is always on the side of people fighting against colonialism and in this case for the struggle of the people of Goa for freedom.

It has been known for a long time that the people of Goa had been heroically fighting for their independence and there was a strong liberation movement there in spite of the Portuguese terror. The Soviet Union always was for the liberation of Goa, the spokesman told me.

As the British and American press today called Nehru a tyrant and a hypocrite, whose reputation in their eyes has been tarnished, and declared India's affront to be a shock and affront with no justification, as the British Foreign office deplored and Kennedy regretted, the immediate reaction of the Soviet Government and people here was unhesitating support for the just cause of the down trodden and the oppressed and on the side of India against the imperialists as was to be expected. This is another proof for us as to who is our real friend in need and in deed.

Pravda today published the news of India's latest note to Portugal. It quotes the passage which declares India's determination for full independence so that no trace of colonialism remained on her territory. Pravda gives the news item a bold headline "Colonialists get out of India!".

Moscow Radio has been broadcasting long commentaries on Goa for the last week since the crisis deepened, in which Portu-

guese terror has been condemned and the obvious links and criminal encouragement on the part of the Nato allies, USA and Britain have been exposed.

There is admiration here for the firmness and determination displayed by India in the interest of the freedom of her own people in spite of all imperialist intrigues and unashamed Western pressure.

Goa & Two Germanys

THE News Agency ADN of the German Democratic Republic reports: "The latest measures for the liquidation of the Portuguese colonial regime in Goa, Daman and Diu ordered by the Indian Government were welcomed by a spokesman of the German Democratic Republic's Government on December 18. These measures met with 'understanding and sympathy' in the GDR, he said."

The spokesman continued: "The consistent attitude of the Indian Government against colonialism in Asia and Africa is being fully supported by the GDR Government and population."

"The Portuguese colonia-

lists base their rule on the moral and material aid of their NATO partners. The attitude which some NATO states have taken concerning the Goa problem during the last few days shows clearly the character of the North Atlantic Pact which is ever more influenced by West German imperialism."

"The actions ordered by the Indian Government were in reply to the increasing provocations of the Portuguese colonial troops".

Situation in Goa shows once again where the two German States stand. Radio, television and press in GDR stand unanimously behind India. Portuguese imperialism is being condemned and our resolve to free this part of our motherland is being supported.

W. German television calls Goa "Portuguese overseas province" Erhard, during his visit to Portugal, referred to that country as "deserving our fullest confidence". And it is with this German state with which we maintain diplomatic relations.

The Times of India (December 19) reported: "The West German press today, jeered at India for preparing to attack Goa while not daring to take China on. Comment in the press of other European

countries ran in a similar strain....

"The Christ Und Welt, a West German weekly, said: 'India's right to Goa can hardly be denied. On the other hand, Nehru would jeopardise all his activities as a preacher of a peaceful settlement of international disputes if he were to give orders to his army to cross the Goan borders.'"

"His hope that Portugal's NATO partners might exert pressure on Lisbon will hardly be fulfilled since it has already become evident in the case of Angola that the Portuguese do not react even to rather strong language from Washington."

"That, so far, is the most balanced comment. Others are frankly sneering in tone. The Frankfurter Neue Presse called 'the massing of Indian troops on the Goa border 'energy at the wrong place'."

"It said that Nehru had made concession after concession to the Chinese in Tibet and added: 'Nehru's action against Goa in its present form is hardly suitable for satisfying his injured self-confidence apart from not increasing his international reputation'."

(China, Poland and Czechoslovakia have already warmly supported Indian action. We are awaiting similar messages from other Socialist countries).

From Ramesh Sinha

pressed in July 1961. Fazal Hug, Congress president of the Board, filed a writ petition in the High Court.

On October 3, a Judge of the High Court quashed the supersession order of the government. He also upheld the charge that the petitioner had been victimised on political grounds, as stated by ex-Minister Mohan Lal Gautam himself in the State Assembly on November 16, 1961.

Aggrieved by this verdict Gupta's government filed a special appeal praying for staying the order of the single judge against supersession of the board. The bench of the High Court rejected the government's prayer and decreed that its charges were not proved and the board was quite competent to perform its duties under the U. P. Municipalities Act.

The latest victim of the Gupta clique in the government has been the municipal board of Kalpi in Jalaun district. The president of this board also was a Congressman. But, it seems, he did not belong to the group of Chaturbhuj Sharma, a minister in Gupta's cabinet. In this case the writ petition was filed by a P.S.P. member of the punished board.

Extraordinary Procedure

This is what Mannlal, the petitioner had submitted in his application before the High Court:

"Chaturbhuj Sharma lost the election to the State Assembly from Jalaun constituency against a PSP candidate in 1957 (he was made a minister by Gupta although he was not a member of either house. Now he has been made a member of the Legislative Council.—R. S.) Since then he had been anxious to strengthen his political position in the district and, therefore, associated himself with the municipal affairs."

"On November 18, 1961, the government passed orders for the supersession of the board for a period of one year on the charge of alleged failure of the president, who was also a congressman, to call the meetings of the board. Further, it appointed seven others, who were members of the board and belonged to the group of Sharma, to exercise the powers of board after its supersession...."

Mannlal, the petitioner, further contended that this action of the government was to place a faction in power in the board, so that the powers of the board be exercised by persons who are members of Chaturbhuj Sharma's group.

It was indeed an extraordinary procedure. Normally and almost always whenever occasions arise in which some local body has to be superseded for failure to discharge its functions, not some favourite members of that body, but an efficient administrator is appointed to carry on its work. But everything in the group war of attrition

of the State's Congress factions is extraordinary, or has become extraordinary.

Justice Mathur of the Allahabad High Court has admitted the application of Mannlal and by an order dated November 23 has stayed the operation of the government's order appointing seven members to carry on the work of the board.

In all these cases the government has suffered an ignominious fall of face.

In the present context it is beside the point whether the attacked boards were doing their work properly. In fact, we can take it that, like most bodies run and managed by present-day Congressmen, they, too, were not discharging their duty towards the people honestly or efficiently.

That all these bodies had also become nests of cut-throat rivalry and intrigues among different groups of Congressmen need also not be questioned or denied. Aligarh has even seen murders of these internecine quarrels. But this is not the point.

The point is that under such dispensation, what happens to democracy, to that noble objective of decentralisation of power and drawing in of the people in the work of running and administering the affairs of the country?

Some years ago when Communists in this State had won majorities in one

* SEE PAGE 13

PAGE THREE

★ THE CURSES & CHEERS

It does one good at time to be cursed—and to curse. It does one good to see and hear the rage that a fine action well done excites in the breasts of those who have no heart but only cynical senility. It does one good to hear the words of support and of joy from those to whom the liberty of all is dear.

LL this and much else strikes one as one reads even the abbreviated reports of the U. N. Security Council debate on the ridiculous and preposterous resolution, jointly sponsored by the USA, Britain, France and Turkey. This resolution called for an immediate cease-fire, withdrawal by India of its forces and then negotiations for a "permanent settlement".

The only part of the resolution that is acceptable—and has been accepted—is the first. Cease-fire has, indeed, come to Goa. But only after the Portuguese have been hurled out or their tricolour hoisted over Panjim. Cease-fire after liberation!

Imperialists Shout

Now for the curses. Take the PORTUGUESE pipsqueak first. Garin calls the act of liberation "brutal aggression". Against whom? "The Portuguese State of India"! He deprecates the "vicious campaign" launched by India against Portugal. Finally, faithfully echoing Masani, Rajaji & Co., he links the liberation of Goa with the "troubles Mr. Nehru and Mr. Menon were having in India".

BRITAIN was "shocked and dismayed". She was quite convinced that what India had done "undoubtedly constituted a threat to international peace and security".

FRANCE expressed its "surprise, regret and deep feeling" at learning of India's action, which to it was "a typical case of military aggression".

The imperialist Big Chief's speech provides, of course, the piece de resistance. The UNITED STATES' delegate blandly stated that "the fact was that Indian armed forces had marched into the Portuguese territories of Goa, Daman and Diu... The facts were all too clear. The territories had been under the Portuguese for over four centuries. Now they had been invaded by Indian forces". Did he pick up the word "invaded" from Morarji-bhai's homily to the Africans last month?

Sarcastically referring to Nehru as a "friend" and an apostle of non-violence, he switched over to a frontal assault on Krishna Menon. The Indian Defence Minister "so well-known in these halls for his advice on matters of peace and his tireless rejoinders to every one else to seek the way of compromise was on the borders of Goa, inspecting his troops on the zero hour of invasion".

The Swatantra-Jana Sangh - PSP votaries of Kripalani could do worse than bring out Stevenson's speech as their election manifesto against Krishna Menon, or as part of their agitator's handbook.

He droned on, "this act of force knocked the ground from underneath Indian pronouncements. The Indian sub-continent was not the

only place in the world where such disputes existed. The fabric of peace was delicate... the use of force could not be condoned".

Thoroughly upset by the Soviet veto which ended this gruesome farce, Stevenson tried a bit of bluster as a finale. "It must add a word of epilogue to this fateful discussion by far the most important in which I have participated since this organisation was founded 16 years ago."

"The failure of the Security Council to call for a cease-fire tonight in these simple circumstances is a failure of the United Nations... the veto was an effort to rewrite the charter in order to sanction the use of force in international relations when it suited one's purpose".

And to suit his own purpose, he threatened India that he was consulting other members of the Security Council overnight about further steps which the U. N. might have to take.

Let us remember our traducers. Portugal—Angola's assassin. Britain—Kenya's killer. France—Algeria's murderer. USA—Cuba's invader. Know them well when they seek to woo us again. Know them well not only as our inveterate enemies but as the foes of mankind as well.

Friends Applaud

Turn to our good friends who stood by us through everything.

The UAR delegate straightaway said that the enclaves in India were not a part of Portugal. He noted that Portugal had refused to negotiate with India on the withdrawal from these enclaves.

Refuting the allegation that India was an aggressor or that her actions upset the precarious balance of world peace, he stated that the problem arose "from colonialism and only its continuance could be a threat to international peace and security".

The LIBERIAN representative pointed out that the Portuguese claim to these three enclaves was a fiction. It was the intransigence of Portugal that led to the deterioration of the situation to a point where India had to employ force.

Splendid, indeed, was CEYLON's eloquence. The delegate of our neighbour said "few would deny India's right to those territories. This was not a question of Portuguese sovereignty but of Indian liberation of her territory".

Besides, India had used the "minimum force to liberate its national territory after waiting 14 years for Portugal to see reason and face reality."

Then he hit out with a passion that will live for long: "There is a basic identity of views between colonial Powers and their views and attitudes cohere in a natural and inescapable pattern. We are not, therefore, surprised that

one group of Powers are today demanding cease-fire in Goa and that the same group are demanding cease-fire in Katanga. "It would appear that when military action undertaken for a legitimate purpose seems to have a chance of success, cease-fire is called for in the name of international morality and a whole host of generous principles".

The Ceylonese delegate described Goa as "a cancer planted in the body of India, a fifth column fully armed today with machine-guns and cannon, tomorrow perhaps, to be used as a nuclear base since the Nato is thinking of developing its nuclear deterrent".

Referring to the U. S. delegate's remarks on the use of force by India, the Ceylonese delegate said: "We are not quite sure of its relevance. He claimed that the Portuguese had been in occupation for over 400 years. This occupation was unjust when it began as everyone acknowledges now and the longer it lasted the greater, therefore, the injustice perpetrated."

"If Portugal conquered Goa then the people of Goa have a right of rebellion. The right of conquest carried with it the right of rebellion by the conquered". Referring to the appeals made by the United States and the United Kingdom for a cease-fire in Goa, the Ceylonese delegate said: "There can be no cease-fire in this case as a cease-fire can only be applicable as between belligerents".

The SOVIET delegate, at the very outset, resolutely objected "to the attempts of the Salazar Government to make the Security Council an accomplice of the Portuguese colonialists".

He firmly stated his view

that the question of the "status of territories which form a part of a sovereign nation, under the U.N. Charter provisions, cannot be the subject of discussion by any U. N. body, including the Security Council."

"In this case we deal with a problem which falls fully under India's internal jurisdiction, since Goa and the other Portuguese colonies on Indian territory can only be regarded as territory under temporary Portuguese colonial rule".

When the discussion was forced on the Security Council by the imperialists and their puppets, the Soviet delegate pushed home his offensive.

He said that what the Security Council should be considering "is the question of the violation by Portugal of the declaration on granting independence to the colonial peoples and territories. Portugal does not fulfil and is not going to fulfil this declaration and thereby creates a threat to peace and security in different areas of the world. In the given case this threat has arisen in the Goa area".

He then said: "When Portugal annihilates scores of thousands of people in Angola, neither the United States nor Britain denounce her or say that she violates the United Nations Charter, nor do they suggest cease-fire in Angola or withdrawal of Portuguese troops from there and from other Portuguese colonies."

"But as soon as the question arises of supporting the liberation from colonial dependence of peoples and territories which constitute an integral part of India, immediately high-falutin pronouncements are made about the violation of the United Nations Charter,

condemnations and calls for cease-fire and withdrawal of troops are voiced.

"The United States and Great Britain are in solidarity with their Nato ally—the colonial power of Portugal."

He stressed that the Soviet Union "expresses its solidarity with the people of India, the people of Goa in their fight for liberation from Portugal's colonial domination. It is against colonialists who are trying to preserve colonialism, in defiance of the declaration to give independence to colonial countries and peoples".

These then are the words of warm support and true brotherhood spoken by our friends. Let us remember them, too. The UAR—symbol of Arab resurgence, Ceylon—our neighbour in geography and in our common bid to further our freedom and for peace. Liberia—which in this debate gave tongue to the African agony and awakening. The Soviet Union—sword and shield of all free peoples, unwavering supporter of all that is noble and progressive in our century.

We should remember them for the trials of freedom and of the world's safety from the imperialist madmen are not over yet. Each time freedom and peace is threatened by the imperialist, may our voice ring out as loud and clear as did those of our friends in our hour of need.

We should remember them—and their message—yet still upheld not only our right to free our Goanese brothers. They whole-heartedly refuted the imperialist plea that an act of liberation can be an act of war. This has its lesson for us.

—MOHIT SEN

***** INDIA'S CASE *****

C. S. Jha spoke for India in the Security Council debate. It was a case of a good cause worthily supported. Excerpts from his speech follow:

"PORTUGAL has appeared before the Council as a victim of aggression. That is the point of view of the colonial power of 400 years ago. This is an echo of the past. He talks of India having aggressed against the sovereign rights of Portugal and the Charter of the United Nations."

"The distinguished representative of the Soviet Union has already drawn the attention to the completely unacceptable character of the expression 'sovereign rights', over part of India, which Portugal is occupying illegally and by force."

Raising his voice, Jha asked: "Who gave them that right? Not the Indian people. Where do they get these sovereign rights from and how dare they talk of the Charter of the United Nations since from the day of their admission they have done nothing but flout the Charter, disregard every resolution of the General Assembly, even

innocuous resolutions asking them to submit information in respect of the colonial territories. The Charter of the United Nations does not fit very well into their mouths."

"From where does the Portuguese Government in India derive this so-called sovereign right? Does it derive it from the naked unabashed exhibition of force, chicanery, trickery on the people of India for 450 years?"

"How did the Portuguese come to India, how did the British come to India, how did the French come, and how did the other long line of aspirants from Europe who dominated over Asia and later Africa, come there? It was a pure and simple process of conquest."

Jha said it had to be realised that the "Goa question was a colonial question". It is the question of getting rid of the last vestige of colonialism from India. That is a matter of faith for us, whatever anybody else may think.

"During these 450 years of Portuguese rule", the Indian delegate said, "There had been over 20 armed revolts in these enclaves some of them orga-

nised by Catholic priests. "How can you expect a handful of people to fight perpetually against a might colonial Power which today is the second colonial empire in the world? That is why the outside world has not heard much about it."

"In 1955 nearly a thousand unarmed Goan satyagrahis launched a movement of non-violent non-cooperation. Four hundred of them were mowed down by machine-gun fire. It is not very easy for unarmed people to walk into the mouths of machine-guns."

Jha said that for 15 years India had been patient. "We have tried our best to get the Portuguese give up their colonial possessions in India, to negotiate transfer of these possessions. But they turned a deaf ear. It appears as if the Powers friendly to Portugal have also counselled it sometimes, although we don't know full details—they tell us that."

"The only thing the Security Council can do", the Indian delegate said, "is to tell Portugal to vacate Goa, Daman and Diu and give effect to the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly with regard to the freedom of dependent peoples".

"Without fear of contradiction, we can claim that we have lived up to the promises made to the electorate at the time of the last elections and tried to the extent possible for a numerically weak opposition to make the government yield in favour of the people".

THIS forthright assertion was made by P. Sundarayya, Leader of the Opposition in the Andhra Assembly, in a review of the work of the Communists and Democrats Legislature Front in the Andhra Assembly during its five year tenure.

It was this continuous work in the legislature in the interests of people and confidence that he had delivered goods to the maximum extent possible, that made him express his optimism when he said that "the democratic masses of Andhra, who had been following our activities in the legislature, would return our Party members in sufficient numbers that would make it possible not only to provide an effective opposition, but also enable us to form an alternative government in alliance with all democratic forces, groups and individuals".

It is necessary to state here that the Andhra Assembly, which adjourned sine die last week is composed of legislators from the Andhra area, who were elected in the 1955 mid-term elections, and members elected from the Telangana area in the 1957 general elections.

In a legislature of 301 members, where the Congress enjoys an overwhelming and oppressive majority, with round about 230 members, an outsider might feel that "Sundarayya's assertion and confidence might seem to be presumptuous."

Therefore, let us hear what he himself has got to say about the work of opposition during the last five years. "It is significant that the Nagarjunsagar project which was conceded during the mid-term elections in 1955 and whose foundation-stone was laid by Pandit Nehru at the end of 1955 when the opposition and democratic movement was strong, is today in jeopardy, the very vital second phase of the project threatened with being dropped."

"The appointment of the Gulhati Commission has dangerous portents not only for the Nagarjunsagar (second phase) but also for the Pochampad and Tungbhadra High Level Canal and also Srisaillam. Our Party, which was in the forefront of the struggle at that time for realisation of the Nagarjunsagar (then called Nandikonda) is today, once again, in the forefront of the campaign against the move to scrap the 1951 agreement."

"The second major issue the people faced during the tenure of the present legislature was the failure of the Central Government to locate major industries in Andhra and give due regard in industrial matters, as also the failure of State Government to press the Centre in this regard."

"Out of the total outlay on industries of Rs. 1,268 crores in both the Five Year Plans by the Centre, Andhra was allotted a beggarly amount of Rs. 11.64 crores while on the basis of population, we are entitled to Rs. 114.12 crores."

"However, due to the vigilant fight and constant agitation by our Party and the democratic forces, the Union Government was made to yield and concede at least a part of the Heavy Electricals, a synthetic drug project and two fertiliser projects."

"We have also focussed in the legislature the quiet man-

ner in which public sector industries were gradually transferred by this State Government to the private sector, which is a major deviation from the accepted policy of Congress of a socialist society."

"The gross bungling and meddling by the ruling party in the nomination of the Vice-chancellor to the Andhra University, has thoroughly proved the correctness of our criticism at the time of the enactment of the three University Bills, that the provision of nomination of the Vice-chancellor and the appointment of the Governor as the Chancellor were deliberately incorporated to enable them to interfere in the autonomy of universities and reduce this to a mockery."

"Our agitation inside and outside the legislature for the introduction of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in the University has not shaken the obstinate and obdurate faith of the Education Minister in the English language and make him realise that the fall of standards at university stage and large number of failures was due to this mistaken policy."

"While the establishment of five new medical colleges and four new engineering colleges and a number of new polytechnics is a welcome development, the problem still remains of meeting the demand of students for seats in these colleges."

"It is a significant victory for the people achieved by the opposition, in forcing the government to give up the evil practice of selection of candidates to colleges by interview and selection—an obnoxious practice which has been exposed threadbare by us in the legislature."

"The hollowness of the Government's promise to achieve compulsory primary education for the age group between 5-11 by 1965 with a pittance of allotment of Rs. nine crores, whereas the actual need is Rs. 100 crores, has been proved with facts and figures by representatives of our Party."

"The helplessness expressed by Government about the serious shortage of medical personnel and its failure to find a solution to the problem in spite of our Party's constructive demand to meet this situation by starting short-term medical courses, has only betrayed lack of a comprehensive medical policy."

"It is the Communist legislators who have shaken the Government out of its complacency when polio broke out in an epidemic form in the State and forced it to take emergency measures to import Soviet and Canadian oral vaccine."

"The pop-landlord and vested interest bias of the Congress Government was thoroughly exposed by the Communist Party during the discussion on the land ceiling legislation as also on the Andhra Tenancy Act in Kurnool."

"The open admission by the successive Revenue Ministers that no surplus land would become available for distribution to landless has only proved our criticism that Government had so deliberately enacted this legislation, with many loopholes, as not to leave any land for distribution to the landless and poor. The view expressed by our Party that this tenancy legislation would not afford any protection for the

tenant has been demonstrated by the wholesale eviction of tenants in Andhra and even in Telangana."

"The new proposed legislation to replace the old tenancy laws in both Andhra and Telangana, through which the Government sought to take away even the existing minimum protection, was abandoned due to the dogged and uncompromising fight put up by our Party at the Select Committee stage."

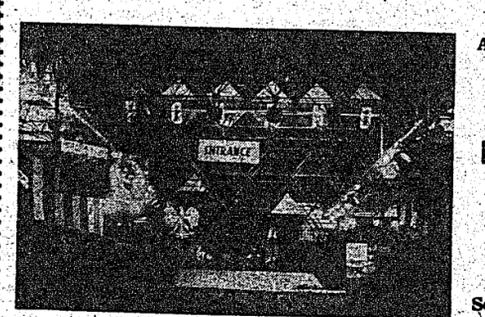
"We have taken advantage of every parliamentary device to focus the attention of government and people on the miserably low wages of workers in practically all industries and the inadequate wages of NGOs, teachers, electricity and FWD work-charged employees and also the just demands of who went on strike last year."

"The results of this effort of our Party are known to everyone and this has earned us the love and confidence of the working people in this State."

"It is again our exposure of the exploitation of the tribal people and their large-scale eviction from the lands they are cultivating that made even the All India Commissioner send a special officer to investigate and take some alleviating measures."

"The whole trading and merchant community knows how our Party took keen interest in defending their genuine interests against the objectionable features of sales tax Bills which go to harass the merchant community in general and the small and medium traders in particular."

"Our Party in the legislature has constantly exposed the corruption, inefficiency, nepotism, factionalism and favouritism of the administration and the government. These evils are



Acclaimed as among the best at the INDIAN INDUSTRIES FAIR for its modern design rich display

See Poland's amazing progress in the manufacture of various types of machines which are already playing an important part in India's Third Five Year Plan

VISIT POLISH PAVILION ORGANISED BY THE POLISH FOREIGN TRADE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

W. Bengal Challenges

"The main objective, which we of the Left Alliance are seeking to achieve in West Bengal through the Third General Elections, is the replacement of the Congress Government in this State by a Democratic Government of the Left parties and progressive individuals, and strengthening of the democratic Opposition in Parliament". Promode Das Gupta, Secretary of the State Council of the Communist Party, told me on December 14 in an exclusive interview on the election set-up in West Bengal.

UNDERLINING the significance of the political battle to replace the Congress Government, he added, "In no other State is the ruling Party facing such a challenge to its monopoly of power".

For nearly two hours I piled him with questions, but he did not parry any one of them, however "inconvenient" or "ticklish" it might have been. And his replies were as explicit as they could possibly be under the given situation.

Here are some of the more important questions and answers:

QUESTION: Has the election campaign in West Bengal started in full swing?

ANSWER: No, though the election campaign is rapidly gathering momentum. The Congress has not yet launched a full-fledged campaign, and unless the Congress joins the battle it will not be correct to say that the election campaign has begun in full swing. Moreover, in the coming two weeks or so, there will be some slackening in the tempo of the campaign in rural areas on account of the harvesting of the new rice crop.

Position Of Seats

QUESTION: Which are the parties contesting the elections in this State? How many seats are being contested by each?

ANSWER: The Left Alliance (L.A.), consisting of the CPI, F. B., RSP, Marxist Forward Bloc, RCPI and the Bolshevik Party; the Congress; the PSP; the Socialist Unity Centre (SUC); the Workers' Party; the Jana Sangh; the Hindu Mahasabha; the Swatantra Party and some individuals banding themselves together as the "Epijobi Dal".

As regards seats, there are 252 Assembly and 36 Lok Sabha seats. The seats which are being contested by the different parties are:

—Congress: All Assembly and all Lok Sabha seats.
—Left Alliance: 227 Assembly and 31 Lok Sabha seats in the joint list published on December 6. The figures for the different parties comprising the Alliance are as follows:

	Assembly seats	Lok Sabha seats
CPI	132	22
F. B.	35	5
RSP	22	3
Marxist F. B.	6	..
RCPI	3	..
Bolshevik Party	3	..
Independents supported by the Left Alliance	26	2

—PSP: 75 Assembly and six Lok Sabha seats.
—SUC and Workers' Party: these tiny left groups are contesting 10 to 12 seats.
—Hindu Mahasabha and Jana Sangh: They have not yet finalised their lists.
—Swatantra Party: 57 Assembly and four Lok Sabha seats.

Congressmen, who have been either refused nomination or do not see eye to eye with the leadership, are contesting the official nominees as Independents. In some other cases local factions opposed to the ruling group have set up their own candidates. Two such instances may be cited here.

You can easily understand from the above list that although so many parties are in the field, the main contestants are the Congress and the L.A., the one seeking to retain its monopoly of power and the other making a determined bid to oust it from that position.

Straight Assault

QUESTION: Why is it that the L.A. is not contesting in 25 Assembly and five Parliamentary constituencies?

ANSWER: In many of these constituencies Independent candidates are opposing Congress nominees. They have not sought the support of the L.A., but they are, nevertheless, anti-Congress. We have not put up our candidates in such constituencies.

Secondly, when we will finally review the overall position, we will see to it that left-minded candidates contest the Congress in all such constituencies where we do not put up our candidates. In case no such candidate is available in any constituency, we will find out one and set him up against the Congress.

So you may take it for certain that the Congress won't be allowed to go unopposed in any constituency.

QUESTION: Have there been factional squabbles inside the West Bengal Congress over nominations for the elections, as in most other States?

ANSWER: There are, of course, factions inside the Congress in this State, but their squabbles have not gone to such lengths as in other States.

QUESTION: Will these squabbles affect Congress election prospects in any way?

ANSWER: We are not at all banking on squabbles among different factions inside the Congress. We have a positive role, and we depend entirely on our own strength, on the goodwill of the masses of people.

QUESTION: Are any disgruntled Congressmen contesting official candidates?

ANSWER: Yes. In some cases

The State Labour Minister, Abdus Sattar, is being opposed by a Congressman of a rival group. In the Karunpur constituency in Nadia district, a Deputy Minister is being contested by Dr. Nilanakhya Sanyal, an old Congressman. Dr. Sanyal has been already debarred from the primary membership of the Congress for six years. But, a large number of Congress workers in the constituency have gone over to his side!

QUESTION: What, in your opinion, is the reason for the Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy having given up his old constituency, Bowbazar, in Calcutta City?

ANSWER: In the last elections he narrowly escaped defeat at the hands of Md. Ismail, Communist and working class leader. Dr. Roy scraped through victory by a margin of only 540 votes. So he feels extremely uncertain about winning from this constituency in the coming elections.

QUESTION: Why is it that he is now contesting from two constituencies, Chowringhee in Calcutta and Saltora in Bankura district? Are there leftist candidates against him?

ANSWER: Chowringhee constituency is in Calcutta. The composition of its electorate is what is considered by the ruling party as "ideal". Hence, it is suitable for him. But, at the same time, Dr. Roy knows full well that Calcutta is the nerve-centre of the powerful democratic movement in the State. Obviously, therefore, he does not want to take any risks. That explains why he is also contesting from Saltora in Bankura district.

The candidates who are opposing him in both of these constituencies are Communists. Bishwanath Mukherjee, well-known Communist and kisan leader, is contesting Dr. Roy in Chowringhee and Dr. Bishwanath Banerjee in Saltora.

QUESTION: Please tell me how it has been possible for the six left parties—the CPI, F. B., RSP, Marxist F. B., RCPI and Bolshevik Party—to forge the L.A. when there are fundamental differences among them on a number of major international and national issues? Is the L.A. just an electoral agreement or a unity on basic objectives regarding the elections and the tasks thereafter?

ANSWER: The unity among the constituent units of the L.A. is a unity on basic objectives. It has been possible to achieve such a unity despite the differences you have referred to mainly because of two reasons.

In the first place, during the past five years we agitated and fought together and conducted direct struggles on the issues and demands incorporated in our recently-published programme which, we have made it clear, we will try our utmost to implement in case the L.A. is returned to power. So a joint bid by these parties to replace the Congress Government by a Democratic Government is only a logical culmination of cooperation in the past five years.

Secondly, there is the strong urge among large sections of the people that the left parties, which have stood by themselves to oust the Congress from power.

QUESTION: Why is it that the PSP has not joined the L.A., although it was a partner in the United Left Front during the 1957 elections?

ANSWER: Since 1958 the PSP leaders in this State have consistently betrayed every democratic movement. They committed the blackest treachery when the Government let loose savage terror against the historic food struggle in 1959. The PSP leaders even went to the length of insulting the hallowed memory of the 80 martyrs, who were killed by the police in course of the struggle.

But, in spite of all these misdeeds, the L.A. was prepared to take the PSP in, provided its leaders publicly admitted their past mistakes and gave a guarantee of good behaviour in future. The PSP leaders however, adopted an arrogant attitude and chose the suicidal path of contesting the elections singlehanded!

QUESTION: What is the present position and influence of the PSP in the political life of West Bengal?

ANSWER: It has been already reduced to a non-entity.

QUESTION: What, in your opinion, will be the possible outcome of the policy which the PSP is now pursuing?

ANSWER: The PSP will be virtually wiped out from the Assembly and the Lok Sabha seats from this State.

QUESTION: Will the Opposition by the PSP affect the election prospects of the L.A.?

ANSWER: No, not in the sense that it will upset the results we expect to achieve. But it will, obviously, have some nuisance value.

QUESTION: What is the position of the Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha and Swatantra Party in West Bengal's political life? Will they be able to make much impression in the elections?

ANSWER: These communal and reactionary parties have hardly any influence in this State. They won't be able to make any impression whatsoever in the coming elections.

Realisable Slogan

QUESTION: Is the slogan of an alternative Democratic Government, which the L.A. has put forward as its central objective, a propaganda slogan to capture the imagination of the people or are there real objective possibilities for forming such a Government in West Bengal? If so, will you tell me what these conditions are?

ANSWER: We do not consider our central slogan of an alternative Democratic Government to be an election slogan. We do not hoodwink the people or ourselves. We firmly believe that real objective conditions for forming such a Government exist now in West Bengal. Briefly speaking, these conditions are:

● During the last general elections the slogan of an alternative Democratic Government raised by the United Left Front aroused the interest and enthusiasm of the politically enlightened sections of the people.

As a result, our candidates polled higher votes than the Congress nominees in all urban areas and Ganjs (rural market and communication centres), that is at all places where newspapers are regularly sold, although in some cases the opposition candidates were defeated on the basis of the polling in other areas of the constituencies concerned.

The Congress formed the Government with a majority of only 26 seats, in many of which the Opposition candidates, including some sitting MLAs, lost by margins of 150 to 1,000 votes. Had we succeeded in winning those seats, the political landscape in 1957 itself would have undergone a big change.

● In the last general elections the Congress was reduced to a minority in Calcutta, Howrah, 24 Parganas, Darjeeling and Purulia districts out of the sixteen districts in the State. In Burdwan district, the Congress had a lead of only one seat over the Opposition.

Congress Routed

The Congress was practically reduced to an insignificant position in Greater Calcutta, the most important area of the State and inhabited by over 55 lakh people. Out of 42 Assembly seats the Congress won only eight! The CPI won 22 and the other opposition parties 12.

The Congress was, thus, reduced to a hopeless minority, and the Communist Party emerged as the single majority party in the whole area. In Howrah, which is to the west of Calcutta and is only second in importance to the city, the Opposition won ten and the Congress five seats.

● The mass movement and direct struggles which took place in West Bengal during 1957-61 were far bigger, much more intensive, militant and broad-based than those between 1952-57. And, in course of the past five years, new sections of the people have been swept into the democratic movement.

I will cite certain instances to make my point clear. West Bengal had never before witnessed a mass campaign of such magnitude and sweep, specifically on the issue of the defence of democratic rights, as the Kerala campaign, starting from the battle to resist Central intervention to the collection of funds for the mid-term elections.

The Food Struggle in 1957 reached unprecedented heights of mobilisation and militancy. Yet, when the people's demands were only partially won, there was no demoralisation whatsoever among the people.

Falling in its attempt to crush the defiant spirit of the people, the Congress tried to make political capital out of the India-China border dis-

Congress Monopoly

pute and launched a campaign of slander and vilification against the Communist Party.

But it could neither demoralise the people nor isolate the Communist Party from them. This became abundantly clear from the series of victories won by Communist and Communist-supported candidates in Municipal and Panchayat elections, and, above all, the resounding victory of Communist leader Indrajit Gupta in the South-West Calcutta Parliamentary by-election.

Then came the historic strike of the Central Government employees. From the very first day of the struggle, the entire people of West Bengal stood solidly behind the sectional demands of the employees. Just at this time, one thing happened, which has not happened in the history of any country.

Two Statewide general strikes and hartals took place on alternate days— one on July 14 and the other on July 16. The first general strike and hartal was in support of Central Government employees' struggle and the second was in protest against the Centre's inaction in relation to disturbances in Assam.

Reactionary elements tried to take advantage of the holocaust there to plunge West Bengal into a fratricidal war. But the left parties, which now constitute the

L.A., boldly intervened in the explosive situation, and the disruptors were effectively muzzled.

New Features

● There have been a number of new and significant features in the situation here since 1959. Different categories of Government employees have, for the first time, come together and formed a joint front. They have conducted campaigns and fought struggles under the leadership of these united committees.

After 32 years, the three lakh jute workers of West Bengal went on one-day general strikes on two occasions in course of six months.

Over 75,000 primary school teachers have for the first time entered the arena of democratic struggles. Repeated attempts have been made by reactionary elements to rouse communal passions and to provoke clashes. But it is a tribute to the democratic consciousness of the people of this State that no unfortunate incidents have happened here.

This is because a feeling has rapidly grown in recent years that it is only by protecting the minority communities and by living in peace and amity with them that the majority community can defend its own rights and win the demands of all sections of the people.

● The people themselves have their own living experience of the mounting burdens on their shoulders, appeasement of the vested interests and rank corruption and nepotism in public life during the 14 years of Congress regime.

Their active participation in direct struggle and the impact of international developments, gradually unfolding before them, the new possibilities in a new epoch, have given them the confidence that they can oust the Congress from power.

These are, then the objective conditions on which we of the L.A. base our calculation of winning the majority in the coming elections.

QUESTION: It is a well-known fact that West Bengal is the stronghold of British monopoly capital, and to a certain extent, also of Indian industrial tycoons. It is, so to say, a "strategic" State from the Congress' point of view.

Will you therefore, "tell me whether the L.A. will be at all allowed to form a Government even if it wins the majority?"

ANSWER: The Congress will no doubt, adopt every conceivable means to obstruct the formation of an alternative democratic Government. But whether we will succeed in overcoming the obstacles and impediments will depend on how we are able to mobilise the people. Moreover, we have the experience of what happened in Kerala.

Programme Of Action

QUESTION: The Programme of the L.A. states what it

will seek to achieve in different fields if it is returned to power. Even if the L.A. is allowed to form a Government, will it be able to fulfil its pledges to the electorate?

ANSWER: What we have stated in our Programme can be certainly achieved within the framework of the Indian Constitution. But the implementation of different items of the Programme will depend not merely on the efforts of the Democratic Government, but also on popular mobilisation and struggles.

We think that our efforts to implement the Programme will be the logical continuation of the struggles of the people over the past five years.

QUESTION: What do you consider to be the "prestige seats" for the Communist Party of India in W. Bengal. Who are your candidates?

ANSWER: We consider the following four to be our "prestige seats":

By Jnan Bikash Moitra

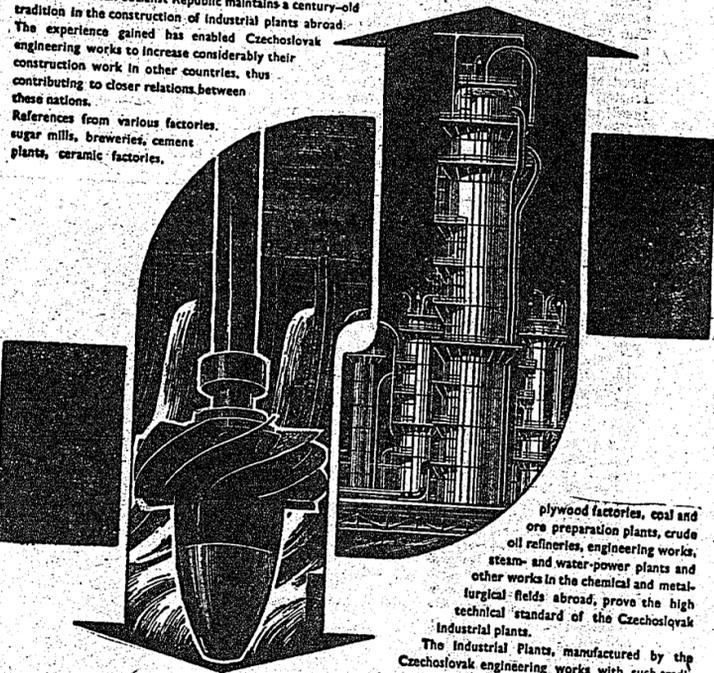
(i) the N-W Calcutta Parliamentary, where Snehanu Acharya opposes Asoke Sen, Union Law Minister; (ii) the Asansol Parliamentary, where Ketnarain Misser opposes Atulya Ghose (sitting M.P.) President of West Bengal Congress Committee; (iii) the Bashirhat Parliamentary, where Abdur Rezzak Khan opposes Humayun Kabir, Union Minister; and (iv) the Chowringhee Assembly where Bishwanath Mukherjee opposes Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister.

As I was leaving the State Council Office, I could not but feel that the complete self-confidence with which Promode Das Gupta spoke about the objective possibilities of forming an alternative Democratic Government, was born out of an unshakable faith in the goodwill of the people and in the striking power of the Left Alliance.

CONSTRUCTION OF UP-TO-DATE INDUSTRIAL PLANTS

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic maintains a century-old tradition in the construction of industrial plants abroad. The experience gained has enabled Czechoslovak engineering works to increase considerably their construction work in other countries, thus contributing to closer relations between these nations.

References from various factories, sugar mills, breweries, cement plants, ceramic factories,



plywood factories, coal and ore preparation plants, crude oil refineries, engineering works, steam- and water-power plants and other works in the chemical and metallurgical fields abroad, prove the high technical standard of the Czechoslovak industrial plants.

The Industrial Plants, manufactured by the Czechoslovak engineering works with such traditional marks as SKODA, CKD, First Brno Engineering Works, Kralovo Pole Engineering Works, Vitkovice Iron Works and other world-renowned marks,



are exported all over the world by **TECHNOEXPORT PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

Foreign Trade Corporation for Export of Complete Industrial Plants

Authorized Representative and Sole Importer for India:

SKODA (INDIA) PRIVATE LIMITED

Vulcan Insurance Building, Vir Nariman Road, P. O. Box 1963, Bombay 1.

Branch Offices at:
NEW DELHI
National Insurance Bldg., Parliament Street.
CALCUTTA
P-38 Mission Row Extension.
MADRAS
35, Mount Road.

VISIT THE CZECHOSLOVAK PAVILION AT THE INDIAN INDUSTRIES FAIR, NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 14, 1961 TO JANUARY 1, 1962.

NATIONAL AC 2761A

NEW AGE

AJOY GHOSH MEETS PRESS

Rarely has there been so much excitement and discussion at a press conference as was witnessed at the Press Conference of Ajoy Ghosh on December 16. The Pressmen present sharply raised many issues for clarification and often enough the answers gave rise to a string of further questions, which were in their turn answered with skill and passionate conviction.

The questions can be grouped under six categories—the health of Ajoy Ghosh, Goa, the Twentysecond CPSU Congress, the election preparations, the India-China border dispute and the election tactics of the CPI.

First, there was the question about his health, to which Ajoy Ghosh replied that there need be no reason for worry and that he was going to tour extensively during the coming months. The Jullundur story about his so-called heart attack was, he said, baseless. He was a bit tired and did not attend one session of the State Council meeting. That was all.

Next came some questions about the state of the election campaign. To these he replied that the election cam-

aign in the country had not as yet warmed up. This was because the Congress list of candidates had not yet been finalised in several States and the Congress campaign had not begun.

The Communist Party had started moving in several States and he expected that in about 15 days time, there would be a sharp rise in the campaign tempo. He announced that he was not contesting and added humourously, "some correspondents have said that this is because I have no constituency."

Goa figured next. Ajoy Ghosh felt that the Government of India could scarcely avoid taking action to bring about Goa's union with the motherland. He said that Portugal had been

given enough time and "the friends of Portugal also".

The time for diplomatic notes and protests was over. Time had come for action.

Questioned as to whether India's international standing would be adversely affected by such action, he said that, on the contrary, India's prestige would go up immensely. It is true that certain imperialist circles would not like it but the whole of the Afro-Asian world would tumultuously welcome such action. The Socialist world had also made its position of support very clear.

Besides, the liberation of Goa would greatly help politically and morally the struggle being waged in the other colonies of the Portuguese. He reminded the pressmen that Portugal was still the biggest colonial power in the world today. He further mentioned that the liberation of Goa would be an object lesson for the Dutch imperialists, who were clinging on to the Indonesian territory, West

Irian. India's action would be great support to Indonesia.

He did not anticipate any complication in the United Nations since Portugal was morally and politically isolated there. He felt that even Britain might not dare to openly support the Portuguese. He discounted the possibility of any Nato armed intervention on behalf of Portugal, since this would mean war with India, which the Nato powers could scarcely be ready for.

Questioned as to whether there could not be a Katanga staged in Goa, he said that the position was radically different. Congo had won her freedom only a year ago. Besides the imperialist puppets were staging a secessionist manoeuvre in Katanga. Goa and the Indian position was quite different. Therefore, he felt that the analogy did not apply.

Inside Goa, he said, the struggle was going on, heroic actions were taking place, discontent smouldered. But a huge Portuguese army was stationed in Goa and, therefore, it was not possible either through sabotage or through other means for the Goanese to liberate themselves. India's army had to move in to finish the job.

He said that the future status of Goa inside the Indian Union was a matter to

be decided by the Central Secretariat of the Party in consultation with the State Committees.

Ajoy Ghosh said, amidst laughter, that the Socialist Party of Dr. Lohia was a unique party and he was quite unable either to understand what it stands for or in which category to place it. The CPI would not have any policy of alliance with the Socialist Party on an all-India scale.

This meant, he said, that the CPI would not have any united front with any party on an all-India scale. It would go into the election battle in alliance with the individual left parties in different States and with progressive Independents.

The press conference had already lasted a full two hours when the final question came: "How, Sir, can you prevent a repetition of Orissa in 1959?" To this came Ajoy Ghosh's final ringing answer "such a sad experience can be spared our people only if through the elections the democratic forces, particularly the CPI, in opposition to the Congress and the democratic forces inside the Congress, are strengthened, the Congress monopoly position shaken and the Right routed". He was confident that the CPI would emerge stronger from the elections.

He mentioned that no meeting of the National Council could be held till after the General Elections. And therefore, it would do the press no

harm to restrain their impatience till then!

He stated more than once that it would not be possible for him as the national spokesman of the CPI to say anything about the attitude taken by the other Communist Parties on these issues. To do so would be improper and contrary to the principles of relations between the Communist Parties, which had been laid down in the Moscow Statement of 81 Communist Parties in November 1960.

The 22nd CPSU Congress had been, he said, an event of tremendous importance for all Communist Parties and for all peoples. The main thing that the Congress did was to adopt the Programme for building Communism in the USSR and to work out the plan for reaching that objective. The article written by him had already stressed this point and elaborated its significance for the whole world.

Then inevitably came the question on the India-China border dispute. At the outset Ajoy Ghosh emphasised that he was not in a position to elaborate the Soviet stand on the border dispute. But, he stated, the basic Soviet position was clear enough—it desired that the dispute be settled through peaceful negotiations. This position he fully appreciated.

Asked about the criticism made against him personally

and inconsistency, American aid is one of them. A glaring example was the failure of the Government of India to take a clear-cut stand of condemnation of the U.S. plan of invasion of Cuba. Other examples can also be given.

He reminded the pressmen that the CPI would suffer from a big handicap since no election to the State Assembly would be held in Kerala. He repeated his challenge to Pandit Nehru to hold such elections and declared that he was confident, in such an eventuality, that CPI would win a thumping majority. But, he added, he was sure that Pandit Nehru was not in a position to accept his challenge.

He said that the choice of candidates was broadly speaking, left to the State Committees. He said that the CPI did not have the problem of hectic contest for tickets—a problem from which not only the Congress but the other opposition parties were not immune.

He stated that the three key slogans of the CPI were: Firstly, that the Congress monopoly of power had to be weakened and where possible broken. Secondly, there had to be a rout of all the Rightist parties. Thirdly, there had to be the maximum possible representation of Communists and democrats in the Lok Sabha and in the Assemblies.

He said that the election battle of the CPI was to be waged primarily against the Congress. This was only natural, since the Congress was not only the biggest party contesting the greatest number of seats but also because it was the party which had been in power for 15 years. The election, naturally, would be waged round the policies pursued by the Congress Government.

He added that in very special circumstances and in particular constituencies the Communist Party may support individual Congressmen. This would be decided by the Central Party Secretariat in each case, in consultation with the State Committees. He emphasised, however, that as a rule the Communist Party would not support Congress candidates.

man opposing the Rightist became a very important factor as also the extent of the seriousness of the Rightist menace in the State concerned.

Questioned specifically about the situation in Rajasthan, Ajoy Ghosh said that the characteristic feature both of Congress and of Swatantra activity in that State was a regular race to "capture the princes". He said that it was difficult to believe either in the Swatantra fear of Congress land reforms or in the Congress proclamations about land reforms when the Congress was so openly wooing the princes.

"Do you think that the Maharaja of Bikaner is a great supporter of land reforms? Then why is the Congress so keen not to oppose him?" He did not believe that there was much possibility of the Congress being overthrown in Rajasthan.

He emphatically stated that there was no question of the CPI either supporting or seeking the support of such parties like the Jana Sangh, Swatantra and the Akalis in any constituency in any part of the country. He stated that there was no question of negotiations either in the past or in the future with the Akalis or any other Rightist parties.

Questioned about the Communist Party's negotiations with the DMK in Tamilnad,

decided finally by the Central Secretariat of the Party in consultation with the State Committees.

Nevertheless, he stated that the CPI was totally opposed to the DMK's separatist slogan of Dravidistan. This opposition was going to be made emphatically clear during the election campaign in Tamilnad.

In answer to a question he stated that the Communist Party would certainly not repeat its previous error when it supported the separatist slogan of Pakistan.

When asked about the PSP, he said that the PSP, on an all-India scale, could not be considered either a left or even a democratic party. On many matters the position taken by the PSP was more reactionary than that of the Congress. Besides in State after State it had betrayed the struggles of the people. There was no question, therefore, of any understanding with the PSP on an all-India scale.

However, in specific constituencies the CPI may extend support to any individual PSP candidate, depending on his record and standing among the people. This would be

GOA • 22nd CPSU Congress • India-China Dispute • Election Tactics Of CPI

he taken up after liberation, when the Goanese people could express their opinion on the subject.

Asked about the help that the Communist Party of India was rendering to the Goanese people, he said that, throughout India the CPI was planning—and many places had already held—demonstrations and meetings, urging the Government of India to act.

Besides other forms of activity would be there, but naturally this could not be disclosed in a press conference. He announced that he was proceeding to Bombay on December 17 and would then decide what future action the CPI should take. He might go to the border to discuss the matter with the comrades there.

There was a whole volley of questions on the 22nd CPSU Congress and the struggle against the cult of personality. Ajoy Ghosh firmly countered these questions with the reply that he had nothing more to add to what he had written on the subject in his article in New Age Weekly of December 10.

He pointed out that he had posed several questions in that article and mentioned categorically that the decision on these questions could be taken only by the National Council.

He mentioned that no meeting of the National Council could be held till after the General Elections. And therefore, it would do the press no

Regarding the so-called Chinese threat to cross the McMahon line he stated that, he had read the Chinese Note very carefully. He did not find in it any threat to cross the McMahon line. He felt that the mention of crossing the McMahon line in the Chinese Note was only used as an illustration and an argument. He hoped that no attempt would be made by the Chinese forces to cross the McMahon line.

If, however, the Chinese did cross the McMahon line then "the Government of India would be justified in taking all measures to repel the Chinese forces. In such a situation the Communist Party of India would support all the measures taken by the Government of India".

When he was questioned regarding the latest Chinese Foreign Ministry Note and the comments in the People's Daily regarding the foreign policy of the Government of India, Ajoy Ghosh stated:

"I do not agree with the Chinese position and I might mention here that as the General Secretary of the CPI, I do not speak in a personal capacity but as its authorised spokesman.

"We have our criticism of the Government of India's foreign policy. This criticism has been clearly stated in our Election Manifesto. We believe that the Government of India's foreign policy does suffer from weaknesses. There are external and internal pressures which cause vacilla-

in the People's Daily, he said "I am answerable for my utterances and statements to the Communist Party of India. I had criticised the Chinese position and they have criticised me". Amidst laughter, he added "I can assure you that I do not propose to make any diplomatic protest".

Regarding the reported negotiations between China and Pakistan on the border issue, Ajoy Ghosh said that he did not know what China proposed exactly to do. But he did not think that there was going to be any such negotiations and any settlement between those two countries and he sincerely hoped that there would be none.

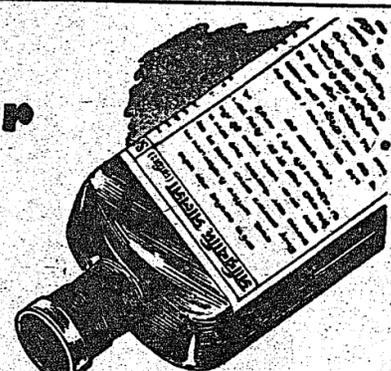
Clarifying the Party's position in the matter, he said, "it is quite clear that the only border between China and Pakistan is part of Jammu and Kashmir. And the whole of Jammu and Kashmir belongs to India. If any settlement is reached between China and Pakistan on the so-called boundary question, this settlement would be totally illegal and invalid".

The final group of questions related more directly to the General Elections.

Ajoy Ghosh stated that, no final list of candidates had been received from all the States but it could be said that the CPI would be contesting approximately 150 Lok Sabha and 850 Assembly seats all over the country. This compared with the 120 Lok

Every drop purifies your blood!

It is blood which carries nourishment to all the tiny cells which make up the body and the brain and thus sustains life itself. Think of the dangers you face when this blood becomes impure. Often, Itching, Sores, Ulcers, Eczema, Boils, Rashes, Gout and many other complicated diseases beset upon you and make your life miserable.



SARIBADI SALSA is reported for decades as the world's best blood purifier. It clears the bowels regularly, cures all skin and other diseases arising out of blood impurities, tones up the liver, increases the appetite and thus helps formation of new, rich blood which ensures a sturdy health for you.

SARIBADI SALSA

the best blood purifier

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA DACCA

Representative: N. Jyantal & Co. Private Ltd., 50, Princess Street, Bombay-2.

Delhi Branch: 224, Chandni Chowk, Delhi-6, 1855, Chandni Chowk, Delhi-6.

Products of both Organic and Inorganic Chemistry • Plastic Materials • Textile Auxiliary Products • Rubber Auxiliary Products • Industrial Explosives • Fireworks • Laboratory Chemicals • Dental Products • Pharmaceutical Raw Materials and Specialties • Spring Products • Medical Plants • Weedkillers • Mordants • Ceramic Dyestuffs • Phosphorescent Pigments

CIEMAPOL PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Representative: N. Jyantal & Co. Private Ltd., 50, Princess Street, Bombay-2. 12/90 Connaught Circus, New Delhi.

VISIT THE CZECHOSLOVAK PAVILION AT THE INDIAN INDUSTRIES FAIR, NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 14, 1961 TO JANUARY 1, 1962.

Unseemly Race For Rajas

Rajasthan political scene is becoming more and more exciting with the Congress and the feudal elements occupying the centre of the stage. While everybody who counts in Rajasthan Congress went away to Delhi for doing the last-round lobbying for Congress ticket, what has happened in New Delhi is something which has surpassed even the most pessimistic expectations of those who were predicting a rather lenient line of the Congress towards the feudal elements.

MANY of the Congress tickets have gone to people who are not only out-right feudalists, but have an unsavoury record as far as their role in the past history of Rajasthan is concerned.

A case in point is Hukam Singh of Jaisalmer. He contested the elections both in 1952 and 1957 on the Ram Raja Parishad ticket and won against the Congress, and is at present a sitting M.L.A. He was one of the Founder convenors of the Swatantra Party in Rajasthan.

In the days in which the Martyr Sagarmal Gopa was burnt alive in police lock-up, Hukam Singh was holding an important position in the set-up. His name came up also at the time of the

sudden disappearance of Dr. Soni of Jodhpur. How far such a record is an asset for a Congress candidate it is difficult to say.

Another controversial Congress choice is the Thakur of Jodhpur. He is in Fall District and has twice fought the Congress, was known for his terror regime in his jagirdari Thikana.

Still another dubious choice is the Maharajkumar of Karauli as a Congress candidate.

The most surprising case is the award of the Congress ticket to the Nawab of Loharu from the Jaipur city seat. It is noted that in Loharu in 1935, took place one of the most wanton and brutal firings. It is a sad situation that today almost 25 years after the

martyrdom of those people, the same Loharu Nawab has become a patriot overnight.

Even in the parliamentary seats, similar adjustments have been made. Maharajkumar of Kotah and the Kanwar of Thikana Khinswar are amongst those who have been given tickets for the Lok Sabha.

Revenue Minister Damodar Vyas, the iron man of Rajasthan Congress, who was announced to be contesting Maharani Gayatri Devi, has suddenly beaten a retreat and in his place has come Sharda Bhargava, a sitting Rajya Sabha member, who is not taken as a serious challenge at all.

Chief Minister Sukhadia even after the finalisation of these lists in Delhi has paid a public tribute to the Maharaja of Bikaner and has announced that the Congress is not putting any candidate against Karni Singh, the Maharaja of Bikaner.

Apart from this aspect of the issuing of Congress tickets, the situation in respect of group war inside Congress also has seen no

improvement. The tickets to the various groups and sub-groups of the Congress have been given in such a manner that in the Rajasthan Congress the status quo is maintained.

While this outward facade of a general agreement is being kept up, observers know that there is serious rift that still plagues the Pradesh Congress.

Having secured the maximum number of tickets which they could under the present alignment of forces, the various groups and mainly the Sukhadia with the active support of Damodar Vyas and the jagirdars on the one side, and the other group led by Chaudhary Kumbharam Arya with the tacit support of the PFC Chief, M. D. Mathur—are preparing to set up rival candidates as Independents against the nominees of the other group and get them defeated.

Thus, at least in 33 per cent of the constituencies in the State there are likely to be at least two candidates, both belonging to the two major Congress groups, one of them having the official ticket while the other standing as Independent, hoping to get back into Congress by seeking the membership of the Congress Assembly Party after having defeated the official Congress candidate.

While this is the situation inside the Congress, the outright feudal forces outside are also preparing for a big show-down.

Though the Congress Chief Minister Sukhadia has paid compliments to the Maharaja of Bikaner and has announced that the Congress would not set up any candidate against him, the Bikaner Maharaja is at the moment in Jaipur planning with the other Maharajas and Maharanis how to win the maximum strength in the State.

His closest associates like Kanwar Jaswant Singh, who present a member of the Rajya Sabha—and who was at one time the Prime Minister of Bikaner State—is one of his nominees for the Assembly seat.

His personal private Secretary Prem Singh is another, and the Raja of Mahajan is yet another.

direct stooges

In this way the Maharaja of Bikaner is putting up candidates in a number of key Assembly seats falling in his constituency and even in adjoining places which formerly were part of the Bikaner State.

The moves of the Jaipur Maharaja are now well known. For the last two weeks the Maharaja of Jaipur, Sawai Man Singh, too, has got active. He toured the areas of Sikar and Jhunjhunu, held meetings of the Rajputs, the jagirdars and their associates and exhorted them to take up the challenge of the times.

In this way in the whole of the Jaipur region—the area which formerly was the Jaipur States—in each seat the Maharaja and the Maharani are putting up candidates. It

can almost be taken for granted that the Maharaja of Jaipur is contesting as an Independent for the Lok Sabha.

In the Jodhpur region, too, the situation is similar. It is to be noted that in the Fall District seven out of the ten Pradhans of the Panchayat Samities are reported to have agreed to take the ticket of the Swatantra Party in case Minoo Masani contests from the Fall parliamentary seat.

Masani was in Fall for two days last week and from the reports current here it seems that he has chosen this as his place of contest.

It would be interesting to remember that at the secret meeting held on the dam of the Hemavats Bund there was present along with these non-Congress jagirdars, also the Thakur of Jodhpur who has been given the Congress ticket from the Kharchi constituency, and it was in his presence and with his consent that the plan for the election of Masani was worked out.

latest slogan

The latest slogan of these feudal forces is interesting. Now the initial fervour of the Swatantra Party seems to have abated. Instead has come to the fore the slogan of the so-called United Front.

The slogan is that parties like the Jana Sangh, the Ram Raja Parishad, the Swatantra and even the PSP, must all join hands to defeat the Congress.

This slogan seems to have emanated from some frustrated Congress leaders like Pandit Heeralal Shastri and Jal Narayan Vyas, who are in some form or other assisting in this work of forming such a front. The most significant developments in this respect are from Jodhpur and Bharatpur. Ex-Chief Minister Jal Narayan Vyas' son and PSP leader have joined the United Front of jagirdars.

For the last few days leaders of the Rajasthan Swatantra Party, Maharaja of Dungarpur and Maharani Gayatri Devi, leaders of the Jana Sangh and also the leaders of dissident Congressmen and even the PSP are present in Jaipur having long and protracted negotiations for evolving an all-out adjustment, the idea being to arrange that there is a straight contest in each seat.

Negotiations are on. There are some stumbling blocks and some disappointments too, but it looks that ultimately some kind of workable position might emerge.

While these leaders of political parties are, thus, trying to evolve some kind of a front of their own, the Maharaja of Jaipur has called his other colleagues the Maharajas of Bikaner and Banswara, the Maharano and Maharani of Kotah and many other feudal dignitaries. Inside the Palace of the Jaipur Maharaja a new move is being hatched to capture the Rajasthan Government through the ballot box.

The rehabilitation of refugees still remains an unfinished task. The Congress rulers have shown utmost heartlessness, as usual.

EXPOSURES

★ by O. P. MEHROTRA ★

Welfare Board Or Thieves Kitchen?

THE words "social welfare" may mean anything in English but when these are used in connection with the Board of that name in West Bengal they can really mean something else. Those who do not have short memories will, of course, remember that in the city of Calcutta raids were carried out on the main office and several distribution centres of the Social Welfare Board, an organisation with which several Congress leaders are associated. These raids took place in the month of September 1961.

The charge against the Congress Social Welfare Board was that it allowed some of its influential members to make huge profits by sending to the black market powdered milk and drugs supplied by the West Bengal Government and the Red Cross for distribution among the poor and needy.

But in the faction-ridden Congress everything is done in a factional way. The "Social Welfare Board" was no exception. Besides this Board there was another organisation known as the West Bengal Seva Samiti.

Thus, competition and rivalry, it is said, are among the reasons for the exposure of the misdeeds of the "Welfare Board". When the police raids were made, it was discovered that some of the centres through which milk and medicines were supposed to be distributed did not at all exist. In some cases the names of those allegedly in charge of distribution were found to be fictitious.

The police, it is reported, had an inkling of what was going on in the Board for a long time. But for obvious reasons it restrained its hands.

But as is usual under Congress Raj—the enquiry has been hushed up. That is certainly in conformity with the Congress ideals!

Refugees Not Rehabilitated But Betrayed

ONE of the election planks of the Congress, in the First, Second and it is hoped even in the coming General Elections, has been and is rehabilitation of refugees. Have the refugees (in this case the East Pakistani refugees in West Bengal) been rehabilitated? The situation even today is far from satisfactory.

The report was sent by the Calcutta correspondent of the Indian Express which further said "Meanwhile the condition of some among 78 hunger strikers, including 25 women, spread in the 22 camps, all over the State was today causing anxiety".

There even in the year 1961 the refugee problem, contrary to the claims of the Congress leaders, was staring us in the face. And this led to serious thinking among the leftist forces to start an agitation.

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad intervened personally today in the situation created by the seven-day old hunger strike by 78 lamp-selling East-Pakistani refugees following the suspension of their caste doles by the Union Government from February 15.

LEST WE FORGET...

FORTUNATE are they these days who find a way to come close to a Congress Minister. A Special Assistant to a Minister is by nature a very important person—one to the Prime Minister is naturally a V.V.I.P. Though it may not be recorded in the future history of India it remains a fact that a certain M. O. Mathal, with a fortune of Rs. 3,90,000 at his command saved from his services to the American Red Cross during the war, decided to work for Pandit Nehru as a P. A. and steno-honorarily.

The times changed. When the latter became India's First Prime Minister the former was appointed as his Special Assistant at a monthly salary of Rs. 750 which was after some time increased to Rs. 1,500.

Having been planted in the P.M.'s Secretariat Mathal began to enjoy privileges, of which even the close relatives of a Minister could justly feel envious. He became a darling of Indian big business and so also of his American friends. New Age in its issue of January 11, 1959, turned the spotlight on the doings of this man, first exposed by the IPA, which led to his resignation from the all important job. This was followed by a heated discussion in Parliament. Since then the whole episode is referred to as the Mathal Affair.

In a letter to the Prime Minister Nehru Mathal expressed his desire to be free to defend himself and "stand in the sun for public gaze". This letter together with one from Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur to the Prime Minister, was released by the Press Information Bureau.

The contents of Mathal's letter caused widespread resentment in the press and public. Even the Prime Minister admitted that "it was a very unfortunate letter, very unwise and very wrongly worded".

The echo of the Mathal Affair was also heard in Parliament. He was charged for casting aspersions on Parliament and had to apologise for it.

Despite attempts at whitewash, even the departmental enquiry confirmed that a trust in the name of M. O. Mathal's mother—the Chechamma Memorial Trust—with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur as chairman and with M. O. Mathal and Padmaja Naidu on its Committee, did exist with a bank balance of Rs. ten lakhs.

That the above trust had received a very big house in New Delhi from Birla Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills, Delhi.

Even if the other charges, which were levelled against Mathal on the floor of Parliament, of amassing huge wealth are left aside, one wonders—even today, why and how a mere special assistant of the P. M. was given so much of importance so as to be made a trustee of a "Trust", with such donors.

Sordid Tale Of Corruption

Congress rule in West Bengal for the last 14 years is a sordid tale of corruption, waste and misuse of administration for the selfish gains of the Congress Party and its individual leaders, besides being a record of anti-people policies and continued oppressive policies.

IN 1959, the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India submitted a memorandum to the President of the Indian Union containing numerous charges against the Bengal Government headed by Dr. B. C. Roy.

In reply to the Communist charges, Dr. B. C. Roy's Government in the first place, came out with a most brutal repression of the democratic movement for food and later submitted a 250-page reply refuting the charges in a most unconvincing way.

However, since then, too, the record of the Congress rulers of West Bengal is not very creditable as would be clear by the following facts:

Before coming to the recent facts regarding the anti-people policies of the West Bengal Government, it would be better to remind the readers about the serious charges levelled against Dr. B. C. Roy's Government in 1959.

The Communist charge-sheet against the West Bengal Government included charges of wastage and misuse of public funds, plunder of public funds, the "empire of permits and contracts," promotion of corrupt officials, misuse of office and administration, and anti-social activities. A few examples from the memorandum are given below:

● The State Government spent Rs. five crores till July 1959 to set up Government colonies for the refugees but almost the entire sum had to be written off as wastage because no more than a handful of refugees had been settled in these colonies.

● Till December 31, 1958 the Government advanced loans amounting to Rs. 1,33,00,000 to a number of industrialists for establishing industries to provide jobs to the refugees. But only 1745 persons were provided employment till July 1959.

● The State Government placed Rs. 13 lakhs at the disposal of a firm—the Flash Light Company—for establishing a factory at Kalyani to "manufacture" radio sets for rural areas. The radio sets supplied by the company broke down just in two days time, the memorandum disclosed.

Other instances of rampant nepotism provided by the policy of giving contracts and distributing cooperative loans mainly to institutions backed by the Ministers, their relations and friends and acquaintances were also given in the Memorandum.

Thus, the Memorandum gave the "case of a young man against whom the secretary of the House Department of West Bengal issued a secret circular asking the Damodar Valley Corporation authorities to cancel his name from the contractor list because reliable information indicated that he was a member of the Communist Party of India."

These are only some of the instances of corruption waste and misuse of administration indulged in by Congress rulers upto July 1959.

● Another Audit Report disclosed that 17 State-baker buses of the State Transport Directorate which were valued at not less than Rs. 1,75,000, were sold to a particular person for a mere sum of Rs. 5,000. This gentleman later set up a Transport Development Corporation. The memorandum mentioned the name of the person who purchased these buses and said "he is a protégé of the Chief Minister".

● The memorandum mentioned that the Government purchased at highly inflated prices the land, buildings, factories and other properties of big zamindars and businessmen who are patrons and financiers of the Congress.

Under Congress Raj

Land Reforms Farce

"Agrarian reforms," says the Congress Election Manifesto, "are the basis of rural progress. Much has been done in the past years in regard to such reforms".

Agrarian reforms are of key importance, not only for rural progress, but also for the socio-economic development of the country as a whole.

But, how far has the Congress regime really gone in the course of its decade-and-a-half old rule to implement them? Let us listen to the testimony of Congressmen and their mouthpieces.

"The landlord," says the Congress M.P., Prof. N. K. Malkani, "changed his colour and became a landlord holder under different names. The (landlord) class thought it wise to lie low, but cling to property in land... Vinoba (Bhave) like a good brother left much, too much to the Congress Government, which was in the hands of a party riddled with landlords. The big issue was raised, the movement was launched, but it led to no revolutionary change in property" (Socialist Congressman, September 15, 1961, emphasis added).

U.P. Chief Minister, C. B. Gupta, speaking not so long ago at a public meeting at Mahakaleshwar in Almorah district, admitted that the State legislation on ceiling on landholdings had failed in its objectives. He said that before the Act could be enforced, big landlords had successfully partitioned their holdings

among their kinsmen and, as a result, "very little land was now available for distribution among the landless".

According to the Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, traditionally a Congress mouthpiece, the West Bengal Government "had estimated that following the abolition of zamindari system in West Bengal, they would be able to acquire four lakh acres of land, but during the last five years, it has been possible for them to take possession of 1.66 lakh acres only." (August 14, 1960)

The results of the much trumpeted, land reforms can be seen in the Table compiled on the basis of the data collected in the latest land census and published as an Appendix to the chapter on Land Reforms in the Third Five Year Plan.

It will be seen from the facts given in the Third Five Year Plan (pp 241-49) that about 50 per cent of the total number of ownership holdings in the former Andhra area of the present Andhra Pradesh and Malabar did not exceed 2.5 acres in size and they between themselves held 7.9 per cent of the total area owned in both the states. One per cent of the total number of holdings, on the other hand, belonged to the topmost stratum, i.e., of 60 acres and above. Between themselves, they held 17.1 per cent and 26.5 per cent of the total area in Andhra and Malabar respectively. The position in other States was more or

less the same. The social pyramid revealed here exposes the hollowness of all the tall talks of agrarian reforms.

In the face of all these glaring facts, even the Third Plan Report, which was really intended to serve as the master copy of the Congress Election Manifesto, could not escape the following admissions:

"Where there is pressure on land and the social and economic position of the tenants in the village is weak, it becomes difficult for them to seek the protection of law. Moreover, resort to legal processes is costly and generally beyond the means of the tenants. Thus in many ways, despite the legislation, the scales are weighed in favour of the continuance of existing terms and conditions." (p. 22).

"As stated earlier, the impact of tenancy legislation on the welfare of tenants has been in practice less than was hoped for. One of the principal reasons for this is that in a number of States, ejections of tenants have taken place on a considerable scale under the plea of 'voluntary surrenders'." (p. 24).

And finally:

"On the whole it would be correct to say that in recent years, transfers of lands have tended to defeat the aims of the legislation for ceilings and to reduce its impact on the rural economy" (p. 229)

ASIT ROY

NEW AGE

Release Long-Term Political Prisoners

Years have rolled by. Yet, the Kakdwip and other long-term political prisoners continue to languish in different jails throughout India—in West Bengal, Tamilnad, Bihar, Andhra and in Punjab. It is quite likely that there are more of such prisoners in one or two other States.

THIS year's August 15 has gone. Our countrymen expected a general release of these patriots on that occasion. But none was released, except Amar Raha. He had almost completed his sentence, and it was a matter of months when he would have been released in due course. Before August 15, specially in West Bengal, high hopes were raised that all these heroes, now 32 in all, would be set free.

In fact, a section of the press of West Bengal, almost took it for granted that these long-term prisoners would get their freedom on this independence day.

But this expectation of our countrymen was belied and these prisoners are still behind prison bars. This is also the case in other parts of India. Not one of the long-term political prisoners was released.

Who are these long-term political prisoners? Amongst the 32 prisoners in West Bengal, there is Kansari Haldar, MP. He is no ordinary person. In his fifties, Kansari is the beloved representative of an entire area including Kakdwip, where as many as 2,47,785 voters voted for him and where he topped the poll. The Kakdwip voters voted for him knowing fully well that he was a fugitive in the eyes of the Congress Government.

During the election period, he was in hiding and the police was desperately on his trail. But, the people gave him shelter, caring very little for the consequences if the police succeeded in apprehending him. People enthusiastically flocked round the polling booth to demonstrate their respect for him by voting in his favour. And this mass enthusiasm for Kansari Haldar did not go in vain. He was elected to the highest tribune of the people—the Lok Sabha.

What was his crime? Why was he convicted? As per the police report, charges against him date back to 1948 and 1949. He was in hiding for more than a decade, and the charges against him have got no bearing in the present political context of the country.

The Kakdwip episode has now become a thing of the past. Almost all the co-accused were arrested during that period, and they were convicted in 1953, after spending years in jails as under-trials.

The condition of Kakdwip became normal after that turbulent period of kisan struggle in defence of their just rights in 1948-49. Kansari Haldar's arrest after a decade and the life sentence imposed on him reveals the real character of the Congress Government. There is no denying the fact that it is a case of vengeance.

Gajen Mali—he is a man of about sixty, co-accused of Haldar, and sentenced to transportation for life. Frail in body and afflicted with disease, he is still unbending. His fascinating smile speaks of his determination. This hero's right arm is almost paralysed; may be, in future, he will be completely a physical wreck. But what of that?

If anybody suggests anything about his release which is not dignified—he will, at once, flare up and say, "No, never. I shall go through every kind of hardship inside the jail rather than accept an ignoble release".

This is our serene Gajenda. His smiling face inspires others. But shall we his own people, remain silent still? Have we got no duties towards these forgotten heroes?

Besides Kansari Haldar and Gajenda, there are eight other Kakdwip prisoners. All of them are lifers. There are many stories to speak of each one of them. They are suffering from this or that disease. Every one of them, except Kansari Haldar, have already served fourteen years of sentence, including jail remissions. Even the convention of 14 years rule about release followed by the British imperialists is not adhered to by our Congress rulers. Out-heroding Herod!

These eight Kakdwip prisoners, all sentenced on December 11, 1953, are:

- Bhusan Kamila (38),
- Sujoy Barik (49),
- Bejoy Mondal (35),
- Kshirode Bera (55),
- Manik Hazra (48),
- Dwijen Dinda (40),
- Taran Saha (35),
- Bhim Ghorai (35).

What I have said above is a very brief account. I want to write about their families sometime in the future. But I wish to draw the attention of the readers to an important point.

These prisoners (except Haldar) were arrested in 1949, and now it is 1951. Vast changes have occurred in our country. These prisoners belong to the Communist Party. All of them believe in the Party's creed of working in the democratic set-up of the country. This they have declared several times in no uncertain voice.

If they are released today they will certainly be by our side in carrying out our democratic tasks. Why is it, then, that the Congress leaders refuse to release them?

Besides these prisoners, there are 22 other prisoners in West Bengal. They are members of the RCFI.

There is Panna Lal Das Gupta, a noted revolutionary figure in West Bengal. He is

about 50. He was an accused in the Mechubazar Bomb Case in the thirties. He was an active figure in the 1942 movement also and had been absconding since then. Then came the Dum Dum-Basirhat Case in 1949.

During his eventful life, one thing that stands out very sharply is his stern integrity. Though a great fighter of indomitable energy, his health has broken down. Still he is behind prison bars. He fell a victim to tuberculosis. It is reported that he has now got heart trouble of an acute type.

Pannalal is the esteemed leader of the RCFI group. Apart from him, there are 21 other prisoners of these two cases. Like the Kakdwip heroes, these prisoners are also of a stubborn type.

Their ages vary from 35 to 65 and almost all of them are suffering from this or that disease. All of them have passed a decade in jail. Like the Kakdwip prisoners, it can be also said about them that they will never bend before the authorities to secure their release.

I have once seen Pannalal from a distance where he was going to see his ailing mother for two hours in some part of Calcutta. At that time, I found him walking with his head erect surrounded by an armed escort of no mean size.

I heard later on from his relatives that Pannalal shall always prefer jail to an ignoble release. This is known to us all. Our demands may be put in two words "Unconditional release".

The other RCFI prisoners are as follows:

- Bindya Sing,
- Fritish Day,
- Mukunda Gupta,
- Sanat Dutt,
- Dinabandhu Kundu,
- Hiranmoy Ganguly,
- Fatik Pan,
- Kaldas Chakravorty,
- Amya Chakravorty,
- Biswanath Das,
- Prasad Mukherjee,
- Bireswar Bhattacharji,
- Bikram Shastri,
- Tarapada Roy,
- Rajkrishna Chakravorty,
- Saraswati Tewari,
- Ramjatan Singh,
- Harnukunda Ram,
- Makhan Bose,
- Anwar Ali,
- Kartik Dhara.

Kansari Haldar, Gajen Mali, Pannalal, all of them are our own kith and kin. We do not want their release on ground of humanity and generosity alone. They have not suffered for any personal gain.

Yet, behind their continued jail life is the sordid story of cold callousness and petty bickering of some high-ups in the Congress. While there is a country-wide urge to get them released, the top bosses of the Congress Government do not agree to this just demand.

Presumably, these bosses are obsessed by the fact that they are Communists and left-minded revolutionaries.

As in West Bengal, in Tamil-

BY NIRANJAN SENGUPTA

nad jails there are seventeen such prisoners. Almost all of them have spent more than ten long years in jail.

Among them is K. Baladandauntham—an esteemed Communist Party leader, public speaker and writer. Twenty years ago when he headed the great student movement of Annamalai University, his was a name to conjure with among the youth, throughout the length and breadth of the State.

Since then he has been repeatedly jailed by the British and then by the Congress rulers.

Meenakshinathan is a brave leader of the textile workers of Vikramasingapuram in Tinnevely district.

There is K. B. S. Mani, a working class leader.

Alagamuthu is a kisan leader as also are Vallavan Veerayyan and Sivassamy.

C. A. Balan is a working class leader of Coimbatore and Tiruppur textile workers and is a textile worker himself.

Mamdhaj, Mottayan, Rajamoni, Joseph and Veerayyan are all workers and hail from Madurai.

All the above prisoners are between 30 and 40 years of age and all of them are under life sentence.

Four more were recently sentenced a year ago for life. They are kisan leaders from Pappan Kulan and Tirumelvell.

In Andhra State there are still two long-term prisoners. They are Mekapapa Rao and Naga Bhusanam. Both of them are lifers.

In Bihar, there are eleven such prisoners. Their sentences range from seven years to transportation for life. Amongst them Nakshtra Malakar, a popular hero of Purnea district. He is in jail from 1951. He was in jail from 1951. He was in the 1930 and 1942 movements. The British imperialists did not spare him. He is a lifelong sufferer in the cause of freedom struggle.

Biswanath Bhuniya was a militant worker of the Bhowrun colliery of the Jharia coal field.

Brajanandanlal was convicted in connection with a case connected with the students' upheaval in Bihar.

- Others are:
- Sadhan Gupta (life),
 - Bodi Alam (life),
 - Panchanan Jha (life),
 - Giri Jha (10 years),
 - Baleswar Jha (10 years),
 - Jagdish Das (10 years),
 - Suresh Bhatt (7 years),
 - Bachoo Lal (7 years).

Now, about the Punjab heroes.

There are five in jail and five have been absconding.

In the absconders' list, there is a man like Teja Singh Swatantra, a household name in Punjab. A life full of struggles, a life of intense political activities, he is now about sixty and still he is a fugitive in the eyes of the Congress bosses. I can narrate innumerable incidents of his life which will inspire our people and show how he is now being treated by the Punjab Government.

Here is a man, who after completing his military training, went to America where he revitalised the Ghadar party, sponsor of the famous Kama Gata Maru expedition.

He travelled fearlessly underground under different names in Afghanistan, Turkey, USA, Panama, Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Canada and the Soviet Union and worked for Indian independence.

Teja Singh Swatantra—hero of many marches and battles of the long-drawn war of Indian independence has been forced to lead an underground life since March 1948. He is passing the fourteenth year of his underground life.

During this period he lost his parents as well as his only daughter. And still this indomitable hero is unbending. He passes his days as a fugitive. But shall we, his countrymen, remain callous? Have we not any duty towards this patriot, our beloved leader?

There is Raja Ram, an INA hero but now a fugitive. The Punjab police is hunting through length and breadth of Punjab for him.

There is Inder Singh Murari, an aged man and a beloved figure in the Punjab national movement. He has been forced to lead an underground life for the last 13 years and the police is still after him.

There is also Sardha Singh, formerly a worker of the Calcutta Tramways but who was dismissed for his trade-union activities. Sardha Singh is absconding since June 1951.

There is Darsan Singh Dakhla, a prominent figure in the National Movement since his youth and in later days he joined the Kisan Sabha organisation. Since 1948 he is an absconder and he is carrying on activities in the interests of the peasants still today.

There is Maldan Singh, younger brother of Teja Singh, a fine painter and well-versed in photography, a story writer and poet, but unfortunately a lifer serving his sentence in a Punjab jail.

There are other lifers in different jails of Punjab—Pakhar Singh, Kehar Singh, Pritam Singh and Nasib Singh. All of them are figures in National Movement. They have suffered a lot in the meantime. The Punjab people demand the release of these heroes in the context of the changed situation of the country.

Once again I am putting the most salient points about these prisoners who are still languishing in different jails in India. They are all selfless political workers. May be, there is a section of people who think these prisoners are misguided, but they did not do anything for their personal gain.

They did something which they believed to be in the interest of the country and the people. Such being the position, these patriots should be released forthwith, and this is the voice of the people.

Remember—the prisoners' minds are firm. They would certainly be happy if the Government releases them unconditionally keeping in mind the demand of the people. But certainly they would not break if the release does not come off. Many of them were arrested while still in their teens and have spent their entire youth in prison. Now the time has come when we must voice our unequivocal demand—

RELEASE THESE PRISONERS, AND WITHDRAW ALL PENDING WARRANTS.

KERALA KISAN STRUGGLE'S

MOUNTING TEMPO

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Kerala peasants' direct action, started on November 27, under the leadership of the Karshak Sangham, reached new heights when on December 15, T. C. Narayanan Nambiar, MLA led a batch of kisan volunteers to offer satyagraha in front of the Government Secretariat buildings in the State capital and workers all over the State went on a one-day solidarity general strike on December 16.

DESPITE the slander campaign through the press and platform conducted by the Congress-PSP leaders that the kisan struggle is a Communist political stunt, that it had no public support, despite the arrest and detention under the obnoxious Section 151 of leading kisan, Communist and trade-union workers—the struggle is gathering more and more momentum. During the first week of the struggle, the number of arrests for picketing District Collectorate offices totalled nearly 2,000.

In the second week, picketing spread to a number of taluk offices and the total number of volunteers arrested and released afterwards was more than 3,000.

And in the first four days of the third week, there was satyagraha in front of nearly every district and taluk revenue office and a large number of village offices. Nearly 3,000 volunteers were arrested and removed for picketing.

Finally, on December 15 and 16, the Government had to arrest and remove more than 3,000 kisan volunteers; create a virtual police cordon in front of and on the main road leading to the Secretariat buildings in Trivandrum.

It had to resort to unwarranted and brutal lathi-charge at the Pazhavangadi Maidan from where the kisan volunteers, including women, started, under the leadership

GUPTA'S MISCHIEF

★ FROM PAGE 3

or two municipalities and a number of Town Areas, the Congress Ministry had managed to defeat the verdict of the electorate by taking action on the basis of fake charges against the Communist chairmen of those courageous bodies.

Now it is coming home to roost in its own way and what these Congress leaders had then practised against their political opponents they are now being applied against their own men in their organisation.

They are not at all dismayed by the adverse verdicts or comments of the judiciary either. For instance, hardly had the High Court quashed the order of the government in respect of the president of the municipal board of Allgarh and reinstated him in his post when the Gupta ministry came forward with fresh charges against Babu Lal Sharma and, within ten days of the High Court's judgment, again suspended him. Sharma has again rushed to the High Court for redress.

The battle for civil liberties was carried into the legislative assembly also which restarted its adjourned autumn session on December 13. Communist opposition was eloquent by its absence in protest against the indis-

criminate use of Section 151 against MLAs.

On the very first day, during question hour and the time of the election of the Speaker, the absence of the Communist opposition became an issue. The Government had to agree to have a discussion on the kisan agitation. On December 14, Krishna Iyer, former Minister in the Communist-led Government, raised the issue again.

An adjournment was moved to discuss the situation created by the arrests of many MLAs and MPs and other political leaders under Section 151. He contended that these arrests are unjustified, unwarranted and uncivilised.

Gopalan was arrested on December 10, near Ernakulam for the alleged crime of "intending" to offer satyagraha before the Secretariat buildings on December 15. This is a clear abuse of Section 151, Krishna Iyer said.

Meanwhile, Chacko, Home Minister has taken the initiative to seek ways and means of settling the agitation and contacted Nambodiripad and Govindan Nair and Gopala Krishna Menon to go to Kottayam and Alwaye and meet Kanaran, General Secretary of Kerala Karshaka Sangham and Gopalan who are kept in jail there.

On December 14 Nambodiripad, Govindan Nair, Gouri and Gopala Krishna Menon, the latter two being members of the Negotiating Committee appointed by the Karshaka Sangham, met the Home Minister in his office and had further talks.

Chacko Fails

According to a statement issued by Gopala Krishna Menon on December 14 evening, as a result of these talks:

"We came to a mutual understanding regarding the demands placed by the Karshaka Sangham and conditions for withdrawing the struggle. Minister Chacko had assured us he would place the proposals before the Cabinet meeting in the afternoon, get its approval and then inform the Karshaka Sangham President in writing.

"But what he did was to convey to Nambodiripad by phone the astonishing news that the Cabinet did not approve of the proposals. Thus, the talks for a negotiated settlement failed because of the stubborn attitude and false pride of the Cabinet."

There is strong talk in the city that rivalry between the Congress and the PSP inside the Cabinet was also one of the reasons for the scuttling of the negotiations.

The general strike of December 16 was a big success. Nearly a hundred thousand workers all over the State from every industry struck work, held demonstrations and public meetings and declared firm support to the just demands of the peasants.

The struggle continues with added vigour and mass sup-

HURRAHS & HOWLS

The triumphant march of the Indian army into Goa, Daman and Diu has been hailed by the freedom-loving people all over the world.

AS was expected, the Socialist countries and the non-aligned powers have wholeheartedly supported the Government of India's action in liberating the three Portuguese held enclaves by marching her armies there.

When Indian forces marched into Goa, the President of the Presidium of the USSR, L. I. Brezhnev, was in Bombay. Speaking at a reception held by the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, Brezhnev expressed "full understanding and sympathy for the Indian people's desire to achieve the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu from Portuguese colonialism" (December 17).

At a civic reception held in his honour at Bombay he said amidst thunderous applause: "Here in Bombay we specially feel with what satisfaction and enthusiasm the Indian people receive the news about the beginning of the liberation of Goa..."

Again, when the news reached about the triumph of the Indian Army, the Soviet President congratulated the Indian Defence Minister at Santa Cruz Airport.

The tone of the Soviet Press is jubilant at the success of our armed forces. "New blow at colonialism—Indian Forces Enter Goa, Daman and Diu; Ancient Indian Lands Gain Freedom" declares Izvestia in bold headlines on top of its first page.

The Last Hour of Portuguese Colonialism on Indian Territory has Struck. People of Goa, Daman and Diu Get Freedom After 450 years of Slavery and Oppression" says Komsomolskaya Pravda and gives a big headline to the news.

The Soviet papers publish long accounts of the offensive and give a detailed history of the Portuguese colonies on Indian soil and the regime of terror which prevailed there. They emphasise that India waited for 14 years and had no choice left before it but the use of force.

Pravda calls it a "decisive blow at the last remnants of colonialism on Indian soil, which will restore historical justice."

"The Indian people receive their brothers from Goa, Daman and Diu in their great family", declares the organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The paper gives a big headline in bold type—"Portuguese Colonialists Get out of India!"

China Supports

A statement issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China declared that the Government and the people of China resolutely support the Indian Government's action aimed at the recovery of Goa by India.

This act of the Indian Government is a reflection of the just demand of Indian people, the statement said.

—O. P. MEHRHOTRA

DEMOCRACY THROTTLED

M. N. Govindan Nair released the following statement to the press on December 18 in New Delhi:

A serious situation has arisen in Kerala as a result of the wanton use of Section 151 of the Penal Code to put down the struggle launched by the Kerala Karshaka Sanghom.

MPs, MLAs, Lawyers, important Communist Party functionaries, trade union and kisan functionaries are all victims of the abuse of the above section. Till December 14, three MPs, six MLAs, nine advocates 13 members of the State Council of the Party and 58 trade union and kisan functionaries were arrested under the above section or similar sections like Sec. 107. An ex-Minister T. A. Majid is kept in custody under section 107.

Now I learned from the newspapers that 50 more are arrested under the same section. None of the above mentioned persons have participated in picketing or violated law in any way. A good number of them had

no intention of participating in picketing.

The correspondent of New Age S. Sharma is among the victims.

As a protest against this the main opposition in Kerala Assembly, the Communist Party is boycotting the present session of the Assembly. Section 151 of the Penal Code is an anachronism. It does not fit in with the democratic liberties ensured by the Constitution. Even during British days the section was seldom used against any respectable citizen.

This section gives unlimited powers to the police officer to arrest any person merely on suspicion that that person may commit an offence. In a way it is worse than the Preventive Detention (P.D.) Act.

In Parliament every time with what apology the Government comes forward when it has to extend the period of the P.D. Act According to the P. D. Act a charge-sheet has to be given to the arrested person and there is a special tribunal to go into the charge-sheet and the reply. The tribunal can set aside the detention order if the charges

are not convincing enough.

But under Section 151 the Police Officer is not required even to substantiate his suspicion before the person is arrested and can remand him to custody for two weeks.

The events in Kerala have proved that even the liberty of the members of the sovereign body, i.e., Parliament is at the mercy of the police officer. This is a highly revolting state of affairs, which no civilised society can tolerate.

I hope that enlightened public opinion in India will raise its voice against this onslaught on democratic liberties.

Think for a moment that if during the so-called liberation struggle in Kerala some police officer had taken into his head to use section 151 against Dhebarjee or Indira Gandhi for abetting the struggle how it would have been resented by the public at large.

I believe in a sovereign state the status of a member of Parliament is in no way less than of any other citizen, whatever his position can be. If he breaks the law it is another matter. We are not pleading for immunity from law for members of Parliament or Assembly.

Kerala has already given some bitter lessons as to how it will boomerang on the whole nation if fundamental liberties are given the go-bye for immediate gains.

I warn all concerned and in this I hope I have the full support of the democratic opinion in this country.

All this is done to put down a peaceful struggle launched by the Kerala Karshaka Sanghom to redress certain grievances which are of an urgent character. These grievances follow from the steps that are being taken by the Government for the enforcement of the Agrarian Relations Act.

But the Government is trying to make out that this is a political struggle. This is far from the truth.

The kisan leaders have made it clear beyond doubt that the moment some solution is found to resolve the grievances, the struggle will be withdrawn. They do not stick to the position that the problem should be solved only in the way in which they have suggested.

But it is the Government that is trying to make political capital out of the struggle by arresting prominent leaders of the CPI and leaders of the mass organisations on the eve of the General Election.

The Coalition Government in Kerala knows very well that the political climate in Kerala today is very favourable to the CPI. Not only because of the strength it has gained during these months but also because of the rift and conflict within the coalition itself.

This they want to counteract by putting in jail as many effective workers as possible without rhyme or reason. While thousands of volunteers who daily picket are let off, hundreds of our important workers are kept in custody under Section 151.

In conclusion the statement calls on all to protest against this attitude of the Kerala Government.

SCRAP-BOOK

BRAVO, JAWANS!

THERE is a proverb in our country—when death is nearer the ants fly. So it was with the Portuguese fascists. In the face of growing resistance, they increased their brutalities on the Goan population and even attacked Indian ships and violated Indian territory. The struggle for freedom in these colonial possessions was always drowned in blood.

Brave Indian soldiers have removed the 450-years old ulcer from the body of mother India. Even at the cost of repetition it is necessary to echo the mass sentiments of jubilation and congratulate our Jawans for fulfilling the unfinished task of Indian sovereignty.

The most violent and fascist colonial order challenged from inside by the heroic and death-defying commandos has been made to surrender. Imperialists all over the world are in an impotent rage.

Our brethren in Goa, Daman and Diu, all patriotic Indians and freedom-loving people the world over, were jubilant when the Indian armed forces moved to the Goa border. Everybody was awaiting for the zero hour.

With the defeat of the Portuguese imperialism in their colonial possessions in India a new wave of anti-imperialist actions has been unleashed. Patriots in Angola and other parts will receive great impetus from this long-awaited action of Indian Government.

Action in Goa, Daman and Diu has once again made it clear who are our friends and who our foes. Inside the country, too, it has singled out the traitors.

TRAITOR CURRENT

THE Western lobby in India is in a panic. They did not approve the idea of the march of our army into the Portuguese possession. Rajaji said, Goa is Nehru's election stunt. Masani was rebuked by all sections for echoing similar sentiments in Lok Sabha. Kripalani has been too busy with the idea of defeating V. K. Krishna Menon in North Bombay. The worst offender to the cause of, Goa liberation was once again Karaka's Current.

When the whole of the country was demanding March into Goa Kripalani's morale booster and campaigner, Current in its issue of December 16, wrote on the front page "Our claim to Goa does not need so sudden sabrerattling, so many recent troop manoeuvres, so many recent

notes to General Choudhry, who heads the Southern Command".

Mercenary Current had the audacity to question the proposed action in Goa. By implication it even termed it as discarding the civilised method. It wrote: "Why do we discard the civilised method of establishing our claim if we as a civilised nation have abandoned war and brute force as the solution of our international dispute?"

It is not definite even about our claims to Goa. It wrote "whatever our claims to Goa these surely could wait till after the elections".

Current has, thus, established once again that it is a propagandist sheet of enemies of our nation. It pleads all the lost causes of imperialists even at the cost of parading itself as a traitor.

The same rag which had no words of sympathy for our brethren languishing in the prisons of Salalar and suffering under the fascist dictatorship in Goa, Daman and Diu on the eve of the march of the Indian troops all of a sudden started shedding tears for the "poor, illiterate, defenceless people on both sides of Goa".

Obviously to create panic it wrote "From the height of his ivory tower in New Delhi, it is easy for Nehru to make patriotic speeches which may result in troops marching, guns being fired and so on, but there live a lot of poor, illiterate, defenceless people on both sides of the Goa border, who will die of panic long before they have to die of bullets".

I do not know how many have died in panic but it is clear that the spirit of patriotism has died in the hearts of mercenaries long ago. Current is one of them.

MONOPOLIST MANIPULATORS

SUBSCRIBERS of the Delhi edition of the Times of India, Hindustan Times and Indian Express have been told by the proprietors of these newspapers that because of cut-throat competition they have been forced to reduce the price of their papers.

This certainly for the time being is of advantage to the subscribers. But the question as to why this cut-throat competition has been resorted to is a puzzling one.

It is obvious the big business in newspaper industry are doing it to increase their sphere of influence and attain supremacy. This competition, however, is a prelude to monopoly.

The Birlas, Goenkas or Dalmia-Jains cannot continue this competition for long. Once they come to an agreement the prices would again be raised.

—AGRADOOT

ACTION PROGRAMME

"The international working class, jointly with all the progressive forces, is able to solve the contemporary problems facing mankind", says the "Programme of trade union action at the present stage in defence of the working people's interests and rights".

THIS Programme was adopted on December 15 by the Fifth World Trade Union Congress in Moscow.

Characterizing the changes occurring on the world scene, the Programme notes that in the period since the Fourth Trade Union Congress the working people of the socialist countries achieved further successes in building a new life. The socialist system is confidently advancing along the road of democracy and freedom, of achieving well-being and happiness for toilers.

Now the Soviet Union has adopted and is carrying out a majestic programme which aims at creating within two decades the material and technical basis of communism and giving the people the highest standards of living. The successes of the socialist countries immeasurably multiply the forces of the international working class.

The Programme notes that the capitalist system has demonstrated its actual inability to solve the major problems of our time, that American monopolies are most aggressive and create the danger of war. "They have become the main cause of international tension".

The rallying of the powerful forces of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national liberation movement and all forces fighting for peace and progress have brought about radical changes in the international situation in favour of the working class, the Programme states.

In these favourable conditions the trade unions set themselves the task of estab-

lishing broadest contacts with all trade union organizations which are in fact waging a class and anti-imperialist struggle irrespective of their nationality and ideological differences.

The unity of the working people of the world, the Programme declares, will make it possible to curb the forces of reaction, imperialism and war, to ensure the preservation of peace and achieve new decisive victories in the fight for democracy, national independence of peoples and social progress.

The Programme singles out the problem of preserving and strengthening peace, of preventing a new world war, as the most vital problem of our time.

Pointing out that a new world war involving the use of modern weapons of mass extermination and destruction would be a terrible disaster to all the peoples, the Programme stresses that war is not inevitable, it can be prevented, peace can be preserved and strengthened.

It is essential to rally all forces of the working people and trade unions to the struggle for the triumph of principles of peaceful co-existence between states with different economic and social systems. The WFTU calls upon all trade unions and all working people to intensify the struggle for peace and disarmament.

The working people of all countries may note, the Programme stresses, that the Soviet Union together with other democratic forces stands for peaceful co-existence and follows a peace-loving policy, in contrast to the aggressive policy of the United States and other Western

powers which continue to follow the policy of the arms race and preparation for war.

The Programme of trade union action regards the full and final abolition of the colonial system as the prime task of the peoples and of all forces of peace and progress. "The collapse of colonialism is inevitable".

The closer the working people rally in their class organisations on national and international scale, the quicker an end will be put to colonialism and a crushing blow dealt to imperialism, the Programme stresses.

One of the sections in the Programme is devoted to the activities of the trade union organizations of the working people in the socialist countries. On vast expanses accounting for over one quarter of the globe, the Programme says, free toilers—masters of their destiny and architects of their happiness—are erecting the luminous edifice of the world's most just social system.

The world socialist system has demonstrated before the whole world the tremendous possibilities socialism opens up for all working people.

The Programme sets forth the tasks of trade unions of capitalist countries in the struggle for the social and economic demands of labour, against capitalist exploitation. Special emphasis is placed on demands for higher wages and a guaranteed minimum wage, for shorter working hours without pay cuts, for greater guarantees against unemployment and lay-offs, for greater rights to conclude collective bargaining agreements, for more social insurance and maintenance, for higher work safety.

The Programme also considers the problems of the struggle in defence of trade union rights and democratic freedoms.



The Programme declares that unity and effective international solidarity will ensure victory for the working class. The WFTU persistently continues its policy of unity, both on national and international levels.

The Programme points out that the working people's striving for unity comes up against a serious obstacle on the international plane constituted by the orientation of the leading organs of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions.

It must be recognized, the Programme says, that the disruptive activities of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions gravely

damage the vital interests of the working people.

The world-wide character of the WFTU is unshakable, the Programme stresses further, and to consolidate it means to consolidate the foundations and principles of the unity of the international trade union movement in the interests of all working people.

The Programme concludes with the following ardent call: Working people! Fight resolutely for unity, expose the machinations of capitalist monopolies and their agents who sow dissension in our ranks. Unite all your forces for the sake of achieving a better life, freedom and peace on earth, for the sake of prosperity of all mankind! (TASS)

DANGE SPEAKS

WE agree with the theses of the reports presented by Louis Salliant and Ibrahim Zakaria and the draft programme of action, said S. A. Dange, General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, addressing the Fifth World Congress of Trade Unions on Monday, December 11.

India today takes a great interest in the new Programme of building communism adopted by the CPSU and endorsed by the Soviet trade unions, he said. If the country and the party are communist, can we hush them up, can we hush up free meals, rent-free flats, and, and a five-hour working day only because this means communism.

We must speak of this not because it has been done by the Soviet Union and the Communist Party but because they achieved precisely what the working class in the whole world is longing for.

If George Meany from the AFL-CIO could persuade the Democratic Party or Republican Party to do the same, or the Labour Party and the Social Democrats could persuade their governments to do so, we would also enthusiastically speak of their programme and of their congresses. But, having tremendous wealth and the biggest trade unions, those countries do not and cannot do so in conditions of the existence of the system of monopoly capital.

The speaker pointed out that the All-India Trade Union Congress cannot remain neutral when it is a question of the interests of the working class and the bourgeoisie. It is on the side of the working class.

Criticising the leadership of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Dange pointed out that this organisation was

supporting colonialism, the war in Algeria, the intervention against Cuba, the American penetration in India, the "cold war" against the socialist countries. The leadership of the AFL-CIO does not even do anything to combat racism and the Ku-Klux-Klan.

Many recently liberated countries, Dange said, take a stand of non-participation in international political groups, but non-alignment is not purely negative concept. The Belgrade conference of non-aligned states of Asia and Africa adopted a platform consisting mainly of two points: peace and disarmament and anti-colonialism. Both these points place those countries outside the camp of imperialism and unite them with the camp of socialism.

Any trade union organisation, if it is an anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, peace loving organisation fighting against war will inevitably join the World Federation of Trade Unions and no longer be neutral. If such an organisation stands on quite different positions, it will unfavourably join the camp of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

One can join neither, Dange continued. But by creating an independent third bloc one cannot attain unity. This can but temporarily retard cohesion around the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Joining the organisation is not the fundamental issue, however. The main thing is joint fraternal actions. The bourgeois states can stand on positions of non-alignment but this cannot be done by the organisations of the working class acting on a class basis. Joint actions by primary trade union organisations, in the speaker's opinion, are a means towards achieving unity both on a national and on international scale (TASS)

TO KNOW ALL ABOUT THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THAT GREAT COUNTRY CHINA

Read and Subscribe

CHINESE PERIODICALS

CONCESSION RATES AND FREE GIFTS
for subscribers enrolled within 31st December 1961.

WOMEN OF CHINA

A comprehensive bi-monthly in English for women.
Annual: 1.80
Con. rate for 1 Yr.: 1.50
Con. rate for 2 Yrs.: 2.80
Free Gift: A picture-story book.

CHINESE LITERATURE

A literary monthly in English.
Annual: 5.00
Con. rate for 1 Yr.: 4.00
Con. rate for 2 Yrs.: 7.00

CHINA'S SPORTS

An illustrated bi-monthly in English covering sports activities in China.
Annual: 1.80
Con. rate for 1 Yr.: 1.50
Con. rate for 2 Yrs.: 2.80

EVERGREEN

A bi-monthly in English about Chinese youth and student.
Annual: 1.80
Con. rate for 1 Yr.: 1.50
Con. rate for 2 Yrs.: 2.80

SPECIAL GIFTS FOR INTRODUCERS

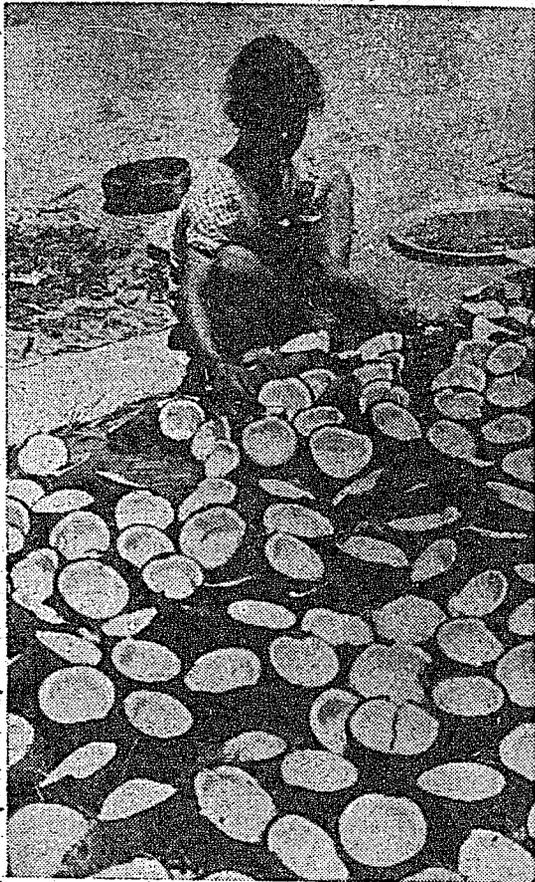
For introducing 2 to 5 subscribers: a set of Chinese commemorative stamps and a set of Chinese paper-cuts.
For more than 5 subscribers, a set of Chinese paper cuts and a set of bookmarks with Chinese paintings. One Free subscription for the collector of 4 subscribers of any single journal.
N.B. Gifts will be sent to the subscribers and introducers directly from Peking.

NATIONAL BOOK AGENCY (P) LTD.

12, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 12,
172, Dharmatala Street, Calcutta 13,
Nachan Road, Benachity, Durgapur 4.

Lib. Army of Goa

DEATH TO COLONIALISM!



Goan girl selling coconuts—her honour is now safe.

becoming, one after another, boiling cauldrons against colonialism itself.

President Sukarno reiterated not only the justice of the Indonesian national demand but drew great strength from international solidarity, and stated that all Afro-Asian socialist countries were behind Indonesia. "We are not alone. We are backed by 2,000 million people".

The newspapers are full of the support to India over Goa of the same 2,000 million people. If Nato could not intervene in Goa to save their partner Portugal, if the Suez was closed to Portuguese reinforcements, if the UN could not be used to characterise the Indian act of liberation as an act of aggression against Portugal, it was due to the warm-hearted and active solidarity of the same Afro-Asian and Socialist countries, which made the Goan operation so easy, painless and quick.

PRESTIGE RAISED

India is respected as a great civilised nation. We are not alien to the virtue of gratitude but it is not enough to formally thank the nations that supported us over Goa.

The honourable and worthy way to repay this debt is obviously to get into closer step and march shoulder to shoulder with these Afro-Asian and Socialist countries, when they go into action again, as they must to help the liberation of other Goans in lands far and near, held in subjection under colonialism.

It is no secret that Indian prestige has been steadily declining in Afro-Asian countries, because the Nehru Government has been dragging its feet when active anti-colonial solidarity from India was badly needed and greatly expected. The liberation of Goa has, undoubtedly, helped to repair the damage to Indian moral prestige.

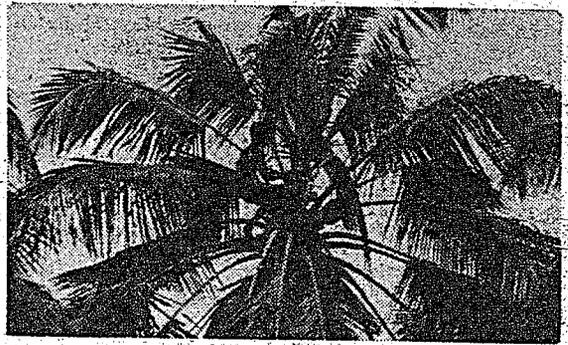
The lesson of Goan liberation is that the most effective way to repay our international debt and heighten our international prestige, is to boldly and consistently throw hereafter India's great weight in the cause of colonial liberation.

We earnestly hope the much needed lesson has been learnt in New Delhi. We have no doubt Indian national opinion will keep the Government of India still more loyal to the path that won us Goan liberation.

Goan liberation has won us not only the respect and support of Afro-Asian and Socialist countries but also provoked the hatred and hostility of the countries of the Western camp, above all, the US and UK.

It is not only the cleaning-out of the decrepit Portuguese from tiny Goa that has upset the Western colonialists.

Armed liberation of Goa by non-violent India has become the symbol of something new and very terrifying to the leaders of the West, of the onrushing and irresistible end of colonialism in the rest of the world, in the background of African revolutionary happenings and the Latin



The palms of Goa—free air now stirs them.

American developments, following Cuba.

When the Western powers found that they failed to get the UN to denounce Indian action, the US delegate threatened the UN itself with death.

The Goan experience has helped to destroy the much publicised mission of friendship with and for all and the illusions engendered by the undesirable and unhistoric honeymoon with the US and UK both.

When foes parade as friends, it is the living experience of events like Goa that reveal the truth and friends and foes stand apart and all can see who are with us and who against. Now it is not that others have to take sides. They are standing ranged already, inside the UN and outside.

We have no doubt that Indian patriotic circles will, after Goa, see even more clearly that in the present

world struggle, it is necessary to take sides, firmly and unambiguously with India's friends of the Afro-Asian and Socialist countries and against India's enemies, of the Western camp, above all the rulers of U.S. and UK, the patrons and props of colonialism, not only as it was in Goa but as it exists in the rest of the world.

PEACE AT STAKE

As long as colonialism exists in the world the freedom of no nation is safe. The peace of the world remains at stake.

LONG LIVE THE LIBERATION OF GOA!

ALL SUPPORT TO THE COLONIAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN ALL LANDS! DEATH TO COLONIALISM!

GLORY TO INDIA!

* FROM FRONT PAGE

We earnestly hope that after the liberation of Goa, the governance of Goa will be trusted to Goa's best leaders and on a united basis, that the sorry lessons of Pondicherry will be learnt, that the Portuguese puppets will not be appeased and trusted as was done with the French puppets in Pondicherry, that the ruling party will not once again demonstrate its narrow partisanship.

We greet the National Campaign Committee, headed by Aruna Asaf Ali, which united not only the Goan but also various Indian national groups and parties to speed up the fight for Goan liberation, which tirelessly popularised the cause of Goa throughout the country, which constantly reminded the Parliament and the Government to give the nation and its armed forces marching orders against Portuguese colonialism.

HEROIC COMMANDOS

Above all, we most warmly greet the heroic Goan Commandos and their hitherto unknown leaders, who demonstrated in the darkest days that Goan arms will never rest as long as Portuguese colonialism continued to rule.

To them goes the biggest credit for not letting any Indian patriot forget Goa, for challenging with arms in hand the Portuguese usurpers, at every chance they got. Very properly and at the right time, the command order from the Indian Army High Command itself embodied a high tribute to the significant role of the Goan Commandos

in the undying struggle of Goan liberation.

The Goan Commandos have proved through their acts and sacrifices that they are worthy and true heirs of the great Indian national revolutionary tradition that goes back to 1857. All glory to Goa's Commandos!

Goan liberation is much more than the victory of Indian independence and defeat of Portuguese imperialism. It has set in motion a global chain reaction of anti-colonial upsurge.

The liberation of our tiny Goa, Daman and Diu is rightly and inevitably being followed by the intensification of the liberation of the much bigger Goas in the rest of the Asian, African and Latin American regions.

On the same day as Prime Minister Nehru congratulated the liberators of Goa for a job so well done, President Sukarno ordered general mobilisation for the final liberation of West Irian and closed all air space above.

The newspapers of December 20 announced the official Portuguese surrender in Panjim, Daman and Diu and on the same day Holden Roberto, President of the Union of Population of Angola, the national party organising and leading the Angolan revolt, announced the plan to set up a Provisional Government on Angolan territory itself and summoned the regional rebel military commanders to a War Council to set up such a Free Angolan Government.

The above two examples are just the beginning of a new rise of the national revolutionary struggles in the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which were so far the reserves of colonialism and are

AT THE FRONT

From RAZA ALI

BELGAUM, December 20.

There is jubilation in the very air. Members of a large family, as it were, have gathered for a great celebration. Everyone seems to be an old friend of everyone else.

In the early hours of dawn, outside a railway station, we stand chatting among ourselves and with anyone who joins us with equal informality. Suddenly an army truck pulls up. A couple of our soldiers and an officer alight.

We rush up to congratulate them and to ask for fresh news. Proudly replies the officer. "We carried our flag into Goa. By now it is all over. Over Panjim flies our nation's flag."

He carried our flag into Indian town, hitherto held under the colonial yoke. He flew and drove up to the spot where we accidentally came across him. He was driving and flying back on duty to complete the work that was long overdue.

Who was he? He gave his name in such a low modest tone that I could not clearly catch it. May be a Captain Singh or a Major Singh. That does not matter. In the twilight even his features were not very clearly discernable either. That, too, does not matter. He was a soldier of our country.

The flag that he carried into Goa was, in fact, carried by the entire Indian people. Its banner was dipped in the blood of many of our compatriots. On it is written a saga of struggles and sacrifices of our people. August 15, 1955. The present heroic actions of the commandos. The demonstrations throughout country now, with the erasing of the oldest colonial blot from our soil.

Last night in Bombay at the Governor's banquet the President of the USSR joined the national celebrations of our people with his congratulations. But in London and Washington there is rage and condemnation of our action. Even a British frigate is reported to be advancing towards our coasts.

Whatever the profound counsels that may have prevailed in the Whitehall, here in the thick of things, this eminently quixotic venture causes only a burst of laughter.

For the moment we are waiting to embrace our compatriots in the streets of Panjim. As soon as possible the whole of Belgaum will go there, when the clearance is given by our Army.

One should not be surprised at all, judging from the atmosphere that is now prevailing here right now.