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COMMUNISTS AND GOA'S LIBERATION

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The smile of liberation—Goan peasant woman snapped on way to Panjim.

When the whole nation rejoiced over Goan liberation, we Indian Communists rejoiced our utmost.

The imperialist enemies of our nation and their agents within were at large, with their wiles and wits trying to change the historic course of India's development by diverting its independent foreign policy into the foul bog of anti-Communism, which inevitably leads towards pro-imperialism. They had a measure of success because they were able to exploit the national sentiment over our unfortunate dispute with China, our Communist neighbour.

WHEN India's armed forces marched for the liberation of Goa, the imperialist powers cried aloud: aggression! These are the very powers over whose very origin, continued existence and the little future left to them, is writ large the one word: aggression.

In that fateful hour, it was the prompt Soviet veto that cut like knife through butter the imperialist plot of dragging the Goan issue before the U.N., like they had monkeyed with the Kashmir issue earlier. It was not the vital diplomatic support alone that the great land of Socialism gave our country.

While the final act in Goan liberation was being enacted, Soviet President Brezhnev was in our country as the esteemed guest of the Government. Almost every time he spoke to our countrymen, he not only gave full-throated support to India for Goa, but promised continuing Soviet support in case the imperialist powers continued and implemented their threats against our nation, its independence and honour.

Soviet Support

Irrespective of all ideological and political differences, the Indian people saw for themselves that the Soviet Union is India's loyal and best friend, and functions as the reliable shield of our independence.

The anti-Communist guns of the pro-imperialists within our country stood silenced for the time being at least and they will never be able to thunder again into their past self-assurance.

More, we Indian Communists have no need to bask in the reflected glory of world Communism.

Soon after the march of the Indian Army for the liberation of Goa began, the leadership of Goan Commandos who had kept the flame alive of Goan freedom and re-unification with the motherland sent us greetings and congratulations (as in the

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

telegram published below). It is one of the most prized possessions of our Party.

President Brezhnev's solidarity speeches on Indian soil and the Goan Commando's congratulatory telegram to us are not accidental. They only prove anew that world Communism internationally and Indian Communism nationally is for Indian independence, heart and soul and with all its strength.

Ever since the British imperialists were compelled to transfer power to Indian hands, the Communist Party of India had been in the forefront of the campaign to complete Indian independence by the liberation of French and Portuguese pockets within our native land.

It was the Communists of Chandernagore, Pondicherry and other French possessions that, together with local nationalists, initiated, organised and led to victory the mass movement for the merger of these French outposts, with the Indian Union. The Congress rulers, however, passed on the local adminis-

tration in these places to the old French puppets and other reactionaries.

Struggle For Unity

With the liberation struggle against the Portuguese possessions in India, our relations are old. The Indian Communists had the closest fraternal relations with the father of Goan Liberation Movement, the universally esteemed T. B. Cunha, who after his release from Portuguese prisons and the end of his long exile tried to reunite all Goans. The Goan Communists worked loyally under his leadership.

Frustration and disunity in Goan ranks followed Cunha's death, in the background of neglect of the Goan problem by New Delhi.

But once again, the patriotic forces gathered together and when the memorable 1955 satyagraha movement for the liberation of Goa began, the Goan as well as the Indian Communists threw themselves into the battle.

The names of several comrades from the various parts of our vast country are ins-

cribed in the martyrs' roll of honour. Once again, the Indian Government stepped in to stop the satyagraha rather than help it forward to achieve victory.

Gloom and despondency inevitably followed but the Goan Communists together with the other steadfast patriots refused to give up. Together they kept up efforts to reunite all the Goan patriotic organisations in the Goan Political Convention and succeeded in reigniting the struggle for freedom from Portuguese colonialism.

Futile Policy

The Indian Government, however, continued to pursue its futile policy of patience with the Portuguese. Our Party together with nationalist elements who considered it their national duty to make the liquidation of Portuguese colonies in our land a national issue, joined their forces together in the National Campaign Committee under the leadership of Aruna Asaf Ali. The conscientious patriotic circles in our country are aware of the pioneering work done by the National Cam-

paign Committee. It helped to change the political atmosphere which made the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu possible and inevitable.

Heroic Deeds

The New Age as the organ of our Party has been giving due publicity to the Goan cause and the heroic deeds of its selfless commandos. It is noteworthy that the bulk of the commandos and their leadership is non-Communist, just plain patriots.

When the history of Goan liberation gets written, we have no doubt that the Goan patriots themselves will generously acknowledge the support that the Communist Party of India loyally and unflinchingly gave the Goan struggle for freedom, despite all ups and downs, and in all weathers, whether fair or foul.

Goa's cause was India's cause. The Goan fight has shown up not only our friends and foes on the international scale but also highlighted who within our country remain true to the anti-imperialist

* SEE BACK PAGE

Form containing a telegram from P. C. JOSHI, HAPAZOCHI, DELHI to the editor of New Age, Goa, dated 13th Dec 1961. The text of the telegram is: "Heartiest congratulations and thanks for active support Goa cause—Azad Goa Commando".

Text of telegram to our editor reads: "Heartiest congratulations and thanks for active support Goa cause—Azad Goa Commando".

Kerala's Kisans' Struggle Rises

E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Secretary of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India has appealed to the democratic people and Party units in the State at a press conference held on December 22 to observe December 27, when the kisan struggle completes one month, with demonstrations and mass meetings to demand the satisfaction of the just demands of the peasants, release those arrested under various sections and popularise the Party's election programme.

HE said: "It is nearly a month since the kisan struggle was launched under the leadership of the Kerala Karshaka Sangham. During the course of this one month, the kisans organised not only in the Karshaka Sangham but also under other organisations have made it explicitly clear that the demands put forward by the Karshaka Sangham are just."

"The Kisan Panchayat of which the Revenue Minister is the President and which is led by the Chief Minister's own Party has endorsed these demands."

"Leaders of the ruling parties and Ministers themselves oppose the demands, not because they are not just, but because some of them have been already conceded by the Govern-

ment, while others are under consideration of the Government. These claims of theirs have been held by the change that has come out in the Government's stand during the past one month."

After citing examples of these changes, which marked a definite advance on the part of the Government to concede the peasants' demands, he continued:

"Though these things have been accepted, many of them come under the category of 'under consideration'. The Government do not make it clear what concrete measures they propose to solve the issues."

"On Kottiyur and other similar issues, true, the Government has moved a step forward from its original

stand. But most of the proposals are yet vague and inadequate."

"In these circumstances to remove the inadequacies and to clarify the vagueness in the proposals, the only way is to hold consultations with parties concerned."

"Since not only the Kerala Karshak Sangham but organisations like the Kisan Congress and Kisan Panchayat led by the ruling parties and the Malnad Karshaka Union led by Father Vadakkan are all concerned, in this matter, it is also correct that a conference of representatives of all these organisations and of the Government is held without delay."

"Instead of adopting this straightforward course, the Government is putting behind bars people's leaders by making use of rusted rules and sections of pre-independence period. It must be noted that the Public Safety Act and Section 151 of Cr. P.C. are being used for the first time in India since the adoption of the Indian Constitution."

"It should be remembered that these sections were not resorted to even during the

liberation struggle. Today these are being used against the possible candidates in the coming Parliament elections and active workers of the Communist Party none of whom have resorted to picketing."

"No specific charges have been framed against them under the Penal Code. If they were to be detained under P.D. Act there are no charges against them which could convince a Tribunal to be appointed under that Act."

"Under these circumstances, the charges reminiscent of those framed against State Congress leaders by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer are today being framed by the present Congress-FSP Government against Gopalan, Subramania Sharma, Madhavan Pillai and others."

"The aim of this move is clear. It is necessary for the Congress and the PSP to weaken as much as possible the Communist Party which has proved to be the most powerful political organisation in the State, when Lok Sabha elections are so close."

"If free elections are held, if the Communist Party leaders and workers are given full freedom to work, the Congress and the PSP will not be able to retain even the seats they secured in 1957. The opposition of the Muslim League, Latin Christians and backward

communities on the one hand, organised election work of the Communist Party on the other—the prospect of such a situation has made the Ministry so panicky as to act in this manner."

"This attack on political activities of the Communist Party has two objectives:—

● Try to make the Communist Party retrace its steps from working for the success of the kisan struggle under the fear that election work might suffer.

● If that does not succeed, to create obstacles in the election work of the Party by keeping behind bars many leaders and workers of the Communist Party."

"The Communist Party calls upon all democratic-minded people in the State to meet this challenge boldly and to bring sufficient pressure on the Government: to concede the just demands of the peasants; to end the attacks on civil liberties and arrests under Section 151 and Public Safety Measures Act and to release immediately those kept under custody under the above provisions."

"Democrats must carry on election work with redoubled vigour to defeat the Congress-PSP candidates and to assure the victory of Communist Party candidates, including those supported independents.

after the statement quoted above, the Election Manifesto itself states "Socialism, of course, remains our goal. For, socialism alone can end exploitation of man by man, unemployment, poverty and hunger."

This apart, the very reason for the existence of the Communist Party of India is its struggle for socialism, the first phase of the building of a Communist society in our land. In our most fundamental document, the Constitution of our Party, this objective is clearly set out.

It might be mentioned, as a matter of more than mere historical interest, that it was the CPI which was the first to carry the message of socialism to our people.

It would do a lot of good to those who prattle about the non-Indian or anti-Indian character of the CPI, to read the pioneering writings of persons like Dange and Muzaffar Ahmad, who in the early 1920s had their passionate conviction about the need for a socialist India; as the concrete embodiment of the vague yearnings and aspirations of our people.

It can be said that in the days ahead, more and more people will realise the value of those writings and their contribution to the making of modern Indian thought. When will socialism come to be in India? Will be soon or very distant? To these questions the CPI cannot and should not attempt to provide answers. All one can do, in the circumstances, is to analyse the present balance of forces and provide solutions to the problems confronting those who seek to alter this balance in favour of the forces of socialism.

As has been explained many a time, socialism cannot be established till the working class, firmly allied

with the peasantry and leading a "broad front" of intermediate strata, comes to power."

And in India today the balance of forces is certainly not constituted favourably for the realisation of this objective. An uphill task lies ahead of all those who struggle for a socialist India. An exhilarating task also.

Today the capitalist class and its political representative, the Congress, is firmly in the saddle. Not by means of coercion alone but also by the grip of its ideological and political influence over vast sections of our people, including workers, peasants and the intermediate strata.

Moreover, the immediate jobs to be done by the nation are not of a socialist but of a democratic character—economic independence, land reforms, curbing monopolies and the rapid extension of a democratic public sector, etc. The alliance for the carrying out of these jobs is broader than the alliance of socialism. It includes the national bourgeoisie as well.

But even these jobs are not being tackled by the Congress. And, certainly, the building of broad alliance necessary for accomplishing these national-democratic tasks is bitterly opposed by the dominant Congress leadership, which wants to hold on to its monopoly of political power, to the detriment of the nation's interests.

Hence, we do not complain that the Congress is not building a socialist India. We do charge, however, that the Congress monopoly of power is preventing the emergence of a modern and democratic India.

—MOHIT SEN

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SOCIALIST LANDS SUPPORT INDIA

India is grateful for the Soviet veto which promptly scotched the Western Imperialist plot against India over Goa. The hearty greetings from the top leaders of the socialist countries, and the penetrating comments of the official organs of the Communist Parties, demonstrate their deep understanding of India's national demand and the significance of the struggle for Goa liberation.

This historic demonstration of solidarity has spotlighted the fact that wherever socialism reigns supreme India and all countries fighting against colonialism can always look for spontaneous, strong and irresistible support, against which the Western Imperialists can only howl but in vain.

FROM the beginning of Operation Vijaya, the Soviet press has been supporting Indian Government's action to liberate the former Portuguese colonies on the Indian soil. In an editorial Pravda wrote on December 22: The resolute actions of the Indian Government to liberate from the Portuguese colonialists such historically Indian lands as Goa, Daman and Diu is of great significance.

The energetic actions of the Indian Government to liberate the former Portuguese colonies, Pravda says, are an implementation of the historic declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples, adopted at the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly on the initiative of the Soviet Government.

The just actions of the Indian Government, the paper notes, have aroused anger and hatred in the camp of the colonialists. Those who have for centuries oppressed the peoples of the East, who shed today the blood of thousands upon thousands of people in Angola and Algeria, who are "pacifying" by fire and sword the population of the colonies, now throw their blood-stained hands to the sky and hypocritically complain about an "act of aggression."

Portugal's NATO allies, above all the United States, who supported the complaint of Salazar's Nazi Government, the paper says, have furnished extra proof that behind the small colonialist jackal—Portugal—are the big imperialist beasts who calculate to use her colonies for their aggressive ends.

The time has passed, Pravda continues, when the rude commands of the colonialists had force. The peoples, who are throwing off the colonialists' yoke, have loyal friends such as Soviet Union and all the nations of the socialist camp.

Thanks to the firm position of the Soviet representative, who expressed the view of the Soviet people in the Security Council and used his right of "veto", the resolution of the United States, Britain, France and the other imperialist powers was not adopted. The flop of the reactionist plot against India, Pravda stresses in this connection, is new proof of the grandiose upheavals now taking place in the world.

The chastising storms of the national liberation movement will wipe out the bastions of the colonialists no matter where they are established—in West Iran or Angola, in Arabia or in Algeria. Colonialism is doomed, there is no place for it on our planet, the article says in conclusion.

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ism and to win and safeguard national independence and State sovereignty. Such struggles are not only an important factor in defence of world peace, they are also a very powerful support to the Chinese people, who are resolutely opposing the occupation of China's territory, Taiwan by U. S. imperialism."

A spokesman of the German Democratic Republic welcomed the measures of the Indian Government for the liquidation of the Portuguese colonial regime in Goa, Daman and Diu. 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."

GDR PREMIER

ON December 20, G. D. R. Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl sent the following telegram to Prime Minister Nehru:

"On the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu from age-old colonial suppression, I express to you and the Indian people my most cordial congratulations. The elimination of the imperialist and colonialist plague from Indian soil is a significant step towards the removal of colonialism throughout the world."

"The Government and the people of the German Democratic Republic have, from the very beginning, sided with the Indian people in their struggle for the liquidation of Portuguese colonial domination on Indian soil. I know, Excellency, that also in the time to come the struggle against colonialism and imperialism will be our common cause."

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NORTH VIETNAM

IN North Vietnam, the march of the Indian army was hailed by the people and the Government. A Government spokesman on December 19 issued a statement supporting the just struggle of the Indian people and Government for recovery of Goa, Daman and Diu. Next day Premier Pham Van Dong greeted Prime Minister Nehru on the liberation of Goa. "The Government and people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are very happy at the news of the victory of the people and Government of India in the liberation of Goa which means the elimination of the last colony of the Western countries in India," the message said.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

IN Czechoslovakia, the news of the march of the Indian forces was warmly greeted. Rude Pravo, the newspaper of the Communist Party carried a commentary entitled "Lesson of Goa". Its author Jiri Hochman said: "Goa confirms the extent to which the existence of the mighty socialist camp influences developments and how the shares of the imperialists have dropped."

"The colonialists aligned in NATO and its various branches did not dare to intervene with their usual means: no punitive fleets sailed for the Indian coast, no gunboats or marines of foreign powers appeared on the

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KHRUSHCHOV'S CABLE

THE Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Nikita Khrushchov, heartily congratulated the people of India on the liberation of the ancient Indian territories of Goa, Daman and Diu from foreign domination and their reunification with motherland. In a telegram sent to Prime Minister Nehru on December 20, Khrushchov said:

"On behalf of the Soviet people, Soviet Government and on my own behalf I am conveying to you, esteemed Mr. Prime Minister, to your Government and people most cordial and sincere congratulations on the occasion of the liberation of the ancient Indian lands—Goa, Daman and Diu—from foreign domination and their reunification with the motherland."

"This step of the Indian Government is a big contribution to the cause of noble struggle of the peoples for complete and immediate abolition of the disgraceful system of colonialism."

"The Soviet Union has always firmly sided and will side with all peoples fighting against colonialism. The Soviet people supported the struggle of the peoples of India for their national independence. They regard with understanding the Indian people's efforts directed towards elimination of the consequences of colonial oppression."

"The Government of India displayed maximum patience and self-control in striving to restore in a peaceful way the historical justice and to abolish the last strongholds of colonial domination on the soil of free India. But the colonialists, relying on the support of the NATO military bloc, ignored the will of the peoples and created a permanent threat to the peaceful labour of the Indian people."

"The resolute action of the Indian Government to do away with the seats of colonialism in its territory were absolutely lawful and justified. The Soviet people unambiguously approve of these actions and wish success to friendly India in the consolidation of her independence."

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NORTH KOREA

EVEN distant Korea in the north has echoed the support for the measures to liberate Goa. A statement of the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Korean People's Democratic Republic is available now. The statement says that the Indian Government's measures aimed at liberating Goa are quite just.

The Korean people and the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the statement points out, fully support the just struggle of the Indian people for expulsion of the Portuguese colonialists and for India's territorial integrity.

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YUGOSLAVIA

YUGOSLAV paper Politika has written that India, owing to inflexible adverse attitude by Lisbon was simply forced and provoked to enter Goa with its troops and re-integrate it with its mainland. The paper says "those who use force always when necessary to preserve colonial possessions and interests", and who are now wondering at India's sending her troops to remove an ulcer on her body, had better treat the problems of colonialism generally in a more reasonable and realistic way, and themselves help to bury it for ever. To shed now crocodile tears over the fate of the Portuguese colonies on the territory of independent India is in fact to give support to those forces which, in spite of the course of time, resist in a Don-Quixotic manner a historic necessity and inevitability, concludes Politika.

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BULGARIA

NEWSPAPERS in Bulgaria published news about Goa and Prime Minister Nehru's statement explaining the Indian action. Fully supporting the Indian action, they have stressed that the liberation of Goa has been a long-sanding necessity.

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POLAND

THE Polish press carried reports of liberation of Goa and voiced criticism of the U. S. press for its campaign against India.

The Polish Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz congratulated Prime Minister Nehru. In a telegram, he said that the elimination of colonialism from the Indian territory

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

China And Goa

QUESTION

Will the Chinese support of India's action in Goa help in solving the Sino-Indian border dispute? (V. K. Kohli, Chowkhamba, Varanasi).

ANSWER

THE Communist Party has made it clear a number of times in the recent period that our struggle for Goa's liberation (including the despatch of the Indian Army) and our border dispute with China, are quite different in nature and, therefore, different methods have to be used in each case.

The Communist Party has consistently advocated the taking of all measures to complete our freedom struggle and end Portuguese colonialism. It has equally consistently urged that the border dispute with China be settled through negotiations, while at the same time taking all measures to protect our territorial integrity.

It will be recalled that in his Press Conference of December 16 (published in New Age of December 24), Ajoy Ghosh firmly stated that the CPI would support all measures taken by the Government of India in the unlikely eventuality of the Chinese crossing the MacMahon Line.

The CPI had based its stand on both these issues on the basic assumption that our country as well as

rent social systems, are anti-imperialist states and have a common interest in world peace, anti-colonialism and Asian solidarity.

While criticising and opposing certain aspects of the foreign policy of the Nehru Government, the CPI had always pointed out that basically it was anti-imperialist and pro-peace. Therefore, it came as no surprise to the CPI when the Indian Army finally moved into Goa.

While differing from the Chinese Government and Party on its assessment of the Indian situation and the policies of the Government of India, while disagreeing with the Chinese position on the border issue, the CPI has always maintained that China is a great socialist and anti-imperialist power. Therefore, it came as no surprise to the CPI when the Chinese Government and mass organisations warmly acclaimed the action of the Indian Army.

If the basic assumption mentioned above—fully confirmed by the recent events—are accepted by the Governments and the ruling parties of the two countries, then certainly it would help to solve the India-China border dispute.

Moreover, the Goa liberation has clearly revealed the predatory nature of the imperialists. It has shown up the Indian Rightist parties and the Rightists in the Congress for the anti-national forces that they are. And it is these imperialists and Right-

ists who are most vociferous in the hate-China chorus and most vehement in their opposition to negotiations.

As we have explained previously, these reactionaries did not want the preservation of the territorial integrity of the nation. They simply wanted the ending of the Government's Panch Shila foreign policy; the entanglement of India in the war alliances of the imperialists; the ending of the democratic rights and liberties; a reversal of the industrialisation and other Plan programmes. They wanted India to shift to the Right.

The liberation of Goa by armed action, the consequent agonised howl of the imperialists and the fraternal joy of all socialist and anti-imperialist States, has thoroughly upset the Rightists as well as isolated them politically.

This, too, will certainly help towards the solution of the India-China border dispute. But, of course, other factors are involved also and this dispute will not automatically be solved because of the Chinese welcome of Goa's liberation.

Congress & Socialism

QUESTION

The Election Manifesto of the CPI states "our complaint today against the Congress is not that it is not building socialism". Does this mean that the CPI has given up the goal of socialism or that it regards it as a very distant goal? (Ravi Dutt, Chandigarh).

ANSWER

CERTAINLY, the CPI has not given up the goal of socialism. A few sentences

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DAWN AFTER LONG, DARK NIGHT

Picturesque Goa, washed by the waves of the Arabian Sea, is now once again free and has come back to the bosom of Mother India. The crowning glory of her numerous martyrs over the centuries has been achieved.

PERHAPS, in a sense, few other people in the East have suffered so severely as the brave Goans have for their urge for independence. In fact, the capture of Goa itself was not possible for the Portuguese without a bloody massacre in which over 60 thousand Goans laid down their precious lives. And they rose in revolt again and again to throw their alien yoke and their masters each time attacked them with ever-increasing cruelty and ferocity.

The first Portuguese to set foot on India's soil was one Fern de Covilha, a crafty adventurer and personal agent of King John II of Portugal. In 1488 he arrived at Cannanore in Kerala on an Arabian trading vessel, disguised as an Arab merchant. From there he visited Calcutta, Goa and other ports on the West Coast, gathering information and learning the sea routes to India followed by the Arab traders. His findings played an important role in the later Portuguese expeditions of conquest to India.

Vasco da Gama's arrival in India on May 17, 1498 marked the beginning of Portuguese attempts to enslave India. Coming under the specious plea of trading, he tried to spread his tentacles in Calcutta in Kerala, but was squarely repelled by the Zamorin.

The Portuguese adventurers therefore decided to make Goa the object of their organised bestiality and in January 1510, a huge flotilla consisting of 23 vessels under the command of Albuquerque commenced a blockade of Goa from the Arabian Sea. With an overdose of cruelty and callousness, they secured a foothold in Goa. But within a few months, the ruler of Bijapur sent an armed force and repulsed the invaders.

Sixty Thousand Killed

The vast wealth of India, however, had roused the greed of Portuguese invaders and in November 1510, reinforced with 14 ships, they returned to launch a merciless attack. The city's defenders fought bravely, but incensed by an unquenchable lust, Albuquerque's soldiers carried out a savage attack killing no less than 60 thousand men, women and children. Daman and Diu were pillaged and burnt many times before they were captured.

Though a brave people's resistance was crushed, their spirit could not be smothered. Within a few years of foisting their rule, the Portuguese had the taste of people's wrath. The population of five villages in South Goa—Assino, Velim, Cuncolim, Veroda and Ambejim—revolted. Again in 1604, Rev. Manoel Castro, the Vicar of Bicholim, contacted the great Shivaji for help in the liberation of Goa.

The year 1787 is memorable

for a revolt led by the priests and helped by the Goan divisions in the Portuguese Army. The object of this revolt, according to Portuguese Court, was "to establish a new Republic, in which the people of the country would have ruled themselves by exercising all the ruling powers through a House of the People". The blood-thirsty rulers took vengeance by tying the leaders of the revolt to tails of horses and dragging them through the streets. But this, instead of cooling people's urge for freedom, only made them more determined to achieve it.

Of all the earlier attempts, the bravest and the most concerted ones are the series of revolts led by the Ranes. This family, making the supreme sacrifice in blood and gold, provided a succession of leaders for the revolt. From 1755 to 1912, for over 150 years, the Ranes did not allow their enslavers peace.

In this great saga, rose martyrs like Babu Rane, Dada Rane, Dipaji Rane, Custoba Morio Savant and Gill Savant. Many popular folk songs, sung by the Goanese to these days, tell the story of their bravery.

Succession Of Revolts

The Ranes led no less than 20 armed revolts in their long and bitter struggle and employed both open and guerilla warfare tactics. Of these, the revolt of 1824 was one of the biggest, lasting for over a year. Another significant revolt was led Babu Rane in 1854, just on the eve of the 1857 War of Independence in India. It lasted for full four years and came to an end only when all its leaders were imprisoned.

After an action, led by Dipaji Rane in 1856, Custoba Desai raised the banner of revolt again in 1869. The Portuguese, unable to defeat Custoba openly, employed treachery to arrest him which led to disorganisation of the revolt.

In 1895, the Maratha Sepoys in the Portuguese Army rose in revolt. The people, led by the Ranes, supported them. Even the King of Portugal, Prince Alfonso, failed to quell the revolt. So he personally took over the administration of Goa and announced some reforms, which proved to be only a ruse to deceive. For, no sooner had he left for Portugal, the administrators in Goa carried out the most vengeful of reprisals against the people.

Several members of the Rane family, including Rauli Rane, were arrested and put

to death. Dada Rane was captured and deported to Timor in Indonesia in 1912, from where he never came back. To quell the last of the revolts of the Ranes in 1912, the Portuguese could not trust their armed might in Goa itself and fresh troops had to be called in from Mozambique. Mario Savant was killed by treachery and Gill Savant was transported to a Portuguese colony in Africa.

An interesting event took place in 1934. Bernardo Peres da Silva, an administrator in Goa, encountered displeasure of Lisbon within a few days of his taking over. He ran away to India, formed a Provisional Government in Daman and ruled Dadra, Nagar Havell, Daman and Diu for two years. His regime was recognised by the British Government. He organised a naval force and sent it to Goa.

His effort, however, was frustrated on account of a cyclone in which the naval force was destroyed. It is convenient for the present rulers of Britain to forget that they

a fascist dictatorship in its reinforcement of authority, in its open war on certain principles of democracy." And as if this was not clear enough, he added: "We are anti-parliamentary, anti-democratic, anti-liberal." Establishment of Mussolini-type fascist dictatorship, he declared, was his goal.

Those were the days when Hitler and Mussolini were tightening their grip on Europe. Hitler has since gone, but his shadow, unfortunately, remains. And the United States and Britain, who claim to fight against totalitarianism, have no hesitation in protecting this self-declared dictatorship of their NATO ally.

When Salazar talked of his "civilising mission" in Goa, it was more than a cruel joke. The Goans themselves are an extremely gifted race and have contributed very substantially to art and culture in India. Numerous painters, musicians, singers, dramatists, writers and intellectuals

announced: "In Free India, Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the Free State."

The national movement paid attention to the developments in Goa and guided the people there. Developments in India started having a greater impact on Goa. Under Dr. Cunha's leadership, Goan people came into contact with not only the nationalists, but also Socialist thought prevalent in India. In this background, the 1942 movement, the INA Revolt, the RIN Mutiny of 1946—all these created a new upsurge in Goa.

On June 18, 1948 the Goan people launched a movement for civil liberties and freedom. They held demonstrations, took out processions, only to assert their urge for independence and oneness with India. The Portuguese had been used to deal with the Goan people in an isolated manner. Soon the implications of the Goan people's unity and solidarity with the Indian people and the mighty force it could generate dawned on the Portuguese rulers.

But instead of accepting it as such with grace, as did the other colonial powers, they persisted in greater repression. Lathi-charges, firings, indiscriminate arrests became the rule. Dr. Cunha, Purshotam Kakodkar and others were court-martialled, sentenced and deported to Portugal.

In 1949, the Government of India had opened a Legation in Lisbon. In 1950 the Government tried to take up the question of the transfer of Goa to India with the Portuguese authorities. But the Salazar regime refused even to talk on the basis of freedom to Goa and her integration with the rest of the country, with the Government of India.

By 1953, Dr. Cunha had been released and had returned to Goa. Soon after the indefatigable fighter formed the Goa Action Committee to unite all parties and groups in Goa working for its liberation and integration with India. Though this is no place to evaluate the great work done by Dr. Cunha for Goan freedom, an unqualified appreciation and praise is due to that great soul.

Never tiring in the fight, suffering privations and persecution, he played a significant part in acting as a bridge between the movement in India and that in Goa, and also in giving the national struggle in Goa a broader and positively Socialist outlook. His work for Goan liberation shall remain immortal.

The year 1954 saw, after centuries of revolts, suppressions and the consequent sufferings, a victorious rising of the people of Dadra and Nagar Havell. The enclave overthrew the fascist regime and declared itself free. The Portuguese quietly withdrew their garrisons.

This victory filled the hearts of all Goans and Indians. The attempts of the Portuguese to upset this victory by a reference to the International Court of Justice at the Hague failed miserably. In 1961 Dadra and Nagar Havell be-

* SEE PAGE 14

DECEMBER 31, 1961

What Congress Did To Civil Liberties

Congress leaders claim to be the champions of civil liberties and democracy. Indeed many of them together with others fought relentlessly for freedom, democracy and civil liberties during the alien rule. Pandit Nehru has himself suffered brutal lathi blows and imprisonment during British Raj.

HE has written about the painful conditions in which prisoners languished in the jails at that time. He has graphically described how savagely the police baton-charged the demonstration against the Simon Commission. He was himself a victim.

Nehru's Words

Writing about the hated Rowlett Act, Pandit Nehru observes in his Autobiography, "a wave of anger greeted them all over India and even the Moderates joined in this and opposed the measures with all their might... Still the Bills were pushed through by the officials and became law, the principal concession made being to limit them for three years."

He further points out "they were made into law and yet, so far as I remember, they were never used even once during the three years of their life—three years which were not quiet years but the most troubled years that India had known since the Revolt of 1857."

"Thus the British Government, in the teeth of the unanimous public opinion, pushed through a law which they themselves never used afterwards and thus invited an upheaval. One might almost think that the object of the measures was to bring trouble."

"This was written in 1936 by one who is now the Prime Minister of Independent India. What about the 'civil liberties' now? Of course, the hated Rowlett Act is no more on the statute book. But then there are provisions, almost identical provisions, giving 'the most far-reaching powers to the magistrates and police officers.'"

Blackest Of Black Acts

Among blackest of black Acts is the Preventive Detention Act. It is an irony that those very leaders who used to castigate the alien rule for taking recourse to ordinances, in a language full of fire and thunder, today defend such measures. We have on record the speeches of the various Home Ministers defending the PDA on the floor of Parliament.

I have before me reports of some of these discussions, and give here some extracts from one of them which clearly demarcate those who are trampling civil liberties from others who want to guard them as apple of their eyes. Hindu December 10, 1957 reports a discussion in the Lok Sabha:

"The Home Minister, who was moving for consideration of the Preventive Detention (continuance) Bill, which seeks to extend the life of the Act, which expires on Decem-

ber 31 this year, for a period of three years, said that the powers under the Act, used with great caution, had served a useful purpose in securing peaceful existence to the vast population of the country against mischievous elements."

Against this Dange said, according to Hindu, "The Preventive Detention Act was just an instrument to impose on others the will of a single political party and its dictatorship. The Act had not prevented, only promoted, what the Government wanted to prevent."

Dange said that the figures given by the Government about people detained under the Act showed that not a single hoarder of rice who acted against the interests of the people had been detained.

"An Opposition member: 'Hoarders of rice are Congressmen'."

Report continued "not a single speculator or anti-social element indulging in shady deals in the Stock Exchange and creating foreign exchange difficulties and the like had been apprehended under this Act. All these activities were supposed to be normal, causing normal unemployment, normal starvation and normal death."

Dange's Indictment

"These were not treated as anti-social activities at all. If, however, a worker struck work to fight for his rights, such an act at once became 'abnormal' and Preventive Detention was brought into play. If these are the values which are going to prevail, then these acts are not going to save democracy from becoming worse and worse," he said.

"Dange referred to the use of the Act to arrest Communist and other Opposition leaders including himself on the eve of the announcement concerning bilingual Bombay State and said the only purpose of these arrests was to impose certain decisions on the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat against the wishes of the vast majority there. But these arrests had only provoked the people and Government had come down upon them with firing and repression."

Dange described the provisions in the Act relating to the power of revision of cases by advisory board as "a farce". He concluded by saying that there was no need for the Act. "If the Government really wanted to curb the activities of anti-social elements, it could do so by invoking the laws of the land," the report said.

The Communist stand on the Preventive Detention Act was also amplified by Sadhan Gupta.

He pointed out to the Lok Sabha that the Chief Minister

EXPOSURES

★ by O. P. MEHROTRA ★

Congress Governments all over the country have time and again taken recourse to PDA to deny the democratic liberty of carrying on peaceful agitations, the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala, even in face of a movement with the avowed aim of paralysing the administration did not use it. Not satisfied with this foul

LEST WE FORGET The Bloody Record

"THE day of the sword and the gun is gone for ever.... Public workers may carry on their agitations on any reasonable issue, but they should see to it that violence is not resorted to at any stage. So also the Government must also resolve never to resort to gun in dealing with the country's affairs. There should be no firing at all, nothing of the kind."

That is the advice Acharya Vinoba is recorded to have given on July 22, 1954 at Balrai, a small village about six miles from Muzaffarpur (Bihar) referring to the tragic news of a firing at Indore.

Now that police firings have become order of the day even Vinoba does not give advice to the Government every time. But the feeling of guilt is so wide-spread that Rashtrapati Dr. Rajendra Prasad himself expressed the popular uneasiness when in November 1960 he remarked in the Governor's conference that there had been more police firings in India since independence than were during the days of imperialist rule.

According to an estimate by Indravati Kelkar during the ten years from 1947 to 1957 in 1,020 instances of firing 840 persons were killed and as many as 3137 injured. As many as 840 firings were on demonstrations, on crowds of a political nature. Students and workers faced bullets on 30 and 50 occasions respectively.

The survey, according to the author was far from complete.

Firings Galore

Some of our comrades have tried to tabulate available information about police firings during 1957, 1958, 1960 and 1961 (upto August 1, 1961). According to them during these 56 months there were 74 instances of police firings in the country resulting in the death of 205 persons and injuries to numerous others.

The total number of injured cannot be fully accounted for since many Press reports only say "several" injured, without specifying the number.

This shows that on an average there was a police firing almost every three weeks in the country. Every eighth day of Congress rule, one citizen succumbed to police bullets. And almost every day one person has been injured by police bullets.

There were 12 firings on

workers, killing 26 and injuring several including 197 counted as injured.

Peasants were the object of police trigger-happiness on eight occasions. Twenty eight of them were killed, while 68 were injured.

Six times during the 56 months, our innocent students were subjected to the deadly wrath of the police. Five of them were killed, several of them were injured, of whom 42 were definitely counted as injured.

Not even women were exempt from this fate. On July 9, 1957, a crowd of Santhal women were fired upon resulting in the death of one woman and injuries to several.

Refugees were fired at five times, 14 were killed and several injured, of whom 42 were definitely counted.

Tribal people were fired upon on four occasions. Sixteen were killed and several injured, of whom 14 were accounted for.

Harjans were fired upon on two occasions. Five of them were killed and 34 were injured. Popular demonstrations of masses in support of general democratic demands were suppressed by police firings on eight occasions. These included the struggle of the Gujarati people for the formation of the linguistic State of Gujarat, the food movements in Calcutta and U. P., the anti-betterment levy struggle of the Punjab peasantry, etc.

Eightyseven people were killed in these firings and several hundreds were injured of whom 104 were counted.

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NEW AGE

ALWAYS WITH YOU, FOR CONSOLIDATION OF INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE

Brezhnev's Message

Soviet President L. I. Brezhnev's brief stay in India, coinciding with the nation-wide rejoicing over Goa's liberation, powerfully supported by the mighty Soviet Union, will remain fresh for long in the memory of our people. As another important milestone in the development of Soviet-Indian cooperation for world peace, for the final abolition of the colonial system, and for India's rapid economic development it has been an eminently fruitful visit. On these pages we reproduce extracts from some of President Brezhnev's speeches in India and a report from our correspondent in Calcutta.

In course of his speech at the civic reception given in his honour at Madras on December 24, L. I. Brezhnev said:

It is ten days since we have been staying in your wonderful country to which we have come on the kind invitation of the President of the Republic of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Each one of these days has been filled with bright and unique impressions, each day different from the other.

But there has been one main thing common during all these days of our stay in India: the wonderful atmosphere of Soviet-Indian friendship, the constant feeling that millions and millions of Indians are ardently supporting the great cause of peace, national freedom and friendship among nations.

It is not many years since India won her independence. However, the time when India's riches were looted by the colonialists has gone never to return. The India of today is a country which marches ahead setting up her national economy, utilising the achievements of modern science and technology and improving popular education and public health.

The Indian people, under the leadership of the Government of the Republic headed by the outstanding statesman Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, pay great attention to the development of national heavy industry — the backbone of the national economy—which is creating necessary condi-

tions for speedy and all-round development of economy.

It is not only the ancient temples with their intricate architecture and ornamental pillars but the light of glowing open-hearth furnaces with its powerful hydraulic turbines that attract the attention of people who come to your country.

However beautiful India may be with her monuments of the past, she looks even more beautiful today in her new dress wherein plants and factories, dams and hydro-power stations, mines and oil derricks, schools and hospitals figure prominently. We are very much gratified

by the fact that the people of India highly value the economic and technical co-operation between our two countries and the assistance which the Soviet Union is rendering for the establishment of India's national industry.

Economic Co-operation

The light from the open-hearth and blast-furnaces of the iron and steel plants in Bhilai, the fountains of oil in Cambay and Ankleshwar, the rising structures of the heavy engineering plants in Ranchi and the coal mines in Korba are the wonderful fruits of the friendly co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India.

Yesterday we went to see India's largest thermal power station near the town of Neyveli which is being built with the participation of the Soviet Union. We met with the 10,000 workers, engineers and technicians, the builders of this project, the workers who are working, striving to complete in the shortest period of time the national economy of the country.

We saw the construction work proceeding satisfactorily and the day is not far off when this station would generate electricity for the industries of your state. And its lights will be glowing as a new symbol of strengthening the friendship between our countries.

In the foreseeable future the construction of a surgical instruments factory will commence in Madras in accordance with the agreement between the Governments of the Soviet Union and India. Thus the citizens of the state of Madras will be able to see directly the specific results of the Soviet-Indian economic co-operation.

Six years ago, speaking at a meeting in your city, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov said: "You must know, my friends, that the Soviet people will always be with you in your efforts aimed at the consolidation of the independence you won."

We sincerely wish you, dear friends, great successes in strengthening national industry and agriculture.

Assistance to nations following the road of strengthening their national independence and struggling for the complete elimination of the colonial system is our international duty. Soviet people welcome with profound satisfaction the development of business-like collaboration with the countries liberated from foreign yoke including such a great Asian power as India.

Dear friends, Two months ago the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in Moscow, adopted the

Programme of building in our country the most advanced and just society—communism.

The implementation of such a programme will first of all signify an unprecedented uplift of all branches of national economy. It will assure us, the Soviet people, of the highest living standard in the world.

All hardships and miseries through which our people have been living in the name of their great cause will be rewarded a hundred-fold. Being inspired with these historic decisions, our people have enthusiastically commenced the implementation of our plans.

Peace Above All

For the implementation of such grandiose tasks we first of all need peace.

But we all know, dear friends, that it is not enough to love peace. Peace should be persistently and constantly fought for.

The Soviet people have been doing and will do everything in their power to eliminate the threat of a new world war.

Struggling for stable peace on earth the Soviet Government, as early as in 1959 put forward a historic proposal: "To adopt a programme of general and complete disarmament". Since then the idea of general and complete disarmament has rallied millions and millions of peace-loving people in all parts of the world and it has been supported by the majority of states of the world.

Now our two countries along with other peace-loving countries are making every effort to achieve the implementation of this idea, to conclude an international agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

One of the most important aims of the Soviet foreign policy is to reach such an agreement. The Soviet Government and all our people firmly believe that people can and must live in conditions of universal stable peace without armies, without weapons and without wars.

The Soviet Union and India, along with all peace-loving countries, are opposed to colonialism in whatever form it may manifest itself.

Rejoicing Over Goa's Liberation

I wish to tell you that the people and the Government of our country are wholeheartedly with you when you rejoice over the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu from the domination of the Portuguese colonialists.

The Soviet people unambiguously support the resolute action of the Government of India to liquidate the last vestiges of colonialism on its territory.

You probably know, dear friends, that the head of the Soviet Government, N. S. Khrushchov, in his telegram sent a few days ago to the Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, has assessed the liberation of this part of India and its reunification with the motherland as a big contribution of India to the cause of the peoples' noble struggle for complete and

immediate liquidation of the shameful colonial system.

At sharp turns of historical developments, the role which the different forces play is seen particularly clearly. It is the same case now. The measures taken by India for the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu from foreign rule have thrown into broad relief the real attitude of various states to the problem of eliminating colonialism.

The Indian people have got now the opportunity to see clearly who are their real friends and supporters of national liberation of the peoples, and who are the people who merely camouflage their intentions with talk about friendship, and, renouncing colonialism in words, are trying in fact to hamper by all means the liquidation of the last bases of their system of plunder.

Recent events have once again convincingly shown that one of the main tasks of the imperialist military blocs, NATO, CENTO and others, is the defence of colonialism and the fight against the national liberation movement of the peoples.

Colonialism Is Doomed

But no bloc can stop or hamper this movement on whose side is the law of history and the support of the mighty world camp of socialism and freedom-loving forces of the world. As it is stated in the new Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the peoples of young sovereign states "have arisen as creators of a new life and active participants of international politics, as revolutionary force for the destruction of imperialism."

Therefore colonialism is doomed, and the cause of national liberation of the peoples will triumph everywhere.

The population of the Indian territory liberated from the Portuguese domination will now go hand in hand with the rest of India on the path of building a new independent life, of uplifting national economy and culture. May I wish them greatest success in this!

Dear friends, For the victory of the great cause of universal peace and the national liberation of the nations, the unity of all peace-loving and freedom-loving forces of the world, and first of all of the socialist states and the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, are of greatest importance.

I cannot help remembering the words of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov who in the same speech here in Madras which I have already referred to, said:

"If we use wisely the power of our friendship and unite our efforts in the struggle for peace, no force which seeks to unleash new war, will pose threat, they will be brushed aside and peace will be secured."

So let us strengthen the Soviet-Indian friendship ever more for the benefit of our people, in the name of happiness of mankind, in the name of peace.

May peace prevail in the whole world! Namaskaram!

Magnificent Welcome

* From Jnan Bikash Mohtra

Calcutta gave a magnificent reception to Leonid Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, when he arrived here on December 20 on a two-day visit to the city.

THE full-throated support of the Soviet Union to the military action for the final liquidation of foreign colonial domination in Goa, Daman and Diu and the exercise of the veto by the Soviet Union to frustrate the Anglo-American conspiracy in the Security Council against the liberation of these Portuguese colonies formed a filling background to one of the most heart-warming receptions ever given to a foreign dignitary by the people of this great city.

And at all functions where Brezhnev spoke, he repeatedly referred to two themes: the Soviet Union's unqualified support to India's just cause for obliterating the last vestiges of colonial domination from the Indian soil and the vital importance of Indo-Soviet friendship and co-operation for the preservation of universal peace and for the progress of all nations.

The entire 10-mile route, right from the tarmac of the air port to the Raj Bhavan, was lined with lakhs of people, drawn from all ages, sections and communities. At many places, the crowd was 12 to 14 feet deep. Thousands of people also stood on house-tops, balconies and even cars' roofs.

As the open car carrying the Soviet President passed along the beflagged route, the people thunderously cheered him with: "Long live Indo-Soviet friendship."

On the way to the Raj Bhavan, Brezhnev first visited the ancestral residence of Rabindranath Tagore, which is intimately associated with the hallowed memory of the Poet.

After paying his homage to Tagore, President Brezhnev told Pressmen that he was glad for having got the opportunity of visiting the house where a sincere friend of the Soviet Union, a great humanist and a towering literary figure had lived. He presented, as a token of Indo-Soviet friendship, to the Academy of Dance, Drama and Music six volumes of Russian books on Tagore, which had been published in the Soviet Union on the occasion of the poet's birth centenary.

President Brezhnev's public engagements on December 20 ended with a State banquet given in his honour by the Governor. Speaking on the occasion, he reiterated the Soviet Union's full and consistent support to India's just cause for the "final liquidation of the remnants of all forms of colonialism, for the elimination of the last vestiges of Portuguese colonial domination in Goa, Daman and Diu."

"You are well aware that the Soviet country and its entire people are fully on the side of India in this just cause," he added. Referring to Indo-Soviet co-operation in trade, in econo-

mic and other constructive spheres, the Soviet President said: "The joint efforts of the peoples and the Governments of India and the Soviet Union aimed at solving such important international problems as general and complete disarmament, elimination of the vestiges of the colonial system and others are of great importance for the cause of universal peace."

Describing Indo-Soviet trade as "our friendship in action", he said that Soviet ships brought to Calcutta industrial equipment, agricultural, road-building and construction machines, and also different kinds of machine tools. They carried back "fruits of the fertile Indian land—tea, jute and other goods which enjoy deserved popularity in the Soviet Union."

Epoch-Making Programme

Speaking about the epoch-making Programme, recently adopted by the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, he said that the implementation of the programme would provide an unprecedented uplift of the Soviet productive forces and create material abundance for the Soviet people.

"With each year of implementation of the programme there will be a growth of the scope of trade exchanges and economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and other countries, including India," he added.

Describing Tagore's residence as a sacred place for the Indian people, and especially for the people of the metropolis, he said that the poet



Brezhnev visiting Tagore's ancestral home in Calcutta.

was a life-long and sincere friend of his country.

Next day, the Soviet President again received a tremendous ovation from thousands of people, who lined all the routes along which he passed. His crowded programme on the day began with a visit to a big textile mill in a suburb of the city. Here, the workers of the mill greeted him with red flag and deafening slogans of "Hindi-Russi Bhai Bhai", "Long live Indo-Soviet friendship" and "Long live the Soviet President".

In the afternoon, over 15,000 people attended the Civic Reception given by Calcutta Corporation at Rabindra Sarobar Stadium. The admission was by cards, and thousands of people had to go away disappointed.

Welcoming President Brezhnev as the "noble leader of the great State" and as an "emissary of peace" and as a "friend", the Mayor of Calcutta said: "Undreamt-of success has been yours in the field of science and technology, the puissant atomic power is completely your servant, the

inter-stellar cosmos has yielded to you its esoteric mysteries, facilitating your smooth travel from star to star.

"But you have resolved to use the fierce energy that you have acquired lately, for man's welfare, but not to kill or annihilate."

Describing the Soviet President's visit as a "mission of peace", the mayor observed: "The voice of our ancient ancestors is, as it were being echoed through your lips in accents new. This is why we feel fused with you in such close affinity."

Referring to Soviet aid to India, he said: "As friends who lead the way, you have been giving us all manner of aid without stint. Our salutations to you on this battle-ground redolent of the fragrance of memories of patriots numberless!"

Replying to the welcome address, the Soviet President said that although they were in Calcutta for the first time, "we have the feeling that this wonderful city is not alien to us, that it is already familiar and dear to us."

The main points of the Soviet leader's 2,000 word speech, which was repeatedly applauded by the audience with thunderous clapping, were the glorious traditions of Calcutta, Soviet Union's stand on peace and colonialism, the 20-year programme and the gigantic transformations it would bring about in Soviet society and in the life of the people of the Soviet Union.

At a reception given at the Raj Bhavan by the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society (ISCUS), Dr. Sunil Chatterjee, distinguished linguist, chairman of the West Bengal Legislative Council and President of the ISCUS, welcomed the Soviet President.

Sincere Friend

While thanking the Soviet President, Vivekananda Mukherjee, Editor of the Bengali daily "Yugantar", said: "If there is any sincere friend of India in the international sphere, it is the Soviet Union." It was the Soviet Union that had not only supported India's stand on Goa, but also its policy regarding Kashmir.

The Soviet Union's bold stand in the Security Council had scotched the Western imperialists' conspiracy to brand India as an aggressor for its just action in Goa. He emphasised that Indo-Soviet friendship was not just something formal; it had helped India to consolidate its independence and sovereignty.

DEVELOP NATIONAL OIL INDUSTRY

VISITING Ankleshwar on December 19, President Brezhnev said in course of a speech he delivered there:

It is with great interest that we acquaint ourselves with Ankleshwar—the young oil-producing centre of India. There was, as we were told, not very long ago spread out here a bare desert. Now one's eyes are pleased by the oil rigs, in the background of which a city of oil-men is being created.

These rigs, like light-towers, illuminate the road towards the development of the national economy of your country, towards the material welfare and prosperity of the Indian people.

In our epoch of the rapid development of industry, transportation and power industry, oil is just as necessary for the national economy of a big country as blood for a living organism. It provides industry with raw materials and power. Without oil products engines, cars and aircraft cannot be put to use and many factories and mills will have to close down.

So it is not without reason that nations value oil so greatly, calling it "black gold".

It was not at once that the people of India managed to

find the keys to this wealth hidden in the depths of their land. I was told that some foreign experts, invited to India to prospect oil deposits, maintained that India did not possess any oil deposits at all.

Life has convincingly refuted these assertions, which seem to have covered the desire of certain oil monopolies of the West to retain India as a profitable market for selling oil and as a source of profits—rather than any lack of technical knowledge on the part of these experts.

As we were told in Delhi, the Government of India, headed by the outstanding political figure and statesman Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, attaching great significance to oil in the development of the country's state industry had taken decisive steps to create the domestic oil industry and paid particular attention to prospecting the deposits of oil, gas and other natural resources of the country.

We are very much pleased to note that in the course of their friendly co-operation Indian and Soviet specialists not only have proved that India is rich in oil; they have also ensured effective exploitation of the oil fields both here in Ankleshwar and in other regions of India.

I think that no one will deny the fact that all of you, both Indian and Soviet experts and oil-workers, are doing here a big useful job for the entire Indian people, for India by creating national heavy industry.

Staying here as your guests, we should like to convey to you, dear Indian friends, brotherly cordial greetings from our people, a true friend of the people of India.

Word To Countrymen

And as to our countrymen whom I see here, we have brought them the warmest greetings of their motherland.

You probably have heard much about the work of the 22nd Congress of our Party and that these aspirations of popular masses cherished throughout centuries are now embodied in the Programme of our Party which has already come into effect and become the law of our people's life.

I think that it would be interesting for you, oilmen of India, to learn also the fact that only a few days ago the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, has adopted the national economic plan for 1962, which envisages to increase the pro-

duction of oil in 1962 by more than 19 million tons, thus bringing the total oil production to 185 million tons.

I hardly need tell you how big that figure is. As a matter of fact it will take to bore about 5,000 wells, whose aggregate depth will be several thousand kilometres.

But of particular grandeur are our plans for the development of the oil industry adopted for the next 20-year period. Suffice it to say that in 1980 we shall be producing 700 million tons of oil, i.e., four times as much as is produced at present.

But, dear friends, socialism and, more so, communism means more than merely material well-being. They also mean an incomparably higher stage of democracy, culture, public morals and human relations which will be based on the humane principle: "Man to man is a friend, comrade and brother."

While taking leave of you may I express the hope that the co-operation between Indian and Soviet workers and experts, your joint work will continue in an atmosphere of sincere cordiality and friendship, and that will contribute to further strengthening of friendship between our peoples.

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Ajoy Ghosh Launches Campaign

Avenge the bullets with the ballot in 1962—thus resounded the slogan, the echo of ten thousand hearts in the Bari Maidan, Jamshedpur, on December 10, when Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary of the CPI, inaugurated the election campaign in the district. The Bari Maidan, with the dark and cold silhouette of the TISCO Works rising in the background, hummed with new life.

It was not only the inaugural meeting of the Communist election campaign, but the first meeting of the Party after a long time. Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, of course, was visiting Jamshedpur after about ten years. The prominent Communist leader of Bihar, Comrade Chandra Shekhar Singh was there.

And what was no less unique was the presence of all the leaders of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union and the Party in the district. Comrades Kedar Das, Ali Amjad, Barin Day, Satyanarain Singh, Ramavtar Singh and Dr. U. Misra—all were there, all who had been sought to be put behind the bars on one charge or another.

Each of the five accused in the conspiracy case had

a sentence of four years on him and was out only on bail which despite all the opposition on the part of the Tatas and the Government, the High Court had granted.

With the hearing of their appeal in the High Court, another chapter of their battle for legal defence was over. The whole of Jamshedpur was now waiting for the judgement which was reserved.

The ten thousand workers who came to the rally included many new faces. They were young workers who had joined the Works only after the great struggle of 1958. They came—many of them for the first time—to listen to the Communist Party leaders, about whom they had heard so much, to learn about the policy of the Party and its

election plan in their city and the district.

The older workers who had fought the greatest battles of their lives in 1958 under the leadership of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union (JMU) and the Communist Party, had stood by the Party and the Union during the hard days of the struggle and the still harder days following it, had faced bullets and tear gas, curfew and section 144 and to crown it all, the en masse dismissal of more than 400 of their comrades and the arrest and persecution of all their prominent leaders.

Workers' Choice

The workers had withstood all this and more. For two years they had supported financially the dismissed workers and their families, and had borne the onerous expenditure of the prolonged legal defence of their leaders being prosecuted for criminal conspiracy.

It was thus in practice—not in one or two acts but in continuous action over a long period—that the workers of Jamshedpur had made their choice and had stuck to it.

It was their perseverance, and resistance which ultimately forced the TISCO a year after a great strike to grant important concessions and to fulfil, at least partially many of their demands.

A 33 per cent wage increase to the lowest paid workers, permanent jobs for all those serving as temporary hands till 1957, a monthly addition of Rs. 2.00 to the DA, conversion of weekly paid to monthly paid workers, abolition of senior-junior classification among the clerical staff and the upgrading of their maximum pay from Rs. 130.00 to Rs. 250.00 per month went a considerable way towards fulfilling the economic demands for which the workers had been forced to fight in 1958.

No attempt by the Tatas and the INTUC Union to present these concessions as the magnanimity of the management or as the result of the brotherly relations between the Company and its Union, the INTUC-affiliated TWU, could deceive the workers. They recognise each one of these concessions as the belated and part fulfilment of one of their demands formulated by the JMU which Michael John and the TWU would not even look at on the ground that they had already signed an agreement with the Tatas in the fall of 1957.

These concessions further strengthened the confidence of the workers in the justice of their struggle and in the correctness of the demands and slogans raised by the leaders of the JMU and the Communist Party.

This was all the more so with regard to the demands that had not yet been conceded. For example, while the DA was increased, it was not linked with the rise in price as demanded by the JMU with the result that the workers were finding part of the wage and DA increase already nullified. Moreover, the JMU's warning regarding the increased workload has come true.

Increased Workload

While production in TISCO has gone up from 10 to 20 lakh tons per annum, the increase in the number of workers employed is only 10 per cent. This cannot be all explained by the higher and more up-to-date technique of the new, extended plant. For in the old workshop, too, where five worked formerly, now only two or at most three worked.

Despite the repressive regime established after 1958 the workers are not indifferent to the increased workload.

Finally, in view of all that had happened, the Company's refusal to recognise the JMU and its continued recognition of the TWU looked, in the words of one worker, like the UN's refusal to admit People's China.

This was the situation, the workers' mood and attitude in which they came to the Com-

munist Party's election rally on December 10.

Far from the morale of the workers having been broken, as was the fond hope of the Tatas and their lackeys known as the TWU, their confidence in their genuine leaders and the JMU is many times more strengthened.

But the battle this time is different. And the workers, too, after the experience of the combined attack and teachers by the Company, the Government and the INTUC have grown more cautious. They are taking every precaution to strengthen their organisational machinery.

The organisational structure of their Union used to be based on the departments in the Works. For the purposes of the elections, however, it has to be replaced by one based on bustees, mohallas and lanes. Already a spate of mohalla and bustee meetings have taken place covering many thousands of workers. These meetings were addressed by Kedar Das, Barin Day, Satyanarain Singh and others.

Then And Now

In the next stage booth committees will be formed. In comparison to 1957, organisationally, too, the Party is in a better position, inasmuch as it has a much larger number of Party members, whole-timers and other action cadres at its disposal in Jamshedpur.

While the Company and the INTUC were taken by surprise by the success of the Communist candidate in the general elections in 1957 from Jamshedpur, in 1962 that element of surprise is absent. But there is no doubt that despite all the preparedness of the Company and the INTUC the situation in Jamshedpur today is more unfavourable for them.

The workers who attended the inaugural election rally on December 10, and those who did not, are all determined to avenge the bullets of 1958 which had taken the toll of their lives—and to avenge them with the ballots. This is their battle cry.

In the district of Singhbhum (where Jamshedpur is situated) the Communist Party has decided to set up candidates in four Assembly constituencies and one Parliamentary constituency.

1. Jamshedpur: Kedar Das
 2. Jugsalai (in Jamshedpur itself): Ali Amjad
 3. Ghatsilla (scheduled tribe): Basta Soren
 4. Potka (scheduled tribe): Bhim Murmu
- Parliament: Dr. Udaykar Misra

JAMSHEDPUR: In the last general election in 1957, the Communist Party had obtained a majority of votes in the two Jamshedpur constituencies—Jamshedpur and Jugsalai—taken together. The Party had polled more than 25,000 votes as against the 22,000 polled by the Congress candidates.

But while Kedar Das had won by a majority of a little less than 3,000 votes, Dr. U. Misra had lost in Jugsalai by about 700 votes. The winning

* ON FACING PAGE

DECEMBER 31, 1961

FOR ELECTION BATTLE

***** Communist Candidates For Assembly *****



COMRADE KEDAR DAS, the communist candidate from Jamshedpur, is the President of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union and a sitting MLA from the same constituency. True representative and beloved leader of his class Kedar Das is by far the most popular person in the social and political life in Jamshedpur. Bald headed with a workers coat hanging over the shoulders and a dhoti over his short legs—he is as much a part of Jamshedpur as the TISCO works itself.

Hailing from a small village in Madhubani in Darbhanga, Kedar Das followed his elder brother to join as a clerk in the Tinplate. In 1943 he became a founder member and General Secretary of the Golmuri Tinplate Workers' Union, with the late Prof. Abdul Bari as its president and the present INTUC boss Michael John as the vice-president.

Discharged in 1943 for refusing to accept his promotion which he considered to be a bribe to compromise his trade union activities, he became a full time trade unionist. In 1946 he was reinstated after a strike when the Tribunal Judge expressed consternation that it was "a strange case that a man does not accept promotion and is discharged on that ground."

But in May 12, 1947 Kedar Das was arrested under the Defence of India Rules and the Company hastened to get rid of him on the charge of long ab-

sence. He was released on August 15, 1947.

In February 1948 he was again arrested and detained for his leadership of the Jhingpani Cement workers' strike. He was released in 1949. Thereafter he remained underground till 1951.

On his return he founded the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union in 1952 and became its first general secretary. After the TISCO strike in 1958 he was prosecuted for criminal conspiracy and rioting and sentenced to 4 years imprisonment.

He is out on bail awaiting the Patna High Court Judgement on his appeal.

COMRADE ALI AMJAD, the Communist candidate from Jugsalai, is the secretary of the Singhbhum District Council of the CPI. The workers of Jamshedpur expressed their confidence in his efficient leadership when they insisted on electing him also the general secretary of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union.

In the forties he helped organise the trade union movement in Bihar Sharif as also in Kathiar. He was arrested many times for



ALI AMJAD

his trade union and Party activities.

He has been associated with the JMU from its very inception. In 1958 it was his arrest on May 20, which led to the firing on the mass of 10 thousand workers who had laid down before the police van carrying

him and sought to prevent his removal to jail.

For more than two years, together with all the other leaders of the JMU, Ali Amjad was in jail standing trial for various cases arising out of the May 1958 TISCO strike. The Session Judge sentenced him with five other leaders of the JMU to four years imprisonment for criminal conspiracy.

Like Kedar Das, Ali Amjad is out on bail awaiting judgement of the Patna High Court on his appeal.

COMRADE BASTA SOREN is the Communist candidate from Ghatsilla tribal reserved constituency.

Born in a poor Santhal peasant family he was drawn to politics early in life. Deeply moved at the injustice his people had to suffer, their economic misery, and the social and cultural oppression, he resolved to fight against all this. This brought him to the Communist Party in 1944 while he was still a student of class VI.

He became a member of the Party in 1947.

In 1946 he participated in his first mass movement for the forest rights his people had always enjoyed but which were now sought to be denied to them. He succeeded in getting 500 acres of cultivated land in the forest released to the peasants in 1947.

A year later arrest interrupted his studies while he was still a student of class X. On release he went underground and remained so till 1952. The police confiscated all the immovable properties of his father.

During the underground he remained with the masses and carried on mass activity. In 1950 he organised the two day strike of the low paid contract workers of the Maubhandar copper factory. At that time there was no union of the workers there.

In 1953 Basta Soren organised the Chhotanagpur Jungle conference at Sini. In 1958 he was one of the organisers of the satya-

graha against the Bengal-Bihar merger proposal.

Basta Soren's activities has not been limited to struggles for the economic amelioration of his people. He organised a movement for the introduction of Santhali as the medium of instruction in schools.

A popular leader of his people he was elected to his gram panchayat with a thumping majority despite repeated attempts at tampering with the ballot boxes and nullification of election results.



BASTA SOREN

And Lok Sabha

DR. UDAYAKAR MISRA, the prominent communist and trade union leader of Jamshedpur, medical practitioner and communist candidate for the Jamshedpur Parliamentary constituency, did not know anything about the Communist Party till 1939. Born in a small village in the Balasore district of Orissa, he was drawn in the non-cooperation movement while still at school. He attended his first Congress session at Gaya in 1924 as a volunteer.

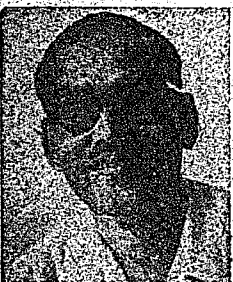
Four years later he was elected a delegate to the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1928 and subsequently to every session of the Congress till 1939. In 1929 after passing from the Medical School he had joined Bihar and Orissa Medical Service. But in 1930 he could not resist the call of the salt satyagraha, took part in it, was arrested and spent a year in jail.

In 1936 he came to Jamshedpur, was elected a member of the Singhbhum District Congress Committee which post he held till 1940.

The Ramgarh Congress in 1939 proved a turning point in his life. Here he helped in arranging the flight of the late Comrade K. D. Bharadwaj who had appeared from the underground to put forward the Communist viewpoint at the Congress session. The police was hot at his heels. And it was no easy matter to take him back to his underground safety.

In 1921 he worked with the late C. F. Andrews and the late Pt. Gopubandhudas in flood relief and other social work.

worked as a domestic servant in the house of Netaji Subhas Bose at Cuttack.



UDAYAKAR MISRA

worked as a domestic servant in the house of Netaji Subhas Bose at Cuttack.

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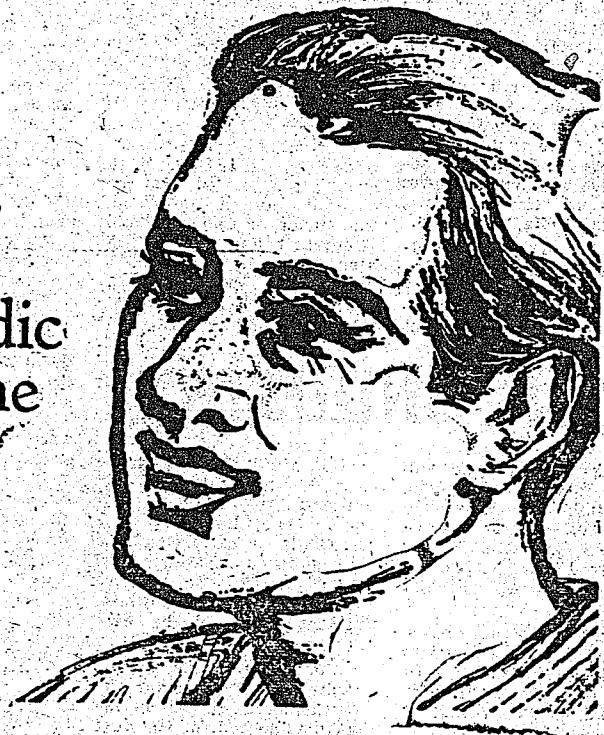
set up any candidates from these two Assembly constituencies, the Parliamentary candidate. Dr. Udaykar Misra has been intimately connected with the social and political movements in this area. As long back as 1936-37 Dr. Misra was one of the prominent leaders of the Praja Mandal movement in Saraikeela and has ever since maintained his active interest in the problems and movements there.

In 1957 the victory of the Congress candidate from this Parliamentary constituency over D'Costa (of the Eastern Economist) standing on Jharkhand ticket was decided by

the 40 thousand votes in the two Assembly constituencies in Jamshedpur town. It is notable that from these constituencies, the two Congress candidates for the Assembly together polled only 22 thousand votes while the Congress candidate for Parliament polled more than 40 thousand votes.

Since in 1957 there was no communist candidate for Parliament from this constituency the Communist Party supporters voted for the Congress candidate for Parliament in order to ensure the defeat of D'Costa, the spokesman of Big Business. But now the situation is different.

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Tammany Hall Tactics For U.P. Elections

From Ramesh Sinha

In 1953, in the local bodies election, when the small but important Town Area of Malihabad near Lucknow had returned all communists and their most popular leader, Ahmad Wali Khan was unanimously elected Chairman of the Town Area, it was all-India news. Practically all the national newspapers had flashed this unique victory on their front pages.

THE same phenomenon was repeated in 1957 and it was only with the treacherous assistance of Triloki Singh, the anti-communist P.S.P. leader, that Ahmad Wali Khan was defeated by a mere 600 votes in the election to the State Assembly the same year. The top P.S.P. leader had forfeited his security, but the Congress adversary had won.

The people of Malihabad had learnt their lesson and this time, in the forthcoming elections, the position of Ahmad Wali Khan appears

police that you associate with bad characters and criminals and help them in their nefarious activities. The confidential enquiries made by the S.D.M., Malihabad revealed that the above report appears to be true and it shows that you are not fit and desirable person to retain a licence for a gun.

"Your licence No. 11158 for 28 bore gun has therefore been suspended and you are ordered to show cause within fifteen days from the receipt of this notice why the above licence be not cancelled..."

Now nobody, except perhaps the Station Officer of Malihabad and his Congress backers, has heard or knows anything of this report. What inquiries were made by the worthy S.D.M. of Malihabad are also, it appears, a top State secret. At least Ahmad Wali Khan was not asked anything in connection with them,

nor has he been provided with any charge-sheet of this extremely irresponsible and slanderous allegation.

Ahmad Wali Khan is not only the beloved Chairman of the Malihabad Town Area for the last eight years; he is also a member of the Antarim Zila Parishad, Lucknow; he is also the Manager of the only Higher Secondary School in Malihabad, the Mahatma Gandhi Higher Secondary School; and he is the topmost social and political worker of Malihabad for the last fifteen years.

And there is no doubt that if we were living in a really democratic State, a people's State, any police officials and bureaucrats who had dared to show the effrontery of making such fictitious charges would be put in the dock and taught to show necessary respect for people's leaders.

The D.M., who has served the above notice on Ahmad Wali Khan, probably by signing the papers which were ushered before him by some of his juniors, has not even bothered to quote the correct number of either the gun or the size of the gun which Sri Khan has been having in his possession, under due licence, since 1942.

Nor will really Ahmad Wali Khan's existence become impossible if the protection of some puny gun is taken away from him. The authorities know it very well. They know, and some of them to their deserved cost, where his power and protection lie.

Then why have the authorities and those who are behind them taken resort to this stratagem? They are doing this with a view to discredit Sri Khan, to defame him, if they can, and to lower and humble him in the eyes of the simple village folk on the eve of the elections in which he is a candidate of the Communist Party to the State legislature from Malihabad.

The S.O. of Malihabad police station has earned great notoriety. Grave allegations have been made against him and he has been the subject of much controversy even among congressmen. Once it was reported in *New Age* that with a view to facilitate inquiries into the serious charges against him orders had been passed for his transfer from Malihabad because all the police officials up to the Regional D.I.G. had felt that so long as this gentleman stayed in Malihabad no fair inquiry would be possible into his conduct. Even Home Minister Charan Singh had been consulted in connection with this ordinary policeman's transfer because he happens to be the favourite and important prop of a congress leader who in turn is a close groupman of Chief Minister Gupta. When Gupta himself had intervened and stopped his transfer this had caused 'bad blood' between Gupta and Charan Singh.

Ahmad Wali Khan has, as a part of his duty towards the harassed people of Malihabad, found it necessary to fight and crusade against this police officer and now this officer wants to show to the people of Malihabad, what is really obvious to all the people of at least U.P., that he can do anything and no people's leader, however popular he may be, can stand up and succeed against the State's all-mighty police! The local Congressman are supporting

this policeman because for them this appears to be the only way of defeating their real opponent in the election.

As remarked earlier, though this can serve as a typical example of Congress tactics in the State, it is not by any chance a solitary case. Open and substantiated allegations have been made in the State Assembly and elsewhere that large-scale transfers and appointments of officials are being made with a view to gain advantages in the coming general elections.

No Isolated Instance

Even ex-Minister Mohan Lal Gautam had to complain in the State Assembly on November 16, that "the services have been paralysed by the new government. The officers are being transferred from one place to another to satisfy the wishes of some persons..."

Sri Gautam had added, "As a matter of fact, the Finance Minister (Mr. Govind Singh) has told several officers that he would get them appointed as district magistrates of Jaunpur if they promise to work there according to his wishes. (Cries of shame, shame from the opposition benches)." (National Herald, 17 December, 1961).

Now the State government have decided to increase the number of S.P.s and D.S.P.s (the police budget of the State has already more than doubled since Independence and now they want to increase it further, because this seems to be the most essential industry for the maintenance of the Congress raj) and there are public charges that these appointments also are being made with political and group considerations. For this reason, the appointments are generally to be made on temporary basis, that is without selection by the Public Service Commission!

If the country's democratic institutions are not to be hurt and destroyed beyond repair, such ugly tactics should be brought to the notice of the whole country and its democratic public opinion and people should be mobilised to resist them.

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN LITERATURE

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OIL—The Break Through

BY ZIAUL HAQ

When India's first oil refinery in the public sector is inaugurated by the Prime Minister at Nummati (near Gauhati in Assam) on January 1, 1962 it will indeed be a red letter day. It will mark another stage in the rapid progress of India's national oil industry.

THE tremendous significance of this event will be clear from the following facts.

In pre-independence days, India could boast of only a small half-a-million ton refinery at Digbol. There was no question of a "public sector" then and that small refinery was naturally British-owned.

In the years following independence even when the first Five Year Plan went into operation the Government of India entered into agreements with foreign oil companies for the setting up of oil refineries which can only be described as detrimental to national interests.

For, not only were the foreign companies granted inordinate concessions but, taking advantage of those agreements they in subsequent years spread their tentacles and entrenched themselves in the country in such a vital sector as oil.

Between 1954 and 1957, three refineries, owned by Esso, Shell, Stanvac and Caltex came into being. The stipulated refining capacity for them was 5.1 million tons of crude oil. Surreptitiously and in violation of the agreements they increased their capacity so that it stands today at 6.1 million tons.

Socialist Aid

It was only with the emergence and beginning of the utilisation of the possibilities of collaboration with Socialist countries, Soviet Union and Rumania, that the Government of India could think of the creation of a national oil industry in the public sector, covering its entire range from exploration and production to refining and distribution.

It is over a period only of the last six years that this development has taken place. At every step it has had to contend with the bitter opposition and the devastating sabotage of the foreign oil companies which had been allowed to entrench themselves.

Soviet Cooperation

According to the agreement the Soviet Union was to hand over, free of charge blueprints and specifications of technological processes. All credits for the development of oil extracting and oil refining industries were granted by the Soviet Union at an extremely low rate of interest (2.5 per cent) and on extremely easy terms.

In accordance with the agreement, Soviet specialists carried out prospecting work in India and reported the presence of oil in the country in the spring of 1956.

In September 1958 Indian oil specialists working jointly with their Soviet colleagues discovered oil deposits of commercial importance in the region of the Gulf of Cambay. In the summer of 1960, reports came that oil was struck

in the town of Ankleshwar where the deposits were reported to be even greater than in Cambay.

Thanks to Soviet and Rumanian cooperation in oil exploration while the Western experts were insisting that India had no oil, it was confirmed that India had 400,000 sq. miles of oil-bearing tracts whose deposits would total something like 150 million tons and out of this nearly 10 to 12 per cent could be extracted every year.

It is as part of this continuous and sharpening struggle between the foreign monopolies hitherto dominating India's oil supply, production and refining and the emerging State sector now developing with socialist aid, that the commissioning of the first refinery in public sector has to be seen. It is in this background that this event acquires tremendous significance.

Built with the technical assistance of the Rumanian People's Republic, which granted a long-term credit of Rs. 5.6 crores, the Gauhati refinery will process seventy-five lakh tons of crude oil from Naharkotiya and Moran oil fields.

When fully commissioned the refinery will produce

163,700 metric tons of kerosene, 183,500 metric tons of diesel oils, 160,200 metric tons of gasoline, 113,200 metric tons of furnace oil and 129,490 metric tons of other products like coke aromax.

The design of the refinery provides for an additional 10 per cent increase in capacity without any cost. Another one-third capacity can be added with only an additional expenditure of 10 per cent. According to Rumanian experts, the refinery can be doubled with an expenditure of only 50 per cent of the present outlay.

Besides the long-term credit of Rs. 5.6 crores granted at a nominal interest of 2.5 per cent and repayable in phases, the Rumanian authorities designed the refinery and sent 50 technicians to supervise the construction. An equal number of Indian technicians was associated with the construction of the refinery after receiving initial training in Rumania.

Within a year of the commissioning of the Gauhati refinery, the second refinery in the public sector will also go into production. This is the Barauni refinery being erected with Soviet assistance. It will have a capacity of two million tons. A third refinery in the public sector, also with

Soviet assistance and with capacity of another two million tons is planned to be set up in Gujarat by the end of the Third Plan.

Even then the refining capacity in the public sector will be only 4.75 million tons, while the capacity of the foreign companies' refineries even today stands at 6.1 million tons. To stop the drainage of national wealth and to see that the entire refining capacity serves the interests of the nation, it is necessary that foreign oil interests in India should be nationalised, without giving them opportunity for further mischief.

It was this proposal for nationalisation which was put forth in the Rajya Sabha debate on December 1, through a private motion of Communist member M. N. Govindan Nair. The fact that it received unanimous support from all sections of the House, is further proof that the proposal is urgently called for in national interest.

While rejoicing at the commissioning of the first oil refinery in the public sector, it is necessary to emphasise that, the struggle for securing release of the nation's oil resources from the octopus grip of the foreign monopolies has to be intensified and stepped up.

RUMANIAN HELP

THE day of January 1st, 1962, will remain an important date in the history of the friendly relations between the Rumanian and the Indian peoples. It is the day when the Gauhati refinery will be put into operation, turning out the first tons of oil products for the economy of the Indian State.

This refinery represents today a symbol of the fruitful cooperation between Rumania and India, an evidence of the way friendship and understanding between our peoples can help them to mutually develop their national economy.

The first drops of petrol, kerosene or fuel oil constitute the first results of the new and important Indian industrial objective, a fruit of the common efforts of the Indian and Rumanian experts who, separated by thousands of miles are working together on the building site, joining hands to set up this oil refinery, a monument to friendship.

The fruitful cooperation between the Rumanian and the Indian peoples is very strikingly manifested in the field of the economic and trade relations established between the two countries.

The trade agreements signed so far provided for the exchange of various goods, at prices mutually advantageous and directed towards the development of

both countries' national economy.

The economic relations with India are developing continually. In only one year, in 1960, the volume of exchange between the two countries increased by 15.3 million lei (Rumanian currency). The present relations are based on the three-year trade and payments agreement signed in Bucharest on May 14, 1959.

The existence of a long-term agreement represents an element of stability in trade relations, making possible a better planning of the exchanges. Commercial protocols are signed every year, in the framework of long-term trade agreement and the lists of mutual deliveries are also being established every year.

As a consequence of the positive results achieved by the Rumanian-Indian cooperation, on December 1960 there was concluded, in the framework of the trade agreement, existing between the two countries, an arrangement through which India is to deliver to Rumania till 1966 growing amounts of iron ores, which present a great aid for Rumanian economy, receiving in exchange oil equipment, complete installations for various factories and works and various types of equipment, oil products, etc.

Rumania has contributed concretely to India's economic consolidation. The first drilling installation which started working at Jawalamukhi, in the public sector, was manufactured in Ru-

mania and was put into operation with the help of Rumanian experts. The latest types of Rumanian drilling rigs have been working for a long time already at Cambay and Jawalamukhi.

Rumania has contributed to the setting up and development of the India State oil industry for the refining of crude oil, by exporting and fitting up all the installations of the Gauhati refinery.

There, where a few years ago there were only deserted hills, today there shine in the sun the installations of the refinery which constitutes a wonderful example of Rumanian-Indian cooperation and friendship.

But that is not all. We must know that the Rumanian engineers and technicians came to India to help with the assembling and putting into operation of the equipment of the Gauhati refinery, or of the prospecting and drilling installations where they trained Indian experts on the working spot, they granted their help for the qualifying of Indian workers, showing in this way too their sympathy for the Indian people.

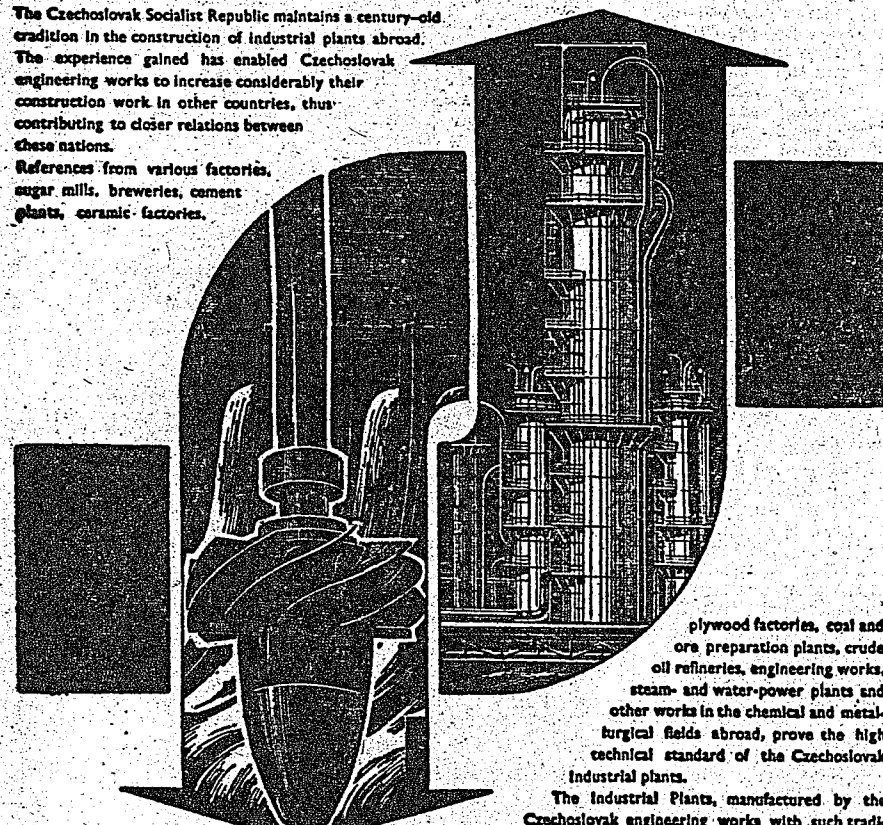
Indian-Rumanian cooperation represents an example of the multiple and interesting possibilities enjoyed by the two countries as well as of the mutual advantages which result from relations based on friendship, mutual understanding and a sincere wish to cooperate.

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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.

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End Contractors' Raj And Save ROURKELA

"The public sector too has to set an example. Governments, both in the States and at the centre, are connected with the public sector. We must therefore, make sure that at least those who are in charge of public sector undertakings, do their part well in carrying out their responsibilities in the field of labour better than what we expect employers in the private sector to do.

They have to be models of good administration and I would like to convey this to those who are in charge of the public sector as managers or directors, or in any other position. Public sector is not Government and those responsible for running it are not Government servants in the strict sense of the term.

"I have to say this because a number of officers in charge of public undertakings come from some sphere of governmental administration and seem to carry the bureaucratic outlook into industrial undertakings in the public sector. The only privilege they should expect is that they should have full facilities to do their duty in respect of labour."

These words, full of plethora of platitudes and pious hopes, were uttered by Gulzari Lal Nanda, Union Labour Minister during the 19th Indian Labour Conference at Bangalore in October, 1961.

Gleefully, Nanda reported to the Conference: "... I am glad to report, the position in

trenched by the management of the Rourkela steel project were working there since last five years. Among them were those workers whose lands were given away towards the establishment of the Plant itself!

These workers were attached to construction and maintenance work of the project and in their work they acquired sufficient skill and knowledge despite the fact that basically these were not actually plant-operation jobs but only incidental thereto.

Except the job of construction of quarters, which was given to the contractors from the very beginning, there were about 8,000 workers directly under the Steel project doing the rest of civil engineering jobs.

When it was reasonably expected that after five years, the management would take over all these jobs departmentally what has happened was that all these jobs have been given away to new contractors retrenching slowly but steadily the people who were already engaged on these works. The management, of course, retained the services of engineers, supervisors, etc.

This new allocation of work to the contractors was in gross violation of the Supreme Court judgment (1960 LLJ II, 233) wherein it was held that contractor-labour should not be engaged: "In work which is perennial and must go on from day to day; the work is incidental and necessary for the work of the factory; the work is sufficient to employ a considerable number of wholtime workmen; and the work is being done in most concerns through regular workmen".

This decision of the Supreme Court was also accepted as the guiding principle for all employers in the 19th Indian Labour Conference and, thus, the management of Hindustan Steel in the Rourkela project were both morally and legally bound to follow this principle.

But even now, the management refuse to see reasons and although they promised to find out jobs for these retrenched workers in a meeting where the management representatives, workers representatives and the Deputy Chief Minister of Orissa were present, they have so far not acted on it and show no indication of rescinding their former stand.

It is now understood that with the taking over of extension of the plant now on hand, the management are more and more engaging contractors in this extension scheme.

It is current in Rourkela that the allocation of jobs to the contractors is directly dependent on the returns which the high-ups in the management receive from the contractors.

It is for that the high-ups have trotted out a theory that the jobs done through contractors are always cheaper and, thus, they are doing a great service to the country by getting the jobs done cheaply.

From Nityanand Panda

And the sample of such jobs can be seen amply in Rourkela where buildings leak in rains, crumble down or crack in summer and culverts give way before they are ready. It is reported that one particular contractor was paid a substantial sum towards his contract although the job was done wholly departmentally.

Not only the work of the contractors is inferior, it is also slow compared to departmentally done jobs. For example, in Bhilai, 10,000 quarters were built by departmental workers, while during the same period only 7,000 quarters could be built by contractors in Rourkela. And the Bhilai buildings are positively better than Rourkela.

Even after the 19th Indian Labour Conference, the management in Rourkela Steel project show no inclination to take over the jobs being done by contractors. They are giving away jobs like, unloading of coal, loading of coke, clean-

ing the waste in steel melting shops and blast furnaces, transportation of refractory bricks, maintenance of roads, sidings, etc., to the contractors.

The cases of the 445 retrenched workers still continue to hang fire. The struggle is still on and the workers are squatting in front of the Rourkela Administrative building. The management in Rourkela still maintain their former stand and all the high-show of grand bureaucracy.

Meanwhile the Union Labour Ministry goes on trumpeting its success through Code of Discipline and preaching sermons for the development of national economy through dedicated labour of the working class.

Except for a formal promise to look into the matter, the Union Labour Ministry refuses to take cognizance of what is happening in Rourkela. A nice implementation of labour policy indeed!

Militant Art

From Our Calcutta Correspondent

ON Wednesday December 6, the BPTUC called on the people of Bengal to contribute to the fund of the striking Hind Motors Workers. Thousands of workers replied by handing over big chunks of their wages.

An interesting sidelight was provided by a group of actors who took to the streets of the city proper and, in street-corners and parks, presented their playlet Special Train an exposure of Birla's brazen exploitation of the Hind Motors Workers and the Congress Government's abject surrender of police and special trains to Birla.

The playlet, written by Utpal Dutt, was presented by Dutt, Bidhan Mukherjee, Sekhar Chatterjee, Kamal Mukherjee, Ramabandhu Chowdhury and Debesh Chakravarty.

Street-corner plays are a powerful weapon in the hand of Calcutta's cultural front. We have watched this particular group during elections, during Bengali-Bihar merger conspiracy and during other times of mass-action whip up tremendous enthusiasm in its audiences in parks, street-corners, at factory-gates and in the village greens.

The requirements are simple: some kind of a platform (a bench or the verandah of a house suffices), and some kind of illumination (a smoking oil-lamp is as good as the best spotlight). A mike is a luxury, gladly accepted if arranged, dispensed with if not available. The audience stands or sits around and the play is run through, at furious pace, in about thirty to forty-five minutes.

The playlet, Special Train, has the usual stock characters: a worker, a police officer, the labour officer of Hind Motors, a blackleg, a passer-by and a policeman. The situation is also almost traditional by now.

The police officer and the labour officer discuss the strike; both characters are ridiculed to the great delight of the audience; but woken

HE DIED FOR GOA



DURGESH CHANDRA TARAFDAR

THE jubilation in Jamshepur among all sections of the people on the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu, from the Portuguese stranglehold, following the entry of our Armed Forces and subsequent surrender of the entire Portuguese Garrison in Panjim, was marred by the receipt of the news of the death in action in Goa of Durgesh Chandra Tarafdar, a Jam-

shedpur youth, received by his parents on December 18. Durgesh Chandra Tarafdar, a Rating with No. 64231 AB of the Indian Navy, was in action in an L.N. warship (undisclosed) in the waters of the Arabian Sea, off the coast of Goa, since the early hours of December 18, states the wireless message, received by his father, Saradish Chandra Tarafdar, residing in the New East Plant Area of Jamshepur. The message, sent by the Naval Headquarters in Bombay, states also that Durgesh died on December 18.

Aged only 26 and one among a family of three brothers and a sister with parents living, Durgesh joined the Indian Navy in 1955 and was in the United Kingdom for 16 months for training. A fine sportsman since his early boyhood, Durgesh took to body-building and in the body-building competition sponsored by the Bengal Club here in 1960, he stood second.

His last leave was during the Pooja holidays this year, when he came home to be with his family.

JOINT MEETING EXPRESSES ...

CAPITAL'S JOY

From Our Delhi Correspondent

Another anti-colonial issue, the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu, brought together on the same platform leaders of the Congress, Communist Party and PSP. Last year such a meeting was held in February this year to condemn the imperialists for the murder of Lumumba. A rally to congratulate the people of Goa, Daman and Diu for the "successful termination of their prolonged struggle for emancipation from the Portuguese rule and unity with the rest of the motherland" was held on December 24, at Subhas Maidan, situated between the historic Red Fort and the Jama Masjid.

THE meeting was sponsored jointly by the Delhi Pradesh Congress, the Delhi Provincial Council of the Communist Party, the Delhi Branch of the PSP, the Indian Council for Africa, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the National Campaign Committee for Goa (headed by Aruna Asaf Ali). The Mayor of Delhi, Shammath presided.

The meeting was addressed by Aruna Asaf Ali, Indira Gandhi, Brij Mohan (Pradesh Congress President), M. Farooqi (Secretary, Delhi Provincial Council of the Communist Party) and Mir Mushtaq Ahmad (Chairman of Delhi PSP).

She criticised the Western Powers "who were talking against India today" for refusing to make any concrete suggestion during the last 14 years when "we were asking the Portuguese Government to settle the matter through negotiation".

Amidst applause she declared: "The events in Goa have shown that the days of supremacy of the Western Powers are about to be over. These are the days of the rise of Afro-Asian countries". She termed the attacks of the Western countries on India as a "cry of frustration" because of the "end of centuries-old domination of Asia".

It congratulated the Government of India and the Indian Armed Forces for going to the assistance of their compatriots in these territories to put a speedy end to the atrocities of the Portuguese colonialists.

The meeting thanked the UAR, Ceylon and all other Afro-Asian and other countries who had supported the just and timely action of India.

The resolution criticised the Western countries for "supporting the decaying and tottering colonialist regime of the Portuguese and for even trying to move the Security Council to intervene against the liberation struggle of the people of Goa, Daman and Diu and the just support given to them by the Government of India".

The resolution thanked the Soviet Union for "foiling this attempt of the Western nations in the Security Council by casting its decisive vote against the resolution sponsored by these countries (the Western Powers)".

The resolution added: "The day is not far off when imperialism shall disappear from the face of the world".

Aruna Asaf Ali, who made the main speech of the evening and who was repeatedly cheered by the audience, declared that India's armed action was the fulfillment of the pledges undertaken by the people of this country in the great Goa liberation movement of 1955. What the Government of India had done was in accordance with

Only the imperialists and their lackeys were angered by it. This showed that India's action was correct and just.

Farooqi condemned the role of Swatantra Party and its leaders who did their worst to prevent the liberation of Goa. "This shows they voice the feelings of Western imperialists in Indian politics", he added.

The Communists did not consider it as a partisan issue but as a national issue, an issue of anti-colonialism and that is why it gave full support to the Government when it took the decisive action against the Portuguese colonialists.

The Pradesh Congress President, Brij Mohan made it clear that India's action in Goa was no aggression, as alleged by the Western Powers but an action to liberate a part of the country from colonialism.

The PSP Chairman, Mir Mushtaq Ahmad congratulated the Goan patriots on the successful termination of their freedom struggle. He also congratulated the Afro-Asian countries and the Soviet Union for support to India. He regretted the role of Pakistan on this issue.

Strong Resolution

The resolution adopted in the meeting expressed its "profound joy and satisfaction over the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu from the imperialist domination of Portuguese colonialists".

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Long Campaign

The all parties meeting was the highlight of a campaign on Goa in which the Delhi Communist Party took the leading part. During the campaign the Communist Party took out a large procession on December 15, to focus attention on the demand for "immediate military action to liberate Goa".

When the Indian armies marched into Goa, the Party issued thousands of posters to welcome the action of the Indian Government. It simultaneously gave a call to its branches to organise processions, parbat pheris and street-corner meetings to hail the liberation of Goa. Such processions have taken place in many parts of Delhi.

Several branches of the Party organised torch-light processions with "Bhangra" dances.

He said that India's action had received support in Afro-Asian and Socialist countries.

calcutta celebrates

From Jnan Bikash Moitra

THE news of the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu was greeted by the people of Calcutta with jubilation. They were indignant over the "Anglo-American conspiracy in the Security Council to frustrate the final liquidation of Portuguese colonial domination in India, and deeply appreciated the use of the veto by the Soviet Union to defeat their nefarious game.

The six left parties of the United Leftist Front—CPI, FB, RSP, Marxist FB, RCFI and Bolshevik Party—celebrated the occasion by holding a public meeting and taking out a victory procession.

The meeting paid its homage to the martyrs who had laid down their lives for the liberation of Goa. It adopted a resolution greeting the people of the erstwhile Portuguese colonies.

Need For Unity

The resolution further said that the campaign for the elimination of the last vestiges of foreign colonial domination from the Indian soil had naturally been welcomed by the Soviet Union, United Arab Republic, Ceylon and

other freedom-loving countries.

But the USA, Britain, France and other NATO powers had expressed their hostility to India's action in Goa.

It was the exercise of the veto by the Soviet Union that had scotched the Anglo-American proposal in the Security Council for the withdrawal of Indian army from Goa.

This event, the resolution emphasised, once again proved the imperative necessity of the unity of all anti-imperialists and patriotic forces and constant vigilance against imperialist conspiracies.

Moving the resolution, Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition referred to the forthcoming visit of Leonid Brezhnev, President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and said that he had no doubts that, on the occasion of the celebration of Goa's liberation, the people of Calcutta would accord a rousing reception to the distinguished guest from a country, which was a real and sincere friend of India.

After the meeting was over, a procession was taken out. Carrying a photo of Nityananda Saha, who was shot down by the Portuguese imperialists in 1955, it went round some of the streets of the city.

Solidarity From China

THE National Council of the India-China Friendship Association has received the following message of greetings from the China-India Friendship Association of Peking on the liberation of Goa:

"We are happy to learn that the Indian people have already recovered their own territory of Goa, Daman and Diu. All members of the China-India Friendship extend hearty felt congratulations to the Indian people for this victory. In their struggle against imperialism and colonialism as well as safeguarding the national independence, the Indian people will always receive the active support of the Chinese people."

Similar messages have been received from the International Union of Students, World Federation of Democratic Youth, and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

GOA'S SAGA

* FROM PAGE 6

came part of the Indian Union when Parliament adopted a Constitution Amendment Bill endorsing their integration.

Opinion in India and Goa was becoming restless in middle fifties. The feeling of oneness with Goa was never so great all over India, in every nook and corner of the sub-continent.

This culminated in the glorious 1955 satyagraha. Initiated on the crest of a wave of popular indignation, the struggle attracted wide support, all the political parties in the country, including the Congress, the PSP, the Communist Party and the Jana Sangh, uniting on the issue. Thousands of volunteers enrolled themselves to march peacefully into Goa to assert their kinship with the Goans.

The Portuguese retaliated with great venom. Thirty-six Indians lost their lives, over 250 were injured, thousands were arrested and sentenced. World public opinion condemned these brutalities. The Government of India severed diplomatic relations with Portugal in protest.

Had it not been for the support of Britain, USA and their NATO partners, who wanted to use Goa as a military base, the Salazar regime would have cracked then and there.

This period also drew Goa into the vortex of a united movement in all the Portuguese colonies. Representatives from Goa participated in a conference of the Nationalist Organisations in Portu-

guese Colonies at Casablanca in April 1961. A Seminar attended by leaders from all the Portuguese colonies, held in New Delhi and Bombay in October 1961 was a measure of the growing maturity and unity of the anti-imperialist struggle in all the Portuguese colonies.

But unable to read the signs of the times even then, Salazar continued to rely on repression. His attempts to cow down not only Goans but also the Indian people by border incidents, demonstration of military might and the harassment of Indians near the border were stepped up.

His mad antics in provoking the border people, his hurried visits to London and Washington with false complaints were nothing but the gaspings of a dying organism. And finally, the Government of India launched the "Operation Goa".

Today Goa is free. The Portuguese were the first of the colonial powers to land in India and entrench their repressive rule. They had been the last to leave, but leave they had to in the face of the firm determination of Goans to be free and one with India.

The unforgettable saga of heroic struggle for freedom, which the Goan people had to embark upon to achieve this, will not only make every Goan a proud citizen of our great Republic, but also entitles him to play a worthy role in building up a prosperous India. Patriotism is the Goan's badge of comradeship with his brothers and sisters all over India today. (Copyright: IPA)

MARCH TO PANJIM

From RAZA ALI

Panjim, Dec. 21

The lush, luxuriant wild beauty that is Goa had risen and gripped our entire country these days in a close embrace, as it were.

THE story of the triumphant march of our Army to bring Goa back home is known already. But close upon the heels of our Army, a bare six hours behind the advancing line, was a batch of people from places near and faraway from Goa, who had found their way to Panjim to celebrate Goa's liberation together with the Goanese and our own jawans.

This batch went on swelling as it advanced from Banda. At midnight, as December 19 dawned, gunfire signalled zero hour, but undaunted by the great risks involved, this batch marched ahead till it reached Panjim in the early hours of the morning.

Among them were the Communist municipal councillors of Bombay: G. L. Reddy, who had taken part in the Nagar Havell liberation struggle and Tara Reddy. A Goanese girl, Frema Tendulkar, who had been deported from Goa in 1946 for participating in the freedom movement and who had been living in Bombay since then, was with them. When I reached Panjim I found Tara Reddy already there. Smiling broadly, she told the following inspiring story of the people's march to Panjim.

GOA ENTERED

Banda is the place where the Goa Vimochan Samiti had offered satyagraha in August 1955. It was in that historic spot that on August 3, 1955 Baburao Thora and Nityanand Saha had laid down their young lives. It was there, too, that on August 15, Karnail Singh, Madhakar Chaudhury and Mahenkar had made the supreme sacrifice.

As the very atmosphere began to breathe of the impending action, these three intrepid persons set out from Bombay and reached Banda on December 13. Military traffic to the Dodamarg area was heavy, indicating imminent action. The mood of the people was one of enthusiastic expectation. At a public meeting in Banda the next day, the entire population turned out to greet Goa's day of deliverance.

To the sounds of gunfire on December 18 night, Banda awoke. Tara and the others switched on to Goa radio.

Some programme was on the air. Suddenly at 6.30 next morning Goa radio went dead.

They rushed out of their house and found everybody else streaming towards the border, to the Lakkarkot checkpoint, a bare two furlongs away. The Special Reserve Police cut the cord wire and about four to five hundred people entered freely what till a moment ago had been Portuguese occupied territory.

In a mood of exultant joy the flag hoisting ceremony was held at about 8 a.m. on Goa's newly free soil.

TRICOLOUR HOISTED

The Lakkarkot checkpoint had been abandoned by the Portuguese on December 17 evening. But some 300 of them had fled to the woods about a mile away. A Portuguese jeep was last seen patrolling in that area as late as 7 o'clock on December 18 morning.

After the flag hoisting ceremony, the Special Reserve Police tried to send back our people, who had crossed the border. But in vain, with spirits soaring high, they kept marching ahead in a procession of victory. By then some people from Banda and even from the further away Sawatwari, had joined them in cars. One and all they marched ahead, hoisting Indian flags all along the way.

Some went towards Pernem. Our group, leaving the main road, turned towards the village routes in the direction of Dhargal.

In every village they were greeted by the people, who offered them, with all their affection, coconuts, bread and tea. On their way, they came across some commandos. It was a god-send. For, these brave commandos guided the batch the rest of the way to Panjim.

Continuous gun fire kept them company to Dhargal. They were hardly three hours behind the Army's advancing line at that time. They reached Dhargal at 4 p.m. They found the Dhargal checkpoint still occupied by the Portuguese. The commandos then went into action. It was a grand sight of swift manoeuvring, sudden attack and instant victory.

The Portuguese took to their heels. And in the Shanta

Durga Temple, to the accompaniment of drums and temple music, the flag hoisting ceremony was held.

It was well past mid-night by then. So they stayed on for the rest of the night in Dhargal.

In the early hours of December 20 morning, this group of about ten people, with about 15 commandos, started again. After crossing the Shapura river, a short distance from Dhargal, they managed to get taxis with the help of the General Organiser of the Quit Goa Commando group, and drove on to Mapsa. Mapsa was in jubilant spirits with people hoisting Indian flags in the golden rays of the morning sun.

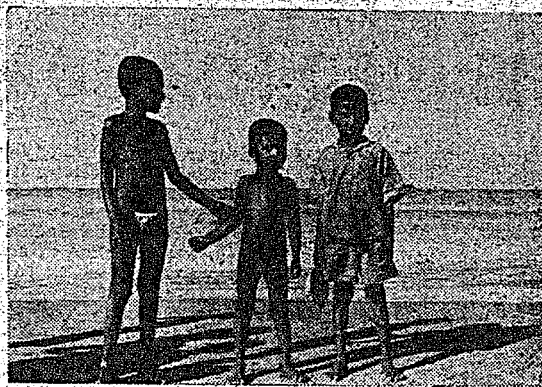
By 10 a.m. this group was in Parra, an important place when the news came that our Army had reached Panjim.

The impatience of our group to get to Panjim can be easily imagined. But it was only at 11-30 a.m. that they were allowed to cross the lagoon and enter Panjim.

Jubilant crowds thronged the streets of Panjim. It was the greatest day in its history. The last citadel of the oldest colonial power had fallen.

From Panjim jail were released patriots, who had fought for this day.

Among these was Mark Fernandes, who was once re-



The future of these Goan children is our national problem.

ported, in our Parliament as killed under Portuguese torture. Arrested in 1954, for offering satyagraha, Fernandes was released five-and-a-half years later in 1959. About a month back, he had gone to Goa to see his ailing mother and was put behind bars again. Laura D'Souza was also among those released by the Indian Army in Panjim.

After greeting the released patriots, our group came back to Parra, where at 4 p.m. a grant meeting was organised, the first ever held on the territory of free Goa, and, in fact, the first after a long, long period of suppression of all democratic rights.

Presiding over the meeting, a local inhabitant of Parra reminded all the villagers that had gathered there, that it was in Parra that the first meeting of the

Goan National Congress was held. And it was again here that the first meeting was being held after the liberation of Goa.

On December 20 came to Panjim the prisoners released from the Aguad jail. Most of the Aguad prisoners had sentences ranging from seven to 24 years. In number of cases, they had already completed their sentences.

It was with unbounded joy that this group of people from India greeted our brothers, who had suffered and sacrificed in fighting Portuguese colonialism.

And it was with the same joy that I listened to the inspiring story of our Bombay Municipal Councillors, who had succeeded in embracing our Goan brethren in the streets of Panjim at the dawn of Goa liberation.

GOA—Communist Record

* FROM FRONT PAGE

heritage and who have become the voice of imperialism within our national political life.

The Swatantra Party through its Parliamentary spokesman Masani, its Press and through the voice of its founder-patron Rajaji has signally put itself outside the pale of Indian patriotism.

Rajaji in his latest article in the Swatantra organ, Swarajyya, has voiced hundred per cent the Anglo-American line that through its action over Goa India has "totally lost the moral power to raise her voice against the use of military force."

Acharya Kripalani, with Swatantra and Jana Sangh and PSP support, had dreamt of defeating Defence Minister Krishna Menon by stoking up the hell fires over the border problem. After Goan liberation he is mewling like the cat fallen on evil days, expressing his evil thought that the Indian jawans are being held back by "political interference" from giving as good an account of themselves on "the Himalayan heights".

Jai Prakash Narain has not put his foot into it like the older CR or the bolder Acharya Kripalani but tried to sell the Western line more cleverly and sanctimoniously. He has formally expressed his rejoicing over the disappearance of the remnants of colonialism from Indian soil but expressed his "sorrow that my country had to take recourse to it (force). The Goan action lays us open to the charge of inconsistency and threatens to lower our prestige".

The PSP leadership staked all against China and with

very great difficulty tried to regain the balance by muttering formal words of support for Goan liberation.

Anybody who knows anything about the PSP and its activities knows that the PSPers tried their hardest to disrupt the achievement of Goan unity and the functioning of the united Goan Political Convention, also that they scrupulously kept out of the National Campaign Committee and slandered it for being Communist-initiated and led.

During the last Parliamentary session they did all they could to prevent Indian action for the liberation of Goa by raising artificial heat over the border issue.

The Jana Sangh like the PSP did all it could to concentrate the fire against China and in practice let Portuguese colonialism remain where it was.

As the patriotic fervour went on mounting for action over Goa, they tried to manoeuvre themselves on the right side of national opinion, but only to cloud national thought and muddy the lessons of the Goan experience.

The Organiser, the official organ of the Sangh, cannot deny that "Soviet Russia has rushed to act a friend in need" nor defend Anglo-American stand against India, but it wants Indian patriots not to learn the obvious lessons from these two radically differing international attitudes towards Goan liberation.

"For our own part, let us neither be exhilarated by the support we have received nor dismayed by the opposition that we have provoked. Both can be traced to the clash of interests in world politics."

Yes, it is a clash of interests between the powers that represent imperialism and the powers that represent anti-imperialism. We have seen them operating vis-a-vis our own country. The Jana Sangh wants us to forget the difference between the imperialist slanders and interventionists against India and the anti-imperialist supporters and friends of India. India cannot afford it and will not do it.

Goan experience has demonstrated that world Communism is the best friend of India in all times of need. The struggle for Goan liberation is a living record that the policy and activities of our Party are such that whenever and wherever the cause of our country is involved, we Indian Communists give our all to it.

During the coming elections, the ruling party might seek to exploit Goa liberation to hide its other sins. The Right-wing parties and elements will try to exploit the Congress sins to muddy the rich international and national experience, which the struggle for Goan freedom embodies and has spot-lighted.

In this year of a vital general election, we have no doubt that in the name of Goan liberation and India's future, our honest, thinking, conscientious people will vote Communist.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO ALL READERS



Goa's fisher-folk—their poverty is Portugal's legacy.