

The smile of liberation-Goan neasant 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 libera-tion of Goa, the imperialist powers cried aloud: aggres-sion!. 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.

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 drag-ging the Goan issue before the UN., like they had mon-keyed with the Kashmir issue earlier. It was not the vital keyed 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

Goan liberation was being enacted, Soviet President Brezhnev was in our coun-Breanney was in our coun-try 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 pro-teed continuing Soviet mised continuing Soviet support in case the im-perialist powers continued and implemented their threats against our nation, its independence and hon-

Soviet Support

Irrespective of all ideological and political differences, the Indian people saw for them-selves that the Soviet Union is

selves 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 Commu-nists have no need to bask in the reflected glory of world Communism.

Communism. Soon after the march of the Indian Army for the libera-tion of Goa began, the leader-ship of Goan Commandos who had kept the flame alive of Goan freedom and re-unification with the mother-land sent us greetings and congratulations (as in the

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

telegram published below) It is one of the most prized

essions of our Party. President Brezhnev's soli-

President Brezhnev's soli-darity speeches on Indian soll and the Goan Com-mando's congratul at 0 r y telegram to us are not acci-dental. They only prove anew that world Commu-nism internationally and Indian Communism natio-nally is for Indian indepen-dence, heart and soil and with all its strength.

Ever since the British im erialists were compelled to transfer: power to Indian hands, the Communist Party of India had been in the forefront of the campaign to com-plete 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, Stogether with local nationalists, initiated, orga-nised and led to victory the mass movement for the mer-mer of these French outposts ger 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.

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Struggle For Unity

With the liberation struggle against the Portuguese possessions in India, our relations are old. The Indian Communists had the closest Communists had the closest fraternal relations with the father of Goan Liberation Movement, the universally esteemed T. B. Cunha, who after his release from Portugnese prisons and the end of his long exile tried to re-unite 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 pat-riotic 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 com-rades from the various parts of our vast country are ins-

cribed in the martyrs' roll of

DECEMBER 31: 1961

BMAR 14 1532 MAR 14 1532 MAR 14 1532 MUNISTS

AND GOA'S

IBERATION

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 pat-riots refused to give up. Together they kept up efforts to reunite all the Goan pat-riotic organisations in the Goan Political Convention and succeeded in reigniting the succeeded in reigniting the struggle for freedom from Portuguese colonialism. the

Futile Policy

COMMUNIST PARTY

The Indian Government, however, continued to pursue its futile policy of patience with the Portuguese. Our Party together with nation-alist elements who considered alist elements who considered it their national duty to make the liquidation of Portuguese colonies in our land a nation-al issue, joined their forces together in the National Cam-circles in our country are aware of the pioneering work done by the National Cam-

paign Committee. It helped to change the political atmos-phere which made the libera-tion of Gos, Daman and Diu possible and inevitable.

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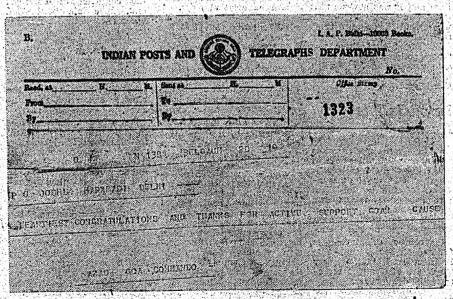
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Heroic Deeds

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 patriote.

riots. When the history of Goan liberation gets written, we have no doubt that the Goan patriots themselves will gene-rously acknowledge the sup-port that the Communist Party of India loyally and un-flinchingly gave the Goan struggle for freedom, despite all ups and downs and in all 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



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

HOWLING THEIR NOTES OF THE

The British prided themselves for transferring power to India peacefully. The Washington bosses never tire of proclaiming themselves as old and good friends of Indian independence. The struggle for Goan liberation has shown up both, effectively and dramatically.

O UR readers will remember how Prime Minister Nehru was lionised only a few weeks was nonsed only a lew weeks back during his US visit. Renter, December 20, now re-ported from Washington that the State Department officials withdrew a film of the Prime Minister's visit to the US from a scheduled showing at a Department reception, "in

view of the Goan situation". In the UN Security Council. the US representative accused India of the crime of aggression: He was, of course, pro-perly countered not only by the Indian representative but perly countered not only the Indian representative t by those of the Afro-Asi ountries as well and effecti-vely smashed by Zorin and the Souther -----Soviet veto

Gos helped to produce an enlightening answer to the US slanders against India in the columns of the New York Times, as the story from its special correspondent. Paul Grimes, from Panjim, shows: "Retreating Portuguese troops lounged freely along roadsides. They broke open cases of beer and sardines and drank' freely the cognac in their canteens. In sharp contrast were the Indian troops.

"Well-equipped Indian for-ees moved forthwith with precision Even many of their enemies credited them with extreme care in safeguarding civilian population, preserv-ing historical and religious land-marks and treating Portuguese prisoners". The above is an American

eye-witness's answer, to the anti-Indian slanders of the US rulers against India's act of liberation

Similarly the story of Ian Colvin, special correspondent of the Daily Telegraph, London, constitutes the best answer to similar accusations by the British ruling circles. He entered the capital of Goa a few hours after the Portuguese surrenger and that all was peaceful and surrender and found there was no trace of fighting anywhere in the vicinity. Church buildings were intact and "not a single cross was touched"

"We found local people everywhere waving Indian flags and it was obvious that there was great relief every-where that it was all over so

He added that there was considerable a n n o y a n c e among Goans at the British attitu towards Indian acn in Goa.

Imperialists' Nature

The Goan experience has spotlighted the fact that in a crisis the old colonialist jargon and the foul manners of the master class come back naturally to the Anglo-American rulers but noble acts of liberation soon unmask and disarm them. Portuguese colonialism is

PAGE TWO

Dr. Salazar with the French Daily, Figaro. The Portuguese dictator characterises Prime Minister Nehru as a "cynic par excellence" and claimed, "we have contributed to exposing a bit the true visage of this man who is a wolf in sheep's clothing". He accus-ed Nehru of ambitions to create an Indian Empire such as the British had carved out and also of wanting to colo-

nise Africa. He denounced the U. N. in the following words, "the United Nations is where a hand of new born countrie without any tradition, with-out any real structure, with-out soil, deliver endless lecagainst the most ancient nations of the West which are veritable guardians of civilisation"

He is cross with the U.S. as well, "it is much easier for me to understand the pro-blems of higher mathematics than the policy of the United States. They believe that they will attract the sympathy of Afro-Asians. Their belief isinfantile".

He concluded by saying that the British could obviously have done much more to help them

Blackmail Attempt

The same imperialist die-hard attitude is reflected in the Daily Express (December 19) under the caption "Tell him to leave now"

"The plain and urgent duty of the Government is to take the initiative in bringing about India's exclusion from the Commonwealth which she brings into disrepute.

"Were she to fail to do this. she would inevitably be ask-ed why South Africa was hounded out of the Commonwealth over a domestic policy while India, guilty of an in-ternational crime, remains a member.

"Britain should also cut off all military aid to India and financial aid, too. It has amounted fo Rs. 125 million over the last five years, with Rs. 90,000,000 to follow during the next two vears.

"British resources should not be used directly or in-directly to build up streng-th of a sanctimonious bully like Nehru.

"Cut off the money now". Referring to the outrage-ously hostile British Parliamentary debate. The Times, (December 20), under the caption "Kashmir, Hydera-bad, the Nagas, Goa" com-mented, "the outspoken statements in Parliament yester-day should make it clear to the Indian Government that the counless people who have Portuguese colonialism is been shocked by its aggres-finished on Indian soil. The sion against Goa include men of the U.S. line. This Portuguese dictator's very many who sympathise with time, however, he cabled from words are of one who repre-sents the dying order. maly and understand how Times of India, (December' galling to Indian sentiment 25), reports an interview of in an age of imperial with-

and may deteriorate further

The U.S. has lost the reputa-

tion painfully built up by the Kennedy Administration that unlike the previous adminis-

The U. S., of course, could

not keep its self-righteons indignation at its original high key. It knocked itself

against reality, against the demonstrative Afro-Asian unity against colonialism

and behind it the picture of

strong support of the So-cialist countries, headed by

view the work of this U.N.

Neither India nor Goa found

mention in his long review, the way he himself spoke about them in the Security Council. He bemeaned that

in Goa "capitulation came

wery quickly and hence peace-making machinery which exists was not used or was not

early bluster is gone. The U.S.

ruling circles have been com-

The New Delhi correspon-dent of the Times of India (Dec. 24), stated "The U. S.

Government has been quick

assure that the develop

ments in Goa will not be per-mitted to affect Indo-Ameri-can relations, and U. S. aid,

"On the other hand, the

India backed by Afro-Asian solidarity and Soviet might has made U. S. re-treat but the stink remains

and it is the imperialist

India faced every conceiv-able type of concentrated Anglo-American pressure aga-

inst action in Goa. After the

action which was halled the world over where freedom is loved and India known, once

again the West did its worst

to sling mud and threaten as if we were not an indepen-dent self-respecting nation

but one living on its favour,

Indian public opinion has

reacted in a very realistic and healthy manner and seen for

itself which countries under-

stand us aright and support us and which seek to dictate and humiliate us.

One would have expected official reactions to voice the

This, unfortunately, has

the Socialist countries

like dependents

stink that matters.

core of the U.S. Government's

objections to the 'use of force' in Goa remains''.

pelled to rethink.

in particular

exaggerated"

exhausted".

the mighty U.S.S.R.

drawal Portuguese obstinacy has been^a

The key to the anomaly. which has perplexed many well-meaning people, of Bri-tain supporting Portugal over Goa, after they themselves tration it opposes colonialism. The effect on India and other non-aligned Afro-Asians is also hurtful since they are be-ing pushed towards the Soviet quit India, is supplied in an article by the retired British diplomat Sir William Hayter, "we are told, for instance, that to maintain an air corridor over Africa we need the goodwill of Dr. Salazar and Sir Roy Welensky and (for all I know) of Mr. Tshombe and Dr. Verwoerd. If this is realtrue it evolains so the zig-zags of our policy in Africa".

Thus, Britain humoured Salazar in the interest of safeguarding, its own crumb-ling political and strategic in- **Reaction** terests in Africa, which are being challenged by the Afri-Retreats can patriots in such a hig way. G. K. Reddy from London, in the Times of India, (Dec. This was duly reflected when Adlai Stevenson held his Press Conference to re-21), gave more inkling of Bri-tish thinking after the Goan debate in the U.N.:

"The British who are already disenchanted with the U. N. are now believing that the Afro-Asian numerical dominance of the General Assembly makes a complet mockery of the world organi-sation in its present form. Some Whitehall officials are even going to the extent of whispering that in the years ahead, the Western world would find itself politically menaced as much by Afro-Asian racialism as by national Communism". inter-

This, according to the U.N. correspondent of Hindustan Times (Dec. 23) "gave the im-pression of a skilful with-drawal from the tough line he had taken earlier". The carly budger is come The U.S. The Goan blow has not sobered the British enough. They must get more from Africa before they can think with their heads on their shoulders. Britain's impe-rialist shirshasana posture is such that India's act of liberation looks to them as aggression and the whole Afro-Asian upsurge of anti-colonial liberation as a demonstration of racialism!

U.S. Lobby Moans

The U.S. has been systematically cultivating India to become its best friend among the uncommitted nations, only to break up the solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries and their growing friendship with the countries of Socialism and, above sall, the U.S.S.R. When it came to Goan liberation, however, the U.S. not only lined up with the colo-nialist powers but headed their joint assault against India in a manner that even the doughty ohampions in our country of lining up with the West and America, in parti-cular, were also angered.

For example, the Times of India headlined its editorial as "Dishonest" and wrote, "Mr. Stevenson's remark the Security Council on the Indian police action in Goa add up to a particularly repulsive form of obscuran-

Ajit Bhattacharyya, the U.S. correspondent of the Hindustan Times, is among the most enthusiastic sales-

NEW AGE

not been the case hecone the official India line ba traditionally been not to discriminate qualitatively between the imperialist and

anti-imperialist powers as between foes and friends, but to regard them all as "friends". This unrealistic understanding after Goa, stands shattered to pieces but yet it remains.

After the Security Council debate another big clash was expected over the Indian resolution demanding the next. vear heing celebrated og national cooper a tion year. Krishna Menon went rush-

ing to handle the situation, there was a crucial Menon-Stevenson meeting and the Indian resolution did not come up and there s. It has been a more fireworks. It has been a sort of political cease-fire he-tween India and the Western powers, who did their damn-dest to deny us a part of our own national territory.

Session and himself told newsmen that the recently circulated reports of the U. N.'s death were "greatly Nehru Disappoints

In his Santiniketan speech, (Dec. 23), the Prime Minister rightly stated that no other Single event during the past 14 years had pleased the en-tire nation so much as the liberation of Goa did.

He, however, only expressed his regrets that "friendly" countries like U. K. and U. S. should have expressed anger over it and called India hypo-crite. He said "India would not express anger in reply" ..

This no-anger-againstanybody sermon follows naturally from the attitude of all-con whether they insolently deny or actively support the nation's demand! Such an attitude sounds very plous but it blindfolds the nation and disarms it. In the present context, it constitutes a softening and shutting up before continuing Western Dressure.

We are all glad that Goa is liberated but the debt of gratitude has yet to be repaid and the final score against colonialism yet to be settled. In the coming days the struggle for disarmament will sharpen. We will have to get closer still to the Soviet Union to be able to effectively enforce a world without war which the imperialist warmakers resist by all devious

Again, in the coming days, Again, in the coming usys, the anti-colonial upsurge will mount still higher. We will be called upon to coordinate In-dian moral and material deeds of solidarity with the other Asian, African and Latin American countries as they

did over Goa. It is obvious . that all this will not happen of itself. In-dian public opinion had to politically drive the Government of India to take action over Goa.

We have no doubt that after the Goan experience, India will not falter nor fail to exfriends in a worthy manner and act nobly, strongly and in time in the coming battles in national indignation against the Western powers and ex-press national gratitude to the numerous Afro-Asian and the cause of world peace and proved themselves to be our loyal friends in time of need. against coloniali

-P. C. JOSHI

DECEMBER 31, 1961

By O. P. MEHROTRA

The liberation of Goa has been hailed by freedom-loving people all over the world. Spokesmen of many Afro-Asian countries have not only fully supported the Indian action but have also expressed jubiliation, for they feel that it would help strengthen the freedom struggle of people all over the world.

- Daman and Diu has given force in spite of the fact that a happy signal to people of India is a peace-loving the colonial countries to nation", the spokesman said aharpen their struggle against and added "there can be no compromise with solution" THE liberation of Gos, India is compelled Daman and Din has given force in spite of the and comments given below are not exhaustive in any sense. All the same they re-flect the broad trends of opinion in Afro-Asian countries.

Century

efforts to liberate Goa. The source added that India did not resort to the final mea-sure of liberating Goa by sending in her armed forces. till after all peaceful attempts to return the matters to their normal course had been ex-

hausted. The official spoke went on to say that Portu-gal turned a deaf ear for long years to repeated Indian demands for the termination of the occupa-tion of Goa. Thus, Portugal gave an elegant example of imperialist policy that does not believe except in mili-tary subjugation and that occupies territories of other people on the basis of what was called the "right of the conqueror" two centuries ago, but does not fit in with the twentieth century.

The official source concludthe UAR supports the Indian people in their legal action to regain their rights and liberate every section of the Indian territories from fore-

ign occupation. The Al Goumbouriah the leading daily in the UAR, editorially wrote that the liberation of Goa was a tri-THE Indonesian Govern-

ment gave strong support to Indian army's entering the Portuguese colonial pockets in India. A foreign office spokes-man extended Indonesian sympathy to the Indian peo-ple and the Government in

nn extended Indonesian Daman and Diu" mpathy to the Indian peo-e and the Government in e action. Council said that the claim 'We are fully aware that of the Portugal that the three

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A N official Iraqi source described as "just" the steps taken by Indian Govern-ment for the recovering of her rights over Goa. The Iraq Republic, he said, supports every people and every state that are striving to remove the pillars of im-perialist exploitation from their territory, to recover parts of their homeland occupied by others and to liberate the people by every means from oppression by the trai-tors and from the control by imperialism and monopoly capital".

CEYLON fully supported. India's march. Its repre-sentative in the Security Council, Dr. G. P. Malalesekara, made a biting speech in defence of India's action in Goa. Apart from this the Ceylon Government banned the use of its sea and airports

D. N. Aidit, Chairman of

Just

Action

the Communist. Party of Indonesia has cabled the CPI: "On behalf of the Cen-

the use of its sea and airports for transport carrying troops, equipment and supplies to the Portuguese in Goa. A foreign office spokesman of the Nepalese Govern-ment halled the liberation of Con Duran and Din

Goa, Daman and Diu. The statement said, "It is a pity that intransigeant Portuguese colonialism has compelled a peace-loving country like India to resort to mililike India to resort to mili-tary action to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu".

enclaves, Goa, Daman and Diu are integral part of Portugal was a "fiction". He pointed out that the General Assembly by a previous re-solution had declared them non-self-governing territories.

non-self-governing terriforles. The Council, therefore, could not condemn India "seriously or legally" for aggression against Portuguese territory. A FGHANISTAN'S Prime Minister Sardar Moham-med Daud sent a telegram to Prime Minister Nehru sup-porting the Government of India on the "ust section India on the "just action undertaken with a view to reinstating the inherent right of freedom to the people of Goa—a right which has been consistently denied by the stubborn policy of Portuguese

F ROM the heart of Africa a warm message comes from the Kenya African National Union (KANU) welcoming the (KANU) welcoming the liberation of Goa. A state-ment issued after a session of the Kanu delegates con-ference congratulated Frime Minister Nehrn on his action in liberating Goa and all Goans, who won their inde-nendence pendence.

THE Information Minister The information minister of the Somali Republic declared his Government's support for India in its just struggle for the complete liberation of all parts of Indian territory from Portuguese oc-cupation. The Minister said Somali people most strongly resent the actions of the ese in Angola and other African territories.

People Enthused

A T a London meeting, con-vened by Fenner Brockway, Labour MP, Aadelino Gwambe, National President of the Mozambique National Democratic Union, expressed the joy of the people of Mozambique at Goa's libera-tion. In a telegram to the U.N. Secretary-General he appealed to the United Nations to expel Portugal from the U.N. for its oppres-sion and genocidal war in its colonies and its reprisals against the Indians in Mozam-

He also sent another tele gram to Prime Minister Nehru gram to Frime Minister Nehrm supporting the use of force to liberate Goa which had strengthened the national liberation movement in Africa. THE Tunistan Foreign Minister Sadok Mokaddem

affirmed on December 19 his Government's support to the Indian Government in its efforts to liberate Goa which is a part of the Indian territory.

The Minister said that Tunisia "welcomes this im-portant event with plea-sure". He also expressed the hope that "the liberation of Goa would basten the end of the Portuguese colonial regime in Africa, that Angola and Mozambique would join the ranks of independent states and that colonial wars conducted by Portugal in these two countries would ceas

A spokesman of the Moroc-can Government said that his country supported India's action, Referring to the use of armed force to liberate Goa

he pointed out that "the nonviolent country has been driven to resort to violence by Portugal".

JOY ABOUNDS

IN AFRO-ASIA

Writing On Wall

R ADIO Ghana broadcast R on December 18 a com-ment hailing Goa's liberation. It voiced the hope that Angola and other African terri-

tories under Portuguese rule, would also be liberated. Justifying Indian action the broadcast said "Africa sees Goa as a symbol of outmoded colonialism". The ommentator continued "we hope Portugal will see Goa as the writing on the wall and walk out of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde islands and all the territories where its medieval colonialism still persiete"

Referring to the Western criticism of India, it said, "The European game is to malign India so that the powerful Afro-Asian comradeship may be damped down. But we will not allow this to happen."

It further asked "Those who criticise India today, if their conscience is as sensi-tive as they make out, should ask themselves with what morality and human fellow-feelings they have watched Portuguese atrocities perpe-trated on defenceless people in Portuguese Guinea, Angola, Mozambique and Goa

"Or can it he that the barons of Fleet street have one standard for their European friends like Salazar and another for the down-trodden ople of Asia and Africa". N addition to the above,

I N addition to the above, the press, too, has given full-throated support to the

Indian action. Thus, the Lebanese paper lists. Al Anwar, a nationalist daily, Likewise newspapers in Ma-in an editorial claimed that laya, Indonesia have given Nehru (described as a famous wider coverage to the news of Arian leader and man of Goa's liberation and supportpeace) would never have re-sorted to arms if there had existed a ray of hope for a Afro-Asian public opinion peaceful solution

It said: "Free nations of world support India in step which she has the this step which she has taken, while on the other hand, support for Portugal are naturally in litters.

is confined to colonial coun tries. India's attitude and honourable and force which Nehra clear ordered was the only solu-tion to face the Portuguese obstinacy and their, hated presence in India". The Syrian

The Syrian paper Al Nasar in an editorial said: "The Portuguese exploited India's love for non-violence, which, thus, became a tool of im-perialism in perpetuating its rule. It was a duty of the United Nations to solve the problem and save India from the necessity of unsheathing the sword in self defence?

"Portuguese imperialism the paper added "is a criminal institution for the /extermi-nation of people and it is the duty of humanity to stand together to end its existence"

Writing editorially an Ara bic daily in the Sudan, Al Sahafa (December 20) com-mented: "At last, India emerged victorious. The ban of freedom were hoisted l waving happily on the soil of Goa".

Moral Right

Writing in Yeni Sabah, Occember 20) Professor Surkru Babar said, "It appears India's peace-loving Mr. Nchru has at least understood that one action is better than one thousand political notes. You is political notes... Now, in Indian Goa, the former Portuguese colony, the local people have embraced the Indian army".

A number of Tehran newspapers came out in support of the Indian action. The news-paper Keyhan stressed that India had full moral right to use armed forces for liberat-

has once again dem strated has once again demonstrated that on the question of free-dom and anti-imperialism they are united as a rock. Imperialists and their lackeys

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Kerala's Kisans' Struggle Rises

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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.

TE 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 so under other organisa tions have made it explicitly clear that the demands put forward by the Karshaka Sangham are just. Kisan Panchayat of

which the Revenue Minis is the President and which is led by the Chief Minister's own Party has endorsed demands.

"Leaders of the mling parties and Ministers them-selves oppose the demands, not hearen not because they are not just, but because some of them have been already conceded by the Government, while others are under consideration of the Government, These claims of theirs have been belied by the change that has come out in the Govern-ment'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 con

cede the peasants' demands, he continued: "Though these things have been accepted, many of them come under the category of 'under consideration' Government do not make it clear what concrete measures they propose to solve the

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

stand. But most of the pro-posals are yet vague and in-

"In these circumstances to emove 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 orga-nisations like the Kisan Con-gress and Kisan Panchayat led by the ruling parties and the Malnad Karshaka Union led by Father Vadakkan 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 Indian Constitution.

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

ists who are most vociferous in the hate-China chorus and

most vehement in their oppo-sition to negotiations.

As we have, explained pre-

viously, these reactionaries did not want the preservation

of the territorial integrity of

wanted the ending of the Government's Panch Shila

foreign policy; the entangle-ment of. India in the war

alliances of the imperialists; the ending of the democratic

rights and liberties; a re-versal of the industrialisation

by E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD communities on the one hand, organised election work of the Communist Party on the other_the

manner.

activities of the Con Party has two objectives: Try to make the Commu-

prospect of such a situation has made the Ministry so

panicky as to act in this

This attack on political

nist Party retrace its step

the kisan struggle under the fear that election work might suffer. from working for the suc

If that does not succeed

to create obstacles in the election work of the Party by keeping behind bars many

leaders and Communist Party. Communist Party

Communist Party. "The Communist Party calls upon all democratic-minded people in the State to meet this challenge bold-ly and to bring sufficient pressure on the Govern-ment: to concede the fust demands of the peasants; to end the attacks on civil liberties and arrests under

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

vigour to defeat the Congress

the victory of Communist Party candidates, including those supported independents.

PSP candidates and to as

ction work with redoubled

liberation struggle'. Today these are being used against the possible candidates in the coming Parliament ele tions and active workers of the Communist Party none of whom have resorted to. nicketing.

"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-PSP Government against Gopalan, Subramania Sharma, Madhavan Pillal 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 has proved to be the most powerful political organisa-tion in the State, when Lok Sabha elections are so clos

"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 seate they command in the seats they secured 1957. The opposition of the Muslim League, Latin Christians and backward

after the statement quoted above, the Election Manifesto itself states "Socialism, of

This apart, the very rea-

Communist Party of India is its struggle for socialism, the first phase of the build-ing of a Communist society in our land. In our most

early 1920s had their passio-nate conviction about the need for a socialist India, as

the concrete embodiment of the vague yearings and aspi-rations 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 ques-tions the CPI cannot and

should not attempt to pro-vide answers. All one can do, in the circumstances, is to analyse the present balance

of forces and provide solu-

tions to the problems con-fronting those who seek to alter this balance in favour

As has been explained

of the forces of socialism.

many a time, socialis

nate

of the

son for the existence

with the peasantry and lead-ing a broad front of inter-mediate strata, comes to power.

course, remains our goal. For, socialism alone can end ex-ploitation of man by man, unemployment, poverty and hunger". And in India today the 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 strug-gle for a socialist India. An exhilarating task also.

> Today the capitalist class Today the capitalist class and its political representa-tive, the Congress, is firmly in the saddle. Not by means of coercion alone but also by the grip of its ideolo-gical and political influence over vast sections of our people, including workers, peasants and the inter-mediate strata.

Moreover, the immediate jobs to be done by the nation are not of a socialist but of a nocratic character-eco mic independence, land remic independence, land re-forms, 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 bour-geoiste as well. geoisie as well.

But even these jobs are not being tackled by the Congress. And, certainly, the building of broad alli-ance necessary for accom-plishing these national-democratic tasks is bitterly opposed by the dominant Congress leadership, which wants to hold on to its 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 build-ing 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

DECEMBER 31, 1961

SOCIALIST LANDS SUPPORT INDIA

India is grateful for the Soviet veto which prom-ptly 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 comments of the official organs of the Communist Parties, demonstrate their deep understanding of In-dia's national demand and the significance of the struggle for Goan liberation. This historic demonstration of solidarity has spot-

lighted the fact that wherever socialism reigns su-preme India and all countries fighting against colonialism can always look for spontaneous, strong and irresistable support, against which the Western Imperialists can only howl but in vain ROM the beginning of

Operation Vijava, the So-

The energetic actions of the

Indian Government to libe

colonies, Pravda says, are an implementation of the histo-ric declaration on the grant-

ing of independence to the colonial countries and peoples, adopted at the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly on the initiative of

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 centu-

of the East, who shed today the blood of thousands upon thousands of people in An-gola 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 com-

above all the United States, who supported the complaint

had force. The peoples, who

lists' yoke, have loyal friends such as Soviet Union and all the nations of the socialist

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 po-wers was not adopted. The flop of the reaction's plot

against India, Prayda stresses

in this connection, is new proof of the grandiose up-heavals now taking place in

The days of colonialism are over. The chastising storms of the national liberation

movement will wipe out the bastions of the colonialists no

matter where they are estab-lished—in West Irlan or An-gola, in Arabia or in Algeria. Colonialism is doomed, there

is no place for it on our pla-

net, the article says in con-clusion.

are throwing off the colonia

Portugal's NATO

of Salazar's Nazi Govern

gressive' ends.

camp.

the world.

plain about an "act of ag-

allies

the Soviet Government

ries oppressed the

Pravda wrote on De

CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

viet press has been support-ing Indian Government's action to liberate the former THE Chinese Government in a statement on Decem-ber 19 volced its support for Government of India's steps Portuguese colonies on the Indian soil. In an editorial 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 signifi-

Indian Government announ ced the dispatch of its troops into Goa to terminate the Poruguese colonial rule over Poruguese colonial rule over Goa. Goa is an inalienable part of India's territory. To

oppose colonialism and safe-guard national independence and the unity of their coun-try, the Indian people have for a long time been demand. ing the recovery of Goa and have waged an unremitting struggle for this purpose. "The action of the Indian

Government to recover Goa reflects the just demand of the Indian people. The Chi-nese Government and peo-ple express their resolute support for it. "The colonial rule of the

Portuguese colonialists over India's Goa has already lasted over four hundred years. After India attained independence, the Indian Govern. ment has repeatedly propo to settle the Goa question by peaceful means, but has each time met with the unreasonable refusal of the Portuguese authorities. Even now the Portuguese authorities are still attempting to use force to prevent the return of Goa to India. All this proves that imperialism and colonialism will never of their own accord abandon their colonial rule and interests.

the paper says, have furnish-ed extra proof that behind the small colonialist jackal-Portugal—are the big impe-rialist beasts who calculate to "Only by waging resolute struggles can the people in various countries drive out imperialism and colonialism use her colonies for their ag-The time has passed, Pravda from their own soil and win continues, when the rude commands of the colonialists genuine independence and freedom.

"What calls for serious at-tention is that the imperialist powers headed by the United States of America openly op-pose and unjustifiably censure the Indian people's just de-mand for recovering Goa and support continued Portuguese Occupation of Goa, Anart from taking , separate diplomatic moves, the imperialist powers have lined up to use the United of the second United Mations Security Council to pressurise India in a strenuous attempt to obstruct India's effort to recover

Goa. "This shows that at the "hen the United Nations is controlled by the Nations is controlled by the imperialist powers headed by the United States, it is sheer illusion to wish that the Unit-ed Nations would make the old and new colonialists abandon their rule in various parts of the world. the world. "The Chinese people and of the

Government have consistent-Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their just struggles to oppose imperia-

DECEMBER. 31, 1961

China And Goa OTTESTION rent social systems.

QUESTIONS AND

ANSWERS

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

ANSWER

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

The Communist Party has consistently alvocated the taking of all measures to com-plete our freedom struggle and end Portuguese colonial-ism. It has equally consistent-ly urged that the border dis-pute with Ching he certified by a got a with China be settled through negotiations, while at the same taking all measures to protect our territorial inte-

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

The CPI had based its stand on both these issues the basic assumption that our country as well as China, while having diffe-

PAGE FOUR

anti-imperialist states and have a common interest in world peace, anti-colonial-ism and Asian solidarity. While criticising and oppos-

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

while differing from the Chinese Government and Party on its assessment of the Indian situation and the policies of the Government of India with discussion with policies of the Government of India, while disagreeing, with the Chinese position on the border issue, the CPI has al-ways maintained that China is a great socialist and anti-imposition of the constant of the constant of the constant in the constant of the constant of the constant of the constant is a great socialist and antiimperialist power. Therefore it came as no surprise to the CPI when the Chinese Government and mass orga-nisations warmly acclaimed the action of the Indian Army.

If the basic assumption mentioned above-fully con firmed by the recent -are accepted by the Gov-ernments and the ruling parties of the two countries then certainly it would help to solve the India-China border dispute.

Moreover, the Goa libera-tion has clearly revealed the predatory nature of the imthe Indian , Rightist parties and the Rightists in the Con-gress for the continue perialists. It has shown ANSWER gress for the anti-national forces that they are. And it is these imperialists and Right.

fundamental document, the Constitution of our Party, this objective is clearly set and other Plan programmes. They wanted India to shift to the Right. It might be mentioned, as a The liberation of Goa by armed action, the conse-quent agonised howl of the imperialists and the fratermatter of more than historical interest that it was the CPI which was the first to carry the message of nal joy of all socialist and socialism to our people. anti-imperialist States has thoroughly upset the Right-ists as well as isolated them It would do a lot of good to ose 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

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 dis-pute 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).

CERTAINLY, the CPI has

not given up the goal of not be established till the socialism. A few sentences working class, firmly allied

NEW AGE

lism and to win and safeand State sovereignty. Such struggles are not only an im-portant factor in defence of world peace, they are also a very powerful support to the Chinese people, who are reso-lutely opposing the occupa-Chinese people, who are reso-lutely opposing the occupa-tion of China's territory, Tai-

wan by U. S. imperialism. A spokesman of the German Democratic Republ ed the measures of the Indian Government for the liquida-tion of the Portuguese colonial regime in Goa. Damar and Diu. The spokes man con "The consistent attitude of

the Indian Government aga-inst colonialism in Asia and Africa is being fully support-ed by the GDR Government and population."

GDR PREMIER

O N December 20, G. D. R. Frime Minister Otto Gro-tewohl sent the following telegram to Prime Minister Nehru:

"On the liberation of Gos Daman and Diu from age-old colonial suppression, I express to you and the Indian people my most cordial congratula-tions. 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 peosided with the Indian peo-ple in their struggle for the liquidation of Portuguese colonial domination on Incolonial domination on In-dian soil. I know, Excellency, that also in the time to come the struggle against colonialism and imperialism will be our common cause."

NORTH VIETNAM

I N Norh 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 Re-public of Vietnam are very happy at the news of the victory of the people and Gov-ernment of India in the liberation of Goa which means the elimination of the last colony of the Western countries in India." the m hios

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 "Les-son of Goa". Its author Jiri Hochman said: firms the extent to existence of the mighty socia-lis camp influences developments and how the shares of the imperialists have drop-

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

*********** KHRUSHCHOV'S CABLE

heartily congratulated the people of India on the liberation of the ancient Inlian 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 most cordial and sincere congratulations on the oc-casion of the liberation of the ancient Indian landsfrom foreign domination and their reanification with the motherland.

"This step of the Indian Government is a big con-tribution to the cause of noble struggle of the peo ples for complete and im-mediate abolition of the disgraceful system of colonialism.

scene," the Czechoslovak News Agency stated. Czechoslovak President, An-

tonin Novotny and Premier Villiam Siroky have sent congratulatory messages to Ra-shtrapati Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Prime Minister Nehrn on

the liberation of Goa. "The people of the Cze-choslovak Republic, who resolutely support the com-plete liquidation of colonialism in the world followed with full con liquidation of th last bits of colonial domination on Indian territory and the re-unification of Goa, Daman and Diu with the Mother-land", says President Novot-ny in his message.

In his telegram Premier Siroky stresses, "the Czechoslovak people as well as the Government had received the Government had received the news of the liberation of ancient Indian territory with full approval. On this event which is so significant for the with Indian people and the stru-ggle to wipe out colonialism, the Czechoslovak Government congratulates the Indian Giv ernment and the people and transmits friendly greetings and congratulations."

BULGARIA

N EWSPAPERS in Bulgaria IN 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.

POLAND

The Polish press carried reports of liberation of Goa and voiced criticism of the U. S. press for its cam-

paign against India. The Pollsh Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz congratulated Prime Minister Nebru. In a

THE Chairman of the will side with all peoples fighting against colonial-isters, Nikita Khrushchov, ism. The Soviet people supfighting against colonial-ism. The Soviet people sup-ported the struggle of the peoples of India for their national indene They regard with under standing the Indian peo ple's efforts directed towards elimination of the consequences of co oppression. "The Government of In-

dia displayed maximum patience and self-control in striving to restore in a eaceful way the historical ustice and to abolish the ast strongholds of colonial domination on the soil of free India, But the colonia. lists, relying on the sup-port of the NATO military bloc, ignored the will of the peoples and created a per-manent threat to the pea-ceful labour of the Indian

"The resolute action of the Indian Government do away with the seats of colonialism in its torritory colonialism in its territory were absolutely lawful and justified. The Soviet people unanimously approve of these actions and wish suc-"The Soviet Union has the consolidation of her always firmly sided and independence."

was an important success in was an important success in the struggle for liquidation of colonialism in the entire world and in the struggle for the establishment of equality and justice in in-ternational relations."

NORTH KOREA

WEN distant Korea in the - north has echoed the sup-port for the measures to libe-rate Goa. A statement of the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Korean People's Democrati north has echoed the People's Democratic Republic is available now. The state-ment says that the Indian Government's measures aimed at liberating Goa are ouite

The Korean people the Government of the Ko-rean People's Democratio 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.

YUGOSLAVIA

V UGOSLAV paper Politika A has written that India, owing to inflexibly adverse attitude by Lisbon was simply forced and provoked to enter Goa with its troops and re-inegrate it with its mainland. The paper says "those who use force always when necessary to preserve colonial posses-sions and interests", and who to preserve colonial posses-slons 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 colo-nialism 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 terriory of independent In-dia is in fact to give support to those forces which, in spite of the course of time, resist Prime Minister Nehra. In a of the course of time, resist telegram, he said that the in a Don-Quixotic manner a elimination of colonialism bistoric necessity and there elimination of colonialism historic necessity and inevi-from the Indian territory tability, concludes Politika.

PAGE FIVE

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.

it.

severely as the brave Goans have for their urge the capture of Goa itself was not possible for the Portuguese without massacre in which bloody 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 everincreasing cruelty and ferocity.

The first Portuguese to set foot on India's soil was one Peru de Covilha, a crafty adturist and personal agent King John II of Portugal. In 1488 he arrived at Canna nore in Kerala on an Arabian trading vessel, disguised as an Arab merchant. From there he visited Calicut, Goa and other ports on the West Coast, gathering information and learning the sea routes to Inved 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 Calicut 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 Janu-ary 1510, a huge flottlla con-sisting of 23 vessels under the command of Albuquerque commenced a blockade of Goa from the Arabian Sea an overdose of cruelty and callousness, they secured a foothold in Gos. But within : few months, the ruler of Bija .pur 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 unquen-chable lust, Albuquerque's soldiers carried out a savage attack killing no less than 60 thousand men. won and children. Daman and Din were pillaged and burnt many times before they were captured.

Though a brave people's esistance was crushed, their resistance was crus spirit could not be smothered Within a few years of folsting their rule, the Portuguese had the taste of people's wrath The population of five villages in South Goa_Ass In South Goa—Assino, Velim, Cuncolim, Veroda and Ambe-lim—revolted. Again in 1664, Rev. Manoel Castro, the Vicar of Bicholim, contacted the great Shivaji for help in the liberation of Goa. The year 1787 is memorable

PAGE SIX

PERHAPS, in a sense, for a revolt led by the priests and helped by the Goan divi-sions in the Portuguese Army: and helped by the Goan divi-sions 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 The blood-thirsty rulers took vengeance by tying the leaders of the revolt to tails of horses and dragging them through away to India, formed a Pro-the streets. But this, instead visional Government in Da-of cooling people's urge for man and ruled Dadra, Nagar freedom, only made them Haveli, Daman and Diu for more determined to achieve

> Of all the earlier tempts, the bravest and the most concerted ones are the series of revolts led by the Ranes. This family, making the supreme sacri-fice in blood and gold, pro-vided a succession of lea-

**** HEROIC SAGA OF GOA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

ders for the revolt. From had at one time recognised from Goa have taken their 1755 to 1912, for over 150 and helped a rebel regime in rightful place in the field of years, the Ranes did not Goa against the Portuguese. arts and thought in modern allow their enslavers peace. Of course, there was no NATO India. 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 Dinaii Rane in 1856. Custobe Desai raised the banner of revolt again in 1869. The Por-tuguese, unable to defeat Custoba openly, employed treachery to arrest him which led to disorganisation of the revolt.

revolt: In 1895, the Maratha Se-poys 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 Gea and announced some reforms, which proved to be only a ruse to deceive. For, no sooner had he left For, no sooner had he left for Portugal, the adminis trators 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

volts of the Ranes in 1912, the Portuguese could not trust their armed might in Goa it-self and fresh troops had to be called in from Mozambique. Mario Savant was killed by treachery and Gill Savant was transported to a Portu-guese 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 Pro-visional Government in Da-man and ruled Dadra, Nagar two years. His regime was re-cognised by the British Gov-ernment. 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 contrustrated venient 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-pay liamentary, anti-democratic, anti-liberal." Establishment of Mussolini-type fascist dictatorship, he declared, was his goal. Thos

ose were the days Those were the days when Hitler and Mussolini were tightening their grip on Europe. Hitler has since gone, but his shadow, un-fortunately, remains. And the United States and Bri-tain who claims to dott tain, who claim to fight ani, who chain to hent against totalitarianism, have no hesitation in pro-tecting 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 subs-tantially to art and culture in India. Numerous painters, musicians, singers, dramatists, writers and intellectuals

With such a preamble, Sa-

lazar's rule was a perfect pla-

gue for even the Portuguese peope. He hunted, persecuted and jalled freedom-loving

Portuguese men and women.

In 1954, four eminent in-

tellectuals, Prof. Ruy Luis

tellectuals, Prof. Ruy Luis Gomez, Portugal's foremost mathematician, Dr. Jose Morgado, another reputed mathematician, Mrs. Vir-ginia Moura, well-known engineer, and Senor Alber-tino Macedo were arrested for demanding freedom for Goa, put on trial and after

Goa, put on trial and after

were rearrested for retrail and conviction. Reputed writers like poet Agostinho Neto, Herminio Marvao and

others were also imprisoned

for propagating freedom for Goa. While Salazar was thus

al movement for indepen-dence under the leadership of

Gandhiji. His leadership in India gave the Goans a new

confidence that an unarmed

people can also fight against

In 1928 was formed the Goa

Congress, Committee under Dr. T. B. Cunha; its branch

was formed in Bombay in

1938 in view of th large num-

the most savage oppressors.

Cunha's Great

Contribution

the period of their sentence

dia, Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opp

laws of the Free State." The national movement paid attention to the develop-ments 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 not only the nationalist, but also Socialist thought preval-ent in India. In this background, the 1942 movemen the INA Revolt, the RIN Mu tiny of 1946-all these created a new upsurge in Goa. On June 18, 1946 the Goan

people launched a mo for civil liberties an ivil liberties and free-They held demonstradom. They held demonstra-tions, 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 isola. ted manner. Soon the implications of the Goan people's unity and solidarity with the Indian people and the mighty force it could generate dawn-

ed on the Portuguese rulers. But instead of accepting it as such with grace, as did the other colonial po-wers, they persisted in greater repression. Lathi-charges, firings, indiscrimi-nate arrests became the nate arrests became the rule. Dr. Cunha, Purushottam Kakodkar and others were conrt-martialled, sen-tenced and deported to Por-

tenced and deported to Por-tugal. In 1949, the Government of India had opened a Legation in Lisbon. In 1950 the Govern-ment tried to take up the question of the transfer of Goa to India with the Portu-guese authorities. But the Salazar regime refused even to talk on the basis of free-dom to Goa and her integracalizar regime refused even to talk on the basis of frée-dom to Goa and her integra-tion with the rest of the coun-try, with the Government of India.

By 1953, Dr. Cunha had been released and had return-ed to Goa. Soon after the in-defatigable fighter formed the Goa Action Committee to unite all parties and groups in Goa working for its libera-tion and integration with India. Though this is no place to evaluate the great work done by Dr. Cunha for Goan freedom, an unqualified ap-preciation 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 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 enturies of revolts, supres-lons and the consequent sufferings; a victorious rising of the people of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. 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 refer-ence to the International Court of Justice at the Hague other parts of the country. The fact that Daman and The fact that Daman shu Dlu and Goa were insepara-ble parts of India became more vivid and meaningfal to such an extent that Gan-dhiji made his historic profailed miserably. In 1961 Dadra and Nagar Hayeli be-

* SEE PAGE 14 DECEMBER 31. 1981

What Congress Did **To Civil Liberaties**

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 important during the lathi blows and imprisonment during British Raj.

according to Hindu, "The Preventive Detention Act was just an instrument to impose on others the will

to prevent. "Dange said that the figu-

the people had been detain-

"An Opposition member:

Report continued "not a

and the like had been ap-prehended under this Act.

All those activities were supposed to be normal, causing normal unemploy-

ment, normal starvation and normal death".

and to save democracy from be-coming worse and worse", he said.

"Dange referred to the use

of the Act to arrest Commu-

nist and other Opposition lea-ders including himself on the

eve of the announcement con-

cerning bilingual Bombay State and said the only pur-

impose certain decisions on the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat against the

wishes of the vast majorit

only provoked the people and

there. But these arrests

pose of these arrests

ed.

H E has written about the painful conditions in which prisoners languished in the jails at that time. He has the painful country of the set of three years, said that the powers under the. Act, used with great caution, has set the jails at that time he has with great Cauton, had ser-graphically described how ved a useful purpose in secur-savagely, the police baton- ing peaceful existence to the charged the demonstration vast population of the coun-against the Simon Commis-try against mischlevous ele-sion. He was himself a vic.

Nehru's Words

Writing about the hated Rowlatt Act Pandit Nehru observes in his Autobiography, "a wave of anger gre em all over India and res 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 Moderates joined in this and opposed the measures 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." 'Hoarders of rice are Con-gressmen'."

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 ernment, in the teeth of the unanimous public opi-nion, pushed through a law which they themselves never used afterwards and thus invited an upheaval. One might almost think, that the object of the mea-sures was to bring trouble." Dange's Indictment "These were not treated as anti-social activities at all. If, however, a worker struck work to fight for his rights, 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 such an act at once h hated Rowlatt Act is no n 'abnormal' and Preventive Detention was brought into play. If these are the values on the statute book. But then there are provisions, almost identical provisions, giving which are going to prevail, . then these acts are not going

"the most far-reaching po-

wers to the magistrates

Blackest Of Black Acts

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

I have before me reports of me of these discus ions, and give here some extracts from e of them which clearly demarcate those who are tram-pling, civil liberties from others who want to guard them as apple of their eves. Bindu December 10, 1957 rerts a discussion in the Lok

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

DECEMBER 31, 1961

Government had come down upon them with firing and Dange described the appear before Courts... sions in the Act relating to the power of revision of cases "The other officer was sur-prised that more powers should be asked for when the the power of revision as "a by advisory board as "a farce". He concluded by saypolice already possessed when the powers. It was "gross abuse" of their powers by the police which discouraged self-resing that there was no need-for the Act. "If the Govern-ment really wanted to curb the activities of anti-social pecting persons. (why only self-respecting?) from going elements, it could do so by invoking the laws of the invoking near a police station".

and", the report said. The Communist stand on the Preventive Detention Act was also amplified by Sadhan

NEW AGE

at that time! Thus, the long period of more than two centuries is full of bitter fights, revolts and rebellions. These revolts show the indomitable will of the brave Goans to throw off the alien yoke.

But the Goan people worked under two very serious handicaps. Firstly, they had handicaps. Firsuy, hand isolated from the me and had to f land of India and had to fight the battle mostly single-handed. Secondly, the Portu-guese were the crudest and most savage enslavers that ever held a people under subjugation

It is savagery that helped is small, backward, in trially underdeveloped European nation to becom the "third biggest empire", the colonies being 25 times the size of the "mother tightening the noose in the colonies and repressing the patriotic Portuguese people, new developments had taken place in India. Foremost was the rise of a powerful nationcountry".

For a short period after 1910 when a Republican re-gime held sway in Lisbon, the people of Goa fondly hoped to see themselves free soon But towards the close of the twenties, Salazar had firmly taken the reins of power and within a few days he made it clear that all hopes of early freedom for Porugal's colon ere futile.

True to salt. Salarar called on his hangmen in nn-mistakable, if somewhat shameless terms, "to fulfil their historic missi of possessing and colonising overseas dominions and of civilising the native popula-

tions..." Maintaining existing colonles and capturing new ones and "civilising" them became a historic mission for the

Portuguese armies. About the type of rule he foisted on the people, Salazar candidly admitted: "Our dic-tatorship obviously resembles



stated that the Kerala State had informed the Central Government that they did not want the Preventive Detention Act.

And this was shown in practice too. While the

nents." Police methods in India Against this Dange said, have long been suspect; in according to Hindu,, pelitical matters they are "The Preventive Detention doubly so. At was just an instrument

--Pandit Nehru (An Autoblography)

of a single political party and its dictatorship. The Act had not prevented, only promoted, what the Government wanted time when his words used to electrify the whole of the country. One does not know whether Panditji still holds this view about the Indian police.

Although Prime Minister Attougn Prime Minister these days does not describe the police or its methods in these words but more and more they are being echoed throughout the length and breadth of the country and from responsible quarters too.

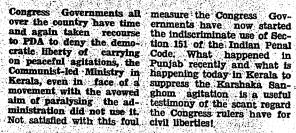
Report continued not a single speculator or anti-social element indulging in shady deals in the Stock Exchange and creating mediately the question arises who is responsible for them? who is responsible for them? This certainly is an important question. While an individual police officer may be respon-sible for a particular case of 'excess', as a matter of fact ti becomes possible only be-cause of the existence of cer-tain laws, for which in the ultimate analysis the Government is responsible.

Public-Police Relations

The problem of public-police relations was one of the subjects discussed at the first Police Science Congress held at Patna in July 1960. Observer, in Times of India of

officers in this connection: "One of them wondered whether it was at all possi-ble for police-public rela-tions to improve when the laws the police had to ad-minister were the same as enabled the British to re-tain their hold on this country. The police were given wide powers; they could deprive a citizen of his fundamental rights on mere suspicion. Nothing mere suspicion. Nothing could speak more eloquently of what this than the fact that in this country witnesses did not

But even in the fifteenth year of freedom the Congress rulers have not been able to stop the gross abuse of po-wers. On the contrary they go Gupta. He pointed out to the Lok on arming the police with Sabha that the Chief Minister more and more powers.



LEST WE FORGET The Bloody Record

EXPOSURES

🚍 ★ by O. P. MEHROTRA 🛧

66 THE day of the sword and the gun is gone for ever.... Public workers may carry on their agitatio any reasonable issue, but they should see to it that violence is not resorted to at any stage.

"So also the Gover must also resolve never to resort to gen. in dealing with the country's affairs. There should be no firing at all, no-thing of the kind."

sort to gun, in dealing with the country's affairs. There should be no firing at all, no-thing of the kind." That is the advice Acharya given on July 22, 1954 at six miles from Muzzaffarpur (Bihar) referring to the tra-gic news of a firing at Indore. (Bihar) referring to the tra-gic 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 Rash-trapati Dr. Rajendra Prasad himself expressed the popu-lar uncasiness when in Nov-ember 1960 he semanted is ember 1960 he remarked in the Governor's conference that there had been more po-lice 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 kill-ed and as many as 3137 injured. As many as 840 fir-ings were on demonstraings were on demonstra-tions, on crowds of a politi-cal nature. Students and workers faced bullets on 30 and 50 occasions respectively.

The survey, according to the author was far from com-

Firings Galore

Some of our comrades have tried to tabulate available in-formation about police firings during 1957, 1958, 1960 and 1961 (upto August 1, 1961). According to them during these 56 months, there were 14 instances of police firings in the country resulting the death of 205 persons ar resulting in

injuries to numerous others. The total number of injur ed cannot be fully accounted for since many Press reports only say "several" in without specifying the num-

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 citien succumbed to police bullets. And almost every day one person has been injured by police bul-There were 12 firings on.

workers, killing 26 and injur ing 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 killed, while

were injured.

men 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. Six-teen were killed and several injured, of whom 14 were

injured, of whom 14 were accounted for. Harijans 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 democratic demands were suppressed by police firings on eight or cluded the struggle of the Gujarati people for the for-mation of the linguistic state of Gujarat, the food move-ments in Calcuta and U. P., the anti-betterment levy struggle of the Punjab peasantry, etc.

Eightyseven people killed in these firings several hundreds were injur-ed of whom 104 were counted.

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PAGE SEVEN

ALWAYS WITH YOU, FOR CONSOLIDATION OF INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE

Brezhnev's Message

Soviet President L. L. 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 coopera-tion 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 by the fact that the people of in his honour at Madras on December 24, L. I. Brezh-India highly value the econonev 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. Bajendra 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.

I T is not many years since tions for speedy and all-round India won her independ- development of economy.

ence. 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 nation-al economy, utilising the achievements of modern sci-ence and technology and im-proving popular education and public health.

The Indian people, under he leadership of the Government of the Republic headed by the outstanding states-man Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, pay great attention to the development of national heavy industry — the backbone of the national economy—which is creating necessary condiIt is not only the ancient temples with their intricate architecture and ornamental nillars but the light of

glowing open-hearths of Bhilai and Bhakra Nangal with its powerful hydraulic turbines that attract the attention of people who who come to your country. However beautiful India may be with her monu-ments of the past, she looks even more beautiful today in her new dress wherein plants and factories, dams and hydro-nower stations. mines and oil derricks, schools and hospitals figure We are very much gratified



India highly value the econo-mic and technical co-opera-tion between our two coun-tries and the assistance which the Soviet Union is rendering the establishment India's national industry.

Economic Co-operation

The light from the open-nearths and blast-furnaces of hearths and blast-iumate in the iron and steel glants in Cambay and Ankleshwar, the rising structures of the heavy engineering plants in Ranchi and the coal mines in Korba and the coal mines in Korba are the wonderful fruits of the friendly co-operation be-tween 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. We saw with what enthusiasm they are working, striving to compl period of 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

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

Six years ago, speaking at a meeting in your city, Nikita Sergeyevich Khru-shchov 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

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 colo-nial system is our internationduty. Soviet people welcome with profound satisfaction the development of busi-ness-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,

Programme of building in our country the most advanced and just society—commu-

The implementation of such a programme will first of all signify an unprecedented up-lift 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 peo-ple have been living in the name of their great cause will be rewarded a hundredwill be rewarded a hundred-fold. Being inspired with these historic decisions, onr people have enthusiastical-ly commenced the imple-mentation 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 Colonialism on earth the Soviet Government as early as in 1959 put forward a historic proposal: "To adopt a programme of general and complete dis-

an international agreement tion of imperialism." on general and complete dis-armament under strict inter-national control. Therefore colonialism is doomed, and the cause of national "liberation of the

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 colo-nialism 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 whole-heartedly with you when you rejo ce over the liberation of Goa, Daman and Din from the domination of the Portuguese colonialist

The Soviet people un-animously support the re-solute action of the Govern-ment of India to liquidate the last vestiges of colo-nialism on its territory.

Soviet Government, N. S. Khrushchov, in his telegram sent a few days ago to the Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehrn, has asse ed 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 adopted the

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 mea-sures 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, reabout friendship, and, re-nouncing colonialism in words, are trying in fact to hamner by all means the liquidation of the last bases of their sys-tem of plunder. Becent events have once people of this great city.

again convincingly shown that one of the main tasks of the imperialistic military blocs, NATO, CENTO and others, is the defence of colonialism and the fight against the national libera-tion movement of the peo-ples.

was lined; with lahks of peo-ple, drawn from all ages, sec-tism and freedom-loving for-support of the world and it has been the world and it has been supported by the majority of states of the world. Now our two countries along with other peace-loving coun-tries are making every effort active participants of inter-to achieve the implementa-national politice the world and it states the crowd was sovereign states "have arisen to achieve the implementa-to achieve the implementa-tota achieve the implementa-to achieve the im

peoples will triumph everywhere.

The population of the Indian territory liberated from the Portuguese don from the Portuguese domi-nation 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 grea 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 im portance

I cannot help remembering the words of Nikita Sergeye-vich Khrushchov who in the same speech here in Madra which I have already referred

to, said: "If we use wisely the power of our friendship and unite our efforts in the sruggle for peace, no force which seeks to unleash new war, will pose threat, the will be brushed aside an peace will be secured." So let us strengthen th Soviet-Indian friendship e more for the benefit of ou people, in the name of happi less of mankind, in the na

of peace. May peace prevail in th whole world! Namaskaram!

Magnificent Welcome

* From Jnan Bikash Moitra

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.

a great humanist and a towering literary figure had

lived. He presented, as a token of Indo-Soviet friend-ship, 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 Desember on December 20

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 con-sistent support to India's just cause for the "final liquida-

tion of the remnants of all

elimination of the last ves-tiges of Portuguese colonial

domination in Goa, Daman and Diu."

forms of colonialism for

THE full-throated support of the Soviet Union to the military action for the final liquidation of foreign colonial 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 Boot domination in Gos. Daman and Diu and the evercise o the veto by the Soviet Union to frustrate the Anglo-Ameri-Poet. can conspiracy in the Security Council against the liberation of these Portuguese colonies formed a filling background to one of the most heart-

And at all functions where Brezhnev spoke, he repeated-ly 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.

- hamper this movement on whose side is the law of his-tory and the support of the mighty world camp of social-ism and freedom-loving for-ces of the world. As it is stated in the new Propert

"You are well aware that the Soviet country and its entire people are fully on the side of India in this people thunderously cheered him with: "Long live Indo-Soviet friendship." just cause", he added. Referring to Indo-Soviet co-peration in trade, in econo-

DEVELOP NATIONAL OIL INDUSTRY

VISITING Ankleshwar on December 19, President Brezhnev said in foreign experts, invited to India to prospect oil deposits, maintained that India did not 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. Life has convincingly re-futed these assertions, which seem to have covered the desire of certain oil mono-polles of the West to retain India as a profitable market 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 pros-perity of the Indian people.

In our epoch of the rapid development of industry, tran-sportation 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 po-wer. Without oil products engines, cars and aircraft can-

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

for selling oil and as a source of profits-rather than any lack of technical knowledge on the part of A 38020 Word To those experts. Countrymen As we were told in Delhi, the Government of India, headed by the outstanding political figure and statesman Prime Minister Jawaharlal And as to our countryme whom I see here, we have brought them the warmest greetings of their motherland. Nehru, attaching great significance to oll in the deve You probably have heard ment of the country's state much about the work of the 22nd Congress of; our Party and that these aspirations of industry had taken steps to create the dome oil industry and paid partipopular masses cherished throughout centuries are now cular attention to prospecting the deposits of oil, gas and other natural resources of the embodied in the Programme of our Party which has already come into effect and become the law of our people's life.

country. We are very much pleased not be put to use and many to note that in the course of factories and mills will have their friendly co-operation 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 It was not at once that the both here in Ankleshwar and people of India managed to in other regions of India.

You probably know, dear friends, that the head of the

ic 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 sloving such impor-tant international problems as general and complete dis-armament, elimination of the vestiges of the colonial system and others are of g importance for the cause of universal peace." Describing Indo-Soviet trade as "our friendship in action",

Poet. Describing Indo-Soviet trade After paying his homage to Tagore, Fresident Bresh-nev told Pressmen that he was glad for having got the house where a sincere friend of the Soviet Union, a great humanist and a Describing Indo-Soviet trade as "our friendship in action", he said that Soviet ships brought to Calcutta indus-trial equipment, agricultural, road-building and construc-tion machines, and also diffe-friend of the Soviet Union, a great humanist and a They 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 epochmaking Programme, recently adopted by the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, he said that the implementation of the programme would provide an unprecedented unlift of the Soviet productive forces and create material abundance for

the Soviet people. "With each year of im-"With each year of im-plementation of the pro-gramme 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 resid-

ence as a sacred place for the Indian people, and especially for the people of the metro-polis, 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 tremen-dous ovation from thousands of people, who lined all the routes along which he passed. Folices 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," "Cong live Indo-Soviet friend-ship" and "Long live the ship" and "Long live the Soviet President".

In the afternoon, over 15.000 people attended the Civic Reception given by Calcutta Corporation at Rabindra Saro-bar Stadium. The admission was by cards, and thousands of people had to go away dis-appointed.

Welcoming President Brezh nev as the "noble leader of the great State", 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 the

inter-stellar cosmos has yield-ed 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 nemories of natriots number less!"

Replying to the welcome address, the Soviet President said that although they were in Calcutta for the first th

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. with thunderous clapping were the glorious traditions of Calcutta, Soviet Union's stand 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 recention given at

At a reception given at the Raj Bhavan by the the Raj Bhavan by the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society (ISCUS), Dr. Suniti 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 Mu-kherjee, Editor of the Bengali daily "Yugantar", said: "If there is any sincere "If there is any sincero friend of India in the inter-national 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 conspiracy to imperialists' for its just action in Goa. He emphasised that Indo-Soviet emphasised that Indo-Soviet friendship was not just something formal; it had helped India to consolidate its inde-India to cons ndence and sovereignty.

find the keys to this wealth I think that no one will hidden in the depths of their deny the fact that all of you, land, I was told that some both Indian and Soviet ex-invited to perts and oil-workers, are doperts and oil-workers, are do-ing here a big useful job for the entire Indian people, for possess any oil deposits at all. India by creating national Life has convincingly re- heavy industry.

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

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

duction of oil in 1962 by more than 19 million tons, thus bringing the total oll produc-tion 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 seve-ral 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 minutes of oll, i.e., four times as much as is produced at pre-

But, dear friends, socialism and, more so, commu nism means more than hism means more than merely material well-being. They also mean an incom-parably higher stage of democracy, culture, public morals and human rela-tions right. It is in the tions which will be ba ed 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 In-dian and Soviet workers and experts, your joint work will continue in an atmosphere of sincere cordiality and friend. ship, and that will contribute to further strengthening of friendship between our peo-

JAMSHEDPUR / PREPARES

Ajoy Ghosh Launches Campaign

Avenge the bullets with the ballot in 1962—thus, election plan in their city and resounded the slogan, the echo of ten thousand hearts in the Bari Maidan, Jamshedpur, on Decem-ber 10, when Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, the General Se-cretary of the CPL, 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.

background, hummed with new life.

Party after a long time. Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, of course, was visiting Jamshed-pur after about ten years. prominent Communist of Bibar Comrade Chandra Shekhar Singh was there. And what was no less uni-

que was the presence of all the leaders of the Jamshedthe leaders of the Jamshed-pur Mazdoor Union and the Party in the district. Com-rades Kedar Das, Ali Amjad, Barin Day, Satyanarain Sin-gh, Ramavtar Singh and Dr. U. Misra—all were there, all who had been sought to be put behind the bars on one harge or another

Each of the fire second

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I T was not only the inau-gural meeting of the Com-munist election campaign, bail which despite all the but the first meeting of the but the first meeting of the composition on the part of Party after a long time. Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, of ment, the High Court had remited granted. With the hearing of their

appeal in the High Court, an-other chapter of their battle for legal defence was over. The whole of Jamahedpur was now waiting for the judge-ment which was reserved. The ten thousand workers who came to the rally included many new/ faces. They dar Das, Ali Amjad, y, Satyanarain Sin-avtar Singh and Dr. -all were there, all been sought to be nd the bars on one r another. of the five accused conspiracy case had

Jamshedpur Maxdoor Union (JMU) and the Communist Party, had stood by the Party and the Union during the hard days of the strug gle and the still harde 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 490 of their conrades and the arrest and persecution of all their prominent leaders. Workers'

BCY.

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

It was their perseverence 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 in-crease to the lowest paid workers, permanent jobs for all those serving as temporary hands till 1957, a monthly addition of Rs. 8.00 to the DA, conversion of weekly paid to monthly paid workers, abolition of senior-The organisational machinery, workers, abolition of senior-The organisational struc-jutior classification among ture of their Union used to be the clerical staff and the based on the departments in upgrading of their maxi-the Works. For the purposes:

ment or as the result of the the Company and its Union. Then the Company and its Union, the INTUC-affiliated TWU, And I

They recognise each one of these concessions as the be-lated 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 atas These

concessions further hened the confidence strengthened the confidence of the workers in the justice of their struggle and in the correctness of the de 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 con-ceded. 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 al-ready nullified. Moreover, the JMU's warning regarding the increased workload has come true

Increased

Workload

While production in TIS-CO has gone up from 10 to CO 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 unindate technique of more uptodate technique of the new, extended plant. For in the old workshop, where five worked formerly, now only two or at most three worked.

Despite the repressive reestablished after 1058 the workers are not indiffer-ent to the increased work-

Finally, in view of all that had happened, the Company's refusal to recognize 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 This was the situation, the

workers' mood and attitude in which they came to the Com-

nist Party's election raily on De mber 10.

Far from the morale of 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 stremethened. strengthened.

But the battle this time is different - And the workers, too, after the experience of the combined attack and the Government and the IN-TUC have grown more cau-tious. They are taking every precaution to strengthen their precaution to strengenery. organisational machinery.

the derical staff and the based on the departments in upgrading of their mari-mam pay from Rs. 130.00 of the elections, however, it to Rs. 250.00 per month has to be replaced by one went a considerable way to-wards fulfilling the econo-mic demands for which the workers had been forced to fight in 1958. No attempt by the Tatas and the INTUC Union to pre-sent these concessions as the magnanimity of the manage-others.

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 Jamshednur

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 unfav-ourable for them. The workers who attended he inaugural election rally

on December 10, and those who did not, are all determin-ed 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 Jugsalai (in Jamshedpur

Ali Amjad Ghatshila (scheduled 3. tribe): Basta Soren

4. Potka (scheduled tribe): Bhim Murmu. Parliament: Dr. Udaykar Misra.

JAMSHEDPUR: in the last eneral election in 1957, the communist Party had obtained a majority of votes in the two Jamshednur consti cies Jamshedpur and Jugsa-lai-taken together. The Party had polled more than 25,000 votes as against the 22,000 polled by the Congress candidates.

candidates. But while Kedar Das had won by a majority of a little less than 3,000 votes; Dr. U. Misra had lost in Jugsalal by about 700 votes. The winning * ON FACING PAGE

DECEMBER 31, 1961

FOR ELECTION BATTLECommunist Candidates For Assembly



OMRADE KEDAR DAS, the communist candi-date from Jamshedpur, is

Jamshedpur. Bald headed with a workers coat hang-ing over the shoulders and a dhoti over his short legs

-he is as much a part of

Jamshedpur as the TISCO works itself.

In 1943 he became

president.

shedpur Mazdoo

He is out on bail awaitthe President of the Jam. ing the Patna High Court Union Judgement on his appeal. 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

nrisonment.

C OMRADE ALI AMJAD, the Communist candi-date from Jugsalai, is the secretary of the Singh-bhum District Council of the CPI. The workers of Jumphadum Jamshedpur expressed their confidence in his efficient leadership when they insisted on electing him also the general secre-tary of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union.

sence. He was released on August 15, 1947.

In February 1948 he was again arrested and detain-ed for his leadership of the

Jhingpani Cement workers

strike. He was released in 1949. Thereafter he re-mained underground till

On his return he found-ed the Jamshedpur Maz-door Union in 1952 and be-

came its first general se-cretary. After the TISCO strike in 1958 he was pro-secuted for criminal cons-

piracy and rioting and sentenced to 4 years im-

1951.

Hailing from a small vil-lage in Madhubani in Dar-bhanga, Kedar Das follow-ed his elder brother to join In the forties he helped organise the trade union movement in Bihar Sharif as also in Katihar. He was arrested many times for as a clerk in the Tinnlate der member and General Secretary of the Golmuri



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 work-ers who had laid down before the police van carrying

Congress candidate was the 8,000 votes and lost. But of INTUC leader V. G. Gopal. these he obtained 6,000 in the It was only in the period area which is now the reserved Ghatshila constituency.

munist Party emerged as the major mass force in the life of the workers of Jam-Since then the working class movement under the leadership of the Commu-nist Party has spread to the industrial and mining areas in the constituency. Workers in Maubhandar shedpur. It was in this period that the greatest mass actions by workers took place and majority of workers in Jamshedpur were actively mobilised under the copper factory and in Mosa-bani copper mines together numbering more than 10 thousand have been organisleadership of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union and the r Mazdoor communist Party. ed in trade unions. Over-GHATSHILA:

other constituency which the Party had contested in 1957 a which was then ember constituas Ghatshila which wa double-member co ency. The Communist candi-

But in May 12, 1947 Kedar Das was arrested under the Defence of India

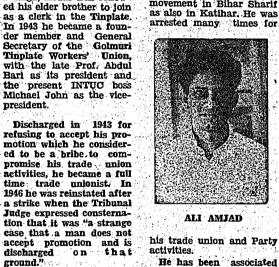
Rules and the Company hastened to get rid of him

on the charge of long ab-

after 1957 that the Com-

whelming majority of them are Adivasi workers who come from the neighbouring villages. Moreover, the Kisan Sabha date Basta Soren obtained unit in Ghatshila is the

DECEMBER 31, 1961



PAGE TEN

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA

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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 A 33 per cent wage in-

him and sought to prevent his removal to jail.

For more than two years, together with all the other leaders of the JMU, All Anjad was in jall standing trial for various cases arising out of the May 1958 TISCO strike. The Session Judge senten-ced him with five other leaders of the JMU to four years imprisonment for criminal conspiracy.

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

C OMRADE BASTA SO-REN is the Communist candidate from Ghatshila 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 mise-ry, and the social and cultural oppression, he resol-ved to fight against all this. This brought him to the Communist Party in 1944 while he was still a student of class VL

He became a member of the Party in 1947.

In 1946 he participated n his first ma ss movement for the forest rights his people had always enjoyed but which were now sought to be denied to them. He suc-ceeded in getting 500 acres of cultivated land in the forest released to the pea-sants in 1947.

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

During the underground ne 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 1956 he was one of the organisers of the satya-

oldest in the district. Its activities, membership and influence have been conti-nually increasing. There are Communist mukhiyas in three gram panchayats in the Ghatshila constituency.

THE PARLIAMENTARY. CONSTITUENCY includes, be-sides the four Assembly cons-tituencies from which Party candidates are contesting, two more Assembly constituencies of Baharagora and Saraikella. These two constituencies are bordering on Orissa and they include also large Oriya-speaking population-about 20 per cent in Baharagora and 50 per cent in Saraikella.

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 his gram panchayat w d to with a thumping majority des-pite repeated attempts at ts at tampering with the ballot boxes and nullification of election results.



DR. UDAYAKAR MISRA, , the prominent commu-nist and trade union leader of Jamshednur, medical practitioner and commu-nist candidate for the Jam-shedpur 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 noncooperation movement while still at school. He attended his first Congress session at Gaya in 1924 as a volunteer.

volunteer. Four years later he was elected a delegate to the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1928 and sub-

sequently 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 Commit-tee 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 E. D. Bharadwaj who had appeared from the underappeared from the under-ground 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.

that Dr. Misra met M. N. Roy who advised him to read books on Marxism read books on Marxism which ultimately led him to the Communist Party, He joined the Party in 1945. After the great strike of 1958 the Tatas dismissed him from service in the Company's Hospital.

BASTA SOREN

completely self-made man. Born of poor parents he never accepted help from any quarters but always believed in working and earning his way through. In his early days he has hawked newspapers, work-ed as a loading coolie on railway sidings, drove



UDAYAKAR MISRA

worked as a domestic ser-vant—in the house of Netali Subhas Bose at Cut-

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

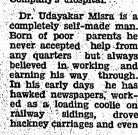
set up any candidates from these two Assembly, consti-tuencies, the Parliamentary candidate Dr. Udaykar Misra has been intimately connected with the social and political movements in this area. As long back as ins area. As long back as 1936-37 Dr. Misra was one of the prominent leaders of the Praja Mandal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

In 1957 the victory of the Congress candidate from this Parliamentary constituency over D'Costa (of the Eastern Though the Communist Economist) standing on Jhar- ness. But. Party has not decided to khand ticket was decided by different.

the 40 thousand votes in the two Assembly constituencies in Jamshedpur town. It is in Jamshedpur town. It is notable that from these consnotable that from these cons-tituencies, the two Congress candidates for the Assembly together polled only 22 thou-sand votes while the Con-gress candidate for Parliament polled more than 40 thousand votes

Since in 1957 there was no communist candidate for Parliament from this constituency 18 thousand Commu nist Party supporters for the Congress can for Parliament in order to ensure the defeat of D'Costa. the spokesman of Big Business. But now the situation is

PAGE ELEVEN



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.

CONSTRUCTION OF UP-TO-DATE

HE 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

INDUSTRIAL PLANTS

on all counts to be invulnerable And so the local congressmen turned unscrupulous Tammany Hall tacticians have devised a new way though now this is also be-

coming common in the State, to humble and defeat the acknowledged leader of Malihahad The District Magistrate of Lucknow has addressed a let-ter to Ahmad Wali Khan in which he has said, "Whereas it has been re-ported to me by Malihabad

police that you associate with bad characters and criminals and help them in their nefari-ous 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 licènce for a gun.

"Your licence No. 11158 for .28 bore gun has therefore been suspended and you are .28 bore gun has 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 Maliha-bad police 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 Wali Wali Khan was not asked any-thing in connection with them.

nor has he been provided with this policeman because for any charge-sheet of this ex-tremely irresponsible and slan-nor allegation.

Ahmad Wali Khan is not only the beloved Chairman of the Malihabad Town Area for the the last eight years; he is also a member of the Antarim Zila a member of the Antarim Zila Parishad, Lucknow, he is also the Manager of the only Higher condary School in Maliha-id,' the Mahatma Gandhi igher Secondary School; and had the Higher Sec 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 sary respect? fo to show necessa 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 no 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

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

and protection lie. Then why have the authori-ties and those who are behind them taken resort to this strategem? They are doing this with a view to discredit Sri vith a 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 n made against him and he has been the subject of much controversy even among conmen. 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 Minis-ter 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 in a close groupman of Chief Minister Gu When Gupta himself had inter-vehed and stopped his transfer this had caused bad blood between Gupta and Charan

ingh. Ahmad Wall 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 officer wants to this officer wants to show the to the people of Maliha-bad, what is really obvious to all the people of at least U.P., that he can do anything and no people's leader, however poular he may be, can stand up and succeed against the State's all-mighty police! The local an are

this can serve as a typical ex ample 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 ap-pointments of officials are being made with a view to gain advantages in the coming general elections

No Isolated Instance

Even ex-Minister Mohan Lol

Gautam had to complain in the State Assembly on November 16. that "the services have been paralysed by the new govern-ment. 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 Fi-nance Minister (Har Govind Singh) has told several officers that he would get them appointed as district magis-trate of Jaunpur if they pro-mise to work there according to his wishes. (Cries of shame, shame from the opposition benches)," (Nation-al 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 fur-ther, because this seems to be the most essential industry for the maintenance of the Congress rai) and there are public charges that these appoint-ments also are being made with political and group considerations. For this reason. the appointments are generally to be made on temporary that is without selection by the Public Service Commission

If the country's democratic nstitutions are not to be hurt and destroyed beyond repair, such ugly tactics should be such ugly tactics should be brought to the notice of the whole country and its demo-cratic public opinion and people should be mobilised t sist them.

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN LITERATURE

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DECEMBER 31, 1961

OIL-The Break Through

When India's first oil refinery in the public sector inaugurated by the Prime Minister at Nunmati ar Gauhati in Assam) on January 1, 1962 it will will worked to be even greater than the town of Ankleshwar 163,700 metric tons of kero-sene, 183,500 metric tons of diesel oils, 160,200 metric tons of diesel oils, 160,200 metric tons is inaugurated by the Prime Minister at Nunmati (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. India's national oil industry. not get oil anywhere but even the technical data collected at our expense were sent off to the USA first. The extent of India's dependence on the foreign oil monopolies and the rapacity of her exploitation by them can be gauged from the fact that Rs. 100 crores annually, amounting to over 12 per cent of the entire expenditure on sill imports, were being spent on oil imports. A group of monopolies be-longing to an international

For example, in the 18 months ending June 1956,

foreign oil monopolies operat-ing in India transferred 520 crores of rupees abroad as profits.

alternative but to develop the

State sector in the oil indus-

It was in 1955 that the Oil

was founded and India enter-ed into agreement with the

Soviet Union for assistance in

try. Unlike the agreements imposed by the Western oil companies this involved no

infringement on national

sovereignty, nor did it make any demands for granting

concessions, shares, and so

the construction of enter-

prises by India herself and a

free share of the Soviet know-how in the exploitation

According to the agree-

ment the Soviet Union was

to hand over free of charge blueprints and specifica-tions of technological pro-

cesses. All credits for the

development of oil extract-

ing and oil refining indus-tries were granted by the Soviet Union at an extre-

mely low rate of interest

(2.5 per cent) and on extre-

In accordance with the

carried out prospecting work

in India and reported the

presence of oil in the coun-

mercial importance in the re-

gion of the Gulf of Cambay

try in the spring of 1956.

ent, Soviet specialists

mely easy terms.

of the oil wealth.

Cooperation

Soviet

The agreement envisaged

on.

the development of oil indus

try as rapidly as possible.

and Natural Gas Commis

The cost accountant in-

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 re-finery at Digbol. There was no question of a "public" sector" then and that small-refinery was naturally Brirefinery was naturally Bri-

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 refine-ries which can only be des-cribed as detrimental to national interests.

A group of monopolies be-longing to an international oil consortium had in their grip all the channels of Indian liquid fuel supplies, reaping huge profits from the trade in oil products in the Indian market. For, not only were the forign companies granted inorate concessions but, taking advantage of those agree-ments they in subsequent years spread their tentacles and entrenched themselves in the country in such a vital sector as oil

vestigating financial affairs of the oil companies on instructions of the Govern-Between 1954 and 1957, hree refineries, owned by surmah-Shell, Stanvac and Burmah-Shell. Stanyac ment of India in 1959 de-Caltex came into being. The clared in his report that the profits received by foreign monopolies in India were the highest drawn by any stipulated refining capacity for them was 5.1 million tons of crude oil. Surreptitiously and in violation of the agreeoil company anywhere in the world. ments they increased their capacity so that it stands to-day at 6.1 million tons. For sheer self-preservation and release from this octopus grip, for creating the elemen-tary openings for her indus-trial growth, India had no

Socialist

Ald

It was only with the emergence and beginning of the utilisation of the possibilities of collabora-tion 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 sec-tor, covering its entire range from exploration and pro-duction 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 oppo-sition and the devastating sabotage of the foreign oil companies which had been allowed to entrench them-selves

selves. First of all these foreign companies and their so-called experts would never let the people of this country believe that oil deposits could be found in India.

As recently as 1958 a former "oil adviser to the Govern-ment of India" a certain American geologist called Henry Carter Ray wrote in the U.S. Oil and Gas Journal: "India is a second-rate coun-try in terms of oil supplies, except in the already explored Assam area. Geological survey shows that there is little likelihood of winning oil in considerable quantities". Flowing from this attitude

was the performance of these foreign companies. It was in 1950 that the Government of India entered into an agreement with the Stanvac, who undertook to prospect for oil in the Bengal basin.

In September 1958 Indian oil specialists working jointly with their Soviet colleagues discovered oil deposits of com-During the ten years that followed. crores of rupees were wasted with absolutely no results. Not only did we In the sur In the summer of 1960; re-ports came that oil was struck

DECEMBER 31, 1961



PACIE TWELVE

NEW AGE



in Cambay. Thanks to Soviet and

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

It is as part of this con-It is as part of this con-tinuous and sharpening struggle between the for-eign monopolies hitherto dominating India's oil sup-ply, production and refining and the emerging. State sec-tor now developing with socialist aid, that the com-missioning of the first remissioning of the first refinery in public sector has to be seen. It is in this background that this event ac-quires tremendous signific-

Built with the technical stance of the Rumanian People's Republic, which gran-People's hepublic, which gran-ted a long-term credit of Rs. 5.6 crores, the Gauhati refi-nery will process seventy-five lakh tons of crude oil from Naharkotiya and Moran oil fields

the

of gasoline, 113,200 metric tons of furnace oil and 129 400 metric tons of other products like coke aromex.

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

Besides the long-term cre-dit of Rs. 5.6 crores granted a nominal interest of 2.5 per cent and repayable in phases, the Ruman n autho phases, the Rumanian autho-ritles 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 training in Rumania

Within a year of the comioning of the Gauhati refinery, the second refinery in the public sector will also go into production. This is the Barauni refinery being erect-ed with Soviet assistance. It will have a capacity of two When fully commissioned he refinery will produce in the public sector, also with

BY ZIAUL HAO

Soviet assistance and with capacity of another two mil-lion tons is planned to be set up in Gujarat by the end of the Third Plan. Even then the refining

capacity in the public sec-tor will be only 4.75 million tons, while the capacity of the foreign companies' re-fineries even today stands at 6.1 million tons. To stop the drainage of national wealth and to see that the entire refining capacity ser-ves 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 manie support from all sections of the House, is further proof that the proposal is urgent-ly called for in national interest.

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

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 be-tween Rumania and India, an evidence of the way an evidence of the way friendship and under-standing between our peo-ples can help them to mutually develop their nettonal commu national economy.

The first drops of petrol, kerosene or fuel oil consti-tute 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

NEW AGE

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 ba 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 frame-work 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 countr an arrangement through which India is to deliver to Rumania till 1966 growing amounts of iron ore which present a great aid for Rumanian economy, receiving in exchange oil equip-ment, complete installations for various factories and works and various types of equipment, oil products, etc.

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

mania and was, nut, 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 Jwalamphhi

Rumania has contributed to the setting up and deve-lopment of the India State oll industry for the refin-ing of crude oil, by export-ing 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 exam-ple of Rumanian-Indian cooperation and friendship.

But that is not all. We must know that the Rumanian engineers and techniclans came to India to help with the assembling and putting into operation of the equipment of the Gau-hati 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 thi way too their sympathy for the Indian people.

Indian-Rumanian coope. ration represents an ample of the multiple and ample or interesting possibilities en-inved by the two countries the mutual advantages which results from relations based on friendship, mutual understanding and a sincere wish to cooperate.

PAGE THIRTEEN

End Contractors' Rai 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 carry-ing 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 or is not Government and those responsible for running it are not Government ser vants in the strict sense of

"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 bure cratic 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 ple-thora of platitudes and plous hopes, were uttered by Gulzari Lal Nanda, Union Labour Minister during the 19th Indian Labour Conference at Bangalore in October, 1961.

Gleefully, Nanda reported Tam to the Conference glad to report, the position in

GOA'S

so great all over India, in every nook and corner of the

This culminated in the

glorious 1955 satyagraha. Initiated on the crest of a

wave of popular indigna-tion, the struggle attracted

wide support, all the politi-cal parties in the country,

including the Congress, th

PSP. the Communist Party

and the Jana Sangh, unit-ing on the issue. Thousands of volunteers enrolled them-

selves to march peacefully into Goa to assert their kin-

The Portuguese retaliated

with great venom. Thirty-six Indians lost their lives, over

250 were injured. thousands

were arrested and sentenced

World nublic

tugal in protest

then and there.

colonia

PAGE FOURTERN

in a c

World public opinion con-demned these brutalities. The

Government of India severed

diplomatic relations with Por-

Bad it not been for the

support of Britain, USA and and their NATO partners, who wanted to use Goa as a military base, the Salazar regime would have cracked

This period also drew Goa

colonies. Representa-from Goa participated

aference of the Nation-

into the vortex of a united movement in all the Portu-

ship with the Goans.

* FROM PAGE 6

sub-continent

this regard is improving there is evidence of greater enthusiasm on the part of the public sector officially to carry out their responsibilities unde

various laws and agreemen One could say: yes, that was so because hardly ten. days earlier since the day Nanda was making these bold statements the manation of quarters, which was given to the contractors from the very beginning, there were about 8,000 workgement of Bourkela steel plant threw out more than 448 workers, most of them women workers, on the plea women workers, on the them and in terms of the solemn pledge of Nandaji most probably, they ap-pointed new contractors to carry out those particular works which these unfortu-

nate workers were doing. It was, therefore, true that the management of public sector undertakings are setting examples—examples of gross violation of Supreme Court judgments: flouting of the conclusions of trinartite conferences; practicing bure-aucracy in wider fields and increasing negotism and corrunt practices.

workers who were re-

SAGA ese Colonies at Casablanca in April 1961. A Seminar at-tended by leaders from all the came part of the Indian Union when Parliament adopted a Portuguese colonies, held in New Delhi and Bombay in Constitution Amendment Bill ondorsing their integration. Opinion in India and Goa was becoming restless in middle fifties. The feeling of in October 1961 was a mea-sure of the growing maturity and unity of the anti-impe

rialist truggle in all the Por-tuguese colonies. But unable to read the signs of the times even then, Salazar continued to rely on repression. His attempts to cow wn not only Goans but also the Indian people by border incidents, demonstration of military might and the harassment of Indians near the

der were stepped up. His mad antics in provokment refuse to see reasons and although they promised to find out jobs for these reing the border people, his hurried visits to London and Washington with false com plaints were nothing but the gaspings of a dying organism. And finally, the Government of India laun-ched the "Operation Goa". Today Goa is free. The Por-

former stand. tuguese 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 the firm determination of Goans to be free and one with

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 en-titles him to play a worthy role in building up a pros-perous India. Patriotism is the Goan's badge of com-radeship with his brothers and sisters all over India toalist Organisations in Portu- day. (Copyright: IPA)

have trotted out a theorethat the jobs clone through

contractors are always chea-

theory

From Nityanand Ponda

ing the

tors:

waste in steel melting

shops and blast furnaces, transportation of refractory

bricks, maintenance of roads.

sidings, etc., to the contract

The cases of the 448 re-

trenched workers still con-

tinue to hang fire. The stru-

ggle is still on and the work-ers 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

Meanwhile the Union Lab-

our Ministry goes on trumpet-

ting its success through Code of Discipline and preaching

sermons for the development

of national economy through

dedicated labour of the work-

Except for a formal pro-

mise to look into the matter, the Union Labour Ministry

-startling, almost incredible

facts-of how the police insti-

tuted a reign of terror to pro

woman was undressed on the station platform, of how a student lost his fingers in the lathi-charge, of how the police turned bandit and loot-

ed volunteer camps and the

union office, the railway station, sweetmeat shops and

neighbouring farms. Of the arrests and beat ups,—all to protect Birla against 6,000

The labour officer on his part supplies information of how scabs and blacklegs are

being collected and brought

over in special trains. The

orker enters and there is a

clash of words, a detailed ex-pose, through their quarrel, of statistics.

can be quite cold, the troupe

opened its performance at Gariahat market, and at 8-30

in the evening, the troupe called it a day after five per-

passers-by flocked round to

laugh at the oppressor and cheer the workers; they gave whatever they could to the

The police woke up to the danger of the truth being told only in the evening. The troupe was first con-

tacted at Dalhousie Square.

its mike hanned and itself

pushed out of the Section 144 area. But a huge crowd

of office-workers sat on the

cold asphalt and watched

the play acted on the pave

ment. The playlet, Special Train,

Thousands

formances.

strike fund.

troupe

striking hungry workers.

tect Birla's interests, of 1

hureancracy.

And the sample of such jobs can be seen amply in Bourkela where buildings leak in rains, crumble down or orack in summer and culverts give way before they are ready. It is reported that one narticular contractor was naid a substantial sum towards his con-tract although the job was done wholly departmental-

trenched by the management

were working there si

itself

The

of the Rourkela steel project

five years. Among them were

those workers whose lands

were given away towards the establishment of the Plant

ed to construction and main.

ed to construction and main-tenance work of the project and in their work they acquir-

ed sufficient skill and know-

ledge desnite the fact that

basically these were not actu-ally plant-operation jobs but only incidental thereto.

Except the job of construc-

ers directy under the Steel project doing the rest of civil

When it was reasonably

expected that after five

jobs departmentally what

has happened was that all

these jobs have been give away to new contractors re

trenching slowly but steadi

ly the people who were already engaged on these works. The management, of course, retained the services

of engineers. supervisors.

This new allocation of work

to the contractors was in gross violation of the Supre-

me Court judgment (1960 I.J.)

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 neces-sary for the work of the fac-

tory; the work is sufficient to

employ a considerable num-

her of wholetime workmen.

and the work is being done in

most concerns through re-gular 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 Bindustan

Steel in the Rourkela pro-

ject were both morally and legally bound to follow this

But even now, the manage-

in the 19th Indian

principle.

scheme

years, the manageme would take over all the

engineering jobs.

thes

ese workers were attach-

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

Even after the 19th Indian Labour Conference, the mana-gement in Rourkela Steel project show no inclination to take over the jobs being done refuses to take cognizance of by contractors. They are giv-ing away jobs like, unloading kela. A nice implementation of coal, loading of coke, clean- of labour policy indeed!

Militant Art

ing class.

From Our Calcutta Correspondent

ON Wednesday Decemthrough the humour are facts ber 6, the BPTUC called on the people of Bengal 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 streetcorners and parks, presented their playlet Special Train an re of Birla's brazen exexposure of Birla's brazen ex-ploitation 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 Chow-dhury and Debesh Chakravarty.

Street-corner plays are a powerful weapon in the hand of Calcutta's cultural front. We have watched this partiwe nave watched this parti-cular 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-

verandah of/a house suffi-ces), and some kind of illumination (a smoking oil-lamp is as good as the best spotlight). A mike is a inxury, gladly accepted if arranged, dispensed with if not available. The audience stands or sits around and the play is run through, at us pace, in about thirty

to fortyfive minutes. The playlet, Special Train, has the usual stock charac-ters: a worker, a police officer, the labour officer of Hind Motors, a blackleg, a passerby and a policeman. The situation is also almost tradi-

marks a new phase in the artistes' relation with the people's struggle. It is a challenge to the protagonists labour officer discuss the strike; both characters are ridiculed to the great delight of the audience; but woven

of the ivory tower. DECEMBER SI, 1961

HE DIED FOR GOA



DURGESH CHANDRA TARAFDAR

HE jubilation in Jamshedpur among all sec-tions of the people on the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu, from the Portuing 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-

dar, a Rating with No 64231 AB of the India Navy, was in action in ar LN. warship (undisclosed) in the waters of the Arabian Sea, off the coast o Goa, since the early hom f December 18. states th wireless message, received by his father, Saradish Chandra Tarafdar, residing in the New East Plant Are age, sent by the Naval Head Quarters in Bombay, states also that Durgesh died or Aged only 26 and one among a family of three

shedpur youth, received by his parents on December 19. Durgesh Chandra Taraf-

brothers and a sister with parents living, Durg joined the Indian Navy Navy in 1955 and was in the Uni Kingdom for 16 months for training. A fine sportsman since his early boyhood, Durgesh took to body-building and in the bodybuilding competition spon-sored 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.

calcutta celebrates

From Inan Bikash Moitra

tion of Goa, Daman and Diu was greeted by the people of Calcutta with jubilation. They were in-dignant over the Anglo-India's action in Goa. American conspiracy in the Security Council to the Security 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 nefarimis game.

The six left parties of the United Leftist Front-CPI, FB, RSP, Marxist FB, RCPI and Bolshevik Party-cele-brated the occasion by holding a public meeting and taking out a victory procesing and sion.

The meeting paid its hom-age to the markyrs who had laid down their lives for the liberation of Goa. It adopted a resolution greeting the peo-ple of the erstwhile Portu-

Need For Unity

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

DECEMBER 31, 1961

THE news of the libera- other freedom-loving coun-

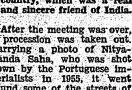
It was the exercise of the

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 ne-cessity of the unity of all anti-imperialists and, patriotic forces and constant vigilance against imperial-ist conspiracles.

Moving the resolution, Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition referred to the forthcoming visit of Leonid Brezhney, President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and said that he had no doubts that, on the occa-sion of the celebration of Goa's liberation, the peo of Calcutta would accord a rousing reception to the distinguished guest from a country, which was a real

After the meeting was ove a procession was taken out. Carrying a photo of Nitya-nanda Saha, who was shot down by the Portuguese im-perialists in 1955, it went round some of the streets of the city.



The climax of the play is reached when the pol attack the worker, but are stunned by the news that the special train of scabs has not stopped at the station because thousands

station because thousands of common people have marched out on to the plat-form to prevent strike-breaking. The officers es-cape, while the worker thunders defiance at them. On the morning of Decem-ber 6, at 7-30, when Calcutta

trenched workers in a meetaudiences 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 ing where the management representatives, workers re-presentatives and the Deputy Chief Minister of Orissa were present, they have so far not acted on it and show no indication of rescinding their It is now understood that with the taking over of ex-tension of the plant now on hand, the management are

more and more engaging contractors in this extension 'It is current in Rourkela that the allocation of jobs to

dependent on the returns which the high-ups in the management receive from the contractors. It is for that the high-ups

tional by now. per and, thus, they are doing a great service to the country

the contractors is directly

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 plat-form leaders of the Congress, Communist Party and PSP. Last time such a meeting was held was in For Last time such a meeting was need was 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.

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, Shamnath presided.

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

Strong Resolution

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

It congratulated the Government of India and the Indian Armed Forces going to the assistance of their campatriots 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 coun-TAR tries who had supported the just and timely action of

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 inter-vene against the liberation struggle of the people of Goa, Daman and Diu and the just support given to them by the Government of India".

resolution sponsored by these countries (the Western Powers)"

The resolution added. "The day is not far off when im-perialism shall disappear from the face of the world".

Aruna Asaf Ali, who made the main speech of the even-ing and who was repeatedly cheered by the audience, de-clared 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

T HE meeting was sponsor-ed jointly by the Delhi Pradesh Congress, the Delhi guese imperialists left no other choice.

Indira Gandhi said: "The Indian map of independence has been completed. The last thorn in the flesh of mother India has been taken out by her sons".

She criticised the Western Powers "who were talking against India today" for re-fusing to make any concrete fusing 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 declori: "The events in Goa have nown that the days of supreed. "The macy 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

Communist Stand

Speaking on behalf of the Communist Party, M. Farooqi, stated that India's action in liberating Goa has given a new inspiration to the liberation struggle in Africa and Asia, "There is no doubt that as a result of this action the liberation struggle of Angola, Mozambique, West Irian and other colonial territories will reach new heights and cul-minate in victory" he declared.

had received support in Afro-Asian and Socialist countries.

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 Govern-ment when it took the deci-sive action against the Portuguese colonialists.

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

The PSP Chairman, Mir Mushtaq Ahmad congratulat-ed 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 Ha countries India. He regretted the role of Pakistan on this issue.

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 cam-paign 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 arched into Goa, the Party sued thousands of posters to welcome the action of the Indian Government. It simultaneously gave a call to its branches to organise processions, parbnat puck and street-corner meetings to hall the liberation of Goa. Such processions have taken Such processions have taken place in many parts of Delhi.

Several branches of the He said that India's action Party organised torch-light and received support in Afro- processions with "Bhangra"

India". The resolution thanked the Soviet Union for "foil-ing this attempt of the Security Council by casting its decisive vote against the resolution sponsored by

We are happy to learn that the Indian people have already recovered their own territory of Goa, International 1 Daman and Diu. All mem-bers of the China-India Friendship extend heart-felt congratulations to of Trade Unions.

THE National Council of the Indian people for this the India-China Fri-victory. In their struggle endship Association has against imperialism and imperialism and m as well as saféreceived the following mes-sage of greetings from the guarding the national in-China - India Friendship Association of Peking on people will always receive the liberation of Goa: The active support of the Chinese people".

Similar messages have been received from the International Union of International Union of Students, World Federa-tion of Democratic Youth, and the World Federation

MARCH TO PANJIM

From RAZA ALI

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 trium phant 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 swell-

as it advanced from ing Banda At midnight, as De-cember 19 dawned, gunfire signalled zero hour, but undaunted by the great risks involved, this batch marched

Involved, this batch marched ahead till it reached Panjim in the early hours of the morning. Among them were the Com-munist municipal councillors of Bombay: G. L. Reddy, who had taken part in the Nagar Haradi Ukenting druggle and Havell liberation struggle and Tara Reddy, A Goanese girl, Prema Tendulkar, who had Prema 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 peope's march to Panjim. - 274

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 Aug-ust 3, 1955 Baburao Thora and Nityanand Saha had laid down their young lives. It was there, too, that on August 15, Karnail Singh, August 15, Karnall S Madhukar Chaudhury hre Mahenkar had made the supreme sacrifice.

As the very atmosphere be-gan to breathe of the impending action, these three intre-pid persons set out from Bombay and reached Banda on December 13. Military tra-flic to the Dodamarg area was heavy, indicating imminent action. The mood of the people was one of enthusiastic expectation. At a public meet-ing in Banda the next day, the entire population turned out to greet Goa's day of deliverence.

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 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 checkpost, a bare two fur-longs away. The Special Reserve Police cut the cor-don wire and about four to Reserve Police cut the cor-don wire and about four to five hundred people entered freely what till a moment ago had been Portugnese occupied territory. In a mood of exultant joy the flag hoisting ceremony was held at about 8 a.m. on Creat's member from soil.

Goa's newly free soil.

TRICOLOUR HOISTED

The Lakkarkot checknost had been abandoned by the Fortuguese on December 17 evening, But some 300 of them had fied 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 cere-mony, the Special Reserve Police tried to send back our 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 proces-sion of victory. By then some people from Banda and even from the further away Sawat-wari, had joined them in cars. One and all they marched ahead, hoisting Indian flags all along the way.

all along the way. Some went towards Pernem. Our group, leaving the main road, turned towards the vil-lage routes in the direction of Dhargal

In every village they were are teed 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

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 checkpost still oc-cupied by the Portuguese. The commandos then went into action. It was a grand 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-

Panjim, Dec. 21 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.

gal. In the early hours of De-cember 20 morning, this group of about iten 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 Mapsa was in jubilant spirits with people hoisting Indian flags in the golden rays of

hags 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 Panjin. The impatience of our group to get to Panjim can be easily imagined. But it was only of

imagined. But it was only at 11-30 a.m. that they were al-lowed to cross the lagoon and enter Panjim. Jubilant crowds thronged

the streets of Panjim. It was the greatest day in its his-tory. The last citadel of the oldest colonial power had

fallen. From Panjim jall were re-leased 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;

orted, in our Parliament as killed under Portuguese tor-ture: Arrested in 1954, for offering satyagraha, Fernan-des was released five-and-a-half years later in 1959 About a month back, he had gone to Goa to see his alling mother and was put behind bars and was put bening 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, grant meeting was organised, the first ever held on the ter-ritory of free Goa, and, in fact, the first after a long, long period of suppression of all democratic rights

Presiding over the meet-ing, a local inhabitant of Parra reminded all the vil-lagers 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 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

It was with unconnect joy that this group of people from. India greeted our brothers, who had suffered and sacri-fleed in fighting Portuguese

ficed in hgnung colous colonialism. And it was with the same-joy that I listened to the ins-piring story of our Bombay Municipal Councillors, who sumcipal Councillors, who had succeeded in embracing our Goan brethren in the streets of Panjim at the dawn of Goan liberation.

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* FROM FRONT PAGE

heritage and who have be-come the voice of imperialism within our national political life.

Swatantra Party The 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 volced hun-dred 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 libera-tion he is mewing like the cat fallen on evil days, express-ing his evil thought that the Indian jawans are being held back by "political interfer-ence" from giving as good an account of themselves on "the Himalayan heights".

Jai Prakash Narain has not Jai Frakash 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 cleverly and sancentories his He has formally expressed his rejoicing over the disappear-ance 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

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

Anybody who knows any-thing about the PSP and its activities knows that the PSPers tried their hardest to disrupt the achievement of Goan unity and the func-tioning of the united Goan Political Convention, also that they scrupplously kept out of the National Cam-paign Committee and slan-dered it for being Communist-initiated and led.

derea it for seing Commi-nist-initiated and led. During the last Parliamen-tary 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 con-centrate the fire against China and in practice let Portuguese colonialism re-main where it was. As the patriotic fervour went on mounting for action over Goa, they tried to man-oeuvre themselves on the right side of national opinion

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 deither be exhilarated by the support we have received nor to it trores. The Goan action neither be exhibiting of the lays us open to the charge of support we have received nor inconsistency and threatens dismayed by the opposition to lower our prestige". That we have provoked Both The PSP leadership staked can be traced to the clash all against China and with of interests in world politics"? Yes, it is a clash of inter-ests between the powers that represent imperialism and the powers that repre-sent anti-imperialism. We have seen them operating vis-a-vis our own country. The Jana Sangh wants us to forget the difference beto forget the difference between the imperialist slan-derers and interventionists against India and the antiimperialist supporters and friends of India. India can-not afford it and will not do 14

Goan experience has de-monstrated that world Com-munism is the best friend of India in all times of need. The struggle for Goan liberathe policy and activities of our Party are such that when-ever and wherever the cause of our country is involved, we Indian Communists give our all to it.

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

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





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