PERSPECTIVES **BEFORE PATNA**

Whither

After the achievement of independence every annual session of the Congress has been watched by Indian national opinion with lessening faith but con-tinuing interest. This is particularly so of the current Patna session, being held on the eve of the third general elections.

It is not only Congressmen but patriotic Indians in general who bemoan what has happened to the Congress ever since it became the ruling party. The congress ever since it became the ruling party. The main contradiction that is killing the soul of the Con-gress, making it lose face before the people, is that while the declared policy aims of the Congress Gov-ernment remain national, its actual practice prima-rily serves the interests of the Indian upper-set, the exploiting vested interests and not of the common paople péople.

The ensuing popular dis-content inevitably took a Leftward swing, symbolised in the emergence and growth of the Communist Party as the main parliamentary op-position, in the First as well as the Second General Elec-

The very sight of the popu-The very sight of the popu-lar masses moving Left panic-ked the reactionary forces of the country and they realised that the Right within the ruling party by itself was un-able to stem the rise of the Left, growing independently of the Congress.

Double Challenge

After long and serious thought, the reactionary ele-ments decided not to rely ex-clusively on the Right inside the Congress but encourage the older reactionary group-ings and set up a new Right-ist party, the Swatantra. The Congress today is faced with a double chal-lenge, from the Left as well as the Right. The Left head-ed by our Party gives pri-macy to the interests of the people and seeks to lead the

people and seeks to lead the nation forward., The Right, the Swatantra, Jana Sangh, PSP, Akali, etc., combine seeks to push the Congress

seeks to push the Congress still more to the Right and turn the wheel of Indian history backward. The fate of the Congress, and to a large extent the im-mediate future of our nation-al life depends upon what the Patna Congress decides, whe-ther it breaks from policies of compromise with the satanle forces within the nation, which its own Right has been pressing with success in the past or adopts new but long pressing with success in the past or adopts new but long desired policies, which help gather together all the heal-thy and forward moving forces of the nation, to improve the life of our long suffering people and raise ever higher India's banner in the comity of nations.

of nations. It is not enough to reiterate India's independent foreign policy. It is necessary to smash every concrete offen-sive against it. The pro-im-perialist Right staked its all against China. The ant-im-perialist march of the Indian armed forces to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu has silenced the Right within and reveal-ed who are with, and who against. India in the present day world.

The very wide and spon-taneous support we have won over the Goan action demands equally fervent and quick Indian response, for solidarity in action, for the liberation of other and bigger Goas in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to strengthen the historic strengthen the historic struggle to ensure a world without arms. Congressmen more than

Congressmen more than anybody else should realise that of late the Indian Goy-ernment had been dragging lis feet while Afro-Asian and Latin American nations were engaged in decisive struggles against colonia-lism.

Asm. A rule answer to the Chi-nese offer to renew the 1954 Panch Shila Treaty is not worthy of India, A new and sustained Indian initiative to sustained indian initiative to seek a peaceful and just solu-tion of the border dispute with China is the most manly way to rout the pro-Western op-ponents of Indian policy of Panch Shila and the disrup-tors of Afro-Asian solidarity.

The big lesson of Goa, the great call from Africa is that the two ancient and great Asian nations settle their own dispute and pull their mighty weight together in the world struggle to end colonialism and guarantee peace and hap-piness to all pines

If the Patna Congress parrot-like repeate and hap-pliness to all. If the Patna Congress parrot-like repeats the prai-ses of the Plan it will be deluding itself. The Second Plan evoked popular enthu-slasm but five year-long ex-perience, of the working people under it has been such that the much bigger Third Plan has failed to enthuse them. The negative results have been such that the Right feels emboldened to challenge the very prin-ciple of planing. The living evidence of the

The living evidence of the rich having become richer demands new and concrete measures against growth of monopoly and profileering in-side the Indian economy.

Rising Menace

The officially bleased grow-ing collaboration between foreign monopoly combines and Indian big business is a permanent rising menace to the independence of our eco-pony. nomy. Making a mockery of land to the tiller legislation perpe-

tuates mass poverty, hunger and misery. The expanding industrialisation above rests industrialisation above rests on feet of clay below, a weak and stagnant rural economy. Planning through the bure-

Planning through the oure-aucracy, by-passing the popu-lar elements, has inevitably led to such injustices and atrocities that Rajaji's cam-paign slogan against Plan-ning under Congress Raj is Parmit-Conda License Raj.

ning under Congress Raj is Permit-Quota-License Raj. The Indian people will an-xiously watch how the Patna Congress answers the key question: Planning for whom and through whom? All the boast of Congress leadership as the helmsman of Indian unity is gone with the acknowledged menace of the rise of the forces of dis-integration. The Malayalis Assamese, Bengalis, Punjabis, the 'Muslims, the various minorities-all earnest secular and democratic elements know and democratic elements know how the unprincipled com-promising policies of the Congress have produced a threat-ening situation.

Insolent Communalists

The promising recommen-dations of the National In-tegration Conference, ins-tead of being broadcast among the people, have been shunted to the sidings and are doing the rounds of Ministerial and official files.

The communal and separa-The communal and separa-tist forces were never more active and insolent. The Right within the Congress has been holding up the launching of a united national offensive against these disruptive ele-ments and the initiation of a national crusade for national units

unity. The Patna session will re-veal whether the fear of los-ing votes either of the majo-rity or the minority keeps the Congress position in the air, wordy, self-righteous and partisan.

Future At Stake

The future of the Congress and the interests of the nation demand that the patriotic and democratic elements within the Congress give a body blow to their own Right which is in

their own Eight which is in real command, despite Pan-ldt Jawaharlal Nehrn and also because of him! We earnestly hope that the experience of the last 15 years should be enough for honest and thinking Con-gressmen to realise that there is no routing the Rightist offensive facing the Congress without achieving a new breath-through within the oriensive facing the Congress without achieving a new breath-through within the Congress itself in terms of adoption of sound and con-sistent policies in the inter-ests of the people and against

its enemies, and a new tacti-cal orientation, of active struggle against the parties of the Right and of fraternal co-operation with the forces of the Left.

25 nP.

The Communist Party is the main opposition party but we pride ourselves that our Party does not pursue the narrow and partisan path.

When the national foreign policy is attacked, we boldly support it. When the very principle of planning and the progressive features of the Plan are at-tacked by the spokesmen of Indian monopoly and feuda-lism, we defend it.

When communalism raises its ugly head, we join hands with secular Congressmen, and so on

nd so on Nevertheless and just be-cause we stick to common national ideals, we are out, in the coming general elec-tions, as in the past, to break the Congress monq-poly of power which has operated in a manner as fo strengthen the forces of the Right. of reaction. both Right, of reaction, both within and outside the Con-

Our fight is part of the common fight for strengthen-ing Indian independence, unity and democracy.

-P. C. Joshi



American Ambassador in India, Professor Gal-braith after his last visit to Washington a few months ago, confidently declared that on his next visit back home, a firm statement about American assistance for the fourth steel plant at Bokaro will be made.

BUT he was no longer so sure as he left for his much too frequent consulta-tions in Washington last week. In fact, the American Am-bassador is reported to have told the Prime. Minister be-tors his deporting that helich told the Prime. Minister be-fore his departure that India's action in Goa had been taken as a personal rebuff by the occupant of the White House. Professor 'Galbraith also insinuated that though Pre-sident Kennedy's interest in India's economic development had not slackened driends of

had not slackened, friends of India in America had been greatly weakened and it would take some time before the difficulties created by Goa's liberation were sur-mounted. mounted.

Thus, the American im-perialists, unable or unwill-ing to learn from march of history, are back at the

game of blackmail and put-ting the squeeze. The first result of this would be an-other delay in the finalisa-tion of the already greatly delayed aid programme for delayed aid programme for Bokaro and opening of an-

FROM OUR,

CORRESPONDENT ******

other phase of "hard bar-

gaining" for it. The history of American in-terest in Bokaro is a typical case of imperialist approach to aid for the under-develop-ed countries in the present world conditions.

Worried by the fund of goodwill that the Soviet Union has created for itself in India

and other countries by its aid for the rapid industrialisa-tion of these countries, the United States tried to bring about a shift in its approach in the matter

about a shift in its approach in the matter of economic assistance, most notably in the case of India. Under the guidance of Pro-fessor Galbraith, with his re-putation as an economist and a liberal, the most outstand-ing symbol of the new shift was to be Bokaro. Having done that however

was to be Bokaro. Having done that, however, it has been a long story of tortuous negotiations and bar-gaining, the end of which is still not in sight. To begin with, the Ameri-cans put pressure that the Bokaro, unlike the other three public sector projects, should be shared by the American private investors, and the In-dian big business along with the Government of India in the ratio of 30:30:40.

This suggestion was firmly turned down by the Gov-

* SEE PAGE 13



VOL X NO. 1 NEW DELHI, JANUARY 7, 1962

By AJOY GHOSH

Pandit Nehru in his Press Conference of December 28, 1961 made certain revealing statements. which need to be highlighted and pondered upon.

L cember 29, 1961) report-ed him as saying: "The situation in Goa had ripened from day to day, so that the final decision was virtu-ally taken out of the Govnnt's hands.

"If the Government had not acted when it did it would have been faced with hundreds of Indian people determined to march into Goa. The choice then would have been to let them be massacred by the Portuguese -as happened in 1955-or to

"The Portuguese adminis-tration had crumbled down long before Indian troops entered Goa..."

NEHRU'S **ADMISSION**

In another statement at the same Press Conference Nehru said that "during the läst 14½ years Goa was a constant pricking on our mind and our conscience. Even if we (the Govern ment) had been complacend there were enough member there were enough members of the opposition to remind us constantly about it"

These observations of the Prime Minister underline two basic facts about the liberation of Goa, facts which the people must remember and evaluate.

First, the role of the de-mocratic movement and the pressure of public opinion in making possible the entry of India's armed forces into Goa. Second, the hammer blows dealt at Portuguese imperialism by the Goan patriots and, above all, by the heroic Goan comman. the heroic Goan comman

No one would deny the fact that the decisive and final blow to the Portuguese usurpers of our territory was dealt by the Indian Army. It was precisely because of this that the Communist Party and the entire democratic movement kept pressing the Government

to send in our armed forces. No one would deny that the Government of India deserves great praise for having taken the decision that ultimately returned Goa to the mothe land. It was precisely because of this that the Communist Party and the entire democratic movement, while ex-pressing their thrill and joy, immediately congratulated immediately congratulated the Prime Minister and his Government.

Government, More than a suspicion re-mains, though, whether all members of the Cabinet, which includes, after all, Morarji Desai, felt quite happy about the final act. The fact remains, how-ever, that the Communist Party and the entire demo-cratic movement have access

cratic movement have every reason to congratulate themselves for the energy, the steadfastness and the dedication with which they the steadfastness and the dedication with which they paign had its impact on Gor-laboured for Goa's freedom. Let us recall the middle months of 1955. In May of interference with India's ged damage caused by the members of Parlia-ment was set up to coordinate and the Portuguese Legation and to plan activities thro-ughout India for the libera-tion of Goa. A few weeks later.

PAGE TWO

THE Times of India (De- came the decision of the All-Parties Goa Vimochan Samiti (set up in Maharashtra in June 1954) to launch a satya-

graha 7 movement for Goa's recovery. A wave of enthusiasm swent our land. Volunteers poured in and thousands upon thou-sands more made ready to rush to the border.

The Vimochana Samiti volunteers in Maharashtra moved throughout the State, helping to set up district committees. Whenever a batch of satyagrahis left for Goa. it was given big send-off meet-ings in a number of towns and villages on the way to Goa.

On May 12, 1955, the first batch of satyagrahis, led by Senapati Bapat and N. G. Goray, entered Goa. On June 11, came the turn of the batch of satyagrahis of the Com-munist Party, led by Rajaram Patil Patil.

It is inspiring to recall that this intrepid band of 126 volunteers came not only from Maharashtra but from every. State in India. They came from all religions and from diverse strata of society. It was the biggest and most representative batch to march into Goa till

Congress leaders were not at all happy at the way in which the people were moving into action. Congressmen were allowed to join the satya-graha only on their personal responsibility. Despite all the from s and fumbings of the congress the people of the country, staten as this was against the principles of the Govern-licy way the change? Credit, in the first place, for bringing about a deci-sive shift in the Govern-ment's policy of the congress the people of the country, be given to the National

The second

Both the Prime Minister and the Congress Working Committee in July 1955 issued a flat against any mass satya-graha. In his Lok Sabha statement at that time Nehru also indicated that India would not liberate Goa other than by peaceful means

SUPREME SACRIFICE

He said: "what are the basic elements of our policy in regard to Goa. First there must be peaceful me-thods. This is essential unless we give up the roots of all our policy and all our behaviour... We rule out non-peaceful methods en-tirely". It should be noted that this statement was hailed by the late John Fos-ter Dulles both as "wise and brave"!

At that very time the Com-munist Party pointed out that certainly all possible methods of negotiations and diploma should be employed by the Government. But it insisted that the Government must not tie its hands and that it must act decisively and soon. On August 3, 1955 another batch of satyagrahis, mainly batch of satyagrahis, mainly made up of Communists, crossed the Goa border. The Portuguese fasciste

of our nation.

dia. Let it be remembered that among the heroes who fell were Madhukar Damo-

too, to the Communis Party.

It cannot also be forgotten that in the midst of the tidal

wave of anger and admiration

Despite all the froms and fumblings of the tallest leaders of the Congress the people of the country, irrespective of party affilia tion, rose to their full stature. Unprecedented general strikes, hartals and demon-strations raged like a mighty storm across the land. With one voice the people called on the Gov-ernment to act at once to avenge the dead and to uphold the nation's honour against imperialist arro-

The Government's and that of the AICC, too-was not only to reassure the Portuguese that no armed action was contemplated but action was contemplated but-also to ban satyagraha in all forms. It declared that satya-grahis would be arrested if they tried to approach the Goa border.

Goa border. Nehru declared in Parlia-ment on September 7, 1955 that "for the removal of Por-tuguese rule we should limit ourselves to peaceful methods ...From every aspect of prin-ciple as well as expediency it will be clear that we should not take military measures". Since satvagraha was to

And used that the problem of and urged that the problem of Goab e raised in Parliament and be made one of the cen-tral planks of the propaganda and agitation of all the par-measures were not to be taken, it was clear that the Government had decided that no action of any kind was contemplated against Goa's freedom. The London Daily Mail Since satyagraha was to be banned and military measures were not to be taken, it was clear that the Government had decided that no action of any kind was contemplated against the Portuguese and for Goa's freedom. Goa's freedom. were The London Daily Mail tugu

sive shift in the Govern-ment's policy on Goa must be given to the National Campaign Committee for Goa, headed by Aruna Asaf All, set up in the early months of 1960. The Com-mittee and its thelear and mittee and its tireless and ardent President once again roused the passion for Goa's liberation in the hearts of millions of our countrymen.

UNITY ACHIEVED

Uniting in its fold people of diverse political affiliations and concentrating on the single objective of arousing demand for the Government's armed action, the leaders of the Committee toured the country. From the gle objective of arousing mass entire country. From the cities, towns and villages a steady stream of resolutions began to pour in to the Gov-ernment chambers in New Delhi.

The leaders of the Committee held meetings with the leaders of all political parties and urged that the problem of

struggle in Angola, not only morany and materially weak-ened world imperialism but created an atmosphere of

ration, as it were. In country after country, anti-imperialist circles h anti-imperialist circles be-gan to ask: if Angola can take up, the Portuguese gauntlet how is it that mighty India. sits quiet about Goa? If the people and the Government of In-dia are genuine in their sympathy for the struggle in Africa why do they not in Africa why do they not do something about Goa, which would be the best form of help?

form of heip? It was becoming increasing-ly evident that India's whole prestige was at stake and her anti-colonial bona fides were

ecoming suspect. Things came to a head with the Seminar on Portuguese colonies held in September 1961 in New Delhi, Far from being a platform for mere academic discussion, far from being a tribune for moral mons on the superior wir mons on the superior virtues of "soul force", the Seminar became a militant meeting where the demand was loudly raised for armed action by

raised for armed action by India to free Goa. It was significant that it was at this Seminar that Pandit Nehra for the first time stated that the use of force could not be ruled out. And it was at the public rally to mark the conclusion of this Seminar that he made virtually a public repudlation of Morarji Desai's shameless utterance that there would be no "in-

THE LESSON

It has to be noted, further. that in the very dens of imperialism—in Washington, mperansm—in Washington, Paris, London, Lisbon etc.—it was the Communist Parties who came out boldly against the tremendous barrage of racialist lies and slanders let loose by the imperialist war-lords. The only British paper to acclaim India's action was the Daily Worker.

for the liberation of Goa

Later the USSR scotched the imperialist conspiracy to stop India's action with

the use of its veto. All the other socialist countries, in

cluding the People's Repub-lic of China with whom we

have a serious border dis-pute, came out solidly for India.

om: we

Is it not something to think over that in Washington, London and Paris the only papers and the only spokesmen to tell the truth about Goa belonged to the Communist Parties of those countries? Is it not something to

think over that despite be-ing hounded by Salarar's savagery, deep from the underground it was the gallant Con ist Party of Portugal that has consistently supported the freedom struggle of Goa? We not only offer our grati-

we not only oner our grau-tude to our fraternal parties but feel immensely proud to belong to this vast army of vanguard fighters for freedom. And, while welcoming the action taken by the Govern-ment of India we cannot help

ment of India, we cannot help regretting that in his Press Conference Pandit Nehru talk

GOA-THE LIBERATORS AND

It is scarcely necessary to recall the bloody beatings and torture to which all those who went into Goa were subjected. Despite this savagery and even after the martyrdom of Aminchand Gupta, thousands of new satyagrahis enrolled iselves to make the march to Paniim.

The June 1955 meeting of the Central Committee of the CPI paid its tribute to the fighters for Goa's liberation, strongly condemned the atrocities committed by the Por-tuguèse and resolved that "all Party units should give every help to further streng-then the freedom movement of the Goan people". It called upon the Government to take "direct action".

COMMUNIST

CALL

In answer to a pressman's question on June 29, 1955, I stated: "On the question of Goa, the Communist Party wants the Government to intervene in favour of the people of Goa. That will not lead to the heightening but to a lessening of tension" (New Age, July 3, 1955). that raced across India, Pandit Nehru and the Congress leaders sat silent. They re-fused even to adjourn Parliament even for 15 minutes as a mark of homage to the martyrs and of protest against the Portuguese. On August 17, Pandit Nehru, on August 17, Panint Nenru, rising to make a statement on Goa, declared that the Gov-ernment would pay compen-sation-not to the families of

This mounting mass cam-

NEW AGE miner of the second second second 545 N 2013

that time. Other batches fire and two Communists rushed to congratulate the followed. It is scarcely necessary to Baburao Thorat and Nitya nerd Sche Thete necessary for the fast for the f nand Saha. Their names are inscribed among the immor-tals of the long freedom-fight foreign reaction and for this responsiveness we have no-thing but praise" (September 6, 1955). The Washington Post called the decision "a much" Then came August 15, needed step". 1955—certainly a date of destiny for India. Let it be

This was nothing but abject destiny for India. Let it be remembered that the 500 satyagrahis who marched to certain death that morning were led by the late V. D. Chitale, a veteran leader of the Communist Party of In-dia. Let it be remembered retreat before imperialist pressure and the result of illusions about possibilities of "peaceful" transfer of power in Goa, coupled with fear of the enormous democratic up-heaved at homes the heaval at home on the part of the Congress leaders. dar, Karnall Singh, Brij Nandan, Tarada Singh, Brij Nandan, Tarada Singh, Kal-yan Sharma and S. K. Mukherjee, who while they brought glory to our Mo-therland, brought honour, too to the Computed

CONGRESS ISOLATED

All the notions of its own invincibility, of its unchal-lenged popularity, seemed to be threatened when the nation rose as one man after the massacre of Aug-ust 15 and the Congress Government found itself hopelessly isolated.

The use of the coercive state apparatus and the po-werful influence of the Con-gress undoubtedly dampened down the struggle for Goa's freedom for a number of years. It can be said that right in 1955 itself it was quite feasible for the Indian Armar right in 1955 itself it was quite feasible for the Indian Army to have moved in and hoisted the tricolour on Panijm. Con-ditions were fully ripe. The nation wanted it and our friends were standing by ready to support our action. The question naturally where enormous P arises: Why did the Govern-ment move after all in 1961?

and the second second

Shaking off any false modesty, it can be said that the Communist Party resthe Communist Party res-ponded with all its energy to the call of the Committee. Its units throughout the country cooperated to the full to organise meetings for Goa. Its members in Parliament more than once raised the question in the Lok Sabha and the Raiya Sabha. Its dailies and weeklies mounted a long and intense campaign.

Secondly, great credit must be given to the Goan patriots and to the Goan commandos. Fascist terror made it impe-rative that armed action should be the main form of struggle

From the middle of this-year armed actions in Goa noticeably increased in scope and tempo. Despite heavy Portuguese censor-ship stories began to filter through of numerous raids on Portuguese check posts, of the blowing up of ammu-nition dumps, of the am-bush of Portuguese military convoys and the like.

To meet this flare-up of militant patriotic activity Portuguese terror daily in-creased and the Goans were clearly marked out for treatment similar to that being meted out to the Angolans. Events were moving to a cli-

Thirdly, credit must be given to the new upsurge in the anti-colonial struggle, in Africa Portuguese colonial possessions are locat-ed. The African awakening.

JANUARY 7, 1962

It was equally evident that the newly-freed countries of Asia were watching with an amount of concern as to what India intended to do about Goa. Their subsequent accla-mation of Goa's liberation and the pressing forward of Indonesia's claim to West Irian only served to underline this fact

In the fourth place, credit must be given to the immense strengthening of the socialist camp. In event after event in the past decade it has been demonstrated that in the so-cialist camp, above all the Soviet Union, freedom fighters the world over have a sure word and shield. The easy export of counter-revolution has become impossible in the new epoch in which we live. Pandit Nehru has emphy ed time and again in his last Press Conference that he did not have any consultations with the Soviet Union and

that all the diplomatic parleys were with the U. K. and the USA. This in itself is a revealing with the U. K. and the

commentary on the state of our foreign relations. Goa has that the only purpose served through the served through the conversa-tions and letters with the imperialist countries was to delay action, without any re-sulting gain. Despite all the soft-soap and talk the impe-rialists behaved with all their customary viciousness during and after the Security Coun-

cil debate. And the Soviet Union? Evidently, taking Nehru at his word, no consultations Evidentity, taking Nenra at Joining and which is word, no consultations our country, with o were held with it. Yet, even higher than ever, we before the Indian army must act in a way marched in, President Bre-tens the end of all over the world.

JANUARY 7. 1962

ed about the so-called division of Black and White over the liberation of Goa. This is not only totally contrary to facts but serves to conceal the basic truth of the true division of the world into imperialist and anti-imperialist forces. Thus, it can be said that

the forces that eventually secured Goa's liberation we many and powerful. And as our hearts fill with joy at the thought that India's tricolour deep homage that we recall our martyrs and with deep gratitude and pride all the liberators of Goa.

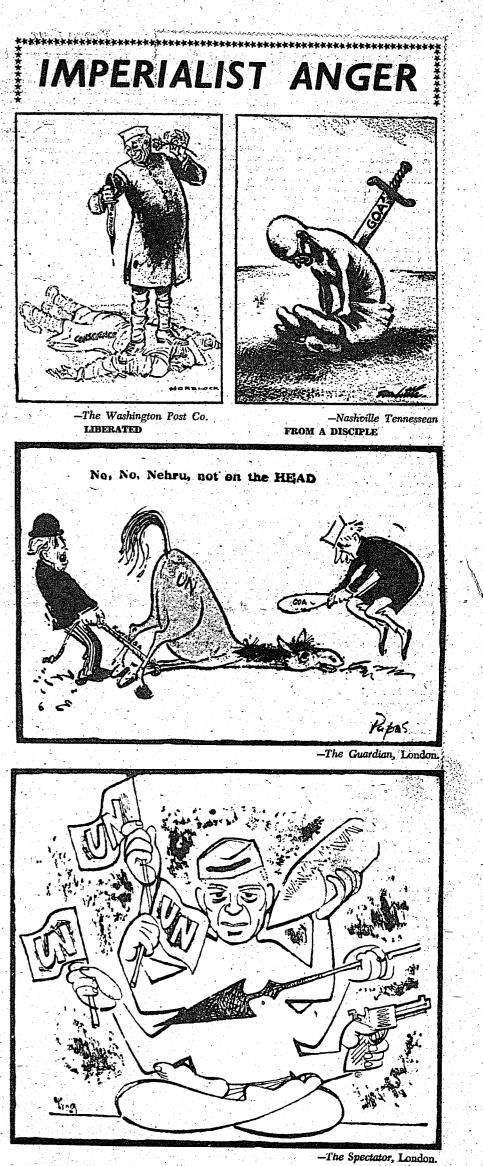
Goa has shown who are our friends and who are not. It has given a powerful impetus to the national liberation movement all over the world. It strengthens the cause of world peace and weakens imperia-lism. It is the greatest event since India became free.

We earnestly hope that the Government of India will draw correct lessons from this event. The curst of colonialism still hangs heavily over many areas of the world. The people fight-ing for national liberation expect our country to give them all possible support.

There should be no further delay on our part in according recognition to the revolution-

ary provisional . Government of Algeria. Also, the voice of India must ring powerfully in full support of every nation struggling to be free. With the last vestige of foreign rule wiped out from

higher than ever, we can and must act in a way which has-tens the end of colonialism



NEW AGE

PAGE THREE

INVINCIBLE CUBA

Editorial

this January 2. It is the call of struggle of heroism, of wisdom and of unity. It is the call of defiance of the imperialist collossus right in its front door. It is the call of men and women invincible, armed with the weapons of revolution. Even to this day democrats everywhere recall with a

thrill of happiness the day when Fidel Castro announced that a new Cuba had come to birth. The greatness and

thrill of happiness the day when Fidel Castro announced that a new Cuba had come to birth. The greatness and the immense significance of the Cuban revolution is illus-trated by the fact that each anniversary multiplies its achievements; its supporters and its promise. The lesson of Cuba is writ large for all to read. It is the lesson that the only way to defeat imperialism is to hurl back its insolence, never to retreat before its arrogance but to close up the ranks of the people and to advance the revolution one step further. In 1961 came the great event of the throwing back of the U. S. invasion by Cuba's intrepid neone. led by Fidel

In 1961 came the great event of the throwing back of the U.S. invasion by Cuba's intrepid people, led by Fidel Castro and backed by the might of the Soviet Union. Never before had the imperialist Goliath been humbled with such speed and sureness. The defeat of the invasion was immediately followed

by the further upsurge of the revolution and its passage to the socialist stage. Socialist Cuba's flag fluttered proudly

Blas. Roca, a veteran Marxist-Leninist and the National Leader of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations of Cuba, has declared:

"Our revolution is Socialist because after it accompli-"Our revolution is Socialist because after it accompli-shed the patriotic and democratic tasks of national liber-ation and agrarian reform, after eradicating the imperia-list semi-colonial domination by the United States of our country, and after it had ended semi-feudal imperialist landlordism, it undertook the task of eliminating capitalist private property and establishing in its place the collective and social ownership by the entire people of mines, facto-ries, transportation, land and other basic means of pro-ducton....

"....We have not yet fully established Socialism, but The declaration of the objective has been followed up

by the adoption of the only philosophy and theory of socialist revolution and construction-Marxism-Leninism. Fidel Castro declared on November 1: "We have en-red the epoch of socialist construction. We must trans-te into life the teachings of scientific socialism. That was why I so frankly declared that we believe in Marxism that we believe Marxism is the most correct and the scientific of all theories, that it is the only genuine revolutionary

"I say with profound gratification and full conviction that I am a Marxist-Leninist and will be a Marxist-Lenin-ist to my dying day". The adoption of a clear-cut goal, the acceptance of

The adoption of a clear-cut goal, the acceptance of the only true theory of revolution and the ever-growing unity of its people make Cuba the battle-banner of all Latin American peoples. They make Cuba not only the hope of a continent but the guarantee of its freedom from the Yankee warlords. They make Cuba the friend, com-panion and inspirer of all who strive for freedom and for nease we salute invincible Cuba!

(January 4, 1962)

COLD THAT KILLS

T HE national rejoicing over Goan liberation left behind on the side lines a tragic event that would produce a national shock in normal circumstances.

national shock in normal circumstances. During the last cold-wave, hundreds died of sheer cold, not only in UP and Bihar, but also in never-so-cold Cal-cutta and in the capital city. These unfortunate countrymen of ours did not die their natural deaths but in circumstances that should

make us all think and act in a manner that such tragedies never put us all to shame again. They died because they lacked nourishment enough to

They died because they lacked nourishment enough to face the cold. They died because they did not have enough clothing to keep off the cold. Most of them died because they had no shelter above their heads. They were the underfed, ill-clad and the shelterless. They died on the footpaths, on the doorsteps, the houses of others and even before the hospital gates.

All this happened fourteen years after independence. All this happened fourteen years after independence. The Congress Government under whose rule our fellow citizens die in such large numbers just because of a few days cold wave obviously does not deserve to rule over our countrymen and can only earn their indignation.

The greedy tradesmen artificially raised the price of fuel, firewood and coal and they were not punished. In the capital, to save face, the official agencies made some pretence to provide shelter but their efforts were symbolic. Most of the needy continued to suffer shelterless. The dead are dead but they cry aloud for punishment of the guilty The coming general elections are the right.

The dead are dead but they cry about for punishment of the guilty. The coming general elections are the right time to hold their trial in public. Every vote cast for the Congress is to remain unmind-ful of the hundreds who died of mere cold and the millions who continue to suffer the same fate but are yet alive. (January 4)

PAGE FOUR

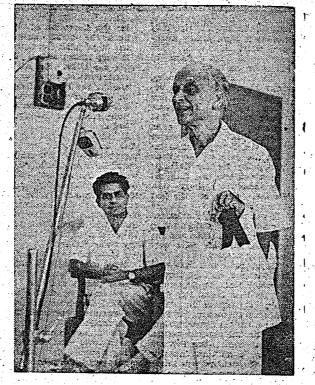
From Our Corre spondent

THE CALL OF CUBA COMES THE CALL OF CUBA COMES irresistibly on the third an-niversary of its Revolution this January 2. It is the column Union Congress and the All-India Youth Federation.

The object of this confer ence was to have a detail analysis of the conditions of he young workers in the country and effect a coordinated ovement for their education training, working and living ciliti

This was the first all-India conference of its kind in our country and the ex-perience derived through this conference would go a long way towards planning a better life for the young workers, primarily aiming at improving their living and working conditions.

Young worker - delegates numbering 154 from nine States came to the conference, many right from their machines and one could see the new generation of workers in the conference hall, seeking to hold and control their way of



S. A. Dange addressing the young-worker delegates

The Committee

of the Working

other establish

entrusted to: (i) assess the situation with a view to orga-

gues wherever they exist, under the joint guidance of the AITUC and the AIYF; (iii)

prepare for the First All-India

The conference adopted re-

JANUARY 7, 1962

the activitie

they exist, guidance of

women

nising working youth bodi (ii) coordinate the activit

PERSPECTIVE FOR OUR YOUNG WORKERS

life. A new trail they blazed for themselves and it was up to them now to work it out properly, without fumbling at the derision of life. S. A. Dange, General Se-cretary of the AITUC, open-

ed the conference and spoke at length about the present conditions and the future of the young workers who are settled to shape the destiny of the country. Paying special attention to

the deprivations from which the young workers suffer to-day and the reasons for it, he exhorted them to take to organisational measures, to help launch a coordinated ement for the betterment of their lives. Sarada Mitra, General

Secretary of the All-India Youth Federation, described the activities of the AIVF and indicated how the effe-

ctive cooperation between the AIYF and the AITUC would bring about positive results in the young workers movement.

A report describing the living and working conditions of the young workers in our country, prepared by the Preparatory Committee was placed before the conference by Shivaji Dalvi.

Young Workers Conference in 1962; and (iv) assess the posi-tion regarding sports and cul-tural facilities available to The Conference adopted an Appeal to the Young Workers and formed a Continuation Committee of the Working young workers as such in various factories, mines and Youth Conference with the following members: seven from the AIYF; three from the AITUC Centre; 12 from the STTUC Centre; 12 from solutions on Goa's liberation apprenticeship and training facilities, sports and cultural activities, young women workers, peace and disarma-ment the West Victor to the State Committees of the AITUC; 10 from the floor of workers, peace and of the conference with S. A. ment, the World Yout Dange as the Chairman of val in Helsinki in Ju the Committee with power to coopt five more members. ment, the World Youth Festi-val in Helsinki in July 1962, colleges for young workers.

A view of the delegates to the Young Workers' Conference.

ALL REPORT OF THE REPORT

NEW AGE

The Congress, we are told aims to build a "socia-list pattern" of society in India. And now that electioneering is gathering momentum again and again miracles of the socialist pattern shall be advertised. Without maligning its future objective, whatever its worth, certainly it is reasonable to pinpoint how dur-

ing the last fourteen years the Congress rulers have tarnished their own ideals with the result that the overwhelming majority of our people do not take the promises of the Congress leaders at their face value. O UR people had not expec-ted Congress to build the Second Plan period. socialism in our country. But At the time of the Second all the same they had hoped General Elections the Con-that extreme poverty, un- gress leaders again appealed employment and economic for votes in the name of planan the same they had hoped General Elections the Con-that extreme poverty, un-gress leaders again appealed employment and economic for votes in the name of plan-backwardness which was ned prosperity of the country, their lot during the British It was also the time for laun-Bet would give a place to the source of the great the form of the source o Raj would give place to em-ployment and steadily rising living standard. What has happened to Ram Rajya and welfare state today? Let us take two things, employment and living standards and see whether they have changed for better after fourteen years of uninterrupted Congress rule in the country. lions.

Congress Gifts

The advent of a national. Government after nearly 200 years of merciless exploitation naturally fired the people with great hopes. The povertyed for some relief. The mil-lions of unemployed were looking for jobs looking for jobs. Years rolled by and then the First Plan came. The Congress contested the first elections in the name of the Plan.

But when the First Five Year, Plan ended and the Second was launched it was estimated that there were 5.3 Second was launched it was estimated that there were 5.3 Let us see how far the million unemployed in the standard of living of the country; 2.5 million out of general people have risen up, these were in urban areas. First we take the industrial Another 10 million were ex-

VICTIM OF RASHTRAPATI WHAT happens when abruptly and arbitrarily re-

ed him.

President is not pleased with a poor employee of the State? This is not a hypothetical question. Hundreds of workers and employees in the centrally administered services have been victimised with no rhyme or reason, simply because their service ag-reement is presumed to be 'durante bare hased placito' during the pleasure of the crown policy.

A railway employee Sitaram Singh has brought out some pertinent facts regarding this vindictive policy in a booklet after he has been thrown out of the job for a second time because of his 'sincere and active and lawful trade union ctivities' of the past.

Sitaram Singh was a tele-graph peon, class IV employee. He was originally serving in the Allahabad Division. Northern Railway, having joined this job in the then E. I. Railway on April 19, 1944. He was twice detained under Defence of India Rules. and National Security for having championed the cause of the poor thousands during the E. I. Railway strike from 1948-51.

As if this was not sufficient Sita Ram Singh was

JANUARY 7, 1962

Having seen the fate of the naving seen the late of the industrial workers let us now pass on to another section, the agricultural labour. The President's pleasure clause On August 2, 1961 Sita Ram Singh's services were terminated. Sita Ram Singh report of the Second Agriculis no more an employee betural Labour Enquiry that was are set up under stat conducted during 1956-57, was provisions they are not a published in December 1960. ed to function properly. cause the President no more wants him to be there.



At the time of the Second

thing of the Second Plan. The Second Plan was expected to find employment for eight million people as aga eight million people as aga-inst the requirement of 15 million jobs. The result of the Second Plan are before us now—it has failed to provide the promised number of jobs, the shortfall being two mil-lions

ons. The total number of un-employed today is nine mil-lion. Moreover, it is estimat-ed that about 15-18 millions are under employed. During the Third Plan, on the basis of which the Congress leaders are making fresh pro-mises now, 26 million jobs are required. But the Plan holds out a promise of only 10.5 million jobs. Thus, even after the Third Plan, i.e., five years hence, the number of unemployed in the coun-try would be more than foday.

moved from service on De-cember 15, 1951, on some

clinic is, 1551, on some fallaciously filmsy allega-tion of unlawful activities. This, indeed, was a self-ex-posure of the administra-tion for Sita Ram Singh during this period was under detention. Having no recourse left to him Sita Ram Singh filed a civil suit in Allahabad court but lost it. However in an ap-

peal before the High Court he won and got the court's order for 'reinstatement' in the year 1957. In 1958 he was 're-instated' but transferred to a distant station in Jodhpur Division Although humbled to re-

instate him the Railway ad-ministration was out for vin-dictive victimsation. Intelligencemen constantly shadow-

ed him. During the central emplo-yees all-India strike, Sita Ram. Singh kept aloof from all strike activities. Thus, having falled to get rid of him even during the strike the autho-rities decided to give a final blow by faking recourse to President's pleasure clouse

flationary pressure during the war the real earnings of the workers fell by more workers fell by more n 25 per cent. As a result than 25 per cent. As a result of bitter and continuous struggles the real wages came to the level of 1939 only by 1951-52.

What has the worker gained by the launching of the Five Year Plans? A study made by B. N. Datar, Director, Labour and Em-ployment, Planning Com-mission shows that the real earning of workers rece real earning of workers rose by only 2.6 per cent in 1958 over 1953. But this rise was not

granted by the capitalists of their own accord, nor did the Congress rulers facili-tate it in any way. To win it the Indian working class waged ceaseless struggles and faced the obstinacy of employers and repression of the coercive nature of the Government. The figures printed by the Government prove it—as a result of lab-our unrest in 1951, 38 lakh mandays were lost, in 1951, 38 lakh mandays were lost, in 1955 the figure rose to 57 lakh and in 1958 it shot up to 78 lakh mandays.

In a pamphlet: Working Class Under Congress Raj (Communist Party of India publication), Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour has analysed the factual data and explained that "the workers gave 32.7 percent more value to the contralictor more value to the capitalists

more value to the capitalists and gob back only 2.6 per cent more in wages and that too after bitter wage battles. "The earnings of workers have gone up from Rs. 168.76 crores in 1953 to Rs. 194.52 crores in 1953 to Rs. 194.52 crores in 1958, but what they gave to the capitalists in the shape of ex-factory value of output is much more. In 1953 the earnings of the workers were 15.1 per cent of the total value produced by them and in 1958 their share fell to 12.1

per cent". That is how the Congress Planning is fattenning the capitalists: "That explains the phenomenal rise in index of gross profits in all indus-tries, from 100 in 1950 to 150.8 in 1955 and 169.7 in 1958 (1950—100)"

Whatever small percentage of rise in real incomes the workers obtained is now being negatived by the rising prices The index of consumer price with 1949 as base has risen from 103 in 1952 to 124 in 1960. Similarly, the wholesale index of food articles (1952-53= 100) shot up to 121 in June 1961.

The Government is unable to hold the price line as a re-sult of which "since 1958 the wage movement is in the reverse gear in terms of real earnings Union Labour Minearnings. Union Labour Min-ister Nanda had to admit in his speech during the last budget session in the Lok Sabha that the workers' wages have deteriorated dur-ing the last two years bring-ing the wage standard to the pre-war level or may be even lower".



The report of this Enquiry has spotlighted that:-

The average size of the agricultural labour house-hold had risen from 4.3 in 1950-51 to 4.4 in 1958-57. The adult male workers

were unemployed for 128 days in 1956-57 as compared to 90 days in 1950-51.

The average daily wage rate of men fell from 109 nP in 1950-51 to 96 nP in 1956-57, that of women from 68 nP to 59 nP, and that of children from 70 nP to 53 nP. The average annual in-

come of an agriculture labour household fell from Rs. 447 in 1951 to Rs. 437 in 1956-57.

As a result the agricultural labour indebtedness grown from Rs. 47 per house-hold in 1950-51 to Rs. 88 in 1956-57, while 64 per cent of the households were in debt in 1956-57 as against 45 per cent in 1950-51

All the tall talk of bringing prosperity to the people is thus exposed as a myth as far as these sections are concern ed. Government agreed on a need-based wage 'at the fif-teenth Tripartite Conference. But it did not accept to implement the formula. When the Second Pay Commission

was appointed the Finance Ministry wrote to it that the need-based minimum was not binding on the Government. When the Central Government employees resorted to strike action the Government strike action the Government issued the Essential Service Maintenance Ordinance. It suppressed their struggles arrested thousands of workers withdrew the recognition of the Employees Unions and the Employees Unions and suspended and terminated from service hundreds of its employees.

Even after repeated appeals for restoring the re cognition of unions an withdrawing disciplinar action against the emplo oring the re-unions and disciplinary yees when the Government wrong, refused to undo the the leadership of the em-ployees threatened to go on hunger strike at different places. The Government acted quickly and the de-mands of the Union leaders were accepted. The hunger strike was averted.

The millions who voted for the Congress in the last two General Electio have been General Elections have been disappointed by its perform-ances. That is why they are no more dazzled by, the promises of the "Socialistic Pattern". It does not inspire, them today.

HORRIBLE

PARTISANS

THE Congress leaders often appeal to the workers to cooperate with the Government in national endeavour to increase production so as to bring prosperity for the country. Minister Nehru Prime misses no opportunity to advise workers to adjure strike and direct action.

Is there any agreed basis of industrial peace in the coun-try? Yes, there is a code but the Government and employers believe more in breaking it than following the same.

One of the established principles governing industrial relations is non-interference by employers in the affairs of the unions and ipso facto recognition of the unions that command the confidence of majority of workers in a parment.

But it is a common know-ledge that the Government and the employers do not ad-here to this principle. They frown upon the AITUC unions and encourage rival INTUC what is worse is that

some of the public sector establishment have not ad-opted the code of discipline and this aspect has been adversely commented even by the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabb

The grievances of the employees are not looked into properly. As a matter of fact no proper machinery exists in many places. Labour depart-ments are slow in taking up the matters and indeed ve shy where the Government artments are concerned.

Works' committees and worker's participation in the management have become a big fraud. Even where these are set up under statutory provisions they are not allow-

Raj Bahadur Gour in his booklet Working Class Under Congress Raj exposes the myth of the code of discipline by citing the example of the affairs of the Hindustan Ma-chine Tools Factory, Banga-lore in these words: "a recog-tised union once functioned lore in these words; "a recog-nised union once functioned effectively. There was a Joint Management Council too, that functioned well. But the union, evidently not to the liking of the management, raised wage demands.

"The management would. only play dilatory tactics., The union took to agitation., This was considered a crime. The Joint Manage., crime. The Joint Manage-ment Council was suspend-ed. An INTUC union was drafted. And none belonging to the non-INTUC union could have any right to function the union of his. choice".

The leading industrialists, The leading industrialists, Tata, Birla, Modi, Walcharid, Dalmia and others have built their private kingdom in, which all democratic rights, and liberties simply do not and liberties simply do not exist, despite the guarantees, of the Constitution of the In-dian Republic.

In certain mining areas the trade-union workers even the allowed to visit even the. workers colonies. With the, help of private armies of, goondas the employers terrorise the workers and necessary even get rid of them physically.

Whenever the workers resort to direct action the coercive machinery of the Government moves in with all its repression and work-ers are sought to be cowed. down. Yet despite it if the down. Yet assure it in the trade union movement has continued and progressed it is because of the glorious sacrifices of the Commu-nists who are the pioneers. of the trade union movement.



By S. A. DANGE

On behalf of the Indian working class and the All. India Trade Union Congress, we greet the Fifth Con-gress of the World Federation of Trade Unions. It was a very pleasing coincidence that just when Yur Gagarin was landing in India and was being greeted by millions, our delegation was leaving India for the land of Yuri Gagarin. The ancient hoary culture of India that dreamt of heavens had come to see the man, who had really gone out of the earth and had descend ed from the heavens.

what they want?

ghout the world wants If George Meany of the AFLCIO could persuade the Democratic or Republican

thing, we would mentio

got, they do not do it and

cannot do it. Because, theirs

is a monopoly capitalist sys-

where in the world when you

will discuss hours of work, wages, housing, taxes, whe-ther in India or America,

France or Italy, Japan or Ger-

many, you will inevitably be drawn to refer to the new Pro-

gramme of Communism, whe-ther we be communists or anti-communists, or non-

communists and whether we

are in a trade union congress

or science congress or any

We cannot unite the work-

ers of various shades of thou-

ght and affiliation by hiding

from them the fact that in

the Trade Union Congress in Moscow, we saw the Program-me of Communism in action

in their trade unions and we

And this does not mean

imposing communist opini-ons on others. If five-hour day is better than eight-

hour day, if having a house

is better than sleeping on

the foot-paths in Delhi, then let the worker judge for himself which system

brings it and which does

It is not by surrendering to

not.

'and

liked it and got enthused also

Maiestic

Programme

Yes, hence-forward, every-

A LL barriers of party and politics, communism and anti-communism fell off. Millions wanted to see and feel the touch of the man from space. Curiosity, wonder, ad-miration flowed from their hearts: And not only for Gegarin but through him for the Soviet Union, the country that had the science and the might to do those feats.

You cannot avoid talking of the Soviet Union, of Gagarin, of their Programme of Com-munism and the Party and the Trade Unions that have launched it. Some people do ask us in the unions you going to Moscow for trade union work or Party work? Is it a Congress of Trade Unions or Congress of Communists Why do you talk of their programme of Communism when scussing trade union work?"

Some do not want even a reference to the 22nd Party Congress which launched the Programme of Communism, when discussing the problem of the trade unions and the

Samiat

Assistance

But such questions are becoming ont of date. When hundreds of technicians come from India to the Soviet Union to learn techaique, do they come for communism? They do not. Yet, there is no country, except this country of con which gives the st technique to the newly perated, conntsies of Asia, of Asia liberated. co Africa and Latin America and teaches them unselfishly and without reservation. Even the national bourgeoisie, which does not lik

communism, accepts the fact and sends its technicians. When atomic scientists of the countries of capitalism and socialism sit together at Geneva, New York or Moscow, they do not do so for Party ns but for science

And yet they cannot avoid discussing how things are done under the socialist technique and its system and are not done in the other.

And we of the trade unions of the working class are more entitled to refer to the Pro-gramme of Communism, of the Party that has launched it and the trade unions that are working it out, because we the capitalist, non-unist countries belong from the to the same internation working class to which the Soviet trade unions and the orking class belong

In India today, great inte-rest is shown in the new Programme of Communism adopten by the Soviet Communist. Party and the trade unions. The first reason is that even if we wanted to ignore it and keep quiet about it, the bour-geoiste does not allow up to geoisie do so.

The whole bourgeois press has been discussing it, some honestly, some dishonestly. Their discussions are making Their everyone sit up and ask, what is this Programme about which they shout so much?

PAGE SIX

World's Workers-

we can unite the workers. Facts of life must be told. That has been our experience in India. And we saw how the speech of Comrade Khrush-chov drew enthusiastic ap-plause when he told us here plause when he told us here of the facts of Soviet life and

Soviet might. If the Party and the trade I need not recount before you all what our trade unions have been doing in relation to international problems that confront all of us. The workunions of a country promise and take concrete steps to give the shortest working give the shortest working day and the highest stan-dards of living, free housing ing class and people in India have condemned the murder of Patrice Lumumba and seveand free meals, free education and free social and medical services, with no ral workers were wounded in clashes with the police when taxes and no unemploy-ment will not the trade they marched to the Belgian Embassy to protest. unions, the world over, who

also have to discuss hours of work, wages, taxes, housing, employment, take note of that country and that Party, Peace Struggle

which already is on the road to fulfilment of just The American intervention

in Cuba drew strong protests and our people rejoiced at the defeat of the reactionaries. The problem of Algerian war And if that country and Party are Communist, shall we cease to speak of them and cease to speak of free meals, free housing and five-hour day, because that would mean communism? We have to mention them not because of independence, the problem of Peace Treaty with Ger-many, the question of Berlin, the question of ban on nuclear tests, etc.-all these have they are promised by the Soviet Union and the Combeen subjects of discu resolutions, demonstrations on the part of the workers and munist Party but because they are being achieved by them, because they are just the the general public throughout because they are just the thing the working class throuthe country.

We had particularly under taken a oig campaign for the recognition by India of the German Democratic Republic and for the German Peace Treaty.

Party of America to do the same thing or the Labour Party and the Social Demo-The problem that has at-tracted the greatest attention in India is that of the liberacrats could persuade their Government to do the same thing, we would mention their tion of Angola and other ter-ritories of the African conti-Programme and their Con-gresses also with enthusiasm. nent, still ruled by the impe-rialists. The heroic struggle of the Angolan people against But with the highest amount of wealth that these coun. the Portuguese imperialists tries possess and the biggest trade unions that they have

gave an impetus to the de-mand for the liberation of Goa in India which is still under Portuguese imperialism. The people of India began to make a demand on the Government that a second

front be opened against the Portuguese by liberating Goa. That would be a concrete help to the struggle of the Angola

eople. Prime Minister Nehru has come to realise, though hesitantly, that the Portuguese imperialists are not amenable peaceful negotiations and eir atrocities will have to be met by force.

Despite the pressure exerted by pro-NATO interests in India on the Government not to act, the people's mo-bilisation has reached a stage, where action against the Portuguese imperialist in India is bound to take place soon. The Indian peo-ple cannot see the fighters for African freedom beingleft without help and soli-darity actions. We promise that to our African bro-

In the last few years, the economic development of In-dia has taken a few strides. Some significant units of heavy industry have been built, oil exploration has been successfully carried out and a sizeable public sector of industry has come into existence. All this has been possi-ble mainly because of the dis-interested help given by the countries of the Socialist Camp and specially, the So-

great pressure to import Anglo-American private capi-tal and increase its participa-tion in Indian economy and gles. They force the leadertion in Indian economy and they are meeting with some success.

The power of organised **Reaction** is exhibiting itself with vigour both in the nomic and political field, with the growth of concennomic tration of money in the hands of big monopolists. Despite the fact that India is under-developed, the con-centration of wealth in the hands of monopolists is hands of⁵ monopolists is growing at a fast rate.

As a result, the working class and other toiling people have to struggle even to at-tain a level of wages above the starvation level. In the last few years, big and mighty struggles have had to be waged.

Our gains from these struggles have not been in-significant. We have secured wage-agreements in several large-scale industries on national level for the first time in history. The principle of a national minimum wage has now been accented by Government and em-

But, in practice, it is sabo-taged on the plea of lack of finances. Wages do not catch up with rising prices, real wages fall and lead to strug-gles, which are sought to be suppressed with police terror. The workers' suffering is so great that even the two million Government employees had to go on strike, which was suppressed. We are, however, not on the retreat. We continue to support the

policy of industrialisation adopted by the Government, in general But, the Government and

the bourgeoisie want to use this support of ours in order to curb the struggles of the workers for the defence of their interests. We refuse to

Capitalist Propaganda

The Government and the employers want us to give up strike struggles, submit all disputes to arbitration or the tribunals and abide by their verdict. We do agree to arbitration and the tribunals in many cases. But we do not accept it as a binding prin-ciple and do not give up strike struggles where necessary.

The national bourgeoisie wants to use the anti-imnerialism and patriotism of the worker to run its industhe worker to run its indus-tries without any protest against low wages and bad conditions. This is the gene-ral trend in all newly-libe-rated under-developed counries. Lack of capital and finance is their usual plea against demands for higher wages. But when it comes to measuring their profits, there is no lack of it.

The trade unions of the INTUC (Indian National Trade Union Congress), an affiliate of the ICFTU, line up with the Government and the employers on these questions. Laws making strikes illegal are so made as to suit their unions, which are always re-cognised and given all the facilities to disrupt other

gles. They force the remut-ships also to unite, for the

Thus trade union unity takes diverse forms in country. There is no one set formula or form. Unity at the top is non-existent. But on issues, unity at the bottom brings about tempo-rary alliances at the top. We come together, act together and again part.

Work's

Committees

Trade union unity and joint action is sought to be dis-rupted by many features of the social life of the workers. Questions of religion, caste, inguage, tribe-all are used to divide the worker. This is especially so in the newly-established industries.

As against this, the only antidote is united action and inculcation of the ideology of class solidarity. Joint action and trade union education based on the class approach. become our main instruments

of unity. In our country, much is talked about the welfare state and industrial democracy. In order to lure the worker to believe in this, both Govern-ment and employers have ins-tituted a system of nominating workers or union leaders recognised by the employers on Boards of Directors or on Boards Management.

Joint Management Councils are established. These bodies are mere show-pieces and are generally used to make the worker do more work for the employer and to sidetrack his struggles. The AITUC has de-clined to participate in this system.

We ask for freely elected. Works Committees on factory level to become the real instruments of conveying the workers' opinion on his own needs and those of the factory, if better working is de-

It has been the experience that wherever works commit-tees are elected, the nominees of the AITUC unions always get the majority. Hence th Government has blacked elected works committees from several industries in spite of the fact that indus-trial law provides for such committees

In spite of this, trade unions are growing in num-ber; membership is growing and trade union conciousness is on the increase. In order to guide this growth on class-collaboration the Government is spending ust lines. millions to set up official trade union schools throu-ghout the country. An aris-tocracy of trade union bosses is being consciously built. educated, organised and paid on factory and regional hasis

It is admitted by the bourgeoisie that classes and class struggle exist. But this "unfortunate thing" has to be abolished. How?

By banning strikes, impos-ing arbitration, preaching ing arbitration, preaching class harmony and recognition of the mutual cooperation by both the employer and the backwardness of the viet Union. worker or the misrepresenta-tions of our opponents that however, have been exerting pressure of conditions, work-tions of our opponents that however, have been exerting the section of the pressure of conditions, work-the section of the s worker, the necessity of both

JANUARY 7, 1932

Happy Horizons

thers, eschewing selfish aims -which means socialism

In the under-developed newly-liberated countries, the rising bourgeoisie is aware of the force of the ideas of socialism. Hence they try to adulterate these ideas. We have to be alert about this abulteration. The united front in the antiimperialist struggle is ma front in exploitation.

A new "nationalist socialism" is put before the work-er, in which he should agree to be exploited in the name of the country. And this sacrifice of his is called socialism, in which both he and the canita. list are supposed to be work-ing for the nation, whereas in reality, the capitalist works for his profit and the worker gets all the poverty, the pit-tance and crises. In the first flush of justified

national pride, this works for a time, until the laws of capi-talism begin to operate with full force. Then the worker ground down by them, unable to save himself by the few concessions and plenty of

just began". (The Con-gress Election Mani-

HE Congress Govern-ment apparently hopes to win the forthcoming

General Election with the trump card, that, it has in

the Five Year Plans. Let us

nause to think if it has

No doubt in the course of

achievements

the last two Plans certain

in the Second Five Year

It was certainly not a

very impressive prospect. Even if it could really be

per capita income in India

Bank Governor has point

would be, as the Reserve

achieved by 1975, then

any objective basis.

important

Plan.

"The

festo.)

Under Congress Raj

march (forward) last decade, we shall take. last decade, we shall take, not 25 years, but 46 years to achieve this target". In course of a review of achievements, one com-mentator in the official can best be gauged by the success of the Five Plans, the two Plans that are just over and the Third which has

Congress journal says: "According to Dr. Rao's estimate, per capita income of India in 1931-32 was or india in 1931-32 was Rs. 65 at 1931-32 prices, a period of depression. Now in 1958-59, per capita in-come is estimated at Rs. 300 approximately (in fact, much lower A.R.) in terms of 1048-40 mises. Part mises of 1948-49 prices. But prices in 1948-49 are on average five to six times higher than the 1931-32 level. This shows where we stand compared to thirty years ago". AICC Eco Review January 6, 1961).

important achievements have been made in the various spheres of national life. But what impact they And finally, let us listen to the admissions made by the Planning Minister himreally have had on the life of the teeming millions of our people? While intiating the first self. In the course of his opening speech at the last Plan, the Planning Com mission had held out the prospect of doubling the per capita national income within 20 years. This was later modified to 25 years ssion of the Indian Lab our Conference, Guizarilal Nanda said:

"The very well-known facts of the Indian economic situation are that vast masses of the people without the means for the satisfaction of their basic minimum needs of life and that the number of those who are either without gainful employment or are very inadequately employed is very large.

ed out only, equal to the level obtaining in back-ward Ceylon in 1960. Even this modest target seems to be eluding us. In the course of the last 10 years the per capita income at constant prices increas-ed from Rs. 246.3 in 1950-51 appears to be excessive, untenable and lacking justification, in relation to to Rs. 288.8 in 1960-61. i.e. by about 17 per cent. teria

"If per capita income," comments the wellknown comments the wellknown not become", Nanda con-economist Dr. K. N. Raj, tinued, "sufficiently pro-"grows only at the rate ductive or widespread to that it has grown over the make a substantial contricomments the weikhlown economist Dr. K. N. Raj, "grows only at the rate

JANIJARY 7, 1962

The newly grown working class in India is coming to realise this. From this comes

of the bourgeoisie,

the growing strength of the mions and their struggles as also the gains following from them. Such will be the experience of other newly liberated and under-deve loped countries too. But each will come to realise it

in his own way, not by mere preaching in haste, but by slow experience in struggles. Till then, we all will have such variety of names as Indian socialism, Arab Socia-lism, African Socialism and

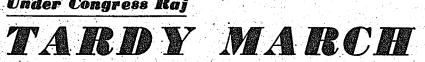
I would like to say a few words on non-alignment and trade unions: Many newly-liberated and under-developed countries have taken the positions of non-alignment in international politics. Their number is

phrases of "nationalist socia-lism", finds the road to class-consciousness, to class strug-

gle, to the correct road of anti-imperialism and patrio-tism, which his innocence, so far, had placed at the mercy the United Nations. The recent voting on the nuclear ban question, where-rialists suffered a defeat; unrialists suffered a defeat, un-derlined the role of these new member nations. India carries great weight in the counsels of these non-aligned nation of Asia and Africa.

Non-alignment, however, is not a purely negative concept. At the Belgrade Conferen these countries adopted platform consisting mainly of two planks: first, of peace and disarmament, and, secondly, of anti-colonialism

Both these points of peace and anti-colonialism detach and anti-colonialism detach them from the imperialist camp in a way and align them with the socialist camp in a way, which con-sistently stands for peace and anti-coloinalism. Thus, non-alignment on this basis, f correctly and consistently followed, takes a positive attitude on the side of peace and freedom. Another fea-ture is that all these coun-tries did not establish a new



270

"Further, the manner in which the income and the wealth of the country is: being shared reflects an order of inequality which

any social or economic cri-"Actually industry has

bution to either raising the levels of living generally or making a real impact on the problem of unemployment and under-employ-ment. It is realised that this would be a longterm process.

"The contention, however, is that the pace of progress now in these directions is much slower than it should be, allowing all the limitation. In rega to the aspect of social justice... the prevailing sentiment is that concentration of wealth and income is increasing and dis-parities are widening".

For a regime, which boasts of its socialistic inclinations, the following admission coming from the mouth of the Plannin Labour Minister is damn-ing, to say the least:

"The gulf between the remuneration of the worker at the bottom of the scale and the salaries at the higher management levels is extremely wide. When we compare our situation in this respect with that of a country like Japan, for. example, the contrast is striking.

"We have not", he con tinued, "succeeded conspi-cuously in the matter of housing for the workers. Largescale programmes have been undertaken car-rying heavy subsidies and loan facilities. Yet it is obvious that the workers who have housing accon modation of a reasonabl standard are a diminish onable ing proportion of the working force and on the whole the housing situation has shown no signs of improve ment. The increasing in-flux into the urban area has ment aggravated the problem".

-AJIT ROY

NEW AGE

W.F.T.U.'S INDIAN **OFFICE - BEARERS**

Among the office-bearers elected to WFTU at the Fifth World Trade Union Congress recently held in Moscow, are included the ided th ollowing from India: S. A. Dange, General Sefollowi

cretary, AITUC has been re-elected as Vice-President. of WFTU. He is also elected a member of the Executive of the WFTU.

K. G. Sriwastava, Secretary. AITUC has been elec-

third bloc, so to say, stand-ing between- the socialist camp and the imperialist camp.

Some people are tempted to apply this line to the trade union field. In India, for example, at one time, many unions disaffiliated from all the national centres and united to form independent federations, "aligned" with no national centre. They thought they were thus getting away from political party contro-versies and controls and becoming pure independent trade unions.

But some national centres dissatisfied with the loss of their unions and their ave-nues of hold over workers, started new rival unions and federations. The phenomenon of unity through non-aligned federations almost came to an end.

If some federations remained non-aligned, their compo-nent unions did not, except in Government services, because of service rules.

The question of daily life, on matters of wages, hours of work, tactics of struggle, became hot questions of politics and partisanship and non-aligned neutral trade unionaligned neutral trade union-ism ceased to have value with the worker, who himself be-gan to take positive attitudes of this or that line of thought and himself ceased to be neutral or non-aligned.

The AITUC was once told in 1951, by some people in our country, to disaffiliate from the WFTU in order to help unity. We agreed to do so, if the ICFTU affiliates agreed to do the same and agreed to unite and struggle on a com mon platform of demands and action. The moment we said this, the suggestion was withdrawn.

The logic of non-align ment of States does not apply to class organisations like trade unions. We, as working class, cannot re-main nentral between bour-geois interests and working class interests. We are on the side of the working class. Else we have no rea son to exist.

Nor can there be such a Nor can there be such a position as non-alignment be-tween the ICFTU and the WFTU. The two represent certain definite policies. The ICETU supports colonialism, war in Algeria, intervention in Cuba, American penetration in India, war against the socialist countries.

The leadership of the AFL-CIO cannot even fight racism WFTU is opposite of this. Where is the place for nonalignment in this You must be for one thing and against the other, if you are with the working class.

What can a third bloc of trade unions do in this? If it is anti-colonialist, peace-lov-

ted an Alternate Member of the Executive of the WFTU.

N. K. Krishnan Member General Council of AITUC, has been elected a Member of the General Council of WFTU

Mohammad Elias, Mem ber, Working Committee of AITUC, has been elected an Alternate Member of the General Council of WFTU.

ing, anti-monopolist, against war, then it will soon be bra-cketed with the WFTU and cease to be non-aligned If it is not all that, then it will soon fall into the camp of the ICFTU. One may not affiliate with either.

But, if one thinks of help-ing unity by starting a so-called independent third bloc, it does not lead to unity. It only helps temporarily to arrest the growth of the unify-ing force that should grow round the WFTU.

Affiliation is not the main question-but common fra-ternal action is the main question. Bourgeois states can take positions of non-alignment. But working. class organisations, which act on class basis, cannot.

In India, even the two ICFTU national affiliates do not agree among themselves not agree among themselves and cannot unite. In fact, we have many common actions of them Many with one unions and political groups in India have formed new na-tional centres saying that they are fed up with disunity among the existing centres.

They want to help unity by forging a new centre, not con-trolled by any political party. The result has been, not unity but five national centres and each one guided by this or that political line or group.

that political line or group. Trade unions by their very nature do not and should not belong to any one political party. Unions, however, do have to do with politics. As such they are bound to be in-fluenced by political parties. The differences of political parties, however, should not parties, however, should not divide the unions. What is the best way, then, to reconcile the differences of politica parties in the bodies of united trade union organisations?

First, there should be agreement on common aims and common programme of action based on class ap-proach. Then there should be democratic functioning. Then, there should be cons Then, there should be cons-tant reference to the rank and file workers in the fac-tory, whose opinion alone can keep us all on the right track. If this is, followed faithfully, the problem of party differences in trade union work can be recover. union work can be resolved. from United class actions

below from issue to issue seems to be the way of unity for us at present, both in the national and international field

We agree with the main conclusions of the reports given by Saillant and Zakaria and the Programme of Action. LONG LIVE THE INTER-NATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS!

LONG LIVE THE WFTU! (The above speech was delivered at the Fifth World Trade Union Congress on December 10, 1961,



Off to celebrate Victory

"QUE DEUS ME PERDOE ... May God forgive me for what I am doing, if it is a crime or a sin". In the early hours of December 18, the listeners tuned to the Portuguese radio in Goa were hearing this song when suddenly the radio went dead, for good

ting and decor for an ancient classical play. Both bear the marks of builets and splinters from grenades that Portuguese soldiers were hurling in mad frenzy from the check-post on the opposite side of the road, at about that time. At Asnora, they had placed two truckloads of dynamite, about 400 cases, and blew up the bridge, damaging at the same time about 40 to 50 houses in the vicinity.

At Tivim, perhaps, they had a little more time. They not only blew up the bridge there. A short distance before it, there was a huge tree adjoining a house. After asking the occupants to run away, they blew up that tree also to blockade the road.

The owner of that house, a doctor and his wife, were sim-ply dazed. The lady, a good Catholic that she was, per-haps did not want to put the ame squarely on anybody. Pointing to a yawning gap in the roof, when I asked her

as to how that had happen-ed, she replied: "You see, we ran away for almost a mile for our lives And I can't say definitely. I think the damage

song when suddenly the radio went dead, for good. A T about that time, the Portuguese were going about blowing up bridges and culverts, mining roads and setting up booby traps. At the Dodmarg checkpost, there is a Church beside a magnificent centuries-old banyan tree whose airlan roots could form a grand set-ting and decor for an ancient New Model and Action and Action and Action and Action and Action New Model and Action and Action and Action and Action Portuguese soldiers". But the doctor was more emphatic: "I cannot under-stand it. Why did they go about blowing up bridges and blowing up bridges and trees? If they wanted to de-fend, they should have fought, but this running away and blowing up...." The couple Were most bitter, because a blowing up...." The couple were most bitter, because a nearby Church, St. Christopher's built in 1647, was also badly damaged.

At Banastarim, in an-other part of Goa, all that was left of the huge steel structure of a bridge at a substantial elevation from the water level was its am-putated arm, protruding accusingly just a little over the river, a mute victim to the last arimes or cinc the last crimes or sins-whatever term they may choose-committed by the Portuguese colonialists on our soil

In fact, hundreds of kilometres that I could traverse on the territory of Goa, I found that practically all bridges and culverts have been blown up or dangerously damaged. The impotent wrath of the fleeing colonialists could do no worse. But was that all they had

intended to do? Here was a colonial regime

breathing its last after al-most 450 years of life. That regime was established on pillage, pilferage, deceit and bloodshed-the 1498 and the 1572 expeditions of Vasco da Gama; the massacre of

60.000 men, women and children in November 1510; the horrible inquisitions of 1517, That regime was now being perpetuated by a colonial power, whose own levers of eco-nomy are held by American and British monopolies and which can only boast of being at the lowest rung of the ladder in the whole of Europe. That colonial power had for its backing the Nato and Seato links, the infamous Dulles-Cunha communique of its December 2, 1955 and the Eisenhower - Salazar agree-ment of May 1960. And that colonial power with its senior partners had plans to convert Goa into a strategic military

All the ammunition and arms, armoured cars and howitzers that we saw in Goa were not just museum pieces. Nor was Goa meant to be a dusthin of Nato. They may be no match to our army equipment. The emergency may have arisen rather too quick in the Portuguese or Nato calculation. But certainly they were sufficient to cause a lot more damage to the people of Goa.

The swift three-pronged advance of the 17th Indian Division finishing its opera-tion in about 26 hours time, must have been too sudden for the "lethargic tension" of the Portuguese mercenaries. to withstand the shock, and street, which could suggest to our Government a sixmonths delay in the use of force for getting "an assur-ance from some powers that they would try (sic!) to evolve means of solving the Goan

GOA After Freedom

problem", when there was "little response from Portu-gal" but when the zero hour, was fast approaching.

There was jubilation in Goa and throughout the length and breadth of our country that the Indian Government had at last taken the final, inevitable step, that it did not repeat the vacillations of 1955 in 1961, whatever the reasons.

Even as I was at the Palam airport on December 19, there were clear signs of animation. It was a special flight to Bombay. Awaiting my turn in the quene to get my ticket endorsed, I heard someone asking an Army Officer: "Shall we be in Panjim by the evening? "Of course, sir, we will," was the confident reply.

Later on, we learnt that the Later on, we learnt that the special flight was arranged for the families who were go-ing to London, in search of jobs presumably. But we pre-ferred to continue to believe that it was arranged because of Goa.

And in Bombay, we had difficulty in hiring a car that could drive us straight to the border. But the employee of the firm was very sympathe-tic. His explanation: "You see, I am glad that you want to go to Goa and write as to what is happening there. I want to help you as much as I could. But my boss, he is only a businessman.

"Supposing you come across a mine and the car gets blown up. The Insurance Company does not accent does not accept such acci-dents. So the boss wants to have at least a couple of thousand rupees in his hands right now".

But that did not matter. We got a car later from a friend, who himself drove us to Belgaum all enthused.

And in Belgaum, we were told that we had taken the trip in vain. The border will remain closed for at least four to five days. By the evening, however, things changed. Early morning we were to be taken in the first bus, special-ly arranged for the journa-lists who were there, to Goa. The journey was indeed thril-ling. Mines were there, but they were lying on the road-side, being removed by the Army by then:

occasion for our Government when it could heast of so unanimous a support for its action from the public.

We were heading for Goa, without any visas or permits. just as we would for any other

Just as we would for any other part of our country. Time and again had the Goan people risen in revolt against the colonialist op-pression. In 1582-83, the peopression. In 1552-55, the peo-ple of five villages had risen to break away from Portu-guese rule. In 1654, a local Catholic priest had led a re-

One could only wish now that the other "obstacles" nation to fulfil the historic in the despatch. of press telegrams were also not there. For, rare indeed is the populations which are com-prised therein..." declared that brazen exponent of White supremacy.

The people of Goa took up that challenge. The year 1946 saw a big mass movement against Portuguese tyranny. Thousands were arrested. many were exiled to Africa, many were given savage sentences.

occasions during one's sojourn through Goa when one came across such demonstrations The year 1955 saw a power-ful mass movement. not only across and manifestations of jubila-tion for the liberation of Goa, in Goa but throughout India August 1955 "March on Goa",

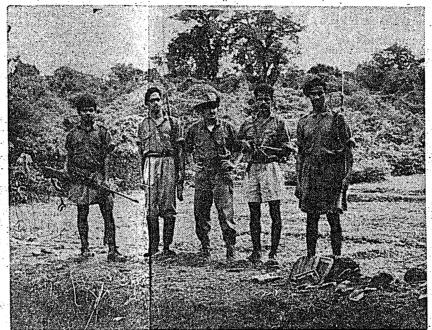
Exhilirating was the sight of popular enthusiasm and welcome that one saw in free

At Mapuca, we saw the first popular welcome. Hur-riedly made Indian flags fluttering over houses and

nuttering over houses and shops in the background, old and young, children and women beaming with smiles, with flags in their hands standing along our way, renting the air with "Bharat Mata ki Jai!"

Quite frequent were the

Goa those days.



With arms they fought for freedom

volt. In 1787 there was an-other rebellion of which patriotic Goan priests were the leaders. Between 1755 and 1912, there were no less than twenty armed revolts. Over fifty po-

pular uprisings in the Portuguese territories are recorded by Indian historians. In 1926 Salazar promulgat-

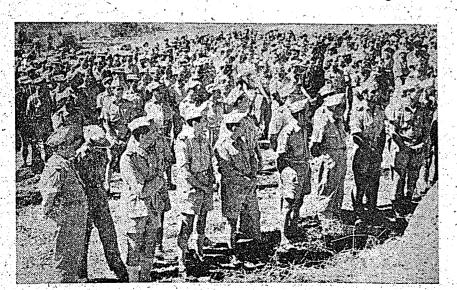
ed the odious Colonial Act. 'It belongs to the organic

a march of unarmed people, of workers, peasants, intelli-gentsia and other classes of people from all over the country, a march in organising which our Party had played a leading role, will ever re-main written in letters of blood in the history of the

liberation struggle of Goa. And at long last, Goa was now liberated, the colonialist shackles had broken asunder.

of solidarity with the rest of India and of admiration for the clean job done by the army. technician working at. Vasco da Gama airport, who was on duty when our air

force put two Portuguese planes, TAP-DC8 and TAIP-DC4 out of action, was all praise for the operation that was conducted with an eye on causing minimum of casmal-







Gifts from NATO



Welcome to our Army

I learnt from him. But not very rare either

were certain comic aspects of these demonstrations and at times even apprehensive portents

While the Military Governor's press conference was on, a demonstration passed along the road outside that former Governor General's palace, apparently for the edification of the otherwise sceptical journalists

At Mardol, a truckful of demonstrators were going for a meeting in Ponda. Next to the driver was seated. evidently their organiser. His militancy was undoubtedly very commenda-ble. Fifteen years back he was in Dr. Lohia's Socialist Party. Later on he took to business. Now he wanted to business. Now he wanten w join the Congress and enrol members for the Congress because just now Congress is "vazandar" (carries weight).

At Margao a demonstration was passing along a street one evening. Some workers, students, office employees, small shopkeepers, a few girls in saris, a few priests in eccle-siastic robes and in their midst an immaculately dressed stately figure, rather too clearly out of place there. I went up to him and he was kind enough to invite me to join the procession. Upon en-quiry I learnt that he was the owner of perhaps the biggest shop of that town, a well-

known millionaire from that place. In Goa, under Portuguese colonial rule, there existed not a semblance of any de-

mocratic liberties. In a terriwith 80 per cent illite

s-only two in this case as earnt from him. But not very rare either and write in Portuguese and re certain comic aspects of ese demonstrations and at of political reliability.

With the result that barely 20,000 of the six to seven lakh inhabitants of these former three colonies had even enjoy. ed the right to participate in the elections to the Govern-ment Council. There was till today no question of a popu-larly elected legislative body.

All political organisations. save the fascist organisation Mocidade Portuguesa and its women's wing, were ban-ned. Practically no Goan was ever appointed to any res-ponsible policy-making post. A system of heavy taxation, coupled with a system of forced labour which the Portuguese benignly called "direct work" enforced with all the instruments of colo-nial oppression had kept the people in a state close to slavery.

The various political organisations, the National Congress of Goa, the Goan People's Party, the Azad-Goman-tak Dal and their various common platforms, like the Goa Liberation Council headed by Dr. T. B. Cunha, and the National Campaign Commit-tee for Goa headed by Aruna Asaf Ali, that came up in one phase or the other of the struggle for Goa's freedom odds with their leading cen-tres chiefly outside Goa.

On the other hand, these struggles have thrown up many militant Goans who fought the Portrguese bra-vely and suffered jail and torture for years, but who not only are not affiliated t

any political organisation but even seem to have de-veloped an aversion against them.

The problem of democratic liberties of the Goan people, hence, cannot be solved by simply substituting the In-dian National Flag by the Congress Flag, now that the liberation task is over.

Goa has natural reso in abundance. But its mining industry, the most important branch of its economy, is in the grip of American, Japa-nese, Italian and West German companies and not only Portuguese.

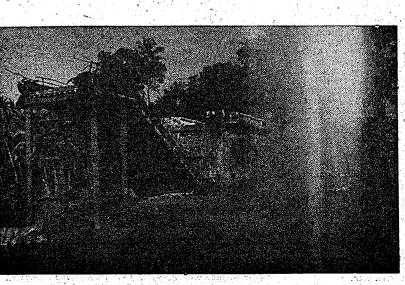
Goa has a luxuriant vegetation. But there prevails in agriculture one of the most backward system, the fallow land system.

Ultramarino, the Portuguese Bank in Goa, is connected with the Valican Institute for Religious Affairs; in other words, the banking there was Bank in in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church.

Finally, the population of Goa includes about 35-40 per cent Goan Christians who must not be given any cause for apprehension.

A successful handling of these problems requires, first of all, a democratic set-up in Goa in the shortest possible Goa in the shortest po time. The eventual form of the administrative set-up there within the framework of the Indian Constitution. will obviously have to be decided by the Goan people them-selves and not imposed upon them from the Centre.

-RAZA ALI



The Banastarim bridge, a victim of colonists' impotent wrath



While Salazar and his friends of the NATO bloc mourn the liquidation of 450 years old rule over Goa, Daman and Diu; we continue to receive heart-warming news-messages, congratulations, commentaries and statements-from all corners of the world supporting the march of Indian army for completing the independence of Mother India.

TASS brings news of a public meeting in Moscow, held on December 27 at the International Friendship House, to hail the liberation of Goa. The meeting supported the action of the Republic of India in liberating her ancestral lands, Goa, Daman and Diu, from the Portuguese rule. The speakers at the meeting. Vice-President of the Soviet Union Cultural Relations Society, Vladimir Bala-bushevich, Prof. Alexei Dya-kov, Executive Secretary of the Soviet Afro-Aslan Solidarity Committee, writer Anato-Safronov and others, noted that all progressive humanity hailed the resolute action of the Government and people of India as a triumph for jus-

Addressing the meeting Dr. Ashraf stressed that the victory gained by the Indian people has been possible by the support of the Socialist countries with the Soviet Union at their head and the magnificent solidarity of the Afro-Asian community. the India Embassy in M loscow thanked the Soviet people and the Government for their frisupport.

China's

Welcome

The Chinese daily Kwanzing published an article of s commentator on December 23. It declared, India's reco very of Goa. Daman and Diu is "a tremendous victory for the Indian people in defence of their sovereignty and ter-'ritorial integrity and national unification"

commentator further The "It is a victory for all the countries and peoples opposing imperialism and colonialisn The Chinese neonle extend their heartiest con-gratulations to the Indian gratul people on this".

Recalling that the Portuguese authorities repeatedly and arbitrarily rejected pro-posals of the Indian Government to settle the Goa questions by neaceful means, he pointed out that "the colo-nialists will never lightly give up their colonial interes

Giving the case of Goa the commentator exposed the complete identity be-tween the new coloniaists of the United States and the old colonialists on the question of suppressing the national independence

struggle. When the Indian Governnent announced the entry of Indian troops into Goa, the commentator recalls, the United States supported Portugal's "complaint" in the Security Council against India, alleging that the U. N. Charter had been "undermined'

The United States also submitted jointly with Britain, France and Turkey, a draft resolution demanding the imnediate withdrawal of Indian troops from Go

PAGE TEN

eye with bold front page headline on December 18: The imperialits bloc head ed by the United States regards the United Nations as a tool for carrying out its im-perialist and colonialist poli-

It was the only paper in Bri-tain to support India's action. In a brilliant and hard-hitting editorial on Decem-bar 10 it acid undor the bard cies, the article says. It points out "It woud be unrealistic, therefore, for any-body to expect that the Uni-ted Nations under U.S. control ber 19, it said under the headng: "Converted?" "What remarkable converwould support their struggle for independence and libera sions we are witnessing these days The men of Suez have tion and help them get rid of all become pacifists.

colonial rule". In concusion it said: "The Chinese people have always the Congo to protect Tshom-be and a ceasefire in Goa to protect Portugal. given active support to the struggles of the colonial peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries against imperialism and coloagainst imperation and con-nalism. They regard this struggle as a most effective support to their own resolute struggle to liberate their territory Taiwan".

Cuba Hails

From far away CUBA, it is reported that on Decem-ber 21, the Central Union of Workers of Revolutionary Cuba sent a message to Prime Minister Nehru expressing support for Indian people's struggle to recover Goa, Daman and Diu.

The Cuban Newspaper Hoy in a commentary on December 21 said that "Goa is an inseparable part of In-dia." It described India's action as action". "legitimate

The newspaper Nhadan, organ of the Lao Dang Party, of the Democratic Republic of VIETNAM pointed out that the liberation of Goa. Daman and Diu had again provided the people with experience in the struggle against colonia-lism. Only by carrying out struggles could the colonialist aggressors be driven out. The colonialists are extremely stubborn and reactionary, they would never abandon their rule of their own accord. The BULGARIAN paper Rabotnichesko Delo, organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party, said in a commentary that if there was any lesson te be drawn from India's recovery of Goa, the lesson was that the colonialist would never bestow freedom and in-

dependence on the colonial people. The only way was to drive them out, It pointed out that the im-perialists in Washington, London, Paris and Bonn and their followers again revealed themselves as the enemies of

United States gave their ver-dict in The Worker, December the people of various countries fighting against colonialist oppression and for national independence. The Neues Deutschland, organ of the Socialist Unity 24. It published on its front page an article by Daniel Mason headlined: "Goa freed

by India. Portugal booted out". The article declared "The Republic of India last Party of the GERMAN DE-MOCRATIC REPUBLIC has week removed the last vestiges said in commentary that the anger shown by imperialism at India's recovery of Goa had shown the true face of Nato. This was not freed after more than 400 incidental because coun-tries which suppress could guese imperialists.' never become champions of

The article reported in NEW AGE

of colonialism from its soil when the Indian masses of

Goa, Daman and Diu were

years enslavement by Portu-

by O. P. MEHROTRA

Council

these words the reaction of Jha's statement in Security Goa's liberation: "The action was welcomed thro-ughout the world by free-"The dom-loving peoples as an example for other nations. parts of whose territory are still occupied by colonia-

the right of self-determina-

The Daily Worker, organ of

on December 18: rs March on Goa,

the Communist Party of Great Britain, captures our

long article of Bob Leeson under the caption: "GOA— five centuries of oppression",

"They want a ceasefire in

"When the Portuguese massacre tens of thousands

of Africans in Angola it is justified as the defence of

Western civilisation. When

the Indians move to make

sure the same thing does not happen in Goa, they are accused of 'calculated and deliberate aggression.'

"The real aggression." "The real aggressors are the Portuguese, who con-quered this land thousands of miles away from Portugal and have held it by the

"If the Portuguese had not

used force to hold on to Goa, the whole question would have been settled peacefully.

the whole question would have been settled peacefully. They would have been com-pelled to get out by over-

whelming popular pressure

"But they were determined

to hang on, and this made their forcible eviction inevi-table. As usual, Mr. Gaitskell

tries to have it both ways

saying that Portugal should

not have Goa, but the Indians should leave them in posses-

of Gaitskell can cover up the

fact that the days of colonia-

US Communiate?

The Liberation and the offi-

cial organ of the French Communist Party L'Humanite both criticised Portugal's in-

obstinacy" and fully support-

ed Indian action. L'Humanite said "France

has no right to criticise In-

dia in this matter as the Gaullist solidarity with the Salazar is a colonialist soli-darity. It must remove the

think that the de Gaulle

will make peace in Alge-

The Communists of the

tions of those who still

transigence and "cold

Greetings

lism are numbered.'

"But neither the bysteria

sion of it.

ria"

sword ever since.

"But American and European imperialists assailed India as an aggressor, and de-fended Portugal, whose hands are dripping with the blood of millions of enslaved Afri-

"Liberators March on Goa, Indian artillery sounds knell for colonialists". It printed a

cans in the colony of Angola". Denouncing the role of United States T. V. Press and

radio vis-a-vis Goa, it said "The Press, T. V. and Radio played a disgraceful role in reporting the proceedings of the U.N. Council regarding the liberation of Goa. The de-

Peter Keuneman, General Secretary of the Ceylonese Communist Party, told a pressman "Goa is an integral part of Indian terri-tory. Fortified by the NATO alliance, the Portuguese Government has stubbornly

held on to this enclave, to which it has no right other than that of former colonial conquest, it has also bru-tally suppressed the Goa liberation movement and used Goa as a centre of provocation against the Re-public of India". The latest issue of Forward

(December 22) which speaks for the Communist Party of Cevion has, also noted the march of the Indian army in nunciation of Portugal by Goa. Its columnist Sybil wrote India's U.N. delegate Jha was an article giving the back-almost completely ignored". ground of situation that led The article concluded with to the march of Indian army.

FRATERNAL JOY

CONFEDERATION OF FREE GERMAN TRADE UNIONS, GDR:

"In the spirit of the Fifth World Trade Union Congress we congratulate the Indian people on the liberation of their brothers in Goa, Daman and Diu Down with colonialism in the whole world".

ALL-CHINA FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS:

"Chinese workers warmly support Indian peoples just struggle to end Por-tuguese -colonial rule re-cover Indian territory Goa. We strongly condemn USA headed imperialist coun, tries for openly obstruct-ing and opposing Indian people recovering GOA".

FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, KOREA, PHYONGYANG: "Central Committee of

the Federation of Trade Unions, Korea, in the name of entire Korean working class extends full support and encouragement to Indian working class and people in their just struggle for liberating Goa from Portuguese colonalists who under protec-tion of U.S. imperialists are making desperate efforts to maintain their old colonial rule on Goa. can never stop the just struggle of the Indian peo-ple risen in fight for libeating their own territory and for liquidating colo-"Korean people hre

working class struggling for withdrawal of U.S. imperialists aggressive troops from South Korea and for peaceful unification of fatherland are convinced of that Indian people will certainly obtain full victory in their resoluté strug-

Similar messages have been received by the AITUC from the ALBANIAN and INDONESIAN trade union centre.

INTERNATIONAL INION OF STUDENTS TO AISFS IUS Secretariat The

greets and strongly sup ports the struggle of the Indian people and students for the recovery of Goa. an inalienable part of India,

from the domination of Portuguese colonialists. Im perialists headed by the US. openly oppose the just demand of the Indian nation. This shows once again the true face of imnerialism.

"Desnite the imperialist intrigues, your struggle for the recovery of Goa aga-inst colonialism and imperialists, for safeguarding the independent and sovereignty, supported by the world's peace-loving people, student community will surely be victorious. The liberation of Goa is a contribution to the process of liquidation of colonial-

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

The Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Soli-darity organisation in a statement issued in Cairo on December 20 hailed India's recovering of Goa India's recovering of Goa after 451 years of oppres-sion under the yoke of Portuguese colonialism, and called for intensified peo-ple's struggle in Angola and Morambiana for indexand Mozambique for indepe ence and final victory. independ-

The statement said "This event clearly indicates that imperialism be it Portu-guese, French or other cannot be expected to agree to a peaceful settlement of any colonial problem and that the only successful way is by popular force.

imperialism could not engage in talks with any real sincerity, neither would it ever retreat from its posi-tion unless it is forced by the people".

A group of representa-tives of five African natiotives of five African natio-nalist parties now in Accra —the Pan-Africanist Congress (South African Republic) the United National Independence Party (Nor-thern Rhodesia), the Nationalist Democratic Union of Mozambique, the African Congress (Basutoland) and the African independence party of the Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde islands on December 20 forwarded a message to the Government of India, fully approving of the mea-sure taken by the Indian Government for the liberation of Goa.



Few events since independence have unleashed 450 years of imperialist slavsuch a joyous wave of spontaneous and uninhibited enthusiasm in these parts as the news of the longery awaited liberation of Diu, Daman and Goa,

> In their bones they knew that a blow for the freedom of Goa helps the cause of the left forces in Indian politics and cintinual working up of a hysteria against Socialist China would con tinue to help and streng-then the forces of right reaction in the country and hence they had never, special-ly at this time, contemplated, except with consternation, the prospect of an organised attack for the liberation of

had forgotten that they were anything except Indians: all other differences were drowned into the surging sea of hanniness.

It was a joy, reminiscent of the midnight of August 14, 1947, to see even the tribe journalists, who are has hardly given to showy bursts of emotion, excitedly congratulating one another while discussing the achievements of our army and our people and praising the role of the Soviet Union. After bitterly attacking the role played by Stevenson, two editors were heard loudly ex-claiming in the Press Club that "it is always the Soviet Union who comes to our rescue at crucial moments"!

O N the evening of the 19th,

ing on the radio of the crum-bling down of the last cita-dels of imperialism on the

places hugging and embrac-

ing each other in unrestrained

as the news came beam-

On that day the Czech Ambassador, Dr. Ladislov Simovic happened to be in Lucknow, His sincere support to our cause had won the hearts of all journalists and people who had heard him. The same day the teleprinter had brought the news of the expression of similar unstinted support from somewhere in the south by a representative of the German Democratic Republic. I had never seen such oneness and feeling of scientific kinship being felt with the countries of the Socialist camp as on that

CHINA BOGEY

day.

Just then someone thought of China and said "only China has not expressed solidarity with us." But before he had finished someo e from amon the journalists interjected, "Their radio has just been congratulating us and expres sing support to our action."

With visible relief, a senior newspaperman com-mented, "Whatever their quarrel with us, they have not been unprincipled like the Pakistanis to make common cause with the im-perialist enemy. After all, they are socialists." In one ent the Indian people moment the Indian people had known who are their friends and who are only pretenders.

Prisoners of their own per verted thinking, it were only the hardened Jana Sanghi only the hardened Jana Sanghis and the PSPers who appeared discomfited and a bit crestfallen in the midst of these

JANUARY 7. 1962

soil of India and special editions of the local dailies announced it to the expec-tant city, people flowed out into the streets and market For the happy nonce they those Portuguese pockets on our soil. VISIBLE DISCOMFORT

The Jana Sanghis and the Swatantraites had openly de-clared that the question of Goa was being raised as a diversionary measure. The PSPers were more discreet, but let there be no doubt that they too felt exactly as these political blood brothers of theirs.

Thus, here is what Nana Deshmukh, Secretary of east-ern region of Jana Sangh, had said in a public speech on December 17, "The Congress Government has got ready to free Goa today, this is a matter of satisfaction. But the matter for regret is that it is turning a blind eye towards the more dangerous designs of Communist China. There is no doubt that behind this attempt to give so much importance to Goa lie the partisan interests of the Con-

is merely an Jana (Jana gress. This is me election strategem. Sangh's daily. Tarun Bharat. 18 December) And even after liberation,

when the country was cele-brating the glorious vic-tory, the All India Secre-tary of the Jana Sangh, Jagannath Rao Joshi was lamenting in Lucknow that the Go ment had not irected its attack against the Chinese and de ing the resignation of De-fence Minister Krishna. Menon "as the first step in our struggle against China"! (Tarun Bharat, 20 December 1

20. December.) And the Jana Sanghi daily, Tarun Bharat was saying, "As a matter of fact, the estion of Goa was never either so difficult or compl cated as it was made ou cated Much bigger than the Goa

broblem is the problem of China and now we have to pay attention only to that." (19 December). Well, they expressed simulated happiness, they had to do that, but it was always, 'Yes, but we should have first marched against China". Their souls have become so warped with evil ideology that they could not experience the simple heartfelt joy of an ordinary patriot at the reunion of our brothers after

JANUARY 7 1962

way is by popular force. "For, by its very nature

• P S P Falls In Line

I have yet to come across a single statement from any one of the Jana Sangh leaders expressing simple joy-leave alone pride for the work of our army-at the successful consumma-tion of this great event.

The Swatantraites hardly matter in U.P. and so if none of them has said anything for or against this event or need not bother abou After all it is remembered how their "leader", Minoo Masani had pleaded in Parliament against action h taken against a "few hundred miserable Portuguese soldiers in Goa"

But the PSPers who parade their patriotism like the pro-verbial lady who protests too much cannot be left at that. Not one full-hearted state-ment has come from anyone of this voluble tribe of gentlemen here expressing un-repressed joy on the libera-tion of Goa and the other two enclayes.

Only Triloki Singh, leader in the State Assembly, has bothered to make a comment and this is how he has next and this is now ne has given vent to his great happi-ness: "The nation has re-deemed its pledge of freeing the whole country. He hoped the Chinese occupation would be similarly got vacated soon" (National Heraid 20 Decem (National Herald 20 December).

RANKS REJOICE

Rank and file workers of both the Jana Sangh and the PSP had, along with other patriots, taken part earlier in the fight for Goa's liberation and some of them had even laid down their young lives in this noble cause. But now that the cherished dream of their and our martyrs has been realised the Jana Sangh and **PSP** leaders canno even feel pleased without regret at the course of events!

I have read of meetings and processions being held at scores of places in the State. such as at Lucknow, Kanpur Varanasi, Jhansi, Mau, Ballia, Moghalsarai and Basti, to celebrate the victory. In some of these meetings and pro-cessions the Jana Sanghis and the PSPers were forced to join, such as in Ballia or Kanpur.

But nowhere till today have I read or heard of any meeting or procession being organised either by the Jana Sangh or the PSP to rejoice at the liberation of Goa. Daman and Diu.

Almost all these meetings and processions have been organised either by Congress men or Communists, either separately or jointly. In many places they have tried to hold joint meetings of all citizens irrespective of their political or social affiliations to celebrate the national vic-

tory as common nationals of India

In these meetings they have congratulated our defence forces, the Defence Minister, the Prime Minister and the people of the country. They have criticised the role of the British and American im-perialists and they have ex-pressed a sense of deep grati-tude to the Soviet Union, the other Socialist countries and the Asian-African countries, specially the UAR and Ceylon.

There is hardly any comittee of the Co Party in the State which has not passed a resolution expressing joy at the coun-try's success and there are many Congress committees which have also done the same. This has once again brought out the basic unity of outlook on certain funda-mental questions between the Congress and the Communist Party. The PSP and the Jana Sangh have clear-ly put themselves out of this unity.

The sentiments expressed in these numerous meetings have been the sentiments of all our common people. By and large these same sentiments have been expressed in the com-ments and editorial notes of most of the dailies coming out in U.P.

UNIVERSAL ACCLAIM

Without any ifs and buts. without any regrets that something else was not done, all our dailies like the all our dailles like the National Herald, Pioneer, Aj, Navjeewan, Swatantra Bharat, etc., have welcomed the libe without exception they have criticised the vile role of the British and American im-perialists.

For instance here is what Pioneer (not known for great progressive views) has writ-ten: "The expressions of simulated horror that have been coming thick and fast from the Western, countries against Indian action in Goa are sickening in the extreme.... Oddly enough, the nations which have been airing these condemnations with tongue in check have not themselves been noted for the virtues which they accuse India of violating. Britain which has been the loudest in her denunciations did not come by her Indian Empire in a fit of absent minded

"The Briton, of course, does everything on principle—as Bernard Shaw has reminded the world. He roh business principles and he enslaves you on imperial principles. The blood-soaked principles. record of France in Algeria is common property. The American adventure in Cuba is still fresh in memory, like the Anglo-French misadyanture in the Suez..." (20 De cember).

And they have varying degrees of emphasis and warmth, expressed the nation's gratitude to the Soviet Union for using her veto in favour of India's righteous cause.

The moderate Ai Varanasi has written: "Be-cause of Russia's veto the Western nations were re-buffed in their game in the Security Conncil. If Russia had not supported the just

Uttar Pradesh Newsletter

cause of India there the fraudulent champions of freedom, the imperialist and capitalist nations would have succeeded in putting obstacles in the path of liberation of Goa.

"For this action of the Soviet Union the entire Indian people are today grateful to her and are grateful to her and are thanking her from their heart.

"The Goan struggle has made one thing very clear-which are the countries who really want an end to colo-nialism and are genuine supporters of the freedom oppressed people and which of them still want to keep it in slavery. The people of the oppressed and backward countries will always remember this lesson and remain careful of the imperial ist countries in future' December).

BREZHNEV THANKED

The Pioneer too has said that as a result of betrayal by those who most loudly professed friendship with us "we now find ourselves more definitely on the side of the Communist bloc as never before "

The whole country feels indignant that the British and, even more so, the Americans have stabled us in the back, but you will not catch one Jana Sanghi or PSPer in this State utter. ing even a word of protest against the Americans or their accomplices in crime against our country!

The Jana Sanghi Joshi has only said that the nation must now be careful of Russia!

And our people's reply to such as these is that even to the coincidental presence of President Brezhnev in Bombay at the time of our army's Operation Victory they are giving such importance as can have no basis in fact.

They say that he had timed to be there so that in case the Nato powers had decided to misbehave he could immediately summon help for India from the Soviet Union!

Goa happily is ours now but it will still require a lot of effort on our part to make the lesson of Goa the common consciousness of all our neo-

-Ramesh Sinha



EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

Printed by D. P. Sinha at th EW AGE PRINTING PRESS Jhandewallan Estate, M. M oad, New Delhi, and publishe by him from 74, Asaf All Road New Delhi.

> Telegraphic Address MARXBADI

Phone : 225794 SUBSRIPTION .RATES NLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0

Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0. OREIGN : Yearly Rs. 20-0-0

Half-yearly Rs. 10-0-0. All cheques and drafts to h able to T. MADHAVAN nnde nade payable to T. MA and not to NEW AGE

PAGE ELEVEN

CONGRESS GOONDAISM

The third general elections are still nearly two months away; but the Congress in West Bengal has the Congress. The possibialready started goondaism against the candidates and workers of the United Left Alliance.

of the mounting panic of cially Maya Ray, in unprint-the ruling party at the Left able language. Alliance's powerful challenge But when the leaders ignor-to its unbroken monopoly of ed their threats and abuses power. And, it needs hardly to attacks will be stepped up as the tempo of the election campaign rises.

The first onslaught was launched in Arambagh As-sembly Constituency (Hoo-ghly District) on December 29 under the patronage of P. C. Sen, State Food Minis-ter and Number Two in West Bengal Cabinet.

When Monoranjan Roy, Communist candidate Ghatal Parliamentary Cons-tituency which includes Arambagh constituency, constituency, Siddartha Ray, former Ju-dicial Minister of West Ben-gal and his wife Maya Ray reached the outskirts of Harinkhola village on their way to Arambagh to address election meeting there, they were surrounded by about 20 hired ruffians, led by a notorious goonda Calcutta.

They would not allow the leftist leaders to proceed to the venue of the meeting and.

0

D AL

is undoubtedly a measure started abusing them, espeout.

and tried to move on, the as-sault began. Monoranjan Roy bled profusely from the mouth. Siddartha Ray and his wife were also molested.

When the news reached the village, about a thou-sand people rushed to the scene and the goondas fied in a lorry and a car. But in the hurry to save their skin they left behind four of their accomplices. The villagers would have torn them to pieces if Monoranjan Roy and Siddartha Ray had not saved them from the people's wrath.

Harinkhola village, it appears, is now lost to the Con-gress.

CONGRESS RESIGNATIONS

lity of more people leaving the Congress is not ruled

This sudden burst-up is the culmination of the bitter factional struggle that has been going on for some years now between the two rival groups in Nadia district Congres organisation. The D.C.C. is now controlled by the majo-rity faction, led by Atulya rity faction, led by Atulya Ghose, West Bengal P. C. C. President.

But the rival minority group, though dislodged from power in Nadia, has to be reckoned with. This explains why repeated attempts were made for rapprochament be made for rapprochement be-tween the two warring factions. All these efforts, however, failed.

The rift came out in the open a few weeks ago when an old Congressman. Dr. Nilinakshya Sanyal, decided to contest a Deputy Minis-ter from Karimpur Constituency. He has been already debarred from the primary membership of the Congress for six years; but that has not deterred a large number of active Congress workers in the constitu from going over to his side.

NEW AGE

dependents" against the offi- Nadia district with the object cial Congress nominees, all of whom belong to the majority

constituencies.

of toning up the drooping morale of his own followers in faction, in five other Assembly the face of the activities of dissident Congressmen on the one hand and the powerful offensive mounted by the United Left Alliance² on the

From Jnan Bikash Moitra

JANA SANGH'S TREACHERY

SPOTLIGHT

thought. was happy at the liberation of Pandit Deendaval Unadhyaya issued a really brave statement saving moralising". that "India's action is a The outpouring of the nail in the coffin of colo-

nialism and a step further in the march of the world towards freedom B UT that was on December 19, two days after the great event began, when perhaps even these sturdy warriors for the Western cause thought discretion to be the better part of valour. They dared

whom the editor has specially commended as a very "brilliant" contribuhas written a long ay "The Aftermath of a" which ends on a significantly dolorous note.

"Thus we enter in a new year as dishevelled as ever, but less sure of ourselves than ever in the past." "Goa", this Jana Sanghist

says. "is the first fruit of the posturings of the Afro-Asian bloc which has pres-sed nationalist sentiment to subserve Communist in-

"We have become Russia's client in a very com-promising fashion", he again wails. He calls the Goa action "as our adven-ture for all it was worth" and mouths the anti-patriotic slander that "Russia's decisive move to under-write our adventure" decisive move to was responsible. for the great event.

The tearfulness of this Jan Sanghist at a great aftermath is indeed tell-

In the same issue of the Organiser, there is an-other piece on Goa written by the tabloid's editor K.R. Malkani himself, who at present is basking in the States in the sunshine of a well-earned patronage. The gentleman has penned forth a gushing report from

The Jana Sangh, I Cambridge (USA) on the "U.S. storm over Goa". Ac-Goa. cording to him, Americans were trying to use Goa "as a good stick with which to beat India for its erstwhile

> Jana Sanghist scribe is not one whit different from the tune set by the Western press. The Daily Express, in effect said, the same thing in other words when it observed: "At seven o'clock last night Prime Minister Nehru of India, the selfappointed conscience of the world, stood revealed to everyone as a blatant and shameless aggressor."

> Not only Malkani, but the other dolorous dolt of a Jana Sanghist commentator described as "hrilbeen calling upon all war-ring groups to compose their differences their differences peace-fully, who had proclaimed that wars settle nothing, has at least been caught eating his own words".

The significance of these Jana Sanghist outpourings cannot be missed. It is evident that they stand with the opponents of India in regarding Goa action as an immoral act. For all their proclaimed support for the action, they are as active with brush and tar against India as their guru of the West.

Malkani has even out-Heroded Herod. He has written: "I think it was singularly inappropriate to have the Goa action during the visit to India of Ru sian President Brezhnev (sic!). Obviously the Goan action and Mr. Brezhnev's visit were planned months in advance. Who decided to have them simultane-ously? And why?"

Even though the Jana Sangh scribes are a singu-larly moronish brood, they can hardly be unaware of the treasonous nature of this kind of calumnious propaganda.

Jana Sangh reaction Jana Sangh reaction, as it is being unfolded in the -columns of its mouthpiece is essentially at par with that of their twin soul, the Swatantra which has come out more openly in criti-cism of it. Its columnists are letting it down by their pique.

-GARUDA

JANUARY 7-1962

Slanders Answered

charge concerns.

must provide an answer. The CPI has, it is well

known, a proud record of

struggle and sacrifices in

the cause of India's inde-pendence. The present lea-dership of the Party in-

cludes many who were in the forefront of the anti-

imperialist movement. Many of them were staunch Congressmen who later saw through the com-

promising and hesitant role of the bourgeois leadership

of the Congress in the

us. we

ON October 29, 1961, the Congress President Sanjiva Reddy said the Communist Party of India was not an independent party as it had to agree to and bey decisions made outside. He urged Congressmen to make this position clear to the people. Sanjiva Reddy went on: "We have just thrown away one foreign rule and if we allow again some other power to come to India, it will take us not two centuries but a much lon-

ger period to throw them

for whom the Communists are working, does not care

The Congress President

has specially charged the CPI with "working" to

bring in a "foreign power" in India and his listeners

were left in no doubt that

the "foreign power" he had

How far it is ethical for the President of the ruling

party of a country to slan-der another country which

has admittedly extended moral and material support

to strengthen India's inde-

pendence and help her build an independent na-

tional economy and which has the "friendliest" rela-tions with the Government

of his own party, may be left to Reddy's own Gan-

But in so far as the

conscience.

mind was the Soviet

" to

for public opinion".

Unethical

Behaviour

as this foreign power,

struggle for independence. It were the various Communist groups in the 1920s who first raised the slogan of complete indepen while the dominant wing of the Congress leadership was indulging in the pipe-dreams of Dominion Status.

It is of some interest to note that a recent academic note that a recent academic study of the present Par-liament has shown that man to man the Commu-nist MPs have spent more years in British jalls than MPs from any other party, including the Congress.

After the attainment of political independence, the CPI has consistently struggled for a policy of national reconstruction and national strengthening.

It has supported the Congress Government in all such measures of its policy as would strengthen our national économy, e.g., growth of public sector, de-velopment of heavy and basic industries, develop-ment of indigenous arms industry.

industry. It has also supported the progressive aspects of our foreign policy of non-

cans wanted Bokaro to be their "show-piece" in India, it was insisted that the entire project and its execution should be in the American

* FROM FRONT PAGE

ernment of India and, finalthe Americans agreed to its being entirely in the public sector with the Development Loan Fund giving credit for the project to cover the foreign exchange

Following this, further bargaining started about the channelising of the American ald and the construction ar-rangements. To keep a whip their own was given out that full aid ld not be announced till after sorting out of the thod of administering aid: who will get the money and how it will be spent. Claiming that the Ameri-

Such an arrangement is clearly to the disadvantage of this country. Our real requirements from the foreign countries for setting up a new steel plant are: foreign exchange, equip-ment which cannot be ma-nufactured here and help to

knowld be in the American hands. Indian engineering talent was, accordingly, to be relegated to a subordinate position while a US agency was to be created for design,

engineering, construction and supervision of construction.

supplement local training

AJOY GHOSH'S PROGRAMME

January 6, 7 and 8:	BIHAR
January 11 and 12:	PUNJAB
January 15, 16, 17 and 18:	TAMILNAD
January 20, 21 and 22:	KARNATAK
January 24, 25, 26 and 27:	ANDHRA PRADESU
January 29, 30 and 31:	KERALA
*****	***********
JANUARY 7, 1962	



The P. C. C. boss and the leader of the majority group, Atulya Ghose, is now touring other

COMMUNISM AND PATRIOTISM

and states

alignment and peaceful co-Surely, this cannot be

the role of a political party which wants to weaken ou bring in a "foreign power" Reddy would have us be-

lieve the slander that over 12 per cent of the electorate who voted for the CPI in the last general elections were all foreign agents.

Moreover, on what his-torical grounds is it main-tained that Communism puts an end to the love of one's country? Did the Russians cease

to be patriots after the Re-volution? Or did they not make their country the most progressive, advanced and powerful in the world? Or, more recently, has the Chinese Government made China more or less independent and strong than it was before libera-tion in 1949?

Why must we then assume that the Indian Communists are an exception?

Communist

Policies

Communism is not the antithesis of nationalism, it only rids it of its evil aspects and brings out the truest and the best in the

truest and the best in the life and culture of a people. A Communist India, it can be confidently assert-ed, would be a strong India and, therefore, also a more-independent India. In fact, all the measures the Communists have been advo-cating since 1947 have been directed towards making our country strong and our people prosperous

Why is it then that the Indian Communists are generally in agreement with the Soviet Communists? It is because both are guided in their assess-ment of a particular situa-tion by the application of a scientific philosophy-the philosophy of Marxism.

The case is similar to a large extent to that of an Indian and an American and a Russian scientist arriving at the same con-clusions in regard to, say, rocketery, as all three of them would be guided by the same laws of physic

Such a broad agreement among the Communists of different countries does not rule out the possibility of differences on specific que

Take, for example, the recent differences in the international Communist movement, together with basic unity That the Con munist Party of India has differences of opinion with the Com nunist Party of China is also known to all, except those who not know!

Lastly, it is sometimes pointed out that Commu-nism is an alien doctrine imported into India from outside This is not however, quite clear to us.

How is the philosophy of Marxism allen—simply be-cause it was first developed and stated abroad? Do we have to discover all scien-tific knowledge for ourselves from scratch and inanew all scientific

Are Newton's laws and Einstein's theory of rela-tivity alien to India?

In that like individual's liberty and freedom and the whole ideology of bourgeois par-liamentary democracy, including the so-calle cialist pattern" of society by which Reddy and his party swear, are also not quite Swadeshi!

The very capitalism which his party is busy nurturing and building in India is a foreign import

Then the only "Indian" things in India are the are the caste system and economic backwardness, which the Jana Sangh hugs to its

Worth Of Ideology

In fact, the worth of the ideology of capitalism or socialism is to be judged by the criticism not of their the criticism not of their places of origin or first statement but of their value to humanity today. But, perhaps, even Reddy is a "realist" enough to know realist" enough to know that the philosophy of capitalism and the path of capitalist development cannot today stand up to the philosophy of socialism, i.e., Marxism and the path of socialist development in this respect.

Hence, his effort to mis-lead his listeners with false cries. Truly, he behaves like a juggler, who diverts the attention of his audience towards the sky so that they may not see what his hands are doing.

-B. K. MITRA

U.S. WANTS FULL CONTROL

and know-how which has already been accumulated to a certain extent.

If this experience and the opportunity to develop it fur-ther is lost or given away at the command of the Ameri-cans, India will have only taken a step backward.

Accordingly, Government of India proposed that Indian engineering talent would take the overall engineering and coordination of activities and the US agency could scruti-nise the project report and and help in production know-how and training services.

The experience of this country is that the one steel project which is per-forming the best is Bhilai and there foreign control was the least-because the Soviet policy was such-and Indian participation maximum at the construc-tion stage and confidence then generated has helped in the next stage of operation of the mill.

Meanwhile, as the negotiations were still dragging; Go-vernment of India commissioned an Indian firm of consultants. Dastur & Co., to prepare the project report for Bokaro. The preliminary re-port submitted by this firm has been praised by foreign

NEW AGE

experts as well as the Steel Minister.

However, since then the Steel Ministry appears to have begun to succumb to the American pressure and has been tending to give the impression that it might be willing to hand over the pri-mary responsibility to the Americans, placing the In-dians in a subordinate posi-Americans tion.

An agreement finalised with the Indian firm of consul-tants some months back still remains to be signed, pre-sumably for that reason.

With the new develop ments following Goa's libe ration, the American administration. under pressure from certain vested interests in the American steel in-dustry, which in any case are not favourably inclined to the project, appears to be trying to take advantage of the hesitancy and uncer-tainty on the part of the Steel Ministry, to reverse the Government's stand about the control of the project. They are now back at their istence on having the decisive authority and in addition are hinting that because of the reorganisa-tion of the whole aid mechanism in Washington, aid

anyway. The Prime Minister is understood to have now taken a direct hand in this matter, with a view to expediting the

for Bokaro will be delayed

work on the project. He has recently taken up the question with the Steel Ministry; expressing concern that already the negotiations over it have taken too long a time. The Prime Minister has time. The Prime Minister has also made it clear that while the Americans could be given some authority in technical matters, there should be no reason why Indians should be denied over-all authoirty.

Dawn Of Space Era BY B. S. DANILIN

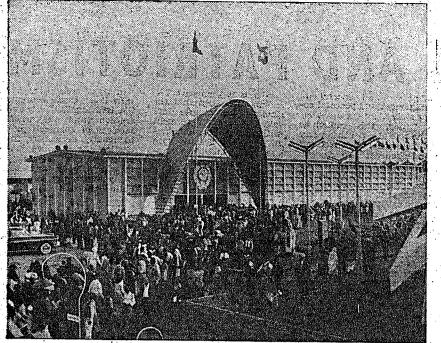
Re 258

For the first time published in English this booklet sur-veys the achievements of Soviet Scientists in probin Cosmic Space and unearth ing its secrets.

P.P.B. BOOK STALL 190-P Khetwadi Main Road BOMBAY 4.

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE (P) LTD. Rani Jhansi Road. New Delhi:

PAGE THIRTEEN



The Soviet Pavilion at the Indian Industries Fair

The forty-two meters high tower, representing flight of the first Soviet rocket to space, in front the USSR pavilion at the Second Indian Industries ir proudly depicts the Communist victory in the the flight of the first Soviet rocket to space, in front of the USSR pavilion at the Second Indian Industries of the USSR pavilion at the Second Indian Industries Fair proudly depicts the Communist victory in the cosmos. The thousands of men, women and children who visit the exhibition every day do not mind the long queues to see the fruits of socialist labour and man's glory in the Soviet stall.

in the second state of the

ses of the prosperity that the Soviet people are enjoying today and planning for to-morrow. More than 10,000 square metres of the total area, in which the pavilion covers only 2,300 square me-ters, is flooded by the expect-ant visitors every day. On holidays when there is lot of rush the guides have a difficult time answering the

difficult time answering the queries of the people, among whom many ask the prices of various commodities and the address from where they can purchase them

ACHIEVEMENT AND PROMISE

The Soviet pavilion gives an idea of the life and work of the people who were first in establishing socialism in their country. It vividly tells how the Soviet people after aboli-shing the exploitation of man by man for all times, have transformed a backward agrarian country, as Tsarist Rus sia was in the past, into a mighty industrial power, which not only guarantees rising living standards for its

O VER 8,000 exhibits in the USSR pavilion give glimp-ses of the prosperity that the own people but unselfishiy ex-tends the hands of coopera-tion to other peoples, outside the Soviet Union. It, finally, holds out the promise and prospects of increasing mu-tual trade and cooperation.

Some of the exhibits tell us in concrete terms what Indo-Soviet friendship and economic cooperation means both in the technical field both in the technical field and trade. The trade be-tween India and the USSR is growing very fast. In the last five or six years it has increased more than 12 times. The present exhibi-tion is bound to force the tion is bound to favourably the trade between the two countries will grow further as a result of the Soviet participation in the present Indian Industries Fair.

statue of V. I. Lenin—the founder of the Soviet State. This statue which weighs 3.5 tons has been heartfully sculptored by Manizer. There are three sections in the entrance hall. In one of these sections a photo exhibi-tion acquaints the visitor with the construction of the Nei-A visit to the Soviet pavilion and constitution of the Nel-velli power project (to pro-duce 2,00,000 kwt of power) and the Bhilai metallurgical plant which aims to produce enlightens us not only about the great cosmic strides of Soviet science and the rapid industrialisation of USSR but it also gives us an idea of the vear. future prospects of Commu-nism—a society of plenty where the goal of "each ac-cording to his needs" will be realised. A little ahead are models of five undertakings which are being constructed in India with the Soviet aid. But these realised. are only few representatives, The tens of thousands who for during the Third Plan

itself Soviet Union proposes to help our country in build-ing 30 industrial projects. AID TO INDIA

Of the models shown, the heavy machine building plant at Ranchi will be the largest of its kind in the whole of South East Asia. The plant will produce 80,000 tons of heavy machinery per year which will increase upto 165,000 tons per year in future.

The Durgapur mining implements plant will turn out 45,000 tons of machinery per year, which will be sufficient to extract eight million tons of extra coal per year as has been envisaged in the Third Plan.

The Rishikesh anti-biotic plant will produce up to 300 tons of life saving medicines, like penicillin, strepto-mycin chloro-tetracyclin Temycin chlo tramycin, per year.

The surgical instrument plant of Madras will produce up to 2.5 million surgical instruments.

 Pharmaceutical works of Hyderabad will produce 850 tons of products a year, including Sulphademicin, anti-tuberculor medicine, vitamins etc.

the USSR has emparated upon is proof positive of her deep desire to live in peace and prosperity. They will naturally convey this message to mil-lions who have not seen it. After noting this friendly For those who have not seen the Soviet pavilion it is worthwhile to know what is being exhibited here at Ma-thura Road. Entering the record of Soviet aid to our country an Indian visitor naturally feels grateful to the Soviet Union. His friendly feelings towards Soviet Unit

PA

finds ready response from

another section in this very hall.

hall. A glance on the Soviet Books which are exhibited in another section of the Hall reveals that in the USSR In-

reveals that in the USSR In-dian authors are already very popular. Three hundred and sixtyfive books of 45 Indian authors have been published in the Soviet Union. These books include the works of Rabindra Nath Tagore, Pan-dit Nehru, Dr. Radhakrishnan Dr. Rajendra Prasad and even Ramana and Mahabarat

Ramayana and Mahabharat

Leaving the entrance hall one comes across working models of a 320 thousand kwt

turbo-generator and a 225 kwt hydro-generator which are being assembled on An-gara in Siberia at the Bratsk hydel station. Twenty such

machines will work at Bratsk hydel station. After comple-tion this station will generate as much energy 'as is being generated by worlds' two big-gest stations in USSR now.

This grand programme of electrification is part of the programme of building programme of building Communism in USSR. The Soviet people are always conscious of Lenin's historic words: "Communism is So-viet Power plus electricity". According to the new 20 years plan of economic development the USSR will pro-duce between 2,700,000 and 3,700,000 million kwt of electricity energy by 1970.

BUYERS ATTRACTED

Going ahead in the next hall the ordinary visitor gets lost in machinery of different kind. It is, however, this sec-tion which has prospective customers in our country. India can learn a lot from the Soviet experience, for Soviet Union too, only 44 years ear-lier, was a backward agricultural country under Tsarist rule.

During the years of Soviet power, total industrial pro-duction has increased 45 times, out of which machine building and metal processing industries have increased pro-duction by 350 times. Machi-nes which are being produced in the Soviet Union are subjected to constant improvement.

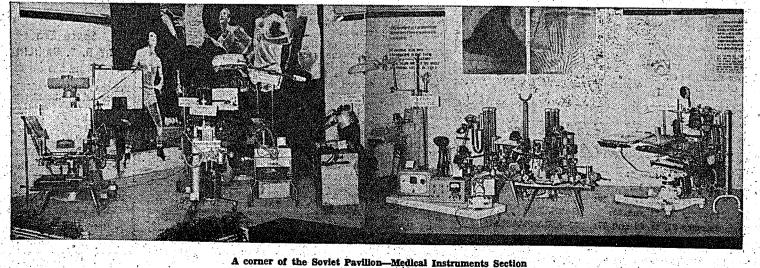
Metal-cutting lathes a exhibited in the second hall

of the pavilion. Some these machines have been highly praised by Indian machine - building firms. Many orders have come from such big firms as God-rej and Boyce Manufactur-ing Co. Ltd., Bombay, Elec-tric Construction and Equip-ment Company, Ltd., Cal-entia.

cutta. The textile and hosiery machines in this hall receive wide attention of many a visitors. A representative of a Textile Mill at Dehradun ex-plained to me that the textile machinery being supplied to them by the Soviet Union competes very favourably in both price and quality. The landed cost of some of these machines is 25 to 30 per cent cheaper than those

available where.

JANUARY 7, 1962



the USSR has embarked upon

pavilion in the centre of the hall all eyes are captivated by a four-meter high bronze statue of V. I. Lenin—the

the construction of the Nei-

a million tons of steel per

SO\

PAGE FOURTEEN

NEW AGE

Sputnik Draws Crowds

The composing and slug-casting machine (Lino type) are also on display in the section. The price quotation for this machines too. are atthis machines too, are at-tracting prospective custom-ers. The Indian stockist of

comes across interesting ins-truments for examining the apple of the eye and the depth of the eye ball; the sphere-meter for measuring the ses and an

In the medical section one

MONUM

these machines are always busy in answering various en-quiries from the visitors.

The biggest attraction in the pavilion is the model of Moscow TV Tower which will be the highest of its kind in the world. It's height, 520 metres, is higher than the Eiffel tower of Paris which is only 300 me-tres high. This is always crowded for here on the television screen visitors can see their own images.

SPLENDID AIR CRAFT

A little ahead from here are the models of the Soviet transport machines. among them "Meteor" and "Raketa". steamers with underwater wings, railway wagons and

The most popular exhibits The most popular exhibits in this section are the models of world famous air-lines TU-104 with a capacity of 100 seats, a cruising speed of 850 kilometres per hour and the flight roof of 12,000 metres; the TU-114 with 200 seats, a cruising speed of 740 kilome-tres per hour and flight roof upto 10,000 metres, and the II, 18 with 84 seats, cruising speed of 650 kilometres per hour and roof upto 9,000

netres. A wide variety of Soviet Instruments are displayed in the pavilion. There are about 00 types of optical, electronic, type of measurements, eg, vibration, displacement, thick-section.

ANUARY 7, 1962

EN OF versal microscone

versal microscope of high accuracy. Here a film on de-licate heart operations is also shown to the visitors.

During 1961-80, under the During 1961-80, under the 20-year. Plan of building Communism, in addition to the free medical services, which already exist in USSR for a long time, free accommodation of patients in the sanatoria and free dispensation of medicine will also be achieved.

Outside the Second Hall, In Outside the Second Hall, in the open space are displayed life-size drilling machines. They remind the visitors of the genuine help the Soviet. Union has given to India in striking oil and other useful mineral deposits in Cambay, Ankleshwar and Ahmedabad.

One of the exhibits. the self-propelled drilling ap-paratus, URB-3 Am has alparatus, UKB-3 Am nas ai-ready been bought by the Madras Government. The Kashmir Government has also bought five drilling ma-chines of 21F-300 and another five of GP-1 type.

SOLAR ENERGY

Just near to this spot is the solar energy section. Here the seven models show the prin-ciple of using solar energy. There are two solar kitchens equivalent to a 800 watt elec-tric store. It can boil 3.5 litres of water in 15-20 minutes an



Some of the models of the solar oven shown in this pavi-lion are so powerful as to e a temperature upto degrees centigrade. are used for melting produce a temperature 3,000 These are

tilling water. Such a boiler can boil 40 litres of water per

generator is also being shown MAN

here. About 40 agricultural ma-About 40 agricultural ma-chines, including different types of tractors, cotton plu-cking machines, tea plucking machines, harvesters and other type of machines, are at display at the exhibition. at display at the exhibition. On any day one can see a scores of agriculturists mak-ing enquiries from the agents who deal with this section of Soviet machinery.

MACHINES FOR LAND

In the USSR during the Soviet power, the cultivated area increased from 250 to 500 million acres. About 33 500 million acres. About 33 million people are engaged in agriculture and they are helped in their work by two million tractors (calculated on the basis of 15 hp), more than half a million harvest-ing combines about 600 ing combines, about 800 million automobiles and millions of other agricul-tural machines. Machines have relieved the peasant of heavy manual labour.

Many unfriendly and illintentioned critics of the So-viet economy repeat the age-old slander of lack of consum-

BY O. P. MEHROTRA

There is a riot-of colours in Another model shows a radio being run by a solar battery. The Soviet Union, I was told by the man in charge of this section, is building a 200 kwt solar electric station. A solar battery. The Soviet Union, I was told by the man in charge of this section, is building a 200 kwt solar electric station. A solar being shown A s

It is here that the ordinary people come to know that all types of consumer goods are not only manufactured in USSR but they are better in quality and cheaper in prices. Similarly, the automobiles, cars, busses, scooters etc., dis-played in another section compete with the best availcompete with the best avail-able in the world.

able in the world. And yet it is true that the demand for consumer goods in USSR is increasing every year. This can be understood if we remember the fact, that the income of the Soviet peo-ple is increasing every year, wages of workers and em-ployees are rising, incomes of the collective farmers are going up and the old-age pen-sion rate has been consider-ably raised.

The motto of the Soviet The motio of the Soviet society is: "Everything for man and his well-being". The 20-years programme of building Communism in USSR envisages an average of 3½ times increase in the income of the Soviet people.

In a word, a visit to the Soviet pavilion in the Indus-tries Fair is a pilgrimage to



In Soviet sanatoria, rest er goods in the USSR. Those homes and animal husbandry farms in the southern part of the Soviet Union solar bollers the Soviet Union solar bollers the southern and dimensional the southern and dimension of the southern and dimension of the south a solar the south and th the Soviet Union solar bollers tries Fair can imagine how are used for bolling and dis- blatant a lie this is.

twenty years is going to establish the most just sys-tem of human society-COM-MUNISM



NEW AGE

PAGE FIFTEEN

NUNMATI-BASTION ÔF FREEDOM

起源的新闻

Nunmati

"A new chapter opens in the country's industria. lisation with the refinery here going on stream", de-clared Prime Minister Nehru, inaugurating the first oil refinery in the public sector. He praised Rumania for its cooperation and said that it was a small country compared to India, yet its experience in oil industry

It was a brightly lit morn-ing, the first morning of the New Year. The sun shone on the silvery tanks and the towers of the refinery gleam-ed the bowl-like space; sur-rounded on all sides by hills, that now houses this project.

Only two years ago there was nothing here and nobody had heard the name of this small suburb of Gauhat small suburb of Gaunati-Nunmati. Today fifteen thou-sand people had gathered, as it were, to celebrate New Year's day with this great event. event.

The Prime Minister refer-red to India's search for oil. In the beginning, he said, people came from Britain and America who did not give us much hope. Then others came who helped us to discover oil

in Gujarat and Assam. Nehru paid a tribute to Minister Malaviya's zest and perseverance which had made this project possible.

come to participate in the in-January I

conveyed the greetings of Rumanian Minister. Florescu conveyed the greetings of Rumanian President of State Council, Georghiu-Dej and of Rumania's Premier, He highly praised the Indian specialists who had worked on the re-

who had worked on the re-finery and received training in Rumania. Going on stream of India's first state-owned refinery, he said, represented an important contribution to the development of a basic branch of Indian national economy. Economic cooperation be

tween our two countries in the spirit of peaceful coexist-ence and our common struggle for peace all over the world was the basis of rela-tions between our two countries, he said.

Minister Malaviya in a sig-Minister Malaviya in a sig-nificant speech recalled the concessions India had to give to foreign oil companies till a few years ago when "designing, construction and ope-ration of a refinery appeared too complicated and costly a problem for us, and the general notion was that it was be-yond our capacity to do it". Malaviya said "On this me-

Malaviya said "On this me-morable day I must also re-cord our grateful thanks for the help accorded to us by our friends, the People's Re-public of Rumania... "In their desire towards" helping us and developing cordial relations with us, they come readily. to extend all

came readily to extend all technical and other assistance needed to erect and supervise the construction of our refi-

"We have noticed with appreciation from time to time that they have trained and helped our Indian technicians

helped our Indian technicians very well and without any re-servation in the task of cons-truction of the refinery. "This help is all the more welcome to us at a time when we are anxious to stand on our legs in building more re-fineries in the country".

OIL AND INDEPENDENCE

Malaviya recalled the In-dustrial Policy Resolution and said during the past five years we have struggled hard to implement it.

"There can be no freedom for the country's economy or its defence unless the old industry is owned and con-trolled by the State", he declared.

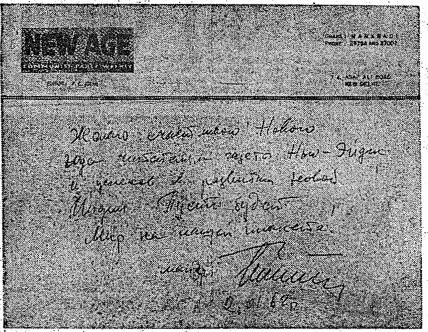
From Ziaul Hag

The highlight of the colour-The highlight of the colour-ful ceremony came with the Prime Minister pressing a button which signalled the first full flow of products from the refinery which had already gone in to trial pro-duction a few days ago. When it attains its full production a few months hence, it will pro-duce 74 lakh tons of products duce 7½ lakh tons of products like gasolene, kerosene, etc., in a year. Minister Florescu chatting

Minister Florescu chatting to pressmen on the evening of December 31, 1961, pointed to the unique achievement that the refinery had gone on stream without a hitch. Ask-ed about further cooperation with India, in the field of oil he said that the prospect were good and some discus-sions were on. The fourth drug from Rumania had airead from Rumania had already arrived in India. Further, in the new fields

of petroleum-chemistry there were rich prospects for Indo-Rumanian cooperation.

TITOV GREETS OUR READERS



experience in oil industry was great. He referred to the Rumanian Premier's visit in 1958 when talks were held and an agreement reached. This cooperation, he said, with Rumania had

proved good and fruitful.

The refinery which was scheduled to be completed in two years was completed in 22 months, despite heavy floods in between which had held up work. This, Nehru said, showed the zeal of those who had worked on it be

said, showed the zeal of those who had worked on it—In-dians and Rumanians. The Prime Minister congratulated and thanked them all, espe-cially the Rumanian Minister Florescu, who had specially

SCHEDULE BEATEN

I wish a happy New Year to readers of New Age and successes in the develop-ment of new India. Let there be peace on our planet! Major Titov

How many times can one celebrate the New Year, in one year? Or, for that matter, how many mid-nights can one live through in one earthly night? No, I am not trying to invent a Zeno's paradox. For, there is a man who saw 17 sunrises and sunsets in about twentyfour hours time. And had that day coin-cided with the New Year's Eve, then he might as well have celebrated it 17 times.

telephone was ringing-journalists were en

stood the huge take-off and

That man is, of course, the oviet Cosmonaut Two, Ghertelephone was ringing-eager journalists were enquiring about his arrival time. Soon he was surrounded by Press correspondents, photo-reporters, personalities from Delhi's social life. Handsome, intelligent and in appearance rather of a delicate build to have with-stood the have take-off and Soviet Cosn man Titov.

man Titley. He was on his way to Indo-nesia, and was expected to be in Delhi on the early noon of January 2. But, due to bad weather, his plane landed at the Falam Airport in the evening. That whole day, as I learnt at the airport, the

landing overloads when your eyelids weigh like lead and in your veins flows mercury instead of blood, Gherman Titov talked to us warmly, brightly.

Warmiy, brightly. He had been to our land earlier, or rather over our land in the Soviet spaceship Vostok II. At that time, while hurtling through space about 200 miles over our country, he was busy reading instruments.

He was again in our country, this time on our soil. The visit was to last a few hours, and not seconds as the previous

He was happy to be in our midst. He had a message to

convey to our people. That message was from his friend. and colleague, the Soviet Cos-monaut One, Major Yuri Gagarin.

Gagarin has expressly re-quested him to. convey to our people his best wishes and New Year greetings, his thanks for the warm recep-tion he got from our people while he was in India while he was in India.

White he was in India. Gagarin cherishes happy memories of his visit to our country, he cherishes the friendship between peoples of his country and ours, said his friend Titoy to us. Titov's stay in our capital was very short. But, as he

told to your correspondent, a Russian proverb—it is better to see a place once than to hear about it a hundred times. So Titov was happy that he could have a glimpse of In-dia's capital city, that he could feel the friendship among our peoples.

We hope that Titoy will come to our country again, and for a longer stay in our midst.

So, bldding bon voyage to him, we say, as the Russians say: till we meet soon, dear-friend!

