

Whither Congress? ^{file}

PERSPECTIVES BEFORE PATNA

After the achievement of independence every annual session of the Congress has been watched by Indian national opinion with lessening faith but continuing 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 main contradiction that is killing the soul of the Congress, making it lose face before the people, is that while the declared policy aims of the Congress Government remain national, its actual practice primarily serves the interests of the Indian upper-set, the exploiting vested interests and not of the common people.

THE ensuing popular discontent inevitably took a Leftward swing, symbolised in the emergence and growth of the Communist Party as the main parliamentary opposition, in the First as well as the Second General Elections.

The very sight of the popular masses moving Left panicked the reactionary forces of the country and they realised that the Right within the ruling party by itself was unable to stem the rise of the Left, growing independently of the Congress.

Double Challenge

After long and serious thought, the reactionary elements decided not to rely exclusively on the Right inside the Congress but encourage the older reactionary groupings and set up a new Rightist party, the Swatantra.

The Congress today is faced with a double challenge, from the Left as well as the Right. The Left headed by our Party gives primacy to the interests of the people and seeks to lead the nation forward. The Right, the Swatantra, Jana Sangh, FSP, Akali, etc., combine 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 immediate future of our national life depends upon what the Patna Congress decides, whether it breaks from policies of compromise with the satanic forces within the nation, which its own Right has been pressing with success in the past or adopts new but long desired policies, which help gather together all the healthy 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.

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

The very wide and spontaneous 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 struggle to ensure a world without arms.

Congressmen more than anybody else should realise that of late the Indian Government had been dragging its feet while Afro-Asian and Latin American nations were engaged in decisive struggles against colonialism.

A rude answer to the Chinese offer to renew the 1954 Panch Shila Treaty is not worthy of India. A new and sustained Indian initiative to seek a peaceful and just solution of the border dispute with China is the most manly way to rout the pro-Western opponents of Indian policy of Panch Shila and the disruptors 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 happiness to all.

If the Patna Congress parrot-like repeats the praises of the Plan it will be deluding itself. The Second Plan evoked popular enthusiasm but five year-long experience 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 principle of planning.

The living evidence of the rich having become richer demands new and concrete measures against growth of monopoly and profiteering inside the Indian economy.

Rising Menace

The officially blessed growing collaboration between foreign monopoly combines and Indian big business is a permanent rising menace to the independence of our economy.

Making a mockery of land to the tiller legislation perpetuates mass poverty, hunger and misery. The expanding industrialisation above rests on feet of clay below, a weak and stagnant rural economy.



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Planning through the bureaucracy, by-passing the popular elements, has inevitably led to such injustices and atrocities that Rajaji's campaign slogan against Planning under Congress Raj is Permit-Quota-License Raj.

The Indian people will anxiously 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 disintegration. The Malayalis, Assamese, Bengalis, Punjabis, the Muslims, the various minorities—all earnest secular and democratic elements know how the unprincipled compromising policies of the Congress have produced a threatening situation.

Insolent Communalists

The promising recommendations of the National Integration Conference, instead 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 separatist 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 elements and the initiation of a national crusade for national unity.

The Patna session will reveal whether the fear of losing votes either of the majority 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 real command, despite Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and also because of him!

We earnestly hope that the experience of the last 15 years should be enough for honest and thinking Congressmen to realise that there is no routing the Rightist offensive facing the Congress without achieving a new breath-through within the Congress itself in terms of adoption of sound and consistent policies in the interests of the people and against

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

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 attacked by the spokesmen of Indian monopoly and feudalism, we defend it.

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

Nevertheless and just because we stick to common national ideals, we are out, in the coming general elections, as in the past, to break the Congress monopoly of power which has operated in a manner as to strengthen the forces of the Right, of reaction, both within and outside the Congress.

Our fight is part of the common fight for strengthening Indian independence, unity and democracy.

—P. C. Joshi

Bokaro Blackmail

American Ambassador in India, Professor Galbraith 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 consultations in Washington last week.

In fact, the American Ambassador is reported to have told the Prime Minister before 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 President Kennedy's interest in India's economic development 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 surmounted.

Thus, the American imperialists, unable or unwilling to learn from march of history, are back at the

game of blackmail and putting the squeeze. The first result of this would be another delay in the finalisation of the already greatly delayed aid programme for Bokaro and opening of an

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

other phase of "hard bargaining" for it. The history of American interest in Bokaro is a typical case of imperialist approach to aid for the under-developed 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 industrialisation of these countries, the United States tried to bring about a shift in its approach in the matter of economic assistance, most notably in the case of India.

Under the guidance of Professor Galbraith, with his reputation as an economist and a liberal, the most outstanding symbol of the new shift was to be Bokaro.

Having done that, however, it has been a long story of tortuous negotiations and bargaining, the end of which is still not in sight.

To begin with, the Americans put pressure that the Bokaro, unlike the other three public sector projects, should be shared by the American private investors, and the Indian big business along with the Government of India in the ratio of 30:30:40.

This suggestion was firmly turned down by the Gov-

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.

THE Times of India (December 29, 1961) reported him as saying: "The situation in Goa had ripened from day to day, so that the final decision was virtually taken out of the Government'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 shoot them down ourselves."

NEHRU'S ADMISSION

In another statement at the same Press Conference Nehru said that "during the last 14½ years Goa was a constant pricking on our mind and our conscience. Even if we (the Government) had been complacent, 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 democratic 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 commandos.

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 motherland. It was precisely because of this that the Communist Party and the entire democratic movement, while expressing their thrill and joy, immediately congratulated the Prime Minister and his Government.

More than a suspicion remains, though, whether all members of the Cabinet, which includes, after all, Morarji Desai, felt quite happy about the final act.

The fact remains, however, that the Communist Party and the entire democratic movement have every reason to congratulate themselves for the energy, the steadfastness and the dedication with which they laboured for Goa's freedom.

Let us recall the middle months of 1955. In May of that year an all-parties committee of members of Parliament was set up to coordinate and to plan activities throughout India for the liberation of Goa. A few weeks later

came the decision of the All-Parties Goa Vimochan Samiti (set up in Maharashtra in June 1954) to launch a satyagraha movement for Goa's recovery.

A wave of enthusiasm swept our land. Volunteers poured in and thousands upon thousands more were ready to rush to the border.

The Vimochan 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 meetings 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 Communist Party, led by Rajaram 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 satyagraha only on their personal responsibility.

Both the Prime Minister and the Congress Working Committee in July 1955 issued a flat against any mass satyagraha. 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 methods. This is essential unless we give up the roots of all our policy and all our behaviour... We rule out non-peaceful methods entirely". It should be noted that this statement was hailed by the late John Foster Dulles both as "wise and brave".

At that very time the Communist Party pointed out that certainly all possible methods of negotiations and diplomacy 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 made up of Communists, crossed the Goa border. The Portuguese fascists opened

taken as this was against the principles of the Government's foreign policy!

Despite all the frowns and fumbings of the tallest leaders of the Congress, the people of the country, irrespective of party affiliation, rose to their full stature. Unprecedented general strikes, hartals and demonstrations raged like a mighty storm across the land. With one voice the people called on the Government to act at once to avenge the dead and to uphold the nation's honour against imperialist arrogance.

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

Nehru declared in Parliament on September 7, 1955 that "for the removal of Portuguese rule we should limit ourselves to peaceful methods... From every aspect of principle as well as expediency it will be clear that we should not take military measures".

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. The London Daily Mail

was due to Government policy why the change?

Credit, in the first place, for bringing about a decisive shift in the Government's policy on Goa must be given to the National Campaign Committee for Goa, headed by Aruna Asaf Ali, set up in the early months of 1960. The Committee 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 mass demand for the Government's armed action, the leaders of the Committee toured the entire country. From the cities, towns and villages a steady stream of resolutions came to pour in to the Government chambers in New Delhi.

The leaders of the Committee held meetings with the leaders of all political parties and urged that the problem of Goa be raised in Parliament and be made one of the central planks of the propaganda and agitation of all the parties.

On the very eve of the march into Goa, Aruna Asaf Ali announced that if the Government hesitated any longer over 5,000 volunteers were ready to breach the Portuguese defences.

struggle in Angola, not only morally and materially weakened world imperialism but created an atmosphere of liberation, as it were.

In country after country, anti-imperialist circles began 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 India are genuine in their sympathy for the struggle in Africa why do they not do something about Goa, which would be the best form of help?

It was becoming increasingly evident that India's whole prestige was at stake and her anti-colonial bona fides were becoming 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 sermons on the superior virtues of "soft force", the Seminar became a militant meeting where the demand was loudly raised for armed action by India to free Goa.

It was significant that it was at this Seminar that Pandit Nehru 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 repudiation of Morarji Desai's shameful utterance that there would be no "invasion" of Goa.

for the liberation of Goa. Later the USSR scooped the imperialist conspiracy to stop India's action with the use of its veto. All the other socialist countries, including the People's Republic of China with whom we have a serious border dispute, came out solidly for India.

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

Is it not something to think over that in Washington, London and Paris 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 being hounded by Salazar's savagery, deep from the underground it was the gallant Communist Party of Portugal that has consistently supported the freedom struggle of Goa?

We not only offer our gratitude 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 Government of India, we cannot help regretting that in his Press Conference Pandit Nehru talk-

GOA—THE LIBERATORS AND

that time. Other batches followed.

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 themselves to make the march to Panjim.

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 Portuguese and resolved that "all Party units should give every help to further strengthen 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).

This mounting mass campaign had its impact on Government policy. Pandit Nehru lashed out at the "Portuguese interference with India's political system". The railway service to Goa was stopped and the Portuguese Legation in Delhi was closed down.

But it was quite evident that Nehru and the other

fire and two Communists made the supreme sacrifice—Baburao Thorat and Nityanand Saha. Their names are inscribed among the immortals of the long freedom-fight of our nation.

Then came August 15, 1955—certainly a date of 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 India. Let it be remembered that among the heroes who fell were Madhukar Damodar, Karnal Singh, Brij Nandan, Tarada Singh, Kalyan Sharma and S. K. Mukherjee, who while they brought glory to our Motherland, brought honour, too, to the Communist Party.

It cannot also be forgotten that in the midst of the tidal wave of anger and admiration that raced across India, Pandit Nehru and the Congress leaders sat silent. They refused 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, rising to make a statement on Goa, declared that the Government would pay compensation—not to the families of the martyrs—but to the Portuguese Government for all the damage caused by the enraged citizens of Calcutta and Bombay.

And in repeated utterances the Prime Minister emphasized that military action to liberate Goa would not be

rushed to congratulate the Prime Minister: "He has shown himself sensitive to foreign reaction and for this responsiveness we have nothing but praise" (September 6, 1955). The Washington Post called the decision "a much needed step".

This was nothing but abject 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 upheaval at home on the part of the Congress leaders.

CONGRESS ISOLATED

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

The use of the coercive state apparatus and the powerful influence of the Congress undoubtedly dampened down the struggle for Goa's freedom. It can be said that right in 1955 itself it was quite feasible for the Indian Army to have moved in and hoisted the tricolour on Panjim. Conditions were fully ripe. The nation wanted it and our friends were standing by ready to support our action.

The question naturally arises: Why did the Government move after all in 1961? If the delay for five years

Shaking off any false modesty, it can be said that the Communist Party responded 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 Rajya 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 imperative 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 censorship stories began to filter through of numerous raids on Portuguese check posts, of the blowing up of ammunition dumps, of the ambush of Portuguese military convoys and the like.

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

Thirdly, credit must be given to the new upsurge in the anti-colonial struggle, more particularly in Africa where enormous Portuguese colonial possessions are located. The African awakening, more particularly the armed

THE LESSON

It was equally evident that the newly-free countries of Asia were watching with an amount of concern as to what India intended to do about Goa. Their subsequent acclamation 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 socialist camp, above all the Soviet Union, freedom fighters the world over have a sure sword and shield. The easy export of counter-revolution has become impossible in the new epoch in which we live.

Pandit Nehru has emphasised 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 commentary on the state of our foreign relations. Goa has shown that the only purpose served through the conversations and letters with the imperialist countries was to delay action, without any resulting gain. Despite all the soft-soap and talk the imperialists behaved with all their customary viciousness during and after the Security Council debate.

And the Soviet Union? Evidently, taking Nehru at his word, no consultations were held with it. Yet, even before the Indian army marched in, President Brezhnev declared full support

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 were many and powerful. And as our hearts fill with joy at the thought that India's tricolour flies over Panjim, it is with 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 imperialism. 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 curse of colonialism still hangs heavily over many areas of the world. The people fighting 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 revolutionary 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 our country, with our prestige higher than ever, we can and must act in a way which hastens the end of colonialism all over the world.

IMPERIALIST ANGER



—The Washington Post Co. LIBERATED



—Nashville Tennessean FROM A DISCIPLE



—The Guardian, London



—The Spectator, London.

INVINCIBLE CUBA

Editorial

THE CALL OF CUBA COMES irresistibly on the third anniversary of its Revolution 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 colossus 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 the immense significance of the Cuban revolution is illustrated 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 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 in the Caribbean breeze.

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 accomplished the patriotic and democratic tasks of national liberation and agrarian reform, after eradicating the imperialist 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, factories, transportation, land and other basic means of production...."

"...We have not yet fully established Socialism, but we have taken the first decisive step towards Socialism".

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 entered the epoch of socialist construction. We must translate 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 theory."

"I say with profound gratification and full conviction that I am a Marxist-Leninist and will be a Marxist-Leninist to my dying day".

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, companion and inspirer of all who strive for freedom and for peace.

We salute invincible Cuba!
(January 4, 1962)

COLD THAT KILLS

THE national rejoicing over Goan liberation left behind on the side lines a tragic event that would produce a 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 Calcutta 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 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. 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 time to hold their trial in public.

Every vote cast for the Congress is to remain unmindful of the hundreds who died of mere cold and the millions who continue to suffer the same fate but are yet alive.
(January 4)

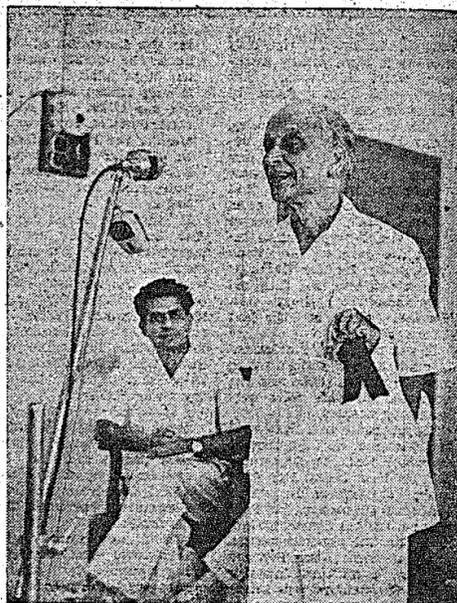
From Our Correspondent

The First All-India Consultative Conference of Young Workers was held in Bombay on December 24 and 25, 1961. The conference was jointly called by the All-India Trade Union Congress and the All-India Youth Federation.

The object of this conference was to have a detailed analysis of the conditions of the young workers in the country and effect a coordinated movement for their education, training, working and living facilities.

This was the first all-India conference of its kind in our country and the experience 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

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 Secretary of the AITUC, opened 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 today and the reasons for it, he exhorted them to take to organisational measures; to help launch a coordinated movement for the betterment of their lives.

Sarada Mitra, General Secretary of the All-India Youth Federation, described the activities of the AIYF and indicated how the effe-

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

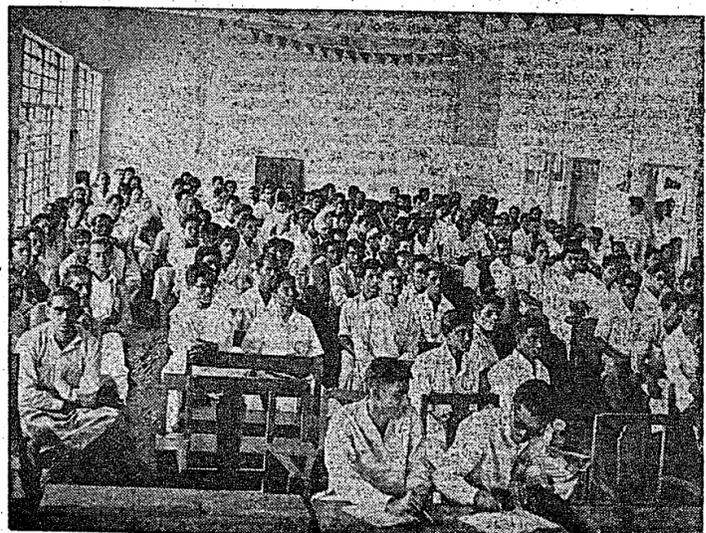
A report describing the living and working conditions of the young workers in our country, prepared by the Preparatory Committee was placed before the conference by Shivaji Dalvi.

The conference adopted an Appeal to the Young Workers and formed a Continuation Committee of the Working Youth Conference with the following members: seven from the AIYF; three from the AITUC Centre; 12 from the State Committees of the AITUC; 10 from the floor of the conference with S. A. Dange as the Chairman of the Committee with power to coopt five more members.

The Committee has been entrusted to: (i) assess the situation with a view to organising working youth bodies; (ii) coordinate the activities of the Working Youth Leagues wherever they exist, under the joint guidance of the AITUC and the AIYF; (iii) prepare for the First All-India Young Workers Conference in 1962; and (iv) assess the position regarding sports and cultural facilities available to young workers as such in various factories, mines and other establishments.

The conference adopted resolutions on Goa's liberation, apprenticeship and training facilities, sports and cultural activities, young women workers, peace and disarmament, the World Youth Festival in Helsinki in July 1962, and morning and evening colleges for young workers.

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



NEW AGE

JANUARY 7, 1962

Congress Gifts

UNEMPLOYMENT, SLASHED STANDARDS

The Congress, we are told aims to build a "socialist 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 during 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.

OUR people had not expected Congress to build socialism in our country. But all the same they had hoped that extreme poverty, unemployment and economic backwardness which was their lot during the British Raj would give place to employment 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.

The advent of a national Government after nearly 200 years of merciless exploitation naturally fired the people with great hopes. The poverty-stricken common people hoped for some relief. The millions of unemployed were 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 million unemployed in the country; 2.5 million out of these were in urban areas. Another 10 million were expected to seek jobs during the Second Plan period. At the time of the Second General Elections the Congress leaders again appealed for votes in the name of planned prosperity of the country. It was also the time for launching of the Second Plan.

The Second Plan was expected to find employment for eight million people as against 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 millions.

The total number of unemployed today is nine million. Moreover, it is estimated that about 15-18 millions are under employed. During the Third Plan, on the basis of which the Congress leaders are making fresh promises 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 country would be more than today.

Let us see how far the standard of living of the general people have risen up. First we take the industrial workers. As a result of the in-

flationary pressure during the war the real earnings of the workers fell by more 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 Employment, Planning Commission shows that the 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 facilitate 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 labour unrest 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 per cent more value to the capitalists and got 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 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 fattening the capitalists: "That explains the phenomenal rise in index of gross profits in all industries, from 100 in 1950 to 150.8 in 1955 and 169.7 in 1958 (1950=100)".

Whatever small percentage of rise in real incomes of the workers obtained is now being negated 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 result of which "since 1958 the wage movement is in the reverse gear in terms of real earnings. Union Labour Minister Nanda had to admit in his speech during the last budget session in the Lok Sabha that the workers' wages have deteriorated during the last two years bringing the wage standard to the pre-war level or may be even lower."

Having seen the fate of the industrial workers let us now pass on to another section, the agricultural labour. The report of the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry that was conducted during 1956-57, was published in December 1960.

EXPOSURES

★ by O. P. MEHROTRA ★

The report of this Enquiry has spotlighted that:—

● The average size of the agricultural labour household had risen from 4.3 in 1950-51 to 4.4 in 1956-57.

● 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 p in 1950-51 to 96 p in 1956-57, that of women from 68 p to 59 p, and that of children from 70 p to 53 p.

● The average annual income of an agriculture labour household fell from Rs. 447 in 1951 to Rs. 437 in 1956-57.

As a result the agricultural labour indebtedness has grown from Rs. 47 per household 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 concerned. Government agreed on a need-based wage at the fifteenth 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 issued the Essential Service Maintenance Ordinance. It suppressed their struggles, arrested thousands of workers, withdrew the recognition of the Employees Unions and suspended and terminated from service hundreds of its employees.

Even after repeated appeals for restoring the recognition of unions and withdrawing disciplinary action against the employees when the Government refused to undo the wrong, the leadership of the employees threatened to go on hunger strike at different places. The Government acted quickly and the demands of the Union leaders were accepted. The hunger strike was averted.

The millions who voted for the Congress in the last two General Elections have been disappointed by its performance. That is why they are no more dazzled by the promises of the "Socialist 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. Prime Minister Nehru misses no opportunity to advise workers to adjure strike and direct action.

Is there any agreed basis of industrial peace in the country? 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 particular establishment.

But it is a common knowledge that the Government and the employers do not adhere to this principle. They frown upon the AITUC unions and encourage rival INTUC unions.

What is worse is that some of the public sector establishments have not adopted the code of discipline and this aspect has been adversely commented even by the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha.

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

Workers' 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 allowed to function properly.

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 Machine Tools Factory, Bangalore in these words: "A recognised 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 Management Council was suspended. 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, Tata, Birla, Modi, Walchand, Dalmia and others have built their private kingdom in which all democratic rights, and liberties simply do not exist, despite the guarantees of the Constitution of the Indian Republic.

In certain mining areas the trade-union workers are not allowed to visit even the workers' colonies. With the help of private armies of goondas the employers terrorise the workers and when 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 workers are sought to be cowed down. Yet despite it if the trade union movement has continued and progressed it is because of the glorious sacrifices of the Communists who are the pioneers of the trade union movement.

World's Workers—

On behalf of the Indian working class and the All-India Trade Union Congress, we greet the Fifth Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

All barriers of party and politics, communism and anti-communism fell off. Millions wanted to see and feel the touch of the man from space.

You cannot avoid talking of the Soviet Union, of Gagarin, of their Programme of Communism and the Party and the Trade Unions that have launched it.

Soviet Assistance

But such questions are becoming out of date. When hundreds of technicians come from India to the Soviet Union to learn technique, do they come for communism?

Even the national bourgeoisie, which does not like 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 problems but for science.

And we of the trade unions of the working class are more entitled to refer to the Programme of Communism, of the Party that has launched it and the trade unions that are working it out, because we are from the capitalist, non-communist countries belong to the same international working class to which the Soviet trade unions and the working class belong.

In India today, great interest is shown in the new Programme of Communism adopted 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 bourgeoisie does not allow us to do so.

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

If the Party and the trade unions of a country promise and take concrete steps to give the shortest working day and the highest standards of living, free housing and free meals, free education and free social and medical services, with no taxes and no unemployment will not the trade unions, the world over, who also have to discuss hours of work, wages, taxes, housing, employment, take note of that country and that Party, which already is on the road to fulfilment of just what they want?

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 they are promised by the Soviet Union and the Communist Party but because they are being achieved by them, because they are just the thing the working class throughout the world wants.

If George Meany of the AFL-CIO could persuade the Democratic or Republican Party of America to do the same thing or the Labour Party and the Social Democrats could persuade their Government to do the same thing, we would mention their Programme and their Congresses also with enthusiasm.

Yes, hence-forward, everywhere in the world when you will discuss hours of work, wages, housing, taxes, whether in India or America, France or Italy, Japan or Germany, you will inevitably be drawn to refer to the new Programme of Communism, whether we be communists or anti-communists, or non-communists and whether we are in a trade union congress or science congress or any other congress.

Majestic Programme

We cannot unite the workers of various shades of thought and affiliation by hiding from them the fact that in the Trade Union Congress in Moscow, we saw the Programme of Communism in action in their trade unions and we liked it and got enthused also.

And this does not mean becoming communist and imposing communist opinions 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 not.

It is not by surrendering to the backwardness of the worker or the misrepresentations of our opponents that

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 Khrushchov drew enthusiastic applause when he told us here of the facts of Soviet life and Soviet might.

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 working class and people in India have condemned the murder of Patrice Lumumba and several workers were wounded in clashes with the police when they marched to the Belgian Embassy to protest.

Peace Struggle

The American intervention in Cuba drew strong protests and our people rejoiced at the defeat of the reactionaries. The problem of Algerian war of independence, the problem of Peace Treaty with Germany, the question of Berlin, the question of ban on nuclear tests, etc.—all these have been subjects of discussion, resolutions, demonstrations on the part of the workers and the general public throughout the country.

We had particularly undertaken a big campaign for the recognition by India of the German Democratic Republic and for the German Peace Treaty.

The problem that has attracted the greatest attention in India is that of the liberation of Angola and other territories of the African continent, still ruled by the imperialists. The heroic struggle of the Angolan people against the Portuguese imperialists gave an impetus to the demand for the liberation of Goa in India which is still under Portuguese imperialism.

But with the highest amount of wealth that these countries possess and the biggest trade unions that they have got, they do not do it and cannot do it. Because, theirs is a monopoly capitalist system.

Prime Minister Nehru has come to realise, though hesitantly, that the Portuguese imperialists are not amenable to peaceful negotiations and their 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 mobilisation has reached a stage, where action against the Portuguese imperialists in India is bound to take place soon. The Indian people cannot see the fighters for African freedom being left without help and solidarity actions. We promise that to our African brothers.

In the last few years, the economic development of India 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 possible mainly because of the disinterested help given by the countries of the Socialist Camp and specially, the Soviet Union.

Some monopolist sections, however, have been exerting

great pressure to import Anglo-American private capital and increase its participation in Indian economy and they are meeting with some success.

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

As a result, the working class and other toiling people have to struggle even to attain 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 insignificant. We have secured wage-agreements in several large-scale industries on a national level for the first time in history. The principle of a national minimum wage has now been accepted by Government and employers.

But, in practice, it is sabotaged on the plea of lack of finances. Wages do not catch up with rising prices, real wages fall and lead to struggles, 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 do that.

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 principle and do not give up strike struggles where necessary.

The national bourgeoisie wants to use the anti-imperialism and patriotism of the worker to run its industries without any protest against low wages and bad conditions. This is the general trend in all newly-liberated under-developed countries. 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 employers on these questions. Laws making strikes illegal are so made as to suit the unions, which are always recognised and given all facilities to disrupt other unions.

In spite of this, due to the pressure of conditions, work-

ers unite from below on factory and industrial level and carry out united strike struggles. They force the leaderships also to unite, for the time being, on a given issue.

Work's Committees

Trade union unity and joint action is sought to be disrupted by many features of the social life of the workers. Questions of religion, caste, language, 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 Government and employers have instituted a system of nominating workers or union leaders recognised by the employers on Boards of Directors or 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 declined 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 desired.

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

In spite of this, trade unions are growing in number; membership is growing and trade union consciousness is on the increase. In order to guide this growth on class-collaborationist lines, the Government is spending millions to set up official trade union schools throughout the country. An aristocracy of trade union bosses is being consciously built, educated, organised and paid on factory and regional basis.

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

By banning strikes, imposing arbitration, preaching class harmony and recognition of the mutual cooperation by both the employer and the worker, the necessity of both for society, and the transformation of both into real bro-

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 adulteration. The united front in the anti-imperialist struggle is made to continue as a united front in exploitation.

A new "nationalist socialism" is put before the worker, in which he should agree to be exploited in the name of his country. And this sacrifice of his is called socialism, in which both he and the capitalist are supposed to be working for the nation, whereas in reality, the capitalist works for his profit and the worker gets all the poverty, the pittance and crises.

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

phrases of "nationalist socialism", finds the road to class-consciousness, to class struggle, to the correct road of anti-imperialism and patriotism, which his innocence, so far, had placed at the mercy of the bourgeoisie.

The newly grown working class in India is coming to realise this. From this comes the growing strength of the unions and their struggles as also the gains following from them. Such will be the experience of other newly-liberated and under-developed 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 Socialism, African Socialism and so on.

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

significant and they have become a force in the affairs of the United Nations.

The recent voting on the nuclear ban question, where in the Anglo-American imperialists suffered a defeat, underlined the role of these new member nations. India carries great weight in the councils of these non-aligned nations of Asia and Africa.

Non-alignment, however, is not a purely negative concept. At the Belgrade Conference, these countries adopted a 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 them from the imperialist camp in a way and align them with the socialist camp in a way, which consistently stands for peace and anti-colonialism. Thus, non-alignment on this basis, if correctly and consistently followed, takes a positive attitude on the side of peace and freedom. Another feature is that all these countries did not establish a new

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 following from India: S. A. Dange, General Secretary, 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-

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

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 controversies and controls and becoming pure independent trade unions.

But, if one thinks of helping 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 unifying force that should grow round the WFTU.

Affiliation is not the main question—but common fraternal 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 and cannot unite. In fact, we have many common actions with one of them. Many unions and political groups in India have formed new national centres saying that they are fed up with disunity among the existing centres.

They want to help unity by forging a new centre, not controlled by any political party. The result has been, not unity but five national centres and each one gulped by this or 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 influenced by political parties. The differences of political parties, however, should not divide the unions. What is the best way, then, to reconcile the differences of political 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 approach. Then there should be democratic functioning. Then, there should be constant reference to the rank and file workers in the factory, 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 resolved. United class actions from 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 INTERNATIONAL 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, in Moscow)

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

Under Congress Raj

TARDY MARCH

"The march (forward) can best be gauged by the success of the Five Year Plans, the two Plans that are just over and the Third which has just begun". (The Congress Election Manifesto.)

The Congress Government apparently hopes to win the forthcoming General Election with the trump card, that it has in the Five Year Plans. Let us pause to think if it has any objective basis.

No doubt in the course of the last two Plans certain important achievements have been made in the various spheres of national life. But what impact they really have had on the life of the teeming millions of our people?

While initiating the first Plan, the Planning Commission had held out the prospect of doubling the per capita national income within 20 years. This was later modified to 25 years in the Second Five Year Plan.

It was certainly not a very impressive prospect. Even if it could really be achieved by 1975, then the per capita income in India would be, as the Reserve Bank Governor has pointed out only, equal to the level obtaining in backward 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 increased from Rs. 246.3 in 1950-51 to Rs. 288.8 in 1960-61, i.e., by about 17 per cent.

"If per capita income," comments Dr. K. N. Raj, "grows only at the rate that it has grown over the

last decade, we shall take, not 25 years, but 46 years to achieve this target".

In course of a review of achievements, one commentator in the official Congress journal says:

"According to Dr. Rao's estimate, per capita income of India in 1931-32 was Rs. 65 at 1931-32 prices, a period of depression. Now in 1958-59, per capita income is estimated at Rs. 300 approximately (in fact, much lower A.R.) in terms 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 Economic Review January 6, 1961).

And finally, let us listen to the admissions made by the Planning Minister himself. In the course of his opening speech at the last session of the Indian Labour Conference, Gulzarilal Nanda said:

"The very well-known facts of the Indian economic situation are that vast masses of the people are 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.

"Further, the manner in which the income and the wealth of the country is being shared reflects an order of inequality which appears to be excessive, untenable and lacking justification, in relation to any social or economic criteria.

"Actually industry has not become", Nanda continued, "sufficiently productive or widespread to make a substantial contri-

bution to either raising the levels of living generally or making a real impact on the problem of unemployment and under-employment. 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 for all the limitation. In regard to the aspect of social justice... the prevailing sentiment is that concentration of wealth and income is increasing and disparities are widening".

For a regime, which boasts of its socialistic inclinations, the following admission coming from the mouth of the Planning and Labour Minister is damning, 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 continued, "succeeded conspicuously in the matter of housing for the workers. Large-scale programmes have been undertaken carrying heavy subsidies and loan facilities. Yet it is obvious that the workers who have housing accommodation of a reasonable standard are a diminishing proportion of the working force and on the whole the housing situation has shown no signs of improvement. The increasing influx into the urban area has aggravated the problem".

-AJIT ROY



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.

At about that time, the Portuguese were going about blowing up bridges and culverts, mining roads and setting up booby traps.

At the Dodmarg checkpoint, there is a Church beside a magnificent centuries-old banyan tree whose aerial roots could form a grand setting and decor for an ancient classical play. Both bear the marks of bullets and splinters from grenades that Portuguese soldiers were hurling in mad frenzy from the checkpoint 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 simply dazed. The lady, a good Catholic that she was, perhaps did not want to put the blame squarely on anybody.

Pointing to a yawning gap in the roof, when I asked her as to how that had happened, she replied: "You see, we ran away for almost a mile for our lives. And I can't say definitely. I think the damage

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 economy 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 December 2, 1955 and the Eisenhower-Salazar agreement of May 1960. And that colonial power with its senior partners had plans to convert Goa into a strategic military base.

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 dustbin 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 operation in about 26 hours time, must have been too sudden for the "lethargic tension" of the Portuguese mercenaries to withstand the shock, and rather too unexpected for the smug complacency of the Wall Street, which could suggest to our Government a six-months delay in the use of force for getting "an assurance 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 Portugal" 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 queue 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 special flight was arranged for the families who were going to London, in search of jobs presumably. But we preferred 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 sympathetic. 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 accept such accidents. 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, specially arranged for the journalists who were there, to Goa. The journey was indeed thrilling. Mines were there, but they were lying on the roadside, being removed by the Army by then.

One could only wish now that the other "obstacles" in the despatch of press telegrams were also not there. For, rare indeed is the occasion for our Government when it could boast 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 part of our country.

Time and again had the Goan people risen in revolt against the colonialist oppression. In 1582-83, the people of five villages had risen to break away from Portuguese rule. In 1654, a local Catholic priest had led a re-

essence of the Portuguese nation to fulfil the historic mission of possessing and colonising overseas dominions and of civilising the native populations which are comprised 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.

The year 1955 saw a powerful mass movement, not only in Goa but throughout India. August 1955 "March on Goa",

Exhilarating was the sight of popular enthusiasm and welcome that one saw in free Goa those days.

At Mapuca, we saw the first popular welcome. Hurriedly made Indian flags fluttering 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 occasions during one's sojourn through Goa when one came across such demonstrations and manifestations of jubilation for the liberation of Goa,



Welcome to our Army

ties—only two in this case as 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 commendable. Fifteen years back he was in Dr. Lohia's Socialist Party. Later on he took to business. Now he wanted to 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 ecclesiastic 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 enquiry 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 democratic liberties. In a territory with 80 per cent illite-

racy, suffrage was restricted only to those who could read and write in Portuguese and in addition, held an affidavit of political reliability.

With the result that barely 20,000 of the six to seven lakh inhabitants of these former three colonies had ever enjoyed the right to participate in the elections to the Government Council. There was till today no question of a popularly elected legislative body.

All political organisations, save the fascist organisation Mocidade Portuguesa and its women's wing, were banned. Practically no Goan was ever appointed to any responsible 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 colonial 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-Gomantak Dal and their various common platforms, like the Goa Liberation Council headed by Dr. T. B. Cunha, and the National Campaign Committee for Goa headed by Aruna Asaf Ali, that came up in one phase or the other of the struggle for Goa's freedom had to work against heavy odds with their leading centres chiefly outside Goa.

On the other hand, these struggles have thrown up many militant Goans who fought the Portuguese bravely and suffered jail and torture for years, but who not only are not affiliated to

any political organisation but even seem to have developed an aversion against them.

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

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

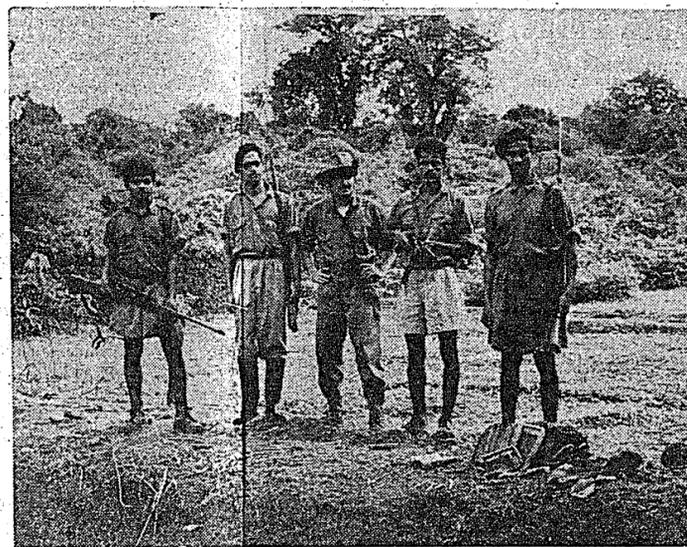
Goa has a luxuriant vegetation. But there prevails in agriculture one of the most backward systems, the fallow land system.

Ultramarino, the Portuguese Bank in Goa, is connected with the Vatican Institute for Religious Affairs; in other words, the banking there was 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 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 themselves and not imposed upon them from the Centre.

—RAZA ALI



With arms they fought for freedom

volt. In 1787 there was another rebellion of which patriotic Goan priests were the leaders.

Between 1755 and 1912, there were no less than twenty armed revolts. Over fifty popular uprisings in the Portuguese territories are recorded by Indian historians.

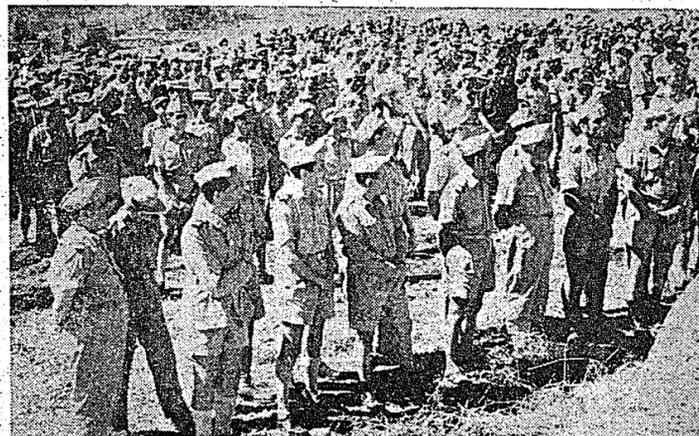
In 1926 Salazar promulgated the odious Colonial Act. "It belongs to the organic

a march of unarmed people, of workers, peasants, intelligentsia and other classes of people from all over the country, a march in organising which our Party had played a leading role, will ever remain 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.

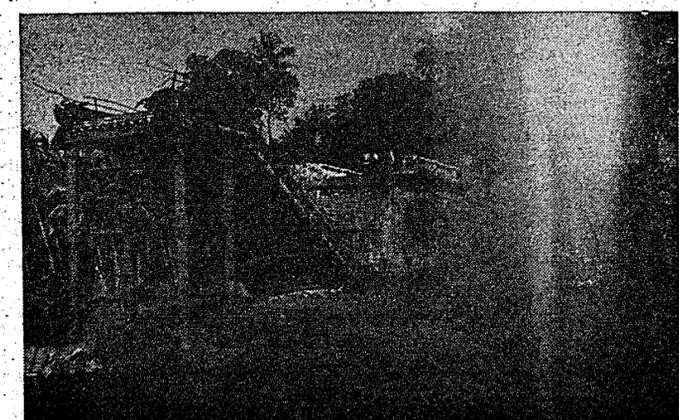
A technician working at Vasco da Gama airport, who was on duty when our air force put two Portuguese planes, TAP-DC6 and TAIP-DC4 out of action, was all praise for the operation that was conducted with an eye on causing minimum of casual-



At Altonio—the end of a colonial regime



Gifts from NATO



The Banastarim bridge, a victim of colonists' impotent wrath

CONGRESS GOONDAISM

From Jnan Bikash Moitra

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

It is undoubtedly a measure of the mounting panic of the ruling party at the Left Alliance's powerful challenge to its unbroken monopoly of power. And, it needs hardly to be mentioned, these goonda attacks will be stepped up as the tempo of the election campaign rises.

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

When Monoranjan Roy, Communist candidate for Ghatal Parliamentary Constituency which includes Arambagh constituency, Siddhartha Ray, former Judicial Minister of West Bengal and his wife Maya Ray reached the outskirts of Harinkhola village on their way to Arambagh to address an election meeting there, they were surrounded by about 20 hired ruffians, led by a notorious goonda of Calcutta.

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

started abusing them, especially Maya Ray, in unprintable language.

But when the leaders ignored their threats and abuses and tried to move on, the assault began. Monoranjan Roy bled profusely from the mouth. Siddhartha Ray and his wife were also molested.

When the news reached the village, about a thousand people rushed to the scene and the goondas fled 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 Siddhartha Ray had not saved them from the people's wrath.

Harinkhola village, it appears, is now lost to the Congress.

CONGRESS RESIGNATIONS

ABOUT 250 active workers, including an MLA, of Nadia district in West

Bengal have resigned from the Congress. The possibility of more people leaving the Congress is not ruled out.

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 Congress organisation. The D.C.C. is now controlled by the majority 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 rapprochement between 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 Minister from Karipur 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 constituency from going over to his side. The minority group has also set up its candidates as "In-

dependents" against the official Congress nominees, all of whom belong to the majority faction; in five other Assembly constituencies.

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

Nadia district with the object of toning up the drooping morale of his own followers in the face of the activities of dissident Congressmen on the one hand and the powerful offensive mounted by the United Left Alliance on the other.

SPOTLIGHT

JANA SANGH'S TREACHERY

The Jana Sangh, I thought, was happy at the liberation of Goa. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya issued a really brave statement saying that "India's action is a nail in the coffin of colonialism and a step further in the march of the world towards freedom and peace."

Cambridge (USA) on the "U.S. storm over Goa". According to him, Americans were trying to use Goa "as a good stick with which to beat India for its erstwhile moralising".

The outpouring of the Jana Sanghists 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 self-appointed conscience of the world, stood revealed to everyone as a blatant and shameless aggressor."

Not only Malkani, but the other dolorous dole of a Jana Sanghist commentator described as "brilliant" wrote: "He who had been calling upon all warring groups to compose their differences peacefully, 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 uttered Herod's Herod. He has written: "I think it was singularly inappropriate to have the Goa action during the visit to India of Russian President Brezhnev (sic). Obviously the Goan action and Mr. Brezhnev's visit were planned months in advance. Who decided to have them simultaneously? And why?"

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

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 criticism of it. Its columnists are letting it down by their pique.

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

In the same issue of the Organiser, there is another 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 momentary impulse to "act" Indian has vanished and they are now coming out in their true colours as not so much Indian as Dullestan.

A columnist in the Organiser whom the editor has specially commended as a very "brilliant" contributor, has written a long essay "The Aftermath of Goa" which ends on a significantly dolorous note. It says:

"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 pressed nationalist sentiment to subserve Communist interests."

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

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—GARUDA

Slanders Answered

COMMUNISM AND PATRIOTISM

ON October 29, 1961, the Congress President Sanjiva Reddy said that the Communist Party of India was not an independent party as it had to agree to and obey 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 longer period to throw them out as this foreign power, for whom the Communists are working, does not care for public opinion."

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 in mind was the Soviet Union.

Unethical Behaviour

How far it is ethical for the President of the ruling party of a country to slander another country which has admittedly extended moral and material support to strengthen India's independence and help her build an independent national economy and which has the "friendliest" relations with the Government of his own party, may be left to Reddy's own Gandhian conscience.

But in so far as the

charge concerns, us, we must provide an answer.

The CPI has, it is well known, a proud record of struggle and sacrifices in the cause of India's independence. The present leadership of the Party includes many who were in the forefront of the anti-imperialist movement.

Many of them were staunch Congressmen who later saw through the compromising and hesitant role of the bourgeois leadership of the Congress in the struggle for independence.

It were the various Communist groups in the 1920s who first raised the slogan of complete independence, 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 study of the present Parliament has shown that man to man the Communist MPs have spent more years in British jails 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 economy, e.g., growth of public sector, development of heavy and basic industries, development of indigenous arms industry.

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

alignment and peaceful co-existence.

Surely, this cannot be the role of a political party which wants to weaken our independence, so as to bring in a "foreign power".

Reddy would have us believe 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 historical grounds is it maintained that Communism puts an end to the love of one's country?

Did the Russians cease to be patriots after the Revolution? 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 liberation 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 trust and the best in the life and culture of a people.

A Communist India, it can be confidently asserted, would be a strong India and, therefore, also a more independent India. In fact, all the measures the Communists have been advocating since 1947 have been directed towards making our country strong and our people prosperous.

Are Newton's laws and Einstein's theory of relativity alien to India?

Why is it then that the Indian Communists are generally in agreement with the Soviet Communists? It is because both are guided in their assessment of a particular situation 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 conclusions in regard to, say, rocketry, as all three of them would be guided by the same laws of physics.

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

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

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

How is the philosophy of Marxism alien—simply because it was first developed and stated abroad? Do we have to discover all scientific knowledge "for ourselves from scratch and invent anew all scientific tools?"

Are Newton's laws and Einstein's theory of relativity alien to India?

In that case, concepts like individual's liberty and freedom and the whole ideology of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, including the so-called "socialist 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 caste system and economic backwardness, which the Jana Sangh hugs to its bosom.

Worth Of Ideology

In fact, the worth of the ideology of capitalism or socialism is to be judged by 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 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 mislead 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

* FROM FRONT PAGE

ment of India and, finally, the 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 costs.

Following this, further bargaining started about the channelling of the American aid and the construction arrangements. To keep a whip in their own hands, it was given out that full aid would not be announced till after sorting out of the method of administering aid: who will get the money and how it will be spent.

Claiming that the Ameri-

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 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.

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, equipment which cannot be manufactured here and help to supplement local training

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

If this experience and the opportunity to develop it further is lost or given away at the command of the Americans, India will have only taken a step backward.

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 PRADESH
- January 29, 30 and 31: KERALA

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 primary responsibility to the Americans, placing the Indians in a subordinate position.

An agreement finalised with the Indian firm of consultants some months back still remains to be signed, presumably for that reason.

With the new developments following Goa's liberation, the American administration, under pressure from certain vested interests in the American steel industry, which in any case are not favourably inclined to the project, appears to be trying to take advantage of the hesitancy and uncertainty 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 insistence on having the decisive authority and in addition are hinting that because of the reorganisation of the whole aid mechanism in Washington, aid

for Bokaro will be delayed anyway.

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

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Dawn Of Space Era

BY B. S. DANILIN
Rs. 2.50

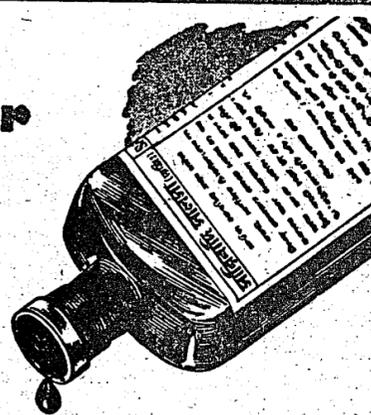
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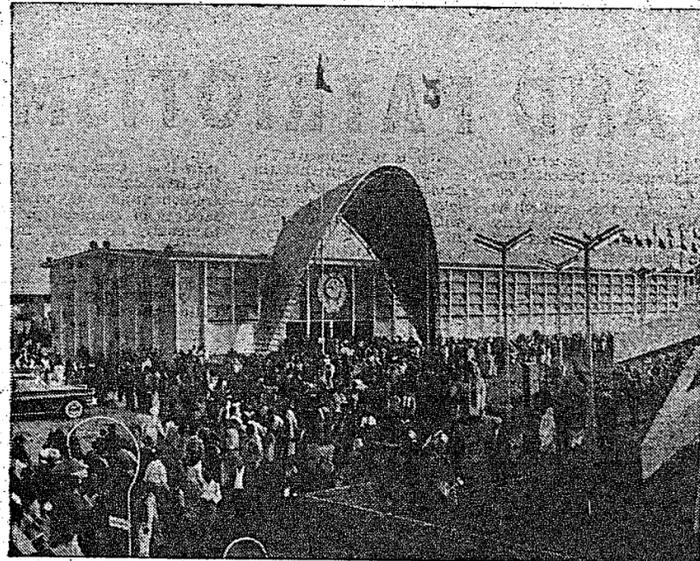
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The Soviet Pavilion at the Indian Industries Fair

The forty-two meters high tower, representing the flight of the first Soviet rocket to space, in front 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.

OVER 8,000 exhibits in the USSR pavilion give glimpses of the prosperity that the Soviet people are enjoying today and planning for tomorrow. More than 10,000 square metres of the total area, in which the pavilion covers only 2,300 square metres, is flooded by the expectant visitors every day.

On holidays when there is lot of rush the guides have a 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 abolishing the exploitation of man by man for all times, have transformed a backward agrarian country, as Tsarist Russia was in the past, into a mighty industrial power, which not only guarantees rising living standards for its

own people but unselfishly extends the hands of cooperation to other peoples, outside the Soviet Union. It, finally, holds out the promise and prospects of increasing mutual 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 and trade. The trade between India and the USSR is growing very fast. In the last five or six years it has increased more than 12 times. The present exhibition is bound to favourably influence it and it is hoped the trade between the two countries will grow further as a result of the Soviet participation in the present Indian Industries Fair.

A visit to the Soviet pavilion 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 future prospects of Communism—a society of plenty where the goal of "each according to his needs" will be realised. The tens of thousands who

have visited this pavilion will be convinced that the grandiose programme of construction of Communism which the USSR has embarked upon is proof positive of her deep desire to live in peace and prosperity. They will naturally convey this message to millions who have not seen it.

For those who have not seen the Soviet pavilion it is worthwhile to know what is being exhibited here at Mathura Road. Entering the

SOVIET PAVILION —

pavilion in the centre of the hall all eyes are captivated by a four-meter high bronze statue of V. I. Lenin—the founder of the Soviet State. This statue which weighs 3.5 tons has been heartfully sculptured by Manizer.

There are three sections in the entrance hall. In one of these sections a photo exhibition acquaints the visitor with the construction of the Nellore power project (to produce 2,00,000 kwt of power) and the Bhilai metallurgical plant which aims to produce a million tons of steel per year.

A little ahead are models of five undertakings which are being constructed in India with the Soviet aid. But these are only few representatives, for during the Third Plan

itself Soviet Union proposes to help our country in building 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, streptomycin chloro-tetracyclin, Tetracyclin, 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 Sulphadiazine, anti-tubercular medicine, vitamins etc.

After noting this friendly record of Soviet aid to our country an Indian visitor naturally feels grateful to the Soviet Union. His friendly feelings towards Soviet Union

machines will work at Brask hydel station. After completion this station will generate as much energy as is being generated by world's two biggest stations in USSR now.

This grand programme of electrification is part of the programme of building Communism in USSR. The Soviet people are always conscious of Lenin's historic words: "Communism is Soviet Power plus electricity".

According to the new 20 years plan of economic development the USSR will produce 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 section which has prospective customers in our country. India can learn a lot from the Soviet experience, for Soviet Union too, only 44 years earlier, was a backward agricultural country under Tsarist rule.

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

Metal-cutting lathes are exhibited in the second hall

finds ready response from another section in this very hall.

A glance on the Soviet Books which are exhibited in another section of the Hall reveals that in the USSR Indian authors are already very popular. Three hundred and sixty-five books of 45 Indian authors have been published in the Soviet Union. These books include the works of Rabindra Nath Tagore, Fandit Nehru, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and even 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 Angara in Siberia at the Brask hydel station. Twenty such

of the pavilion. Some of these machines have been highly praised by Indian machine-building firms. Many orders have come from such big firms as Godrej and Boyce Manufacturing Co. Ltd., Bombay, Electric Construction and Equipment Company, Ltd., Calcutta.

The textile and hostery machines in this hall receive wide attention of many a visitors. A representative of a Textile Mill at Dehradun explained 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 elsewhere.



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 attracting prospective customers. The Indian stockist of

In the medical section one comes across interesting instruments. For examining the apple of the eye and the depth of the eye ball; the spherometer for measuring the sphere of lenses and an uni-

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

MACHINES FOR LAND

In the USSR during the Soviet power, the cultivated area increased from 250 to 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 harvesting combines, about 800 million automobiles and millions of other agricultural machines. Machines have relieved the peasant of heavy manual labour.

Many unfriendly and ill-intentioned critics of the Soviet economy repeat the age-old slander of lack of consum-

There is a riot-of colours in textiles, woolen, silk and cotton. Various electrical goods of daily use like refrigerators, radios and television sets, bicycles, watches, cameras, wines and spirits catch a visitor's attention in the pavilion.

ALL FOR MAN

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, buses, scooters etc., displayed in another section compete with the best available 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 people is increasing every year, wages of workers and employees are rising, incomes of the collective farmers are going up and the old-age pension rate has been considerably raised.

The motto 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 Industries Fair is a pilgrimage to the proud monument of socia-

MONUMENT OF SOCIALIST LABOUR

these machines are always busy in answering various enquiries 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 metres 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 helicopters.

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 kilometres per hour and flight roof upto 10,000 metres, and the Il, 18 with 84 seats, cruising speed of 650 kilometres per hour and roof upto 9,000 metres.

A wide variety of Soviet instruments are displayed in the pavilion. There are about 200 types of optical, electronic, meteorological and other instruments for the most varied type of measurements, e.g. vibration, displacement, thickness of coating, etc., in this section.

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

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 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 apparatus, URB-3 Am has already been bought by the Madras Government. The Kashmir Government has also bought five drilling machines of ZIF-300 and another five of GP-1 type.

SOLAR ENERGY

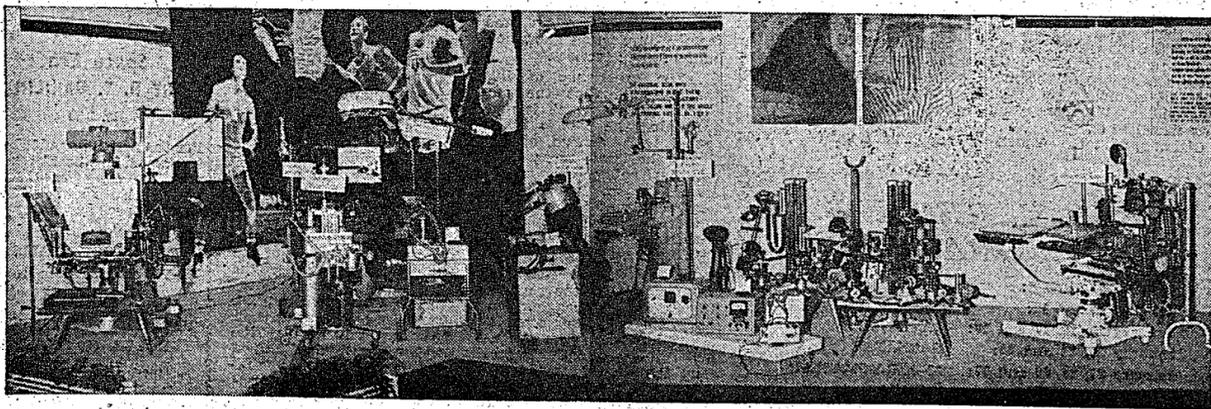
Just near to this spot is the solar energy section. Here the seven models show the principle of using solar energy. There are two solar kitchens equivalent to a 800 watt electric stove. It can boil 3.5 litres of water in 15-20 minutes and the cost is covered within a single year.

This source of energy has great potentialities for our country where the sun brightly shines throughout the year.

In Soviet sanatoria, rest homes and animal husbandry farms in the southern part of the Soviet Union solar boilers are used for boiling and dis-

er goods in the USSR. Those who have visited the Soviet Pavilion at the Indian Industries Fair can imagine how blatant a lie this is.

list labour which in the next twenty years is going to establish the most just system of human society—COMMUNISM.



A corner of the Soviet Pavilion—Medical Instruments Section



Indo-Soviet Friendship

NUNMATI—BASTION OF FREEDOM

Nunmati

January 1

"A new chapter opens in the country's industrialisation with the refinery here going on stream", declared Prime Minister Nehru, inaugurating the first oil refinery in the public sector.

It was a brightly lit morning, the first morning of the New Year. The sun shone on the silvery tanks and the towers of the refinery gleamed the bowl-like space, surrounded 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 Gauhati—Nunmati. Today fifteen thousand people had gathered, as it were, to celebrate New Year's day with this great event.

The Prime Minister referred 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.

He praised Rumania for its cooperation and said that it was a small country compared to India, yet its 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.

SCHEDULE BEATEN

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—Indians and Rumanians. The Prime Minister congratulated and thanked them all, especially the Rumanian Minister Florescu, who had specially

come to participate in the inauguration.

Speaking on the occasion, 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 refinery 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 between our two countries in the spirit of peaceful coexistence and our common struggle for peace all over the world was the basis of relations between our two countries, he said.

Minister Malaviya in a significant speech recalled the concessions India had to give to foreign oil companies till a few years ago when "designing, construction and operation of a refinery appeared too complicated and costly a problem for us, and the gene-

ral notion was that it was beyond our capacity to do it".

Malaviya said "On this memorable day I must also record our grateful thanks for the help accorded to us by our friends, the People's Republic of Rumania...

"In their desire towards helping us and developing cordial relations with us, they came readily to extend all technical and other assistance needed to erect and supervise the construction of our refinery...

"We have noticed with appreciation from time to time that they have trained and helped our Indian technicians very well and without any reservation in the task of construction 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 refineries in the country".

OIL AND INDEPENDENCE

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

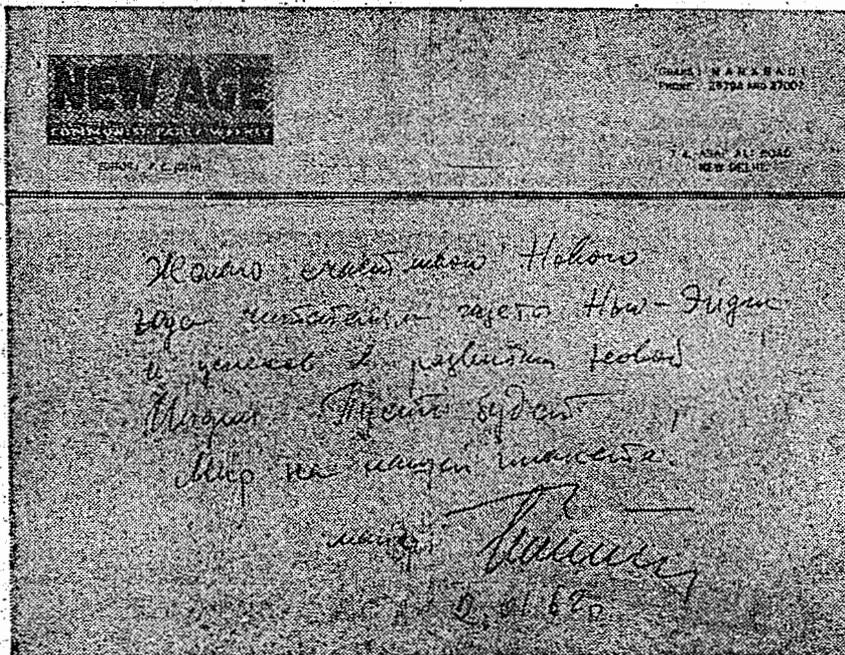
"There can be no freedom for the country's economy or its defence unless the oil industry is owned and controlled by the State", he declared.

The highlight of the colourful 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 production a few days ago. When it attains its full production a few months hence, it will produce 7½ lakh tons of products like gasolene, kerosene, etc., in a year.

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. Asked about further cooperation with India, in the field of oil he said that the prospects were good and some discussions were on. The fourth drill 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



I wish a happy New Year to readers of New Age and successes in the development 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 coincided with the New Year's Eve, then he might as well have celebrated it 17 times.

That man is, of course, the Soviet Cosmonaut Two, Gherman Titov.

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

telephone 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 withstood the huge take-off and

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

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 Cosmonaut One, Major Yuri Gagarin.

Gagarin has expressly requested him to convey to our people his best wishes and New Year greetings, his thanks for the warm reception he got from our people while 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 Titov 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 India's capital city, that he could feel the friendship among our peoples.

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

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

—RAZA ALI