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# NEW AGE

## COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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# to our people, greetings!

# AUGUST 15 CALLS FOR

IT is the proud privilege of our generation to live in an age:

- When space is being conquered by man;
- When a great neighbour country of ours is self-confidently set out to construct a classless communist society and bring the fondest dreams of man to life;
- When socialism is being actually built in several countries, successfully challenging the countries of capitalism in the economic race;
- When the scourge of colonialism is being wiped out not only from country after country, but from whole continents, Asia, Africa and Latin America, and nations, known and less known, are emerging into a new independent, vigorous life;
- When big colonial powers once so powerful and irresistible are being forced to retreat before the unprecedented tide of national liberation;
- When imperialist aggressors are being made to realise over and over again, in place after place, that they can no more have their way in the present world where people are out to defend peace, backed by such Governments which have the strength to impose it;
- When, in short, the forces of peace, freedom and socialism are stronger than those of war, colonialism and monopoly capitalism—and this has been proven in practice, times without number, before the naked eyes of all.

The historic battle is on, long cherished horizons are visible and within reach. The battle-drums call one and all to join the good fight and help realise the dream of our great people in our own ancient land.

On this August 15 it is not only necessary to strengthen the confidence of our people on the basis of the proud achievements of the nation after independence; it is also imperative to stress the frustrating failures and grave shortcomings that hold up national progress and create new dangers which can be ignored no more.

Our independent foreign policy has won us the esteem of the world. It has been our national contribution to the noble cause of preserving world peace and aiding the just struggle of enslaved peoples to win their freedom.

Some undesirable weaknesses have, however, crept in which must be rapidly removed to save our national honour and defend our national interests.

In the fighting, heroic countries of Africa, Indian prestige has fallen

low of late because the Indian Government has been dragging its feet rather than be vocal and active in African support as befitting its world status, and in tune with their revolutionary march.

India has not yet recognised the Algerian Provisional Government though Pakistan has; India was among the last of the independent Afro-Asian countries to openly express solidarity with Tunisia against French aggression in Bizerta.

The Angolan example does not inspire the Government to emulate the same in our Goa. The Indian Government is failing to do for Goa what other African countries are doing to aid Angola.

The mightiest, craftiest and maddest imperialist power, USA, is right away dumping faster-than-sound jets and deadly guided missiles in our neighbouring country but the Prime Minister of our country accepts the American "assurances" that they are not meant against India!

Even a child knows that there is nothing in common between peace-loving freedom-champion India and warmongering colonialist USA, between the monopolist rulers of USA and the Indian people out to build an independent and prosperous national economy, that the self-proclaimed aim of US is to influence for the worse and in their own imperialist interests the national policies of our country and ultimately install a servitor, reactionary Government in power here.

The lust for US dollar 'aid' of India's capitalist ruling class is responsible for these creeping weaknesses in our foreign policy.

On this national day let the patriotic Indian people proclaim their determination to remove these blemishes and add new strength to our foreign policy. The rest of the peace-loving anti-colonialist world is marching ahead. Let India not lag behind. Moving in step with forces of peace, anti-colonialism and socia-

lism takes India and the whole world forward.

The policy of national planning and industrialisation has helped to change the old backward, dependent nature of our economy but the selfish interests—and compromising policies of Indian capital have held such sway that the rate of growth has been slow and the working people feel cheated of their just share.

Workers' wage rise is resisted, while the profit rise is encouraged. Trade Union rights are denied while incentives are given to the bosses.

The poor and the landless peasants have been denied land and hope of

along lines demanded by the urgent needs of the people and the true interests of the nation.

The failures of the existing national leadership have emboldened the dark forces of reaction to come out in the open and threaten Indian unity and democracy itself.

The anti-national mischief begun at Kerala has led to the revival of Muslim communalism and strengthening of the Hindu brand all over the country. The Sikh communalists have not lagged behind either.

The evil of separatism has already raised its head in Assam Hills and Tamilnad.

# national unity!

land distribution under the existing regime is now moonshine. Big landholders are the main beneficiaries under rural development schemes.

Unemployment continues to grow with each Plan.

Inflation and price rise eat up whatever gains the working people are able to win through their struggles.

Taxes, direct and indirect, go on increasing, putting the main burden of development on the shoulders of the people.

The big Indian capitalists have become all-powerful monopoly groups,

Castelism is being activated everywhere.

Instead of national integration, we are faced with national disintegration.

This August 15, more than any other, beckons to all secular, democratic and patriotic parties and the true sons and daughters of our motherland to come and stand together against casteism, communalism and separatism.

Let the memory of our martyrs, the living examples of our fighting self-sacrificing working people drive home the urgent lesson that there can be

# rapid democratic advance!

who in league with the big landholders, are openly out to create a paradise for private enterprise, grab the public sector, bottle up land reforms and invite foreign monopolists as partners in India's exploitation.

On this national day defeating this reactionary offensive and re-orientating the Plan towards speedier achievement of economic independence and greater welfare of our people is the common task. The progressive levers of the Third Plan must be seized to guide development

no change for the better without struggle and more struggles, and on the basis of the healthy forces of the nation coming together.

All that we have dreamt of and seek to achieve is realisable here and now. This is the shining lesson of our times.

Every opportunity missed, every day lost is a gain of our common enemies. This is the grim warning, writ large on India's walls.

—P. C. JOSHI







India inherited from the British rule a stagnant rural economy. Under the colonial framework the Indian peasantry was condemned to the exploitation of the landlord, money-lending and trading classes and the meagre economy surplus from the agricultural sector was syphoned away in the form of rent, interest and taxes, resulting in chronic stagnation of the agricultural economy.

**THE** main economic classes. In the countryside, in the pre-independence period, consisted of the landlords and the tenants. The former owning substantial areas of land were by and large functionless intermediaries who appropriated rental incomes from the tenants and squandered them away in conspicuous consumption and other unproductive pursuits.

The tenants who were the actual tillers of the soil had neither the resources nor the incentives to effect agricultural improvements.

**Pre-Independence Stagnation**

Notwithstanding the agrarian legislations aiming at extending protection and security to tenants, the landlord-tenant nexus continued to be the core of the agrarian structure and contributed to a state of stagnation in the agricultural sector.

This is borne out by the fact that during the pre-independence period in the forty five years following 1900, while the population increased by 37.9 per cent, the food-output remained stationary and the agricultural output as a whole registered an increase of only 12.6 per cent. (Agricultural output and National Income; from Studies in Agricultural Economics, Edited by J. P. Bhattacharjee, The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, Bombay, 1958).

Consequently, the numerous attempts to raise the technological level of Indian agriculture during the British rule foundered at the rock of the retrograde agrarian class structure.

The replacement of this out-moded agrarian structure through far-reaching land reforms was essential for laying down the foundations of broad-based social and economic development as well as political democracy in the country.

The advent of independence stirred up new hopes and aspirations among the peasantry for complete emancipation from the age old burdens and the dead-weight of the past.

The Governments in the Centre and the States were expected to implement an agrarian programme which would sweep away the exploitative rights and privileges of landlord classes by transferring the control of the agricultural economy—of land and other economic resources—into the hands of the working peasantry.

To what extent the Governments have lived up to the expectations of the peasantry during the last decade is the question which requires serious examination.

A study of the economic history of different countries reveals that a reorganisation of the agrarian relationships has invariably preceded or accompanied the transition of a backward and predominant agrarian economy into a

developed, industrial economy. The pattern of agrarian reorganisation varied from country to country. Broadly speaking, however, the land problem was solved either in a revolutionary way in the interests of the cultivating peasantry or in a reactionary way in the interests of the propertied land-owning classes.

**Reactionary Solution**  
A strongly capitalist-biased and reactionary solution of the land problem which does not provide for the break-up of large semi-feudal land ownership but seeks to gradually transform it into the base for large-scale capitalist enterprise has natural appeal and attraction for the big landed interests in the country.

On the other hand, the active association of the peasant masses with the growth process can be ensured only by the sweeping away of semi-feudal landed interests through radical agrarian reforms.

Indeed, in the historical epoch in which the underdeveloped countries of Asia (including India) are embarking upon economic and social development, there are powerful socio-political and economic forces working against the repetition of the pattern of untrammelled classical capitalist development.

In the first place, the peasantry in India is no more an inert and passive mass without rights or without an awareness of its rights and privileges. It is in no mood to accept the plight and ordeal of evictions and impoverishment which are a neces-

sary accompaniment of the unhindered capitalist penetration in agriculture. The anti-feudal consciousness and the demand for peasant liberation which had gathered momentum as a part of the national movement as well as under the impact of the agrarian revolutions in Russia, China and other countries have created a political climate in which no national political party would dare to ride roughshod over the backs of an awakened peasantry.

Within the framework specially of a political democracy it is an impossible feat to stabilise a capitalist pattern of the classical type based on preservation of large-scale concentration of land and other economic resources at one pole and wide-spread and expanding landlessness at another.

An inevitable instrument of this kind of transition towards large-scale capitalist agriculture would, therefore, be a right-reactionary and authoritarian reorientation of the political structure in the country.

Secondly, there are earnest compulsions in the contemporary situation in favour of an economic framework which ensures simultaneously the speediest possible development of productive forces as well as the broad-basing of the gains and benefits of economic development.

These goals of rapid growth and distributive justice are evidently not possible of rea-

development and Community Development Programmes has been to lift up the underprivileged and the weaker sections of the rural society and to narrow down the wide economic and social disparities between the "haves" and "have-nots", it is now generally accepted that the principal beneficiary of these development programmes has been the rising rural bourgeoisie. In fact, these programmes have contributed immensely towards the strengthening of the new classes in the rural areas.

The implications of these changes for economic and social development as well as political democracy are quite serious and far-reaching. Inasmuch as the state, instead of sweeping away the semi-feudal survivals in a thorough-going manner, has been drifting towards the reactionary and tortuous course of capitalist evolution, the vast peasant masses with their plentiful, idle or semi-employed manpower are excluded from productive participation both in agricultural growth as well as from the fruits of development.

Further, the evolution of a dynamic and enterprising class of farmers from the erstwhile unproductive land owning classes is in itself a long drawn-out process. The emerging institutional framework, therefore, appears to be incompatible with the demands of rapid as well as mass-based development in the countryside. The slow rate

of growth of the agricultural output during the last decade testifies to the fact that without the vigorous participation of the peasant masses it is extremely difficult to generate the necessary momentum of growth in the field of agriculture.

The experience of the two plans unmistakably shows that the spontaneously developing capitalist structure weighed down by semi-feudal remnants not only restricts the possibilities of speedy economy growth; it is also far from conducive to the uninterrupted progress of political democracy.

Indeed, the new concentrations of economic and social power in the rural areas have strong natural pre-dispositions towards authoritarian and anti-democratic re-adaptation of the country's political structure. Economic changes in this context are very deeply intertwined with social and political factors.

The Communist Party by calling for concentrated efforts to organise and activate the peasant masses and by advancing the tactic of National Democratic front, for the unity of all national and popular forces throws its whole weight to achieve a progressive solution of the agrarian problem both in the interests of the peasantry and for creating the foundation for progressive nation-building.

# Indian Agriculture Which Way - Democratic Or Capitalist ?

On the other hand, the genuine pro-peasant course would be based on substantial reduction of rental burdens of the peasantry, the conferment of the rights of ownership on the actual tillers of the soil, and a thorough-going programme of land redistribution following the break-up of large land-ownership.

An important corollary of the second course would also be the organisation of millions of small and middle peasant cultivators into cooperatives based on the pooling of resources both of land and labour.

The former (pro-landlord) course would result not in a rapid but slow transformation of the pre-capitalist rural economy into a capitalist one, inflicting great burdens and suffering on the peasantry by evicting them on a large scale from their fields and farms.

The latter (pro-peasant) course, on the other hand, would eliminate root and branch not only big rentier interests but also regulate and restrict the scope of large-scale capitalist agriculture.

The entire course of thinking and policy making in the field of agrarian reforms as embodied in the proposals made in India from time to time—since the days of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Commit-

# punjab communists and tara singh's fast

A deputation on behalf of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party met the Prime Minister on August 6, to impress upon him the seriousness of the situation arising from Master Tara Singh's decision to go on a fast unto death from August 15, and the State Government's extremely provocative repressive measures.

THE deputation consisting of Barksishen Singh Surjeet, Sohan Singh Josh and Jagjit Singh Lyalpur brought to Nehru's notice the fact that the sweeping gag order on the press that the Punjab Government had recently issued placed secular democratic forces outside the Government at particular disadvantage.

For, while the Akalis would continue to carry on their propaganda in the Gurdwaras, the Hindu communalists in the temples and through Arya Samaj gatherings and the Government through the press, only the Communists would be prevented by this gag from carrying on the campaign for preserving communal harmony.

The deputation told the Prime Minister that Government plans to meet with repression the situation that will arise with Master Tara Singh going on fast would create unprecedented bitterness and cleavage in Punjab. These plans, they said, were based on a most serious miscalculation on the part of the Punjab Chief Minister, Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon. They appealed to the Prime Minister to call off these plans even at this last moment.

The Punjab Communist leaders told Nehru that the only solution of the Punjab tangle lay in applying the same democratic principles in the State for linguistic reorganisation that had been applied to the rest of the country. It was the persistent refusal to do so and the endless compromises with communal forces, they said, that was responsible for the present grave situation in the Punjab.

**POST-FREEDOM BACKGROUND**

Recalling the events since independence, they said, in course of a memorandum given to the Prime Minister:

"After independence, when the question of giving status to regional languages came up, the Punjab Government came forward with a makeshift arrangement called the Sachar formula." Characterising it as a "result of Congress-Akali compromise", the memorandum says that it bore no fruit: "the language controversy was again and again raised by the communal elements even afterwards."

"After the report of the State Reorganisation Commission, the Akalis again launched a movement for Punjab Suba. On the eve of the second general elections, the Congress once again struck a compromise with the Akalis on the basis of the regional formula which pro-

responsibility lies on you as the Prime Minister of the country. "You are well aware that the Communist Party of India has always stood against the forces of communalism and casteism, that our Party has always been against the mixing up of religion with politics. We have openly come out against the misuse of Gurdwaras and whenever and wherever communal passions have been roused, the Party has proudly stood as the unifier of the people even at the risk of the lives of its members. Our record—during the communal carnage in 1947 is well known and during the Hindi Raksha Samiti and Akali agitations too it is our Party that stood as the major secular force in the State.

"The solution needed for the Punjab is in no way different from what the Government itself has done in solving such questions in other places. Punjab should have the same status which other regional languages have in their respective region without making Punjab compulsory in the Hindi-speaking region. The principle of linguistic reorganisation be accepted without any regard to the question of the strength of one or the other community.

"If a firm stand is taken on the basis of this principle, then the majority of the people who are democratic and secular can be rallied, the communal elements can be deprived of their weapon of communal disruption....

**PRINCIPLED STAND**

"Our Party feels that neither the policy of repression nor that of compromise with communal elements can lead to any relaxation in the situation in the Punjab, cannot lead to the creation of the feeling of unity of the Punjabi people which is so

misused some status for the Punjabi language in the Punjab region and Punjab was divided into two distinct regions, one speaking Punjabi and the other speaking Hindi. "As a concession to the Akalis," charges the memorandum, "some Punjabi-speaking areas (Kangra) were kept out of the Punjab region so as to give numerical strength to Sikhs in the Punjab region."

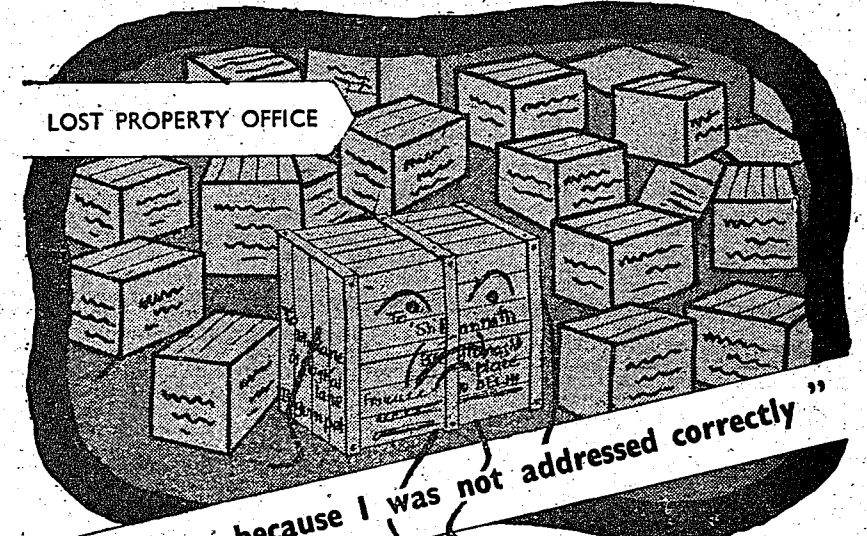
While meeting this movement, too, with repression, the Government promised some concessions to them. Master Tara Singh and the Akali Dal subsequently started again a movement last year for the creation of the linguistic State in which thousands participated with which lakhs sympathised.

"We have narrated the history of these movements to some extent to show that both the Government policies of relying on repression to suppress these movements and of striking compromises with one section or the other of the communal elements have failed to solve the issue, the Government's policy has only gone to accentuate the communal division in the Punjab with the consequent disruption of the democratic movement and weakening of the unity of the Punjab people."

The memorandum further states: "It is in this background that Master Tara Singh is planning his fast and with a democratic solution of the problem still missing from the Government's agenda, the situation is really serious, in fact dangerous for a border state like the Punjab....

"More, with the uncertainty that exists as a result of the communal passions that have been roused, with people shy of investing capital in an area where they do not know what will happen next, the very economic development of the State is hampered. From this point, too, a solution to the question which has been plaguing the State for such a long time has to be found.

"From what the State Government is doing, it seems it is still taking a very complacent view of the situation. It is underestimating the impact Mas-



"I am lost!" That is the pathetic wail of your lost packages... Lost, or gone astray, because sufficient care to address and mark them correctly and clearly was not taken at the time of tendering them.

1. Write clearly your own name and address
2. Write clearly the name and address of the consignee and the name of the destination station in full packages
3. Obliterate all old marks on the
4. Place one or two slips inside each package showing full address of the sender and consignee

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# AUGUST FIFTEEN AND GOA

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN GOA

ON 15th August there is not an Indian who does not think of Goa, Daman and Diu. They may be tiny bits of territory but they are not yet a part of Indian national territory. They cry aloud, like little sisters in the devil grip, for succour and emancipation.

WITHOUT the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu Indian national unity is not complete, nor our national sovereignty supreme over all the area that is our vast and beautiful country.

In Goa they hoist the national flag, chalk slogans all over, hold meetings, without the prior knowledge of the police. Arrests follow but they take them calmly.

This year, even before August 15, very large-scale arrests have taken place and one patriot already killed by the Portuguese butchers lest popular demonstrations on this national day may not break all earlier records, making Goa another Angola.

## Rush To Goa

I was rushed by the New Age to report back the plans of the Goan fighters for this year's 15th August. Inside Goa things are different than in the rest of the country. Here everybody is underground. You can meet active patriots if you have live contacts with the right people and you inspire trust and confidence.

The New Age, because of the publicity it has given the Goan struggle, and to the national solidarity campaign in support, has won Goan friends and contacts also outside the Communist circle. They were, however, all tongue-tied about their future plans. Where very existence is underground future plans are never talked about nor published in advance.

Because of the Government of India's policy and pressure the armed-guerrilla struggle was suspended inside Goa during the last few years till it was resumed this year with the hope that serious and militant struggle within Goa itself was only way to change the Indian Government's policy for the better, more in line with the nation's thought, feelings and urgent needs.

Ever since the 1955 national Satyagraha move-

ment the Goan patriots have not been sitting idle though their activities have not been featured by the Indian press. During my present trip I have learnt enough inspiring stories about their earlier activities which should give a clear enough idea about the shape of things to come in the very near future and the worth of Goan fighters.

When on August 15, 1955 the Indian satyagrahis planned to march in, there was mass butchery on the border itself and national indignation grew to the high pitch. The rest of the story is well-known, I will write of what is not generally known.

A Portuguese military officer Geronimo Barreto was in-charge of a shooting party on the other side of the border. He delighted in taking easy aim at and killing outright the Indian satyagrahis squatting peacefully on our side of the border. Naturally enough he became object of intense hatred of the Goan militants who decided to teach him a lesson in his own language.

## Fascist Shot In His Lair

The Portuguese, however, hid him in a safe and remote Bungalow in Ardhafond, near Panjim. Besides he had an armed sentry to guard him and the place. He was also permitted to keep a machine gun and grenades with him. On 18th September after intense investigations the patriots discovered his place and raided it, when it was pitch dark, soon after midnight. He had his father, mother, and wife staying with him in the bungalow.

A patriots' party crawled towards his place, when only twenty yards were left, the hangman's dogs started barking. He kept dogs, too, for watch and ward! His old father shouted out that he suspected the "terrorist".

In sheer panic Barreto threw grenades from the

inner room where he was staying but it struck the wall of the outer room where his parents lived. He thus killed with his own hands his father and mother!

## Commando Chicultry

The Goans rushed in, to give no time to recover from the blast and the shock. He was manipulating his steno-gun. He was caught and dragged out into open. His wife was with him and so the patriots did not throw their grenades into his room which was the safer course. The Goan patriots did not want to kill an innocent woman, though a Portuguese and the wife of a butcher.

He was shot summarily and a letter left by the side of the dead body that this was in retaliation of the atrocities committed by him. His wife was crying and shedding tears, dumb with panic unable even to shriek. She was left alone in peace. Such is the scene of chivalry of the Goan nationalists, our own fighting patriots.

I heard another very good story of how the Goan patriots seek to deal with the Portuguese oppressors. The Portuguese custom is that when they catch an active nationalist they do not try him in the ordinary courts but appoint a military tribunal instead.

Jose Quadro, chief of the military tribunal of Goa, had sentenced quite a number of the nationalists - arrested to 29 to 30 years each. Smiling caustically the Goan underground leaders stated that when he wanted to be lenient he awarded 29 and when felt tough he gave 30 years, the highest possible. There were other officers like him. There was one Captain Fortunato Demiranda who led the police patrols looting and beating up the villagers indiscriminately.

There were Quislings besides, who had earned enough ill-will of the people to drown them in shame if it were the regime of righteousness in Goa. Two of the biggest capitalists, Damo-

dar Mangalji and Vasudev Deshrabhu are big mine owners and real favourites with the Portuguese for giving them all type of information about the nationalists and their activities.

The patriots one day about the middle of April, 1956 decided to teach all the above four a lesson which they may not easily forget. They very neatly put booby-traps inside bibles which they came to respect and Communist classics which they abhor as the voice of the devil.

These type of books were chosen because they are fat and have good and strong bindings! Four nicely packed innocent looking book parcels were made, and posted the normal way to the above four.

It was Sunday, the post office held back the parcels for delivery next day except the one addressed to the Chief Judge of the Military Tribunal. They thought it might be something very important so it was rushed to him through a special postal peon. The Judge opened the parcel and while doing it half his face blew off. He still lives but with part of his face gone.

The police rushed to the post office and seized other similar parcels and thus the three others are yet alive.

## Honouring Martyrs

Here is another story of the heroism of our Goan brothers and of the brutality of the alien imperialists.

Two young nationalists, Gopal Desai and Babu Gavans were ambushed by a party of about 40 armed police led by a notorious police agent named Monteiro, near Netarda, just on the border. They shot one of them down and the other fell feigning as if killed.

When the Goan police came near them to pick up the supposed dead, bodies the alive got up and shot eight servants of the Portuguese dead on the spot and also wounded Monteiro, their leader.

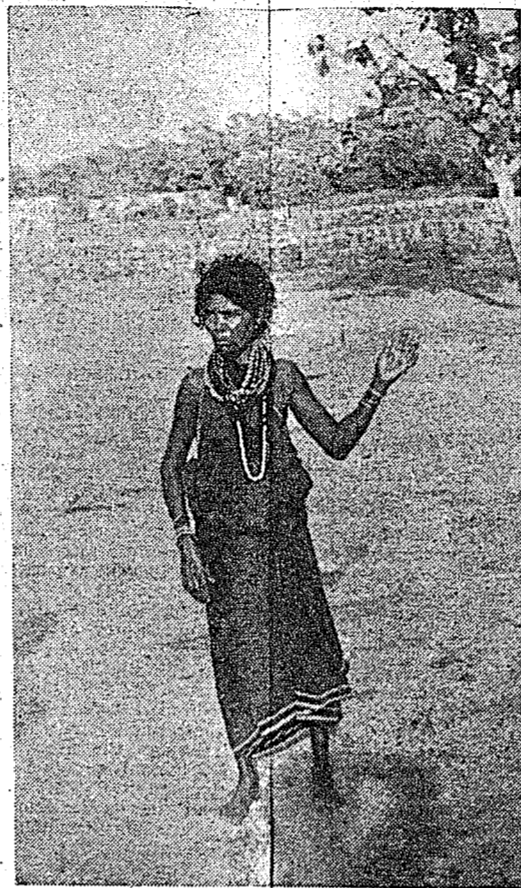
Gopal was himself badly wounded but he rushed over to our side of the border. The remaining Portuguese followed him, aggressed into Indian territory, shot him dead in and dragged him back to their side. They burnt both of them without even informing their relatives.

The comrades of Gopal and Babu did not take this lying down. Within a few days of this incident they attacked Chandel, the outpost near which their martyred comrades had been unceremoniously burnt and solemnly removed their ashes to be disposed of the solemn and proper way.

Following this on August 15 that year they put up the national flags as usual but with the difference that camouflaged home made grenades were planted under flag pole with the pull-switch.

As the Portuguese came to pull out the flag pole the grenade was set in motion and blew up. Quite a number of Portuguese soldiers were killed or wounded this way.

Thereafter and now the Portuguese dare not touch



Gaura tribe woman.

with their dirty hands any pole over which India's national flag proudly flies even inside Goa. The new Portuguese way to handle and destroy the national flag is to empty out magazine after magazine till the bamboo pole falls down.

## Troop Train Ambushed

Every August 15, trains loads of Portuguese and puppet troops are rushed to the border to guard and ensure that August 15, 1955 is never repeated again and the Portuguese can carry on with their criminal unwanted regime. On August 13, 1956 one such troop train coming from Kolem to Sonaullim was ambushed and smashed near Kallay. The ordinary soldiers were left alone but two dozens or so Portuguese officers were asked to fall out and shot dead on the spot.

One Maciel Shaves was sent from Portugal to Goa, as the Military Engineer-in-charge and to formulate a scheme to fortify the border against any future August 15. While he was on an inspection round of the border, along with two Goan officers, one civilian and the other military, their jeep was ambushed and they ordered to put up their hands. Stupid and arrogant Shaves fired his pistol instead and was shot dead in action.

## Helping The Injured

The Commandos found that the Goan military officer was also dead, the driver was safe though cowering with fear, but the civilian officer wounded. He was given first-aid by the Commando unit, put back in the jeep, and the driver asked to drive back to the nearest place where proper

hospital facilities were available.

A Commando sat by the side of the driver to inspire confidence in him and to ensure that he drove fast enough to take the wounded to the proper place. The Commando, of course, jumped out of the jeep before reaching the place where his own life would have been in certain danger.

The Goans have, thus, kept up the fight all through. This year the various Goan political groups united despite their deep differences and all decided to resume the struggle, each to contribute what it best could.

The militants inside Goa have become organised into Commando units and early this year smashed up two Portuguese military outposts, one at Kerim and other at Betim, which stories we have already published in the New Age. At present it is terrific monsoon in Goa and the home-made ammunition and the arms of the Goan patriots are not much use in the heavy rains and consequent dampness.

They are grateful to the National Campaign Committee for Goa working and rousing the Indian people under the leadership of Aruna Asaf Ali, to realise the slogan to achieve the liberation of Goa in 1961. It is holding All-Parties Conventions throughout the country and winning big support for the demand that the Union Government should lift the ban on liberation volunteers from India entering Portuguese occupied Goa, Daman and Diu.

Mrs. Bertha Braganza, Secretary of the National Campaign Committee, in a press conference, at Patna (Hindustan Times, July 31) appealed to the Government



# Angola Will Be Free!

by Mario de Andrade

(Chairman of the People's Movement for Angola's Liberation)

THE road traversed by my people in the struggle for the right to be free is a severe and difficult one. Even the Portuguese colonialist historians admit that only in 1922 was the military capture of Angola completed.

During the long years of enslavement, popular disturbances time and again broke out. Though all of them were brutally suppressed, too great was the inequality of the forces which clashed.

The Portuguese colonialists consistently used medieval methods of annihilation: they were ready in their blind fury to destroy entire tribes. Even today they strive to preserve such a disgraceful form of exploitation as forced labour, this terrible scourge of Angola.

## Predatory Portuguese Colonial Exploiters

Here are facts and figures which show the true face of predatory Portuguese colonialism. The percentage of illiterates among the population in the Portuguese colonies is the highest in all Africa. In Angola, more than 90 per cent of the native population is unable to read or write. Only 7 out of 100 children of school age have had the opportunity of attending school in recent years.

Out of a population of 4,500,000 there are at present only 174 doctors and almost all of them live in the cities.

Lately the Portuguese started a mass emigration of whites to Africa openly opposing them to the native population. In Angola, according to the latest official data, the white population increased ten-fold from 1950 to 1959.

The number of local inhabitants, overburdened by slave labour, however, has not increased even by one-third. The authorities are settling immigrants on the fertile lands in the Cuanza and Cunene river valleys and on the Sela high plateau. Many white immigrants have found work in the cities depriving the Negroes of their last opportunity of earning their bread.

A picture of astounding poverty could be drawn. This is the fate to which the Portuguese colonialists have doomed the Angolese masses.

of India to "shed the fears and come out openly to the active assistance of the Goan anti-colonial struggle and extend to it all the material and moral aid necessary as is being done by the independent African States to all the national independent struggles in Africa".

The Government of India's understanding, however, is

that all it has to do is drift as before, go on condemning the Portuguese and express solidarity with the Angolan struggle. The craven calculation is that the rapidly growing and deepening Angolan struggle will bring the Portuguese to heel and the grant of independence to the Portuguese territories in Africa will lead automatically to the libe-

However, in this article I want to speak about how the forces of the National Liberation Movement in Angola developed and grew against the barbaric plundering of the country and the brutal domination of alien usurpers.

Despite the reprisals and threats of death, despite the country's isolation from the outside world, our generation has appeared in the arena of underground political struggle. The first political national organisations are coming into being.

## The Party And The Programme Of Freedom

We have seen the birth in Angola of the most diverse parties and movements. However, the first political organisation with a clear and consistently formulated programme of action was the People's Movement for Angola's Liberation (P.M.A.L.). This party was founded in Luanda, the capital, in December 1956.

The birth of this party was met by the colonialists with a wave of fascist terror against the champions of national liberation. We remember the mass arrests conducted in the colony in the spring of 1959.

However, nothing could stop the growing movement for the peaceful solution of the Angolese problem. In June 1960 the P.M.A.L. firmly declared that the Portuguese government should renounce methods of armed violence, immediately grant the right of the Angolese people to self-determination and political freedom.

The Party proposed that a conference of the representatives of all political parties of Angola and the representatives of the Portuguese government be convened before the end of 1960 in order to solve the colonial problem peacefully.

The Portuguese government replied to these just demands by intensifying reprisals and went over to the mass assassination of the peaceful population. To cite one example: when thousands of inhabitants of the Icolo Bengo village were on their way to the centre of the Catete district with the demand that their fellow-villager Agostino Neto, one of the leaders of our party who was thrown into jail by the authorities, be freed, two companies of Portuguese soldiers opened fire against the demonstrators. Thirty Angolese were killed and some 200 wounded.

Several months later dozens of political prisoners, mainly inhabitants of the Cabinda district, were executed in one of the prisons. This is the "civilising mission" of the foreign usurpers.

The colonialists by all their actions show that they have no intention of giving up the methods of brutal exploitation and intend at all costs to remain the sole masters in our country. The stubbornness of the Portuguese authorities who are striving at all cost to preserve the age-old system of oppression has resulted in the popular movement of Angolia rising for open struggle.

The world knows the details of the courageous attack on military and civil prisons in Luanda in February 1961 with the aim of freeing patriots. The weapons that were used in the assault on the prisons were obtained in the only way possible: the attackers captured a police jeep patrolling the Negro quarters of Luanda and disarmed a group of policemen.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the assault on the military and civil prisons of Angola's capital. This courageous action was the beginning of large-scale national resistance throughout the entire country.

Plans for intervention into our affairs which are being nurtured today in the imperialist camp make the people of Angola raise their vigilance. We know that the slogan of rendering "assistance" to the Angolese people can be a cover for the most base intentions of imperialism.

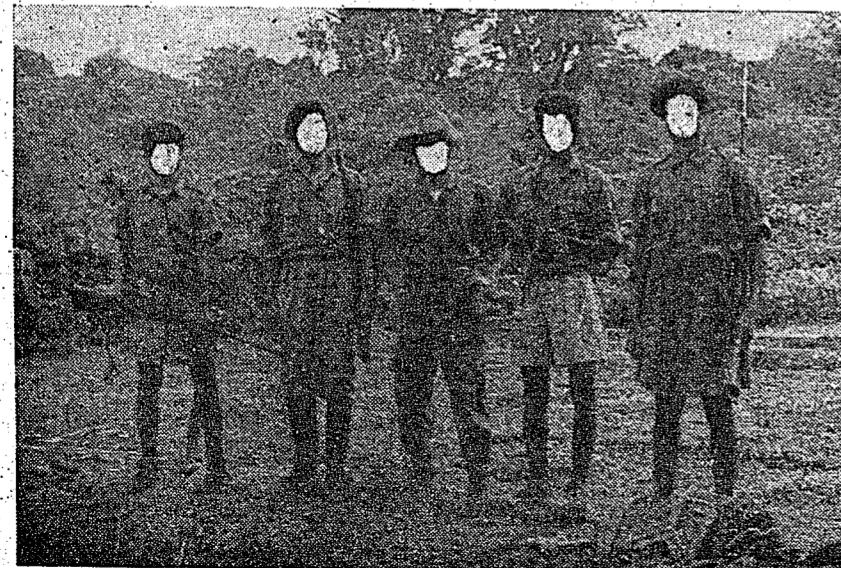
## National Front To Win National Liberation

What are the political positions of our movement under the conditions of colonial war unleashed by Portugal?

In the first place we are striving to organise a national front of Angola's liberation which would unite all the people's movements, parties and organisations throughout the country which would lead the country to national independence.

We shall in every way strengthen a wide alliance with the national organisation of all Portuguese colonies.

Finally, we place legitimate hopes on the solidarity of all Afro-Asian peoples and of all the progressive forces of the world.



A batch of Commandos.

Goa as Independent African States are pursuing towards Angola, of active aid and unqualified solidarity. This is the way to ensure the liberation of Goa in a quick and worthy manner and keep high India's prestige in the fighting African continent, where Portuguese imperialism has suffered a heavy defeat.











# COMMUNIST IN COSMOS

from Masood Ali Khan

Moscow, August 8

The heavy load of happiness on the heart goes on increasing. Human hearts have never known such a surfeit of joyful feeling as they have had to put up within these last few days.

It was only the last week that the Draft Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was published. What an outbreak of happy emotion what inspiration and pride it meant what a flood of feeling its great targets released. And now this!

**I**N the Draft Programme there are only two simple and unpretentious sentences dealing with cosmic research: And yesterday those two sentences burst open with a flash to reveal just a glimpse of the spectacular feats that lie ahead and the breath-taking progress that is yet to come.

The excited voice of the radio announcer once again boomed to tell the world that another Soviet man had gone up in space at 9 o'clock on Sunday morning. A new spaceship Vostok II had been launched on a round-the-earth orbit piloted by Soviet citizen Gherman Stepanovich Titov. So here goes the second of the heroes into the depths of space to fathom the secrets of the mysterious universe.

The news spread like wild fire and thousands gave up the idea of going out into the country on that fine sunny Sunday morning and stuck to their radios and television sets.

Is this just a repetition of Gagarin's flight? This was the first question which came to one's mind. But the radio went on "The tasks of the flight are: to study the effects on human body of a prolonged orbital flight and descent to the surface of the earth; to study man's working capacity during a sustained state of weightlessness."

## PROLONGED FLIGHT

The spaceship had gone into the orbit as planned—minimum distance from the surface of the earth: 178 kilometres and maximum 257; inclination of the orbit to the equator 64 degrees. Weight of spaceship not counting the last stage of the carrier rocket: 4731 kilogrammes, the announcement went on. "The systems which sustain the cosmonaut's life activity are functioning normally. The cosmonaut Gherman Titov feels well. The flight of the Soviet spaceship is controlled by man and is proceeding successfully."

"Prolonged orbital flight"—I remembered Gagarin saying at his press conference that he could have easily stayed up longer. This time it will be two or three hours we say and wait for the next announcement. But the communiques come one after another and each announcement brings facts which reveal that this time it is a different kind of flight.

The thrill, excitement, and admiration rise; people leave everything else and glued to the loud speakers or TV screens follow this world-shaking, earth-embracing flight. The whole country participates, wonders, waits and rejoices at every step. "The Motherland listens, the Motherland knows", as Gagarin's favourite song declares.

After a few minutes of the first announcement we hear Major Titov's statement which he made before take-off "Words fail to express the happiness and pride which overflow me", he says.

"I dedicate this new space flight to the Twenty-second Congress of our Communist Party," he declares. His last words are full of confidence, "Goodbye till we meet again before long, dear comrades and friends."

## VOICE FROM SPACE

Then we hear his voice coming to us through the hissing and spluttering of cosmic depths "Earth, I am Eagle, do you hear me. I report", and there follows another message informing us of the successful continuation. Yes, each announcement tells us that the flight continues as hours go by. We begin to realise the greatness and heroism of this achievement and its great importance for the future of man.

Two circuits, then three, four... the number goes on increasing. We are told that television pictures of Titov received on earth show him calm and smiling. Then comes another surprise: the radio gives us the time table of the flight for the next hour or so. A list of towns is broadcast with timings when the Vostok II will fly over. Its orbit in space does not revolve with the earth while the earth turns in the middle of it and thus the space vehicle passes over newer and newer places.

Then we learn his biography. Born in 1935 in a village in Altai region. Father an old school teacher, retired last year. Titov passed Stalingrad Airforce school in 1957. Married to Tamara, born 1937. Mother alive, born 1914. A biography like thousands of others.

At 15 hours Titov completed the fourth circuit. Informed that from 12.30 to one had lunch which consisted of three courses. "Feel fine," and each 'fine', 'excellent' broadened the smiles on faces in Moscow and people felt relieved only to start worrying again as there was no mention of landing.

Then, "Had an hour's rest according to plan, did physical exercise, then started work." Good God! The things that go on in cosmos these days. Message to South American people while flying over them. Yes, and tested the manual system of control of the spaceship which functioned faultlessly during the fifth revolution going over Edinburgh, Novosibirsk, Kwangchow, Melbourne, Paris. My daughter Gulnar brings her revolving globe and we trace the orbits over it. And the orbits go on accumulating and covering the whole earth like a net.

Telegram from Gagarin's parents to the Titov family, "We are happy as if he were our own son. Our country has no lack of such heroes."

Gagarin in Canada woken up by the Soviet Ambassador sends immediate message which is radioed to spaceship and duly acknowledged. He says, "My heart with you, I embrace and kiss you. Following your flight with deep emotion. Sure of success." He cuts short his stay and rushes home, "Till we meet soon."

Again we are told Titov in high spirits, retains his capacity to work, no deviations recorded in the functioning of cardiac vascular system or respiration. Pulse rate 80 to 100, respiration 20 to 28 per minute. Some time later Titov informs the world: Temperature in cabin 20 to 22 centigrade (this was Moscow's temperature too) humidity 70 per cent, pressure 750 to 760 mm, oxygen in air 24 and half per cent, carbon dioxide 0.4 only. In short he says, "Excellent comfort."

At 17 hours had supper. Announcer breaks in again; at 17 hours fortytwo the spaceship Vostok II started to land... No started its seventh circuit. More names of towns to be flown over. The flight continues. Father's voice "I only knew he was a test pilot, did not know such a task will be given to him."

This was an extraordinary day lived by whole of humanity. It is past 11 but the great drama goes on. At 11-30 our Prime Minister Nehru's message of greetings is broadcast. Radio signs "I believe caravans of cosmonauts shall fly from star to star and we shall leave our footprints on far away planets."

## RETURN TO EARTH

Eleventh round of the earth begins. We wait till one for the last announcements. We start listening at 6 in the morning but the flight goes on. We learn that he slept till 2-37 and slept well, had breakfast (We did not, rushing from radio to television and back). Prayda arrived with huge headlines and portrait of Titov and another picture of him with Gagarin.

At 12 o'clock mid-day came the much awaited announcement, "Unprecedented in the history of mankind, a prolonged cosmic flight of the Soviet Cosmonaut successfully completed." And we listen as the radio goes on: 17 circuits round the earth lasting 25 hours 18 minutes, 700 thousand kilometres covered—distance equal to the moon and back. Ship landed in the appointed place not far from the historical spot where Gagarin landed on April 12. "Comrade Titov is well and feels fine. Great perspectives open up for the cosmic flights of man."

Again the newspapers are full of the accounts of the space flight and landing, print details of Titov's biography and dozens of photographs. We come to know that he not only took controls of the spaceship in his hands while in flight but also landed the

## C. P. I.'s Greetings

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has sent the following message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

On behalf of the Communist Party of India, we send our heartfelt congratulations and warmest greetings to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and through it to Comrade Gherman Stepanovich Titov for making yet another thrilling achieve-

ment in man's conquest of space. All world sees that Socialism and Communism have been the first to blaze the trail of humanity's triumphant march into cosmos. This thrilling feat of Communist Titov and Soviet Science, together with the publication of the historic Draft Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union symbolises the truth that scientific Communism leads both on our planet and in inter-space. All Glory to the Soviet Scientists and Soviet People!

spaceship himself at 10-15 yesterday. On landing he declared "I feel wonderful as I reported from up there".

Asked what was the state of the ship he replied "The ship and all its equipment is safe and intact and one can go up in it again".

## NOSTALGIA FOR HOME

Saying that he flew over the Soviet Union fourteen times Titov observed "I knew that there was such a thing as longing for one's native land which is called nostalgia. But it seems that such a thing as longing for the earth also exists. I don't know what name they will give to it but it exists. There is nothing lovelier than the soil of the motherland on which one can stand, work and smell the breeze of the fields".

Titov declared that the view from the spaceship was wonderful. He had three portholes to watch the earth and the sky. "All that Yuri Gagarin saw has been confirmed. I saw the extraordinary sun and the stars and the bright unearthly colours. The cosmos waits for its painter, its poet and of course, its scientists".

Speaking of the bravery of this young man Pravda today says that it is possible to give any intonation to one's voice but one cannot pretend with the beating of one's heart. And Titov's heartbeat was completely calm in flight. The line of his cardiogram should be engraved on an obelisk as a monument to man's fearlessness and valour.

Earlier while preparing for his flight Titov recalled the beauty of the landscape and orchards of his native Altai region where he grew up near the town of Bernal. He tied his pencil firmly with a nylon thread to the logbook of the spaceship so that it would not float away in weightlessness.

"Yuri did not tie his pencil well and lost it. But he found it again" said Titov laughing. "If I fly over Canada I shall certainly shout Hello Yuri".

That was on Sunday morning. Then on Monday morning as Khrushchov was talking to the Ambassador of Argentina the telephone rang and the voice of Titov came over from afar announcing his safe return. "Wonderful", Khrushchov said, "your voice sounds as if you have just re-

turned from a wedding ball". Titov replied, "You put it well Nikita Sergeyevich. It was like a ball though not a wedding ball".

## KHRUSHCHOV'S MESSAGE

Khrushchov after hearing Titov's report said "We are proud that you, a Soviet man did all this. No longer a candidate member of the Party but a full member. Count the period of your candidature as over. Every minute of your stay in cosmos can be counted as a year. You have proved that you are a real Communist and can keep aloft Lenin's banner. We shall give you a worthy welcome in Moscow on behalf of the whole people and the whole country".

Khrushchov asked how Titov's wife felt and whether she knew and approved. Titov replied that his wife knew, at first she did not quite approve but later did.

Khrushchov: "It is quite understandable. She wanted her husband to perform a heroic deed but this heroism was such that she could lose her husband and apparently because of this she hesitated. These hesitations are human and understandable to all".

The Titov family is already here. You can imagine what they lived through when they suddenly heard that their Gherman was piloting the world's second spaceship. Nobody left the radio which was fixed in the orchard of Stepan Titov the father (he is a gardener now in the collective farm called the Ray of October in the village of Polkovnikovo in Altai region) and nobody slept the whole night. But 52-year-old Stepan Titov comforted his wife "Don't worry. I believe in his success. This is not our personal matter but of the whole people and the whole country".

Well, everybody is here now to welcome this son of Siberia whose grandfather Pavel Titov was a poor Siberian muzhik and had organised the poor hungry peasants to fight the kulaks in a commune which he had named May Morning. This was in 1920 and it was in those days that the foundations were laid of this state of workers and peasants which today storms the heavens.