GOA BATTLES ON! SEND IN OUR JAWANS!

Better and better news continues to come from within Goa, to warm the heart of every patriotic Indian and remind us of our duty towards our enslaved brethren in the Portuguese occupied pockets of our Motherland.

The tricolour has been boldly and proudly hoisted in the village of Astagal and Butpal. The villagers assembled en masse to salute the national flag and pass a resolution inviting the Indian troops to come. This living demonstra-tion of mass heroism, in face of Portuguese Fascist terror is an indication that even the villagers of Goa are out to risk their all and bear the Portuguese bondage no more:

THE newspapers of the week also contain the news of the white flag seen above the Portuguese pickets. The morale of the defenders of the Portuguese regime is obviously very low. This is further borne out by the Por-tuguese arresting their own service personnel, soldiers as well as policemen. for "disthe ships and the planes leaving for Lisbon! Obviously, the Portuguese occupationists have lost faith in their own capacity to continue to rule over these tiny bits of Indian territory. territory.

The activities of business-men are a good indication of the way the wind is blowing. Local businessmen are withdrawing their deposits from the Portuguese banks as fast as they can. Indian currency is very much in demand, the Portuguese escudos are being

rapidly changed into Indian rupees. Even the businessmen linked with the Portuguese authorities do not believe that the Portuguese can last much longe

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COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKL

The Portuguese are on the way out. This is clear to everybody inside Goa. But

- by -P. C. JOSHI

our Goan compatriots are straining their eyes scan-ning the horizon to get the answer to the question on every Goan lip: when will the Indian armed forces come marching to end the unwanted Salazar regime and liquidate forcible Por-furguese accumation of Goa tuguese occupation of Goa, Daman and Diu? The Portuguese had set up

several very well fortified military posts. The Goan commandos are blowing them up one after another.

p one after another. The Portuguese had brou-ght in their top engineers and specialists to help mine all the ingresses from the Indian side. The comman-dos have mined the very roads which the Portuguese roads which the Portuguese have been using and set up booby traps with such amazing skill that the Por-tuguese jeeps and trucks, tanks and tractors, are going up in smoke one after another and lying by the wayside for all to see that the days of Portuguese rule are numbered. The Goan commandos are

The Goan commandos are tearing up the roads and ren-dering useless the bridges and culverts which the Portuguese are using to dig themselves in. The monopolist firms of rance, Italy and West Ger-France, Italy and West Ger-many, the Nato partners of Portugal, in collaboration with greedy firms run the manga-nese and iron ore mines within Goa. The Commandos are blowing up these mines, the flames being visible from the Indian side of the border!

The Portuguese have never been short of arms and ammunition; they had and ammunition, they had lately built up huge dumps. The ammunition-short Goan commandos have begun blowing up these arms dumps which were helping the Portuguese to remain in occupation. The latest ex-plosion due to guerilla action was so major as to be heard from the Indian side! heard from the Indian side!

Naturally enough, there is great panic among the Portu-guese. They dare not come out and patrol except in animatic cars. The Portuguese are re-sorting to mass arrests but and patrol except in armoured sorting to mass arrests out this is not saving them. The more they arrest the more patriotic activity gets intensi-fied. The Portuguese are in-dulging in house-to-house searches to get at the com-mandos and sending out searches to get at the com-mandos and sending out hounds to hunt them in the jungle areas but they are fall-ing in their foul efforts. The simple truth of the situation within Goa is that

the Portuguese administration stands paralysed and has

begun to crumble. The Gover

wait to join their brothers

ouldering rage behind patient toil-Goa's

India.

nor-General has sent an S.O.S. to Lisbon to send more reliable White troops: The situation within Goa is rapidly developing to-wards mass insurrection. Goan commandos are writolden history of Indian national struggle.

Let there be no doubt, the Portuguese are not taking their defeat for granted, on the other hand they are doing their desperate utmost to remain in control and occupa-

tion. The Portuguese military nild-up has already be-come 3,800 white soldiers, 9,000 Goan soldiers, besides 12,000 armed policemen. More reinforcements have been summoned.

The New Age was the first with the news that French and West German legionnaires, the mercenaries with exerience of mass terrorisation, and of fighting the guerillas in Algeria and Congo had been recruited by Portuguese, in for service in Goa. More and more of them are being brought in. In Diu alone their number has gone up from 300 to over 1,000 in the last few eeks. The Portuguese

have also passed orders for the forcible passed orders for the forcible conscription of one adult each from every Goan family, but popular resistance is such that the Portuguese are find-ing it very hard to enforce their order.

Anti-aircraft guns have been mounted up over the Governor - General's palace and other administrative and the control of the control strategic centres of importance.

The Portuguese naval ships continue to violate the sane-

tity of Indian waters. One more cruiser has joined the Portuguese fleet. New airfields have been

and sisters in the rest of

New airfields have been built. Planes of all types rushed from Nato supplies. The new air strength has em-boldened the Portuguese defy

Indian air space as well. The National Campaign Committee for Goa headed by Aruna Asaf Ali has decided to "intensify the movement for the liberation of the Portu-

the liberation of the Portu-guese held Indian enclaves." George Vaz, Secretary of the Goan Political Convention which is a broad united front organisation, on the basis of the reports from within Goa has called upon the Indian Government to march the jawans in within a week or else patriotic Indians will organise their own mass march for the liberation of Goa and liquidation of Portu-guese provocations, tortures and forceful occupation. 5,000 volunteers are already ready, more names are coming pour-ing in.

The Indian Jawans assem-bled around the border are itching to go into action. They are recalling their own glori-ous past when they did such a good and quick patriotic job in Hyderabad and Junagadh.

The burning desire within every Indian breast is that the Nehru Government pick up courage and respond to the national demand to order India's armed forces to do their duty against the Portuguese aggressors and rush to the aid of our Goan fighter brothers.

The nation demands that efore Republic Day this time, the Portuguese are thrown out ries and Goa, Daman and Diu liberated.



It is the son of a steel worker and a man who began his career as a land-surveyor and then as an engineer in an iron and steel plant, that India will honour on December 15.

EONID livich Brezhnev has sprung from the depths of the tollers and it is they who have elevated him to the honoured position of President of the Soviet Union.

well as policemen, for "dis-loyalty" and desertions taking

place on a considerable scale: There is also news of the white families evacuating,

there is not enough room in

And it is worth mentioning that our dear guest will cele-brate his fifty-fifth birthday our country. He was born December 19, 1906. Let us in on on December 19, 1906. Let us wish him welcome with all our hearts and long, long years of active work for the cause of peace and Communism, which he has made him own for so many years.

Brezhnev began full-time work for the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For a dozen years he worked in different districts of the Ukraine and in 1950 took up the responsible post of the First Secretary of the Com-munist Party of the Molda-vian Socialist Republic. It was in May 1938 that rezhnev began full-time

It was in 1952, at the 19th Congress, that he was elected

to the Central Committee of the CPSU, and alternate member of its Presidium and one of its Secretaries.

For two years, starting from February 1954, he worked as Secretary of the Communist Party of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, Re-elected to the Central Committee at the South CREW Congress the 20th CPSU Congress, Brezhnev has been a member of its Presidium since June 1957.

In 1950 he was elected as a In 1950 he was elected as a deputy to the Supreme Soviet and ten years later as Presi-dent of its Presidium. This year he was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labour of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet President will be with us for a fortnight and visit many parts of our vast land. Wherever he goes the hearts of our people will greet him as the highest dignitary of our truest friend and the shield strongest of. world Deace.



Goa continues to grip Indian national imagination and political attention. Parvathi Krishnan speaking on the Lok Sabha debate on foreign affairs, on December 7, echoed national sentiment when she said, "there is always the last straw that breaks the camel's back, but in the case of our Government, it seems that there is more than one last straw".

HE Portuguese themselves year or two and during the know that their case is so last few days, has been of a d that they have only character that no Govern-manded the circulation of ment with a sense of responhad that they have only demanded the circulation of their note to the U.N. Security Council and not a discussion on the same, to opine on the

The British-owned Statesman (December 10), editorially commenting on the Portu-guese letter to the U.N. wrote, "Any such complaint could more properly have come from New Delhis whether of short-term provocation in the shape of Anjadev and other incidents or of long-term refusal even to discuss a colonial anomaly, aggravated by persistent misral

Portuguese is complete and they are reduced to their desperate worst. The Indian government, however, has I cannot say at the press yet to take the course of He, however, announced action which the situation the present situation w urgently demands. The Prime Minister replying

the foreign affairs debate the Rajya Sabha, after recounting a series of Portuarmed attacks and intrusions into Indian terri-tory added, "last night and early this morning, there was firing on Indian check-Times, December 12). Up-to-date the Indian Government has failed to give the appropriate reply, i.e., to order the national armed forces to wipe out the Portuguese aggressors. The most hopeful feature

of the situation is that our Goan patriots are demons-trating their heart-felt desire for unity with the motherland with acts of leath-defying courage. "The deafening explosion within Goa at 2 a.m. on Monday was heard as far as Majali nfirmed reports that it was caused by Goan Nationalists blowing up a mine. The fire that flared up after the explosion could be seen from Karwar beach". The fire of Indian patriotism has, however, yet to spread till it swallows Portuguese ialism on India's fair

Communist. Demand

Communist snokesman in Rajya Sabha, Bhupesh ta voiced the national Gupta demand for "immediate armed action for the expulsion of the Portuguese from Goa, Daman and Diu".

After a fairly fruitful discussion and the assurance from the Prime Minister that unless the situation improved, "out of recognition" the Government of India will act, the amendment was withdrawn, in the interest of demonstrating national unity to the rest of the world and, above all, to the Portu-

guese. It needs no stressing that sustained popular pressure has to be kept up to ensure the much desired national

The Defence Minister in the Lok Sabha rightly stated: "On the Goa issue, Britain "We are the aggressed and it is almost hostile, France hardhas been going on for the last by disposed to be sympathetic, so many years now and what the United States uneasily has happened for the last one neutral and West European

PAGE TWO

sibility can keep quiet when its borders are assailed". This forthright sentiment was followed by many ifs, before the Indian armed for-

ces could be ordered to give India's answer to the Portuguese intruders.

The Prime Minister assured that the Portuguese would not be permitted to make a Katanga out of Goa, that the insults and humiliations they were inflicting on our kith and kin would be ended, that our coastal waters mined by them would be cleared that The moral isolation of the the armed raids by the Por guese mercenaries would be stopped.

What exactly will hannen He, however, announced that the present situation would not be tolerated.

Great Hesitation

The Prime Minister, how ever, in the words of the Parliamentary correspondent of the Statesman, "diluted" the above when next day he re-fused defence workers' leader, S. M. Banerjee's suggestion that an ultimatum be given to the Portuguese and a date set for their departure from India.

The Prime Minister in turn did not wish to rul did not wish to rule out a settlement by negotiations though he spoke about pre-paring for "all steps". His own summation of the latest Gov ernment policy and activities was "action to prepare for action"

Every patriotic Indian was awaiting armed action. Naturally this flood of words from the Prime Minister failed to satisfy national opinion. A few days later the Prime Minister declared in the Raiva Sabha that the country's patience was ex-hausted and suggested that for the peaceful solution of the Goa problem, all that the Goa problem, an that was necessary to do was the de facto transfer of the Portuguese colonies in India to be followed by de jure recognition after the French pattern regarding Pondi-

cherry. "Otherwise India would reluctantly have to take mili-tary measures to end the into-lerable situation". (Hindustan Times. December 12)

The key to this great hesita-tion in face of mounting pro-vocations of Portuguese colonialists has been indicated by influential columnist, Surveyor, Times of India (December 11): "Recent report

gested that the Cabinet was not of one mind on the Goa issue. It would be surprising if it were.... What is sur-prising is that the difference between those for and against action boiled down to consideration whether their action would 'damage' India's prestige abroad.

"On the Goa issue, Britain

NOTES OF THE WEEK

nion in general indifferent. If pressed to react... the advice, solemnly given, is that India should not abandon its moral stand' by taking so fearfully sinful a step as the use of force". So, it is the pressure of

Morarits from within and the Foreign Offices of the West from outside that is holding up the march of Indian armed forces for the liberation of Gos. The shift in Indian Govern-

ment policy towards Goa, from drift and passivity to demonstrative activity to en-sure peaceful surrender or armed action to make the Portuguese quit, has really upset the Western capitals and they are operating in every conceivable way to prevent Indian action for the expulsion of their NATO part-ner from Indian soil. the The Prime Minister himself

lisclosed in the Lok Sabha that "some friendly countries had offered their good offices" (Statesman, December 8). Intervention in the affairs of other countries is christened by the statesmen of the West

as offering their good-offices! Sarcastically the Prime Minister said "they are suddenly waking up", and amidst cheers of the House he warfied the Nato allies of Portugal, who also claim to be India's "friends", that no solution short of Portuguese leaving Goa would be ac table to India.

Tory Yells

Both the British and the Indian Press has been full of news about U.K. offering her good offices for mediation. Officially both sides have denied any such formal move, but admitted friendly exchange of views. What Whitehall is too discreet to speak or write, the Tory Press yells out.

The Daily Mail. (December 6), under the caption "The Indian Pimple" wrote: "Other nations have their 'ugly pimples' too, but if they all try to scratch them off, peace would be a still more sickly invalid. "Mr. Nehru above all men, should sympathise with Por-tugal. At this moment his own

borders are threatened by the Chinese, whom he will resist. Thus, while claiming the right of self-defence, he would deny it to the Portugues "There is no evidence of Goa's desire for 'liberation'. All it asks is to continue the

inoffensive life it has pursued for so long. It is not much to ask and Mr. Nehru would be the greater for conceding it". Another Tory mouth-piece, the Daily Telegraph, (December 5), wrote, "It is hardly open to India to initiate or even to take a moral stand based on self-determination. In her own practice, that principle seems to be one thing for Kashmir and an-other for Junagadh and still

another for the Sikhs" "Mr. Nehru must know that tiresome though he may find them, it is infinitely preferable to tolerate the of the Portuguese than to fac the incalculable consequence the incalculable consequences of trying to drive them out by ford

It is not at all difficult to visualise "the incalculable consequences" which the British Tories are threatening

NEW AGE

India with. They are imposing the Swatantra Party. Rajaji conditions before they would in his column "De supply the bombs for the

berras for home defence than

American

Game

quitting India.

in Gos"

game.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk stated on December 8 that the dispute between India

and Portugal over Goa "ought

u.S. Ambassador, Gal-braith harped on the same

theme, "one could always hope that the Goa problem would be resolved without force" (Statesman, Decem-

ber 10). The U.S. nositive

and concrete advice is spelt out in Hindustan

Times correspondent. Aiit

Bhattacharyya's despatch from Washington, head-lined: "U.S. thinks India

must deal with China first".

ences are pressed from the U.S. side as meriting con-sideration, all based on anti-

Communism and appealing to

the greedy and cowardly few inside Indian ruling circles. "The Goa campaign may cause substantial casualties

... and bite into the strategic

"Taking Goa will not end

the war with Portugal. The

Portuguese Navy will continue attack on Indian shipping and hamper essential imports". In the Security Council

"India may be placed in the

December 10).

has written in the Swarajya, (December 9), "the Goa situa-Indian Canberras, operating under U. N. Command, in the Congo. India has more Cantion is bad no doubt, but it has been there all the time and it is a matter of far less she has sent to Congo. India relies on Britain for other importance than the evil intentions and activities defence equipment as well. the Chinese Government".

Rajaji is not only writing but also campaigning. In his Kanpur speech, December 8, attacking the Indian Government he said "they propose to The British threat is to starve and paralyse Indian defence in case New Delhi attack the Goan villagers, but do not want to do anything against the Chinese who are does not listen to Whitehall. This comes out of excessive reliance on Britain to sup-ply Indian defence needs. sitting tight on the Hima-layas". The Prime Minister characterised his speech as "most objectionable" This comes out of un-becoming flattery of Bri-tain's rulers for peacefully admitted that his campaign may benefit "the enemy", but yet he is carrying on.

The Swatantra Parliamen-The India Press Agency, tary spokesman Masani also (December 7), has revealed, what was already known in responsible official circles that volced the Swatantra line in the foreign affairs debate that action against Goa was "the American Embassy cir-cles in New Delhi are worried an election stunt to help Krishna Menon win and weaover India's determination not to let Portugal continue kened the defence of the Northern frontier and so on. The Americans are operat- Even the Statesman report admitted that Masani's speech ing through diplomatic chan-nels and have so far made no was "thoroughly unpopular with the whole House". public comment because of the

fear of adverse popular re-action in India on this issue China And of national prestige and pride. However, what the U.S. states-men have publicly stated is enough to see through their Portugal

More, the Swatantra championship of the hun-dred per cent U. S. line on Goa has produced a comblete disarray inside the U.S. lobby in India. The Jana Sangh also took the same line in the beginning, but subsequently became more discreet. Nath Pai, the PSP sman disowned Masani and his speech. Swatantra, Jana Sangh and PSP lea-ders follow the American line over China but, except for the Swatantra, they dare not do so over Goa.

However, all these parties make no difference between China and Portugal and concentrate their political fire "Even if Goa is taken in less than a week", among others the following consequ-China. Nothing could be more mistaken in terms of history, Indian national interests and Afro-Asian future.

China is an Asian neigh-bour while Portugal a Eurobean imperialist power. With China, we have a border dispute to settle. Against Portugal we have to complete the battle of Indian liberation.

Our dispute with China is of recent origin and of a temporary nature in the background of 2,000 years of good neighbourly relations. Against Portugal we have to liberate our territories which it has kept enslaved for 400 years and more.

mands that we peacefully settle our dispute with China and by liquidating Portuguese colonialism in Goa, Daman and Diu, aid the liberation of Angola, Mozambique, etc.

The liberation of Goa constitutes the completion of Indian liberation and streng-thening Afro-Asian solidarity. It is neither wisdom nor patriotism to allow any diversion

-P. C. IOSHI

DECEMBER. 17, 1961

WHAT KERALA'S End Repression! KISANS DEMAND The Secretariat of the under the Agrarian Rela-tions Act. "It is most regrettable bas issued the following wery reasonable de-

It is full two weeks since the Kerala Karshaka San-gham launched direct action in order to secure the de-mands formulated in the memorandum presented by its delegation to the Government of Kerala.

Revenue officers and Local Self Government bodies. This demand is in confor-mity with the suggestion made by the Planning Commission

by the Planning Commission which says in the Third Five Year Plan: "The panel has laid particular stress on the prepa-ration of correct and up-to-

date records of rights and on the need to strengthen the re-

brought up-to-date in seve-ral areas, but in some of them there is need for a more

intensified programme of work. In several States, records of rights do not provide informa-

tion regarding tenants, sub-

as such implementation of the

cluded in the plans and some

States with the eligible action

for Central assistance. Provi-

tenants and cron-sharer

paration and correction of

cords of rights has be

"Records of rights have been

venue administration.

H OME Minister Chacko himself admits that this has been one of the most peaceful direct actions that have ever taken place in State. This, however, does not prevent him and his colleagues of the Congress and the P.S.P. from repeating ad nauseam that the struggle is a political struggle intended to overthrow the Congress-P.S.P. Govern ment.

nent. It was on this ground that the K.P.C.C. and the K.P.S.P. called upon their members and followers to go from hou house in a campaign of "expo-sure" of the "political motives" with which "the Comminists' launched this struggle

They, however, have failed in their endeavours to convince the mass of people that the de-mands formulated by the Karlegislation itself suffers. "Expenditure incurred on ca-dastral surveys and in the preshaka Sangham are wi unjustifiable. On the wrong or unjustifiable and, they themselves have to admit that the demands by themselves are reasonable. Their contention is that the Government is taking steps to sions made for these purposes would need to be augmented as have the demands conceded the work proceeds". How urgent this recommen-Launching direct action in these circ circumstances, according m, is to be traced to podation is in the conditions litical motives.

Kerala can be seen if one ex-amines the provisions made in the Kerala Agrarian Relations The question is: Is this true? Fas the Government taken steps to meet the reasonable demands of neasants as formu Act and the difficulties which ds of peasants as formulated by the Sangham

The first and one of the most important demands for-mulated by the Sangham is that a register of holdings should be prepared under the most im joint responsibility of the

> The Malanad Karshaka Sangham Conference, spon-sored by Father Vadakkan

morning as they left Erna-kulam on their way to Kottayam. The arrest was effected by the State Police officials headed by the Deputy Inspector General of Police, and was, accord-ing to them, under Section 151 of IPC. The nine persons arrest-

ed, apart from Gopalan, are tenants of the Kottiyoor Devaswom Trüst, who have been cultivating lands there for years and whose rights have been threatened by new lease of land to the Nair Service Society.

from Kottiyoor were arrested on December 10

Nair Service Society; They are Pankappillal John and his wife Eliamma, Kolatt Bhaskaran and this wife Sumati, Kalleekkal Thomas and his wife An-namma, Purushothaman Pillal, Radhamma and A. T. Zacharia The Jatha left Kottiyoor

on December 3 and had covered roughly five hund-red miles of Cannanore, Kozhikode, Palghat, Trichur and Ernakulam districts Gopalan was to reach Kot-tayam on December 10 to address a giant meeting

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Act and the difficulties which crop up in the implementation of these provisions. The Act includes in the de-finition of "tenants" any one "who on the 11th day of April 1957 was continuously in occun occupation of the land of another situated in Malabar for not less than two years bona fide be-**Gopalan** Jailed A. K. Gopalan and nine members of the Jatha

was meeting on the same day to decide their plan of action for satisfaction of the demands. Political circles do not to see that the arrest

of Gonalan before enter ing Kottayam has been obviously to prevent two streams of kisan movement meeting at Kotta-yam-one of Father Va-dakkan and the other of the Karshaka Sangham under Gopalan. The Inthe was, to have reached Trivandrum on December 14 and picketed the Secretariat gates on the follow

ing day. E. M. S. Nambeodiripad stated that the arrest was totally unjustifiable whe-ther you look at if from moral, political or practical point of view. Chacko (Home Minister) himself had stated repeatedly that the struggle which Gopalam was leading has been enti-rely peaceful. However, if the Gov-ernment thinks that this policy of toughness to words the Sangham and its struggle will frichten. totally unjustifiante

its struggle will frighten the peasants, they are liv-ing in a fool's paradise. the n

there.



or drift any longer. being shamelessly mouthed by

a stronger position to free Goa when the Himalayan conflict is resolved" (Hindustan Times If India was foolish and servile enough to follow American prompting and go

to war with China instead it will lead to asking for U.S. arms first, and step by step India itself becoming

one big Goa! The Anglo-American line is



ment of this Act"

As for the rest of Kerala, the definition was so framed that "any person who at the commencement of this Act continues in cultivation of any Nilam by virtue of the provi-sions of Section 6 of Kerala's Stay of Eviction Proceedings of 1957 secured the benefit of the legislation

It was, thus, a comprehen-sive definition of the tenant, intended to secure the benefit



of the legislation to all those who are in actual occupation of and cultivating the land:

These provisions in the Act, however, will not do any good to the peasants un-less they can prove that they were in occupation of the land on the dates fixed in the Act. In this, they are at a great disadvantage for the reason that a large number of tenants and share-crow pers are in actual occupa-tion and cultivation of the land but have no record to

prove that fact. If it were left to the normal processes of a court of law, the peasants will be put to the onerous responsibility of ad-ducing evidence admissible in a Court of Law to prove their occupation of the land. This they are unable to do

in a large number of cases; on the other hand, landlords have sufficient resources at their disposal to prove that genuine occupants are "encroachers". The seriousness of this pro

blem is recognised not only by the Kerala Karshaka Sangham, but other organisations like the Kisan Panchavat, the Kis Congress and the Malanad Ki-san Sangham. As a matter of fact, even the

Government admits its exist-ence and the necessity to solve it. It says that it is in consultaion with the Law Department and with the Central Government with a view to removing certain difficulties arising out of any measures that will be taken to solve this problem

It adds that the Government cannot accept the suggestion made by the Karshaka San-gham that the register should be prepared jointly by the Re-venue officers and Local Self Government bodies, since this a judicial function and should be left to Courts Law, rather than to executive

The Karshaka Sanaham does not propose that the function of courts of law should be taken over by the recutive authorities. What it suggests is only that the the register prepared jointly by the Revenue officers and Local Self Government bodies will be cited as a very important piece of evidence before the court of law.

The advantage of such a procedure consists in the fact that the Revenue officers and the Local Self Government authorities being in close and intimate touch with the actual state of Affairs of the villages, the register prepared by them

statement to the Press:

GTHE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with great concern the mass arrest of lea-ders and workers of the kisan movement in Kerala, including Members of Parliament and the State Assembly.

"The satyagraha ment the kisans of Kerala have launched is not only just but also absolutely. peaceful. They have taken recourse to this movement only when all their patient efforts to get their long-standing and legitimate grievances redressed by the Kerala State Government have failed.

"These demands, as is well-known, are for the protection of tenants without records, for more land tribunals and speedy disposal of petitions, as well as for the speedy implementa-tion of certain provisions

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will be more reliable than the statements submitted before the Court of Law by the parties to the dispute

While, according to the San-ham, this is the best method of overcoming the difficulty faced by the peasants, the faced by the peasants, the Sangham would not insist that this is the only method that can be applied.

It would agree to any other method which the Government or other pea-sant organisations can suggest, provided the main objective of the Sangham is at-tained, i.e., the peasants are enabled to defeat the game of the landlords who mant to deprive them of the benefits conferred on them by the Agrarian Relations Act.

A concrete example of the actual problem thrown up in the course of implementation of the Act is furnished by what is known as the Kottiyoor case, which is the subject matter of another demand formu-lated by the Sangham.

Kottiyoor is a devaswom, or Kotuyoor is a devaswom, or Hindu temple trust. During the last two decades, nearly five thousand peasants have been permitted by the trustees to occupy over 20,000 acres of land owned by the devasw The trustees, however, have not given these peasants any

document showing their occu-pation of the land. Nor have they given any receipt for the manusham (the lump sum paid by the tenant to the landlord at the time of the leas e of th land) which they have paid to Recently, however, the deva-

swom authorities have not only denied the fact of their having allowed the peasants to occu-py the land, but have gone furher and leased all that land to the Nair Service Society (headed by Mannath Padma-nabhan). This has created a very serious situation very serious situation for the

five thousand peasant far For, if the stand tak taken bu the devasion and the Nair Service Society (N.S.S.) is to be allowed to stand, the peaants who are in occupation and so the second are in occupation are "encroachers" and are liable to eviction; it is the NSS, who is the lawful te-nant of the land.

such very reasonable de-mands, the Kerala Government should have thought fit to meet the move with repression

"Although the leaders of the movement have time and again made it clear that its object is only to secure these limited demands, the ds. the Kerala Government is trying to characterise it as political move

"But such attempts to mislead public opinion and shirk one's own responsibility have been to overplayed in the country to cut any

The Secretariat of the Vational Council of the Communist Party of India greets the kisans of Kerala for their heroic peaceful struggle and expresses its solidarity with their cause. expresses its The Secretariat urges upon the Kerala State ment to see reason and find its way to meet the just deof peasantry and bring to end the situathus bring to end th tion it has needlessly created"

But this will be such a tran-But this will be such a tran-sparent denial of tristing rea-lity that the devision and the Society have had to take the stand that all those who are in occupation how can be sidered the "sub-tenants" the tenant, i.e., of the Naur

Service Society. In return for this permissio to continue to occupy the land, the peasants are asked to pay not only the annual rent but also the manusham r other pea- also the manusham amount tions can sug- afresh to the Nair Service Society.

ciety. This Kottiyoor issue led to very serious agitation in which the followers and therefore, the leaders of both the Communist Party as well as of the anti-Communist Front joined together. The jatha from Kottiyoor to

The Jama Hom Rotayoon to Trivandrum was led by leaders of the Karshaka Sangham as well as of the anti-Communist Front. This led to such united action between the Sangham and the anti-Communist Front that the leader of the latter, Father, Vadakkan, has come Father, Vadakkan, has come out in full support not only of the demands formulated, but also of the struggle launched the demand by, the Sangham

He, of course, has his own criticisms against the "political motives" with which the amunists" are conducting this struggle. He is, however, very clear in his mind that those political motives with which the Communicity how which the Communists started the struggle should not obscure the fact that the de-mands, and therefore the struggle, are just.

On the other hand, one of the demands formulated by the Sangham is a fair and just settlement of the Kottiyoor

issue. A third demand put for-A third acmana put for-ward by the Sangham is re-lated to the increase in the number of Land Tribunal constituted to deal with the petitions sub titions submitted in terms the Agrarian Relations

The Land Tribunal is the The Lang Tribunal is the body before which "any culti-vating tenant may apply for determining the fair," rent in determining the fair rent in respect of the holding, the in-

* SEE PAGE 14

PAGE THREE



ELECTIONS AND 'IN TEGHATION

QUESTION: The Communist Party participated in and supported the decisions of the National Integra-tion Conference: It has pledged to work for national integration. Following that conference, the Congress has broken its unholy alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala. The Government has also given indieations though hedged in with besitations, that it intends to do something about Goa's liberation. What is the Communist Party doing to reciprocate these gestures during the coming elections? (R. K. Bhart-sana, Soibam Leikai, Imphal, Manipur)

First and foremost, in the Communist approach to the problem was its criticism of

the Congress and its policies.

It pointed out how the Con-gress leadership had misused

its monopoly of power and so ruled the land that popular discontent and frustration

had grown simultaneously

with the strengthening of

such focal points of reaction

as the big monopolists and

Further, it pointed out how the Congress had fail-ed to advance and imple-

ment a programme of na-tional rebirth that could have stabilised and carried forward the popular, unity

forged in the days of the freedom fight. It advanced

a comprehensive national

to ally itself with the darkest

struggle" in Kerala, engineer-

ed by the Congress leaders, in which the Nair communa-

lists the Catholic hierarchs

and the Muslim League were brought in and given free

the Communist Party stated.

not hesitate to use the forces

of castelsm, communalism and linguism. Examples are

too well known to need menoning here: Hence, the Communist Party advanced as its cen-tral slogan the building of

a broad national-democra tic front, which would in

clude Congress supporters

and Congressmen to accom-nlish national-democratic

plish national-democratic tasks. It is this front and

Moreover, in State after

Dlay.

democratic programme.

the landlords.

ANSWER: The Communist National Integration Con-Party did much more than ference. merely participate in the Con-First ference on National Integration. It will be recalled that it was the Communist Party which as early as June of this year. (in a letter of its General Secretary to Pandit Nehru) raised the demand that all democratic elements and secular parties should consult and then act in con-cert to give a rebuff to the forces of national disruption. It sharply emphasised the fact that the Congress on its own could not stop the rot.

Later in the Muslim Con-vention it was on the initia-tive of the Communist spokes-man, Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, that a resolution was passed calling upon the Prime Minister to convene the National Integration Conference.

Such initiatives followed logically from the theses of the Political Resolution Finally, it polited out how in the interests of retaining its monopoly of power the Congress had not hesitated passed at the Vijayawada Congress of the Communist Party in April 1961. But the Communist Party forces of reaction. The most striking example of this was the infamous "liberation

had also made it very clear that it had its own analysis of the problem of national integration. It also had its insals to advance on own proposals to advance on how the forces of disruption were to be fought. This ana-lysis and these proposals were not only set out in the Vijayawada Political Resolution but also advanced in the speech of Ajoy Ghosh at the



GENEBAL Secretary Ajoy Ghosh returns to Delhi today from an election tour that took him to the Punjab and Bihar. We are arranging an interview with him as the highlight of our next issue.

Jnan Bikash Moitra, our Bengal Correspondent, will give you in that issue an in-terview with one of our lead-ing comrades of the State on the election campaignthe issues and the prospects.

We have written to I Ramamurti to give our rea déars an analysis Tamilnad scene as the Party surges forward to the election arena.

Another attraction, very much worth mentioning, is the WFTU Congress in Moscow. A full coverage is pro-mised, with Dange's speech of special interest for us. Unfortunately Dr. Z. A.

Ahmad has fractured his right foot and is laid up. But those who though confined to bed, and Congress. unable to campaign for a On the contrary, it has month, has promised an in- clearly stated that it believes terview after a fortnight. that direct struggle has to be

national disruption or Right reaction. In this struggle strenuous efforts have to be made to draw in as many Con-gressmen and Congress supporters as possible. The Communist Party has backed up its proclamations by deeds.

waged against the forces of

Its members and supporters were in the forefront in the fight against the Jana Sangh-inspired riots in U.P.

Its members and supportus memoers and support-ers were in the forefront of the struggle against lin-guistic chauvinism in Assam and West Bengal.

🕥 Its unit in Kerala time and again appealed to the Congress to break its alliance with the Muslim League and pledged its support to any Congress candidate for the Kerala Assembly's speakership and for the Kuttipuram constituency.

Its General Secretary has declared unequivocally that the Communist Party wants Krishna Menon to win against the unholy combine in North Bor unholy Right nbay.

Its General Secretary in his authoritative article in New Age (December 3) has nailed down the Akalis as "a disruptive force" and stated that "distorting the democratic content of the linguistic State demand, using Gurdwaras for politi-cal purposes, raising the false issue of discrimination against Sikhs, they have disrupted the popular forces in the Puniab and also given impetus to Hindu

He has called for the rout of the parties of Right reaction in the coming elections.

by cur General Secreary and Kerala State Secretariat of the Communist Party. It would welcome even more its break with the Nair Service Society and the Catholic hierarchy.

Goa is in an altogether different category. Even in its election manifesto (1957) for the second general elections, the Communist Party had called for energetic and effective measures by the Government for Goa's liberation. It will be recalled that quite

State the Congress organisa-tion itself is riddled with casteism and communalism, a few of the martyrs in the cause of Goa's reunion with the Motherland belong to our In its faction fights, as well as its struggle against the de-mocratic opposition, it did Party.

We have time and again brought up the question of Goa's liberation in the Parliament and in mass campaigns. whether on our own or jointly with the other parties and personalities of the National Campaign Committee for Goa. Even now we differ from the Government only to the degree to which it hesitates and delays the despatch of the army to aid the Goan patriot

We sharply disassociate ourselves from the parties of Right reaction who seek to prevent Goa's liberation with the spurious argument that armed action is heing contemplated by the Gov-ernment only for election purposes. Our General Sepurposes. Our General Se-cretary has declared "I would prefer to see the Congress sweep the polls after the Nehru Govern-ment had liberated Goa than see Goa under foreign domination and make it an domination and make it an election issue against the Congress" (Times of India,

NEW AGE



Bellioni

voicing the democratic demand, the Punjabi Suba. The sympathetic, secular and open-minded elements thought that his communal approach was a remnant of the past and that the Akalis were getting out of the communal rut. Now all these facile illusions stand

won some sympathy for brav-ing Congress repression and

shattered, at the hands of Master Tara Singh himself. This unpredictable Sikh leader recently met two other evil geniuses of Indian politics and together they have evil genuses of Indian politics and together they have agreed to enact the Devil Dance of Indian Reaction during the coming General Elections. Talking to pressmen in New Delhi, according to the Times of India, December 6, he announced the following: The Akalis will support the PSP candidates through-

out the country.

The Akalis would also support the Swatantra Party candidates. In the Delhi elections he was out "to support the Jana

In the Definit electronics he was due to support Sangh candidates against the Congress". In North Bombay he spoke of whole-hearted support to Acharya Kripalani against Krishna Menon. He is all set to try hit the sizer for the side, Indian

Reaction, "we will support the candidate who opposes Nehru in his own constituency". He also stated that in the Punjab there will be electoral alliance with the Communist Party. This lie was uttered without a blush to achieve political respectability for the Akali election manneuvres Our readers know that the Com. munist Election manifesto has characterised the Akalis as a reactionary communal party and in what words our national spokesman, the General Secretary of our Party, has Communal politics lead not only to seeking unprincipled reactionary alliances within the country but to looking be-

yond India's frontiers for succour.

According to the Hindustan Times, December 12, Mas-terji told the newsmen at Ludhiana that "the Punjabi Suba issue had become an international problem and some foreign issue had become an international problem and some foreign countries were prepared to take it to the United Nations". The Sikh leader's references to the U.N. during his fast were, thus, no slip but part of his set plan. After the ending of his fast his rivals inside the Akali-Party made him undergo religious penance. We have no doubt that the patriotic people of the Punjab will rightly esimate and duly punish the Akalis during the coming Ge-neral Restored and the Akalis loader on a personal

neral Elections and send the Akali leader on a never-end ing national penance at the altar of Indian secularism and democracy. India looks to Punjab to end the political antics of Master Tara Singh. (December 13)

CONGO CALLS

Katanga is the latest battleground of liberation against imperialist aggression. Yet it must be said that even the bloody annals of imperialism contains few acts of outrageous perfidy to compare with what is sought to be perpe

ous perildy to compare with what is sought to be perpe-trated in the heart of Africa. The tragedy of the Congo has aroused the conscience of all humanity. The martyrdom of Lumumba showed the depths to which desperation could drive the imperialists. The murder of Hammarskjoeld showed that nobody's life, not even those of their own type, was safe if they failed to do the bidding of the imperialists to the last detail.

And now has come the story of the imperialist sabotage of the U.N. operations. Dr. O' Brien has done great service to the cause of truth by revealing the manner in which the imperialists, especially Britain and France, have obstructed the implementation of the decisions of the U. N. Security Council.

Shamelessly flouting world oninion the imperialists have decided to come right out in the open. The British imperialists have declared that they are not going to supply the promised bombs to the Indian jet bombers

Simultaneously with this news has come the report that the U. N. positions in Katanga are being bombed by "Katangese" planes. Where do these bombs come from? Obviously they are not of Katangese manufacture.

It is further reported that the recent Western Foreign Ministers' meeting in Paris is "seized of the Katanga ques-tion" and that Britain and France are trying to bring the

U. S. into line! A rather tall story, one must say. What about India? Our forces are there and we are deeply involved in the entire U. N. operations, both in a material and moral sense. It is a disgrace for the Gov-

material and moral sense. It is a disgrace for the Gov-ernment of India to confine its protests to "leaks" or secret communications to the U. K. or even mild rebukes. It must speak out sharp and clear. It must condemn unequivocally the dastardly actions of the imperialists. It must move in the U. N. and secure all the necessary military equipment. It must work with urgent speed to see that a properly equipped U. N. force smashes the imperialist pup-nets in Katonee pets in Katanga.

Only such swift action will bring peace and freedom the Congo and raise our own prestige in Africa and in to the Co the world.

(December 13)

DECEMBER 17, 1961

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

A fly in a hermetically sealed vial of the life saving drug, streptomycin from Pimpri! Only one fly in nearly 100 million vials filled by Pimpri, says Mr. Raja, Managing Director of Hindustan Antibiotics. Oh, it is only a "small incident" says Manubhai Shah, Minister in control.

prove it.

worse.

produced in the House to

It was shown that this

It was shown that this had happened only since Raja, utterly innocent of any scientific or technical knowledge of the subject had assumed personal con-trol of the Quality Control Department of the locat

Department of the plant

which is responsible for carrying out tests. His only interest seemed to

have been to make large sales

This was a serious offence

and Raja, Managing Director, was indictable under the law.

it is not surprising that things are going from bad to

Even now the Industry Min-

ister does not seem to have any intention to set matters

right. On the contrary, at-tempts are being made to

tempts are being made to cover up the fly case by spre-ading insinuations that a fly

while it should be obvious even to a novice that the con-

ditions under which the drug

is bottled at Pimpri it is easy

for a fly to get into a vial. The air-conditioning of the filling room gets out of order.

frequently and windows and

doors are left open and lots of files swarm into the room

from the nearby mycelium

drying room. When the holder of the automatic filling machine is being loaded with powder

files can drop in. Then the nozzle of the filling cone is large enough to permit a fly to get into the vial with the

powder. This is what stems to have happened and is an obvious case of gross mis-

management.

in a vial was due to sabota

W HAT is worse, Raja did having been properly tested not tell the truth; when as laid down in the Drug Act, he issued the press notice he Incontrovertible evidence was knew that in the plant itself three other vials had been found to contain flies.

And what is more bundreds of vials of penicillin bottled by the factory had been returned off and on to the plant because they con-tained foreign matter in them, like pieces of glass, black particles, and also bethe contents of the cause vials turned _ dark in colour nd caked and did not reaand large profits by sending out for sale penicillin pro-perly tested or not. dily dissolve or suspend in

Last year a Member of Rajya Sabha produced in the House a vial of penicillin bottled at Pimpri with a large piece of glass in it. "It is hard to concur, there-But no action was taken and he was left in charge. So it is not surprising that fore, with the Industry Min-ister when he says that the discovery of a dead insect in a sealed antibiotic vial was merely a 'small incident'

as our contemporary, Times of India, said in an editorial. The fly in the vial was no doubt small, but not the incident. If a fly which is easily seen can get into a vial, so can a large number of disease an a large number of uncertainty of the second seco producing and require a microscope to be spotted.

Streptomycin is administered to people to cure them of infections and not to induce fresh infections. At the very least it is gross negli-gence of the worst type in a plant which holds the monopoly of the supply of life sav-ing drugs, penicillin and streptomycin, and for which our people have no alterna-

but to use them. Last year when the inci-dent of the death of Tripathi, a Member of Parliament, after an injection of Pimpri penicillin was discussed in Parliament, it came out that Pimpri had been sending out of penicillin without

> BONUS YEAR PURCHASE A WITH-PROFITS POLICY NOW THIRD VALUATION SOON The third valuation of the Life Insurance Corporation will be made as at 31st December 1961. All the with-profits policies in force for full sum assured on the valuation date will be entitled to participate in profits disclosed as a result of that valuation. The second valuation of the Corporation made as at 31st December 1959 disclosed a surplus large enough to support bonuses at the following rates on the with-profits policies issued by the Corporation: WHOLE LIFE ASSURANCES: RS. 16.00 per thousand sum assured perannum ENDOWMENT ASSURANCES: RS. 12.80 per thousand sum assured per annum Important: Policies which are converted into reduced paid-up policies or lapsed on or before 31st December 1961 will not qualify for bonus.

Preserve your policy, keep it up-to-date by regular payment of premiums and make sure that your policy qualifies for bonus to be declared as a result of the third valuation. REMEMBER 1961 IS THE BONUS YEAR

There is no substitute for LIFE INSURANCE



PAGE FOUR

this programme that the nist Party seeks to advance in the coming elec-tions. It is this front implementing this programme that is to end the Congress monopoly of power.

However, the Communist Party does not confine its struggle for national integration merely to breaking the Congress monopoly of power. Nor does it believe that the cause of national integration will be served by building an anti-Congress front of all those who wish to oppose the

On the contrary, it has

The Congress break with the Muslim League in Kerala has been officially welcomed

PIMPRI FLIES? tionally well designed and post was advertised in the equipped plant in the public papers on a salary of Rs. sector of such great import-100-5-125. equipped plant in the public sector of such great import-ance to the country?

Our contemporary. Maratha of Bombay, has thrown a flood of light on the sub-ject. Evidently nepotism is ject. Evidently nepotisn leading to incompetence.

It seems that 17 experi-enced scientists and tech-nicians, most of them Ph.D.s and trained abroad by W.B.O., have left the plan because they could not work under a Managing Director like Raja who did not respect science or them and dictated to them as to their technical work.

They have been replaced by men without adequate know-ledge or experience of the subject, largely on consideration other than merit.

For example the filling and Packing Department where the present trouble arose was in charge of an officer trained abroad who had gained a lot of experience. He was suddenly shifted

and replaced by a man who was drawing a salary of Rs. 120 a month as a Laboratory assistant only a few years ago. He then beca salesman for an American firm, and has now been brought to Pimpri and put in charge of the Filling Department on a salary of Rs. 1,000 a month.

The Maratha says he is related to the Chairman of the Board of Directors

A number of other posts have been filled on similar considerations and the paper savs that 75 per cent of then are Gujaratis and it so happens that Raja himself is a Gujarati. Maratha refers to the trick.

ery employed by the Manag-ing Director to bring a parti-cular woman on the staff of the Plant.

The paper cites the case of nanagement. The paper cites the case of Why is there this mis- the employment of a nurse nanagement in an excep- for the plant hospital. The

SWAT THE BIGGER

Many experienced nurses applied and, we are told, that many came for interview, and at the interview they were informed that the sca le of pay had been reduced to Rs. 45-2-59-EB-3-80 as there was not much work for the nurse to do.

Only one nurse, Miss Chandra G. Vas agreed to accept the reduced scale of pay. She was engaged from February 10, 1958. Strange though it may seem, it is a fact that only within 18 days, i.e., on February 28, 1958, the Managing Director raised her pay to the origi-nal scale of Rs. 100-5-125 on which other better qualified applicants would have rea-dily accepted employment. We have no word for this sort of low deal, and in a

plant of such great import-ance. What sort of atmos-phere can such a managing director create for the proper functioning of the plant? The deception of the public

is indulged in in other matters also. The plant with its 10 fermenters was rated by the Government of India Expert Committee to produce 30 mil-lion mega units of penicillin in 1956 and with 16 fermen-ters, which it has now, should produce at least 48 million mega units even with the stage of technology in 1956. But since 1956 penicillin technology has made great

advances and with 16 fermen-ters should have produced at least 80 million mega units. It actually produced only 40.24 m.m.u. in 1960-61, that is practically half of what it could, and yet the Managing Director had the andacity to claim credit for exceeding the yearly target.

It is a very simple trick. Raja, Managing Director, fixes low enough annual targets himself regardless





of all scientific opinion t the contrary, and he is al-lowed to continue to do se year after year by the In-dustry Minister in spite of protests from scientists. It is true that the plant has a board of directors but evidentiy no antibiotic expert is on it.

The consequences of this inefficiency are very serious. Because of the low yields the cost of production of penici-llin at Pimpri is something like five times the cost in USA.

And worse still the plant still makes huge profit every year by selling the product at very high prices. Last year alone it made a gross profit of Rs. 1 crore 46 lakhs, and about 5 crores in 4 years. Not only the plant itself makes huge profits, but it gives cover to private firms to do so also. They can and do import

bulk penicillin at about 8 N P. a mega unit from abroad just as Pimpri does besides its own manufacture, and like Pimpri sell it packed in vials at 94 N. P. a mega unit, which means, allowing for the cost of bottling, a mark up above cost of 119.6 per cent to the con-SUII

All this profit in spite of the fact that when the Government of India collaboration and financial aid from W.H.O. and UNICEF it made a solemn commitment to produce antibiotics mos nically as a national enterprise on sound business basis but entirely on a non-profit basis.

The plant has been working for six years and by now it should have come abreast of production abroad and uld be producing penicillin economical than elsewhere. mically, cheaper

But gross inefficiency in production, as pointed out by Parulekar in Parliament, and the increase of salaries of officers from about Rs. three lakhs to more than Rs. five lakhs in three years are keeping the cost of produc-tion very high. In spite of all this the plant insists on mak-ing huge profits by charging very high sale prices

It is futile for Raja to quote sale prices of bottled peni-cillin in U.S.A. In the United States the drug industry is a hig racket

If any comparison is to be made it should be on the cost of production in the two countries, and the cost of production can be dedu-ced from the sale price of bulk penicillin which the bottlers buy and is quoted in monthly trade journals. It turns out to be something like 4 N. P. a mega unit against 21 N. P. of Pimpri. To add insult to the injury the Industry Minister does not want to mend matters and make the plant run efficlently to produce penicillin economically; he wants to continue to make heavy pro-fits, even after the preposterously high cost of produc-tion at the cost of produc-ple of India. We are told, he proposes to give back the half crores rupees which the Government received as financial aid from W.H.O. and the UNICEF to relieve him-self of the obligation to make no profits.

PAGE FIVE

Congress Monopoly Threatened Municipality, came to Cal-cutta to lodge their protest with the State Government.

From INAN BIKASH MOITRA

The United Front of six Left parties (the Com-munist Party of India, Forward Bloc, RSP, Marxist F.B., RCPI and Bolshevik Party (B.P.), published a joint list of their candidates for the West Bengal Assembly and the Lok Sabha on December 6.

had arrived at an agreement with regard to some seats on which there had been differnces among them

They fervently appealed to the people to help the United. Front to realise "the objective of replacing the present Gov-ernment (in this State) by a Democratic Government of the Left narties and democratic individuals in the interests of the common people of West Bengal, and strengthening the democratic opposition in the Parliament"

The list shows that the Front has set up its candi-dates in 227 out of 252 Assembly seats and in 31 out of 36 seats to the Lok Sabha.

The allotment of seats for the Assembly has been as follows: CPI: 132; F.B.: 35; RSP: 22. Marrist F.R. 6: RCPI: 3; BP.: 3; and Inde-pendents supported by the Front: 26. It has not yet heen announced which these parties will put up its can date in Burrabazar constituency in Calcutta

City. Lok Sabha seats have been allotted as follows: CPI: 22: F.B.: 5: RSP: 2: dents supported by the Front: 2. The election campaign of

the Communist Party has already gathered momentum. already gathered momentum. Next day, when the news Scores of meetings are being spread in the town, several held daily all over the State. hundred people collected at Other Left parties of the the Ramilia Maidan, and some Front have just started their miscreants set fire to the tent

I N a statement, announcing work. Joint meetings of the the list, the leaders of Front are being organised, these parties said that they had arrived at an agreement main planks of which are slanders and calumnies against the Communist Party tall claims about ments, during the two Plan periods, is also under way.

> **TERROR IN COOCH BEHAR**

OR nearly a week now a veritable reign of terror has been clamped down on Cooch Behar, headquarters of the district of the same name in the north-eastern corner of West Bengal. The police ran amuck and beat everybody they could lay their hands on — men, women, children, students, teachers, lawyers, municival commissioners and others. What was the cause of this

savage frenzy: On December 4, the men of a circus party, which was giving daily shows on the Ramlila Maidan in Cooch Behar town, manhandled some visitors following an altercation with them.

51:02

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The SDO, the DSP and a big contingent of arrived police were present there from the very beginning. But they did. not intervene at any stage. Then, suddenly at about

1 p.m., the police fell upon the ig crowd that had assembled at the Mela, which was being held at the Maidan. They smashed the stalls, threw about the articles and started beating up the shopkeepers. Not satisfied with all this, they fired 15 rounds of teargas shells. Teargassing was resorted to even inside a near-by college, as a result of which three girl students lost con-

> The savage attack reached its peak when a police jetp was deliberately driven into a crowd. Three persons were seriously injured. One of them, a high school student, died of wounds at night in the local hospital. Police brutalities continued till nightfall.

Over 60 persons sustained injuries as a result of tear-gassing and repeated lathi-

WITH THE SKODA

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in which shows were being injuries. About 200 people were taken into custody.

Next day, the whole town observed a total hartal in protest against police brutaliti ession with the A silent procession with the dead body of the student was brought out and a public meeting demanded:

Immediate end to police repression; public and non-official enquiry into previous day's incidents, and payment of compensation to the family of the deceased and also to other victims of police terror.

Repression still continues unabated. Nobody, not even Congressmen, have been spar-ed. The silence of the grave yard now reigns in the town Life there has been peralysed

It is reliably learnt that the District and Sessions Judge has written to Cal-cutta High Court that it is now impossible to carry on the normal work of his court as a result of the conditions created by the police.

The local Bar Association has strongly protested against police savageries. A deputation of prominent citizens, led by the Chairman of Cooch Behar

Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition, met the Minister on December Chief and demanded immediate with-drawal of police measures and

release of the arrested



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VISIT THE CZECHOSLOVAK PAVILION AT THE INDIAN INDUSTRIES FAIR, NEW DELHI. NOVEMBER 14, 1961 TO JANUARY 1, 1962.

NEW AGE



The record of Congress rule in Tamilnad is no better than that in the other Congress-ruled States dealt with so far. There, too, one finds innumerable cases of wasteful expenditure, chaotic administration, corruption, fleecing taxes and rising prices.

TO begin with let us take Council that "Auditor was some of the official Audit also in the plature" and the Reports: Government could not con-

The Audit Report on the Appropriation Accounts of the Madras Government for 1956-57, cited several instances of avoidable waste of public funds. One of these related to a wholly superfluous attempt at erecting an earth dam at the site of an irrigation prolect. After spending Rs. 1,12,929 on the undertaking it was found that there was no need for an earth dam.

Another item mentioned in the Report was much more intriguing. The Report said, "Two thousand two hun-dred and eighty-four copies of a publication priced at Rs 15 per copy were received in a Publication Depot in 1952. As the copies did not find quick sales and as many as 2,101 re-mained unsold on April 1, 1955, the price of the publication was reduced to Rs. 5. Rs. 3, and Rs. 2 from 1st April 1955, 1st October 1955, and April 1, 1956, respectively. April 1, 1956, respectively Three hundred and twenty six copies were sold at reduced rates and the remaining 1775 copies were disposed of waste paper for Rs. 778"

PUMPS &

BOOKS

Accounts of a scheme for 1955-56, which was in-tended to be run on a no-profit, no-loss basis, for hiring of oil engines and pump sets to agriculturists, showed that while the Government had spent Rs. 2,67,147 as establishment charges, the depart-ment concerned had recovered only Rs. 89,232 by the way of hire charges. Similarly, the tractor hiring scheme during the year 1955-56 showed a loss

The Audit Report issued in 1959 pointed out "Dur-ing the years 1950 to 1957 grants to the extent of Rs. Government and paid to a private body in the State engaged in publication of a Tamil Encyclopaedia. The funds of this private body, to Tamil the extent of Rs. four lakhs (which included contributions from the public also) were alleged to have been misappropriated by its ex-Hono rary Treasurer during the period 1948-1957. The experiod 1948-1957. The ex-Honrary Treasurer was arrest-

DECEMBER 17, 1961

of "purchase of property without adequate technical exami-nation of its conditions." The property in question was acquired from the Army in December 1950 for the use by the Women's Welfare Depart-ment at a cost of Rs. 18,846. It needed Rs. 81,000 to carry out repair to make it habit-In May 1955, the Govern-

tinue legal proceedings aga-

The Audit Report of the

Appropriation Accounts for 1959-60 of the Madras Govern-

ment gave an interesting case

inst the Treasurer.

ment came to the conclusion that the buildings were "be-yond reasonable repairs" and yong reasonable repairs and that no repairs were called for. At a public auction it was sold for Rs. 690 only, after an ex-penditure of Rs. 606 on publicity for the sale

Another case mentioned in the report is about the construction of 936 single-room tenements in two colo-nles built by the Public Works nies built by the Public Works Department at a cost of Rs. 28.04 lakhs. The construction was completed in October 1957. But within a year and half special repairs were found necessary. According to the report "buildings were built to standards and speci-fication normally not accepted by the Public Works Depart-ment". This resulted into an ment". This resulted into an "infructuous expenditure of of Rs. 81,859", for necessary repairs.

While public funds are wasted to the tune of lakhs of rupees the Government goes on increasing taxes. Madras is one of those unfortunate states where a tax is levied even on vege-tables. This led to a Statewide strike in 1960

SOARING PRICES

As regards the inability of Government in control-ling the soaring prices of foodgrains one need only re-call the reaction of some Con-gressmen after the Congress debacle in Municipal elections in 1960. The Times of India of May 7, 1980. reporting on the May 7, 1960, reporting on the elections pointed out "Con-gressmen here attribute the ed and released on ball in 1957. Later the Finance Minister told the Madras Legislative

PAGE STX

Lest We Forget . .

THE Bhakra Nangal and Damodar Valley projects are regarded as show pieces of national reconstruction in independent India. In the public memory, how-ever, these projects have also earned ill reputation for wide-spread corruption waste of money and defective planning.

The Punjab Government had appointed a high power committee headed by Judge 8.8. Daulat of the Punjab High Court. In February 1959, the report of the Committee was prethe Committee was pre-sented to the Punjah Vidhan Sabha.

The Committee observed we have ourselves exami ed works costing nearly Rs nine crores. The excess which we have discussed omes to Rs. 50 lakhs These excesses are, of course, illustrative not exhaustive", the Committe

The report added "The bulk of the excess expendi-ture concerns earthwork, but apart from that, there has been considerabl of the powers of local pur-chase and misinterpreta-tion of the schedule of rates.

The Committee pointed out, "There is little doubt that individual officers have at times acted dishave at times acted dis-honestly, equally no doubt, that opportunity for dis-honesty was mostly afford-ed by the confusion occa-sioned by unjudicious plan-ning and insufficient super-vision..."

IN case of the Damodar Valley Corporation, the Audit Report for 1956-57 found certain irregularities. Even if the irregularities connected with purchase of store and machinery, etc. are left aside one comes across unimaginable waste of funds unconnected with he project. The report referred to

the purchase of 35 motor-driven pleasure boats by the Corporation. This, according to the report wa not contemplated in any project estimate.

The boats were purchased from an ex-ruler. The total expenditure incurred on the boats including incl-dental items such as fre-ight, insurance and handling charges, and the con-struction of a jetty amoun-ted to Rs. 73,105. The sum spent on repairs and main. tenance for two years amounted to Rs. 18,984. Of the total expenditure of Rs. 92,089, Rs. 16,312 was adjusted against the final heads of account, while balance of Rs. 75,777 stood (in July 1957) debited to

Suspense. The total revenue raised from tourists for these boats during the years 1956-57 was Rs. 891

1956-57 was Rs. 89! The bureaucracy in the Congress raj spends public money as mercilessly as the Congress rulers themselves do. But the question arises —who is responsible for the corrumition in these product porruption in these project of national importance?

One has to point the cousing finger at the Conress leaders, because it i hey who set the standard in corrupt practices.

The Finance Minister of Tamilnad has announced a scheme for providing old-age pensions to the poor. The Congress leaders of Tamilnad would like us to believe that Tamilnad is already on the threshold of the "socialist pattern",

BUT those who keep an eye order to extort confession", it Don the record of the Con-gress rulers will not easily be hoodwinked by this calculated Mr. Justic move. The Madras Govern-ment has already to its "credit" similar welfare schemes MEALS SCHEME" run in the State under the patronage of the Government:

The Madras Government had appointed a Committee, "The School Meals and Improvement Schemes Assessment Committee".

According to a despatch n Hindu (June 22, 1958), The Committee has drawn attention to irregularities observed by it during its tour of the districts in the tour of the districts in any State, visiting nearly 600 elementary schools where the mid-day meals scheme is in operation and has pointed out that in working the scheme falsification of accounts has been indulged in a number of cases amounting almost to 'cheating'....

"The irregularities include the manipulation of public contributions in the registers with a view to getting Gov-ernment contribution and marking of false attendence of pupils entitled to receive mid-day meals.

"The Committee has also come across cases where false vouchers for purchases of the various provisions for the various provisions for the meals are kept or where no record is maintained. There are also cases where false accounts and attendence re-gisters were so well maintain-ed that it was difficult to guess accounts and attender that they were false ...

Police

Violence

VIOLENCE by custodians of law and order is committed in all parts of India, because the police even after Independence has not changed its methods. Cases of torture by police officials to extort fessions from the accused have come up before high forums of justice from time to time.

The police in Tamilnad is in tune with the rest of their In tune with the rest of their fraternity, all over the coun-try, especially in methods of extorting confessions. More than three years ago a young-man Arumugan, aged 23, died in police custody at the Kodambakam police custody at the Kodambakam police in Madras on February 20, 1958

Arumugan was taken to the police station on the night of February 17, 1958 for interrogation in a theft case and he succumbed to his injures after three days.

"According to the findings of the lower court and the High Court, Arumugan was unlawfully detained from Feb. ruary 17 to 20 without an arrest card and against rules and beaten by men of the Kodambakan police station in

Mr. Justice Anantanarayanan of the Madras High Court, delivering the judgment on the appeals filed by the accused (policemen) observed among other things that the accused had abused their position and proved them-selves to be false and un-worthy custodians of law and order. order.

His lordship remarked: "Needless to say even a suspect is entitled to considera-tion and security from per-sonal violence. I leave it to the concerned authorities to consider and devise suitable consider and device suitable action to spread a feeling of reassurance amidst all sec-tions of the public, even those with doubtful antecedents and those who may cents and those who may be suspected of crime, that being compelled to proceed to a police station may imply close interrogation and criminal prosecution if found deserted, but will never involve any humiliat ing infringement of the personal right to freedom personal right to freedom from assault and violence",

Text Book

Seandal

EVEN good schemes under bad manage-ment produce awful results. That is the experience of text-book nationalisation by Madras Gov-ernment. Enemies of nationalisation, of course. use it as an argument against the public sector itself.

The Madras Government, sometimes ago, went in for large scale production of text-books. It brought out an abridged edition of Sir Walter Scott's novel Quentin Dur-Scotts novel Quentin Dur-ward. The book was prescrib-ed as a non-detailed text-book for the secondary school. leaving certificate examina-tion of March, 1959.

The father of a boy who was to appear in the examination, brought a writ petition in the High Court for a direction to the State of Madras and the Director of Public Instruction, in his capacity as Commis-sioner for Government Examination, to withdraw the book as it contained several errors

Although the petition was dismissed on the ground that it was too late to do anything It was too late to do anything effective as the examination was due to take place in less than three months, Mr. Jus-tice P. V. Balakrishna Aiyar, held that the complaint was instituted. justified. The learned judge

"To no literary virtue could this book (abridged version in the question) lay any claim. It was badly written and badly printed. The author and badly printed. The author and the printer alike disclaimed the use of punctuation marks. They had original views in the matter of spelling... The book is an example of what a good text book not be"

Milk Scheme Mess

SOAK POOR, SPARE RICH-CONGRESS TAX POLICY

The total annual tax revenue of the Union and the tax to the Government. State Governments increased enormously during the last decade—from Rs. 739 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 1.291 crores in 1960-61. The budget estimates for 1961-62 put the figure of the expected tax yields at a still higher level ot Rs. 1,371 crores. Even after making

allowance for the high rate of population growth, this means a rise in the average per capita incidence of taxation from Rs. 20.5 to Rs. 31.1. MOST of this rise took place which itself was high enough

Rs. 150 crores during the First Plan period; during the Second Plan, it rose by about Rs. years. 500 crores from Rs. 852 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 1,371 crores in 1961-62.

The total of additional taxation actually but through in the course of the Second Plan was, according to the Plan-ning Commission, Rs. 1.052 crores, which was more than 250 per cent of the additional taxation target accepted initially in the Second Plan.

The Third Plan has fixed the target of additional the target of administratic targets is ministratic target taration at Rs. 1,710 crores. talks of sacrifice by all classes Even if this target is not are a deception of the people. overfulfilled unlike the Se- The taxation policies so far cond Plan's, the total of pursued by the Congress readditional taxation put through in the course of the decade (1956-57 to 1965-66) will reach the staggering figure of Rs. 2,862 cro-res. The people of India are, thus faced with a prospect of ever tightening s in the coming years. squeeze

The stock argument offered in support of this enor-mous increase in tax burden

Income

99700

104800

113100

113900

126000

128460

96100

Year

1951-52

1952-53

1953-54

1954-55

1955-56

1956-57

1957-58

1958-59

Mduring the Second Plan considering the dire poverty period. The annual tax yields of our people, a total amount had increased by only about or about Rs. 2,500 crores would be available for Plan finance during the next five

> In that case not only no additional taxation would need to be imposed during the Third Plan, but existing tax burdens could even have been lightened. The call for "a measure of sacrifice from all classes of people" in the name of planned develop-ment, therefore, lacks any moral basis.

If the call for sacrifice under the present circumstances is immoral, the facile gime at the Centre and in the States have actually sacrificed the people at the altar of the big business.

These policies have meant all the sacrifice for the common people and increasing profits and income for the rich, as will be evident from figures given in Table I, of the yields from income tax on individuals and companies,

TABLE I

Receipts From Income Tax as Proportion of National Income

to Income tax

7829

7813

7600

7849 9357

10105

11727

11921

Receints

from Income Tax

1959

1008

1775

1819

2166 2222

2538

2301

Excise duty, Sales tax, Custom duty. Entertainment tax etc., belong to this category.

While the direct taxes are indications of the contribu-tions made by the rich th burden of indirect taxation is largely borne by the com-mon people.

> 1997 - Sec. S. TABLE 2 Revenue Account of the Union Government* (In Rs. crores 1950-51 1961-62 . Increase (Budget) (Account) 357 768 411 Total tax revenue 206 562 76 335

227

(*Excluding States' share)

Direct taxes

Indirect taxes

It will be seen from Table 110 crores increase in direct tax yields is very misleading. 2 that out of a total in-crease of Rs. 411 crores, Rs. The major component of this 335 crores was secured by indirect taxation as against the sum of Es. 76 crores secured through direct increase is Land Revenue. taxes.

In other words, indirect tax collections increased by 250 per cent against a 53 per cent increase in direct tax collections.

By far the largest part of the increased yields from indirect taxes was secured by the levy of exise duties, which increased by Rs. 370 crores between 1950-51 and 1961-62 (budget). Table 3 reveals the

(Amount in Rs. millions)

Col. 3 89

7.9

7.2 7.5 7.9 7.9

8.3 8.9 9.3 9.3

Col: 4 as

P.C. of

1.96

2.03 1.82

1.83

2.00

1:95

2.01

1.79

manners of goods, starting from books and medicine reaching upto a pot of char-coal or a cup of tea with It will be seen from Table 4 that exactly two-thirds of the total increase of Rs. es were secured 230 51 CEO through the increase in in-direct taxes. While the yields from the direct taxes snacks.

But the above figure of Rs.

ratio between the increases

in direct and indirect taxes

in the states' tax revenues is, therefore, as iniguitous as in Union finance.

Almost half the total in-

crease in the yields from in-direct taxes comes from the

rise in general sales tax, which increased by Rs. 85.90 crores from Rs. 54.40 crores

in 1951-52 to Rs. 140.30 crores

This is apparently the hand-

While it subjects the small

of augmenting

The contribution of excise duties, (States' and share of Union excise duties) at Rs. increased by 183 per cent, that from the indirect taxes 79.58 crores was a close increased hy as much as 248 per cent.

second. This enormous increase in indirect taxation inevitably neans that most of these are directly shifted on to the consumers.

A study made by the Tax Research Unit of the Department of Economic Affrs in the Ministry Finance, Government of India, throws a lot of light on the increasing incidence of the indirect taxation people's consumption. Ac-cording to the above study. anyone in India spending a rupee in 1953-54 had to contribute 3.4 nP. to the exchequer in the form of indirect taxes; this contribu-tion increased to 5.3 nP. in 1958-59.

The incidence on the urban which alone is hand hevelow contributed more than Rs. 55 crores. But this increase is population is very much high-er than the all-India average; and it has also increased at a faster rate. An urban conargely fictitious, inasmuch as, this increased income from land revenue has to be set off sumer, who had to pay 5.6 nP. to the exchequer in 1953-54, paid 8.7 nP. in 1958-59. In other words, from every rupee against the rise in cost of against the rise in cost of collection by Rs. 36 crores (from Rs. 27 crores to Rs. 63 crores) and the payment of compensation to the landcompensation to the land-lords to the time of Rs. 16 of no more than 91.3 nP. in crores in 1961-62.

These average figures, how-After these adjustments ever, fall to bring out the growing sacrifice imposed on people in the lower income groups. Table 5 quoted from the above study is extremely are made, the real increase in the yields from direct taxes in States' finances amounts to no more than Rs. 60 crores again the rise of Rs. 220 illuminating from that point crores in indirect taxes. The of view.

In other words, the net per rapita average expen-diture group is only Bs: 9.46 per month. What is more significant is that this is

Australia

India

it is stated:

Sweden West Germany

Existing in

ed in

Proposed in budget 1957-58 37.70

*If provincial taxes are

also taken into acco

Besides this low rate of

corporate taxes, the Govern-ment of India offers further

concessions to the capitalists

in the form of "tax holiday" and development rebate, which are unique to India. In a study of relative, measure

of corporate taxation, pub-lished in the Eastern Econo-mist, Annual Number, 1961,

"Two major elements ope-rate in India which greatly affect the profitability of a

new enterprise in India...in relation to the corresponding advantage in the UK and

holiday' covered by section

15c... the profit after tax in the Indian Union moves. In these (first) fifteen years from \$5.6 per cent to 44 per

cent, being at all levels above the corresponding figures in

USA. "These two elements

the net incidence w very much higher.

1956-57

40.00

32.76

will b

19 nP: lower than the ave rage per capita expendi-ture of this group in 1953-54. Due to similar rise in the

incidence of indirect taxation on all the expenditure groups, the net consumption has suffered a cut in every case. For example, an urban family belonging to the ex-Ramy burging of Rs. 151-Rs. 300, paid a levy of indirect taxation of 4.9 per cent in 1953-54, which increased to

8.4 per cent in 1958-59. A family with a monthly expenditure of Rs. 300 has no more than Rs. 60 to spend per member. Such a family paid Rs. 14:70 as indirect taxes per month in 1953-54 and Rs. 25.20 in 1958-59. In other words the per capita expen-diture of this group decreas-ed from Rs. 57.06 to Rs. 54.96. The Congress Election Ma-

nifesto hoasts of "hetter living condition and specially better and more food". It is clear from the above figures developed rebate covered by section 10(2) (vi-b) of the Income Tax Act and the tax given in an official study that vast masses of our people both in the cities and countryside have actually suffered a lowering down of living stand-ard due to, besides other things, a rising incidence of indirect taxation. Simultane

msly with this increased load of indirect taxation ou the common people, more and more conpeople, more and more con-cessions in respect of direct taxes were given to the rich. Between 1947-48, when the Congress came to power and 1961-62, the proportion of direct taxes in

the USA. "In the UK, on the other hand, there are particular years-mamely, the first and second-when the profits after tax are similar, but in subsequent years they are lower than in the case of an Indian company... "Looked at somewhat

differently, in the Indian

TARLE 5 Incidence of Indirect Taxation: All Taxes

| (Tax as | per cent of Consumer | r Expenditure) | | 4, 12, |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|--------|
| | | (By household e | xpenditure group | 8) |
| Monthly household | 1953-54 | | . 1958-59 | |
| expenditure groups | Bural 💊 🖉 Urban | All- Rural | Urban All | |
| Rs. | J. | India | India | |
| 1 50 | 2.1 3.5 | 2.3 2.4 | 5.4 3.0 | |
| 51-100 | 2.3 4.3 | 2.6 3.4 | 6.7 4.1 | |
| 101-150 | 2.5 4.9 | 3.0 3.9 | 7.6 4.8 | 1.1 |
| 151—300 | 2.7 4.9 | 3.2 4.6 | 8.4 5.6 | |
| 300 & Over | 3.9 7.8 | 5.3 6.5 | 13.0 8.7 | 1. A. |
| All households | 2.8 5.6 | 3.4 4.1 | 8.7 5.3 | |

the total tax revenue of the Union Government has fall-en from about 60 per cent to about 27 per cent.

As a result of these liberal concessions, the rate of corporate taxation in India, which has the socialist pat-

"...our corporate taxation is not high in comparison with the level in other coun-tries. This will be evident from a comparison of the rates of incidence of corporate taxation in some other pro-gressive countries on the basis of distribution of 30 per cent

TABLE 6

Net. Incidence 50.50

these shameless concessions to the rich, the Government of India have in the recent years introduced a number of direct taxes, e.g., Estate Duty. Expenditure Tax, Gift Tax and Wealth Tax. The total collections under all these

is that it is the price that the people have to pay for financing the Plan. But is it really so?

The Second Plan had esti-mated that Rs. 350 crores would be available for financing Plan projects out of the balance from current balance from current reve-nues i.e., excluding additional taxation. In reality, however, not only was nothing received from that source, but, on the contrary, Rs. 50 crores of Plan finance had to be diverted to meet non-Plan expenditure.

Not only that. The major part of the total non-Plan expenditure of the Central and State Governments and State Governments, were incurred not on the proformental and social services like health education, cooperation, etc., but on the non-developmental heads like general administration, jails, police, debt services, etc. The total ex-penditure under non-deveopmental heads increased by about Rs. 540 crores from s. 535.3 crores in 1951-52 Rs. 1032.7 crores in 1960-

So, it is clear that if the non-developmental expenditure on the State-apparatus under the Congress could be

It will be seen from Table 1 that while the proportion of "income assessed to tax" has gone up from 7.9 per cent in 1951-52 to 9.3 per cent in 1959-60, that of receipts from income tax to national income fell from 2.03 per cent in 1952-53 to 1.79 per cent in 1959-60.

Income-after-tax of these limited number of assessee increased by about Rs. 400 crores during this period.

The utter iniquity of the Congress Government's taxa-tion policies will be evident from the breakdown of the taxes according to their nature.

Taxes are broadly divided into two categories-direct and indirect-according to their incidence.

A direct tax is a tax, the burden of which cannot be easily shifted or passed on to some other person by the per-son on whom it is levied. Income tax, expenditure tax, Estate duty, Gift tax and Wealth tax are included in this category.

An indirect tax, on the other hand, is a tax the bur-Total Tax Revenue 281.05 den of which can be fairly readily shifted on to some readily under the Congress could be one else by the person who is pegged at the level of 1951-52 required by the law to pay

iest source of aug the States' finances. steep rise in excise levy on some of the essential consumers' goods

T/ Excise Duties i

| Commonity | (Account) | (Budget |) increase |
|--------------------|-----------|---------|------------|
| Kerosene | 28 | 11,34 | 11,08 |
| Sugar | 6.46 | 59,10 | 53,64 |
| Matches | 8,07 | 18,03 | 9,96 |
| Tobacco | 31,99 | 59,77 | 27,78 |
| Tea | 3,36 | 9,63 | 6.27 |
| Paper (1955-56) | 2,68 | 11,17 | 8,49 |
| Vegetable | | | |
| oil (1955-56) | 29 | 12,50 | 12,21 |
| Railway Passenger | | | |
| fare tax (1957-58) | 3,68 | 12,50 | 8,82 |

the states direct and

Direct taxes

| ' tax revenue indirect tax yi | into our elds. Mit | ite of th | e States | ' Finar |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|------------------|---------|
| | | | AG 10 101 | |
| | TABLE 4 | | | |
| Revenue inc | come of t | he State | | |
| 1951 | -52 196 | L-62 | (RS. Increase | crores) |

(Accounts)

132.45

| Indirect taxes | 148.60 | 368.65 2 | 20.05 248 |
|------------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| (*Including-shar | es of Income | Tax and Unio | n Excise duties) |

(Budgets)

611.65

242.91

| | | | auc | | ~ ~ | * 104 | U.L | nor | ക്കുന | |
|---|----------|------|-------|------|---------|---------|--------|---------|-------|---|
| | | | | | | ×11 | | 10.11 | | |
| | 1.00 | | | | | | + 1 | | | |
| | A 11 | . – | | | | | | | | 1 |
| | - | | | 1994 | 199 | a de la | - 24 | | 1 × 1 | |
| А | BLI | s. J | 10.00 | 21 | | | - T- C | - · · · | | |
| | <u> </u> | ъ. н | | 10 | (1) i _ | | · | | - 1. | |

| in Certain Con | isumers' g | oods and Services | |
|----------------|------------|-------------------|-----|
| | | (In Rs. lakhs) | 100 |
| 1950-51 | 1961-62 | Increase | |
| (Account) | (Budget) | | |
| 28 | 11.34 | 11,08 | |
| 6.46 | 59,10 | 53,64 | |
| 8,07 | 18,03 | 9,98 | |
| 31,99 | 59,77 | 27,78 | · · |
| 3,36 | 9,63 | 6.27 | |
| 2.68 | 11 17 | 9 40 | 1 |

Let us now have a look at and picks the pockets of the the State finances. Table 4 poorest of the consumers, the below gives the breakdown of Sale Tax is a Number 1 fav-

Amt. P.C

217

183

330.51

110.48

consists of five family belonging to the mon-thly expenditure group of upto Rs. 50 has got only Rs. 10 to spend per member per month: It will be seen from Table 5 that out of every rupee' spent by an urban family of this income group, .4 nP. is taken away by the

household with a mouthly expenditure of up to Rs. 50 has to bear an incidence of 3 per cent in 1958-59 which steadily goes on increasing till it reaches 8.7 per cent in the case of the monthly

tern of society' as its objec-301 and over. The urban population has to bear a consistently higher incidence. egalitarianism. This is admit-ted even-in paper circulated by the Union Finance Ministry along with the 1957-58 budget.

of the taxable profits given below" (Table 6)

Country USA UK, Canada 40.85 40.00 heads during the five years

expenditure group of Rs. 301 and over.

incidence. It is a pity that Table 5 lumps together all expendi-ture groups over Rs. 300 and thereby obliterates the differ-

ences between the middle class and the rich. Let us, therefore, confine our study to the town poor and the

It will be seen that a

lower middle class, d on all amilies with monthly expenditure of upto Rs. 300. Since an average household consists of five members, a

Union after 15 years, of would have in the form of profits after tax 144.7 per cent of the equity capital, whereas in the USA one would obtain 113.8 per cent

and in the UK 128 per cent for a domestic company". Development rebate, tax

holiday or any other conces-sions of this kind granted to the small or medium units or even the big enterprises in less profitable spheres is one thing, and the general con-

cession irrespective of size and profitability is another. Under the benign dispensa tion of the Government of India, these exemptions are available to th giant Indian

combine Tata Iron and the world monopoly, Imperial Chemical or Dunlop as well, even though they are reaping super profits. In order to cover up all

newly imposed direct taxes was exposed when in reply to a question by Bhupesh Gupta in the Rajya Sabha on August 21, 1961, Deputy Minister of Finance Tarakeshwary Sinha said: "The number of wealth tax assessees who have been assess-ed till 31-3-1961 on their individual wealth of Rs. 50 lakhs and above was 102". If the Government really

meant business, then 102 individuals having wealth of Rs. 50 lakhs and above could be found in the Burrabazar area of alone.

The open scandal of tax evasion in India is an old story. Prof. Kaldor in his report to the Government of India estimated that the loss to the exchequer by way of evaded income tax amounts to anything between Rs./ 200

crores to Rs. 300 crores. Though the Central Board of Revenue consider it to be an over-estimate, they also admit that there is evasion and the amount of evasion is rather high. The Direct Taxation Enquiry Committee, headed by the ex-Union Min-lister Mahavir Tyagi, has also admitted this fact.

That Prof. Kaldor was nearer the truth than the Central Board of Revenue will was be evident from the following report published in the Cal-cutta Statesman, which can-not be suspected of baselessly running down the Congress regime or big business prac-

"Stupendous volume of un-healthy transactions are carried on outside the official market daily in what is call-ed the katni market...katni market is said to have grown more powerful than the offi-cial share market and is vir-tually controlling the latter to the detriment of bonafide investors.

"The total turnover in the katni market is said to be in the neighbourhood of Rs.

10,00,00,000 daily... "According to an expert estimate, the Government of India would not have had to impose quite such heavy exclse duties and cause quite such hardship to the ordinary citizen, if steps were taken to recover the Government's share the vast untaxed money that floats in the katni market of Calcutta daily" Discussing the reasons of such a high degree of tax evasion, the Tyagi Committhe softness of the administrative organs towards the tax evaders mainly respon-

It said: "One important reason for the prevalence of evasion is stated to be that in actual practice no deterrent punishment like is being impriso meted out to tax evaders

when they are caught. "Though the direct taxes Acts provide for prosecution and imprisonment in cases of concealment and false statement in declarations, the Department in declarations, the Department has not, during th last ten years, got even a single person convicted for evasion....

"Even moderate penalties levied by assessing officers are reduced to nominal sums by appellate authorities. Both these factors, the nonresort to prosecution stid the non-

nort of the Direct Taxation Enquiry Committee, p. 150, emphasis added).

The Communist members The Communist members demanded the publication of the names of all asses-sees in the higher income brackets with relevant par-ticulars about the assessed incomes so that neighbours of the assessees and the workers and employees under them could be in a position to have their say. Needless to say, the Unior Finance Minister Morari Morarji sai, the guardian angel of the big bourgeoisie that he is, rejected outright all these demands and thereby indirectly put a premium on tax evasion.

Because of the indulgence they receive from the Govern-ment and the revenue autho-rities, the Indian rich not only dodge the taxes with impunity but also refuse to promptly pay up levies on the basis of their fictitious returns. That is why Income Tax arrears pile up year after year till they are further scaled down by the obliging Government on various pleas, as will be seen from Table 7.

TABLE 7

Gross Arrears of Income Tax at end of 1954-55 to 1956-60

| | | · · | (un | 1.3. | CLOLE | 28) |
|----------|----|------|--------|------------------|-------|-----|
| As | oŋ | 31.3 | 3.1955 | | 207 | 98 |
| 'n | | 31.3 | 3 1958 | | 233. | 53 |
| | | | 3.1957 | | 267 | .33 |
| n | | 31.3 | 3.1958 | 121 | 287 | .32 |
| | | | 3.1959 | | 271 | .60 |
| <i>n</i> | | 31.3 | 3.1960 | | 257 | .40 |
| . 12 | n | 01.0 | 9.1900 | 5. * 5. c | 201 | .40 |

After allowing the dishonest assessees sufficiently long time to complete all their manipulations for escaping the tax levies, the G ment ultimately scales the Governthe arrears to what it calls the "effective level".

Thus, for instance, the arrears of income tax for the years 1958-59 and were scaled down 1959-80 scaled down from Rs. 271.60 crores and Rs. 257.40 crores to Rs. 152.36 crores and Rs. 133.60 crores respectively. The Third Five. Year Plan claims "to give a more precise content to the social objec-

tive of the Constitution and represents a large advance towards their realisation". One would suppose that as

a corollary to the above proposition, there will be a reversal of the present soak-thepoor-and-spare-the-rich taxation policies of the Congress Government. But the reality, unfortunately, is very far removed from that.

The first budget of the Third Plan, i.e., for the year 1961-62, in fact, carried forward to the extreme the iniquitous policles of the Cougress Government. The tax proposals of Union bud-get for the year were aimed at securing an additional yield of over Rs. 63 crores, all but Rs. three crores of which were to come from indirect taxes.

As a result of the popular indignation all over the coun-try, the Government was ultimately compelled to make some concess ms amounting Rs. 6 crores_thus reducing the yield from additional taxation from Rs. 63 crores to Rs. 57 crores, out of which Rs. 54 crores would come from indirect taxes.

The nakedly pro-rich bias

1955-57 to 1960-61 averaged levy of deterrent penalties of the budget will be evident about Rs. 11 crores a year ave, no doubt, encouraged from the fact that all these The hear of all these the growth of evasion" (Renew impositions on the con-sumption of the poor in the form of additional excise duties on kerosene, coffee, cotton and woollen cloth glassware, etc., have been accloth ompanied by important concessions in the sphere of direct taxation.

The Communist Party spokesmen inside Parliament and State legislatures as well as outside have consistently and staunchly opposed this lying campaign. The latter have put forward

alternative proposals which if implemented, would have made it possible to finance far bigger planning efforts with-out adversely affecting the living standard of the common people. Some of the important proposals may be mentioned briefly.

Economise on the nor developmental expendi-ture of the Union and State Governments. Since allocations under these heads in creased by about Rs. 500 cro-res in the last decade, they can be slashed by about Rs. 100 crores without much difficulty and a sum of Rs. 500 crores may thereby be secured for Plan finance.

Amend the Direct Taxes laws and tighten the collection machinery so as to, at least minimise, if not alto-gether stop, tax evasion. As the total taxable income has enormously increased since the time of Prof. Kaldor's report, the amount of evaded taxes may also be regarded to be higher. Hence, anything between Rs. 200 crores and Rs. 500 crores may be garnered through these measures every year.

Impose higher rates on Corporate Incomes. We have already quoted from the Government of India's admission about the relatively low rate of corporate taxes in In-dia. So a higher rate of taxes in this sphere can yield any-thing between Rs. 50 crores and Rs. 100 crores a year.

Impose agricultural inme tax in a bus come tax in a businessible way. Large agricultural in-comes are very sparingly tax-ed today. While agricultural production and prices have considerably increased during the last decade, the total agricultural income tax collections amount today barely Rs. 8 crores a year. today to

According to a study, Rs. 200 crores per annum could easily be secured if six or seven per cent of the annual earnings of the agricultural nonulation in the higher income brackets could be collected by the State through appropriate in-crease in and administration of agricultural income tax. (See A. Mitra, Perspectivean eco omic review, Calcutta. June, 1961).

Above all, the State should increasingly enter into the profitable and reinto the profitable, and re-sources-providing enterprises like banking, general insur-ance, trading-foreign and in-ternal-mining, etc.



BIHAR NEWSLETTER

With the exodus of the Pradesh Congress Committee leaders, the two thousand and odd aspirants for Congress tickets to the 318 seats in the State Legislative Assembly and their supporters in the State, the centre of political activity has, for the present, shifted from Patna to Delhi.

should

SADAQAT Ashram, the political capital of tha Congress in Bihar, bears a lonely look. The Legislative Assembly met with the hare quorum with the two Muslim ministers—Jafar, Imam and Zawar Hussain to pilot unimportant bills in the absence of their more important colleagues.

But hopes of an early settlement in the Bihar Pradesh Congress Election Committee or its sub-committee meeting at New Delhi have floundered. The matter is dragging beyond expectation.

When the AICC Special Reand bargainings, he had to his credit no more than an agreed list of 93 names out of a total of 318 seats.

But this agreement, too. proved disruptive. The bat-tle for tickets was being fought between two major groups—the Ministerialists, led by Chief Minister Bino-danand Jha and Education Minister Satyendra Narain danand Jha and Education Minister Satyendra Narain Sinha and the anti-Minis-terialists led by Mahesh Prasad Sinha and Krishna Ballahb Sahay-with obvi-ous sub-groups within each of them. But the mere announcement the screement on names for the screement on sc

of the agreement on names for 93 constituencies gave rise to not only discontent but open revolt within each of the groups and sub-groups.

And some of them banded themselves into a third or "neutral" group and even held a convention to organise pub-lic pressure upon their respecareement on 240 seats. But tive patrons. These "neutra-lists" are even reported to have prepared a list of their ously be on an even hasis. own of "honest, selfless and popular" Congressmen.

other, cutting group alignments. As an example, the election, the majority of the Central of Union Minister Jagjiyan, Parlamentary, Board, That, Ram and Krisina Ballabh, however, is still an uncertain Sahay as Chairman and Sec. retary respectively of the Re-stage shuffling of alliances that has gone on recently. Session at Patna, is widely believed to be the result of secret alliance betw Jagjivan Ram is a known

supporter of the present. Bihar ministry, while Sahay's recent ally is linked with Morarji Desai. On the other hand, there are indications that in Jagjivan Ram's home district Shahabeing supported by a leader of the ministerialist group— Education Minister Satyendra Narain Sinha.

In the original agreement which AICC representative Tikaram Paliwal had persuadtative ed the two major groups to accept, it was stipulated that in the first instance a list of 26 prominent leaders—13 from each side—will be unanim-ously adopted. But as late as November 30, the Search-light reported that out of this 26 only 15 names had been

unanimously agreed upon. In Bihar Congress circles it is well known that the Chief Minister had objected

PAGE TEN

against the Raia Bahadur under Sections 147, 342 and 362 IPC alleging that the Baja and his toughs had physically beaten him and thrown him out of the Swatantra party office.

to six names, proposed by the other group on grounds of secret police reports charging them with various The occasion was a meeting to elect a zonal chairman of the party for North Bihar. Seeing that Janki Nandar es ranging from dacoity Singh's election is certain, the to ganja smuggling. The anti-ministerialists have president announced the postponement of the meeting demanded that the accused while Janki Nandan Singh and his supporters wanted to go ahead with it. It was at be given the secret police reports and the oppor-

only of the Raja, his family nembers and the employees of his estate.

The other major constituent was the Jana Congress—an organisation of dissident Conorganisation of dissident Con-gressmen who were refused Congress tickets in 1957. The latter are the only political elements in the Swatantra Party in Bihar.

The Maja has taken many-safeguards against the party ever passing under their control. Even the State headquarters of the Swatan-

FROM ALI ASHRAF

But equally naturally this led to the manifold conflicts in the Bihar Swatantra Party at a very early stage. Casto conflicts as well as conflicts between the Raja's retinue and the political elements who came from the Congress de-veloped almost in every dis-trict.

Janki Nandan Singh Janki Nandan Singh was afeguards against the party secretaryship of the party, wer passing under their with the approach of the pantral Even the State with the approach of the General Elections the flicts have further intensified.

***Congress-No Holds Barred** when the AICC Special Representative Tikaram Paliwal ASSWRATANTPA-Fight Goes On South a ster two months of incessant meetings, con-fabulations and negotiations

tunity to defend themselves before the Congress High

Command. At the same time they insist that since their opponents are in control of the administration and the police, the char-ges brought by the latter should be given, no credence

It is certain that despite the last minute efforts and the Pradesh Election Committee meeting on December 4, there will be no agreement on a large number of seats Even the most optimist estimates do not go beyond an expected agreement on 240 seats. But whatever the actual number ously be on an even basis. It is the remaining seats on

It is the remaining seats on popular. Congressmen. In the meantime, it is wide-ly believed, some of the sub-groups have reached seoret understanding with each. other, cutting across their group alignments. As an example, the election of Union Minister Jagilyan.

DISUNITY ABOUNDS

ROM Agra on Novemher 26, after the All In-dia Swatantra Conference Bihar Swatantra President Raja Kamakhya Narayan Singh of Ramgarh anno-unced that he and the bad, his active opponent, unced that he and the Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, is former State Secretary Janki Nandan Singh had "decided to put an end to the misunderstanding that had developed recently between us" (Indian Nation November 27).

November 20,. It is interesting to contem-plate the peaceful end of a "misunderstanding" which had tended to assume some-

what violent forms. It was only about a week before the Agra patch-up that Janki Nandan Singh, who claimed to be the Scoretary of the State Party, lodged a complaint with the Pirbahore Police Station in Patna on November 18

this stage that, as alleged, the toughs came into action. The conflict between the two leaders of the Binar pany. Swatantra Party is an old one and deeper than a mere per-sonal animosity. It is a con-flict between the different

constituents of the party in Bihar. One of the constituentsand the original one-the Ja-nata Party consisted almost

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tra Party in Patna is legally and technically the office of the Bokaro-Ramgarh Com-

Moreover, when the Janata Party began developing into the Bilar Swatantra Party the Raja attracted, primarily, peo-certainly not the end of it. Moreover, when the Janata Party began developing into the Bihar Swatantra Party the Raja attracted, primarily, peo-ple belonging to his own casts, This was, perhaps, somewhat natural in the prevailing situation in Bihar.

While General Secretary Masani supported the Raja, Janki Nandan Singh's streng-th was the solid support of the Darbhanga unit of the

One may be sure to hear of the conflicts, especially at the district level in the days the

THE DAY BREAKS BRIGHTER TOMORROW

BEARING TOMORROW'S JOY: the strength in four hundred million limbs. Today's work. Today's patience. Burden borne, feet firmly on the ground. Tomorrow...a little less of care, a little more of joy... And for HINDUSTAN LEVER, too, tomorrow begins today.

In the research laboratory, in the factory and office. Work, patience, care. To serve tomorrow's homes and the nation's needs

with products that grow better and better.



PHANI BORA Interviewed

"The opposition will definitely emerge stronger than ever before and the Congress will emerge weaker than at present from the election battle in Assam," said Phani Bora, Secretary Assam State Council, Communist Party of India, in an interview for New Age. Bora, a sitting member of the State Assembly, who is contesting from his old constituency for the Assembly while his old rival (Congress) has shifted to another constituency, said that Communist Party will fare better this time than it did in the last election.

and unskilled youth Secondly, there is the problem of un-

"The problem of rising

essential commodity has been

QUESTION: DO YOU VIS-UALISE ANY STRUGGLE OF

ANY SECTION OF THE PEO-

strike in January next on

of their cash allowance at full Government rate. The stud-

ents, on the other hand, are

restless over their demand for

an open trial of Pabby, the former Superintendent of Police of Kamrup who is

"The demand of the tea-

chers, in our opinion, is absolutely justified. It is a

part of the general struggle of the people for a better life. We cannot but support

life. We cannot but support this very legitimate move-ment. The demand of the students also seems quite reasonable and democratic in as much as they demand

a trial of an officer who is

alleged to have ordered police firing which is con-sidered unwarranted by the

situation. Should there be any movement of the stud-ents on a democratic de-mand, our Pary will natural-

MAIN ISSUE ON WHICH YOU

"In my opinion, the people's verdict on the unity and inte-

ly support it".

to several others."

PLE BEFORE THE ELEC-

TION?

People's

Struggles

HE felt that the Congress, urban unemployment, parti-the PSP and some others cularly of the less educated will use anti-Communism as and unskilled youth Secondly. planks, trying to utilise the employment of the rural India-China border dispute youth resulting from growing for the purpose. But Bora felt confidence that the Party not solved the problem; it is would be able to counter-act getting more and more active." one of their important election these anti-Communist election stunts prices on the one hand, rising prices of almost every

He pointed out that even Congressmen admitted that wherever there was a Comwherever there was a Com-munist can didate there would be a real political election battle. "It is admit-ted by all sections of soher ment of the interest of the people in Assam that in the peasant." midst of the prevailing atmosphere vitiated with nunalism, chauvinism COIL casteism and linguism the Communist Party is the only party that is incorruptible, non-communal and stead-fast to its principle.

"But the biggest danger all the democratic before forces" tained communal campaign

conducted by the Congress conducted by the congress organisation itself, particu-larly, by its anti-Ministerial group. This is communally dividing the people of the

State. "This is doing what even the Jana Sangh could not do. In fact, Jana Sangh slogans are being taken up by a secare being taken up by a section of Congress leaders, giving it a bit of 'respectabi-lity' and even a 'patriotic' tinge! On the other hand, communalism is also raising its head inside the

Congress". Elaborating the point further, Bora said that already the masses of people in this State were considerably divided as a result of the language rlots of 1960 and 1961. Now there was fresh attempt to divide the people mally. There was als "another division, particu-larly in the Brahmaputra valley, on the basis of caste". The general frustration of the people because of the faiof the Government to solve their basic problems, Phani Bora said, tended to make them victims of this pernicious communal campaign. Moreover, the factional struggle inside the Congres for the control of the Government machinery for a share of the loaves and fishes also had its impact on the masses, he

> Pressing Problems

WHAT ARE OUESTION THE OTHER PRESSING PRO-THE OTHER PRESSING PRO-C BLEMS OF THE PEOPLE THAT YOU THINK WILL DOMINATE THE ELECTION

"Apart from communal division, that, as I have said earlier, will be the most important factor before all the democratic forces, there is the problem of unemployment that will be an impor-tant factor in the election campaign.

"This problem of unemployment has two aspects in Assam. First, th problem of

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grity of Assam has to be sought". QUESTION: APART FROM WHAT YOU HAVE SAID AL-READY, WHAT ARE THE OTHER ISSUES THAT YOU WILL POSE BEFORE THE ELECTORATE? "Apart from the above, the

other issues that our Party will place before the per Assam have been enu people of enunciated in a programme or election manifesto that we will place before the people.

"The main objective set "The main objective set forth in it is that of streng-thening the democratic opposition in the State by strengthening all the pro-gressive forces both inside and outside the Assembly and weakening the Concress and weakening the Congress monopoly of power, streng-thening the forces fighting for integration and against all forces of disruption and disintegration and ousting from position of authority all those who are opponents of the forces of integration the forces of integration, who oppose the progressive features of our foreign polloy and other progressive measures.

"Communists are willing to unite with all those who are ready to support a progressive programme. Among other things mentioned in our manifesto are: rapid indust tion of the State; natio tion of foreign-owned industries: radical land reforms for giving land to the tillers; strengthening Assam's communication system to remove the transnort bottleneck that is often posed as responsible for lack of industrial development of the State: a cleaner and democratic administra-tion in the State.

Above everything else, we have emphasised the need for national unity on the basis of unrestricted development of "It appears that the tea-chers are getting ready for a the political, economic and cultural life of all people living in the State, irrespective of

divergent manner in different localities to 'suit the local re-quirement' and there will be hardly any principle in this campaig

campaign. "In the pre-dominantly Assamese speaking area, they will indulge in anti-Bengali campaign, in the pre-domin-antly Bengali area they will indulge in anti-Assamese cam-paign and likewise, anti-Mus-lim in Mindu area and antilim in Hindu area and anti-Hindu campaign in Muslim area will be their common election tactics

"In a word, notwithstand-ing Nehru's call for ideological battle. Congressmen in this State, there is reason to apprehend, will fight the election battle exploiting communalism, chauvinism

of all shades and casteism. "The PSP is not likely to yield to Congress in opportunist use of the language issue and in exploiting the Assa-mese sentiment. Taking ad-vantage of illegal imigration of some Pakistanis, the PSP is likely to raise a communal cry also in areas where it will suit them, while the Muslim members of the PSP will not spare any pains to rally the Muslim voters exploiting their com-munal sentiment. Anti-Communism will bê their common plank with the Congress".

QUESTION: HOW FAR DO YOU THINK THE LANGU-AGE ISSUE WILL DOMINATE THE ELECTION SCENE?

could get two of his nomi-nees selected through a threat of resignation.

By Madhusudan Bhattacharya

"Thirdly, the list has evidently dissatisfied the younger section of Congressmen that section of Congressmen that feels that it has not received consideration and many of those who have been in th Assembly from the very begin-ning have been detained.

Women Congress members are also dissatisfied that their number has been reduced from five to four. The organisational wing of the party as a whole is dissatified many of the District Congress Pre sidents have not been nomi-nated".

> Congress Factions

QUESTION: CAN IT BE SAID THAT THE PRESENT FIGHT BETWEEN THE TWO FACTIONS OF ASSAM CON-GRESS IS A FIGHT BE-TWEEN THE RIGHTISTS AND THE LEFTISTS?

"The two factions of the Assam Congress can hardly be esaid to be opposed to each other on any basic principle. The struggle is mainly for loaves and fishes.

However, there do exist differences over such issues as, State Trading cooperative; more power to panchayats; language and the

Congress Relies On Chauvinism • PSP Plays Disruptionist Game Communists For Democratic Unity

their religion, caste or lan-guage." their demand for restoration of their-cash allowance at full

OUESTION: BAS THERE BEEN ANY ALLIANCE WITH ANY OTHER PARTY FOR FIGHTING THE ELECTION OR IS THERE ANY CHANCE OF SUCH AN ALLIANCE?

alleged to have ordered firing on the students at Gauhati in July, 1960 resulting in the death of a student and injury "There has not been any State-wide alliance with any party. As a matter of fact, in today's situation in Assam, there is hardly any possibility of any programmatic alliance with the PSP with which we have, differences on ver many issues of local import ces on very ance, apart from our differences on issues of countrywide importance

"There might have been programmatic alliance with the RCPI and Socialist Party (Lohia group). But the latter sticks to its policy of "equi-distance" and hence, no alli-ance could be made between that party and our Party.

"You may rule out any possibility of our State-wide programmatic alliance with with the RCPI also, though that was attempted. Negotiation QUESTION: WRAT IS THE have been continuing with the RCPI for local adjustment". ng with the THINK THE VERDICT OF THE ELECTORATE WILL BE SOUGHT?

Main Planks

QUESTION: WHAT YOU THINK WILL BE THE MAIN ELECTION PLANK OF THE CONGRESS, AND THE PSP?

"The Congress will generally try to stand on the "success" of the Plans, while trying to explain away the failure as due to natural calamity and riots etc. But in private, and that is their main way of propaganda, Congressmen will speak in contradictory and

NEW AGE

"As I have pointed out already, the tactics likely to be adopted by the Congress and the PSP will not only communal passion, but also aggressive linguism. This is likely to be aggravated if the Banga Bhasa-Bhasi Samiti will also appear on the election scene

Congress Candidates

QUESTION: WHAT IS branded communal YOUR OPINION ABOUT THE and the Swatantra LIST OF CONGRESS NOMI-NEES FOR ASSAM? DO YOU THINK IT INDICATES THAT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO FACTIONS IN ASSAM CONGRESS HAS BEEN RESOLVED?

"The list of Congress nominees indicate, in the first place, that far from any genuine effort at curbing com-munalism, the Congress has been guided by a considera-tion of conveniently utilising it for their election gains it for their election gains.

"This is what is making the problem of fight against com-munalism all the more diffi-cult. At the same time, it appears, this is giving handle to the openly branded com-

"Secondly, the list does not indicate that the Conthe gulf between the Minis-terialists and their oppon-ents. The list has given rise to jubilation among the Ministerialists, who have gained substantial majority.

The difference between the two factions has further widened by this list of no minees. It is learnt that the Pradesh Congress President political integration of the State. But people holding divergent views on these issues can be found in both the factions.

QUESTION: IN VIEW OF WHAT YOU HAVE SAID ABOUT THE DANGER OF COMMUNALISM, DO YOU THINK THE COMMUNAL PARTIES WILL GAIN AT THE COST OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN THE ELECTION?

"There does not appear to be any possibility of openly winning any seat in Assam of their own.

"But, as I have said earlier "But, as I have said earlier, the communal propaganda of the Congress and the PSP may help strengthen the hands of these parties in future and these parties may appear on the political scene f Assam as a real menace unless communalism can be fought back by the democratic forces here and now".



NIRALA-A Homage

People spoke of Nirala's passing away as a great personal loss. Whether a person had seen him or not the sense of a personal loss was keen and intimate, Everyone felt so close to him. He found his place in

"I his generation Nirala was keenly conscious of his M ORE than most writers of ship with the humble hre poor toilers of the land. He ras born in a Brahman family and this created many diffi-culties. for him which he might have avoided other-

ise. It is not easy for a Brahman-particularly of Tinnao the district to which he be longed-to discard the sacred thread, to dispense with other narks of caste and to eat with untouchables and Muslin Nirala's lite was a challenge that was conservative in our life and for this he was not forgiven

He was the son of a pea-sant who had migrated to Bengal in search of liveli-hood. His father was an ordinary sepoy of a fendal prince. He served in the state of Mahishadal in Bengal but maintained close links with the village where most other members of his

family stayed. For his rebellious conduct even in his childhood, Nirala was thrashed severely by his father. He lost his mother early and in the influenz epidemic that followed the first world war he lost most ther members of his family including his young wife. He had two children by her

son Ram Krishna Tripathi who survives him and daugh ter Saroj who died in his life-time. He had some schooling while at Mahishadal but did not pass the Entrance exami-

He was saddled early with family responsibilities and he came to Calcutta in search of velihood. He struggled hard to support his children and nephews. Contrary to the pre-vailing notion about him, he was a good father and paid affairs. This is revealed by his correspondence with his son and other relatives.

He started writing poems early but they remained with him for some years without being published. At last he got someone who understood his worth and was willing to publish his poems. This was Mahadeva Prasad.

Seth who had started the wellknown Hindi weekly from Calcutta, the Matwala. Some of poems were published r his real name Surya-Tripathi and then the kant Tripathi and then name Nirala, rhyming with Matwala, was given to him. In Bengal he had been

closely associated with the activities of the Ram Kri-shna Mission and he edited their Hindi-journal Samanwaya for some time. He was deeply influenced by the life and teachings of Swami Vivekananda. While at Lucknow he maintained close links with the Ram Krishna

Mission there. Poetry could not fetch any money to keep the body and soul together. Nirala worked translated from Ben-88 a journalist gall and wrote all kinds of ings including certain blographles

wolume of poems Anamika medium to Khari E which contained his famous language of ordinary poem Juhi ki kali (the Juhi bud). About 1927 he returned Sumitranandan Par

PAGE TWELVE

eart of the common people. to his village home and was ill

to his village home and was ill for quite a long time. He was writing essays and poems, however, and was in touch with the major writers of his generation. He was looking for a job at Lucknow and there is a letter from one of the Lucknow publishers asking him if he could do asking him if he could do Droof-reading

Finally, he came to Luck-now and started working for Ganga Pustakmala published Dularcy Lai Bhargaya. He wrote many of the editorial notes of the magazine Sudha, contributed to other literary journals like Madh Ganga Pastakmala published his well-known collection of poems Parimal and his novels Absara and Alaka

guage that was spoken by the

people and was used for prose.

tainly not his most out-standing contribution.

The songs of Gitika, the

primarily in its conten

deep social signifi

the subject matter of poetry. He wrote about nature, about

beauty and the joy of life and also about human suffer-

ing. He wrote many poems of

only a strong supporter of a consistent and uncompro

mising struggle against Bri-tish imperialism but advo-

cated broad democrati

changes in Indian society

Nirala changed the imagery

nd diction of Hindi poetry.

writing a new sense of com-position. His lyricism is con-trolled by a sharp intellect

metrical forms but all this

tional or thought content of

of unmatched vigour and deep pathos. Such combina-tion is seldom found in a

uon is seldom found in a poet. It was possible in him because he belonged to a different social epoch and because he could breathe the air of this epoch more

deeply than most of his

virtuosity was always ordinated to the main

Apsara and Alaka. About the beginning of the second world war he moved to Allahabad. The Leader Press published some of his books, Kharl Boll, that is the lan-Gitika the best collection of his songs, Anamika a very much bigger volume of poen than his first previous work and quite different from it in content, and the long poem on Tulsidas.

He lived in great poverty and suffering at Allahabad, often cooking his own food and scrubbing the ntensils At this time his mind was partly affected and in his conversation he would mix fantasy with facts of life.

When the country became that in no period of his career independent the question of giving some kind of finanas a poet did he exclusively tion of write poems in free verse. Even in the earliest phase he cial aid to Nirala arose. Congress leaders hesitated. The Hindi writer Ugra, re-vealed in an article in the Hans that the Finance Minister of U.P. had refused to grant him wrote wrote numerous poems and songs showing skilful use of Thymes. well-known poems Tulsidas and Ram ki Shakti-puja are all in rhymed verse. The reto grant him any aid on the plea that he was a Commuall in rhymed verse. The re-volutionary change that he brought about in poetry was

He was granted a pension He was granted a pension but it was very late and Nirala never recovered from his ill-ness: During the last ten years or so he was staying with a friend in a small room on the ground floor in Dara-ganj, Allahabad. For several years there was no electric fan in this room and the latrine was so close to the room that the place would stink specialthe place would stink specially in summer.

The Janayug published my article requesting the authori-ties to change his residence but nothing was done. Nirala with his bearded for some lungi or dhoti tied round the waist and raised upto the mees used to walk about in the narrow lane before the He brought to bear on verse-

house in Daraganj. He suffered greatly but he was struggling up to the end. He was writing poems even as late as 1956 and many of them are of rare beauty view. and without any rhapsody or effusiveness he gives us finely chiselled pieces even in his beauty. His correspondenc of the worst period of his mental illness shows not a trace of any malady. His songs. He showed great virtuosity will power was not crushed and talking of literature or writing it he could still be his old self again. in experimen

He died in the middle of his the poem. Nirala developed as a poet ixty-sixth year, triumphin in death, overcoming all oppo sition and lamented by al by all sections of the Hindi literary world.

while at Calcutta he could poetry was that many writers mblish only: a small thin preferred Braj Bhasha as a rolume of poems_Anamika____ medium to Khari Boll, the One anamoly in Hindi y speech Prasad, Pant and

NEW AGE

BY RAM BILAS SHARMA

civilization. They cannot boast that Kashyapa, Bharadwaja, Kapila and Kanada were their

ancestors... I could not think more. It appeared to me that

all that I had read was use-

less; all that I had accom-plished was nothing.

dream. Glory to Kulli. He is a

man. He is the one lion among all these jackais.... Not at the door of another are so many of the poor and helpless

There is much talk of emo-

tional integration in our coun-try today. Nirala's life teaches

us that talk is not enough.

forward who would practise what they preach and break the bonds that have been

dividing man from man for

opposition and survive he

cause he could go among the people, appeal to them and win their sympathy. The older critics and poets

said: Nirala's poetry is un intelligible. Nirala addresser

vast gatherings of students

He challenged his adversa.

ries to come to the people and recite their poems there and. see, who was more popular. Long before the leaders of the

literary world recognized his merit, he had become popular with thousands of ordinary Hindi reading people and these numbers continued to

All his life he was knocking

from one publisher to anothe

They exploited him and took advantage of his situation. His works deserve to be collected and published

from one central place. There is no reason why the Government of U.P. should not emulate the example of the former Madras Govern-

ment which brought out the

collected works must be

published by Sahitya Aka-dami or the U.P. Govern-

ment. The present period is only

illiteracy who would discover

and other sections of the nea

mendously popular.

swell

Nirala could face all

Men and women must com

seen

centurie

"All-that I have thought is

His Tulsidas is a poet who is others with bowed heads. torn by the conflict between sensual desires and the urge They have been given no -place in the history of human to serve his people. Finally, this latter urge is victorious and he transforms the whole cultural scene by his poetic

The Ram of Ram ki Shakti. his enemy Ravana but is deeply shaken by struggle and doubts. Nevertheless he overcomes his weakness and finds necessary strength to con-ue the fight. In this famous poem Nirala tells his own

story. It bears a very close re-semblance to his poem on the death of his daughter, Saroj-smriti. Saroj his daughter had been married but lived in great poverty. The poet could ot scrape enough money to give her the medical care she needed. In this poem he revealed intimately what opposition he had to face both

If and literature. Nirala wrote novels, short stories and essays. As a critic he defended the heritage of old devotional poets and attacked the feudal traditions of the hangers on of princes. He is one of the intelligible. Ni great masters of Hindi prose specially of the realistic and the satirical kind. ple and moved them by his recitations which were tre-

Jeople and was used for prose. Nirala was known as a revolutionary poet but some-times his revolutionary creativity is treated as limi-ted to the writing of free verse. He did write free verse and thus helped to liberate Hindl poetry from old shackles but this is cer-tainly not his most out. The sketches and stories that he wrote between 1933 and 1940 are based on the life of the poor people whom he had known in life.

had known in life. One of these people was Chaturi, a chamar (shoe-maker) by caste who lived in his village. Nirala supported him in his struggle against the landlord, taught his son and shared his meals with the members of his caste. For this he carried the connection of It should be remembered he earned the opposition of the orthodox and the affecthe orthodox and the anec-tion of the educated youth. Chaturi is the hero of one of the most brilliant sketches of Nirala.

There was a beggar woman who used to live in front of a Lucknow hotel and Nirala helped this unfortunate woman and her child in vari-He rejected the old feudal. line of erotic sentiment (shringar rasa) and enlarged ous ways. She is the heroine of his beautiful story, Devi. Kulli Bhat belonged to his wife's village and is the hero of another prose tale, one of the best he ever wrote. Kulli had married a Muslim woman and he defied the upper caste men by teaching the children of untouchables. Nirala visited this school and he wrote:

the beginning of the spread of Nirala's fame. There are mil-lions of people still sunk in Politically he was inclined towards the left from the very beginning. He was not "None has paid attention to them. From generation to generation they have left the world after giving glory to him tomorrow. They will re

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DECEMBER 17, 1981

Workers Smash Birla

From Our Correspondent

Ecrino.

Six thousand workers of Birla's Hindustan Motor Works observed a victory celebration on December 10 by holding a meeting and bringing out a demonstration following the settlement of their 60-day struggle against the mana-gement's adamant attitude towards bonus demand and the police repression.

The settlement, embodied in the document signed by the General Manager of the con-cern and the representatives of the workers' union, clearly stipulated that no worke would be victimised and conof service will be maintained.

Workers would be allot-ted their old quarters; both the parties would cooperate for hastening the work of the Bonus Tribunal; cases on all except those against whom specific charges of violence were drawn up violence were drawn up, would be withdrawn and the workers would be allowed to work in the factory during the case; advance amounting to five weeks wage to be repayable in six

tribunal Meanwhile terrific pressure This also was rejected and from the Congressmen in Hooghly District, where the the Company declared a lock-out on October 10. All efforts of the Union to come to any factory is situated, was put on the Government to settle the dispute in the Congress Party's interest in the coming settlement failed in the meantime. When the Com the pany withdrew the lock-out finally after 33 days, the election But a few days passed beworkers struck work den nond_ ing honourable settlement of their dispute. The rest of

the story has already appeared in New Age. In the last few days the

ernment.

dove."

Shed *** FROM BACK PAGE**

countries of ours on someth-

ing.... We did not want to take up that position." He took the opportunity to

reiterate the principle India would like China to accent "There is one point I would like to put before you," he told the Rajya Sabha," that both the Nepalese and the Burmese border agreements are based on the border being the crest of this Himalayas.

"Now, that is one of the principal points that we raised in determining our border, that it should be the water-shed or the crest of the Himlayas. Even the MacMahon Line was based on that principle. Therefore, to that extent the Burmese and the Nepalese border agreements with China have laid down a principle, which we have upheld all this time and which if applied to the China-India, border would solve most of the argument, not entirely, asion and an act of war.

but most of it"

said: "There is a great differ-

proach we are having to this

great problem of China." That

all who would be prepared to

C OMMUNIST Party leader Bhupesh Gupta speaking at length about Goa warned

the Government against illu-

"Perhaps the Government

thinks," he said, "that now there is a little indication....

that as a result of the good

reat difference" is there for

sch of the

ence in the approach of Prime Minister and the

COMMUNIST

APPROACH

sions.

"On both counts", Bhu-pesh Gupta said, "the Fin-ance Minister was hopeless-The PSP spokesman, M. S. ly wrong." Gurupadaswamy, participat-ing in the debate, very mourn-fully stated the truth when he

Such remarks, the Communist leader warned, pro-vided ammunition to Dr. Salazar and it was not enough to indirectly repudiate them as the Prime Minister had done, but necessary to make a public repudiation.

Speaking of Dr. O' Brien's revelations on the British and French pressure tactics in the Congo to save the Katanga secessionists Bhupesh Gupta said; "It is a pity, Sir, that we had to wait till an Irish gentleman resigned from the Foreign Service and told the world the whole truth as to how the British and French behaved, and here, in this House, the Prime Minister told us the other day in September that followed Nehru's visit. like, bu about the certificate given by Kennedy therein had ridicul- was too our representative in the ed non-alignment. "This was reply."

DECEMBER 17, 1961



- * Teaching of Tagore, By Dr. Radhakrishnan,

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Read in the first (January) issue to be out on December 20

Editor: S. LAKSHMAN SHASTRY

Kabir.

MANAGER, CONTEMPORARY INDIAN LITERATURE,

*

instalments within thirty months would be paid to each worker.

The dispute began when the workers, in September last, demanded six month's wage as bonus in view of the Company's huge profit of nearly Rs. 2.50 crores in the current year. The company refused to consider the de-mand and the State Labour Department then suggested payment of a certain amount as advance pending the setas advance pending the set-tlement of the issue in the

and donated liberally to the striking workers' fund. Or December 6, Hind Motors Day was observed by the BPTUC when meetings and held trations were A group of prom ent actors played a poster drama depicting the struggle of the Hind Motors work ughtout Calcutta on impromptu moving stages.

On December 2, a deputation met the Prime Minister here who is understood to have agreed with the just demands of the workers and directed the Chief Minister to bring about a settlement.

fore the management could see reason and come to a settlement. This heroic struggle which ended in a victory has given a new spurt to the working class morale in this State since it solidarity campaign widen-ed. Workers and employees of different factories and in West Bengal, since the last mercantile offices through-central Government emploout the State came forward yees' strike.

U.S. Illusions

something which may be to the satisfaction of this Gov-

"I say, Sir, in all humility and with all respect to the Prime Minister, that he should shed all such illusions. T do not accept his suggestion that the United States has dis-associated itself.... "On the contrary, we find

the State Department issning statements, advising India gratuitously that the thing should be settled peacefully and that they should go on cooing like

Bhupesh Gupta recalled Inance Minister Morarji Desai's address in New Delhi to the recent seminar on Por colonialism where he tuguese colonialism where he had "very unwisely" said that any military action to liberate Goa would be an act of in-

A number of speakers in the ate (e.g., Dr. Kunzru, A. D. Mani) echoed U.S. attacks on Krishna Menon's expositi of Indian stand at the U.N. Bhupesh Gupta referred to these and drew attention to the Seattle speech of Kennedy

NEW AGE

offices or advice of the United States and Britain, probably Salazar will see reason and do statement made by Mr. Mac-

millan He demanded that the Government of India at least now circulate a White Paper containing all the documents and correspondence connec ted with the circumstances in which it became necessary for Rajeshwar Daval to ten der his resignation U. N. authorities.

Dealing with Prime Minister ehru's visit to the U.S. and its outcome over which a lot of satisfaction was evpressed by a number of speakers in course of the debate, Bhupesh Gupta concretely showed how on substantive matters it had been a singularly barren trip, thanks to the intransigent stand of the U.S. rulers on the questions concerned. Taking for instance the question of arms supply to Pakistan, Bhupesh Gupta said.

"I should like to know from the Prime Minister what are the reactions of the USA in this matter." And he drew attention to a Times of India report (December 10), which

"Pakistan hasn't had a bad bargain. The total mili-tary aid it has received is about 2.000 million dollars It includes 26 jet bomber two squadrons of F-104s hundreds of side-winder inisiles, radar support for the planes and two new items probably unknown to India — anti-tank missiles and C-130 turbo jet cargo planes."

The following is a list of 25 per cent to 40 per cent mportant concessions in the case of a new ship important concessions made by the Government of India in the sphere of direct taxation since the

UNDER CONGRESS RAI

beginning of planning: 1950-51 Business profits tax abo-

lished. Reduction in rate of income-tax on companies.

Reduction in rate of income-tax on individuals. (Rs. 19,000 & over)

Raising exemption limit for undivided Hindu family. 1953_54

Raising of exemption limit on personal incometax.

1955-56

(a) Development repote of 25 per cent on new ma-

(b) Business losses allowed to be carried indefinitely.

1957-58

The excess Dividend Tax reduced to 10 per cent (from 121 per cent) on the listribution of dividends between 6 per cent and 10 per cent of paid up capital to 20 per cent (from 25 per cent) on dividends between 10 and 18 per cent and, on dividends over 18 per cent to 30 per cent (from 37¹/₂ per cent).

The Super Tax rate on inter-corporate dividends reduced to 10 per cent from 17 per cent for Indian Companies and 20 per cent for foreign companies.

For foreign communies operating through branch-es and earning other in-comes, the rate of corporation tax is reduced from 36 per cent to 30 per cent. 1958-59

Increase in the rate of development rebate from

noted by the Egyptian Mail but not by many of our Indian papers", Bhupesh Gupta said.

Significantly, in his reply, Prime Minister Nehru referred to his TV interview in New York in which he was reported to have talked of "Soviet colonialism". He did not know how it had been reported in the Press, "I should like to remove any misunder-standing on that subject", he said.

"I was asked a question as to why I did not condemn colonialism in the East European countries as I condemned imperialism and colonialism elsewheré. My reply was that to use the word "colonialism" in that respect was completely wrong, had no basis." After explaining that colonialism meant "foreign domination plus economic exploitation", he said "to apply that would be wrong."

"But I said," he went on. "there may be—I did not men-tion any country but I was dealing with a general pro-position—some kind of domination or pressures which may be undesirable, if you like, but to call it colonialism was too wrong. That was my

launched after Decembe 31, 1957.

In respect of Gift Tax, the following exemptions were given:

(1) Gifts for carrying on a business, profession, vocation and

(ii) Gifts made from the ex-Rulers' privy purse. 1960-61

Wealth Tax on companies abolished.

Excess Dividend Tax abolished 1961-62

Tax on new bonus issues has been reduced from 30 per cent to 121 per cent.

The tax on dividends re-ceived by foreign companies from the non-subsidiary Indian companies has been reduced from 53 per cent to 40 per cent.

Tax on royalties received from Indian enterprises by foreign companies has her reduced from 53 per cent to 50 per cent.

The period of tax exem-ption for foreign techni-cians has been extended.

The benefit of the five vears' tax holiday has be extended to newly started hotels.

The financial institutions, like Industrial Fin-ance Corporation, Indus-trial Credit and Investment Corporation etc., which are jointly sponsored by the Government and big business have been allowed to claim as deduction, appropriations made to special reserve account of sums not exceeding 10 per cent of the total income of each year.

-Ajit Rov

Bhupesh Gupta dealt with the new threat posed by the U.S. to the independence and security of Cuba through the OAS decision to convene a Foreign Ministers Meeting on January 10 to consider collective action against Cuba

"It is a very serious situa-tion," he said "Cuban independence has to be given full support," he pleaded. On Algeria he disputed the Prime Minister's arguments given in the other House against immediate recognition of

the GPRA. He condemned the British Government's bill against col-oured immigrants and condemning the savage sentence on Col. Bhattacharya called upon Pakistan to reconsider its step.

Diwan Chaman Lal in his speech drew pointed atten-tion to resurgence of West German militarism and supported immediate signing of a German Peace Treaty to give firm recognition to the Oder-Neisse Line. In the Lok Sabha debate earlier R. K. Khadilkar (Congress) and Parvati Krishnan (Commun recognition of GDR.

On South Vietnam, not so surprisingly the PSP spokes-man echoed U.S. charges against North Vietnam a local patriotic forces. tnam and the

PAGE THIRTEEN



Kerala's Kisan Struggle-Why?

stalment if any in which it shall be payable and the date or dates on which such rent of instalment thereof shall be payable".

It is also the body which is to determine the price" payable by the tenant when he acquires rights of ownership from the landlord

It has to deal with several ther problems of impl ing the Agrarian Relations Act. It thus occupies a pivotal posi-tion in the whole scheme of the Act.

The original Bill passed by the Legislature on the initia tive of the Commu ist-led Government provided that a Tribunal may be constituted for any area within the juris. diction of one or more authorities in the State".

The composition of the Tribuaid down in the Bill was that' "two "members elected from among themselves by the members of the Local authority or the local authorities of the area", together with "a persor ted by the Go vith not les from Advor three years' standing at the Bar or from persons who are or had been judicial or re-venue officers" will form the Tribural

WRONG AMENDMENT

These provisions of the original Bill were so amended by the present Government and legislature that either a Reve-nue officer not below the rank of a Tahsildar, or a judicial officer not below the rank of a Munsiff would constitute one-

What is more, the present Government implemented this provision in such a way that the number of Tribunals was reduced to just 18, ra-ther than a few hundreds which would have been con-stituted if the original pro-vision had stood.

The result of such a small number of Tribunals has been that thousands of petitions filed by the peasants have been pil-ing up before the Tribunals and are not being disposed of. The demand of the Karshaka Sangham is that the number of Tribunals should be so increa-sed that there is one Tribunal for at least every two thou-stand petitions sand petitions.

The case for the increase in the number of Tribunals is so strong that the Government decided to constitute five more. This, they claim, has met the

PAGE FOURTERN

legitimate demand of the pea-sants. But the figures supplied by the Government itself would show how baseless this claim is.

The Government admits that, even after the addition of five more Land Tribunals, the average number of application before every Land works out to 3,264. Tribuna

INADEOUATE TRIBUNALS

At the same time, the Government says that the number of applications disposed by the end of October 1961 is only 2,948. The period covered in this is about five months. But, since this includes the

are constituted and prelimi-nary work gets started, let us assume that the Tribunal worked only for three months. That works out to an average monthly disposal of 1,000 for 18 Tribunals, or about 55 dis-posals by the Tribunal per

of 3,264 applications will take nearly five years. Even supposing that the speed of disposal will be doubled in the coming months, the dis-posal of pending applications: by an average Tribunal will take no less than two-and-ahalf years.

actual goes up to seven to eight thousands.

The above figures relate only to those applications that have already been filed. Many more are bound to be filed in the future if it is known that disposals will be peeded up.

the steps taken by the Government do not, by any means, meet the requirements of the situation.

Another demand formulat-This is such a serious prob-lem that quite a few lakhs of families are involved in it.

hunger strike. One of the terms on which

that hunger strike was withdrawn was that the Government would consult with the political parties and mass or-

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weeks in which the Tribunals

At this rate, the disposal

Add to this two facts:

Though: the average Though the average per tribunal is only 3,264, the actual number of pending cases before some Tribunals

It will, thus, be clear that

ed by the Sangham relates to the eviction of peasants from the revenue and forest lands,

It was in relation to this problem that A. K. Gopalan had, some time back, to go on

ganisations concerned in order taken lands from those who to discuss the Government's hold them under contract or need for taking possession of long-lease. When lands once such lands and using them for given out on long-lease are re-auctioned, the manual in projects auctioned, then the implementation of projects auctioned, then the implementation of projects auctioned. or for other public purposes. It was then agreed by all that, while it is necessary for the Government to remove

those who had occupied such lands in order that develop-mental activities may go on unhampered, it is necessary that those who that those who have to be re-moved for that reason are pro-vided with alternate sites and means of rehabilitating themselves in the new places.

Not only has no such po-licy been enunciated and immented by the Government, but certain steps have been taken to collect arrears of dues which pt suspended by the former Communist Gov ment. Hence, the demand of the

Sangham that all measu collecting the arrears of longcollecting the arrows lease rents, encroachment cess and tree taxes from the peaand fallow lands must be cancelled forthwith, and those who occupy such lands must be given land upto 15 acres and pattayams issued within a week

ed also to peasants who have

NEW AGE

ganisations concerned in order taken lands from those who auctioned, tenants holding such lands lose their right,

hence, such reauctioning must be stopped. Before evicting from road sides and pro-ject areas in the name of orest conservation, develop ment, etc., adequate ments must be made for rehabilitating them and they must be paid fair compensation. Such evictions must be made only in consultation with an all party committee.

It is the Government's claim that this demand of the Sangham has been met to the extent that arrears of and other dues have been stay-ed. Such a stay of collections, however, is not adequate for the purn

the purpose. What is required is that sufficient guarantees should be given to those who are in upation of such lands that:

The question of arrears will be so settled that they are asked to pay only reasonable amounts which are within their capacity to pay. Poor and middle peasants

who are in occupation should be allowed to keep and This benefit must be extend- cultivate those lands on permanent pattah on condition

that they pay their annual

noved for public purposes should be given alternate sites and facilities for robahi tion.

the most important demands formulated by the Sangham that they all arise either out of the process of implementing Kerala Agrarian Relations Act or of certain policies being pursued by the present Govpursued by the present Gov-ernment. This applies to other demands as well.

Government claim steps taken by them fall far

The Government of the ocratic Republic

mam (DRVN) has drawn In-dia's attention to the serions situation in South Vietnam and requested India to carry out its "mandatory tasks" as Chairman of the International Commission appointed by the Geneva Conference

D R. Pham Ngoc Thach, Minister for Public Health of the DRVN Government, visiting India as Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of the DRVN, last-week, met Prime Minister Nehru and Vice-President Dr. Radhanan in this connection. Addressing a press confer-ence in New Delhi on Decem-ber 11, Dr. Thach said that serious situation had arisen "consequent to the initial entry in the use of the use of the the second secon part of my country and to its preparations to expand this ervention"

tervention". The situation in South Vietnam was becoming more serious than ever, he said, of the the U.S. Government's plan to send U.S. troops "for the inva-

alon of our country". The steps recently taken by the United States to expand its intervention in Vietnam were detailed as follows by Dr. Thach

• "Over the last few weeks squadrons of bombers and combat planes and hundreds of U.S. Air Force men have come to the Bien Hoa air base, 30 kilometres north of Saigon.

Vietnam-India's Duty

Princeton. with helicopters and combat ready marines on board, are constantly cruising near Victnam's sea coast. "An advance unit of the U.S. Thirteenth Air Force has already arrived in Tour-

"Another sircraft carrier transporting 400 Air Force men and forty helicopters has just come to South Vietnam.

"The U.S. Air Force Com-mand has just decided to send 70 more fighter planes to

South Vietnam" Even these steps, taken by the U.S. Government follow-ing the Maxwell Taylor Mis-sion they had sent to South are not considered these steps, taken by Vietnam, are not considered sufficient by them. In this connection Dr. Thach drew attention to the statement of President Kennedy and Leven Rusk respectively on Novem-ber 29 and December 3, 1961.

er 29 and December 3, 1961. "The danger of a big aggressive war by the Unit-ed States is gravely jcopar-dising the security and peace of the peoples of Indo-China and Southeast Asia",

he declared. Reviewing the years since the signing of the Geneva Agreement and how U.S. intervention to prevent its implementation had brought indescribable suffering to the people of South Vietnam, impelling them to intensity their just struggle, Dr. Thach

Not long after the conclu-cion of the 1954 Genera Agreements, despite its solemn fact that in et-

been carried on by the U.S. in The U.S. Government is open contravention of the preparing to send engine-ering, transmission and logis-tic units to South Vietnam. Agreements had, thus, been

"Many battle-ships of the "seriously violated and Viet-U.S. Seventh Fleet, among nam still remains partition-them the aircraft Carrier ed".
Agreements, India assume very great responsibility the preservation of peace Speaking of the work of the International Con

for Supervision and Control (ICSC) that had been appointed to see to the implementa-tion of the Geneva Agreetion of the Geneva Agree-ments by the parties concern-ed, Dr. Pham Ngoc Thach said that his Government was thankful for its "good con-tribution" in its early years.

The Government of North Vietnam (DRVN) had given and continued to give full support to the ICSC in ful-filment of its tasks. "At the

same time", said Dr. Thach, "the DRVN wants further efforts from the Inter-national Commission to fulfil its mandatory tasks". He said that tension in South Vietnam was the result of military intervenion by the U.S. in contravention of Arti-cles 16 and 17 of the Geneva Agreements. These articles arms and military personnel in either part of the country. The ICSC had, so far, proved

helpless in face of this situation. Similarly Dr. Thach said, Article 14C of the Geneva Agreements guaranteed demo-cratic freedoms. The South Vietnam authorities, as facts given above attest, have tram-

pled these underfoot and the ICSC had remained help The South Vietnam autho-rities and the USA's slanders

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Those who have to be re-

It will be clear from the above explanation of some of

Nobody who examines each one of the 16 demands formulated by the Sangham will deny that they have arisen after the present Government assumed office and that they are the results of certain poll-cles being pursued by them.

Nor can any body help coming to the conclusion that, far from having dong the utmost that a Govern-ment can do as the present short of the reasonable de-mands formulated not only by the Karshaka Sangham. but also by all organisation connected with the peasan

try. That is why the call of the Congress and the P.S.P. for a mass campaign of opposition to the Karshaka Sangham struggle has not cut any ice with the people.

* FROM PAGE S:

By ZIAUL HAQ pledge to refrain from threat or use of force to disturb the

aforesaid agreements; the U.S. Government set un Seato military bloc and placed South Vietnam within its

sphere of protection." The U.S. had imposed a tight grip militarily, politi-cally and economically on South Vietnam and turned it for the source of the source o

administration in pursuing a policy of savage terror and re-pression against South Viet-namese patriots, who stand

for the Geneva Agreements" As a result of this savage persecution, in direct viola-tion of the provisions of the Geneva agreements, Dr. Thach said, "over 700,000

Inach said, "over 700,000 persons have been killed and over 500,000 others tor-tured or jalled. At present nearly 300,000 persons are still in detention". Dr. Thach revealed that elaborate plans had been made "to herd about 1,000,000 people in South Vietnam into concentration camps, to set

up a no-man's land along South Vietnam's frontiers up to the demilitaristo the demilitaris-ed zone and at the same time to intensify terrorist raids

against the people". During the last seven years, said the Special Envoy of the DRVN- Government, literally "hundreds of thousands of tons" of arms had been pour-ed by U.S. into South Vietnam. Vietnamese people's developing struggle, they had no arguments left.

Dr. Thach said that sixteen years ago the people all over Vietnam had stood up to fight the French rulers with hambeo sticks and have hands. In the southern part of the country it is for 16 years now that they have been ugname remittingly. The imperialists understand the could never understand the moral strength of the peo-ple and that is why they sought to give spurious ex-planations, Dr. Thach said. The people of the South passionately desired unifica-tion and were struggling for it with tremendous sacrifice and hemism:

Out of the 1,190 villages of South Vietnam, about 1,000 were controlled by the peo-ple's forces. U.S. sources have estimated the strength of their regular fighting forces at 20,000. The Diem Govern-ment's forces are confined to the cities and face constant opposition there as well.

Diem's army faces complete disintegration. Between January and June this year 4,500 of the Government's armymen crossed over to the people's side.

Refuting allegations that arms were also illegally intro-duced into North Vietnam, Dr. Thach said that not one such complaint to ICSC had been conclusively proved.

Speaking of his mission to The strength of its army had been raised as a result of U.S. "military aid" to 500,000 men. This gross intervention had "minister Nehru and other leaders he had pointed out "the very important role of India. Being the Chairman country of the ICSC for the imnlementation of the Geneva

very great responsibility in

the preservation of peace in

by the 1954 Geneva Confer-

He said that Prime Minis-

ter Nehru and other leaders

of India had followed the situation in South Vietnam

with great sympathy. His only task, Dr. Thach said,

was to explain to Prime Minister Nehru the situa-tion in South Vietnam. It

was up to the Government of India and its Prime Min-

ister to decide the specific steps they should take. As

DRVN Government's envoy

Speaking of the latest TIS.

threat reported by the Indian press to bomb North Vietnam, Dr. Thach said that, natu-

rally, these threats filled him and his countrymen with in-dignation. But the U.S. was

he had no specific prop

to make.

Vietnam".

"Our Government wishes that India will fulfil the noble mission entrusted to it ences so as to maintain peace in Indo-China and contribute to the peaceful reunification of Vietnam"

dignation. But the U.S. was already air-dropping guerilla commandos in North Vietnam for carrying out sabotage. One such U.S. plane was shot down over North Vietnam territory on July 2, 1961. The survivors had fully confessed that they had been despatched to carry out sabotage. Curiously, said Dr. Thach,

the ICSC had failed to res. pond to the DRVN Govern-ment's invitation to inspect the shot down plane or interview its survivors

NEW AGR



A-BOMB SUPPORT

W HAT impelled or compelled the Jana Sangh to stage a demonstration against nuclear tests? This is a question which has intrigued many. This party had never before shown any aversion to nuclear weapons or tests. During all the banthe-bomb campaigns, it not only kept itself seve-rely aloof but declared its hostility to the same. It did not even raise a

finger when France. floutin world opinion and trailing underfoot African" tests, carried on her ato on and trampn"pro tests in the Sahara. But it suddenly spurted into action at the resumption of tests by Soviet Union. How did it happen? Who pushed the button?

Only the Jana Sangh leaders can provide an authen-tic answer to the question. But one thing is certain. The Jana Sangh has not had second thoughts on the issue. It still has no objection to nuclear weapons or their tests. The recent session of the

Jana Sangh Pratinidhi Sabha held in Varanasi threw interesting light on the sub-ject. During the discussions on the party's election manifesto (a fine freak of a document), several leading delegates came forth with the demand that the manifesto should include a declaration that India would "if need be", manufacture nuclear armaments. The debate that ensued

was a masterpiece. The Jana Sangh General Secre-tary intervened to declare that his party "had not committed itself to any abjurement of the idea of maufacturing nuclear wea-

pons". More, he made the following revealing plea: "We can, if we like, decide that we too should embark on the same (nuclear race). but then our demonstratio in front of the Soviet Em-bassy of the other day would seem ridiculous".

Peurile

Politician

The puerile politician let the cat out of the bag! The Jana Sangh has no objec-tion to nuclear weapons but tion to nuclear weapons but it has to keep the door open for the staging of demonst-rations like the one it held in front of the Soviet Em-bassy in Delhi. That sums up its position. So the amendment was opposed defeated. It is clear and defeated. It is clear now that no principles stood be-hind the Jana Sangh's protest against Soviet nuclear tests none whatsoever only needs now to be esta-blished at whose behes behest these marionettes staged their puny little show.

MACABTHY NOT MANU

L UCKNOW, recently, had a peculiar de-monstration of how unsafe

our Indian culture can be in the hands of politicians who prefer to parade un-der the false colour of Bharatiya Sanskriti and Maryada.

.It hannened on the occa. It happened on the occa-sion of the first cosmonant's visit to the city. The Jana Sangh Mayor solemnly de-clared that so long as he was the mayor and the Jana Sangh was the rolling party in the Comparting as their in the Corporation, no civit reception would be ed to a Communist!

This in spite of the fact that Gagarin's great feat has been acclaimed all over the world as a great achievement of the whole of mankind, and he had been accorded a hero's welc even in England where the Tories are ruling.

This, also, in spite of the fact that our people had invited Gagarin to visit India as a great human and he was to a Lucknow as a n pioneer arrive in beloved guest.

The Japa Sangh's stand badly exposed it. It became obvious that while its lead ers swear by Manu, they are, in actual fact, minions of Macarthyism. There was chorus of protest' at the Mayor's declaration

The strong feeling of the citizens of Lucknow found reflection in a spate of letters to the editor in the lo-cal press. One correspond-ent wrote, "The attitude of the Mayor has brought bad name to the city which has been renowned for its hospitality".

Humbled Sanghi

Ultimately, the Jana Sangh had to eat the humble pie. A civic reception was accorded to Gagarin and it turned out to be a grand popular function.

Thus, it was forced to respect the great Akhlaq of Lucknow. But its leaders showed that they them-selves do not possess an iota of it. The Mayor was conspicuous by his absence at the Governor's reception to the guest.

Even at the civic func-tion, an impression was created that the Mayor was not cooperating. He was not visible before the address of welcome was read and was seen being escorted in at the last moment by two sturdy chaperons!

An interesting sidelight of the whole episode is that the Jana Sanghite gentle-man who had said that he would not receive a Com-munist, had his family pho-tographed with the Soviet

The moral of the story is obvious. The only "culture" that the Jana Sangh posses-ses is that of the Tommies of the anti-Communist bri-

-GARUDA

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I T was difficult, almost impossible, to get to Gagarin, surrounded as he was by a milling, enthus-iastic throng of admirers. Still one managed to struggle through and to tell him that New Age had just four questions. The boyish grin and the reply "Four ans-wers but how?" Luckily the questions were written and they could be handed over. As the days went one felt that, perhaps, the cos-monaut had forgotten or been too busy. But he remembered and just before he left Hyderabad he handed over his replies. And here, dear readers, is Gagarin talking to you.

QUESTION: When you flew Vostok, over India, what could you see of our country?

ANSWER: I am sorry that my flight in Vostok-I did not my night in Vostok-1 did not carry me over your country. But my friend Gherman Titov, who stayed for more than 25 hours in space, passed over India not once but seve-ral times. As for me, I am glad that I happened to see India not from outer space but with my own eyes, while traveling through your citles.

QUESTION: What are your impressions of your visit to our country?

ANSWER: The impressions ANSWER: The impressions are very good. I had read and heard many things before about your country, its inter-esting and rich culture and history, the friendly ties be-tween the people of our coun-tries. But reading is one thing tries. But reading is one thing and seeing with your very own eyes is another.

Beginning from the moment when I stepped from the plane at Palam Airport I did not cease to feel great warmth and hospitality of the Indian people, their ardent desire to live in peace and friendship with all the peoples. This created a great impression on me.

QUESTION: When did you first come to know that you were chosen to be the world's first cosmonaut? When did your wife come to know about it?

Answer: I came to know

that I would be the first to fly into outer space some time before the flight. A group of cosmonauts was preparing for the flight into space and I guess all of them were ready to perform the flight. I am proud that I was entrusted with the first flight.

Valya, my wife, knew about the coming flight and that, perhaps, I would be the first. She felt that I had a difficult task to perform, which had not been undertaken by any not been uncertaken by any-one before in history. But she believed in me and that everything would be alright. This belief gave me additional strength.

QUESTION: Your generation will live under Commu-nism. What would it mean in terms of space flights, in your, opinion?

ANSWEE: I think that under Communism, which means a society based on the great principles of freedom, equality, labour, peace and brotherhood of all people-man would be able literally to events withcalas create miracles.

Mankind will be freed from wars, famine and illiteracy.

The great amount of money being spent now on arma-ments will be directed to the needs of the common man. In Communist, society the conquest of space will pro-

ceed at such a speed, which

ceed at such a speed, which is even difficult for us to imagine now. The scien-tists of all countries will freely exchange their achie-vements in the cosmic field. Feople will help each other like brothers. I am perfectly sure, that some day I will fly in a large spaceship with a crew con-sisting of representatives of many nations. And who knows, maybe an Indian knows, maybe an Indian will be sitting at the con-trol next to me?

The future is wonderful, but in order to make it so, an important condition is necessary, and that is lasting Deace on Earth.

Our Government propo-ses: Let's carry out com-plete and total disarma-ment, let's collect all the weapons and dump them into the deepest part of the ocean.

As far as it concerns 119 we are ready to do it immediately together with all the countries. So let us fight for this, let us build by our joint efforts a lasting peace OD Earth.

-RAZA ALI



Silenced Right

The foreign affairs debate in the Rajya Sabha on Monday was necessarily dominated by the Goa issue, although the element of controversy was by now gone out of it. The despicable discordant voice of Swatantra that had risen in the Lok Sabha four days earlier had been drowned in the countrywide cries of Shame.

BOTH Masani in Parlia-ment and Rajaji outside had overplayed their cards, so that by the time it came to the Rajya Sabha debating the international situation nobody was in a position to dare to take that ludicrous anti-national stand.

The China issue too had been quite thoroughly discuss-ed separately in both Houses by this time, and the Right having overplayed its hand on this as well had received some effective knocks on the head. Nevertheless, as the attempts in the foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha re-vealed, they did try to return to the attack but with little effect.

In between the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha debates on foreign affairs came the publication of Chinese Notes and the new round of pole-mics from Peking, "continua-tion of verbal warfare", as Nehru described it

The Prime Minister initiat-ing the debate could not but take note of it. He explained how a few recent Chinese Notes could not be included in the Fifth White Paper and announced that the omission was now being made up by placing on the table of the House these Notes as well as the replies sent to them.

He characterised the Chindia as "rather an intense India as India as "rather an intense anti-Indian campaign". He did not seem inclined to ex-aggerate its significance, say-ing, "These campaigns there come on and go off as if one was turning a tap, after a few days of it, the tap is turned off and they stop." He spoke more in sorrow than in anger, referred to "the two countries with this tremendous and long expe-rience... India and China," and deplored the cold war language being used.

"To see a country like that. famous for its cultured beha-viour suddenly forget all the lessons of its past and adopt this behaviour is painful", he said. While on other occasions and in other contexts he had criticised the Indian side and the Indian press in this res-

Foreign Affairs **Debate Reviewed**

by ZIAUL HAO

pect, in the present context his criticism, though remarkably restrained, remained, understandably perhaps, oneremained, sided.

Making an indirect refer-ence to Chinese charges of India's stand on the border unca's stand on the border question being conditioned by aid from the U.S. and so on, Nehru said, "Well, according to the Chinese press and Chinese leaders what we are doing here, many things, are due to the fact that we receiv-ed orders from the United ed orders from the United States Government to do them here.

here. "That is the way", he said, "it really surprises me, how this peculiar type of rigid mentality works." On questions of substance arising from the Chinese Notes, the Prime Minister insisted on India's right to send patrols into what we con-

sider our territory and the Chinese claim as theirs. Givcannese claim as theirs. Giv-ing up that right, he seemed to suggest, would amount to giving, up our claims. "We cannot accept the fact that it is their territory even in-directly", he said.

At the same time he stuck to the point he had made in the Lok Sabha in reply to Acharya Kripalani that Indian reconnaissance parties on the border were not meant to engage in fighting.

Similarly, he denied having ever said, "Not an inch should be given up". No such guaran-tee had been or could be given. What happens and has actually happened, he said, was that "a few soldiers may come in somewhere and put up some kind of camp there cannot police all the broad plains of Ladakh. They can plains of Ladakh. They can come in there. It is only when they build something, a struc-ture there, that it becomes apparent that they have built something."

For the first time he revealed a significant fact which the Press here has not found suitable till now of giving adequate publi-city. Regarding the air in-cursions, he revealed that in one particular instance one intruding plane was actually shot down and it was found to be "a Formosan air-craft going towards Tibet," as the Chinese had many times suggested to be the case 0350

Replying to those riticised our neigh who riticised our neighbours' entering into treaties with China, Prime Minister said that although India did not like some parts of those agreements, still "we cannot bring extreme pressure to bear on these neighbouring

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O N December 8, a ques-tion was put in the name of Communist M.P., A. K. Gopalan to the Union Finance Minister as to whether the Government of India had received complaints and petitions re-garding the working of the National Insurance Com-pany Ltd., owned by the Kanpur mill-magnate Laxmipat Singhania, and whe-ther any enquiry was being made into the serious allegations contained in the complaints.

In reply Morarji Desai said that complaints had been rethat complaints had been re-ceived and the complainant had been advised to refer the matter to the Controller of Insurance, Government of India, for examination whe-ther there was a prima facie case against the Company. The affairs of the Methemal

The affairs of the National Insurance Company are in a sad state indeed. Widespread complaints of misuse and false appropriation of funds, paid into the Company's coffers by ordinary citizens, have been made by responsible officers

In particular, the following serious allegations have been levelled against the Company: that the Company indul-

ges in the enlistment of fictitious Inspectors and field workers the signatures for whom are made by other persons;

that all the Agents are benami agents, that all relevant documents on their behalf are signed by their re-latives and that in some cases agents have not even been issued with the necessary licences: licences;

that the commissions paid to the Inspectors are at more than the prescribed rates:

that many bogus claims have been entertained in order to pay for excess com-missions and to transfer money to the Head Office in Calcutta;

that the Company deducts income-tax from the sala-ries of its employees but does not pay it to the Govern-ment; that in some cases no

income-tax returns have been filed:

that bills for tours, which were never undertaken, have been paid in the name of many Inspectors. These tour bills, it is alleged, are two or three times the salary of these employees. The pracice is to obtain signatures on blank bill-forms and the amount is later on filled by the officials without the knowledge of the Inspectors;

that the Company issues relevant documents before the premiums are received at the Office.

These and similar charges have been made against the Company in a complaint addressed to the Finance Ministry.

The complainant, with a The complainant, with a loyal record of service to the Company, has given all the necessary details — names; dates, amounts, etc. — and he is prepared to substan-tiate all his-charges with document ary evidence. (Some of these photostat documents are in our pos-session.) session.)

In view of the nature of this In view of the nature of this evidence, we believe that it is the duty of the Government to appoint an investigat-ing committee.

It will be recalled that similar charges were made this year against the working of the Birla-owned Ruby Gene-ral Insurance Company and the Government had to ap-point an investigating committee.

In spite of insistent de-mand from the Communist and other Opposition M.P.s, the Government, however, refused to place the findings of the committee on the of the committee on the table of the House. In doing, so, the Government obvi-ously was not moved by considerations of truth and justice but of shielding the Birlas whose activities would otherwise have been held to public gaze. The Government of India must not be allowed to get away with it once again. It is the duty of all of us, all Indian patriots and demo-crats, to see that the nefarious activities of he Indian multi-millionaires are made public.