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# REPUBLIC DAY SPECIAL

6 MAR 27 1959  
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WEEKLY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

JANUARY 25, 1959

Vol. 7 No. 4 25 nP

## OUR GREETINGS

Republic Day Greetings. We share the determination of our patriotic countrymen that what has happened in Pakistan must not happen here. National vigilance against imperialist intervention!

WE hail the desire of our people to go forward towards a better life for themselves under the Republic. We unite with all popular forces that seek to change the unpopular policies of the Government.

We salute the Kerala Government that responds to the needs of its own people. It is setting a new example for all State Governments to follow.

We pledge ourselves anew to serve and rouse our common people, unite and activate them to shape the course of events nearer their hearts' desire.

We join the national protest against the hoarders. Prices are rocketing high. The traders are out to smash State trade in food grains. We demand that the All-Parties Food Committees be effectively functioned and not reduced to an empty formality.

We welcome the Congress declarations to speed up land reforms, impose ceilings, start the co-ops. We demand the unity of all pro-peasant democratic elements against the pro-landlord reactionary interests to make land reforms real, pre-

vent unjust compromises, stir the peasant millions to act in their own and the nation's interests.

We greet the workers and technicians who have helped to discover our gas and oil and who will start producing steel this year from the nation's own plants. We defend the public sector against the onslaughts of Big Business. We demand further strengthening and expansion of the public sector to earn more resources for the development of the nation's economy. Away with bureaucratic corruption and authoritarian inefficiency. Accept the workers' trade-union rights. Rally the workers to boost production in the public sector.

We express the people's demand for a really big Third Plan, worthy of our great nation. The Indian people too can leap forward like the Chinese. They did not get their chance during the First and Second Plans. This must not happen again. The Third Plan must have inspiring targets, no loopholes for compromises with the vested interests, no gaps for foreign capital to step in and dictate terms, guarantees of increasing people's welfare,

a democratic mechanism to mobilise the people, and must be based on the united support of all patriotic parties.

We will discuss our Plan amidst breath-taking successes of the plans of the Socialist countries. We can overcome our own failures if we learn from the successes of our friends. The economic achievements of the Socialist camp mean more trade with and more machinery for India.

We rejoice at the new victories of Arab nationalism. We greet the liberation of Iraq. We ardently hope the Arab patriots will settle their own internal differences on democratic principles and further consolidate Arab unity against imperialism.

We note the historic significance of the national liberation upsurge sweeping through African countries. Black Africa shall no more be the slave of the white imperialists.

We are all for closest Afro-Asian Solidarity, for speeding up the final liquidation of colonialism.

We are proud of the role our country has played in defence of world peace. The warmongers headed by the U.S. imperialists were never more isolated, never so weak, but that makes them more desperate. The danger remains and so the duty of India to function even more boldly as the champion of peace.



# INDIA'S YEAR OF DECISION

by  
R. PALME DUTT

What is the outlook for India in 1959? It is recognised by all observers, including the friends of India abroad, that India is approaching the most critical year of decision since the victory of national independence.

THE speed of change in the world is accelerating. This year 1959 has opened with a portent in the heavens—the first new planet since the formation of the solar system, the planet created by Socialism and bearing the pennant "U.S.S.R." and "21st Congress" as it circles in its orbit around the sun. This is the visible demonstration of the triumph of Socialism, and of the transformation of all old and familiar things which the mastery of Socialism and the mastery of nature by man is now bringing into view.

## NEVER BEFORE SUCH A CONTRAST

Never has there been such a contrast in the world between the accelerating advance of Socialism and the stagnation or decline of capitalism. At the time of the world economic crisis in 1929-31, the first form of this contrast was visible. But at that time only the first stage of the economic construction of Socialism had begun through the First Five-Year Plan. At that time the Soviet Union stood alone.

Today the picture is transformed. The Socialist world is speeding forward at a pace never before equalled. The Seven-Year Plan has brought in view the visible prospect of Socialism outstripping the most advanced sector of capitalism. The Chinese Peoples' Communists have brought a new revelation of what can be achieved by the mighty creative power that is operating in the world—the creative power of Communism which has already achieved such epic miracles throughout the forty-one years of the Soviet Union, and is now achieving new miracles, in new forms, through the initiative and cooperative action of a free Socialist people of 650 millions on the high road to the future Communist society.

## FREEDOM STRUGGLES SWEEP FORWARD

Alongside this advance of the Socialist world, and as its inseparable accompaniment, the march of national liberation sweeps forward. The Iraqi Revolution has triumphantly dealt with deserters and traitors and speeds forward to hasten the completion of the liberation of the Arab Middle East and its development along progressive lines. The Anglo-American invasion of Lebanon and Jordan has ended in an ignominious fiasco, and the Anglo-American invading troops have had to depart with their tails between their legs. The Cairo Afro-Asian Economic Conference

has prepared new plans for economic cooperation.

Resurgent Africa now moves forward alongside Asia. The All-African Peoples' Conference at Accra has revealed to the world the New Africa that is arising, whose liberation movement now reaches to every corner of the continent and will soon sweep away forever the crime-stained rule of the European aggressors, plunderers and Herrenvolk racists. The project of union of Ghana and Guinea is the first portent of the future when the artificial imperialist boundaries partitioning the African peoples will disappear with the victory of African freedom.

At the same time, in face of this tremendous advance of Socialism and national liberation, the declining imperialists seek to intensify their offensive. Their ramshackle military alliances are cracking. The rotten reactionary regimes they have bolstered up in the countries brought within their orbit weaken before the rising anger of the peoples. Hence the imperialists now seek in country after country to develop the method of the military coup and military dictatorship as the chosen technique of the "free world".

## A FAMILIAR TECHNIQUE

The technique has already long been familiar in East and Southeast Asia, in South Korea, Taiwan, or South Vietnam or Thailand. The American-organised attempt at a military coup in Indonesia failed against the resistance of the people. Now the technique has been applied in Burma, partially in Ceylon under the forms of emergency, in Pakistan and the Sudan.

These are not the uprisings of younger military officers in unity with the popular movement, against a corrupt reactionary regime to fulfil the aims of the national anti-imperialist revolution. They represent the clamping down of martial law by Sandhurst-trained Commanders-in-Chief to suppress the popular movement, even though in some cases the military dictators may have subsequently to temporise and manoeuvre in face of the climate of public opinion and the international situation.

It is in this developing situation that India takes a crucial position in the whole world balance of forces. On all sides India is beset by these new military dictatorships that have arisen with varying degrees of imperialist patronage and intervention. The Pakistan military dictatorship,

insolent and aggressive on the basis of the arms supplied by the United States, uses the language of military threats and provocation against India.

Imperialism sees with no friendly eye the advance of the democratic, working class and progressive forces, with the Communist Party as the second party, in India. From the standpoint of Western reaction such a situation is an anomaly in their "free world". Even in a leading imperialist country such as France, when a political situation of this type had developed, democracy was destroyed by the military coup of the Algiers generals and de Gaulle with the complicity of the French Socialist Party and the Parliamentary democratic leaders who betrayed the people. Thus it is not only in the newly independent countries of Asia, but already also in major European countries that democracy is being destroyed by the method of military coup and the assault of fascism.

## THE MENACE CANNOT BE IGNORED

Up to the present the strength of the working class and democratic forces of the Indian people have been able to prevent any attempt at a direct military coup or intervention in India. There is every ground for confidence that Free India will continue to be strong enough to rule out any such attempt. But the menace arising from the general imperialist counter-revolutionary offensive in Southern Asia, and from the open complicity and cooperation of reactionary circles in India with Western imperialist reaction, cannot be ignored. The further development depends above all on the internal situation in India.

From the standpoint of the Western imperialists India represents the pivot of the international situation. Pressure of international reaction upon India is at present concentrated in the economic and financial sphere. The Consortium of the Creditor Powers seeks to close in on the Indian victim. They seek to take advantage of the crippling difficulties which all the primary producing countries are facing at this moment as a result of the crisis of world capitalist economy and the decline in the production and trading levels of the industrial countries. The development of the Second Five-Year Plan has been heavily sabotaged.

"Without Western capital Indian development on reasonably democratic lines is obviously impossible." Similarly Aneurin Bevan proclaimed in *TRIBUNE* on September 5, 1958, in a full page article under the banner headline "We Must Save India—Or Lose Democracy's Hope": "It is a challenge of such magnitude that the Western nations dare not let it go by default without admitting defeat. In the West the defeat would be demoralising; in the East it would be decisive. . . . Apart from the material issues raised, a philosophical question of the utmost importance is brought to the front. Put shortly, it is whether an economically backward nation can build up its capital equipment and technical resources and at the same time enjoy democratic institutions. . . . The Communist nations have not yet replied. Here is exposed in all its nakedness the Western imperialist conception of "democracy". When the Chinese people have thrown off the yoke of the landlords and capitalists, expelled the foreign imperialists, and taken the resources of their country into their own hands, building up their economy through their Peoples' Communes, thereby accomplishing heretofore unparalleled miracles of economic achievement, with the ending of famines and the winning of abundance for all—this is declared to be "not democratic".

## "SAVING" INDIA FOR THE WEST

All the Western statesmen and apologists of imperialism, from Dulles to Bevan, emphasise the over-riding necessity to "save" India, for "Western democracy" and the "free

world". With unconcealed alarm they see the effects of the sweeping economic advance of the Socialist countries as exercising an irresistible inspiration to all the peoples of the newly independent countries who have won their national liberation, but are still struggling to free themselves from the mass poverty inherited from the old colonial economy. Thus Premier Macmillan at the Guildhall Dinner in November 1958 declared:

"It is easy to understand how powerful is the attraction for some of them of the Communist system. The material achievements of Communism have indeed been remarkable. . . . A hungry man, after all, is not inclined to put the ballot box before his next meal. If our way of life is to survive, we must offer prosperity as well as freedom."

But how? There is the rub. After all the billions of dollars of "aid", which have only been spent to maintain corrupt reactionary cliques and rotting social orders, every successive United Nations survey has recorded that the poverty and under-feeding of the mass of the population in the underdeveloped countries constituting the majority of the "free world" has continued to grow worse. Not a single Indian patriot can fail to take the most serious note of the fact that food production in India has fallen during the past year, at the same time as the food crop in China has doubled.

## THEIR CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY

To prevent the hungry Indian people turning to Communism as their solution, to "save" them for "Western democracy" all the modern progressive Tories and Social Democrats shriek that money must be poured into India. Thus the Liberal MANCHESTER GUARDIAN proclaimed on October 31, 1958:

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When the Indian people, who by their struggle have won their political independence from imperialism, strive to go forward to build up their own economy and solve their problems of mass poverty, but find themselves shackled by the burden of landlordism and continuing imperialist economic exploitation, so that in spite of all their efforts their conditions go downwards—this is declared to be "democratic". The Dulles and the Bevans declare that India must be "saved" for democracy. What they mean is that India must be saved for the rule of the landlord, the money-lender, the financier, the monopolist and the foreign investor.

## A DIFFERENT SOLUTION

Life and experience are pointing to a different solution for the Indian people. During the past year, despite all the hundreds and millions of dollars poured into India, despite the loudly advertised village community projects to paste over the cancer of landlordism, and despite the hordes of American expert advisers, food production has gone down. During this same past year the food crop of China has increased from 108 million tons in 1949 to 185 million in 1957 and 375 million for 1958, or over half a ton a year for every man, woman, and child. The age-old famines of China have vanished forever with the coming of Communism.

Does this not carry a lesson for the Indian people—to advance to the fulfilment of real democracy, that is to become the masters of their own country, its land, and its resources in order to develop them for their own benefit?

This goal can be achieved by the united strength of the people. It can be achieved by the truly democratic advance of the mass of the people, led by the Communist Party. The programme of India shows the way forward to such a goal.

May 1959 prove a decisive year to rebuff all the plots and manoeuvres of international reaction and speed forward the advance towards the goal of the victory of the Indian working people and their complete political and social emancipation.

They attacked the Defence

Department for its decision to manufacture trucks and tractors in the public sector. Landlord interests were demanding the "unreal scheme" of ceiling should be given up. Big traders, intent on defeating the scheme for State-trading had created an artificial scarcity which sent food prices beyond the reach of the common man.

In his concluding speech at the Nagpur session of the Congress, Pandit Nehru proclaimed the session to be historic which would mark a new milestone on the road taken at Avadi—the road to the cherished goal of Socialism.

MANY and varied have been the comments on the Congress session. Some read in its decisions a determined effort to overcome the difficulties that beset our economy and to give to leaders as well as members of the Congress a sense of urgency, direction and purpose. Some others, more sceptical, feel that the brave declarations made at Nagpur will remain on paper and not bring about any change in practice. Some others still would like to adopt a more cautious attitude of wait-and-see.

What is it that really happened at Nagpur? What do the decisions indicate?

## Background To The Session

The session took place in a critical situation.

The Second Five-Year Plan, reappraised and pruned, was facing grave difficulties. The food situation was alarming. Discontent with the policies of the Government had reached a new pitch of intensity, eloquently demonstrated not merely in numerous struggles but also in the results of a number of bye-elections and local elections. The swing of the masses towards the Left in general and towards the Communist Party in particular was more marked than ever. The impact of Kerala was growing in all parts of the country. Everyone was talking of the spectacular advance made by China in an incredibly short time and contrasting it with India.

The establishment of the military dictatorship in Pakistan and the stepping up of American aid to Pakistan had cast a dark shadow. The threat to India's security had increased.

Many of these features of the situation found reflection in the deliberations of the Congress.

## Economic Situation

But, above all, what dominated the session was the economic situation in the country and the policies that should be adopted to tackle it. This was natural and inevitable. The session was taking place in the background of a concerted and determined offensive by the foreign and Indian vested interests against every progressive principle that the Congress professed. The heavy concessions already made to them had not only endangered the Plan, but had also emboldened them and whetted their appetite. Now, seizing the difficulties in which the Plan had been landed, they had launched an attack on its very basis.

The infamous document embodying the proposals of the World Bank had become the bible of the reactionary critics of the Plan. Under the specious slogan of "consolidation before advance", they were demanding no further expansion of the public sector, "relief" for private business, removal of "difficulties" in the way of foreign capital. They attacked the Defence

Department for its decision to manufacture trucks and tractors in the public sector.

Landlord interests were demanding the "unreal scheme" of ceiling should be given up. Big traders, intent on defeating the scheme for State-trading had created an artificial scarcity which sent food prices beyond the reach of the common man.

These interests were powerfully represented inside the Congress and in the Government. They had come to acquire increasing grip over the whole organisation. And perhaps, at no previous session of the Congress were they so vocal and outspoken, so active as now.

At the same time, a fairly large number of delegates were alarmed at the trend of events. They felt that any further drift to the Right, any more concessions to landlords and Big Business, any further resiling from the declared policies of the Congress, would spell disaster to the country. Also it would reduce the Congress to a state of impotence and further isolate it from the people.

# THE NAGPUR SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

progressives have won a great victory. The deep dilemma which the Congress faces came out sharply in the speeches of Pandit Nehru himself.

Making a firm attack on those who spoke for Big Business and landlords, he declared categorically that the Congress must press on towards the "Socialistic objectives." Simultaneously he assured that the distinction between capitalism and Socialism was growing less and less, perhaps to allay the fear of Big Business patrons of the Congress that something drastic was being contemplated.

He was vehement in denouncing the slogan "consolidate before advance." He was equally vehement in his criticism of those who had pointed out the disquieting features of our economy—growing disparities in income, swelling of unemployment figures, rising prices and widespread corruption. Claiming to be a realist, he nevertheless, evaded these very real issues.

## Dominant Voice

Their fears, it seems, were shared by Pandit Nehru. Scolding those who gave no thought to the vast problems facing the country, he said: "If we do not think enough, others who think enough will be ahead of us. They will be in touch with reality. We will be only in touch with words."

As usual, Pandit Nehru's was the dominant voice at the Congress session. He got the Congress committed to his concept of Socialism and the way to attain it. There would be no retreat, he declared, from the position taken by the Congress in relation to the public sector. The country needed a big Third Plan and the State sector alone could play a leading role in this Plan. Private sector had its own rightful place but it could not be allowed to "challenge and infringe on" the State sector. Wholesale trade in foodgrains was of "vital importance", "an essential and inevitable thing", and the Government would "pursue it to the end."

## Controversy On Land Reforms

On the issue of agrarian reforms and ceiling, the controversy was acutest. Landlord interests, powerfully entrenched in State Governments and ably led by Sri Charan Singh wanted the whole concept of ceiling to be given up. The Congress did not accept that legislation on ceilings should be completed by 1959.

It is certainly good that Pandit Nehru and a big number of delegates showed awareness of the serious threat to the public sector and the economy of the country arising out of the activities of the vested interests and their friends.

At the same time, it would be a serious mistake to think that the Right has been routed at Nagpur and the

leading committees of the Congress, it is the Right wing that has tightened its control.

FOURTHLY, the bureaucratic officers through whom the policies of the Congress have to be carried out, are mostly anti-democratic and anti-people in outlook and have close affiliations with the vested interests.

FIFTHLY, Pandit Nehru himself, while denouncing Big Business on many occasions, makes heavy concessions to them in practice.

The Congress in the past was an all-embracing national organisation. It had groups and factions. It had people of various shades of opinion. But all of them were united on certain fundamentals. They all stood for national freedom and believed that this freedom could be won primarily through mass struggles against British rule. Today, there is no common objective, no common outlook in the Congress. There are many who are genuine about Socialism. There are others openly hostile to it. There are genuine supporters of the public sector, of agrarian reforms, of democratic changes. There are also those who are opposed to all these—though they do not always say so openly and even support Pandit Nehru. In words, as Sri Sampurnanand and Sri Subramaniam did at the Nagpur session. And it is these latter who are the decisive force in the organisation and also in the Ministries.

Will Nagpur mean a change in practice? Will it enable the Congress to put an end to the chronic divergence between words and deeds, smash the offensive of reaction and launch the country on the path of far-reaching reforms and democratic advance?

## The Congress Today

These questions cannot be answered on the basis of wishful thinking. Some important factors have to be kept in mind when answering them.

FIRST, more than at any time before, the organisation is sustained by the contributions made by Big Business. It may be remembered that on the eve of the Second General Elections, the Indian Iron and Steel Company which made a heavy contribution to the funds of the Congress, stated, "the company should be enabled to contribute to the funds of political parties which will advance policies conducive to the interests of industries in general and of the company in particular."

SECONDLY, the decisive force in interpreting and implementing Congress policies are the Central and State Governments. In the Central Government itself a majority of the key positions are held by men who do not accept the declared professions of the Congress. As for the State Governments, almost all of them are completely under the grip of the Right and landlord interests are heavily represented there.

THIRDLY, in practically all

distributed surplus lands among poor peasants and then forming cooperatives, their ownership is to be vested in village panchayats which in most places are dominated by landlords and rich peasants.

Profits in private sector; it was proclaimed, should be "controlled" but nothing was said as to how this was to be done. The proposal for ceiling on profits was not favoured. At the same time wages and salaries are to be made "increasingly dependent" on work done and related to "conditions existing in India" which can be rightly interpreted as freezing of wages for the present.

It is also significant that in the Foreign Policy Resolution, no reference was made to the threat to Indian security arising out of increased U.S. military aid to the dictatorial regime of Ayub Khan.

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by  
**AJOY GHOSH**



# ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

by S. G. SARDESAI

IS there anything wrong with the administrative system? was the straight question put by some witnesses who appeared before the Kerala Administrative Reforms Committee.

Those who put this question were of opinion that the system as it existed in pre-independence days was quite good and efficient. If anything is wrong in the system today, the responsibility for it lies on the parliamentary democratic system which has released two new forces that obstruct the smooth and efficient functioning of administration.

These were: first, the appearance of an outside agency (the bosses of the ruling party) in the administration. This interference of the party in administration led to inefficiency and corruption. The old administrative system, it appears, was efficient and incorruptible! Why? Because Government officials were honest and were controlled by administrators who were able and patriotic. Today, too, Government officials would be honest and incorruptible if only they were left to carry on their duties without interference by the bosses of the ruling party!

The second element which, according to the critics, led to inefficiency in administration was the growing sense of indiscipline in the ranks of Government employees. This, too, according to them, is a by-product of the democratic system which engenders among the Government employees the feeling that they can do what they please.

## New Set-Up Required

This is a point of view which the Committee could not accept. The Committee was of opinion that administration today cannot be modelled on the pre-independence set-up. Referring to four important developments that took place in our country, i.e. "First, the achievement of freedom from foreign rule in August 1947; second, the constitution of the country into a sovereign democratic Republic in January 1950; third, the coming into operation of the Five-Year Plan in 1951; and lastly, the decision by the nation that its goal shall be the establishment of a Socialist Welfare State in the country", the Committee made the following observation:

"These momentous changes fundamentally altered the objectives of government, its method and the manner of functioning of its machinery. Shortly stated, the objectives were not merely to collect revenues and maintain the peace, but to promote the welfare of all classes of people, particularly the poorer sections; the method was to be democratic and the machinery, which until the attainment of Independence owed allegiance ultimately to an alien Power, had henceforth to be responsible to the people's representatives. These changes have created new tasks and new responsibilities for the services, requiring a thorough reorientation in their attitudes, outlook, skill and training."

It is true that certain efforts have been made in the post-independence days to review the system of administration and to make suggestions with a view to reforming it. Some experts on the subject like Prof. Appleby from outside and some inside, too, went into the question and produced a few reports. They, however, confined themselves to an examination of the rules and regulations of procedure which guide the day-to-day work of the administrative apparatus. They did not put the basic question which is: how is a system which may at best be described as government of the people and for the people, but by a few able administrators to be transformed into government of the people, for the people and by the people?

## New Elements In Situation

This, however, is the question which should today engage the attention of any student of the administrative system in our country. For, there are several features in the new set-up which were unknown in the earlier set-up. Without taking this into account and providing for them, it is impossible to carry on the administration today. Our Committee, therefore, tried to find out what exactly the new elements were in the situation and how they have to be tackled.

In doing so, we came to the conclusion that the points

mentary democracy that the civil servant should be amenable to the Minister's control. How can this control of the civil servant by the Ministers and of the latter by the party be prevented from degenerating into party-interference in the work of the civil servant? Can it perhaps be done by laying it down that the party and

that he should be blind to the facts of democracy; "he cannot be indifferent to the political convictions of the Minister or the policies of his party, but at the same time he cannot allow himself to be overshadowed by such factors"; "a civil servant defaults in his duty both when he fails to give free and impartial advice (to the Minister)

## by E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

It is generally recognised that the present administrative set-up that we have is not conducive to the development of real democracy. Kerala is the first State, and the only one so far, to have taken up this question with the seriousness it deserves. An Administrative Reforms Committee was appointed by the Communist-led Government which has submitted its report. New Age is happy to print this article by the Kerala Chief Minister on the question of administrative reforms.

its representative, the Minister, should only lay down the general policy but should leave its implementation to the civil servant?

This may appear to be an easy solution but is really no solution. For, says the Committee, such a statement is a "conventional half-truth" "because in government, end cannot always be separated from means. 'What should be done' is, of course, policy-making, but how to do it, when to do it,

and when he fails to implement the policies once the decision has been taken by the Minister," etc., etc. The Committee has also dealt with the questions of the correct attitude to be taken by the civil servant to the political parties, the relations between the civil servant and the public, etc., etc.

All these are, however, statements of a general character which lead us nowhere unless the spirit of democracy is imbibed by the entire

line on the part of Government employees.

We cannot on that account discourage the development of this democratic spirit, but, as the Administrative Reforms Committee observes, "this spirit, to be productive of good results for the country, should be canalised for constructive work. The Government servants can no longer consider themselves as mere employees mechanically serving an alien employer, the quantity and quality of their work being conditioned by the amount of remuneration received. The motto should be that the State pays according to its capacity, and the civil servant gives of his best for the people. It should regard that employment under Government is an opportunity to discharge a duty which it owes to the public. The magnitude of the task facing the country is so great that it cannot adequately be performed unless the service becomes 'professionally inspired' and is spurred to action by the spirit of patriotism and a sense of social purposiveness."

It is against the background of such a change in the attitude of the civil servant, his being transformed from a mere employee of the Government to a citizen of the country contributing his best for the development of the nation and working under the elected leaders of the nation, that the other aspects of administrative reform are to be considered and specific problems relating to them

Almost to a day, the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, organised expression of the Samyukta Maharashtra movement, completes its three years of existence on Republic Day, 1959.

PASSING through many trials and tribulations, as also through internal changes, it has developed as an increasingly stable and strong democratic front of the common people in Maharashtra, not excluding the linguistic, religious and communal minorities. Today it challenges the Congress as the future ruling power in the inevitable Samyukta Maharashtra State whose establishment can no longer be resisted.

## Administrative Activity

From its resounding victories in the general elections of 1957 till well into the middle of 1958, the Samiti was mainly concerned, as was but natural, with building a well-informed and effective parliamentary Opposition and tackling the complicated problems of municipal and local board administration in local bodies where it had become the ruling authority.

This was by no means an easy task for an organisation whose constituents were traditionally versed in agitation and leading mass struggles but had very little experience of Parliamentary and administrative work. Delays in the execution of the Samiti's electoral programme, and a certain measure of popular disillusionment and discontent, followed.

These difficulties were further aggravated by a tendency displayed by elements in the Samiti, to which no party was an exception, of compromising with the bureaucracy and the Congress Ministry on issues on which stern resistance was necessary.

It cannot be denied that all these factors were partially responsible for such unfortunate happenings as the municipal workers' strike in Bombay in 1957 and 1958. At the same time, it is a measure of the strength and popular character of the Samiti that in such cases justice was done and mistakes corrected in time, without any material damage to its popularity as the all-round champion of the masses on all democratic issues.

Simultaneously, criticism of and alternative suggestions to the State budget, work in the Estimates Committee, criticism and amendment of ministerial bills on agrarian and other questions, utilisation of the question hour, the moving of resolutions, and such other legislative work by Samiti legislators definitely improved during 1958.

Mass demonstrations on working-class and other demands during the Assembly session, accompanied by walk-outs and similar demonstration actions by Opposition MLAs have also been resorted to on more burning issues.

## Corporation's Record

The Bombay Municipal Corporation under the control of

the Samiti has to its credit a substantial increment in the basic wages, dearness allowance and other amenities given to the municipal workers and primary school teachers. Primary education, which was free and compulsory till the fourth standard, has been made free up to the seventh standard. Such restrained increment in taxation as was necessitated by these measures has been placed on the landlords and upper-income categories or passed on to the State Government. The Mayor and other elected office-bearers of various Committees of the Corporation are readily accessible to the common people. The fact that these and similar improvements had not taken place during eighteen previous years when the Congress dominated the Corporation is appreciated by the common citizens of Bombay, irrespective of communal and linguistic divisions.

## Year Of Rising Militancy

The most significant development of the concluding year, however, has been that the mass urge for once again going over from parliamentary opposition to direct action for

benign rulers, life did not fit into their rosy theories, and bitter cups of ignominious defeat and dishonour continued to follow.

District Board elections took place all over Marathwada (districts which formerly formed part of the Hyderabad State) in mid-summer, 1958. These were followed by one Assembly and one Parliamentary bye-election, also in Marathwada. The Samiti captured three of the five local boards, and in one, its strength was equal to the Congress. It won both the Assembly and Parliamentary seats with smashing majorities. This was a bitter eye-opener for the Congress since it had won an overwhelming majority of seats in Marathwada in the general elections, and even more so because both the Assembly and Parliamentary seats now captured by the Samiti with huge majorities had been won by the Congress in the general elections.

It should also be noted, in passing, that the Samiti has won every bye-election whether to the Assembly or to the Lok Sabha, since the general elections. In all, they add up to six Assembly and one Lok Sabha seats. Of the six Assembly seats thus reconquered, two had been won by the Congress in the general elections, as also the Parliamentary seat already mentioned. One of these has been won by

# Three Years Of Struggle For Samyukta Maharashtra

the break-up of the bilingual State and the creation of two unilingual States of the Marathi and Gujarati people has grown steadily and firmly since the middle of the year. Within the Samiti, the Communist Party and the Congress Jan Parishad have been pressing for the launching of such a struggle. And this is by no means accidental, for it has a clear and compelling background.

## Workers On The Move

Since its very inception the Samyukta Maharashtra movement has given a phenomenal impetus to working-class unity and action. The last year, however, witnessed a high water-mark in the development.

A very doggedly fought strike took place in the Premier Automobile Works in Bombay in April and May. It invoked sympathy and support from every section of the workers in the City followed by mass rallies, widespread collection of relief for the strikers, a demonstration before the Assembly and so on.

At this stage, the Samiti also stepped into the picture. It can be easily understood that, barring the INTUC all the other trade unions in Bombay are led either by parties and elements within the Samiti or by the Socialists (Lohia Group), who support the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra.

Under the inspiration of the Samiti and through the personal participation of its

leading members a joint committee of all the trade unions in Bombay except the INTUC (because it would not join in) was formed early in July to organise a protest strike in support of the Premier Automobile workers and to oppose the employers' policy of closures, retrenchment, rationalisation, etc., as also the labour policy of the Bombay Government.

This protest strike took place on July 25. Textiles, engineering, tram and bus transport, docks, municipal conservancy, banking and insurance, primary schools—all activities came to an absolute standstill on that day. Only the hospitals and water supply worked, and that, too, because of the specific instructions of the joint strike committee!

## United Textile Union

This strike also hastened and helped to fructify the unification of the textile workers' unions in Bombay (again, barring the INTUC). The majority in the H.M.S. textile union are still not reconciled to such a unification. But a powerful section, courageously led by Sri S. M. Joshi, has not only come out openly in its support but has also accepted executive posts in the new union. It is reliably hoped

arrogant and power-mad self-confidence of the Congress High Command that the bilingual State could be made stable and permanent.

The dream of the Congress leadership that it would retain its majority in the Bombay State legislature in 1961 was not based merely on the support they excepted from Vidarbha and Marathwada. It was based even more on the self-delusive estimate that the spirit of Mahagujarat and the Janata Parishad which was its expression were as good as dead. Early in 1958, Congress leaders openly boasted that the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad would not be able to get re-elected in 1961 even a tithe of its thirty members in the Bombay Assembly elected in 1958-57.

The greatest achievement of the Ahmedabad Martyrs' Memorial struggle is that this cynical boast has been humbled in the dust.

It was but natural that the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the mass of its common followers in the City of Bombay, who have always entertained the most cordial and fraternal feelings for the struggle for Mahagujarat, should spontaneously and instantaneously respond to the call of the Martyrs' Memorial Satyagraha in Ahmedabad as soon as it was started.

Not merely this. Another very proud feature of the Samyukta Maharashtra movement which now invariably asserts itself again and again is that on all such occasions

it is our womenfolk who are the first to react and act.

The Ahmedabad struggle was no exception. The North Bombay Anti-Bilingual Mahila Parishad and the South Bombay Samyukta Maharashtra Mahila Sewa Samiti immediately requested the Samiti Executive to participate in the Martyrs' Memorial Satyagraha.

## Solidarity Demonstration

The Samiti Executive, which had already opened negotiations with the Janata Parishad towards the same end promptly decided to send a batch of satyagrahis from Bombay to Ahmedabad, and the honour was given, as it had to be given, to the two women's organisations in Bombay functioning under the inspiration and leadership of the Samiti. This women's batch was led by Comrade Ahilya Rangekar, one of the tireless Communist leaders of the women's movement in Bombay.

Being a personal witness to the Satyagraha offered by our sisters at Ahmedabad at the end of August—some old, some young, some with babes

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PAGE FIVE

## -In Which Direction?

made by the critics of the democratic system (briefly explained in the beginning of the article) are based on a distorted picture of the reality. The critics are correct when they point out that there are some defects in the working of the present democratic set-up, but the way to remove them is not to go back to the old system but to improve the new system.

Take, for example, their criticism of the way in which the relations between the ruling party and the Ministers on the one hand, and the Ministers and Government officials on the other are to be regulated. This problem has no doubt to be seriously examined. The essence of the problem is how to combine the sound principle of the civil servant not being dragged into the activities of the ruling party with the equally sound principle of the civil servant being obliged to loyally carry out the major policy decisions of the Government of the day.

## Party Control

This, in its turn, is connected with the problem of the party's control over the Ministers elected by it. Such control is recognised to be an inseparable part of parliamentary democracy. Equally is it a part of parlia-

mentary democracy that the civil servant should be amenable to the Minister's control. How can this control of the civil servant by the Ministers and of the latter by the party be prevented from degenerating into party-interference in the work of the civil servant? Can it perhaps be done by laying it down that the party and

and where to do it are all as much part of policy as of implementation. It is, therefore, difficult to draw a line between policy and implementation and say where one ends and the other begins. Moreover, it is proper implementation that makes policy significant. The Minister who is constitutionally responsible for all the executive actions of his department has to ensure that the policy laid down by him is properly implemented."

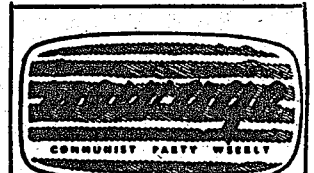
## Spirit Of Democracy

Several other statements of a general character have been made by the Committee such as "a civil servant should be completely free from political bias, but this does not mean

nation and the civil servant, the Minister, the ruling and Opposition political parties and the general public are guided by it. The engendering of such a spirit of real democracy in them is a national-political question, rather than a question of following or changing certain procedures and rules of administrative conduct.

For, any number of basically sound principles and policies may be laid down to regulate the conduct of the official, the Minister, the legislators and the general public. But these principles and policies are sure to remain on paper unless the spirit of true democracy, i.e. the will to subordinate one's own selfish interests to the common good pervades the whole nation.

This applies to the other important question raised by the critics of democracy, that of a growing sense of indiscipline among the Government employees. What appears as indiscipline is in reality a reflection in the minds of Government employees of that democratic spirit which was fostered by the attainment of independence, the provisions of the Constitution on Fundamental Rights and the emphasis laid by all political parties on the rights of the common man. This may sometimes be distorted and if that happens it will, of course, become an attitude of indiscip-



Editorial Board  
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P. C. JOSHI (Editor)  
Printed by D. P. Sinha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, 5, Jhandewallan Estate, M. M. Road New Delhi, and published by him from 74, Asaf Ali Road, Delhi.  
Phone : 25794  
Telegraphic Address : MARKBADI  
SUBSCRIPTION RATE  
INLAND : Yearly Rs. 12-0-0;  
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# SOME PROBLEMS OF INDIA'S PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS

"Last year was a year of crisis for democracy. Country after country passed under army control. There were many causes which were responsible for the collapse of democracy in these countries. Unfortunately some of these causes originated from the moves the democracies themselves had set afoot. India has also its own lesson to learn from this crisis."

(Presidential Address to the Sixty-Fourth Session of the Indian National Congress, Abhayankar Nagar, January 9, 1959.)

YES, the lesson has to be learned. But, if practice be any test, India's ruling classes and their party—the Congress—have yet to squarely face up to the facts. The tragic political developments in Thailand, Burma and Pakistan, notably the last, have cast a challenge across our borders which we can ignore only at our nation's peril. Even allowing for the highest margin of optimism, India's parliamentary system cannot be taken for granted. It has to be sustained, developed and carried forward.

## Source Of Danger

We have seen how in a matter of a few days, the entire edifice of elected institutions and parliamentary forms was pulled down in Pakistan to make room for a military dictatorship. But then the road to Gen. Ayub Khan's unbridled power had been paved by those who preceded him—over the past dismal eleven years of double-talk and deceit, of cynical disregard of democratic norms and spasmodic assaults upon democratic institutions.

The regime that Gen. Ayub Khan heads today is very much the progeny of what passed before him. This tub-thumping dictatorship, with its miserable demagoguery and pretences, is but another form of the class rule of the reactionary ruling classes of Pakistan, in their utter moral and political decline, have now desperately chosen. Pakistan has demonstrated where really the danger to parliamentary democracy lies.

Internally, it is from the reactionary bourgeoisie and the landlords who have got their proteges entrenched in the armed forces, bureaucracy and other organs of the State that this danger invariably emanates. The external force is, of course, imperialism, particularly the U.S. and British imperialists.

History offers quite a few examples of how the reactionary ruling circles have cast aside all democratic and parliamentary forms in their bid to maintain themselves in power by terroristic methods. It is also a part of history that this proneness grows as these ruling circles get, on the one hand, isolated from the people and, on the other, tied up with imperialism. The Ayub Khan regime testifies to this truth.

However, it is edifying to note that the danger signals are not lost on our people. By and large, there is broad national agreement that India's parliamentary democracy must be put out of harm's way and that Pakistan's tragic drama must on

no account be allowed to pass on to our soil. This popular awareness doubtless constitutes a strong point in the armour of our democracy. But something more is required.

If we are proud of our strength and achievements, we must also reckon with the forces and factors that corrode and ultimately undermine the democratic institutions. Let there be no mistake that the future of Indian democracy depends on the outcome of the bitter unremitting struggle between the forces of progress and that of reaction and these struggles are waged over a wide field: political, economic, social and cultural. As a free nation, we have just begun our journey and it will be realised that even by the standards of bourgeois democracy, our parliamentary institutions are in many ways inhibited and crippled.

## What They Mean

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders view the situation as if the Indian Constitution and political life under their leadership would afford solutions to all the problems of India's democracy. For them, all our people have to do is to submit to the dispensation of the Congress regime and swallow the sermons that flow like the Niagara from the Congress High Command.

Parliamentary institutions for them are what they themselves understand by these terms; it is for them an essentially one way traffic. Those who differ are called names and even their bona fides are questioned. This attitude may serve the convenience of the Congress Party in power, but it ill-serves the cause of democracy.

The universal adult franchise, the elected legislative bodies—Parliament and the State Legislatures, the Government's constitutional responsibility to the legislatures—these undoubtedly represent positive gains for the people. It should also be stated here that these gains are the result of popular struggles to which not one class but different classes, not one political party but different organisations, participated and made their contributions. This salient fact of our history has to be all the more borne in mind in view of the petty-minded attempt to depict what we have won as a gift of one party, if not one set of leaders.

However, the composite background in which India's

parliamentary institutions have grown points to both their weaknesses and strength. If the patriotic and democratic consciousness of the masses as well as their initiative and actions helped lay the foundation of our democracy, the narrow vision of the Indian bourgeoisie, coloured by class prejudices, went to distort and limit the structure that has come up. One has only to glance over the Indian Constitution. It is no wonder that some fine sentiments spelled out in its directive principles are not enforceable and are indeed observed only in calculated defiance.

Fortunately for the country, the retreat of the Congress

made and the "socialist" phrase. Many of these voters, too, were moved by strong democratic urges.

## Significance Of Kerala

Moreover, these massive successes, with the Communist Party acquiring new strength and at the head of the resurgent democratic movement, reflected the great political maturity of the masses. By their support to the Left in general and the Communist Party in particular, 30 million voters in the last general elections made it known that they wanted the parliamentary institutions to be

The significance of the emergence of the Communist Party as the country's major Opposition party must not be missed. It has been seen that the bourgeois parties could be corrupted and made to capitulate with comparative ease; this is never the case with the Communist Party. France provides an example. The Communist Party there staunchly fought in defence of the Fourth Republic, while all other parties including the Socialist Party broke down and succumbed to Gen. de Gaulle's blackmail and pressure.

Those who think of Indian democracy minus the Communist Party, be it said, cannot but find themselves hacking away at democracy itself. To counterpoise parliamentary democracy to what the Communist Party stands for is, in fact, to weaken the battle for democracy and clear the road to its ultimate extinction.

by  
**BHUPESH GUPTA**

rulers from positions of democracy and their attempts to pollute and undermine it instead of carrying it forward, has not been without vigorous resistance on the part of the people. Leave alone countless mass struggles in defence of democratic rights and popular interests, without which whatever limited democracy we enjoy today is unthinkable, the two general elections since the Constitution would bear eloquent testimony to the remarkable advance of the democratic forces in the new conditions of the post-independence era. Over 58 million votes polled by the Opposition (in Parliamentary seats) out of over 106 million polled in the 1952 general elections and over 60 million out of the 114 million (in Parliamentary seats) in the 1957 general elections would further demonstrate the political mood of our people.

## People Resist

The majority of votes polled against the Congress, which before independence used to sweep the polls, showed that our people would not easily reconcile to our parliamentary institutions being transformed into a mere political and constitutional cover for whatever the ruling classes and their party will or dispensed. The advance of the Left votes from 24 million in the first general elections to 30 million in the second and that of the Communist votes from six million to 12 million underline the fact that the popular swing was to the Left.

It was also evident that even if the people had become disillusioned and dissatisfied with the Congress regime, they were not so frustrated as to lose hope in parliamentary institutions. The contribution made by the Left forces on this score to the development of our parliamentary institutions is not to be underrated.

In addition it should be remembered that a large percentage of the votes polled by the Congress was due to the fine electoral promises

strengthened in order that these could fulfil the duties by the country and its long-suffering people.

The breach of the monopoly of governmental power of the Congress in Kerala and the formation of a Communist-led Government in that State brought in a powerful constructive element in favour of Indian democracy as a whole. In the annals of India's parliamentary democracy, this achievement will ever shine with undiminished glory.

In a number of other States such as West Bengal, Andhra, Bombay and U.P., the Congress monopoly of power suffered severe set-backs and the democratic Opposition has emerged with considerably augmented strength. The role a powerful democratic Opposition plays in the context of India's parliamentary system will be appreciated if only one would contrast the legislatures after the 1952 and 1957 general elections with those that dominated the scene between 1947 and 1951. Were not the latter institutions packed bodies—almost a kind of puppet-show of the Congress?

Thailand, Burma and Pakistan exemplify this tragic process. In the latter country as in the other two also, the cry has been always against the Communists to the accompaniment of a loud chorus about democracy. But what has now been witnessed in Pakistan is all vestiges of democracy. There is, however, nothing new in it for such anti-Communism is only a beginning of the war against democracy itself.

India's democratic institutions are no doubt far stronger than their counterparts in Pakistan had ever been. Our democratic movement is also more capable of resistance against the onslaughts of extreme reaction. This, of course, is mainly due to two factors: the democratic traditions our people have inherited from the great freedom struggles and the powerful democratic movement of the day. Not only this, the concessions we have won through parliamentary forums are again due to the same fact.

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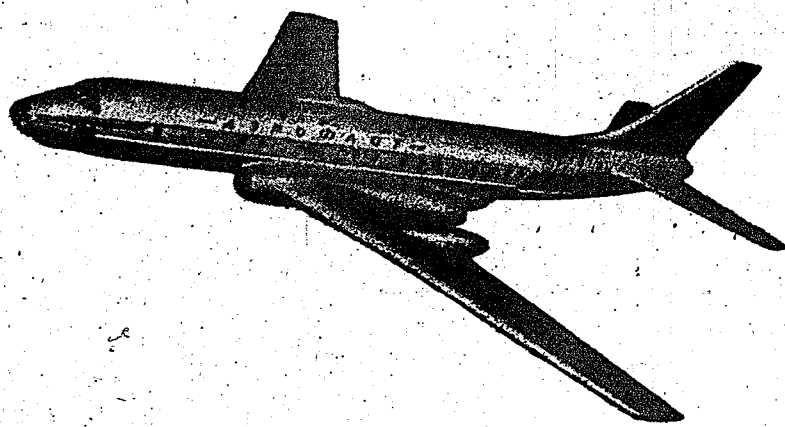
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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

in their arms—I must confess that words fail to describe that momentous occasion.

The Mahagujarat Janata Parishad and the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti have close, cooperative relations both outside and inside the legislature. They are, of course, united on the issue of the break-up of the bilingual State and the creation of Mahagujarat and Samyukta Maharashtra. Besides they have also agreed on the financial aid which the future State of Samyukta Maharashtra will give to Mahagujarat in the initial stage, the protection of linguistic minorities in both the States, and the inclusion of the City of Bombay in Samyukta Maharashtra.

**Future Of  
Dang District**

There is one issue, however, on which efforts to reach a common agreement have not yet succeeded. That is the question of Dang, a small Adivasi district with a population of 56,000 inhabitants, rich in forest produce. Dang is on the border between Maharashtra and Gujarat.

The correct solution of the future of Dang, as of the Adivasi belt of which it is a part, lies in creating some sort of autonomous region which would successfully preserve the unity and culture of the Adivasi while simultaneously liberating them from money-lender-landlord exploitation and provide for their economic and social development. In the present Indian set-up, however, it is clear that it can either go to the future Samyukta Maharashtra or Mahagujarat States.

The position of the Samiti is that Dang, the spoken language of the local people is a dialect of Marathi, which has been corroborated in various ways. But the Janata Parishad differs and holds that Dang falls naturally in Gujarat. The local board election in Dang held in the summer of 1958 was contested neither by the Samiti nor by the Parishad. All the same, candidates indirectly supporting the inclusion of Dang in Mahagujarat were returned in the election with a thumping majority. This has given great strength to the Parishad's claim on Dang.

Despite these differences on the question an opinion is gaining ground both in the Samiti and the Parishad that an agreement must be reached on this question and that a dispute over a few villages should not be allowed to come in the way of forging a united front between the Samiti and the Parishad for the final joint struggle to break the bilingual and create two unilingual States. The sooner such an agreement is reached the quicker will be the final doom of the bilingual State.

**The Border  
Question**

The States Reorganisation Commission and the States Reorganisation Act passed by Parliament did an injustice to Maharashtra, not only in denying it a linguistic State but by dealing with the border question in an extremely

unprincipled and opportunist manner.

After the reorganisation of States, the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti, counterpart of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in the border areas placed in Mysore contested the general elections in 1956-57 and won from the Marathi region seven seats in the Mysore State Legislative Assembly.

Since the general elections Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant has given repeated assurances to the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti that its just demand would be amicably settled by the Western Zonal Council.

But no such thing was done. This led to extreme exasperation in these areas resulting in the Ekikaran Samiti deciding to launch satyagraha which the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti also espoused.

The massive demonstration of over two thousand men and women from Maharashtra as also their nightlong vigil before Parliament in the biting cold on December 18 was organised both for the demand of breaking up the bilingual State and a just settlement of the border question. The sympathy and support given to the demonstrators by the citizens and dailies of Delhi, as also by the Opposition M.P.s both in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, have greatly heartened the people in Maharashtra. Comrade Bhupesh Gupta's written statement in the Rajya Sabha demanding the break-up of the bilingual with necessary border adjustments has been widely welcomed.

**Ferment In The  
Scheduled Castes**

A record of the new developments in Maharashtra would be very much incomplete if we miss the new ferment in the Scheduled Castes, the followers of the late Dr. Ambedkar.

The Communist and other Left parties, the working-class and peasant movement, have made a valuable contribution to the cause of uniting the touchable and untouchable masses. At the same time, Dr. Ambedkar was all along the most respected leader of the Scheduled Castes.

At the close of his life, Dr. Ambedkar gave a new turn to his movement, first by calling on his followers to accept Buddhism, which they did en masse; second by winding up the Scheduled Caste Federation and founding the Republican Party with a democratic programme and with its doors thrown open to non-Scheduled Caste people; and thirdly, by calling on his followers to join hands with the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti for their social emancipation as also for fighting Congress rule.

The Samiti responded to this clearly democratic gesture with allotting not merely reserved seats but a number of general seats to the Republican Party in the general elections. This partnership not only resulted in the Republican Party candidates being elected in their reserved constituencies but also in many general seats, both to the Assembly and the Lok Sabha. Of course, it also greatly strengthened the

\* SEE PAGE 25

They Give Us Fraternal Help, To Our Advantage, Unlike The Capitalist World

**SOCIALIST ASSISTANCE FOR  
OUR INDUSTRIALISATION**

by **ESSEN**

The attainment of political independence by our country—symbolised in the establishment of the Republic nine years ago—removed the biggest hurdle in its economic progress. Still, without a radical change in the pattern and technique of its production, the pace of this progress could not transcend the limits set by a century and half of colonial exploitation.

It was, therefore, only proper that the first thoughts of progressive Indian opinion, after the establishment of the Republic, were centred round the problem of accelerating this pace so that the country could be as economically strong as its vast human and material resources warranted. However, since even with the best of domestic efforts the attainment of this objective could not be countenanced without the cooperation of more industrialised countries, the problem of procuring this cooperation and assistance also began to occupy their attention.

**Hopes In The  
Wrong Place**

Initially, no doubt, the Government, as well as a good many sections of the people, actuated perhaps by considerations of what the Prime Minister has so often described as "historical ties" pinned their hopes in this respect on the erstwhile oppressors in the United Kingdom, as well as their kind across the Atlantic.

None of them, however, came forward with any scheme of industrialisation which we could adopt for the creation of indigenous independent capacities. On the contrary, at their behest, some of the so-called "international agencies" like the World Bank, etc., offered a series of gratuitous advices to caution us against too rapid a development. Along with these no doubt they poured in substantial amounts of their currencies, either in the form of private investments or in the garb of "technical assistance" which could cover anything from experts in malaria eradication to technicians well versed in artificial insemination of cattle.

**In Contrast,  
Cooperation**

Contrary to this reluctance of the Western capitalist countries and agencies to help build our industrial potential, the countries of the Socialist world had from the very beginning been offering their unstinted cooperation for strengthening our economy. Beginning with the first Indo-Soviet Trade Agreement in Decem-

ber 1953, these countries have been continually helping us in building one industry after another.

In fact, the number of projects in which they have been collaborating with us—financially as well as technically—is so large, and the scope of fruitful economic cooperation in trade and commerce with each one of them so vast, that it is impossible to do them full justice in the course of a single article. Hence, leaving a detailed discussion in respect of individual Socialist countries to a future date, we would be confining ourselves at present only to a broad discussion of some of the most important aspects of our relations with them.

The prime of place among the schemes which the Socialist world has helped us to undertake should naturally go to the Bhilai Steel Project, which the Soviets are setting up in Madhya Pradesh. With a rated output of one million tons of steel per year, its speed of erection has already surpassed that of the project at Rourkella which a number of West German firms are helping to set up in Orissa.

**Quick Results  
At Low Cost**

Bhilai's importance, however, does not consist so much in its quick results as in the low cost at which they are being obtained. In contrast with the prevailing rates of interest—ranging between four to seven per cent—charged by the World Bank and other international agencies the rate on the credit for Bhilai (totalling about Rs. 63 crores) is only two-and-a-half per cent. Apart from it the agreement also provides for the training of Indian technicians in the Soviet Union to take over the operations at Bhilai from their Soviet colleagues.

In November 1957, the Soviet Union concluded another agreement on the utilisation of Rs. 60 crores credit which it had offered earlier. It envisaged setting up of a heavy machine building enterprise, an optical glass factory, a 250,000 kw thermal power station, a coal mining machinery manufacturing plant,

funds for the development of the Korba coalfields.

Another important line of production for which the Soviet Union has offered credit of nearly Rs. nine crores is that of drug manufacture. Here, however, it has been forced to contend with the obduracy of the vested interests in Government circles who have preferred to give the licence to an American firm for the manufacture of streptomycin at the Pimpri plant in utter disregard of all norms of economic prudence.

**Developing Our  
Oil Industry**

The Soviet assistance in oil exploitation which has already yielded remarkable results at Lunej, near Cambay, is now well known. In the establishment of a second oil refinery in the public sector at Barauni also, Soviet technical aid as well as financial assistance is reported to be in

the offing. And when it comes, there is no doubt it will be equally beneficial both in its terms as well as the returns of its deployment.

The Soviet Union, however, has been only one among the Socialist countries which have helped us in building industries. Rumania, which has a very developed oil industry, has already contributed towards discovery of gas at Jwalamukhi. Two more drilling rigs are reported to be on their way from Rumania to help in operation at Cambay. Rumania has also contracted to set up India's first ever oil refinery in the public sector near Gauhati. With a capacity larger than that of the Caltex refinery at Visakhapatnam it will be established at a much lower cost.

Besides oil, there are a number of other lines in which Rumania's advanced technical knowledge can be fruitfully employed by our country. Manufacture of road rollers—of which we

produce (or rather assemble) only 120 and require 600 annually—is one of them. Others can be plants for production of carbon black from natural gas, available at Naharkatiya in abundance, and newsprint from reed, which, too, we have in plenty. Rumania can also help in setting up factories for the manufacture of various chemicals and fertilisers, which we sorely need for augmenting agricultural production.

**Solid  
Foundation**

Another Socialist country, Czechoslovakia, has contracted to build a forge foundry plant at Ranchi, which, in conjunction with the heavy machine building plant to be set up with Soviet assistance, will lay a real foundation for the country's progress. The details of this contract have already been furnished in an earlier article in New Age, and will be discussed further in our subsequent article on

\* SEE PAGE 24

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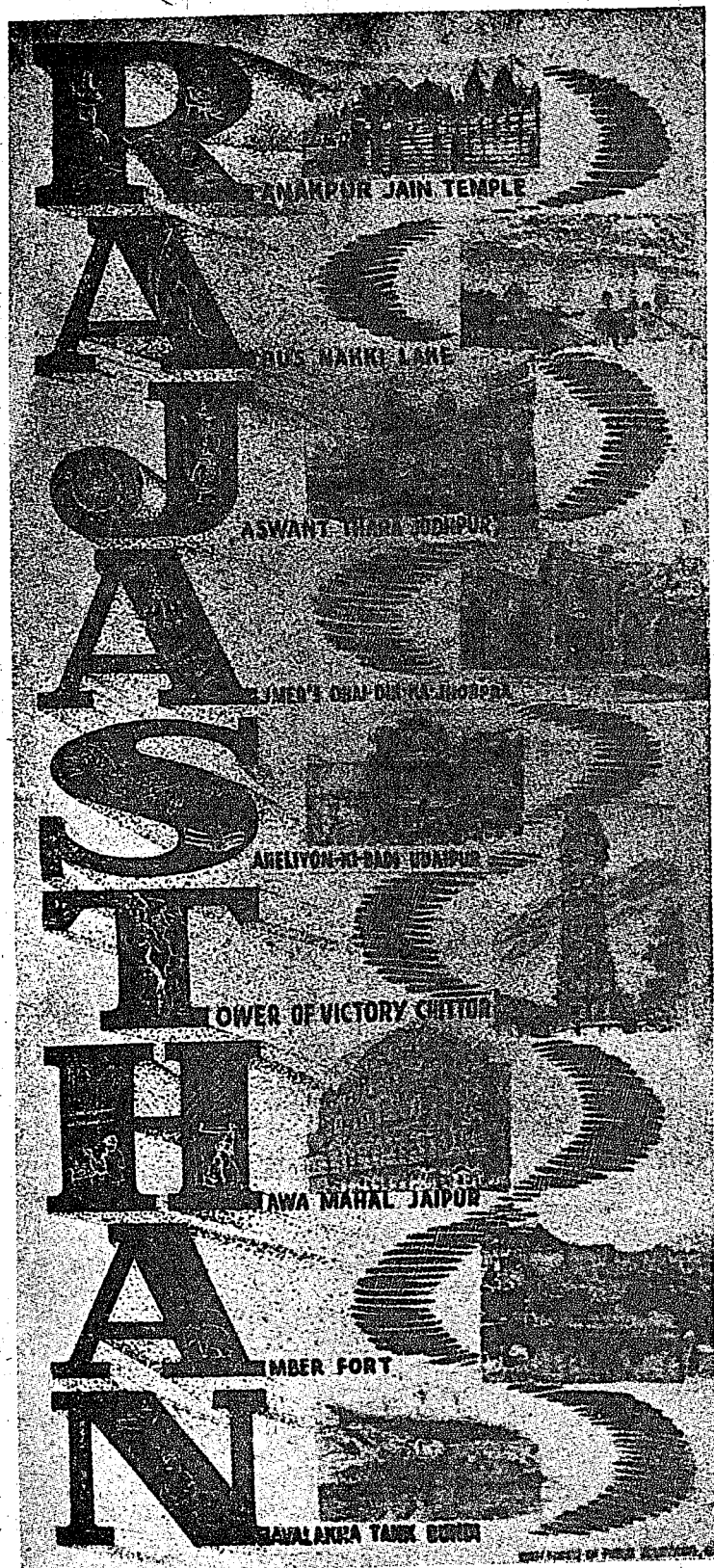
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# TWO REPUBLICS: TWO PATHS OF DEVELOPMENT

India attained independence in 1947; China won her liberation two years later. India launched her First Five-Year Plan in 1951; China began hers, again, two years later. By now, India has had planned development for eight years; China for two years less. The relative economic performance of the two regimes is, however, already so different as to justify an attempt at comparison. Unfortunately, comparable data are not available in adequate measure for a detailed study of this sort. However, the broad picture that emerges from the available information is instructive enough. The Table below seeks to bring out this broad picture.

THE figures in the Table suggest that on the eve of planned development India was somewhat ahead of China in the level of industrial development. Her total output of such vital light industry items as cotton cloth and sugar was much larger than China's. Relative per capita output of these items was larger still as her population was some two-third of China's. India was ahead of China also in regard to steel output and generating capacity. However, China was ahead of India in the output of coal, crude oil, cement, electric power, paper and salt. When it is also remembered that China at that time had far smaller (less than half) railway mileage than India, the conclusion that India started planned development from a somewhat higher level of industrial development appears quite valid.

In agriculture, however, China was in a better position. She had attained a much higher total and per capita output of foodgrains and cotton. Her output of oilseeds and jute (not given in the Table) was, however, considerably smaller.

## Rate Of Development

When we take into account the rate rather than the level of development, China has already surpassed India. The People's Republic of China had inherited a thoroughly wreck-

ed economy. In 1949, the industrial output had been very much smaller than India's output in 1947-48. So had also been her output of cotton, jute and oilseeds. Only

growth became more marked during the respective First Plan periods of the two countries. Over the five-year period, compared to the increase in output in India, the total output of different items in China rose by the following percentages:

Steel	1333
Coal	1175
Electricity	273
Cement	240
Paper	602
Cotton cloth	60

of some items like paper and salt, and maintained its position in respect of some others like sugar; it, however, lost some ground in respect of some items like cotton cloth and oilseeds. On the whole, China's national income increased by some 50 per cent compared to about 18 per cent in the case of India.

The disparity in the rates of growth has assumed truly gigantic proportions since the two countries embarked on their respective Second Five-Year Plans. In 1958, the

industrial and agricultural output 70 per cent as against 68 per cent; increase in government revenues—14,000 million yuans (Rs. 2,800 crores) as against 13,400 million yuans (Rs. 2,680 crores); State investment in capital construction—23,500 million yuans (Rs. 4,700 crores) as against 49,000 million yuans (Rs. 9,840 crores) and so on. Indeed in the very first year of China's Second Plan, the increase in output achieved there compares with those originally projected for the five years of India's Second Plan as follows:

Foodgrains—190 million tons as against ten million tons;  
Cotton—1,685 million tons as against 0.3 million tons;  
Oil seeds—about three million tons as against 1.5 million

## China Leaps Forward While India's Pace Remains Truly Pedestrian

★ by R. C. GUPTA

Sugar	100
Salt	962
Food crops	187
Rice	508
Wheat	235
Cotton	171
Groundnuts	53
Sesamum	21

first year of China's Second Plan, she hit upon a pace of development unprecedented in world history. In a single year, she doubled her output of foodgrains and cotton, and of steel and coal. During this year her industrial output is estimated to have increased by 65 per cent and the agricultural output by 85-90 per cent.

China's achievements in this one year of the Second Plan compare with those of the entire five-year period of her First Plan as follows:

Steel—5.65 million tons as against 4.3 million tons;  
Coal—139.7 million tons as against 22 million tons;  
Crude oil—0.79 million tons as against no target;  
Electricity—3,160 million KWH as against 11,000 million KWH;  
Cement—3.3 million tons as against 6.3 million tons;  
Cotton cloth—1,485 million yards as against 1,650 million yards;  
Sugar—0.33 million tons as against 0.6 million tons; and

★ SEE PAGE 21

OUTPUT OF SELECTED PRODUCTS IN INDIA AND CHINA

Product	Unit	Independence Year Output		Base Year Output		Output at the end of First Plan		Output Increase during First Plan		1952-53 (i.e. Second Plan) and target in India		1957-58 (i.e. Second Plan) and target in China	
		India (1947)	China (1949)	India (1947-48)	China (1949-50)	India (1950-51)	China (1951-52)	India (1951-52)	China (1951-52)	India (1952-53)	China (1952-53)	India (1957-58)	China (1957-58)
1. Steel	million tons	1.2	0.16	1.4	1.35	1.7	5.35	0.3	4.0	6.0	4.3	11.0	6.65
2. Coal	"	30.0	30.98	32.3*	63.5	38.0*	130.5	5.7	67.0	60.0*	22.0*	270.2	139.7
3. Crude oil	"	(a)	0.12	(a)	0.4	(a)	1.46	(a)	1.02	(a)	(a)	2.25	0.79
4. Electricity	m. kWh generated	5,300(b)	3,308	6,775	7,260	11,000	19,300	4,425	12,000	22,000	11,000	27,500	8,160
	m. kWh capacity	2.0(b)	1.85	2.3	1.96	3.4	4.04	1.3	2.65	6.9	3.5	6.44	1.80
5. Cement	m. tons	1.5	0.66	2.7	2.86	4.3	6.7	1.6	3.04	13.0	6.3	10.0	3.3
6. Machine made paper and paper board	000 tons	93	108	114	372	200	890	86	518	350	180	1,230	300
7. Cotton cloth	m. yards	4,600(b)	3,000	4,618	4,187	6,870	5,523	2,232	1,336	8,500	1,670	7,008	1,485
8. Sugar	m. tons	0.9	—	1.1	0.25	1.7	0.85	0.6	0.6	2.3	0.6	1.18	0.33
9. Salt	"	1.8	2.96	2.5	3.46	3.0	8.27	0.5	4.03	3.6	0.6	10.27	1.90
10. Food crops	"	22.3(c)	113.2	24.0(d)	163.9	65.3	185.0	11.3	21.1	75.0	9.7	190.0	63.3
(a) Rice	"	22.6(c)	48.6	23.2(d)	68.4	26.8	86.7	3.6	18.3	29.8 to 30.8	3.0 to 4.0	40.0	16.5
(b) Wheat	"	5.7(c)	13.8	6.3(d)	18.1	8.6	23.5	2.3	5.4	10.6 to 11.6	2.0 to 3.0	12.0	2.0
(c) Soyab Beans	"	—	5.36	—	9.5	—	10.0	—	0.5	—	—	3.32*	1.685
11. Cotton	000 tons	390	444	574	1,304	770	1,640	196	336	3,050	300	5,000	2,440
12. Groundnuts	"	3,411	1,268	3,379	2,316	3,662	2,571	483	255	—	1,500	1,385	495
13. Rapeseed	"	806	734	793	932	848	890	99	—	—	—	650	220
14. Sesamum	"	351	326	438	411	457	330	19	4	—	—	—	—

\* Figures relate to calendar years; (a) Insignificant, (b) Estimated; (c) Figures relate to 1948-49; (d) Figures relate to 1949-50 which was adopted as the base year for the First Plan in respect of foodgrains.



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# INDIAN DEMOCRACY

The future of Indian democracy has been one of the most widely discussed themes of the year and the debate continues, for the issue is very real and causing deep concern to all thinking Indians.

LIVING experience has driven home some very significant points which it is necessary to underline to be able to carry on the national debate towards fruitful conclusions.

## The Basic Issue

The first is the basic issue, from whom comes the main danger? The worldwide propaganda line of the imperialist circles, headed by the U.S., was that Communism was the main enemy of democracy. This line was loudly echoed within our country by the leaders of the ruling party and the influential nationalist Press.

The recent developments in Pakistan and other neighbouring countries have very clearly demonstrated that the Anglo-American champions of democracy become the liquidators of democracy and parliamentary institutions in Asian countries when it suits their imperialist foreign policy needs, when their puppets cannot continue to run these countries the democratic way. On the other hand, the patient political work of our Party together with our Amritsar Congress Resolution has won ever growing recognition for our Party as a patriotic, democratic Indian Party.

The Indian people are wiser, having seen the true face of the real enemy, and are seeing the falsity of the anti-Communist diversion.

## Ruling Party's Record

The second question is to examine the record of the Congress which as the ruling party has led Indian democracy so far. The Congress conception of democracy, and the political and administrative set-up, have been drawn almost exclusively from the "Western unsuitability and practical bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy in the Indian set-up has been demonstrated by the big drop in the Congress electoral vote.

The Congress claims to be the main architect of Indian democracy. Its propaganda fails to inspire Congressmen themselves and its practical record is leading to growing dissatisfaction among the common people. If honest Congressmen did some serious ideological re-thinking, it will be good for Indian democracy and in their best anti-imperialist tradition.

## People Dissatisfied

The third question is why the ruling party is not able to use the existing democratic set-up, its own creation, to satisfy the demands of the people.

The answer is becoming clearer, to ever larger numbers, that under the Congress regime primacy is given to the needs of the upper classes and the capitalist class above all and not to the demands of

the common people. In short, the Communist criticism that under the Congress the capitalist interests dominate is becoming widely accepted. This is leading to a break away of the people from the Congress which is a healthy sign but it is also discrediting democratic institutions as such, among the backward elements, which is an unhealthy dangerous phenomenon.

It is only the Communist-ments duly passed. It is widely recognised that the bureaucracy acts the saboteur. Even the Congress leadership admits that the present administrative set-up is a heritage of colonial rule ill-suited to the present democratic set-up, isolated from and above the people. The Congress Government appointed the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee to handle the problem. Its Report was widely acclaimed but it has been pigeon-holed and even the few State Governments which tried to implement it have diluted or distorted its recommendations.

Democracy is not an end in itself but a means to achieve the desired social change. The outlook and practice of the ruling party have been disruptive of the growth of a healthy and dynamic Indian democracy. Indian democracy was ushered in by the victorious struggle

however, pursued the opposite course. The Congress was disrupted as the united national front of the Indian people through the expulsion of the Communists and the Socialists and other Leftists and was soon transformed into a bourgeois parliamentary party relying upon the money-bags for its electoral machine. It naturally began losing the confidence of the people for it did not carry forward the Indian revolution but disrupted its course and compromised its aims. Power that was chaotically misused in the interests of the capitalists and not planfully utilised for peoples' welfare, corrupted the Congress itself, which is sinking deeper and deeper into chronic crisis.

## Misuse of Power

Calculations Upset

The Congress leadership had thought that the Indian democratic set-up will function smoothly on the orthodox British two-party system, with the Socialists as the loyal Opposition and the Communist outside the pale. The wise Indian people vigilantly followed the course being pursued by the various parties.

They found that the Socialist leaders were only more consistent than the Congress in their anti-Communism and for the rest were chota bhai. They refused to accept the Socialists as the alternative to the Congress. They advanced our Party to the status of a national opposition party to the Congress and chose us as the ruling party in one State, Kerala.

## Calculations Upset

The happy-go-lucky calculations of the power-drugged Congress leadership have gone awry. This, however, did not make them more sober but only more desperate. The unprincipled anti-

against British imperialism. The glorious hall-mark of our liberation struggle was that it was united, under the banner of the Congress, which then embraced in its ranks nationalists, Socialists and Communists.

The main task after the achievement of political independence became the completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution in a manner as to pave the path for the building up of a Socialist society in our country.

The obvious task was to maintain national unity, further deepen it along democratic lines, and become more vigilant against capitalist elements so that they don't exploit the gains of independence against the interests of the common people.

led Government which took up the matter seriously and is going beyond the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee's Report. The Chief Minister of Kerala has himself contributed a thought-provoking article on the subject. The Congress leadership has, however, changed so much for the worse, in terms of democracy, that they trust and rely upon the bureaucracy to carry on.

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta in his article elsewhere shows how the Congress Party fails to itself observe in practice traditional democratic conventions about the right of the Opposition, when it concerns our Party, or the obligations of the ruling party, when it concerns itself. The Congress leadership puts

Indian democracy is not only being shamelessly used to enrich themselves but is also scandalously discredited by the Indian vested interests.

Our Party has helped to strengthen the democratic faith of the common man by tirelessly fighting inside and outside the legislatures for Indian resources being used for the common welfare of the Indian people and by boldly unmasking the Mundhra and Mathais.

## Administrative Set-up

The fourth question has been the failure of the administration to implement even the directives of the Government, embodying the legislative enact-

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# THE MATHAI STORY GETS CURIOSER AND CURIOSER

The wide-spread feeling of relief and satisfaction that prevails in various circles in the Capital over the announcement of the acceptance of his Special Assistant's resignation by the Prime Minister is not the only indication of the general unpopularity this gentleman had earned for himself in the long tenure of his highly responsible office.

**DURING** the three days that intervened between the release of Sri M. O. Mathai's arrogant letter to the Prime Minister and the announcement of the acceptance of his resignation, both the India Press Agency (IPA) and NEW AGE had been flooded with more and more information about Sri Mathai's deals and dealings. The tone of Sri Mathai's letter, his blatant attempt to cloud the issues and his pitiful failure to reply to the specific charges only added fuel to the fire of public indignation.

IPA Editor Nikhil Chakravarty, giving an instantaneous rebuff declared:

"We are not surprised that Mr. Mathai, despite the brave words he has used, could not repudiate our report about his intimate associations with Big Business circles.

"Nowhere in the statements by Mr. Mathai and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, have the details about the deals with the Birlas been denied nor has Mr. Mathai contradicted the reference to Mr. Mundhra."

New Age Editorial Board member Bhupesh Gupta in a Press statement said:

"It is astonishing that Mr. Mathai who is only an employee of the Government of India should have the temerity to say... that the news item about him and the Trust in the name of his mother is an indirect attack on the Prime Minister.

"A mere Special Assistant

Mathai for getting an audience with the Prime Minister.

"There have been rumblings and murmurs but nobody would dare to speak loudly...."

## LETTER TO NEHRU:

### ESSAY IN SELF-CONCEIT BUT, NO REFUTATION OF THE CHARGES

to the Prime Minister, Mr. Mathai seems to think that his stature is interchangeable with that of the Prime Minister and the Government."

The Statesman characterised both Sri Mathai's letter and the circumstances in which it and the accompanying letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur had been published as "unusual" and the Delhi Hindustan Standard's scathing editorial about Sri Mathai's reply was titled "Wholly Unsatisfactory."

The Bombay Free Press Journal Special Correspondent in his Delhi Dairy said:

"It is an open secret in Delhi that Sri Mathai had been a power behind the throne, nay, the de facto Prime Minister. In fact the general impression was that he could with his influence facilitate appointments of Ministers and Ambassadors.

"I have seen many a senior Cabinet Minister waiting in the ante-room of Sri

"For the first time however a few journals took up caustic...."

"One, however, cannot agree with him (Sri Mathai) that the attack was engineered by the Communists...."

"Sri Mathai is perhaps reading too much into the articles published about him in certain journals, which, it must be noted in fairness to them, have not made any insinuation, directly or indirectly, against the Prime Minister.

"It appears rather ridiculous for Sri Mathai to claim that he is a Congressman and to say that in leaving his present job he was losing nothing but his chains.

"He has made unwarranted attacks not only on Congressmen but also made an indirect insinuation on the sovereign Parliament...."

Now that the curtain has rung down on what is perhaps only the first chapter of the M. O. Mathai story, political



A proverb from Kerala says: "The lizard thinks the whole edifice rests on his support."

— From HINDUSTHAN STANDARD.

circles point out that more facts will have to come out and it would be in the Government's own interests to see that all relevant documents are published.

IPA X-raying the Mathai Affair writes:

No doubt the issues should be taken up in Parliament and its verdict sought on the

propriety of Ministers collecting large funds privately, and public servants in key positions being associated with transactions and trusts to promote family names and permitting large amounts to pour in from persons in daily business contacts with the Government.

Startling facts have come into limelight for public scrutiny. Yet an air of mystery still shrouds the names of individuals and companies that have donated to the Trust. The least that Rajkumari Amrit Kaur could have done was to have told the public what sums if any Sri Mathai himself has donated to the Trust in his mother's memory. The Trustees are apparently reluctant even to mention Birla by name, which has been kept a closely-guarded secret right through the letters. The whole story has yet to be told.

What are facts proclaimed with so much trumpeting and fanfare? Briefly this is what emerges:

Rajkumari held in her hands "a little over Rs. six lakhs" given to her for charitable purposes. Rajkumari we assume, was at that time a Cabinet Minister. Did she inform the Prime Minister about it, since such a huge amount had been collected by her? Perhaps she does not need reminding that when similar charges were levelled against the late Sri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai by a section of Congressmen in Uttar Pradesh, the Prime

\* SEE FACING PAGE

# WILL MR. MATHAI ANSWER A FEW QUESTIONS ?

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4. They can cooperate with welfare organisations interested in rehabilitation work and tender advice in regard to the rehabilitation of tuberculous cases.
5. They can provide equipment to treatment centres to help in the rehabilitation of tuberculous persons.
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### \* FROM FACING PAGE

Minister himself conducted an enquiry and the published findings should make good reading for the Rajkumari.

With this amount of over Rs. six lakhs, the Chechemma Memorial Trust was created in memory of Sri Mathai's mother. Permission, as we have stated, was got from the Home Ministry, enabling Sri Mathai to become a Trustee in a Trust in which he should be personally interested. It would be essential for the Government to release this letter of Sri Mathai as the contents might throw light on the circumstances in which permission was given.

### Extraordinary Activities

But did Sri Mathai take the Prime Minister's permission? Do not the rules require that any such request should have had the prior sanction of the Prime Minister? The Rajkumari, a Cabinet Minister, with over Rs. six lakhs in hand was going all out to create a Trust for the Prime Minister's Special Assistant's mother. May one ask if anything stood in the way of getting the Prime Minister's consent and sanction. These are extraordinary public activities carried on in a still more extraordinary private way!

Thus the second stage is embarked upon. Sri Mathai, a public servant, becomes a Trustee in his mother's Trust and the period of joint legal responsibility begins. The Trust acquires monies including the New Delhi property at No. 9, Tees January Marg, gifted by the Birlas. The Rajkumari, valuing the property at Rs. 75,000, concludes that the further sums collected amount to Rs. four lakhs and 70 thousand.

For the sake of comparison, can we ask that the amounts collected in memory of the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad be publicly stated? These are perplexing questions and one could do no better than reiterate the reported remarks of Justice Vivian Bose on the Mundhra Affair that if this is the condition of the administration at the top, then all that we can say is that it is at a dangerously low level. All this must not be forgotten when one takes into account the conduct and standards of behaviour of Rajkumari, the Minister, and Sri Mathai, a Government servant.

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### Fighting Shy Of The Birla Name

About the Kulu Valley property, Sri Mathai says that he sold it to one Morton and Company of Calcutta, but why does he feel shy of admitting that this firm is a Birla concern? Apparently, he informed the Prime Minister when purchasing the Kulu Valley orchard with a fully furnished house. But

did he inform the Prime Minister at the time of its sale to the Birlas?

As regards his insurance policies, Sri Mathai says that he had informed the Prime Minister about them: Will he also throw some light on the exact information he had given to the Prime Minister as regards these insurance policies?

### Value Of The Gift Property

The gift property at No. 9 Tees January Marg, given by the Birlas to the Chechemma Trust, consists of 7,254 square yards. A Delhi Press report of January 3, 1959 says: "According to a spokesman of the Delhi Houseowners' Federation, land in and around Delhi is being sold by the Union Government itself at the rate of Rs. 100 per square yard. In Karolbagh the current land prices are being quoted as high as Rs. 200 per square yard."

In the context, would it be wrong to conclude that the property including the house on the land would exceed Rs. ten lakhs? The assets of the Trust will have to be valued by those who are competent to do so. And it is up to Parliament to demand an enquiry into the affairs of this Chechemma Trust.

The Trust has been in existence for the last several years. Exactly when it was formed has not yet been disclosed. Out of its huge assets all that it has spent on its objectives is a paltry sum of Rs. 25,000 on an institution whose name and whereabouts have again been kept a mystery. It is somewhere in Northern India. Find it if you can. May one ask the Rajkumari and Sri Mathai whether the Trust was finding it difficult to find deserving institutions? What were all these assets being built up for?

Has the Deed of the Chechemma Memorial Trust any

provision by which Sri M. O. Mathai at any future date cannot financially benefit from it by way of becoming a paid Trustee or employee or otherwise? This is an important aspect which could hardly be ignored.

— Since Sri Mathai has volunteered to "stand in the sun for public gaze", would it be wrong to ask him to tell us what was the salary he was getting when working under the Americans? Also, how much, and of what nature, was his personal assets at the time? Sri Mathai has denied that his acquaintance with the Americans was conspicuous. We are sorry about it, but if somebody regards "all others as my friends, and none my enemy", why should he be so rattled over the reference to his American acquaintance?

### Intriguing Silence

An intriguing point in Sri Mathai's letter to the Prime Minister is that no explanation has come forth of the initiative which Sri Mathai is reported to have taken in bringing about a meeting between T. T. K. and Mundhra. This meeting is believed to have taken place before the June transactions of the Life Insurance Corporation. What for, and where?

T. T. K.'s meeting Mundhra has eluded two judicial probes. T. T. K. just did not remember where and how he had met Mundhra. How could he? If Government had knowledge of this fact, why was it kept away from the two judicial enquiries? The Commissions of Enquiry have lost the chance of examining Sri Mathai, and the officials of cross-examining him. Is it surprising then that right through the Report of the Board of Enquiry, Justice Vivian Bose remarks, "the truth is being withheld from us" and "we are not being told the truth"?

January 20, 1959

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# STATE OF THE INDIAN ECONOMY

'GRAMS: "COIRMILLS" PHONE: 35

The developments in the year 1958-59 raised a big question mark against our attempts to rapidly develop our economy under the Second Plan.

In May last, a vital part of our Plan was pruned and cut, appraised and reappraised—the net result being a slowing down of the pace of development of heavy industries. This was accompanied by heavy cuts in welfare and other programmes which affect our people directly.

Valuable and disinterested help from the USSR and People's Democracies has helped India in pushing through a

number of strategic projects. But for it, a number of them would have had to be dropped outright as the Western imperialists would not have agreed to finance them. In that case the heavy industry part of the Plan would have been completely emasculated.

By August-September, the remainder of the Plan could be bolstered only by heavy borrowings from the Western imperialists, especially the U.S.

dominated World Bank, making us more vulnerable to their economic pressure.

The excessive dependence on foreign loans can be seen from the fact that during the period of the Second Plan, external aid of Rs. 1,300-1,400 crores will be required to finance an outlay of Rs. 6,200 crores.

Apart from the reckless squandering of foreign exchange to service the private sector, this development was the result of a number of other factors. The excessive economic tie-up of our economy with Western countries opened us to

the effect of American recession and its repercussions on other Western countries, depressing the value and quantum of our exports, while the value of imported goods remains at a high level. This has appreciably raised the cost or price for the physical targets of the Plan, taking them beyond our reach.

The failure to solve our food problem notwithstanding the expenditure of hundreds of crores of rupees on agriculture, has entailed heavy imports of foodgrains leading to either a strain on foreign exchange or accumulation of American

counterpart funds which can any day be used against us.

The shortage of foodgrains and consequent rise in prices introduces a speculative and uncertain element in the economy which is ruinous to all planning. It affects all price and cost calculations, upsets prepared calculations and by unevenly distributing the burden of prices and shortages, acts as a disincentive to labour-effort.

And finally the failure to mobilise internal financial resources by placing burdens on those who can bear them and the failure to utilise the full labour power of society at present largely unemployed have made it

By

**B. T. RANADIVE**

the truth. The recent cuts and difficulties were neither inevitable nor necessary. They arose from certain class policies pursued by the Congress Government. The policy of excessive reliance on the Western world; of yielding to the pressure of the private vested interests from time to time; of placating the landed interests by postponing radical agrarian reforms—it is these class policies that have brought into existence the crisis of the Plan and enforced its scaling down. The situation demands an answer from the planners and the Government—are they going to go down before

opened an offensive against the public sector. The new vital and strategic industries are in the public sector. The propaganda of the vested interests is thus a declaration against building of strategic industries through the State. This precisely suits the imperialists who are opposed to India's industrialisation and the

Consider the following from Capital dated January 15: "How is it expected that standard of living and employment can be increased rapidly if the major part of the country's resources are to be continually channelled into State-controlled producer-goods industries? There is the obvious stamp of Communist competition on all this... Mr.

## Govt.'s Class Policies Created Crisis Of The Plan

extremely difficult to manoeuvre against ups and downs due to external or other circumstances.

Thanks to all this, a plan which considering our requirements and resources can only be described as minimum is already placed beyond our reach. Taking advantage of these difficulties and the

economic independence following it. Unable to say it openly they pose it as an issue between the public sector and the private sector. They know that it is only the public sector that will build strategic and heavy industries. The Indian big capitalists who want a free field for their economic exploitation at the cost of national develop-

Nehru himself appears no longer able to speak of the private sector in the language of a democratic Prime Minister."

And further, "It can be safely deduced from the discussions which took place at Nagpur that precisely the same mistakes are going to be made in formulating the Third Plan as were made with the Second.... the same

these interests in the name of democratic planning or are they going to put the interests of national economy above everything else and take courage to clear all obstacles to our development?"

The question has been sharply posed. The answer cannot be escaped. Nagpur has really posed the question. It has to be

## VESTED INTERESTS, BACKED BY FOREIGN MONOPOLISTS, PRESS THEIR OFFENSIVE

official failings, the vested interests—India's big capitalists have launched a big drive to curtail the Plan still further, in fact theirs is a drive to defeat all concerted national effort for a quick development of our economy.

They have naturally concentrated their fire on the public sector through which the State makes large investment. The appraisal of May 1958 and the reappraisal of September were regarded by them as their triumph—their first successful shot against the Second Plan which they had always described as unrealistic and overambitious. Their pruning efforts were easily successful because

ment repeat the same cry.

The conflict between the big capitalist interests and the planners took a sharp turn in recent months and Sri Nehru had to address a few sharp words to them and reprimand them very severely. Their demand which was first put forward by the World Bank—that the Third Plan should primarily be devoted to consolidating the gains from the Second Plan, drew a fitting rebuff from Sri Nehru at the Nagpur session of the Congress which also asserted that in any overall national development the public sector will have always 'priority over the private sector.'

It is good to find that the

obsession with the size for its own sake the same woolly irrelevant dreaming based on needs rather than capability; the continued greed for Ministerial power represented by the build-up of the public sector; and the same desire to penalise energy and success in obedience to ideological prejudices."

Such is the voice of British capital aiding and abetting the Indian vested interests.

The immediate objective of this concerted attack is the Second Plan which they seek to reduce still further so that a greater part of the Third Plan will be absorbed in fulfilling the remaining targets of the Second Plan.

answered in practice.

The Finance Ministry's Economic Survey for 1957-58 had already stated: "The Indian economy has entered a difficult phase of development. A developing economy has to reckon with a continuance of stresses

\* SEE OVERLEAF

## Vital Projects, Basis For Future Advance, Drastically Cut

they were helped by Sri Morarji Desai who inside the Cabinet took a strong stand for scaling down the Plan.

The foreign loans secured last year emboldened these elements still further as the officials of the World Bank which made the loans and the official spokesmen of various Western Governments made it quite clear that they favoured the private sector and imports of private capital in India in future.

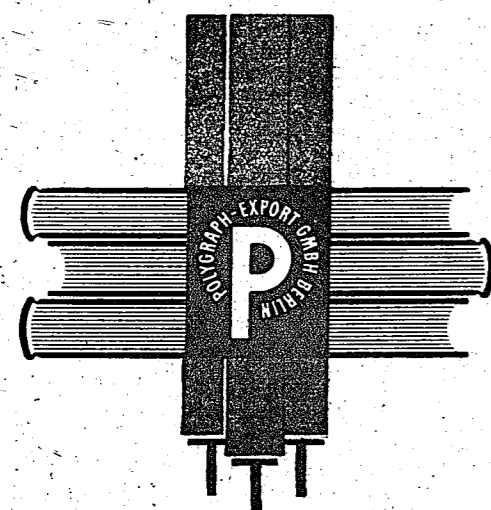
Encouraged by its overseas patrons, the private sector has

Planning Commission, unmoved by the pressure of the World Bank and the vested interests, is proposing for the Third Plan an investment programme of Rs. 10,000 crores. If this materialises it will not doubt be a big defeat for Big Business and the imperialists.

What must not be missed, however, is that the vehemence and the sharpness of the attack of Big Business is directly encouraged and supported by foreign monopolists and capitalists who mean no good to India.

The difficulties which the Second Plan is meeting, the enforced cuts in the Plan; have much to do with the imperialist machinations against the Plan; with the conflict between the Plan and the vested interests and the Congress Government's attitude towards the latter.

In many quarters it is fashionable to refer to the difficulties of the Plan and the deteriorating economic situation as due to the strains and stresses of a developing economy. This is far from

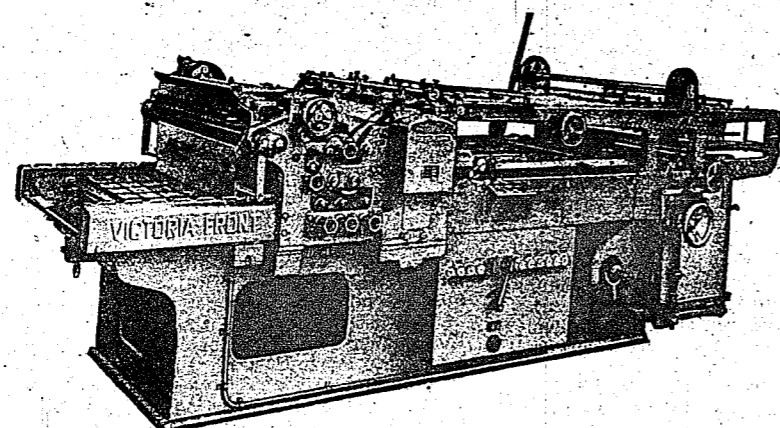


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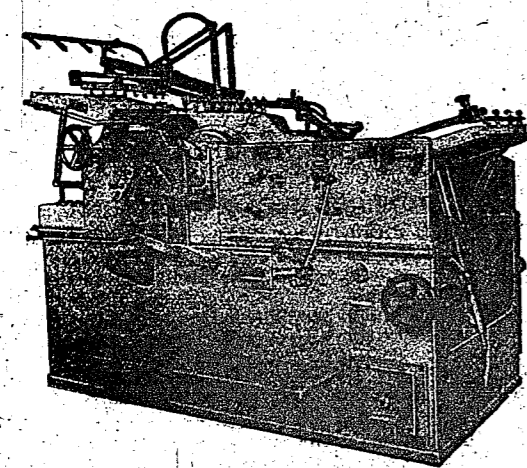
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# Private Sector Advances At Expense Of Public Sector

and strains and while adjustments in the Plan have to be made in order to ensure stability and balance in the system, the essential objectives of the Plan have to be safeguarded and pursued with unremitting vigour."

## Heavy Scaling Down

This was immediately followed by drastic cuts in certain vital sectors. The only vital and strategic public sector projects that will be completed during the Plan period are the three steel plants and the modest Hindustan Shipyard project which will be expanded to build eight to twelve ships per year. There are two other important projects in this category which may have some importance in building our industrial capacity.

The rest of the projects which occupy vital importance for our future industrial development are either shelved outright or postponed. Such projects as the Foundry Forge Project, Heavy Machinery Project, Mining Machinery Project, first phase of the Heavy Electricity Project will be completed in the early years of the Third Plan, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. Other strategic projects like the Hindustan Shipyard Dry Docks, Marine Diesel Engine Project, Heavy Machine Tools Project have been shelved altogether—deferred till a better day.

The heavy scaling down in the strategic public sector can be judged from the following. In the direct investment in industrial projects, in the public sector the Plan allocated a sum of Rs. 524 crores exclusive of Rs. 60 to Rs. 65 crores allocated to the National Development Corporation. Thus a total of Rs. 600 crores was to be spent on industry according to the prices prevalent at the time. Now investments worth more than Rs. 200 crores are either spread over till the earlier years of the Third Plan or deferred altogether—nearly a 30 per cent cut according to earlier prices so far as the Second Plan is concerned.

The situation with regard to important industries in the private sector also is bad from the point of view of future industrial progress.

There will be a substantial shortfall as against the original capacity in case of aluminium (original target 30,000 tons—reduced target 20,000 tons), ferromanganese and caustic soda. The original target of capacity for heavy chemicals will be

substantially achieved but there will be appreciable shortfalls in the case of cement (original 16 million tons, revised 9.3 million tons) and dye-stuffs. The reappraisal states that with the aid of the U.S. Economic Development Fund the production of cement may be raised to 11 million tons.

In the field of engineering industries, there will be shortfalls in respect of structural fabrication and in respect of all types of machinery except sugar machinery, but the target for locomotives, wagons and bicycles will be achieved. In the case of automobiles, the manufacturing programme will lag considerably behind the schedule in the achievement of 80 per cent self-sufficiency. The original target was 57,000 automobiles with 80 per cent indigenous content; the expected production is 60,000 vehicles with only 40 per cent indigenous content.

Thus the cuts have fallen heavily on the machine making and other engineering sections which form the basis of future industrial advance.

While the public sector and vital industries have to face heavy cuts, how did the private sector manage? From the loud protestations of the men of Big Business it would appear as if they were hard pressed for their very existence. The exact opposite is the truth. In the last two-and-a-half years of the Plan the private sector went on merrily, squandering a large part of the valuable foreign exchange requirements for its many non-vital concerns.

Reserve Bank statistics show that gross capital formation in the private sector has steadily increased from an annual rate of slightly less than six per cent in 1951 to as much as 16.5 per cent in 1957. To quote the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Shri H. V. Jengar, "All available information suggests that the organised private sector in industry, mining, plantations, electricity undertakings and transport (other than railways), has invested in the first half of the Second Plan itself almost as much as it was expected to invest over the whole plan period. Even if one were to allow for the higher cost of the imported equipment and capital goods now, as compared with the time when the Plan estimates were framed, this performance would indicate that at least by the third year of the Second Plan period, it will have achieved the investment targets set out at the beginning of the Plan."

The private sector invested almost its full quota during the three years of the Plan while the vital public sector had to be curtailed for want of foreign exchange—a curtailment that affected the vital strategic industries. This is how planning functioned in the first three years—or more correctly in the first two years with consequent results for subsequent years.

That the private sector fared equally well so far as profits were concerned is equally clear from the following official figures:

Year	All industries	Cotton	Tea	Sugar	Iron and Steel	Cement
1947	191.6	317.7	216.3	171.5	86.1	142.5
1951	310.5	551.1	103.9	420.8	157.7	419.7
1952	190.6	262.8	-88.8	409.8	162.6	293.4
1953	261.2	379.4	391.4	419.8	179.4	279.0
1954	320.8	398.0	743.8	336.1	226.3	341.4
1955	354.3	535.0	183.1	413.1	307.9	409.7
1956	326.5	568.4	946.6	454.5	293.3	430.2

After a fall in the 1952 depression, profits have been continuously rising during the planning period and have surpassed the speculative peak of Korean war days.

## Rising Strike Wave

If under planning you go on pampering the capitalist class, allow it to garner huge profits and go in for a revelry of money investment, it has its effects on other class—especially the working class. Along with the rising profit curve there is a rising strike curve.

Year	No. of workers involved	Total No. of man-days lost
1949	6,85,457	66,00,595
1950	7,19,833	1,21,06,704
1951	6,19,321	38,18,928
1952	8,09,242	33,36,961
1953	4,66,607	33,82,608
1954	4,77,138	33,72,830
1955	5,27,767	56,97,848
1956	7,15,130	69,92,040
1957	8,89,371	64,29,319
1958*	7,51,000	69,00,000

\* For 9 months, including Kerala and Mysore.

In the entire war period the number of workers affected had never reached the figure of eight lakhs. In the war period the number of days lost crossed the five million mark only two times, whereas the last five years of planning have seen more than 50 lakh man-days lost in strikes and this despite the fact that there is legislation which bans strikes except as provided by law and there is an intricate court machinery which makes strikes extremely difficult.

No doubt in many cases the working class has made considerable gains and won provident fund schemes and other amenities and rights. But the strike-wave shows the unmistakable temper of the working class. It also shows how little the Govern-

ment has succeeded in securing the participation of the workers in the Plan-building activities.

Another significant development is that the strikes are becoming longer. An I.L.O. study shows that the average duration of industrial disputes in India was 7.4 days in 1948; 5.5 days in 1951; 4.1 in 1952; 7.2 in 1953; 7.1 in 1954; 10.8 in 1955 and 9.7 in 1956.

The claims of advanced industrial production have to be examined in this background.

India has increased her industrial production in the last few years and till the last year the index of industrial production has been rapidly rising. The World Bank flatteringly says that India is on the way to becoming one of the world's major manufacturing countries. Bicycles, small electric and diesel motors, wires and cables,

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dry batteries, lamps, fans, radio-sets, telephone instruments, sewing machines, textile machinery, machine-tools, automobile components, locomotives, wagons and coaches, heavy chemicals, fertilisers, a ship-building yard, an aircraft factory—and a small but growing capacity for structural fabrication—these are the achievements. The sting is in the tail. The lack of structural fabrication, of heavy machine-making industry, stands out in this description.

This untrammelled advance of the private sector at the expense of the public sector has made our economy more vulnerable to the market, to the laws of demand and supply, and to the recessionary influences from abroad. In the midst of our advancing economy we have met with checks to production of certain commodities, glut in the market—and unemployment for thousands of employed workers.

The official index of industrial production shows the following movement:

Year	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
	100	104	106	113	122	133	137

Already the rate of progress was slowing down. Against an increase of eight per cent in 1955 and nine per cent in 1956, the increase in 1957 was only three per cent. By June 1958, the index dropped to 129 though subsequently it seems to have recovered again. One of India's major industries—the cotton textile industry—has been in doldrums for the last two years. The aggregate quantity of cloth that came off the looms of mills in the first ten months of 1958 was 4,107 million yards compared with 4,448 million yards for the same period in the preceding year. The total number of mills completely and partially closed up to August came to 60 and the number of workers affected ran into more than 50,000.

Part of this crisis is due to the profiteering greed of the millowners who in the earlier years produced enormous quantities of coarse cloth to escape excise duty. Other factors are the effects of American recession, fall in cloth exports and the reduction in the purchasing

power of the people here because of bad harvests and also in prices.

But the fact that this premier industry in the private sector is not able to manage its own affairs and has thrown 50,000 workers out of employment when the entire economy is supposed to be developing rapidly shows not only the bankruptcy of the industrial magnates but also reveals the weaknesses in our planning.

The Government and the millowners are now busy introducing automatic looms in the name of increasing the competitive capacity of the industry. This is bound to displace hundreds of workers notwithstanding claims to the contrary. Simultaneously the textile capitalists have made a united demand to effect a big cut in the dearness allowance though the cost of living is rising. Similarly there is said to be overproduction in cement though we are far below the target of the Second Plan.

## Reasons For The Setback

There is no doubt that a number of factors in 1958-59 combined together to give us an economic setback which was utilised by the vested interests to put curbs on the public sector.

In the first place our tie-up with the Western capitalist countries exposed us to the recessionary influence. During the half-year ended June 1958 imports were severely restricted but there was setback in exports which was attributable to the world recessionary trends affecting both the demand for and prices of India's principal exports. Exports of tea, jute manufactures and cotton textiles recorded a considerable fall over the preceding year. Earnings from cotton textile exports suffered—they were lower by as much as Rs. 11.8 crores as compared to the first-half of 1957. The value of tea exports further dropped by Rs. 9.9 crores because of the reduced off-take by the U.K. and the fall in tea prices. Jute textiles too were lower by Rs. ten crores. In spite of severe import restrictions, there was a payment gap of Rs. 196 crores.

In the absence of a firm will to proceed decisively and augment State control over our economy, the Government allowed itself to be overwhelmed to some extent by the clamouring propaganda. The position it had created for itself was no doubt unenviable. The private sector had already squandered its foreign exchange resources. In fact, so heavy were the commitments of the earlier period that a substantial part of the International Bank loans will have to be used to defray commitments already made, commitments which largely benefited the private sector. In assessing the generosity of the Bank, this factor must not be forgotten.

The fall in the value of exports further complicated the situation compelling the Government to go in for tie-up credits.

The heavy foreign borrowing has already placed our Plan in a dangerous position. A large

part of our future foreign exchange resources have been already mortgaged.

Our liabilities in respect of payments of loans can be seen from the following:

1959-60	35.30 crores
1960-61	94.61 crores
1961-62	134.0 crores
1962-63	118.0 crores

And so on. These figures do not reveal the full burden as they

part of our future foreign exchange resources have been already mortgaged.

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And so on. These figures do not reveal the full burden as they

do not take into consideration the recent loans taken from the World Bank and the contemplated loans which are expected to be negotiated this year. This colossal burden is going to generate strong reactionary pressures and strengthen the reactionaries against the people.

In 1958-59, the Western countries obligingly offered loans—not so much to help us but to get us in their grip.

# FAILURE TO SOLVE FOOD PROBLEM

But the way for the 1958-59 retreat was prepared by the compromising policies of the Government. Its utter failure to solve our food problem was one of the important causes of this retreat. The heavy fall in food production in 1957-58, the near-famine conditions, not only strained our over-strained economy but made a mockery of all orderly development that we associate with planning.

That in spite of the expenditure of hundreds of crores of rupees on agriculture, the glorification of the Community Projects and prophecies about a new rural world indulged in by no less a person than Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the food problem should continue to remain, must lead to some heart-searching on the part of Congressmen who are responsible for these policies. The failure in food production is seen from the following:

Year	Production (million tons)
1949-50	54.0
1952-53	58.3
1953-54	68.7
1954-55	66.6
1955-56	64.8
1956-57	68.2
1957-58	62.0

## Opposition To Ceiling

The question of ceilings touches a section which is deeply entrenched inside the Congress. Every effort will be made by them to anticipate legislation and defeat it. Already a Chief Minister of a State has stated that very little land will be available after ceilings have been imposed. In many places the local Congress leaders are drawn from a strata opposed to ceilings and handing over the surplus land to cooperatives. Will their attempts succeed?

Thanks to the policy hitherto followed, the policy of conciliation with the higher strata of landed interests, the Plan is getting overwhelmed by its failure in solving the food problem.

How this is upsetting all calculations can be seen from the following: In 1955-56, out of total Government imports including capital equipment, of Rs. 138.9 crores (foodgrains imports cost Rs. 28.9 crores. In 1956-57, out of total imports of Rs. 280.0 crores, cost of foodgrains imports amounted to Rs. 101.6 crores. For April 1957-58, foodgrains cost Rs. 88.1 crores out of total Government imports of Rs. 238.8 crores.

How the Plan is being compromised can be seen from the fact that the foreign exchange which will be ultimately required to pay these food imports is almost equal to the entire foreign exchange requirements of the Rourkela and Durgapur Steel Plants. An entirely new steel plant could have been built with this sum. Internally the Plan becomes extremely vulnerable on the

food front. The steep rise in prices of foodgrains is discrediting the planners in the eyes of the common people and the vested interests are using it to declaim big projects for industrial development. The worsening food situation in 1958-59 can be gauged from the fact that while the annual index for food prices for 1957 was 107 (1952-53 = 100), by June 1958 it had risen to 113 and by October it was 121. The hoarding and speculation following this led to large-scale mass movements in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab. All this does no credit to the planners in the eyes of the people; nor does it increase their confidence in planning or the Government.

## Reaction's Attack

The reactionaries are attacking the Plan on this vital front and are posing as the champions of people's food against Government's love for "gigantism". Stily they are putting agriculture against industry—to curb India's progress in heavy industry.

It must be clearly understood that there is no chance of saving the Second Plan if the 1957-58 food conditions repeat themselves. It should be also quite clear that whatever be the intentions of the planners, they cannot have a big Third Plan unless the food problem is solved once and for all.

So long as this problem persists, so long as the people are made to suffer needless privations, they cannot be roused for the Plan. So long as agricultural production continues to move at a slow pace, enough surplus will not be produced in the country and our future resources will always fall short of our requirements.

Solution of the food problem besides must follow certain realities of an under-developed economy. In such an economy, every step forward in industries and agriculture is accompanied by an increasing expenditure on food—and this can and must be provided. In fact, this is one of the main conditions of raising the entire productive energies of the masses. The food targets will have to be raised to meet this situation.

This does not mean that the planners are guilty of gigantism or that they are laying too much emphasis on industries. It only means that the solution of the food problem can no longer be delayed. It will be politically and economically dangerous for planning and future development.

The vested interests in land and industry are joining hands to oppose ceilings, and co-operation of agriculture.

Big Business openly joining hands with the landed interests is a new development. It means that the opposition to land ceilings will be fiercer.

# Rout This Offensive Of The Vested Interests

It is against these class realities that Congressmen have to fight if they wish to implement the Plan. The task is not easy. But it can be made easy by rousing the people.

While the vested interests have opened their offensive, the Congress Government has economically put itself on the defensive. In the first place, the employment potential of the Plan has been reduced. The total number of unemployed is increasing as the employment is not enough to absorb new entrants in the labour field. The backlog of five million unemployed continues.

Besides in recent years the manoeuvring capacity of the Government has been reduced very much. Heavy deficit-financing amounting to Rs. 700 crores in the first two years of the Plan played a notable role in advancing the Government's planning objectives. But with the severe import cuts imposed and the shortage of foodgrains deficit-financing on this scale is considered to be dangerous. In 1958 itself it had to be reduced to Rs. 200 crores. In the next year unless internal production of food is raised appreciably, deficit-financing may have to be reduced still further.

This means Government must look to alternate sources of revenue. The introduction of State trading in foodgrains is a step in the correct direction. If properly implemented, it will place big resources in the hands of the Government. Similarly, the present wasteful and shameful management of the public sector must be replaced by an efficient management yielding good revenue to national exchequer. The new steel plants, as soon as they start producing will be a sizeable addition to Government resources if the officials concerned do not bungle. The extension of the activities of the State Trading Corporation to new fields is also necessary. And above all, the profit-making spree of our private sector should be stopped, control on profits must be put, and all loopholes of tax evasion must be removed. This coupled with adequate wages for the workers, a guaranteed price for the peasants, will meet the situation.

Everyone of these steps means conflict with the reactionary vested interests who are out to defeat all planning efforts. Simultaneously, the planners must realise that in the next couple of years, it will be difficult to secure loans from the Western countries to finance the public sector. Their latest loans are more investments to bolster private foreign investment. The alarming development is that the Government has given up the conditions of 51 per cent Indian capital for joint concerns. Unless a break is made with this, unless there is greater willingness to seek the help of disinterested countries, unless the resistance to agreement with Socialist countries inside the Cabinet is broken, any further programme may founder for lack of foreign exchange.

Our agreements with the USSR for the steel plant, with the USSR and Czechoslovakia for the foundry-Forge project, with the USSR and Rumania for oil refineries show how much can be done in this direction. Any further reliance on the West for foreign exchange spells danger as the West is committed to support private enterprise.

The immediate objectives of Big Business aided by overseas reactionaries, is to secure more room for the private sector in the present Plan and reduce the sphere of the public sector. Having invested in three years what they were supposed to invest in five years, they demand more room. "That being the case, it is surprising that greater reliance is not placed on the private sector in accelerating the process of development. On the contrary, the tendency seems to be to write off its investment needs during the rest of the Second Plan period as worth no further attention... There are no economic resources for attaching sanctity to the investment targets of the public and the private sector as indicated in the Second Five-Year Plan." (Capital, January 15)

Such is their immediate objective. And while the Government has manoeuvred itself into an unenviable position, with the huge profits they have strengthened themselves economically. They thrived on deficit-financing, they thrived on rising prices; they garnered rising profits and now they have completed their five-year investment programme in three years. They feel economically strong enough to press the Government to move to the right aided by Cabinet Ministers like Morarji Desai.

The question is: will the bull be taken by the horn? Without defeating the triple pressure from Big Business and from the Western imperialists, the Second Plan cannot be implemented and a big Third Plan is not possible.

There is no doubt that it is in the interest of the nation as a whole to defeat this offensive. If the year 1958-59 saw the gathering offensive of the vested interests, the current year must see their utter rout. It is for the democratic elements in the Congress to make this possible in alliance with the progressive forces.

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# THE WAY TO STRENGTHEN INDIAN DEMOCRACY

Kerala campaign of last year is only one example.

The most salient feature of Indian democracy, after independence, is that under adult franchise the once mighty Congress is losing its traditional support and the much maligned Communist Party is coming to the fore as a major force in Indian political life.

Greater popularity has not gone to the head of our Party, but has made us humbler. It has been the ceaseless endeavour of our Party to seek ways and means of defending and enlarging Indian democracy. Unlike the Congress leadership our Party claims no monopoly of wisdom and patriotism, our Party has contributed some new and specific ideas for the effective functioning of Indian democracy.

It is noteworthy that it is only our Party that proclaims the political tactic of the unity of all patriotic and democratic elements irrespective of party differences for the achievement of common national tasks. It is obvious that this is in line with the best in our national history and can be the most effective means to draw

the people themselves into action, to mould existing democratic institutions to serve their own and the nation's needs.

The Congress leadership refuses our appeal for such unity because it refuses to recognise the enemies of our nation and people as such and seeks to function the existing democratic institutions in the interests of the vested interests and its own narrow party interests.

We support the independent foreign policy of the Congress Government. It exploits our support but refuses a united national campaign to carry concrete foreign policy issues to the people, for then its manoeuvring power with the imperialist Powers will be lessened. The result is that the demarcation between the anti-imperialists and pro-imperialists is not sharply drawn, the people are not as vigilant as they should be, patriotic ardour and sense of national mission is not what it could be.

The imperialist agents can go on quickly burrowing, feeling quite safe that this is in line with the best in our national history and can be the most effective means to draw

We support the progressive

aims of the Plan but when it comes to formulating concrete policies the democratic Opposition parties are kept out and bourgeois experts and businessmen drawn in. No wonder that the Plan gets into crisis and the people feel embittered. Again when it comes to implementation, it is the bureaucrats who are trusted and not the cadres of democratic parties and naturally the result has been not the mobilisation of the people but the isolation of the Plan from the people.

The Congress way has led to the crisis of the Plan, strengthening of bureaucracy and not democracy, enrichment of the vested interests and not the upliftment of the people. The existing democratic institutions have been bureaucratized and prostituted in the narrow interests of the ruling party and through its pro-labour and pro-capitalist policies.

## Abide By People's Verdict

Our Party does not claim to be the sole champion of democracy. We realise that there are other democratic parties and serious differences among them are inevitable in the existing Indian set-up. The only way to operate within the democratic frame-work is for each party to agree to abide by the verdict of the people, for the Opposition parties to accept the right of the majority party to rule for the time being, for the ruling party to respect the rights of the Opposition to function freely and boldly.

As long as we were the party of the Opposition, the ruling party satisfied itself by calling us disruptive or sought to suppress us. When we became the ruling party in Kerala, the Congress opposition functioned against the Communist Ministry in an unprincipled manner, violating all the rules of the democratic opposition.

Our Chief Minister publicly appealed to the leadership of the Congress, the Union and other State Governments to come together to formulate conventions for the healthy

functioning of the ruling and also the opposition parties throughout the country. His appeal went unheeded but there is no other way to function Indian democracy successfully and peacefully. This is not our own boast but the verdict of broad Indian democratic circles, who have given serious thought to the problem.

## Govt's Attitude To Mass Movements

The Congress leaders have been proclaiming that after the British rulers are gone, the people have won adult franchise and the right to elect their own Government, they should not exercise the right to launch mass movements to change Government policies.

If the inherent right of the people to organise mass struggles is taken away on the ground that they have been given the right to vote every five years, Indian democracy will be reduced to a ritual, and lose its soul.

## Lesson Of History

Nationalist and democratic elements in India would help themselves and Indian democracy if they would study the experience of Indonesia and Iraq.

Nationalists and Communists of Indonesia fought for liberation together. After the Revolution, Hatta of the communal Masjumi, provoked the rest into the anti-Communist path. The result was another Dutch invasion. Today the Indonesian patriotic elements, under the leadership of President Sukarno are discussing how to give flesh and blood to the concept of "guided democracy" on the basis of cooperation between the nationalists, Nahadul Ulama and the Communists. The Masjumi is out of these consultations.

The Iraq Revolution was the biggest anti-imperialist cannonade of 1958. The terror under the hated Nuri Said led the nationalists, Socialists and Communists of Iraq to fight together and they are struggling to keep this united front as their only defence against imperialist intervention and their best contribution to give a new and democratic foundation to Arab nationalism.

despite various types of "struggles" against our Government in Kerala, we are stronger today than ever.

Our Party has stood for interlinking extra-parliamentary mass campaigns with parliamentary activities as the only way to keep the faith of the people in parliamentary institutions alive. Our Party has stood for the right of the people to launch peaceful mass struggle to change the decisions of elected Governments as the only way to keep democratic faith alive.

To ban popular struggle and only trust the parliamentary institutions can only pave the way for the emergence of an Ayub in India.

To link popular struggles with democratic institutions is the way to strengthen Indian democracy and has been the way of the Indian people despite the sermons of the Congress leaders.

India is justly proud of itself as the biggest parliamentary democracy in Asia. Grim experience has demonstrated that in all Asian countries where the Western cannons of parliamentary democracy are mechanically applied under the banner of anti-Communism, pro-imperialist military dictatorships have inevitably replaced what ever parliamentary democratic set-up existed before.

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Patriotism, democracy and anti-Communism do not go together. This is the lesson of past and present history. The Communist Party of India claims to be only one of the patriotic and democratic parties and appeal to all fellow-patriots and democrats:

—Let us learn to discuss and settle our differences within the democratic framework;

—Let us unite where our policies are one and together serve and organise our people, function our democratic institutions to meet their own demands.

—Let us recognise and fight imperialism and its agents as the common enemy.

Thus we will, despite differences, also save and strengthen Indian democracy and together mould it in a manner that will suit out national genius best.

(January 20, 1959)

Continued From Page 11

# CHINA'S ECONOMY IS FIRMLY IN THE SADDLE ON A FLYING HORSE

Salt—1.9 million tons as against 0.6 million tons.

When account is taken of the expected underfulfillment of India's Second Plan by a considerable margin in respect of several of the above items e.g. cement, power, paper, etc.—the Chinese achievement is shown to be even more impressive than the above figures suggest.

The remarkable thing about recent Chinese economic development is not only that it has attained an unprecedentedly fast pace, but also that it is financed entirely from domestic resources.

The details of external assistance received and extended by China are as under:

Year	Aid received (loans from USSR) (millions of yuans)	Aid Extended (millions of yuans)	Excess of aid extended over loans received
1953	438	1,592	1,154
1954	884	628	-256
1955	1,657	456	-1,201
1956	117	404	287
1957	23	464	441
1958*	—	414	414

\* Budget estimates.  
SOURCES: (1) For 1953-55: U.N. Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1957, p. 103.  
(2) For 1956-57: Annual Budget Speeches.

China thus received substantial net foreign aid only in two years, viz. 1954 and 1955. In all other years there was a net outgo of external assistance.

Indeed, since 1956 receipts of external assistance have rapidly tapered off while such aid extended has assumed substantial proportions. When account is also taken of the repayment of Soviet loans, the net outgo of funds since 1956 seems quite large.

In contrast, India's planned development has been marked by growing reliance on foreign

aid. During the Second Plan period, domestic saving is now expected to account for no more than two-thirds of investment (Rs. 4,000 crores out of a total of Rs. 6,000 crores), the remaining Rs. 2,000 crores being accounted for by the inflow of external assistance and drawing down of sterling balances.

China proposes to continue her breath-taking pace of advance in the years to come. The targets so far announced for the next year are:

Steel—18 million tons as against 11 million tons in 1958;  
Coal—380 million tons as against 270 million tons;  
Foodgrains—525 million tons as against 375 million tons;  
Cotton—five million tons as

one conclusion: The Chinese economy has mounted and is firmly in the saddle on a flying horse. On the other hand, in India, the country is hard put to it maintaining even its slow, truly pedestrian pace.

Why this painful contrast? The fault in India lies not with the land or the people but with an inferior social system.

India is endowed with natural resources quite comparable with China's. Indeed, in the field of agriculture, we have some advantage. In India, fertile plains form a considerably higher percentage, and inhospitable deserts and inaccessible mountains, a considerably lower percentage, of the total area. And no sizeable part of the country is snow-bound in winter ruling out a winter crop.

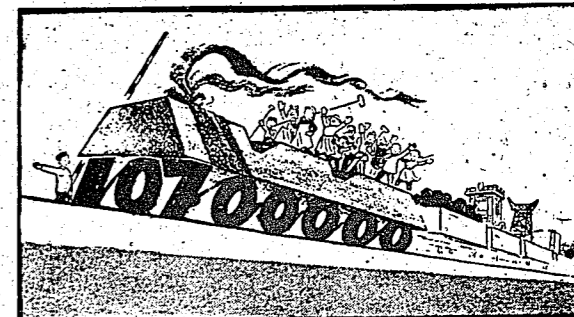
The position is comparable also in respect of mineral resources. If China has more coal, India has more and much richer iron ore. If they have an advantage in some non-ferrous metals like copper, we have in some others like aluminium. If they have a higher hydro-electric potential, we seem to be more plentifully supplied with atomic energy materials like thorium. And so on.

The people, too, compare with the Chinese. Given an opportunity, they are certainly as capable as the Chinese, or for that matter any other people, of producing remarkable results.

The root cause of the painful contrast is thus neither the land nor the people. India's great drawback is, indeed, her inferior social system.

China's growing lead over India in the matter of economic performance is due, fundamentally, to her success in moving, step by step, into a Socialist society. The greater progress in that direction, the faster has become her economic growth. The great leap forward of 1958 was but the

The above leads to but



STEEL: ARRIVAL AHEAD OF SCHEDULE.

first blossom of the new Socialist order.

this State signified that the Chinese working class, leading the Chinese people in their fight for the completion of the New Democratic tasks—the elimination of imperialism, feudalism and collaborationist capitalism—had progressed far enough to win the hegemony both of the democratic forces and the State.

## Transition To Socialism In China: The Beginning (1949)

The transition to a Socialist society began with the founding of the People's Republic (1949). It was made possible by the class character of the new State. The emergence of

In the new State, the Chinese working class, on the basis of a firm alliance with the peasantry and a united front with the national bourgeoisie, under its own leadership exercised

\* SEE OVERLEAF

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# China's General Line Of Transition To Socialism (1953)



PEOPLE'S COMMUNE:

We can certainly fulfil the targets.

\*FROM PAGE 21

effective political power. The realisation thus of the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat not only guaranteed the final completion of the New Democratic tasks but also made it possible for China to follow this up by fulfilment of the Socialist task, viz. of transition to Socialism.

## First Steps 1950-52

Accordingly, in the early years of the People's Republic on the one hand democratic reforms were carried to final completion over the entire mainland (except for some areas inhabited by national minorities where the conditions were not yet ripe for this) and on the other, first steps were taken in the transition to Socialism.

The main democratic measures undertaken during this period were: the political unification of the entire mainland; a thorough-going land-to-the-tiller agrarian reform; and confiscation of the bureaucratic capitalist enterprises. The main Socialist measures taken at the same time were: priority development of the State sector of a Socialist nature thus raising it to the leading position in the national economy and effecting rapid consolidation of this position; promotion of cooperative forms in agriculture (mainly mutual aid

teams, credit cooperatives and supply and marketing cooperatives); and growing control over the capitalist sector of industry, trade and agriculture (rich peasant economy). The New Democratic phase thus grew uninterruptedly into the Socialist phase of the revolution.

By 1953, not only the democratic reforms had been finally completed over the greater part of the country but also the process of transition to Socialism had advanced far enough to make the Communist Party of China formulate its general line on the subject, later (1954) embodied in the Preamble to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. It stated:

"From the founding of the People's Republic of China to the attainment of a Socialist society is a period of transition. During the transition the fundamental task of the State is, step by step, to bring about the Socialist industrialisation of the country and step by step to accomplish the Socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce."

China's First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) was based on this general line of transition to Socialism. It signified that the process had advanced to the stage of planned economic construction with Socialism as its goal.

On account of correct leadership by the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government, the transition to

Socialism was effected much quicker than originally anticipated. Indeed 1956 saw the basic completion of the Socialist revolution on the economic front, i.e. in the ownership of means of production.

By the end of this year, Socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production in agriculture and handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was basically complete. The membership of the agricultural producers' cooperatives increased to about 120 million peasants or 96 per cent of the national total. Of this figure, more than 100 million or 88 per cent of the country's peasant households were in cooperatives of the more advanced type. There were over 100,000 cooperative handicraft producers' organisations with a membership of over five millions i.e., 92 per cent of all the handicraftsmen in the country.

Private industry for the most part came under joint State-private management. Some 70,000 industrial enterprises so changed over in 1956. They accounted for 99.6 per cent of the gross output (in value) and 99 per cent of all the workers and employees in the previously private industrial enterprises.

A total of 1,990,000 private shops and stores of all sizes were transformed into either joint State-private shops, cooperative groups, or directly into State-owned shops. The undertakings so transformed

\*SEE FACING PAGE

FROM FACING PAGE

accounted for about 85 per cent of all the people working in the formerly private commercial undertakings.

All privately owned shops, barges and trucks came under joint State-private ownership or were organised into cooperatives; 95 per cent of all private junks came under State-private or ownership by transport cooperatives; and 77 per cent of privately owned animal-drawn vehicles were organised into transport cooperatives.

The Socialist transforma-

tion of the private ownership of the means of production fundame tally solved the contradiction between Socialist and capitalist economy and between Socialist and individual economy. The Chinese economy was now free not only of the imperialist and the feudal fetters but also of the capitalist and the pre-capitalist shackles. Conditions were thus ripe, so far as production relations were concerned, for a great leap forward.

(e) With centralised leadership, overall planning, proper division of labour and coordination, to develop national and local industries, and large, small and medium-sized enterprises simultaneously; and

(f) By means of all this to build our country, in the shortest possible time, into a great Socialist country with a modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture."

As a result of the correct implementation of the General Line of Socialist Construction, the "leap forward" in the first half of 1958 grew into a "great leap forward" in the second half. The gigantic achievements of 1958 sketched earlier were the direct outcome of this. The leaping advance of productive forces and of Socialist consciousness in turn further promoted progress in the relations of production.

In just four months—July to October—the 500-million-strong rural China moved forward from the state of cooperatives to that of People's Communes. The stage was thus set, inter alia, for the transformation of collective ownership (a lower form of Socialist ownership) into ownership by the whole people (a higher form of Socialist ownership.)

At the same time urban handicraft cooperatives started transforming themselves into State-owned factories.

Within the next few years, the highest form of Socialist ownership (i.e. ownership by the whole people) is scheduled to become universal in China. The economy will soon have but a single sector, namely, the public sector. Conditions would then be ripe in respect of relations of production as distinguished from the level of development of productive forces for the transition from Socialism to Communism.

The above advance in the relations of production is creating conditions for a further great leap forward of productive forces and Socialist consciousness. The impressive targets of 1959 mentioned earlier but reflect this.

It follows that the main-spring of China's accelerating economic growth has been her uninterrupted progress with the social revolution. This revolution did the trick by freeing the economy from the fetters first of imperialism and feudalism and later of capitalist and pre-capitalist production relations. The flying horse that the Chinese economy thus mounted is none other than the social system called "Socialism".

## On The Political And Ideological Fronts (1957)

The following year witnessed the ripening of these conditions on the political and the ideological fronts as well. On the basis of Mao Tse-tung's Thesis "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People", the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party initiated a nationwide rectification campaign to eliminate the evil working style of bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism within State organisations and the Communist Party, and raise the ideological level and improve State and Party work to speed up the tempo of Socialist construction.

But as during this campaign, the people were going ahead with their "full airing of views", the bourgeois Rightists thought it a great opportunity to launch a violent attack on the Party and the Socialist system in an attempt to restore capitalism in China. To safeguard the Party

and the Socialist system, the broad masses led by the Party set going a stupendous anti-Rightist struggle and won complete victory.

This struggle and the general debate participated in by the people throughout the country about the two roads—Socialism or capitalism—which set the rectification campaign on a national scale, greatly raised the level of Socialist consciousness of the cadres and the masses, heightened their initiative in labour, pushed forward construction work in various fields and effected improvement in all kinds of work.

The rectification campaign and the anti-Rightist struggle were in fact a Socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. The victory on these fronts consolidated the victory on the economic front and carried it still further.

## General Line Of Socialist Construction (May 1958)

The victory of the Socialist revolution on the economic as well as the political and ideological fronts provided the basis for the "leap forward" that began to emerge in the 1957-58 winter first in agriculture and then over the rest of the economy. The Central Committee of the Party took note of the brewing upsurge and in May 1958 formulated the General Line of Socialist Construction. It is "to build Socialism by exerting our utmost efforts, and pressing ahead consistently to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results."

The following were laid down as the basic points of this General Line.

(a) To mobilise all positive factors and correctly handle contradictions among the people;

(b) To consolidate and develop Socialist ownership, i.e. ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, and consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and proletarian international solidarity;

(c) To carry out the technical revolution and cultural revolution step by step, while completing the Socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts;

(d) To develop agriculture and industry simultaneously while giving priority to heavy industry;

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NEW AGE REPUBLIC DAY SPECIAL

## Why The Pedestrian Pace In India

The slow, truly pedestrian pace of India's economic growth is rooted in her failure to effect the social revolution required to impart health and vigour to her economy. Not to mention Socialist transformation of the economy which alone could free it from the capitalist and the pre-capitalist fetters, even the democratic tasks of freeing it from imperialist exploitation and the feudal fetters remain unfinished.

This failure, however, is not fortuitous, it is rooted in the very class character of the government that has run India since the formation of the Indian Republic. In this Republic political power rests with the bourgeoisie which exercises it with the support of the semi-feudal, semi-capitalist and the petty-bourgeois elements. The limitations of its class position have prevented the ruling bourgeoisie even from liquidating feudal production relations and imperialist exploitation. Liquidation of capitalism and pre-capitalist production relations on the basis of Socialist transformation of the economy is just not within its province.

Of course, the bourgeoisie has pronounced itself in favour of a "Socialist pattern of society". But its conception of Socialism is peculiarly its own, suited to its own class

interests. For economic growth what really matters are deeds rather than words, actual measures rather than demagogic slogans. One cannot get milk just by labelling a he-buffalo as a cow.

India's natural resources and the quality of her people surely warrant a rate of economic growth comparable to China's. But to turn this potentiality into a reality, it is necessary to free the economy from its present fetters. This calls for a social revolution that would emancipate the economy: in its first (New Democratic) phase, from imperialist exploitation, feudal fetters, and some particularly negative features of capitalism and pre-capitalist relations, and in its second (Socialist) phase, from the remaining fetters of capitalism and pre-capitalist relations.

To put the country on the road to such a revolution is the key task facing the working class and the rest of the Indian people. To that end it is necessary for the working class through a correct and effective fight for the realisation of the New Democratic tasks, to wrest the leadership from the bourgeoisie first of the democratic movement, then of the democratic Government, and finally of the democratic State. That is the call of the hour. That is the way to an abounding economy.

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Indo-Czech economic relations. Still, to give our readers an idea of this Plant's magnitude it is worthwhile recalling that its heaviest castings will weigh as much as a hundred tons.

Czechoslovakia has also been helping in manufacturing sugar plant machinery in our country. In collaboration with Messrs Walchand Nagar Industries it has already produced nearly Rs. 65 lakhs worth of machinery last year, with 80 to 90 per cent of the components manufactured locally. Czechoslovakia has also supplied plants and equipment for setting up three sugar factories in Madras, Assam and Punjab, and helped in the establishment of a thermal power plant with 45,000 kw capacity at Utran, near Surat. In Kashmir, where industries have been few so far, it is building a brick factory. In cement also, it has undertaken to supply equipment for augmenting the capacity of the State-owned plant at Churk in Uttar Pradesh.

relation to pre-pact days—however, the potentialities of trade records with Socialist countries have not been fully tapped. And this, in spite of various extraordinarily favourable clauses incorporated in them.

### No Problem Of Foreign Exchange

Unlike agreements with capitalist countries, which involve payment in foreign exchange, these accords prescribe settlement of accounts in Indian rupees, to be utilised by the exporting countries on purchase of Indian commodities. With the problem of foreign exchange thus obviated, trade with Socialist countries can always be balanced. If it is not, as is unfortunately the case at present, it is only because the Government and the Indian traders have not been particularly enthusiastic about trading their goods with them.

These, however, do not exhaust the lines in which Czechoslovakia's technical skill and expertise can be gainfully utilised. In motor cycles, in rubber tyres, in ceramic and other refractory materials, as well as in setting up an entire range of small industries, the scope of collaboration with it is immense.

Poland and the German Democratic Republic have also been always willing to render fraternal assistance for our industrialisation. The latter has already contracted to set up a raw films plant at Ootacamund, while negotiations with the former in respect of some projects are reported to be in progress.

### They Offer Us Markets, Too

Thus, to a great extent, whatever of industrial progress the Republic has achieved in the nine years of its existence, it owes to the generous fraternal assistance of the Socialist countries, for, unlike the advanced capitalist countries of the West, whose objective has all along been to restrict the industrial growth of the less developed countries, it is in the nature of Socialism that it should help the economically backward nations of the world to reach the pinnacle of progress.

This help, the Socialist countries' render not only through collaboration in industrialisation on easy terms, but also through offering stable markets for the absorption of the assisted countries' export commodities. Immune from the periodic fluctuations, inherent in capitalist economies, their capacity to maintain their trade on an even keel is inexhaustible. With India too, ever since the first Indo-Soviet agreement was concluded, they have always been willing to expand trade. Despite a big spurt—big in

As it is, the Indian traders and the Government have shown an intrepid aversion to break their links with their traditional markets in the West, even when all that they have received in the bargain are reduced prices for their export goods and inflated prices for goods which they import.

In underplaying the potentialities of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries in helping in our economic development the Government as well as the private economic circles often advance the argument of their alleged incapacity to provide us with all the equipment we need.

After the successful launching of the first man-made planet by Soviet scientists, one would presume, the basis of this argument, if it had any, should stand automatically demolished. Still, for the benefit of those who choose to shut their eyes even to this wonder of the century, it might be stated that within a comparatively short span of forty years the Soviet Union has already surpassed all the leading capitalist countries of the West barring the USA, and bids to equal the latter also in another decade.

### Grasp The Hand Of Cooperation

More than this rapid pace of progress of the Socialist countries, it is their generous fraternal assistance in our industrial progress which should help our people to understand, by contrast, the onerous character of the "aid" which the Government has been soliciting from the Western capitalist countries. It should at the same time convince them of the necessity to demand of the Government to get rid of its ideological reservations and go all out to grasp the hand of cooperation extended by the Socialist world.

January 17, 1959

other Samiti candidates in the elections.

It must be noted that not even in the heyday of the Indian National Congress did it ever venture to put up 'Harijans' in general seats, leave aside the question of securing their elections from such seats.

The Samiti's gesture and courage have, for the first time in Maharashtra, created the feeling among the "untouchables" (now neo-Buddhists) on a mass scale that they have friends and fighting allies among the touchables in the struggle for their social emancipation.

This has led the Republican Party, which is, of course, a constituent of the Samiti, to take some new and very welcome decisions. Without an internal struggle in the Republican Party but the point is that those who sponsored the new outlook and decisions have won decisively inside it.

The first point was whether the followers and members of the Republican Party should be individually enrolled as members of the Samiti, or should remain satisfied with the fact that the Republican Party was affiliated to the Samiti as a constituent unit.

The sponsors of the new outlook insisted that the party's followers must be enrolled as individual members of the Samiti in addition to the party being affiliated as a unit. And they have decisively won.

The sponsors of the new outlook have also won on the point of merging their textile workers' union in the new textile union that is now as good as formed in Bombay.

There is not the slightest doubt that these decisions are going to have a profound effect on the social, economic, and political life of Maharashtra. By uniting the Scheduled Castes with the touchables, and the latter with the former in their common struggle for democracy, economic liberation and social emancipation, these decisions will not only tremendously strengthen the trade-union movement in Maharashtra, but also, and not a whit less, the kisan and agricultural workers' movement in the Province.

### Some Problems

Naturally the Samiti and the movement led by it has problems, some of them needing serious attention.

The first such problem is the uncritical glorification of Maratha history. Maharashtra have every right to be proud of their history, primarily as Indians, but also as Maharashtrais. Under Shivaji, they raised the popular banner of revolt against oppressive Moghul domination. They gave the longest and most formidable fight to the advancing tide of British conquest. They made a distinguished contribution to India's struggle for freedom from the British yoke. But there is a lot in Maratha history, particularly the later period, which does not redound to the credit of Maharashtra. And yet, an uncritical

JANUARY 25, 1959

# FOR THE FINAL ASSAULT ON THE BILINGUAL STATE

glorification of Maratha history and an excessive harping on that tune is often done from the Samiti platform and Press.

What is more, and worse, it is sometimes stated that "only Maharashtra has a history, the rest of India has only geography," that "the future of India demands that Maharashtra must come to the helm of affairs in the country," that "Maharashtrians have no friends in India," and so on.

It is true such statements are made in passing, not meant to be taken as a conscious political outlook. But they are wrong, very seriously wrong, for the growth of such sentiments in the impressionable youth of Maharashtra will do grave harm to the country at large, and in the longer run, not a whit less, to the cause of Maharashtra itself.

If this question is squarely raised in the Samiti there is no doubt that there would be common agreement that such propaganda and agitation are wrong. But the fact remains that this is not done, and even we, the Communists have not raised it as clearly and assertively as we ought to. We have limited ourselves to criticising the tendency in our speeches and writings, and none too boldly.

### International Issues

The second problem is the tendency of the Praja Socialist Party to drag international issues on to the Samiti platform and use the Samiti platform for a reactionary criticism of the country's foreign policy, which clearly must not be done.

The most serious of such complications was created when they insisted on moving a resolution in the Bombay Municipal Corporation glorifying Imre Nagy as a freedom-fighter and condemning the Hungarian Government for his execution. The Communists naturally opposed it. But apart from them, the other parties and elements in the Samiti as also the Samiti-supporting Marathi Press (most notably, the powerful daily Maratha of Sri Atré) almost with one voice sharply criticised the PSP move as disruptive and improper.

The electoral programme of the Samiti broadly supports a foreign policy of peace and national independence, and whatever the differences between the parties in the Samiti on the interpretation of such a foreign policy may be, there is not an iota of doubt that the common people in Maharashtra do not want the unity of the Samiti to be strained by bringing such differences on its platform. If the PSP persists in such an effort, it will naturally be resisted.

Thirdly, Vidarbha and Maharashtra have special problems of their own. Not that

they are not formally recognised by the Samiti. In fact, they are specially mentioned in the Samiti's programme. But in practice, the emotional unity of these regions with Samyukta Maharashtra is just taken for granted.

These two regions are not only economically underdeveloped due to the neglect and discrimination of previous rulers. In Vidarbha, particularly in the educated classes, there is strong resentment against the manner in which it has been tossed about during the last fifty years to suit the whims and exigencies of the Nizam, the Viceroy, and now the Congress. This sentiment is utilised by the interested vested interests to bring grist to the demand for a separate Mahavidarbha State.

### Campaign In Vidarbha

Even after the formation of the bilingual State, trade, industry and the services in Vidarbha have had a raw deal at the hands of the Congress Ministry. And yet, the cynical and opportunist Congress rulers, while championing the bilingual against the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra, simultaneously foment the demand for Mahavidarbha against Samyukta Maharashtra, "in case the bilingual is broken up". Standing on two stools, the Congress leaders will certainly meet the fate they deserve. But meanwhile they do "create" the problem of Mahavidarbha for the protago-

nists of Samyukta Maharashtra.

What is needed is a raging and tearing campaign in Vidarbha and Marathwada, clearly exposing what the bilingual or Mahavidarbha means for them and explaining what Samyukta Maharashtra would mean in contrast. In this agitation the fact that in the basic analysis the bilingualists and Mahavidarbhites are the vested interests under cover and that the Samiti is the champion of the popular masses, has to stand out in bold relief.

The last problem, primarily for the Communist Party but also for the Praja Socialist, Peasants' and Workers' and other Left parties who together constitute the driving force in the Samiti, is the serious neglect of building class organisations like trade unions and kisan sabhas and the tendency to get mass demands redressed directly through the Samiti. On many demands of workers and peasants, sometimes important ones, too, (i.e. famine or flood relief, cheap grain shops, etc.) it is obviously easier to have a far bigger mass mobilisation and bring pressure on the bureaucracy and Ministry from the Samiti platform than the trade-union or kisan platform.

But this can be no excuse, and far less a defence, for the neglect of basic mass organisations which alone can become the backbone of a stable and strong popular movement for democracy

and Socialism. However, as stated above, the line of "less bother and quicker results" is generally being followed.

### Growing Urge For Action

What with every single bye-election won and every such victory leading to greater and greater obduracy and cussedness on the part of the ruling Congress, what with Pandit Nehru's sickening sermons to the Marathi people on democracy and peaceful methods, what with his unabashed abuse of the Marathi and Gujarati people as fascists and animals, what with the growing urge for direct action among the people, Maharashtra today is straining at the leash for a final and all-out assault on the bilingual and the positive realisation of the dream of the Marathi and Gujarati people.

### Victory Is Certain

There is no doubt that this battle must come, and come sooner than many are inclined to prophesy. The rumblings of the storm are more than audible. Victory is certain. No doubt it will bring greater and more onerous tasks, it will bring complications of its own. But we can say with measured confidence that when the future brings its problems, it will also bring with them the means for their solution.

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# LIMITATIONS OF OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

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tois—more especially the democratic mass movements.

It will, however, be a profound error to underestimate the serious weaknesses and limitations from which our parliamentary institutions currently suffer. Some of these limitations are, of course, inherent in bourgeois parliamentary systems and they arise from basic social relations. We are, however, concerned here at the moment with problems of a less fundamental nature which would admit of solutions even within the broad framework of a bourgeois society.

## No Proportional Representation

The Indian Constitution puts a whole number of curbs on democratic institutions. Although there is universal adult franchise, there is, however, no proportional representation. This undermines the representative character of even our directly elected legislative bodies like the Lok Sabha and the Legislative Assemblies. To give a concrete example, if there had been proportional representation, the 1957 general elections would have brought for the democratic Opposition alone (not counting the communal and Right-wing parties in the opposition) 130 to 135 seats in Lok Sabha instead of the present 55 odd seats. The Con-

gress would not have occupied its 74 per cent of the seats as against its 47 per cent of votes.

## States' Powers Circumscribed

Then there are the State legislatures whose powers, especially in financial matters are undoubtedly circumscribed by the Constitution. This would seem not only out of accord with the federal concepts but also inevitably saps the vitality of the parliamentary system. Already it is being seen that the growing responsibilities of the States in regard to national reconstruction are more and more coming up against the constitutional limitations on the State. Here is a problem of undoubted significance which Indian democracy will have to solve if only for its own growth.

As for democracy at lower levels, it has yet to strike roots. All the sonorous talk about village democracy has not yet resulted in our panchayats being put on their feet. On the contrary, these remain shorn of even the minimum of the responsibility, power and authority. Worse still, there is an ugly resistance on the part of the Congress rulers to develop the panchayats as a truly popular base of our democracy. In numerous cases, the local bodies are literally suppressed.

As a result, the overwhelming majority of our people are made to stand merely on the sidelines of democracy. Our democratic institutions remain shaky and vulnerable.

These institutions can never be judged in isolation from the policies and practices of the Government. If good and democratic policies add to their solidity and stature, bad and anti-democratic policies produce the opposite result. In our own set-up we have seen how the anti-democratic policies of the Congress Government which often carry the imprimatur of legislative organs—thanks to the "brute majority" of the party in power—tend to lower the prestige of our parliamentary institutions and widen the gap between them and the people.

At the same time, the peasants, workers and other sections of the suffering people, struggling for redress of their grievances and anxiously looking up to parliamentary institutions for a fair deal, are maligned, attacked and persecuted, often with the backing of India's legislative organs. One set of laws go on multiplying the economic burdens on the common man, another appease and pamper those who are already privileged. In the bargain, the rich, as even some prominent Congressmen like the present Governor of Punjab, Sri N. V. Gadgil would say, become richer and the poor poorer.

## Opportunities For Reaction

When laws turn out to be instruments of oppression or exploitation of the masses, the law-making bodies begin to lose not only their dignity but their substance. Contradictions between them and the people sharpen, bringing in its wake disappointment and frustration. This in turn offers grand opportunities to the enemies of the people and other reactionary forces, in the first instance, to run down the democratic and parliamentary institutions and then completely subvert them. Gen. de Gaulle has already achieved a measure of temporary success in riding on mass

frustrations. Gen. Ayub Khan is up to a similar manoeuvre.

It will be sheer day-dreaming to think that India need have no cause for worry, when before our own eyes many of the internal policies of the Congress Government tend to breed mass frustrations. The problems of land, food and unemployment, for example, directly affect tens of millions of people—in fact, the greater part of our population. Despite all the vociferous talking done in our legislatures and laws enacted and re-enacted, solution of such pressing national problems is nowhere within sight even after eleven years of independence.

Would it not then sound mere empty talk when Sri U. N. Dhebar, in his presidential address at Abhayankar Nagar, says: "Democracy in India owes a duty to itself to show that it

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can achieve through its mechanism the solution of the problems affecting the people as effectively as can be done in any other system. . . . One only wishes that the performances of his party which is today controlling our State were in this direction. In the middle of the twentieth century, mere platitudinous sentiments about democracy would seem far too out of date.

## Imposition Of The Bilingual

Take another striking example of the weakening of parliamentary institutions. In order to justify their imposition of the bilingual State of Bombay on the Marathi and Gujarati people, Prime Minister Nehru and others of the Government take shelter behind a decision of Parliament. Yet, the reality is that this decision which has never been acceptable to those whom it intimately concerns, would have never found a place in our Statute Book, but for the Congress Party. And everyone knows that this grievous wrong done not only to the valiant Marathi and Gujarati people but to the very fabric of Indian democracy can very easily be righted if only the Congress rulers, instead of still being guided by dictates of the vested interests, would revoke their wholly undemocratic and unjust stand. Whatever the constitutional logic-chopping, impositions such as this bring no credit to our parliamentary institutions.

But the danger to democratic institutions particularly looms up in the posture of the Congress rulers towards the only non-Congress Ministry in the country, namely the Communist-led Government in Kerala. Not content with the drastic limitations the Constitution itself sets on the States, the Central Government has adopted an attitude of intolerance and discrimination, and, at times, even of pressure and obstruction.

## Narrow Class Allergy

The Prime Minister's Press Conference of August last year which he chose as a forum to run down, ex-parte, the Government of a constituent State of the Republic, repeated utterances of the top Congress leaders including Union Ministers, which amount to instigation of the officials against the Kerala Ministry, ready acceptance by the Central Ministers of the wild and lying allegations against the Kerala Government, tardiness even in the matter of food supply to that State, disapproval of some progressive measures proposed by the Kerala Ministry, extraordinary rigidity shown in dealing with the legislations passed by the Assembly of that State, last but not least, the strange treatment accorded to a privileged correspondence between the Kerala Chief Minister and the Union Home Minister—all this is hard to reconcile with accepted principles and practices that govern even a bourgeois parliamentary system, leave alone a federal constitution.

It appears that India's ruling classes and their political leadership have yet to realise that if our parliamentary system and democratic institutions were to

go forward this must be acclimatised to the inescapable fact that the working class and the working people have already begun to play a significant role in the affairs of the nation and the State and that the Communist Party has emerged as the country's major opposition by the will of the people and under the Indian Constitution.

The vested interests and the Congress rulers have left little room for doubt that their annoyance at and anger against the Kerala Government are caused by the fact that it is led by a party of the working class—and not by another bourgeois party. Our parliamentary and democratic institutions must be spared this narrow class allergy.

Kerala has also provided an interesting test for the Congress in opposition. All these years we have been treated to all sorts of sermons and homilies by the Congress leaders about how the Opposition should behave. The example of the Congress Opposition in Kerala which now follows these precepts has only proved one thing by their whole conduct: the Congress Opposition in Kerala has shown exactly how any responsible

Opposition should not function. Indeed, in disorderly destructiveness and negative and irresponsible attitude, the Congress in that State has established a record which will be difficult to surpass.

Since the Congress happens to be the party in control of the Indian State, and hence in command of its parliamentary and democratic institutions, the danger arising out of this attitude must never be ignored.

That the Opposition has an important role to play in the bourgeois parliamentary system is a universally accepted proposition, but it is a misfortune for Indian democracy and, of course, for our parliamentary institutions: that the Congress rulers of the day are more interested in outward forms than any substance. They want the Opposition to function in their image—fame and obliging.

## Opposition Ignored

If the Congress rulers will kindly play by the rules of the game, they must necessarily cultivate an attitude of responsiveness, understanding, and at least on some issues, cooperation. Unfortunately, this attitude is missing. What one comes across is an attitude of cold indifference, cynicism and crude hostility towards the Opposition.

It is often said that the Five-Year Plans represent national endeavours. Yet in the formulation of the two Five-Year Plans, opposition viewpoints were completely ignored and not one single suggestion from the latter was accepted. Currently on the food issue again, offer of cooperation by the Opposition has been spurned in most of the States. In fact, it has become a serious problem for our parliamentary system that the Congress Governments refuse to take the Opposition into con-

dence even on matters which warrant understanding and co-operation between the two.

## Big Business Consulted

At the same time, it is not a State secret that in many important financial and economic matters, monopolists like the Tatas and the Birlas and even the foreign interests like the World Bank, are privately consulted, but never the Opposition. Occasionally Bills are introduced embodying the results of such private consultations—and for giving effect to the advice of the vested interests. Incidentally, even Congress legislators are ignored.

In a number of States like West Bengal and Jammu & Kashmir the Governments seem to be apathetic to the meetings of State Assemblies and the total duration of their session in a year is much less than necessary. In these and other States, the Opposition requests for convocation of meetings of Legislatures to discuss burning and urgent issues are as a matter of rule, rejected out of hand.

the resignation. The Governor left himself open to the charge of favouritism and partisanship and our parliamentary system suffered a serious injury.

Then again, when the armed constabulary manhandled the leader of an Opposition group in the U.P. Assembly, within the very chambers and precincts of the Legislative House, both the State Chief Minister and the Union Home Minister loudly justified the action, as though it was all the business of a violent criminal being dealt with in a police lock-up! What was hit in U.P. is our parliamentary institutions—and not merely an individual member of an Assembly.

It is no wonder that the Government does not show a moment's hesitation in arresting Opposition legislators for participation in peaceful and popular mass movements. Sometimes they are clapped into prisons without trial under the Preventive Detention Act as has been the fate of the Leader of the Opposition in West Bengal, Jyoti Basu. How can the morale of our parliamentary institutions be built when the leaders and other members of the Oppo-

tive on the part of the private members is sought to be progressively reduced.

## Good Practices Given Up

All this goes on side by side with the ministerial practice of avoiding and evading inconvenient issues. This practice of disregard of the other men's point of view has been developed into a fine art. It should also perhaps be mentioned here that the Standing Committees of Members of Parliament for different Ministries have been given up and replaced by informal Consultative Committees, which have little effectiveness and no constitutional or even statutory status at all. Thus the wholesome practice of effectively associating Members of Parliament with the work of Ministries has been thrown overboard.

Good conventions sometimes become necessary for attuning parliamentary institutions to changing times and thus for their growth. But we have thus far evolved very few conventions which we can claim as our own. We seem to have somehow got stuck in old, outdated practices of the British Parliament and here again a sort of pick and choose is resorted to suit the convenience of the

# Congress Attitude To Kerala Govt. Pinpoints Danger To Our Democracy

For example, when the entire Opposition in West Bengal, whose strength is about a hundred out of the total of 252 asked for an emergency session to discuss the critical food situation and formulate measures to tackle it, the proposal was turned down without any ado.

Only this month, the Punjab Government promulgated an ordinance to facilitate collection of extortionate betterment levies. This was done a few days after the legislature had been prorogued. Now when there is a demand that a special session of the Assembly be called to discuss these levies, the Government would not listen.

Does this not amount to open by-passing of the legislature? One can understand ordinances for defending the interests of the people, but such anti-people legislation by ordinances should have no place in any civilised system of Government, parliamentary or otherwise.

## The Orissa Performance

There are some other howling examples of the scant regard for the Opposition. In May last year, when the Ministerial crisis developed in Orissa, and the Congress Ministry tendered its resignation, the Governor of the State behaved in a manner unheard of in the annals of parliamentary democracy. Instead of inviting the Opposition to form a Government, the Governor went out of his way to advertise the strength of the Congress Party in the Orissa State Assembly and implore the resigning Chief Minister Sri Harekrishna Mahatab to withdraw

sition are beaten up by the police, arrested and persecuted at will and even held as captives without trials?

The democratic movement, and the legitimate urges and aspirations of the people constitute a life-giving force for any democratic institution. Due respect for these must at all costs be developed as an article of our faith in democracy.

## Procedural Limitations

In this connection, reference should be made to certain practical and procedural limitations from which our parliamentary institutions suffer.

For example, adjournment motions even on urgent topical issues of national importance have become rather rare these days. It will be remembered that in the pre-independence days, the Congress leaders used to storm the legislatures with such motions, but now, having found their place in the treasury benches, they have lost all taste for them.

The Question Hour is supposed to be a vital feature of the work of legislatures, but in several States, every attempt is made on the part of the Government to make it infructuous. In West Bengal, for example, hundreds of questions for oral answers are kept pending for months and even years. Even in Parliament where the situation is somewhat better, 50 to 60 per cent of the notices of starred questions (meant for oral answers) are disallowed on technical or other grounds.

Non-official business which provides opportunity for initia-

treasury benches. It is high time we thought of something more dynamic, more democratic and more appropriate to our conditions than what that Anglo-Saxon parliamentary bible, May's Parliamentary Practice, offers.

Sometimes originality, however, is displayed in the country by creating extremely harmful precedents, of which the public glorification by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister of their former colleague, Sri T. T. Krishnamachari, is the latest example. A Prime Minister or any other member of the Government is not expected to laud to the skies a former ministerial colleague so soon after his resignation following a major public scandal in his Ministry, not to speak of any public enquiry into the same.

## The Mathai Episode

The recent official release by the Prime Minister's Secretariat and the Press Information Bureau of the Government of a letter written to the Prime Minister by his Personal Assistant, Sri M. O. Mathai, is another unheard of step in the annals of even bourgeois parliamentary democracy. It does not seem to have occurred to anybody responsible for the release that the writer of this notorious letter was still an employee of the Government and that what he wrote contains slanderous attacks against the country's major Opposition party, imputations

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# UNITE TO DEFEND AND STRENGTHEN OUR PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS

against the Prime Minister and reflections on Parliament. As for the limitless arrogance and conceit which is exhibited in this letter, that perhaps is somewhat typical of the mentality that is being so sedulously nursed in inflated and pampered bureaucrats by the Congress regime.

The bourgeois parliamentary system has never been known for high principles, moral cleanness or consistency. Even so one would expect the line being drawn somewhere.

Two particularly menacing developments should draw the attention of all those who have the good of our democratic and parliamentary institutions at heart. One is Big Money's increasing activities to degrade and corrupt our public life and its various institutions, the other the abnormal strengthening of India's rigid and ramified bureaucracy. This vitally concerns not merely the democratic op-

position, but also democratic-minded Congressmen. In some ways, the latter perhaps suffer more, because apart from having to hold the baby and bear the odium, the democratic forces within the Congress are getting constantly gagged and pushed to the party's backwaters.

As for Big Money, its grip over the Congress and the administration is already very great and is growing. In addition, it is building up its own Lobbies in Parliament and State Legislatures which pull all kinds of wires and keep up pressure in the service of the reactionary millionaire interests. Their line is one of sabotage of whatever is good in India's Five-Year. Plans or in other policies. They want to put the clock back and theirs is a path of downright perdition. The danger becomes all the greater because Big Business has established deep links with the top

officialdom of which the LIC-Mundhra deal was a manifestation and it also controls the country's powerful Press.

It will not be out of place here to recall the note of warning struck by the Chief Justice of Bombay High Court (now India's Ambassador to the USA) and Mr. Justice P. B. Mookerjee of the Calcutta High Court.

In a case in which the Rs. ten-lakh donation by the Tata Iron and Steel Company to the Congress Election Fund at the time of the last general election was questioned, Mr. Justice Chagla in his judgement declared that such contributions to political funds constituted "a danger which may grow apace and which may ultimately throttle democracy in this country."

In another similar case of donation of Rs. 2½ lakhs to the election fund of West Bengal Congress by the Indian Iron and Steel Company, Mr. Justice

Mookerjee characterised such donations as "a most sinister principle fraught with grave danger to commercial as well as public standards of administration."

This anxiety expressed by eminent judicial minds has only caused some irritation in the ruling Congress circles. For, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, speaking in the Rajya Sabha on September 12, 1958, stated:

"Well, I candidly admit that the Congress has collected funds from these rich people. . . . After all, we collect funds from every person who is prepared to give them. In fact, we put Tatas and Birlas in the same category. . . . I feel very strongly about it. I think the courts should never come near these things. They should remain out."

In this background, the political motivations and designs behind the U.S. economic assistance to India cannot but give rise to grave anxiety. For this is by now an exposed de-

vice for facilitating U.S. interference and pressure in the internal affairs of the aided countries. It will be doing our intelligence less than justice if we ignore that as the dollars are coming, the Americans are not only pouring out their venom against the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala but also talking about who is going to be India's next Prime Minister. Has not Sri Morarji Desai been repeatedly named in the U.S. Press as Sri Nehru's successor?

The growing reliance of the Congress on caste and other backward prejudices in elections and its alliance with the communal elements is yet another source of positive danger to the growth of our democracy.

About the bureaucracy, there is no need to say much. Apart from its proliferation beyond all limits, it has been systematically strengthened and invested with enormous powers. Not that all officers are bad. Moreover, low-grade government employees are ill-treated, ill-paid and often discriminated against. But there are many in high places who have no training at all in a democratic spirit and some of whom have not even lived down their British past. Yet it is these heavily pampered people who actually decide even major policy issues on many occasions and pass their decisions to be okayed and parroted by Ministers. Some of the Congress Ministers simply eat out of the hands of their officers.

When it comes to implementation, the field is left almost entirely to the bureaucracy. The result is inefficiency and corruption and even sabotage of the good measures the Government is obliged to adopt. Popular initiative or participation in the affairs of the nation is discouraged and stifled in a planned way. And the so-called ministerial responsibility for the conduct of the officials often turns out to be a nauseating attempt to shield malpractices and corruption both of which are rampant. Democratic institutions can never assume their cherished role unless the topnotches in the services are taught respect for the people and devotion to the country's cause. The bureaucracy must be thoroughly overhauled and democratised through effective and far-reaching administrative reforms.

Democracy is supposed to be "a way of life", as the Vice-President of India often says. If this is seriously meant at all, this way of life should be consciously cultivated and firmly established in all the organs of the State, including the armed forces.

From the foregoing, it would be clear that our house is far from set in order, our democratic and parliamentary institutions far from put out of harm's way. It becomes the bounden duty of all who believe in the preservation and strengthening of these institutions and democracy in India, to make united and common efforts to achieve the objective.

The issue is one which crosses party barriers and embraces all democratic and patriotic forces and the battle has to be fought within the Legislatures and, more particularly, outside. In the final analysis, it is the masses, united and organised, in endeavours and struggles for India's political, economic, social and cultural progress, who will decide the issue.

(January 19, 1959).

# MECHTA

BY DILIP BOSE  
IN THIS ARTICLE, THE WRITER EXPLAINS FOR THE LAYMAN THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENT OF SOVIET SCIENCE

## ...THE MAN-MADE PLANET

January 2, 1959, the day the artificial planet was launched in space by Soviet scientists, was yet another milestone in humanity's march forward to conquer space and time. Here is a new guest of the Sun, created by the hands of man and in years to come many more will no doubt follow. Incidentally, this must upset all the 'calculations' of the astrologers, faced as they are with a new planet exerting its influence, sinister or otherwise, on human beings!

IT is no accident of history that it is the scientists of an advanced Socialist country that has blazed the glorious path of man's eternal quest to conquer nature. Certain persons, who held that the launching of the first artificial satellite, the Sputnik, was somewhat of an accidental achievement of Soviet science, could now perhaps be usefully reminded that, the successful launching of the artificial planet in its orbit round the Sun involves a high degree of precision in many branches of technological science, not to speak of the sheer power that is necessary to project such a heavy body in space, free from the gravitational clutches of the Earth.

The tenth planet, the first artificial Soviet satellite of the Sun, according to Alexander Topchiev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is a compound of the latest achievements in radio-electronics, telemechanics, metallurgy, chemistry, automation thermal engineering and other branches.

Speculations were rife in certain quarters whether the Soviet Union would share the new knowledge with the rest of the world for this was launched after the International Geophysical Year had run its full course by December 31, 1958. Mr. Viktor Bazkin, Director of Moscow's Planetary, declared on January 4 that the secrets of outer space being revealed will be fully shared with the rest of the world.

### Applause From All Quarters

Unlike on previous occasions, this new advance of Soviet science drew applause from diverse quarters. President Eisenhower in a message of congratulation said: "(It) represents a great stride forward in man's advance into the infinite reaches of space. To the scientists and engineers assigned to the undertaking a full measure of credit is due, and we congratulate them on this achievement." So did Britain's Prime Minister. To the Muscovites was the radio call signs from the rocket, christened Mechta (meaning "Dream"—embodying the age-old dream of man to set up his foothold in space) and many of them danced and sang all night in the streets of Moscow.

Prof. Anatole Blagonravov, head of the technical science section of the Soviet Academy, was certainly not being romantic, when he told readers of the Moscow youth newspaper Komsomolskaya Pravda on January 4, 1959, that he thought that one of them one day will walk along the edge of a crater of the Moon, un-

ravel the age-old secret of the canals on Mars and unveil the mysteries of the enigmatic Venus. It will be difficult in this short article to deal with all the aspects of the study involved nor are all facts yet marshalled. It will be possible here to deal with the orbit, etc., of the artificial planet, as also to indicate, however briefly, some of the new vistas of knowledge opening before us.

It is generally known that a velocity of seven miles per second (of 11.2 kilometres/sec.) will enable a body to escape for ever from the clutches of the Earth's gravitational pull. It is also probably known now that a velocity of five miles per second (or 7.9 kms/sec.) enables a body to become an artificial satellite of the Earth (a Sput-

nik), provided the body is projected at a safe height clear from the friction of the atmosphere that surrounds the Earth like a blanket. Let us examine the latter position a little more in detail.

The artificial satellite round the Earth, or the natural satellite, the Moon, rotates round the Earth on the same principle as a stone tied by a piece of string can be whirled round the hand. So long as the tension of the string, pulling the stone towards the hand, (the centripetal force), equals the potential force of the stone to fly off at a tangent. (Indeed it does so if the string is let go, i.e. the centrifugal force), the stone would rotate round the hand. In the Earth-Sputnik system, the gravitational pull of the Earth on the Sputnik is the centripetal force which is balanced by the centrifugal force, producing the resultant orbital velocity of the Sputnik. A simple mathematical formula (in the case of a circular orbit) determines the respective position:

$$MmG = \frac{mV^2}{R}$$

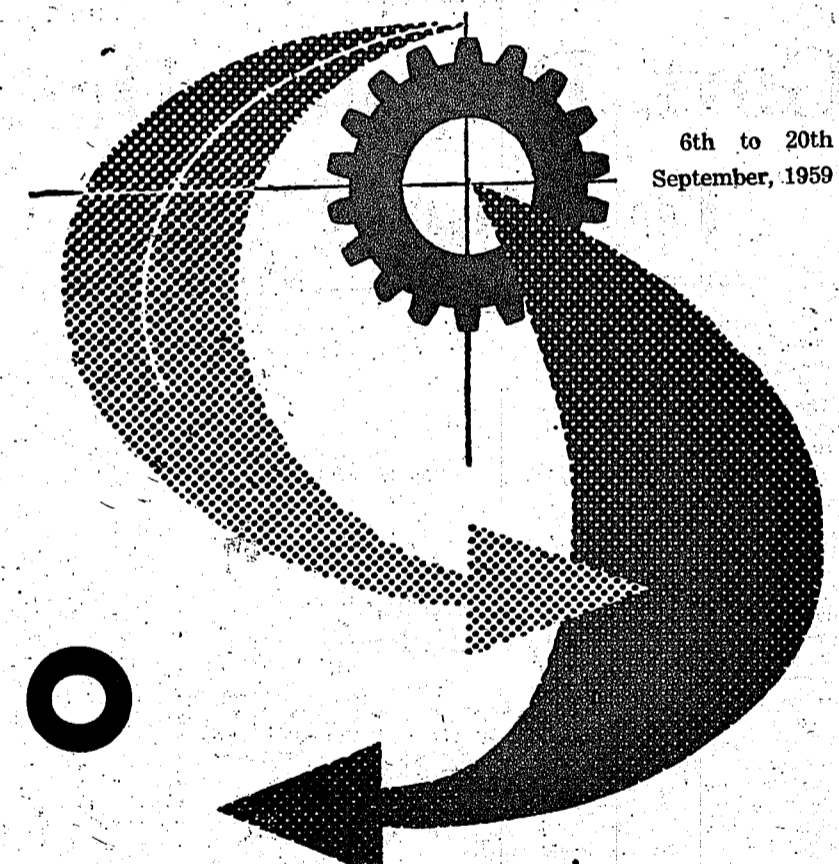
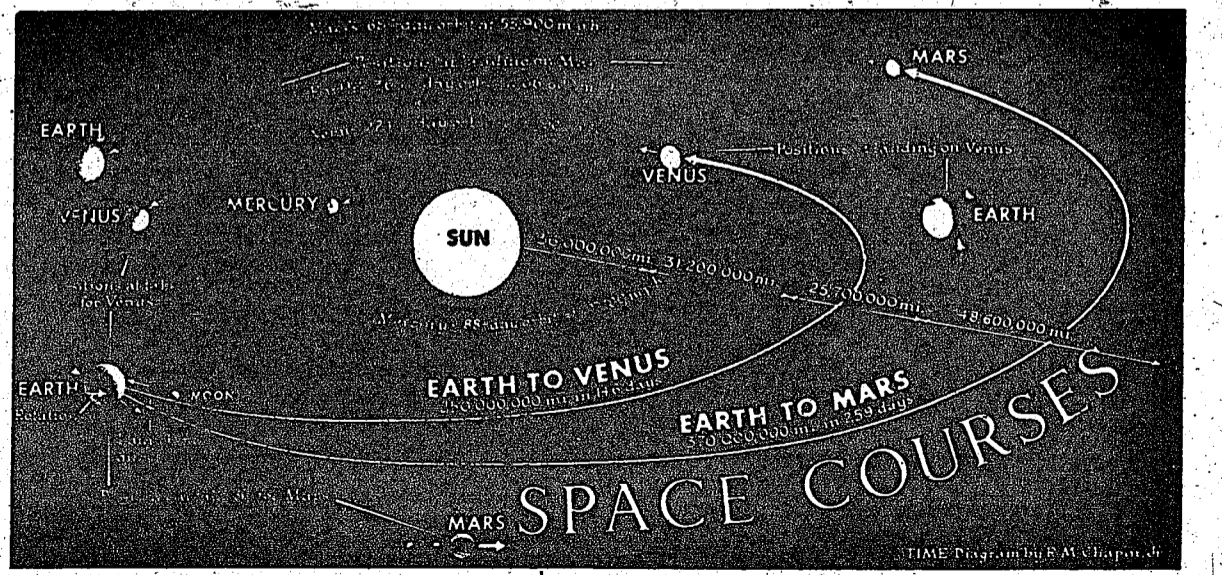
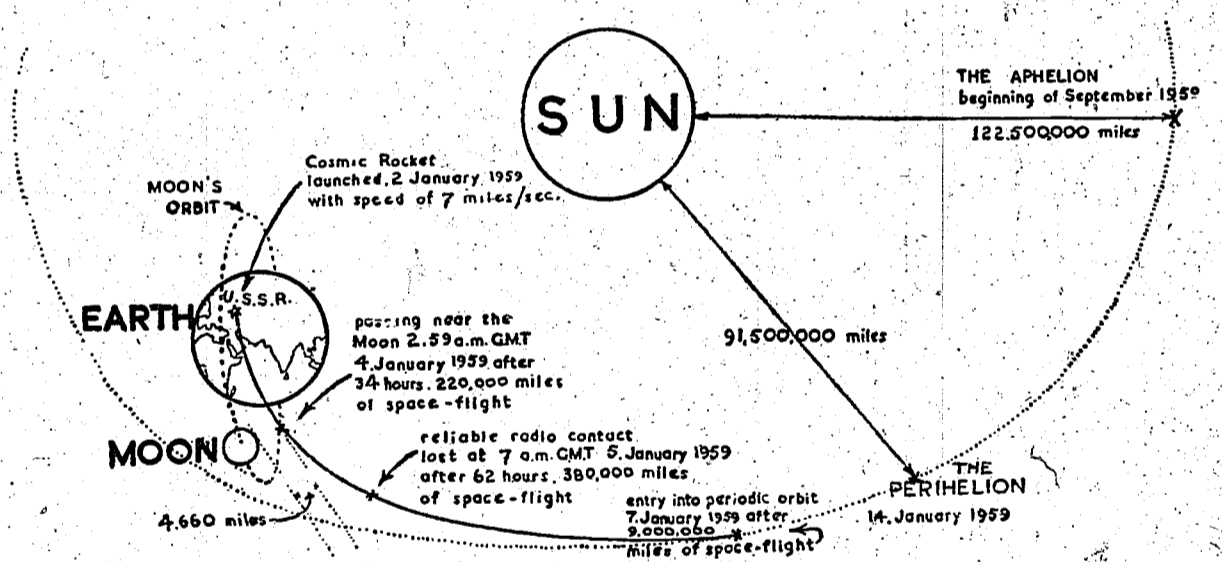
where M = mass of the Earth, m = mass of the Sputnik, G = gravitational constant, R = distance of the centre of the Sputnik from the centre of the Earth, V = velocity of the Sputnik.

Needless to say, the same

Therefore, the velocity of the Sputnik is inversely proportional to the square root of the distance of the Sputnik from the centre of the Earth. The higher (strictly the more distant) we go from the Earth the less would be the orbital velocity of the Sputnik. Indeed to go back to our popular example of the string and the stone, is it not a common experience that the longer the

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### HOW THE ROCKET WENT INTO ITS 480-DAY ORBIT — From SOVIET WEEKLY



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# BEACON-LIGHT FOR HUMANITY'S STRUGGLE TO CONQUER NATURE

\* FROM PAGE 29

string the slower the speed with which the stone would rotate round the hand.

## A Popular Misconception

It is just as well to dispel here one popular misconception. The rotatory speed of the stone or the orbital velocity of the Sputnik round the Earth has nothing to do with its weight, though needless to say, the heavier it is the more difficult it would be to project it in space in the first place.

Let us take an example to illustrate the point here. Jupiter, which is at least 1,300 times more massive than the remotest planet Pluto, has an orbital motion of eight miles per second to that of Pluto's three miles per second. If the weight of the bodies were to be the principal factor determining their speed, the far heavier Jupiter would certainly have travelled at a slower rate than the light-weight Pluto. The explanation is that Pluto is much farther away from the Sun than Jupiter.

Another point to note from the formula given above. The less the value of M, i.e. the mass of the primary body round which a Sputnik or a satellite rotates, the less would be the value of the V required to maintain it in orbit. That is why to create an artificial satellite of the Earth, we require a velocity of five miles/sec., but to create an artificial

satellite of the Moon, much less massive than the Earth, we would require only about one mile/sec.

Now it is evident that if a body is projected with a velocity higher than five miles/sec., it will rise higher and trace larger elliptical orbits round the Earth. But it is also evident that a point is soon going to be reached as the initial velocity of projection is increased, when one arm of the ellipse is going to break (mathematically one foot centre of the ellipse is going to be projected to infinity or the ellipse becomes a parabola) and our body, instead of retracing its steps back on an elliptical curve, will now trace a parabolic curve and disappear. That is to say, the body so projected is not going to come back to Earth. It will have attained what is otherwise known as "escape velocity". That escape velocity, to repeat, is known to be seven miles/sec. (or 11.2 kms/sec.). Any velocity between five to seven miles a second will enable the body so projected to trace various types of elliptical or circular curves at different heights (or distances strictly speaking) from the Earth.

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## Escape Velocity

The escape velocity, of course, could be explained in a more popular fashion by drawing the analogy of trying to throw a ball along a smooth upwardly inclined plane. It is

evident that unless sufficient speed is given to the ball at the foot of the inclined plane, the ball after rising to a certain height will come to a standstill for a moment and then slide back. But if sufficient speed is imparted to take the ball over the top of the inclined plane, it is clear that the ball is not going to slide back again to the foot of the inclined plane. Escaping the Earth's gravitational pull is like going up a vertically inclined plane.

## SOVIET SCIENCE HAS ACHIEVED THIS ESCAPE VELOCITY FOR THE FIRST TIME.

### Three Possibilities

When the miracle rocket, the "Mechta," reached the vicinity of the Moon i.e. sufficiently close to have the Moon's gravitational pull act as the predominant influence on the body, there were three possibilities.

FIRST, if its speed was less than one mile per second (it was no doubt losing its speed all the way as it sped from the surface of the Earth), it was to crash on the surface of the Moon. No such ignoble fate for a Soviet rocket though the Americans would thank their stars if they could do only that much!

SECONDLY, if its speed were around one mile per second, it would have become

a sputnik of the Moon, i.e. a satellite of our satellite.

No, not this time. If this pioneer rocket to outer space were to become a satellite at all, it would be of the Sun itself, competing with his nine other planets, including the Earth, though it itself is a product of the Earth. So our MECHTA soars past the Moon, its velocity at the time was 1.52 miles per second, to become a satellite of the Sun. It is now tracing a giant ellipse round the Sun, with the centre of the Sun as one of its foci centre.

Its nearest point to the Sun, called the perihelion, was passed on January 14 last at a distance of 91,500,000 miles from the Sun. This is, therefore the summer of our Mechta. It will go into a 214,750,000 mile-orbit round the Sun and will take 447 days (about 15 months) to complete each circuit (The Statesman, January 5). The last stage of the rocket weighs 1,472 kilograms (about 1.45 tons) without fuel and is equipped with a special container. The total weight of the scientific and measuring instruments together with sources of current supply and the container is 361.3 kilograms (298.5 lbs).

This whole programme involved precision calculation and execution to the nth degree. It was not only necessary to impart to the rocket a speed nearly one-and-a-half times greater than that needed for artificial earth satellites, but to exceedingly accurately calculate and impart the extent and direction of this speed. A mistake of about one per cent would render the experiment unsuccessful, as happened with the American attempts to send a rocket to the Moon.

### Behind U. S. Failure

Let us briefly recall here what happened to the American moon-probe rocket, called "Pioneer," not to underestimate the achievements of American science, but to realise to what extent precision-calculation and execution is involved in this venture.

Three mechanical failures sealed the final doom of the "Pioneer" to its watery grave in the South Pacific.

First, a too-steep angle of climb, when the first stage of the 88-foot three-stage rocket was blasting, deprived the final stage—the probe vehicle—of the few hundred miles an hour extra velocity it would have needed to escape the Earth's pull.

Secondly, the second stage had enough fuel to give the vehicle a push sufficient to overcome the trouble, but a shut-off device went into action automatically when there was still ten seconds worth of fuel in the tanks—a quantity believed sufficient

to give the vital extra few hundred miles-per-hour velocity.

Thirdly, the retro-rocket, which was to have been fired by remote control from the Earth to enable it to have the final requisite velocity to become a satellite of the Moon, failed to function. If it had, perhaps the "Pioneer" could have been sent round a giant orbit round the Earth because it had reached up to a distance of 79,212 miles from the Earth. And the payload was 82 lbs. only, including 25 lbs. of instruments, in contrast to the 1.45 tons weight of the last stage of the Soviet rocket Mechta, the payload being 796.5 lbs. and the weight of the scientific and measuring instruments together with sources of current supply and container being 298.5 lbs.

Mechta will realise the age-old dream of man come true in our life time. Manned space flight, with landings on the Moon must take place in the very near future. It already extends our knowledge of the outer space to an extent, hitherto undreamt of. To mention but a few.

It has offered the first chance of studying solar corpuscles unaffected by the influence of the Earth. It would help solve the problem of the state of inter-planetary gas, which would bring us nearer to solving such cosmogonic problems as the origin of the stars and planets. It will also help us in exploring the Moon's magnetic field and might confirm the hypothesis that the magnetic fields of heavenly bodies depend on their rotation.

Apart from these, the Mechta is carrying instruments to ascertain the amount of photons in cosmic radiation, the intensity and the variations of intensity of cosmic rays outside the magnetic field of the Earth, the radioactivity of the Moon, the distribution of heavy nuclei in cosmic radiation, of solar radiation and meteoric particles.

### Herald Of A New Dawn

The Mechta, bearing the pennant of the USSR and dedicated to the coming 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, leaving behind a trail of sodium vapour, stands out as the beacon light for humanity's march forward to conquer nature. That struggle with nature will go on for ever as surely as internal strife and struggle between man and man, between nation and nation will be relegated to a historical past. Mechta heralds the early dawn of real history when man will literally enter the kingdom of heavens in all his glory.

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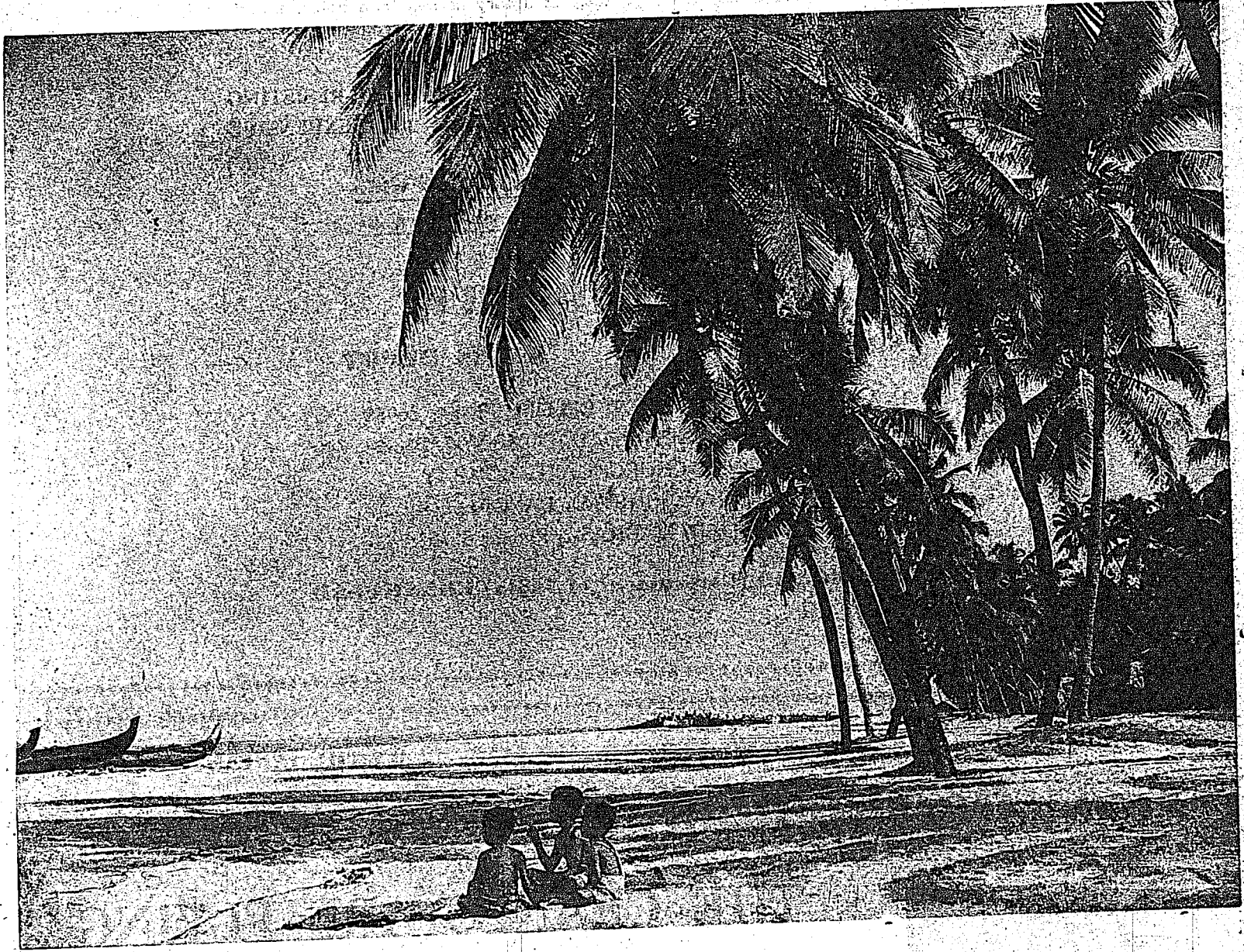


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