

SALUTE TO OUR PEOPLE

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. IX, NO. 5

REPUBLIC DAY, 1961

25 nP.

On This Republic Day



IT is only proper that on the eve of the Republic Day the leaders of the Government speak words of cheer that inspire the people to greater efforts to advance the noble cause for which our country stands. This year has been an exception.

On January 21, Prime Minister Nehru in an interview with the correspondent of the London Daily Herald expressed his strong desire to resign and stated "I am tired of the life of a Premier. I want to get out and see the life of the people of India and see the country".

It would be incorrect to treat this only as an other expression of Pandit Nehru's temperamental nature. It is a correct though indirect reflection of the basic contradictions that are holding up the progress of India and creating new and unprecedented dangers in the path of advance.

Pandit Nehru is the most popular and respected leader of the country and he has functioned as the Prime Minister ever since independence. The expression of his desire to resign dramatically proves that the achievements of India, under his leadership, no more sustain him and that the failures of the policies of the Congress Government, headed by him, so baffle him that he finds himself isolated from the life of the people and the live currents in the country.

Way Forward

In short, the ruling party, the Congress, has so run the affairs of the country, since the foundation of our Republic that its best leader, the Prime Minister himself, wants to quit.

In such circumstances, all honest patriots and serious democrats have to think anew and afresh how to carry forward the undoubted, big achievements of our independent Republic and correct the mistakes that demonstratively hold back further progress and create new dangers instead.

Prime Minister Nehru's greatest contribution has been in formulating and carrying

out the national foreign policy of world peace, anti-colonialism and international cooperation. New opportunities have opened up to carry forward our independent foreign policy and win ever more respect for our country from the peace champions and the freedom fighters the world over.

How much has the world we live in changed for the better, opening up the vistas of a peaceful and happy life for all mankind, in the very direction which Pandit Nehru, among the top leaders of the country was the first to foresee and towards which as the Prime

needs no other inspiration as the call to heighten its own endeavours.

One need not go to Marxist-Leninist text books to learn what socialism would be like and mean to the world at large. Socialism exists in flesh and blood, in one-third of the present-day world. One can feel it with one's own hands, see it with one's own eyes.

Khrushchov stated with justified pride reporting on the Moscow Declaration, "In the past, we used to say that history was working for socialism. Our idea was that mankind would eventually dump capitalism and socialism would triumph. Today, we can already affirm that socialism is working for history, since the formation and establishment of socialism on a world scale constitutes the basic content

On the occasion of India's Republic Day celebrations in Moscow, our ambassador, K. P. S. Menon described the relations between our two countries as "A clear sky. The strength of friendship between the Soviet Union and India is one of the most remarkable events of the second half of the twentieth century". (Times of India, January 23)

Anti-National Forces

The anti-national policy demands that they be roundly exposed as anti-national elements who seek to isolate our

Retreat Or Advance ?

Minister of our great country he has made significant contribution.

Let us cast a glance at the world we live in. The Socialist system today unites 35 per cent of the world population. Forty per cent of the population lives in countries which have freed themselves from the yoke of imperialism and only 25 per cent of mankind lives and wages the struggle under the conditions of direct imperialist domination.

Socialism Advances

What a change in our life-time, what a change after the establishment of our Republic. India is a part of the growing, advancing camp of peace and freedom. India is out of the decaying and dying camp of imperialism and war. India is in an advantageous and strategic position to help fulfil the historic mission which we share with the rest of progressive humanity. A conscious and responsible nation

of the historical process today".

Socialist Allies

Despite a different social and political system, independent India has discovered for itself that in the struggle for peace, the socialist countries headed by the USSR are its strongest allies. This was dramatically demonstrated during the last

country from its strongest and closest allies and thus serve the cause of the Western imperialist aggressors and enslavers.

Speaking at the second Congress of the Communist organisations of the East, in 1919, Lenin said, "Whereas the Russian Bolsheviks were able to breach old imperialism, to assume an exceptionally noble task, which is to pave new ways for revolution, you who represent the

by P. C. JOSHI

historic session of the UN where Prime Minister Nehru was rebuffed and insulted by the responsible spokesmen of Western world but honoured and supported by those of the socialist countries. The same phenomenon was writ large during the discussions and voting on the resolutions on disarmament and for the abolition of colonialism.

working masses of the East will be faced with an even greater and more novel task".

Looking back once and then right ahead towards the future what a grand and optimistic panorama unravels itself. Some 40 countries have won national independence after the war. Nearly 1,500 million

* SEE BACK PAGE



COMMUNIST CALL TO PUNJAB

THE Executive Committee of Punjab State Council, CPI, welcomes the release of Master Tara Singh and other Akali prisoners, abandonment of fast-unto-death by Sant Fateh Singh, lifting of restrictions on processions and public meetings in certain places under Section 144 and on certain newspapers under Press Act, says a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on January 17. It further reads:

These steps have helped ease tensions consequent on fast-unto-death undertaken by Sant Fateh Singh. The critical situation would not have arisen if the Congress Government had taken the necessary steps earlier prior to the fast as suggested by the Secretariat of the State Council in its statement of December 15, 1960.

In the situation created by Government's obduracy, the National Council of CPI in its recent Bombay meeting gave a warning to the Central Government and urged it to intervene in the situation immediately and take those very steps which it was obliged to take after all.

Release All

But the State Government still refuses to release hundreds of prisoners on the ground of alleged violence. The Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance originally meant to meet the situation created by the Akali movement has been legislated into a regular Act.

The executive demands repeal of the said Act and re-lease in the

Prime Minister refuses to accept the principle of linguistic re-organisation. In order to evade and shelve the issue, he has made a dangerous declaration that the existing state in its entirety is a Punjabi-speaking State, containing within its boundaries, according to him, certain linguistic minorities.

Nehru Wrong

This statement is in blatant contradiction with facts and goes contrary to the spirit and letter of the Regional Formula which has already divided the state into two distinct linguistic regions, Punjabi Region and Hindi Region (though Kanara, as the CPI has always held, has been wrongly tagged on to Hindi Region as a

result of compromise with communalism). Such a declaration, while by-passing scientific solution of the problem, is pregnant with seeds of linguistic and communal conflict. It will keep the embers of strife burning and retard the cultural and economic development of the state.

Haryana Betrayed

Both the above declaration and the proposed Master Plan for Delhi, which is intended to tag on Gurgaon, Rohtak and part of Karnal district to Delhi administration, are directed as a blow against the unity and interests of Haryana people.

They are intended as measures to appease communal reaction at the cost of Haryana and Punjabi people and scientific solution of the problem. It is another blow to the Harijani people who are already victims of the gross injustice perpetrated on them by British imperialism who cut them up into parts and incorporated these areas arbitrarily into different administrative units.

For A Democratic Solution

Rejection by the Central Government of the demand for linguistic re-organisation under the pretext that it is sectional demand is not going to ease but complicate matters. The democratic solution of the problem brooks no delay.

As the National Council of the CPI has demanded the Central Government should accept the principle of linguistic re-organisation and set up a Boundary Commission to demarcate boundaries of re-organised States.

The Executive urges the common people of both the Punjabi Region and Haryana areas, irrespective of religious and political differences, to come together and build united movements in the respective regions for a Punjabi-speaking state and Haryana Front. Both these movements will be complementary, mutually support and strengthen

each other, disarm communalists and compel the Central Government to yield. The National Council of the CPI had correctly appealed to the Akali leaders to abandon the communal approach to the question, for it does not concern the Sikh community alone. It is a question that relates to the entire people and has to be solved on the basis of their united movement.

Under these circumstances the Executive highly deplores the recent statements of Master Tara Singh on coming out of jail. He still sticks to his old positions that he wants Punjabi Suba for protection of the Sikh religion, that for the Sikhs religion and politics are identical and that it is legitimate for the Sikhs to use Gurdwaras for political agitation such as the Punjabi Suba movement. There is clear contradiction between the democratic demand of Punjabi-speaking

state and communal policies pursued by him. It is due to these policies that the movement, despite great sacrifices made by the common people, has come to a dead end. Refusal to learn this lesson of recent developments and persistence by the Akali leader in his communal approach and aims vis-a-vis this question hinders and delays solution of the problem.

It retards the development of a common movement by scaring away the Hindu masses and dividing the people and strengthens the hands of die-hard opponents of linguistic reorganisation among the Hindu communalists, and provides an excuse to the Central Government to reject the demand on the ground that it is "sectional" in character.

Break From Communalism

The Executive, therefore, urges the Akalis to review

their whole movement soberly and do hard re-thinking on the subject. In the interest of the scientific solution of the problem on a linguistic basis to which they themselves have from time to time declared adherence, they should make a clean break with communal policies and help growth of a common movement.

The Executive directs all its units in the State to explain the present situation to the wide masses and show them the path to advance through united movement. Mass meetings and rallies should be held in both urban and rural areas all over the state and all sections of people covered in the course of the campaign.

The June 1960 resolution of the Punjab State Council as ratified by the Nangal Conference continues to be the basic document for guidance of the mass movement on this question.

LINES THAT UNITE

The glorious years of sweat and toil since Independence have witnessed remarkable advancement in the social and economic life of the people all over this ancient country.

The urge for creative activity released by Independence is symbolised by the giant dams, steel plants and other achievements, all harbingers of prosperity for the future.

The Indian Railways have the proud privilege of carrying men and material from all parts of the country to where they are needed most.

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POETS, TO THE PEOPLE!

WHEN the Progressive Writers' movement was started in the country, about twentyfive years ago, one of its main features was its close link and association with the common people, workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and the middle-classes in general. Literature, the progressive writers said, must express the highest and the noblest aspirations of our people.

It should deepen our understanding of life in all its aspects it should help our people to struggle against all forms of oppression and injustice; clear their minds of reactionary cobwebs inherited from the moribund feudal past and reactionary ideologies and tendencies, systematically insinuated or imposed on Indian minds through imperialist channels.

And finally, it should inspire them to advance towards the glorious objective of Indian freedom and independence and the building of a new popular, democratic and socialist society in our ancient land. The progressive writers, therefore, completely identified themselves with the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the Indian people.

Weapon Of Art

Their poems, short stories and novels and plays and literary criticisms were used as a weapon in our liberation struggle. While the reactionaries attacked and vilified them—the people liked and loved them more and more. It can be safely asserted that in the post-Tagore and Premchand period, up to date much of the significant literary work done in India has been by progressive writers.

One of the factors which has helped the growth of Progressive Writers' Movement in India is the utilisation by progressive writers of certain living cultural traditions of our people.

Thus, for example, the drama and the Kathakali dance in Kerala; Burrakatha (a form of collective ballad singing) in Andhra; mushaira and kavi sammelan in the Hindi-Urdu speaking areas, brought the poet and the playwright into direct contact with the masses of our people.

The entire content of the poems or plays was changed, religious, semi-religious and other reactionary and decadent ideas, gave place to new, rational, democratic consciousness. Tens of thousands of people thronged to listen to the progressive poets in their cultural functions. They expressed their approval or disapproval or showed their indifference as they listened to the poets' recitation.

Intimate Bond

A close and intimate bond was established between the poet and the people. This had a deep influence on both. When the poets' performance was good, both he and the people were inspired and happy; when it was otherwise, the poet knew immediately that he had not done his job well and if he was intelligent and humble, he drew the appropriate conclusions.

But in the present mushairas an effort was made to make a change. Although quite a large number of local poets or those from neighbouring localities were invited to attend, those only who were most liked were asked for encores.

Besides, except at Mau, the four other mushairas were attended by one of the most eminent and outstanding poets of the Urdu language—Firaq Gorakhpuri. The strange, haunting charm of his lyrics is sometimes delicate and evanescent like that of the rose and jasmine and sometimes heavy and intoxicating like the perfume of mango blossoms.

Huge Crowds

Within a period of ten days beginning from December 10 to 19 a group of poets and writers, among them Krishan Chander, K. A. Abbas, Sahr Ludhianvi, Kaifi Azmi, Alauddin Sabir, Mahendra Nath, Prakash Pandit and Safar Gorakhpuri, travelling all the way from Bombay, a thousand miles away, went to all the five towns and participated in all these functions.

The attendance in the mushaira at Mau was no less than twentyfive thousand—and on the previous night, the Shab-e-Afsana (the story night), about ten thousand. Although Mau is a small town in the Azamgarh District of U.P., yet thousands of men and women flocked to it from the neighbouring localities for two reasons.

The U.P. State Council of the Communist Party which was holding the State Conference there had organised a mass rally on the same day and the poets and writers who had come there are among the most popular Urdu poets and writers of today.

The two functions at Varanasi were attended altogether by about ten thousand people; at Allahabad and Lucknow, the functions were held in meeting halls—which were filled to the capacity, about 3,000 each—while thousands had to go away because there was no room left. At Kanpur, again, the function was held in a beautiful shamiyana and about 6,000 were accommodated.

People's Refinement

Thus, altogether about 50,000 came to listen to our progressive poets and short-story writers in these five towns within a short period of ten days. This is truly an amazing indication, first, of the extraordinary cultural taste and refinement of the masses of Indian people and, secondly, of the popularity of progressive writers, their works and their ideas.

The mushaira (poetic symposium) is, of course, one of the most popular cultural functions of Urdu-Hindi speaking people, hallowed by tradition and custom, when hour after hour people sit listening to good, bad and indifferent poetry recited by a long array of poets. The moments of wondrous excitement and joy are followed or preceded by boredom and intellectual suffering caused by listening to poor poetry or sometimes, even good poetry recited in a dull monotone.

The ruling class, the rich profiteers—the hypocritical priests—none escaped Sabir's biting satire. There was no delicacy or profundity of ideas here—but then, is not poetry also, like truth, many-sided? And Sabir is no doubt a master of this particular popular genre of poetry. Hence his tremendous popularity.

Fresh Content

Mushairas, as has been mentioned above, are an old and popular form of cultural activity. What is being attempted by the progressive

SAJJAD ZAEHER

writers' movement is to give a new content to them. This effort is being made for a considerable number of years with great success. The people wish to hear not only good lyrics—they are not excluded from our Mushairas—but also good poems on social and political themes.

Our experience has been that these latter are immensely liked; the ivory tower and "art for art's sake" theories of art, now widespread in our country, have been shattered through the living experience of our movement.

A further step in this direction was taken by the new experience, new both in form and content when the Shab-e-Afsana (Night of Stories) was organised.

At all the five places mentioned above special and exclusive sessions were organised for the reciting of short stories by the writers of these stories—altogether four or five stories, in a session which lasted for 2½ to three hours.

Since this had not been done previously at all, all of us were very uncertain whether, first, we would get an audience at all for such a function, and, second, whether the audience would sit through and be really interested in listening to prose being read out to them.

Of course, we had taken care that of the four 'story-tellers' Krishna Chandra, Abbas, Mahendra Nath and Prakash

Pandit at least the first two were among the most well-known, eminent and popular of writers of Urdu—and the other two also of no mean merit.

However, the stories read out were specially chosen for the occasion—Abbas wrote specially for Mau and Varanasi—stories whose background and characters were taken from these two towns. In Abbas's short-story written for the Varanasi session, the chief character was none else than Saint Kabir himself, who visits his home town after seven hundred years.

All the evils which Kabir has denounced in the society of his days still exist there and he glows his wrath against these evils—he is caught by the police and sent to the lunatic asylum!

At Allahabad the Hindi progressive writers Amrit Rai, and Upendra Nath Ashk also joined the story-symposium and at Lucknow and Kanpur All Abbas Husseini, Masnun Hasan and Razia Sajjad Zaheer joined the team.

Night Of Stories

The great success of this function shows that, perhaps, a new form of cultural activity has been born. It has now been proved through experience that people want to listen to not only poetry recited to them by poets but also stories read out by their authors. It is not an ordinary thing that thousands come to listen to them—and sit through the long hours of the night till the end of the programme.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that all these five Mushairas and story evenings were organised in aid of the progressive Urdu Weekly Awaraz Baur of Delhi. People not only came in thousands to attend these functions and partake of a superb literacy feast—they also liberally contributed to the fund.

It is now proposed to organise similar functions in Western U.P., Delhi, Punjab, Bhopal and other places. No doubt all this would contribute to a further strengthening of the Progressive Writers' movement, to forging closer link between the people and the writers.

World Politics, 1918-36

and the main line up to mid-1960

by
R. PALME DUTT

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U. P. COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

by Shankar Dayal Tiwari

THE Sixth Conference of the U.P. State Communist Party was held at Maunathbhanjan in the district of Azamgarh from December 6 to 11, 1960. Two hundred and ninety-six delegates, representing the total paid membership of nearly 14,000 attended the Conference.

B. T. Ranavira, member of the Central Secretariat, inaugurated the Conference in the presence of nearly three thousand persons in the Subhas Nagar built after the name of Subhas Mukherji, who had fallen a victim to police firing at Kaddwa Manikpur in Ballia district in 1950. Before that a huge procession led by the delegates to the Conference went to lay wreaths at the memorial of late Duxhi Ram, a martyr of the 1942 movement.

Festive Town

The small town of Man was in a festive mood and people from all walks of life came forward with help for the Communist Party. The flying banners, the people's jubilation and the numerous gates erected in memory of great literary men like Rabindranath Tagore, Munshi Prem Chand, Jigar Moradabadi, Majaz and martyrs like R. D. Bharadwaj, Subhas Mukherji, Mustafa, Duxhi Ram, etc., reminded one of the sessions of the National Congress in the early thirties.

Jal Bahadur Singh, MLC, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Communist Party and the people of Azamgarh district. The presidium of the Conference consisted of Sarjoo Pandey, MP, Munshi Gajadhar Singh, Shiv Kumar Misra, S. S. Yusuf, Ashoke Bose, Abdul Bagi and Shankar Dayal Tiwari. The Conference also elected a Credentials Committee of three members—Bharat Singh, Sajwan Lal, MLA, and Gur Prasad. All the members of the old Secretariat of the State Party, viz., Kall Shankar Shukla, S. S. Yusuf, Harish Tewari, Shiv Kumar Misra, Ramesh Sinha, Shankar Dayal Tiwari, Jal Bahadur Singh and Jharkhande Rai, MLA were elected members of the Steering Committee.

A number of resolutions were first passed paying homage to the memory of Harry Pollitt, Wilhelm Pieck, Hasan Nasar, Jigar Moradabadi, Bal Krishna Sharma 'Navin', Feroz Gandhi, R. R. Khadilkar and others who have laid down their lives serving the cause of the working class and the common people.

Political Report

Kall Shankar Shukla, Secretary of the State Council then presented the political and organisational report. The report said:

"The decisive factor in the situation of Uttar Pradesh is the economic backwardness of the State. Although, we are nearing the completion of the Second Plan, this backwardness remains as ever and the State is lagging behind other States in economic progress. The situation is so serious that even the State Government has had to admit it.

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The political resolution of the Conference brought out the failure of the policies of the Congress Government on various fronts and congratulated the people of the State for the struggles which they had been carrying on in defence of their interests and rights. The resolution declared:

Popular Unity

"In the coming period the Party will devote itself more and more to organising the struggles for the defence of the people's interests and to build the unity of the people for removing their backwardness."

The resolution appealed to "all the democratic forces of the State to unite themselves for the economic development of the State and for combating its backwardness". It also appealed to them "to come forward to defend the interests of the people against the anti-popular policies of the Government and to force it to change its policies".

Further, the resolution stated: "The isolation of the Congress from the people has increased due to its policies. Unable to change its policies, the Congress leadership has resorted to means which have resulted in increasing the seriousness of the political situation in the State.

"The election results of 1957 had demonstrated the beginning of the end of the political monopoly of the Congress in the State. The present Chief Minister, C. B. Gupta, who was mainly responsible for the defeat in the elections together with his prominent colleagues. But the leadership of the Congress failed to draw correct conclusions from the results of the elections.

"These reverses were mainly the result of the people's discontent against the anti-popular policies of the Government. But the Sampurnanand Ministry, instead of changing its policies in a popular direction, not only maintained them but leaned still more towards reaction.

Government Repression

"The Nagpur resolution has not been implemented by the State Government. It does not help the common peasant and the agricultural labourer. Instead of securing a fair price for the sugar cane growers the State Government sides with the mill owners and spurns the just demands of the peasantry.

"The repressive character of the Government has been laid bare to a greater degree during the strike of the Central Government employees, student agitations, the police firings of Kanpur and Allahabad and in the course of many more popular agitations and struggles.

"The usurpation of the rights of local self-government, the local bodies Act, the functioning of Corporations, the District Council's bill, the paralysing of the State legislature, the increase in cases of libel against newspapers by the Government provide some of the examples of the attacks on the democratic parliamentary system by the State Government during this period.

NEW AGE

NEW SECRETARIAT

The following were elected members of new Secretariat of the State Council: Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, Kall Shankar Shukla, Shankar Dayal Tiwari, Jharkhande Rai, Harish Tewari, Ram Narayan Upadhyaya, Ashoke Bose, Pratap Kumar Tandon and Shiv Varma. Dr. Z. A. Ahmad was unanimously elected general Secretary of the State Council and Kall Shankar Shukla was elected assistant general Secretary. Earlier a State Council of 101 members and an Executive Committee of 25 members had been elected.

attacking the Communist Party in league with the Jan Sangh.

"The Congresses and the PSP had given a new lease of life to Muslim communalism by allying themselves with the Muslim League and the Jan Sangh had got a new opportunity of playing up Hindu communalism against it...."

Approach To PSP

Further the resolution says: "The opportunism of the State Congress and the PSP had created a deep crisis in the political life of the State and although this crisis is not yet over, it would be wrong not to see the way in which the wind is blowing.

"The cooperation between the workers of the Communist Party and the PSP during the Central Government employees' strike as well as after this strike against the anti-labour policies of the Government, the coming together of various parties at many places on local issues, and the realisation of the futility of blind anti-Communism inside the Congress and the parties of democratic opposition demonstrate the new possibilities of a new situation."

The resolution sums up the tasks of the Party in the following manner: "It is the

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REPUBLIC DAY, 1961

INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

-ITS PRESENT AND PROMISE

by ESSEN

AN important slogan of our struggle for freedom was to make of our country an industrial, modern and advanced nation. It was this argument which our veterans R. C. Dutt and Ranade used against the designs of our foreign rulers to keep our motherland an agrarian appendage of their industrial economy.

Later, when our movement for freedom came of age it adopted it as the main theme for the reports of the Planning Committee it set up. Hence, when the country became free, and the Chairman of this Committee became her Prime Minister, it was only natural for our people to expect of him and his Government to take prompt steps for her rapid and satisfying industrial development.

After a decade of independence, and ten years of planned development, however, they find their dream only partly realised, not because no progress has been made, —in fact it has been considerable in some lines, and quite significant—but because the methods employed for it have helped only the rich to garner its benefits.

Moreover, the failure to raise adequate resources internally, and pursue a vigi-

YEAR	INDEX	PERCENTAGE INCREASE
1951	100	—
1952	103.6	3.6
1953	105.6	1.9
1954	112.9	6.9
1955	122.4	8.4
1956	132.8	8.3
1957	137.3	3.5
1958	139.7	1.8
1959	151.0	8.0

lant and purposeful economic policy, in the line with our newly-won independence abroad, have made it singularly vulnerable to pressure from foreign and indigenous detractors to deflect it from its course.

While this failure has to be noted, and steps suggested and campaigned for to end it, it is also necessary that our people get a fair idea of the progress made so far. For, while it is necessary that the rulers are pilloried for their shortcomings, it will be unscientific to shut one's eyes to the considerable headway which the country has been able to make despite them. What follows is a factual review of this progress.

Decade Ago

A decade back India—although advanced in comparison with many newly-independent countries—had very little of basic industry to boast of. In steel, no doubt, she had one of the biggest plants in Asia, but its production was negligible compared with the country's requirements.

For the rest all it had by way of a developed industry was textiles, both cotton and jute (the latter mostly foreign-owned) which catered to the needs of Great Britain and her other colonial possessions.

The steel programme has been assailed on various counts. Some people notably the private steel magnate J. R. D. Tata, have questioned the propriety of creating new capacity to produce steel

without at the same time expanding the demand for it.

Their viewpoint has been soundly answered in a study by the National Council of Applied Economic Research (financed by the Ford Foundation, and headed by E. C. A. Executive Secretary, P. S. Lokanathan) which says that "at no time during the Third Plan is there likely to be an excess of supply over the requirements of steel in the country".

The programme, or rather its implementation, has also been criticised on the score of grant of contracts, and drawbacks in construction by the British and West German consortia at Durgapur and Rourkela respectively. The Bhilai works, set up by the Soviets, however, is an index of the progress which India has made and could have made at the other two plants

unit	1950-51 production	estimated capacity
Sulpha drugs	—	393
Penicillin	—	45
Streptomycin	—	150
P.A.S.	—	400
Anti-dysentery drugs	—	74
I.N.H.	—	33
Organic intermediates	—	24000
Phyto-chemicals	—	76.40
Insecticides, DDT	—	2800

as well if the collaborators were as helpful as the Soviets. As against a clean slate in heavy engineering ten years back India now has a Heavy Engineering Corporation (authorised capital Rs. 500 million) in the public sector charged with undertaking the following works:

Heavy Engineering

A heavy machine building plant at Hatia near Ranchi with Soviet assistance to turn out 45,000 tons of finished machinery items per annum in its first stage, 80,000 tons in the second stage and ultimately 165,000 tons annually. The items include machinery and equipment for iron and steel, mining, oil, coal and cement industries.

A coal mining machinery plant at Durgapur in collaboration with Technoexport, Moscow. It will have a capacity of 30,000 tons of coal-mining machinery and spare parts per annum including cutters, leaders, conveyors, locomotives, haulages, electric winders, main axial fans, etc.

In addition the plant will be capable of producing and supplying to other enterprises about 1,800 tons per annum of steel and iron castings, forgings and stampings.

unit	1950-51 estimated production	1960-61 estimated production	1965-66 targets for capacity production
Sulphuric acid	99	521	1500
Soda ash	45	304	530
Caustic soda	11	150	400
Calcium carbide	—	23	67
Sodium hydrosulphite	—	4	12
Hydrogen peroxide	—	3	9.5

(All this capacity has, however, been created in the private sector.)

Ranchi in Ranchi in technical collaboration with Technoexport, Czechoslovakia. It will have a capacity of 69,000 tons of different types of castings and forgings in the first stage and 131,000 tons in the second stage.

There is also a provision in the contract with Czech collaborators for the establishment of a machine shop for machining steel mill rolls of various descriptions and sizes with an annual output of 10,000 tons.

Thus, by the end of 1965-66 when all these projects will be completed India—

unit	1950-51 estimated production	1960-61 estimated production	1965-66 targets for capacity production
Sulpha drugs	—	150	1000
Penicillin	—	40	205
Streptomycin	—	—	150
P.A.S.	—	100	400
Anti-dysentery drugs	—	30	75
I.N.H.	—	30	100
Organic intermediates	—	—	24000
Phyto-chemicals	—	—	76.40
Insecticides, DDT	—	2800	2800

which had so far to depend on other countries for its capital goods—will be making basic machines at home. This will strengthen her independence and brighten her prospects of development.

The Prime Minister inaugurated on Nov. 6 our country's first heavy electrical project at Bhopal. Established in technical collaboration with the Associated Electrical Industries, U.K., the project will ultimately produce heavy electrical equipment worth about Rs. 500 million per annum.

The equipment to be produced includes transformers, switch gears, motors, generators and hydraulic turbines all of which are imported at present. The Government has also decided to set up two more projects in the public sector to manufacture heavy electrical equipment during the Third Plan. These will be established in collaboration with Czechoslovakia and the USSR. With the completion of these projects India will be able to instal largesized power stations without defraying any expenditure in foreign exchange.

Most of the heavy chemicals used to be imported by India a decade back. Now a good many of them are produced indigenously. The index of production for chemicals and chemical products was 205.3 in 1958 with 1951-100 as base. Among products now produced in large quantities are activated carbon, calcium carbonate, sulphuric acid, phosphoric acid and a host of others. The following table depicts the progress in some of these industries.

Drugs and pharmaceuticals are necessary to keep the nation healthy. India's problem throughout has, however, been to secure enough of these essential items from abroad to meet her needs.

Now, however, a good many of them have begun to be manufactured within the country. The USSR has given a credit of 80 million roubles to set up five projects in the public sector (a) an antibiotics plant near Rishikesh, (b) synthetic drugs plant at Sanatnagar, (c) Phyto-chemicals plants in Kerala (d) Surgical instruments plant near Guindy and (e) a plant to produce glandular and cudo-crine products. Besides these the Hindustan Antibiotics Plant at Pimpri has already been producing penicillin for some years.

The progress of the drugs industry has been as follows:

unit	1950-51 estimated production	1960-61 estimated production	1965-66 targets for capacity production
Sulpha drugs	—	150	1000
Penicillin	—	40	205
Streptomycin	—	—	150
P.A.S.	—	100	400
Anti-dysentery drugs	—	30	75
I.N.H.	—	30	100
Organic intermediates	—	—	24000
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The Hindustan Machine Tools Factory at Bangalore has won the palm for being the most successful public sector venture in recent years. Initially the factory produced only lathes. Now it produces 90 types of diversified machines: 14 types of high precision lathes, 6 types of milling machines, 10 types of radial drills, 44 types of lathes of Batignolles and 16 types of precision cylindrical grinding machines. The factory last year produced 948 machines.

The Hindustan Machine Tools has now decided to double its capacity to 2,000 machines per annum entirely through its own resources. The Government also intend to set up a new machine tools factory during the Third Plan in collaboration with the Soviet Union. The progress of the industry can be seen from the following:

The value of machine tools has jumped in six years from Rs. 0.29 crores to 30 crores. (A higher Rs. 45 crore) target for the Third Plan has been suggested recently by the Minister for Industry, Shri Manubhai Shah.)

Another industry in the public sector which has attained remarkable progress is

* SEE PAGE 12

NEW AGE

PAGE FIVE

SOME FEATURES OF STATE CAPITALIST PATTERN IN INDIA

(The first part of this article appeared in the last issue)

THE comparatively rapid concentration of production and centralisation of national capital in India during and after World War I and during the period of and after the world economic crisis of 1929-1933, especially during the years of World War II, facilitated and then increased the monopolistic tendencies in the economy.

This process shows clearly the similarity of the objective laws governing the development of capitalism in oppressing countries and in oppressing colonies and in the metropolis.

However, the process of the concentration of production and centralisation of capital in colonial India could not and did not result in the formation of national state-monopolist capital in colonial India. India was not a sovereign, national state and big national capital was created under foreign domination.

The emancipation of India from colonial oppression and the formation of a sovereign national state could not create immediately favourable conditions for the merging of the apparatus of this young bourgeois anti-colonial anti-imperialist state with Indian national big capital.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

On the basis of the anti-imperialist unity of the people, a mass national-revolutionary movement developed in the country and British domination was liquidated. The artificial partition of India broke up the traditional economic ties.

The following was the situation of the country—a long period of ruin, many years of hunger, the insoluble agrarian question which engendered the threat of an agrarian revolution, and activation of the working class movement.

The international situation was characterised by the increasing role of the Soviet Union, the formation of a world system of socialism, the victory of the People's Democratic Revolution in China and national-liberation wars in several neighbouring Asiatic countries. Under such complicated conditions Indian monopolistic capital could not subordinate the apparatus of the national state to itself.

A further development of state-monopolistic tendencies was revealed at the end of the first decade of the existence of independent India. Speaking of the first period, that is, from 1950 to 1953 the influence of big capital on the state policy resulted in a paralysing effect on the internal economic policy, which did not make any attempt to solve any of the basic national economic tasks.

PRIVATE SECTOR

As yet the state was not functioning as a serious economic force in the organisation of the state sector of the economy. The policy of industrialisation had not as yet been declared. The main policy was private enterprising and the wide drawing in of foreign private capital.

On the one hand there was the gradual change of the correlation of forces in favour of the camp of socialism

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This assists in securing a high level of accumulation. On these questions, the state meets them half-way. As it is necessary to have an increase of imports of equipment and of several kinds of raw material for the rapid growth of the Indian big private-capitalist industry, the monopolies strive to increase their share in the imports of these goods and their share in the distribution of extremely scarce foreign currency.

NEW PERIOD

Simultaneously it has been discovered that it is not so easy for the Indian monopolistic bourgeoisie, as it had assumed, to subordinate the state apparatus to itself, to place the entire economic life of the country under its control and to substitute the progressive policy of the state by a reactionary policy.

From 1953-1955 a new period began in the class struggle of the Indian toiling masses. This was in the form of a rebuff to the attempts of the monopolistic elements of the national bourgeoisie for a rapprochement with foreign capital and for the camp of imperialism, and for a reconversion of India's internal economic as well as its foreign policy.

Official circles approved the joint ventures of the capital of home and foreign monopolies on the condition of offering foreign capital not 49 per cent (as had been stipulated previously) but 51 per cent of the shares.

The financing of Indian big enterprises by foreign private and international financial organisations, mainly American, is being encouraged. Moreover payments of credits extended to the Indian monopolies are guaranteed by the state.

In spite of the state policy of control and restrictions of private-capital enterprises in the key branches of industry, big Indian firms penetrate deeper than is permitted formally, into such branches as metallurgical, ship-building, aluminium and machine-building.

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by
R. A. ULYANOVSKY

The Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Sciences Vol. 318, July 1959, p. 24)

A very well known English economist, A. Hansen, a Keynesian, speaking of the role of the state in the economic development of weakly-developed countries claims that "although at the first stages the state may possibly have to assume the role of an energetic and all-sided initiator" of industrial development, later, in the process of this development, the "state will avoid direct participation first in one and then in other fields, to the extent that private enterprising will become more capable of carrying this burden."

(A. H. Hansen Public Enterprise and Economic Development, London, 1959, p. 14) A. Hansen considers that once the state "participates" in different branches of industrial enterprises, this should be carried out within the narrowest framework and so that its activities be favourable for the private sector.

A. Youngson in his work Possibilities of Economic Progress (Cambridge, 1959, pp 808-21) advises the state not to build big industrial projects. It should not carry on any concrete planning and of course, simply provide the best conditions for attracting private home and foreign investments.

Neither by its past, nor by its origin nor at the present time is it state-monopolistic capitalism of an American or West-European type. At the given stage of development it is solving a number of national tasks more or less successfully.

Putting this into life, the state is carrying on a peaceful foreign policy and does not participate in aggressive military-political blocs.

At a seminar called by the United Nations Organisation in December 1959 in Delhi, a heated discussion arose in connection with the problems of managing the state enterprises created and launched in the countries of South-East Asia.

The materials of this discussion show that in Pakistan, the Philippines and in Thailand and other countries the policy of the sale of state enterprises to private capital has already been declared and is being carried on.

Similar facts have not been noted in India, Indonesia, the United Arab Republic, Burma, Iraq and other countries. At the given stage the state sector is continuing to consolidate itself in these countries. This is one of the forms of the development of the class struggle.

The working class is in favour of the development of state enterprises, as this actually diminishes the sphere of private-capital enterprises, both home and foreign. This weakens the dependence of the country on foreign capital, closes or narrows the possibilities of its penetrating into decisive branches of the industry of the first subdivision.

The working class is in favour of the development of state enterprises, because it can be controlled, checked-up and influenced more easily, by means of utilising the institutions of bourgeois democracy. The working class defends the development of the state

* SEE PAGE 12
PAGE SEVEN

MOSCOW STATEMENT—NEW COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

IN its meeting in the last week of December, the National Council of the Communist Party of India hailed the Statement and the Appeal adopted by the Moscow meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties as historic programmatic documents of the world Communist movement. It declared that the Statement embodies the unity of the international Communist movement and will serve as an inspiration and guide for the Communist Party of India.

Although only a few weeks have passed after the Moscow meeting, it is already evident that these documents have received the widest attention and are the objects of the closest study by the most diverse circles.

Many Central Committees of Communist and Workers' Parties have already held special meetings to discuss and understand these documents as well as to map out the forms and methods for their study. Differing but extraordinarily widespread comments on them have appeared in the bourgeois and the Social-Democratic Press.

These historic documents are themselves already shaping the future trend of events. Nor is this a surprising phenomenon. It is a reflection of the position that the Socialist camp and the international Communist movement have come to occupy in the world today.

Most Representative

The Moscow meeting had as its first distinguishing feature, its extraordinarily representative character. There has never been any international Communist Conference which included so many Parties from so many continents and countries.

The First Congress of the Communist International held in 1919 was attended by only five Communist Parties, including the Party of victorious revolution—the CPSU. Representatives of the Left trend in the Social-Democratic and other movements were also present from 33 countries.

This was only a bare four decades ago. How swiftly and surely has the international Communist movement grown! The Communist and Workers' Parties meeting held in November 1957, which adopted the historic Declaration and Peace Manifesto, was itself a vivid manifestation of this fact, being far and away the most representative conference of its kind till that time.

Since then—only some three years ago—12 new Communist Parties have come into existence, bringing the total to 27 with a membership which exceeds 38 million. Of these 81 Communist and Workers' Parties from all continents and regions took part in the November 1960 meeting.

Theses Vindicated

Following the 1957 meeting, the world has witnessed big and rapid changes. Many events have taken place which can truly be called historic. All these changes and events have fully vindicated the main propositions of the 1957 Moscow Declaration.

Based themselves on this great Marxist-Leninist document, the Communist Parties of all countries have made a

big advance. The struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism has made big headway on a world scale.

It was necessary to assess these events, to assimilate the experience of the movement of these three years, to draw correct lessons from them and to indicate the path forward.

Common Understanding

It was essential that the international Communist movement was further unified and consolidated on the basis of a common understanding of the experiences and lessons of this period and moved ahead to the carrying out of certain common and general tasks. Hence, the meeting in Moscow in November last.

This was an arduous and gigantic task. All the more so because the Communist movement today is a worldwide movement. In 12 countries, Communist and Workers' Parties are in power. In several others, they are mass parties with a vast membership. In many countries, the Communist Parties are still weak. In many they are underground.

The conditions in which Communist Parties work and the tasks they are confronted with differ widely. In such a situation, to work out in a single document the main features of the present world situation, the perspective and the common as well as specific tasks even in a broad and general way was extremely difficult.

But this task was carried out. By collective effort, the Conference produced a Statement which has been hailed by every Communist Party as a programme document of world historic significance.

Creative Marxism

It is far more comprehensive than any document produced by the world Communist movement for many years. It is a brilliant example of creative Marxism, which many have called it a new Communist Manifesto.

The Appeal to the Peoples of the World is a stirring call to the peoples of the world, laying down a concrete programme of action in defence of the noble cause of peace.

How was the Statement prepared? At the time of the Conference of the Rumanian Workers' Party held at Bucharest in June 1960, it was decided to convene a Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The CPSU was asked to convene this Conference. In pursuance of this decision, the CPSU convened a Drafting Commission of 26 Parties at Moscow in October, 1960.

A Draft Statement prepared by the CPSU was placed

before the Commission. All Parties participating in the Commission agreed to accept the Draft Statement as the basis for discussion.

After prolonged discussion, several parts of the draft were enriched and elaborated, many amendments were accepted, many rejected. The Drafting Commission met for three weeks.

Conference Work

The Draft prepared by the Drafting Commission was placed before the Conference of 81 Communist Parties which began on November 10 and ended on December 2. New amendments and suggestions were considered and a number of them were incorporated.

In the Statement that finally emerged from the Conference, all the main ideas contained in the original Draft prepared by the CPSU were retained. At the same time, a number of formulations were strengthened and enriched and several parts were elaborated and amplified.

All Parties participated in the preparation of the Statement. At the same time, the leading and guiding role was played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin. The Statement adopted by the Conference says that all Communist Parties are "independent and have equal rights" and that all of them "contribute to the development of the great theory of Marxism-Leninism".

At the same time, it emphasises that all Communist Parties "unanimously declare that the CPSU has been and remains the universally recognised vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steered contingent of the international movement".

Both these truths, both these realities, both these facts were strikingly borne out by the entire proceedings of the Drafting Commission and the Conference.

Collective Effort

The Statement was a product of collective effort, collective endeavour of Communist Parties, all of whom participated in the Conference on the basis of absolute equality. At the same time, in preparing the Draft and in convening the Conference, as well as in finalising the documents the CPSU played a leading role.

The unanimous adoption of the Statement, which carried forward the basic understanding given in the Moscow Declaration of 1957 to a new stage and arms the world Communist movement with a weapon of exceptional power, is a great victory for Marxism-Leninism, for all Communist Parties.

The outcome of the Conference deals a heavy blow against the imperialists and the bourgeoisie who were hoping for a split in the Communist movement. It will inspire working people all over the world to carry out the tasks confronting them.

The Statement lays great stress on the correct definition of our epoch. The correct understanding of the character of our epoch enables the Communist Parties and the working class to have a clear perspective, a sense of direction and, thus, work out a correct strategy and tactics.

The correct definition of the epoch must provide a clear answer to the question as to which class holds the key position in the epoch and express the principal content, trend and tasks of social development. Secondly, it must encompass the entire revolutionary process from the formation of socialism to victory of communism. Thirdly, it must show the forces adhering to the working class, which is the central figure of our epoch and the movements which goes against imperialism.

The answer to these questions must be sought, first and foremost, in facts, in the events of the past decades. These make clear that it is no longer sufficient—and it is even inaccurate—to call our epoch merely as the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Yet fascism advanced from one success to another. The world saw the tragedies of Manchuria, Spain, Abyssinia and Czechoslovakia. Finally, fascism engulfed the whole world in a devastating war. It is, therefore, correct to say that during this period, while the existence of the Soviet Union and the world socialist and democratic movement exerted a big influence over world events, it was not the decisive force. Imperialism still remained the decisive force on a world scale.

Radical Change

After the defeat of fascism in World War II, the situation was radically transformed. Despite participation of the imperialist powers in the anti-fascist coalition, it was world imperialism which was decisively weakened and world socialism which emerged enormously strengthened. There was not nor could there be any redivision of the world among the victorious imperialist powers. Instead imperialism received one staggering blow after another, above all, through the victory of the revolution in China.

Iraq, U.A.R., Ghana, Guinea, Cuba and others can no longer be classified either as the dependencies or as the reserves of imperialism. They are independent, national States and are the allies of the socialist camp in defence of peace and against colonialism.

Imperialism Retreats

Since the end of World War II, many a time imperialism has brought the world to the very edge of war. We have to recall the events around Berlin, Korea, the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt, the threat to Syria, to Iraq and to Cuba. Each time the Soviet Union and the socialist camp has energetically intervened and saved the peace. And what is more, saved the peace by forcing imperialism to retreat. Local wars of aggression were stamped out and each time the result was a further weakening of the world position of imperialism.

It is a signal feature of the post-World War II period that it is the Soviet Union that has shot ahead of the most ad-

"It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society".

It goes on to state: "Today, it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable".

Soviet Lead

The truth of this definition can be proved over and over again.

The decision of the U.S.S.R. to stop atomic tests had such impact that the USA and an Britain were forced to follow suit. It is also significant that the decision of the USSR that N. S. Khrushchov would himself lead the Soviet delegation to the 15th Session of the

cent in 1957-58. Many U.S. economists are speaking of a new crisis in 1961. Four and a half million of people were unemployed in the U.S. in the last month of 1960.

● Due to these and due to the advance of socialism, the idea of capitalism is getting more and more discredited. The revisionists and reformists are in a hopeless position. Their talk of "crisis-free", "welfare and peoples' capitalism has a hollow ring, to say nothing of the comparative rates of growth of the socialist camp and the advanced capitalist countries.

General Crisis

In addition there are the conflicts and contradictions

inside the capitalist world growing sharper and sharper.

All this indicates a new stage in the general crisis of capitalism.

Special Feature

The special feature of the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism is that it continues long after the Second World War ended and is not, therefore, a result of a world war. For example, many countries of

Africa have won freedom in 1959 and 1960.

It is evident that in conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems, of increasing change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism, of successful struggle to prevent war in such conditions, the forces of the people, forces of revolution, are winning greater and greater victories.

All these facts point to the following conclusion, drawn by the Statement: "The time has come when the socialist States have, by forming a world system, become an international force exerting a powerful influence on world development. There are now real opportunities of solving cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism".

The Nature Of Our Epoch

by
AJOY GHOSH

This definition does not take into account the new developments and, therefore, does not provide a true picture.

Take the situation after the First World War, which was a war for the redistribution of the world between the rival imperialist powers. Its chief and decisive result was the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, as a result of which one-sixth of the world passed out of the orbit of imperialism.

But over the rest of the world imperialism firmly re-established itself. The former German colonies were taken over either by British or French imperialism. The national-liberation movements in India, China, Iran and other countries were crushed by brute force. The remaining five-sixths of the world was redivided among the imperialists.

Imperialist Power

Despite the stupendous economic and cultural advance made by the Soviet Union, it could not be disputed that scientifically and technologically it—then the only country of socialism—was far behind the advanced capitalist countries.

A bare decade and a half after the end of the World War I, the storm-clouds of another world war started gathering with the emergence and aggressive advance of fascism. Then, as now, the Soviet Union did its utmost to save world peace. Then, as now, the people yearned for peace and a strong peace and anti-fascist movement developed.

Churchill had boasted during the war itself that he was not going to preside over the liquidation of the British empire. The British people threw him out of the presiding office but he lives to see the collapse of the British Empire.

Colonial Collapse

The American imperialists arrogantly described the post-war period as the beginning of the American Century. They even went so far as to publish a whole issue of the Colliers Magazine (now symbolically gone bankrupt) showing the entire world under U. S. domination. That dream has ended in smoke and today the U. S. feels that even its dominant position in the capitalist world is threatened.

Today, we see a new phenomenon. Former colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies—with backward and retarded economies—which have won their freedom but not taken to the socialist path, are able to assert their national independence and rebuff imperialism.

Gone are the days of the complete suppression of the national liberation movement. Gone are the days when these backward countries could only win some kind of formal freedom.

Countries like India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon,

United Nations forced many imperialist Governments to follow suit. From inside the UNO, the banner of anti-colonialism was raised and even colonial powers dared not oppose the slogan.

Such and many other concrete facts can be pointed out to show how the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor. Its deeds and examples influence the whole of mankind and create conditions which even imperialists cannot altogether ignore.

The Soviet Union is in visible reach of outstripping the U.S. in the next few years both in total volume and per capita production of material values. People's China, whose emergence dealt a heavy blow to imperialism, is already in a position to challenge Great Britain in industrial production.

Why is this so? Why this radical change in the trend of world events? What does this change signify? To these questions, the Statement gives a clearcut answer by providing a new definition of our epoch.

New Definition

"Our time, whose content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

Vast Difference

For some time after the October Revolution, many people asked the question: How long can socialism hold power in one country where it has triumphed? Today nobody asks that question. Today a new question is being asked: How long can imperialism maintain its power in countries where it still rules? This shows the vast difference from the past.

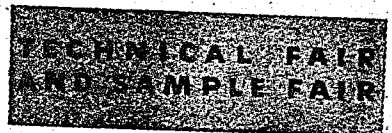
It is true that imperialism is still strong, but it is a declining force. This decline can be seen in:

- The disintegration of the colonial system.
- The growing inability of imperialism to utilise fully the productive forces; there have been slumps of production in the biggest capitalist country, U.S.A., three times since the Second World War—in 1948-49, 1953-54 and 1957-58. The production drop from the top to the lowest point was 8 per cent in 1948-49, 10 per cent in 1953-54, 14 per



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RESOURCES FOR

THE size of the Third Five-Year Plan has been fixed in its draft at about Rs. 10,200 crores, with another Rs. 1050 crores worth of current development outlay. Of this only Rs. 8,750 crores is proposed to be mobilised inside the country, the rest being met with foreign assistance. Whatever changes may be made, the basic dimensions are likely to remain.

In an article published in the columns of this journal of August 14, 1960, I tried to show that even this amount of developmental resources cannot be mobilised domestically within the existing framework of public finance. It would, however, be entirely wrong to suggest that the country cannot mobilise more resources domestically.

Of course, the potential of resources in the country that can be put to use for development purposes is enormous, and if they are fully exploited the country can indeed attain an extremely high rate of growth. The problem of realising the potential is a problem of institutional changes. It is true that given the existing superstructure of economic institutions, the resources target cannot be reached excepting at the cost of inflationary price rise.

It is equally true, however, that it is possible to conceive of changes in the superstructure, brought about by suitable changes in the infrastructure of economic relations, that would make possible a very much larger mobilisation of resources.

Institutional Changes

The volume of developmental resources that can be mobilised at a time in a given economy depends on two factors: the level of output and the part of that output that can be kept aside for development purposes.

Institutional changes that would increase the volume of developmental resources must, therefore, be such as either to permit of increase in the productivity of labour or permit of increase in the share of the total output that can be devoted to development purposes or do both.

The most important distinctive feature of the Third Five-Year Plan is that it does not propose a single institutional change to be brought about as a corollary to the release of productive forces. It envisages it in the background of this status quo to be maintained in institutional matters that we adjudged the impossibility of gathering as much as Rs. 8,750 crores of domestic resources.

We shall now demonstrate that very much more than this amount may be gathered if one visualises suitable institutional changes to be effected and measures to be adopted during the Plan period.

There are various points from where one can start such a demonstration. We shall start from the target set for foodgrains production, namely 100-105 million tons in 1965-66.

The production of foodgrains in 1960-61 may be assumed to be 75 million tons, which equals the original target for the same but falls short of the revised target by 5 million tons. The target of 100 million tons for 1965-66

resources can be made possible. We shall now show that under suitable assumptions this is indeed possible.

Labour Values

Our basic approach is to regard labour as the source of all values, and to treat foodgrains to be the only essential item of consumption of Labour, so that the amount of labour that can be additionally employed at a certain time can be calculated on the basis of the increase in the foodgrains supply.

We calculate that labourer's income* can be made in 1965-66 at least 45-55 per cent higher than in 1960-61. Income would go up by exactly the same proportion if the rate of surplus and its utilisation would remain unchanged, for income consists of two parts, the share of labour and the share of surplus.

It is under this minimal assumption that a growth of 45-55 per cent of income is compatible with the increase

of foodgrains by labour. We shall assume that the flow of unearned income from agriculture to rent receivers, interest earners, etc., will completely cease by 1965-66. This means that all of the 106 million tons of foodgrains available will be available for the labouring population. This represents a rise of more than 55 per cent and the growth in labourers' income compatible 70 per cent.

Services Sector

The Third Five-Year Plan assumes a figure of 2.8 for the incremental capital output ratio. We shall assume a much smaller ratio, say, 2.0. This would mean that very large volume of employment will have to be given in such sectors where additional income may be generated with relatively small additional investment in fixed capital.

This condition may be met by providing for a large expansion of the construction sectors and the service sectors. In order to bring about the expansion of income from Rs. 12,500 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 23,100 crores in 1965-66, we shall require fixed investment to the extent of Rs. 21,200 crores (as opposed to the Third Plan target of Rs. 12,200 crores).

If Rs. 21,200 crores is to be

raised all domestically in the five years 1960-65, the amount that should be raised in 1965-66 should be approximately a quarter of the amount, namely Rs. 5,300. Of this Rs. 1,250 crores is accounted for by the output of the agricultural labour force engaged in development works.

Greater Growth

The growth in national income compatible with this figure will be even higher, depending on the increase in the rate of surplus brought about by the introduction of new techniques and new methods of work. In order to calculate the extent of this permissible growth, we shall now examine the sector by sector the generation of surplus in them by labour.

We shall assume that labour employed in agriculture will remain unchanged in number between 1960-61 and 1965-66. We shall also assume that large scale co-operativisation will be introduced in agriculture by 1965-66.

This, we shall assume, will permit the agricultural labour force to devote 15 per cent of its labour time to developmental works on land, the income earnings of the co-operatives being divided among its members according to the hours of work done, irrespective of whether the work directly relates to agricultural production or to agricultural development.

Income from agriculture and allied economic activities, is expected to be Rs. 5950 crores in 1960-61. We may expect this to go up by the same proportion as the output of foodgrains, namely 40 per cent, (from 75 million ton to 105 million tons) so that we may get the figure of Rs. 8330 crores for the income from agriculture.

Fifteen per cent of the agricultural labour force being devoted to development works in agriculture, we can say that agriculture produces a surplus of Rs. 1,250 crores, which gets reinvested in agriculture, so that net output by the agricultural labour force amounts to Rs. 9,580 crores of which Rs. 1,250 crores represents its direct reinvestment.

The difference of Rs. 4050 crores represents almost 20 per cent of the net output besides the above mentioned developmental output of the agricultural labour force, which equals Rs. 21,200 crores. It may also be assumed that non-investment government expenditure will amount to Rs. 1,750 crores by 1965-66, on account of the rapid expansion of the social services.

Investment Volume

It would, thus, be necessary to keep out of Rs. 21,200 crores as much as Rs. 5,800 crores for investment and government expenditure (developmental and nondevelopmental) purposes.

The total volume of investment and government expenditure in 1960-61, may be estimated at Rs. 2,800 crores, of which the part accounted for by foreign aid is about Rs. 300 crores, so that the domestic contribution to investment and government expenditure may be estimated at Rs. 2,500 crores.

In 1965-66, too, an equal volume may be expected to come in the same way and from the same source as in 1960-61. It is, therefore, necessary that an additional flow of Rs. 3,200 crores should take

	Rs. crores	1965-66
1960-61		
Industries group	2800	6900
Service group	3750	6600
	6550	13500

Hence, the total value of net output in 1965-66 may be made to be Rs. 23,100 crores as opposed to the actual

* SEE FACING PAGE

MY FIRST SUCCESSFUL FILM ROLE

HUM Log was my first successful film but it does not mean that my own work in this picture was of a particularly high order. In fact, I knew next to nothing about film acting. Thanks to the IPTA (Indian People's Theatre Association), I had fairly good experience of acting on the stage.

But during my days there was a weakness in the working of the IPTA. At that time more emphasis was placed on popular aspects of drama and sufficient attention was not paid to its artistic aspects. To some extent this weakness was natural.

Those were the days of British government and our country was under foreign domination. After the Second World War, there was an universal upsurge among the people. Any play, which exposed the anti-people policies of imperialism and gave a call to the people to unite in the struggle for independence became instantaneously popular. The audience overlooked and forgave all its technical weaknesses.

Crude Propaganda

Still, there was some complaint that slogan-mongering and propaganda elements were too dominant in IPTA plays. Sometimes we also felt this weakness but we did not know how to remove it.

As yet we had not realised that only those plays will leave a deep lasting effect on the hearts of the people in which the writer, the producer and the cast portray life in true and impressive man-

ner without exaggeration and with perfect realism.

Plays, in which the task of convincing people is left to the truthful portrayal of life as it is and is not handed over to long and exciting speeches are the most useful in the end. This was a very difficult task indeed. This cannot be accomplished by adopting high sounding aims alone.

Lack Of Knowledge

So, because of a lack-of-the knowledge of the basic principle of acting I faced great difficulties during the shooting of Ham Log.

Director Zia Sarhadi had selected me for this particular role because I had played a similar role in Vishwa Mitra Adil's play Sarak ke Kinare on the IPTA stage. I was highly pleased with getting this role. First, because I had been selected to play the main role and secondly, because I had just come out of jail and my financial as well as mental condition was highly disturbed.

A few days before actual shooting started Zia Sarhadi called my friend Anwar Husain, who portrayed the role of my friend Kundan very brilliantly, to a large room in the studio and started rehearsing.

Naturally this rehearsing was entirely different from the rehearsing for the stage. In IPTA it was customary for us to memorise dialogues first and then to set own actions to a pattern according to the directions of the producer.

By and by, after a fortnight or so of rehearsing the play acquired a shape and some

life came into it. Actors also caught the spirit and the mood of the play.

None of us had read any book by Stanislavsky or any other great writer on the art of acting and none of us was even aware that in modern age people like Stanislavsky had made the art of acting very scientific.

We did not know that it is necessary for every actor before memorising dialogues and setting his actions to study the character that he is going to portray very thoroughly, to understand its spirit, get into the role and with the help of the producer and other colleagues have a complete picture before him.

It seemed to us that all these things were just nonsense and bourgeois fads. Not only that I disliked Stanislavsky specially because all his books came to us from the USA or Great Britain although he was a Soviet citizen. I believed that since Soviet Union did not print his books, he must be some sort of reactionary. There can be no greater example of foolishness and ignorance.

Different Form

Acting for the film is entirely different from acting for the stage. In films the actions do not portray a complete scene at a stretch. Each shot is a scene in itself and generally the duration of one shot is a minute or half a minute.

Hence, the main task of the actor is neither the memorising of his lines nor the setting of his actions to a pattern. The lesser the atten-

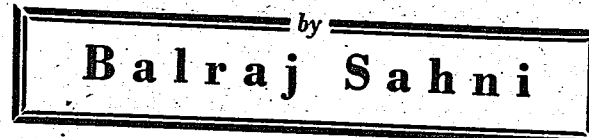
tion paid by him to these the better it is. Because if he pays attention to these things, his attention strays from the feelings and mood of the character and is directed towards words and actions which makes acting mechanical.

The basic task of the actor is to keep a living picture of the character in his imagination at all times so that whenever the director wants it he can bring the character to life before the camera instantaneously. His success depends upon achieving mastery in this difficult task.

Zia started explaining the psychological aspects of our characters to Anwar and me.

Anwar was more experienced in films than I so he was catching Zia's point very quickly, while I felt bewildered. I did not understand what Zia was saying and what he expected of me.

Nor was Zia so experienced that he could understand my difficulties fully, try to remove them and give me the necessary training in a short while. (Our country needs trained direc-



If the audience feels in the least that the actor is acting or that his movements are rehearsed, they do not enjoy the film. Good directors always give complete freedom to the actors in the matter of dialogues and movements.

Whole sentences may be different than the script but the meaning must be consonant with the scene. The dialogue is as unimportant in the film as it is important on the stage.

On the stage, even if some actor feels a little nervous it does not matter. Apart from people sitting in the four or five front rows others do not see the expression on his face. If he speaks a few lines well and the audience shows a little appreciation, the actor feels encouraged even if he is absolutely raw.

In the film the actor does not have this advantage. The camera is very close to the artist. These days cameramen do more shooting in close-ups and mid-shots be-

* ON PAGE 14

Resources For Bigger Plan

* FROM FACING PAGE

an even larger part of the service group, however, are not run capitalistically and even where they are run, their capital base is small and the capitalists concerned are men of small means or backward social outlook. Thus, a large part of the surplus generated in them run to waste.

In order that such high proportions of 50 per cent and

generalised scales of: (i) state trading not only in foodgrains but in all important commodities; (ii) nationalisation of the export and import trade; (iii) replacement of private money lending sources by the modern banking system under strict government regulation; (iv) organisation of small scale industries, transport other than railways, and retail trade on co-operative basis (v) organisation of co-operatives of professional workers, and (vi) nationalisation or cooperativisation of all expansion of housing.

We can now summarise the results in terms of increase in income, consumption and employment.

● National income will go up by 85 per cent. That of the agricultural population by 61 per cent and that of the nonagricultural population by more than 100 per cent.

● Household consumption will go up by 60 per cent, from Rs. 10,000 crores to Rs. 16,000 crores.

● We have assumed that the agricultural labour force will remain unchanged in number. They will have practically full employment, for we have assumed 15 per cent of their labour power to

be devoted to developmental works.

The growth in the working force will amount to about 15 millions and as all of it will be added to the non-agriculture labour force, the latter will expand by about 30 per cent. But nonagricultural income, total as well as labourers share, is to go up by 100 per cent.

This means that, the whole of the 15 million additions to the labour force can be absorbed in work and all the backlog of unemployment from the second plan period liquidated; even after that it would be possible to raise the average income of nonagricultural workers matched by a proportionate rise in their productivity.

The figures given above may appear fantastic, but they all follow logically from the foodgrains target set by the Planning Commission itself. However, they are not unrealistic: suitable institutional changes can indeed release productive forces at this rate, especially at the initial period.

The only open question here is the extent by which institutional changes can be given effect to in a five year period. This is a matter of historical experience and no reply can be given on the basis of technical considerations alone.

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INDIA'S INDUSTRIALISATION

* FROM PAGE 5

the fertilizer industry. The Sindri factory which was the only venture so far producing fertilizers will soon be joined by Nagal and Rourkela projects.

Another factory at Trombay will also be soon be coming up. These together will meet a part of the country's growing fertilizer requirements. The Government could set up more plants under its own aegis to produce this important product, but on promptings by the World Bank, the Ford Foundation and other interested parties abroad as well as their lobbyists at home it has decided to allocate to the private sector a sizeable part of the additional production to be undertaken in the Third Plan.

The fact that foreign private capitalists are also putting out feelers for participation in fertilizer manufacture—feelers to which the Government has all but fallen—makes it doubly necessary that public opinion asserts itself to secure the entire fertilizer production for the public sector.

The progress of the industry and its targeted production are shown below:

Nitrogenous (in terms of nitrogen)	'000 tons	9	234	210	1000	1000
Phosphatic (in terms of P. O.)	"	9	82	70	500	400

The Chittaranjan Locomotive Works—a State-owned concern—produced 173 locomotives during 1959-60. Their target for the Second Plan is 200. TELCO delivered 103 locomotives in 1958-59 and is likely to deliver about the same number in 1959-60.

By the end of 1959 Indian railways fleet of rolling stock is expected to have increased by 14 per cent in locomotives, 27 per cent in wagons and 15.5 per cent in coaches over the holdings at the end of the First Plan. With increased indigenous output the country has become self-sufficient in respect of steam locomotives, wagons and coaches.

It has planned to produce electric and diesel locomotives as well to meet the needs of quick and heavy traction. India is now in a position to export rolling stock—not a mean achievement—considering the fact that till recently almost all her trains were hauled by locomotives obtained from abroad.

Another important industry of which India had very little on the eve of independence, but in which she expects to be self-sufficient by the end of the Third Plan is oil.

Largely through the assistance from the Soviet Union and Rumania she has been able to strike sizeable resources in Cambay, Ankleshwar and Rudrasagar areas. Gas has also been discovered at Jwalanukhli.

The Oil India Limited—a joint venture of the Government and the Burmah Oil Co.—has been working the oilfields in the Naharkatiya region of Assam where an annual production of 275 million tons of crude oil is expected. India at present has only three refineries—all privately owned—which together refine about 5.5 million tons of

crude. Two more refineries—state owned—will be set up during the Third Plan to refine another 2.8 million tons. Decision to set up another refinery in Gujarat has recently been announced by Minister Malaviya. Another refinery in South India is also contemplated. The estimated demand at the end of the Plan period is placed at 14 million tons.

Oil is a strategically important commodity. It is also vital from the point of view of securing the country's independence. Domination of private oil monopolists over a country's economy is very nearly tantamount to its occupation.

India—aided by the Soviets—has put up a consistent fight during the past two years to make the companies yield in the matter of prices. The success obtained in it and the plans of development for future give hope that the country will be able to make itself independent of the foreign companies before long.

The progress recounted so far relates only to the basic industries. Besides them there are many consumer goods industries in which India has achieved not only self-sufficiency but also an exportable surplus.

The principal among these are cotton textiles, sugar, a host of light engineering goods like sewing machines, bicycles, etc. In automobiles also the production, though not up to the target, is today much more than in 1948.

While taking note of this progress, however, it is necessary that its debit side is also noted. As it is, the fact that the common people have not generally benefitted from the industrial progress is well-known. Equally known is the fact that the richer sections—

ciency but also an exportable surplus. The principal among these are cotton textiles, sugar, a host of light engineering goods like sewing machines, bicycles, etc. In automobiles also the production, though not up to the target, is today much more than in 1948.

State Capitalism In India

* FROM PAGE 7

sector, because it is connected with the creation of big, concentrated industries. The development of state enterprises prepares the material prerequisites of socialism.

The petty city bourgeoisie and craftsmen of the city and country are directly interested in the development of the state sector. These strata need credits from the state for the development of production. They need orders from the state for the development of production. They need orders from the state and co-operation with state enterprises.

Finally, they are interested in the possibility of greater employment which is created by state construction and state enterprises.

The growth of big private capital, especially in branches of the second subdivision ruin small production which is engaged mostly in this subdivision.

The growth of big private capital not only does not guarantee employment to the petty-bourgeois strata of the city and countryside, but on the contrary it causes its ruin.

The middle industrial bourgeoisie, the far more numerous nuclei of the class of the national bourgeoisie, is the

Installed capacity and production of some of these industries are given below:

Industry	Unit	1950-51 Production	Target Installed Capacity	1960-61 Production
Automobiles	'000 nos.	30.0	57.0	57.0
Motor Cycles and scooters	'000 nos.	11	11	11
Bicycles	"	102	895	1250
Sewing machines	"	33	85.2	300
Electric transformers (33 KV and below)	'000KVA	178	1500	1360
Electric motors (200 HP and below)	'000 H.P.	99	600	600
Electric cables and wires (ACSR conductors)	'000 tons	1.4	21.6	18.0
Electric fans	'000 nos.	197	600	600
Radio receivers (organised sector)	"	45	213	200
Tyres, automobile	"	1480	1480	1480
Tyres, bicycles	Lakh Nos.	113	118	118
Newsprint	'000 tons	60.0	60.0	60.0
Cement	Lakh tons	26.9	160.0	130.0
Refractories	'000 tons	229	1000	800
Cotton yarn	Mn. lbs.	1179	2080	1950
Cotton cloth (mill made)	"	3720	5300	5350
Jute manufactures	'000 tons	824	1200	1100

These are but a few important industries in which India has made progress in the post independence period. While other countries—with a real socialist system—have undoubtedly achieved much more in a comparable period it will be idle to deny, that the progress here, too, has at least in some lines been noteworthy.

Moreover, these lines being crucial their development has contributed to the country preparing the groundwork for real independent economic development.

While taking note of this progress, however, it is necessary that its debit side is also noted. As it is, the fact that the common people have not generally benefitted from the industrial progress is well-known. Equally known is the fact that the richer sections—

the industrialists, contractors etc., have amassed huge wealth.

Industry	Unit	1950-51 Production	Target Installed Capacity	1960-61 Production
Automobiles	'000 nos.	30.0	57.0	57.0
Motor Cycles and scooters	'000 nos.	11	11	11
Bicycles	"	102	895	1250
Sewing machines	"	33	85.2	300
Electric transformers (33 KV and below)	'000KVA	178	1500	1360
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The Government also knows as much, but takes shelter behind lack of data about the distribution of the new wealth. Obviously, if the capitalist class was not at the helm of affairs, and genuine socialism were really the aim of the Plans, such maldistribution of benefits would not have taken place.

Yet even within the existing socio-economic framework, and in the interests of building efficiently the state enterprises, which while helping the nation also help the capitalists, a greater forbearance on their part in the matter of immediately cornering the gains could very well be expected.

The responsibility for the state of affairs is, no doubt, that of the Government, which, while protesting to be socialistic, has refused to take even the very mildly socialistic

step of helping to form workers' cooperatives, and entrusting to them the work which has been the monopoly of contractors.

Another aspect of the Government's failure concerns its refusal to see the dangers of indiscriminately inviting foreign private capital. The heavy drain on resources which such investments entail in the form of repatriation of profits etc., and the overt and covert influences which their presence tends to exercise on the country's policies, are too well known to need reiteration here.

The failure to introduce thorough land-reforms to break the monopoly in land and give it to the tiller is another factor which inhibits capital formation in the countryside on the one hand, and market opportunities for the products on the other.

The failure in this vital field of land reforms puts a damper on the country's efforts to raise resources internally and makes her industrialisation hinge on a very unstable base. It makes it lean heavily on foreign aid, which provides a handle to the western aid-givers to disrupt its growth and influence its pattern.

This is evident from the ready car which the reactionary elements in the higher echelons give to the counsels of the World Bank and other interested agencies, and the tricks which they are now employing to turn the clock back.

These are some of the drawbacks which mark India's industrialisation. Obviously, if they were not there the progress in this field would have been faster and its fruit, too would have been more equitably distributed.

weakens the national bourgeoisie as a whole.

The consistent development of state capitalism, including the complete nationalisation of foreign property, creates the economic basis for a strong, national bourgeois state.

(Problems of Orientology, Moscow.)

NEW AGE
COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

Printed by D. P. Sinha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, 5, Jhandewallan Estate, M. M. Road, New Delhi, and published by him from 7/4, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

Phone: 25794
Telegraphic Address: MARKBADI

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

INLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and
Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0

FOREIGN: Yearly Rs. 16-0-0;
Half-yearly Rs. 8-0-0.

All cheques and drafts to be made payable to T. MADHAVAN and not to NEW AGE.

QUEEN'S VISIT—WASTE & SERVILITY

● FROM ZIAUL HAQ

January 23

THE British Queen has arrived and has been given, on all accounts, the most-expensive ever welcome that Free India has accorded any visiting foreign dignitary. No expense and no effort has been spared to make this the biggest show of its kind and it is to last for more than three weeks.

Nothing comparable in its sheer wastefulness has ever happened since independence. One little example is the way the lights are kept burning at the whole stretch of Ramliya Grounds from Delhi Gate to Ajmeri Gate. The civic reception is to be held on January 28 and from January 15 or so onwards the whole place is kept lighted up throughout the night.

Even during the day sometimes you will find these lights on. In the blazing sun at four this afternoon I saw all the lights on from an end to end. Whether it is to ensure security or to attract crowds it is difficult to guess.

Terrible Waste

For all this extravagance we must be grateful to those who command power and profit in this country. By thus revealing the darkest and innermost recesses of their minds as they have never done before, they are providing the people education such as has been lacking so far.

By the sheer abandon with which they are going about this business they are demonstrating that it is not just the Head of the State of another country—supposedly friendly and still classified as great—that they are feting and welcoming. They constantly emphasize that it is much more. What are these additional factors. A joint quest for peace or to end colonialism in the world. No! Such pursuits are for the moment forgotten.

What makes the present occasion more important than other similar ones is, in the words of the Rashtrapati's banquet address: "Our relations with the United Kingdom are part of our own history of the last two hundred years; and the British impact has been in many ways an abiding one."

U.P. CONFERENCE

* FROM PAGE 4

confirmed opinion of the Conference that the opportunist and disruptive policies of the Right-wing socialist leadership should be exposed and various forms of cooperation with the workers of the PSP and the S. P. working among the people should be developed on various issues of popular movements.

"In order to defeat the forces of Right reaction the Party will have to build the unity of all progressive people and political elements, including progressive Congressmen and unite all those patriotic and democratic elements step by step, who believe in defending and developing parliamentary democracy.

"Besides others, an important task of the Party would be to expose the false propaganda of the Right-wing

The last two hundred years mentioned here are not meant to remind us of the British conquest, domination, suppression and divide et impera; of the famines and pestilence and reducing India from industrially the most advanced and one of the most prosperous nations to abysmal poverty, ignorance and backwardness. No! The events of 1947 changed the whole aspect of the relations between our two countries," and now it is only "the finer aspects" that matter.

Nobody would suggest that the whole past should be raked up and flung in the face of one who comes as a guest. What is sickening and nauseating is the extravagance and exaggeration with which it is emphasized in word and deed, that literally nothing is left of "unpleasant" memories. In fact they, perhaps, even then had no substance.

It is as if in the last two hundred years it was India and the people of India that had done some wrong to those who ruled over them, if by nothing else at least by "mis-

understanding" them and harbouring some rancour against them. Accordingly, it seems that the present is the opportunity that is being taken to wash off that guilt and undo that wrong that India had done her British rulers all these two hundred years!

This is the abhorrent underlying idea behind this attitude and behaviour—a survival of the servile mind and inferiority complex which the British imposed on us and which we have not got rid off in this decade and more since independence.

Lost Self-Respect

For the purposes of re-writing history their own way, they have no compunction in running down nationalism. To justify their present behaviour they have no hesitation in dishonestly invoking Mahatma Gandhi's name. Dishonestly, because Gandhi was the least happy over the way the British parted with power by partitioning the country and drowned it in blood.

The present behaviour of our rulers is still more seriously objectionable from another angle. While the people have never been directly consulted about it, the Commonwealthe has been there. To what extent the people have

been made to acquiesce in it, it has been understood as some sort of a partnership of equals and that too so far as Britain and India are concerned.

Now the way the Rashtrapati's address both at Palam and at the Banquet has put this relationship, it carries a very dangerous and utterly unacceptable insinuation. On both occasions the Head of our State has gone out of his way to emphasize that the British Queen is the Head of the Commonwealth.

Another serious aspect, a veritable poisonous fruit, of the visit and how it is being handled is the way the feudal aristocracy has taken this opportunity to run riot with all their vulgarity. The Nizam has stepped out of his "retirement" to proclaim his loyalty through the Current, and his brood of the native princes have been "the Faithful Ally of the British Government".

The things that have happened in Jaipur are too disgusting to describe—all the oppressors of the people bedecking themselves for the occasion in jewelry and brocades and arranging a durbar to revive the old bonds that freedom had snapped.

Symbolic of some consequences to follow was the announcement of her joining the Swatantra party made by Maharani Gayatri Devi on the eve of the Queen's arrival. The "natural leaders" of British

days feel revived at the slightest touch from the old masters and try to come out in the open.

One would also like to know from our rulers what they think would be the impact of their current behaviour on peoples who are still being directly ruled by the British, especially the peoples of Africa, whose friendship we should dearly value.

While the Queen is in India, the people of Kenya will be staging a two-day strike to demand the release of Jomo Kenyatta, who has been in prison for over seven years. Wars of suppression have been carried on now for some years by the British in Oman and Aden.

Finally, one must remind the Government which has proclaimed, may be only for propaganda purposes, the socialist pattern of society as India's objective that, except for the hard core of Blimps and diehard Right-wing labour leaders, progressive British opinion is not enamoured of the monarchy.

The way India's leaders and rulers are currently dotting over British royalty is not going in the least to enhance India's prestige.

The Prime Minister's talk of "paganism" to justify these things would hardly convince people anywhere. From "Socialism" to "pragmatism", and then on to "paganism" is progress indeed!

THE NEO-ELIZABETHANS



(Courtesy: Hindustan Standard.)

and democracy. Thirdly, although an increase has taken place in the dimensions and speed of mass struggles the forces of progress and democracy are disorganised and they lack a common understanding and unity.

"In such a serious situation in order to change the political situation of the State to the left and to divide and defeat the forces of Right-wing reaction, which exist not only outside the Congress in the form of the Jan Sangh, Swatantra Party, Ram Rajya Parishad, etc., but also inside the Congress and who are conspiring against the independent neutral foreign policy of the country, planned economic development, State trading, cooperative farming and parliamentary democracy—it is necessary that the Communist Party should play its revolutionary role in uniting all the patriotic, peace-loving and democratic forces of the State on a minimum programme.

"The Party can achieve its aim only when: first, it develops itself as a strong, disciplined, mass Communist Party on a State-wide scale and arranges for the education of its members, arming them with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism and the recently published statement of the meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, while carrying on a ruthless struggle against revisionism and dogmatism in its ranks.

"Secondly, it builds strong and State-wide mass organisations of the workers, peasants, agricultural labourers, intelligentsia and the youth; and, thirdly it develops its independent strength in the political life of the State, unites democratic forces and presents an alternative to the Congress.

"In the coming period the Party will be called upon to take part, independently and together with other progres-

sive forces, in the growing economic, political and democratic struggles of various sections of the people."

The final rally held at the end of the Conference on the afternoon of December 11 was considered by the older residents of Mau to have been the biggest since 1947 when Pandit Nehru had visited Mau.

Kisan jathas had walked upto 60 and 70 miles even from Ghazipur and Ballia districts to take part in this rally. As far as Azamgarh was concerned there would be few villages which had not sent their representatives.

Forty thousand men and women had come to the meeting to hear the speeches of B. T. Ranadive, Bhupesh Gupta, Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, Sarjoo Pande, Jai Bahadur Singh and Jharkhande Rai. The meeting lasted for over four hours. Prior to the meeting a huge procession of 15 to 20 thousand people had marched through the town.

Balraj Sahni Writes On

* FROM PAGE ELEVEN

cause the audience pays more attention to the faces of the actors. Hence the least little bit of nervousness shown by the actor is caught by the camera and a nervous actor cannot act well before the camera.

He loses sense and control over his movements. His dialogues become shaky and re-takes have to be made again and again. The more the number of retakes the greater the nervousness of the artist. His face and eyes become dead and this looks very ugly on the screen. Film acting is 99 per cent expression and a nervous actor's face and eyes lose expression.

SPECIAL SYMPATHY

To encourage a nervous actor, to show special sympathy for him is an unwritten law of the film world. So, Zia, stopped rehearsal at once and started small talk with Anwar. But this nervousness was not my first experience. I had already played a bit of a role in the film Hal Chal which had been made a few months before Hum Log. There also I suffered from horrible fits of nervousness, while yet in the make-up room. The very thought of facing the camera made me feel giddy and I fell down.

Now I was convinced that this time my contract would be cancelled because I had one of the major roles in the picture. What will happen then? I will get a bad name, no one else will give me work. How will I pay my house rent? Where will I get money for the tuition fees of my children? The world seemed dark to me.

On the first day of the shooting of Hum Log, I walked to the studio like a man being led to gallows. A nonentity feels very small when entering the gates of a studio. Fortunately I had an old broken-down motorcycle to save face.

DISHEARTENING THOUGHTS

But my motorbike bore no comparison to the huge limousines of film stars and producers parked in the compound of Ranjit Studio. Chandulal Shah and many other bigwigs of the film world had come to attend the muhoort shot which was to be taken before the actual shooting started.

I imagined that all of them were looking at no one but me and were poking fun at me. I began to feel ashamed of my clothes. Everyone was pointing to the pair of old, torn military boots which Zia had made me wear (and which later on lent fame to my role). When I looked in the mirror, I disliked my face. "How did this ape like me become a film hero? What a bad make-up!"

Thousands of disheartening thoughts passed through my mind. I felt like throwing up the whole thing and running away. Yet, how could I run away? How was I to pay off my debts? If personal helplessness and greed had not bound me hand and foot, I would

surely run away. In my life I have run away from many such situations.

The muhoort shot passed off all right, but I will never forget that horrible day. Four or five shots of the film were taken but without anyone telling me I knew that they were useless. There was a hush engulfing the studio floor as though everyone was thinking how did Zia sign up this man for the hero's role?

DEBT TO ZIA

In the evening before leaving the studio, I went to Zia and said: "Zia, you are my friend. I do not want to spoil your picture. I will not take it ill in the least if you sign up some other artist for my role".

At that dark moment in my life Zia gave proof of the greatest friendliness and said: "My dear friend, now we will sink or swim together". I feel happy when I now think how greatly indebted I am to Zia for my film career.

At home Toshi (my wife) was impatiently waiting for me. She was building castles in the air that I would tell her a story of a great success. But as soon as she saw me, she went pale. A torrent of tears flooded my eyes. Striking my

head against the wall I began to cry: "I have proved a failure, Toshi, I will never become an actor! I can never become an actor!"

Now I remembered all these things. The realisation of my own foolishness was eating me up. Toshi tried to cheer me up.

Just then Zia's second assistant Nasar dropped in. This raw, innocent youth, who was hardly twenty, had judged my condition fully. I can never in my life repay the kindness that he showed me that night.

He put me on the path that was to lead me to my objective. It is a sad thing that in the film world very few get such sympathetic guidance.

"HATE FEAR"

Nasar said: "Should I tell you a way out of this predicament? Hate the people you fear, hate them intensely. Regard them as something lower than you. Work yourself into a fury against them and always let this flame of hatred burn bright. Say your dialogues as though you are abusing someone. That is the very essence of your character in the film".

His advice proved to be absolutely correct. In Hum Log I was playing the role of a young man all whose joys, hopes and aspirations had been killed by the capitalist system. He is unemployed and suffering from heart-disease. His father (Kanhalya Lal) is a

small clerk who gets a paltry salary of forty or fifty rupees a month. It is very difficult to make both ends meet.

The mother (Durga Khote) is trying to get some cheap magic cure for her daughter (Nutan) who is suffering from T.B. The young man feels that all around him, the world is crashing.

Everywhere there is a web of deceit and injustice. He is always grumbling. At all times he remains upset and bewildered. As a rule he does not speak to anyone but if at all he opens his mouth, he spits fire which not only sear the listener but burn him also.

Hate... Hate was the key to this role. Nasar's advice was true.

The next day I made hatred my sheet-anchor in the studio. I looked towards all rich people with intense hatred in my eyes. Once, while I was parking my motor-cycle I even spat on a car. So much so that I began to look at Anwar with utter contempt. He was also rich, a big man, brother of Nargis, they also had cars.

PROPER MOOD

This acting taught me a great lesson—that an artist grows nervous or self-con-

scious only when he lacks the proper mood. If he is able to put himself in a mood in consonance with the role all his troubles end.

I had considerable experience of stage and had spent some years on the Radio. The dialogues of Hum Log, written by Zia were highly dramatic and poetic. With a correct mood having been established my dialogues acquired intense bitterness. Now, every one began to congratulate me after the shot. My failure seemed to be changing into success.

While I was working on Hum Log, another factor also proved a great hindrance. The study of English literature had taught me that it was a virtue to hide your feelings and emotions and never let them show on your face. This was one of the great qualities of the British race. So, from my college days I had practised presenting a straight face in all situations and occasions. By the time I came to films, this habit had become ingrained in me.

Ever since, this simple trick has stood me in good stead. No actor should turn away from his mother-tongue and its literature. I have seen that after coming to films many Punjabi actors try hard to cast off their traits. In this they commit a great mistake.

Thus through Durgabal's kindness I learnt another great lesson. By and by the monotony of my dialogues disappeared. But still, I had to be on the alert.

This progressive content put my life into my acting. If I had not been one of those artists who had their early training in IPTA, perhaps I would not have understood Nasar's point so soon.

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NECESSARY CADENCE

As I have already said, in the films expression is everything. An expressionless, deadpan face is the worst thing in the films. Somehow I managed to bring the necessary cadence in my voice but throughout the shooting I could not change the expression on my face. The only thing which saved me was the intense hatred shining in my eyes.

Art means technique. If the artist is not the master of technique, he cannot be a real artist. I have been really fortunate to have been able to act in films like Hum Log, Do Bigha Zamin, Anlad, Jawab, Seema, Garam Coar, Pardesi and Bhabhi, which have presented many beautiful facets of humanity and have nourished and sustained the artist in me.

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To a great extent acting is another name for exhibitionism. For people who are shy, who are accustomed to hide and crush their feelings, who shrink from company, it is a sheer waste of energy and talent to take up acting.

HARD STRUGGLE

By the time we started the filming of Do Bigha Zamin, I had practically overcome this difficulty of not being able to change the expression on my face.

Because of these and many other weaknesses the shooting of Hum Log was a long, hard struggle for me. Everyday, many times, I gave way to black despair but then I somehow made myself pluck enough courage. It became impossible for me to enjoy my meals. A good night's sleep became a dream for me. Even at the beginning of the shooting I was a lean thin man but by the time shooting ended I had lost 15 pounds in weight.

I was fortunate. Hum Log proved a hit picture and I got contracts one after another. Life became easier.

I bought all the books by Stanislavsky. After studying them I found that hatred, the key to successful acting, which Nasar had handed me, was known as super-objective in his books. Now I look for a super-objective in every role that I play. In Do Bigha Zamin, Pardesi, Tongawall, all

the characters that I portrayed have their individual characteristic but super-objective has always stood me in good stead.

But the real reason for the success of Hum Log was not my acting. It was the progressive content of the film. In this Zia Sarhadi has presented the live problems of everyday life with great art and courage. Zia's words pierce the heart of society like sharp daggers.

NEW PRINCIPLES

"The old principle of the absolute freedom of contract and the doctrine of laissez faire have yielded place to new principles of social welfare and common good. Labour naturally looks upon the constitution of wage structures as affording a bulwark against the dangers of a depression, safeguard against unfair methods of competition between employers and guarantee of wages necessary for the minimum requirements of employees."

"There can be no doubt that in fixing wage structures in different industries, industrial adjudication attempts, gradually and by stages though it may be, to attain the principal objective of a welfare State, to secure to all citizens justice, social and economic."

PRODUCTION BONUS

"Where a production bonus scheme is in force and has become a term of employment, there is no reason why the tribunal should not have the power to vary its terms if circumstances justify it. Nor can the power of revision be denied to the tribunal in respect of a scheme actually introduced on the ground that the introduction of such a scheme was an exclusive management function and, therefore, it should be immune from being touched at all."

"This advances the right of labour to its share in the return out of the increased production."

It is common knowledge today that trade union activists are victimised by unscrupulous managements where the trade unions are strong. Quite often the management chooses to dismiss the workmen arbitrarily without assigning any reason. The Supreme Court had occasion to deal with this aspect of the matter. Justice Wanchoo held in the Chartered Bank's case:—

"The Industrial Tribunal "was of opinion that even in a case of discharge the requirement of bona fides is essential and if the termination of service is a colourable exercise of the power or was a result of victimisation or unfair labour practice the industrial tribunal would have the jurisdiction to intervene and set aside such termination."

Similar observations were made by Justice Gajendragadkar in the Assam Oil Company case. He directed the tribunal to investigate whether the power to terminate the services was exercised bona fide. He said:—

"The exercise of the power in question to be valid must always be bona fide. If the bona fides of the said exercise of power are successfully challenged, then the industrial tribunal would be entitled to interfere with the order in question. It is in this context that the industrial tribunal must consider whether the discharge is mala fide or whether it amounts to victimisation or an unfair labour practice, or is so capricious or unreasonable as would lead to

LABOUR IN THE LAW COURTS

FROM OUR LEGAL CORRESPONDENT

A FEW judgments of the Supreme Court in the recent past are of great interest to the working class movement and also to wider sections of the democratic movement, because these judgments are an indication that in disputes between capital and labour, the justice of the working class case is finding acceptance in quarters from which it was never expected in the past. These pronouncements of the Supreme Court reveal a new — and progressive — approach in the field of Industrial Law.

In "Crown Aluminium Works vs. Their Workmen" Justice Gajendragadkar defined the approach towards fixation of the wage structure in a welfare State. He also defined the limits within which capital should be confined when dictating its terms to labour in matters of wages.

"It is quite likely that in underdeveloped countries, where unemployment prevails on a very large scale, unorganised labour may be available on starvation wages; but the employment of labour on starvation wages cannot be encouraged or favoured in a modern democratic welfare State."

"If an employer cannot maintain his enterprise without cutting down the wages of his employees below even a bare subsistence or minimum wage, he would have no right to conduct his enterprise on such terms."

He went on to emphasise: "In India as well as in England and other democratic welfare States great inroad has been made on this view of the Common Law by labour welfare legislation such as the Minimum Wages Act and the Industrial Disputes Act. With the emergence of the concept of a welfare State, collective bargaining between trade unions and capital has come into its own and has received statutory recognition; the State is no longer content to play the part of a passive onlooker in an industrial dispute."

"Basically everything connected with the management of an industrial concern is a management function. The Industrial Tribunals have power to refuse the schemes actually introduced in exercise of the management function. He observed:—

"In the same strain Justice Wanchoo held in the case of Tlathur Paper Mills Limited that management functions are no longer sacrosanct. Everything connected with the management of industrial concern is a management function. The Industrial Tribunals have power to refuse the schemes actually introduced in exercise of the management function. He observed:—

"Therefore, once it is conceded, as is the case here, that the tribunal has jurisdiction to entertain such an industrial dispute which comes within the terms of S. 2(k), we see no reason why the power of the tribunal to take into consideration an incentive wage plan like a production bonus scheme already introduced should be limited merely to the consideration of the question whether the employer's action is mala fide, etc."

PRODUCTION BONUS

"Where a production bonus scheme is in force and has become a term of employment, there is no reason why the tribunal should not have the power to vary its terms if circumstances justify it. Nor can the power of revision be denied to the tribunal in respect of a scheme actually introduced on the ground that the introduction of such a scheme was an exclusive management function and, therefore, it should be immune from being touched at all."

"This advances the right of labour to its share in the return out of the increased production."

It is common knowledge today that trade union activists are victimised by unscrupulous managements where the trade unions are strong. Quite often the management chooses to dismiss the workmen arbitrarily without assigning any reason. The Supreme Court had occasion to deal with this aspect of the matter. Justice Wanchoo held in the Chartered Bank's case:—

"The Industrial Tribunal "was of opinion that even in a case of discharge the requirement of bona fides is essential and if the termination of service is a colourable exercise of the power or was a result of victimisation or unfair labour practice the industrial tribunal would have the jurisdiction to intervene and set aside such termination."

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POWER OF TRIBUNAL

"Further it held that where the termination of service is capricious, arbitrary or unnecessarily harsh on the part of the employer judged by normal standards of a reasonable man, that may be cogent evidence of victimisation or unfair labour practice."

"We are of opinion that this correctly lays down the

scope of the power of the tribunal to interfere where a service is terminated simpliciter under the provisions of a contract or of standing orders or of some award like the Bank Award. In order to judge this, the tribunal will have to go into all the circumstances which led to the termination simpliciter and an employer cannot say that it is not bound to disclose the circumstances before the tribunal."

"Whether or not the termination of services in a given case is the result of the bona fide exercise of the power conferred on the employer by the contract or whether in substance it is a punishment for alleged misconduct would always depend upon the facts and circumstances of each case. In this connection it is important to remember that just as the employer's right to exercise his option in terms of the contract has to be recognised so is the employee's right to expect security of tenure to be taken into account."

RIGHT OF ENQUIRY

Similar observations were made by Justice Gajendragadkar in the Assam Oil Company case. He directed the tribunal to investigate whether the power to terminate the services was exercised bona fide. He said:—

"The exercise of the power in question to be valid must always be bona fide. If the bona fides of the said exercise of power are successfully challenged, then the industrial tribunal would be entitled to interfere with the order in question. It is in this context that the industrial tribunal must consider whether the discharge is mala fide or whether it amounts to victimisation or an unfair labour practice, or is so capricious or unreasonable as would lead to

the inference that it has been passed for ulterior motives and not in bona fide exercise of the power conferred by the contract."

"Whether or not the termination of services in a given case is the result of the bona fide exercise of the power conferred on the employer by the contract or whether in substance it is a punishment for alleged misconduct would always depend upon the facts and circumstances of each case. In this connection it is important to remember that just as the employer's right to exercise his option in terms of the contract has to be recognised so is the employee's right to expect security of tenure to be taken into account."

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LIFE AND MY ART

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Posts & Telegraphs Department

DA 40/551

REPUBLIC DAY TASKS

* FROM FRONT PAGE

people have cast off colonial slavery.

The major part of Asia is already free. Last year witnessed the big events that shook U.S. domination to its very foundations, in the very countries tied to the U.S. by military alliances, for example, Japan, Korea, S. Vietnam and now in Laos.

After the loss of Asia, Africa was the main hope of the Western colonialists, headed by the U.S.A. Again, their fond dreams stand shattered. A big part of Africa is already liberated and the rest is actively struggling for emancipation. The final outcome is no more in doubt.

The colonialists sought to turn the wheel back by their Congo operation, and under cover of the UN flag. Their tactic was the same as in Korea. The change in the times is reflected by the fact that they have not succeeded in transforming Congo into another Korea, they have earned greater hostility of the world. The independent African States at the Casablanca Conference have come together to set up an African High Command, to hurl back imperialist intervention and stand guard over the liberation of the African continent.

Latin America was the traditional backyard of the U.S. imperialism. Now right at the U.S. door-step tiny Cuba stands defiant and triumphant as the vanguard of Latin American liberation. The new popular slogan "Cuba Yes, Yankees No" echoes from the very hearts of the peoples in Latin American countries where some U.S. puppets have already been sacked while mass national struggles are rising to push the rest to their doom.

Indian official policy is against colonialism but the Indian Government remains silent too long before expressing Indian solidarity and on occasions it is not firm enough as revealed latest by the Congo events.

On this Republic Day, the Communist Party reiterates its determination to popularise the cause of Asian, African and Latin American peoples struggling against colonialism as India's own cause. The best guarantee to safeguard the sovereignty and security of the Republic of India is to go all-out to the aid of the anti-colonial struggles and help send colonialism to its long-deserved grave so that all nations become free and live and work in peace.

Sense Of Frustration

India's foreign policy has won our country great credit abroad but the failure and the discredit of the internal policies of the Congress regime has been such as to cause a sense of political frustration in the Prime Minister himself.

It was on the basis of forging greater and greater national unity that the Congress grew in strength as the leader of the national struggle against imperialism. Thirteen years after the Congress came to power, the top Con-

gress leaders cry aloud against dangers to national unity. In Assam, Assamese-Bengali riots took place with Congressmen involved on both sides. The Punjab was rocked by the Akali challenge, due to the past Congress pampering of the Akalis and without an alternative when the Sikh communal challenge came, exploiting a just demand.

Curse Of Separatism

The rape of the Communist-led Kerala Ministry has led straight to the revival of the Muslim League in the various parts of the country.

Earlier top and opportunist alliances with the tribal leaders have activated tribal separatism.

We are not out just to find fault with the Congress. The issues involved are too grave. We only urge that the disease of communalism and separatism can no more be resisted by abstract declarations or administrative measures alone. Every manifestation of these evils has to be determinedly and unitedly fought on the spot, and together.

The causes that produce them have to be discovered so

broadened and further strengthened.

A decade of Indian Planning has strengthened India's economic independence by significant advance of industrialisation though accompanied by lag in agricultural production. This undoubted progress, however, has failed to inspire the people. Their discontent against the conditions of life and labour remains and grows. The reasons are obvious, recognised by all except the ruling coterie, that the gains of Indian economic development have been garnered not by the working people but by their exploiters.

Excluding the hidden profits and reserves, the index of profits, with 1950 as the base, climbed up to 168.7 in 1958 and they have increased and not decreased in the subsequent years. As regards real wages, the Union Labour Minister Nanda, in his Lok Sabha speech, April 11, 1960, stated "Between 1939 and 47, the standard of living of the workers had declined by 25 per cent. By 1951, they had just covered the lost ground. By 1955, the real wages had increased by 13 per cent. But since 1956, when again prices started rising, their gains have been to an extent wiped out."

will then be duly honoured with partnership by foreign private capital.

Alternatively the foreign monopolist firms themselves will benevolently come to our country to open up our mines, oil wells and other industries for us! A World Bank Mission is sitting tight in New Delhi to manoeuvre all this. Reactionary Indian monopolists are agitating and working for the acceptance of the foreign monopolists' terms and with due gratitude.

Foreign Monopolies

Our country is at the crossroads. The achievements of the past are at stake. New dangers stare us in the face. Every thinking person is aware, in varying degrees, of the rumbling and growing crisis. The crux of the problem is that the Congress rulers have failed to consistently and boldly implement the national and democratic task that necessarily followed achievement of Indian independence and the establishment of our sovereign Republic.

The running thread of the policies they have carried out is compromise with the anti-

workers despite political differences were able to forge unity in action and win a Wage Board. The public sector workers, especially, steel, coal and engineering are getting into action in their own and nation's interest. The example set by the Indian working class is not being lost upon the rest of the toiling people and it is they who matter.

On this auspicious Republic Day, our Party renews its pledge to unite with all the national and popular forces to defend the achievements of the Republic and correct past mistakes.

There is no other way to save and strengthen Indian unity and democracy except all the democratic elements banding themselves together to resist and rebuff every move and intrigue of reaction and together create an atmosphere of self-confidence and vigilance in the country so that the discontented people do not passively wait for the strong man to emerge but take their destiny in their own hands.

There is no other way to rebuild and renovate our national economy except by redistribution of land to the tillers of the soil, loyally implementing the policy of the leading role of the public

Unite For Peace And Democracy!

that realistic, principled and effective measures can be taken to preserve and strengthen national unity.

It is not only Indian unity but Indian democracy as well that faces new dangers.

The Indian Constitution itself was violated when the Kerala Ministry headed by our Party was unceremoniously dismissed. This encouraged Indian reaction to come out in the open.

Chief of Staff Thimayya dared challenge his parliamentary chief under the promptings of the Morarji lobby inside the Congress Parliamentary Party and with the full support of Right-wing leaders of the P.S.P., Swatantra and the Jan Sangh.

The Rashtrapati himself thinks that the time has come to claim extra dictatorial powers for himself, a la Kasavub, including the right to appoint Chiefs of the Armed Forces and accept or reject the advice of the Cabinet and so on.

The Congress President, Sanjeeva Reddy, in his Bhavnagar presidential address, had the boldness to suggest that direct elections for the State Assemblies and the Parliament be given up. J.P.s. propaganda for partyless democracy and Ayubism goes on non-stop.

Indian Reaction is planfully shooting out feelers to test and condition Indian public opinion. It seeks to exploit the discontent caused by the anti-democratic policies of the Congress, to lead the nation away from the path of democracy.

Indian democracy can no more be taken for granted. It has to be defended here and now and unitedly, its enemies routed, if it is to be saved,

The pledge to distribute land and enforce ceiling legislation stands scuttled. The Nagpur Resolution mocks in the background. Agriculture remains our main and largest economic sector and its continued weakness remains intact despite all the patch up and the financial aids which mostly help the upper rural strata.

Land Reforms Scuttled

The latest National Development Council meeting did nothing more than stick to the conception of a big Third Plan and the industrial targets already outlined. It, however, rejected the move of Finance Minister Morarji Desai who would deny resources for carrying out a big industrial Plan. Even while the British Queen is here and big words about Indo-British goodwill, cooperation, etc., are being bandied about, the organ of British big business in India, Capital Calcutta, could not restrain its indignation against the NDC and has headlined its January 19 editorial as "The Third Plan: Take-off Into Unreality". It states, "The nation is left wondering whether the best start might not be made by folding up the NDC itself".

Greater economic independence has been achieved but there are dangers ahead because of policies that have increased dependence on foreign aid. About one-third of the Third Plan depends on foreign aid. This strategic weakness of the Indian position is fully exploited by the Western capitalist aiders who demand that the big industrial projects in the public sector be drastically pruned and handed over to the private sector which

national and anti-democratic elements in Indian life. This has only encouraged them to show their teeth with the inevitably advancing crisis.

Indian reaction is talking loud and looks strong. It is, however, inherently weak. The feudal and monopoly interests do not represent the good Indian people. The best in them is reflected through the struggles of the Indian working class, their advanced detachment. The Central Government Employees' strike seemingly failed but it shook the Government to think anew about its labour policy and taught it the temper of the people. The Textile workers have compelled the mighty textile magnates to yield. The jute

sector for rapid Indian industrialisation and rigidly controlling the private sector in the national interest and, above all, such fair and just policies and realistic and practical measures as win the active cooperation of the workers, peasants and all sections of our working people for the success of the Plan.

The dark clouds on the Indian horizon can be scattered and the dawn of new hope brought nearer. The urgent pre-condition is unity of country's patriotic and democratic forces, including the Congressmen whose responsibility indeed is great. We Communists stand for such unity and will fight for it with all our strength.

IMPORTANT CORRECTION

While being printed it was found that some omissions and mistakes have been made in the centre pages, on which is printed Ajoy Ghosh's article "The Nature of Our Epoch".

In column three, under the sub-heading "Conference Work" second para line seven should read "same time a number of new ideas were introduced, a number of formulations".

In column six in the second line the word "Cuba" should be deleted. At the end of this same para the following words should be added:

"The liberation of Cuba was another big event which has electrified the entire Latin American countries and has become their banner of hope".

We regret these errors.—EDITOR

1961
REPUBLIC DAY
FOLK DANCE FESTIVAL
AT NATIONAL STADIUM

At 6 p.m. on January 27 and 3 p.m. on January 28
Rates of Admission : Rs. 5 (Reserved), Rs. 3 and 50 nP.
(Half Rates for Unreserved Seats for Personnel of Armed Forces
and Police in Uniform on January 27, and for
Children on Both Days)

DIFFERENT DANCES ON EACH DAY

TICKETS AVAILABLE AT

Central Booth (Room No. 176/First Floor, South Block), Main Entrances of North and
South Blocks (Central Secretariat), National Stadium, Station Headquarters
(Delhi Cantonment), Deputy Commissioner's Office (Alipore Road),
Regional Tourist Office (Janpath), Cottage Industries Emporium
(Janpath), Regal and Golcha Cinema Houses, National Sports
Club of India, Ambassador Hotel, Bhavnani & Sons, Pandit
Brothers, Empire Stores, Banbasi Stores (Karol Bagh),
Bengal Crockery House (Kamla Nagar), and
Grand Bazaar (Khan Market).

FOLK MUSIC CONCERT

AT TALKATORA CAMP THEATRE

at 6 p.m. on Wednesday, January 25

Tickets—Rs. 5, Rs. 3 and Re. 1—Available

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Best & Co. (Connaught Place & Chandni Chowk)

AND

Central Cottage Industries Emporium

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