plus. It is here that her policy of non-alignment is an essential pre-condition for India’s democracy. For non-alignment is another name for alignment with both the Big Powers. In fact, the role of the elite in the technique of development and foreign policy are closely inter-connected and together hold the structure of politics in India. It is not possible to hold on to one and dispense with the others.

CONFLICT WITHIN MIDDLE CLASS

Two questions, however, still remain to be answered. Will the apathy of the rural masses continue? And will not the middle-class in its sectional struggles carry rivalries to the breaking point? It is the latter question which is the more urgent. Fruits of development have not been distributed among all sections of the middle-class; at any rate it can never be so distributed as to be considered “fair” by all. Certain sections of the middle-class due to early English education or their proximity to the political and financial capitals of India have attained a higher standard among the middle-class. They now demand the continuation of those privileges as a matter of right while new sections are coming up to press for their status as is evident from the acrimonious Hindi-English controversy. These sectional struggles may take a more violent form with the passage of time. It is in fact very interesting that instead of being a unifier, an external threat has given the green light to the nationalities to settle their accounts. The Akali decision to launch a movement for the Punjabi Suba, the vote in Calcutta’s South West Constituency or the Manipur People’s struggle for responsible government are ominous signs of the dangers inherent in building up a middle-class-dominated society.

While, therefore, India may have ample breathing time, thanks to a combination of circumstances, it would be both risky and futile to postpone agrarian reorganisation unduly long. The present advantages afford us the opportunity to introduce such reorganisation with the least upsetting effect and after making sure that the rural sector’s role in politics becomes less uncertain. But the base of our democracy must be widened if the superstructure is not to prove too heavy.

A Profile of Maharashtra

S V Kogekar

A more rational approach to the demand for Maharashtra from the States Reorganisation Commission and a more sensible attitude on the part of the Congress High Command would have saved the country from the ugly aftermath of political decisions taken in defiance of the hard realities of the situation.

The effort to bring about the break-up of the bilingual State has, nevertheless, resulted in an unprecedented sense of unity and awakening in Maharashtra. The achievement of a unilingual State is considered not as the victory of any particular party but of the people.

The most dominant personality in Maharashtra today is the Chief Minister Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan. He may well prove the greatest asset of Maharashtra in the critical times ahead.

The Shivaji Cult symbolises the emotional unity of Maharashtra but emotional integration of different regions and castes is yet to be achieved.

WHEN the people of Maharashtra started celebrations to welcome the establishment of the new State on April 27, many must have reflected on the needless struggle, suffering and recriminations of the preceding three years. A more rational approach to the demand for a Maharashtra State from the States Reorganisation Commission and a more sensible attitude on the part of the Congress High Command would have saved the country from the ugly aftermath of political decisions taken in defiance of the hard realities of the situation. Yet, the obvious had to be brought home to the powers that be, and Maharashtra seems to have gained greater strength in the process.

The parties in opposition to the Congress came together in a remarkable alliance under the banner of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and won breath-taking successes in the 1957 General Elections both to the State Legislature of the bilingual Bombay State and the Lok Sabha. The Municipal Corporation of Bombay was captured by the Samiti in a straight contest with the Congress despite the ‘cosmopolitan’ electorate of the city. In hundreds of village panchayats and scores of municipalities and district boards, the Congress leadership was successfully challenged. This made it clear that, unless the bilingual State was broken up, the Congress might as well wind up its show in this region. Old loyalties were stronger in parts of Marathwada—the five districts of the former Hyderabad State—where the Congress was still esteemed as the party that had liberated the people from the Nizam’s yoke. It appeared stronger still in the eight districts of old Madhya Pradesh where the demand for a separate Vidarbha State was raised in order to retain the importance of Nagpur as a State capital, a status it had enjoyed for long.

The Congress Government which depended heavily on the support of Vidarbha members in the Legislature was unable to convince its supporters of the bright future that was claimed for the bilingual State. Those of them who wanted a separate Vidarbha State were in any case eager to see the break-up of the existing arrangement. Shri Brijlal Biyani who was courageous enough to come out openly in favour of the break-up was perhaps far more representative of opinion among Congressmen though his arguments for a separate Vidarbha State were not accepted by most of them. Members from Gujarat, barring those representing the Mahajajrat Janata Parishad, were the mainstays of Congress rule. Facile assumptions in certain quarters that some Gujarati Ministers might try to divert Plan funds, to their region had given rise to certain misgivings even among
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non-Gujarati Congress members, and it could be surmised that the unity of the Cabinet itself was at times subject to strain. Anyway, the Congress in Maharashtra was slowly but surely driven to think on lines openly advocated by the Samiti.

Ideologically, Maharashtra thus appeared to be united on the stand for a separate Maharashtra State in a manner never before witnessed since the idea of linguistic States was first mooted. It is in this sense that Maharashtra has secured a fresh accession of strength in the process of transition from the bilingual to the unilingual idea. Without the assistance of industrial tycoons or political magnates, Maharashtra was able to show how the 'national' solution arrived at by Parliament was no solution at all. Both the Samiti and the Congress party in Maharashtra could, therefore, legitimately share the credit for establishment of the new State. Their leaders could speak from the same platform to the people assembled at mammoth meetings all over the State on the eve of inauguration of their new State. It was no party victory; it was the victory of the people—that was the predominant sentiment which prevailed throughout the five-day celebrations.

DOOMINANT PERSONALITY

If there was any personality that could be singled out as the most dominant during those five days, symbolising the joy, hope and aspirations of the new State, it was indisputably that of the Chief Minister, Shri Yeshwantrao 'Chavan. Shri Chavan's is not a demagogic personality. He is no mass orator. He rarely turns emotional when he talks. In a sense, there was nothing very outstanding about his career until he became Chief Minister. At that time, he was regarded as the protege of Shri Morarji Desai and was somewhat suspect in the eyes of Maharashtra. Yet, in the three odd years since then, he has risen in stature and in the esteem of Maharashtra. For a busy Minister and for one without a very brilliant academic background, he is surprisingly well read. For his peasant stock, he is surprisingly urbane. For his youth, he is remarkably mature in idea and expression. For a party politician, he is remarkably tolerant of opposition. His sincerity is transparent. His pronouncements on such vexed questions as minority rights, casteism and communalism are forthright. If he continues to tread the path on which he has set out, he may well prove the greatest asset of Maharashtra in the critical times ahead.

AWAKENING AMONG INTELLECTUALS

One of the most noteworthy and hopeful of signs in present-day Maharashtra is the tremendous awakening among intellectuals to the potentialities and deficiencies of the new State. Never before in modern times has Maharashtra done so much of stock-taking, so much of conscious introspection as today. Never before has Maharashtra felt a keener desire to improve, to change, to achieve results as it does today. What is derisively described by superficial observers as the 'Shivaji Cult' is really an attempt to find inspiration from the founder of the Maratha Raj who heralded a new era of self-respect, self-reliance, toleration, respect for womanhood and just and impartial administration in the face of the bigotry and exploitation of Moghul Emperor like Aurangzeb. The intellectuals look upon the new State as providing an opportunity to set better standards in every walk of life as was tried in Shivaji's time. Few outside observers realise how deeply Maharashtrians at all levels revere the memory of Shivaji. Brahmin writers have waxed as eloquent on the 'Maharashtra Dharma' practised by Shivaji as non-Brahmin, writers. Indeed Shivaji symbolises the emotional unity of Maharashtra as no other hero does.

REGIONAL APPREHENSIONS

Not that emotional integration has become apparent in everyday life. Tensions there certainly are. The four regions—Western Maharashtra of the old Bombay Presidency, Maharashtra, Vidarbha and Bombay City—have problems of their own, and also, let us face it frankly, suspicions of their own. The Nag-Vidarbha movement, though not very wide-spread, is based on suspicion of the educationally and politically more advanced Western region, and it was able to make itself felt in a rather violent outburst at Nagpur right in the midst of the inaugural celebrations. Maharashtra is apprehensive lest its need to develop from a backward state to a footing of equality with the rest of the State may not be fully realised and met. Bombay City would look with suspicion, for example, on any large-scale plan for rural development, on the use of Marathi for official purposes and higher education—the first, because it would depict; the surplus revenues of the City and the second on account of its possible impact on the 'cosmopolitan' life of the region. The

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most noteworthy part of the story is that Western Maharashtra, which had advanced no claim for special treatment as the claim on energy resource, is looked upon with suspicion by all the rest. The Chief Minister, hailing from this region, thought it fit to fix the strength of his Ministry at 26 in contrast to Gujarat's 11, mainly to assure the feelings of other regions, particularly Vidarbha.

CASTE FEELINGS

An interesting sidelight on the new State was provided by a controversy which was started by a well-known Marathi writer and editor soon after the decision to split the bilingual State was taken. In relation to the emphasis laid in certain quarters—especially in the Southern districts of Satara and Kolhapur—on the set-up in the new state as Maratha Raj instead of Marathi or Maharashtra Raj, the Chief Minister was asked to clarify the nature of the new State. To outsiders this question may appear somewhat puzzling. But for Maharashtra it is a very important one. The terms Maratha and Maharashtra are considered synonymous outside the State, in Maharashtra, too, Shivaji's Maratha Raj means Maharashtra Raj. Rut Maratha is also the name of the caste which constitutes the bulk of the peasantry. Of all the non-Brahmin castes of Maharashtra, the Maratha is numerically the largest. Its leaders were also leaders of the non-Brahmin castes of Maharashtra, the Maratha Raj in this context is. Raj dominated by the Maratha community. Marathi Raj would mean a Raj where the Marathi language provides the bond of community to the people irrespective of caste.

The question had a direct bearing on certain events and ideas which had been circulating during the years since Independence and which were responsible for certain tensions between members of different caste groups like the Brahmins, the Maharashtra scheduled castes etc. The Chief Minister, however, very categorically declared that he would rather give up office than countenance the establishment of a Maratha Raj. An idea, which reminds one of the views associated with the Hindu Mahasabha under Shri V D Savarkar's leadership in pre-Independence days, does prevail, however, and has been very forcefully expressed in a newspaper that since the Marathas represent an overwhelming majority of the population of Maharashtra, a Maratha Raj would be perfectly in keeping with the democratic principle of majority rule. The issue is not yet settled, and future developments will be watched with interest.

FUTURE POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS

Apart from regional and communal stresses and strains, future political alignments in Maharashtra are also a matter for much speculation. With the attainment of a unilingual State, the Samiti has started disintegrating. Shri S M Joshi, the P S P leader and General Secretary of the Samiti, who is next only to Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan in popular esteem, has resigned his office, indicated the unwillingness of the P S P to ally itself with Communists and declared that the Samiti should function only in respect of border disputes primarily with Mysore. The Peasants and Workers Party— the progressive rural opposition to the Congress which represented a remarkable development in the post-Independence period— has all but decided to dissolve itself. Many of its members have joined the Congress, and one of its leaders has even accepted office as Deputy Minister in the Chavan Ministry. A rump may remain unconverted and merge— completely or in all but name with the Communist Party. The Jan Sangh and other smaller parties have never been much of a force in Maharashtra.

Eventually, therefore, the main opposing groups would be the Congress and Communists, with the P S P tending to be an ineffective third force trying to discover areas of agreement with the Congress. The Communists do not seem to have any issue on which to bank for rallying popular support at the moment. Efforts on their part to retain the Samiti as a united opposition to the Congress, which would incidentally give them an assured place in the legislature and outside, have met with rebuff from all the major participants in the Samiti. The only way they can survive is to turn to the labour field which, in an industrially-oriented State, can be a source of strength to them. Much will, of course, depend on how the Congress Government under Shri Chavan's leadership conducts itself. At the moment there is generally an atmosphere of constructive thinking and great hope in Congress circles, with Shri Chavan skilfully trying to press all sections of the community into a common effort which will justify the creation of the new State to the rest of the country. No man in Maharashtra today bears a heavier load of responsibility.

Durgapur Stage II

With the commissioning of the 42-inch blooming mill, Associated Electrical Industries has completed the supply and installation of electrical equipment for the first of the primary mills in Stage II of the Durgapur Steel Project. Stage I of the Project was commissioned on December 29, 1959 when the coke oven battery and blast furnace plant were put into service and production of iron commenced. Stage II includes steelmaking and the production of ingots for the primary mills. From the soaking pits, 7-ton ingots are carried by an ingot buggy to the entry tables where they are passed to a weighing and turning machine and then to the 42-inch blooming mill. The manipulation of the ingot and its reduction to a bloom for passing to the 32-inch intermediate mill involves an elaborate control scheme with regulating systems for the main and auxiliary drives incorporating amplitudes and other electrical devices. The blooms are cropped at the primary hot shear before passing to the intermediate mill. The design of this control scheme is such that the operator in the mill pulpit can exercise complete and precise control over all operations by the simple movement of a few controllers.

The twin drive for the 42-inch bloom mill consists of two D C motors each of 3,000 H P developing a combined peak of 15,000 H P and with a normal speed range of 40/80 R P M. The main mill motors are supplied by a flywheel M G set, consisting of four 1,200 and two kW generators driven by a 5,000 H P induction motor. The flywheel has a stored energy capacity of 200,000 H P seconds. The 1,200 kW generators supply the main drive (two generators for each motor) and the 480 kW generators supply the bloom shear motors.