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THE NEW ADMINISTRATOR

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THE TASK OF THE HOUR

Much was said during the recent election campaign by members of the opposition parties about the lack of administrative efficiency. Speakers after speakers in different parts of India referred in lurid terms to the serious deterioration that has taken place in the sphere of administration since Independence and promised to restore efficiency if they were voted to power. Some speakers attributed the decline in efficiency to the fear complex that had come to dominate public servants, the latter being afraid to do anything lest they should get into the bad books of the powers that be. Others talked of political interference in the day-to-day administration as a result of which public service has become considerably demoralised. Yet others commented on the poor quality and to add to that the indifference of public service personnel, and the absence of any effort on their part to be of real service to the people. It was also pointed out that Governments have not shown any lively awareness about the magnitude of the problems of administration, judging from the fact that many of the evils to which attention had been called again and again in the press such as administrative delays, in-roads of casteism and communalism, linguism, the unhealthy impact of politics on administration, etc., still continue to flourish hampering administrative efficiency.

Such criticisms levelled as they were in the hectic atmosphere of an election campaign may be viewed more as providing grounds for rethinking and chalking out an effective line for future action. Effective action is all the more necessary because there is a widespread impression that despite our two Five-Year Plans, we have not been able to make progress commensurate with the expenditure of men, money and materials. The blame for this is largely traceable to the shortcomings of

administration. Referring to the Five-Year Plans a retired civil servant in the course of his writings observes "in my opinion the Five-Year Plans have resulted in the appointment of more and more staff in the expectation of an increased turn over of work in these offices. It is not unusual in these days to find in some offices staff having only four to five hours of work and to see quite a few of them reading newspapers or gossiping with each other. The Five Year Plans will not materially assist us in the long run where the emphasis is on increased expenditure and not on what is actually achieved. A large number of paper schemes are worked out at great length sometimes at conferences held in distant places. What actual benefit has resulted to the public.....is very problematical." The multiplication of the staff says another writer has brought Parkinson's theory into operation in that when more people are employed less efficiency inevitably results. It is an axiomatic truth that in administration a compact band of dedicated people is better than an ill-informed crowd. It was a familiar observation of western writers in the early part of this century that 350 millions of people in India were ruled by 1200 I.C.S. men with the seat of authority remaining seven thousands miles away. No doubt work has expanded since but it has been contended that more people than are necessary are employed. Reduction in numbers is however possible only if steps are taken to improve efficiency of individual public servants. It is doubtful whether this aspect of the matter has received adequate attention. Again, reference was made to Gresham's Law according to which bad coins drive out the good ones from circulation. Similarly efficient civil servants who are already in service retire before their time for lack of opportunities and what is worse talented people are taking to commercial lines where they have better emoluments without any of the irritants that occur in the field of public administration.

Today therefore the greatest challenge is provided by problems of administrative efficiency. We have been all these years trying to focus attention on the magnitude of this problem and the importance of tackling it effectively. We have been concentrating on providing information and guidance to all classes of public servants in the day-to-day administration, for in a welfare State nothing is more important for a public servant than an informed background. We must confess however to a sense of disappointment in this matter. We have found the ranks of public servants indifferent to questions of their individual efficiency. They seem to have little faith in making efforts to improve their equipment because they labour

under the impression that it is not required for achieving official advancement. And strangely enough Governments have not been able to disillusion them in the matter. Questions of individual efficiency are left to the discretion of officers as if Government has nothing to do with it. It is this policy of *laissez faire* that has since Independence proved the biggest hurdle in the way of stepping up administrative efficiency. This is not however the case in Western countries. Even in our own country the Government during the last war expected the war front employees to acquaint themselves with the intricacies of war propaganda and supplied books to that end. Those who availed themselves of the facilities were pushed up. Now even civil servants in the upper reaches have little inclination to inform themselves in the way their counterparts did in the Indian Civil Service. Most of them do not provide the courageous leadership either to the political executive on the one hand or to their subordinates on the other. They content themselves with moving with the current. The root cause for this outlook is the lack of what writers call "Service Motivation" on the part of public service personnel of the present day. Only through proper orientation it is possible to make good this lack.

The elections are over and new Ministries have come into being. The next five years is spoken of as a crucial period. Opposition in most of the States is stronger now. A number of problems call for urgent attention. Subversive elements are not wanting to foment public dissatisfaction. All these underscore the imperative necessity for stepping up administrative efficiency. It only can hold the country like a fortress. Concerted action is necessary and in this we would suggest that initiative may be taken by the Planning Commission. Only they can take co-ordinated action on an All-India basis.

Faith in Democracy

I believe in democracy because it releases the energies of every human being.

WOODROW WILSON

News and Notes

Tourist Traffic

During the decade 1950-60, tourist arrivals increased more than sevenfold and compare favourably with any other country in Asia, including Japan. In 1951, 17,000 tourists visited India and in 1960 tourist arrivals exceeded 123,000 (excluding those from Pakistan). During 1961, which happened to be a special campaign year of "Welcome to India—Visit the Orient", there were over 140,000 visitors. During the period corresponding to our Second Five-Year Plan tourism brought in more than Rs. 88 crores by way of foreign exchange and today the industry occupies the fifth place among the country's chief foreign exchange earners. Nevertheless there is still much scope for the development of tourist traffic in our country. Countries with lesser tourist attractions have fared better. For instance, Japan can afford only a few tourist attractions compared to India; even so Japan earns double the amount of foreign exchange from tourism. The main reason for this is that the Japs are among the most hospitable nations in the world. They have a great regard for foreigners whom they treat as guests of the nation. In Japanese shops things are sometimes sold at a less price to tourists. We have to learn from Japs in regard to our attitude to tourists.

The Travancore Rayons Ltd.

Mr. A. R. Ramanathan, Chairman of Travancore Rayons Ltd., has once again been nominated by the Union Government to serve as the Chairman of the reconstituted Development Council for Art and Silk Industry for a period of two years. Mr. Ramanathan has been the Chairman of the Development Council since 1959. His further nomination is a clear evidence of the valuable work he has done during his association with the council since two years. Mr. Ramanathan is also the President of the Association of Man Made Fibre Industry. Hailing from a community which has done yeoman service in the cause of the economic uplift of South India, Mr. Ramanathan is a leading luminary in the Industrial firmament today. The Travancore Rayons, of which he is the Chairman has made remarkable strides in the recent past and a further big expansion is in the offing.

Planning in India

The real take-off in our economy would come about when the predominantly agricultural economy becomes predominantly industrial, and it was here that our planning had not succeeded, observed Dr. M. B. Desai, Professor of Agricultural Economics at University of Baroda in Bombay, recently. Speaking under the auspices of the Forum of Free Enterprise on "Some Crucial Issues in Indian Planning", Dr. Desai said that the percentage of agricultural labour in total working force had

increased from 66 per cent in 1901 to 69 per cent in 1951, and perhaps more in 1961. In economically advanced countries like the U.K. it was 5 per cent. Dr. Desai said that urgent attention to the cost aspect of our industries was needed to promote exports. "In our anxiety to spend money for growth in two plans, the cost aspect has been overlooked," he added. The time has come when realistic "evaluation of social waste" in planning has to be made in the interests of rapid economic growth, according to Dr. Desai. He cautioned against over-emphasis on labour-intensive methods. That might, after a certain point, hamper economic growth. He warned against preoccupation with social justice at this stage, as that would affect productivity. Mr. M. A. Master, presiding over the meeting, said that it was difficult to reduce the cost of Indian products when transport crisis persisted, availability of raw materials was difficult and installed capacity in many industries was not fully utilised.

Agricultural Yield

The average yield of wheat per acre in the Federal Republic of Germany is 1,424 kg., about four times the output of 325 kg. obtained in India until now. The yield of potatoes per acre in Germany is more than 3 times the present output of about 2,900 kg. in India. In the Federal Republic of Germany, all kinds of agricultural activities, such as soil preparation, irrigation, seed improvement, manuring, plant protection, etc., have been brought to the latest standards of scientific farming. A few figures may illustrate the extent of the agrotechnical revolution accomplished. From 1935-38 to 1959-60 the use of chemical fertilizers increased for Nitrogen by 115 per cent, up to 17.40 kg. per acre, for Phosphate by 94 per cent, up to 20.36 kg. per acre, and for Potash by 90 per cent up to 29.20 kg. per acre of cultivated land. The number of dusters and sprayers for plant protection increased, in the course of only five years, from 1954 to 1959, by about 72,200 to 246,512 sets. Between 1949 and 1960 the number of tractors increased from roughly 90,000 to 800,000 and that of harvesters from 150 to 46,000. About two-thirds of the existing 1.6 million farms are operated only by family members, and, considering the agricultural labour force as a whole, out of every 10 persons working in agriculture eight are family members and only two are farm labourers. The predominance of family-farming is also obvious from the fact that 28.8 per cent of all holdings embrace less than 5 acres each; 62.7 per cent have an acreage between 5 and 50 acres; only 8.5 per cent cover an extent each of more than 50 acres. In this the agricultural structure in the Federal Republic shows much similarity to that in India. The German farmers were to a great extent changing over to the cultivation of paying intensive crops such as potatoes, sugar beets, vegetables, etc., and at least the smallest holdings were developed into horticultural undertakings. 35,000 commercial gardening units, the average size of which is about 3 acres, are thus operated. Their total cash income, from about 187,000 acres, amounts to DM 1,629 million. Fruit production alone is yielding an income of 685

million, flower cultivation 510 million and vegetable-growing DM 274 million. Secondly, small holdings as well as the larger agricultural holdings, do, as a rule, not only carry out intensive crop cultivation but at the same time also pursue animal husbandry as an essential part of their entire farm organisation. To a total agricultural gross income amounting to DM 19,269 million in 1959-60, livestock production contributed a value of DM 13,958 million, more than 72 per cent, and milk production alone DM 5,224 million, 27 per cent of the farmers' marketing proceeds. A third important factor is to be seen in the particular manner in which motorization and mechanization as such have been followed in the Federal Republic by the construction and steady improvement of smaller tractors designed to work efficiently and economically on small holdings, of two-wheeled tractors which can be utilized even in terraced orchards and fields on steep slopes, and of power equipment for spraying and dusting against various pests and diseases.

The Public Sector

Mr. Murarji J. Vaidya in the course of an article asks as to why the public sector is not efficient and answers the question. He says "There are three main reasons. One, in the Public Sector the persons who are in charge of the operation of the units do not personally stand to suffer. In other words, there is no personal risk in the running of the enterprise. In the Private Sector, on the contrary, if an industry is not run well, it will mean that the company will become insolvent and will go into voluntary liquidation and those responsible for its running suffer most. In the Public Sector, the man in charge of the particular enterprise, whether he is a civil servant or not, is transferred to some other concern and he goes on drawing his fat pay and enjoying perquisites whether the company is successful or not. Secondly, the degree of accountability for results is not so clear in the Public Sector as in the Private Sector. In the Private Sector, one is accountable to the auditors, the shareholders and above all, to the Government. The Government is there to check up anything that goes wrong. The company law is there, the labour law is there and the Government is armed with overall powers reserved to it under the Industries (Development and Regulations) Act if any concern is not run honestly or in accordance with the laws. Therefore, the Private Sector is under constant watch and check. The degree of accountability is considerably greater in the Private Sector than in the Public Sector. In the Public Sector, once a year when the budget proposals are placed before Parliament, the members have an opportunity to discuss the working of the various undertakings. It is not difficult to understand that if about 740 people are given an opportunity to discuss these once a year for a few days in the debate on the general budget, the degree of accountability is far less than it is in the weekly Board meetings of the Directors of a company

(Continued on page 19)

Trends in Administration

Efficiency

The need of the hour is efficient Government said candidates of the political parties in the recent elections. This is more easily said than done. Ever since Independence administrative efficiency has been going from bad to worse and despite persistent criticisms very little concrete results have been achieved within the last decade and a half. Of course there has been much talk and also sporadic measures here and there. For instance O and M Divisions have been started in almost all the States; special committees also were constituted in some of the secretariats for the purpose. Other measures were also taken to tackle the problem of efficiency. All the same the results are far below expectations. Administrative delays are still the order of the day; lack of knowledge of rules, indifference in the observance of procedures and laziness in tracing out previous papers and the consequent need to carry on unnecessary correspondence are among the points that strike a person who carry on business with a Government office. There seems to be no prospects of these things showing signs of improvement because we have all along been treating more the symptoms and not the disease. Very little attention has been paid to the human factor which is the most important in any organisation. Ever since the inception of this journal in 1958 we have been stressing the need for concentrating on the human factor and also have from time to time suggested measures this end. Some States found our suggestions useful. But few have heeded these instructions and a less number have cared to give serious thoughts to our suggestions. The obvious reason is that the bulk of officers have no faith in achieving their official advancement through the promotion of individual efficiency. This outlook on the part of officers has to change and this can be changed only by the initiative of the Government. They cannot change it by a *laissez faire* policy; they cannot change it by throwing the responsibility in this matter on individual officers; they cannot change it by making a fetish of the discretion of officers. They have to take positive measures.

Dissemination of Information

The Madras Government it is reported propose to distribute not less than 8000 radio sets in the Panchayat Areas in the state. This is a welcome step from the point of view of creating an informed public opinion which is the fundamental basis of democracy. Radio is one of the most powerful means of mass instruction. During the last war Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy made unremitting use of this means to influence the attitude of neutral countries. At the present day Radio is the sheet anchor of propaganda in Communist China. There, as Visitors have testified, the common man hears the radio everywhere whether he is in the train, restaurant or factory or school. In Communist China this is the principal means of

drugging the masses with the well planned propaganda of the Chinese Government. Radio is especially useful in countries where the percentage of literacy is poor. In India it is labouring under one or two handicaps. One is the lack of adequate number of community sets. Secondly even a middleclass citizen cannot afford to have a radio in view of its high cost. Distribution of Community sets and the production of cheap radio sets would solve these two difficulties. With democratic decentralisation gathering momentum it is important that the radio is used for the education of the citizen in the ethics of Government. Without this education the democratic scheme will prove a failure giving thereby a serious set back to the cause of democracy in this country. It has to be remembered that democracy cannot succeed where there is no efficient local self-Government. In countries like Russia or ancient Turkey when the rulers wanted to establish totalitarian Governments they first did away with local democratic institutions. Similarly in India the British did away with the ancient Panchayats when they sought to strengthen their political hold on the country. A Centralised democracy is a dying democracy while a decentralised democracy is a virile democracy. It is therefore a matter of utmost importance that the possibilities of radio are fully exploited for the instruction of the masses. Thomas Jefferson said "No one more sincerely wishes the spread of information among mankind than I do and none has greater confidence in its effect towards supporting free and good Government."

Democratic decentralisation

Those who are placing much faith in democratic decentralisation may feel perturbed by a news item that has recently appeared in the press to the effect that a stalemate has been created in a district parishad due to the fact that the officials and non-official have not been able to pull together. An engineer working under a parishad was transferred and another posted in his place. The Parishad Chairman as the report goes declined to relieve the Engineer. This has created a stalemate and as a result development works have been held up for three months; the standing committee has not met and bills are kept pending. This episode highlights the importance of both officials and non-officials in the democratic scheme working together as a single team. No doubt in the early stages this may not be easy. John Stuart Mill has referred to the tendency of representative institutions to grab more and more power. On the other hand officials may tend to look upon such things as encroachments upon their traditional authority. Such differences between the officials and non-officials cannot exist where both are animated by a welfare outlook in which power has given place to service. The Vice-President of India said sometime ago to the effect that while we Indians have given up many things we have yet to give up our love of power. In a democracy authority is not for advancing one's prestige or glory; it is a means to an end. It has to be exercised for the welfare of the community as a whole. Where this ideal is not kept

in view there conflicts are bound to arise. And conflicts such as these tend to weaken the cause of democracy.

Rural revolution

"India lives in her villages", said the Father of the Nation. If the villages extricate themselves from the slough of centuries-old stagnation, squalor and inaction, only then can India be said to be on the road to progress and prosperity. The most grandiose of the plans in the world cannot even cause a ripple in the stagnant waters of our village life, if the village people themselves do not bestir themselves to action, activity and positive hard work. This is the logic and philosophy behind the Community Development Programme. It is proving to be a catalytic agent. Madha Village in Madhya Pradesh for instance provides an illustration. About 8 years ago even pure drinking water was not available there, the village people having been dependent on river water which apart from being uncertain was insanitary. With the assistance of State officials the village people installed a hand-pump, which though most welcome as a source of pure drinking water, was inadequate to meet the total demand, besides getting out of order occasionally, causing untold suffering to the inhabitants. In 1958, the Upa-Pradhan of Madha happened to attend a Gram Sahayak Camp from where he came back imbued with the spirit of *shramdan*. To instil into his co-villagers its idealism, he persuaded them to make arrangements for holding such a Camp in his own village. The holding of this Camp in the village was a turning point; the old village suffering from inertia, inactivity and resignation to fate now throbbed with life, activity and a determination to go ahead. The hand-pump referred to above has been transferred to a Primary School built with *shramdan*. A beautiful masonry well adorns the centre of the village—again a symbol of *shramdan*. The village has been awarded a cash prize of Rs. 1,000 as a token of appreciation for its achievements in *shramdan*. The village people propose to use it for the purchase of raw materials for paving their streets. Better farming practices are not ignored. The production of wheat per acre—the main crop in the area, has already risen by 50%. There is every hope that agricultural production will witness a mighty leap forward, for 100% of cultivated area is now under chemical fertilizers, green manuring and better seeds. We need many more Madhas. The larger their number the better.

Farmers' Field Day

Farmers' Field Day is being organised by the Directorate of Agriculture, Rajasthan to explain various soil conservation practices adopted in the large size Pilot Projects on Soil Conservation and Dry Farming. About 250 to 300 farmers are expected to attend. The programme includes short talks on various items of Soil Conservation. An important item of the agenda is the visit to the site of the Project where different practices will be explained to the farmers by the Asst. Soil Conservation Officer-in-charge of the Project. It may be recalled that this Project was started about 2 years ago under the

joint auspices of the Government of India and the State Government with a view to demonstrate the usefulness and the need of suitable Soil and Water Conservation Practices. The total area of the Project is 1,017 acres and a major part of this area is owned by the farmers. The site was selected on a water-shed basis. The area offered problems of varied nature involving treatment of bare hills on one extreme and problems associated with soil wash and rain-water run off from fertile fields. The programme includes tree plantation, improvement of pasture lands, conservation of cultivated lands, diversion and safe disposal of surplus water from rocky area which hitherto was eroding away fertile soil from the cultivated lands, etc. An earthen water storage dam is also provided in the plan.

Life Insurance Corporation

The output of the Life Insurance Corporation during the 1961 has been quite in keeping with the steady progress which this organisation has been making ever since its inception thus disillusioning many sceptics who thought that nationalisation would seriously hamper Insurance business. It is reported that new business to the value of Rs. 608 crores has been achieved during 1961 representing an increase of Rs. 111 crores over that of the previous year. Not less than 56 branches and sub-branches have also been opened during the period. With the rise in the per capita income it is possible to achieve a more rapid expansion of the insurance business. Especially in the rural areas there is ample scope for further expansion. This however needs intensive educative propaganda. Our rural masses are still not insurance-minded and a considerable amount of extension education is necessary before they could be convinced of the manifold advantages of Insurance. This is worth undertaking on a planned scale. Sometime ago the Chairman Mr. Gopalakrishnan spoke of a mass insurance scheme. The details are not available nevertheless there cannot be any difference of opinion regarding the advantages of mass insurance. It is to be hoped that the scheme would materialise soon. With the expansion of business and the implementation of new schemes the administration also needs to be streamlined. Training of the staff, retrenchment of redundant hands, elimination of waste, simplification of procedures consistent with speed and efficiency and the avoidance of administrative delays are among the matters that need concerted action. Under the socialistic pattern the public sector has an important place to fill. If the public sector is made as efficient as possible then there will be little room for well grounded criticism against what they call the encroachments of the Government on private enterprise. Now it happens the sheet anchor of those who are against the expansion of the public sector is that the public sector is far less efficient than the private sector. This criticism has to be disarmed.

Following the Paper

Since Independence it is a common practice for parties who have dealings with the Government to follow their papers at every level in public

offices. This practice was commented upon recently by a member in a State assembly. He laid the blame for this at the door of the Government and suggested that it behoved the Government to see that such a practice was not allowed to continue. Of course nobody will willingly follow his paper at every stage but the general impression has come to stay that if that is not done one will not be able to hear the last word on the matter within a foreseeable future. Reminders have ceased to have any value at the present day. You may for instance despatch half a dozen reminders and may not get a reply. If you happen to get a reply at some future date it would be that none of the reminders said to have been sent was received in the office. Such a thing was not heard of in the Police State. One would therefore wonder as to how reminders came to be lost in transit after Independence. If once in a way a reminder has been lost one can understand it. But oftentimes it happens that parties are told that none of their reminders has been received. The inference therefore is that reminders when received are not properly handled. Reminders are just like catalytic agents; their destination is not waste paper basket. They are intended to stimulate action where prompt action has not been taken. This is why a correspondent suggested in these columns that that there should be a special register for reminders and its disposal should be watched by the head ministerial officer. It was also suggested that that reminders received in an office might be dealt with by O and M Section where they exist. The essence of these suggestions is that reminders have a place of importance in an office and in the interests of efficient administration it has to ensure that they serve the purpose they are intended to serve namely, causation of action where it is has not been taken with sufficient quickness. If this is done there will be no need for parties to follow their papers.

A Slum Blossoms into a Colony

Under the old and declining western ramparts of the beautiful city of Jaipur, where one could find dilapidated mud huts and squalid slums all around, a flourishing colony is fast coming up. Not very far from the quarters of legislators, this colony of labourers, known as Jalupura, spread over an area of 24 acres and intersected by wide roads and inlaid with spacious parks, play-grounds and a community centre is buzzing with activity. A plot has also been reserved for a primary school. Some three scores of years ago, one Jalukhan, a retired army man came to this area which was calm and peaceful and far from the dust and din of the city. He settled here under a small thatched roof. In the words of some old men who tell their reminiscences, this was really a daring task befitting only an army man to settle down on a barren land full of thorny bushes, cactus and usually haunted by wild beasts. Slowly and gradually, as the congestion within the forewalls of the city increased, the pressure on this spot of land continued to grow and in 1958, when a census of the area was made there were about 3,500 persons residing in 560 hutments. Some years ago, Jalupura slum had to face heavy floods and a number of hutments were

inundated causing hardship to many of its people. Even during normal monsoon, inhabitants of this area used to confront the perpetual problem of a nulla which intersected the area from north to south. But the long tale of woe affecting about 5,500 slum-dwellers, majority of whom are Muslims, came to a happy climax on January 2, 1960, when the foundation of a planned colony was "well and truly laid" by the Chief Minister of Rajasthan. About 348 plots of 134 sq. yds. each have been chalked out and allotted to the inhabitants at a nominal rate of Rs. 3 per sq. yard though the cost of development was as high as Rs. 7 per sq. yard. This high cost was subsidised by the Urban Improvement Trust. Besides the plot of land given at a subsidised rate, each intending builder was advanced a loan of Rs. 3000 to be repaid in 30 easy instalments. Besides the financial assistance, technical guidance was also provided and a model house costing Rs. 4000 was actually built near the site in order to give them practical demonstration on construction work. With all civic amenities like water, electricity, and sanitation provided by the Government, Jalupura is budding into a beautiful colony where slum-dwellers of yesterday will breathe fresh air under the roof they can call their own.

Power Policy

An urgent decision is to be taken to set up a Central Power Planning and Allocation Authority in order to meet the challenge of power requirements in the country, according to Mr. H. M. Patel, I. C. S. (Retd.), Chairman of Gujarat Electricity Board. He was speaking on "The Power Policy and Plan" under the auspices of the Forum of Free Enterprise. Mr. Patel said that such an authority could be a federation of State Electricity Boards, the latter becoming mere distribution agencies. "Although in these days of aggressive State autonomy," the creation of a Central Authority might be resisted, the logic of events—and especially location of coal fields in some areas and high cost of transport—require such a step. "This is one field wherein the principle of co-operation so much talked about could be applied to the benefit of the country," he added. He said that bigger power projects under "bold and imaginative planning" were necessary. Also, power planning should be on a long-term basis and not according to the Plan periods alone because it took 7 to 8 years for the projects to mature. Power generation should be ahead and not behind the requirements, he pleaded. Presiding over the meeting, Mr. M. H. Hasham Premji, formerly Chairman of the Bombay Electricity Board, observed that industrial development had been retarded because power requirements had been neglected. He suggested a long-term policy.

Clean Administration

In the Kerala Legislative Assembly a member suggested that all the Ministers and Heads of Department should keep on their tables placards with the inscription; "Caesar's wife should be above suspicion. One is reminded in this context what a civil servant did during the British rule

with a view to reducing administrative delays. He distributed placards to the staff with the words *Delay is Dangerous* inscribed on it. During the middle ages monks in monasteries kept models of human skulls on their tables in order to remind them always of death. On this analogy a suggestion was made by a politician during the period of foreign rule that civil servants should keep on their table the image of the Indian ryot to remind them that his interests were basic to any welfare administration. Now the need for politicians and public servants being activated by unadulterated welfare motives is all the more great because in the first place moral standards have deteriorated much since Independence and secondly the welfare State ideal can never reach its goal unless all those who are concerned with administration become fully welfare minded. It is however doubtful if mere exhortation or slogans can achieve this end. In the first place Ministers and top officials have to set an example. Then others would emulate them. In administration anything good can be achieved only if those in the upperlayers set the pace. The tendency for the various rungs in the ladder is always to look up and not to look down. It is also necessary that an active education campaign is undertaken to reorient the outlook of public servants. This campaign has to be implemented through the provision of books, journals, lectures, orientation courses, seminars, etc. A concerted plan has to be drawn up by a central organisation applicable to all States. The campaign must be under a central direction and the results must be assessed from time to time taking steps to remedy the short comings that had come to the surface. Government has been described as organised action in the last resort. It is time we concentrate more on action than on exhortation.

Disciplinary action

According to a Press report not less than 34 officers in a State were proceeded against by the Government for irregularities in treasury transactions. Disciplinary action is something that we do not hear often since Independence except in corruption cases. Even there the complaint is that only fishes are caught while whales are left alone. There is no doubt that lack of disciplinary action has contributed much to the weakening of efficiency. Fear of consequences is always a healthy deterrent to bad conduct though it is a negative one. This fear has almost ceased to exist in the field of administration after Independence. Now an office clerk can throw away half a dozen reminders and still escape punishment; an office assistant can mislay papers received by him and later contend with impunity that he had not received them; an accountant can delay even simple bills and if he is asked can plead non-receipt. A section head can sign an order without consulting other sections which might have some connection with the subject-matter under reference or without caring to look into previous records and still manage to pass muster as efficient, deserving, quick promotion. The head of an office can claim to be efficient though he may sign a communication without seeing all the connected papers and without satisfying himself that

the full facts have been placed before him. The head of a department can leave everything in the hands of his subordinates and yet assert that he is fulfilling his responsibilities satisfactorily. All these things take place now and if any proof is needed it is enough for one to get into touch with any Government office. You will be told that none of the communications you had sent during the previous six months had not been received, you would be asked to quote chapter and verse of any previous communication which you might have received from the same office because the concerned clerk is too lazy to trace them out from the records; you will be told that a representation made by him has not been received though it might have been received in another section. All these and many other things will crowd into your experience making you wonder whether actually there is any administration at all. This state of affairs cannot exist if there is fear on the part of the staff that they would be visited with punishment for any dereliction. It is such things that were capitalised upon in many places during the recent election campaign. It was pointed out in the press that where the ruling party has suffered reverses the overriding cause was lack of administrative efficiency. It will be taking a risk to dismiss this lesson as valueless.

Extension work

A year working as a county agent in Texas has convinced a visiting Indian Agricultural Officer on the importance of getting the results of latest agricultural research to the farmers who can benefit from it. M. C. Channarajars of Mysore is the first Indian Extension Officer to participate in a programme of on-the-job training sponsored by the U. S. Agency for International Development. In an interview before his departure, he expressed particular interest in three phases of U. S. extension work—youth clubs, communication of research results to farmers, and periodical regular training courses for extension agents. "More important than methods," he said, "is the communication of research results to the people. There are organisations to take this information to the people and to convince the farmers. In India we do have research, but we could make better use of organisations to get the information to the people." Mr. Channarajars mentioned the youth and adult clubs, civic organisations and church groups in Comanche County, all of which were active and were a means of spreading new ideas among the farm population. There were seven 4-H Community Youth Clubs in Comanche County with which he worked. In addition to a 4-H council and a 4-H junior leader association, there was also a county Young Farmers Association for young adults which placed first, he noted with pride, in a state-wide young farmers' contest. Even in the schools, Mr. Channarajars found students had such organisations as the Future Farmers of America and the Future Home-makers of America. "Youth organisations not only teach better farming but make better citizens. It is easy to convince youth of new advances and that way you can cover more people. Youth should be utilised." There were

over 200 volunteer members in the 4-H clubs in his county, he said. Either he or the county agent or home demonstration agent tried to be present at each of these club meetings. Comanche County, with 15,000 population, has 100,000 acres under cultivation, with 300 acres to the average farm. The visiting agent attended many of the specialised training courses on a variety of subjects held regularly for county agents. "The periodic regular training of the extension person is important," he emphasised. "The agent must be equipped with current knowledge and the experience of his co-workers. This way he is a better agent."

Freedom of Information

The question of Freedom of Information was recently discussed from different angles at the seminar held recently at Delhi. There is no question of minimising the importance of Freedom of Information under democracy. Freedom of Information is the life blood of democratic Governments. Information is the raw materials in the formation of opinion. And public opinion is the raw material for democratic Governments. Peoples' Government depends on public opinion and if public opinion is illinformed then to that extent the cause of democracy stands to suffer. Fortunately there is a widespread recognition of this fact judging from the fact that when there is the least apprehension of the this freedom being threatened public opinion readily picks up the gauntlet. But administrators feel that in all discussions about Freedom of Information very little is being said about the importance of public servants being well informed. It is true that people have to be well informed if democracy is to prove beneficial to them; it holds good equally that public servants have to be well informed if the administration is to be efficient. And efficiency in administration is what counts in the governance of any State. This is more so in a welfare State where the problems facing administrators are complex requiring a well informed public service personnel. It is unfortunate that this fact is not widely realised so much so that with all talk about improving administrative efficiency it has not registered any improvement. Efforts are being made currently to improve library facilities in high schools with a view to creating a desire among students for self development. We have in these columns pleaded for similar facilities for public servants. Reading habit has practically become extinct among public servants and the only way to induce them to cultivate that habit and thus achieve self development is a liberal provision of library facilities in every public office. If such provision is made on a pilot basis in the first instance the results are bound to justify an extension of the same in all public offices. The question of administrative efficiency has to be approached in a realistic manner. We have to deeply analyse the causes and tackle the same in a planned manner. Then only results can be achieved.

Civic Consciousness

Speaking at a conference of Municipal Commissioners in Kerala, the Minister of Local-self Government pleaded for the development of an

"ardent civic consciousness." This plea comes in the wake of another news item that in one of the States no less than nine municipalities have been superseded. The general feeling regarding Local self-Government is that we are building the superstructure without strengthening the foundations. This does not make for stable, Local self-Government. And stability of Local self-Government is fundamental to the survival of democracy in any country. We have seen from history that where Local self-Government had been weak there it was easy for totalitarian forces to assert themselves. If this possibility is to be averted in this country then we have to strengthen the foundations of Local self-Government by an organised drive to promote civic consciousness. If there is civic consciousness among people it is possible to have, virile self government institutions. This is especially necessary in the case of municipal administrations. There lack of civic consciousness has led to dissensions weakening the administration. We had therefore suggested in these columns the appointment of Public Relations assistants to assist the municipal commissioner in the matter of educating the rate payers and helping them to develop civic consciousness. But the suggestion does not seem to have caught on. One thing that strikes the attention of an observer is that since Independence there is a confusion regarding priorities. The principle First things First has often been observed in its breach. We have given more importance to less important things. As regards Municipal administration the education of the rate payer will prove a veritable solvent for many evils. Yet sufficient attention has not been paid to this aspect of the matter. With the co-operation of the State Information and Public Relations departments much can be done by municipal councils in this matter.

IMMEDIATE

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MANAGER

How to be a Successful Executive

(UNICORN)

It is an axiomatic fact that the success of any organisation is conditional upon the qualities of the those who occupy executive positions. It is the executive that provides leadership in the organisation. Administration as everybody knows is a co-operative enterprise and in a co-operative enterprise leadership counts for much. It is said that in the army a leader that is the captain or commander can bring victory even if the rank and file are below par. As Napoleon remarked "The Gauls were not conquered not by the Roman Legions but by Caesar. It was not before the Carthaginian soldiers that Rome was made to tremble but before Hannibal. It was not the Macedonian phalanx which penetrated to India but Alexander. It was not the French army which reached the Weser and the Inn, it was Turenne. Prussia was not defended for seven years against the three most formidable European powers by the Prussian soldiers but by Frederick the Great." "It is easier to draw electricity out of cucumbers than to draw moral courage out of the soldiers led by an incompetent general." These significant observations apply with equal force to the sphere of civil administration also.

Many writers have written many things as to what ought to be the essential qualities of a successful executive. They have viewed the question from different angles and have laid down the requirements of an efficient executive.

Mr. L.D. Upson has observed in this connection that the first thing an executive who wants to be successful must do is not to select Yes men as his subordinates. Of course it is not possible for all executives to select men whom they want as their subordinates; the selection is generally done by a independent agency. But what an executive can do is encourage a critical attitude on the part of his subordinates. Then only he will be able to find out actually where he stands. The story is told of a civil servant of the old order that being tired of subordinates who always say Yes to whatever suggestion he makes, he asked for a set of No men being appointed under him. But the tendency at the present day everywhere for civil servants as well as Ministers is not only to encourage Yes men but also to penalise No men. The experience of the last ten years has shown that this outlook has done much havoc to the cause of administrative efficiency.

Yet another quality expected of a good executive is that he should give credit to his subordinates whenever it is due, taking care to see that no more credit than is deserving is given to a subordinate. In this respect also the temptation is strong on the part of executives to monopolise credit for any achievement. This often tends to undermine the initiative of subordinates besides exerting an unhealthy impact on their general morale. It is also found that often executives try to handle everything in their organisation.

Donald Stone observes in this connection "The executive's concept of what his job is and the way this affects the scheduling of his time and talents will be a primary factor in the results he secures." Paul Appleby also stresses the fact that no head of a Government department or other subdivision should do work or make decisions that should be the responsibility of officials at a lower level in the organisational hierarchy. "Not only does this disrupt and confuse his subordinates but it prevents the executive from doing what is properly his job". It is in this context that the importance of delegation and decentralisation comes in. This does not however mean that he should not keep track of the trend of affairs in his department or organisation. He should view things as from a watch tower discovering strong and weak spots, emerging problems, bottle necks, hurdles in the way, etc. and initiate remedial measures.

A good executive must have plenty of moral courage. Of course physical courage is often the result of a lack of imagination; moral courage is always a by-product of intellectual honesty. Without moral courage nobody can be a good executive. If he fears at every step then he will not be able to do anything in time and when he makes up his mind it may be too late. Decision making is the essence of good administration and this has to be done without loss of time and when once done there should not be any going back upon it on any account. It is no use depending too much upon rules in decision making. Rules are no substitute for clear thinking. When in a tight spot officials are in the habit of seeking shelter in rules and escaping responsibility. This method will never make a good executive.

No executive can be efficient without the loyalty of the staff. Staff loyalty next to competence it has been said is the most necessary ingredient of effective administration. By loyalty is meant the feeling on the part of those who work in the organisation that they are part and parcel of the organisation and that the welfare of the organisation means their own welfare. This loyalty does not develop of its own accord but has to be stimulate through the proper outlook and conduct on the part of the executive. Writers talk of two methods of getting staff loyalty. One is through fear and the other is through adopting a welfare attitude. The fear technique consists in cracking the whip. This method paid dividends in the Police State but in the welfare State it has no place. The second method does not suggest that you should be a soft patronising official. It means that you should conduct yourself in such a way as to get the best out of your subordinates. To this end you must always be just to your subordinates; you must be objective in your outlook; you must be welfare minded. More important than all these you should consult them in official matters. Says a writer "The best way to wreck the morale of any organisation is to passout orders like campaign buttons irrespective of the fact as to who gets them and with what result. Appleby has pointed out that things in administration can be accomplished *not by mere fiat* but by persuasion indoctrination and leadership. Staff meetings can do a lot in this respect.

Staff meetings create a sense of oneness, develop team spirit and go a great way to improve the general morale. It also helps administrative co-ordination.

As far as the outside public are concerned the executive must take care to be always accessible. There is a tendency for some to appear busy keeping people waiting for hours together. They perhaps think that it is a good way of impressing their importance on others. On the other hand it is the most effective way of inviting trouble for them. This is especially the case under democracy when people are the masters.

Executives have a responsible role to fill in. He has to be as well versed in the broad principle of organisation and departmental administration as in the technicalities of his job. In long range terms he has to create the environment conducive to concerted efforts in the pursuit of the basic objectives of the organisation. In a shorter compass his business is to know what is going on in the department and always be in a position to act promptly on issues that need his personal attention. He must provide positive leadership to his department or organisation and it is not too much to say that he alone can provide the personal influence that would make all the difference between efficiency and inefficiency.

(Continued from page 6)

or the annual general meetings of the shareholders. Moreover, the shareholders constantly watch the operations of private units and the share market reflects an organisation's working by the fluctuations in the share prices. The Government, on the other hand, will sink more money when a concern is working badly and very often, the result is that things get worse and not better. That is the experience with the Public Sector so far. There is another important factor. If the manufacture of any product is in the Public Sector, there is a tendency on the part of the Government to prevent competition. A high degree of monopoly is created. It is, therefore, left to the Government officer to do as he pleases in the matter of prices. If the cost of production is high owing to inefficiency, the Government has to subsidise the price of fertilisers. Therefore, the tax-payer's money is still sunk to subsidise inefficiency of Government officers. Thus primarily these three factors have led to inefficient and uneconomic functioning of the Public Sector. It is against these dangers that we should guard. Nobody ever says that we should have *laissez faire* in the 20th century. There should be overall regulation by the State and the Private Sector should function only within the broad framework of the plans laid down by the Government for the development of the country. No intelligent person is against planning as such or against regulation by way of reasonable and fair labour laws, company laws, etc.

Some Aspects of Municipal Finance

DR. A. C. MINOCHA

II

The first instalment of this article appeared in our March issue.

Local authorities can have four main source of income 1. Independent sources of revenue. 2. Supplementary levies. 3. Grant-in-aid. 4. Assigned revenues in the form of share in State and Central taxes. Our choice of method should not ignore the basic consideration of local autonomy. In any system of local finance, the primary place will have to be given to independent sources of revenue without which local autonomy would be a farce. A sound system of local finance must be based upon sound system of local taxation. It seems to us axiomatic that since our aim is to set up vigorous and virile units of Local Self-Government, we should allocate the taxable resources of the country in such a manner so as to give its local authorities sufficient independent sources of revenue. In a federation different layers of the Government should have considerable initiative and independence to raise and manage revenues, as federalism does not mean undue dependence of one authority on another. In the absence of independent sources, local bodies will remain simply the spending departments of the State Government. Since local authorities spend money on the performance of certain functions, there is an advantage in making them responsible for the collection of taxes also.

In the devolution of powers of taxation to local bodies, it has to be seen that the base of the tax is local, that taxes selected are such which provide an amount of revenues which can place local government on a sound footing and which are economically administered and collected at the local level. There should be a degree of localness in local taxation as a local tax is defined as a tax levied, assessed and collected by a local body. Independent sources of revenue should not only be confined to taxes but should include non-tax in terms like fees, rates and income from municipal enterprises. Supplementary levies are like cess on State and Central taxes for local authorities. Their rate is determined by the State or the Central government as the case may be and such a method virtually amounts to assigned revenues.

There are some taxes which although belong to the domain of local taxation, can be levied and collected by the State Government in the interests of trade and commerce and development of transport, but the net proceeds of these should be assigned to local bodies. Distribution of net proceeds of certain taxes from a higher to lower organs of Government becomes necessary under the federal set up. The number of taxes which the Union Government levies and collects and then distributes among the State Governments is on the increase. On the other hand, the proceeds of

a very few taxes are at present being assigned to local bodies by the State Governments. The Taxation Enquiry Commission suggested the distribution of only those taxes among local bodies for which they bear responsibilities, in the absence of which assignment of share of a tax amounts merely to a grant-in-aid unspecified as to amount and unrelated to the purposes usually governing grant-in-aid. In our search for supplementary sources of revenue for local bodies, assignment of share of taxes cannot be ruled out. But in no case assigned revenues should become fixed payments in place of expanding revenues. Assigned revenues as operated in India at present are inadequate and inappropriate, and have taken the form of fixed payments. It is recommended that the following taxes for which local bodies bear responsibilities should be distributed among them :—

1. At least 25% of the Motor Vehicles Tax.
2. 75% of the net proceeds of electricity duty.
3. Stamp duty on immovable property.
4. Entertainment tax, in case it is not handed over to municipalities.

Grants-in-Aid

Under the federal set-up, grants-in-aid from higher to lower organs of Government become necessary to stimulate the latter to attain a high standard of service, to remedy inequalities in the incidence of taxation and to contribute nations' share towards the cost of seminational and national services. The purposes underlying grants are (a) to secure efficient performance of certain services ; (b) to ensure a minimum standard of efficiency in a particular area ; (c) to enable local authorities to adopt new methods and (d) to enable local bodies to execute schemes which are nationally conceived but locally implemented.

A study of existing system shows that grants are not based upon any scientific principle and no systematic code is followed in many states, the amount of grant depends upon the financial position of the State Government and sometimes sanctioned grants are not given in time. Grants have taken the form of fixed uniform proportion of the cost of a particular service.

Grants must be systematised and based upon certain well defined principles. Underdeveloped local areas with a significantly low level of social services should receive a higher degree of assistance than those which are relatively more developed in the grant of general purpose grant. The main purpose of grants should be to assist localities in proportion to the heaviness of obligations and poverty of resources and the system of grant in no case should be rigid as the objectives of public policy change from time to time. A properly devised system of grant-in-aid should act as a stimulant in encouraging the development of resources by local bodies.

There should be a general purpose grant for each locality on the basis of area, population and resources. In addition to this there should be specific grant for particular items like water supply, drainage, education and public health. Such grants should be given on the condition that local

bodies also exploit their resources to the full and keep the prescribed level of efficiency of services. Specific grants should be made available to only those local bodies which are prepared to raise the maximum amount of revenue through taxation, otherwise assistance may have the effect of postponing action on the part of local authorities to increase revenues from taxation.

A committee consisting of the representatives of local bodies Local self-Government Department, Finance Department and the State Legislature be constituted in every state to review the system of grant from time to time and lay down the principles governing grant-in-aid. Grants-in-aid should be assured and spread over few years to enable local bodies to meet their obligations.

Economic Utilisation of Existing Resources

The device for improving the finances of municipalities cannot be restricted to the raising of more income and devolution of additional powers of taxation. The financial position can also be improved by changes in the structure of local bodies, by re-distribution of functions, by affecting economies in expenditure and by laying down priorities in the development of different municipal services. The present distribution of municipal resources has not been so arranged as to yield maximum social welfare. Economy is possible in many directions. There is a great scope for reducing expenditure without hampering quality and efficiency of services. Measures for raising additional revenues will have greater chances of success, if taxes already levied are well spent to the satisfaction of the general public.

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The East bowed low
in patient deep disdain
Heard the thundering legions pass
and plunged into thought again.

MATHEW ARNOLD

Red-tapism and Inefficiency

THOMASON

Very often in public mind Red-tapism and inefficiency are associated together as if they are cause and effect. Whenever a citizen comes to notice delay in the disposal of matters in a Government department, whenever he finds that a decision has been taken by authorities for which he was not prepared, whenever he feels that there is discrimination in administrative actions he straightaway places the blame at the door of Red-tapism. Most people are inclined to talk of Red-tapism without fully understanding what it is, what its role in administration is and how far it is capable of doing harm to efficiency. In Red-tapism they are tempted to find the cause for so many administrative evils. The average layman who is not well conversant with intricacies of administration may visualise Red-tapism as the villain of the piece in the administrative sphere. There are also people who think that once Red-tapism is eliminated there would be no question of inefficiency. An intimate study of the history of Red-tapism and its actual place in the administration would however make it clear that Red-tapism has been made the scapegoat for many things without any justification.

The origins of Red-tapism goes far back into the early history of British bureaucracy. Papers which had gone into the archives of an office were tied up in bundles with red ribbons. If a matter which had been decided once was reopened then the papers relating to the case were said to be in Red-tape and it took a long time to get them. Red-tape consequently came to signify delay in getting action. Anything in which the Government took more time than is considered necessary by the ordinary run of people came to be dubbed Red-tape. And in the long run more things came to be attached to the term. If action in any matter was encumbered by so many rules and procedures then people talked of it as Red-tape. When officials literally adhered to rules and codes then also people said that there was Red-tapism, so much so that the term came to cover a multitude of sins, in the official world.

Now is there any connection between red-tapism and inefficiency. This leads us to the definition of the term efficiency and inefficiency. Efficiency as a precise term refers to the ability to get something done according to specifications with minimum expenditure of men, money and materials. In other words if a Government department does what is expected of it with despatch, due regard to the convenience of the public and with economy of manpower and materials then we say the organisation is efficient. It has however to be remembered that it is not possible to lay down any definite principles for guidance in the matter of assessing efficiency in a Government department. In a business house this is not however the case. There efficiency is determined by the amount of profit which the company makes; if the profit is considerable then the company is said to be efficient. This is natural because the motive of private enterprise is profit unlike in the Government. A private enterprise may not embark on an undertaking

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if it finds that there are no good prospects of profit. Whereas such a consideration does not motivate governmental action. The Government's yardstick is whether a particular matter would promote public interest; if it is considered to be in the interest of public welfare then they would proceed with it irrespective of the cost involved. This is also the reason why Government budgets for expenditure first before estimating the income. Governments have certain essential functions to perform like the maintenance of law and order, provision of ordinary amenities, etc., and these have to be attended to without reference to their actual financial resources. So they first estimate the money required for them and then proceed to find out the where-withal for the same. Thus not profit but public welfare is the motivating factor in Governmental administration. It is therefore difficult to assess efficiency in a Government department. There is also no infallible guide in appraising Governmental efficiency. There is ample room for difference of opinion in the matter. It is thus a matter of common knowledge that a public servant who may be adjudged efficient by one may be considered inefficient by another. Of late there has been considerable writing as to how to appraise governmental efficiency but so far the last word has not been heard. It has been said in this connection that Government is created and maintained to do certain things; if they do not do then they have no right to exist. If they do not do them well then they have no claim to be called efficient and to that extent have forfeited the confidence of the people. It is the testimony of the common man that counts mainly in adjudging whether Government is efficient or not. The satisfaction which the general public have is the most infallible criterion in the matter of estimating governmental efficiency. This satisfaction as is often mistakenly thought has nothing to do with the number of people which a Government employs for carrying out its responsibilities. The size of the Bureaucracy as has been recently pointed out has no relation either to the size of governmental activities or to general efficiency. It is said that if a department is well managed it will require only a few hands. The major factor in administrative efficiency is the individual efficiency of public service personnel. Usually what we call inefficiency is the compound of the activities of many officials working together and if each of them is efficient then there is no question of inefficiency speaking of it in general terms.

There is therefore little ground for tracing inefficiency to Red-tapism. What we see on the surface as due to defective rules or procedures may at the bottom be due to the inefficiency of people who handle these things. The people who operate procedures are those that matter and not the procedures or rules themselves. This fact has to be clearly borne in mind by those who fulminate against Red-tapism on the slightest provocation. So long as there is administration there must be rules and procedures. Delays, discrimination and other administrative anomalies are due to the persons who employ rules and procedures.

Gandhiji on Democracy*

With the general elections just over and the dust and din having practically settled down it may be refreshing to recall what the Father of the Nation thought about the implications of democracy. No doubt the content of democracy is not the same everywhere, its actual working being modified by local conditions. For instance democracy in the United Kingdom is not the same as democracy in U.S.A. or Australia or Canada or Newzealand. As far as Asia is concerned democracy is a new plant. Apprehensions were expressed by many Statesmen and writers as to its suitability in India; nevertheless it has come to stay in our country and it is therefore incumbent on all to see that the biggest democratic Government such as we have is made a success. It is common ground among world Statesmen that the fortunes of the democratic Government in India is bound to prove a decisive factor in Asian history. So it is as much to our interest as to the interest of the rest of Asia to see that democracy triumphs here.

Mahatma Gandhi never entertained the idea that democracy was an unsuitable form of Government in this country. His ideas of democracy were no doubt of a peculiar brand and he considered this brand to be suitable for India. Even before the attainment of Independence Gandhiji envisaged what Indian swaraj would be like. "By swaraj I mean the Government of India by the consent of the people ascertained by the vote of the largest number of male and female population—Real swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it abused. In other words swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority." Again Gandhiji said "The swaraj of my dream is the poor man's swaraj that is every poor man should also have the amenities enjoyed by rich people. This swaraj can be maintained as Gandhiji observed only where there is a majority of loyal and patriotic people to whom the good of the nation is paramount above all other considerations whatever including their personal profit. Swaraj means Government by the many. Where the many are immoral and selfish their Government can spell anarchy and nothing else. People are the roots he said. If the roots are sweet the fruit are bound to be sweet.

Gandhiji's ideas of democracy were more or less the same as those of ancient Greece. Democracy in essence he said must mean the art and science of mobilising the entire physical economic and spiritual resources of all the various sections of the people in the service of the common good of all. The spirit of democracy cannot be imposed from without. It has to come from within. True democracy cannot be worked by twenty people sitting at the centre. It has to be worked from below by people in every

village. Democracy Gandhiji said would break under the strain of apron strings. It can exist only on trust. In a democracy there will be equal freedom for all. Everybody will be his own master. Public opinion has an important place in democracy. Gandhiji has specially emphasised this fact. "Evolution of democracy is not possible if we are not prepared to hear the other side. We shut the doors of reason when we refuse to listen to our opponents or having listened make fun of them. If intolerance becomes a habit we run the risk of missing the truth—we must always keep an open mind. This openness of mind strengthens the truth in us and removes the dross from it if there is any". A born democrat Gandhiji said is a born disciplinarian. Democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated normally to yield willing obedience to all laws, human or divine. Gandhiji's opinion regarding leadership in democracy is specially noteworthy. He said "Those who claim to lead the masses must resolutely refuse to be led by them, if we want to avoid mob law and desire ordered progress for the country. I believe that mere protestation of one's opinion and surrender to the mass opinion is not only not enough but in matters of vital importance leaders must act contrary to mass opinion if it does not commend itself to their reason".

Gandhiji was fully aware of the abuse of power that may take place under democracy. He had a horror for Governments wielding excessive powers. He said "I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear because although while apparently doing good by minimising exploitation it does the greatest harm by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress".

Gandhiji's conception of the role of police and the military is of a piece with his views on democracy. According to him it will be a poor democracy that depends for its existence on military assistance. Military force interferes with the free growth of the mind. It smothers the soul of man. As regards the police he says "The police of my conception will however be of a wholly different pattern from the present day force. Its ranks will be composed of believers in non-violence. They will be servants and not masters of the people. The people will instinctively render them every help and through mutual co-operation they will easily deal with ever decreasing disturbances. In fact the police men will be reformers."

Gandhiji has also emphasised the important role which the mass of people have to play under democracy. While being alive to the abuses which a democratic form of Government is liable to in this country he says the best safeguard consists in people having a keen sense of independence, self-respect and a feeling of oneness. They should also choose as their representatives only those persons who are good and true.

In his extensive talks and writings Gandhiji has also touched upon other topics which have a bearing on modern welfare State of his conception. His views on Means and Ends are symbolic of his deep seated spirituality.

* Democracy real and deceptive by M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price 80 nP.

The Danish Co-operative Movement

A Brief Survey

(CONTRIBUTED)

The Danish Co-operative Movement is a great tree with many branches of different size and power.

Denmark is called the country of co-operation, and it is certain that the Co-operative Movement plays a very extensive role for the whole Danish community, especially for agriculture, and the rural population. A traveller through Denmark cannot avoid noticing the undertakings of the co-operative societies. On average there are more co-operative dairies and consumers' societies than there are parishes, so it is no exaggeration to assert that they are everywhere. However, it may well be that a tourist sees a co-operative dairy or a co-operative store without realising that it is a co-operative society. He may even talk to farmers about dairies, slaughteries and consumers' societies without learning that they are co-operative undertakings. To the Danish farmers who are members, it seems a matter of course that they themselves should own and run their dairies, bacon factories and consumers' societies on co-operative principles. Co-operation is the usual thing, and does not call for any special attention. A necessary condition of every Co-operative Movement is a well-educated population. The Danish folk high schools have played an important part here, even though they have never directly taught co-operation.

The Co-operative Movement began in Denmark with the consumers' societies, the first of which was founded in 1866 at Thisted in Jutland, on the model of the famous "Equitable Pioneers' Society" at Rochdale in Northern England. Soon the establishment of consumers' co-operative societies gathered speed, especially in the country. There are now 1,968 consumers' societies in the big Co-operative Wholesale Society; this also manages various big factories where goods are produced for the member societies. The Co-operative Wholesale Society acts as the joint organisation of the local consumers' societies (corresponding to the British Co-operative Union). The members of the consumers' societies and their families and households comprise more than 40 per cent of the Danish population; but naturally these persons do not buy everything they require from the consumers' societies as for one thing these do not stock all kinds of commodities and for another compete all the time with private traders. The consumers' societies have often forced down prices by competition and counteracted the formation of monopolies so that their activities have been of benefit to the whole Danish public.

Salient features

The Co-operative Movement in Denmark has spread chiefly within agriculture itself. Here its effect has been that all Danish farmers,

whether they have a big farm – which only few have – or a smaller one or a small-holding, have been able to benefit by the technical and economic advantages entailed in large scale operation and centralisation, without the individual abandoning his independence; on the contrary the economic independence and freedom of farmers is still greater than before, as they were often economically dependent upon the merchant who sold them their goods and purchased their products at prices over which they had but little control.

A typical feature of the Danish Co-operative Movement is that there are so many different societies, also locally. A farmer is not a member of a single co-operative society which attends to all the purchases of the different things he needs and to the disposal of his various products. No, there is a large number of different local societies, for example, dairy, bacon-factory, egg-collecting society, feeding stuff association, fertiliser association, etc., and every farmer is a member of as many as he needs. Another characteristic Danish feature is the unlimited joint responsibility of the members for the financial obligations of the society. This made it easier to start the societies on the basis of joint responsibility, and capital could be borrowed without it being necessary to make a laborious collection of money amongst themselves. It naturally presupposes a considerable amount of mutual confidence between the members.

Different types

The first co-operative dairy was founded in 1882, and it is remarkable to see how, without any prototype, the circle of West Jutland peasants who began it reached principles which correspond on important points to those formulated by the Rochdale weavers, 40 years earlier. This indicates the value of those principles. The activities of the co-operative dairies in Denmark bear witness to this also. There are now 1,240 of them, and they handle 90.7 per cent of the milk delivered to all Danish dairies. 180,000 of the more than 200,000 farmers are in the co-operative dairies. These produce primarily butter and cheese, and then sell them in the way they consider most advantageous. About 64 per cent of all butter is sold through the co-operative butter export associations in which the individual dairies are members. Two-thirds of Denmark's export of butter of recent years has been effected by these co-operative societies. The co-operative dairies have done and are doing a big work in improving cattle breeding, the hygienic treatment of milk, and the quality of the dairy product; the dairies collaborate with each other in this through special dairy associations; their national organisation acts as the representative of the dairy farmers externally, for example, with the government.

The co-operative slaughter houses or bacon factories have an importance similar to that of the dairies, as they represent about 88 per cent of the total killings at the export slaughter houses. On account of technical conditions, a bacon factory has to be larger than a dairy, and in all there are

sixty-two covering the whole country. The co-operative bacon factories have a national organisation of great economic commercial and political importance, and they collaborate on a number of practical tasks like the promotion of pig breeding, purchase of machinery, fuel and so forth.

Eggs are the third great export article of Danish agriculture. The Danish Co-operative Egg Export has played a big part in raising the quality of the eggs exported so that they obtained top prices. The organisation has local egg collection societies and regional packing centres. Previously each egg from the producer was stamped, so that bad eggs could be traced and the one supplying it fined; now the work of improving quality has progressed so far that this somewhat detailed, but yet epoch-making, form of control can be replaced by a simpler but just as efficient method of control. Some of the co-operative slaughteries also sell eggs for their members. In all about 40 per cent of the eggs sold pass through the co-operative societies. There are 4 poultry slaughter houses representing 51 per cent of the killing of poultry. For the disposal of cattle for slaughtering there are special co-operative societies which handle about 40 per cent of the export.

A number of Danish farmers go in for seed growing. In this field the co-operative societies play a leading role, which is worthy of mention, as we here find the wish for good prices on the part of the producer and that for low prices on the part of the consumer balanced out by tolerant co-operation between the Danish Farmers' Co-operative Association for Seed Growing and the Seed Purchasers' Co-operative Society which, incidentally, is a branch of the Co-operative Wholesale Society of the consumers' societies. Most of the seed is sold through the ordinary consumers' societies. Many visitors from different parts of the world have studied with interest and admiration this living example of reconciling the divergent interests of producers and consumers, by collaboration on the basis of co-operative principles.

We have now arrived at the agricultural co-operative societies for the purchase of working material. There are special societies for the purchase of feeding stuffs and others for fertilisers. More than half of the feeding stuffs and 41 per cent of the fertiliser purchases take place through these societies. There are, in addition, a co-operative cement factory, coal purchase societies, which obtain fuel for both the co-operative dairies and the slaughteries, and for the local consumers' societies. There is a considerable number of insurance companies which conduct all kinds of assurance on a co-operative basis. There are local co-operative village banks which attend to the cash transactions of members and give minor loans, and there is a big co-operative bank which is now the fourth largest in the country.

New fields

A notable feature of post-war development of the Danish Co-operative Movement is the formation of co-operative societies in fields where the co-operative method has not previously been applied. An organisation for

the co-operative marketing and exporting of cheese was founded in 1948. The "Farmers' Co-operative Machinery Purchase Society" for purchasing and manufacturing every kind of agricultural machinery and equipment is also an example. And so are the co-operative laundries, the co-operative cold store houses, the co-operative machine stations, providing farmers with mechanical aides that would be too costly for individual farms, and a central marketing organisation "Danish Co-operative Fish Marketing Association" for the sale of fish and fish products.

An important newcomer on the cultural side of the co-operative movement is the Co-operative Theatre."

All these groups of co-operative societies are affiliated to a joint association directed by the Central Co-operative Committee, which represents the Danish co-operative movement externally, also in the international Co-operative Alliance.

But collaboration on a co-operative basis is also found in several other fields. The whole system of mortgage in this country is based upon the Credit and Hypothek Association, which in reality are co-operative societies of property owners who have mortgaged their property. That these credit associations are not referred to on a line with the other co-operative societies is due to the fact that they work on the basis of special legislation, whereas the rest of the Danish Co-operative Movement has developed and works completely free of any special legislation, without public registration even; they base themselves on the promise in the Constitutional Act of freedom of association.

Local water works, breeding societies, domestic animal insurance societies, drainage companies, are often organised in accordance with co-operative principles. These societies are definitely local in character, and frequently have no "superior" organisation. However, they must not be forgotten if one wants a complete picture of how saturated is Denmark with this special form of voluntary economic collaboration.

Within the Danish Labour Movement there is a special branch of the Co-operative Movement. This includes consumers' societies which are members of the same Wholesale Society as the other consumers' societies and a number of other undertakings, such as bakeries, artisans' occupational societies, etc. Special co-operative building societies own a large part of the urban housing, and play a considerable part in house building. These organisations are amalgamated in the Central Union of Urban Co-operative Societies.

The Danish Co-operative Movement is a great tree with many branches of different size and power. It has itself grown from the soil of the country to the benefit of its members and of the whole of the Danish community.

Indian Village down the ages*

The development of our rural areas is receiving the highest priority at the hands of the Government. Community development is their objective and national extension service is their method. This all-out effort to help the countryside can prove fruitful only if the work is done by those who have an intimate knowledge of our villages since the hoary past. Very few people, it has to be admitted have this intimate knowledge of the history of the Indian village with its vicissitudes during the different epochal periods of India's history. An attempt is made here to give certain fundamental facts about the Indian village in the context of the book under review.

India is village and village is India observed the Father of the Nation. To him belongs the distinction of focussing public attention on the condition of the rural folk and stimulating thereby public interest in improving their condition. This was in the second decade of the present century when the condition of villages in India had sunk into the lowest depths of squalor ignorance and poverty. Some western writers at about this time described the Indian ryot as the most pathetic figure in the British Empire. British Civilians who indulged in the pastime of writing their reminiscences spoke of the pathetic contentment of the Indian masses, their aversion to politics, their narrow horizon, their superstition, their extravagance, etc. The Government of the day did little to improve things and woke up to the situation only after Mahatma Gandhi took up the cause of the villager.

This was not however the position of the villages in ancient India. Villages in ancient India were not merely economic or administrative units; they were centres of corporate life and culture. They constituted the main element of stability in ancient India. When everything changed the villages remained the same. The committee of secrecy of the East India Company reported in 1812 that the rural folk never troubled themselves about the breaking up of or division of kingdoms so long as the villages remained intact. Sir Charles Trevelyan observed "One foreign conqueror after another has swept over India, but the village has stuck to the soil like their own kusha grass. Sir Charles Metcalfe similarly observed "Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down revolutions succeeds revolution, Hindu Pathan mughal, Maratha Sikh and English all are masters in turn but the village communities remain the same."

The strength and solidarity of the village in ancient India were largely traceable to the internal set up of village. Politically, socially and economically the village functioned as a single block. The self-sufficiency of the Indian village was a fundamental fact. There was no need for any villager to go

outside for meeting any of his needs. Lands were held in common and there was a staff of functionaries to attend to village needs. These included the Headman, the accountant, the watchman, the boundaryman, the superintendent of tanks and water courses, the priest, the school master, the astrologer, the smith, the carpenter, the potter, etc. The village produced what it wanted and marketed the surplus there itself. In the self sufficient village the technique of Agriculture was simple, for the soil was fertile, manure abundant and water plentiful.

The village panchayat provided a strong Government to village. It was a miniature Government on the spot in which every adult member had a voice. The Panchayats worked through sub-committees. There were for instance committees on irrigation, gardens, lands, etc. All important decisions were taken by the general body of the Panchayats. Decisions rested on the verdict of the majority though there was no question of imposing the decision of the majority on the minority. Sir Herbert Risley has explained this point. He observed "The people get together and they talk and eventually an opinion emerges from their talk which is the opinion of all of them. There is no majority for they are unanimous; there is no minority for the minority has been talked over and cast in their lot with the majority." The Panchayat administration took care of all aspects of local welfare. Leadership was provided by the higher castes who enjoyed both wealth and social position. There was no fight for leadership. In this connection one may recall what a recent writer has observed of the present state in rural areas. According to him in olden days a few men used to run the entire village where as now there is a king in every house. Religion proved a strong cementing factor. There was only one religion and everybody was religious minded. Further the people had a greater sense of their responsibilities than of their rights. Observes a writer "The underlying principle which governed the administration in these village communities and which was the main cause of its success was the happy ideal that people cared more for their obligations than for their rights. It has been rightly observed that the Indian village like the early English Manor emphasised obligations rather than rights; and far from confining itself to rights on which some particular person could take action for his own benefit devoted itself largely to the enforcement of obligations of the people."

Under the Muslim Rule.

The core of the village Panchayat system continued even during the muslim rule although its impact left some scars on the autonomy of village communities. The Muslim rulers were outsiders and so they were far from wanting to interfere in the internal affairs of the country. Though strangers to the country they were nevertheless Asiatics and knew full well the vital role of the Village Panchayats in India.

* Village India, Edited by Marriott, Published by Asia Publishing House. Price Rs.11-50.

They also knew that it was the path of wisdom to leave village administration to itself as otherwise they knew they would invite internal trouble to tackle which they had no time amid their preoccupations with wars and conquests. But in one respect their action affected village autonomy. They farmed out the revenue and the farmers who were mostly outsiders tended to weaken the political influence of the village community. These farmers hardly respected village leaders and took their own line so much so that the interest of village administration came to be neglected. The introduction of outsiders either as tax agents or tax officials for the first time made a serious dent on the solidarity of the ancient village community. This proved the starting point of the disruption of the social solidarity of the village. This state of affairs became worse after the advent of the Britishers.

Position Under the British Rule

Unlike Muslims the Britishers were westerners. East and the West are naturally different in many things. The Britishers were not able to understand Indian traditions, Indian religion, Indian manners and customs and Indian Psychology. According to a former Secretary of State this proved the greatest hurdle in their way. For instance while the Muslims were able to understand the vital role of village Panchayats the Britishers were not able to do so. They viewed Panchayats from the point of view of their imperial interests and the stability of their dominion. This made it necessary for them to have a centralised administration. And in a scheme of centralised administration village autonomy had no place. They were fully alive to the fact that the Moghul empire collapsed partly because there was no strong Central Government, and so they did not want to repeat the same mistake. Secondly they believed in the efficacy of direct rule. Intermediaries often weakened their principal and created difficulties. They therefore had to give short shrift to village Panchayats. R. C. Dutt observed "One of the saddest results of the British rule in India is the effacement of that system of self-Government which was developed earliest and preserved longest in India among all the countries of the earth." The dismantling of village Panchayats shifted the Centre of gravity from the country side to urban areas. The village ceased to be a centre of economic or political activity but came to be a mere geographical unit of the administration. The disintegration of the village community quickly followed. The impact of the Industrial Revolution and the improvement of the means of transport and communication, tended to destroy the cohesion of the village community. The system of Revenue administration introduced by the British under which taxes were collected from individuals and not from the village community as a whole and the entry of money economy in the village in the place of barter also had an adverse effect on village solidarity. The drift of leadership and talent from villages to towns which had sprung up all over the country following the commercial activities of the Rulers starved villages of leadership. Outsiders began to settle down in the villages either for business or for commercial purposes and this

created fissures in the social solidarity of the village. The system of law courts according to which everyman was equal in the eyes of law and justice was meted out without fear or favour or without consideration of social position or prestige exerted a disintegrating influence. The decay of cottage industries and the pressure on land resulting in the creation of a class of landless labourers provided a discordant element in the village society. A class of money-lenders also rose up who exploited the poor without any consideration or without the restraint formerly imposed by local public opinion. The upshot of all these was that the village degenerated economically, socially and politically. Spencer Hatch observed during the middle of this century "Poverty and need make themselves evident when one goes among village people in rural India." Writers at that time said that the three Ds epitomised the condition of villages during the British period—debt, dirt and disease. Others summed up the condition of the village as degeneracy, degradation and demoralisation. Political Independence therefore came in time before our rural areas sank further into abysmal depths.

After Independence

Naturally the National Government which came into being after Independence turned their attention therefore to the rural problem first. The Community Development scheme was evolved and put into operation. For the first time the rural problem came to be tackled simultaneously on all fronts. But the tackling of the problem was not so easy as people thought. They thought that as if by miracle rural conditions would improve overnight the moment remedies were applied to rural ills. This was not to be. One may recall the observations of the Simon Commission in this connection. They said that any change in the immemorial preoccupations of the villager was bound to come only slowly. Another writer said that only by a long process of education could the mass of the middle and small peasantry be drawn into sympathetic and collective effort for improving the condition of their life. This does not however mean that with planned efforts carried out by competent personnel results cannot be achieved quickly.

Certain facts about current village life in this country may be mentioned in this connection. Firstly the penetration of politics into the country side has created more problems that it could solve. Politics have intensified local factions. In olden days leadership was in the hands of the higher caste. But now in village India as one author says the traditional landmarks have lost their outlines—caste, joint family, festivals, religious beliefs, etc. The school, the political party, the community plan, the movie have begun to make their impact on rural life. The budding politician with many irons in the fire have replaced the old selfless leaders. Sectional or communal interests seek privileges at the cost of public interest. The old social solidarity has ceased to exist. The village is now a cockpit of clashing interests and warring elements. The result is that the best measures of the

Government have not produced adequate results. British Statesmen said that the Indian villager had no politics. But now he is the victim of politics. It is said that in rural parts now we have the economy of tensions — tension between groups, communities, parties and cliques. The rural problem will not therefore easily respond to treatment. Only firm handling will produce results. This needs an efficient band of dedicated public servants fully equipped with the necessary knowledge and with an indomitable will to serve the people. It is very doubtful if such a band of public servants is available now. There is a consensus of opinion that the officials handling C. D. Programmes are wanting in experience and equipment. Even so they do not seem to want to take pains to improve their equipment and be of better service to the people. Nor have Governments taken any persistent efforts to make public servants efficient so that plans and programmes may produce the best results. This is the crux of the present situation.

The masses are impatient. They want quicker progress. We cannot allow them to become frustrated and fall a prey to subversive propagandists who always want to fish in troubled waters. An active drive has to be launched.

One may recall in this connection what Lord Curzon said in the early part of this century." It is the Indian poor, the Indian peasant the patient humble silent millions the eighty per cent who subsists by agriculture who knows very little of politics but who profit or suffer by their results and whom men's eyes or the eyes of their countrymen forget — to whom I refer. We see him not in splendour or opulence; he reads no newspapers for as a rule he cannot read at all; he has no politics but he is the bone and sinew of the country; by the sweat of his brow the soil is tilled; by his labour comes one-fourth of the national income — he should be the first and final object of every viceroy's regard." Such words should inspire us to greater efforts.

Democratic Government

A Government is democratic only if it is a Government by the whole people.

ANON

Leaves from History

Frederick the Great

A Ruler ahead of his times

Among rulers who were influenced by a profound philosophy in the governance of men, Frederick II, also known as Frederick the Great of Prussia (1712-1786), has a high place in history. When one reflects on the spirit of enlightenment which guided the 46-year-rule, from 1740 to 1786, of this monarch, one will regard him as a ruler who set his face against Machiavelli (1469-1527) who gave a masterly exposition of the method of governing people by artifice, and came very close to Voltaire, the famous French philosopher (1694-1778), who lived in Berlin for three years at the invitation of the Prussian King.

Frederick II of Prussia, generally known as Frederick the Great, was born just 250 years ago—on January 24, 1712. The qualities of his statesmanship are not easily categorised by 20th century standards. An enlightened ruler, who was rooted in the century during which he reigned, he quickened that era with remarkable and new impulses. His father, a righteous man, and a morose one, was dedicated to the narrow traditions of his forebears. He could see in the genius of his son only a source of danger for the high office of a ruler. The education he gave his son was stern, almost cruel. Early in life, the young Prince began to seek consolation in philosophy, music and literature. As an admirer of Seneca and Racine, and occupied with his own writings and musical compositions as he was, the young Frederick could attach but little importance to emotions of patriotism. He regarded the ties of nationalism merely as a restriction imposed on intellectual freedom. This attitude harmonised peculiarly well with the task facing him when he ascended the throne in 1740. For the area which he was called upon to rule was neither an ethnological nor a national unit. Prussia was simply a State—constructed for the sake of expediency.

It remained for its new ruler to impart to this State an intellectual and spiritual content. The content he strove to give it was based, at bottom, on one idea: justice. Despite all the contradictory and complex elements in Frederick the Great's own nature, he succeeded in making of Prussia a State ruled by a Government of laws—and this in a period of history when the arbitrary and profligate acts of royalty were the order of the day. He bridged folk and class differences by balancing rights and duties, tolerance and severity, freedom and order. "Before the law all people are equal," wrote this Prussian King—who devoted a good half of his time as ruler to the creation of the "Prussian Common Law," and who recognised but one law for beggar and prince alike. The State of Frederick II encompassed many different

peoples and many different faiths. They were all permitted "to find salvation according to their own fashion," as Frederick himself expressed it. That is why the Prussia of that era was perhaps second only to the United States of America in attracting men who found themselves at a disadvantage in their native countries for religious or social reasons. Huguenots, Jews, Bohemian Brethren, Salzburger, Mecklenburg peasants and—a little later—free-thinking scholars, statesmen and military commanders found asylum and work in Prussia, and gave Prussia its stamp. Prussians worked hard and were strict in their standards of civic morality. But severity was tempered by fairness—by a general feeling (with Kant) that one should so act as if he could wish his actions to be a universal law.

The Prussian State is no more. The man who had seen to it that under his rule "everybody shall be granted prompt justice" has during the intervening centuries often not been granted the justice due to him. Certainly Frederick II did not always make it easy for posterity to understand him. But an objective analysis of his role in history can hardly avoid the conclusion that the State he built had as little to do with the militarism and the drill-sergeant mentality of a later time as freedom has to do with its misuse. For Frederick took care that the citizen should enjoy his rights as well as fulfil his duties. Today, in particular, when we read history in terms not only of national victories and defeats but also of human right and wrong, Frederick deserves an important chapter. A ruler of his time, he was also a man ahead of his time. So it is something considerably more enduring than tradition that presents the man, in countless school books the world over, as "Frederick the Great."

Government Work

The difficulty of Government work is that it not only has to be well done, but the public has to be convinced that it is being well done.

JAMES FORRESTAL

Rambles in Officialdom

CANDIDUS

XXI

Money Matters.

A Sepoy once presented himself before an army Surgeon and complained of stomach pain. The Surgeon was aghast at the word. He reprimanded the Sepoy "Don't you know that only Officers have stomachs and you of other rank have mere bellies? How can you complain of stomach-pain? My Stengun; I would not stomach such a word from you any more—you understand? But truth to tell, the poor Sepoy had neither a stomach nor a belly. He had what is known as a tummy, rather a mirthfully convex affair of it, than a frightfully receding concavity of a belly.

The story was mentioned for the sake of comparison in money matters in the Officialdom in Bharatania. If you belong to the Gazetted group of officers, you draw your *salary*; and come within the ambit of the income-tax officer, salaries circle. If you are a N.G.O. (Non-Gazetted Officer) you receive your *pay* and there is much difference between salary and pay as between stomach and belly. Anyday and anyway both of them are more respectable terms than mere wages which savours of a day-to-day drudgery. Yet there is another difference too. A salary is usually drawn through a cheque, while pay is disbursed in cash. However in the eyes of Audit people it is all 'pay' only; even for the gazetted officer—who cannot draw his pay unless every year he is sent his 'pay slip' which is the authority for drawing his pay. A Gazetted Officer prepares his own paybill and draws his pay. Just imagine the convenience of it without the Gazetted Officer joining the crowd and having to wait for it. Whether he has a bank account or not, it will be paid to him by a cheque only. One Gazetted Officer went against the usual practice and asked for payment in cash, under the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. He was appointed to a newly-created post in a station and though there was a branch of the State Bank there, his boss was not connected with it; and for negotiating the cheque the nearest branch was over a hundred miles away; and the normal way the commission charges could not be avoided if presented elsewhere. But the accountant refused him stating that there is no rule to allow of payment in cash to an Officer. And thus for the glory of being Gazetted he had to pay the Bank commission regularly for a year before his boss arranged his connection with the local State Bank.

'Pay' usually goes with 'Allowances', though often there are other pays than "the pay". Your pay is fixed according to your service in a 'time-scale' and is a growing affair unless the saturation point is reached by getting the maximum. There is also what is called "Special Pay" which goes with some posts to compensate for their additional "risks" of office. You see, there

is no catch in giving extra amounts to particular posts, as then there will be clamour for these posts. On the other hand there is what is called "Personal Pay" which attaches itself to a person in the office and not his post. This is useful when the Government of Bharatania finds itself in a tight corner while revising the scales of officers, and lands itself in certain anomalies. A fundamental principle is that no officer shall get less than the present pay on account of revision. He may be fixed at certain point to the new scale and excess over it of his present pay is treated as "Personal Pay". Personal Pay goes away with a person and when a new generation is born in that cadre its last vestiges might have been washed out. In a way special and personal pays are linked more with the Panjandrums than others. But there are also certain Universal types of pay. Have you heard of the "Dearness Pay" which is just a phantom? And is really a convenient creation for some calculations, and once these are over the dearness pay vanishes into the Dearness Allowance" from which it suddenly emerged. "Dearness Pay" is treated as equal to half the "Dearness Allowance" and is added to one's basic pay for calculations in travelling allowances and pensions.

However the funniest name in pay was the "Good Conduct Pay" which they gave during the war days to the N.G.Os-a mere matter of five rupees! But one had the psychological satisfaction that he was receiving it as something like a prize for his good conduct. In those days everyone had good conduct, as this pay was generously impartial. Only there was no need for this good conduct for the Gazetted Officers with the implementation of the recommendations of the First Pay Commission. G.C. Pay was the first casualty, but none minded it as it was supplanted by more liberal "Dearness Allowance."

While on the subject of pay and paybills, I am reminded of the certificates that a Gazetted Officer was forced to give in his pay bills by a teasing. (Or shall I say 'unimaginative?') audit department. One such certificate was that the officer concerned "was married and not a widower" as some of the allowances were dependent on the same. It went all right till a Gazetted Officer who had two wives lost one of them. Then what? He was at the same time a married man and a widower, as the practice of bigamy was not frowned upon at that time. He asked for clarification from audit as he was a conscientious man. The audit then thought it discreet to omit the latter half of the certificate and issued general orders accordingly.

Next only to pay come the various "Allowances." An allowance by its very nomenclature is one that is grudgingly given and without the right of claim which one has towards such a thing as basic pay. It carries a remote suggestion that might be withdrawn if the "Administration" is not pleased in the matter. Various are the kinds of allowance which come under the audit phrase of "Additions to Pay" conveyance allowance, City Compensatory Allowance, Dearness Allowance, Coal Allowance (in extremely cold stations) and water allowances (in places where scarcity of water is acute) and

Travelling allowance. By far the most important among them is Dearness Allowance, a thing so dear to the Government servant's heart. It reminds Candidus of the benign Government of Bharatania which in its enthusiasm in doing away with an obnoxious 'caste system' unconsciously created one more caste—"the scheduled caste". Understandably the thought of improving the lot of the socially down trodden and backward castes by giving them all sorts of concessions in education and government service and prepared a "Schedule" of such castes and indicated that a person belonged to the "Scheduled caste" when he came within this group. Once this was done, however much they wanted to abolish the word 'caste' in popular usage and make it a thing of the past, Nemesis overtook them. The strongest opponents to abolition of castes were now the members of the "Scheduled castes" and they did not want *their* caste to be abolished. They want to be left intact with all their privileges. You cannot call Mr. X as belonging to a mere "scheduled" without a caste, and truly the word 'caste' cannot be rubbed out. So to say it was turning of the tables when the under-privileged became the over-privileged; and no over-privileged caste would like to see it self scuttled. Somewhat similar is the context of "Dearness Allowance". People said in a huff that they never wanted such a thing a Dearness Allowance and pointed out how it bore no relation to the existing increase in the cost of living. They wanted to have the scales revised and threatend to strike, if their demands were not conceded; and the question was examined justly by a man of justice. Government relented and appointed a Pay Commission. The commission considered the questions deeply and came to a *via media*. The Government was unable to bear more expenses. The N.G.Os. wanted more pay. They combined both nicely and with the statement (taken out of its context) by some that they never wanted a Dearness Allowance, and were for producing a bit of a proposition that the Government servant be given more pay, by merging his D.A. with his pay. This put some very much out. He cried—"Dearness me! What the Official world is coming to." Ultimately the Government and the commission and decreed that the Dearness Allowance should remain, even if in an attenuated form at least for the lower class of Government servants!

Interest in Government

If crores of people do not take a living interest in nation building work, freedom must remain a dream and unattainable either through violence or non-violence.

MAHATMA GANDHI

Snippets

Self-help of National Importance

"Heaven helps those who help themselves" is a well-trying maxim, embodying in a small compass the results of vast human experience. The spirit of self-help is the root of all genuine growth in the individual; and exhibited in the lives of many, it constitutes the true sources of national vigour and strength. Help from without is often enfeebling in its effects, but help from within invariably invigorates. Whatever is done *for* men or classes to a certain extent takes away the stimulus and necessity of doing for themselves; and where men are subjected to over guidance and over government, the inevitable tendency is to render them comparatively helpless.

Even the best institutions can give a man no active help. Perhaps the most they can do is to leave him free to develop himself and improve his individual condition. But in all times men have been prone to believe that their happiness and well-being were to be secured by means of institutions rather than by their own conduct. Hence the value of legislation as an agent in human advancement has usually been much over-estimated. To constitute the millionth part of a Legislature, by voting for one or two men once in three or five years, however conscientiously this duty may be performed, can exercise but little active influence upon any man's life and character. Moreover, it is every day becoming more clearly understood, that the function of Government is negative and restrictive, rather than positive and active; being resolvable principally into protection-protection of life, liberty and property. Laws, wisely administered, will secure men in the enjoyment of the fruits of their labour, whether of mind or body, at a comparatively small personal sacrifice; but no laws, however stringent, can make the idle industrious, the thriftless provident, or the drunken sober. Such reforms can only be effected by means of individual action, economy, and self-denial, by better habits, rather than by greater rights.

The Government of a nation itself is usually found to be but the reflex of the individuals composing it. The Government that is ahead of the people will inevitably be dragged down to their level, as the Government that is behind them will in the long run be dragged up. In the order of nature the collective character of a nation will as surely find its befitting results in its law and government, as water finds its own level. The noble people will be nobly ruled, and ignorant and corrupt ignobly. Indeed, all experience serves to prove that the worth and strength of a State depends far less upon the form of its institutions than upon the character of its men. For the nation is only an aggregate of individual conditions, and civilization itself is but a question of the personal improvement of the men, women and children of whom society is composed.

National progress is the sum of individual industry, energy and uprightness, as national decay is of individual idleness, selfishness, and vice. What we are accustomed to decry as great social evils, will, for the most part, be found to be but the outgrowth of men's own perverted life; and though we may endeavour to cut them down and extirpate them by means of law, they will only spring up again with fresh luxuriance in some other form, unless the conditions of personal life and character are radically improved. If this view be correct, then it follows that the highest patriotism and philanthropy consist, not so much in altering laws and modifying constitutions, as in helping and stimulating men to elevate and improve themselves by their own free and independent individual action.

It may be of comparatively little consequence how a man is governed from without, whilst everything depends upon how he governs himself from within. The greatest slave is not he who is ruled by a despot, great though that evil be, but he who is the thrall of his own moral ignorance, selfishness, vice; nations who are thus enslaved at heart cannot be freed by any more changes of masters or of institutions; and so long as the fatal delusion prevails that liberty solely depends upon and consists in government, so long will such changes no matter at what cost they may be effected, have as little practical and lasting result as the shifting of the figures in a phantasmagoria. The solid foundations of liberty must rest upon individual character; which is also the only sure guarantee for social security and national progress. John Stuart Mill truly observes that "even despotism does not produce its worst effects so long as individuality exists under it: and whatever crushes individuality is despotism, by whatever name it be called."

Price of good Government

The price of liberty we say is eternal vigilance. The price of good Government, I submit, is also eternal vigilance. If the citizens of a Republic do not take an active interest in their Government—if they do not demand honest competent and responsible public service—then subversion and corruption can and do gain the upper hand.

ANON

Lessons in Community Development

KURIANSON

Lesson 16

Q. Your last lesson concluded with a reference to Panchayati Raj. So much is being heard of it since the last two years. Can you just tell me how it is relevant in the context of Community Development.

A. You know the basic objective of Community Development is the development of self-help in the rural folk. "The basic objective of Community Development in other words is to develop the capacity of the common man and woman and harness it to the task of their own development and the progress of the country". This cannot be done without the participation of the people. One can develop self-help or self-reliance only by learning to do things by himself. I may recall to your mind the difference between rural uplift work done during the British period and the community development work that is being carried on now. Previously the work was the responsibility of the Government with the aid of the people. Now it is the reverse; it is the responsibility of the people with the aid of the Government. So participation of the people is very fundamental.

Q. How can this be secured.

A. It can be secured only through locally organised institutions. Hence the idea of Panchayati Raj. You know in the early stages of Community Development public participation was sought to be secured through the formation of local committees. But this device did not prove successful. So the Government appointed a committee to go into the question and they recommended what is now known as democratic decentralisation.

Q. What is the essence of democratic decentralisation.

A. The essence of democratic decentralisation is the vesting of authority and responsibility in the people themselves for the implementation of measures undertaken for their welfare. You know that under democracy there is both centralisation as well as decentralisation. Centralisation under democracy works against the development and initiative of the common man. It leads to concentration of power in the hands of a few and eventually would lead to autocracy or totalitarian rule. On the other hand decentralisation or distribution of responsibility and authority over a larger area would strengthen the foundations of democracy. "In theory democracy or sovereignty of the people is not divisible but in practice when the State takes up programmes of economic and social development the sovereignty of the people will have meaning for them only when the people living in their small communities are able to plan and execute their own plans of development through democratic institutions elected by them responsive to their needs and wishes and answerable to them." Again as, Lord Bryce has observed man functions best in small communities. Strong local institutions also provide a broadbase for democracy

and ensures its stability. There is also much in common between Community Development and local Government. Both have their origin in the desire of the people to serve their common ends largely through their own efforts. Thus a common link exists between local democratic institutions and Community Development inasmuch as both are rooted in the fundamental principle of democracy namely, that ultimate sovereignty resides in the people.

Q. Now what are the institutions under the scheme of Panchayat Raj ?

A. There are three namely, the Village Panchayats at the bottom then the Panchayat Samiti above it and at the top the Zilla Parishad.

Q. Can you give me an idea of each of these.

A. Yes, The Village Panchayat which is the lowest rung in the ladder has three classes of functions, namely, representative functions that is voicing the opinion of the people, secondly administrative functions that is administering the activities of the Panchayat and thirdly developmental functions that is carrying out welfare activities.

Q. I suppose these functions were carried out by Village Panchayats during the British period.

A. Yes, But there is a fundamental difference. Panchayats previously functioned as the agent of the State Government. Now they are something more than mere agents; they are a small Government on the spot.

(Continued from page 26)

He says "That there is no connection between the means and the ends is a great mistake; through that mistake even men who have been considered religious have committed grievous crimes—The means may be likened to a seed the end to a tree and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree". There is no wall of separation between the means and the end. If we take care of the means the end will take care of itself. Similar strong views were expressed on rights and duties. The true source of rights according to Gandhiji is duties. If we discharge our duties, rights will not be far to seek. If leaving duties unperformed, we run after rights they escape us like a will-o'-the-wisp. The more we pursue them the further they fly. Rights accrue automatically to those who perform their duties. He emphasised this fact more than once. Similarly he said that in a well ordered society there was no room for strikes. In such a society there are ample lawful means to secure justice. Lastly, he had immense faith in the possibilities of rural democracy. His idea of a village swaraj was that of a complete Republic with compulsory education and the economic life resting on a co-operative basis. He was for minimum interference by Government in Village affairs. Independence he said should begin at the bottom.

For an Administrator's Note-book

Winning the confidence of the people.

Winning the confidence of the villagers is an uphill task at any time—He resents being driven ; but he can be led. He is amenable to friendly guidance, but will not suffer dictation. Preaching to him about the folly of his ways will only antagonise him.

ROGER THOMAS

Government and the people.

The attitude of the individual towards his Government is determined to a considerable extent by the impression made on him by the administrative personnel with whom he comes into direct contact. An insolent clerk in a post office, an abusive police man or an incompetent factory Inspector may prevent the development and survival of that good will and respect which are requisite to proper co-operation between the Government and the citizen.

E. B. SCHULZ.

Civil servants.

If the danger of Civil servants clinging to power is great no less great is the danger of the service ceasing to be independent impartial and above politics. In the determination of policy and exercise of authority in the higher spheres the duty of the Civil servant is to advise and to place his expert knowledge at the disposal of the Minister. If the Civil servant ceases to be independent or if his advice is coloured by the political predilections of his chief, then parliamentary Government becomes ineffective. The yes man in the civil service is no less dangerous than the one who thinks in terms of bureaucratic authority.

SARDAR PANIKKAR.

Democracy

Democracy is based upon the conviction that there are extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people.

FOSDICK

New Administrator Library

Traditions of the Indian Army, by Dharma Pal. A national Book Trust publication. Published by the Publications Division, Delhi, Price Rs. 1.75.

This fine neatly printed book deals mainly with the exploits of individual soldiers belonging to the different regions in India. The first part contains vivid accounts of the exploits of soldiers of twelve different regions of this country. The second part deals with traditions of leadership in the Indian army and the third part is concerned with regimental traditions. In the army as in every other sphere of co-operative effort leadership counts for much and the book cites a number of instances in which good leadership has been able to achieve remarkable things. Similarly the respect for traditions has worked as a lever in keeping up the morale and *esprit de corps* in the army. This is not peculiar to the army alone. It is a notable fact that loyalty to the traditions of the service was a vital element in the efficiency of the Indian Civil Service.

Written in lucid language the book is packed with information useful not only to the army man but also to the ordinary citizen. To the army man it is no doubt a mine of inspiration.

Gandhi faces the storm, by Gene Sharp. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.-4. Price Re. 1.00.

This is a study of Mahatma Gandhi with special reference to his last days by an American admirer of his. The period covered is from 1946 to the end. The book gives a vivid impression of what Gandhiji felt after India had attained Independence. Gandhiji found that it was a different India from what He had dreamt. Of that had come into being after Independence. "Experience shows" he declared once "that people who form the bulk of congress men are not wedded to truth or non-violence or khadi." He found to his great mental anguish that things were taking place in Free India which were against his teachings and ideas. I am ceased to be a current coin he said once. On another occasion he described himself as a spent bullet. He realised that he had no place in a developing India. With a passion in his voice he said once "In the India as I see it shaping today there is no place for me. I have given up my hope of living 125 years." It is said that the day before his assassination he drafted a proposal for abolishing the congress as it had existed and for converting it into an association for the service of the people.

The book is a call to the nation to remind themselves of what Gandhiji stood for and to endeavour to follow his path. That is the surest way of shaping a prosperous India.

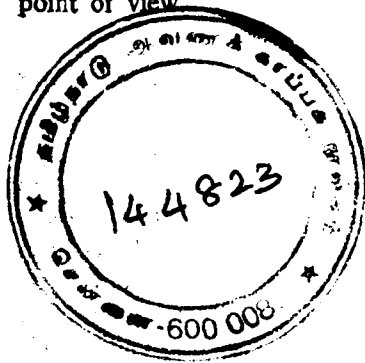
K.

Better Citizenship. Published by the Publications Division, Delhi. Price Re. 1.

This illustrated book deals with the rights and duties of a citizen in a free country. It is mainly intended for the school-going population. Two symbolic characters are employed to portray the good and the bad citizen.

In Free India there is no dearth for such instructive publications but the difficulty is to ensure that it reaches the clientele for which they are intended. Apart from this reading habit has declined. Few people are now given to reading with the result that the market of books or journals however useful they may be is experiencing a serious glut. This glut can disappear only if extensive facilities are provided on a countrywide basis to develop reading habit. A net work of libraries in every Government office according to the size of the office, a system of door to door delivery system where necessary and a roving Commissioner under the Ministry of Education to supervise the running of these libraries and guide their working are desirable measures in this direction. Under democracy where knowledge counts for much both for the public servant and the ordinary citizen including students a good library scheme on a countrywide basis is a sheer necessity. The earlier this is realised the better. Until this is done publications such as these may suffer in their value from the utilitarian point of view.

K.



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