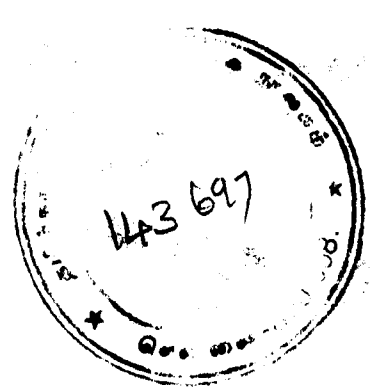


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THE GENERAL INSURANCE NATIONALISATION BILL

K. SANTHANAM

THE BILL entitled "The General Insurance Business (Nationalisation) Bill, 1972" which was introduced in the last session of Parliament and referred to a joint Select Committee is an involved and unsatisfactory piece of legislation. In this article, I do not propose to deal with the merits or desirability of the nationalisation of general insurance. I have already dealt with it when the issue was under discussion and I have no reason to change my views. But if one has to concede the contention of the ruling party that only through nationalisation, can the resources provided by general insurance be utilised in the best interests of the country, it is obviously necessary that such nationalisation should be effected as simply and as speedily as possible. If the present Bill is adopted as it is, it will take many years before the operation and management of general insurance can be made stable.

In the preamble it is stated that this measure is needed, "in order to conserve better the needs of the economy by securing the development of general insurance business in the best interests of the country and to ensure that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth to the common detriment." There will be no objection to the first part but the second part which is only Article 39 (c) amounts to a false statement intended merely to exclude the judicial review of the provisions relating to compensation. In the schedule, Part A lists 55 Indian

insurance companies and Part B another 52 consisting of other foreign and Indian insurers including the Life Insurance Corporation of India, Re-Insurance Association of India and Indian Co-operative and Mutual Insurance concerns. Is it possible for any reasonable man to contend that a business which is conducted by these 107 concerns of various types, whose operations and investments are strictly controlled by legislation, has led, or can lead to concentration of wealth to common detriment? It is indeed very sad to reflect that, simply with a view to preventing judicial scrutiny, an obviously untenable statement should be incorporated in a law of Parliament. Not content with this statement, in the preamble, Section 2 of the Act says:

"It is hereby declared that this Act is for giving effect to the policy of the State towards securing the principles specified in clause (c) of Article 39 of the Constitution". This is to negate the possible argument that the preamble is not law. It is likely that every Bill of importance introduced in Parliament hereafter will include such a declaration as a routine to restrict the legitimate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court which has been specifically set up not only to interpret the laws made by Parliament but also to ensure that no law is passed infringing any article of the Constitution including the fundamental rights.

The Bill proposes to leave the Indian insurance companies as they are for the moment but

transfers all their shares to the Government of India. The latter will then transfer not less than 10 shares to persons who are to be nominated Directors in order to conform to the provisions of the Companies Act. The undertaking of every other insurer carrying on general insurance business including the concerned section of the Life Insurance Corporation is to be transferred to one or more of the Indian insurance companies. This is the first stage.

A General Insurance Corporation of India is to be set up for the purpose of superintending, controlling and carrying on the business of general insurance with an authorised capital of Rs 75 crores, of which Rs 5 crores shall be the initial subscribed capital. The Government of India will transfer all the shares of the Indian insurance companies which had been transferred to it to the new General Insurance Corporation which will thereby become the holding company with all the Indian insurance companies as subsidiaries. This is the second stage. When this is completed, there will be mergers of some Indian insurance companies with others or the undertakings of two or more insurance companies transferred to new companies and this process will go on until ultimately "there are only 4 companies in existence and that they are so situate as to render their combined services effective in all parts of India."

If one visualises all the administrative measures needed first to transfer the shares of the Indian insurance companies to the Gov-



ernment of India and their subsequent transfer to the General Insurance Corporation, the vesting in the Indian insurance companies of all other insurers with all their assets and liabilities and their staff and then again the mergers to be effected till the four final subsidiaries come into existence, one cannot but be surprised that the Finance and Legal Departments of the Government of India could not find a simpler method of effecting this nationalisation. I wonder what exactly was the difficulty in establishing first the General Insurance Corporation and then its four subsidiaries with the necessary capital from the Government of India and then making transfers of shares of Indian insurance companies to the Corporation and their undertakings together with the other insurers directly to the subsidiaries.

In all this process, the problems of amalgamation of staff and fixation of their seniority will be formidable, even if this is to be done in a single operation. When this has to be done in two or three stages, it may give rise to endless difficulties. Perhaps, the simplest way is to prescribe uniform scales of pay and allowances for all the staff of the nationalised Indian insurance companies including the insurers merged in them. Even then, when the final reorganisation into four subsidiaries is completed, it may become a very difficult problem to provide for all the senior officers or ensure the same chances of promotion for the others as they have at present.

In the schedule, lump sum amounts of compensation are provided in two parts. In Part A, a total amount of about Rs 23 crores is to be paid to the General Insurance Corporation to be distributed among the shareholders of the Indian insurance companies. In Part B, Rs 10 crores are provided to be paid to the Corporation for payment to the existing insurers whose undertakings are merged with the Indian insurance companies. The financial memorandum states that the total amount payable by the Government amounts to Rs 33 crores. In the case of shareholders, pay-

ments up to Rs 25,000 are to be paid in one lump sum and in the case of amounts exceeding this sum, it is to be paid in 3 equal instalments. The same procedure is to be followed in the case of the Life Insurance Corporation of India to which a compensation of Rs 2.81 crores is provided. Other insurers are to be fully paid on the appointed day.

It has not been stated either in the Statement of Objects and Reasons or in the financial statement on what principle these amounts of compensation have been fixed. Though the quantum

of compensation may not come under judicial review, if the Supreme Court accepts the validity of the recent constitutional amendments, it is not clear whether no discrimination has been made against any insurer and that the same principle of compensation has been applied to all insurers. Otherwise, the law may be questioned under Articles 14 and 15 which provide for equality before law and non-discrimination. For the information of our readers, the schedule giving the amounts of compensation is being published on pages 6 and 7.

UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS IN THE SEVENTIES

S. BANKESHWAR

THE SPECTRE of unemployment continues to loom large on our horizon. The number of unemployed has been growing steadily from year to year. At the end of our Fourth Plan period, it is expected to be above 30 million. The emergence of the unemployed among the educated persons in general, and technically qualified persons in particular, has added a new dimension to this problem. According to the Reserve Bank statistics, over 50 per cent of our people today are below the poverty line. Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere. Out of our population of 550 million today, 360 million depend on 190 million!

In no country in the world, at any time in history, has organised industry been able to create more than a million jobs a year. Since this sector is capital-intensive, high priority for investment in organised industry, for solving the unemployment problem, is of doubtful utility. After two decades of planned development and an investment of Rs 30,000 crores (at 1960-61 prices), the organised sector could hardly absorb about 18 million people, which is about 9.5 per cent of our present labour force of about 190 million. Factory workers in India just number about 5 million.

Although the organised sector has taken the lion's share of our limited capital funds, not many

jobs have been created. Had we made the same investment in light or consumer goods industries, the employment generated would have been twice as much and perhaps more. Out of 18.6 million jobs created in the last decade, only 6 million jobs have been accounted for by the organised sector. The demand for labour in the industrial sector may not arise with the increase in output, because of capital-intensive high import propensity of modern industries, decline in transitional industrial output and changes in tastes. Since 90 per cent of our labour force is outside the organised sector, larger resources will have to be provided for creating more productive employment. In many developing countries, the distribution trade has given more employment than the production.

Between 1966 and 1971, the total employment in public and private sector establishments has gone up from 16.19 million to 17.45 million, and the increase was actually accounted for by the public sector. The employment in the private sector actually dropped in this period from 6.81 million in 1966 to 6.74 million in 1971. In 1971, the employment figures in the public and private sectors stood at 10.784 million and 6.607 million respectively, as against 10.576 million and 6.701 million at the end of December 1970. The employment opportu-

nities in the organised industries of the private sector thus dropped by about 94,000 during this period.

Mere growth in production, with all possible incentives for production, is incapable of generating proportionate employment. Industrialisation involving the use of improved technology has the adverse effect of curtailing the employment of unskilled labour. Even if the organised sector could provide 8 million jobs in the next decade, 90 per cent of our labour force will be accommodated elsewhere, as our labour force will be increasing by over 16 per cent in the next decade. It is poor consolation for the unemployed to learn that wages are rising more than proportionately among those already employed.

The number of job seekers is estimated at 9 million a year. As such, about 90 million will enter the labour force as against the exit of about 27 million through death and retirement. At the present rate of growth in employment opportunities, about 26 million new jobs (including jobs to be provided by the organised sector) could be found in the next decade. In other words, about 37 million people will remain unemployed at the end of this decade, as against the backlog of 15 million unemployed today. Thus, about 52 million will remain unemployed at the end of this decade.

The main contribution to the growth rate of the Gross National Product in the last four years has come from agriculture, since the contribution of industry to the economy has been uncertain and inadequate. The situation today is the very reverse of what prevailed in the past, when industrial output was rising at a relatively higher rate with agriculture lagging behind. The application of new technology in agriculture will give a direct or indirect stimulus to industry. Our future, therefore, lies in research and prompt application of its results to our farming methods over a wide field of agriculture.

Landless agricultural labourers and small farmers who hold less than 2 hectares of land represent

about 75 per cent of the total rural households in India. There are about 70 million landless people in India and over 40 per cent of agricultural holdings are less than one acre in extent. It is estimated that the cost of providing employment to rural unemployed will be as much as Rs 800 crores per year.

Fragmentation of holdings, insecurity of tenure, inadequate and untimely supply of inputs and water, lack of credit facilities, unsatisfactory arrangements for marketing and storage are some of the major handicaps which small farmers are facing today. It is high time our small farmers organised cooperative agricultural societies. They should receive adequate resources, financial and commercial, and managerial support from the District Small Farmers' Development agencies, commercial and cooperative banks, Central and State Warehousing Corporations and District Marketing Societies.

Landless labourers should be encouraged to go into allied occupations like poultry farming, dairying, etc. These activities should also be planned on a co-operative basis, so that organised technical and financial support could be given to them by the appropriate State and other public agencies. Cooperative agricultural societies of landless labourers should be organised and provided with land, and the needed assistance to exploit it fully in the national interest.

Animal husbandry offers scope for the diversification of agricultural economy, particularly for the benefit of the small farmers and the backward classes. Apart from providing supplementary and lucrative alternative job opportunities to the rural population, the development of animal husbandry, poultry, etc., also creates a favourable atmosphere for the growth of ancillary industries such as dairy and milk processing units, animal feed units, poultry dressing, etc. In many areas of low rainfall, a milk and meat revolution could be brought about if animal husbandry and other allied activities replace the traditional crop industry.

Fisheries, both inland and ma-

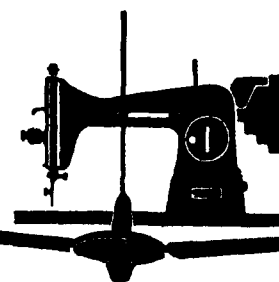


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BETTER BUY USHA YOU CAN'T BUY BETTER

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rine, if fully developed, will not only offer considerable scope for employment of the landless labourers, but also improve the economic condition of our fishermen. Our country has extensive inland fishery resources. It is estimated that the 3.5 million hectares of inland water can be rendered suitable for the development of inland fishing. At present, about .61 million hectares of inland water are utilised for fishing. Development of inland fisheries offers considerable scope for improving the rural economy of several States, chiefly West Bengal, Orissa and Bihar. India has an extensive coastline. The natural resources available for the development of marine fisheries are large and varied. An exploratory survey of the fish potential indicates availability of .6 million tons of fish and prawns from the coastal belt up to 40 fathoms. The Indian Ocean, with an area of 75.52 million sq. kms, is the least exploited of the oceans and hence offers ample scope for the development of marine fishing in India. At present, about 95 per cent of marine fish production comes from the inshore belt, while the off-shore belt has remained almost unexploited.

There is considerable scope for employment of the landless labourers in forestry too. Indian forests suffer from low productivity. Though they cover about 25 per cent of our land surface, forestry and logging contribute only 1 per cent of the net domestic product. The per hectare production averages about .53 cubic metres per annum and is nowhere near the world average of 2 cubic metres. This emphasises the need for tapping the forest resources, and their efficient and economic exploitation.

Only a massive rural works programme can tackle the staggering problem of rural unemployment, which will grow from about 20 million estimated at present to about 40 million at the end of this decade. The building of roads, housing, well-sinking, construction of school buildings and irrigation canals, pump fittings and rural electrification can generate considerable employment for the unemployed landless labourers, and build up the economic and social infra-structure for agriculture. It is estimated that a sum of Rs 1,000 crores, invested in road building, can provide employment to more than six million persons. According to the study of National Council of Agricultural Economic Research, as many as 13 jobs are created for every commercial vehicle. According to the Planning Commission, road construction is labour-intensive twice as much as agriculture, or six times as much as small-scale industries.

Our rural roads are in a pitiable condition today. In 1959, the last year for which data are available, about 50 per cent of our villages were more than 6 kms. away, and about 17 per cent of the villages were more than 16 kms. away, from dependable all-weather roads. Not much progress has since been made in reducing the distance of our villages from the all-weather roads. A link between the villages and market towns, through the development of rural roads, will lead to the growth of our rural economy. We should set a target of bringing, say, in five years, our villages with a population of 5,000 within 2.5 kms. from dependable all-weather roads.

According to the estimate made by the Reserve Bank (in its bulletin issued in November 1970), an investment of one crore of rupees on road-making would employ 10,435 people, while in forestry and soil conservation, an equal outlay will engage 8,000, in irrigation works 7,000 and in housing 2,260 persons.

Although irrigation wells command a high priority in our planning, there are no precise blue-

prints for a planned programme of well-sinking in rural areas. Here is a promising field for the employment of landless labourers, which could possibly provide 5 million man-years of work.

If wells are energized, and the land irrigated is increased by 5 acres per well, the increased gross output would be about Rs 750 x 5, i.e., Rs 3,750 per well. On the other hand, inputs, fertilizers, maintenance of motors, payment for electricity, taxes and other charges will absorb perhaps Rs 2,000 per well, and the farmer will retain about Rs 700 to 800 for his labour including hired help. A sum of about Rs 800 will thus be available for repayment of the loan taken, presumed to amount to Rs 2,000 at the most.

Hardly 3.2 per cent of our rural population have been provided with a safe piped water supply system, some 73.8 per cent have to depend upon wells for potable water, while with the remaining it is still a problem. In nearly half of our villages, there is an acute dearth of drinking water. We need immediately about 3 lakhs drinking water wells, which cost much less than irrigation wells. Each well can provide directly or indirectly employment for 3 persons for a year. Thus, 9 lakhs jobs exist potentially in the drinking water well programme, and spread over a period of 9 years, this programme will provide one lakh jobs per year to our landless labour.

A co-ordinated rural works programme will, thus, help create more employment opportunities leading to considerable improvement in the economic and social status of the rural population. Our rural economy should be so diversified as to provide wider opportunities for work for the landless labourers. This will check the prevailing tendency of large-scale exodus to urban areas.

Slogans can win votes, but cannot create jobs or wealth. Creation of wealth is a technical and economic process, while the distribution is purely a political one. Ill-conceived radicalism cannot create wealth.

July 1, 1972

EDITOR'S NOTES :

RIP VAN WINKLE

Mr Sheikh Abdullah of Kashmir has now emerged as a Rip van Winkle. He wants India and Kashmir to go back to 1953 when he was dismissed on account of his activities against India and Kashmir. It is something that he is prepared to accept accession as final but would restrict it to three subjects of defence, foreign relations and communications. Perhaps, he does not realise the implications of the demand, for it may mean the end of massive financial assistance to and investment in Kashmir. Modifications in Centre-State relations and greater autonomy for the States are live subjects which deserve to be discussed in an objective manner but no settlement of the Kashmir issue may be worthwhile if it nullifies all the developments of the last 20 years.

VALUABLE GUIDE-LINES

Mr Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank, delivered a remarkable address to the United Nations Conference on Human Environment at Stockholm on June 8, 1972. He ended with the following exhortations:

"In my view there are five essential requirements. We must:

"Recognise that economic growth in the developing countries is essential if they are to deal with their human problems:

"Act on the evidence that such growth, if properly planned, need not cause unacceptable ecological penalties:

"Assist the developing countries in their choice of a pattern of growth which will yield a combination of high economic gain with low environmental risk:

"Provide the external support required for their economic advance by moving more rapidly toward meeting the United Nations concessionary aid target of 0.7 per cent of GNP, and by dismantling and discarding inequitable trade barriers which restrict exports from poorer countries:

"And, above all, realise that human degradation is the most dangerous pollutant there is."

CENTENARIANS

It has been reported that according to the latest census, there are 2,779 centenarians in Tamil Nad alone. This works out to about 70 per million and if the same proportion holds good, there should be nearly 40,000 centenarians in India. It is difficult to decide whether they should be congratulated or commiserated. In any case, the Central and the State Governments in India will do well to start with them for a national old age pension scheme, which is indispensable for a welfare State and much more so for a socialist State. At the end of every 5 years, the minimum age may be reduced by 10 so that at the end of 20 years all persons in India above 60 will receive a pension. This is one of the easiest and most beneficial measures of social justice which can be implemented immediately. As most of the old people will belong to poor families, such pensions will not only assist those families but also ensure greater consideration and better treatment for the old people.

FRENCH INTRANSIGENCE

That France should persist in its plan to experiment with an under-water atomic explosion in the Pacific in spite of the protests of Latin American countries, Japan, Canada and Australia, is highly regrettable. Some Australians have even threatened novel forms of satyagraha against this explosion which may have dangerous consequences for many countries and pollute the water of the ocean and the atmosphere above it. Australian parachutists are to come down near the site of explosion and some Australians are reported to have got into a yacht and actually entered the area. Presumably, they are offering themselves as human sacrifices to bring home to the world the seriousness of the French action. It is possible that the French Govern-

ment may feel that it is an unfair coercion of a nation which lags behind in atomic power and is trying to bring itself into level with the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. This argument will not be appreciated by the world as nuclear disarmament will then become only more difficult.

THE TAMIL NAD SLUM CLEARANCE BOARD

The Tamil Nad Slum Clearance Board, which was set up in September 1970 and given wide powers under the Tamil Nad Slum Clearance Areas Act, has been doing very good work. It is said to be the first Slum Clearance Board to be formed in India. The excellent souvenir published by the Board with illustrations holds out the promise that, in a few years' time, all the slums in Madras City may be cleared and the inhabitants lodged in decent tenements. According to the statistical survey conducted by the Board, 1,041 slums have been enumerated in the City and a socio-economic survey has been completed in respect of 820 slums. Of these three are almost townships with more than 1,000 families and 353 slums have more than 100 families. Thirteen schemes have been completed by March 1972 but this does not mean that provision has been made for all the families in the area. Out of the target of 8,636 tenements, 2,560 have been completed. It is not a bad record for two years. It is stated that the proper economic rent for each tenement is Rs 43 per month but only a rent of Rs 15 per month is charged. So, each tenement has to be subsidised by Rs 28 a month or Rs 336 per year. As at least one lakh of such tenements will be needed for the entire slum population of Madras, the annual burden will amount to more than Rs 3 crores for this city alone; but whatever the cost, it is worth doing. The enthusiastic Chairman of the Board, Mr Aranganal, deserves praise for the work that has been done and it is to be hoped that the Tamil Nad Government and the people of the State will continue to give him full support and cooperation.

COMPENSATION TO GENERAL INSURANCE FIRMS

The following schedule relates to the compensation to be paid to the general insurance companies in India consequent on the nationalisation of general insurance :

PART A

Name of Indian insurance company	Amount to be paid
All India General Insurance Company Ltd.	10,00,000
Anand Insurance Company Ltd.	Preference shares 3,50,000 Equity shares 2,00,000
Bhabha Marine Insurance Company Ltd.	12,764
Bharat General Reinsurance Ltd.	Preference shares 8,18,000 Ordinary shares 12,63,558
British India General Insurance Company Ltd.	37,50,000
Calcutta Insurance Limited	7,30,450
Central Mercantile Assurance Company Ltd.	3,38,499
Clive Insurance Company Ltd.	20,62,500
Commonwealth Assurance Company Limited	1,000
Concord of India Insurance Co., Ltd.,	22,27,500
Devkaran Nanjee Insurance Company Ltd.	16,80,000
General Assurance Society Ltd.	8,06,000
Hercules Insurance Company Ltd.	87,48,000
Hindusthan General Insurance Society Ltd.	15,52,500
Hindusthan Ideal Insurance Company Ltd.	25,20,605
Howrah Insurance Company Ltd.	975
Hukumchand Insurance Company Ltd.	10,00,000
India Reinsurance Corporation Ltd.	1,42,50,000
Indian Guarantee & General Insurance Company Ltd.	1,03,02,000
Indian Mercantile Insurance Company Ltd.	47,67,854
Indian Merchants' Marine Insurance Company Ltd.	2,28,753
Indian Ocean Insurance Company Ltd.	1,00,000
Indian Trade & General Insurance Company Ltd.	34,26,000
Jalanath Insurance Ltd.	10,00,000
Jupiter General Insurance Company Ltd.	26,24,445
Kalyan Marine Insurance Company Ltd.	90,700
Liberty Insurance Company Ltd.	1,000
Madras Motor & General Insurance Company Ltd.	1,44,90,000
Madura Insurance Company Ltd.	Preference shares 700 Ordinary shares 15,83,900 Deferred shares 12,500
Marine & General Insurance Company Ltd.	5,00,000
Mother India Fire & General Insurance Company Ltd.	5,00,000
Motor Owners' Insurance Company Ltd.	1,65,575
Naranji Bhanabhai & Company Ltd.	49,200
Narhari Marine Insurance Company Ltd.	1,00,000
National Insurance Company Ltd.	35,00,000
Neptune Assurance Company Ltd.	10,00,000
New Great Insurance Company of India Ltd.	43,50,000
New India Assurance Company Ltd.	8,20,37,678
New Merchants Insurance Company Ltd.	65,828
New Premier Insurance Company Ltd.	999
Northern India General Insurance Company Ltd.	998
Oriental Fire & General Insurance Company Ltd.	1,65,00,000

Name of Indian insurance company	Amount to be paid
Pandyan Insurance Company Ltd.	90,00,000
Pioneer Fire & General Insurance Company Ltd.	11,82,610
Porbandar Insurance Company Ltd.	59,194
Prachi Insurance Company Ltd.	21,375
Ruby General Insurance Company Ltd.	80,22,000
Shree Mahasagar Vima Company	1,18,252
South India Insurance Company Ltd.	54,00,000
Sterling General Insurance Company Ltd.	Preference shares 23,000 Ordinary shares 16,08,139
Triton Insurance Company Ltd.	29,32,500
United India Fire & General Insurance Company Ltd.	16,66,660
Universal Fire & General Insurance Company Ltd.	16,44,675
Vanguard Insurance Company Ltd.	896
Vulcan Insurance Company Ltd.	32,49,617

PART B

Name of Insurer	Amount to be paid
Co-operative Fire & General Insurance Society Ltd.	3,95,000
Co-operative General Insurance Society Ltd.	5,63,000
Indian Mutual General Insurance Society Ltd.	1,000
Life Insurance Corporation of India	2,81,34,000
Milowners' Mutual Insurance Association Ltd.	2,15,000
Orissa Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd	2,42,000
Reinsurance Association of India (International) Ltd.	1,000
Union Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd	16,15,000
Alliance Assurance Company Ltd	38,65,000
American Insurance Company	3,30,000
Atlas Assurance Company Ltd.	64,85,000
Baloise Insurance Company Ltd.	22,67,000
British Aviation Insurance Company Ltd,	1,000
Caledonian Insurance Company Ltd.	81,000
Century Insurance Company Ltd.	6,04,000
Commercial Union Assurance Company Ltd.	85,20,000
Eagle Star Insurance Company Ltd.	37,12,000
Gerling Global Reinsurance Company Ltd.	1,000
Great American Insurance Company	3,81,000
Guardian Assurance Company Ltd.	19,98,000
Hanover Insurance Company	42,13,000
Hartford Fire Insurance Company	2,96,000
Home Insurance Company	3,73,000
Legal & General Assurance Society Ltd.	5,28,000
Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company Ltd.	8,23,000
London Assurance	12,30,000
London Guarantee & Accident Company Ltd.	40,000
London & Lancashire Insurance Company Ltd.	47,70,000
L'Union Fire, Accident and General Insurance Company Ltd.	1,000

Name of Insurer	Amount to be paid	Name of Insurer	Amount to be paid
National Employers' Mutual General Insurance Company Ltd.	3,17,000	Skandia Insurance Company Ltd.	1,000
National Insurance Company of New Zealand Ltd.	1,000	South British Insurance Company Ltd.	18,42,000
New Hampshire Insurance Company	19,08,000	Sun Insurance Office Ltd.	25,86,000
New Zealand Insurance Company Ltd.	10,84,000	Switzerland General Insurance Company Ltd.	6,35,000
Norwich Union Fire Insurance Society Ltd.	31,43,000	Threadneedle Insurance Company Ltd.	1,000
Phoenix Assurance Company Ltd.	2,63,000	Tokio Marine & Fire Insurance Company Ltd.	92,000
Provincial Insurance Company Ltd.	1,000	Union Insurance Society of Canton Ltd.	5,89,000
Queensland Insurance Company Ltd.	10,31,000	United Scottish Insurance Company Ltd.	83,000
Royal Exchange Assurance	49,62,000	Welfare Insurance Company Ltd.	1,000
Royal Insurance Company Ltd.	73,28,000	Western Assurance Company	13,92,000
Scottish Union & National Insurance Company	43,15,000	Yorkshire Insurance Company Ltd.	16,31,000
		Zurich Insurance Company Ltd.	1,000

KERALA LETTER:

PRIVATE COLLEGES: THREAT OF GOVT. TAKE-OVER

KOTTAYAM, June 18: "What a pity it is to have to admit that the C.P.I. shines when contrasted with the Congress," observed a planter here. He was referring to the C.P.I. Industries Minister, Mr T. V. Thomas putting the blame squarely on the workers of the FACT (which remains closed from May 17 following the suspension of two employees for shutting down the ammonia plant, and the consequent strike by the workers to get the suspension order rescinded), and the Congress leader, Mr C. M. Stephen's criticism of Mr Thomas for "unwarranted interference" in the Labour Department, the portfolio held by the Congress Minister, Mr Vakkom Purushottaman. The attitude of the Congress Party encourages labour intransigence. The strike in the FACT has already resulted in a loss of Rs 1 crore and has affected several industries in the belt which draw their raw materials from FACT.

With the reopening of the colleges the demand for equalisation of fees in Government and private colleges has reared its ugly head. It may be mentioned that the C.P.I. was in favour of a small rise in fees in Government colleges and a reduction in fees in private colleges to the same level and the Government making good the consequent loss to the managements of private colleges. But the K.S.U., the student wing of the

Ruling Congress, will have none of it and the Liaison Committee has agreed "unanimously" with K.S.U. stand.

In the meantime, the Kerala Congress and the N.S.S. have joined hands to stave off the threat of nationalisation of private colleges. Nationalisation of private colleges cannot be effected without amending Art. 30 (1) of the Constitution relating to minority rights. The Muslim League has acquiesced with the Liaison Committee in its decision. Before private educational institutions are "nationalised", the Government has to make out a good case for it, which would mean that the public must be convinced that Government colleges are run more economically than private colleges. There is no meaning in "nationalising" private colleges, if it only imposes higher burden on the common man in the form of indirect taxes, while the private colleges are carrying on with contributions from those who can afford and are willing to pay whether in the shape of capitation fee or donation. As far as can be ascertained, Rs 500 is being spent in Government colleges on a student annually, whereas the Government pays only Rs 200 per student as grant to private colleges. Both Government and private colleges must be called upon to publish detailed accounts of their receipts and payments, which must be

subjected to impartial audit, so that a system which is most economical and least burdensome to the common man, consistent with the maintenance of educational standards, can be evolved.

Addressing the Alleppey Circle of the Newman Association of India on the 24th and 25th Amendments to the Constitution *vis-a-vis* minority rights, Mr A. Madhava Wariar, Managing Editor, *Swatantra Jamatha*, Kottayam, said that in the wake of the Supreme Court's judgment in Golaknath case, the amendments were flagrant violations of the Constitution which the representatives of the people swore to preserve and abide by. It was futile to challenge these amendments in the courts because the verdicts of the courts would be rendered nugatory by ordinances and further legislation. The only remedy lay in approaching the people and educating the voters on the real worth of and the need to preserve the Constitution as it was originally framed by the fathers of the freedom struggle. This was a long drawn process but it could not be delayed or abandoned on that account.

Mr Wariar said that the Swatantra Party was the only party which stood for the preservation of the Constitution. He admitted that the Swatantra party presented a sorry spectacle as evidenced by the defections of its representatives in the Orissa Assembly but emphasised that there was nothing wrong with the fundamental principles of the Party, which were sound.



TOBACCO INDUSTRY IN INDIA

K. K. MANI

TOBACCO is one of the major cash crops of India. In the developing economy of this country, this commercial crop plays a dual role. Although its role as a foreign exchange earner is more important in the present circumstances, equally important is its role as an earner of excise duty to the national exchequer. In the current budget also the Finance Minister has not left this commodity untouched. He expects to net in a sum of Rs 16.47 crores from unmanufactured tobacco and cigarettes by way of what he calls "rationalization and rounding off of duties."

Tobacco, which originally belonged to South America, was introduced into this country by the Portuguese in Goa. From there, slowly, it made its way to the Moghul Courts and became very popular. Since then the industry has witnessed a tremendous growth. Today, the tobacco industry provides the second largest employment next only to agriculture.

India is the world's third largest producer of tobacco next to the US and China. We had an area of 381,000 hectares under tobacco cultivation in 1939-40. This was increased to 401,000 hectares in 1959-60 and it went up further in the sixties. In 1968-69 the total area under tobacco cultivation was 482,000 hectares. Tobacco is cultivated all over India but with an area of 177,000 hectares and with an annual production of 155.2 million kgs. Andhra Pradesh leads in this field. The per hectare yield was 865 kgs. in 1967-68, as against 756 kgs. in 1959-60. About 80 per cent of the total output is consumed within the country. A little less than 1/4 of the total output is used for the manufacture of bidis. About 62 million kgs. are used for cigarettes.

Tobacco is the second largest excise earning commodity. Its movements from the time of harvest to consumption or export are controlled by the Central Board of Excise and Customs. For different types of tobacco different

duties are levied. But India was one of the few large countries of the world where no excise duty was levied on this item until 1943, although the suitability of tobacco as a fruitful source of revenue was widely recognised. Prior to 1943 only imported items were subjected to excise duty and locally grown tobacco was free from excise duty. The exigencies of war-time finance was said to be the main reason for the imposition of an excise duty on tobacco. The national exchequer earns about Rs 150 crores from this excise duty. Besides, it brings Rs 4 crores by way of export duty and about Rs 12 lakhs by way of agricultural cess.

Its role as a foreign exchange earner is much more important today. India is one of the world's leading tobacco exporting countries. It earns foreign exchange to the tune of Rs 35 crores annually. The bulk of our exports consists of unmanufactured tobacco, especially the flue-cured virginia variety. Bidi, chewing and hookah tobacco are also exported in substantial quantities. Although, there has been an overall increase in exports during the last 20 years, it was only in the early sixties that a new chapter in the history of Indian tobacco was opened.

India exports unmanufactured tobacco to 60 countries today, including the newly emerged independent State of Bangladesh. But by purchasing about 48 per cent of our total exports, Britain is the best market for our tobacco. France, the USSR, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, UAR and Japan are a few other countries to which we export tobacco.

Since India took to planned development, many of our languishing industries have been rejuvenated. The tobacco industry is no exception to this. With the primary objective of improving its quality, the Government has undertaken various research programmes through the ICRA. The Central Tobacco Research Institute at Rajahmundry and

the regional research stations at Vedaasandur in Tamil Nad, at Pusa in Bihar, Dinahate in West Bengal, at Guntur in Andhra Pradesh and at Hansur in Mysore carry on research.

The Tobacco Export Promotion Council was set up in 1956 by the Government of India, to sustain and improve the existing markets and explore new ones. The Fourth Plan aims at a production of 450 million kgs. including 168 million kgs. of virginia tobacco. To achieve this target the Plan envisages extension of the area by about 28,000 hectares in the four States of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Mysore and Tamil Nad, besides an intensive development programme on 1,25,000 hectares.

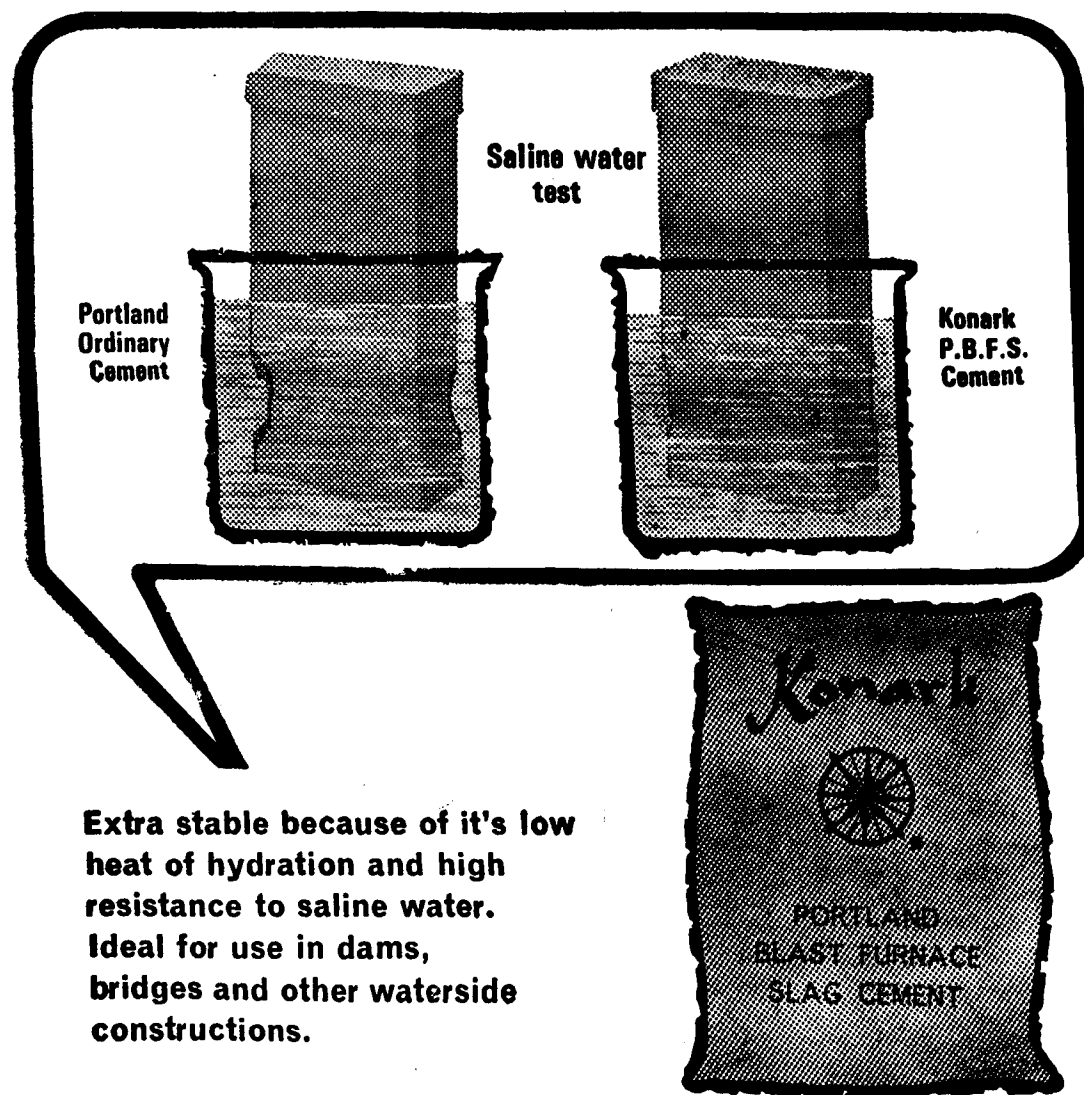
The industry, however, is not without its problems. One of the serious problems facing this industry is the low per hectare yield. The average per hectare yield in Andhra Pradesh, which is considered to be the home of this commodity is only 840 kgs, whereas the corresponding figures in some other countries, viz., Rhodesia and the US, are 1,345 and 2,242 kgs. respectively. There is no reason why India cannot raise her production to the same level.

Another problem which this industry faces is the frequent price fluctuation in the internal as well as external markets. Recently, large quantities of tobacco got accumulated with producers due to price fluctuations. But the timely intervention of the STC saved the situation. The proposed National Corporation of Agricultural Commodities will, it is hoped, see to it that a similar situation does not develop.

In the international market too, Indian tobacco is facing some serious problems. Brazil is now emerging as a strong competitor to India. Coupled with this is the inferior quality of Indian tobacco. No doubt, this will compel us to sell our product at a lower price. Improving the quality seems to be the only way to get out of this. Britain's entry into European Economic Community may also cause a setback to our trade with the U.K.

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EXCESS CAPACITY IN INDUSTRIES

Miss HEMA DEVANATHAN

A MIST is overlapping the industrial scene, and the hazy picture that meets the eye is far from encouraging. While the Fourth Five-Year Plan envisages a 8 per cent to 10 per cent annual rate of increase in industrial output, the actual increase in 1969-70 was only 6.9 per cent, in 1970-71 3.6 per cent and 1.7 per cent in the first quarter of 1971-72. On the one hand, production is slumping, on the other, there is unutilised capacity in major industries. When industrialists are eager to expand their plant for a further utilisation of the installed capacity they are refused licences.

However, when one analyses the reasons for the excess capacity, a more meaningful pattern emerges which suggests that the need of the hour is for the Government to pursue a pragmatic industrial policy. Excess capacity implies both under-utilised and idle capacity, the former being less serious than the latter. Forces operating from the supply side have been greatly responsible for the emergence of excess capacity in Indian industries. Shortage and irregular supplies of raw materials and components, stores and spares have resulted in the emergence of idle capacity in the engineering, textiles and sugar industries in the 1970-71 season.

According to Mr Bhaskar G. Kakatkar, Secretary-General of the Indian Cotton Mills Federation, over the past six years cotton output has remained stagnant around 56 lakhs bales, while the installed spindlage has expanded by over 22 per cent. Cotton production stood at 27 lakh bales in 1971 season, while the Fourth Plan target is 80 lakh bales.

Unrealistic pricing policy, coupled with credit squeeze have told heavily upon the textile industry. Due to a tight credit situation, mills restricted their demand and consequently cotton piled up in the farm yards, causing much hardship to the growers. The result was, there was a fall in cotton cultivation in the following year, and thus a vicious circle was

started, leading to wastage and idle capacity.

Decontrol of sugar and unattractive prices offered to the cane-growers have led to sugar shortage, and this comes at an inopportune moment, when the world demand for sugar is on the increase.

The engineering industries were handicapped due to decreased production of steel, as suitable linkages could not be established. In many cases the scale of production was less than the optimum and the industry was not able to compete in international markets. The prices fixed were also unremunerative.

Inadequate demand has contributed to idle capacity in wagon building, electrical equipment, structural castings and forgings. Demand projections for the future are an essential aspect of planned industrial production. Sometimes it is likely that entrepreneurs overestimate the demand leading to excess capacity. This is, however, a short-term phenomenon, which gets itself adjusted over a period of time.

In the case of coal industry, demand is mainly from the railways, steel plants and washeries. If utilisation of coal is broad-based, the industry can work with a greater capacity.

According to a survey conducted by the F.I.C.C.I., covering 200 industrial products, the number of industries utilising 50 per cent or less of their capacity rose from 71 in 1969 to 73 in 1970.

The reasons for under-utilisation of capacity are mentioned as:

	(Base 50 units)
Raw material shortage	60%
Fall in off-take	25%
Power failure and shortages	12%
Transport bottlenecks	10%
Paucity of working capital	10%
Labour trouble	8%

In 1970-71 the five main steel plants produced 4.543 million tonnes of salable steel as against

the rated capacity of 6.729 million tonnes. The anticipated production in 1972 is 5.0 million tonnes. Only 67 per cent of the capacity of the industry was utilised, according to the Union Minister for Steel and Mines, Mr Mohan Kumaramangalam. The TISCO and the Bhilai plants produced 92 per cent and 79 per cent respectively, the IISCO, Rourkela and Durgapur units turned out 65 per cent, 56 per cent and 33 per cent respectively. The roof collapse at Rourkela and labour trouble at Durgapur were mainly responsible for idle and under-utilised capacity of these plants. Though there is plentiful supply of iron ore, shortage of refractories and good quality coal are limiting factors, as pointed out at the seminar on maximisation of capacity utilisation held in August 1971.

While under-utilisation of capacity is a common feature, there are also certain industries where production cannot keep step with the demand because of capacity constraints. Non-ferrous metals, paper and newsprint, cement, petro-chemicals, automobile tyres, electric lamps, etc., are a few cases, where fresh capacity generation may yield fruitful results.

While progress in the vital industries has been hampered due to delays in tying up foreign collaborations and lack of technical and managerial personnel, the non-priority sector has had the benefit of collaborations and foreign exchange arrangements.

In the private sector, a high proportion of licences given to small entrepreneurs has been infertile or has made tardy pro-

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gress. As regards the larger industrial houses, lately the Government has been taking a more realistic view. In January 1954 priority industries were allowed to raise their output by 100 per cent, or to switch over to a three-shift operation to achieve further utilisation of their existing capacities. In April this year, the Government announced its policy of extending these liberalised facilities to a few more industries.

Full utilisation of capacity, however, may not be possible in certain cases. In such cases, one has to be content with the maximum capacity that is economically feasible. A better utilisation of the installed capacity can be had in major industries if the Government builds up a buffer stock in the surplus sea-

sons and increases the godown facilities. For capital intensive industries, periodic overhauling and proper maintenance are indispensable.

In 1971, India lost 13.65 million man-days, due to industrial disputes. Disharmonious labour-management relations cannot be mended overnight. Even works committees and labour courts have failed in their efforts. A student body interested in promoting cordial relations can be created. This will maintain permanent contacts with both labour and management and make them see eye to eye with each other when a problem arises. This would promote mutual trust and a fruitful exchange of opinions. I have met a few students and industrialists who appeared to be interested in such a project.

formance so far—it is at least on the cards that this will be another year of empty granaries and starving peasantry roaming the countryside in search of food.

Meanwhile, alarmed by widespread power failures, legislators, both Opposition and Congress, raised a hue and cry in the State Assembly on May 26. Suggestions ran the full gamut from supersession of the State Electricity Board to suspension and prosecution of such of its officers as have charges of corruption and allied misdemeanour pending against them. In reply to all this, the Power Minister, Dr Jagannath Mishra, blandly assured the House of the Government's intention to take over all private power companies in the State. The breathtaking irrelevance of this answer will be evident from the fact that the private power companies are the only power generating concerns in the State against whom there are no complaints of failure to generate to their full installed capacities. The utter frivolity of the Minister's reply highlights the failure of public opinion in the face of the Indira wave; Congressmen know as well as anyone else where the root of the trouble lies but cannot join in censure moves against their own Government. They are the ones who got the votes, but their power derives not from votes but from Mrs. Gandhi.

Load sheddings at this season are by no means unknown, and have occurred in fact in neighbouring West Bengal and elsewhere. But nowhere else have the authorities so completely abdicated their function of supplying electricity. Here the trouble has been continuous for the last two months and there is no glimmer of hope of improvement even from official statements. It seems obvious that the Power Minister has been unable to enforce any standard of competence and discipline on the undertaking that he heads. What Mr Lal Bahadur Shastri did when a serious railway accident marred the record of the railway administration comes to mind in this context. But we have developed a penchant to forget the past and to bury it deep.

BIHAR LETTER:

BIHAR IN THE GRIP OF SEVERE HEAT WAVE & POWER FAMINE

PATNA, June 10: A punishing heat wave, reminiscent of the famine year of 1966, but considerably worse in degree and duration has afflicted Bihar for very nearly all of two months, leaving in its wake a total of 446 reported heat stroke deaths at the last count. This in itself is an all-India record—out of 600 or so reported deaths in the entire country, over half have occurred in Bihar alone. These, be it noted, are the reported deaths for which confirmation has been obtained from Government sources and medical practitioners in towns. The unreported deaths in the deep interior must

run into a high multiple of this figure.

Unremitting in its grip, except for a derisory reprieve of about a week towards the end of May, the heat wave has wrung out the last bits of energy from hapless residents and, in conjunction with the State Electricity Board's widespread failure to supply power to tube-wells, has destroyed the last hope of saving the summer paddy crop. This last may account for as much as a quarter of the State's foodgrains production.

Yet, work goes on after a desultory fashion, despite the risk of stirring out of doors. Cultivators still toil under brazen skies hoping against all reasonable expectations that something—perhaps a relenting rain God or possibly the Power Board's intermittent mercies—will turn up to salvage what remains of their crops. The failure of the *chhota barsaat*, or little monsoon, this year is a grim augury for the monsoon proper. If rains fail—and this is statistically possible after four years of good monsoons, — and power supply remains restricted — as seems likely in view of the per-

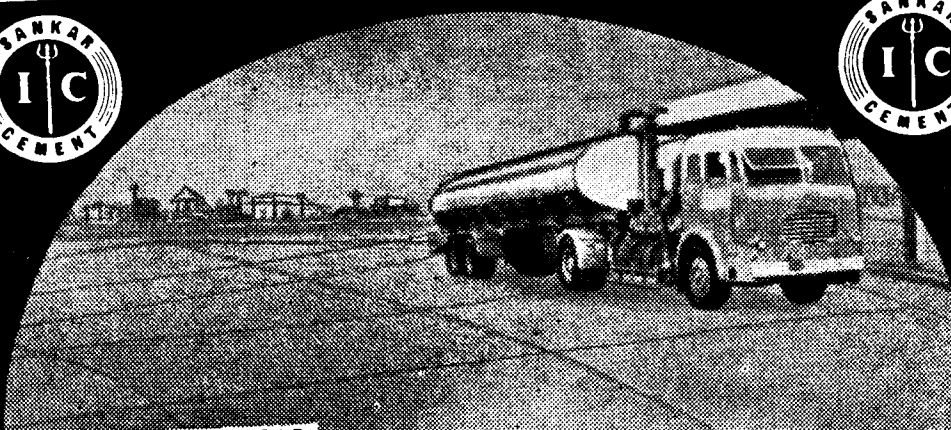


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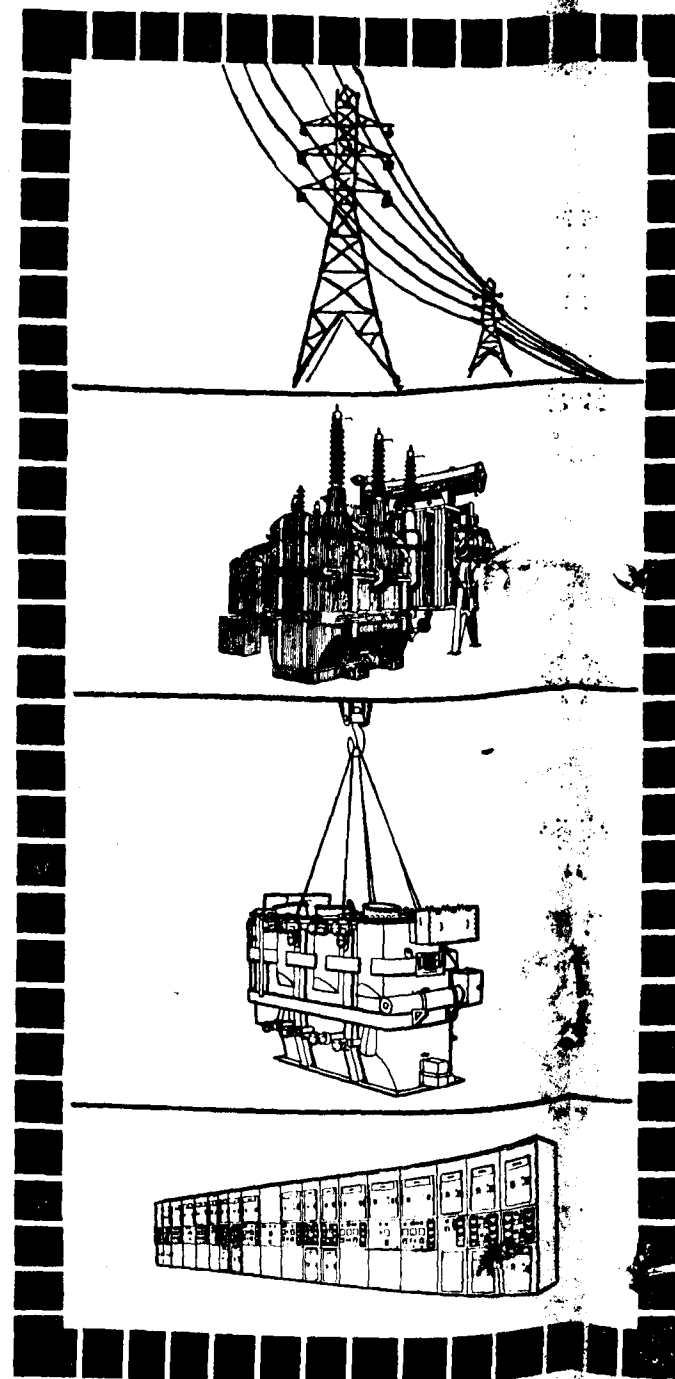
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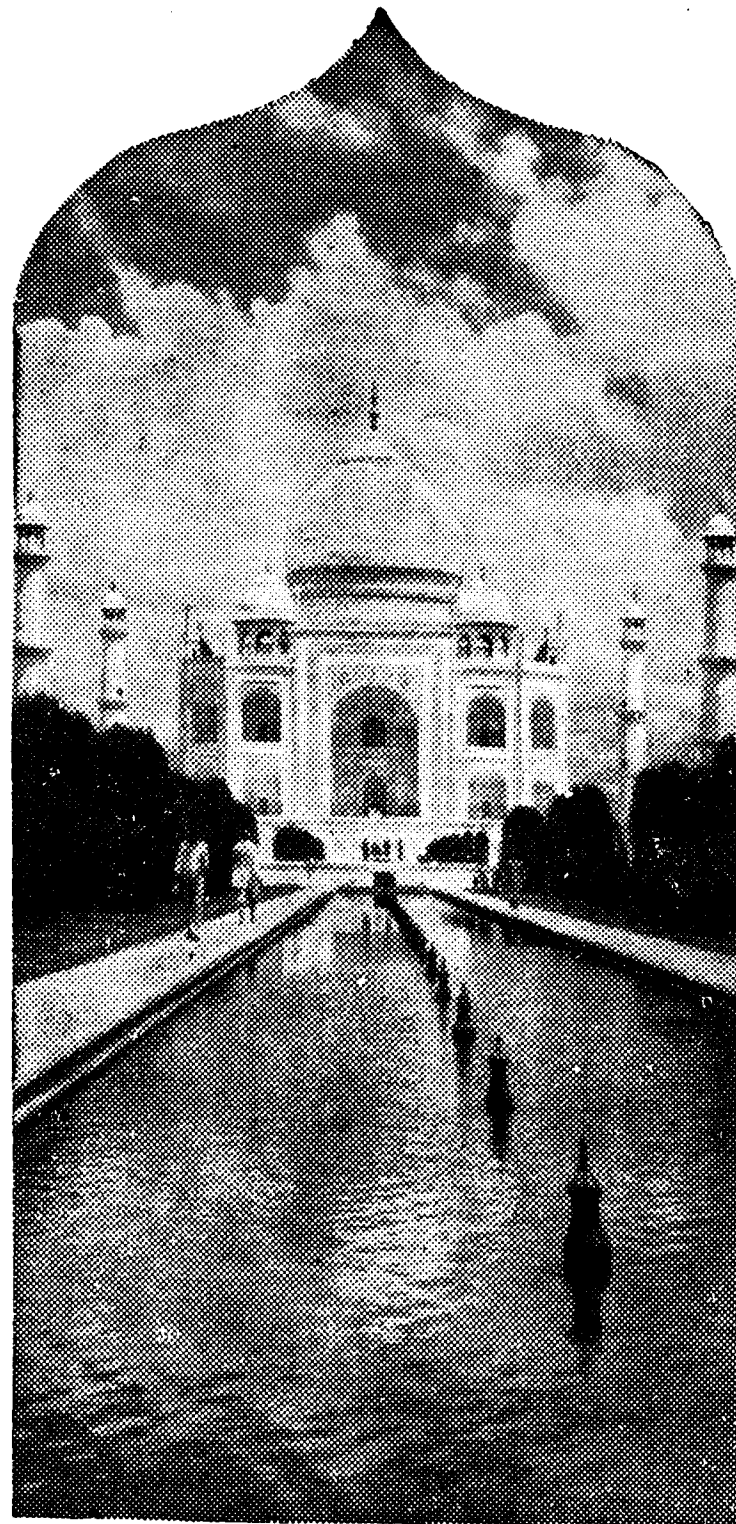
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BOOK REVIEWS:

PEN PORTRAITS OF LEADERS

"ALL IN ALL":

By M. CHALAPATHI RAU

Published by Vyasa Publications, 19,
Canning Lane, New Delhi-1

Price: Rs 15

The book is a collection of 35 thumbnail sketches, some of distinguished national leaders still adorning the contemporary scene; others of great Indian luminaries now departed, and finally, a series on famous foreign figures, beginning with Mao Tse-tung and ending with Walt Disney. According to the author's own assessment of his work, "an attempt has been made to discover the inner processes; the character that shapes the thinking and the action. They are, therefore, something more than portraits, and not mere memorial monuments." Unfortunately, the assessment of the critic may not always be as favourable as that of the author himself.

Mr Chalapathi Rau has an undoubted gift for words, and a technique of literary portraiture consciously modelled on the late A. G. Gardiner, who attained recognition as Alpha of the Plough. But the prose does not redeem his contemporary Indian portraits from the flaw of an obviously uncritical and adulatory approach. While it may be argued that objectivity is impossible when the author is close to the subject, it is the quality of the political commentator to evaluate actions and personalities, with a depth of historical perspective. In the very first portrait, that of President Giri, the author compares his election campaign with that of Napoleon at Marengo, completely obliterating the controversy of the "conscience vote" after which Indian politics has never been the same. He commends the "core of granite" in the President, when it was common public criticism that the President tamely signed the proclamation dissolving the Government in Uttar Pradesh, while he was on Russian soil, though the Constitution requires the President to satisfy himself that no alternative government can be formed, before President's rule is imposed! On Mrs Gandhi the author comes to the conclusion: "Whatever the challenges, she has the spirit of Joane D'Arc. If there is an issue which consumes other issues, she will have spirit enough to go to the stake, if necessary."

Among the contemporary portraits, that on Rajaji comes closest to the reality. His sketches of past heroes are better, though he could have brought them to life with a few anecdotes, instead of para upon para of

eulogy, even though it is couched in very chaste language. Perhaps the portraits in the last sections are the best of all, particularly those on Bernard Shaw and Walt Disney, which suggest that the author is at his best when he sticks to his true metier: that of literature and art, rather than politics.

—LOUELLA LOBO PRABHU

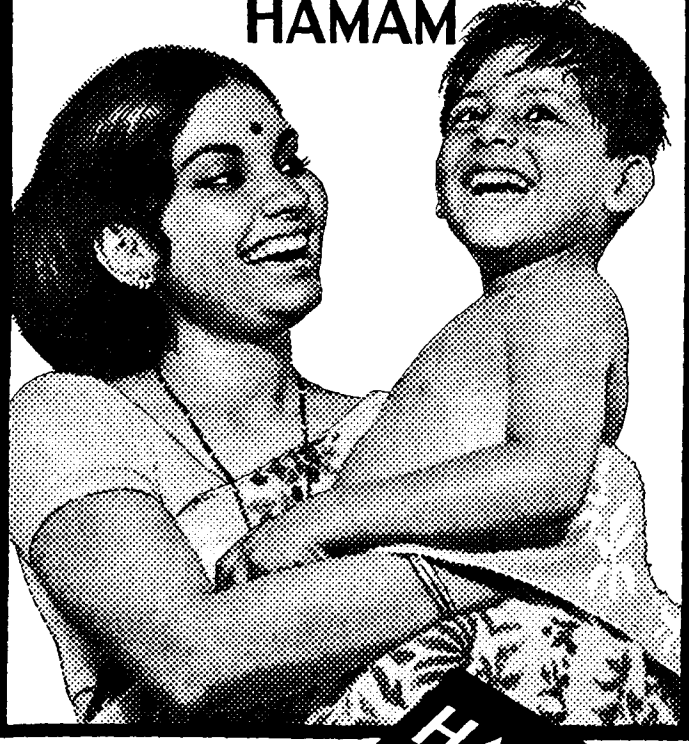
POPULATION AND INCOME

POPULATION PLANNING —
SECTOR WORKING PAPER —
WORLD BANK, March, 1971

As background information, the staff of the World Bank generally prepare documents, or 'systems analyses' relat-

ing to specific projects for which the Bank offers aid, and it seems to have been now decided to publish these working papers for the benefit of a wider circle interested in such studies. This small book of 83 pages deals with population planning, a subject in which 24 sector missions are committed to an expenditure of \$150 million (US) and the potential for family planning is still several times more. All available statistical information and K.A.P. Surveys (Knowledge, Attitude and Practical surveys) of the numerous international agencies, foundations, research institutions and others are neatly summarised and presented in this pamphlet. As is well known, the main issue is the relative growth rates of population and income and this book frankly admits that there is little prospect of achieving a net reproduction rate of just 1.00 (exact replacement) by 2000 A.D. and only substantially

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increased effort continuously made from now on should bring the goal within reach by at least 2025 A.D. What happens to world population will depend very much on fertility trends in some 12 large developing countries among whom India is, of course, the dominating one. One of the appendices to the book describes the functioning of the Evaluation Cell of family planning programme, and this organisation may well take up, why, in India, in spite of massive spending and K.A.P. propaganda, the population in-

creased during 1951-61 by 2.16 per cent annually and contrary to an expected fall, or stability in this rate during 1961-71, the actual annual decadal growth showed an acceleration to 2.46 per cent, raising in the process the country's population from 316 million in 1951 to 547 million in 1971. In some quarters there is a tendency to softpedal this issue and make a naive suggestion that if that much money had not been spent and the effort made, the explosion would have been greater still. —(Prof.) K. B. MADHAVA

CONTROL OF THE MIND

THE POWER OF YOUR MIND

By O. IRVING JACOBSEN

Vikas Publications, 5, Daryaganj, Ansari Road, Delhi-6

Price: Rs 4-95

"Mind is the cause of one's bondage or liberation", says Lord Krishna in the celestial song, the *Bhagavad Gita*. The publication under notice emphasises the value of effective control of the mind so as to attain the desired goal. Control is not easy and requires a lot of concentration and practice. Mind has to be diverted from its natural reactions to be put into the proper track.

The author points out how the think-

ing habit, which has a great influence in training the mind, must be cultivated and that while it may begin with ideas or concepts which may originate in oneself or which one may imbibe from others or from reading or the commonly known media of sight, hearing, touch, taste and smell, many of them have to be rejected on the basis of a continuous process of analysis based on caution, good judgment, discrimination, purpose and vision. A keen insight plays no small part in avoiding thought traps, as also a process of adjustment with environment, home, religious susceptibilities, etc. Restraint has also to be applied on emotions. Learning plays not a little part and a continuous process of learn-

ing is necessary to gear the intellect to a high key.

The author has illustrated by concrete examples of people who have adopted all these methods of controlled thinking to attain success in life.

This book is well worth a study to enable one to gain confidence in his ability to achieve his goal by a process of self-control.

—N. VENKATARAMA AYYAR

BOOKS RECEIVED

INDIA'S AILMENT, ITS CAUSE AND CURE — By Pandit Sunderlal — Published by the author, C-33, Irwin Road, New Delhi-1 — Price: Rs 2

Pocket Gandhi Series: TO MY COUNTRYMEN: ON MYSELF — Both Edited by Anand Hingorani — Both published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, Bombay-7 — Price: Rs 2 each.

ATMA BODHA — By A. Parthasarathy — Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, Bombay-7 — Price Rs 10

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (Vol. I); A Project of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund — Published by Orient Longman Limited, 50, Sundar Nagar, New Delhi-3 — Price: Rs 60

ORISSA LETTER:

THE POLITICAL DRAMA IN BHUBANESWAR

BHUBANESWAR, June 20: The strongly entrenched United Front Government of the Swatantra, the Utkal Congress and the Jharkhand Party in Orissa collapsed like a house of cards having been considerably weakened by the virus of defection which has been plaguing the body politics of the country. The three non-Congress parties formed the coalition soon after the elections last year and the coalition was convincingly endorsed by the by-elections held from time to time in the fifteen months of its stay in power. It won all the five by-elections to the Assembly and two to the Lok Sabha; the Utkal Congress wrenched from the Congress one of the two seats for which by-elections were held three and a half months ago. Six defectors from the Swatantra Party and two from the Utkal Congress accelerated the pace of liquidation of the

coalition Government in the one-week drama in which the Utkal Congress was wound up and its members sought the "magnanimity" of the State and Central leaders for readmission into their fold. Five Ministers of the Utkal Congress and another member were refused readmission to the Congress (R) by the State PCC.

At the end of the week's drama, Mr Binayak Acharya, who held the fort of the Congress at one stage—the party strength having dwindled to a bare seven—was elbowed out unceremoniously. Immediately as the United Front strength was reduced to 68 with the defection of 9, Mr Acharya went to the Governor offering to form an alternative government, and urging the Governor to dismiss the U.F. Government. When the Chief Minister, Mr. Biswanath Das, resigned on the decision of the Utkal Congress to

wind up, it was accepted the next morning but the normal convention of asking the Leader of the Opposition if he could form a government was not adopted. Instead, the Governor waited for three days and Mrs Nandini Satpathy descended from the blue to take over the reins of administration. Meanwhile, Mr Chandrajit Yadav, came as the representative of the Congress Parliamentary Board to work out a consensus in favour of Mrs Nandini Satpathy. He managed the whole thing so adroitly that he even got the Leader of the Utkal Congress, Mr Nilamani Routray, and Mr Binayak Acharya to agree to serve in Mrs Satpathy's Cabinet.

The Swatantra leader, Mr R. N. Singhdeo, welcomed one thing in this one-week drama, the polarisation of parties. However, he condemned the encouragement that was offered to defections particularly when a bill on defections was in the offing. So far, nine members of his party have joined the Congress. One of them has been made a Minister.

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SHRIRAM CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

Dear Reader —

WHAT MRS. INDIRA GANDHI said at Prague on June 20 (according to a Reuter report) about the spirit in which she desired that the Indo-Pakistan summit meeting should discuss matters will be approved by all well-wishers of Pakistan and India. She was absolutely correct when she said: "We believe it is harmful for our people and for the people of Pakistan if our limited resources are used in confrontations and conflicts instead of for the development of our countries." It is a pity that the recent statements and activities of Mr Bhutto create doubts as to the Pakistan President's sincerity of approach. It would be disastrous if the summit meeting fails to reach a durable treaty of goodwill and friendship by reason of President Bhutto's being more clever than sincere. Let us hope that Smt. Indira Gandhi's sincerity and determination will infect President Bhutto and that democracy will be saved in South Asia.

★

I REPEAT what I wrote some time ago that it would be in the public interest for the Central Government to publish the CBI report about Tamil Nad affairs instead of leaving people to guess what it contains.

★

IF THE HIGH COURT of Kerala had reasons to strike down any Act passed by the legislature of Kerala the same reasons would apply to any ordinance passed on the subject and the ordinance would have to be struck down. An appeal to the Supreme Court against the High Court's judgment striking down the Act of the legislature would be legitimate. To do what was struck down by the High Court through an ordinance is not the way to deal with it. An ordinance is not saved from being struck down by its being an ordinance instead of being an Act of the legislature.

THE 92-YEAR-OLD Tamil daily, *Swadesamitran*, founded by the great patriot G. Subramania Iyer, one of the leading organs of public opinion which consistently advocated elimination of foreign rule in India, has been closed on June 24, according to a notification of the management. All Tamil speaking men and women would mourn over this sad episode in the history of South India.

★

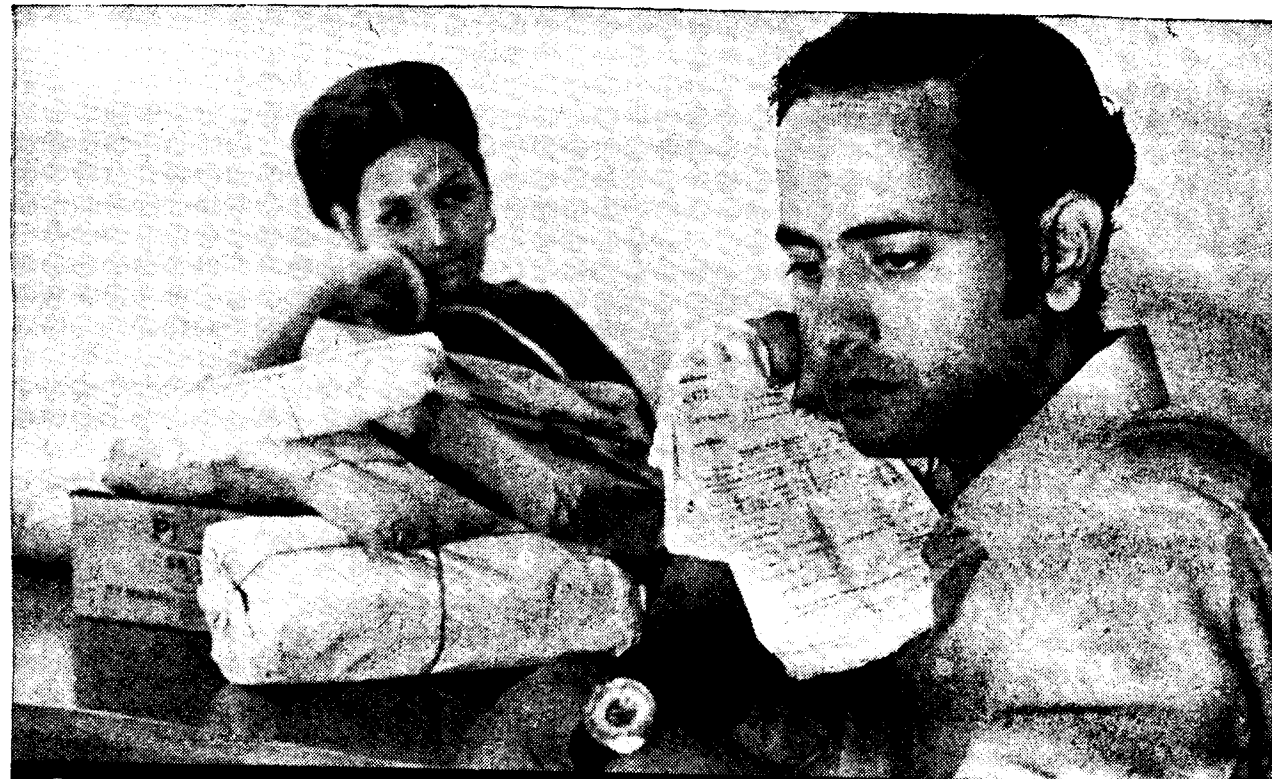
THE NEGATIVE aspect of secularism has been so much emphasized that secularism, in its positive aspect, has not yet been properly understood. Secular institutions make no discrimination for or against persons of any particular creed but are just to all. Secularism does not mean the prohibition of any form of religious worship. What is not to be done is to utilise the funds of the institution for any such customary observances as each creed prescribes. Secularism should not be misunderstood as prohibiting persons belonging to any creed to follow their traditio-

nal customs of worship provided they bear the expense of it and do not utilise the funds of the institution for that purpose. Secularism does not mean the banishment of God or religion from the institution. On the contrary, it welcomes everyone to follow his own way of worship so that everyone may be inspired to be godly in his work and personal life.

★

ON JUNE 24 Sri Piloo Mody was unanimously elected President of the Swatantra Party. Sri H. M. Patel proposed that Sri Piloo be elected President to succeed him as one who could devote more energy and time to the work of the party than he himself could do owing to his age and many commitments. When I tendered my blessings and good wishes not only on my behalf but also on behalf of his father, Sir Homiy Mody, who was a great friend of mine, Sri Piloo came up at once and bowed to me seeking my blessings. No camera took the picture, but the charming scene will ever remain vivid in my memory.

C.A



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FROM THE CAPITAL:

THE SIMLA SUMMIT

SENTINEL

NEW DELHI, June 22: All eyes are on the Simla summit. Political leaders and officials in the Capital are inclined to be more guarded in assessing the prospects. The talks in Simla will be mainly an effort to find out how serious and sincere Pakistan is for a durable peace with India and how far it is prepared to go in that direction.

There have been summit meetings before and the one most remembered is the Tashkent conference held under Soviet auspices after the 1965 conflict. There was the Tashkent agreement and India, as proof of her sincerity, gave up the strategic positions she had gained during the conflict in Haji Pir pass in Kashmir. The late Mr Shastri agreed to this after considerable hesitation hoping that it would lead to the bigger gain of normalisation of relations with Pakistan. But the Tashkent

agreement became a dead letter not long after. Trade and commerce were not restored as called for in the agreement. Pakistan reverted to the hate-India campaign. And the two countries continued to have uneasy and tense relations. As a matter of policy the military rulers of Islamabad encouraged provocative incidents on India's borders.

The Simla summit is taking place in an entirely new situation. The first major factor in the situation is the military defeat of Pakistan and the loss of Bangla Desh. The second is that the conference has not been arranged by any third Power. Since it is India's desire to work for a durable peace settlement, she has been keen on making the talks strictly bilateral. The international context has also changed since then. The Soviet Union had played a definite role in lending more political support to India during the December conflict. The U.S. which was on the side of Pakistan during the conflict, now seems to be engaged in the process of a reappraisal of its earlier policies which did no good to either itself or to Pakistan. China which was willing to help Pakistan, did not want to get involved in the conflict, thanks perhaps to the Indo-Soviet treaty acting as a deterrent.

It is against this background

AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

ON 4TH JULY 1776, the First Continental Congress of the U.S.A. adopted the following Declaration of Independence:

When in the Course of Human Events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should de-

clare the causes which impel them to the separation. Another question that India will have to find answer to is whether Mr Bhutto is in a strong enough position to deliver the goods. In other words, India would like to ensure that the military machine will not subsequently overrule any decision reached at the Simla summit.

What are the basic requirements of a durable peace? The first is that Mr Bhutto should recognise the reality in Kashmir. If Mr Bhutto, who has conceded an independent Bangla Desh, can show equal discernment in accepting Kashmir as an integral part of India, then the door is open for a durable peace. As for the prisoners of war, India may be willing to settle the problem except for a handful of those charged with high crimes.

It is interesting to find that in the midst of the cry for a ceiling on private property the ruling party wants to have a 13-storey building complex in the busiest and the costliest part of the Capital for its headquarters. The intention may be not to secure accommodation but to let out most of the space on commercial rent, netting in a few tidy lakhs every year from the Rs 1-1/2 to Rs 2 crores to be invested in the building from the funds which surprisingly poured on the dais at the AICC meeting when an on-the-spot appeal was made by the Congress President.

clare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

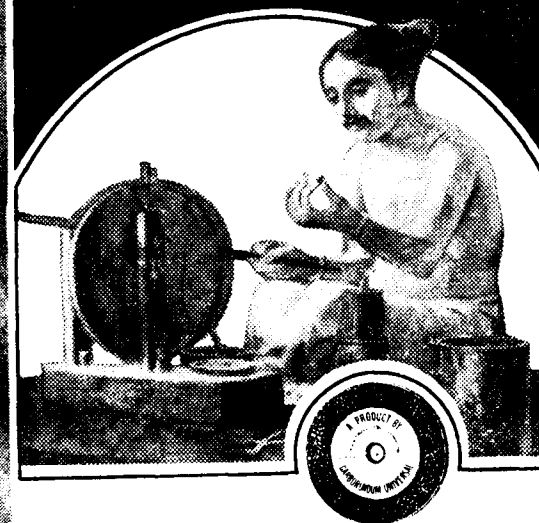
"That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is

the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security."

Then follows a recital of the ave acts of omission and commission of the British Government its rule. The Declaration ends follows:

"We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Britain, is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our Sacred Honour."

THE INVENTOR OF THE MODERN GRINDING WHEEL?



For over one hundred and fifty years, South Indian craftsmen have been binding Corundum with natural gum to make bonded grinding wheels and stones for shaping and polishing gems and implements (ref.: 'The Grinding Wheel' by Kenneth B. Lewis, p. 22).

Little did these craftsmen realise how important the grinding wheel—or abrasives in general—would become to modern industry. Abrasives are today used to cut, shape or finish innumerable industrial and consumer items.



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

POLITICS AND PRINCIPLES

Sir,—When does "defection" cease to be defection? The answer, as given by Mr Chandrajit Yadav, General Secretary of the AICC, is "when the defectors come into the Congress from other Opposition parties". This was what he told the press at Bhubaneswar when the Coalition Government headed by Mr Biswanath Das was toppled by the defection of 28 MLAs from the Utkal Congress, 9 from the Swatantra Party and 2 from the Jarkhand Party, the three constituents of the coalition. Politics has long been known to be a dirty game—devoid of the decencies of public life and standards of good conduct. But the Indian variety stinks. With such examples before them, how is it possible for the young people of this country to develop character, integrity and discipline?

Bangalore V. T. SREENIVASAN

MAGNA CARTA DEFENCE LEAGUE

Sir,—It is good that Rajaji has given a call for the formation of a Magna Carta Defence League to save the Constitution from onslaught. It is a travesty of truth to blame the Constitution for the failure of the Government to improve the nation's wealth and to remove poverty. It is the faulty and ill-conceived policies of the Government that are responsible for the ills of the country and not the Constitution. The Constitution has never stood in

the way of the country's progress and prosperity. It is a pity that constitutional amendments have become a routine affair with the ruling party. If this state of affairs is allowed to continue, the Constitution will, in course of time, lose its sacredness and will become a mere act of Parliament. The sooner a Magna Carta Defence League is formed to educate the people, the better for the country.

Madras C. L. NARASIMHAN

PENSION TO FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Sir,—Through the columns of your esteemed weekly, kindly permit me to seek a clarification about the scheme to grant pension to freedom fighters.

What are the guidelines to decide the status and grade of the freedom fighters to determine the amount of pension? Is it left to the discretion of the authorities?

Pension is to be given to one member of a family of freedom fighters. On what basis is that person to be selected?

Freedom fighters are required to submit an affidavit and proof of their status. Is this not a device to collect more revenue in the shape of stamp duty, etc., on the affidavit? Insistence on proof from the freedom fighters may lead to corruption and partiality.

The scheme is being started after 25 years of Independence. Will the freedom fighters get pension with retrospective effect from 1947?

Allahabad

B. D. GOEL

FARMERS TO CONSIDER LAND REFORM PROGRAMME

Sir,—An all-India farmers' federation has to be formed immediately in order to unify the efforts of the various organizations of farmers in several States and express their views concerning the land reform legislation being introduced in different States. Some of the agriculturists of the southern States who met last month in Bangalore decided to form such a federation consisting of representatives from the different States. An *ad-hoc* committee for this purpose has been formed with powers to co-opt. It was decided to present suitable memoranda concerning land reform measures to the Central and the State Governments in order to maintain the tempo of increased agricultural production and the green revolution in the interest of national security and rural harmony. It was also decided to call a national convention of farmers in Bangalore in September. The undersigned was chosen as convener for the purpose.

BHOOPALAM CHANDRASEKAR,
(Editor, *Malnadvartha*,
Shimoga, Mysore State)

PROHIBITION

Sir,—The submission of a memorandum to the Prime Minister by the All-India Prohibition Council urging early implementation of the Prohibition policy in the country was just a cry in the wilderness when one thinks of the fast progress that "drink" is registering in the States. The main reasons advanced by the State Governments for scrapping Prohibition were the absence of a uniform law on Prohibition by the Centre and inadequate finance to run the governments. That there was a dearth of bidders at the Government-held excise auctions in March this year in Tamil Nad and the bootlegging carried on in and around the State has in no way mitigated, are fair indications of the way the wind is blowing. Once illicit liquor takes hold of a man, he will never drink openly, especially when he knows that what he gets in the licensed shops is inferior to what he gets secretly at a lower cost. College students and teen-agers have taken to drink. To avoid detection they go to places 25 to 30 miles off. Surely, this is no progress and we are only going backward. It is high time steps were taken to stop this rot.

Madras

R. N. RAO

SPORTS COMMENTARY:

RISING STARS ON THE TENNIS FIRMAMENT

SIDELINER

IN SPITE of the intransigence of the Texan oil millionaire, Lamar Hunt, who controls the World Championship Tennis group, Wimbledon is Wimbledon, the Mecca of lawn tennis and the oldest and most cosmopolitan institution of its kind in the world. The absence of the reigning men's champion, Australian John Newcombe and his greater compatriot, Rod Laver, who both have to fulfil their contract with the WCT and play in its tournament at St. Louis, which clashes with the All-England championships, has not robbed the current Wimbledon tournament of any of its charm.

Competition at Wimbledon is invariably so keen, and its results are often so unpredictable that neither Newcombe nor Laver could have taken anything for granted even if they had returned to the scene where they had monopolised the men's singles title for the last five years. Their absence has no doubt robbed the meet of some of its colour. But nothing more. With the biggest American "invasion" of Wimbledon since the war, competition is bound to be as fierce as ever, particularly in the decisive second week.

The entry list speaks for itself. In spite of the money-spinning

WCT, the popularity of Wimbledon has by no means dimmed. Players, young and old, past, present and future champions, have gathered at the ancient venue from all over the world for the most colourful fortnight of the world tennis calendar. None among the newcomers has attracted more notice than the American prodigy, 17-year-old Chris Evert. She made a sensational foreign debut by winning all her three matches in the annual USA v. Britain Wightman Cup last month, and has been hailed as another Maureen Connolly. There are two others, Evonne Goolagong (Australia), the defending champion, and Mrs Billie-Jean King (America), who have been seeded in the final and look certain to justify their ratings.

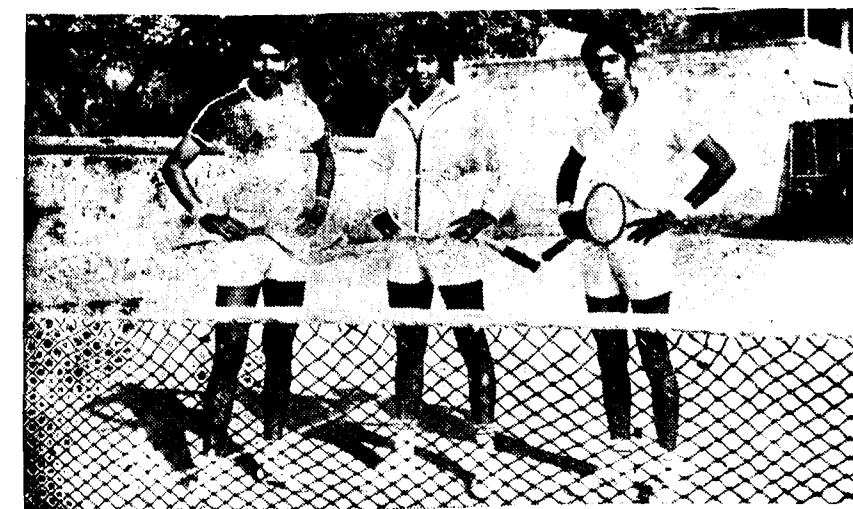
If the issue of the women's singles can be narrowed down to two or three players, it is the other way about in the men's singles. Though American Stan Smith has rightly been given top spot in the seedings, there is frankly little to choose among the top four or five seeds. If Americans, Clarke Graebner and Tom Gorman, both grass court specialists, who were somewhat surprisingly omitted from the seedings list, do not turn the ratings upside down and make

the seeding committee look small, any of the top four could wear the crown which fell vacant with Newcombe's withdrawal. The absence of the big guns, and the almost even skills of the challengers have given the men's singles a spice of uncertainty.

If at this distance there was any certainty about the men's singles, it concerned our Indian contingent of Premjit Lal, Jaideep Mukerjee and the Amritharaj Brothers, Anand and Vijay. None was expected to survive until even the half-way, and true enough none did. This was not surprising, for none has the fighting qualities of Ghouse Mohammed or the artistic touch or tactical enterprise of Ramanathan Krishnan, the only two Indians to make a mark at Wimbledon.

The 5-0 drubbing India took at the hands of Australia in the Davis Cup East Zone final in Bangalore recently showed the slump that had set in in Indian tennis since Krishnan quit the international scene. The only silver lining is the promise of Vijay Amritharaj. Though he did not have a good first Wimbledon, his build-up for the championships was in keeping with the reputation he has built up as the finest Indian prospect since Krishnan.

Vijay is better equipped in every department than his elder brother, Anand. But there is no knowing if his younger brother, Ashok, who too has all the makings of a champion, will outshine them both. Time alone will tell. But the Amritharaj Brothers have made history by being the first three brothers to earn berths in a country's touring team, and all India will hope that with the experience of top-line play Vijay and Ashok have now gained, they will, before long, fill the void Krishnan's retirement has created in Indian tennis. Vijay, at any rate, can do it if he can improve his net-play and direct his volleys with better judgment. He has a crushing first service and possesses a strong attacking game. But his bomb-shell display does not always endure, and this makes all the difference to his progress.



The Amritharaj Brothers (left to right): Vijay Amritharaj, Anand Amritharaj and Ashok Amritharaj



FACTS AND FIGURES:

EVERY ONE per cent increase in industrial production, according to a study conducted by a Bombay economist, fetches the Central Exchequer 1.65 per cent increase in tax revenues. Similarly, every rupee earned by the share-holder (as dividend) releases to the Centre alone a tax revenue of Rs 4.30—all these without taking into account conspicuous tax evasion.

ACCORDING TO the study conducted by the Labour Bureau of the Union Ministry of Labour, strikes and lock-outs accounted for 64 per cent and 36 per cent of the total man-days lost during 1971. In 1970 the figures were 71.7 per cent and 28.3 per cent respectively.

IN THE WORLD'S wealthiest nation, where economic inequality continues on a vast scale, some economists now believe that the gap between the rich and the poor has been widening. A new analysis of U.S. census figures discloses that the lowest fifth of American families receive only

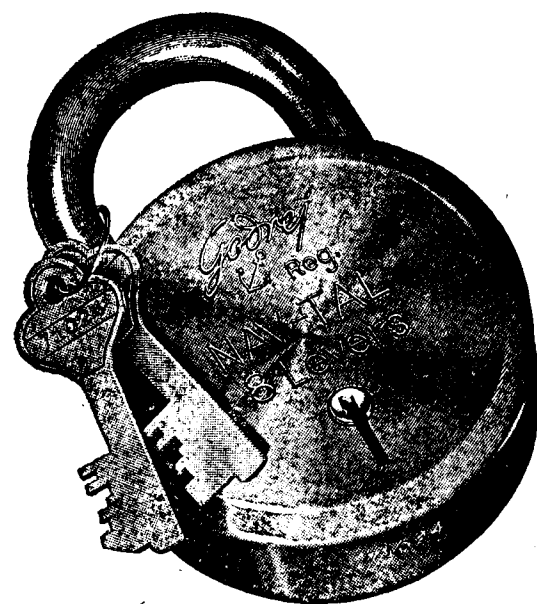
3.2 per cent of the national income, while the highest fifth gets 45.8 per cent—more than fourteen times as much. The study, conducted by a Brookings Institution team headed by economist Joseph A. Pechman, involved an analysis of 1967 census figures on the income of 30,000 families and single persons along with computations derived from 90,000 Federal individual income-tax returns filed in 1966 and used as a sample. The breakdown by the study showed that the families in the lowest fifth, those with incomes of less than \$3,070, as a group received 3.2 per cent of the national income. The second fifth, with incomes ranging from \$3,070 to \$5,890, got 10.5 per cent of the national income. The middle fifth, with an income range of \$5,890 to \$8,620, received 17 per cent. The fourth fifth, in an income range of \$8,620 to \$12,260, received 23.9 per cent. The highest fifth, with incomes above \$12,260 received 45.8 per cent of the national income. (The

total percentage of 100.4 results from rounding off). The maldistribution of national income becomes even more glaring in the highest brackets. Thus, those in the top five per cent income group, with incomes of \$17,840 and over, received 19.1 per cent of the national income, while the top one per cent of American families receive more than twice the income of the 20 per cent who occupy the bottom rung of the U.S. income ladder—(*Progressive*, Feb. 1972).

ONLY 9 per cent of Australia's 13 million population are engaged in the production of primary products like wool, meat and wheat, accounting for nearly 45 per cent of the country's G.N.P.; 26.2 per cent are engaged in manufacturing operations.

THE NUMBER of election petitions filed in the various States after the last general election was 180, of which 48 were in Madhya Pradesh, 40 in Bihar and 38 in Kashmir. The number of petitions filed after the 1967 elections in 280.

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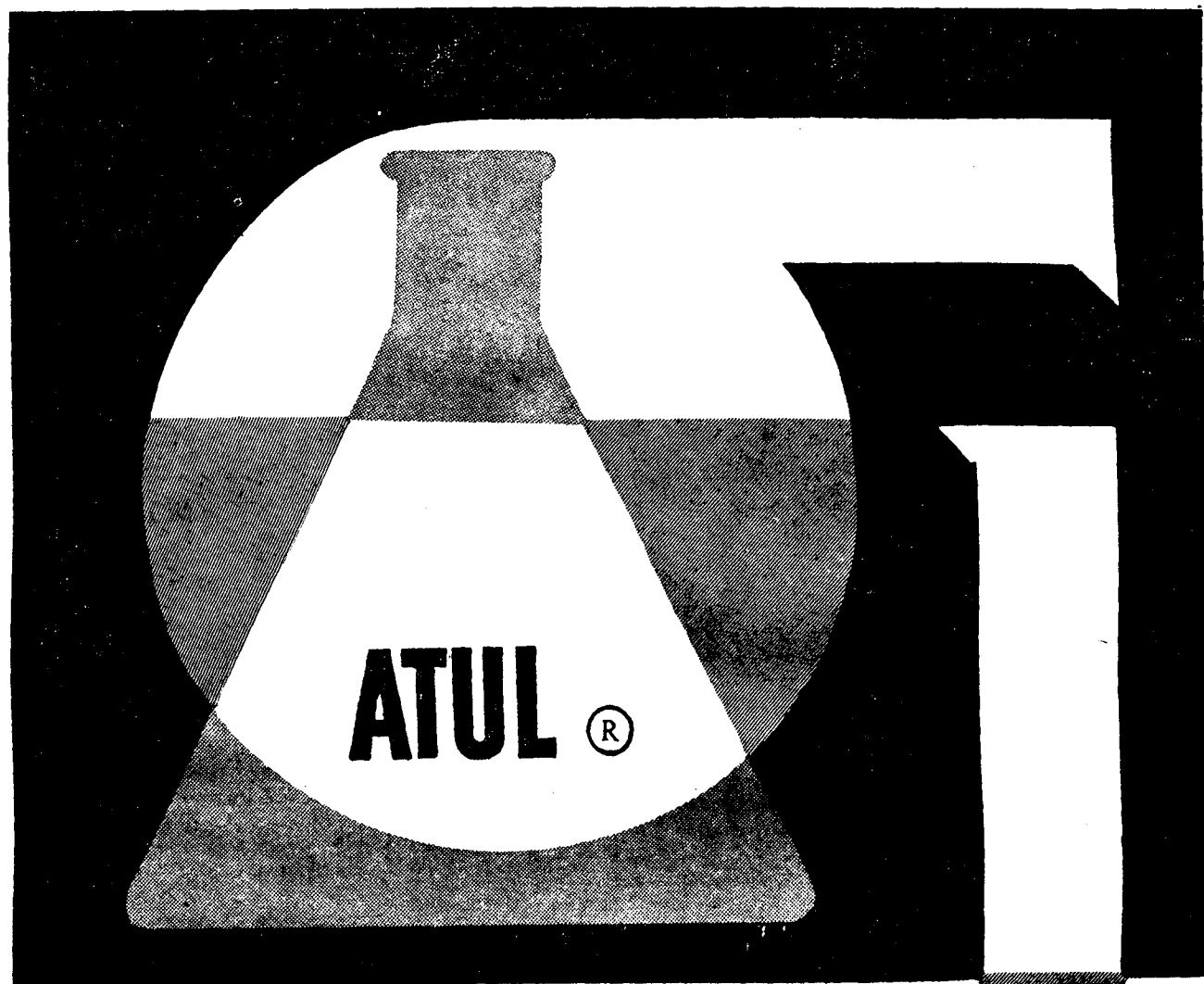
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THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

K. SANTHANAM

WHETHER IT IS a family or a nation, the necessities of the present and the needs of the future have to be reconciled with care and foresight. There are two exceptions to this rule. Neither a very poor family nor a primitive tribe, which is hardly able to subsist in the present, can afford to worry itself about the future. In the same manner, rich families and advanced nations have only to resist the temptation to indulge in extravagance, dissipation and speculation and their present and future will take care of themselves. It is the middle class families and developing nations that have to balance the demands of the present and the claims of the future. If they neglect the present for the future, there will be deterioration of health and well-being, which will nullify all their efforts for advancement. If, on the other hand, they concentrate too much on the present and neglect the future, they are sure to fall victims to stagnation and the vicissitudes of changing circumstances.

Indian planning from the beginning has alternated between excessive concern for the future and exclusive preoccupation with the present. The first three Plans were intended mainly for the future and projects involving large commitments with small or no returns in the present absorbed a major portion of the available national resources. When this resulted in inflation and acute shortage of food and essential commodities, there was a sharp reaction and the present began to loom so large as to shut down the

future. There was the big beating of the drum about the green revolution and fertilizer factories, with the result that industrial growth began to decline thereby dimming the future. If India is ever to take its place among the affluent nations, it cannot be through agriculture, however important it may be for the present but only by rapid development of industrial production, together with advance in social services and scientific research and technology. Now we are in the embarrassing position that the importance of the present as well as of the future is fully recognized but ideas about equitable allocation of resources to either are vague and contradictory. For example, Mr C. Subramaniam, who is Minister for Planning, has been exhorting the country to adopt a high standard of austerity in order to provide the resources for the development of power and industry which is essential for national growth. At the same time, it is reported that the Government of India is establishing a scooter factory in the public sector and is preparing to spend large amounts in the development of television. Though neither can be said to be useless, they cannot claim to be indispensable for the present. There is a serious scarcity of electric power all over the country and every kind of luxury should be postponed in favour of this basic necessity for growth.

In the rather superficial controversy about land ceilings, the leaders of the Ruling Congress are so absorbed in consolidating their present popularity that they have

devoted no thought for the future. It may be all right for the present to fix 10 to 18 acres of irrigated land as the ceiling. A family, by adopting scientific agriculture, may be able to derive an annual income of Rs 6,000 to Rs 10,000 from such a holding but what happens to that holding in the future? Even if we allow only two sons for each such family, in two generations, the ten-acre holding is bound to be split into four 2-1/2-acre holdings. The institution of joint family has already broken down and it is not likely that for two generations, the members will continue to be in a joint family with one or two persons looking after the holding and the others seeking other jobs in factories and government offices. What is almost certain to happen will be that the four 2-1/2-acre holdings will be let out to tenants, the proprietors earning their livelihood otherwise, absentee landlordism will grow and there will be a new movement to eliminate the absentee landlords and transfer the holding to the tenants who may themselves be hardly able to earn a decent livelihood even if they become proprietors of their holdings. If it is argued that large and medium holdings have persisted in spite of the law of succession, it should be remembered that till recently agricultural land was considered to be the safest investment for savings from business, profession, or government service. No one will hereafter make such investment and fragmentation will be a one-way process.

Even the most elementary con-

siderations for the future of our rural life should have led our political leaders to concentrate not on the extent of the holding but on actual cultivation by the owner. If the holding is directly cultivated by the owner, it should not matter how big it is. The bigger the holding, the greater will be the investment in tractors and other modern equipment and there will be better cultivation. The workers under a big land-owner will get better wages than those working on small holdings. I think that if the present plan for imposing ceiling is rigorously implemented, the law of succession should be changed and the rule of primogeniture established. This will ensure the continuity of a reasonable number of well-cultivated holdings. There will be a great deal of opposition. To change the present law of succession and partition but, if the future of Indian democracy is to depend upon prosperous and enlightened owner-cultivators, there is no other way.

So far as the future is concerned, fragmentation of land is a far more difficult problem than large holdings. It will be acknowledged that any holding of less than 5 standard acres is bound to become uneconomic, as its proprietor is not likely to get as much income as an attender in an office, or a postman, or a constable. Whether the present leaders realise it or not, the insistence on ceiling on holdings without an equal emphasis on minimum holdings is bound to lead to a situation in which all peasant proprietors will have to be liquidated and agriculture reorganised in big collective farms whether they are formally under the State or organised as cooperatives. This, undoubtedly, is the hope of all communists as collective farming and communism go together.

It is not only in respect of allocation of resources and decision on directions of growth that a reconciliation between the present and the future becomes inevitable. It is necessary also in the allocation of agencies for carrying on the various activities. It is obviously the duty of governments, especial-

ly the State Governments and local bodies, to concentrate on problems of the present and look after the future only to the extent that they can spare further time and resources. Every State Government in India has burdened itself with all kinds of industrial and transport concerns and has not been able to devote necessary attention to education, health, sanitation, roads and irrigation which are its primary and inescapable responsibilities. It is the duty of the Central as well as the State Governments to provide the infra-structure for economic development after satisfactorily discharging their obligations for the present. The actual development of industries, transport, trade and agriculture can best be done by agencies which are not overburdened with present commitments. This is how Germany and Japan have, in

a period of 25 years, after the destruction of their economy in the Second World War, not only caught up with the victors but have transcended them in many ways.

I am not suggesting that profit motive should become the chief instrument for agricultural and industrial development. The co-operative movement at the State level and autonomous public corporations at the all-India level, can become potent and successful rivals to profit-making concerns. As a matter of fact, competition between agencies organised in different forms can become a powerful factor for growth. It is the greed for power and patronage of those in power, coupled with lack of faith and a feeling of uncertainty among the people that is causing so much discontent in the present and pessimism over the future.

SOCIALISATION OF URBAN LAND

N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR

THE RECENT SPATE of Ministerial statements regarding housing and socialisation of land therefor seems to suffer from lack of definition. Land requirements for housing and slum clearance programmes are confused with ceilings on urban property and incomes. The latter is ideological, while housing is a purely social welfare programme and does not require to be buttressed by any political 'isms'. The only clear gain from the present discussion is that there is going to be a time-bound programme for housing as a public policy. But the expectations raised are rather fantastic and unrealistic and they would prove to be a pie in the sky for those who live in sub-standard dwellings and hope for better. There is need for a clear national policy on housing which should not depend on socialisation of land alone. Land acquisition for public purpose is not unknown in the past and though dilatory, it did not depend on socialisation of land. The housing programme might be retarded by hitching it on to controversial policies. What is needed as a normal pattern is

some special legislation to secure land and what is more to ensure proper fiscal arrangements for investment in housing and overall supervision.

The Housing Seminar held recently at Ootacamund helped clear the issues somewhat and place the matter at the level of a national public policy rather than a political programme with an eye on the next election.

A statement was made in Parliament (on 15th May) that the Government would bring forward a Bill for fixing a ceiling on urban property as soon as the States had delegated authority to Parliament for such an enactment.

According to the Annual Report of the Central Ministry of Works and Housing for 1971, about 9,800 hectares of land were acquired by the State Governments and about 5,680 hectares were developed for housing purposes (mostly urban apparently). These extents are of course small compared to the magnitude of the needs. But the needs cannot obviously be met in one step as the investment required would run into an astronomical figure.

Socialisation of land might bring down the cost, as the compensation to be paid would be very much lower than what may have to be paid under the Land Acquisition Act or Housing Board Acts, or by private negotiation. The total number of houses sanctioned in 1971 by both State Governments and Union Territories was only 5.57 lakhs. Public finance required for investment covers the cost of the land, the cost of the buildings and the cost of environmental improvements. It is useless to depend on public investments alone to solve massive problems, although the Government must take definite action in the sphere of planning. The better means would be to enable individual households to own a building by grant of loans, subsidies and technical advice, so that private savings may be stimulated for investment in houses. Only those who cannot launch such projects need to be helped by the Housing Boards and the local authorities under hire-purchase schemes or rental schemes. This arrangement will ensure a more rational investment of funds for a speedy increase in housing.

The question of ceiling on urban land has not been discussed at Parliamentary level. Nor is any all-India uniformity possible. There is no uniformity even in regard to views on socialisation of other lands. The meeting of Chief Ministers had not come to any agreement. So far as urban land is concerned, a committee set up by the Tamil Nadu Government is reported to have suggested a ceiling of five grounds for a family of 5 members irrespective of the value of the land. It has been suggested that owners should be allowed time for construction and if no building is put up within that period the ceiling should be reduced from 5 to 3 grounds for a family of five members and half a ground for every additional member within the ceiling of 5 grounds. The U.P. Government has suggested a ceiling of 3 grounds, Madhya Pradesh — 4 grounds, Punjab — 2-1/2 grounds and Mysore — 2 grounds for urban property.

The conference of the Congress Working Committee, the Central Minister, the Chief Ministers and the P.C.C. Presidents, however, does not appear to have made any pronouncement on urban land ceiling. It decided that all people in rural areas who did not possess a house site should be enabled to own one by August 15, 1973, in spite of the fact that the conference expressed difficulty about lack of adequate statistical information about the availability of land for house sites. This difficulty is real, because 150 years of Revenue Administration had not bestowed adequate attention on the development of house sites in villages (what is called 'natham') and the villages are now no better than slums by and large. In towns, cities and suburbs, where urbanisable lands are available, there has been no coordination between the Revenue and the Municipal administration in this matter.

A regional survey of housing and land utilisation is a *sine qua non* not only for housing but also for industrial development in and around cities and towns. The Union Territory of Delhi is reported to have made some headway in the matter. This strengthens the concept of the project being taken up on a limited regional basis for operational purposes within the framework of a national policy for speedy results. The Planning Commission estimates the shortage of urban houses at 1.9 crores (and rural 8.37 crores). This can be solved only step by step.

The Fourth Plan contemplates an investment of Rs 237 crores in the public sector and Rs 2,140 crores in the private sector for housing and urban development. In the Plan period private savings are expected to be of the order of Rs 14,696 crores (comprising household savings—Rs 12,638 crores, corporate savings—Rs 1,922 crores and cooperative savings—Rs 136 crores). Owing to difficulty in getting land, materials, stiff multiple taxation of land and building in the shape of property tax, urban land tax and income-tax and rent control, there is little incentive for private savings to be

invested in houses and much of the wage increases are thus wasted. In towns, a tax rebate should be allowed for let-out houses. This is rational though it may appear strange.

The outlines of a sensible national policy and fiscal arrangements for housing are yet to be discernible in India. No comprehensive thinking has been done on the subject even now. In Britain the responsibility for housing policy is that of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Actual housing schemes and buildings are left to local authorities and housing agencies. Local authorities' housing is mainly for letting out, while private enterprise is responsible for half the number of houses built in recent years. The advantage in local authorities taking up housing is that they meet the current expenditure from rents and rates and to some extent from the subsidies given by the State. The capital cost is met by loans from the Government and loans raised in the open market. Private enterprise is financed by building societies, insurance companies and industrial and provident societies. All finance is distributed to public institutions through one central agency, viz., the Housing Corporation set up in 1961. The Ministry is responsible for maintaining standards of houses built through regulations.

Some sort of socialisation of urban land in a very limited way was attempted in Madras through the City Tenants' Protection Act of 1928. In spite of the fact that the procedural mechanism under it was simple, it has been a failure. Although subsidies and institutional loans were available for industries to provide housing for their labour in the Five-Year Plans, no serious attempts were made to discharge this responsibility. Most cities have bulged only on account of industrial development. Drastic and irrational measures for socialisation of urban and urbanisable land around cities and towns can be restricted to the minimum by progress through other approaches available. Housing should not be made to depend only on land reforms to avoid utter failure.

EDITOR'S NOTES:

THE SIXTH FINANCE COMMISSION

The appointment of Mr K. Brahmananda Reddi as the Chairman of the Sixth Finance Commission sets up a new precedent. Hitherto, no ex-Chief Minister of a State has been appointed to that office. Though such an appointment is not open to any constitutional objection, it may be embarrassing in many ways. The Finance Commission has to decide how much the Centre should spare in the form of shares of taxes and grants to the States during the period of 5 years or a shorter period during which the recommendations are accepted by the Central Government. So far as this aspect is concerned, an ex-Chief Minister of a State may pull his weight for a larger devolution but it is not likely to carry any special weight. On the other hand, the Finance Commission has also to divide the State's share of the divisible pools and grants among the States. It is this part of the work that Mr Reddi will find embarrassing. On the one hand, he may feel inhibited to press the just claims of Andhra Pradesh and on the other hand, if the Commission recommends a somewhat higher percentage of shares or grants to Andhra Pradesh, than the previous Commissions, it may be ascribed to the influence of the Chairman. The chairmanship of the Finance Commission is a semi-judicial office and it might perhaps have been wiser to have chosen a person who has had no recent special relation to any State.

Besides the usual functions of determining shares of income-tax and excise duties and the grants needed to balance the State budgets and distribution of estate duty and special excise duties, the Sixth Finance Commission has been asked to make recommendations on three new matters. One is to make an assessment of the non-Plan capital gap of the States, on a uniform and comparable basis for the five years ending 1978-79. Generally, non-Plan capital gap has not been taken into account either by the Finance Commission

or the Planning Commission. It may arise on account of the repayment of loans and capital expenditure incurred by the State outside the Plan. The Mysore Government irrigation dams which are under construction are examples. It is difficult to imagine how the Commission can estimate this gap unless the State Governments have an additional Plan of their own outside the national Plan. The second term is with respect to provision for natural calamities. In the recommendations of the Finance Commissions from the Second Commission onwards, every State has been provided an amount which it has to set apart for this purpose. Apparently, this has not sufficed at least for some States and it has been suggested that a national fund may be set up to which both the Central and State Governments contribute a fixed percentage of their revenues. This is certainly an idea worth pursuing because it is but right that the relief of national calamities should be borne by the whole country. The third additional term of reference is to suggest the basis of allocation of grants on account of wealth tax and agricultural property. Successive Finance Commissions have endorsed the same principles of distribution of estate duties. The Sixth Finance Commission will be wise to consider the adoption of that part of the formula relating to immovable property. It may also be noted that in the composition of the Commission, a member of the Planning Commission has been included in accordance with the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission.

A GOOD EXAMPLE

The following quotation from the *German International* of May 1972 has a good lesson for India: "France and the German Federal Republic recently signed an agreement about setting up Franco-German high schools and a joint Abitur-Baccalaureat (matriculation or higher learning certificate). This agreement provides for development of bi-lingual high schools

with a jointly drawn-up curriculum, whose terminal qualification will permit unrestricted entry to German and French universities. The first joint examination of this kind will take place in July at the Franco-German Gymnasium in Saarbrücken with 23 Germans and 34 French taking part." It will be a good plan for national integration if within 25 miles on either side of the common borders between any two States in India with different mother-tongues such bi-lingual schools could be set up by agreement. For instance, Tamil Nad and Mysore can set up schools with Tamil, Kannada and English as compulsory languages near their common borders. Andhra and Tamil Nad can set up similar schools with Tamil, Telugu and English as compulsory languages and along the borders of Tamil Nad and Kerala, schools with Tamil, Malayalam and English can be set up. By mutual agreement these students would have the right of entry to the universities of both the States.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

The Supreme Court of the United States has declared that the imposition of death penalties is unconstitutional. This means that there will be no capital punishment in the U.S. The Supreme Court of the U.S. has been making new laws in the guise of interpretation of the existing provisions of the Constitution. The 8th amendment prohibits cruel and unusual punishment. Putting a human being to death is undoubtedly such a punishment. The verdict was given by a majority of 5 against 4, the latter being the Judges appointed by President Nixon. There has been some criticism in the U.S. that President Nixon has been selecting judges who take rather narrow and conservative views of the function of the Supreme Court, as the interpreter of the Constitution. It is, however, a matter of argument whether the death penalty, if it could be inflicted in a humane and painless manner, is not a necessary safeguard against habitual and irreclaimable criminals who commit very serious crimes.

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SCIENCE TOPICS:

POLLUTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT

P. N.

THE EDITORIAL in the issue of SWARAJYA, dated June 24, drew the attention of the public to the problem of pollution of our environment. The air we breathe is polluted. The waters — rivers, estuaries and the seas—are heavily polluted. This pollution seems to be a natural sequence to industrial progress. The wide use of agricultural pesticides, the chemicals used to fight the mosquito and the tremendous growth of the automobile industry contribute to the pollution. Normally, biological degradation allied with oxygen in the stream of water will render harmless small quantities of waste. Similarly, a tall stack or chimney can take care of the smoke emitted from a small boiler plant. When the industrial waste is enormous, or a large industrial complex emitting smoke is considered, the danger of pollution becomes obvious.

POLLUTION OF THE AIR

Air pollution arises mainly from sulphurdioxide produced by burning coal, fuel oil and waste gases commonly employed in petrochemical complexes and steel industries. Ammonia based industries and nitric acid manufac-

ture lead to the emission of fumes of oxides of nitrogen. The gasoline used for the automobile and in the aero industry results in pollution with lead. Partial combustion of organic compounds in the petrol engines contribute to the pollution and causes smog. Toxic properties of carbonmonoxide are well known. The spraying of organic pesticides pollute the atmosphere.

POLLUTION OF THE SEAS

Industrial wastes are fed into the air and rivers and are then carried into the seas. The larger organisms that live in the waters may avoid consuming these pollutants. However, minor organisms and plants seem to absorb this waste and thus can get concentrated in fish which live on the above. Ultimately, the pollutants will get into human beings, particularly the consumers of sea food. Chlorinated hydrocarbons such as dieldrin, polychlorinated biphenyls and waste products of the plastic and polymer industries are the most toxic and persistent pollutants in the sea. It is estimated that 50 per cent of the world production of DDT finds its way into the sea through

This is Japan

Tokyo's World Trade Centre building is the tallest in the entire Far East. Japanese and foreign trading firms have their offices there—K.S.R.

atmospheric transport. Heavy metal impurities cause the utmost concern. Mercury occurs naturally in the sea as a result of weathering of mercury bearing rocks. It is also present in coal and oil. It is easily converted into methyl mercury and thus is easily absorbed by marine organisms. The toxicity of this compound can cause serious disorder even in low concentrations. Lead is made available from rocks, industrial and domestic sources and from the antiknock compounds added to petrol fuels. Biological effects of other metals are not well known. However, synergistic action between metals do occur, e.g., nickel can greatly increase the toxicity of copper.

Pollution by domestic sewage can cause serious oxygen depletion in estuaries, land locked bays and sea locks. This will render molluscan shellfish unfit for consumption. In addition, bathing beaches become dirty.

Oil spillage is another big source of sea pollution, which may occur as a result of collision of oil tankers in the sea. Cleaning operations and river navigations may also result in such contamination. Oil contamination has led to mass death of fish and other marine organisms and also resulted in several beaches becoming unfit for human use.

Any successful action to improve our environment will depend mainly on the acceptance by industry and local authorities of the need to reduce greatly both the quantity and the toxicity of certain wastes at present being discharged into the sea. Action is needed first in respect of persistent and toxic compounds accumulating in biological materials and in the modernisation and expansion of sewage disposal systems. National action must be

backed by international agreement to deal with pollutants.

POLYCHLORINATED BIPHENYLS (PCB)

Polychlorinated biphenyls are industrial chemicals which are now widely found in human tissues and many species of birds and fishes. PCBs are relatively inert compounds with very low solubility in water. The non-inflammable character and high dielectric constant of the PCBs find applications dielectrical fluids in capacitors and electrical transformers, as hydraulic fluids and heat transfer fluids in heat exchangers. PCBs are also used as plasticisers, as solvents for adhesives, paints, sealants and printing inks.

The commercial PCBs contain 40 to 60 per cent chlorine. Highly chlorinated PCBs seem to have the longest persistence in the environment and are also the least toxic. Some commercial PCBs contain traces of dibenzofurans which are known to be highly toxic compounds. Like DDT, PCBs apparently undergo degradation slowly under natural conditions. Laboratory studies indicate that PCBs are dechlorinated by natural ultraviolet light and the products are more easily degraded by microorganisms. PCBs tend to accumulate in the food chain and are stored in body tissues. Very high PCB residues — five parts per million (ppm) are found in fishes living in polluted coastal waters. This is a hundred times greater concentration than what has been found with DDT pollution. Birds which live on these fishes are found to have 300 to 1000 ppm of this residue. Accumulation in human tissues is the consequence of consumption of contaminated fish. Small residues in cereals have been traced to the recycled paper used in packaging and to the ink in a brand of carbon paper. Several batches of poultry and eggs with high PCB residues in them have been attributed to contamination from leaky and faulty heat exchanges and incubators.

PCBs can be replaced in the plastic industry. However, replacement in capacitors is difficult

and expensive. PCB sales stood at 34000 tons in 1970.

How PCBs are released into the environment is not clearly known. It is generally believed that sewage outfalls and industrial disposals into waterways are the major sources. Small quantities escape into the air from plasticiser materials.

Accumulation of PCBs can lead to darkening of skins, eye discharge, severe ache and 'Yusho' oil disease. PCBs have also the unusual property of being able to cross the placental barrier and thus can pass from the mother to the foetus. No treatment for

PCB effects are known. Liver damage and oedema are seen in chicken and skin lesions in rabbits exposed to PCBs. No mutagenic effects are known. Biological actions of PCBs are not clearly known. They seem to alter liver tissue, inhibit the growth of cultured cells and affect certain enzyme system. PCBs and DDT have similar environmental effects. But PCBs are never deliberately released into the environment. Their presence and persistence there reemphasize the possibility of any widely used chemical to become a pollutant with health hazards.

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SWATANTRA PARTY'S GENERAL COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

The General Council of the Swatantra Party met in Madras on June 24 and 25. Mr H. M. Patel resigned his presidency "to give place to a younger person to lead the party." He told the Council that for a long time he had not been able to travel extensively for party work because of his health. He proposed Mr Piloo Mody (45) for the presidency and Mr Ganapiah seconded. Mr Piloo Mody was accordingly elected President of the Swatantra Party unanimously.

The Council then adopted the following resolutions:

FALL OF ORISSA GOVERNMENT: "The Swatantra Party strongly condemns the unscrupulous tactics of the Ruling Congress in its bid to capture power in Orissa. Keeping in view the Prime Minister's assurance in Parliament on impending legislation against defections, her silence over the coup engineered by her party, suggests tacit connivance with its methods. The implication is that the legislation has been deliberately deferred, thereby encouraging defections to the Ruling Congress and obstructing defections from it thereafter. The Swatantra Party welcomes the decision of the Orissa unit to organise an "Anti-Defection Week" at the beginning of the monsoon session of the Orissa Assembly through a series of meetings in Bhubaneswar and in the constituencies of the defectors. The party resolves that other units will similarly devise non-violent measures to mobilise public opinion against this pernicious political practice." (Moved by Mr P. K. Deo M.P., and seconded by Mr Manubhai Amersey)

INDO-PAKISTAN SUMMIT TALKS: "The Swatantra Party welcomes the initiation of summit talks between Mrs Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and Mr Z. A. Bhutto, President of Pakistan. It commends to both leaders the urgency of agreeing upon terms which prevent the eruption of a fourth war between the two neighbouring countries thereby ensuring durable peace which will exclude the interference of global powers on the Indian sub-continent." (Moved by Mrs. Lobo Prabhu and seconded by Mr H. M. Patel, M.P.)

PLIGHT OF HARIJANS AND ADIVASIS: "The recent spate of reports on the ill-treatment and harassment of Harijans and adivasis in various parts of the country are a sad commentary on the degree to which Gandhiji's teachings have been forgotten by many of our countrymen. Despite

guarantees in the Constitution and various statutes giving equal status to our less fortunate brethren, the lot of Harijans, adivasis and other backward classes continues to be deplorable. The General Council of the Swatantra Party reiterates the pledge contained in its election manifesto to carry out effectively and faithfully the provisions in the Constitution for the protection of the rights and interests of all minorities and of those who work under various handicaps, such as Harijans, adivasis and other backward classes, and calls upon its members to mobilise public opinion on this issue, to take the lead in taking every possible step to redress the wrongs and injustices that may be inflicted on these sections of our people." (Moved by Mr Madhu Mehta and seconded by Mr K. Sundaram).

ELECTORAL REFORM: "In the light of the unhappy experience of the Parliamentary elections of 1971 and the State Assembly elections of 1972, the General Council of the Swatantra Party concurs with the large volume of opinion in the country that the time has come for a thorough study and overhaul of the electoral system. The shocking use of money power and black money creates a situation wherein an honest and poor man can have no chance of getting elected. The other deficiency is the unrepresentative character of the legislatures where the ruling party, which has got only 43 per cent of the popular vote, has captured more than 70 per cent of the seats in the Lok Sabha. This not only distorts and vitiates the popular will, but also makes it possible for attempts to be made to destroy the Constitution of our country by those who represent only a minority of the electorate.

"Among the solutions that should be considered to this problem is the employment of the List System, which is one of the forms of proportional representation practised in several democratic countries. According to the List System, the voter votes for one or other political party which has published a list of its candidates in a certain order of preference. This list may be one for the whole country or one for each State. Once polling is over, the votes cast for each political party are counted and tabulated and the seats in the legislature are distributed in approximate proportion to the number of votes cast, thus resulting in the first of so many of each list being elected.

"As grave doubts are prevailing in the minds of the people about the genuineness of the ballot papers that were used, it is necessary that some method whereby votes are punched is introduced so as to do away with the present system of stamping of votes.

The General Council appoints Mr N. Pandekar and Mr Manubhai Amersey to examine various measures of electoral reform and to present their report to the next meeting of the General Council." (Moved from the Chair).

TAMIL NAD FARMERS' AGITATION: "The General Council extends its support to the Tamil Nad farmers' agitation for the implementation of their 12 demands which, among other things, include: (a) reduction in electricity charges for pump-sets and (b) doing away with the increased agricultural tax recently levied by the D.M.K. Government on the basis of crops. The Council is of the view that this increased taxation on the one side and the recent enactment by the D.M.K. Government writing off the rent arrears due to the farmers, on the other, will totally ruin the farmer. The Council, therefore, urges the D.M.K. Government to concede immediately the 12 demands raised by the farmers of the State." (Moved from the Chair).

COLLEGE EDUCATION IN KERALA: "We deplore the decision of the Kerala Government to compel privately managed educational institutions in the State to charge the same fees as are charged in Government Colleges and institutions without, at the same time, promising to make good the financial loss that this step would cause to the private institutions. The Government cannot be unaware of the cost to them to run Government educational institutions. This decision of the Government, therefore, is clearly unfair and unjust and designed to compel privately run educational institutions to close down.

"Private educational institutions are managed by persons who have been motivated by no other object than the advancement of education and without such assistance from voluntary organisations it would never have been possible for education to have spread as widely as it has in the State. The step now decided upon by the Government to compel them to close down or face financial bankruptcy is a display of unprecedented ingratitude.

"If education is to advance and educational experiments are to continue to be tried, it is essential that private educational organisations should continue in the interests of sound educational development, as also in the interests of justice. This Council expresses the confident hope that the Government of Kerala will, even at this late stage, retrace their steps and allow educational institutions to charge fees that are reasonable and fair, or, alternatively, to increase the grant to cover the additional loss caused by reduction

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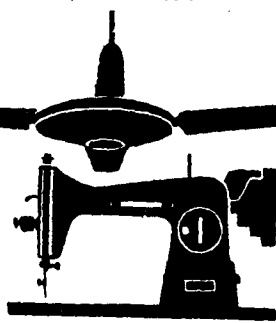
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in fees." (Moved by Mr A. J. Dominic and seconded by Mr K. N. V. Rao).

THREAT TO PRESS FREEDOM: "The General Council of the Swatantra Party notes with concern the attempt of the Ruling Congress and the D.M.K. in Tamil Nad in trying to threaten and pressurise the Press into reporting news items only for building up the image of the ruling parties in the Centre and in the State. If this sort of thing goes on unchecked, a time may come when it will be made impossible for newspapers to present the Opposition point of view. In this context, the Council condemns the recent attempt in Madras to destroy a local newspaper office by violent methods just because it was also reporting points of view which were opposed to the State Government. The Council is strongly of the view that this habit of threatening newspapers and giving Government advertisements only to papers which sing the praise of the ruling party will ultimately cut at the very root of a free press and convert this country into a totalitarian State." (Moved by Mr V. Devanathan and seconded by Mr Mohammed Hussein).

LAND CEILINGS: "The farmers of India, within the limits in which they function, have rendered yeoman service to the country by bringing about what has been popularly described as the 'Green Revolution.' The General Council feels that at such a time when further encouragement and capital inputs need to be placed at the disposal of the farmers, mischievous efforts are being made under the umbrella word of 'Land Reforms' which cannot but have the effect of retarding further progress. The Swatantra Party stands for a fair deal to the landless labourer, share-cropper, tenant, the tiller and the farmer alike. This was spelt out clearly at the October 1969 Convention in Bhubaneswar, when the party resolved that its members shall work actively for the security of tenure for tenants and share-croppers and for the prescription and enforcement of a statutory minimum wage and reasonable conditions to farm labourers and for securing guaranteed floor prices to farmers and peasants for agricultural commodities.

"Although the Swatantra Party holds that peasant proprietorship is the most productive and the highest social reform of relations between man and land and is pledged to resist all efforts to destroy it, the party is not, in principle, opposed to measures for the equitable redistribution of land, subject always to full scope being available to modernisation of agriculture with a view to broadening the basis of peasant proprietorship and giving stability to our rural life, provided always that no man is deprived of his land except

on payment of just and fair compensation. The wonderful results achieved in the agricultural fields in Taiwan and Japan by such measures after the Second World War have resulted in these countries producing the highest yield of rice per acre in the world. The success of these measures was due to certain attendant circumstances. The entire operation was carried out not in a spirit of vindictiveness and hatred but in a pragmatic attempt to reorder the rural economy. In other words, this was achieved by reducing the pressure on land through diversification rather than by expropriation. Secondly, full compensation at market prices was given to those dispossessed of surplus land with the intention that they should

- (a) invest it in rural processing industries spread throughout the countryside thus securing the progress of agriculture itself and the growth of rural employment and economy, and
- (b) in carrying through an intensive programme for the reclamation of large areas that lie waste today—ravine lands, and lands which have become uncultivable because of salinity brought to surface owing to or because of poor drainage, etc.

"The Council deplors the current campaign of the Congress-Communist axis for lowering land ceilings which were fixed barely a decade ago. It is well known that of all classes of society, the agriculturist is the most hated by the Marxists because if any class of society stands in the way of their establishing totalitarian dictatorship and destroying what they describe as the institution of bourgeois democracy, it is the peasant. Indeed it was the then Law Minister of the Maharashtra Government, Mr A. R. Antulay, who not long ago confessed as much when he stated:

"This (land ceiling) is not the ultimate solution. It is only a stop-gap arrangement. We do not have sufficient land for distribution to all the landless persons. Therefore, ultimately the whole land will have to be nationalised in order to provide social justice for all."

"The Swatantra Party, therefore, warns all concerned and, in particular, the small peasant proprietors, that the ultimate aim of the Union Government is to expropriate and nationalise all land holdings on the plea that small land holdings have brought down food production. The Council warns the entire country to be vigilant against this dangerous attempt deliberately to bring down production and thus bring in collective farming. This must be resisted now, otherwise it will be too late." (Moved by Mr H. M. Patel and seconded by Mr M. R. Masani).

EXPANSION OF MONEY SUPPLY TO GOVT. SECTOR

A. K. NANDA

A CURSORY glance at the growth of credit during the busy season that has ended in April last shows that the busy season was not really busy enough, in spite of the comfortable position one witnessed through growth of deposits. As far as credit expansion was concerned, the Reserve Bank's restrictive credit policy had turned away many a potential borrower. While credit expansion for the private sector has slowed down, credit for the Government sector has risen sharply. This is a situation which is of the Reserve Bank's making. Credit expansion to the Government sector is in no way less inflationary than that to the private sector.

At the beginning of the 1971-72 busy season, the Reserve Bank Governor cautioned that credit policy would be restrictive so as "not to aggravate the inflationary factors in the economy." The restrictive credit policy resulted in the rate of growth of money supply with the public becoming substantially larger than during last year. In the busy season of 1971-72 money supply expanded by about 11 per cent as compared to about 9 per cent in 1970-71 busy season. Over the year ended April 1972 the rate of expansion in money supply was 13 per cent as compared to 11 per cent in the preceding year.

There is little doubt that the recent monetary expansion is largely accounted for by the expansion of bank credit to the Government by the Reserve Bank and the commercial banks. Thus, in the six-month period between November 1971 and April 1972 bank credit to the Government was a little over Rs 800 crores which was in excess of the total expansion of money supply during the period. In the 12-month period ending April 1972 bank credit to the Government was of the order of Rs 1200 crores or a rise of almost 22 per cent.

It seems that the success of the Government's borrowing programme is largely due to the res-

trictive policy pursued by the Reserve Bank which made it possible for the Bank to increase its holdings of Government securities. Not only did the Reserve Bank acquire substantial amounts of Government securities, but it also lent substantial sum of money to State Governments. The outstanding borrowings from the Reserve Bank rose by Rs 355 crores during the year and from Rs 427 crores towards the end of April 1971 to Rs 762 crores at the end of April 1972. Borrowings by State Governments were largely by way of unauthorised overdrafts.

The choice of credit disbursements being limited, the scheduled commercial banks were in no mood to adopt an enlightened policy oriented towards higher production. Instead, they preferred to toe the negative RBI line of thinking. There is yet no concrete evidence to show that credit restraint can keep the inflationary forces in check. On the contrary, data for the current season and earlier ones would show that prices can continue to move upwards in spite of the efforts to curtail credit.

While it is conceded that every year there should be some increase in the holdings of Government securities by the Reserve Bank, there must be a statutory limit on such increase in a single year. This is necessary in the interest of better monetary management and discipline.

So far as credit expansion was concerned, the Reserve Bank had estimated credit disbursement of about Rs 500 crores. This estimate was based on the experience of the busy season of 1970-71. But the credit expansion turned out to be only Rs 355 crores. Credit trends have shown that only 59 per cent of the incremental deposits of the season were utilised for additional credit disbursement, whereas the corresponding ratio in 1970-71 busy season was 90 per cent and in 1969-70 season it was as high as 175 per cent.

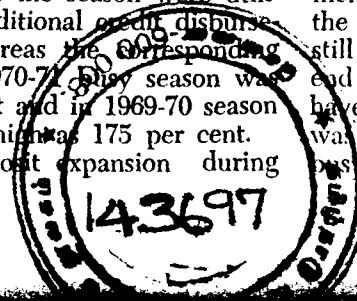
The deposit expansion during

the season which was Rs 600 crores was almost equal to that of the slack season. The Bank estimated a deposit growth of Rs 500 crores during the season. It is not known what made the Reserve Bank think that the deposit accretion during the busy season would be only marginally higher over that of the 1970-71 busy season. The earlier records of commercial banks would show that the pace of deposit accretion is sometimes larger during the busy season than in the slack season, though normally deposits rise faster in the slack season than in the busy season. What seems to have contributed to the surging of deposits is the branch expansion of commercial banks.

From a study of the credit trends of 1971-72 busy season it seems that the Reserve Bank based its estimate on the experience of 1970-71 busy season when the Bank adopted a stringent credit policy. The bank rate was stepped up by 1 per cent and the banks' minimum net liquidity ratio was raised from 33 per cent to 34 per cent so as to reduce their borrowing capacity.

It would have been nearer the reality if the estimate had been made on the basis of 1969-70 busy season which was marked by credit expansion of the order of Rs 563 crores. The credit base on which this expansion was made was comparatively lower than what obtained now and credit expansion of the same magnitude would have been neither desirable nor possible. An important variable in this estimate constituted the growth of the economy during the two intervening years and the corresponding increase in the credit needs of the economy.

If the Reserve Bank's expectation in regard to both deposit accretion and credit demand had materialised, over 90 per cent of the incremental deposits would have been used for credit disbursement instead of 59 per cent and the credit-deposit ratio, which was still high at 72 per cent at the end of the busy season, would have been near 78 per cent, which was the ratio at the end of the busy season of 1970-71.



TUSSLE BETWEEN SETHI AND MISHRA IN SIGHT

BHOPAL, June 17: Mr Prakash Chand Sethi has hardly been in office for four months, and the D. P. Mishra dissidents have already assumed postures that cannot but lead to a confrontation and an ultimate clash. It was Mr Mishra and his followers who did their utmost to get Mr S. C. Shukla out.

It is common knowledge that the first batch of eleven Ministers which Mr Sethi got after the general election were nominees of Mr Mishra, except Miss Vimla Verma, whose name had been proposed by Mr Uma Shankar Dixit.

Mr Sethi thus has been presiding over a Ministry, the credit for the composition of which actually goes to Mr Mishra. However, Mr. Mishra gave expression to his dissatisfaction since Mr Sethi did not take Mr Gautam Sharma, who was Food Minister in Mr Mishra's Cabinet till it was thrown out in July 1967. Mr Sethi professed innocence and pointed out that Mr Sharma's name had been turned down by the Prime Minister.

Once again, when Mr Sethi decided to expand his present 10-member team, claims on behalf of Mr Sharma and some other follow-

ers of Mr Mishra were advanced. During the last four months, Mr Sethi had an opportunity to examine State politics at close quarters, and, as could have been expected, he decided to assert his own personality as Chief Minister. Despite Mr Mishra's demands (veiled, as usual, in the form of "advice") that he should expand his Ministry soon, he has not done so yet.

There is reason to believe that Mr Mishra has fallen from grace in recent weeks. The Prime Minister decided to have Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma as Congress President, even though Mr Mishra was known to be looking forward to him till the last moment, when she sent him a chit asking for his reaction on her intention to have Dr Sharma succeed Mr Sanjivayya. Mr Mishra had no option but to say 'yes'. The next shock to Mr Mishra came when Mr Sethi turned down his "advice" to have Mr Rai Singh Bhadoria as the Congress candidate from Gird Assembly constituency in the by-election held on June 4, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr Vijaya Raje Scindia. Mr Sethi also went against Mr Mishra's desire in choosing Mr Ram Singh Verma for the Lok Sabha contest from Indore. The by-election had been necessitated by Mr Sethi's resignation of his Lok Sabha seat following his appointment as Chief Minister in January last. The inevitable conclusion, therefore, is that he did so with the tacit support of Mrs Gandhi.

But the latest shock of seeing Mr Mathura Prasad Dube installed as the MPCC President in the face of his unequivocal opposition might have jolted Mr Mishra more than any other event. Mr Dube was Mr Sethi's nominee, against Mr Mishra's Rukmini Raman Pratap Singh, a former legislator who lost the contest in March last. The fact that Mr Dube romped home with a broad grin left Mr Mishra in no doubt that Mrs Gandhi has firmly decided to back Mr Sethi.

The whisper at Pachmarhi now is that the Mishra camp will try to settle its scores with Mr Sethi at the forthcoming party elections in November 1972.

SWARAJYA, July 8, 1972

SWARAJYA, July 8, 1972

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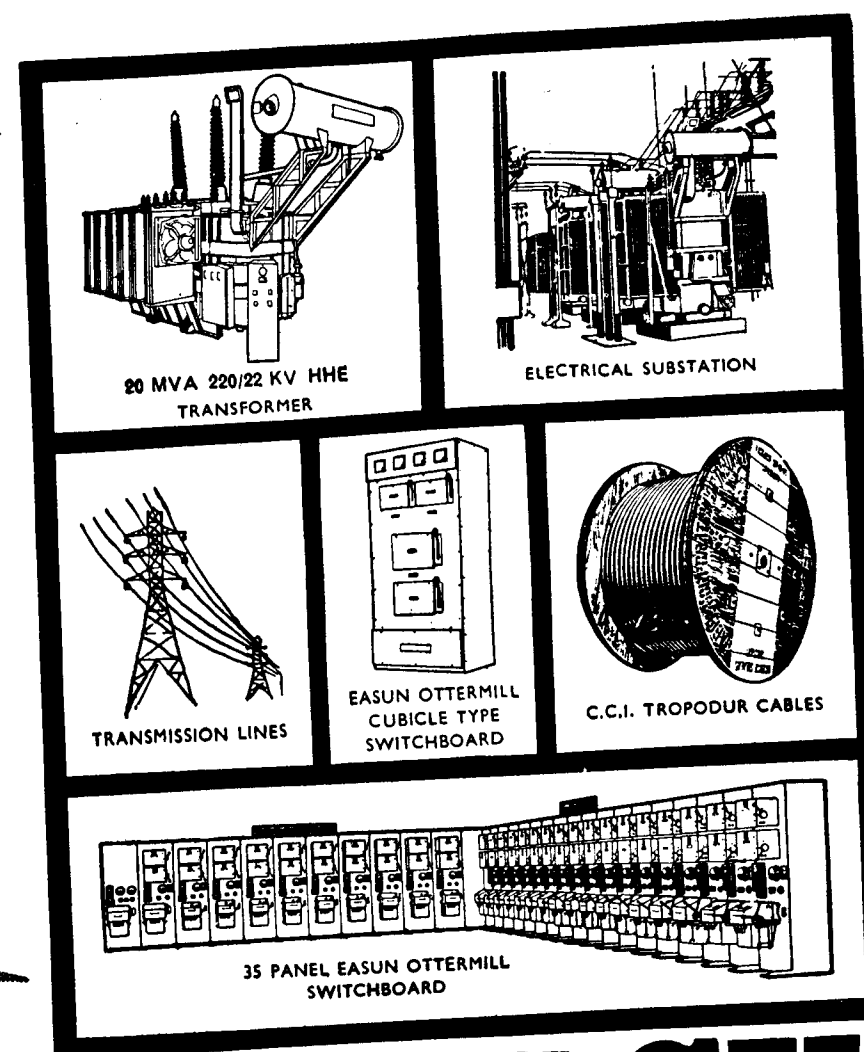
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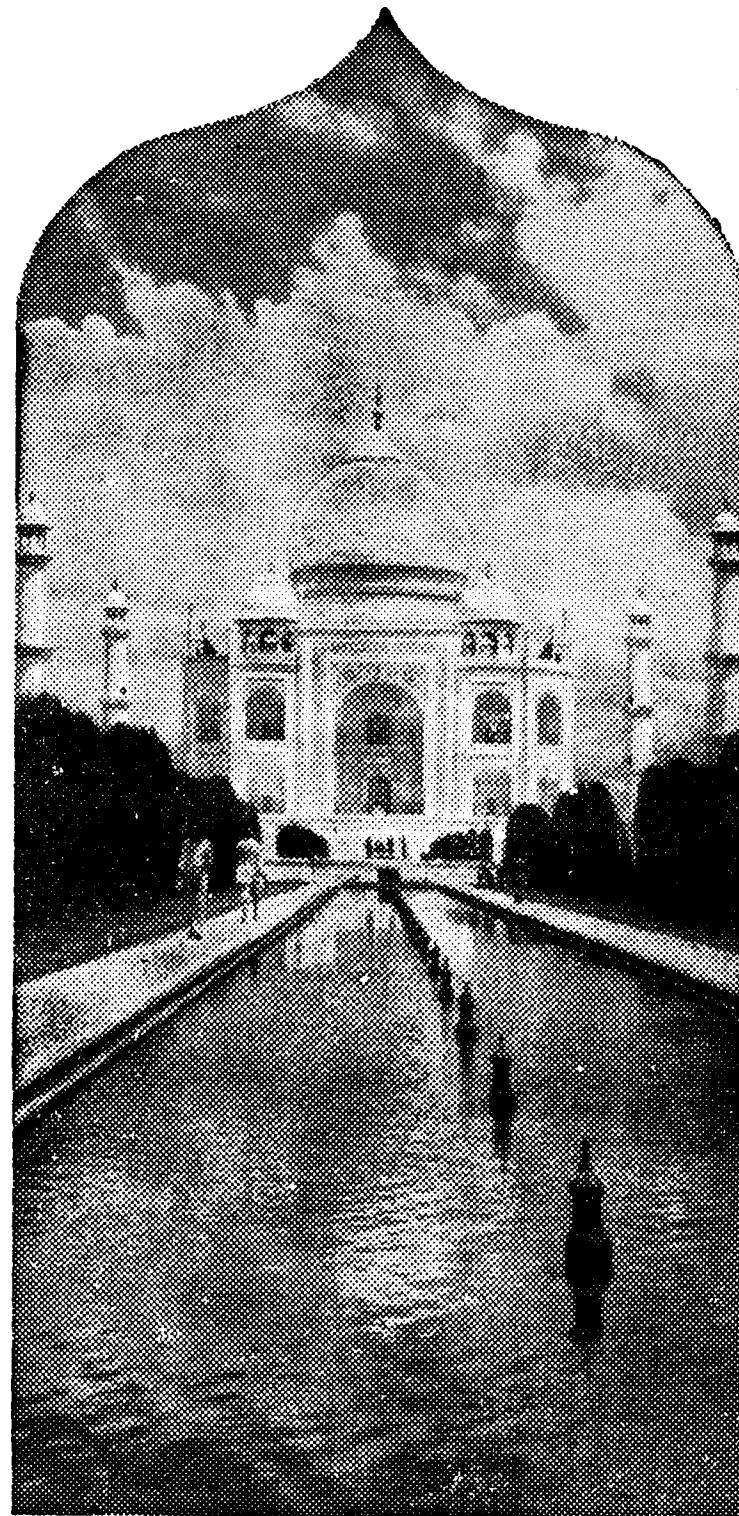
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BOOK REVIEWS:

SOCIOLOGY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

TRADITION, RATIONALITY AND CHANGE:

By M. S. A. RAO

Published by Popular Prakashan, 35-C,
Tardeo Road, Bombay-34

Price: Rs 28

This neatly got up book of 182 pages is a collection of 12 essays published by the author in various journals and books between 1962 and 1968. The essays cover, in the words of the author, "a wide range of areas of social life in India such as economic development, political organisation, family and marriage, and social stratification." We are told that there are two inter-related themes, viz., sociology of economic development and social change. "Since the former is treated in the framework of tradition and rationality, and the latter in terms of structural and organisational change, the book has been named 'Tradition, Rationality and Change.'"

The first four essays deal with economic development and rural developmental programmes, the sphere of rationality in economic change, labour commitment in organised industries and the role of religion in the recent

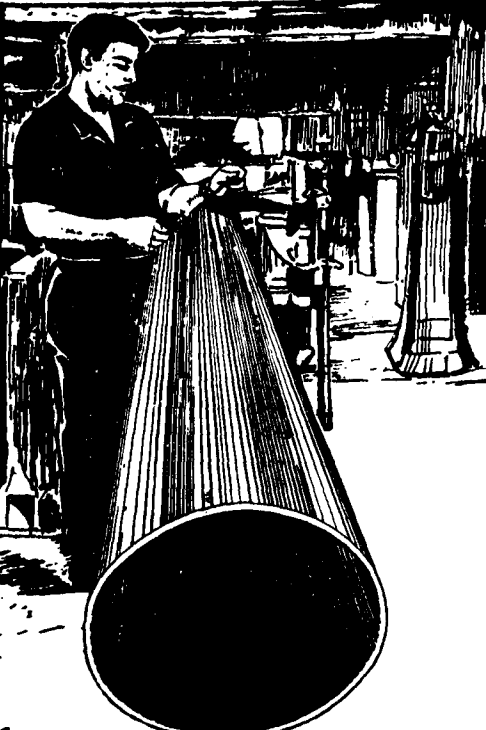
changes. The next five deal with the rise of caste consciousness in the military and political fields, growth of communalism and the working of the joint household in the new set-up. The part played by modern education is then discussed, followed by a comparative study of social changes in South-East Asia. The sources are three: (1) the socio-economic surveys conducted by the author in the Himalayan Tarai, and a village 7 miles from New Delhi; (2) intensive study of socio-economic changes in Kerala as well as parts of the Punjab and of Mysore State; (3) views expressed by writers of repute of which there are 121 references. The book closes with an exhaustive index.

Some of the findings of the author may be given in his own words: (1) Commenting on Community Projects the writer says: "The castes which were economically well off are better off today. The traditional position of dominant castes is strengthened along with a higher degree of caste solidarity." (Page 30) Again, "new areas of conflict between castes have opened up resulting in the loss of the traditional basis of harmony. The new basis of

harmony in the form of a socialist pattern of society has not been realised." (Page 32) He also finds that cooperative farming, where established, leans heavily on a group.

As regards the application of rationality to economic change, the writer concludes from his survey of a village near Delhi that though cultivators have switched over to cash crops (vegetables) from subsistence farming (raising wheat, etc.) because of increased profits, vegetable technology is confined to the hereditary skill of the family. Though wells for irrigation, Persian wheels to lift water, better seeds and fertilizers are innovations, the experiment in working a vegetable growers' cooperative society was a failure. They show an increasing awareness of education of children for finding jobs, but their traditional method of saving such as buying gold, survives, with increased expenditure on marriages and funerals and gift exchanges. Productive investment receives little or no attention. (Page 44).

Regarding labour employed in organised industries, the writer is of the view that workers on the whole respond to the norms of modern industrial life such as punctuality, regularity, learning of new skills and commitment to industrial career, but the sources continue to be migration from villages and the recruitment is done through



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jobbers or those already working in factories. (Page 50). Industrial relations, he says, are characterised by a combination of both traditional and rational elements." (Page 54) As regards causes of industrial disputes the writer is of the opinion that "though workers are assured of many privileges and benefits, they are not often fulfilled because the personnel policies of companies are not clear or unions make undue claims". (Page 58)

On the influence of religion on economic outlook, the writer concludes that Hinduism or Hindu culture emphasises the worldly aspect as much as it does the other-worldly aspect of life and the dualism exists more in theory than in practice. (Page 67)

On the effects of the caste system and communalism, the writer devotes three essays. He proves from facts and observed trends in many States that in Independent India caste has been gaining influence in many fields of activity. He quotes the example of the Yadava Association claiming to represent 10 per cent of the population—agitating for a separate Yadava Regiment in the Indian Army on the ground that "caste loyalty evokes greater emotional appeal than national loyalty." (Page 75). He also finds that the political elite and members of all parties support strongly caste organisations for securing success in elections; and as a result the elected candidates support strongly caste organisations. Communalism, he says, prevails in a number of forms, not only representing religion as a whole such as Hinduism, Islam etc., but also as caste associations concealed under non-caste names which support political candidates favouring their claims. Even non-communal parties put up candidates who have solid support of predominant castes (page 99). The writer recognises that "castes and religious associations have a protective role to play as they provide social security under the changing conditions influenced greatly by economic development and modern urbanisation." (Page 102) But, he says and I agree with him, they are incompatible in a democratic social system if their attention is turned to secure political power or official privileges. He pleads for the formation of political parties based on national interests with economic, political and social programmes purged of communal character.

The author's remarks on the progress of modern (Western) education in India and the part it plays in bringing about adjustments between the old and the new social orders are true and refreshing. He notes that factors other than caste like occupations, income, wealth and political power are becoming important in the matter of securing for

the children better education. It has introduced many elements of differentiation in the traditional stratification and has been responsible for the emergence of new social categories such as professionals, white collar workers and career women. I agree with him that a factor which adversely influences the quality of the educational system is the caste or sectional enterprise in education. He warns against communal policies in the matter of admission of students and recruitment of teachers.

A perusal of the book stresses the fact that the attempts of our planners and politicians to force their norms and

policies borrowed from other climes on the traditional social system which still works with great vigour will produce unlooked for results, not always conducive to the welfare of the people, not to speak of the certainty of failure in achieving their objectives. Seeds sown must be suited to the soil if the plants are to grow with vigour and produce a rich harvest.

There is a repetition of ideas and statements in several essays which perhaps cannot be avoided as they were written at different times on topics of an allied nature.

(Prof.) S. SUBBARAMA AIYER

THE HINDU WAY OF LIFE

HINDU SASTRAS AND SAMSKARAS:

By V. A. K. AYER

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, Bombay-7

Price: Re 1

Sastras are scriptural authorities. Samskaras are purificatory and religious ceremonies observed at significant stages in the life of the individual. These are presented here in a clear and succinct form, which makes the book serve both as an introduction to the consecrated Hindu way of daily life and a compendious reference-book, providing explanatory data to the scholar as well as the common reader.

The Vedas are scriptures *par-excellence*, but the term "Veda", in a comprehensive sense, includes not only the six *Vedangas* but also *Itihasas*, *Puranas*, *Tantras* and *Agamas*. These are enumerated and elucidated in the first section; while the second introduces the sacraments, which are rituals and purificatory performances aiming at securing for the individual a psycho-physical and spiritual self-luminosity. Thus, the first section provides a textual or theoretical basis for the second, whose stress is on practical life and progressive self-perfection in the light of the revealed texts.

The wisdom of the Veda is versatile. *Mantras*, *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads* make up the main contents of the four Vedas, comprising both the *Karmakanda* and the *Jnana-kanda*; but the *Vedangas* and the *Upa-Vedas*, described as the "limbs" and "appendices" or auxiliaries respectively, reveal the variegated comprehensiveness of Vedic knowledge. The essence of Veda lies in its power of illumination and transformation. It is a source of light and strength, mainly for divinising human life and nature; but it flows into fields, which are apparently "secular", like *Ayurveda*, *Dhanurveda*, and *Gandharvaveda* relating to medicine, archery and music and dance. Not only economics, the science of wealth and material

goods but several other disciplines, like mathematics, including modern geometry and trigonometry, physics, including the methods of measuring air, heat and electricity, mineralogy, hydels, geography,—all included in an encyclopaedic Sastra, known as *Aksharalaksha*—are brought within its scope.

The first section of the book under review presents an impressive and briefly interpretative array of all these as "Hindu Sastras". The second section opens with a statement of objects underlying the whole gamut of *Samskaras* "designed to channel the energies of man towards the creation of a perfect secular as well as spiritual life." It traces the *Samskaras* to their sources in the Vedas, and provides an outline of their character and constituents. It offers an account of some of the principal sacraments, beginning with the pre-natal *Garbhadana*, leading through the post-natal *Jatakarma* and *Namakarana*, upto *Vivaha* or marriage and even beyond.

One rarely comes across such variety and range of material presented in so short a compass.

—(Prof.) K. SESHADRI

BOOKS RECEIVED

EFFECTIVE PUBLIC SPEAKING — By N. D. Patra — Published by Hind Pocket Books Private Ltd., G. T. Road, Delhi-32 — Price: Rs 3

VOICE OF VALLUVAR — By S. R. V. Arasu—Published by Thayakam, 3, Subba Rao Avenue, Madras-6 — Price: Rs 3 (Jacket Edition); Rs 5 (Deluxe Edition).

ECONOMICS OF DRY FARMING IN TAMIL NADU — By R. K. Sampath and Jayalakshmi Ganesan— Sangam Publishers, 11, Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras-1 — Price: Rs 12

SALARIES AND INCOME-TAX — By Ram Nivas Lakhotia — Asia Publishing House, P-16, C.I.T. Road, Calcutta-14 — Price: Rs 28

SRINIVASA RAMANUJAN - 'A GIFT FROM HEAVEN'

SURESH RAM

FIFTY-TWO YEARS ago, on April 26, 1920, passed away Srinivasa Ramanujan, the great genius whom Prof. Julian Huxley described as "the greatest mathematician of this century." His departure at the early age of 32 cast a gloom over the entire mathematical world as he was like a "gift from heaven", to quote Prof E. T. Bell, from his celebrated work, "Men of Mathematics".

When I was in Madras recently I paid my respects to his devoted wife, S. Janaki Ammal. At the time of their marriage she was 11 and he was 22. The Ramanujans had no issue. Janaki Ammal, now 73, lives with her nephew in a small house in Triplicane. In a reminiscent mood she observed: "He was so much dedicated to mathematics that he had no time for anything else. At times he forgot to take his meal. Then I would go to him and offer him food. He would take it but his face would indicate that he was engrossed in some problem."

"Did he share with you his idea to go to Cambridge?" I asked her.

"Yes, he did. And when I said that I would like to accompany him he replied: 'I would be there for about a year and so you needn't come with me'. Then he added, 'Rest assured I will bring gold and jewels for you and you will become so rich'. So saying, he laughed and I rejoined, 'Don't talk nonsense. I know you are going to England for the sake of mathematics who is a very jealous goddess and will not let you amass wealth.' Then he confessed, 'You are right.'"

Janaki Ammal continued: "A week before his scheduled departure (17th March 1914), he took me to the boat, *s.s. Nevasa*, and showed me all the arrangements made there. Three days later, he asked me to accompany my mother-in-law to their home-town of Kumbakonam. He said, 'I want you to go home so that you may not be here when I sail. It would be difficult for me to go when you are here before my

eyes.' Accordingly, I took his leave, wished him a happy and eventful journey and went way to Kumbakonam.

Recalling the days when he returned from Cambridge as a world-renowned mathematician, Janaki Ammal remarked, "Unfortunately, my parents-in-law did not inform me of his arrival. But my elder brother with whom I was staying at that time (March/April 1919) came across the news in some paper and he took me to Madras. Thereafter I was with him until his last moment."

During my tour of South India I also visited Kumbakonam and saw Ramanujan's ancestral home. Besides, I went to the Town High School from where he passed his S.S.L.C. examination and then to the Government College where he studied F.A. Fortunately, I met Mr K. Sarangapani Iyengar, a classmate of the great mathematician. He is 84 and he recalled those good old days he spent with Ramanujan. He said: "Even in our school days we had realised that he was a great genius and we all respected him for his extraordinary talent." Mr Sarangapani Iyengar went on: "Ramanujan and I were in the same class. In the IV standard he stood second and I got the first position with only one mark more than his. He felt very much and took no food for two days. Subsequently he beat me and always topped the list. . . . Like Ramanujan I also failed in F.A. At this my father rebuked me saying: 'Ramanujan has failed because he is a genius, you have failed because you are a dunce. And you should now look after agriculture and household work.' Thereafter I discontinued my studies."

Ramanujan worked feverishly all his life. On January 12, 1920, he wrote a letter to Prof. G. H. Hardy, the distinguished British mathematician who "discovered" Ramanujan and helped him go to Cambridge and earn credit and renown as a great mathematician. In his letter, Ramanujan men-

tioned his discovery of what he called "Mock-Theta functions". Sixteen years later, on November 14, 1936, Prof. G. N. Watson chose these very functions as the subject of his valedictory address before the London Mathematical Society after having been its President for 16 continuous years. Prof. Watson concluded his lecture with the words:

"Ramanujan's discovery of the Mock-Theta functions makes it obvious that his skill and ingenuity did not desert him at the oncoming of his untimely end. As much as any of his earlier work, the Mock-Theta functions are an achievement sufficient to cause his name to be held in lasting remembrance."

Offering his tribute to Ramanujan's genius, Prof. Hardy said:

"It was his insight into algebraical formulae, transformations of infinite series, and so on, that was most amazing. On this side most certainly I have never met his equal, and I can compare him only with Euler or Jacobi. . . ."

Ramanujan had no aspiration for greatness or power. Neither did he desire any position or praise. Nor did he want anything else . . . except peace to worship quietly in the Temple of Truth through the medium of mathematics. His only ambition was to keep on giving, giving more and giving still more. This anxiety to give ceaselessly burnt him from within and hastened his end. It also accounts for the fact that his genius never turned into a stagnant pool and always remained like an ever-flowing stream.

"The essence of mathematics", says Prof. C. P. Cantor, "resides in its freedom". Perhaps. According to Prof. E. T. Bell, "It consists in its eternal youth." Possibly. But it lies far more truly in its profound humility with which it instinctively unravels one mystery after another and leaves all other sciences, though more resourceful and dominant, far behind in the great quest for Truth. Srinivasa Ramanujan was a perfect embodiment of the same.

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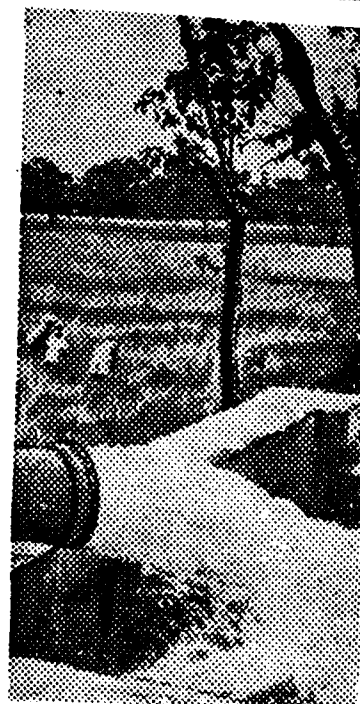
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Dear Reader

IT IS NOT GOOD for Pakistan to borrow 'aid' from foreign Powers. The only way to make Pakistan free from the threat of economic bankruptcy is to fall in line with India's position and aims and objects as very clearly stated by the Prime Minister repeatedly in her statements. I write this to acquaint President Bhutto of my firm conviction on this subject. I hope someone will bring this paragraph to the notice of President Bhutto. Whether the Indo-Pakistan summit meeting ends happily within the time scheduled, or whether it may have to go on for a longer time, I write this as an acknowledged friend of the people of Pakistan. It is not wishful thinking but I believe Muslims in India as well as the people of Pakistan look upon me as a true friend and it is in that capacity that I make this appeal to President Bhutto.

Since writing the above I sent a telegram to President Bhutto at Simla on the above lines which has been printed in all the daily papers.

SRIMATHI INDIRA GANDHI's interest in President Bhutto's daughter brings to mind the passage in Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida: "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." There are groups in India who are wedded to suspicion and fear in relation to Pakistan, as there are similar groups wedded to suspicion and fear of India in Pakistan. Srimathi Indira Gandhi has shown the way. I have appealed to President Bhutto to fall in line with Srimathi Indira Gandhi not minding these incorrigible groups.

THE ONLY party that firmly resists the drift to dictatorship is the Swatantra Party. (The resolutions of the Party passed recently at its General Council meeting will be found on pages 9 and 10 of this issue). A party that is pledged to resist authoritarianism is as necessary as government

itself for the welfare of the people of India. Members and sympathisers of the Swatantra Party should consider resisting authoritarianism and dictatorship as a sacred duty of theirs. Power does not consist only in securing a majority in Parliament. The power to resist dictatorship and defend the Constitution and the fundamental rights inscribed in it is morally as well as politically true power. It is worthwhile exercising this power and do everything to expand opportunities in and out of Parliament to perform this sacred function.

MR MAHALANOBIS of the Indian Statistical Institute was a great figure in Indian affairs. His passing away will be mourned by all friends and admirers.

AN AGREEMENT to abjure force and to seek bilateral solutions for all pending issues has been solemnly signed by President Bhutto and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at midnight on 2nd July. The press and all concerned have bade good-bye to one another in a cheerful temper.

There is no date fixed for any second meeting. Mrs Indira Gandhi has not accepted President

Bhutto's invitation to visit Pakistan. Everyone is tired and has expressed satisfaction with what may be called a 'no war' agreement that has been reached and solemnly signed. The present slogan is "step by step."

Has the summit meeting ended on the 3rd morning in failure or success? The document that has been solemnly signed by both parties can be claimed as demonstrating the success of the summit meeting. But my question is, does this document lead to reduction of arms expenditure on either side, which alone would satisfactorily prove confidence in the efficacy of the treaty. I am afraid neither side will reduce its military expenditure. Pakistan is not going to drop or suspend her borrowing plans. The sword of Damocles will continue to hang over the economy of the two countries.

India won the battle for military victory but she has failed to win the battle for peace. India has not been able as yet to infect Pakistan with her spirit of confidence. Military defeat has, on Pakistan's side, tended to keep fear and suspicion undiminished. It does not help to explain Mr Bhutto's inability to bring his colleagues to fall in line with him. Candidly speaking, the summit meeting has not been a success.

C.A.



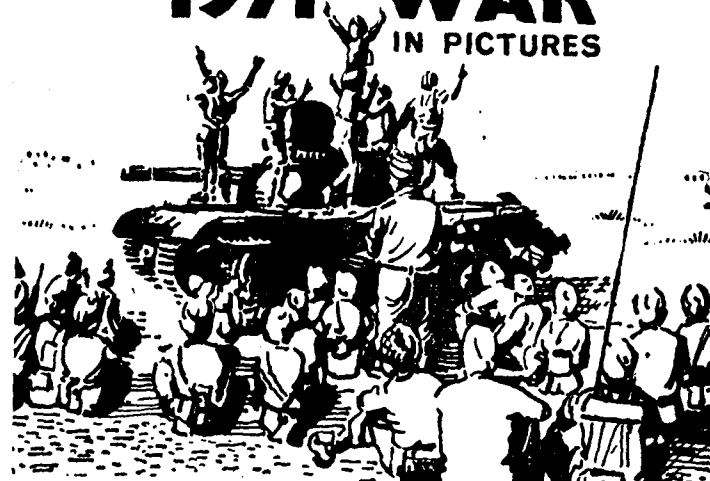
FROM THE CAPITAL:

NEW OBJECTIVES FOR PUBLIC SECTOR

SENTINEL

NEW DELHI, June 29: The Simla talks began on a cordial note, notwithstanding the hard line that President Bhutto had taken in his broadcast before he left for the summit meeting. The credit for this goes to Smt. Indira Gandhi and the Indian team which ignored all the harsh things said in the broadcast and concentrated on the few positive statements which Mr Bhutto could not avoid making in any case. This friendly response from India undoubtedly influenced Mr Bhutto

to make at least a declaration that Pakistan wanted to have peace with India and start a new chapter in Indo-Pakistan relations. What India desires is a permanent peace arrangement which can mark the beginning of a new era of relationship so that India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh could devote all their energies and resources to the task of economic development. Within this larger framework of a durable peace, other issues could be sorted out to the best advantage of all.

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SWARAJYA, July 8, 1972

In terms of performance and profitability, the public sector has proved a failure. Barring a dozen units, all the undertakings run as corporations, or departmentally, are mounting up losses every year. The total Government investment in these undertakings is over Rs 4,000 crores. Old excuses for the poor profitability of the public sector have not been accepted by the people. Now new explanations are trotted out by the Government which amount to saying that the public sector is not really meant for profits! When the public sector was launched with a big fanfare, it was claimed that these huge investments made out of tax money would be so well managed that they would provide running funds for every plan. These 'funds' were tabulated under the head 'surpluses from the public sector' based on estimates, of course. But no Plan, Second, Third or Fourth, has received any surplus worth the name from the public sector. And now the Government wants to tell the people that the public sector was never intended to produce profits.

A group of senior officers has been set up to lay down "new objectives" for the public sector! It is stated that attention has unfortunately been concentrated on only one of the objectives, i.e., profit, to the exclusion of the import of the social constraints under which a particular enterprise may be working. The plea now is that there is 'confusion' surrounding the objectives for which the public sector units have been set up. This has led to a distortion of the image of the public sector in the public mind, according to the Government. And so new yardsticks have to be provided to measure the success or profitability of a public undertaking. In short, the standard and the most authentic yardstick of profit is to be given the go by and the public sector is to seek shelter under vague objectives of removing regional imbalances, providing the infra-structure and "gaining strategic positions" in the economy.

It had been known that the Go-

SWARAJYA, July 8, 1972

vernment was reluctant to implement the Wanchoo Committee's recommendations on taxation, especially those relating to reliefs. There was a lurking fear that the Government might accept only those suggestions which would help net in more revenue. The Government is now toying with the idea of clubbing the income of husband and wife but the hardships that such a course will entail on middle class families, where both members have to earn to just keep themselves going, have been pointed out by some

ANDHRA PRADESH LETTER:**BAN ON SALE OF VACANT URBAN LAND**

HYDERABAD, June 26: Stray summer fires are not unusual, but the fire wave that swept over several districts, for over ten days, and almost continuously, taking the ghastliest toll at Vijayawada and in several urban and rural areas, particularly in Krishna, Guntur, East and West Godavari districts, is the worst since 1966. Official sources categorically said that the fires were not due to sabotage but were "purely accidental." It is the poorest and economically weak and vulnerable sections of society that have been affected by the fires. Over 30 fatal cases have been reported; 13,500 'houses' are believed to have been destroyed rendering 25,000 families homeless. Government agencies have called on private philanthropy to help relief and rehabilitation measures being undertaken on a "war footing."

A month after the ban on agricultural land, the Governor promulgated another ordinance earlier this month, prohibiting alienation of vacant land in urban areas in the State. The ordinance is intended to prevent speculative selling of urban land. It does not apply to transfers of vacant land by or in favour of the State Government, the Central Government, local bodies, public sector undertakings, banks and cooperative house-building societies established for providing housing accommodation to the weaker sections of the people as may be

members of Parliament. They have pleaded for raising the exemption limit for such families to Rs 20,000 in case this clubbing is resorted to. Some members suggested checks on conspicuous consumption and speculative business and called for a more detailed examination of the system of licences, quotas and permits which are the main source of tax evasion. Past experience shows that the Government has encouraged the system of licences and quotas for the reason that it gives it the power of patronage.

approved by the Government. Power has been taken by the Government to grant exemption in respect of transfers of land for educational, scientific, industrial, commercial and such other purposes.

The Salar Jung Museum, the biggest tourist attraction in Hyderabad, has lately given anxiety as a "security risk". Following the theft of over 40 delicate miniature

RAJASTHAN LETTER:**5000 VILLAGES HIT BY SCARCITY CONDITIONS**

JAIPUR, June 24: Over 32 lakhs people in about 5,000 villages have been hit by traumatic scarcity conditions in Western Rajasthan. For the cattle the situation is equally grim as there is neither fodder nor drinking water. According to reports, large-scale cattle migration has begun from western Rajasthan.

The Government is taking all possible steps to mitigate the suffering of the people. It has opened relief works in the drought-hit areas giving employment to about a lakh of people. Besides, water is being transported to the remote areas.

A Central study team has already submitted its report to Delhi, recommending the provision of Rs 2.18 crores as Central assistance to meet the situation in the State. The team visited the

paintings a month ago, four employees were suspended. But of the missing works of art, 28 pieces have been found to have made "their way back into the store room", as mysteriously as they had disappeared. Again, one morning, the seals on some locks on the door were found to have been tampered with.

A ten-century-old Shiva temple, of rare archaeological interest and artistic stone carvings and sculpture, at Sangameswaram in Kur-nool district, is to be transferred intact to Hyderabad to be saved from being submerged in the Srisailem project. Arrangements for removing the temple, stone by stone and reconstructing it in its original shape and size, are being made by the Birla Trust at an estimated cost of Rs 7 lakhs as part of its project to construct a Venkateswara temple on Naubat Pahad, a hillock of commanding height. As a place from where the Nizam arranged for making all important public announcements, with trumpets and percussion instruments, Naubat Pahad is also close to Fateh Maidan.

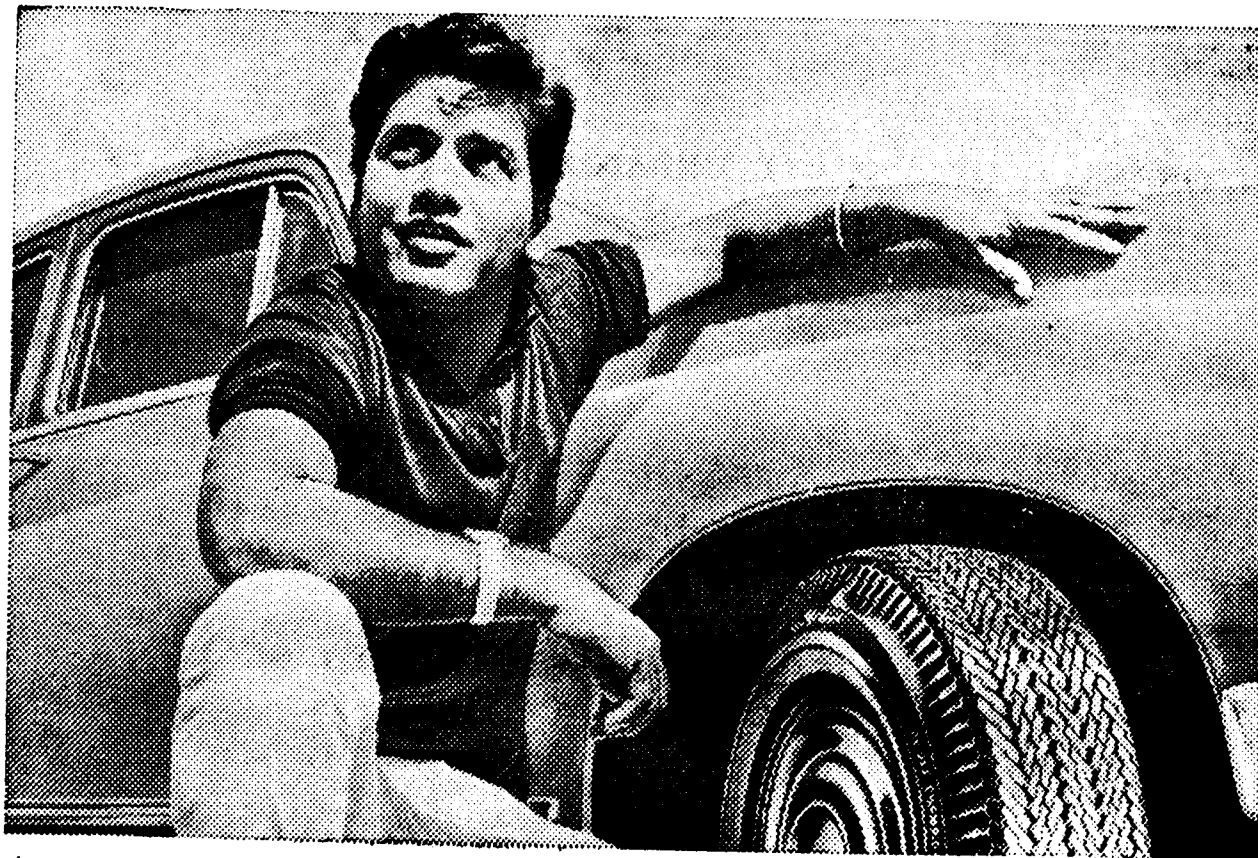
drought-hit areas in Jodhpur and Bikaner districts recently and held discussions with the Government officials here.

The Government is not happy over the meagre Central assistance recommended by the team. The State Government is hardly in a position to find resources to supplement the Central aid.

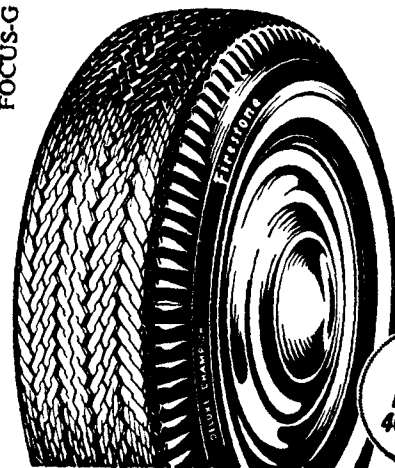
Drought is not new so far as western Rajasthan is concerned. In eight out of 10 years during the 1960s this part of the State experienced scarcity conditions, so much so that in one full year an expenditure to the tune of Rs 70 crores had to be incurred. What causes surprise is the Government had not taken adequate steps to remove the conditions prone to the recurrence of drought in the State.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

WAY TO PROSPERITY

Sir,—The Central Steel Minister, Mr Mohan Kumaramangalam, deserves our congratulations on his frank and very timely speech at the AICC meeting, asking 'the party to mobilise the talents of the people for hard work.' He wanted workers to put in an honest day's work, as 'work alone is going to change the face of India.' That requires firm steps on the part of the Government and a bold labour policy.

It is unfortunate that the changed relationship between labour, management and labour leadership is not properly realised. The much talked-of exploitation by capitalists has given room to extortion by 'labour'—it would be more correct to say 'by labour leadership'. With adult franchise in a parliamentary democracy, we have to face coercion by organised numbers. In fact, managements and the Government are afraid of labour. Labour has become a power in politics. Imagine the colossal loss, waste and hardships suffered not only by the general public but by the workers as well by the strikes in Simpsons, Madhura Mills and Ashok Leyland.

It is the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who can and must bring about

a change and of a new consciousness in the minds of the workers and involve them effectively in the process of nation-building. She has called for a year-long celebration of the Silver Jubilee of our Independence and she is anxious that the observance of the jubilee year should lead to permanent and continuing benefits to the people. She can legislate for the proper dignity and greater prosperity of the workers; at the same time she must mobilise them for hard work. *Garibi-hatao* will be an illusion if the nation is not made to work hard and produce more.

Tuticorin
(Tamil Nad)

M. C. VLEENBAHU

"HINDU" AND "MUSLIM" UNIVERSITIES

Sir,—It is very desirable that the denominations of "Hindu" in the case of the Benares Hindu University, and "Muslim" in respect of the Aligarh Muslim University should be abolished and they may be called Benares University and Aligarh University, like the Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Allahabad Universities. The Benares Hindu University, so far as it is

known, is not exclusive to Hindus, nor is the Aligarh Muslim University exclusive to Muslims, either in the management or appointment of staff or in the admission of students. Most of the curricula in Sciences and Arts are common, as in other universities, except that the Benares University has a Department of Hindu religion, and the Aligarh University, a Department of Muslim Religion. But both these departments are said to be open to students of both communities.

If the object is to promote the study of Hindu and Muslim religions respectively, it will be better served if the concerned departments are opened in as many universities in India as possible so that those interested need not go to Benares or Aligarh, but can go to the nearest university, thereby enabling a much larger number of students to study the subjects. It is also desirable that these departments are financed by the respective communities, leaving the Government to finance only study of secular subjects.

The elimination of the qualifying terms, "Hindu" and "Muslim", in the Benares and the Aligarh Universities will also emphasise the secular polity of India and promote national integration.

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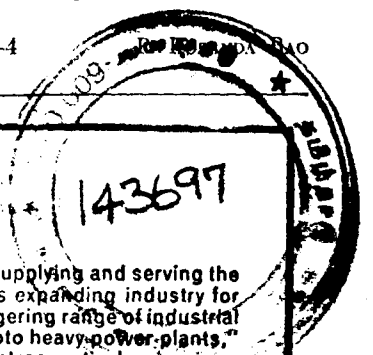
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AA/1107/137

FACTS AND FIGURES:

THE LATEST break-down of pending cases in the different High Courts in the country (as at the end of 1971) gives Calcutta the distinction of topping the list with 77,360 cases; Allahabad is a close second with 71,722. The figures for other centres are: Bombay 39,296; Kerala 34,433; Madras 33,673; Punjab and Haryana 24,302; Patna 19,422; Madhya Pradesh 17,407; Andhra Pradesh 15,648; Delhi 15,067; Gujarat 13,906; Mysore 13,870; Rajasthan 11,125; Orissa 6,866; Assam and Nagaland 5,057; Jammu and Kashmir 1,652 and Himachal Pradesh 1,544.

ACCORDING to the Director of Census Operations, the population of Muslims in Tamil Nad has risen by 34.83 per cent in the last decade, that of Christians by 34.37 per cent, and that of the Hindus by 21.05 per cent. The total population has increased by an average of 22.3 per cent. The total population of the State as on April 1, 1971, was 41,199,168, of whom 28,734,334 constituted rural and 12,464,834 urban. Hindus constituted 89.02 per cent (36,674,150), Christians 5.75 per cent, Muslims 5.7 per cent, while Jains and other communities were less than 1 per cent. Twelve city agglomerations and four cities in the State account for 57.7 per cent of the urban population.

THE INSTITUTE for Financial Management and Research, started a year ago in Madras, with the object of providing advanced training in financial management, conducting research in financial subjects, seminars, workshops and conferences and issuing publications, has done commendable work even in the first year of its functioning. It has built up a faculty of a Professor and 4 Assistant Professors, a cadre of honorary professors and part-time visiting lecturers; has established a library with 1,500 volumes relating to finance; conducted 4 full-time courses, and 2 part-time courses of one week to seven weeks' duration, of which 4 were held in Madras, one in Bombay

and one in Bangalore, in which 149 participants took part, 92 of whom were from the industrial units in the private sector, 16 from the public sector undertakings, 12 from State and Central financial institutions, 8 from academic and research institutions and one from a consulate. The Institute has a building of its own and proposes to build a large and more comprehensive campus in Adyar in due course. It seeks to fulfil a void in the city's financial sphere—an institute for management training in the specialised field of finance. Mr S. L. N. Simha is the first Director of the Institute, which is headed by Mr H. V. R. Iengar and a team of 10.

THERE IS food, as well as money in mushrooms, though neither the one nor the other is fully realised in India. Mycology, the science of the fungi, has identified over 100,000 species of mushrooms, many of which are noxious and destructive of plant life; but there are others which are edible, some considered food of the Gods and reserved for ritual consumption. Champignon (popular in France), morchella mushroom and truffle are the three varieties most sought after and the price ranges from Rs 14 to Rs 20 per kg for fresh champignons. Mushroom cultivation is now taken up as a pioneering venture in Chail in Himachal Pradesh, with the assistance of a German specialist. Canned edible mushroom holds good prospect of a lucrative export market for India. Hong Kong now supplies canned mushrooms to the European markets.

SCIENTISTS in Australia have now developed a desalination system, known as the sirotherm, which reduces the salt content of brackish water from bore-wells, streams and lakes to levels suitable for town water supplies. The system is not suitable for dealing with sea-water, as it contains 70 times as much salt as brackish bore or stream water. The process is based on the I.I.C.-produced synthetic resin which absorbs salt and is stated to be cheaper than

any other desalination system and is currently operating as a pilot project by the Perth Metropolitan Water Board, Australia.

THE WORLD'S largest rotational photogravure printing giant, intended for newspaper and magazine printing has been fabricated by MAN (Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg), Federal Republic of Germany. The machine has 150,000 component parts, is 62 metres long, 9.6 metres high, and weighs 630 tons. It is operated by 180 electric motors and needs more than 1,000 compressed air blowers, motors and cylinders to drive and steer the apparatus. Its capacity is 30 per cent higher than any previous machines of this type. In one hour it can turn out up to 320,000 magazines of 28 pages—14 of these in full colour—or 110,000 magazines with 84 pages which leave them cut and stapled together. The amount of paper consumed in one hour is 200 kilometres in length. About 1000 litres of coloured ink are used every hour.

IN ORDER to encourage the use of electronic computers in business and industry, the Japanese Government has introduced a special tax reduction measure benefiting their users. Payment for the purchase of computers is allowed to be included in depreciation account. The loss to the public exchequer on account of this concession is estimated at 100 million yen per annum. How popular the use of computer in Japan is can be gauged from the fact that the value of the total production of computers is expected to rise to 1,495,000 million yen by 1975 which represents an annual increase of 37 per cent. Among desk-top calculators alone, there are no less than 1500 items in 14 models.

THERE ARE some 2,500 publishing houses in the Federal Republic of Germany. Approximately 40 per cent of them are active in Munich, Stuttgart, Hamburg and Berlin (West) and Frankfurt-on-Main. New titles published numbered 35,577 in 1969, an improvement from 22,524 in 1960, 18,055 in 1950

and 8,001 in 1947. The small-publishing houses (1 to 10 books a year) account for 14.6 per cent of the total book production, compared with 27.6 per cent by medium-sized houses (11 to 50 books) and 57.8 per cent by large publishing houses (over 50 books). Small publishing houses, consti-

tute 74.1 per cent of the total number, compared with 19.4 per cent of medium and 6.5 per cent of large firms; 150 devote themselves exclusively to children's books. —(Deutschland Report).

SINCE JANUARY 1, 1969, 253 world-wide attempts have been made at

hijacking and extortion; 160 have succeeded. So far, in 1972, out of 35 hijacking attempts, compared with 52 in 1971, 17 succeeded—many of them of spectacular nature, some involving heavy ransom, others endangering many lives. (U.S. News and World Report, July 3, 1972).

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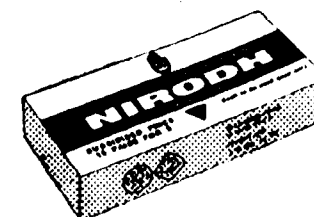
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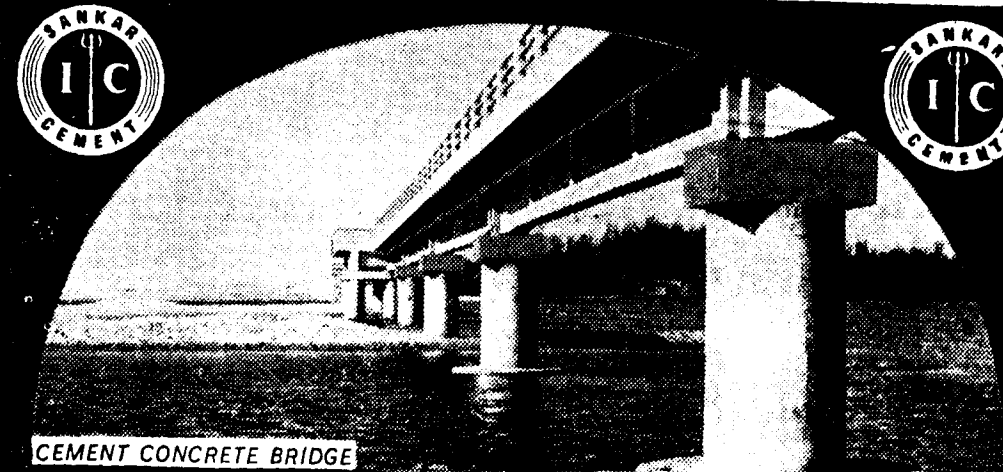
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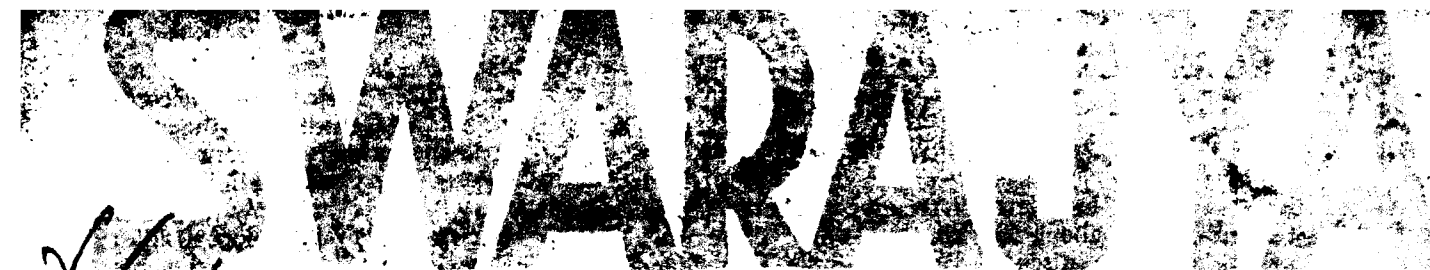
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(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

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MADRAS, JULY 15, 1972

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NEW BEGINNING OR FACE SAVING ?

K. SANTHANAM

THE LAST MINUTE agreement signed by the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan may be considered as the beginning of a new chapter of friendly relations between India and Pakistan, or a clever attempt at face saving, covering up the actual failure of the summit. The agreement reads like a Bill with a long preamble and only one clause, with the more substantial clauses to be filled in the future. It may be admitted that the preamble declaring that the two Governments 'are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations', that they renounce force and affirm the principles of Pancha Sila is undoubtedly attractive. The one concrete matter of agreement to evacuate territory in West Punjab occupied by either army is undoubtedly a major concession on the part of India which should have induced Mr Bhutto to sign the agreement, besides the popularity arising from the illusion of a successful agreement on an equal footing.

Analysing the agreement objectively, I think it is neither a big achievement, as some have hailed it, nor does it amount to a 'sell-out' as the President of the Jan Sangh has called it. It does not prejudice future agreement on the matters under dispute, nor does it ensure such agreement. Mrs Indira Gandhi had repeatedly declared that she wanted a comprehensive agreement and acceptance of bilateral negotiations as the exclusive method of composing differences between the two.

She has failed in both respects. She has secured only a sentimental approval of general principles to which both Governments are pledged under the Charter of the United Nations. Mr Bhutto has succeeded in getting her to agree to the formula, 'by bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means.' This means that Pakistan will be free to ask for reference of any issue to arbitration or take it to the U.N. Security Council or the General Assembly. India may refuse to agree to any such course and a deadlock would result. India cannot forget that the renunciation of force was endorsed at Tashkent and this did not prevent the recent hostilities. Mr Chou En-lai and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru solemnly signed the agreement containing the principles of Pancha Sila but it did not avert the Sino-Indian war of 1962. So, undue importance should not be given to the general declarations in the agreement, though it may have some moral impact upon the people of both countries and influence international judgment in any future conflict between India and Pakistan.

It is a pity that the Kashmir dispute remains as it was. Though Pakistan has undertaken not to disturb by force the new cease-fire line, it has not accepted it nor has it indicated any inclination to accept even the previous line as the international boundary. While troops are to be withdrawn to their sides of the international border in West Pakistan, it is not provided that they will be placed at such distance from the border

as to eliminate border incidents.

The agreement provides for discussion of "modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace, and normalisation of relations, including the question of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations." It is strange that during five days of intensive discussions between the delegations of both countries, even on such simple matters as resumption of diplomatic relations, repatriation of prisoners of war on the western front and non-controversial issues like resumption of communications, travel facilities, trade and cultural relations, there is only promise of taking future steps. Apparently, it was not possible even to set up joint committees or commissions for the purpose.

It is stated that the heads of the two Governments 'will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future'. Reading between the lines, it is clear that the next summit meeting will take place only when the relations of Pakistan and Bangla Desh are satisfactorily settled. It may be presumed that Mr Bhutto expects Mrs Gandhi to help in this matter and there is no doubt that she would like to do so. But, she knows that the assured friendship of Bangla Desh is too valuable to be compromised by any undue pressure on Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman. Thus, there is a long road to go before durable peace can be established between India and Pakistan. Premature jubilation is not warranted.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

M. RUTHNASWAMY

AT THE SEMINAR held in New Delhi last month, when about 50 eminent scientists met to discuss the question of the "best way of using scientific talent in India," the suggestion was made and strongly supported that a Minister and a Ministry of Science be established in the Government of India. In view of the large amount of money (Rs 323 crores in the Fourth Plan) spent on scientific research and development, on the large number of National Laboratories and other scientific institutions, nearly 32 in number, the ambitious scientific policy resolution of 1953 which aims at nothing less than to secure for the people of the country all the benefits that can accrue from the acquisition and application of scientific knowledge, and the anxious problems and difficulties that beset the path of the working scientist in India, to which reference was made by almost every scientist who took part in the Seminar, it would seem that the suggestion requires serious consideration.

In addition to the arguments advanced at the Seminar, it may be mentioned that almost every modern government has a Minister and a Ministry of Science. In Britain, the second Labour Ministry of Mr. Wilson had a Minister of State for Science in special charge of civil science. The Ministry's activities in its field were organized through a number of research councils. In the Conservative Government which succeeded it, there is a Secretary of State for Education and Science, whose activities continue to be organized through research councils and he has as his colleague a Minister of Technology. In the Federal Republic of Germany there is a Minister of Atomic Energy. In Italy there is a Minister of Science and Industrial Research. In Japan, there is a Minister of Science and Technology. In the U.S., where the President is also the Prime Minister, science is the special care of the

Executive Office of the President through the office of scientific Research and Development. In the U.S.S.R. the Presidium acts, as in the case of other subjects of administration, through a Central Committee for the coordination of scientific research, while the Academy of Sciences, which dates from the 18th century, is charged with the duty of giving guidance to the large number of scientific institutions and to individual scientists, numbering about 150,000, the largest number for any one country.

If India is to succeed in the economic and especially in the industrial field, science and scientific research must hold a key place in the Government's plans of progress. There must be a special Minister and a Ministry of Science. Only a special Ministry devoted to the task will have the time and energy to administer the large financial provision made in the Fourth Plan for Scientific Research and Development and to supervise and stimulate the work in the 32 laboratories and other scientific institutions which have to be inspected and kept up to the mark. Scientific education has to be improved from the university down to the primary school level. Industry has to be provided with a large contribution to promote scientific research. The scientific spirit has to be cultivated in the people. State Governments have to be encouraged, helped even needed to promote scientific research and development in their areas of jurisdiction. All this requires a Minister who commands the enthusiasm, the energy and the belief in the worth and value of science that will make of the new Ministry a source of inspiration and help to the scientific and industrial world of India.

As for the objection of cost involved in the establishment of a new Ministry at this time of financial stringency it may be met by reducing the cost of administration of the Central Ministries of

Education, Agriculture and Industry. These subjects are, according to the Constitution, the principal and primary concern of the States. The Central Ministries in these subjects are only there to administer the aids and subsidies made to the State Governments out of the Central Government's larger and increasing financial resources. So, these Ministries of Education, Agriculture and Industry at the Centre are just superfluous merely to administer the funds and grants and a strain on the financial resources of the Government of India.

Another Minister and Ministry that should be established at the Centre in India is a Ministry for Rural Works and Rural Reconstruction. If the *garibi hatao* programme of the Government and of the party in power on which the party won its huge majority in the election, is to be realized, the programme must be put into effect in the area where poverty prevails most extensively, as well as intensively. The largest number of poor is to be found in the villages of India. And this poverty can be removed only through work and employment. And this employment must be provided to the people in the villages through public works and that will increase the prosperity of the villages. It is rural public works that will solve the problem of Indian poverty. It is village roads (one million miles of them), village drinking water wells (40,000 of them), village housing (60 million of them), rural industries (the old village industries brought into economically viable centres like panchayat unions but modernized so as to serve the needs of the modern mechanical works that will provide the largest scope for employment and thereby bring about an improvement in the standard of living and the economic prosperity of the people. Spread over 5 to 10 years this programme of rural public works may go a long way to drive poverty out of the country.

To organise and administer these works and the larger funds that have to be spent on them a special Minister and Ministry in the Government of India are re-

quired. Although all these rural public works come within the province of State Governments, they are too poor in financial resources to undertake these rural public works on the large scale that this problem requires. The bulk of the money for financing these works must come from the Central Government in the form of aids and subsidies. And it cannot stand at the derisory level of Rs 50 crores which is at present allotted. It must be immediately raised to Rs 100 crores and proportionately in the coming years till it reached at least Rs 250 crores a year.

In view of the fact that the States have not been able to spend even the little amount that has been allotted to them the new

Ministry of Rural Works and Reconstruction must have its own agents and agencies in the States as is the case in the US. This new Minister also must have the qualities and qualifications that will make of the new Ministry and its work the success it deserves to be—enthusiasm, energy, a sense of cost and economy, the drive combined with tact that will enable him to persuade all concerned, his colleagues in the Government of India, the State Governments, industry, the people generally, especially those in the villages for their cooperation in the form of free labour which will considerably reduce the cost of this great programme. The hour has come. The men must be found.

NOISE AND ITS HARMFUL EFFECTS

S. SUNDARAM

LIKE ATMOSPHERIC pollution, noise is another unwanted byproduct of modern technology. Noise consists of audible airborne vibrations of several mutually discordant frequencies. Its intensity is defined as a decibel. Noise impairs hearing and affects speech adversely. It harms the nervous system. Its diffusion into the human cerebral areas can damage the various sensory and motor activities. A well-known reaction to noise is the stunning effect of an explosion which leads to fright and panic. High-level steady noise can hurt the eye muscles by narrowing the vision and destroying colour perception. Visual changes caused by clattering power tools in military and industrial environment cause injury.

Continued exposure to loud noise changes the human biochemical structure, altering the kidney and liver functions, and blood sugar levels and even causing gastro-duodenal ulcer. Noise inhibits glandular activity, alters blood pressure and causes irregular heart beats. Breathlessness, disturbed voice, reduced salivation and digestive upsets are also caused by excessive noise. Low frequency or infrasonic noise which occurs during rocket boosting and space vehicle accelera-

tion, force the human chest inward, inducing a sensation of gagging and coughing.

Noise, oscillations and vibrations are inter-related. Steering an ill-balanced automobile, riding a motor cycle or handling vibrating power tools damage the fingers and arm. A creepy and nervous feeling is a well-known experience when a sharp edge is scratched on a smooth floor making a low vibration noise. The rubbing sound of a nailed sole on a well-polished floor can be highly irritating.

Groundborne vibrations are transmitted to residential areas from heavy trucks, railway systems and industrial units. People living on noisy streets seldom get restful sleep. Those residing near airports often experience the annoying effects of airborne noise from jet planes. Any machinery for high speed and heavy load should be so designed as to make it work as silently as possible. Today, even a simple power hammer or pulviser is designed only for the anticipated loads and feed rates, without considering the noise caused during its operation. Based on the research on the physiological effects of vibration, the British Railways have established

standards and limits for trains and road vehicles.

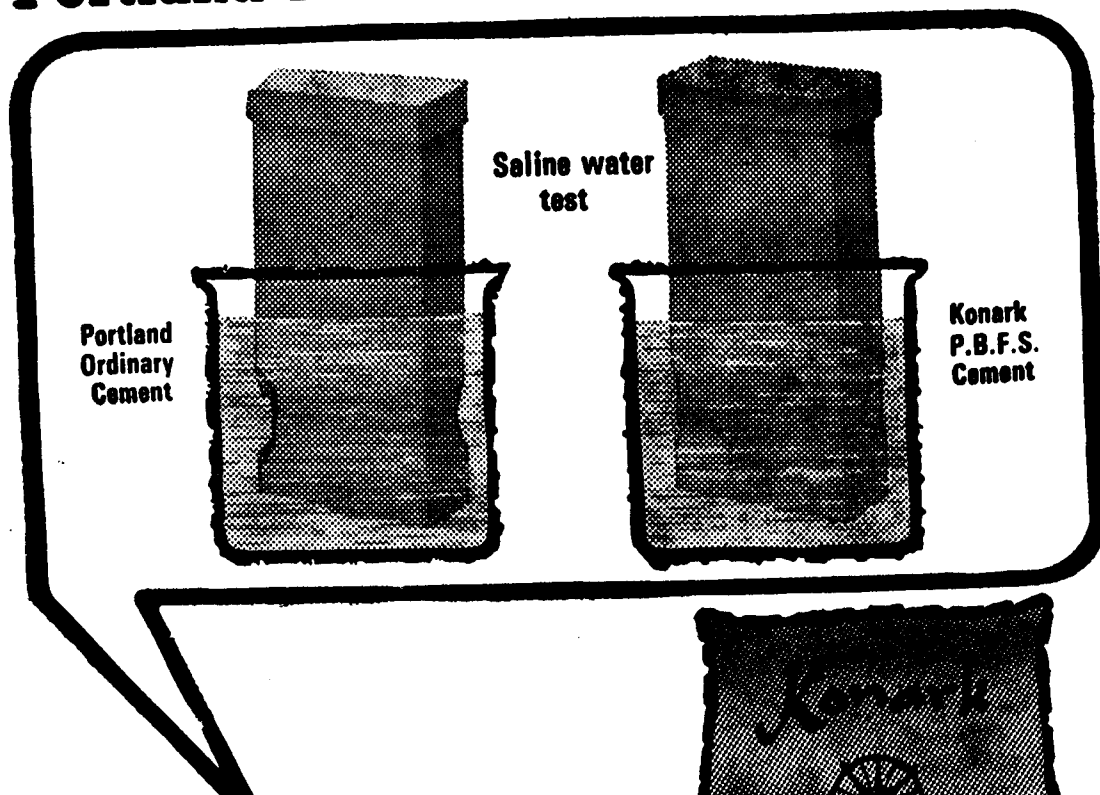
An instrument called the vibrator is used to determine the effects of vibratory power tools on workers. Scientific answers are being found for the acoustic problems of general machinery, blowers and fans, office equipment, workshops, industrial plant and residential areas. Rigs have been developed to measure noise and there are also precision instruments to monitor the levels of a single and third octave and fine frequency.

For the measurement of vibrations, sophisticated instruments are available depending on the sensitivity and the frequency range, such as, transducer gauges, pressure pick-ups, accelerometers for linear and torsional measurements and non-contacting proximity probes. They are used in ships, factories, offices, gun ranges, oil refineries and chemical and cement industries. Environmental studies have been made on groundborne vibrations and noise adjacent to railway and cargo terminals. Other latest areas of investigation are the performance and noise of electric motors, fluorescent lamp fittings, computer teletypes, food mixers, fans, hydraulic pumps, valves and machine tools.

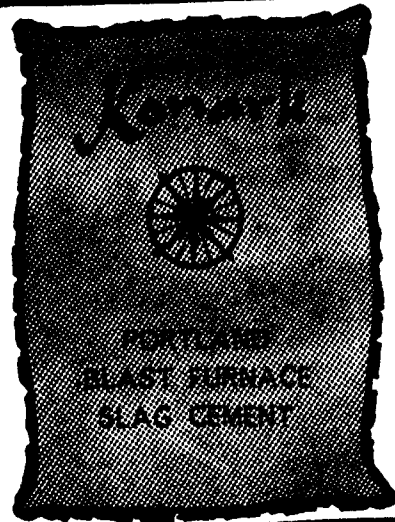
In this modern technotronic age, it is inevitable that we live with noise. But efforts can be made to reduce it and its harmful effects. Legislation, mutual agreement through acceptable standards and improved design can achieve the goal effectively. Many countries can follow the example of the U.K. where the external noise of motor cars is restricted by law. Some European countries have imposed statutory limits on the noise of agricultural machinery, machine tools and vehicles. A few laboratories are doing intensive research to establish the criteria for permissible noise levels. Within a year or two, international standards may be formulated. But more than legislative enactments, the need is great for a creative voluntary approach for the design and manufacture of improved machinery and efficient equipment which will be not only highly productive, but also least noisy.

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EDITOR'S NOTES :

THE BANDH AND AFTER

It was unfortunate that the Bandh declared by the agriculturists and which should have passed off as a harmless peaceful demonstration was converted into a dangerous confrontation between the Government and the demonstrators involving many lathi charges and shooting by the police in which 16 persons were killed and a large number injured. The Chief Minister seems to have decided that even peaceful demonstrations should be prevented and called upon all his partymen to obstruct the Bandh as far as possible. Thousands of preventive arrests were made and generally, the police came to understand that prevention and break-up of demonstrations was their business and not merely the maintenance of peace, law and order. Preventive arrests are the characteristics of a Police State and in a democracy, no person should be arrested even for a short time unless he is suspected of a crime and is to be put up before a court and tried. The Chief Minister has claimed that the Bandh was not supported by the people and it was engineered by a few politicians. It was all the greater reason to allow it to proceed peacefully. The mere fact that such extraordinary and undemocratic steps had to be taken refutes his contention. As for the political motives behind the Bandh, it was supported by all the political parties in the State except the D.M.K. and included the C.P.I. and other groups who are considered to be allies of the D.M.K. It is also very strange that while the Chief Minister claims that he was ready to meet and discuss with the leaders of the Bandh, the latter deny that they had any such invitation. The truth seems to be that the Chief Minister wanted a formal request from the leaders of the Bandh, while the latter waited for an invitation from the Chief Minister. The lack of confidence on both sides seems to be so complete that such formalities should have prevented discussions and settlement. Whatever may be the merits of the case, it is certainly

time the dispute is settled and the simplest method is arbitration by a person who would be trusted by both sides. It is satisfactory that judicial enquiry has been ordered in four centres where shooting resulted in deaths. It might have been better if a Judge of the High Court had been appointed to enquire in all the four centres but the District Judges appointed are responsible judicial officers who can be trusted to do justice. It is the duty of the leaders of the agriculturists to see that all the facts are properly presented and the issues are argued by competent lawyers.

MR CONNALLY'S VISIT

It appears that the visit of Mr John B. Connally, the special emissary of President Nixon, has not been utilised to the maximum benefit of the country. He seems to have been received coldly and his conversations with the Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister and others appear to have been rather formal. It is true that India resented the action of President Nixon during the Bangla Desh crisis but the very fact that he sent, without any special invitation, a person of standing like Mr Connally who was till recently the Financial Secretary, indicates that he wanted to make a fresh attempt at reconciliation. At a press conference, Mr Connally suggested that the Indian leaders were inclined to take a self-righteous attitude. He said: "We recognise that there are going to be times when India does not approve of the actions which the U.S. takes. By the same token, there would be occasions when the U.S. would not approve of this country's actions" and he added that cantankerous criticisms of each other's action was not going to produce better relations between the two countries. Though Mr Connally seems to have come ready to discuss resumption of American aid, he did not do so as the Indian leaders did not refer to the subject. While India should not go to any country with a begging bowl, it is not in a position to neglect reasonable

chances of obtaining aid which can be got without political strings or without the loss of self-respect. Substantial American aid may mean a great deal to the success of the Fifth Plan. While China and the U.S.S.R. seem to be so anxious to get the goodwill of the U.S. as to soft-pedal their commitments to North Vietnam, it is altogether short-sighted for the Indian Government to appear indifferent to it.

NEW PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN

The election of Mr Tanaka as the leader of the ruling party and consequently Prime Minister of Japan in preference to Mr Fukuda who was favoured by the retiring Prime Minister, Mr Sato, indicates that the radical elements in the party have succeeded. Mr Tanaka has already announced his intention to seek to establish friendly relations with China. He may also do so with the U.S.S.R. In the process, Japan will become less dependent on the U.S.. Militarily Japan is not a big Power and has no nuclear arms. It is, however, one of the richest countries in the world and has the potential of becoming a great Power. It is time that India made an effort to cultivate close relations with Japan.

FLOATING OF THE POUND STERLING

In the same manner as West Germany floated the mark at the time of the dollar crisis, the U.K. has allowed the pound sterling to float though for opposite reasons. The instability of the relative values of the currencies is likely to become a chronic headache in international trade, till a world currency can be established by binding agreement between all the advanced countries. Having elected to link the rupee to the sterling at the time of the dollar devaluation, the Indian Government will do well to stick to its decision and let the rupee follow the sterling. If it has to be devalued along with the pound, India has everything to gain and nothing to lose.

PROBLEMS OF BANK MANAGEMENT

NAVIN CHANDRA JOSHI

MANAGERIAL PRINCIPLES and techniques have by now got firmly rooted, at least in their acceptance, as essential to any organisational structure that engages itself in business activity. However, the concept of scientific management has somehow not made an entry into the banking industry of our economy so that its real significance has all along gone by default. Now with the nationalisation of major banks, it is felt that the management of commercial banks should be toned up not only in spreading their net of loans and deposits far and wide but the house must be set in order internally so that the stresses and strains of additional responsibilities, particularly for ameliorating the lot of the weaker sections of society, may get softened and cushioned through the beneficial effects of efficiency.

Indeed, it is remarkable that

management of banking has not so far been subjected to the same pressures to determine and control the organisational efficiencies upon which evaluation of performance really depends. The following are some of the main reasons as to why the situation has been so:

(i) Training of personnel in bank management, including those holding the highest executive positions, has been in lending rather than in management. It has been our conviction that management problems are not of much consequence and can safely be left to take care of themselves.

(ii) As a corollary to the above, professional personnel who are qualified in various aspects of management, are rarely employed or even consulted.

(iii) It has been thought that banking business is a business that requires to be done in a

mechanical way and as such, no conscious efforts are needed for manipulating the internal structure. The rule-of-thumb way of working has been the motto practised at all levels of management in banks.

(iv) Although difficulties of controlling organisational efficiency and cost have generally been greater in banking than in other industries, yet there has been no consumer resistance faced by the banks, as is the case in other industries in which a rise in costs does get reflected in a rise in prices.

(v) Banks have been able to invoke the shelter behind the provisions of the Banking Companies Act for the privilege of not disclosing their 'true' profits. Hence, there has always been a good cover for organisational and managerial inefficiencies.

(vi) Relatively weaker employees' unions, handicapped by lack of information regarding the true position of the banks' finances,

have not been able to make any impact, with the result that managerial sluggishness always got the better of managerial motivation in the matter of setting the house in order.

(vii) Bank managements thought that developments in other business spheres had no relevance or application to developments in bank management. There has thus been a tendency to take people for granted thereby confusing means with end.

Now that the Banking Commission has examined the whole structural position of the industry as also the operating methods and procedures of commercial banks in India, it is imperative that before its recommendations are put into practice, management techniques must be made a major plank in the armoury of better performance. With massive deficit financing and the green revolution, it is not understandable why the combined deposit growth of the 14 nationalised banks declined in 1971 and slipped below the improved average deposit growth rate of the banking system as a whole (*vide The Economic Times of February 7, 1972*). The performance of nationalised banks in the matter of deposit growth does require a thorough probe. It can reasonably be predicted that the internal fissures and lethargy that have developed in them must have recoiled on them

in the shape of consumers' apathy.

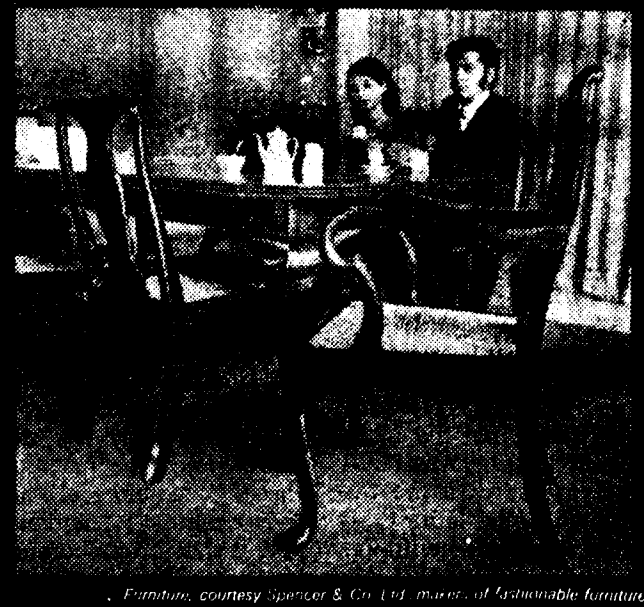
The expansion of new services by banks requires specialised skills that should be integrated effectively with the basic bank management structure. Perspective planning in banks has now to be more disciplined and systematic without losing the pernicious sense of flexibility and entrepreneurial flair. A more imaginative approach to marketing and selling the banks' service becomes essential. The development of new services will accelerate customers' needs in future. Hence, banks will have to face more challenging tasks. In fact, they are now becoming virtually 'financial supermarkets.' The overhead costs are increasing. Therefore, more effective staff utilisation at all levels is important since staff cost, a major expenditure in banks, will get further escalated in future, particularly in the nationalised banks. For example, a key task may be increasing branch profitability from fewer banking services by a certain percentage in the first year, by a higher percentage in the second year, and so on. It must be remembered that banking is not only a public service but it must be developed as any other commercial enterprise. If the rewards for employing capital are not there or are inadequate, the entire structure will ultimately collapse. If managerial efficiency does not reflect in customer ser-

vice, the industry will get chronically diseased.

Apart from attracting a fair share of able and potential managers, Indian banks now face a vast re-training programme for the existing managerial personnel from top to bottom. The present tragedy of the banking industry is that few managers really understand the central objectives of the organisations they serve as also their own contribution towards achieving them.

It is now time that the banking industry utilised the services of consultants, advisers, experts in management, behavioural sciences, operational research and so on. Banking, like other organisations, cannot operate solely with an operational banking 'line' management. There is also a 'staff' function which consists of a number of specialised service departments on whose experience and expertise the bank management can usefully draw. Such specialists should stand in functional relationship to the 'line' management through whom alone they can ultimately operate. 'Staff' services must mean additional financial burden on the banks; but proper utilisation of their services on a regular basis will be worthwhile for cutting costs in the long run. New organisational structures have to be developed for concentrating efforts on profit influencing jobs and projects.

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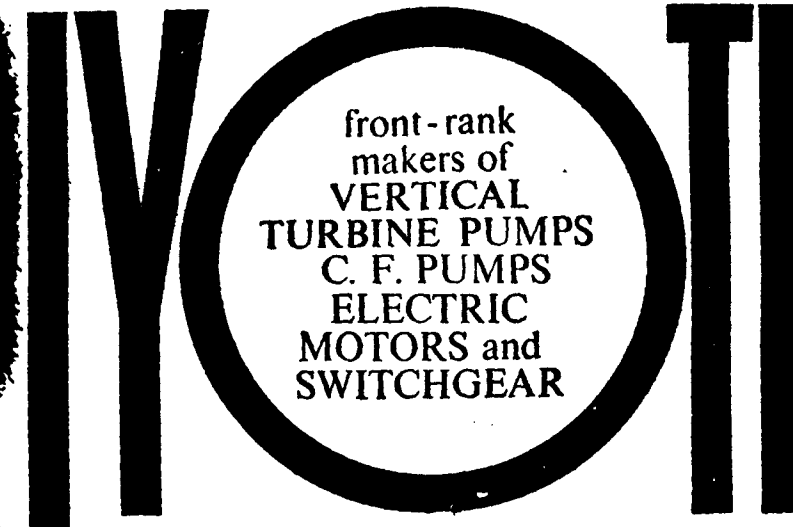
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WIDENING GAP BETWEEN PLAN TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Delivering the Convocation Address at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, last month, Dr Malcolm Adiseshiah said:

"The model of our Fifth Five-Year Plan is based on growth, social justice, stability and self-reliance. Marrying the information obtained from the Census and from the National Sample Survey, we can conclude that 40 per cent of the 438 million of our rural population and 60 per cent of the 108 million in the urban areas subsist at or below the poverty line. Our four key variables should be translated into getting this group to increase its consumption as well as expenditure to the minimum levels and increasing their spending by an annual 10 per cent so that by the end of the Sixth Plan period, i.e., 12 years from now, they can double their present expenditure at the poverty line.

"This would involve:

(a) recasting the present distribution system and assembling a new kind of mass distribution network through which wage goods could percolate to the poorer sectors;

(b) providing a new programme of protective protein-enriched foods for our 145 million pre-school children and lactating mothers;

(c) building a protected water supply, a rural housing scheme with basic amenities and an education programme for the thousands of villages lacking these.

"This minimum development programme will provide employment to the 14 million currently unemployed and the 120,000 new weekly entrants to our labour force.

"This is the Fifth Plan model emerging in our current economic and political environment which is making a specific call to you, social scientists. The social sciences are needed not only to execute the objectives of the Plan but to frame the Plan itself. A second task facing you is to examine carefully this facile assumption of modernisation upon which we have erected our model

of development which denies or denigrates the need for tradition. Unfortunately, we have data which are consciously and scientifically collected on everything except on this premise and it is up to the social scientists to fill this serious gap. The third task which follows from this rationalisation function is to involve ourselves deeply in facts. It will require the disclosure and analysis of several complex factors however unpleasant they are.

"We talk of planning from below, of peoples' participation in the planning and execution process. But this requires that people know all the facts. The present policy of selective secrecy that we practise in our centralised technocratic planning system only divorces the universe of end from the universe of means. The gap between our political pledges and Plan targets and our technocratic programmes and execution procedures widens daily. Social sciences abhor all forms of selective secrecy. Hence you must engage in the explanation and exposure of problems which are hidden or passed over in silence.

"Your fourth function is to integrate the development process which necessarily has to be divided into phases. These phases are the setting of objectives, the formulation of strategy, the elaboration of programmes and the details of projects. In such phased development planning, there is need for a two-fold progress of integration, to integrate the planning phase into a meaningful system with the systems approached.

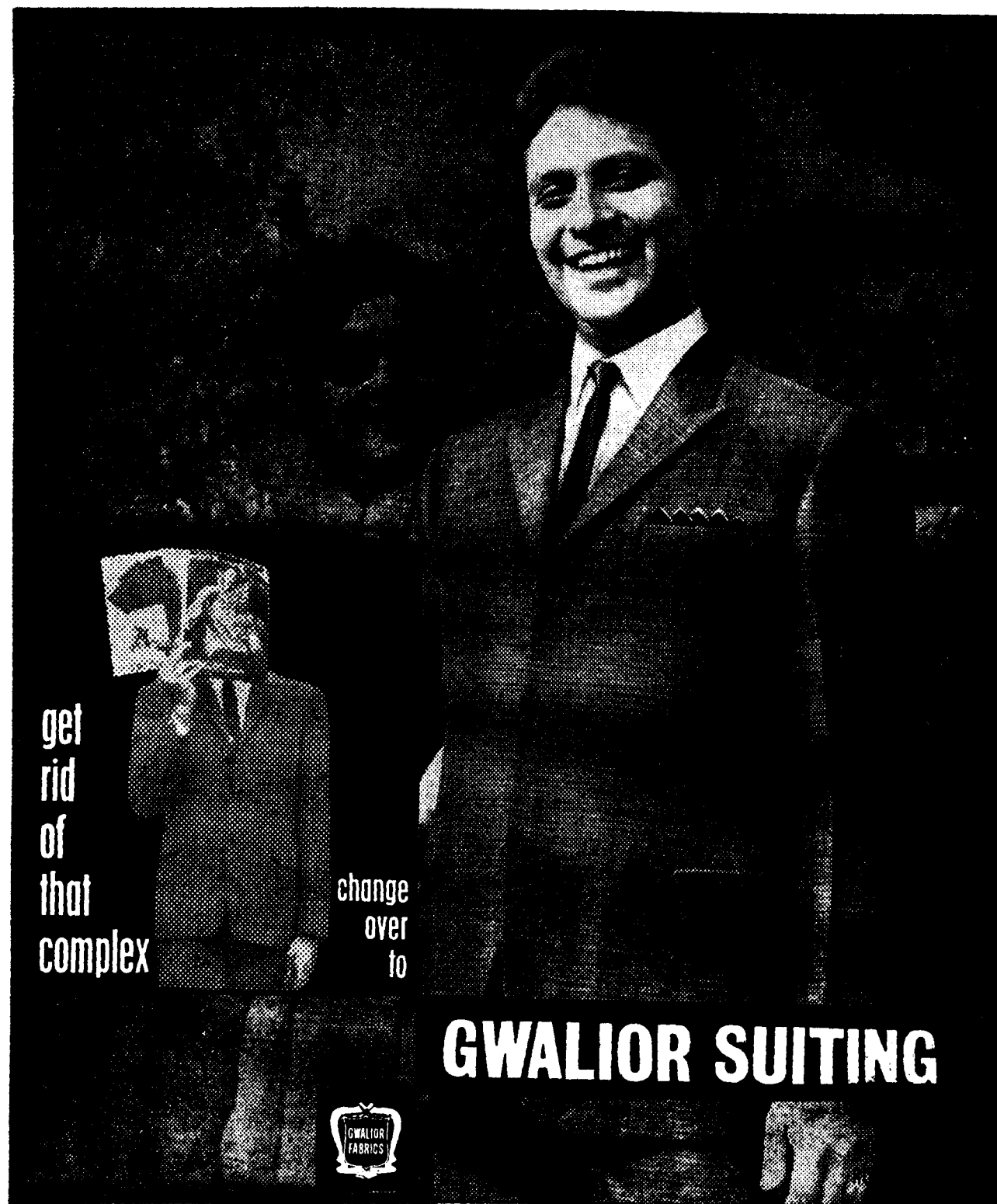
"All development models, all empirical planning begin, as we have seen, with a statement of objectives, which in our case today is growth, social justice, stability and self-reliance. Such a statement of objectives is the starting point of any Systems Approach and represents one universe for the social scientist—the universe of verifiable benefits. Our political universe has two goals—the security of our country from external aggression and internal peace through national integration, which are spelt out in the doctrine of Panch Sheel. Our ethical universe is the system of values spelt out in our Constitution, 'Justice, social, economic and political, Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, Equality of status and of opportunity and Fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.'

"The development of media of expression and communication has introduced new social complexes—complexes which can only be apprehended and analysed by multi-disciplinary team

work. And it is with this rich equipment that you can and must join the national battle of the war against poverty—poverty and its accompaniments of ignorance, stagnation, humiliation, injustice and exploitation, and at this point our social science research becomes meaningful social action; the pursuit of truth becomes tested in the crucible of application. That I know is the supreme joy and vocation of the social scientist, similar to that of our forefathers to whom to work was to pray; to us, to know is to act. That is true science, real social science—where action is the fateful and fruitful dialogue between the human mind and human reality.

"I believe that the time is ripe for our government, the business world and society in general to recognise the role of the social scientists and of social science in national development. I would call upon the Government and society to recognise specifically the role of social science in development planning and more particularly in its mobilisation in preparing the Fifth Five-Year Plan. What I am calling for is the clear recognition and full use of the social scientists in the country in the high stakes which our development model represents."

In his presidential address, Mr J. J. Bhabha said that two specialised research units had been established at the Institute, one for the study of the Urban Child and Youth supported by the UNICEF, and the other for the study of Sociology of Education supported by the UGC. He expressed the hope that the Government of India and the UGC would help stabilise those units by providing funds whereby these units could be supported directly out of the budget of the Institute. The Tata Institute of Social Sciences had been listed in the Gazette of India for the purposes of Section 35 (1) (iii) of the Income-tax Act, in terms of which companies and organizations making grants to the Institute in areas related to their business were given the benefit of total tax exemption for such grants.



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WEST BENGAL LETTER:

THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE!

CALCUTTA, June 24: There is a spate of planning in West Bengal. Almost every Minister has come out with a plan. Notable among them is the announcement by the Commerce and Industry Minister, Mr Tarun Kanti Ghosh, of the formation of four committees to prepare a plan for creating a million jobs by investing Rs 1,400 crores. Since then, Mr Ghosh has come to grief, probably, because he does not belong to the Chief Minister's group. Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray has told the State Planning Board to "just ignore" Mr Ghosh's plan and go ahead with the formulation of the Approach paper to the Fifth Plan. But this has not deterred other Ministers. Mr Santosh Roy, Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, is talking of a Rs 100 crores plan for the rehabilitation of the old East Bengal refugees. If all the plans are put together, the money involved will run into several hundred crores of rupees.

An integrated plan is, undoubtedly, necessary for lifting the State from the mess in which it finds itself now. But, the way the Ministers are talking or planning betrays a lack of coordination among them and between the Ministers and the Planning Board. At the last meeting of the Board the question was raised by some non-official members. What is, however, of greater importance is the question of resources. The State's Fourth Plan is of the order of Rs 350 crores, against the Third Plan outlay of Rs 300 crores. And three-fourth of the Plan allocation was advanced by the Centre. The Fifth Plan, now under preparation, may be of the order of Rs 600 crores.

At the time of the election the Congress had raised high hopes and promised jobs to everyone. Now in power, it finds that generation of job opportunities is not as easy as making promises. In the three months they had been in office, the Ministers could find jobs even for their close supporters. As a result, the initial buoyancy is fast yielding place to despondency.

No development is possible unless there is adequate power supply. The Government is preparing plans to electrify a thousand villages by the end of the year, while load-shedding is a daily feature in Calcutta and the industrial suburbs. The Minister for Power has been talking of taking over the DVC power units as they have failed to keep to the schedule. What is the efficiency of the power units run by the State Government? The Minister has admitted that the power units of the Durgapur Projects Limited are at the moment producing only 95 MW against their capacity of 285 MW.

The Chief Minister has a plan

JUDICIARY AND PARLIAMENT

"Judiciary and Parliament", as two principal instruments of the State, have both to be inspired by the same goal of social justice enunciated in the Constitution and must function in this task in comity and within their respective spheres in the overall context of India's struggle for social justice and emancipation of the masses. This was the general view of the Seminar on "Judiciary and Parliament" held last month at the Ecumenical Christian Centre, Whitefield, Bangalore. The participants included judges, lawyers, and members of Parliament.

Mr K. Subba Rao, retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India, who initiated the discussion, spoke on "The Role of Judiciary in Indian Democracy".

While acknowledging the positive role played by the Judiciary as the protector of individual civil liberties, the role assigned to the Judiciary and the legislature and the manner in which tensions arose in their inter-relation as well as the ways in which such tensions could be avoided were considered at the Seminar. A great deal of discussion centred round the property rights in Part III of the Constitution as enshrined in Articles 19 and 31, the decisions of the Supreme Court on the

to reorganise the administration to make it clean and more responsive to popular needs. He has had talks with a senior official of the Prime Minister's Secretariat in that connection.

Meanwhile, a senior IAS officer has been removed from service. Action against another IAS officer is under consideration. Three members of a relief organisation were arrested on the charge of defalcating Rs 1.28 crores. A large number of boxes containing milk powder worth Rs 1.50 crores which had been received from foreign countries for distribution among the evacuees were seized from the offices of a few traders.

The move for toning up the administration is welcomed since it is common knowledge that the State Government machinery needs to be overhauled and no development plan can be successfully executed unless it is trimmed.

compensation provision and the amenability of the Constitution *vis-a-vis* the Golaknath case. One view expressed was that whatever the criticism of the anatomy and provisions of the Constitution itself, Judiciary should play a progressive role in facilitating social welfare measures instead of coming in their way. Another school of thought took the view that within the framework of the Constitution as it stood and the decisions of the Supreme Court, there was ample scope for socio-economic legislations and there was no need for any amendment of the Constitution.

The undesirability of a seeming cold-war between the Judiciary and Parliament was stressed by several participants who expressed the hope that the various organs of the State—the Executive, Parliament and the Judiciary—would, in a democratic spirit readjust their relations by functioning in the respective sphere assigned to them in the Constitution so that the march of the nation towards social and economic justice might not be hampered in any way. The participants were in agreement that all should work for a society wherein the people were assured of a decent livelihood and equal opportunities. The right to work should be ensured by legislative measures and all obstacles that stood in the way of our people achieving justice, social, economic and cultural, should be removed.

MYSORE LETTER:

FRESH TAX PROPOSALS IN MYSORE BUDGET

BANGALORE, June 26: A sharp increase in the tax on contract carriages, enhancement of Sales Tax both at the single point and multi-point levels, yielding a total extra revenue of Rs 3.9 crores in a full year and Rs 2.65 crores during the current year and enhancement of water rates on sugarcane, paddy and certain vegetable crops at different rates, were the main features of the State budget for the current year, presented by the Finance Minister, Mr M. Y. Ghorpade, in the Legislature on June 21.

Motor Vehicles Tax on contract carriages has been raised from Rs 35 to Rs 100 per seat per quarter. As against the five slabs of Sales Tax recommended by the Bhoothalingam Committee, the State Government has opted for 5 slabs of Rs 10,000 each at the following rates: Rs 600 per annum on a turnover of Rs 25,000 to Rs 35,000; Rs 900 per annum on a turnover of Rs 35,000 to Rs 45,000; Rs 1,200 per annum on a turnover of Rs 45,000 to Rs 55,000; Rs 1,500 per annum on a turnover of Rs 55,000 to Rs 65,000; and Rs 1,800 per annum on a turnover of Rs 65,000 to Rs 75,000. These new changes would be effective from July 1 this year and it is expected that this would bring in an additional revenue of Rs 1.5 crores during a full year and Rs 1.25 crores in the current year.

Mr Ghorpade announced an increase of D.A. to the Government employees in the two lower categories "as a token of the Government's concern for their welfare."

Opposition members in the Assembly opposed revision of water rates and wanted measures to check widespread corruption. Mr Ramakrishna Hegde, who was the Finance Minister in the last Cabinet, contended that the actual deficit would not be less than Rs 30 crores and said that "the budget conceals more than it reveals."

Mr Ghorpade's budget reduces the overall deficit of Rs 43 crores anticipated in the interim budget

presented by him last March to Rs 3.45 crores, while it shows a revenue surplus of Rs 7.30 crores.

CONG. (R) STILL A MINORITY IN COUNCIL

In the elections to the State Legislative Council from the Local Authorities, Graduates, Teachers and Assembly constituencies held on June 18 and 22 for the 14 seats which fell vacant due to the retirement of a third of the total membership of the House, the Ruling Congress got 9 seats. Two seats were annexed by the Old Congress. Mrs Padmavathi Vittal Rao, a former official of the Education Department, was among the two Independents who were elected. In the election to seven seats from the Assembly constituency 6 went to the Congress (R) and the other went to Mr Ramakrishna Hegde of the Old Congress. Mr S. M. Krishna and Mr M. V. Venkatappa, both of the Ruling Congress, got 31 and 32 votes respectively, while the party had allotted 28 votes to each of its candidates. Obviously a few independents and others from the Opposition have voted in favour of the Congress (R).

With the completion of the biennial elections, the strength of the parties in the Council is as follows: Old Congress—24; Congress (R)—22; Jan Sangh—5; Swatantra—1; Socialist party—1; Independents—6.

COLLEGE EDUCATION IN KERALA

Mr Frank Anthony, M.P., and Chairman of the Inter-State Board for Anglo-Indian Education, addressed two public meetings here on June 17 and 21. He deplored the tendency of competition "in pseudo-radicalism and political exhibitionism" that one witnessed in the country and added that slogans and political gimmicks were no substitutes for hard work and increased production. Mr.

Contributions are welcomed but they should not exceed 900 words in length. They should be original and exclusive to SWARAJYA and should be specifically stated as such. The Editor will be grateful if they are typewritten with double space and on one side only. Unused articles will be returned only if necessary stamps are sent therewith.

Anthony referred to the Kerala Government's decision on equalisation of fees in Government and in private colleges and said that the Communists were not concerned with the principles of natural law and fundamental rights. He added that the real objective was regimentation and nationalisation of education throughout the country. Though he had faith in the Prime Minister, he said he could not resist the feeling that she was under increasing pressure from the CPI which was a partner of the ruling party in Kerala. The Central Cabinet consisted of many erstwhile communists who were perhaps still committed to their original ideological faith in nationalisation and regimentation of education and it would be a deliberate breach of faith and a wanton assault on the most cherished fundamental right of the minorities if the ruling party succumbed to pressures from its partners in Kerala.

TRIBUTES TO MASTI VENKATESA IYENGAR

The 82nd birthday of Dr Masti Venkatesa Iyengar was celebrated at a well-attended function at Bangalore which was presided over by Dr D. V. Gundappa. Prof. V. Sitaramaiah, Dr V. K. Gokak, Dr R. S. Mugali, Dr G. S. Shivarudrappa, Prof G. P. Raja Rathnam and several others spoke in praise of Dr Venkatesa Iyengar. Mr Iyengar, who is well known throughout Kannada region as "Masti", was described as the creator of modern prose, a novelist of repute, an inspiring poet and a fearless journalist. Dr Gundappa said: "Dr Iyengar is the embodiment of compassion, sincerity and honesty and his

work is the product of his good and noble life."

Speaking at Mangalore recently, Dr D. S. Kothari, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, criticised the State Government for bringing about reforms in secondary and collegiate educa-

tion at frequent intervals without preparation. He particularly referred to the 2-year Pre-University Course which had been brought into force without bestowing much thought on its effects and without studying whether there were enough buildings, laboratories and other facilities for the teachers and students.

annual flow of the Sutlej, the Ravi and the Beas. The Commission had recommended a 500-foot dam at Navagam. Under the Commission's recommendations, Madhya Pradesh is to get 65 lakhs acres, Maharashtra one lakh acre, and Gujarat 46 lakhs acres of their lands irrigated and will in turn generate 211 MW of power for each of these three States. If the height of the Navagam dam is kept only at 210 feet, as demanded by M.P., Gujarat would get only 14 lakhs acres of its lands irrigated. Kutch and Rajasthan will benefit only if the dam is raised to a height of 500 feet.

GUJARAT LETTER:

NARMADA PROJECT: GUJARAT KEEN ON SOLUTION

RAJKOT, June 29: Though the Congress (R) has assumed the reins of power in Gujarat, the party itself has yet to acquire stability within itself. The infights within the party are going on merrily. The party apparatus has failed to settle down to serious work after the installation of the Oza Ministry. The new president of the party, Mr Jhinabhai Darji, admitted in Rajkot while on a visit, that there were moves afoot to unseat him. Efforts are also believed to be on to throw over the conveners of the Mahila Congress and the Youth Congress. Taking advantage of this atmosphere in the party the Youth Forum has reared up its head. At a recent meeting of the Forum which was attended by two Cabinet Ministers, Mr Jasvant Mehta and Dr Vasudeo Tripathi, the Cabinet's decision to have the State capital at Gandhinagar and its affirmation of the policy of Prohibition were challenged. Again on the policy of land ceiling many discordant notes are sounded from all districts and corners of the State. Mr Darji has directed that the names of those working against the land ceiling policy be reported to him. But the groups within the party in the districts are openly convening meetings and conventions of farmers regardless of this directive, to bring pressure on the Government in order to influence the ultimate shape of the ceiling law.

There are rumours that the Cabinet may be expanded during the budget session of the Vidhan Sabha. The firm attitude that the Chief Minister has adopted on several questions, like free sec-

dary education, remission of land revenue on small holdings, raising of family income limit for facilities in higher education, and implementation of the recommendation of Shelat Committee, has improved his stature.

KHOSLA COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS

The Narmada Project, it appears, is quite on the anvil. Smt Indira Gandhi, it appears, has asked the Chief Ministers of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat to seek a solution of the issue. In the result, there are meetings between these three. The Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister was in Ahmedabad recently after meeting the Chief Minister of Maharashtra in Bombay on his way. Mr P. C. Sethi met Mr Oza for one hour. The three Chief Ministers may meet shortly in Baroda.

The matter is now before a Tribunal and Gujarat feels that its verdict will confirm the Khosla Commission's findings. Gujarat is, however, anxious to hold talks with the other two States, irrespective of the Tribunal's verdict, as it desires a settlement of the issue from the standpoint of the national economy.

The Khosla Commission had recommended the Narmada scheme for its multi-faceted possibilities in irrigation, power, flood control, navigation and tourism from the national angle. The Commission had envisaged 12 sub-schemes in Madhya Pradesh, and one at Navagam in Gujarat. The annual flow of the Narmada is 360 lakhs acre feet, which is much more than the joint

DEVELOPMENT BOARD FOR STATE

Gujarat's Fifth Five-Year Plan will be double the size of its Fourth Plan, running into Rs 1,000 crores. Mr Chia, Finance Minister, said that paucity of funds would not be allowed to come in the way of the implementation of the Plan. The State Government is thinking in terms of appointing a development board with full-time salaried members who will be experts in their own fields and will see to the preparation of the Plan and its implementation.

The State is in the grip of a strike wave. First came the strike by nurses for the non-implementation of the Sarala Committee's recommendations. About 7,000 nurses went on strike. The strike was later called off pending consideration of the nurses' demands. Then came the strike by housemen doctors, registrars and internees in Government and Municipal hospitals who demanded an increase of Rs 200, 250 and 100 respectively in their emoluments. At present, they get Rs 300, 400 and Rs 150 as stipend. Their grievance was that they were not treated as students but were made to work 24 hours a day and hence the stipend was inadequate. Not to be left behind, the staff of the transport services of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation went on a lightning strike recently on the issue of bonus.

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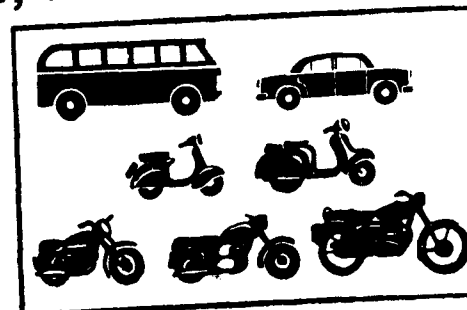
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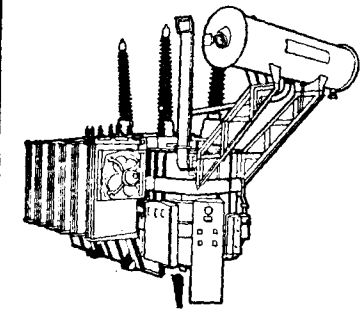
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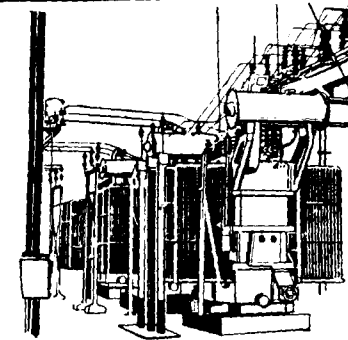
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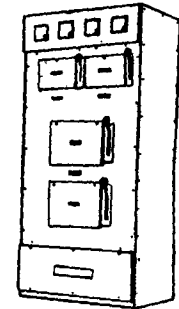
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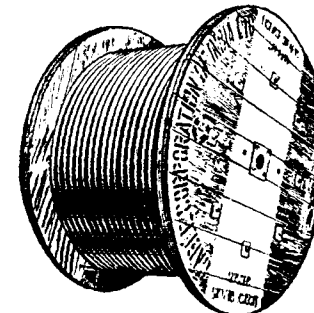
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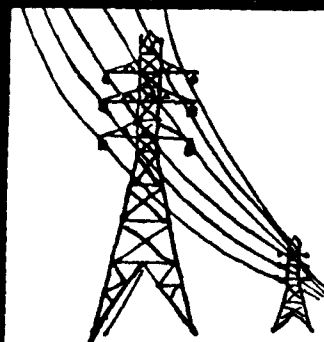
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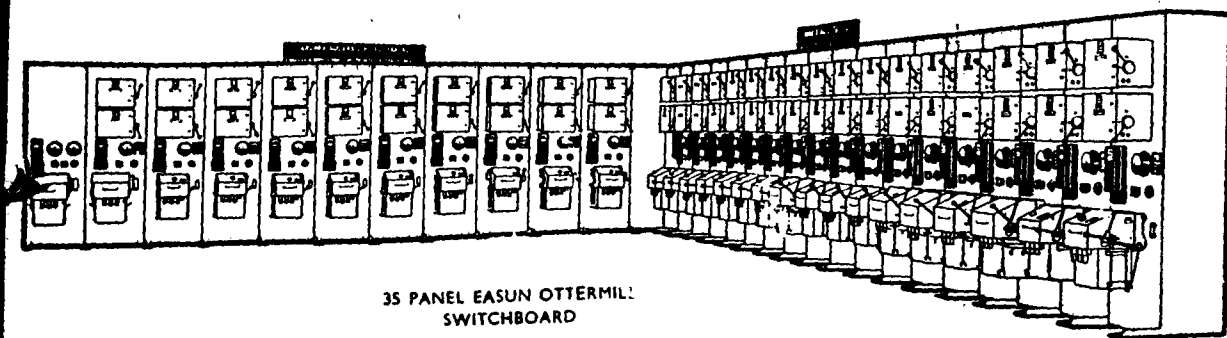
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BOOK REVIEWS:

GANDHIJI IN PICTURES

GANDHI: A Pictorial Biography
By B. R. NANDA
Publications Division, Government of
India, Patiala Road, New Delhi
Price: Rs 16

Mr B. R. Nanda, author of a major biography of Gandhiji, and Director, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, has contributed the admirably concise and readable letter-press that goes along with the numerous illustrations in this pictorial biography of Gandhiji. The illustrations are made up of photographs and facsimiles of letters, articles, press reports and cartoons, covering the most memorable aspects of Mahatma Gandhi's life and work. The photographs have been well chosen, except for a very bad picture of Rajaji. The reproductions of press reports are in such small sizes that they can hardly be read even with the aid of a magnifying lens.

Mr Nanda's write-up is a fine blend of narrative and comment, the best part of it being his estimate of the permanent value of Gandhiji's teachings to humanity as a whole. Here are two striking passages from the author's final estimate:

"It is a strange paradox that though the stoutest and perhaps the most

successful champion of the revolt against colonization in our time, Gandhiji was free from the taint of narrow nationalism."

"Gandhiji would have been the first to deny that his method offered an instant or universal panacea for world peace. His method is capable of almost infinite evolution to suit new situations in a changing world."

In spite of the thick art paper and the fine get-up of the book, the price must be pronounced to be unconscionably high.

—Prof. A. RAMA IYER

THE GOSPEL OF RELAXATION

HOW TO STOP WORRYING AND START LIVING:

By DALE CARNEGIE

Published by Hind Pocket Books (P) Ltd., G. T. Road., Delhi-32

Price: Rs 6

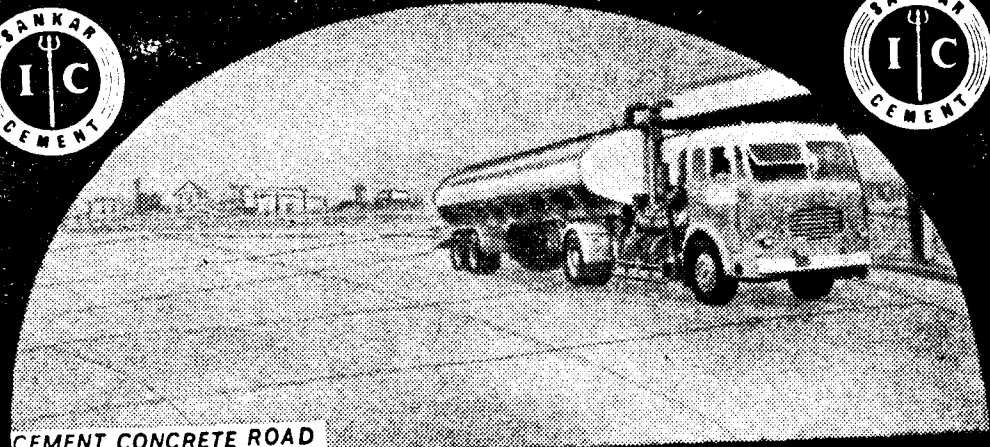
Dale Carnegie is not merely a professional optimist but an optimist by conviction. When the book under review was first published in America in 1948, millions of copies of the book, like his earlier publication, 'How to Win Friends and Influence People',

were sold, making him the most astounded author of his time. The book helped hundreds of thousands of its readers overcome their inferiority complex, develop self-confidence and conquer worry. Carnegie became a phenomenon in his own life-time.

Brought up in penury on a Missouri farm, Carnegie was himself the finest example of the philosophy of optimism which he preached in later life. He first specialized in teaching public speaking but later turned his attention to 'worry' which he found was the biggest problem eating into the vitals of most adults in the States. Over-tension, jerkiness, breathlessness and agony of expression had become a habit with the American people and books were badly needed to preach the gospel of relaxation. Carnegie's book was not the first on the subject but the most successful and popular, because he had made the completest possible study of the problem, read what the philosophers of all ages had said about worry, scrutinized hundreds of biographies and interviewed scores of prominent people in many walks of life. He has freely drawn upon this rich material and has made his book fully authentic and documented although, in a few cases, pseudonyms have been used.

The chapter on the efficacy of religion and prayer in banishing worry may, perhaps, come as a surprise to

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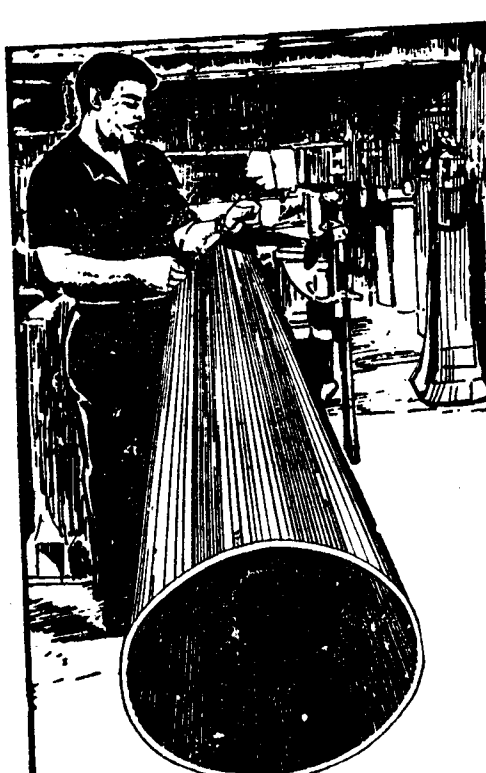
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many who conceive of Carnegie as a mere psychiatrist and American efficiency expert. Carnegie claims that many psychiatrists are turning into modern evangelists after seeing the miraculous cures wrought by prayer in some of their patients.

Although the book has been written

primarily for American environment, it can be profitably studied by men and women of all countries, as 'stress and strain' have now become common in all advanced countries. The book makes uniformly smooth reading and there are portions which will amply reward a second perusal. This clearly-

printed paperback edition, published in India for the first time, is bound to be welcomed by admirers of Dale Carnegie.

--T. S. PARTHASARATHY

ECONOMICS OF COMPETITION

ECONOMICS: THE SCIENCE OF PRICES AND INCOMES;

By H. SPEIGHT

Price: 18 sh.

This is the second edition of the low priced textbook published by the English Language Book Society. This is a comprehensive text-book intended for degree courses. In India, even M.A. students may find it useful. The subject is treated in five parts; (1) Introductory; (2) Micro-economic—the determination of the relative price; (3) competition and welfare; (4) Money and (5) Macro-economics: Income and employment.

The author strictly confines himself to the subject and does not deal with historical aspects. But every topic of economics is dealt with fully but also with exemplary brevity and lucidity. While the economic theory of perfect competition and the modification and distortion produced by imperfect competition are fully dealt with, the issues of nationalisation and increasing participation of the State in economic activities are only briefly mentioned in passing.

For a book of 750 pages well got up, the price is so low that one wonders whether it can cover the cost. Every student of economics in Indian universities should take advantage of this service by the English Languages Book Society.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ESSENCE OF MODERN MANAGEMENT — By N. H. Atthreya — Published by M.M.C. School of Management, 3E1, Court Chambers, New Marine Lines, Bombay-20 — Price: Rs 15 (Student Edition); Rs 19-50 (Library Edition).

TWILIGHT IN CHINA — By K. P. S. Menon — Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, Bombay-7 — Price: Rs 22-50.

MANORAMA YEAR BOOK, 1972 — Manorama Publishing House, P. B. No. 26, Kottayam-1, Kerala—Price: Rs 10

THE RANGE OF ETHICS — By Harold H. Titus/Morris T. Keeton—Published by Affiliated East-West Press Private, Ltd., 9, Nizamuddin East, New Delhi-13 — Price: Rs 7.50

MAHARASHTRA LETTER:

GROWING INDUSTRIAL UNREST IN BOMBAY

BOMBAY, June 29: Labour in Greater Bombay and the adjoining industrial complex is in a state of ferment. There are innumerable strikes and lock-outs, most of them on the issue of bonus. Even as the bonus review committee is still in the initial stages of its deliberations over the so-called Khadihar formula, the Union Labour Minister has gone on record as having suggested that the minimum bonus should be raised under the Bonus Act from 4 per cent to 8-1/3 per cent. It is but natural that this "official blessing" should be used by trade unions to insist on payment of this quantum for the past year, whatever be the ultimate finding of the review committee. The Congress Councillors in Bombay Municipal Corporation forced the issue recently and had a resolution passed in the civic body recommending payment of 8-1/3 per cent bonus to all civic staff. If implemented, over 70,000 employees of the Corporation will get Rs 2 crores by way of bonus for the first time. The main snag is that civic finances are in a none-too-happy position. Moreover, quite a few legal hurdles have yet to be crossed and the State Government, which may be called upon to foot a part of the bill by way of subsidy, has not viewed this move on the part of its party-men in the civic body very favourably.

At least a dozen industrial establishments in the city and suburbs are already involved in labour disputes and strikes. Some factory strikes have got prolonged as much as to 45 days. Many of these strikes did not result from bonus or other wage demands but revolve round inter-union and intra-union rivalries. The spectacle of a week-end industrial strife in Godrej engineering works in Bobmay should stand out as an example of the dire straits into which industrial relations have sunk. The union here, involving over 5,000 workmen, had been led by a Congress M.L.A. and so far it was smooth-going. The estab-

lishment never had to shut down in the 75 years of its existence. This happy picture of industrial relations changed since a Communist-led minority union started trying to get control. This led to frequent clashes within the factory and the workers' colonies. The management ordered a lock-out.

Trading in the Bombay Stock Exchange remained suspended since June 13 on account of a strike by employees of brokers, demanding higher wages and the creation of a sinking fund of one lakh of rupees for their benefit. In the commodity markets, clerical and manual workers have in recent weeks staged sectional agitations, including strike, for brief periods. The latest are those working with the paper trade resulting in disruption of supply of exercise and other books at the time of opening of schools and colleges.

The State Government itself is not free from worry, as Sachivalaya employees have threatened to launch an agitation against the "anti-labour policy" of the Government in retrenching over 2,000 employees in the past 15 months.

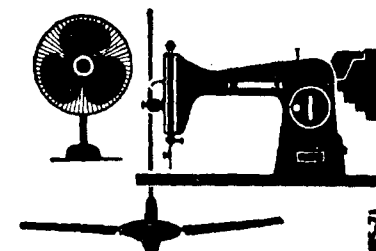
Industrialists and businessmen who met recently at the Indian Merchants' Chamber, expressed concern over the prevailing situation on the industrial front. They recalled an incident at an Ambernath factory two months ago resulting in police firing and noted that the air of tension and trouble was spreading. There had been clashes, instances of intimidation and other signs of unrest.

According to the Union Labour Ministry, the largest number of strikes and lock-outs occurred in Maharashtra last year, though the number of man-days lost was the highest in West Bengal. Last year, Maharashtra recorded 577 strikes, as against 219 in West Bengal and the number of workers involved in labour agitation in this State was almost four times as much as that in West Bengal.

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In the case of Officers, 75% of the basic pay of rank the officer was drawing at the time of death will be paid up to the time the officer would have continued in service, had he lived, subject to a minimum of seven years. Thereafter, normal retiring pension of the rank will continue for life.

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- (b) Families of personnel in BSF, TA, Assam Rifles etc.
- (c) Civilians serving with the Defence forces including Border Roads Personnel.

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SWAKAJIA, July 15, 1972

Dear Reader

IF AN IMPORTANT and urgent Bill were taken up by Parliament and Parliament passed only the Preamble and let the Bill undiscussed and undisposed of as being too tough to be tackled, would it be matter for unqualified gratification? But this is all that has been achieved by the Simla conference. A Preamble has been passed and everyone is too happy over it to remember that the Bill to which it was the preamble is still pending and undisposed of.

★

MY GRAVE dissatisfaction with the conclusion of the Simla summit meeting does not mean that I am less happy than those who have hailed this "first step" as a beginning full of hope for the future. I hope and pray with them all that sincere and courageous development towards firm cooperation and cessation of all hostilities between India and Pakistan will follow this first step.

I had hoped for much more than a first step at Simla. The great hopes that I had entertained and the importance of the matter are the measure of my disappointment at what has issued from the Simla conference.

There is, however, the supreme power of Providence which can strike down suspicion and fear and bind Pakistan and India in close cooperation and friendship and set them on the road to prosperity and progress.

A second summit meeting may be held at which what I hope and pray for may happen. The thing required to be done is to have Pakistan and India meet again *soon* at a second or rather an adjourned summit conference instead of letting the peoples on both sides brood on the unsettled issues.

★

A MESSAGE sent to me by Mr Abbas Khaleeli of Karachi is heartening. Mr Abbas Khaleeli was an I.C.S. officer in undivided Madras in 1937. Mr Khaleeli's message reads thus: "Respectful salutations Simla Accord must gladden your heart inaugurating era of understanding and good

fellowship you have always advocated between India and Pakistan." Mr Abbas Khaleeli opted for Pakistan when Pakistan was formed. He is now a flourishing businessman in Karachi.

★

IT SEEMS to gladden the heart of the Government of Tamil Nad that

FROM THE CAPITAL:

'FRAMEWORK OF PEACE': SIMLA SUMMIT'S ACHIEVEMENT

SENTINEL

NEW DELHI, July 6: How does the Simla Pact differ from other Indo-Pakistan agreements? The earlier agreements, including the Tashkent agreement, had been arrived at only on an *ad hoc* basis to tide over a particular phase of tension and did not resolve the basic issues. The Simla Pact is the first argeement between the two countries which has friendship and good relations as the basic foundation from which everything else flows. It has been entered into in a totally new context, with Pakistan recognising the realities of the new situation after the December conflict. On the

Indian side no attempt was made to impose an unequal or a less honourable settlement on Pakistan. The credit for bringing to bear a realistic approach on the discussions from the Pakistan side goes to President Bhutto who took command of the situation when the talks were seemingly leading to a hardening of attitudes at the official level. He promptly intervened at the final stages to make his side agree to the "framework of peace" which India had suggested as the main objective. This move was responded to at the summit level by Mrs Indira Gandhi, after which the two sides had no difficulty in filling in the



auction sales of licences for liquor shops have resulted in higher bids. The satisfaction of the Tamil Nad Government is the measure of the progressive evil set afoot by the reopening of the Government liquor shops after twenty years of a dry regime. There was never any doubt that the evil will proceed apace when the Government works it up.

C.R.

details of the agreement. A good part of the preparatory work for the "framework of peace" had been carried out earlier in Murree when Mr D. P. Dhar, heading a special delegation, had detailed talks with Pakistan leaders and settled the agenda for the summit talks.

The Indian team had kept the press guessing in Simla about the trend of the talks. Its purposeful silence was to avoid distraction as well as to prevent distortion in reports which might have hampered the progress of the talks. Within hours of the signing of the agreement, however, the top negotiator on the Indian side took the press into his confidence. And what he said gave an authentic picture of what had happened. Some of the details were surprising and pleasant ones too.

The first point made was that throughout the negotiations Pakistan had adopted a sincere attitude. There might have been limitations on certain issues but the overall approach was friendly and helpful in the direction of a peaceful settlement. And for this good trend President Bhutto and a number of Pakistan officers were responsible. From the first Indian version of the talks given out, it was clear that the Prime Minister as well as the Indian team had found that President Bhutto was

motivated by a genuine and sincere desire to work for harmonious relations giving up the policy of confrontation which had resulted in so much damage in the past, especially to Pakistan. The impression the Indian team formed was that President Bhutto was sincere about opening a new chapter in the relations between the two countries. So the first impression of the Indian delegation remained till the last that Pakistanis were sincere this time and had come for a settlement. The Indian side saw no reason to change its assessment.

Once the framework was accepted and Mrs Gandhi was convinced about Mr Bhutto's sincerity, other issues became a matter of detail. And so it was. The agreement started off with both subscribing to the idea of renunciation of force and bilateral talks to sort out their problems. When it came to Kashmir, the preamble of "no force" was tested then and there and was accepted by both sides to prove its immediate worth. Since India had no design on Pakistan territory, the question of Indian pull-out from the areas occupied in Pakistan during the December conflict was not a problem. The Prime Minister had declared that the troops would be withdrawn as part of an overall peace settlement, while in Kashmir the new line of actual con-

trol, which came into being as a result of India's unilateral ceasefire order, should be respected. This was accepted by Pakistan and it was agreed that nothing would be done to alter the line of actual control unilaterally and that no hostile activity would be encouraged. This was the substance of the "no war" concept written into the agreement.

To call the result of the Simla summit an agreement is to underplay it. It is something more. The top Indian spokesman on the Indian side feels that it is better than a "no war" declaration which he calls a negative concept. The Simla agreement, he claims, is much more positive. It is substantial and real and marks a turning point in the relations between the two countries. If this view is taken, then the Simla agreement is only a little short of a treaty of friendship.

What has been repeatedly stressed by the Indian spokesman, who was actively associated with the talks, is that India did not approach the talks in a spirit of territorial bargain. The quest was for peace and settled borders. As for Kashmir, the new line of actual control would operate and would be jointly supervised till the Kashmir border issue is "finally settled" in terms of the agreement. The Indian side sounded very hopeful about this being also achieved fairly soon. As for prisoners of war the matter has been wisely deferred till Bangla Desh, which is a necessary party, could be brought in, after its recognition by Pakistan.

How did this new understanding come about? It was partly because of Mr Bhutto himself, who reciprocated India's sincerity and was prepared to get over the obstacles at the official level and partly due to the Pakistan delegation which had a number of young elements who favoured a durable peace. So it is a new effort by new people who wanted to open a new era. Not all problems have been solved but a new beginning has been made, without foreign influences. This was what India wanted as its main objective in the Simla summit.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR:

IN THE LAND OF GANDHIJI

Sir,—The article written by Mr K. Santhanam some time back on 'Elimination of Poverty', was a thought provoking one. He has advocated that as the first step all adults who can work should be provided with work and given minimum wages even if it should be at the cost of employed men forgoing increases. One is not sanguine about the success of the scheme, not because the man who has a job is unwilling to make a sacrifice in favour of an unemployed, but because he is not sure whether what he is deprived of will go to provide employment to an unemployed person. It is not without reason that he has misgivings. The patriotic fervour, which, before Independence, swept the country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, which induced people to put others before self, which forged, among the classes and the masses, unity in devotion to a cause, gradually lost its intensity after the attainment of the goal and in course of time gave place to love of power and pelf. Under the British Raj, the administration was run under greater discipline. After the reins of government have passed into the hands of Indians the number of

employees in Government service has grown phenomenally. And the quality of the services has deteriorated even though there are more people to do the same volume of work. Corruption is widespread. Straight dealing has become a rarity. There is a great hiatus between speech and action. Promises are made without any intention of keeping them.

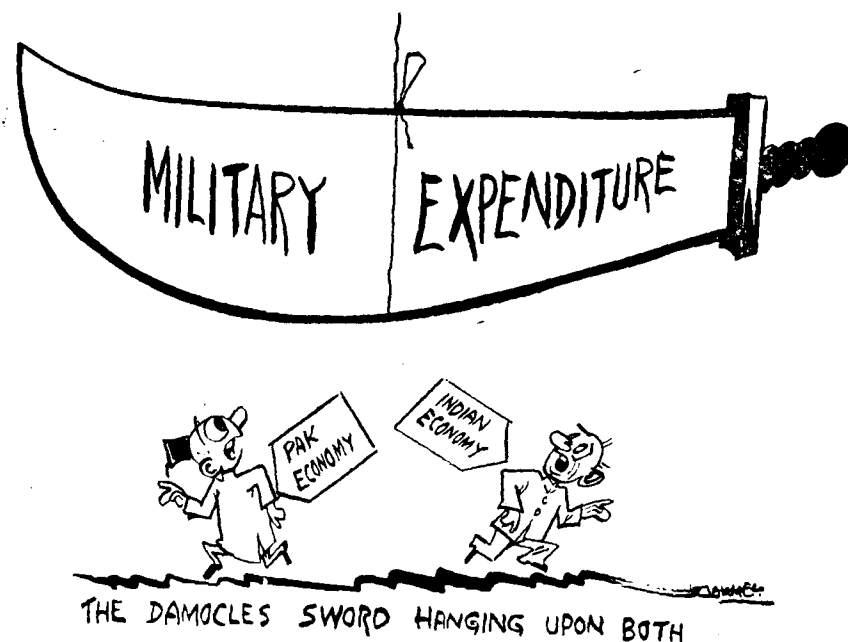
In Japan, we hear of employees carrying placards or, raising slogans in support of their demands after working hours, so that production may not suffer as that will hurt the nation as a whole. No such considerations bother the people here. There has to be a great revolution in the mental attitude of the people. Everyone must feel that, in doing his work honestly and to the best of his capacity, he is furthering the economy of the country and any dereliction of duty on his part will be putting a spanner in the wheel of progress of the nation. Mahatma Gandhi did scavenging work to instil into the people the importance of hygiene and cleanliness. Similarly, he asked people to practise humility not with a view to giving up one's convictions but as a means of softening the

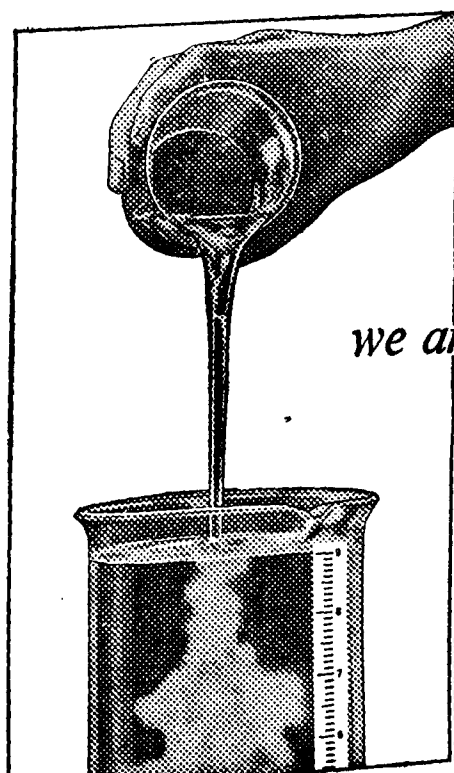
opponent's antagonism. We now find streets even in cities converted into lavatories. The seashore where people gather to breathe fresh air is made so filthy that one hesitates to take a walk along the sea front.

The Mahatma said and did many other things which have gone into the limbo of oblivion. He is remembered only in songs and speeches. If only the nation had diligently followed his instructions in many spheres of our national life we would not have come to the pitiable condition of parading an empty slogan like *garibi hatao* to deceive a gullible people. He wanted us to be self-reliant, to build up our economy in such a manner that the villager will have enough work to do throughout the year to assure him of a gainful living without his having to rush to cities for sustenance. Our basic needs must be met before we embark upon prestigious schemes. Funds raised for public purposes must be meticulously accounted for. There must be no deviation from truth which means observance of honesty by everyone in every walk of life. Our resources must be conserved and utilised with infinite care. Who can bring about such a sea-change in our mental outlook and moral fibre?

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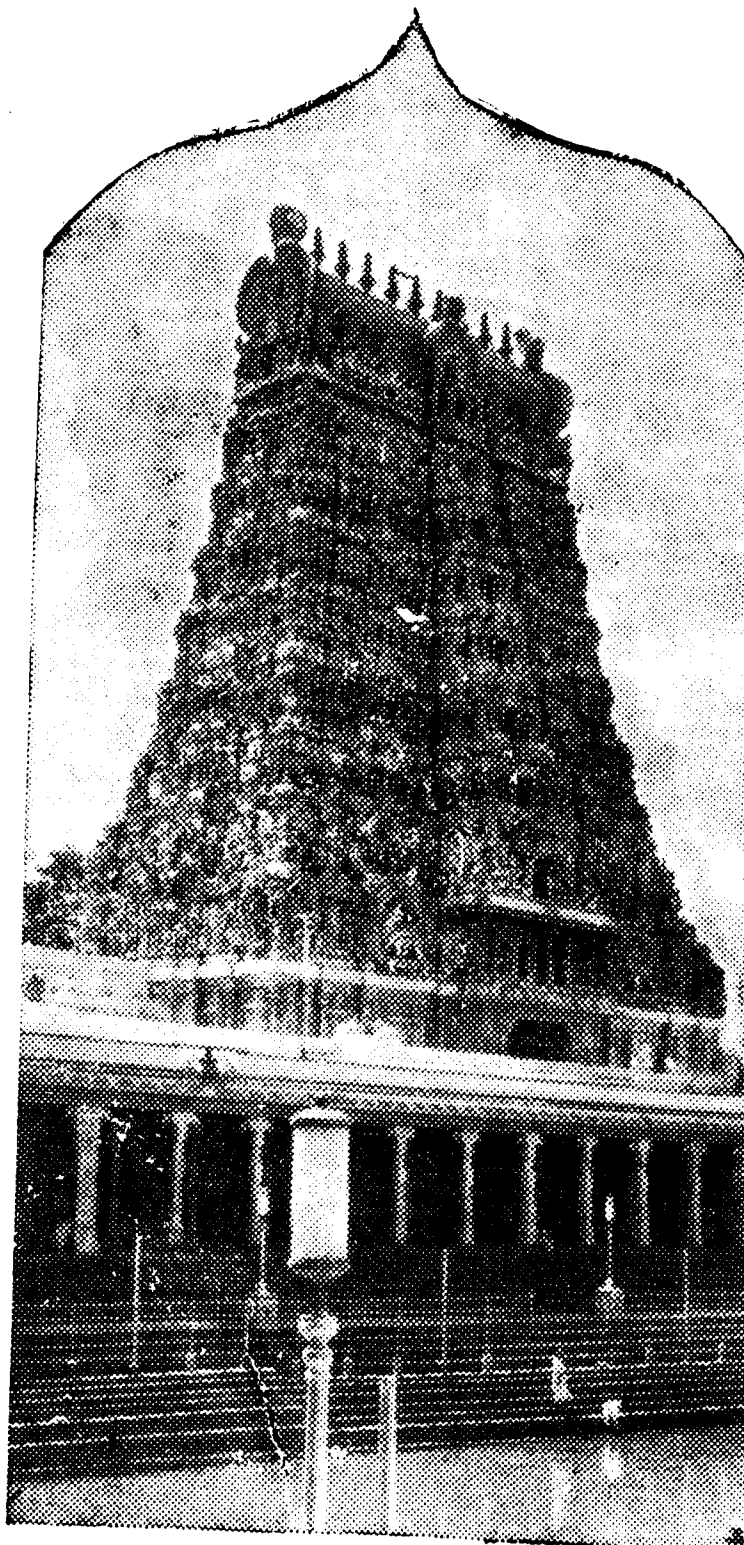
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SPORTS COMMENTARY:

CHESS MATCH OF THE CENTURY

SIDELINER

THE WORLD chess summit was after all not still born. Thanks to the untiring efforts of the President of the International Chess Federation, former world champion Dr Max Euwe, an unconditional apology by challenger Robert J. (Bobby) Fischer of the U.S., the sportsmanship of champion Boris Spassky of the Soviet Union and, above all, the munificence of British millionaire, James D. Slater, who doubled the prize money with an exceptionally generous offer of £50,000, the Match of the Century is very much alive in Reykjavik, capital of Iceland.

If Spassky deserves a word of praise for the exemplary patience he showed in the face of his challenger's provocative behaviour and flashes of ill-temper, before the American finally decided to exercise the right to challenge, the chess world owes Fischer a debt of gratitude for making the eagerly-awaited match a reality with his open apology to all concerned. Chess lovers, who have followed with amazement the young American grandmaster's phenomenal rise to eminence, will indeed spare him a compassionate thought, for his apology has shown beyond doubt that he is not the arrogant, intransigent champion he has been painted to be.

For the sole reason of bargaining for more money, Fischer was condemned by all and sundry as an unworthy challenger. He was dubbed an unpredictable genius, an undependable contestant, a Shylock who demands his pound of flesh, and what not. Admittedly, Fischer is a rare character, the like of whom had never before strutted the world sporting scene. He has his whims and fancies, likes and dislikes. But they are not peculiar to Fischer alone. Chess being what it is, there has hardly been a world champion outside the regimented Soviet Union who had not been known for his idiosyncracies. And when

all is said and done, Fischer's demand for a bigger prize money was not altogether without jurisdiction, for his claim to be the world's greatest player is no vain boast.

In the first ever poll conducted in 1970 by chess writers of the leading chess-playing nations in the world to rank the all-time greats, for instance, Fischer was a close fifth behind Alekhine, Capablanca, Lasker and Botvinnik, with Spassky a poor seventh. Had a similar poll been conducted at the end of this year's Candidates tournament, in the final round of which he demolished former world champion, Petrosian of Russia,



ROBERT FISCHER

Fischer would, in all likelihood, have wrested the top spot from the great Alekhine, for in the history of the world championship none had qualified for the challenge match in the manner in which Fischer did.

A chess prodigy at 12, American junior champion at 13, National champion at 14, and grandmaster at 15 — the youngest ever to be awarded that title — Fischer is fully conscious of his worth, as indeed every world sports star is, and he has as much right to dictate his terms as any other sports

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star. If, for instance, Pele can dictate his terms for his sharp-shooting, Laver for his power game and Frasier for his lightning punches, Fischer has a greater right to dictate his terms for his unique chess brain, chess being, after all, his breadwinner.

Now that he has got what he wanted, it is up to him to live up to his claim of being the world's greatest. It is not going to be that easy. He is up against a more mature champion who, unlike the American, has the assistance of a formidable team of Soviet experts, analysts and advisers.

But Fischer is no Mohammed Ali (Cassius Clay), whose claim to being the greatest was exploded by Frasier, and chess is no brawny game, much less a ring fight. Fischer is cast in a different mould. It is not for nothing that a London bookmaker has made the American a two to one favourite. The next few weeks will tell if he overestimated the American and underestimated the Russian. Whatever the result, the winner will have every claim to be hailed the greatest ever, for there was never a contest between two such irresistible grandmasters as the one now on in Reykjavik. It has captured the imagination of even those who cannot distinguish a king from a queen, or a bishop from a knight — on the chessboard.

FACTS AND FIGURES:

INDIA'S POPULATION has risen from 339.7 million in 1948 to 363.4 in 1951; 439.1 in 1961; and 543.96 in 1971. The rate of increase was 24.3 per cent in 1961-71, compared with 21.50 in 1951-61. The expenditure on family planning during the 20-year-period 1951-71 was Rs 1,692.2 million for which a prevention of 7.4 million births is claimed by the Government. The law of diminishing returns appears to have an ironic applicability here.

THE TOTAL WORKING population of Tamil Nad in 1971 was 15,074,223, of whom 11,625,273 were men and 3,448,950 were women. This compares with 15,351,621 in 1961, of whom 10,108,326 were men and 5,243,295 were women. Of the number in 1971, 4,668,055 were cultivators (30.95 per cent of the total workers), of whom 4,010,579 were men and 657,476 were women. Agricultural labourers were 4,391,906 (29.31 per cent of the total workers), of whom 2,781,202 were men and 1,610,704 were women. Other workers were 6,014,262 (39.50 per cent) of whom 4,833,492 were men and 1,180,770 were women. The working population in rural areas was 11,236,899, of whom 8,400,767 were men and 2,836,135 were women. The urban area working population was 3,837,324, of whom 3,224,509 were men and 612,815 were women. Cultivators form 4.79 per cent, while agricultural labourers formed 7.69 per cent, the other categories of workers being 87.52 per cent of the working population in the urban areas. In the rural areas cultivators constituted 39.91 per cent, while agricultural labourers were 36.46 per cent and other categories of workers were 23.63 per cent.

COMPARED WITH 1961, the drop in the total workers in the rural areas of Tamil Nad is from 12,257,938 to 11,236,899; the rise in the total number of workers in the urban areas is from 3,093,683 to 3,837,324, representing a migration from rural to urban area of less than 2 per cent per annum,

much less than the growth rate of population.

BOOK TITLES published in Britain in 1970 totalled nearly 311,500, over 23,500 of them new ones. Book publishers' turn-over in 1970 was around £146 million, of which export sales accounted for £62 million. Consumers' expenditure on books, newspapers and magazines totalled £420 millions in 1969. The popularity of paper-backs has increased rapidly and exports of books and manuscripts totalled £89.9 million in 1970, Australia, Canada and the U.S. being the most important among export markets. Publishing firms have introduced the latest developments in high speed printing equipment, including electronic engraving machines and advanced processes of photographic reproduction. Several newspapers are now set by computer. Though mergers in recent years have led to the formation of large groups in the newspaper, magazine and book publishing sections, the general printing business is essentially a business of small firms.

TAMIL NAD has 14,124 villages, of which 12,643 have so far been electrified. The programme of rural electrification provides for an extension to 750 more villages in 1972-73, completing the balance in 1973-74. The State, with 30,575 pump-sets, has the second largest number in India, the first being Madhya Pradesh with 38,751.

THE NUMBER of newspapers per person sold daily in Britain—some 50 copies for every 100 people—is among the highest in the world. Ten of the national newspapers (5 dailies and 5 Sunday papers) have a circulation running to millions. The figures for July-December 1971 are: *Daily Express*—3,390,049; *Daily Mail*—1,753,846; *Daily Mirror*—4,388,466; *Sun*—2,501,916; *Daily Telegraph*—1,436,828. Among the Sunday newspapers, *News of the World* has the highest circulation of 6,085,680 copies; *Sunday Mirror*—4,677,999; *Sunday People*—4,761,017; *Sunday Express*—

4,052,548 and the *Sunday Times*—1,403,322. There is no censorship of news or opinion in Britain. The Press has the same freedom as the individual to comment on matters of public interest, provided only that it complies with the laws of the land including the law of libel, the Official Secrets Act, copyright and matters which are *sub-judice*. Although pronounced views have been expressed in newspapers, and their political leanings may be obvious, they are financially independent of any political party and are not obliged to follow any specific party line. The exception is the *Morning Star* which is owned by a cooperative society and is accepted as expressing the views of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

DURING THE PAST five years ending 1970-71, prices in general have risen by over 7 per cent, to which extent there has been a corresponding reduction in the purchasing power of money. Recent statistics indicate that the general wholesale price index at the end of January 1971 was 4.1 per cent higher than what it was a year ago. Between the years 1960-61 and 1970-71 increase in money supply was of the order of 149 per cent, while real national income rose by only 4.1 per cent. The excess of money supply, according to Mr M. A. M. Ramaswami, the immediate past President of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce and Industry, is one of the main causes for the upswing in price levels.

THE EXPORTS of developed countries went up from 67 per cent of world exports in 1960 to 71 per cent in 1970, but the share of the developing countries over this period decreased from 21 per cent to 18 per cent. India's total exports increased by 5.5 per cent in 1970-71 over the previous year's—from Rs 1402.7 crores to Rs 1600 crores.

IN CONNECTION with the Farmers' Agitation and the call for Tamil Nad Bandh, the total number of preventive detention arrests in the 3 days ended July 6, 1972, was

7,838. A district-wise break-up of the figures is: Madras City 1,192; Chingleput (East) 187; Chingleput (West) 378; South Arcot 754; Thanjavur (East) 1,214; Thanjavur (West) 862; Tiruchi 311; North Arcot 347; Salem 200; Dharmapuri 423; Coimbatore 214; Madurai (Rural) 110; Madurai

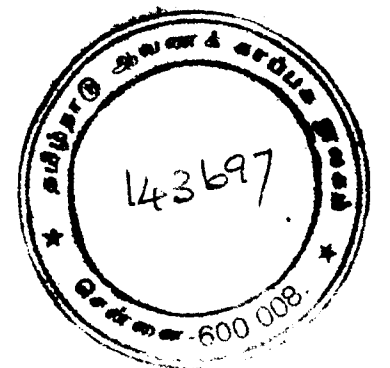
(Urban) 937; Ramanathapuram 409; Tirunelveli 210; and Kanyakumari 96.

IN HIS PRESIDENTIAL address to the Madras Stock Exchange, the outgoing President Mr M. Sankaran, made out a point that in case of take-over of companies, the Gov-

ernment should refer the question of compensation payable, to at least two representatives, one an expert who is conversant with the industry to which the company belongs, and another, a financial authority, in order to arrive at a fair compensation by adopting standard methods of valuation.

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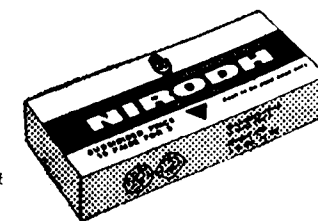
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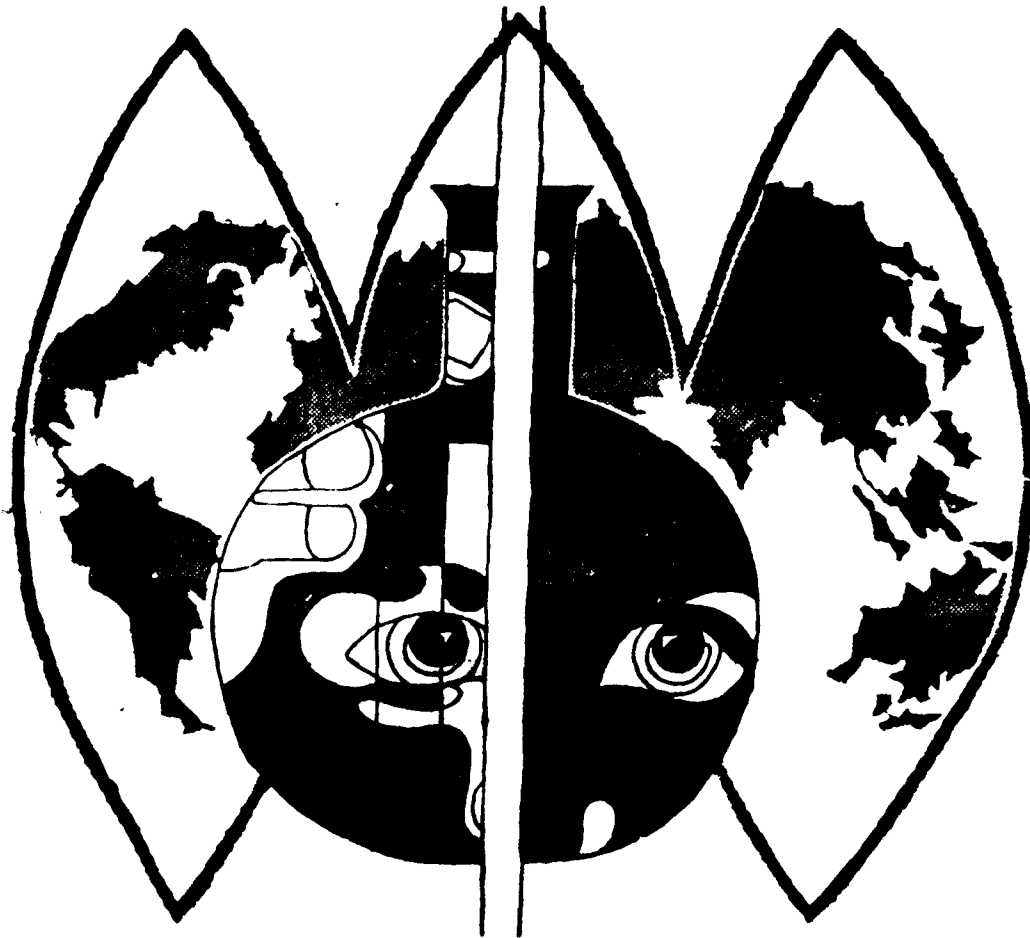
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THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE

K. SANTHANAM

SENATOR MCGOVERN has been elected Democratic Presidential candidate by a majority of 60 per cent in the first count at the Democratic Convention in Miami Beach. When he began his campaign four months ago, his chances against Senators Muskie and Humphrey were considered poor. His radical programme, with which he entered the campaign alarmed the conservatives in the party but he got the enthusiastic support of the newly enfranchised youth, women, Negro and other sections which created a new deal for the under-privileged. So, he went from success to success and when he came at the top of the California primaries, his election became more or less certain. But at the last moment, the Credentials Committee stripped him of 151 delegates, leaving him nearly 300 votes short. Before the primary elections, the rule was clearly laid down and it was accepted by all the contending candidates that whoever got the largest number of votes should get the support of all the delegates. When the Credentials Committee changed the rule after the election and distributed the delegates in proportion to the votes, Mr McGovern was naturally wild and in a moment of passion, threatened to split the party but he calmed down and got the verdict of the Credentials Committee reversed by the Convention. His resounding success gives the Democrats a fair chance against President Nixon.

It is to be noted that though they opposed Mr McGovern till the end, Messrs Muskie and Hum-

phrey have accepted the verdict of the Convention and are expected to support him. Having failed to get Senator Edward Kennedy for Vice-Presidency, he has chosen the 42-year-old Eggleston of Missouri as his running mate for that office. Though the obstacle race should have been a troublesome one, it has given Mr McGovern much more publicity than he might have got if he had succeeded quietly and without much trouble. In a way, it has compensated him for the well-organised publicity for Mr Nixon through his dramatic visits to Peking and Moscow.

There is no doubt that the Presidential election next November is going to be keenly contested and the whole world will be watching it with great interest. It will not be a mere conflict of personalities. Though Mr McGovern has had to modify his ultra-radical programme to keep the party united, he is still sufficiently radical to provoke sharp controversies all over the U.S. He has declared that he will immediately after inauguration stop aerial bombing of Vietnam and will evacuate all the American forces, land, sea and air, from Vietnam within the next three months, subject only to the condition of the release of American prisoners. It will be a great achievement for President Nixon if he can secure an agreement at Paris to get the American prisoners released and undertake to withdraw all American forces by the time fixed by his rival but this will only mean that the Vietnam issue would drop out of the election controversies.

though the bad odour of reckless bombing of Vietnam from air will continue to alienate some sections.

Some of the other radical proposals promised by Mr McGovern are a drastic cut in military spending and reduction of U.S. bases and forces overseas, increase in social security benefits and taxes, a Government guarantee of a job to everybody, repeal of unfair tax provisions for corporations and individuals, increased federal spending on education to reduce local property taxes and replacing the present welfare system with an "income security" programme to insure every family an income substantially more than the poverty level. Originally, he had proposed a redistribution of the national income through granting 1,000 dollars to every person in the country and abolishing all tax exemptions. It is possible that if he gets elected the proposal may be revived in a modified form. In any case, the idea is so attractive as a practical basis for a true welfare State that other countries may well think about it.

Abolition of poverty will become real and universal only if some such scheme ensuring a minimum income for every man, woman and child is implemented. In India, if we can only give Rs 100 per annum for every member of a family, there will be a miraculous change in the situation of the country. This will mean the collection and free distribution of a sum of Rs 5,500 crores a year, or an amount equal to the total of the entire Central and State revenues at present. At first

sight, this appears to be a wholly visionary idea but if a percentage is collected from all wages and salaries, the present exemption minimum for income-tax and other taxes abolished and a proper system of land revenue covering all holdings irrespective of their size is levied, it may not be so impracticable as it seems. There will be no protests from workers and small peasants as they will automatically get Rs 100 per annum for each member of the family. The upper and lower middle classes and, of course, the richer classes may be a little more heavily taxed but they may find it worthwhile on account of the general contentment and social

well-being it will produce. Such a scheme together with a plan for full employment will constitute a complete solution of socialist distribution and the remaining inequalities may not cause such anger and bitterness as they do now.

The prospect of the U.S. becoming one of the foremost welfare States of the world will excite all disinterested persons throughout the world. By proposing drastic reduction of all defence forces and building up a welfare State, Mr McGovern can give the U.S. true moral leadership instead of the present glamour of sterile military power and Big Power manipulations and intrigues.

PUNJAB AND HARYANA LETTER:

OPPOSITION IN PUNJAB TO LOWER LAND CEILINGS

CHANDIGARH, July 12: Appropriately enough, local issues dominated the civic and panchayat elections in Punjab held in June after a long interval. The miscalculations of the Congress and the Jan Sangh in the urban local bodies, capped by the significant victories of 746 Independents at the cost of the politicians (Congress tally 182, Jan Sangh 68) underscore the futility of political parties intruding into the civic scene. Despite all its efforts, the Congress failed to secure a majority in any civic body, though it hopes to control many of them with Independents' support. So the wooing game is on in right earnest and bargains are being struck, mostly at the citizens' cost. In the panchayat poll, the official claims of better elements having scored over others have still to be confirmed.

Some observers of the rural scene still contend that, as before, groupism holds sway and will impede the smooth functioning of panchayats once again. The demand for greater powers to panchayats and for a more effective panchayat raj is expected to be conceded by the State Government when the report of the legislators' committee which is studying this question is submitted. Feuds apart, there has been "bungling"

by some presiding officers. An enquiry has since been ordered into it.

The vital issue of land ceilings is still hanging fire, with panels making radical proposals and Congress Ministers striving hard to liberalise them so as to ensure, in effect, maintenance of the *status quo*. The opposition to the move for lower ceilings by Congressmen and other sections has lately been mounting. Even among the so-called radicals, the earlier enthusiasm seems to have waned on confrontation with "the hard realities." The stress now is on effecting only such changes in the land ownership pattern as would cause the minimum dislocation. A final picture of ceilings is likely to emerge next month. In any case, significant amendments to the earlier Bill on ceilings, introduced in the State Assembly in May, have become inevitable in the light of the widespread criticism by both ultra-radicals and the traditionally conservative farmers' spokesmen. The Development Minister disclosed early this month that the move for a ceiling on holdings had proved a blessing in disguise since the Government had netted Rs 2 crores through stamp duty on land transfer deeds during the past few months. Even though the new ceilings, when

fixed, would have retrospective effect from September 28, 1970, or January 1972, land transfers have been taking place with unusual speed.

DRIVE AGAINST CORRUPTION

Meanwhile, the Punjab Government has launched a drive to check corruption in the State. The official probe into the allegations of corruption against former Ministers is still on. All officials will now be required to submit lists of assets acquired in their names, or by members of their families, since they joined service. They would also be asked to disclose the sources of the money used for such acquisitions. In addition, a drive has been launched to check encroachments on Government lands. Information has been sought from executive heads of districts about vacant lands and encroachments. This follows the allegation that several officials have exploited their position to occupy Government land and build houses thereon.

HARYANA BUBBLE PRICKED

A glaring example of waste of precious funds in a bid to secure planks for political propaganda has been provided in Haryana. Recently, the State boasted of being the first in the country to achieve 100 per cent rural electrification, and the "progressive" Chief Minister earned encomiums from the highest quarters for his achievements. Information has since trickled through to show that the Ministry's claim was at least partly unwarranted. In many cases, temporary poles were erected near villages to indicate that they have been electrified. Many villages are still without electricity for one reason or another. Large-scale pilferage and substantial power losses in other ways have offset whatever advantages the project has yielded. In papers recently published, the Haryana State Engineers' Association has made sensational disclosures about "the line losses" which in many cases amount to 25 per cent. Much of this waste can be directly ascribed to slipshod planning and chaotic management.

SCIENCE TOPICS:

SUGAR AND DENTAL CARE

P. N.

ESKIMOES living on fish and walrus meat do not suffer from tooth decay. The decay sets in when they start living on manufactured foods with high sugar content. The tribals of Africa and America are known not to suffer from dental decay. Even in Asia, the people (non-tobacco chewers!) have strong teeth even in old age. Dental decay, however, is very rampant in Western Europe and North America. A question that is often asked is what is the connection between food habits and dental decay? It would appear that the carbohydrates which are a major portion of the food consumed play a very important part.

Carbohydrates supply the energy for metabolic processes and are not essential for body building. Much of the carbohydrates is obtained from the vegetable part of the food. Cereals and potato are the cheapest sources. The bulk of these materials, is starch or starchlike polysaccharides (combination of several molecules of glucose and fructose), which can be broken down into simpler sugars. Cooking of the starch material is essential. On the other hand, sugars which are mono or disaccharides (combination of a molecule of glucose and sucrose) can be eaten directly and utilized. The most common sugars are sucrose and glucose. Sucrose is obtained from cane sugar or beet sugar in refined or unrefined form. It was formally believed that unrefined sugar had greater beneficial effects for the teeth. This has been disproved now. Unrefined sugar has only more impurities! Glucose is essentially taken in the form of fruit juices and they are monosaccharides. Research on carbohydrate-dental condition relationship can be classified under three heads. (1) Survey of population in various parts of the world. (2) Research carried out with animals like white rat. Histologically, the dental disease is similar in man and in these animals. These animals can be bred with highly susceptible dental caries and it was observed that

lesions developed mainly in the pits and fissures of the molar teeth in the interproximal area (the area between two adjacent teeth) and buccally along the gingival margin (where the teeth emerges from the gum). (3) In vitro testing which includes the examination of the teeth, steps leading to dental attack and understanding the role of bacteria and methods for protection of the teeth.

FACTORS AND MECHANISM OF DENTAL DECAY

Oral bacteria like lactobacilli and streptococci cause dental decay under appropriate environments. A food substrate is required for the bacteria to act on. The use of antibiotics which suppress the bacteria prevents dental decay. Regular brushing which removes food particles (substrate) also prevents dental decay. Both the bacteria named above produce acids by their actions but major effects are associated with streptococci. Sucrose is an important factor as regards dental decay. The consumption of sucrose has increased about six times in the

past 100 years. Sucrose particles lodged in fissures and crevices function as substrates for the production of acids by bacteria. Complete oxidation of sucrose would result in production of carbon-dioxide and water. However, due to lack of oxygen, bacterial oxidation is incomplete. The end products are organic acids like lactic acid. These acids attack the tooth enamel which is mainly calcium phosphate. If the production of acid is not continuous, saliva restores the minerals and counteracts the decay. However, as the rate of sugar consumption increases, the rate of dental decay also increases.

Carbohydrates control the consistency of the food and hence controls the duration of the food sticking to the teeth. Highly consistent food (syrupy food containing large quantities of glucose and sucrose) stick to interproximal fissures and pits. Bacterial action is followed by the dental decay.

The polysaccharides lead to the formation of dental plaque. Plaque is a thin adherent film or soft white yellow matrix of certain thickness. The plaque contains a large number of microorganisms and also functions as a substrate for bacterial action. The ferment-

Dentists say Regular Brushing of Teeth and Massaging of Gums Check Gum Troubles and Tooth Decay

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tation reaction can take place right up to the tooth surface because of the bulky matrix. Thus the maximum damage is caused. The slow breakdown of polysaccharides to the simpler sugars continue and the result is dental decay. Very starchy food may result in dental decay because the breakdown of starch into polysaccharides and simple sugars is a very slow process. Even before the sugars are formed the starchy material would have been removed from the dental sites.

A survey indicates that glucose is ten times more effective than raw wheat starch as regards tooth decay, while sucrose is nearly twice as effective as glucose. It is not clear why sucrose has a greater effect, although every molecule of sucrose is made up of one of equally effective molecule of glucose and fructose. It has been confirmed that the slow dental decay associated with whole wheat consumption is attributed to potential enamel protective agents in the bran. These agents are

complex phosphorus compounds called 'phytates'.

CONTROL OF TOOTH DECAY

The following recommendations are made:

(1) Sugar intake must be reduced, particularly by children. Chocolate and syrupy preparations should be substituted by savoury foods.

(2) Artificial sweeteners like saccharin recommended for diabetic patients may be used instead of sucrose.

(3) A spoonful of sugar dissolved in a liquid is preferred to solid sugar as the latter tends to stick to the teeth.

(4) Intake of fibrous foods like meat will tend to clean the dentures automatically.

(5) Fluorine addition is supposed to be effective, but is a matter for controversy. Antibiotics and phosphates help in control of decay. Regular brushing and oral hygiene are perhaps the best methods for effective control.

(Rs 1,403). The above-furnished figures are no doubt provisional. But the gap between the two (Rs 132 crores) is sizable enough to make New Delhi take a serious note of the situation.

Normally, the difference between these two figures is around Rs 10 crores a year. This difference, if slightly over one per cent, is understandable.

The wide discrepancy in the figures compiled by the RBI and the Foreign Trade Ministry has been attributed by the RBI to the change in the procedures adopted this year by the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics (DGCIS). It is said that from November 1970 onwards the DGCIS abandoned the practice followed till then of recording exports on the basis of the actual shipments made. Instead, the DGCIS commenced booking exports as soon as the shipments were approved. This could be true. But even the removal of this snag does not encourage one to assume that Indian exports are poised for a sustained growth.

There are quite a few factors that point to the contrary. Figures compiled for the first nine months of the current year (1971-72) reveal that exports have actually grown by merely 4.5 per cent—barely half of the growth rate of 8.6 per cent projected by the Foreign Trade Ministry's statistics. On this basis, the growth in exports in the current year may not be more than 5 per cent, as against the target of 7 per cent of annual growth laid down by the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The Fourth Plan is already three years old. This means that to achieve the overall annual growth target of 7 per cent, exports in the remaining two years of the Fourth Plan period would have to grow at least by 10 to 12 per cent. Then alone would they be able to make up for the backlog during the first three years of the Fourth Plan period.

The situation impels India to step up its exports during the remaining two years of the current Plan period considerably. The present political conditions hardly leave any other choice. Apart

from the fact that the dollar is still shaky, India's relations with the US are none too happy. The prospects of an early improvement are really dim. So, India has to be prepared to accept a decline in her exports to the United States. The present Indian mood is such that she would not mind paying this price for following the policies of her conviction.

With the United Kingdom joining the EEC, India might lose some of the preferences she is now enjoying. That might lead to Indian products becoming less competitive in some of India's lucrative markets. Relations—political as well as economic—between the UK and India are friendly and that is a good sign. Britain's entry into the EEC might also bring new opportunities for India by introducing her to markets so far untapped. While the prospects of broadening Indian markets in the Community region are fascinating, it must be remembered that the European buyer is choosy to the extent of appearing fastidious.

One more factor of which India needs to take note is

her share in the world exports. Like all other countries, India's volume of exports is no doubt increasing. But in terms of percentage of world exports, it has been falling. For instance, India's share in world exports was barely 0.7 per cent in 1970—compared to 1.2 per cent in 1960. Indian performance even in 1960 could not be considered laudable. With all the industrialisation since then, India's share should have increased considerably. However, in 1970, India's share in world trade was less than 60 per cent of what it was in 1960. Worse still, India's share in relation to exports originating in developing countries has declined from five per cent to 3.8 per cent during the last decade. These then are some of the external constraints within which Indian exports have to operate.

At a time when India's Fifth Five-Year Plan is on the anvil, a close look at India's export strategy is called for. Because it is a foregone conclusion that the main burden of financing India's development and maintenance imports would now fall on her earnings through exports. Besides,

there is the problem of mounting debt repayments. Moratorium on repayments might help only to some extent.

How does India propose to step up her exports? Liberal export credits, removal of transport bottlenecks, fuller utilisation of installed capacities and creation of additional capacity in export industries are some of the steps that are thought of. But these are more or less the steps any country wishing to increase her exports could contemplate.

Immediate steps must be taken in the direction of maintaining industrial peace and removing procedural irritants to export trade. The stability at the Centre might make the achievement of these tasks easier. The abilities of the authorities would really be tested in building up a nucleus of non-traditional exports and developing it into a strong base to sustain growing exports. Gone are the days of relying on a handful of traditional items of exports. It is now up to the Finance Minister, Mr Chavan, to address himself to the task of nursing India's ailing export trade.

INDIA'S EXPORTS IN A TIGHT SPOT

M. S. DABKE

INDIA'S EXPORTS are said to be doing well. Commoditywise, railway coaches engineering goods, cut and polished diamonds have shown an increase. Tea has brought in a higher revenue from a lower quantity (202.63 million kg) in 1970-71, as compared with a higher quantity (208.43 million kg) in the previous year. The differential foreign exchange earnings arising from exports of tea exceed Rs 11 crores. The higher earnings are due to increase in the unit cost of tea.

The figures of total exports released by the Ministry of Foreign Trade are still more inspiring. They tell us that Indian exports have touched Rs 1,535 crores—an increase of Rs 8.6 per cent over the previous year's figure. This compares favourably with the export growth target of 7 per cent. By themselves, these trends are powerful enough to make a country rest on its laurels. But that must not happen. Because the higher volume, and the increased earnings are only a part of the

story. Unless the full story is grasped these indices might be quite misleading.

First of all, it must be investigated as to what is happening (in terms of quantity) to tea exports. Tea, incidentally, is one of the traditional key exports of India. If India has lost some six million kgs in a single year, it needs to be investigated as to who is the beneficiary. The how and why of it is the next step. Increased foreign exchange earnings resulting from the higher unit price of tea should not be a matter of undue delight. For, the Indian economy is under a constant spell of cost escalation and the rising costs must already have eaten into the profitability of the Indian tea industry.

Next, we come to the volume of growth in exports. The total export earnings this year (Rs. 1,535 crores) are widely out of step with the foreign exchange earnings recorded by the Reserve Bank of India on this account

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EDITOR'S NOTES:

ABOLISH BEGGING

Mr M. V. Krishna Rao, Social Welfare Minister of Andhra Pradesh, is reported to have told the Assembly that the Government would soon introduce a Bill to prevent begging in the State. He remarked that during his visit to Haryana, he found that there was not a single beggar in the State. The Anti-begging Act there, he said, was a powerful force. It should be conceded that begging was rare in Punjab and Haryana even before the Act was passed. The abolition of begging is bound to be a more difficult task in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nad where, next to agriculture, it is the largest profession; but it is a great disgrace that after 25 years of freedom, the number of beggars seems to be increasing rather than the reverse. Legal abolition of begging is certainly necessary but it must be accompanied by adequate provision for rescue homes for all beggars who are old and sick and work homes for the rest. It may also not be wise to abolish begging all over a State at one stroke. It should be prohibited in such cities like Madras and Hyderabad and near the famous temples like those of Tirupati and Madurai. This will discourage begging to such an extent that many beggars, especially the young, will abandon the profession and take to some useful work. It will then become easy to enforce the Act all over the State. What is needed, therefore, is an enabling Act empowering the Government to prohibit begging in such areas as may be prescribed.

PRIVATE COLLEGES OF KERALA

It is unfortunate that the Government of Kerala, which is faced with many difficult problems, should have gone out of the way to provoke a strike by the private colleges. So far as the Christian institutions are concerned, they come under the constitutional protection for minorities. It is certainly wrong for the Kerala Government to insist on reduction of

fees in the private colleges unless the Government is able to make up for the loss. Private agencies cannot find the recurring expenditure for which they have to depend only on fees. To the extent they are able to find capital for buildings and equipment, they are rendering a great service and relieving the Government of their burden. It may be that some of these private institutions breed a certain amount of communalism and sectarianism, but can it honestly be said that the Government institutions in Kerala are free from communist or other political activities? It is to be hoped that the foolish quarrel will soon be resolved.

SHARAVATHI PROJECT

At the last meeting of the Mysore Assembly, Mr H. M. Chennabasappa, Public Works Minister, stated that in the construction of the Sharavathi Project, which is one of the biggest hydro-electric projects of the State, serious defects had appeared requiring repairs costing crores of rupees. Mr Virendra Patil, who was the last Chief Minister, has promptly demanded a high level judicial enquiry and Mr S. Nijalingappa, who was the previous Chief Minister and in whose time the project was taken up, is reported to be prepared for such enquiry. The Chief Minister of Mysore should ordinarily have acceded to this demand with alacrity but Mr Chennabasappa was in charge of the project when it was in full swing in 1958-1961 and his role in the project will naturally be part of the enquiry. This will necessitate his resignation but he may again be reappointed if the enquiry absolves him of all blame. The Chief Minister of Mysore seems to be hesitant whether he should take the risk of one of his Ministers who defected from the Old Congress and who was welcomed into the New Congress, being found responsible for the defects. But public interest should supersede all personal considerations and if the reputation and integrity of his own Ministry are

to be saved, the new Chief Minister should order the enquiry.

THE LANGUAGE RIOTS IN KARACHI

The language riots in Karachi are apparently the opposite version of similar riots in Tamil Nad some years ago. In the latter, there was never any question of Tamil being the principal language and all opposition was to the introduction of Hindi as the second language of education. Even such introduction was considered to be a sign of Hindi imperialism. What will these friends now say to the riots in Karachi which are intended not to restore Sindhi to its rightful place in its own homeland but to retain Urdu as the dominating language of the State? It was a similar struggle between Urdu and Bengali that brought about the separation of Bangla Desh. Mr Bhutto is earnestly trying to reconcile the contending parties but the solution is clear. Sindhi will have to get the prominent place in the educational system of Sind. Urdu and English may be compulsorily added to it. Whether it is in India or Pakistan, it is the three-language formula with the mother-tongue, the national language and English that can provide a complete solution. It is to be hoped that a proper language formula on these lines will be found before any rivalry between Pushtu and Urdu begins in North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

A GOOD BEGINNING

President Bhutto has made a good beginning towards reconciliation with Bangla Desh by donating 22,000 tons of rice, worth nearly Rs 2 crores, to the United Nations Relief Operations in Dacca. If he could have summoned courage to recognise Bangla Desh and sent this rice direct to Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman it would have been much better but even the present gesture deserves to be warmly welcomed. It is to be hoped that the issue of recognition will be settled soon after the Pakistan Assembly ratifies the Simla agreement.

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HOW TO REDUCE THE TRADE GAP?

VIRENDRA AGARWALA

ECONOMIC SWARAJ is the slogan of the day. But self-reliance need not be misunderstood as meaning self-sufficiency. Dependence on foreign aid must be increasingly reduced. India is not opposed to foreign aid but foreign aid with strings amounts to compromise with our national security and sovereignty. All developing countries have to import essential commodities, basic technology and equipment with the object of accelerating the industrial growth rate. In the preliminary stages, the developing countries do have a large trade gap which is always met by foreign aid and loans. India's trade gap has gone up from Rs 90 crores in 1970-71 to Rs 265 crores in 1971-72.

We have done well on the export front but still our goods and products are not able to compete in the international market either because of quality or prices. Much water has flowed under the bridge in our efforts to promote exports and to substitute imports. Let us be clear that imports of machinery and technology are considered vital for acquiring a high industrial growth rate. The Prime Minister has listed new directions as greater capacity utilisation, gigantic expansion of export for covering the bill for essential imports, step-up of import-substitution programme and increased production of cash crops. Industry complains of the fiscal and monetary policies adopted by the Government which had resulted in lack of investment incentives. Industrial production constitutes the sheet-anchor of export promotion. It is high time we recognised that under-utilisation of capacity slowed down the whole process of development as it resulted in higher production costs, lower net return on investment and inadequate use of entrepreneurial, managerial and technical skills. The major reason for the low utilisation of capacity happens to be raw-material shortage particularly in the machinery and metal based industries. A further liberalisation of imports is, therefore,

absolutely essential. Foreign exchange reserves amounting to Rs 850 crores can be profitably utilised at this critical stage, so that industry is not starved. Out of 200 engineering, chemical and other industries, there are as many as 78 industrial units having more than 50 per cent idle capacity.

The nation is required to move forward rapidly towards self-reliance. Therefore, we must place the greatest emphasis on correcting the shortfalls of the past three years. These shortfalls in steel, aluminium, copper and fertilizers have plagued the Fourth Plan implementation and have sabotaged our efforts to promote exports. In both agriculture and industry the emphasis of the annual Plan is on substituting imports rather than on increasing exports. The maintenance of a high rate of economic growth will require a fairly high level of imports with substitution helping only to change the composition. No plan for the future can be sustained unless India can offset this decline in aid by an increase in exports. This is what self-reliance should actually mean.

Exports last year totalled an estimated Rs 1,600 crores; the Foreign Trade Ministry target for 1972-73 has now been set at Rs 1,730 crores, an increase by 8.1 per cent. India's trade-gap had fallen to Rs 169.46 crores last year — the lowest in 15 years. It is claimed that the exports rose from Rs 1,358 crores in 1968-69 to Rs 1,413 crores in 1969-70 and then jumped to Rs 1,535 crores during 1970-71, but these figures are accepted neither by the Finance Ministry nor by the Reserve Bank. The Economic Survey has placed exports at Rs 1,403 crores and the Reserve Bank at Rs 1,465 crores against the Ministry's claim of Rs 1,535 crores. Exports during the last financial year would not show a rise of more than 4 or 5 per cent taking into account the traditional items, such as jute goods, which bring in as much as Rs 300 crores — Rs 110 crores more than in 1970-71. What we urgently need today

This is Japan

Japan is a nation of universal literacy. The Japanese are among the most avid book buyers in the world. A great many books in foreign languages are imported and sold while many of these are also available in Japanese language. English study is compulsory in Japanese schools.—K.S.R.

is a bold import policy if the contemplated growth in exports is to be translated into reality. A growth rate of 7 per cent per annum would be feasible only when export earnings from industrial production increase at a rate of 15 to 20 per cent per annum.

Industrial production has declined from 7.1 per cent in 1969 to 4.8 per cent in 1970 and then to 2 per cent in 1971. The industries which are showing shortfalls are known to be vital for reducing the trade gap. Self-sufficiency will not automatically follow from a ban on imports of more items or restriction on the imports of some. The imposition of a penalty for failure to fulfil export obligations will not always work. It is evident from the fact that there were hardly 88 of the 242 units in 12 selected industries which could export 5 per cent or more of their production. Export-industries must be granted all possible facilities including fiscal incentives and foreign exchanges so that they are in a position to produce the desired results. If large industrial houses are found in a better position to export their products then their expansion should not be restricted in the name of social justice. It is the national interest which should be the corner stone of our economic policy.

The public sector is being developed as the main importing agency. The creation this year of the steel bank and canalisation of more items through Government agencies are a further step in that direction. On the basis of past performance our public sector enterprises, barring a few exceptions, are incapable of gene-

rating the needed resources but still we are enthusiastic about canalisation of imports through Government agencies. Is it a wise policy to keep all our eggs in one basket? Some sort of competition between public and private agencies will in fact help in narrowing the trade gap because the fittest should be allowed to survive. If efficient units are penalised because they are in the private sector, it will simply mean that we have learnt nothing from the past. The State monopoly in foreign trade may lead us to a situation in which the people will hardly have any scope for the expression of their creative energies.

In our traditional exports such as cotton and jute textiles, our competitive ability is poor. More than 50 per cent of the equipment of the cotton mill industry continues to be old and outmoded, while there is hardly any effort to revive the sick mills.

The same is the story regarding jute textiles. We do not have adequate surpluses in respect of non-traditional exports for which India has built substantial capacities during the planning era. The markets are there and our labour is cheap, but still the cost structure has thrown most of our industrial products out of line with world prices. Foreign trade necessarily implies that our goods should be able to stand competition in the international market but the game can be played only by an efficient economy. The practice of continued protection to industries and import substitution must be replaced by a system by which a vigorous and competitive economy can be built. Effi-

cient management and cost-reduction are vital for sustaining our exports. Our ports and shipping services have been found inadequate. Similarly, banking and insurance need to be developed to give full support to our expanding overseas trade. Participation in trade fairs and exhibitions in foreign countries are equally important. All these measures could be integrated in a coherent trade policy. A 10 per cent growth for Indian exports is by no means too ambitious a goal.

Import substitution can really produce the desired results if the three HSL plants can be made to work at an average of 80 per cent of their rated capacity this year, which implies that domestic production of steel would go up by no less than 8,00,000 tonnes. Imports can be reduced from Rs 230 crores in 1971-72 to Rs 60 crores in 1972-73 if the production target for 1972-73 is realised. The country may have to import about two million tonnes of steel in 1972-73. The country's dependence on imports in this critical sector will continue to increase unless the Bokaro plant becomes operational soon and drastic steps are taken to improve its capacity utilisation. The Government can do well to license mini steel plants in the private sector, while large steel plants in the joint sector can produce a hundred million tonnes of steel by 1980.

There is no hope of achieving self-sufficiency in non-ferrous metals, which cost India about Rs 80 crores in foreign exchange annually. The import bill for these is estimated to reach Rs 300 crores by 1980. Of all non-ferrous metals, copper alone accounts for imports estimated at about Rs 17 crores. The Khetri copper project is expected to produce 31,000 tonnes of copper a year and since this metal costs around Rs 9,000 a ton in the world market, a saving of Rs 14 crores can be effected if production could be started even six months ahead of schedule.

The cost of import of fertilizers has come down from Rs 195 crores in 1967-68 to Rs 76 crores in

1970-71. But this is largely due to a slow-down in fertilizer consumption.

The country spends about Rs 100 crores of foreign exchange on the import of crude oil. In 1971, out of a total consumption of 19.95 million tonnes, domestic output accounted for 7.15 million tonnes. The total consumption in 1975 is estimated at 32 million tonnes out of which 20 million tonnes will have to be imported. Out of the estimated import of 12.0 million tonnes, 10 million tonnes will come from Iran and the rest from Saudi Arabia. The most effective method of overcoming the vulnerability of the economy is to make an intensified search for crude oil. The drive for import substitution has led to an all-round increase in cost. Self-reliance means the creation not of a closed economy but of an economy which is able to pay for its imports with its exports.

Full utilisation of the existing plants in steel, fertilizers, copper and non-ferrous metals can reasonably reduce India's imports at least by Rs 400 crores. Maintenance imports can also be reduced to some extent. We have built a sizable buffer stock of foodgrains to provide for the contingency of bad years; therefore the question of food imports hardly arises. We can certainly be self-reliant in critical sectors and be free to pursue independent policies at home and abroad. The trade gap will also get further narrowed down if positive and pragmatic policies are pursued.

India's capacity to export a variety of manufactured goods is not yet fully known to the world. There are a large number of export houses which are now engaged in specializing in export marketing. But still we have a long way to go in publicising India's increasing ability to export qualitative goods at competitive prices. India's publicity for exports needs to be further integrated with the overall strategy of the country's export policy. Market research must constitute the basis to create a wide impact on world markets to augment India's export potential.

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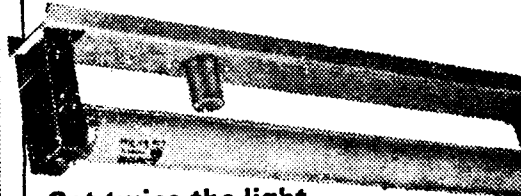


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BOOK REVIEWS:

ASSESSMENT OF NEHRU'S WORK

THE NEHRU LEGACY:

By V. K. R. V. Rao

Published by Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd., 35-C, Tardeo Road, Bombay

Price: Rs 18

This little volume of 90 pages is a brief assessment of Jawaharlal Nehru as a nation-builder, world statesman, crusader for world peace, economic planner and socialist. Here is a clear and succinct statement of the Nehru legacy to the nation, which, according to the author, is a compound of what had been already achieved and what still awaits achievement. The main components of the legacy are democracy, secularism, socialism, economic planning, science and technology modernisation of our tradition-bound society and the most important of them, integration of the Indian nation. In the international sphere it included opposition to oppression and injustice and support to all worthy causes involving other peoples. Though Nehru truly and well laid the foundations of the Indian nation, the superstructure built on it was developing cracks as evidenced by outbursts of aggressive regionalism, insidious communalism, pervasive linguism, increasing violence and defiance of Government authority. The expectations roused in the people have not been realized and this is threatening the stability of the superstructure.

Dr Rao concedes the correctness of the criticisms directed against the operational efficiency of the Nehru policies but maintains that Nehru's policies, both foreign and domestic, were essentially sound. According to him the achievement fell below expectations largely because certain positive requirements necessary for the successful implementation of these policies such as adequate psychological preparation, positive public cooperation, missionary commitment on the part of party leadership and its rank and file and administrative efficiency, were not forthcoming. In Dr Rao's assessment this was the reason why the Congress Party was so badly mauled in the 1967 elections. And again it was the realization that the people would not any longer support the split personality of the Congress Party professing Nehru's policies and failing to implement them in practice that led to the great split within the party.

Dr Rao says that the Nehru legacy still remains a valid and visible inheritance for India and it has to be activated to complete the work of Nehru. In his view, the massive majority secured by the Congress Party in the

recent elections augurs well for completing the unfinished work of Nehru. "With the recent mid-term poll, the political atmosphere has cleared to some extent, and the Congress Party is back in power with a solid majority reminiscent of the days when Nehru led the country. Moreover, the leadership of the party and the Prime Ministership of India now vests in Mrs Indira Gandhi. She is, therefore, in more than a personal sense, the inheritor of the Nehru legacy."

—V. RAMARATNAM

THE TRAGIC TALE OF PADMINI

THE CURSE OF PADMINI:

By L. N. BIRLA

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Chowpatty, Bombay-7

Price: Rs 3

There are not many significant historical novels in Indo-Anglian literature. This is rather surprising, for Indian history affords a rich mine for the novelist-prospector. Mr L. N. Birla has chosen the fascinating tragedy of Padmini for fictional narration. He disarmingly confesses that his story belongs more to the annals and legends of Rajasthan rather than to its history. After all, "the truth in a novel lies not in the events as they occur but in the character of the persons whose image is reflected there." Ratan and Padmini belong to the immortal era of heroism and romance. It is they and their like who have made Chittor "a site of poetic and patriotic pilgrimage" even today.

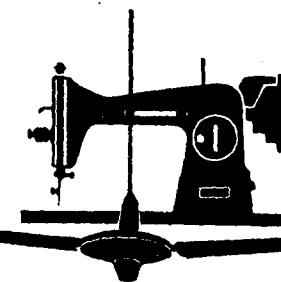
Mr Birla's novel opens with a scene reminiscent of *Macbeth*. Samarsinha hears the prophecy of doom for his people, should his son marry Princess Padmini. He is helpless against events though. Stung by the challenging tone of his first wife, Prabhavati, Ratan Singh goes to Ceylon and marries Padmini, the lovely daughter of King Parakrama Bahu. They return to Chittor after many adventures. The latter part of the novel is concerned with Alauddin's lust for Padmini, his failure to defeat Chittor and his recourse to deceit, Padmini's counter-strategy and Chittor's last stand. Padmini's efforts to avert war prove useless. All that she can do now is to lead her women to Johar and curse the cause of this wanton destruction.

"He shall have a long living death. Even his sons and his queen shall betray him. He shall cry for peace and peace he shall not find."



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who think that the prosperity and welfare of the people can only come from the destruction of all private ownership and enterprise and its replacement by Government ownership of all the means of production and distribution."

It is also clear that the investment activities of the Unit Trust

of India will be affected if the Government goes ahead with the take-over of private sector companies. Concern about this trend was expressed at a recent press conference by the Unit Trust's Executive Trustee, Mr S. D. Deshmukh. The impression has gained momentum that the

Unit Trust has become a superfluous institution in the public sector. In its 8 years of existence it has been able to mobilise only some Rs 100 crores, that too not from the 'small men', and that it has had to receive official patronage and subsidies in various forms to support its existence.

EDITOR'S NOTES :

PROHIBITION AND THE NEW CONGRESS

Mr Shankar Dayal Sharma, President of the New Congress, is himself a good man but when he declared at Indore on July 16 that there was no change in the Congress policy on Prohibition, he was indulging in rank hypocrisy, unless he indulged in pickwickian witticism meaning that the Congress has no policy on Prohibition which it can change. Even that will not be quite true because there has been a steady recession of all Congress Governments from Prohibition. Almost at the same time, Mr P. C. Sethi, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, said at Mandu that he was personally in favour of relaxing Prohibition laws further for increasing the production of beer in the State so that it can be made cheaper. It was claimed during the debate on the 24th and 25th Constitutional amendments that the directive principles were even more important than the fundamental rights but the utter disregard of the directive principles in Art. 47 enjoining Prohibition is proof that there is no honesty in dealing with such matters.

THE JAN SANGH ON SIMLA AGREEMENT

The Jan Sangh is entitled to express its opposition to the Simla agreement but its unbalanced and frantic hatred of Pakistan does not enhance its reputation for good political judgment. The appeal of its president, Mr A. B. Vajpayee, to the Union President not to ratify the agreement is ridiculous. The President of India is only a constitutional head and the present President may be said to be even ultra-constitutional. He readily signed the Bill which abolished his own veto in respect of constitutional amendments. Mr Vajpayee can legitimately demand that the agreement should be debated in Parliament; but according to the present Constitution, ratification by Parliament is not obligatory. In Article 73 dealing with the extent of the executive power of the Union, it is said that it

will extend to exercise of such rights, authority and jurisdiction as are exercisable by the Government of India by virtue of any treaty or agreement. Item 14 of the Union List says: "Entering into treaties and agreements with foreign countries and implementing of treaties, agreements and conventions with foreign countries." It is certainly open to Parliament to lay down by law that all treaties should be ratified before they can be given effect to. But this has not been done and the Simla agreement comes into effect as soon as the President has signed it. Mr Vajpayee will do well to table a new Bill before Parliament in the next session providing for ratification of all future agreements by Parliament. He may not succeed in getting the Bill through the present Parliament but he will be raising a question whether the Government has unlimited powers of entering into treaties and agreements. It is true that Parliament can censure the Government if it disapproves of them but it is normally an ineffectual and impracticable step.

SILVER JUBILEE AND EMERGENCY

It is surprising that the inappropriateness of having silver jubilee celebrations when the proclamation of emergency under Article 352 is continuing has not been realised. If the emergency needs to be continued on account of any danger to the security of India, such celebrations will be altogether improper. On the other hand, if there is no real emergency—there cannot be after the Simla Agreement—but the proclamation is being continued because the ruling party does not want to part with the extraordinary powers accruing from the proclamation, then the country would be celebrating not the birth of freedom but its eclipse. As long as a proclamation of emergency continues, fundamental rights are suspended and State autonomy is subject to the executive orders of the Central Government and parliamentary legislation in respect of ex-

clusively State subjects. Public meetings should be held all over the country to demand the termination of the emergency before the 15th August. If the emergency is not ended by that date, the only manner in which patriots can celebrate the Silver Jubilee is through silent prayer for the survival of democracy in this country.

EGYPT AND U.S.S.R.

The announcement of President Sadat of Egypt that all Soviet military experts and advisers had been asked to leave Egypt must have taken the world by surprise. It has also been stated that Soviet equipment and military installations supplied after June 1967 would become Egyptian property and be placed under Egyptian Army High Command. Such a step is mystifying when the Egyptian-Soviet friendship treaty is continuing. This appears to be a sequel to the recent meeting between Soviet leaders and President Nixon. Probably, the two great Powers have agreed to disengage themselves from the West Asian conflict and allow the Arab States and Israel to settle their disputes as best they could. Probably, similar agreements for disengagement from the Vietnam war, by the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and China have been concluded and are waiting for some kind of truce at Paris for practical implementation. If the Big Powers refuse to take sides in the quarrels of smaller nations and refuse to supply arms to them, it will be a great step towards world peace.

WHIMS AND FANCIES

The recent changes in the Central Ministers indicate that they are made only on the whims and fancies of the Prime Minister regardless of work or qualifications. Mr T. A. Pai has been a very successful banker and his services should have been utilised in the fields of finance and banking. Similarly, Mr D. P. Dhar has been playing the role in India analogous to that of Mr Kissinger in the U.S. Instead of foreign affairs, he is entrusted with planning at a stage when the Fifth Plan is supposed to be almost ready.

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PROTECTION ABROAD AND PERFECTION AT HOME: McGOVERN SPELLS OUT PLAN

The following are extracts from Senator George McGovern's speech accepting the Democratic Presidential nomination:

This is a nomination of the people, and I hereby dedicate this campaign to the people.

Next January we will restore the government to the people. American politics will never be the same again.

We are entering a new period of important, hopeful change in America comparable to the political ferment released in the years of Jefferson, Jackson and Roosevelt.

In a democratic nation, no one likes to say that his inspiration came from secret arrangements behind closed doors. But in a sense that is how my candidacy began. I am here as your candidate in large part because during four administrations of both parties, a terrible war has been charted behind closed doors. I want these doors opened, and I want that war closed. And I make these pledges above all others—the doors of government will be opened, and that brutal war will be closed.

AGONY OF VIETNAM

In 1968, Americans voted to bring our sons home from Vietnam in peace—and since then, 20,000 have come home in coffins. I have no secret plans for peace, I have a public plan. As one whose heart has ached for 10 years over the agony of Vietnam, I will halt the senseless bombing of Indo-China on Inauguration Day. There will be no more Asian children running ablaze from bombed-out schools. There will be no more talk of bombing the dikes or the cities of the north.

Within 90 days of my Inauguration, every American soldier and every American prisoner will be out of the jungle and out of his cell and back home in America where they belong. And then let us resolve that never again will we send the precious young blood of this country to die trying to prop up a corrupt military dictatorship abroad.

Let us choose life, not death. This is the time.

It is necessary in an age of nuclear power and hostile ideologies that we be militarily strong. America must never

become a second-rate nation. As one who has tasted the bitter fruits of our weakness before Pearl Harbour in 1941, I give you my sacred pledge that if I become President of the United States, America will keep its defences alert and fully sufficient to meet any danger.

We know that for 30 years we have been so absorbed with fear and danger from abroad that we have permitted our own house to fall into disarray. We must now show that peace and prosperity can exist side by side—indeed, each now depends on the other.

National strength includes the credibility of our system in the eyes of our own people as well as the credibility of our deterrent in the eyes of others abroad. National security includes schools for our children as well as silos for our missiles, the health of our families as much as the size of our streets and the condition of our cities and not just the engines of war.

JOBS FOR ALL

And if we some day choke on the pollution of our own air, there will be little consolation in leaving behind a dying continent ringed with steel. Let us protect ourselves abroad and perfect ourselves at home. This is the time. And we must make this a time of justice and jobs for all.

The highest domestic priority of my administration will be to ensure that every American able to work has a job to do. This job guarantee will and must depend upon a reinvigorated private economy, freed at last from uncertainties and burdens of war. But it is our commitment that whatever employment the private sector does not provide, the Federal Government will either stimulate or provide itself. Whatever it takes, this country is going back to work.

America cannot exist with most of our people working and paying taxes to support too many others mired in the demeaning, bureaucratic welfare system. Therefore, we intend to begin by putting millions back to work; and after that is done, we will assure to those unable to work an income sufficient to assure a decent life. Beyond this, a programme to put America back to work demands that work be properly rewarded. That means the end of a system of economic controls in which labour is depressed, but prices and corporate profits are the highest in history. It means a system of national health insurance, so that a

worker can afford decent health care for himself and his family. It means real enforcement of the laws so that the drug racketeers are put behind the bars for good and our streets are once again safe for our families.

FAIR TAXATION

Above all, honest work must be rewarded by a fair and just tax system. The tax system today does not reward hard work—it penalises it. Inherited or invested wealth frequently multiplies itself while paying no taxes at all. But wages earned on the assembly line, or laying bricks, or picking fruit—these hard-earned dollars are taxed to the last penny. There is a depletion allowance for oil wells, but no allowance for the depletion of a man's body in years of toil.

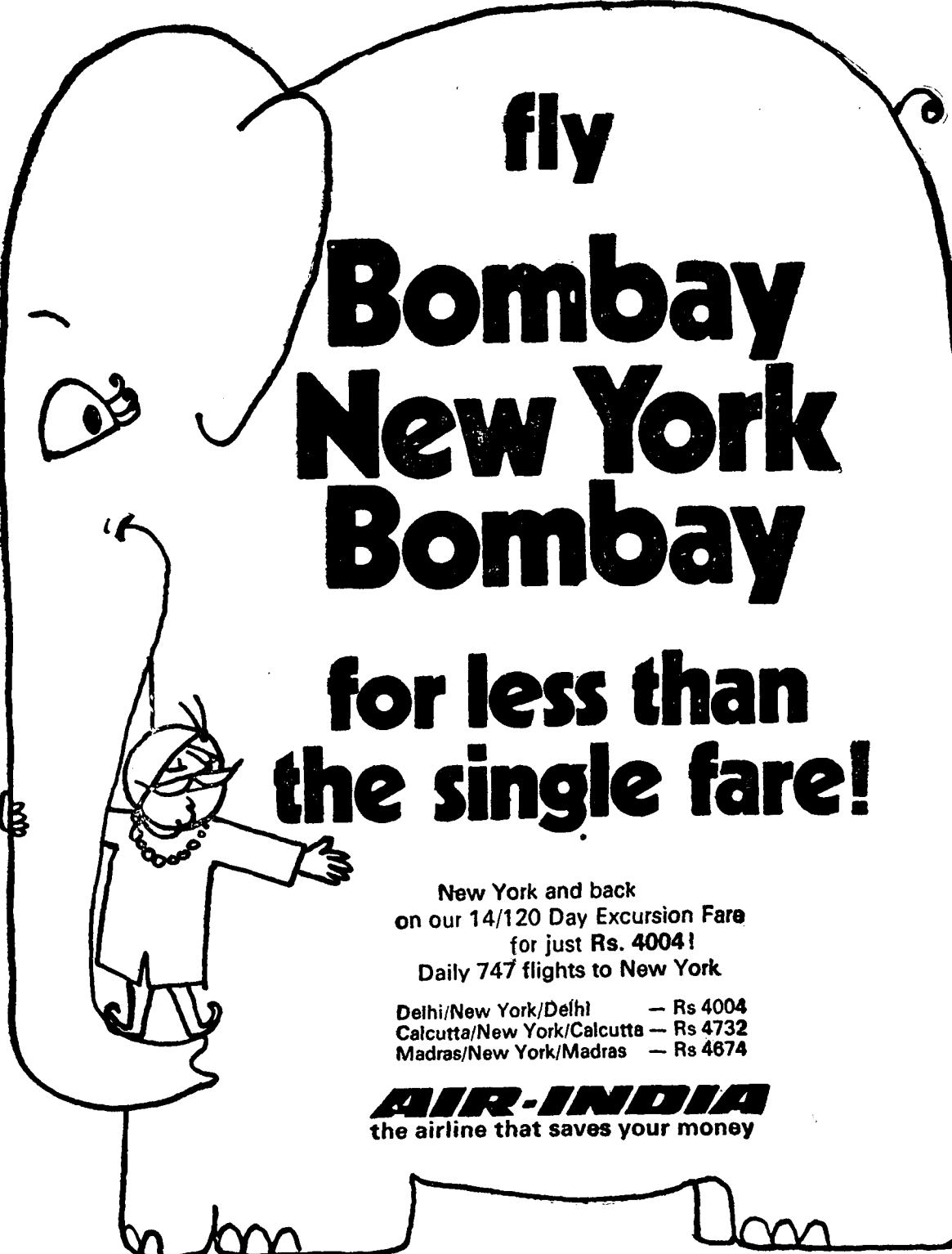
So let us stand for justice and jobs, and against special privilege. This is the time. We are not content with things as they are. We reject the view of those who say: "America—love it or leave it." We reply: "Let us change it so we can love it the more."

This is the time for this land to become again a witness to the world for what is noble and just in human affairs. So join with me in this campaign, lend me your strength and your support, give me your advice—and together, we will call America home to the founding ideas that nourished us in the beginning.

From secrecy and deception in high places, come home, America. From military spending so wasteful that it weakens our nation, come home, America. From the entrenchment of special privilege and tax favouritism, come home, America. From the waste of idle hands to the joy of useful labour, come home, America. From the prejudice of race and sex, come home, America. From the loneliness of the aging poor and the despair of the neglected sick, come home, America. Come home to the affirmation that we have a dream. Come home to the conviction that we can move our country forward. Come home to the belief that we can seek a newer world. And let us be joyful in the homecoming.

For "This land is your land, this land is my land, from California to the New York Island. From the Redwood Forest to the Gulfstream waters, this land was made for you and me."

May God grant us the wisdom to cherish this good land and to meet the great challenge that beckons us home.



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HEAVY ENGINEERING CORPORATION IN A MESS

SUBHASH J. RELE

THE PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS Committee of Parliament, in its recent report, brings out several skeletons in the cupboard of the Heavy Engineering Corporation. At the rate at which the H.E.C. had been losing, it might wipe out its paid-up capital of Rs 200 crores in the next two years, the Committee said. Not much has been done over the years to reduce its losses. The H.E.C. has been a pampered and a pompous child of the Government. In fact, this Soviet-aided public sector undertaking has been limping badly ever since it was set up about 13 years ago. Today, it has reached the point of no return. The losses, far in excess of the earlier estimates of the Ministry of Steel and Mines, totalled up to Rs 73 crores in 1970-71. The actual losses in the next two years are likely to be much more than the estimated Rs 23.5 crores.

The Committee came to the conclusion that the H.E.C. had suffered mainly because it had lacked an organisational set-up which would build up in an integrated manner the three complexes of the foundry forge plant, the heavy machine building plant and the heavy machine tools plant which constituted the heavy engineering complex. The Commit-

tee found in delays in the construction and the commissioning of plants, poor production performance, defective procedures and high costs of production the main factors which kept the Corporation in the red.

The H.E.C. is unique among all our public sector undertakings. It has had more than 10 chairmen in the last ten years. Most of them were helpless spectators to the rot which had been allowed to set in. No wonder the malaise from which it is suffering seems to be getting worse every year. Set up in 1959 to meet the need of heavy engineering equipment, it is preoccupied with supplying equipment which our plants do not need at present and not supplying those which they need. Over the years it has developed a knack of not delivering goods in time to other public sector giants and thus upsetting their production schedules.

The Government of India, in its initial zeal, appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Mr Jehangir Ghandy, Director, Tata Industries (P) Limited, to examine the proposals of the USSR team and the UK mission and to advise it on the most suitable plan for the establishment of a heavy engineering industry. The

committee reported in March 1957 that the proposals of the UK mission were preferable to those of the Soviet team. In spite of the several specific advantages of the UK mission's proposals, the Government decided to set up the heavy engineering plant in technical collaboration with and with credit assistance from the Soviet Union.

There had been considerable delays in the construction and commissioning of the projects of the Corporation. According to the schedule drawn up by the management in April, 1962, the construction of the heavy machine building plant was to be completed by the end of 1964 except the heavy machine department which was to be completed by the end of 1965. This schedule could not be adhered to. The delay was, however, attributed mainly to the delay in the receipt of equipment from the USSR. The Russians attributed the delay to the fact that they wanted to incorporate the latest developments in the machine tools to be supplied to the Corporation. The other reasons which contributed to the deviation from the schedule were stated to be the delay, in the initial stages, in the receipt of working drawings from the USSR and the difficulties in the procurement of building materials.

The Committee on Public Undertakings (1967-68), in its report, had argued that even granting



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that some delays might be unavoidable in complex plants like those of the Corporation due to certain unforeseen circumstances, the delays to the extent of more than two years, as in the case of the foundry forge plant, could hardly be justified. The Committee then said: "The delays in the procurement of materials, designs, drawings, plant and machinery, etc., would have been avoided to a large extent with proper planning and coordination by having close liaison with the authorities concerned." It is a pity that the Government has not taken any firm steps in accordance with the recommendations of the last P.U.C.'s report to avoid delays.

The recent report of the Committee on Public Undertakings submitted to the Lok Sabha views with concern the extremely unsatisfactory trends in the supply of equipment and structural to Bokaro Steel Limited by the H.E.C. which seriously affected the erection programme. It has recommended that the Government should immediately make an overall assessment regarding the actual supplies made by the H.E.C. to the plant and take appropriate steps to ensure maintenance of the delivery schedules.

The Committee expressed surprise that the Corporation had paid a sum of Rs 286 lakhs to Bokaro

Steel Limited in respect of design documentations. Out of this, a total expenditure of Rs 122.94 lakhs was incurred for design documentations which were either already in possession of the H.E.C. or which were not at all utilised. The loss incurred in the procurement of design documentation was due to lack of adequate co-ordination between Bokaro Steel Ltd. and the H.E.C.

Quoting instances of defective production planning and ill-planned purchases, the Committee asked the administrative machinery and the Bureau of Public Enterprises "to take special interest in the matter of stores management." In some cases, the Corporation suffered substantial losses as a result of quoting prices much below the cost of production. Again, "the utilisation of labour and machine in all the plants of the H.E.C. was much below the total hours available."

The things that have gone wrong in the H.E.C. are too obvious to be glided over. The Government, however, gives the impression of being over-eager to defend the wrongs than correct the defects. Mere changes in the administrative set-up here and there will be of no avail. What is needed is a thorough probe into the affairs of the H.E.C. Will the Government show political courage to order a probe?

Mr Khan's second engagement during the second year of his term will be to clean the administrative machinery. Last year Mr Khan did take some measures to put the machinery in the top gear—he effected scores of transfers affecting the top brass of the administration. Only last month he again made transfers changing the set-up in the districts completely.

Rs 200 CRORES FERTILIZER COMPLEX

The third important assignment of Mr Khan is to put the State on a sound industrial footing. So far the progress made in the industrial sphere has been very poor. The Centre has ignored the State's plea for larger industrialisation although the infra-structure has been created here. In mineral wealth Rajasthan is very rich but so far its exploitation has been rather poor. The Centre has however decided to establish a huge fertilizer complex in Rajasthan based on pyrites and rock phosphate which have been located in the State in substantial quantities. The deposits are of good quality. The proposed complex would cost about Rs 200 crores and it is expected to be set up during the Fifth Plan period.

As for land reforms, the steps initiated by the present Government have not been rewarding. It is good that some weightage is being given to the State while fixing the new ceiling limits in view of the State's peculiar conditions.

There is disappointment in Rajasthan over the Centre's decision to locate a huge oil refinery at Mathura in Uttar Pradesh. It was expected that the six-million tonne refinery would be located in Rajasthan. Mr Khan has openly expressed his resentment over New Delhi's decision. The Central team had favoured Sawai Madhopur in Rajasthan as a good site for the refinery. This was because this place is nearer to the Kandla port from where pipelines could be laid to carry the crude to the refinery. Even now hope is entertained in official circles here that the Centre might change its decision.

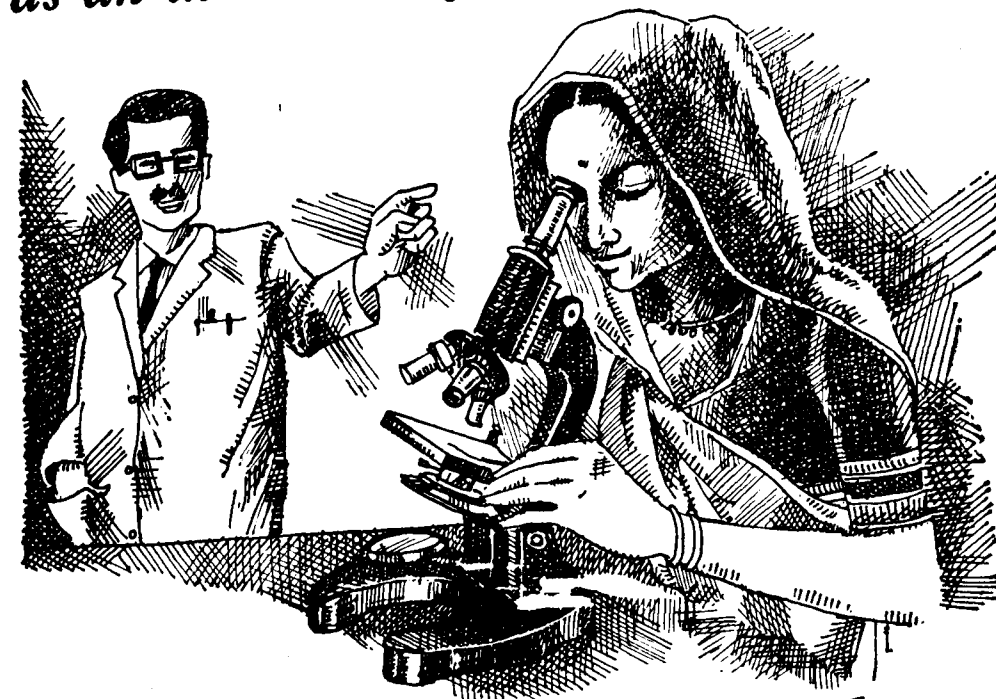
The immediate task facing Mr Khan is to resurrect the State's alarming finances. Perhaps, Rajasthan is the only State in the country the financial position of which is very pitiable—the total debts run to the tune of Rs 745 crores. The Chief Minister has initiated some firm steps to improve the picture. But the scope is very limited. There is no hope of improvement unless New Delhi adopts a favourable attitude. Government circles here look upon the Sixth Finance Commission which has been set up to take full note of the State's financial position.

RAJASTHAN LETTER:

BALANCE-SHEET OF KHAN MINISTRY NOT IMPRESSIVE

JAIPUR, July 10: Mr Barkatullah Khan has been in office for one full year now during which his overall performance has not, by any standard, been impressive. When he took over from Mr Sukhadia on July 9, 1971, he had promised to give an entirely new look to the Government—aimed at improving the administrative machinery—but his balance-sheet only shows a few plus points. Of course, the tasks before him had been truly formidable. Mr Sukhadia, who ruled over the State for 17 years, set up certain traditions which Mr Khan now finds difficult to cope with.

Milk co-operatives as an instrument for adult education



What happens when a village woman in Kaira peers at buffalo semen through a microscope?

In Kaira, batches of women—most of them illiterate—visit the artificial insemination centre every day. They learn the mysteries of conception and birth in scientific terms, from the technicians employed by their milk co-operative. Can they help relating these facts to themselves? When their technicians speak of the nutrition needs of buffaloes and calves, their thoughts turn to themselves and their children.

A new view of their own life begins to form, and the frontiers of knowledge widen. When true education begins, superstition breaks down.

Amul has shown the way.

WEST BENGAL LETTER:

RUMBILINGS WITHIN CONGRESS(R) IN WEST BENGAL

CALCUTTA, July 18: All is not well with the Ruling Congress in West Bengal. Behind the monolithic picture that Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray, Chief Minister, has sought to create, cracks are evident. They are both in the organisational as well as in the ministerial wings. It is an open secret that Mr Tarun Kanti Ghosh, Commerce Minister, and Mr Ray do not see eye to eye with each other. Recently, Mr Ghosh announced a plan to create a million jobs by an investment of Rs 1,400 crores. The statement was made when the Chief Minister was away from Calcutta. As soon as Mr Ray returned to the city, he not only pooch-pooched the plan but also asked the Planning Board "to ignore it altogether." A few days later, Mr Ray himself spoke of a similar plan.

Mr Ghosh, no doubt, is lying low. But, the indications are

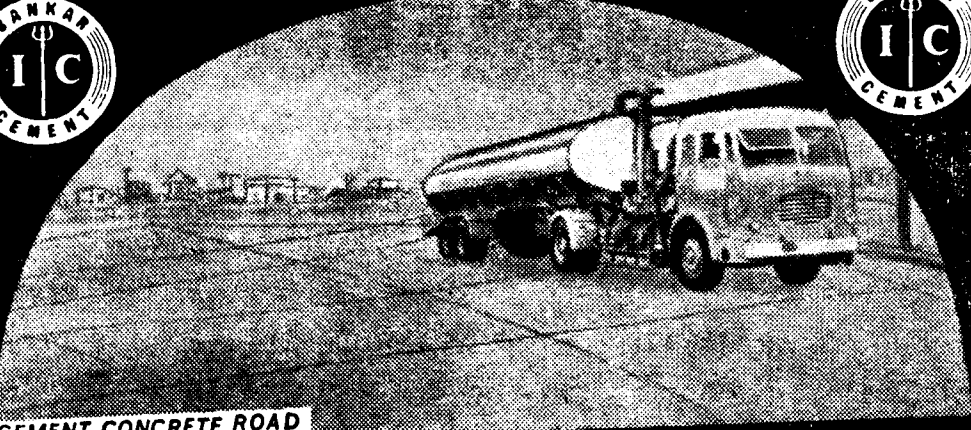
that the in-fight is now having a snow-ball effect. The more the Chief Minister tries to stifle criticism the more it gains momentum. The other day Mr Ray pulled up three MLAs for asking the Minister for public sector industries, Dr Jainal Abedin, in the Assembly to disclose the report on the basis of which Mr B. B. Mondal, former Secretary of the Relief and Rehabilitation Department, was removed from service.

The three MLAs are not alone. A good number of MLAs are not happy over the way the Ministry and also the organisation have been functioning. At the outset no one dared criticise Mr Ray, though discontent was simmering. First, the sweeping victory at the hustings gave Mr Ray a tremendous boost. And he was making it apparent that he had the blessings of the Prime Minister in abundance. However, they are no

longer prepared to follow Mr Ray blindly.

At the organisational level too the volume of criticism is increasing. In the past, the ruling group had adopted the strategem of setting up *ad hoc* committees to smother opposition. But, the tactics seem to have lost their edge now. The word *ad hoc* has become anathema with an increasing number of Congressmen. The recent move to set up fresh *ad hoc* committees in nine districts has met with opposition from unexpected quarters. Mr Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, General Secretary of the PCC (it is also an *ad hoc* body), had worked out the plan. The resistance has come from the PCC chief, Mr Moitra, who was at one time a close associate of Mr Ray. How long the PCC chief will be able to resist the move nobody can say, for Mr Ray has the solid support of the aggressive Chhatra Parishad and the Yuva Congress. However, differences have now come to the surface and even the CP and the YC are no longer united bodies.

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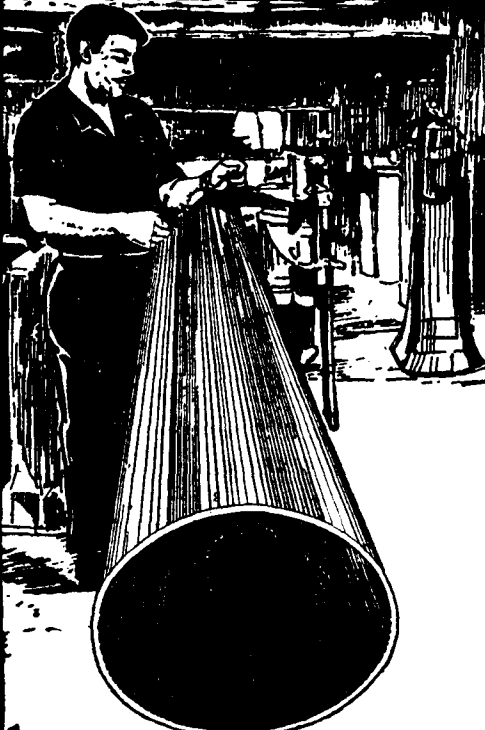


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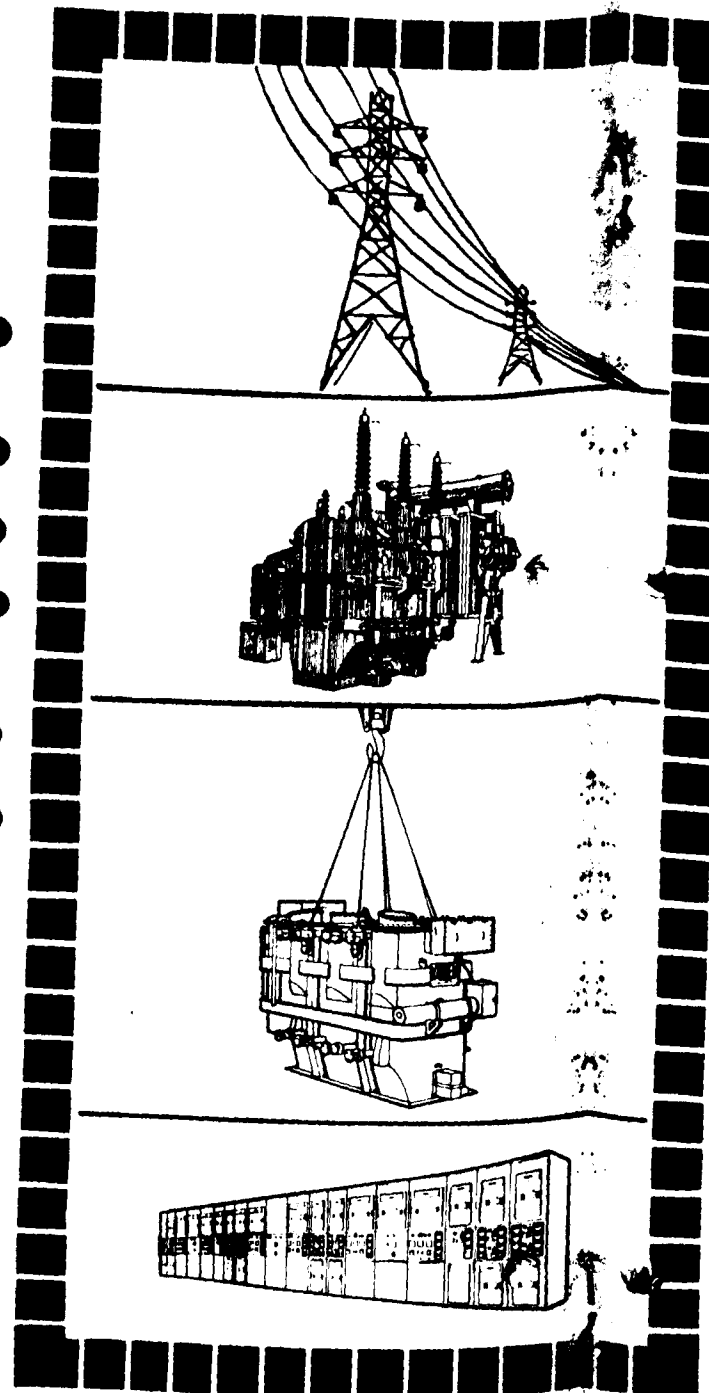
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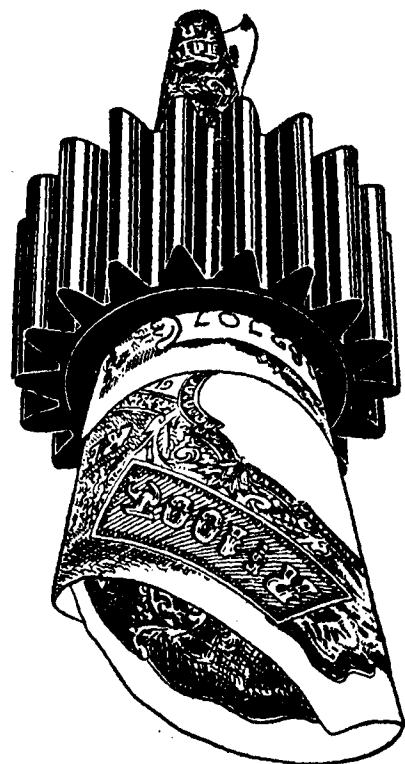
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BACKWARDNESS OF HARIJANS IN TAMIL NAD

PROF. K. B. MADHAVA

THE MADRAS INSTITUTE of Development Studies, founded and run by the former UNESCO Chief, Dr Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, is engaged, among other activities, in empirical studies on urgent problems faced by the Government and people of Tamil Nad within the agro-rural complex. The Institute, partly financed by the Indian Council of Social Studies, has appropriately brought forth as its first publication this booklet * dealing with the nature, magnitude and amelioration of the backwardness of the Harijan community in Tamil Nad. This community forms about 18 per cent of the people of the State; it has been the most down-trodden for ages and is still lagging far behind the non-Harijans in spite of concerted efforts since Independence through constitutional provisions, legal safeguards, parliamentary representation, special compensatory privileges, etc., backed up in this State by Plan outlays of the order of about Rs 40 crores. Their development in all fields, economic, social, cultural, etc., is an urgent task if the country has to achieve its goal of eradication of poverty.

The strategy at the national level, as outlined in the Approach to the Fifth Plan is comprehensive economic development, education, employment, health and rural public works and egalitarian distribution of incomes. The recommended Plan for Tamil Nad in this study is basically the same as the national strategy, with details spelt out in specific terms and objectives. A survey of four selected districts in the State which forms the groundwork of this pamphlet has found (page 27) that, on the criterion that a *per capita* expenditure of Rs 448 is necessary for maintaining a minimum subsistence level, no fewer than 76 per cent of the Harijans are (in 1970) below this level, with 26 per cent even within the range, which is less than 50 per cent of the subsistence level, experiencing 'extreme poverty'. If, by the beginning of the Sixth Plan period (1979-84), the *per capita* income of the Harijans should reach the above minimum, a

growth rate of 6 per cent for the rest of the Fourth Plan period, 7 per cent during the Fifth Plan period and 8 per cent during the Sixth Plan period must be targeted for. (Page 125). To achieve this, the Plan outlays for Scheduled Castes should be of the order of Rs 20 crores in the Fifth Plan, Rs 25 crores in the Sixth Plan, backed annually by institutional credit of Rs 21 crores for land distribution and green revolution, and another Rs 45 crores for rural public works. (page 127). These suggestions, like all recommendations made, and to be made, by the MIDS, are addressed to the concerned departments of governments, and hopefully to be implemented by them with zest and speed.

The booklet discusses (Chapter VI) the actual programme only in broad outline, but as one of the avowed objectives of the Institute is to provide also action-oriented projects for micro-development, it would have been useful to have the several potholes, disparities and differentials identified in the survey of the selected districts pinpointed for immediate action by the officials concerned at the block levels. As one goes through the several statistical tables enriching this book, one comes across several such differentials. Some of them may be due to errors and biases—both sampling and non-sampling — incidental to this sort of statistical surveys, but quite a few deserve more minute examination of the original schedules containing the response to the questionnaire.

Having regard to space limitations in this review, only a few may be mentioned here: Table 9: the decadal growth (1961-71) of 3.2 per cent in the literacy rate among Harijan women in Madurai district is significantly lower than the 10.2 per cent growth in comparable categories in the other three districts; likewise, the significantly high increase among Harijan men at 22.4 per cent in Chingleput district, as against 18.6 to 14.0 per cent in the other districts. Table 12, showing distribution of households according to income ranges, has a conspicuous difference in the number with incomes above Rs 500, these being 25 per cent in South Arcot district (Table 12-D), as against 4 per cent only in Thanjavur district (Table 12-A). The two-panel table 14 also has similar differentials. Table 15-A throws out a problem in reconciling the widely differing percentage increase during 1959-60 and 1969-70 among owner-cultivators among Harijans as well as the reversal of this

* INCOME-EARNING TRENDS AND SOCIAL STATUS OF THE HARIJAN COMMUNITY IN TAMIL NAD:

By A. VAGISWARI

Published by Sangam Publishers for Madras Institute of Development Studies, Madras-20

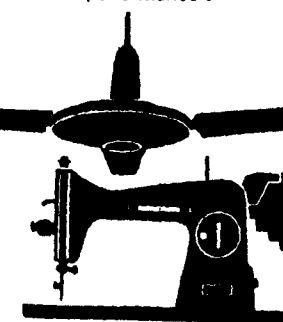
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trend among this group of non-Harijans. As stated, these few are only selected for illustrative purposes, but undoubtedly all such disparities offer case studies for corrective action.

This study also throws light on some aspects of general development in the country. From National Sample Survey Reports it was found that in 1950, at the then prevailing price levels, Rs 188 would mark the poverty line, and in the corresponding Madras State of that time, 34 per cent would be below this minimum subsistence level, including 10 per cent who would be earning even less than one-half of this amount and, therefore, to be considered as experiencing dire deprivation. The National Sample Survey Reports indicated that by 1960 the poverty line had to be Rs 235 to reflect the then prevailing inflation, and the corresponding percentages in the 'subsistence' and 'distress' groups had increased to 41.5 and 14 per cent. Since then, this tragedy has worsened and the present study by the MIDS puts the poverty border at Rs 466 and the people in the above two groups had increased to 64 and 20 per cent (Table 22).

This feature is spotlighted by the Director of MIDS, in his preface, by the statement that between the two decades income levels had worsened and did not keep pace with the price rise. A second facet of Harijan poverty is that the gap between their incomes and those of the non-Harijan community has been widening. The *per capita* growth, therefore, has to contend not only with the population explosion, but also with the price explosion. But there are also silver linings to the gathering clouds. In literacy at least (page 14) the gap between the Harijans and non-Harijan sections has decreased considerably. More importantly, it is to be noted (page 121) that 'contrasted with the discrimination embodied in the social and religious beliefs of the near past, the tendency towards equality of the Harijans is a definite, albeit slow-moving one.'

The study, it is stated, is designed primarily to be in the nature of a survey and is, therefore, profusely supported by statistical tables. Statistical analyses, properly so called, however refer to the sample data collected from selected households of both Harijans and non-Harijans in ten villages of each of the four districts—200 households of the former, and about 50 of the latter category and are claimed (page 8) to form a "representative" sample. Not being proportional to probability either in terms of general population, or the Harijan and non-Harijan groups from overrepresentation of the Harijan community, the proportion of about 82 to 18 in the general population is

reversed in the sample to about 20 'others' to 80 Harijans. There does not seem to be further stratification or randomization. The standard errors of the averages are not available. An attempt seems to have been made to calculate chi-squares, T and P (Chap. VI), but no results are given. Table 14 and the Parets charts help to give an idea of the inequality of distribution, but with the grouped results of 12 A-D and 13 A-D, relating to incomes, and the corresponding Table 25 relating to expenditure, fractile and 'distance' analyses would have been helpful.

It is a pity that in proof reading of Table 25, the omission of the part of the table relating to expenditure pat-

tern in Madurai district, has been left unnoticed. The contents list may have included the titles of the several tables as that would facilitate reference. Likewise, an appendix may have contained the questionnaire used in the investigation. Like the 'counting of mosquitoes in Mambalam' to which Director Adiseshiah refers, being an aid to eradicating the menace there, 'the ascertainment of incomes trends in the Harijan community', which is the adopted title of the book, is to devise measures to help reduce inequalities between the Harijans and non-Harijan sections of the community, and amongst the Harijans themselves, which is the main purpose of the book.

BOOK REVIEW:

WHEN CHINA WAS 'WANDERING BETWEEN TWO WORLDS'

TWILIGHT IN CHINA:

By K. P. S. MENON

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, Bombay-7

Price: Rs 22.50

As a top official in our diplomatic service at the time when India became free, K. P. S. Menon needed to have winning ways. That he had them in plenty is evident from this book. It gives us a selection from "private and personal" letters written by him as India's Agent-General and then Ambassador, in China's war-time capital regularly to his principals in New Delhi. That he was able to convince and, by and large, to have his assessment of men and things accepted by men as diverse as Lialithgow and Jawaharlal Nehru, by Olaf Caroe and Hugh Weightman, is a tribute to his knowledge, powers of perception and clear analysis. That these letters and, even more, the historical and contemporary background which he furnishes should prove equally acceptable to the reader is more evidence of his sense of fairness.

Menon was in China at a time when victory in the Second World War was, as far as China and Chiang Kai-shek were concerned, practically nullified by the growing rift between the Nationalists and the communists. This was to flare up into a civil war which saw the latter overrun China and banish the Kuomintang regime to Formosa. Menon and others could foresee what was coming but many in high places in China and elsewhere ignored the warnings. To Menon's credit it must be said that he does not seek to minimise Chiang's part in Chinese history: "He has eliminated . . . the war-lords, and unified the country." India, of course, will be grateful to Chiang for support-

ing India's demand for freedom so that she would be the better able to fight side by side with the democracies against the Axis Powers.

Menon was well placed, at one of the principal listening-posts, to get an idea of the reactions of the Big Powers and the small to the changing phases of the Second World War. Chinese views on Mounbatten's strategy in the Burmese war theatre differ from the ones with which we are familiar. And Menon lets us see the glee with which the American, General Stilwell, took the immaculately dressed Mounbatten "on the roughest and dirtiest of roads and brought him back" saying, "Anyhow we have made him dusty." These personal touches make interesting reading. I cannot resist citing the story of Madame Chiang's meeting with Winston Churchill and how, after the expected verbal exchanges, particularly on India, she could not but exclaim to Winston, "Your bark is worse than your bite."

Menon concludes his book on a sombre note—the present state of Sino-Indian relations is anything but happy. Both sides must share responsibility for this state of affairs but India's is much less than China's. Menon says: "It may not be possible, or even desirable, to reconjure the perfervid atmosphere of the days of Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai, but there is a hope that in the not distant future our relations with China can be established on a friendly, sincere, good-neighbourly level." He thinks that our Prime Minister is now in a stronger position than her father "to end the period of rancour and bitterness with China." But friendship is a two-way affair. And China's leaders must shed their prejudices and suspicion.

—S. A. GOVINDARAJAN



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Dear Reader

I AM glad that the farmers' agitation in Tamil Nad has ended in a satisfactory settlement. I congratulate the farmers as well as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nad.

★

I WISH the second summit meeting between India and Pakistan were scheduled for an earlier date than what has been proposed by the Government of India. But, more important than the preference for August or September is that all issues should be settled with expedition so as to give reasonable satisfaction to both sides. If such a settlement of all matters is concluded and a treaty arrived at leading to true friendship and cooperation between India and Pakistan, both countries can celebrate the Silver Jubilee of Independence with sincere jubilation.

★

IT IS SURPRISING that some members of Parliament desire that the Simla pact should be thrown out when it is placed before Parliament for ratification. Indo-Pakistan friendship and cooperation are essential for the Indian economy to survive. If the pact fails to make further progress there is no chance for poverty in India to be reduced, not to speak of prosperity and progress. I am, therefore, much surprised that some MPs. have grouped together in a panel to work under the chairmanship of Acharya Kripalani to oppose the pact. It is obvious that a race between Pakistan and India in military expenditure will ruin both countries and I hope that Smt. Indira Gandhi will warn Parliament in language as strong and forthright as Mr Bhutto did in the Pakistan National Assembly.

★

I HAVE very high regard for Sri T. A. Pai, who replaces Sri Hanumanthaiya. I cannot guess the nature of the statement which Sri Hanumanthaiya will make in Parliament about his resignation. But he has set a very good example, worthy of much appreciation, by declining to accept a Governorship as a bribe for giving up the Railway portfolio.

I AM unable to find out the origin of the word Karnataka which is proposed to denominate the State of Mysore. The addition of North and South Kanara does not justify the giving up of the old name, Mysore, which has a reference to the Goddess Chamundi overcoming Mahishasura, Chamundi being

the Goddess in the holy hill temple on the outskirts of Mysore. Karnataka is not the name of any region in India, nor the denomination by which any language is known. "Karnataka tunes in music", as distinguished from Hindustani music, has no reference to Mysore or North or South Kanara or Mangalore.

C.R

TILAK'S EXPOSITION OF THE "GITA"

DR. P. NAGARAJA RAO

"Tasmaat sarveshu kaaleshu maam anusmara yuddaya"

THE LIFE OF Balagangadara Tilak is an epic in action and scholarship and his claim for the gratitude of his countrymen rests on his two-fold service, i.e., his contribution to Indian nationalism and his interpretation of India's great scripture, the *Bhagavad Gita*, in Marathi. He was a profound scholar in Sanskrit, an ardent patriot and a relentless fighter in the cause of India's freedom. (Tilak's death anniversary falls on August 1).

Tilak, in his massive introduction to his translation of the *Gita* and notes focussed our attention on the relevance of the *Gita* message to us. He did not deem it a mere book of Metaphysics, for he looked upon it as a code of practical ethics meant for all to live the right type of life and order our affairs with a sense of *dharma*. He looked upon the *Gita* as *kavya* and a *sashitra* not only describing *moksha* but describing *dharma* also.

The *Gita* abounds in some 60 imperatives. Some of them are in the form of commands, and statements of eternal truths, e.g., the existence of God, the eternal nature of Truth, the Law of Karma, etc. There is a second set of imperatives that teach us what we ought to do, and what we ought not to do. In the third group of imperatives the Lord argues the pros and cons of a case and persuades us to accept the command He gives in our interest.

Tilak looks upon the *Gita* as a book where duty and devotion

go together. The Lord has not envisaged devotion to God and duty to society as alternatives. It is not the secular concept of duty, nor is it spiritualism which obviates the performance of duty. It is a harmonious combination of duty and devotion.

Life is a fight. The European mystic, Ruysbroeck, gives his commentary on the last verse of the *Gita*: "Then only is our life a whole when work and contemplation dwell in us side by side and we are perfect in both of them at once." Tilak upheld that the philosophy of *karmayoga* is central to *Gita* and that even the liberated souls will have to lead a activist moral life. In this he boldly differed from Sankara.

Tilak saw the essence of the *Gita* in the 47th verse of the 11 Canto. This verse implies four instructions: (1) our exclusive obligation to act; (2) absolute prohibition to desire the fruits of activity; (3) to treat oneself as an instrument of God and (4) the most important of all, taking great care not to fall a victim to or be intimidated into inaction. Such, in short, is the philosophy of action that Lord Krishna imparted to Arjuna in the *Gita*. Among the twentieth century commentators Tilak was the first to emphasise both the aspects of devotion and duty conjointly as the message of the *Gita*. He it was who indicated that we should not allow evil to go its way. It must be fought at all levels.

Duty and Devotion are the two modes of God-realisation outlined in the *Gita*. The *Gita* is the one scripture that has a message which is within the reach of all.

CHANGES AND RE-SHUFFLES AT DELHI

SENTINEL

NEW DELHI, July 20: Frequent reshuffles of the Cabinet or changes of portfolios of Ministers do not improve the image of the Government or its leader. They only make the public feel that there is no settled direction at the highest level of administration of the country. The cover of leftist slogans cannot hide the fact that the administration as a whole stands paralysed and reduced to inaction because of the changes and shifts that have taken place during the last two years. What has been happening is a kind of shake-up after every session of Parliament. Even the latest changes are described as only a minor reshuffle and there is promise of a bigger change some time in November.

Apart from taxing the credibility of the public about the supposed benefits that would accrue as a result of the changes, which certainly have not followed any change in the past four years at least, the dislocation of work and disenchantment among those affected by these changes are not conditions that go to make for a stable governmental set-up. And the Prime Minister went to the polls both in 1971 and 1972 asking for majority support for a stable government. She got the 'massive majority' but the composition of the government has been changing practically every six months.

Coming to the latest reshuffle, one consequence stands out as the most glaring. It has left a bitter taste all round. It is not a question of one Minister less or two more, but it is "the manner of handling it", an expression the Prime Minister herself used in another context, that is responsible for the impression that a Ministerial job is the most slippery assignment that one can ask for. There are many who may prefer to stay on as MPs. If there are still aspirants to Ministerial posts, it only shows that the limit is yet to be reached.

There had been a whispering campaign in the last two months that two Ministers, Mr K. Hanumanthaiya and Mr Moinul Haque Choudhury were to be dropped. And the two have now gone out. Mr Hanumanthaiya was offered Governorship, which he declined stating that he would prefer to be an ordinary M.P. A diplomatic assignment was held out for Mr Choudhury. Though anticipated, the actual move did upset the two Ministers. Considering the records of other Ministers, these two Ministers had not done badly and their continuance would have been justified. But there seems to be other yardsticks. And Mr Subramaniam who has been talking of swimming in the Fifth Plan, of which he would be the architect, is transplanted into Industry. Mr D. P. Dhar, who has been actively associated with foreign policy problems and has to his credit the spadework for both the Indo-Russian Treaty of Friendship and Indo-Pakistan agreement at Simla, is pitchforked into planning as Minister.

ISCO'S FUTURE

Whenever Government finds itself cornered on the issue of poor performance of the public sector and its growing losses, there is always attempted a diversionary move to create the impression that the private sector units are also not free from lapses. The idea appears to be to cover up the major failures of the public sector, especially in steel plants, by resorting to fresh nationalisation moves or taking over the management of some concern or other on any pretext and also see that compensation is avoided. And such moves have also to be dramatised to win applause from the leftist sections. The take-over of the management of the Indian Iron and Steel Co., the smaller of the two major plants in the

private sector, fits into this pattern. Neither the press statement announcing the take-over after a hurried Cabinet meeting, nor the explanations offered by the Steel Minister, Mr Kumaramangalam made out a reasonable case for the transfer of the management to the Government or to the proposed Government holding company of steel units—yet another diversionary move to lump the public sector units under one head, as if by so doing the units will produce more steel which they have not been able to do as units of Hindustan Steel.

The problem is one of efficiency, production and profits but the Government thinks that by raising a super-structure like the holding company these basic issues will be solved. Why the announcement of the holding company followed and not preceded the announcement of the take-over of the management of Indian Iron is not clear. The Government already had substantial shares — some 47 to 49 per cent — in the Indian Iron through different public sector financial institutions. The change in the management could have been brought about any time by moving for a new Board with Government share backing. But it decided on take-over of the management, initially for 2 years but hints have already been thrown that it is going to be a permanent arrangement since this method rules out questions like compensation. It only requires more shares to be purchased to make it a Government company.

Let us have a look at the public sector units under the Ministry of Industrial Development. Out of the 18 units only 6 are showing marginal profits. The Minister thinks that this is a great improvement since only 3 units showed profits in 1969-70. Some of the bigger units like the Heavy Electricals are only trying to reduce the losses. Much of the losses could be covered by improved production. If there is complaint from one section of public sector against another, only the Ministers change and nothing else follows.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

SAVING, INVESTMENT AND TAXATION

Sir,—The recent studies of 290 companies by the Reserve Bank of India and of 200 industrial giants by the *Economic Times* tend to suggest that the private industrial sector on the whole appears to be doing rather well. Capital formation has not only been maintained but during 1970-71 this has, in absolute terms, slightly increased. Whereas the estimated gross savings have shot up from Rs 529 crores in 1969-70 to Rs 622 crores in 1970-71, the net savings have increased from Rs 174 crores to Rs 237 crores, which works out to 18 per cent increase of the gross savings and 35 per cent increase in the net savings. This is indeed laudable in so far as it goes. But the fact is that investment has lagged far behind the expectations. Increase in investment has remained around 7-8 per cent, as compared with an average of over 10 per cent per annum achieved during the first two decades. The larger volume of internal resources has induced many companies to reduce their borrowings. The repayment of loans might be considered a sagacious step from the point of view of good financial management but it also reflects the indifference of managements towards expansion programmes or future development schemes or new projects which would require additional resources.

This really sounds strange because the country is facing a situation which requires greater exploitation of the natural resources, diversification and expansion of industrial activities and installation of new industries for solving the twin problems of poverty and unemployment. The explanation for this phenomenon may partly lie in the fact that this is a new physical manifestation of the subjective reactions of industry to the Government's socialist policies. Whatever the reasons of this queer situation be, one thing is crystal-clear, that the Government should seriously review its industrial policy and introduce various measures by way of incentives and reliefs in the taxation laws of the country.

R. N. LAKHOTIA

Calcutta

NOISE POLLUTION

Sir,—In 1959, an organisation called "The Noise Abatement Society" was formed in the United Kingdom by one Mr John Connel who enlisted 4,000 volunteers through an advertisement in the *Times*. A member of Parliament, M Rupert Speir, a volunteer, made Parliament take cognisance of the noise hazard in the country and he was mainly responsible for the Government enacting legislation called The Noise

Abatement Act, 1960, under which it is enough if one citizen signs a complaint.

Noise puts the whole body in a state of tension. Blood pressure and pulse rate go up. Muscles become tense and the body starts perspiring. The flow of juices in the stomach and the saliva in the mouth stops. In some cases, fatigue and emotional disturbances and vomitings are caused. Unless interested citizens come forward with an effective organisation to counteract this noise pollution, this hazard will continue to be on the increase in our cities and towns at the cost of the nation's health.

Madras

R. N. RAO

DEFECT(ON)VE POLITICS

Sir,—I read your comment in SWARAJYA on Mrs T. N. Anandanayaki's defection. You were, if I may say so with all respects, less than just to the persons who demonstrated before the residence of Mrs T. N. Anandanayaki demanding her resignation from the Assembly. This person was elected to the Assembly after the Congress split and, I presume, she got elected on the basis of a pledge to stand by its policies and programmes. True, as Burke said, a M.P. owes it to his constituency not merely to represent them but to give them his judgment of affairs. Burke would not have approved of a breach of solemn pledges to the sponsoring party. One can resign, damn the sponsoring party on the hustings and seek to be elected again on the basis of one's revised views. The defections that have taken place in our parliamentary life are a disgrace to our country.

Madras

S. RAMASWAMI

UNIT TRUST OF INDIA

Sir,—While the higher dividend of 8.25 per cent declared by the Unit Trust of India for 1971-72 is welcome for thousands of small people who have put their savings into Units, some re-thinking on UTI's future needs to be done now. Administratively, the Unit Trust seems to have reached the saturation point. For instance, while immediate liquidity of Units is advertised as one of its advantages, it takes not less than 3 to 4 weeks to encash them even in Bombay. In the U.K., it has been found that medium-sized Unit Trusts earn a higher return than larger ones because of the flexibility of their operations. It is, therefore, desirable that the Government should allow the setting up of a few more competing Unit Trusts.

Since the UTI has failed to penetrate into the non-urban markets, State Governments should be allowed to form Unit Trusts in the joint sector, taking advantage of the investment skills of the people who operated nationalised banking and insurance companies. These new Unit Trusts, mostly operating on a regional basis, would compete with the UTI, thus inducing more efficiency in its operations. Moreover, they will be able to tap the semi-urban and rural areas.

UTI should also go in for its own staff. Its reliance on Reserve Bank staff on deputation has meant (a) higher costs, and (b) disruption of work, as was recently seen during the strike by the RBI staff.

M. R. PAI

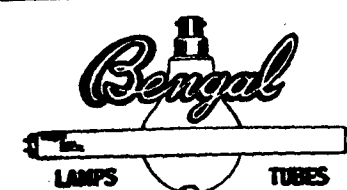
Bombay

NIXON AND INDIA

Sir,—It is to the national interest of India that her spokesmen should refrain from criticising President Nixon adversely for his Vietnam or other policies. He is annoyed with India because of her treaty with Soviet Russia, her victory over his protege, Pakistan, in the recent conflict with India, India's refusal to toe his line with regard to Bangla Desh, his defeat in the United Nations due to the pro-Indian vetoes of Soviet Russia, and the Simla summit without his active sponsorship. He is facing criticism of his Vietnam policy from within America itself, and from Russia and other countries. India's criticism can only irritate him and not change his policies. It is likely to drive him further into the arms of Pakistan and to rearm her to have another go with India. He can, by the offer of massive economic aid which Bangla Desh badly needs and which India cannot match or excel, wean away Bangla Desh from her friendship to India. He is thus capable of hurting India but India is not capable of hurting him in equal measure. India will do well, therefore, to refrain from criticising him, if she cannot win him over. Politics and ethics do not always go together.

Bangalore

P. KODANDA RAO



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The curse begins to act when Alauddin's triumphal entry into Chittor explodes in his face, "All around were ashes, ashes and ashes." From that moment, the consciousness of failure nags him in spite of military victories at Deogiri, Telengana and Dwarasamudra. The novelist in Birla paints the gloomy picture of the prematurely

aged Sultan sinking into melancholia with a measure of realism. Mr Birla's attempts at characterisation show great promise. Ratan, the hero and lover; Padmini, the ineffectual beauty; Alauddin, the power-mad creature of fate; Gora and Badal, etching loyalty and bravery—these people are hard to forget. After all, Padmini's tale

has a magic that conveys power to the feeblest pen.

—PREMA NANDAKUMAR

DOCTRINES OF HINDUISM

ESSENCE OF HINDUISM:

By D. S. SARMA

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, Bombay-7

Price: Rs 3

The late Prof. D. S. Sarma, a sensitive student and teacher of English language and literature for over three decades, was anchored in the spiritual heritage of India. He opened himself to the influence of the Western science and renaissance Indian thinkers from Ram Mohan to Radhakrishnan. Under the inspiration of the moderns he has most effectively, with matchless clarity, interpreted the doctrines of Hinduism through several books—"A Primer of Hinduism", "The Renaissance of Hinduism", "What is Hinduism?" and four books on the *Bhagavad Gita* which include his translation of the scripture.

The book under review is the revised edition of "What is Hinduism?" which has been reprinted several times. The author had significantly altered, abridged and enlarged portions of the book. These improvements have made the book a classic of precision and a model text-book. The last chapter stands out disclosing the essence of this religion, its toleration, catholicity of outlook, comprehensive scope and concrete way of life. In absolute non-technical terms, Dr Sarma diligently emphasises the difficult doctrines of Hinduism, e.g., Karma theory, Hindu ethics—the four *Varnas* — *ashramas* — *purusharthas*, the four modes of God-realisation, *Karma*, *Bhakti*, *Dhyan* and *Jnana yogas*. It is a fine introduction to Hinduism in its purest reach.

—Dr. P. NAGARAJA RAO

BOOKS RECEIVED

COMPARATIVE BUSINESS AND NON-BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION—By H. N. Nanjundiah—Published by M. M. C. School of Management, 3E1, Court Chambers, New Marine Lines, Bombay-20 — Price: Rs 6

PRACTICAL POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES — Edited by Cornelius P. Cotter — Price: Rs 5: THE DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT By Neal Reimer — Price: Rs 6 — Both published by Affiliated East-West Press Private Ltd., 9, Nizamuddin East, New Delhi-13

ANASAKTHI YOGA — By Mahatma Gandhi: Tamil translation by K. Santhanam — Sarvodaya Prasuralayam, Thanjavur — Price: Rs 2

THE PROBLEM OF BACKWARDNESS

M. V. RAMAMURTHY

THE TERM BACKWARDNESS has shot into prominence again after the thundering victory of Mrs Indira Gandhi at the parliamentary elections in 1971. She has promised implementation of measures to do justice to the backward classes. And the defunct organisations of backward castes have come to life and have begun to press their claims. They clamour for due representation in the State Assemblies and demand proportional representation in the Ministries formed after the elections in the States, reservation of seats in technical institutions and reservation of places in employment.

Some are beginning to wonder whether this development will not after all lead to strengthening of the caste system. Will not the backward classes stick to their castes in the event of concessions, nay, justice, being done only on the basis of caste? If facilities based on castes are to be offered, will it be unreasonable or improper to form political organisations to plead for retention and enlargement of these privileges or for the proper implementation of measures to enforce these privileges? Will it not ultimately end up in the resurgence of caste-based political parties?

Backwardness is a reality. That is why the founding fathers of the Constitution provided for justice being done to the backward classes in the field of education and employment. But then the phrase was 'backward classes' and not 'backward castes.' It may be noted that many a High Court has struck down the provisions of reservation of seats in educational institutions and in Government service on the basis only of caste. Thus, it is evident that backwardness is not to be determined by caste alone.

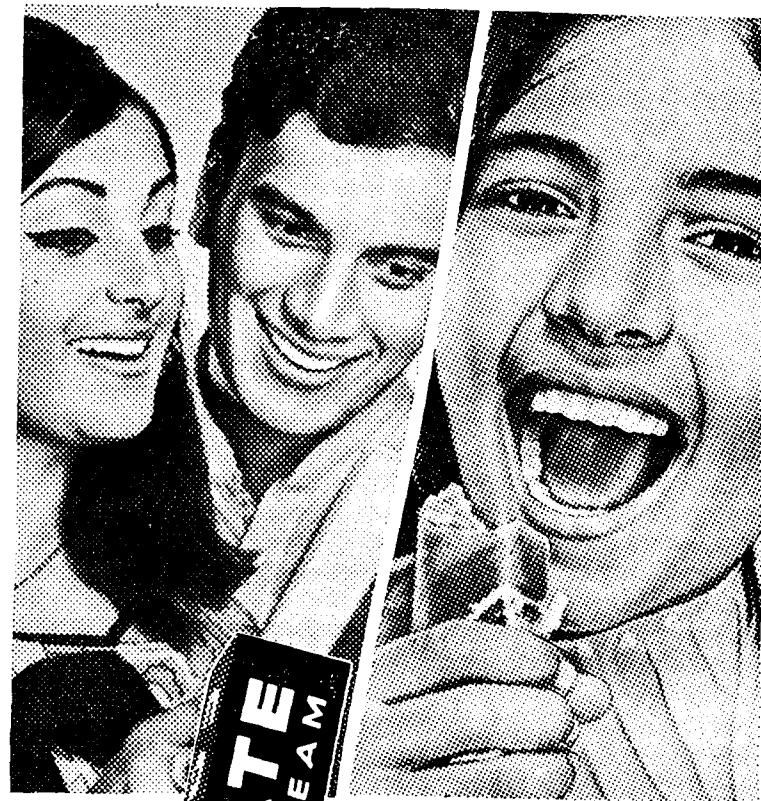
Backwardness may be based on social disability, economic weakness and educational inadequacy. Even the protagonists of the cause of the backward castes agree that only the poor among those belonging to the backward castes should be given the facilities they demand. Thus, only two factors remain for further clarification, i.e.,

social disability and educational inadequacy. The main question is how to evolve a system whereby justice can be done to those socially and educationally backward, otherwise than on the basis of caste. Man's ingenuity is not limited. Various measures can be devised, implemented and improved upon if found to suffer from defects or inadequacies.

We can take the case of seats in technical institutions. The same principle will apply *mutatis mutandis* to jobs in Government service. No society can do without merit and talent. Hence, it is but meet and proper that 40

per cent of the seats be reserved for meritorious and talented students. Out of the rest, certain percentage of seats, say 10 per cent, or so, are to be reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The remaining 50 per cent of the seats are to be reserved for backward class students.

Social backwardness can be graded into four categories on the basis of the parentage of the students: (a) those whose parents belong to the white collar workers and intelligentsia; (b) those whose parents belong to peasant class and artisans owning their tools of work; (c) those whose parents belong to families of agricultural labourers, industrial labour and artisans — who do not



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SPORTS COMMENTARY:

INDIAN HOCKEY MAY FACE FIERCE COMPETITION AT MUNICH

SIDELINER

TESTING DAYS for Indian hockey have again arrived. Shorn of all its former glory, and robbed of its Olympic gold medal, Indian hockey will again be on trial, this time at the Munich Olympic Games in August-September.

Once the pride of the country, Indian hockey was found wanting at the last Olympic Games in Mexico City in 1968. India were humbled by New Zealand and Australia, and eventually they lost the title which they had regained at the Tokyo Games after having surrendered it to Pakistan in the Rome Olympiad. Indians were again found wanting in the inaugural World Cup tournament in Barcelona last year, and with the Mexico and Barcelona scars not yet fully healed, there is no knowing what is in store for them in Munich, where competition, from all accounts, is going to be the keenest and fiercest ever in Olympic hockey history.



HARMEEK SINGH (Captain)

But such are the innate qualities of Indian hockey that it is not without hope. The Munich-bound team is, frankly, not a team of stars. Even so, for two reasons India's campaign to regain the Olympic crown is pitched on a note of high expectations. First, Harmeeek Singh's team is a fine blend of youth and experience, and secondly, it has been picked and trained by competent, knowledgeable men, two of whom are accompanying it as manager and coach and will thus be available for advice and consultation.

The lessons of India's debacle at Mexico City and the expensive failure at Barcelona have apparently not been lost on Indian hockey authorities. To begin with, the two warring groups in the Indian Hockey Federation let bygones be bygones on the eve of the choice of India's probables. Having patched up their differences, the authorities turned over a new leaf by enlisting the services of former Olympic stalwarts, headed by Digvijay Singh Babu, to advise and assist the selectors.



MUKHBAIN SINGH (Vice-captain)

The Olympians were reported to have played such a decisive role in the choice of every one of the final 18 that the official selectors had precious little to do. Be that as it may, never before had an India team been picked with greater care.

The team may not have won the confidence and approval of all critics. For instance, the omission of Balbir Singh, the dynamic Bombay and Western Railway winger and of Cedric Pereira, the acrobatic Bombay and Tata Club goal-keeper, and the choice of the Punjab goal-keeper, Charles, must have surprised many a keen follower of the game in the country.

Critics, however, have fair ground to suspect the effectiveness of the team's attacking power. It is one of the paradoxes of Indian hockey that since Harbinder Singh decided to switch over from centre-forward to inside-right, it has not found a worthy successor to him. As

a result, two inside-forwards, Kulwant Singh and Ajit Singh, have been groomed to fill the role, and India's chances will, to a great extent, depend on how they acquit themselves in their new position.

India may run into many a storm even in Pool games, for they are grouped with Australia, Kenya, Holland, New Zealand, Britain, Mexico and Poland in Pool "B", with Holland, whom they meet in their opening match on August 27, Australia and Kenya, all capable of taking them to the last ditch. But it is a safe presumption that India will make the semi-finals where they may run into either Pakistan or West Germany, the most formidable teams in Pool "A", and here is wishing Harmeeek Singh and his team the best of luck.



K. D. SINGH BABU (Coach)

The Indian team is:

Goal-keepers: Manuel Frederick (Services), 24, and Cornelius Charles (Punjab), 27.

Backs: Mukhbain Singh (Railways, vice-captain), 27, Michael Kindo (Services), 25, and Aslam Sher Khan (Bhopal), 19.

Half-backs: Perumal Krishnamurthy (Tamil Nad), 25, Virinder Singh (Railways), 24, Ajitpal Singh (Punjab) 25, Vaes Paes (Bengal), 27, and Harmeeek Singh (Punjab, captain), 25.

Forwards: Mollera Poovayya Ganesh (Services), 24, Vijay Phillips (Railways), 23, Harbinder Singh (Punjab), 30, Kulwant Singh (Punjab), 23, Ajit Singh (Bengal), 20, Ashok Kumar (Bengal), 22, Bilimoga Puttaswamy Govinda (Tamil Nad), 21, and Harcharan Singh (Punjab), 23.

Manager: Keshav Dutt; coach: K. D. Singh Babu.

INDIAN HOCKEY TEAM FOR MUNICH



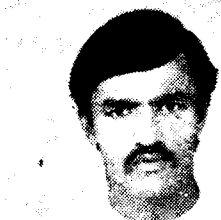
P. KRISHNAMURTHY



V. J. PHILIPS



M. KINDO



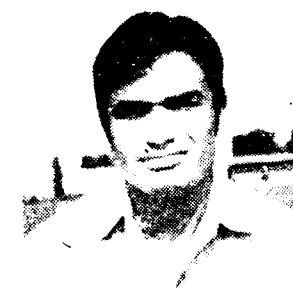
B. P. GOVINDA



GANESH



ASHOK KUMAR



ASLAM SHER KHAN



VAES PAES



M. FREDERICK



CHARLES



AJIT SINGH



GURUCHARAN SINGH



KULWANT SINGH



HARBINDER SINGH



AJITPAL SINGH



VIRINDER SINGH

FACTS AND FIGURES:

THE 91,634 P.O.Ws. whom India holds are housed in 50 camps, some of which are customary stockades, and some are pucca houses in cantonments. In the camps, prisoners are not made to work, though the Geneva Convention permits this. The men have been receiving pocket allowances regularly. Till March 31, 1972, these totalled Rs 42.14 lakhs. The prisoners have their own cooks and the rations are supplied by the Government of India. They eat well and they get what they want, including meat. The cost of rations for the P.O.Ws. till March 31, was Rs 223.73 lakhs—about Rs 51.46 lakhs each month. Equipment for games has been supplied by the Union Government. English and Urdu newspapers and magazines are supplied to the men, and community radios have been installed in the camps. They are permitted to tune in to Radio Pakistan. More than 47,000 Indian defence personnel have been deployed to

look after the P.O.Ws. Life in the camps is made quite comfortable.

SPEAKING ABOUT his impressions after his talks with the Prime Minister, Mr John B. Connally, personal representative of President Nixon, said that, "as the weeks and months come and go, India and the U.S.A. will again become reconciled to their relationship without the strains, without the tensions that have been a part of our relations for the past few months."

BIDDINGS AT the auction of toddy shops in Madras City give an indication of the spread of the drink evil and ergo the profitability of toddy shops for the licensees. Auctions for 8 shops in the South-East taluk of Madras comprising Triplicane and Mylapore fetched a total sum of Rs 16.4 lakhs, compared with Rs 3.95 lakhs for 11 shops last year. Thirty-four shops out of 40 in Madras district have

so far yielded Rs 83.23 lakhs. The highest bid for a shop was Rs 3,90,000.

THE LINEAR motor is the latest innovation in the motive power system, developed and demonstrated in the Hanover international industrial fair. This electric power system works without the power conversion, that is required by normal motors, and there is no wear and tear and no noise. The motive force is carried direct to a track by an electro-magnetic field. The simplicity of this mode of propulsion is what provides the attraction. The starter of the motor is supplied with Alternative Current. The track acts as conductive material and the motor moves along it without ever touching it, supported by its electro-magnetic field. It is this field that provides the motive force and brings about the movement straight forward. At present, the main application for linear motors is lift doors, mine railways and travellers; but it is stated

that there is a place for it where ever long distance, fast and reliable means of power are required.

AUSTRALIAN SCIENTISTS have developed a new kind of egg, containing more vitamin E and unsaturated fats. Poly-eggs, as these are called, are considered to be

safer than normal eggs by people concerned about heart conditions. The new eggs have up to 2-1/2 times more vitamin E than other eggs. These also have a high level of linoleic acid, a balancing agent between the intake of saturated and unsaturated fats. Superficially, poly-eggs look

the same, taste the same, raw or boiled, poached or fried, or scrambled, as any other egg, but the secret of their healthier interior, vitamin E, lies in the carefully formulated all-vegetable diet fed to the laying hens. Poly-eggs are produced in a New South Wales farm.

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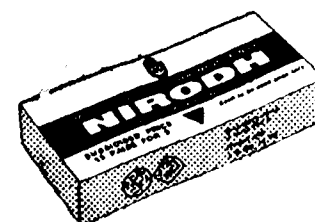
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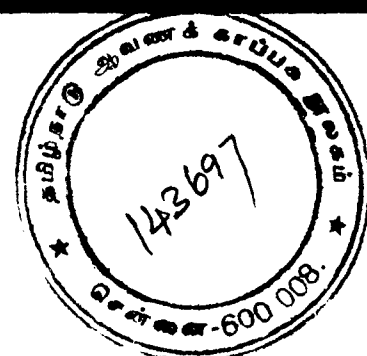
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own their tools; (d) those whose parents belong to the families following the vocation of sweepers and scavengers.

In this manner social backwardness can be categorised and classified on the basis of vocation. This will be an adequate substitute for determining backwardness on the basis of caste. First preference is to be given to students belonging to the category 'd' aforesaid; then will be considered 'c' class students and so on.

Taking the question of educational backwardness, students can be classified as under:

(a) Those either of whose parents is not even a matriculate; (b) those either of whose parents is a matriculate; (c) those either of whose parents and grand-parents are matriculates; (d) those either of whose parents, grand-parents and great-grand-parents are matriculates.

Here students falling under category 'a' will be given first preference. Then will come students under category 'b' and so on.

This sort of categorisation will eliminate competition from the more accomplished sector of society. For example, a student, though economically and socially backward, will be relegated to a place next to a student who is backward economically, socially and educationally. This scheme has the advantage of not considering caste at all. It goes to the root of the problem and attacks the very root of the genesis of caste, i.e., vocation. The highbrow attitude of the intelligentsia towards manual workers will be discouraged. The idea of dignity of labour will be instilled unobtrusively into the minds of the people. A person receiving extra consideration at the hands of society as a member of the backward class need not and will not hug to his caste as a vested right. Caste will cease to be given weight. On the other hand, its nature as a hindrance to social mobility will be realised and hence it is likely to be discarded.

KERALA LETTER:

TURTLE FARM IN LACCADIVES

KOTTAYAM, July 10: Mr K. Damodara Menon, Administrator of the Union Territory of Laccadives, disclosed in Cochin last month that India's first turtle farm would be set up in Laccadives and that work on this experimental farm had already started in Minicoy. Considering the vast fisheries potential in these islands, regular courses in fisheries would be started in the junior college

proposed to be established at Kavarathi, which would lay emphasis on job-oriented education. Finally, this college will be converted into a college of Fisheries Technology. Discussions had already been started in this regard with the University of Calicut, the Union Ministry of Education and the Central Institute of Fisheries Operations, Ernakulam, Mr Menon said.

The Kerala Industrial and Technical Consulting Organisation (KITCO) has received more than hundred enquiries covering a wide range of industries in the short period of four months of its working. Many private parties interested in taking up specific projects have entrusted the KITCO with various assignments which include locating machinery suppliers and estimates of project costs for different types of schemes.

The Regional Research Laboratory, Jorhat, has developed a process under which oxalic acid, an important chemical used in the textile industry, can be manufactured from saw dust. The process consists of oxidation of saw dust, filtration of acid digest, crystallisation of oxalic digest and crystallisation of oxalic acid. The main raw materials required are saw dust, nitric acid, catalyst and caustic soda. The capital outlay for a plant capable of producing one tonne of oxalic acid per day is estimated at Rs 14 lakhs and the cost of production would come to Rs 2.85 per kilogram. This is said to be cheaper than producing oxalic acid from sugar.

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Dear Reader

SRI VINOBHA BHAVE'S concluding remarks in the statement reported by U.N.I. from Wardha dated July 13 are important: "The real test of the agreement would be the extent to which India and Pakistan were able to reduce their expenditure on armaments." I hope and pray that the Indo-Pakistan adventure of friendship will triumph.

THE CAPTION in the *Hindu* for the news of Bhutto's speech to the Pakistan National Assembly reads, "War with India now out of question." This is somewhat misleading. What Mr Bhutto told his audience was to realise that a war was now out of the question. The placing of the word 'now' in his speech indicated that after the Simla Conference joint statement war was out of the question. This was followed by his warning, "If you want to be jingoistic find another President for I do not want to bring about the end of my country." Mr Bhutto declared that he had taken Pakistan out of the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation. The Assembly passed a resolution approving and ratifying the Simla Pact.

THE JAN SANGH'S opposition to the project of establishing friendship and cooperation between Pakistan and India is based on unregulated emotion. The success of the Simla conference will make India and Pakistan progress and prosper and enable the two countries successfully to resist any aggression from any quarter. On the other hand, Mr Vajpayee's opposition means the expansion of the military forces of India, army, air and navy, to cope with Pakistan and practically the whole world. Any attempt in this direction would lead to the total breakdown of India's economy. Fortunately, the Jan Sangh's opposition has made no impression on the general public and it is hoped that the Simla pact will make substantial progress at the second sitting of the conference which it is now repor-

ted will take place in September. I would give to the Simla pact the name, the 'Pact of Good Hope', after the name given to the Cape of Good Hope by the old mariners who found their way south of Africa.

I AM GLAD that the talk about abolition of the Revenue Board in Tamil Nad is not heard at present. The Revenue Board consists of very experienced senior officers. Though each one of them is charged with special attention to particular departments they sit together when anything very important comes up for considera-

tion. This Board thus acts as a check on Ministers issuing politically motivated orders to the administration. It would be difficult for the government to disregard the objections of the Revenue Board. The abolition of the Board would lead to the absence of this check and would enable the Ministers to carry out political projects through the administration. The Revenue Board is an institution which protects the Collectors of the districts against undue domination by Ministers.

I CONGRATULATE the Gandhi Ashram at Tiruchengodu on receiving from Mr. Kamaraj a donation of Rs 20,000 for its leprosy centre.

C.R.

CRISIS FACING PRIVATE COLLEGES IN KERALA

JOSEPH THOMAS

A CONTROVERSY has been raging for some time in Kerala regarding the future of colleges in the State run by private educational agencies. This controversy has now taken an acute turn and the recent announcement of the Kerala Government regarding unification of tuition fees *vis-a-vis* the Government and private colleges and regularisation of grant-in-aid has precipitated a crisis. The crisis has now reached a stage of confrontation between the ruling parties and the Government on the one side and the managements of the private colleges — Christians and Nairs — on the other side. The fee unification was only an immediate cause of this crisis. But this involved some major fundamental questions touching the rights guaranteed under Article 30 of the Constitution of India to the minority communities.

For some time now there was a cry from the Students' Union (KSU) and the Youth Congress for the nationalization of education. This demand was endorsed by the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee in the form of a resolution adopted at Cochin recently. Meanwhile, there was a demand for the unification of tuition fees

in colleges from the student population. This demand was accepted by the Government as a policy and an Ordinance was issued accordingly. This was welcomed by all sections of the people including private college managements. Surprisingly enough, the Students' Union made another demand that the loss incurred by the managements of private colleges, consequent on the fee unification, should not be made good. The stand taken by the Government at present in this matter is that the loss incurred would be made good subject to certain conditions. The conditions stipulated by the Government were that the Government and the University should have control in the matter of appointment of teachers on the basis of communal reservation and restriction in the matter of admission of students. These conditions, it was felt by private managements, would seriously interfere with the rights of the managements.

Certain basic facts regarding private colleges in Kerala have to be borne in mind while examining this complex question. Unlike in other States in India, the majority of the institutions in

Kerala providing facilities for higher education are owned and maintained by private educational agencies. Out of the 133 colleges in the State, 114 are run by private agencies and they cater to 89 per cent of the college students in the State. These private agencies have spent nearly Rs 100 crores from their own resources in establishing and maintaining these colleges. Till 1963, the State Government did not extend any assistance to these colleges either for capital expenditure or for making up their revenue deficits. After the U.G.C. scheme for raising the salaries of teachers in colleges had been in operation for five years the State Government had to assume the responsibility for meeting the increased expenditure consequent on the revision of teachers' salaries. It was for fulfilling this obligation under the agreement that the grant-in-aid code was introduced in 1963.

Since the introduction of the grant-in-aid scheme the State Government and the University have been making unilateral decisions in the matter of emoluments, workload and ancillary benefits to the teaching and non-teaching staff resulting in increased expenditure and heavier burden on the managements of the colleges. The basic formula now being applied for fixing the grant is to reckon the income on the basis of standard fees prescribed by the Government and to reimburse the managements to the extent of 80 per cent of the deficit incurred by them. Even in the application of this formula the Director of Collegiate Education, who is the officer authorised to administer the code, has been making reductions. These result in a considerable short-fall in the anticipated annual grant and in complete dislocation. Though the code provides for a nominal grant-in-aid for capital expenditure, no such payments have so far been made to any college since the introduction of the scheme. Barring a few cases of assistance received from the U.G.C. the entire capital expenditure on the campus lands, buildings and equipment was met by the managements out of their own re-

sources.

The fees being charged in private colleges now were prescribed by the University with the approval of the Government. While the 19 colleges established by the Government are situated in important towns, such as Trivandrum, Ernakulam, Palghat, Tellicherry and Kasargode, the 114 colleges maintained by private educational agencies are distributed throughout the State. This makes it possible for the students in some of the remote areas of the State to save the high cost of living in hostels.

It is against the 20 per cent deficit left uncovered by the grant-in-aid scheme that the managements are allowed to levy a fee slightly higher than the standard fees reckoned for the purpose of grant-in-aid. Owing to the unilateral action on the part of the Government and the University, the managements have been incurring heavy debts to meet the 20 per cent deficit. On top of this came the fixation of fees by the University from the academic year 1966-67, substantially reducing the fee income.

During the first four years of working of the code, the Government accepted the principle of augmenting the grant-in-aid whenever it ordered pay revisions for the teachers. Accordingly, when the salary scales of the teachers were revised from 1-10-1965, the Government agreed to meet 80 per cent of the deficit, as against 60 per cent provided for originally in the grant-in-aid code. There was a further revision on 1-4-1966 when the Government promised that no increased burden would be laid on the managements consequent on this revision (G.O. Ms. 43/67/dated 1-2-1967). The Government, however, failed to keep this promise. It ordered a third revision of salaries to take effect from 1-4-1970. The managements of private colleges were unable to implement this revision since the Government again went back on the understanding to make appropriate adjustments in the grant-in-aid.

The Government has now chosen to reduce the fees collected in the private col-

leges. In its latest announcement, the Government has categorically stated that it will not be offering any compensatory grant to meet this huge fall in their fee income. It is only in keeping with the spirit of the grant-in-aid code that the managements should be protected against financial burdens caused by the Government's decisions entailing increase in expenditure or decrease in income.

Parties and groups whose ulterior motive is to elbow out private educational agencies, are carrying on a vicious propaganda that the grant-in-aid is proving a serious drain on the resources of the State. But the story is the other way round. The Government today is incurring an expenditure of Rs 600 per student in the colleges maintained by it. As against this, the Government is spending barely Rs 200 per student in private colleges which cater to 89 per cent of the student population.

The managements of private colleges are not for confrontation. The propaganda unleashed by some interested parties that the managements are preparing for a confrontation is absolutely baseless. They only plead that the rights guaranteed under the Constitution to the minorities should not be infringed and that the rights of the managements should not be interfered with in the name of fee unification. In this connection it would be appropriate to mention that the managements had submitted a proposal to the State Government to adopt the pattern now followed in the case of private schools in Kerala, viz., direct payment by the Government to the teaching and non-teaching staff. The managements expressed their willingness to remit the fees collected to the credit of the State Government. What they demand is only the payment of a reasonable maintenance grant just as is done in the case of private schools. This proposal too stands rejected by the Government.

From the facts set out above, it can be seen that the managements of private colleges are not actuated by any political motive, as alleged by some Ruling Front leaders and Ministers.

FROM THE CAPITAL :

Mrs. GANDHI SPELLS OUT AIM OF SIMLA ACCORD

SENTINEL

NEW DELHI, July 15: Indo-Pakistani relations were the main theme at the first press conference addressed by the Prime Minister after the Simla talks. Though she described the Simla accord as a "worthwhile beginning", she was cautious enough to observe that some of the major questions were still to be sorted out through further discussions. These included the return of the prisoners of war, the final settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir problem which she considered to be essentially a border question and the restoration of trade and commerce. These matters, she thought, could be pursued against the background of the Simla accord which was an overall new approach to settle things peacefully and bilaterally.

India's quest for durable peace and the Simla accord held good hopes in that direction. To persistent questions, the Prime Minister indicated that durable peace was linked with the settlement of the border question, including Kashmir. In other words, the Kashmir issue is also treated as a border question requiring final determination and not connected with the earlier claims put forward in the U.N. by Pakistan. The situation had changed and in any case, the U.N. had failed to provide any solution over the last several years. The Simla accord specifically ruled out third party interest and the two parties are to seek bilateral settlement of all issues, including Kashmir.

Mrs. Gandhi made it clear that India did not look at the outcome of Simla talks from the point of view of gains or losses. The main consideration for India was whether the agreement would lead to peace and avoidance of confrontation. Since that approach had been accepted, other issues could be settled if the spirit of the agreement was maintained. About the prisoners of war, the Prime Minister said they could be released if there was an assurance

that there would be a durable peace. To a pointed question by a foreign correspondent whether the present cease-fire line in Kashmir would be acceptable to India as an international border if durable peace was assured and Pakistan agreed to such a proposal, the Prime Minister replied, "we will consider it."

President Bhutto has begun well by getting the Simla accord ratified by his National Assembly. The Indian Parliament, when it meets for the monsoon session, is expected to lend full support to it, except for the Jan Sangh minority group.

Official export figures are always baffling and it is not easy to draw firm conclusions. More so, where the recent export figures have become a subject of controversy. The controversy reached the floor of Parliament, for according to one set of figures, India had improved its position and according to another, the exports had declined. The Minister himself was at a loss to explain the discrepancies. His plea that they were the result of a new form of statistical tabulation, introduced to keep a more correct track of exports, did not satisfy the members. All the same, the Minister, Mr L. N. Mishra, conceded that some doubts had arisen. He informed the members that an official committee headed by a member of the Planning Commission would examine the whole matter.

Meanwhile, the Foreign Trade Commissioner, claimed at the meeting of the Informal Consultative Committee of MPs. that export earnings during 1971-72 would be higher, though modest. He said there had been an improvement despite a variety of adverse factors such as the world monetary crisis in that year, the growing attitude of protectionism on the part of the advanced coun-

tries like the U.S., the Bangla Desh crisis and the December war.

This may be one way of looking at our export performance. But there is another side to the picture which is disturbing, if not alarming. How does this official hope of marginal improvement square with other assessments, also semi-official? Further, what is the position of India in world trade as a whole? This is a subject to which not much attention has been paid so far. The fact remains that world trade has been expanding in gigantic proportions and our position has worsened in relation to that. Our share has gone down to very low levels. It is here that the Minister's claim and the country's export performance have to stand the real test. The marginal improvement over last year's exports is no consolation at all when we see the volume of world trade expanding in gigantic proportions and India's share getting lower and lower.

The other side of the picture comes from the Trade Development Authority, an officially sponsored organisation, devoted exclusively to improve exports, quicken administrative processes and establish new markets. According to the Chairman of the Trade Development Authority, a look at the international climate for our exports would reveal a mixed picture. He told the annual general meeting of the TDA: "Our share in world exports had declined from 1.2 per cent in 1960 to 0.7 per cent in 1971." He is more specific on the performance of our exports in 1971-72. He says: The performance of the export sector during 1971-72 has, on the whole, not been to our expectations. . . It is the industrial sector where much was expected that our performance has been substantially below our expectations. With the unsatisfactory pace of industrial production, there were bound to be narrow limits to growth of industrial exports."

These observations underline the need for a new dynamic approach not only to exports but to the whole range of our economic policies.

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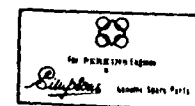
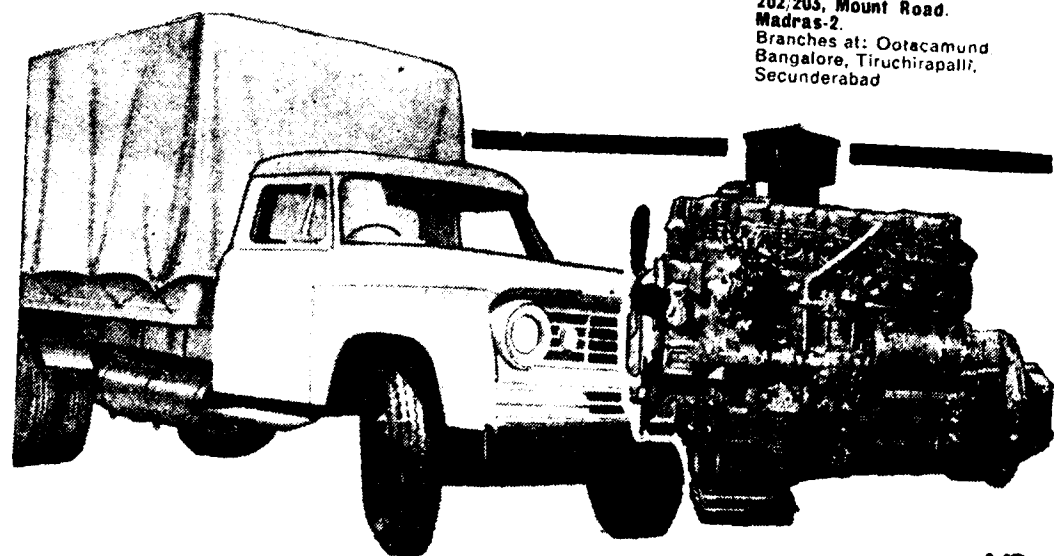
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

BETTER UTILISATION OF PUBLIC FUNDS

Sir,—The price level at the end of May last was 6.2 per cent higher than what it was 12 months ago. It is expected to go up further in the next few months till the newly harvested foodgrains start coming into the market. The situation calls for short and long-term measures, among which the following may be considered:

Selective unloading of the huge stocks held by the Food Corporation of India to contain food prices.

Consolidation of investment in the public sector: Instead of wasting time on finding new guidelines for the public sector, the Government should just ask these units to serve the consumers and show profits. For this purpose, it is essential to give autonomy to the public sector units, to convert them into Joint Sector Units (by selling 49 per cent of the shares to employees, members of Parliament—who will then have a direct stake in their functioning—and the public). Further, public funds should not be allotted to them through the budget, but they should be asked to go to the banks for funds. These units should be subjected to the disciplines of the market by exposing them to competition.

Application of modern techniques of management for proper utilisation of the existing financial and manpower resources of the Government rather than raising the old cry of mobilisation of more resources: The problem essentially is whether the governmental machinery of 107 lakh employees, who handle about one-third of the national income today, can do so competently, and in public interest. The failure to use funds allotted for employment schemes has shown the incapacity of the Government even to use the available funds for priority schemes.

Reduction in Government's wasteful expenditure.

A fresh look at the cooperative sector which is a big drain on public funds.

A moratorium on nationalisation of private enterprises: The failure of nationalisation has been demonstrated by the working of the banks; even the Union Finance Minister recently expressed his disappointment. Airlines and most of the State transport undertakings are losing concerns.

Bombay

M. R. PAT

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

Sir,—Unemployment is assuming the form of an epidemic in this country, because all educated young men seem to think that they have a special right to get a government job. This mentality should change. Vast lands are lying waste in this country for want of working hands due to prejudice against manual work. Ten persons are paid to do the work of one. It should also be said that corruption is rampant and deep-seated. The Speaker of the Haryana Assembly said: "It is generally said that in the Arab countries if you strike with a spade you would find oil, but in the case of Haryana, if you strike with a spade you would find corruption." In 1971 there have been cases of corruption against 9,864 public servants involving 1,767 gazetted officers. When our developing country is heavily burdened with debt, is it not surprising that a Minister should cost the exchequer five times his salary. Has he not the elementary duty to settle himself to the conditions of life of the masses? It will be noteworthy to mention here that William I of Hohenzollern dynasty led a private life, perfectly deserving, less onerous to his subjects, actuated by a sense of duty. In independent India a startling contrast between extreme poverty of the population and the provoking luxury in which the ruling classes are sprawling, is a matter of offence to reason as well as to heart. Under the garb of "socialism" the country is slipping into crypto-feudalism.

Nations, big and small, such as Japan, China and Israel, are a beehive of human activity. For want of land the peasant on the Alps brings loam from the plain to the denuded peaks to lay a plantation. The worker in the

Shantung province stays in the field from sunrise to sunset even in the cold season. Not an inch of the rock-bound Madeira island is left untouched where people are growing the grapes which produce some of the famous wines. Further, all countries which make supplies or advance loans to India are small in size and population. This proves that something is wrong somewhere in this country.

India is badly in need of creative talent. The inflation of degree or diploma holders seeking Government jobs, whose wisdom is borrowed from text-books, cannot be of much avail. Unemployment which is plaguing the country, could be eradicated only by dedicated work.

Karaikal

ENARISTE DESSAMA

BIRTH CENTENARY OF T. PRAKASAM

Sir,—In connection with the birth centenary celebrations of Andhra Kesari, T. Prakasam, it has been decided to collect his photographs, important letters, anecdotes, articles, notes and speeches and other records relating to him for inclusion in the exhibition or publication in the Souvenir. Those in possession of such material may please send them immediately to the Director, Department of Information, Public Relations and Tourism, 'Grihalakpa', Mukaramjahi Road, Hyderabad. The original manuscript, photograph or material will be returned to the sender with grateful thanks within a month.

P. VAMAN RAO

Member-Convener, Prakasam
Centenary Celebrations Committee
Hyderabad
(Andhra Pradesh)



FACTS AND FIGURES:

THE TOTAL paid-up capital and free reserves of the Indian insurers now nationalised exceed Rs 88 crores as at the end of 1969, according to the Indian Insurance Year Book. The total assets of the 44 non-Indian insurers were about Rs 25 crores, against which the liabilities not exceeding Rs 10 crores have to be set off, giving a net asset of Rs 15 crores. Thus, against the total assets of the Indian and non-Indian insurers of Rs 100 crores, the amount of compensation to be paid, as announced by the Government amounts only to Rs 33 crores. The payment is thus no higher than 33 per cent of the value of the assets taken over. Since the quantum of compensation is not justiciable, the element of expropriation can be computed, to realise the magnitude of it.

ACCORDING to a recent survey of trends in the engineering industry covering the period October 1971-March 1972 and prospects for the April-September 1972 period, it is stated that the factors which are likely to affect engineering output adversely are: (1) shortage of raw materials and components (42 per cent); (2) low order of sales (19 per cent); (3) credit or finance difficulties (14 per cent); (4) lower plant capacity (10 per cent); and (5) labour unrest (5 per cent). Employment prospects are expected to change for the better.

THE COMMITTEE on Automation, in its report, says that out of the 49 computers currently in use in commercial undertakings, as many as 19 are working three shifts, that is, round the clock, 23 are working two shifts and 7 are working on a single shift basis. Out of 21 computers installed for research and development, 7 were working 3 shifts, 8 were working two shifts and only 6 on a single shift basis. The number of additional computers likely to be installed by the companies registered under the Companies Act, during the next decade is likely to be 139, says the report. Those

who are now using computers claim that their use had contributed to the improvement and rationalisation of inventories and helped to reduce inventories considerably, effecting savings thereby. The Railways are stated to have saved Rs 20 crores, a cement company Rs 2 per tonne of cement, and an electricity undertaking Rs 50 lakhs on inventories. It is stated that far from a reduction of employment because of the use of computers, there was actually a rise of 2.4 per cent among the 24 undertakings that had submitted returns.

THERE ARE 16 towns in Tamil Nad with a population of more than 100,000 and the growth rate of population in these towns during the decade 1961-71 is revealing. In Madras it is 42.86 per cent (2,470,288); Madurai 29.07 per cent (548,298); Coimbatore 23.46 per cent (353,636); Tiruchirapalli 23.74 per cent (308,303); Salem 24.57 per cent (306,247); Tuticorin 24.61 per cent (154,808); Nagercoil 32.95 per cent (141,207); Thanjavur 26.45 per cent (140,270); Vellore 21.52 per cent (138,220); Dindigul 37.07 per cent (127,406); Singanallur 35.95 per cent (113,397); Tiruppur 41.87 per cent (113,171); Kumbakonam 22.02 per cent (112,971); Kancheepuram 19.19 per cent (110,505); Tirunelveli 23.32 per cent (108,509); Erode 40.59 per cent (103,704); Cuddalore 28.11 per cent (101,345).

AMBASSADOR Kenneth B. Keating, who has been the American Ambassador for the last three years in India, expects to return to the United States about August and will resign his post prior to the Republican National Convention. He expects to campaign actively for the re-election of President Richard Nixon.

AMONG ALL American newspapers women now account for 35 per cent of editorial personnel. The proportion, however, varies from one paper to another. For example, the Associated Press, with a U.S. news staff of 1,055 has 112

women; the *New York Times* has 626 editors, reporters, copy readers and desk people, of whom 64 are women; for the *Washington Post*, the figure is 70 out of 385; *San Francisco Chronicle*, has 36 women out of 147; *Chicago Tribune* 52 out of 373. American magazines hire more women than do newspapers. Out of a total of 5,941 professional employees, 2,667, or 45 per cent, are women.

SOUTH KOREA has now introduced a novel method of higher education — the Radio Correspondence College. The two-year radio college has an enrolment of 12,000 in the 5 departments of home economics, business management, public administration, agriculture and education. The method of instruction consists of home study (text-books are mailed to each student), a 30-minute lecture a day by broadcast, and 20 days' actual attendance per semester at one of the 22 affiliated universities and colleges across the country. During this 20-day period, evaluation tests are conducted and grades awarded, together with the submitted reports, determine the scholastic achievement of the student. The 30-minute lecture is repeated on two stations, in the early morning hours, in the State-run national network, and again at noon, on a commercial network for the convenience of the students. The radio course is founded for the purpose of providing junior college level education to those who cannot afford such education owing to financial or other difficulties. Some 12,000 students have been admitted to this Radio Correspondence College in the first year started from June 1972. The headquarters of the Korea Radio Correspondence College is at Seoul National University.

POLITICS HAS become a severe disrupting factor in American married life. Former Attorney-General, Mr John Mitchell, had to resign from heading President Nixon's re-election campaign, as, otherwise his wife, Mrs Martha Mitchell, threatened to leave him. The following political divorces are reported in *Newsweek* dated 10-7-1972: One of Washington's

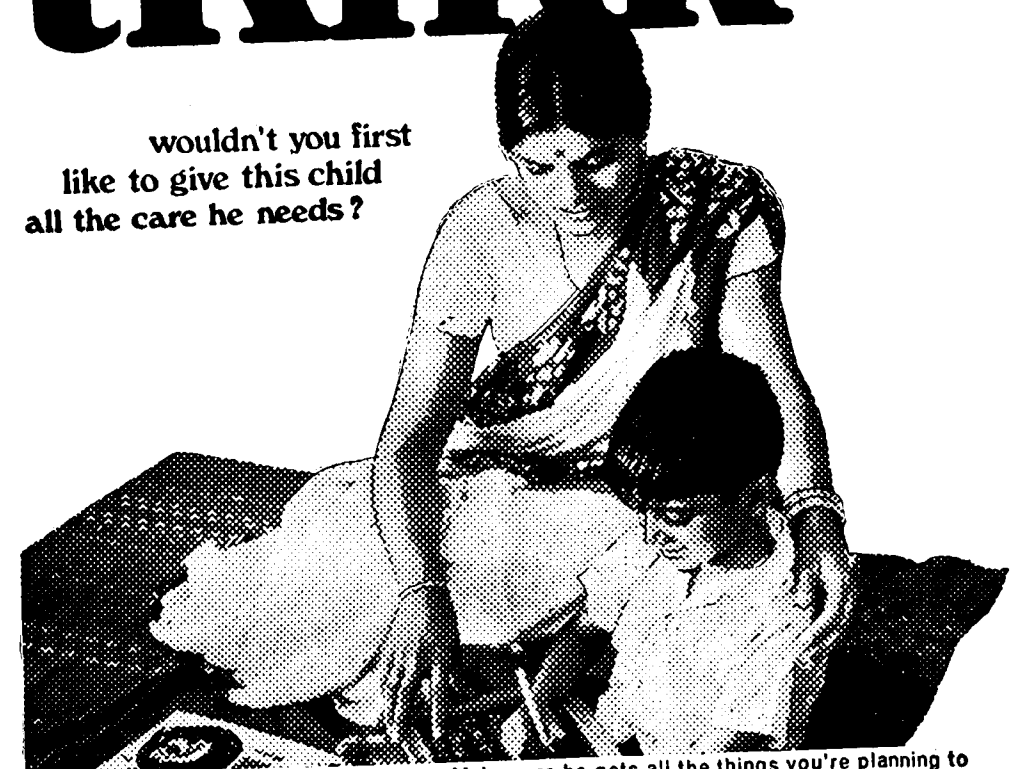
handsomest couples, California's Senator John Tunney (38) and his Dutch-born wife, Mieke (36) shocked the capital last May when Mieke filed for divorce after 13 years of marriage and three children. The Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Senator Robert J. Dole of Kansas

(49) was divorced in January by his wife, Phyllis (47). They had been married for 23 years and had one daughter. Former Presidential candidate, Republican Paul (Pete) McCloskey (44) of California, separated a few weeks ago from his wife, Caroline (Cubby) (43) after 23 years of marriage and with

four children. One of the youngest and most glamorous practitioners of new-style politics, New York City Councilman Carter Burden (30) and his stylish wife, Amanda (28) marked their eighth anniversary last month by beginning divorce proceedings. They have two children.

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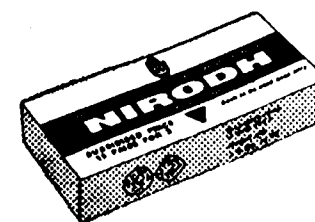
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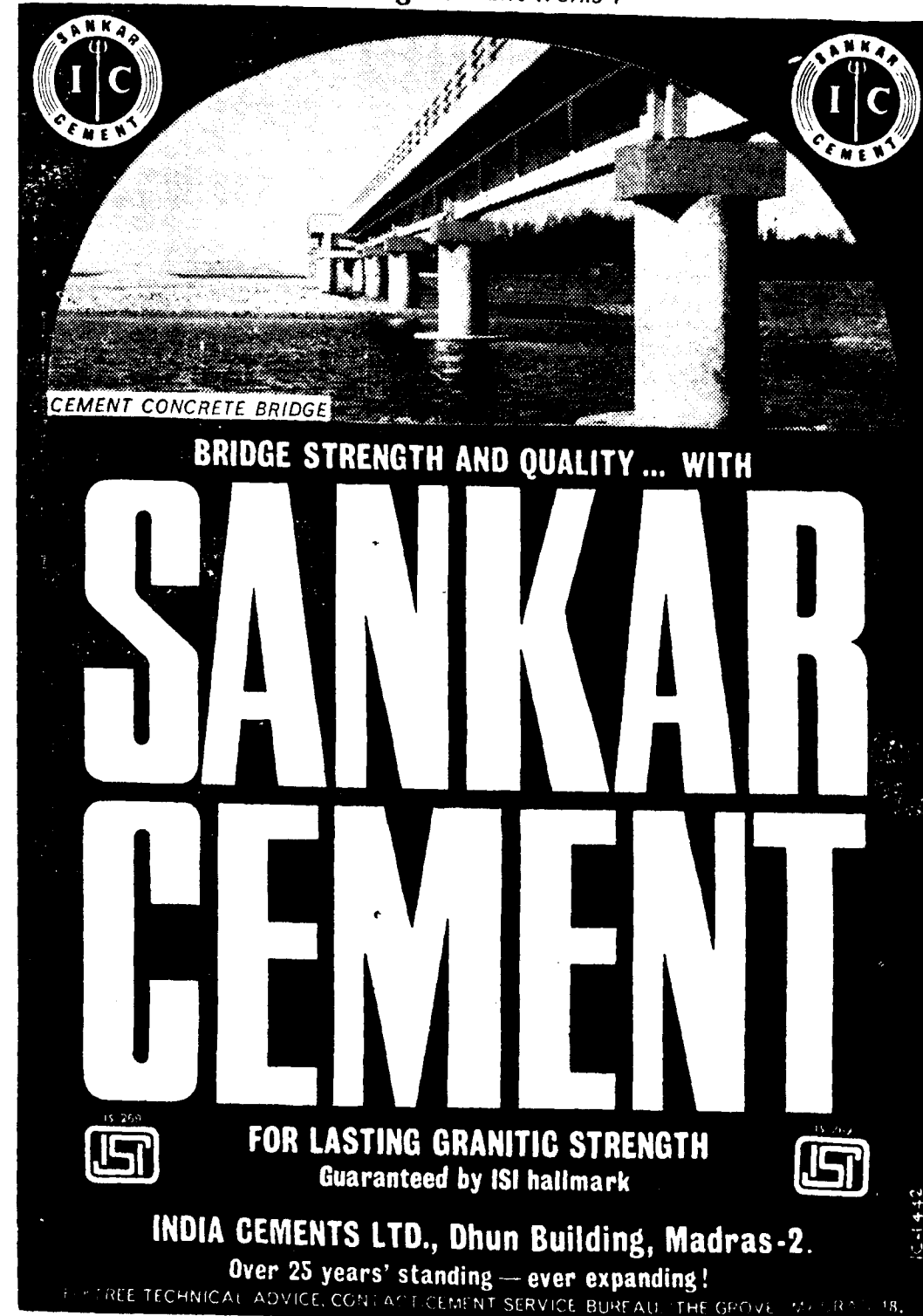


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POLITICS OF PERSUASION

K. SANTHANAM

DEMOCRACY is essentially politics of persuasion. The elections, legislatures and legislative procedures are important, but unless the entire process is permeated by the spirit of persuasion, the result will be only a caricature of democracy. In the legislatures, confrontation and hard words between parties and groups are, to some extent, inevitable, but attempts at persuasion have to be made through joint select committees in the case of Bills and estimates committees and standing committees in respect of various departments of administration. It is not possible to expect that in all cases, a consensus will emerge but the mere attempt will take away the bitterness of political differences and make it easy for the opposition to accept the decisions with grace.

It is not enough to pursue methods of persuasion only towards the Opposition in the legislatures. Appropriate measures should be taken to persuade opposition in the press and among the public. It is only arrogance of power that impels so-called democratic governments to rush into hasty confrontation with groups and interests which are adversely affected by their policies. The recent conflict between the D.M.K. Ministry in Tamil Nad and the agriculturists is a notable example.

It was the contention of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nad that the agitation of the agriculturists was mainly political and that their complaints had no real substance. He wanted to suppress it through large-scale arrests and police action resulting in many deaths and injuries. Fortunately, he had the wisdom to realise that this would not end the conflict and when he began to talk with the leaders of the agriculturists across the table, he found that they were more than reasonable. It was found that the concessions which the Government was willing to give were not far different from the terms which the agriculturists have accepted. For instance, for 500 units, the Government originally wanted to raise the charges from Rs 54 to Rs 60, later reduced it to Rs 56.40 for 5 H.P., and Rs 58.80 for 10 H.P. and they have now settled at Rs 56 for both. I have no doubt that if accurate calculations are made, the increased charges which the Government is likely to obtain from the settlement is only a fraction of the expenditure incurred in dealing with the agitation, arresting and imprisoning thousands and the police action.

Though I welcome the settlement arrived at, I feel that this method of horse-trading is not

scientific or just to the agriculturists or the State exchequer. The only just method of settlement would have been to ensure that the agriculturists had to pay the same charges for the same amount of water pumped out. This would have meant that deeper wells would pay lesser charges while shallow wells paid considerably higher. This would not involve any administrative complications, for, from the depth of the well and the horse power of the pumps, it is mere arithmetical calculation to determine how much power would be required for a thousand gallons of water and charge accordingly. The evolution of such a principle will have paved the way for further improvement of well irrigation with deeper wells, if necessary.

The leaders of the agriculturists were so accommodating that they chose to sacrifice vital public interests by agreeing to waive judicial enquiries with respect to police firings and deaths. It will be a mistake for the Tamil Nad Government to stop the enquiries, as it is not a matter between them and the agriculturists but one which concerns fundamental principles and the people as a whole. Every time any police action results in the death of citizens, a judicial inquiry should follow.

A similar confrontation is taking place between the Kerala Government and the managements of private educational institutions. The dispute has not so far degenerated into violence on either side, but unless there is a peaceful settlement and if either side is forced to surrender unconditionally, there should be no surprise if a prolonged conflict involving violence ensues.

Democracy is undoubtedly a difficult and complicated form of government and compared to it, dictatorships, monarchical, fascist or communist, are simple, but they

INTEGRITY IN PUBLIC LIFE

K. S.

THE RESIGNATION of Mr Maudling, British Home Secretary, is a welcome indication that the integrity of public life is still held in high esteem in the U.K. though, according to *New Statesman*, it has been dwindling even there. The resignation is not on account of anything done by Mr Maudling as a Minister of the British Cabinet. Recently, there has been a big outcry in the British press that, while the Conservative party was in the opposition, Mr Maudling lent his name and influence to some companies which proved

also crush the spirit of man and any government other than democratic is unworthy of human dignity. Therefore, every country which has been lucky enough to establish a democratic government should cling to it with all the strength it is capable of. At the same time, both the rulers and the ruled should realise that their democracy is real only to the extent that persuasion is the ruling spirit of policy and administration and evolve methods and procedures for ensuring that the maximum attempts at persuasion are made before far-reaching decisions are arrived at.

to be unsound. The following passage from the leading article of *New Statesman* of 14th July puts the matter succinctly: "In his eagerness to collect directorship between 1964 and 1970, the Home Secretary may have behaved with more than a certain casual carelessness — though it was a carelessness of a quite striking kind. Of the nine companies to which he chose to lend his name during his years in the Opposition, five have ended up in bankruptcy. True, Mr Maudling left the most notorious — the Real Estate Fund

of America — before its real trouble began. He did not, however, do so until well after this press release had been issued by its driving force, Mr Jerome Hoffman (now serving a two-year sentence for fraud in a New York penitentiary)". The press release announced with great flourish all the titles, and former offices of Mr Maudling and said that he had been elected President. It also said, "his daily activities and dynamic personality will assure the growth in construction of American real estate." Even in France, where the standards are much lower, the Prime Minister was forced to resign recently on account of some disputable attempts to evade income-tax.

In the first years of our freedom, some attempt was made to evolve sound principles of ministerial responsibility and public integrity on the lines of the U.K. Messrs. Shamukham Chetty and K. D. Malavia were forced to resign and an enquiry commission investigated certain charges against Mr Pratapsingh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab; but in recent years, all such notions have completely been abandoned. It has been more or less established that for election purposes, money can be obtained by any means. If the British notions of public integrity still prevailed in this country, the Finance Minister would have had to resign on the Nagarwala case and another senior Minister, for failure to submit income-tax returns. Innumerable petitions alleging all kinds of improprieties on the part of Ministers, Central and State, have been submitted to the President with no effect. In the last issue, attention was drawn to the hesitation of the Mysore Chief Minister to institute an enquiry into the major failure of supervision of the Sharavati project. The plea for public integrity and protest against corruption appear to be cries in the wilderness but they have to be continued in the hope that some day, the people of India will realise that integrity in public life and purity of administration constitute the basic foundations of national progress.

MAHARASHTRA LETTER:

GOVT.'S RESTRICTIVE POLICIES HAMPER GROWTH

BOMBAY, July 17: "When a private sector undertaking is not run well, the Government can take it over, but when a Government sector undertaking makes losses, who takes it over?", asked Mr Madhu Mehta, General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, commenting on the take-over of the management of the Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., by an ordinance by the Government of India.

This question becomes relevant considering the reasons given by the Government for this action, whatever be the real motives underlying this move. The take-over of the management of IISCO, it is stated, is to increase production and secure proper management of this private sector steel company. This, as Mr Mehta has pointed out, should be viewed in the context of the huge losses suffered by the Government's own steel undertakings at Bhilai, Durgapur and Bokaro.

It is pointed out that the problem faced by the IISCO was not one of fall in the standard of efficiency of management but the labour unrest prevailing in the area. The Government's own steel plant at Durgapur is beset with the same difficulty. In fact, the utilisation of capacity in the Durgapur steel plant is even lower than what it is in the IISCO. Even now, the IISCO is running at a capacity of 61.7 per cent as against only 43.8 per cent which Durgapur has been able to achieve.

Of late, some of the ultra-socialist Ministers of the Government have been exhibiting over-anxiety to take over private units on one ground or other. This is particularly so since the problem of paying proper compensation is easily tackled following the 25th amendment of the Constitution which has taken this matter out of judicial review. The compensation announced in the case of the general insurance companies has

been calculated at such a low rate that the investing public, and most important, institutions like the L.I.C. and the Unit Trust, which have substantial investment in these shares, are visibly aggrieved.

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has pointed out that this take-over trend will not help either better running of the units concerned, or increased industrial production, or even in furthering the socio-economic objectives of the Government. The need of the hour, it has emphasised, is increased production through appropriate policies particularly those relating to improving discipline all round. "If Government take-over of management were the only answer," it has observed, "the Durgapur steel plant should have been doing much better than is the case."

The General Secretary of the Swatantra Party and other political and industrial spokesmen, have drawn attention to the Government continuing to misuse its Ordinance-making powers even in respect of matters that could easily await action through democratic discussion and debate in Parliament. Mr Madhu Mehta has observed: "The Government's persistence in short-circuiting legislative processes and ruling the country by ordinance is indicative of the increasingly authoritarian trend of the party in power. It is hoped that members of Parliament will take strong objection to the manner in which the Government is resorting repeatedly to what is patently back-door nationalisation, on the one hand, and ignoring Parliament's rights and prerogatives, on the other."

The Government's restrictive policies in the industrial field, by which expansion of large companies in general and of any company, large or small, forming part of a so-called 'larger industrial house', in particular, have already

created a perceptible slow-down in the rate of industrial growth. This has happened "at the very time when a much higher rate was both necessary and possible," Mr J. R. D. Tata pointed out in his Chairman's statement to the shareholders of Tata Oil Mills Ltd. (TOMCO). "We can only hope," he observed, "that, in course of time, the Government will realise that, allowing those among the larger elements of the private sector with a known record of competence, integrity and social consciousness, to participate in the further industrial development of the country, is not incompatible with their objective of rapid growth with social justice."

In the context of IISCO take-over on grounds of falling output and alleged managerial deficiencies, an official policy frame which seeks to throttle some of the best managed and highly growth-oriented units in the private sector defies rational explanation. Over the last four years, for example, sales in TOMCO's have increased from Rs 29.54 crores to Rs 60.74 crores; wages from Rs 385 lakhs to Rs 434 lakhs; exports from Rs 152 lakhs to Rs 300 lakhs and taxes from Rs 57 lakhs to Rs 151 lakhs. In Mr Tata's words: "The total taxes contributed by the company last year to the Central and the State Governments in the form of corporation tax, sales tax and excise and other duties approximated to Rs 9.7 crores, representing 16 per cent of the turnover. What is more striking is the fact that for every rupee of net profit earned by the company for its shareholders, it contributed nearly Rs 3 to the Government by way of taxes. This dramatically illustrates the dominant role played by industry, directly or indirectly, in providing Government with the funds with which to pay for the costs of development and social services in a socialistic society." "That is why", he emphasised, "many modern countries which have provided their people with the highest standards of living and the most complete welfare services in the world, have resolutely turned their back on outdated Marxist theories and shibboleths still blindly accepted by so many in our country



A sum of Rs 1.24 crores has been earmarked to make available drinking water facilities to a large number of villages. It has been assessed that more than 20,000 villages and hamlets do not have drinking water facilities.

INDUSTRIAL SELF-EMPLOYMENT

A programme of self-employment for technically qualified youth, which has been provided for in the budget, was inaugurated the same day the budget was presented in the Assembly. A Central allocation of Rs 76 lakhs, supported by bank finance of Rs 8.5 crores, will be used to extend seed capital and workshop facilities to some 3,000 qualified young entrepreneurs to start small industries. The inaugural function, in which the Union Finance Minister and the Minister for Industrial Development took part with the State Chief Minister and the Industries Minister, was described as a "convocation for jobs." With a back-log of more than three lakh people waiting for employment,

the industrial self-employment scheme, initiated by the State Government ahead of other States, will be watched with keen interest.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Congress Party circles are jubilant over hundred per cent success registered in the elections to the Legislative Council by the Assembly members. All the nine candidates of the party have won. With an overwhelming strength of 219 members in the Assembly, the success of eight members in the first count itself was not unexpected. Besides the nine Congress Party candidates, one candidate of the Swatantra Party, Mr G. Latchanna, and one of the Communist Party of India, Mr Y. V. Krishna Rao, have also been elected. Mr Latchanna enters the Legislative Council after unsuccessfully contesting an Assembly seat. He got 8 first preference votes even though the Swatantra Party's strength in the Assembly is only 2. Mr Krishna Rao retains his seat.

TASK BEFORE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

PROF. M. R. HAZARAY

AT THE FIFTH annual meeting of its Board of Governors in Vienna, the Asian Development Bank's operations were critically assessed. Though it has so far pledged nearly \$638 million of aid to 16 developing countries for providing infra-structure facilities such as roads, water supply and public utilities, the bulk of its assistance has been needlessly concentrated in a sub-region, obviously for political reasons, in South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and other places. It must not be forgotten that there is a new upsurge all over Asia; the Asian countries want to overcome not only their century-old poverty but the humiliation of the memory of outside interference and the dissensions and disunity caused thereby within them. The people of these countries want to improve their living conditions and narrow down the yawning gap of inequality. The project lending activities of the ADB must, therefore, be geared to these "deep seated causes of fer-

ment in Asia" as pointed out by India's Finance Minister, Mr Y. B. Chavan.

It is true that the proportion of the Bank's lending at concessional rates of interest did increase from 13 per cent of the total in 1970 to 20 per cent last year. Yet, the soft-lending of resources by the ADB in relation to the urgent needs of the developing countries must be considered as awfully inadequate. Indeed, the ADB has to go a long way to achieve its target of 50 per cent of soft lending and thus lend \$300 million a year by 1975.

It is plain that the ADB cannot realise its goal as long as it is forced to borrow most of its own funds at high rates of interest from the governments of its affluent member-States, or from capital markets of the world. Unless the ADB can prevail upon the rich nations to augment its special fund greatly out of which it can offer soft loans, the Bank may not be able to step up its assis-

tance which the developing countries of this region need desperately.

It is indeed tragic that the President of the ADB had to make a fervent appeal to the self-interest of the rich countries by pointing out that soft loans, far from being one-way traffic, may actually and materially help in promoting the sales of British cranes, Swedish drills, French textile machinery, and so on. If the response from the rich world is poor and uninspiring, the Bank authorities will have to use their limited resources selectively to lighten the terms of its ordinary loans, which, in other words, would mean that the only criterion for eligibility of soft loans should be the economic condition of the country and no other. The introduction of differential rates of interest to different countries according to their capacity to pay, as proposed by Mr Chavan, would also help solve the problem to a certain extent if the ADB's soft loan funds do not come up to the anticipated level.

It is expected that in course of time the ADB would expand its scope, by diversifying its investment portfolio and be able to raise its voice on behalf of developing countries in the matter of long-term monetary reforms, especially in the case of linking of SDRs with development finance.

Despite its larger contribution than any other country except Japan, it is indeed creditable on the part of India, that she has not tried to secure even a single loan from the ADB, nor did she influence its policies for her own benefit. This year, in addition, India has increased her contribution to the technical assistance fund from Rs 300,000 to Rs 400,000. It is also in the fitness of things that India has urged the ADB to welcome Bangla Desh as a member of the Bank.

The outcome of the annual meeting of the ADB is admirably summed up by the President when he observed that only if the donor countries continued to be 'outward looking' could the gap between the rich and the poor be bridged. Otherwise, the prospects seem very gloomy.



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