

SWARAJYA

(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

Vol. XVII. No. 6

MADRAS, AUGUST 5, 1972

Price 35 P

SILVER JUBILEE-1: LET US REMEMBER

K. SANTHANAM

BRITAIN RELINQUISHED her sovereignty over India on August 15, 1947, in accordance with an Act of Parliament. It meant practically the liquidation of the British empire not only in India but also in other parts of the world. On the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of this historic event, every Indian should refresh his memory about the victorious national struggle for freedom and try to make an objective estimate of the use she has made of that freedom. To assist the readers in both these respects, this article attempts at a brief historical survey of the beginning, growth and success of Indian nationalism. In the next issue, I shall give my own balance-sheet of achievements and failures of these 25 years of freedom.

British conquest of India was one of the strangest episodes in world history. Armed with a charter from the British Crown, the East India Company arrived in India in the second decade of the 17th century. There were already Dutch and Portuguese settlements and the French also arrived soon after. Throughout the 17th century, when the Moghul empire was strong, these foreign settlements were purely commercial. When the Moghul empire collapsed in the beginning of the 18th century, there was widespread confusion and the foreign settlements had to arm themselves in self-defence. They were able to use these arms to aid rival Princes and chieftains who were continuously at war with one another. By the middle of the 18th century, the Dutch had relinquished India and the

Portuguese retained only a small settlement in Goa. There was much rivalry between the British and the French but the latter also declined after the French revolution and were left with only a few settlements at Pondicherry and Chandranagore.

Meanwhile, the East India Company was heavily building up its strength and became a big political force. With the battle of Plassey in 1757, it became the *de facto* ruler of large areas in North India. These territorial acquisitions of the Company brought it under the control of the British Government which established under Acts of Parliament, a regular scheme of government consisting of a Governor-General at Calcutta and Governors in the various Provinces but the Government continued in the name of the Company. During the next 100 years, by force and fraud and diplomacy, the British became masters of the whole of India. Two-thirds of the country was ruled directly by a centralised British bureaucracy manned by British officers at the top and assisted by Indian subordinates who were educated in English and trained for such service.

Though there were minor revolts by medieval vested interests which were adversely affected by the British conquest, it was only in 1857 that there was a major revolt. Discontented Indian sepoys and non-commissioned officers, who were paid only a fraction of the pay of the Britishers doing the same work and who were treated with contempt, spear-headed the revolt. They were

assisted by the Princes, priests and zamindars. The revolt was confined to U.P., Bihar and Delhi, but it almost threatened to put an end to British rule. However, it lacked leadership, discipline and coordination and with the assistance of Sikhs from the Punjab, Indian sepoys from Madras and assistance from loyal Princes, the revolt was put down with great cruelty.

With the suppression of what is called the Indian Mutiny, which was really a kind of national revolt, opposition from medieval classes which controlled Indian society vanished. The hundreds of Princes who were ruling over nearly a third of India accepted British suzerainty as an unalterable fact and became its loyal and subordinate allies till the transfer of power. After the revolt, the British Government in India was formally transferred to the British Crown. The new middle class which was English-educated and which served in subordinate posts under the British Government and those who practised as lawyers in British courts, together with the new class of businessmen and industrialists, became politically conscious under the new regime.

After some stray attempts at political organisation, the Indian National Congress came into existence in 1885. It is noteworthy that one of its chief organisers was Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912). It was the deliberate policy of the founding fathers of the Congress like Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopala Krishna Gokhale that through persuasion and persistent appeals to the Governments in India and

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London, Indians could secure increasing partnership in the administration and progressive realisation of self-government. It was at first welcomed by the Viceroy and Governors but within 10 years of its beginning, it developed a radical wing of which Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh were leaders. There was also a revolutionary fringe. The British Government in India became alarmed and enacted a strict law of sedition under which Tilak was sentenced to 6 years for his writings in his weekly paper and Aurobindo Ghosh escaped arrest by settling down in Pondicherry and devoted himself to religion and yoga.

At the same time, liberal elements in Britain induced the British Government to conciliate the moderate and liberal sections of the Congress through the Minto-Morley Reforms which provided for nominated legislative councils in the Provinces with some non-official members who could ventilate grievances. The British Government also tried to get the support of the Muslims by providing communal representation. Their third line of defence were the Indian Princes who were even more alarmed at the growth of the national movement.

The First World War, which began in 1914, brought about a great intensification of national feeling. Tilak was released and Mahatma Gandhi who had waged a great struggle against the South African Government for the rights of Indians, had also arrived in India. Mrs Annie Besant, who had established a nation-wide theosophical organisation, started a Home Rule movement with the objective of converting India into a Dominion. The British Government tried to satisfy the growing national feeling by making a declaration in 1917 that the objective of British rule was progressive realisation of responsible self-government. Mr Montague, Secretary of State for India, came to this country and together with Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, produced a scheme of reform which was enacted in Parliament and elections under a limited but rather broad franchise were to be

held in 1919 but unfortunately, the Government of India in its anxiety to suppress the revival of any revolutionary movement, enacted what were called the Rowlatt Laws which restricted the freedom of the press and gave powers to the executive of arbitrary arrest and detention.

Gandhiji, who had not actively participated in politics till then, took up the leadership and organised satyagraha against this legislation. There was tremendous popular enthusiasm but there was some violence here and there and on April 13, 1919, General Dyer massacred in cold blood thousands of innocent people who had assembled at a meeting at Jallian-walabagh, Amritsar, in defiance of the orders of the authorities. This gave a new and sharp turn to Indian nationalism. Meanwhile, the Muslims were deeply agitated over the break-up of the Turkish empire and the control by Britain of the holy places of Islam. They started the Khilafat movement and were able to secure the cooperation of Gandhiji. He not only sympathised with their demands but also thought it a unique opportunity to build up Hindu-Muslim unity.

Thus began the great non-cooperation movement which undermined the British empire in India so seriously as to make possible the transfer of power in 1947. This movement was formally endorsed by the Congress in September 1920 and had a chequered career. It had three major programmes. One was non-co-operation of the people with the British Government. The resolution of 1920 called upon the title holders honoured by the British Government to surrender their titles. The lawyers were asked to give up their practice and the people to boycott the courts, the Government servants including defence personnel to resign their jobs and the students to boycott their schools and colleges. The second programme was satyagraha which consisted of defiance of orders prohibiting meetings, picketing of cloth and liquor shops and finally of non-payment of taxes. The third part was called the constructive programme,

which consisted of promotion of handspinning and weaving and other handicrafts, propaganda against untouchability, prostitution, drink and other social evils and active humanitarian service in case of famine, floods and other natural calamities.

Non-cooperation had a limited success in the beginning. Many prominent men renounced their titles. A few hundred lawyers all over the country gave up their practice and thousands of students abandoned their schools and colleges. A few Government servants also resigned but this limited success had very little effect on the British Government which it was intended to paralyse. So Gandhiji began to set greater store by civil disobedience. In the Ahmedabad Congress of 1921, two separate plans were approved. Individual civil disobedience was to be practised by defying orders and by picketing cloth and liquor shops. In the taluk of Bardoli in Gujarat, Mahatma Gandhi was to experiment with a pilot project of mass civil disobedience which involved non-payment of taxes, resignation of all Government servants in the area and the *de facto* establishment of a rival national government without the use of any violence. Individual civil disobedience immediately started all over the country and thousands of workers were arrested, tried and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The crucial experiment in Bardoli had, however, to be abandoned because of a serious outbreak of violence in a place called Chauri-Chaura where a police station was attacked and set fire to and some policemen were burnt inside. Gandhiji decided that mass civil disobedience could not be practised in such an atmosphere and suspended the movement.

This created a temporary split in the Congress; one section believed that the Gandhian plan had come to an end and wanted to go back to constitutional agitation including entry into Legislative Councils which had been established under the Montague-Chelmsford scheme. But the vast majority of the workers took the advice of Gandhiji and spread

themselves in villages implementing the constructive programme. Believing that the suspension of civil disobedience should be availed of to bring in another mild dose of reforms to rally the more moderate nationalists, the British Government set up a Parliamentary Commission under Lord Simon which consisted only of British Members of Parliament. The exclusion of Indians from the Commission was resented to by every shade of Indian opinion and the Simon Commission was boycotted by practically every political group including the liberals.

At the All-India Congress session at Calcutta in 1928, Gandhiji took a comparatively moderate standpoint and got a resolution passed to accept Dominion Status in spite of the opposition of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Subash Chandra Bose, but it was agreed that one year's notice should be given to the British Government to accept the demand and if it refused, a new nation-wide civil disobedience was to be started. The demand was rejected and the great salt satyagraha took place in 1930.

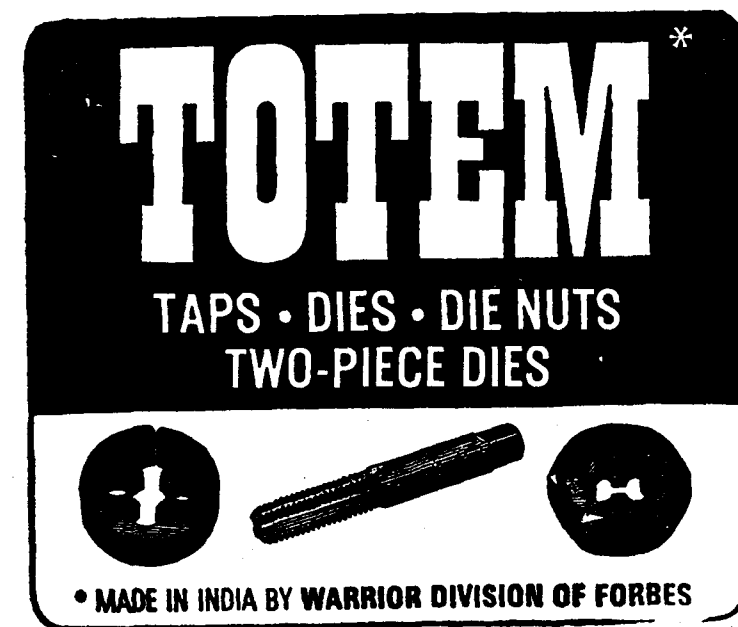
Meanwhile, in order to placate Indian opposition against the Simon Commission, the British Government arranged for a Round Table Conference at which Indian representatives could be present to consider a new scheme of reforms based on the Simon Commission's report. The first Round Table Conference was boycotted by the Congress. Under the instructions of the Labour Government which came to power, Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, made a pact with Gandhiji and persuaded him to attend the Second Round Table Conference in 1931. All prisoners were released and it was hoped that a final settlement would be reached but this failed and in 1932, the satyagraha was revived sending thousands of persons to jail.

The British Government enacted the Government of India Act based on the discussions of the three Round Table Conferences. (The Third R.T.C. was held in 1932). As this provided practically full self-government in the Provinces and envisaged a federal government at the Centre, there was

considerable support for a trial of the new scheme even among Congressmen. So, the Congress fought the elections in 1936, obtained large majorities in many States and formed Ministries. There were delays in implementing the federal part of the Act when the Second World War intervened. The British Government made a foolish mistake in not consulting the Congress party in the Central Assembly or the Congress Chief Ministers in the States about India's entry into the war. It was, therefore, decided not to cooperate with the British Government and the Congress Ministries resigned and Congress boycotted the Indian Legislative Assembly. There was also a demonstration of selected individual civil disobedience which was intended not to obstruct war preparations but merely to register India's protest against forcible entry into the war.

In 1942 when Japan entered the war, there was an attempt by the British Government, encouraged by President Roosevelt to arrive at some settlement which would ensure full cooperation of the Congress in the war effort. Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India but his mission failed and Gandhiji started the 'Quit India' movement which called upon the people not only to non-cooperate with the war effort but also offer

non-violent obstruction in all ways possible; thousands of persons were arrested and sentenced. When the war ended in 1945, there was a stalemate in the Indian political situation but the defeat of the Conservative Party in the elections and the formation of the Labour Government brought about a radical change. In accordance with its election pledges, the Labour Government sent a Cabinet Mission to make a settlement with India. It set up a Constituent Assembly consisting of representatives from the Provincial legislatures and representatives from the States. It was at first hoped that it would be able to frame a Constitution for a United India but the Muslims refused to cooperate and under the leadership of Jinnah, they insisted on a separate sovereign Pakistan consisting of the Muslim majority areas in the north and the east. Indian leaders, against the wishes of Gandhiji felt that the alternative was indefinite civil war and agreed to the partition. The Muslim members of the Constituent Assembly from the separated areas formed a separate Constituent Assembly, while the rest of the Constituent Assembly functioned for India minus Pakistan. It was to this Assembly that sovereignty was transferred on the 15th of August 1947. Thus was Free India born.



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ASSESSMENT OF SRI AUROBINDO AS A POLITICAL THINKER

DR. KARAN SINGH

[This is Aurobindo birth centenary year. The year-long celebrations commence from August 15, the date he was born. Here are extracts taken from Dr Karan Singh's book on the sage of Pondicherry, entitled "Prophet of Indian Nationalism." Some more articles on Aurobindo will be published in the subsequent issues of SWARAJYA.]

SRI AUROBINDO'S contribution to modern Indian political thought can conveniently be assessed under four headings.

1. His concept of spiritual nationalism and the divinity of Motherland, which imparted an esoteric significance to the movement for India's liberation;

2. His exposition of the ideal of complete freedom from foreign rule, and his role in invigorating, inspiring and radicalizing the national movement;

3. His contribution to the theory of boycott and passive resistance, as also to the use of force if necessary to achieve freedom;

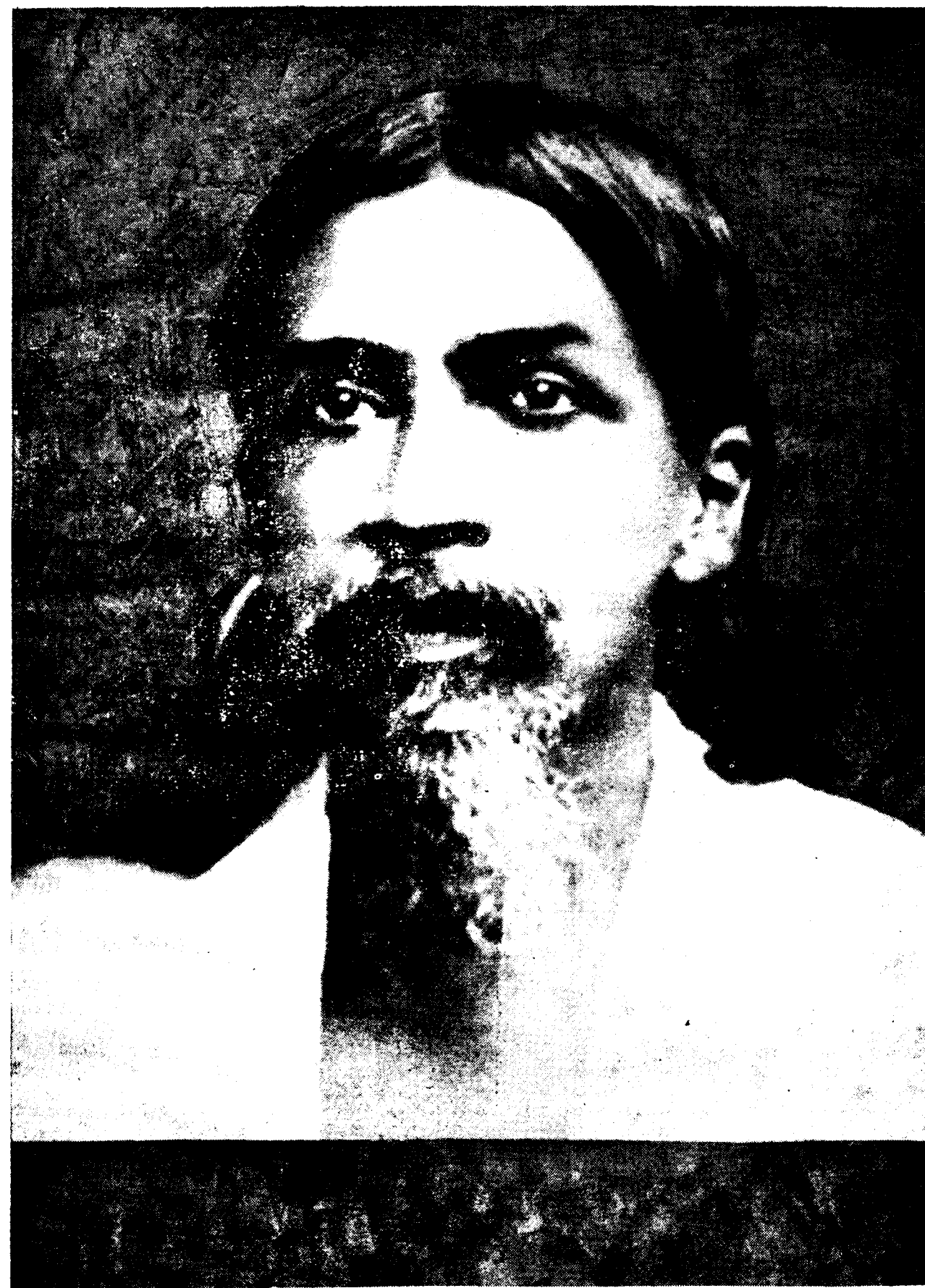
4. His vision of the broader role that India was destined to play in world affairs, and his enlightened ideal of human unity that must ultimately transcend mere national development.

We may take first his concept of spiritual nationalism and the divinity of the Motherland. This indeed is the bedrock of his political theory, and underlines all his writings in this field. The divinity of the Motherland is, of course, a concept that has existed since the dawn of history. In the earliest religious texts, not only of India but of other ancient civilizations, the earth — particularly that portion of it occupied by the tribe or society in question — was worshipped as a sustainer, nourisher and supporters of all life and prosperity. The Vedas contain numerous hymns in adoration of the earth, and the worship of *prithvi* is one of the essential rituals in Hindu religious cere-

monies. This tradition continued unbroken in India right down to modern times, when Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in his *Ananda Math* created the famous *mantra* 'Bande Mataram' glorifying the divinity of the Motherland. Sri Aurobindo's contribution was to take up this mystic and religious concept, adapt it to the political requirements of India at the turn of the century and turn it into a veritable dynamo of strength and inspiration. His exposition of the religion of nationalism and the consequent necessity for utter self-sacrifice and immolation at the feet of Mother India was unsurpassed for its deeply-felt eloquence. Brief enough his political career was, he defined the essence of spiritual nationalism in a manner which for sheer power and passion has perhaps never been equalled. He thus imparted a new dimension to the national movement, lifting it above the purely material plane and placing before it an inspired and inspiring spiritual ideal. It was his *Bhavani Mandir* that became the gospel of Indian revolutionaries, and it was with a smile and the cry of *Bande Mataram* on their lips that thousands of patriots faced repression and even death at the hands of their foreign rulers. His concept of the whole National movement is beautifully summed up in his own words: "The strength of the new movement in India lies in its supreme idealism. It is not a mere economic movement, though it openly strives for the economic resurrection of the country. It is not a mere political movement, though it has boldly declared itself for absolute independence. It is an intensely spiritual movement having for its object not simply the development of economic life or the attainment of political freedom, but really the emancipation, in every sense of the term of the Indian manhood and womanhood." Sri Aurobindo's contribution to the creation of this 'supreme idealism' was very considerable.

Next we may turn to his second achievement as a political thinker, that is his exposition of the ideal of complete freedom from foreign rule and his role in radicalizing the national movement. Despite the brevity of his political career, Sri Aurobindo did enough to infuse a new spirit into the movement and thus to help change the very complexion of politics in the country. We have seen how as early as 1893-94, in 'New Lamps for Old', he laid out a radical philosophy of politics. Later his tireless dedicated activity helped to politically galvanize the people of Bengal during the anti-partition agitation. The key to his great influence upon men and events is to be found in the fact that he laid before the people a worthwhile ideal, the ideal of *Purna Swaraj*, complete independence. He had the courage to demand this freedom openly, not as a favour from her alien rulers but as the inalienable birthright of India. His concept of the divinity of the Motherland led directly and inevitably to the demand for her complete emancipation from foreign rule and Sri Aurobindo preached this doctrine with immense patriotic fervour. Not only did he powerfully advocate the ideal of independence, he also effectively demolished the timid and constricted political platform of the Moderates. Pouring scorn and biting sarcasm upon the 'mendicant' policies of the Moderates, his writings went a long way towards isolating them from the support of public opinion and making the Indian mind receptive to a more radical political programme.

It must also be mentioned that Sri Aurobindo was one of the first Indian leaders to recognize the absolute necessity of generating mass enthusiasm and participation in the national cause, of getting the support of all the varied constituents of the Indian body politic, in other words, of democratizing the whole movement. As early as 1893 he clearly enunciated this view, and trenchantly criticized the Congress for remaining a confined and narrow organization without any mass support. He is thus one of the



SRI AUROBINDO GHOSH

earliest true democrats on the modern Indian scene.

Another facet of his thought which enabled him to impart fresh spirit into the national movement was his stress on the necessity for suffering by the children before their Mother could be liberated. Unlike the proper, prim and correct conservatives who thought that the British would out of their own charity and beneficence grant India the loaf of freedom, crumb by crumb, Sri Aurobindo knew and stressed clearly the necessity for a 'purification by blood and fire' before the goal could be attained. His stress on the goal of complete independence, his theory of the divinity of the Motherland and the almost religious character of the liberation movement, his emphasis upon the necessity of suffering and sacrifice to achieve the goal, all combined to impart a revolutionary spirit to the whole struggle against British domination. His flaming advocacy of India's right to be free swept aside the more modest goals of the Moderates and cut them off from the main stream of public support.

Yet another factor in his thought which helped to revitalize the spirit of India was his profound reappraisal of the true springs of Indian culture, of the true greatness of her spiritual heritage. His writings, combining as they did startling erudition with flaming patriotic fervour, caused a stir among the intelligentsia. Of all the great leaders of the Radical movement, Sri Aurobindo's literary talent was by far the most impressive, and this enabled him effectively to transmit his dream of the future India to receptive and anxious minds. At the same time his forceful writings helped to break the myth of British cultural superiority so assiduously fostered by the foreign rulers. His contributions towards creating a climate of revolutionary nationalism in India directed at securing her complete independence from foreign rule was very substantial. He was indeed, as Tagore so eloquently put it, the 'Voice incarnate free, of India's soul.'

A word may here be said about

the criticism levelled against Sri Aurobindo and other Radical leaders that they neglected the important issue of social reform. It is true that they did not lay very great emphasis upon this aspect of public life which has now assumed so much significance, but this was not because they considered social reform unimportant. It was rather because they were convinced of the primary necessity of securing political independence before a really effective scheme of social reform could be attempted with any hope of success. They recognized the importance of such reform, but felt that it could not precede political independence. To attempt social reform before becoming independent would not only be to put the cart before the horse, but also to fritter away energies that could more usefully be yoked to the national movement itself. It was this view, and not any aversion to social reform *per se*, that led Sri Aurobindo to attack the Moderate leadership for their obsession with social problems.

In this assessment of Sri Aurobindo as a political thinker we may turn now to his contribution to the theory of boycott and passive resistance. His voluminous writings on boycott contain a comprehensive exposition of the theory in its many facets. At the same time he made concrete suggestions about the positive steps that must accompany boycott if it was to be really effective. Thus, along with his theory of economic boycott he postulated the necessity of *swadeshi*; along with educational boycott he put forward his views of national education; along with judicial boycott he stressed the necessity for national arbitration courts; along with executive boycott he expounded the importance of national organization; and as the sanction behind the whole boycott theory he placed the concept of social boycott. Sri Aurobindo was one of those rare thinkers whose thought was not confined only to the theoretical implications of a problem but who descended into the arena of life and tested his theories against the actual demands of practical politics.

A word may here be said about his advocacy of force and violence if necessary in the struggle against foreign domination. This is somewhat levelled against him as a criticism, and it is said he was an anarchist and a terrorist. As for his being an anarchist, the proposition can be dismissed out of hand as absurd. He sought to replace British rule not by anarchy but by national rule. Regarding terrorism, there is now little doubt that he was not only closely in touch with secret revolutionary groups throughout the country, but, in Bengal, was for a considerable time their secret leader and inspirer. This charge, if such it can be termed, is one which is fully in consonance with his basic political theory. Which son, if his mother was being crushed and humiliated by an alien aggressor, would hesitate to use every means including force and violence to effect her deliverance? For Sri Aurobindo the deliverance of the Motherland from foreign rule was the one paramount, overriding consideration. To this end all means were admissible, including violence, specially when the foreigners themselves were in India as the result of forcible conquest.

Finally, we come to his lofty ideal of human unity and of India's destined role in the international community. Although his exposition and elaboration of this concept took place mainly after 1910, we have seen that even in the 1893-1910 period it is clearly brought out in his political writings. Thus, when discussing the theoretical compulsions behind Sri Aurobindo's political goal of complete independence, we saw that an important factor in his thoughts was the conviction that India must be free not for herself alone, but for the benefit of entire mankind. He felt that India had a spiritual message which was urgently needed in the world of the twentieth century, in fact that she was destined to lead mankind up the next step of spiritual evolution, and one of the reasons why he was so adamant that the political goal should be nothing less than complete independence was his conviction that

then alone could India fulfil her true destiny in the broader international community.

At a time when India was firmly and securely under British rule, and the prospect of her becoming free appeared extremely dim, it is a tribute to Sri Aurobindo's breadth of vision that he was able clearly to foresee her destiny as a free nation, and to stress the importance of the contribution that she must make to the world community. Thus, in his celebrated 'Open Letter to My Countrymen' written in 1909, he said:

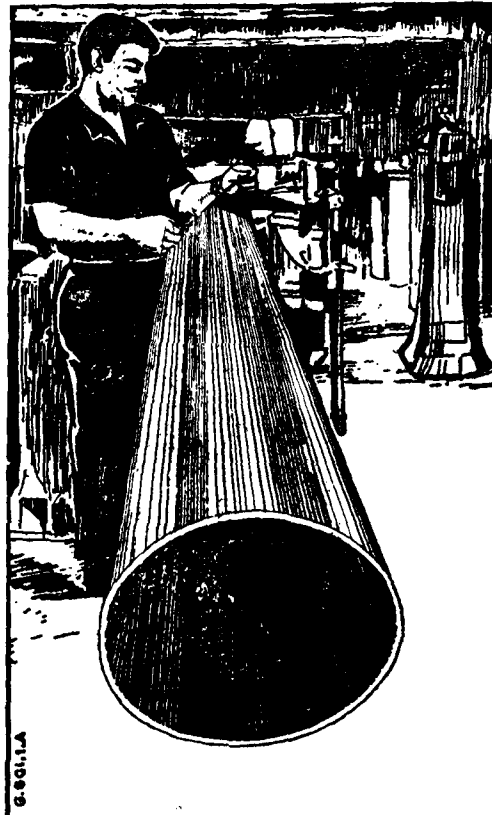
'Our ideal of patriotism proceeds on the basis of love and brotherhood and it looks beyond the unity of the nation and envisages the ultimate unity of mankind. But it is a unity of master and self, of devourer and devoured.'

This lofty idealism in a way pre-mirrored the importance that free India has given to the maintenance of world peace, and the special role she has played therein. Sri Aurobindo's nationalism never descended into narrow chauvinism

or obscurantist revivalism. It was constantly placed in a broader international context and even in the white heat of political controversy he never lost sight of his ideal of human unity which far transcended local problems and had for its goal the ultimate reconciliation of all conflicts in a syncretic spiritual development. This theme in fact recurs in almost all his writings, from the early passions of *Bhavani Mandir* and *Bande Mataram* to the mature reflections of his later monumental works such as *The Ideal of Human Unity*, *Essays on the Gita* and *The Life Divine*, and must be classed as one of his major contributions to modern Indian political theory. Although at the time he wrote, the idea had mainly academic interest, as India was not in fact free, yet it had the effect of raising the whole tone of the national movement and placing before it an ideal even more elevated than that of national independence. That his ideal of human unity has to some extent been realized is a tribute to Sri Aurobindo's wisdom; that it has still not been fully translated into action is the

measure of mankind's failure to rise to its full stature.

Sri Aurobindo thus emerges as a political thinker of great importance in modern Indian political thought. He was large responsible for imparting esoteric and spiritual significance to the national movement, placing before it the inspiring ideal of complete independence for invigorating the spirit of India by a reassurance of the true basis of her great cultural heritage, for expounding a practical system whereby the goal of independence could be achieved, and for placing the whole movement in the broader context of internationalism and the ideal of human unity. For a person to have done this in the short period of hard five years of active political life is an achievement of no mean importance. Sri Aurobindo must be counted among the great builders of modern India. Even after 1910 his interest in Indian freedom remained undiminished and he lived to see the fruition of his work when India finally achieved Independence on his seventy-fifth birthday.



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MYSORE LETTER:

CEILING ON URBAN PROPERTY: BILL BY YEAR END

BANGALORE, July 25: The Ruling Congress Party, in the State is in a race to prove itself to be a very 'progressive' unit in the country in the sense in which the term 'progressive' has come to be used in the socialist jargon at present. The Congress Forum for Socialist Action, which is an informal wing of the party with an influential section of the party as members, met recently and urged the Government not to deflect from the MPCC (R) decision to fix 10 standard acres as the ceiling on land. The meeting, which was attended by about 45 party M.L.As, also expressed the view that no income-tax payer should be allowed to buy land and that a land-owner should live within a 10-mile radius of his land. This was interpreted as a measure reflecting the Chief Minister's pet theory of "one man—one profession". This group has a strong protagonist in the Chief Minister himself, who indicated recently that the urban property ceiling Bill which was being studied and drafted would be ready by the end of the year.

Acting swiftly on the recommendations of the Congress (R) committee on land reform, the State Cabinet decided on July 8 that the ceiling should be fixed at 10-18 acres (not standard) per family for lands with assured irrigation. The ceiling "conversion ratio," as worked out by the Cabinet was: 10 acres in respect of first class land growing two crops; 15 acres in the case of second class land growing one crop and lands with lift irrigation; 15 to 18 acres in the case of lands growing one crop from tank irrigation; 25 acres in the case of wet lands and finally 15, 45 and 54 acres in the case of dry lands purely depending on rainfall. In no case will a family be entitled to own more than 54 acres and the family for the purpose of ceiling laws would be the husband, wife and three children, whether major or minor.

The Cabinet also decided that

people having an income of Rs 12,000 and above a year from other professions should not be permitted to own land.

It is needless to say that this will result in fragmentation and sub-division of land leading to small and petty uneconomic holdings, when it will be time for the Government to take over all lands on the very ground that they are too small and uneconomical.

PROBLEM OF EDUCATED UNEMPLOYED

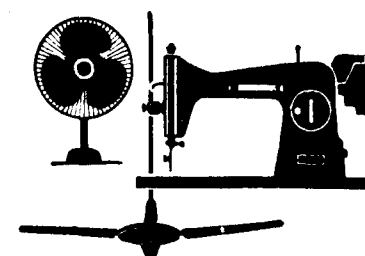
It has become very common with our Ministers and policy makers, who do not think first and draw up plans but prepare plans first and then think, to speak of the schemes that they are capable of spinning out at short notice and assure the people that the solution to our huge unemployment problem is round the corner. The Labour Minister of Mysore, Mr Aziz Sait, told the Legislative Council that the following schemes were being worked out to solve the unemployment problem among the educated: stipendiary training schemes for unemployed engineering graduates and diploma holders; an intensive scheme for employment assistance and relief to educated unemployed; incentives to Civil Engineering graduates and diploma holders to take up P.W.D. contracts, allotment of cars to be run as taxis and autorickshaws; training in repairing clocks, typewriters, duplicators, etc. and training in engineering trade for the physically handicapped!

In reply to a question, the Minister gave the following particulars of unemployed persons registered in various employment exchanges in the State as on February 29, 1972: Engineering graduates — Civil 377; Electrical 1,012; Mechanical 1,245; others 131; total 2,765; Engineering diploma-holders — Civil 2,173, Electrical 1,863, Mechanical 2,965; Automobile 211; Radio and Sound Engineering 83; others 190; total

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7,485; doctors 380. The number of persons holding post-graduate degrees in science was 632.

A resident of Bangalore recently bought a litre of milk from the State-owned Bangalore Milk Dairy in which, it was reported, was found a thick layer of worms and maggots. The same day, Mr Vatal Nagaraj, M.L.A., took a sealed milk bottle to the Legislative Assembly, poured the milk which was said to contain worms and maggots into a glass and passed it on to the Speaker. As a result of this, a complaint was lodged with the police by an official of the milk distribution system against his own subordinates.

SHARAVATHI PROJECT

The Public Works Minister, Mr H. M. Chennabasappa, in a lengthy statement in the Assembly, chronicled the technical irregularities and the damage caused to the huge Sharavathy hydro-electric project which is called "the pride of Asia". He detailed the damage caused to the water conductor system, sluices and tunnels and the longitudinal cracks of about 1/2" that have appeared to a length of 140 feet, exchange of letters, between the Chief Engineer and the Accountant-General

BIHAR LETTER:

TIGHTENING OF LAW ENFORCEMENT TO CHECK CRIME

PATNA, July 20: A jeep, a phone and a wireless transmitter in every police station may sound like a futuristic pipe dream unattainable this side of some bureaucratic millennium; but this, believe it or not, is what the Chief Minister, Mr Kedar Pande, has promised the State Assembly as part of his drive to stamp out crime. Perhaps, advisedly, Mr Pande has refrained from spelling out what this will cost the taxpayer. Bihar is already heavily overdrawn with the Reserve Bank of India and all conventional avenues of raising resources, such as increasing land revenue and irrigation water rates have been exhausted with this year's budget. As a desperate device to raise more revenues, the Government pro-

regarding the repeated demand for funds for repairs to the recently completed project, the recommendations of the Hydro-Electric Construction Project Board and periodical investigations made hitherto. He said a judicial enquiry was one of the steps contemplated by the Government to examine "the failure in duties of all concerned and fix responsibilities."

CENTRE'S CONDITIONS FOR SCOOTER UNIT

Mr S. M. Krishna, Industries Minister, making a statement during discussion on the budget in the Assembly, said that the Centre had issued a letter of intent to the Mysore State Industrial Investment and Development Corporation to set up a scooter factory in Bangalore. The project involved a capital of Rs 2.63 crores and the Government was looking for entrepreneurs to start the factory. Nobody has come forward so far to take up the project. The State Government had pleaded for permission to enter into foreign collaboration but the Central Government gave the letter of intent on the condition that the project should be totally indigenous.

poses to liberalize the issue of licences for bus routes, cinema halls and liquor shops, something which the previous administrations have been chary of doing, for various reasons. The last seems a *post facto* announcement of a development already under way. Well appointed shops licensed to sell foreign liquor for consumption on and off the premises have been coming up even in small mofussil towns in the last few months.

Electronic and mechanical aids to crime detection apart, there has been welcome evidence of a tightening up of law enforcement. An anti-crime drive has netted in thousands of law breakers, and crime, for the moment is under some kind of check.

The Ministry's installation in

This is Japan

The bullet trains of the New Tokeido line zip between Tokyo and Osaka at a speed of 210 kilometres an hour. Faster ones are on the drawing board.—K.S.R.

office in March coincided with a steep rise in the crime rate. But that was before Mr Pande began to make his presence felt as Home Minister.

It was against this background of tightened law enforcement that the Socialist Party brought its no-confidence motion in the Assembly on June 26. The gravamen of the socialists' charge, as detailed by the leader of the Opposition, Mr Karpoori Thakur, while moving the motion, was the alleged failure, to maintain law and order; the other points in the indictment covered rising prices and the Government's indifference in the face of the people's sufferings.

A subsidiary charge arising from the first was that of police high-handedness and atrocities. An allegation like this is quite credible in Bihar because that is how the police have behaved in the past several years. But the consensus of the House was against it because every member's personal experience tended to belie Mr Thakur's account. Small wonder then that Cong. (O) the Swatantra, the Jan Sangh and the C.P.I. members abstained from voting for the motion though their M.L.As. made speeches critical of the Government.

The passage of the Bihar Land Reforms Amendment Act brings to an end a long period of controversy and uncertainty. Fixing the ceilings at between 15 and 40 acres for different classes of land, is about as reasonable as can be expected of a measure that purports to fulfil the promises of the Congress election manifesto.

Bihar's marathon heat wave sweltered on into the third week of June, then gave way to an equally anxious period of drought. The delay in the sowing of paddy occasioned by the drought is bound to lead to a proportionate drop in yields.

ANDHRA PRADESH LETTER:

COMMITTEE'S PLEA FOR TAKE-OVER OF SUBSIDISED HOSTELS

HYDERABAD, July 24: An official inquiry into the working of a district cooperative marketing society has disclosed certain irregularities, for instance, diversion of Rs 90 lakhs from the sale of fertilizers to other business, abnormal expenditure on the maintenance of a jeep and a car, and payment of excess fee to directors over a period of four years. The Minister for Co-operation told the Legislative Assembly that necessary action would be taken after a full inquiry.

The Industries Minister, in reply to a short notice question, confirmed that the Industries Secretary was making a thorough enquiry into alleged misappropriation of an amount of Rs 2.5 lakhs from the funds of the Andhra Pradesh Small-scale Development Corporation. A question by another member elicited the information that the Andhra Pradesh Khadi and Village Industries Board was investigating a complaint of misuse or misappropriation of a grant of Rs 50,000 by a non-official organisation at Macherla in Guntur district.

The debate on the demand for grants to the Social Welfare Department focussed attention on some irregularities in the working of hostels for the children of backward classes and Harijans. Criticism was based on the Legislative Council House Committee's findings on the subject. The Committee, visiting 93 hostels, found that the managements had been exploiting the inmates and denying them the facilities for which they had received Government grants. In most hostels the members said, lodging arrangements were pathetically inadequate. An example was cited of a Harijan hostel in Ongole, Prakasam district, where 250 children were made to sleep in a place which could hardly hold 50. In several cases, husband, wife and their relatives were managing various hostels as a "family af-

fair." Besides recommending higher grants to enable the managers of hostels to provide basic amenities (taking into account the rising cost of articles of diet), the committee has asked the Government to take over all subsidised hostels immediately. This year's budget provides one crore of rupees as boarding grant to 939 subsidised hostels for backward classes and Harijan children. An equal amount is proposed to be spent on 535 departmentally-run hostels.

The Government is pleading helplessness in not being able to hold the price line, calling the

MADHYA PRADESH LETTER:

REHABILITATION OF DACOITS: SETHI'S SURPRISING STANCE

BHOPAL, July 25: It will be difficult to find a more glaring instance of capriciousness in high places than in the recent public tirade which Mr P. C. Sethi, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, has launched against Sarvodaya workers, in general and Mr Jaya Prakash Narayan, in particular. What has lent to it an added edge is the general belief that in this, Mr Sethi has the support and backing of the Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi. Mr Sethi's criticism of the DMK Government in Tamil Nad some time ago was another of such instances. Few in this State could see the occasion or the need for an open attack on the Chief Minister of one State by that of another. But he has surpassed himself in his performance *vis-a-vis* Mr Narayan.

Over 400 dacoits of the Chambal and Bundelkhand regions have surrendered and laid down their arms. They are awaiting trial in the jail. The immediate problem is to rehabilitate their families and children, so that they can finally abjure the path of crime. The long range objective must neces-

sarily be to see that new gangs of outlaws do not arise. It was, so far as one could see from outside, agreed at the time of the first surrender at Jaura in Morena district on April 14, that the Sarvodaya movement would play an active part in the social transformation that alone could solve the dacoit malaise. By his recent pronouncements and actions, Mr Sethi has given enough evidence to indicate that he would not have the Sarvodaya workers anywhere near the tasks of rehabilitation.

The obvious snag is the disbursal of funds and the agency which Mr Sethi wishes to choose to organise this disbursal. He has already withdrawn a Government jeep he had given to Sarvodaya workers to move about in the area, which has prompted them to surrender the rest of the three jeeps still left with them in the Gwalior region.

Talking to newsmen at Mandu, Mr Sethi, while paying the customary tributes to Mr Narayan, declared: "The rehabilitation of the dacoits who had surrendered is the responsibility of the State Government and it would discharge

it, irrespective of Sarvodaya help." The noted peace worker, Mr Subbarao, had waited at Bhopal for three days to meet Mr Sethi to discuss with him problems of rehabilitation of the dacoits' families. The Chief Minister unceremoniously turned down his request. So, the proper interpretation one has to give to his words at Mandu is that his administration will take charge of all future activity related to the dacoits, including rehabilitation, and see that Sarvodaya help is neither sought for nor permitted.

But can the administration, in which the police are gaining preponderance, initiate and fulfil a deep-seated experiment of social transformation. The task seems doubly difficult because the dacoits, on various occasions, have indicated that they would like the Sarvodaya men, operating under the leadership of Mr Narayan, to take charge of their sons and families. It was not his confidence in the police that took Madho Singh to Patna to meet Mr Narayan in a bid to seek his intervention in the great adventure of surrender.

Mr Sethi will commit a grave mistake if he uses his police to oust the team of Sarvodaya workers who have been in the field for a decade, and then to fill the vacuum with his own men. The problem of dacoity is at the base that of a crisis of confidence between the volatile, hot-blooded people of Bhind and Morena and the local police. Had there been no J.P.N., it is difficult to imagine the dacoits giving up their trigger-happy pursuits and accepting jail life. Now that they are behind the bars, they would certainly like Mr Narayan and his workers to stay on the spot to look after their families' well-being and that of their own in the jails.

The Chief Minister has to date given the Sarvodaya workers an amount of one lakh of rupees to be spent on the rehabilitation of the families of the jailed bandits. The total estimated expenditure in the two regions is around Rs 40 lakhs. It is, therefore, less than disingenuous for Mr Sethi to boast of having given the Sarvo-

daya workers jeeps and money and police help as required. His statements, and the posture which he has now assumed, give the people cause to charge him with lack of vision. Now that he finds more than 400 outlaws behind the bars — by their own choice, of course — he is trying to take all the credit for himself and his police.

Incidentally, Mr Narayan has, on various occasions, described the

KERALA LETTER:

'FACT' STRIKE CAUSES OVER Rs. FIVE CRORES LOSS

KOTTAYAM, July 27: After 48 days of labour strike and factory closure, a section of the workers of the FACT returned to work on July 4 and the rest on July 8. The direct loss on account of the strike is estimated at Rs 1.20 crores to the FACT, while the aggregate loss including those in some half-a-dozen other factories which depend on FACT products for their working, is estimated at Rs 4 crores. Over and above all these, there is the loss in the agricultural sector due to non-availability of manure in time, the loss of business to merchants, traders, etc., the extent of which it is difficult to estimate.

The Government declared the strike in the FACT illegal when four labour unions decided to accept the Government's terms and call off the strike and a tense situation developed in the factory's precincts, and an under Section 144 was clamped down on the area. It will be interesting to know what the result of a secret ballot poll among the workers held on July 12, 13 and 14 disclosed. Out of 4,500 workers in the factory, 3,112 participated in the ballot, 124 voted for and the rest against the acceptance of the Government's proposals. The four unions which had earlier agreed to the Government's proposals did not take part in the ballot.

The crisis on the educational front continues unresolved. Mr K. Raghunatha Reddy, Union Deputy Minister, said in Trichur

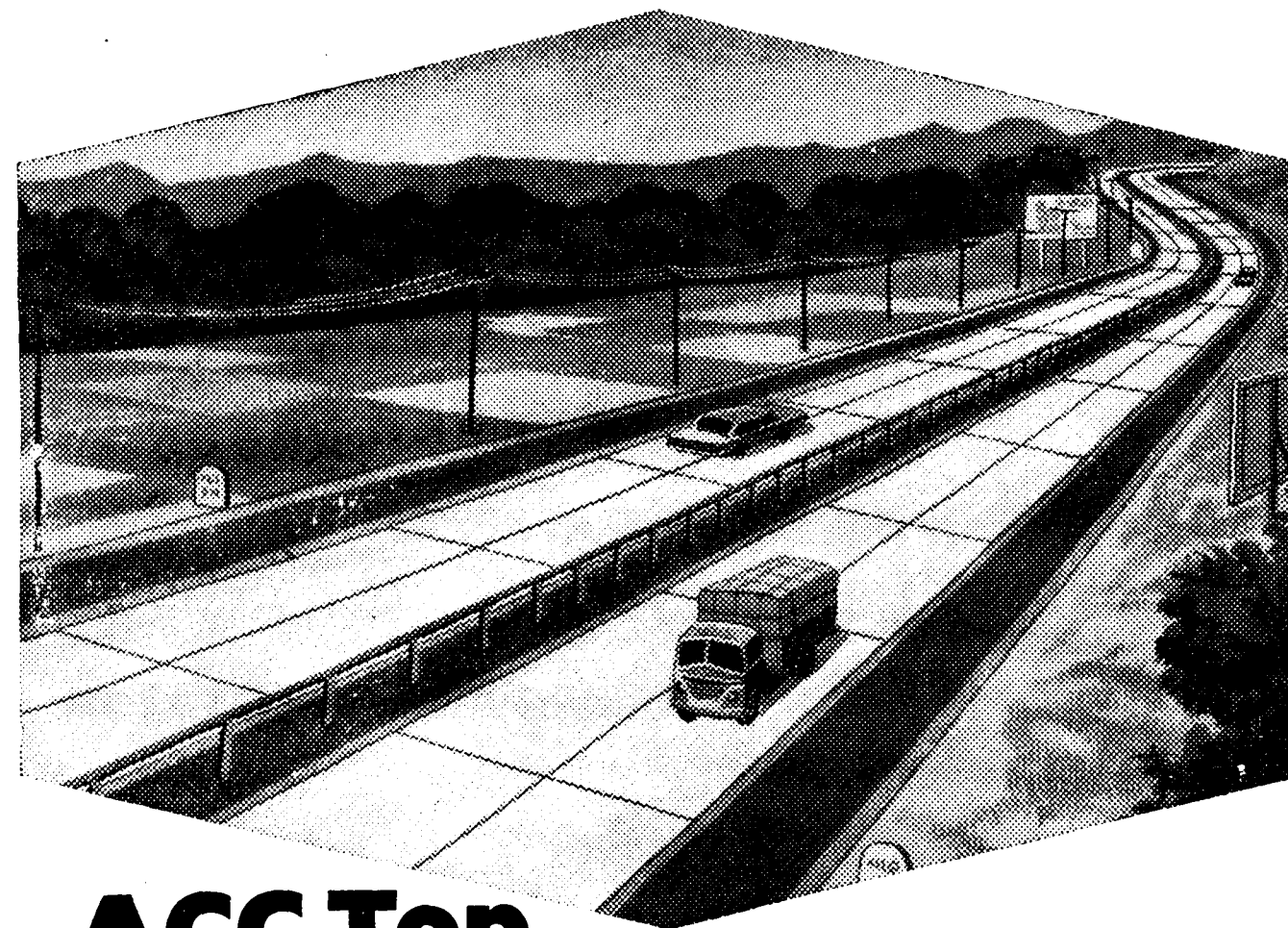
great event, implying a change of heart in the hard boiled bandits, as a miracle, an act of God. He is not known to have taken any credit for himself for the event. Furthermore, as a peace worker, Mr Hemdeo Sharma, has disclosed, the surrender would have come during the regime of Mr Shyama Charan Shukla, had it not been for the fact that Mr Narayan fell ill and then the general elections came.

last month that it was worth noting that although the Christian managements saw a threat to minority rights in the Government's moves, the Muslims did not see any such threat. He expressed regret that religious heads should give a lead to such agitations.

There is now the Government's threat to construct temporary sheds and run colleges; to take over private colleges temporarily, if it could not be done permanently; by ordinance if the law forbids such take-over; by the inclusion of what the courts have declared unconstitutional into the Ninth Schedule; by holding out the threat of disaffiliation, etc. Not so patent are the communist tactics of creating conflicts between managements and their staff, between staff members *inter se*, between parents and managements and between managements, between teachers and students and between students themselves.

It is not generally known that the Government's attempt to extend the system of reservation to private colleges through pressure tactics runs counter to the spirit of the Constitution which adopted reservation only as a necessary evil and seeks to eliminate progressively such discriminations. It is not also recognised that the extension of the reservation system to private institutions is a flagrant violation of the constitutional right of all citizens, whether reserved or unreserved, to engage themselves in gainful occupations.

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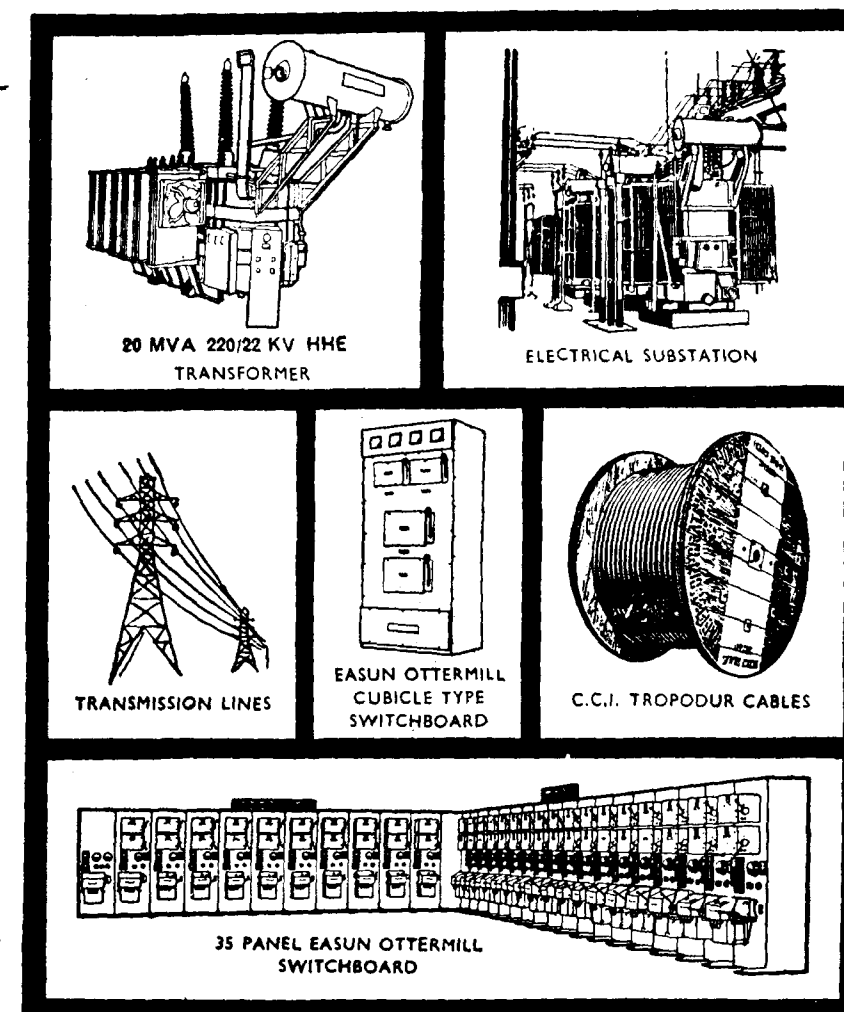
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BOOK REVIEWS:

GROUPISM IN TAMIL NAD CONGRESS

SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE: Volume II

Edited by DURGA DAS

Published by Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad

Price: Rs 25

In this volume, Sardar Patel's letters in connection with the elections to the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1945 and to the State Assemblies in 1946 are arranged Provincewise. These show with what thoroughness and quickness of decision, the Sardar had managed the two elections as the head of the Parliamentary Board. He was generally very patient, persuasive and brief but when occasion required, he did not hesitate to use harsh words or refuse bluntly to accept any particular recommendation. For instance, he wrote to Mr Prakasam on 21st February 1946 about the allegations of unauthorised collections and their expenditure. He wrote: "It is about your having collected Rs 50,000. I do not know whether there is any truth in the matter but if you have collected such an amount, it must have been credited to the Congress account in your pro-

vince. This kind of scandal should not be allowed to be spread."

Perhaps, the most important as well as the most painful part of the volume is that relating to Tamil Nad. Congressmen in this province were sharply divided into two factions, one supporting Rajaji and the other, Sri Kamaraj. The Sardar tried to bring them together and make them work harmoniously, but unfortunately the attempt failed. I shall leave it to the reader to read these letters from and to Sardar Patel and form his own judgment but I have no doubt that it explains the political disease which overtook the Congress in Tamil Nad in 1945 and is still continuing. Another conclusion which one can draw from the book is that it is a superhuman task to conduct elections all over the country from a central office. Only a Sardar Patel can manage it. If our political leaders were sensible, they would decentralise the parties and let the State units manage as best they can. If they quarrel within any State, it is better to let them fight it out among themselves, than allow it to become an all-India issue. —K. SANTHANAM

THE TECHNIQUE OF SATYAGRAHA

GANDHIJI'S DOCTRINE OF CIVIL RESISTANCE:

By DR. S. A. BARI

Published by Kalamkar Prakashan Pte Limited, Connaught Circus, New Delhi-1

Price: Rs 30

The use of civil resistance as a force to combat injustice and oppression was undoubtedly the unique contribution of Gandhiji and, therefore, it becomes the duty of all those who wish to resort to it, to understand all the implications relevant to its practice. Satyagraha, which embodies the concept of civil resistance means literally sticking to truth at all costs and sustaining it even to the point of self-immolation. It has a technique all its own which has to be mastered before it is practised. It presupposes a course of discipline without which it may degenerate into an outburst of pceevish despair and hysterical hatred.

Civil resistance is hard to define; it may, however, be regarded as an extension of the path of persuasion in fact, its intensification, by the dual action of suffering imposed on oneself and of appeals to rouse the higher conscience in the aggressor. As Gandhiji would have it, the dignity of men requires obedience to the higher law,

to the strength of the spirit. Civil resistance is to be the last and not the first step in any confrontation, undertaken only after all other efforts at persuasion or negotiation have failed. It is practised with the full conviction that the cause merits further action through self-suffering and sacrifice. The prerequisite is that the means employed are to be as pure and unsullied as the end intended to be reached. Based on the fundamentals of truth and non-violence, the weapon of satyagraha is to be used only by disciplined persons whose innate strength enables them to bear the consequences of continued hardship. The triumph of truth, which is the basis of sacrifice, hurts none, while it blesses even those whose obstinacy refuses to recognise the good and cast off the evil.

Thus, civil resistance is a weapon to be used sparingly and even then only by those who have gone through the discipline it implies. Dr Bari's book opens with a history of the literature, events and contacts which led to the discovery of this priceless weapon, with which to fight tyranny. Gandhiji was led to the conclusion by the moral of the puranic story of Harischandra that truth can secure resplendent victory through the practice of non-violent self-suffering. Tolstoy, Ruskin and Thoreau and Gandhiji's own

analysis of human nature confirmed Gandhiji in the belief that the path of persuasion does not exhaust itself in mere dialogue or propaganda, but finds further extension in imposed self-suffering which seeks to rouse the conscience of the person or persons against whom resistance is directed and thus afford the latter the opportunity to relent. How and where Gandhiji practised satyagraha is detailed in a vivid manner in the book drawing out the central fact that civil resistance is no more a dogma but a well developed technique with numerous variations and extensions. The discipline expected of civil resisters is rightly emphasised by Dr Bari who has drawn pointed attention to the fact that Gandhiji insisted on the working of the constructive programme for disciplining intending participants in civil resistance.

This book of Dr Bari is, in short, an anthology of all meaningful expositions of the concept and working of civil resistance. It may truly be called the trend-setter and the guide book for those who are forced to take to this onerous step to fight for a just and truthful cause against powerful opposition. Dr Bari has indeed rendered invaluable service through this publication by discussing threadbare all that is implied in the concept of satyagraha. He has studded this book with quotations from the speeches and writings of Gandhiji and his other colleagues so that it may be said he has made them speak, as if directly, to the reader. The publication of this book, it is hoped, would have more than fulfilled its purpose if, in the present context, of Indian affairs, it led to a real serious study of Gandhian techniques and a drastic overhaul of methods employed to get grievances redressed.

—N. S. VARADACHARI

WAY TO OVERCOME DEFEATISM

THE AMAZING RESULTS OF
POSITIVE THINKING:

By NORMAN VINCENT PEALE

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

Price: Rs 5

The phenomenal success achieved by Carnegie in publishing books which preached the philosophy of confidence seems to have spurred other writers in the States to attempt similar publications to meet the ever-increasing demand from an avid public. While Carnegie lays emphasis on the banishment of worry, Peale, who is a Doctor of Theology and a pastor by profession, places the accent on what he calls 'positive thinking' to enable his

readers to overcome negativism, defeatism and a feeling of insecurity.

The book under review is a successor to Dr Peale's popular work, 'The Power of Positive Thinking' and the later one, 'Live Longer and Better', which he wrote jointly with his physician-brother, Dr Robert Clifford Peale. The author follows the usual pattern of putting together the com-

bined experience of different men and women and drawing up formulae which, he claims, have transformed their lives. He concludes by affirming that the power to live with joy and security is within every person and one has to learn how to apply the principles of positive thinking to life-situation.

The author is in his element when discussing the spiritual forces around

us and the mystic phenomena like precognition, telepathy and clairvoyance. The book is replete with choice quotations from the Bible which the author describes as 'the most powerful accumulation of life-changing thoughts ever assembled.' Hind Pocket Books have done well in bringing out a paperback edition of this readable book.

—T. S. PARTHASARATHY

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dayp 72/138

GUJARAT LETTER:

Rs. 9 CRORES DEFICIT IN GUJARAT BUDGET

RAJKOT, July 15: The State Finance Minister, Mr Kantilal Ghia, presented to the Vidhan Sabha a deficit budget but ended a long spell of taxless budgets, proposing taxes to the tune of Rs 343.90 lakhs in the budget estimates for 1972-73. At a glance, the budget reveals a surplus but when capital expenditure and debt heads are taken into account, the surplus disappears leaving a deficit. The budget estimates reveal an overall deficit of Rs 8.95 crores. Between the estimates of revenue receipts of Rs 271.44 crores and revenue expenditure of Rs 251.07 crores, there is a surplus of Rs 20.37 crores.

After the usual fashion, the Finance Minister called it a socialist and poor man's budget, even though it was an anti-consumer budget with no relief to the common man. All the levies proposed hit the consumers and the poor. With the withdrawal of the concession of 2 per cent sales tax on loose tea, tea will now cost 10 paise more per kilo. This would fetch Rs 17.90 lakhs. Increased levy on cinemas is expected to bring in Rs 100 lakhs. A 3 per cent levy on chemical fertilizers would bring in Rs 126 lakhs. The tax on textile spares and on hardware would fetch Rs 10 lakhs under each item. Like his predecessors, Mr Ghia has raised passenger tax on buses from 23 per cent to 25 per cent but has said that the additional burden will be borne by the State Road Transport Corporation. This levy will account for Rs 80 lakhs.

Mr Indulal Dahyabhai, Chief of Gujarat Vepari Mahamandal, said that with steady increases in the revenue receipts taxes should have been avoided. Mr Maneklal Gandhi, leader of the Congress (O) in the Vidhan Sabha, expressed regret that the budget failed to show any hope of 'garibi hatao'. He pleaded for the withdrawal of the levy on fertilizer as it would affect agricultural production. Mr. Harisinh, leader of the Jan Sangh, said that the budget would not

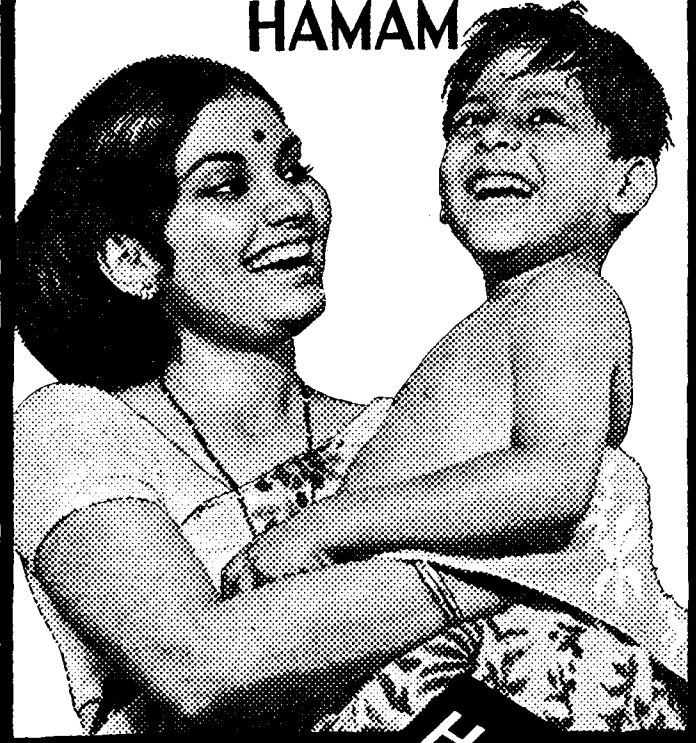
help eradicate unemployment.

It is believed in some quarters that the Congress High Command is actively considering the desirability of placing the GPCC in younger hands and the name of Mr Brahmakumar Bhatt is being mentioned in this connection. At present, the party machine is not running cohesively. Groupism and sectionalism are rampant. The Rajkot PCC chief has been suspended from party membership. He had gone on fast in the premises of the PCC against the

cotton purchase policy. The PCC chief belongs to the Chimanbhai lobby.

There is considerable misgiving among the Congress MLAs about the impending land ceiling Bill. When a demand was made in the Vidhan Sabha that farmers should be consulted on the Bill, the Deputy Revenue Minister, Mr Ramjibhai Thakkar, said that farmers would not be consulted. The Chief Minister, however, intervened to say that as the question was put before the electorate at the time of the Vidhan Sabha poll no further consultation was required. This has highly perturbed the farmers' lobby in the Vidhan Sabha which numbers about 50.

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Dear Reader —

THE U.N. Secretary-General criticized President Nixon's action in Vietnam. But President Nixon has vigorously defended his policy in helping South Vietnam against the aggression of North Vietnam, which Mr Nixon describes as "one of the most barbarous invasions in history." Mr Nixon has pointed out that North Vietnamese forces, through deliberate actions, had caused 45,000 civilian casualties in South Vietnam in their latest offensive, including 15,000 dead; 8,60,000 more South Vietnamese civilians had lost their homes. Mr Nixon's plea cannot be dismissed as mere election tactics. It is in consonance with the spirit of brave old America as distinguished from the isolationism which prevails in present-day America.

★

THE PRIME MINISTER addressing her Congress Parliamentary Party on July 29 on the eve of the parliamentary monsoon session, explained that it was not expected that the Simla agreement would solve all the difficulties overnight. Nor could the postures adopted by Pakistan during the last 25 years be given up by all classes of people in that country easily. She said, however, that the Simla agreement was the beginning of an era of goodwill, cooperation and friendship between India and Pakistan. She described the statements of some people expressing fear of a fresh attack by the Pakistan military forces as baseless.

★

WHEN THE Simla pact flowers into full shape, as Smt. Indira Gandhi and President Bhutto have planned, it will be a golden chapter in the history of South Asia.

★

THE TAMIL NAD Pawn-brokers and Moneylenders' Federation has lodged a protest against the State Government's legislation to write off the debts of agriculturists. The Federation says that it is now the creditor that requires protection, not the debtor. The matter calls for full and impartial non-political examination even in the long-term interests of the agriculturists.

SRI A. L. DHURVA KUMAR has written a letter to the *Hindu* (July 27) giving references to Sanskrit literatures of 450 A.D. and 1571 A.D., that the present Mysore State should be called Karnata without the 'ka' at the end of the word. 'Karnata' is a Sanskrit term, Sri Dhruva Kumar says, converted from 'Kannada'. Whether this conjecture is right or wrong, as I have written before, it would be best to retain the word Mysore instead of adopting corrupted Sanskrit forms of the word Kannada. The name Mysore gives no advantage to old Mysore over the new addition to the State of Mysore. An old name used in all history may well be allowed to remain without any change. Names like Calcutta, Hyderabad, Madras, Bombay, etc., whether of regions, or of towns, or cities, which have been historically recognized for a long time, should not be changed without very good reason for doing so.

★

BEER IS MADE from barely or other similar grains. It is soaked in water and kept warm until it sprouts. After some days it is roasted and crushed, placed in a tub at a warm temperature and allowed to ferment with yeast. It is then put in vats to clear. Hops are added to the beer to give it

a bitter taste and the particular characteristic of beer. The active element in hops is the same as in gunja, bhang, or charas.

There is a great deal of talk now about breweries being established in our country to make what is called a light drink, viz., beer. The effect of any intoxicating drink depends not only on the alcoholic percentage in that drink, whether it is 8 per cent, or 12 per cent, or 50 per cent, but also on the quantity consumed.

Beer contains besides the usual intoxicating element, alcohol, a quantity of hops which is a hallucinating drug. The peculiar characteristic of beer is due to the hops in it. This is got from the resin-coated flowering tops of the female hemp plant. The resin is discharged for want of impregnation and formation of seed. Hops, like ganja, bhang and charas, are derived from the hemp plant alluring consumers by the first pleasing sensations produced by hallucination. Indulgence in any drink containing these hallucinating drugs end in making the consumer a miserable wreck by addiction to the hallucinating effects.

★

MY FRIEND and colleague in the Home Rule movement, Mr A. R. V. Achar, passed away on July 29. He was one of the very active publicists of that period of the Madras region respected by all.

C.R.

FROM THE CAPITAL:

GOVT. ATTEMPT TO GET CONTROL OF BIG PRIVATE UNITS

SENTINEL

NEW DELHI, July 27: The sliding back nor stagnating, but going forward. Apart from the factors mentioned above, industrial relations have been disturbed in a number of places resulting in a further cut down in production. On the agricultural front, the favourable monsoon which had helped reach a comfortable food situation in the last two years, is unlikely to be repeated this year. As a matter of fact, delayed monsoon and scanty rainfall have created conditions of serious drought in large tracts of Rajas-

than, Punjab, Haryana and even Uttar Pradesh. Incessant talk of land ceilings and curbing farmers' income has created new uncertainties. In this background, one is amazed at the kind of loose-thinking that one finds among the top hierarchy in the Government about economic policies. That even Ministers should allow themselves the luxury of such loose talk and loose thinking on vital economic matters shows to what extent policy makers are removed from the realities. Their immediate concern is not to take emergent steps to improve matters in industry, exports and agriculture but to seek legal contrivances or loopholes for take-over by the Government of one industry after another in the private sector. The take-over of the Indian Iron and Steel Co. has left many things unsaid. From the Government side it has been amply made clear that the take-over is a permanent arrangement. As for compensation, it might have been decided just to pay an "amount" on the pattern of general insurance nationalisation.

Whatever view the Government may take, the Indian Iron episode has shaken the confidence of the investors all round. It is not the take-over itself, but the intention, the manner and the approach of

the Government in regard to big units in the industrial sector that has raised serious misgivings. The position of the only remaining big steel unit in the private sector, TISCO, does not appear to be very secure. The Steel Minister says there is no intention to take over the management of Tata Iron and Steel "now". The Minister, however, does not rule it out categorically.

As in the case of Indian Iron, other very large units had, in good faith, taken Government loans for expansion and development and planned to repay them on the stipulated terms. But the whole approach now is to bring pressure on these companies to convert the loans into equity capital which may, in due course, enable the Government to secure majority holding in as many companies as possible. One of the proposed amendments to the Companies Act is to compel the companies to pass on the shares to the Government which will have the first option. The bait of the joint sector now offered by the Government, which has bade good bye to the concept of mixed economy, can only be a veiled attempt to get into the management of the larger units in the private sectors in areas like steel, cement, aluminium, automobiles

and engineering and later seek increase in Government shareholding through pressure, persuasion and legislative action, if necessary, to convert them into virtual government companies.

All these are futile and diversionary exercises going on to cover up the losses and inefficiency of the public sector. At any rate they will not help in creating the climate necessary to augment production in all fields which is the most urgent task. What is not yet realised is that by sticking to negative doctrinaire concepts more damage is being done to the economy day by day. Persistence in such wrong policies would make the task of salvaging the economy more and more difficult.

It is in this context that the constitution of a steering committee of four Ministers, comprising the Ministers of Industrial Development, Steel, Planning and Railways, has to be judged. Whenever something goes wrong radically, a Cabinet committee or some committee is appointed. In future all Economic Ministers will function as a team to ensure joint consultations and coordinated action, this new committee says. This creates the impression that these Ministers have not been working as a team all these years and taking coordinated action.

It now appears likely that the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 will be changed. That resolution reserved large areas including steel, fertilizer, etc., for the public sector and allowed the private sector to function in the limited fields allotted to it. Since the Government is obsessed with the doctrine of "commanding heights", it can only mean further curtailment of the private sector where it operates and State inroads into the private sector wherever the private sector is operating efficiently. But the team itself is not too confident of creating results. It has, on its own description, accepted a small role because the Economic Sub-Committee of the Cabinet, which is a different body, will give the final clearance to all policy decisions and not, this four-Minister committee.

EDITOR'S NOTES:

A NEW NOTORIETY

It seems as if Pakistan is resolved to obtain fresh world notoriety if not publicity. It will take many years before the atrocities in Bangla Desh will be forgotten. Meanwhile, Mr Jack Anderson who has earned the world's gratitude for exposing the collusion of the American Government with Pakistan during the recent Bangla Desh crisis, besides other dark features of U.S. policies, has again revealed that "a bizarre shopping list has been circulated to prospective suppliers by the Pakistani Attache in Washington, Col. Khan Ahmed Shamshad." This list is for technical equipment for bugging rooms, tapping telephones and taking clandestine pictures and invisible ink for writing secret messages. It also includes "torture devices" for breaking down the morale of suspects and brainwashing prisoners. It is reported that the Pakistani Attache has indirectly confirmed the report and pleaded that every government used torture and tapping equipment. The U.S. Government has denied that it is providing any aid amount for this shopping list. Apparently, it has no objection to their being bought for cash.

A SINISTER FLOOD

The consumption of drink in Tamil Nad is threatening to become a flood which will submerge the backward classes in the State completely. One arrack shop situated in a populous centre in Madras City which was auctioned for Rs 3.5 lakhs last year has fetched Rs 10.2 lakhs this year. Out of 7,082 toddy shops in the State, 6,727 were auctioned up to July 23 and they fetched Rs 16.70 crores, as against Rs 9.02 crores realised from 7,242 shops last year. There is no doubt that Tamil Nad is likely to have the unenviable record of having the highest consumption of drink in India. By implication, it will also have a record of destitutes, beggars and drunken crimes. It is for the Tamil people to judge

whether this is the socialism they voted for in 1971.

NATURE'S WARNING

The extraordinary good fortune of three favourable monsoons has made the Government of India complacent. It has been inclined to attribute the good harvests and the consequent easier economic position to its own achievement. Now there is a threat of failure of monsoons in Punjab, Haryana, U.P., Bihar and Rajasthan. It is to be hoped that the monsoons, though delayed, will still come and avert a famine in these areas; but it is wiser to be prepared. Though there is a considerable stock of foodgrains, it may not be sufficient to meet a real famine. The steady upward trend of prices, though the Prime Minister casually refused to admit it, is another menace. In the beginning of July 1972, prices had increased by 6.3 per cent, as compared with those of last year. It is reported that the index has since moved up so that for all commodities, it is over 200 with the base for 1962-63 as 100. That the value of the Indian rupee should have been reduced to 50 paise during the last 10 years is convincing proof of the utter incompetence of those who are managing India's economic affairs. Drought plus inflation equal disaster.

MR DHAR'S PRIORITIES

Like every new-comer, Mr D. P. Dhar, the new Planning Minister, is full of good intentions. He has stated that he would concentrate his efforts on ensuring the minimum needs of the people, on the one hand, and expanding employment, on the other. He also defined the minimum needs to include education for children up to the age of 14, minimum public health facilities, integrated with family planning and nutrition of children, rural water-supply, house-sites for landless labour, rural roads, rural electrification and slum clearance in the larger towns. This is undoubtedly an excellent programme but the incurable weakness of the Plan-

ning Commission has always been to do everything at the same time and fritter away resources and energies. Mr Dhar will not be able to concentrate on these essential matters unless he can persuade the Planning Commission to refrain from large capital investments in the public sector industries, higher education, general and professional, and scientific research. Important as these matters are, already too much money has been invested in them and they require a period of quiet consolidation. When he comes face to face with the insatiable demands of the various Central and State Government departments, there should be no surprise if he should forget his priorities and fall into the rut.

EGYPT AND ISRAEL

It is highly unfortunate that Egypt should have rejected the offer of Mrs. Golda Meir, Prime Minister of Israel, for direct negotiations to settle the West African crisis. The offer of negotiations was not subject to any conditions. Apparently, President Sadat is able neither to make war nor to conclude peace. With the departure of Russian technicians, the hope of a victorious war has receded indefinitely but there are so many guerilla factions which are altogether opposed to any peace negotiations with Israel and they may find it easier to liquidate Arabian leaders who make any such move than do much harm to Israel.

DISRESPECT TO PARLIAMENT

Though, according to the Indian Constitution, a treaty does not require ratification by Parliament and can be concluded by the Cabinet and signed by the President, it amounted to disrespect of Parliament that this should have been done just three days before its meeting. It might not have been open to objection if it had been concluded soon after it was ratified by the Pakistan National Assembly. It looks as if the original intention was to have it discussed by Parliament before it was signed by the President but at the last moment, this idea was given up.



SCIENCE TOPICS:

LEAD IN THE ENVIRONMENT

P. N.

LEAD IS UBIQUITOUS. It is in the food we eat, in the water we drink and in the air we breathe. It has the ability to accumulate in the body and damage the central nervous system including the brain. No other toxic chemical pollutant appears to have accumulated in our environment to that concentration which is the threshold limit for poison. This is one good reason that scientists and government authorities should concentrate on the problem of pollution. Lead poisoning can be in the inorganic form Pb^{2+} or in the organic form like tetraalkyl lead.

Two thousand kilotons of lead are mined annually. Hundred and eighty kilotons are naturally mobilized and discharged into the oceans from the rivers. Lead has always been present in the atmosphere from coal smoke and dust. In addition, air-borne lead is also obtained from the exhaust fumes of motor vehicles. Lead alkyl is added as an antiknock agent to the petrol fuel. This addition controls the combustion process and prevents knocking and explosion. On ignition, the lead alkyl is supposed to be converted into inorganic lead — lead chloro bromide. However, the lead alkyl is retained as such and exhausted from motors while running at very low speeds — a common occurrence in congested city streets and during peak hour traffic. A survey indicates that an adult in the city absorbs about 25 microgram per day.

Lead in drinking water appears to come partly from the continued use of lead water pipes and from the lead present in the soldered joints in the water pipes. Lead poisoning of children can often be traced to their chewing of paints and crayons.

EFFECTS OF LEAD POISONING

The toxicological action of organic lead and inorganic lead are different. Pb^{2+} is a cumulative

poison. It interferes with enzyme systems which are essential for the formation of haemoglobin in the blood. The consequence is brain damage and mental retardation — particularly in children. Lead can also replace calcium in the bones with consequent disorders. Lead can cross the placental barrier and poison the child in the womb.

The amount of lead absorbed by the human body varies according to the particle size of lead in the air. Large particles are generally retained in the upper respiratory tract and very often discharged in the secretions. Very fine particles may be exhaled and, therefore, not retained in the lung. Lead entering through the alimentary tract will partly be absorbed and circulated via the liver. Lead is then excreted back into the guts in the bile. Ten per cent of lead is expected to be absorbed in the intestinal tract, 95 per cent of the total lead absorbed finds its way to the bone. Lead intoxication is supposed to occur if the blood content of lead is greater than 80 microgram per 100 millilitres. In the opinion of several scientists very rarely is this level ever exceeded. On the other hand, Bryce Smith has shown that 4 per cent of mentally retarded children he had surveyed had lead exceeding the above concentration. Brain damage is attributed to a high concentration of lead. This relation has not totally been accepted, as such high concentrations of lead were not found in mentally retarded children.

Lead alkyl is a psychotropic poison. It has a special character of being able to cross the blood-brain barrier. Simulated psychological disorders have been observed in workers employed in the lead-petroleum industries.

SYMPTOMS OF LEAD POISONING

Depression, headache and fatigue are the common symptoms of lead poisoning. Anaemia, brain damage and death are the results.

It is reported that lead poisoning can be partly cured by the use of a calcium compound of EDTA (Ethylene diamine tetra-acetic acid). There are restrictions in the use of lead pipes for water transport. Chewing habit among children should be discouraged. Technology should be oriented towards elimination of lead in air. Diesel oil, which does not use lead compounds probably, could replace petroleum fuel. Lead tetra-alkyl cannot be removed overnight from petroleum fuel. The present day engines are designed for maximum efficiency using fuels with a certain octane value. The lead alkyl increases this octane number to give a better performance. Cars of the future will have a design to deal with petrol of high octane content and avoid the use of lead. Research is also oriented towards the development of catalysts to improve combustion in present day engines.

X-RAYS AND MEDICAL SCIENCE

X-rays were discovered by Roentgen in 1895. X-rays are radiations like light but of very short wavelength. They possess a large amount of energy and can penetrate through matter like body tissues, thin metal foils, etc. X-rays have an established position in innumerable fields of human activity. Archaeologists and researchers in all branches of science and technology find them very useful. The structure of the atom was revealed with their help. X-ray crystallography is a well developed science. Even quasi-crystalline materials like rubber, high polymers, glasses and biologically important materials have yielded their secrets under the influence of X-rays. Several scientists have won Nobel Prizes for their researches based on X-rays. Roentgen was one.

Amongst the most outstanding achievements of diagnostic medicine is the use of X-rays for transillumination of the human body. More human lives have been saved through its use than the lives destroyed in all the wars waged by mankind. Two important breakthroughs in X-ray technology utilising advanced electro-

tics have been made by German scientists. These are the X-ray tape recording technique and the electronic subtraction device.

In the tape recording technique the patient is exposed to small amounts of radiation for short exposures (reduces any chance of damage to tissues and imposes very little strain on the patient). The photographic image is immediately transferred to a 'video' tape. The tape can not only be replayed at a slow speed but also run backwards and forwards. The images can be seen on the television screen and individual frames can be examined for any length of time. This overcomes limitations of perceptive faculties of the examiner. In addition, conversation between a patient and the doctor can be simultaneously recorded. Audio-visual education of medical students using these recorded tapes is an obvious advantage.

REALISTIC IMPORT POLICY NEEDED

N. R. SUBRAMANIAN

WHILE THE PROBLEMS of export promotion have been receiving much attention from the Government, those relating to imports are not being given their due importance. The import policy generally lacks a reasonable measure of stability. The import of many items is banned or restricted without making certain that these are available from indigenous sources in adequate quantity and at competitive prices. There have been instances of imports of goods being allowed even though their production in our country is sufficient in terms of quality and quantity. In view of the uncertainty of foreign aid and the need to make faster progress towards self-reliance it is necessary to evolve a realistic import policy.

In the last two years, there have been some significant changes in India's import trade in terms of composition and direction. The import of foodgrains has declined sharply, while that of machinery and components, as well as of raw materials has steadily increased. Between January and August 1971, which is the latest period for which detailed

In the 'subtraction technique', two X-ray pictures of the same object are taken from the same angle. By a form of superimposition of a positive squarely over a negative it is seen that the contrasting brightness values cancel each other in the places where they are identical, while the areas of unequal brightnesses show up clearly. The inequality is introduced by the movement of the body as a whole or of individual organs. The electronic subtraction technique simplifies and speeds up this procedure. Enlargement of specific areas, video taping and television projections are also possible. An electronic gadget blacks out unimportant areas of the image and shows up details of the areas of importance for the diagnostician. Thus X-ray depiction of movement and recognition of the tiniest pathological changes in the body and lung tissues have been made possible.

official statistics are available, the imports of foodgrains declined to Rs 86.7 crores from Rs 142 crores in the same period of 1970, a fall of nearly 39 per cent. But, the imports of machinery increased from Rs 231.3 crores in January-August 1970 to Rs 243.1 crores in the corresponding months of 1971, an increase of about 5 per cent. The imports of chemicals rose by 8.8 per cent, vegetable oils and fats by nearly 60 per cent, manufactured fertilizers by 25 per cent, iron and steel by 78 per cent, transport equipment by 79 per cent and non-ferrous metals by 18 per cent in January-August 1971, compared to imports in the same period in 1970. Substantial increases in imports have also taken place of paper and paper board, and medicinal and pharmaceutical products.

In the current year, the imports of machinery, transport equipment and raw materials are expected to show a further significant increase. The Government of India has liberalised the imports of these items in order to enable industries to make better utilisation of their capacity and

to achieve a higher rate of industrial growth. But it is necessary to ensure that these imports are arranged in a planned manner so that industries will be able to secure timely supplies at competitive prices.

But the scheme of canalisation has not been working satisfactorily, partly because of inexperience of the State trading agencies and partly due to the lack of proper coordination between the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Ministry of Finance. There have been instances where the State Trading Corporation has not been able to arrange imports of essential raw materials because it could not get the necessary foreign exchange from the Ministry of Finance. For example, the fibre rope industry, which is concentrated mainly in West Bengal, recently complained that the suppliers of sisal in East Africa had expressed their reluctance to deal with the State Trading Corporation of India because they had not been getting prompt payment for their past supplies. As a result, the fibre rope industry fears that its units may have to face closure since they have to depend entirely on imports for the supply of sisal which is the main raw material. There have also been instances where the State trading agencies have not been able to deliver the goods in time or to procure supplies at competitive prices.

The pricing policy of the imported non-ferrous metals has come in for considerable criticism because of the arbitrary manner in which the Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation has been fixing the prices.

There have also been important changes in respect of the sources from which we have been getting our imports. For example, in the first eight months of 1971, our imports from Asia and West Europe increased substantially, while imports from America, Africa and East Europe declined sharply. Imports from West Europe increased from Rs 211.29 crores in January-August 1970 to Rs 309.18 crores in the same period of 1971. The main

sources of imports in West Europe have been the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy. Our imports from the U.K. increased from Rs 70.65 crores in the first eight months of 1970 to Rs 126.51 crores in the corresponding period of 1971 and from the Federal Republic of Germany from Rs 69 crores to Rs 79 crores. But the imports from the U.S. declined from Rs 319.45 crores to Rs 298 crores during the period under review. As regards East European countries, imports from the USSR fell from Rs 92.64 crores in the first eight months of 1970 to Rs 64.17 crores in the same period of 1971. Imports from Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Rumania also declined substantially. But imports from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Poland were higher, the increase of imports from Poland doubling from Rs 16 crores in January-August 1970 to nearly Rs 33 crores in the corresponding period of 1971.

Because of the uncertainty of U.S. aid, imports from East European countries are expected to increase in the coming months. But it is necessary to ensure that these imports are made of the right quality and at reasonable prices. There have been complaints in the past that the East European countries have been taking undue advantage of the rupee payment agreement in order to increase the prices of goods which are sold to India. It has also been stated that East European countries have not been keen on selling to India large quantities of such items as newsprint and non-ferrous metals because of their anxiety to earn free foreign exchange by selling them to Western countries.

Our imports from the African region declined from Rs 128.54 crores in January-August 1970 to Rs 113.20 crores in the same period last year. The fall in imports was particularly marked from Zambia, Morocco and Congo (Brazzaville). But imports from the Sudan rose sharply from Rs 20.16 crores to Rs 25.06 crores and from the United Arab Republic from Rs 27.47 crores to

nearly Rs 32 crores during the period.

India's total imports in 1971 were of the order of Rs 1842.8 crores, which were higher by Rs 250 crores or 15.8 per cent, compared to those of 1970, while our exports amounted to Rs 1577.1 crores, against Rs 1517.8 crores in 1970. The

adverse balance of trade widened to Rs 265.7 crores in 1971 from Rs 75 crores in the preceding year. In view of the rising trend of imports, it is essential to regulate them in such a way as to speed up our rate of industrial growth and to utilise the available foreign exchange in the best interests of the country.

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FACTS AND FIGURES:

WITH ALL THE growth and sophistication of our industrial apparatus, India is still today a small industrial Power, with about one per cent of the world's steel output, one-half per cent of the world's exports, producing in one year no more than what Japan produces in one month; our one per cent annual increase in *per capita* income is only one-fourth of the target set when we started planning in 1951; the majority of our people continue to live in deep poverty and distress; unemployment or under-development continues to rise with every passing year. Despite the expenditure of some Rs 65,000 crores on development during the last 25 years, the standard of living of the bulk of the people continues to be among the lowest in the world.—(J. R. D. Tata.)

ACCORDING TO the Transport Minister of West Bengal, Gyan Singh Sohanpal, there were 71,519 cars, 7,409 taxis, and 33,359 private vehicles in Calcutta. There were 5,686 private and 2,343 State Transport buses plying on the city streets, while motor cycles and scooters numbered 24,086. There were only 552 auto-rickshaws.

BEILINSON HOSPITAL in Petach Tikrah, near Tel Aviv, has the distinction of being the only hospital in the world to use a laser ray apparatus for operations instead of a scalpel; 331 operations have so far been performed using this new instrument. The operations were performed on different parts of the body including the tongue and the scalp. The laser rays proved effective because they cut the skin and the organs with hardly any bleeding, thus eliminating the need for blood transfusion. The laser rays seal the blood and lymphatic vessels as they cut. Thus the new instrument will be able to cut out malignant growths in such a manner as to prevent the malignant cells from entering blood vessels. This, admittedly, will be

an important step towards curing cancer.

DUNLOPS OF THE U.K. have developed a revolutionary new tyre which can end the hazardous effects from blow-outs and the dangers of punctures. Named the *total mobility tyre*, it has been designed to allow the motorist to continue his journey without interruption for a distance of as much as 160 kilometres at speeds of up to 80 kmph, even with one or more of punctured tyres. The new tyre also enables the driver to maintain full control of the vehicle in the event of a sudden tyre blow-out. In extensive testing, tyres have been deliberately burst at speeds of up to 160 km. without any effect on the stability of the vehicle.

IT HAS BEEN found that doctors devote an average of 60 hours per week to their patients and that they have only very brief time to select and read scientific articles. They must also work out the cause and effect relations between different diseases and their effects on the human body of some 3,000 drugs now at the disposal of modern medicine without counting their variants. The videocassette diffusion idea has now stepped in to fill the gap. Various organisations in the Western countries make 24-hour loan to doctors of small cases containing a film accompanied by a magnetic tape. The programmes last 12 to 15 minutes and are used for either teaching or perfecting the knowledge of doctors.

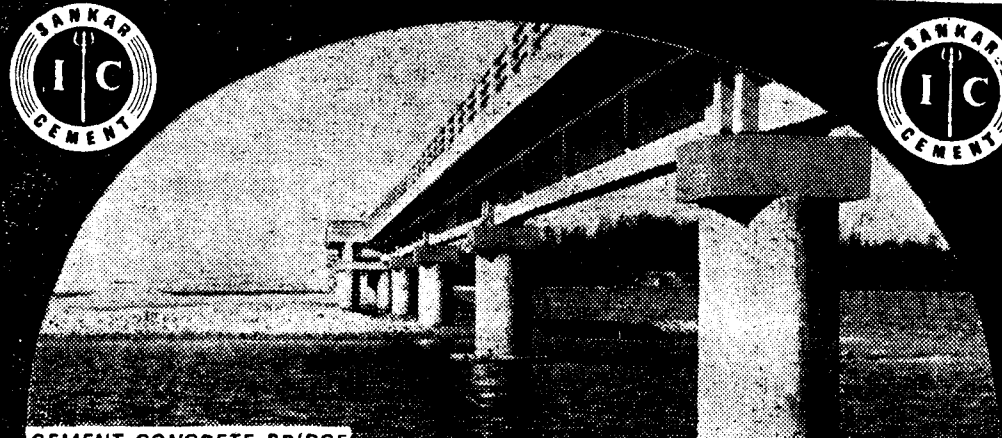
VITAMINS A AND E can now be manufactured from cheap petrochemical raw material. The process has been developed by a German firm, but has not been disclosed in full, though the plant set up for the purpose has a capacity to turn out 1,000 tons a year. The feed-stock, the raw material, for the vitamins, is believed to be formaldehyde and io-isobutylene. An initial step is the production of methylpentone. For vitamin production this is

converted into isophytol, which combines with trimethyl hydroquinone to yield the vitamin itself. In vitamin A manufacture the methylpentone is processed into C.15 compound and is combined with C.3 compound obtained from propargylaldehyde via a netting reaction.

SOME OF THE leading Swiss chemical firms are now experimenting with the system of eliminating time clocks in factories as an innovation in worker motivation. Called the 'honour system', the workers have flexible working hours, without the regulation of the time clock. The worker is committed to an 8-1/2 hour day now as before, but the new system permits him to average this figure over the month. He can stay plus or minus 10 hours of the monthly grand total of hours expected of him. For example, in Sandoz factory work starts at 7-30 a.m., lunch break is between 11-45 a.m. and 2 p.m. and work stops at 5 p.m. Those who take a longer lunch interval work till 6 p.m. Under the reformed system, a worker can arrive as late as 9 a.m., leave as early as 4 p.m.; only the block time between 9 a.m. and 12 noon and between 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. is obligatory. Working hours are staggered depending on the daily work-load. The experiment is considered a success; the percentage of abuse of the system is no higher than 5, which, it is claimed, offsets the gains to the factory from greater personal freedom and honesty to work and turn-over.

BRITAIN HAS a high standard of research on practically every environmental problem, due to the fact that it has 587 people per sq. mile, a high density, and is consequently affected by shortages of land and water resources. On the pollution of rivers, for example, Britain's knowledge of monitoring methods and the creation of mathematical models of river systems to study the effects of changes to them is considered to be the best in the world. Developing countries can have access to this vast storehouse of knowledge to meet their particular problems.

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Vol. XVII. No. 7

MADRAS, AUGUST 12, 1972

Price 35 P

SILVER JUBILEE-II: THE BALANCE - SHEET

K. SANTHANAM

WHAT IS THE balance-sheet of achievements and failures during the last 25 years? I shall endeavour to cast it as objectively and dispassionately as I can, but an element of subjectivity is inevitable and the reader will attach his own weight to each of the items.

It was a truly great achievement on the part of the Indian Constituent Assembly to have completed the Constitution with practical unanimity and enforced it on 26th January 1950. It should be remembered that there was bitter communal strife on both sides of the border between India and Pakistan and an inflow and outflow of nearly 10 million fear-stricken refugees on either side. There was also a bitter feud about the Kashmir issue which developed into open hostility and a hopeless entanglement with the U.N. The retirement of large numbers of British civilians from key posts in the Central and State Governments added to the complexities of the situation. Still, with a rare concentration on its objective, the Constituent Assembly pursued its work and completed it in a manner which looks even more marvellous at this distance of time than it was then.

I am not suggesting that the Indian Constitution was perfect when it was inaugurated, or it is so even after 29 amendments. As a matter of fact, the amendments have made the Constitution rather worse than it was. Still, I feel that the procedure for amendments should have been

stiffer, conditions under which Presidential rule can be imposed on a State should have been more strictly and precisely defined and the declaration of emergency and its termination should have been more carefully defined. In spite of all these and other imperfections, the people of India can be proud of that Constitution and its makers.

The rehabilitation of nearly 10 million refugees, the integration of Indian States and the reorganisation of Indian railways were

**FREE INDIA
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magnificent achievements in the early years of freedom. The fact that the Indian Constitution has worked somehow during all these years when democracy disappeared in many other countries which attained freedom at the same time or soon after India, should be deemed to be a positive achievement. Still, it is sad to reflect that the development of political parties has not proceeded satisfactorily and the Governments at the Centre have for the entire period been dominated by a single party and in the States there have been only governments

of the same party or unstable coalitions except in the case of Tamil Nad where the D.M.K. has been in power for the last five years. There have been five general elections on the basis of adult franchise and in spite of the vast electorate of nearly 200 millions, they have been generally peaceful. This again is a notable achievement.

But unfortunately, moral values have been declining steadily. Collection of money through improper methods for party purposes and personal corruption among politicians have become so widespread that public opinion tends to suspect even those who are bravely trying to maintain high standards. In spite of several measures taken to check administrative corruption, it has been increasing because of increase of political corruption and the proliferation of controls, licences and discretionary power vested in the authorities. It is, therefore, difficult to say that politically Indian democracy has attained strength or purity during this period.

It is in the economic field that the greatest efforts have been made and I regret to say that the greatest failures have also occurred. The Planning Commission was started in 1951 and so far, there have been 4 Five-Year Plans and 3 yearly plans. Vast amounts have been invested in irrigation, agriculture, industries, power, transport, roads, education, health and social welfare. Food production has nearly doubled and industrial production has greatly increased. It should

be admitted that India has become an industrial country with capacity to manufacture most of the machines and products required for modern civilisation except some very sophisticated items.

While these immense economic developments should be gratefully acknowledged, it must be admitted that this has not made any tangible effect on the general poverty of the people. The rate of growth of the national product in real terms has been of the order of about 3-1/2 per cent and as the population has been increasing by 2-1/2 per cent, the *per capita* income has been increasing only by 1 per cent. So far as the masses are concerned, they are largely where they were in 1947 except that in terms of money, they are getting more. One rupee today buys only what 40 paise did in 1947 and this inflation has been one of the most confusing and distorting factors of our economy.

That India should have increased her national output and the *per capita* income much more than she has done is evident from the achievements of Japan and Germany. The Indian leaders sought to impose a Soviet type of planning for a federal democracy without full control of resources and lacking ability to enforce discipline on labour and bureaucracy. The entire economic development has been more or less imposed on the country from the top and has neither demanded nor received effective cooperation from the

people. The result has been minimum progress at maximum cost. There has been a great deal of talk of family planning. Population has grown by 200 millions and this has practically nullified the advantages of the growth in food production and social services.

Though the Constitution enjoined on the Central and State Governments to enforce compulsory education for all children upto the age of 14, not even 50 per cent of them are in school today. The problem of language has yet to be solved and the continuation of English as the official language of the Centre and the medium of intercommunication between the Centre and the States is still on a fugitive basis. The position of Hindi as the national language is no less obscure. The regional languages have been adopted as the media of higher education in many universities without any clear idea as to how the mental isolation that is bound to be caused in the fields of literature, science and technology has to be bridged. There is a great deal of talk of removing inequalities and the people are being misled into thinking that land ceilings and ceilings on urban property are going to remove poverty and inequality.

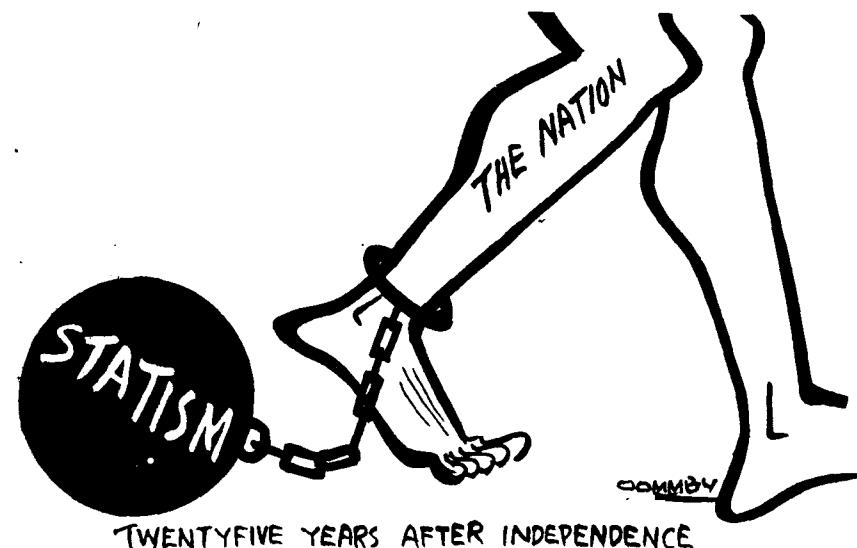
No serious attempt has been made to make the people realise that it is only hard and persistent work, both of body and mind, that can create wealth which can be divided and distributed. The

attitude of labour in factories and offices is almost antagonistic to any kind of efficiency or progress. While, on the one hand, there is the demand for nationalisation of anything and everything, not even the greatest leaders are prepared to impress on the workers that any attempt at strike or disruption of work in public offices or public sector undertakings is an unpatriotic act which hurts not the Government but the people as a whole. While the unemployed are to be counted in crores, the demands of the employed are such that they have to be cheated by inflation.

Not even a beginning has been made in social security and millions of old people and children, sick and unfortunate are left uncared for. But State Governments have been busy promoting lotteries and racing and encouraging consumption of liquor which not only absorb the savings but also reduce the poor amounts available for food and other necessities.

In the field of foreign policy, India started with a high prestige for her idealism and disinterested international outlook but three wars with Pakistan and one with China and lack of military and economic strength have reduced her to the status of a small nation. Of the Great Powers, only Russia is friendly to India. China is hostile and the US is unfriendly. Britain and France are more or less indifferent. India went out of her way to support Egypt and the Arabs but this has not been reciprocated. No special steps have been taken to cultivate friendly relations with Malaysia and Japan. The recent Simla agreement with Pakistan may perhaps mark a new beginning in the evolution of a more effective and realistic foreign policy.

Taken all in all, this balance-sheet is not one on which India may congratulate herself. There is need for a complete revision of values, methods and outlook. That Indian democracy has survived and a new and better start is possible is the main source of satisfaction for celebrating the Silver Jubilee.



TRANSFER OF POWER: AUGUST 15, 1947

This is the end of the 25th year of India's Independence. Much water has flowed under the bridge in these two decades and a half; but it is but fitting that we turn our look back over this period to refurbish the memory of our readers of some of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly on the fateful night of August 14, 1947, preceding the dawn of freedom.

THE FIFTH SESSION of the Constituent Assembly of India commenced in the Constitution Hall, New Delhi at 11 p.m. The President, Dr Rajendra Prasad, delivered his address, in the course of which he said:

"In this solemn hour of our history when, after many years of struggle we are taking over the governance of this country, let us offer our humble thanks to the Almighty Power that shapes the destinies of men and nations and let us recall, in grateful remembrance, the services and sacrifices of all those men and women, known and unknown, who with smiles in their faces walked to the gallows or faced bullets on their chests, who experienced living death in the cells of the Andamans, or spent long years in the prisons of India, who preferred voluntary exile in foreign countries to a life of humiliation in their own, who not only lost wealth and property but cut themselves off from their near and dear ones to devote themselves to the achievement of the great objective which we are witnessing today."

"Let us also pay our tribute of love and reverence to Mahatma Gandhi who has been our beacon light, our guide and philosopher during the last thirty years or more. He represents that undying spirit in our culture and make-up, which has kept India alive through the vicissitudes of our history. He it is who pulled us out of the slough of despond and despair and blowed into us a spirit which enabled us to stand up for justice, to claim our birth-right of freedom and placed in our hands the matchless and unfailing weapon of Truth and Non-violence, which,

without arms and armaments, has won for us the invaluable prize of Swaraj at a price which, when the history of these times comes to be written will be regarded as incredible for a vast country of our size and for the teeming millions of our population. We were indifferent instruments that he had to work with, but he led us with consummate skill, with unwavering determination, with an undying faith in our future, with faith in his weapon and above all with faith in God. Let us prove true to that faith. Let us hope that India will not, in the hour of her triumph, give up or minimise the value of the weapon which served not only to rouse and inspire her in her moments of depression but has also proved its efficacy.

FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL

"India has a great part to play in the shaping and moulding of the future of a war-distracted world. She can play that part not by mimicking, from a dis-

tance, what others are doing, or by joining in the race for armaments and competing with others in the discovery of the latest and most effective instruments of destruction. She has now the opportunity, and, let us hope, she will have courage and strength to place before the world for its acceptance her infallible substitute for war and bloodshed, death and destruction. The world needs it and will welcome it, unless it is prepared to reel back into barbarism from which it boasts to have emerged.

"Let us then assure all countries of the world that we propose to stick to our historic tradition to be on terms of friendship and amity with all, that we have no designs against any one and hope that none will have against us. We have only one ambition and desire, that is, to make our contribution to the building up of freedom for all and peace among mankind."

"To all the minorities in India we give the assurance that they

PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE

This month we celebrate the twenty-fifth year of India's tryst with Freedom. It has been a quarter century packed with trial and challenge, by overcoming which the nation has emerged stronger, more cohesive and more determined to reach its goals.

Democracy has come to stay and has proved itself. But economic freedom in the shape of the economic self-reliance of the nation and also improvement in the daily lives of our common people has yet to be achieved.

The fight against poverty and inequality demands the united endeavour of all people. It was the faith and deep involvement of the masses of our people which won us political freedom. Our objective is clear and unambiguous. But since no country has undertaken a task of such vast magnitude in such complex conditions, we have to chart our course as we go along and have to face known and unknown obstacles.

Let self-confidence and courage be our companions on this journey towards a new creative society, which ensures justice and equality of opportunity to all, where every citizen is able to grow to his full height, where all men and women are involved in democratic functioning and are equally conscious of their responsibility to their fellow human beings.

August, 1972

(Sd.) Indira Gandhi

will receive fair and just treatment and there will be no discrimination in any form against them. Their religion, their culture and their language are safe and they will enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship, and will be expected, in their turn, to render loyalty to the country in which they live and its Constitution. To all we give the assurance that it will be our endeavour to end poverty and squalor and its companions, hunger and disease; to abolish distinction and exploita-

WHEN INDIA AWOKE TO "LIFE AND FREEDOM"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who became the first Prime Minister of Free India and continued to occupy that position till his death, addressed the Assembly.

"We have almost attained independence. At such a moment it is only appropriate that we take a new pledge, a new vow to serve India and her people. After a few moments, the Assembly will assume the status of a fully free and independent body, and it will represent an independent and free country. Therefore, great responsibilities are to devolve upon it. If we do not realise the importance of our responsibilities then we shall not be able to discharge our duties fully. Hence it becomes essential for us to take this pledge after fully understanding all its implications. The resolution that I am presenting before you relates to that pledge.

"We have finished one phase and our hearts are full of joy and some pride and satisfaction. But we know that there is no rejoicing in the whole country. There is enough grief in our hearts. Not far from Delhi, big cities are ablaze and its heat is reaching us here. Our happiness cannot be complete. At this hour we have to face all these things with a brave heart. We are not to raise a hue and cry and get perturbed. When the reins of government have come to our hands, we have to do things in the right way. Generally, countries wrest their freedom after great bloodshed, tears and toil. Much blood has been spilt in our land, and in a way which is very painful. Not-

tion and to ensure decent conditions of living.

"We are embarking on a great task. We hope that in this we shall have the unstinted service and cooperation of all our people and the sympathy and support of all communities. We shall do our best to deserve it."

The Assembly then stood in silence for two minutes to honour the memory of those who had laid down their lives in the struggle for freedom in India and elsewhere.

withstanding that, we have achieved freedom by peaceful methods. We have set a new example before the world.

"We are free now but along with freedom, come responsibilities and burdens. We have to face them, and overcome them all. Our dream is now about to be translated into reality. The task of wresting freedom and ousting the foreign government was before us till now and that task is now accomplished. But uprooting the foreign domination is not all. Unless and until each and every Indian breathes the air of freedom and his miseries are banished and his hard lot is improved, our task remains unfinished. Therefore, a large portion of our task remains to be done, and we shall try to accomplish it.

"It is not the individual pride and strength that is comforting, rather it is the pride of the country and the nation, and a confidence in the people who have suffered terribly for the cause, that makes me feel bold to think we shall successfully shoulder the huge burden of hardship and find a solution of these problems. After all, India is now free. That is well and good.

"At a time when we are on the threshold of freedom, we should remember that India does not belong to any one party or group of people or caste. It does not belong to the followers of any particular religion. It is the country of all, of every religion and creed.

"We have repeatedly defined the type of freedom we desire.

Our freedom is to be shared equally by every Indian. All Indians shall have equal rights, and each one of them is to partake equally in that freedom. We shall proceed like that and whosoever tries to be aggressive will be checked by us. If any one is oppressed we shall stand by his side. If we follow this path then we shall be able to solve big problems, but if we become narrow-minded we shall not be able to solve them."

Pandit Nehru then read out the resolution in English, which he was putting before the Assembly.

"TRYST WITH DESTINY"

"Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will wake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.

"At the dawn of history India started on her unending quest, and trackless centuries are filled with her striving and the grandeur of her successes and her failures. Through good and ill fortune alike she has never lost sight of that quest or forgotten the ideals which gave her strength. We end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again. The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future?

"Freedom and power bring responsibility. That responsibility rests upon this Assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom we have endured

all the pains of labour and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now. That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we might fulfil the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

"And so we have to labour and

THE BREAK OF DAWN

Dr S. Radhakrishnan, then addressed the Assembly. He said:

"History and legend will grow round this day. It marks a milestone in the march of our democracy. A significant date it is in the drama of the Indian people who are trying to rebuild and transform themselves. Through a long night of waiting, a night full of fateful portents and silent prayers for the dawn of freedom, of haunting spectres of hunger and death, our sentinels kept watch, the lights were burning bright till at last the dawn is breaking and we greet it with the utmost enthusiasm. When we are passing from a state of serfdom, it is an occasion for rejoicing. That it is being effected in such an orderly and dignified way is a matter for gratification.

Mr Attlee spoke with visible pride in the House of Commons when he said that this is the first great instance of a strong Imperial Power transferring its authority to a subject people whom it ruled with force and firmness for nearly two centuries. For a parallel he cited the British withdrawal from South Africa; but it is nothing comparable in scale and circumstances to the British withdrawal from this country. When

to work and work hard to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together to-day for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

"To the people of India, whose representatives we are, we make appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill-will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of Free India where all her children may dwell."

we see what the Dutch are doing in Indonesia, when we see how the French are clinging to their possessions, we cannot but admire the political sagacity and courage of the British people.

We, on our side, have also added a chapter to the history of the world. Look at the way in which subject people in history won their freedom. Let us also consider the methods by which power was acquired. How did men like Washington, Napoleon, Cromwell, Lenin, Hitler and Mussolini get into power? Look at the methods of blood and steel, of terrorism and assassination, of bloodshed and anarchy by which these so called great men of the world came into the possession of power. Here in this land, under the leadership of one who will go down in history as perhaps the greatest man of our age, we have opposed patience to fury, quietness of spirit to bureaucratic tyranny and are acquiring power through peaceful and civilized methods. What is the result? The transition is being effected with the least bitterness, with utterly no kind of hatred at all. The very fact that we are appointing Lord Mountbatten as the Governor-General of India, shows the spirit of understanding and

friendliness in which the whole transition is being effected.

From 1600, Englishmen have come to this country — priests and nuns, merchants and adventurers, diplomats and statesmen, missionaries and idealists. They bought and sold, marched and fought, plotted and profited, helped and healed. The greatest among them wished to modernise the country, to raise its intellectual and moral standards, its political status. They wished to regenerate the people. But the small among them worked with sinister objectives. They tried to increase the disunion in the country, made the country poorer, weaker and more disunited. They also have their chance now. The freedom we are attaining is the fulfilment of this dual tendency among the British administrators.

VICTIMS OF SEPARATIST TENDENCIES

While India is attaining freedom, she is attaining it in a manner which does not produce joy in the hearts of the people or a radiant smile in their faces. Some of them, who were charged with the responsibility for the administration of this country, tried to accentuate communal consciousness and bring about the present result, which is a logical outcome of the policies adopted by the lesser minds of Britain. But I would never blame them. Were we not victims, ready victims, so to say, of the separatist tendencies foisted on us? Should we not now correct our national faults of character, our domestic despotism, our intolerance which has assumed the different forms of obscurantism, of narrow-mindedness, of superstitious bigotry? Others were able to play on our weaknesses because we had them. I would like, therefore, to take this opportunity to call for self-examination, for a searching of hearts. We have gained but we have not gained in the manner we wished to gain and if we have not done so, the responsibility is our own. We can best serve our country by removing these fundamental defects which have prevented us

from gaining the objective of a free and united India.

Now that India is divided, it is our duty not to indulge in words of anger. They lead us nowhere. We must avoid passion. Passion and wisdom never go together. The body politic may be divided but the body historic lives on. (Hear, hear). Political divisions, physical partitions, are external but the psychological divisions are deeper. The cultural cleavages are the more dangerous. We should not allow them to grow. What we should do is to preserve those cultural ties, those spiritual bonds which knit our peoples together into one organic whole.

Our opportunities are great but let me warn you that when power outstrips ability, we will fall on evil days. We should develop competence and ability which will help us to utilise the opportunities which are now open to us. From tomorrow morning — from midnight today—we cannot throw the blame on the Britisher. We have to assume the responsibility ourselves for what we do. A Free India will be judged by the way in which it will serve the interests of the common man in the matter of food, clothing, shelter and the social services. Unless we destroy corruption in high places, root out every trace of nepotism, love of power, profiteering and black-marketing which have spoiled the good name of this country in recent times, we will not be able to raise the standards of efficiency in administration as well as in the production and distribution of the necessary goods of life.

A GREAT IDEA

Pandit Nehru referred to the great contribution which this country will make to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind. The *charka*, the Asokan wheel, which is there in the flag, embodies for us a great idea. Asoka, the greatest of our emperors — look at the words of H. G. Wells regarding him, "Highnesses, Magnificencies, Excellencies, Serenities, Majesties — among them all, he shines alone — a star — Asoka, the greatest of

all monarchs." He cut into rock his message for the healing of discords. If there are differences, the way in which you can solve them is by promoting concord. Concord is the only way by which we can get rid of differences. There is no other method which is open to us.

We are lucky in having for our leader one who is a world citizen, who is essentially a humanist, who possesses a buoyant optimism and robust good sense in spite of the perversity of things and the hostility of human affairs. We see the way in which his department interferred actively and in a timely manner in the Indonesian dispute. It shows that if India gains freedom, that freedom will be used not merely for the well-being of India but for *Vishva Kalyana*, i.e., world peace, the welfare of mankind.

Our pledge tells us that this ancient land shall attain her rightful and honoured place. We take pride in the antiquity of this land, for it is a land which has seen nearly four or five millenniums of history. It has passed through many vicissitudes and at the moment it stands, still responding to the thrill of the same great ideal. Civilization is a thing of the spirit; it is not something external, solid and mechanical. It is the dream in the people's hearts. It is the inward aspiration of the people's souls. It is the imaginative interpretation of the human life and the perception of the mystery of human existence. That is what civilization actually stands for. We should bear in mind these great ideals which have been transmitted to us across the ages. In this great time of our history we should bear ourselves humbly before God, brace ourselves to the supreme task which is confronting us and conduct ourselves in a manner that is worthy of the ageless spirit of India. If we do so, I have no doubt, that the future of this land will be as great as its once glorious past.

*Sarvabhautasthamaanam
Sarvabhautanicaatmani
Sampasyam aatmayajivai
Svuarajyam adhigachati*

Swarajya is the development of that kind of tolerant attitude which sees in brother man the face Divine. Intolerance has been the greatest enemy of our progress. Tolerance of one another's views, thoughts and beliefs is the only remedy that we can possibly adopt. Therefore, I support with very great pleasure the Resolution which asks us, as the representatives of the people of India, to conduct ourselves in all humility in the service of our country and the word 'humility' here means that we are by ourselves very insignificant. Our efforts by themselves cannot carry us to a long distance. We should make ourselves dependent on that other than ourselves which makes for righteousness. The note of humility means the unimportance of the individual and the supreme importance of the unfolding purpose which we are called upon to serve. So, in a mood of humility, in a spirit of dedication, let us take the pledge as soon as the clock strikes 12."

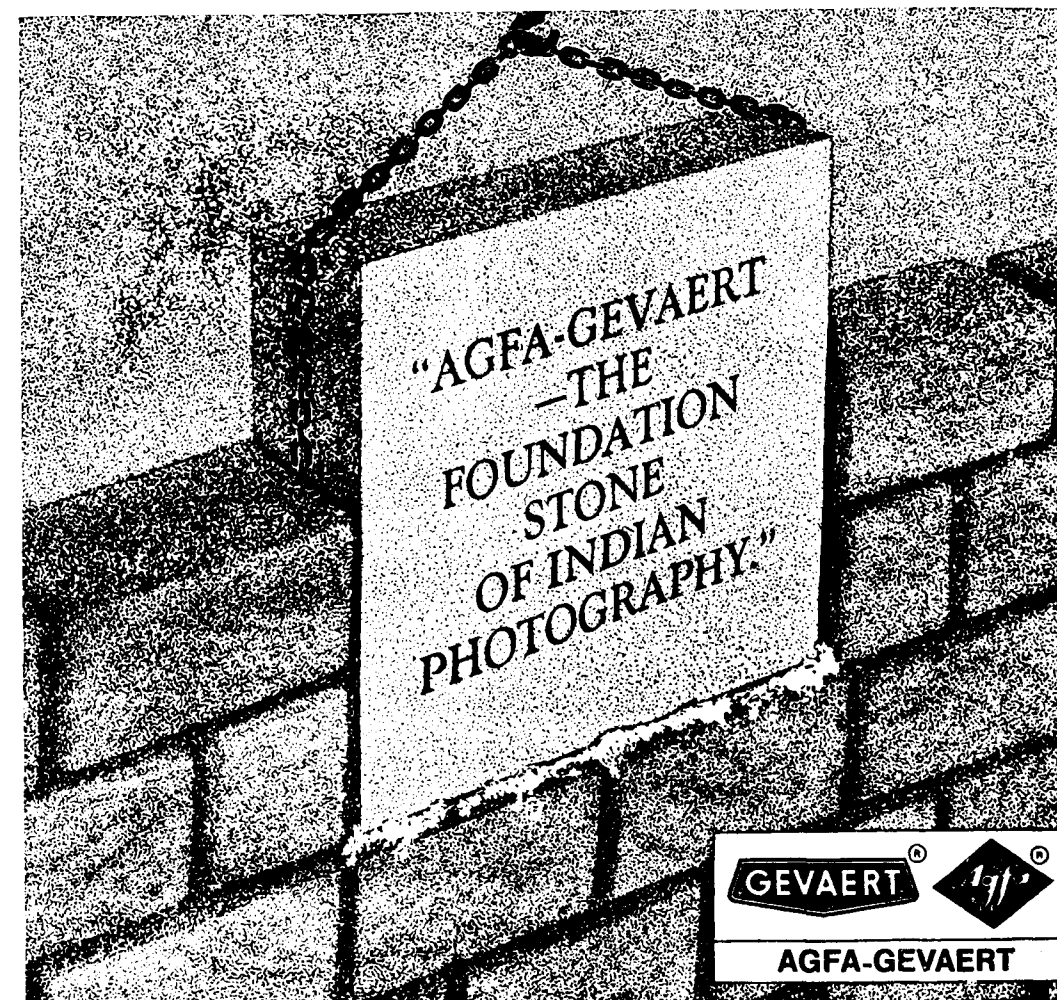
THE PLEDGE

Earlier, Pandit Nehru moved the following resolution which contained the pledge which the members of the Assembly took later. The resolution was as follows:

"(1) After the last stroke of midnight, all members of the Constituent Assembly present on this occasion, do take the following pledge:

"At this solemn moment when the people of India, through suffering and sacrifice, have secured freedom, I . . . a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, do dedicate myself in all humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain her rightful place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

"(2) Members who are not present on this occasion do take the pledge (with such verbal changes as the President may prescribe at the time they next attend a session of the Assembly."



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STRAY THOUGHTS ON THE OCCASION OF INDEPENDENCE JUBILEE

K. P. KESAVA MENON

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS have passed since we won our Independence after decades of suffering and sacrifice. We had a good start as a Free Nation. For the first time in our history the whole country was brought under one authority. Parliamentary democracy became our accepted system of government. We had an experienced and excellent Civil Service to run the administration. We inherited from the British the rule of law as our guide in carrying on the government. Above all, we had a rich well-developed world language — English — as our official language, the language of our judiciary and the medium of our higher and university education. We started well with these advantages and for a time we made distinct progress in all directions.

The manner in which we fought for our freedom, our strict adherence to ruth and non-violence, the charity and fairness we showed to our opponents, won the admiration of the world. If we manifested strength and unity during our freedom struggle under the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, we did equally well in our painstaking effort to reconstruct India under the dynamic guidance of Mr Jawaharlal Nehru. Universities and National Laboratories sprang up in different parts of the country, hospitals with modern equipment and facilities came into being in large numbers. Big bunds and irrigation systems changed the face of India. Industries, big and small, were established. Foreigners who visited India during those days were full of praise for the manner in which and the rapidity with which India was marching towards her destined goal.

When the country was going up, everybody supported the Congress which was mainly instrumental in gaining for us our freedom. Even those who kept away from the Congress during the freedom struggle joined it wholeheartedly when it came to power.

Attracted by its prestige and influence, all and sundry joined the Congress with a view to benefitting themselves more than to serve the country. Even Mr Jawaharlal Nehru found it difficult to keep the party under control. Signs were not wanting to show that the unity was weakening and Mr Nehru was losing his hold. But in 1962, when the Chinese invaded our country the people rallied round the Government and prepared to give the enemy strong resistance. When the Chinese withdrew, our unity disappeared. Ever since, our progress has been and is in the opposite direction.

Look around and see what is happening in the country after 25 years of Independence! Fissiparous tendencies are showing their ugly heads in all directions. Linguistic chauvinism, narrow communalism, petty parochialism all conspired to divide the country and to disintegrate India. Corruption on an unprecedented scale is spreading in the country in all walks of life, making it difficult for ordinary people to get justice and fair treatment. It has prejudicially affected our reputation and has caused damage to our business.

Our trouble started with our new language policy. In all countries and in all ages, you will find language and religion rousing an intensity of feeling amounting to bitterness and hatred. India is no exception to this. The unfortunate attitude towards English that we notice in the country at present is not conducive to the unity and progress of India. English has been the language of our national renaissance. It is through English that intellectuals living in different parts of India speaking different languages maintain their social contact and exchange their thoughts and ideas. English has been with us for over 200 years. To us English is not a language to be newly acquired. It is only a question of retaining what we have already acquired. If we

want to keep in touch with modern thought and knowledge, if we want to keep our position and influence among the nations of the world, we must study English. If we ignore English, we do it at our peril. I am not contending that we must retain English for ever in this country. I am only saying that English must be continued for a long time for the benefit of the people and the good of the country.

Though 25 years have passed since India became free our system of education is still in a confused and chaotic state. Free India demands a system of education to suit its present needs and requirements. We must have all that is best in our tradition with all that is good in the Western system. The purpose of education is not only to enrich our mind but also to elevate our character and regulate our behaviour. There must be uniformity in the system of education for the whole of India, subject to such differences in detail to meet the special needs of different States. Without a clear and correct educational policy we cannot make progress.

The caste and communal feeling is on the increase since Independence. When there is conflict between communal interests and the country's interests, many would not hesitate to sacrifice the interests of the country for those of the community. People are eager to take up public activities. They do it more to benefit themselves than to serve the country. Discipline has disappeared. In Government offices, in educational institutions, in industries and in public places there is a woeful lack of discipline which is bound to prove disastrous for the future of our country. We cannot rebuild our country without reshaping ourselves as individuals. The basis of national greatness is the development of individual character, qualities of capacity for hard work, iron discipline, high integrity and unquenching thirst for service, coupled with eagerness for purposeful living and the passion for achievement. Let us be strong and keep ourselves pure in order to create a strong, stable and united India.



THE YOGI IN AUROBINDO

PROF. K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

IN THE COURSE of a life that extended over almost 80 years (15th August 1872 — 5th December 1950), Sri Aurobindo blazed the trail in many directions: politics, revolution, national education, Vedic exegesis, *mantric* poetry, spiritual philosophy, integral *yoga*. He was a master of Greek and Latin, Sanskrit and Bengali, English and French, and was closely acquainted with some more European and Indian languages as well. Although his Anglicised father, Dr Krishnadhan Ghosh, had tried to insulate Aurobindo from Indian influences by sending him to England for education, at the age of seven, he returned to India in 1893 as a flaming patriot and revolutionary. Having passed the I.C.S. Examination, he had manoeuvred to get himself rejected and had chosen instead service in Baroda State.

After about a dozen years of arduous preparation and secret activity, he entered politics during the Partition of Bengal agitation, edited the *Bande Mataram* from Calcutta, and became the brain, conscience and sustaining *Agni* of both the Nationalist party and the underground revolutionary movement. At Surat in December 1907, he played a decisive role which led to the breaking up of the Congress session. Tried for conspiracy in the Manicktolla bomb factory case, he spent a year (May 1908 — May 1909) in the Alipur jail, and it was there that he had his blissful experience of omnipresent Vasudeva. Ably defended by C. R. Das, Sri Aurobindo was in the end honourably acquitted, and on coming out of prison he started the *Karmayogin* in English and *Dharma* (in Bengali) and gave a new orientation to national politics. But not long afterwards, in obedience to an *adesh* (or divine inner command) he quit the political scene, and after a brief stay in Chander-nagore, retired to Pondicherry as to a "cave of tapasya", and remained there for the rest of his life.

During his early years in Pondi-

cherry, the Tamil patriots, Subramania Bharati, V. V. S. Aiyar and Mandayam Srinivasachariar, often met Sri Aurobindo; the talk was free and covered all Paradisal aspirations, all bureaucratic Inferno and all the human realm between compounded of tears, hope and laughter. On 15th August 1914, in collaboration with the French spiritual adept, Mirra (now known as the Mother), Sri Aurobindo launched the monthly philosophical journal, *Arya*, and during the next six years and a half, it carried serially his several prose treatises and commentaries: *The Secret of the Veda*, *Essays on the Gita*, *Foundations of Indian Culture*, *The Life Divine*, *The Synthesis of Yoga*, *The Psychology of Social Development* ("The Human Cycle"), *The Ideal of Human Unity* and *The Future Poetry*. Cumulatively, they were a synthesis of human knowledge, the roots going to the remotest past and the bud of unfolding possibility hinting at the fruits of the coming future.

Gradually, as disciples — from India and outside — gathered around him, an Ashram came into existence; and after 24th November 1926 when he went into complete retirement, the Mother took charge of it and has since been fashioning it into a "Deva Sangha" of Sri Aurobindo's conception. Although in retirement, he kept in close contact with his disciples, and indeed even with events in the outside world. During the war and after, whenever necessary or possible, he intervened with an occult or spiritual action. Besides, he openly advised the acceptance of the Cripps Proposals in 1942, and later, at the start of the Korean war, warned against Communist China's intentions in South-East Asia. His last years were devoted to the symbolic epic, *Savitri*, in which he told anew the *Mahabharata* story of the triumph of Love over Death, but in terms of his own sovereign spiritual experiences and realisations, and of his Yogic vision of

evolving future possibility. *Savitri* is thus vision and revelation at once, and it has been described by a Western critic as "perhaps the most artistic work in the world for expanding man's mind towards the Absolute."

Since his passing, the Ashram he founded has grown to great proportions, the international City of Dawn — Auroville — has been inaugurated near Pondicherry, his social, political and spiritual thought has won global recognition, his prophecy on 15th August 1947 has proved true at least in respect of Bangla Desh (for the union of hearts is of greater consequence than any mere legalistic "unity"), and this might conceivably be followed by India and Pakistan forging anew the bonds of brotherhood brutally snapped twenty-five years ago. If the synchronization of India's Independence with Sri Aurobindo's seventy-fifth birthday on 15th August 1947 was no fortuitous accident, it may very well be that the joint celebration of the Silver Jubilee of our Independence and Sri Aurobindo's birth centenary on 15th August 1972 will betoken an auspicious new beginning in the chequered history of the Indian sub-continent. The Mother has said that what Sri Aurobindo represents in the world's history is—not a teaching, nor even a revelation, not these alone — but rather a decisive action direct from the Supreme. The teacher, the prophet, was ultimately exceeded by the Yogi, and Sri Aurobindo's Yogic action is still fulfilling itself, creating conditions for the next creative cycle of Indian and global humanity.

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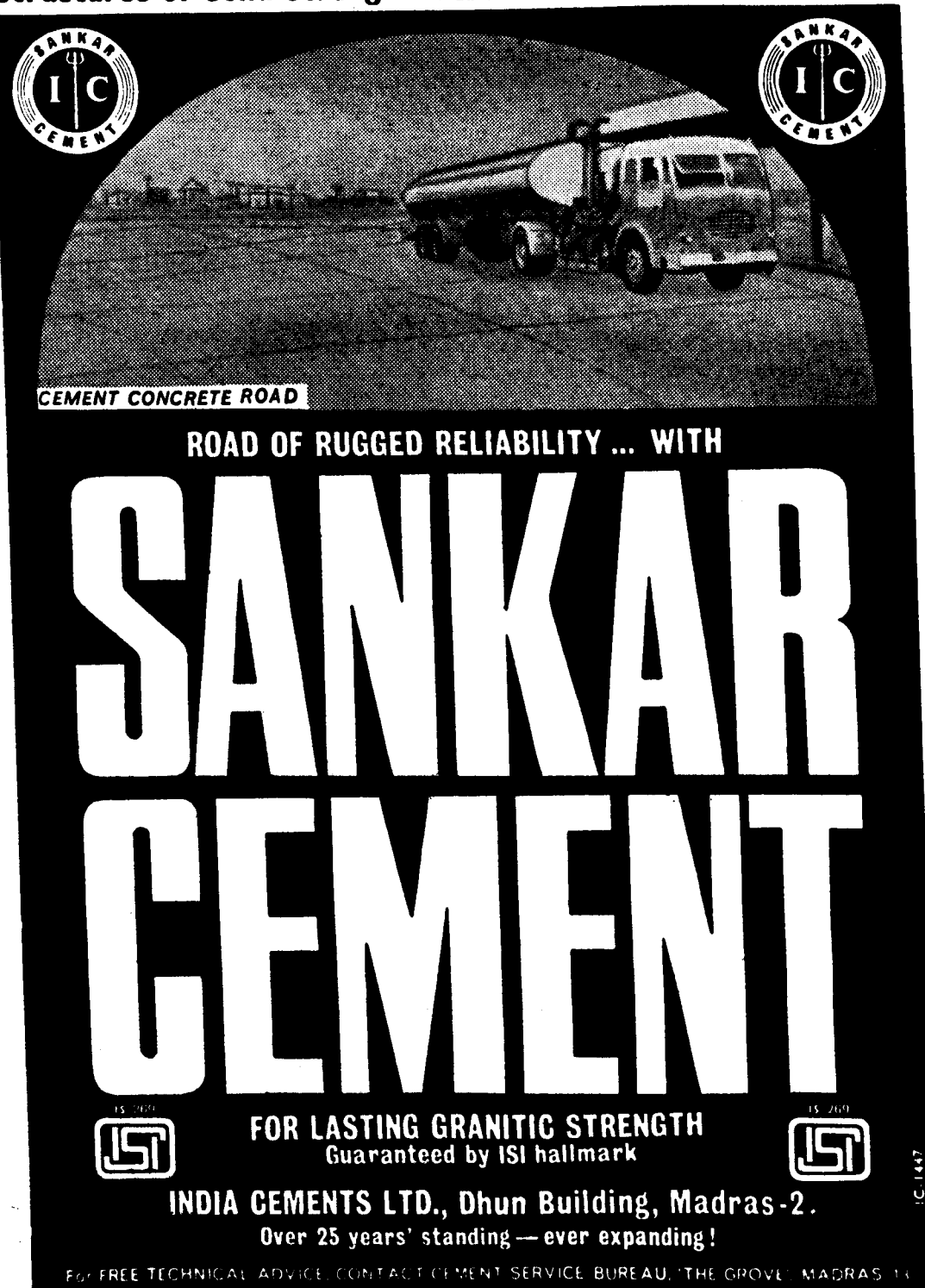
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MANIFESTOS AND MANDATES

P. KODANDA RAO

AT EVERY GENERAL ELECTION to the legislature, political parties issue manifestos and claim that their successful candidates had received mandates to implement their manifestos. This is one of the claims which Max Nordau, the eminent German philosopher and historian, debunked mercilessly and thoroughly in his famous book, "Conventional Lies of Civilization". In the chapter on Politics in that book he says:

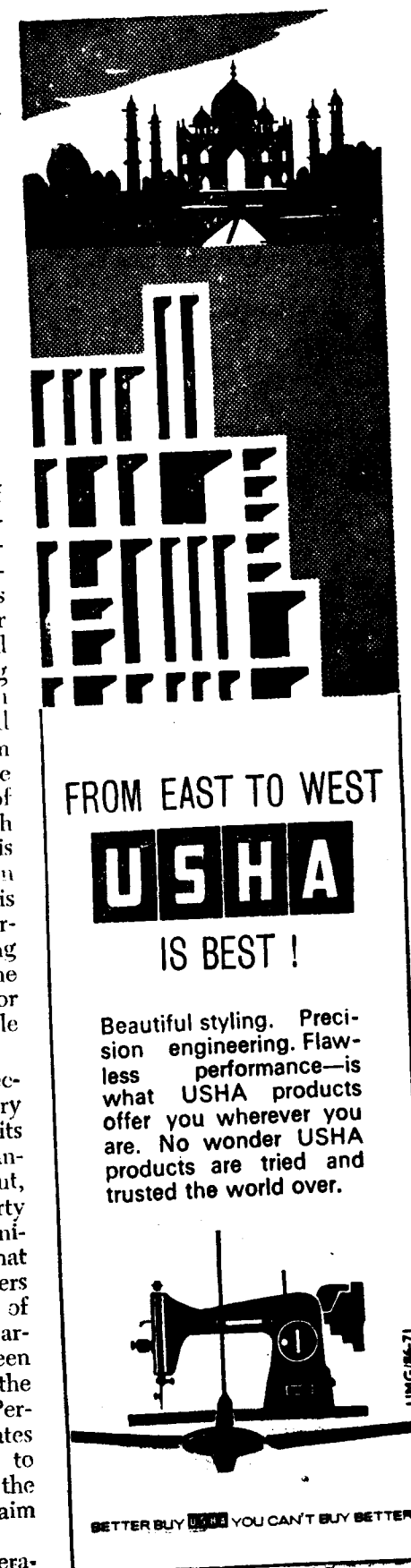
"In several countries the fiction of representative legislation is the screen behind which is concealed an absolute, 'by the grace of God', monarchy. In those nations in which it is an actual reality, where the representative body really reigns and governs, it amounts to nothing but a dictatorship of certain persons, who, in turn, obtain control of supreme power. Theoretically, representative legislation ensures the fulfilment of the will of the majority; in reality, it only carries out the will of half-a-dozen party leaders, their advisers and standard-bearers. Theoretically, the opinions of the representatives should be formed or influenced by the arguments advanced in parliamentary debates; in reality, they are not influenced by them in the slightest, but depend entirely upon the party leader or upon private interests. Theoretically, the representatives should have only the good of the commonwealth before their eyes; in reality, their only thought is how to advance their private interests and those of their friends at the expense of the commonwealth. Theoretically, the representatives are supposed to be the best and wisest of all the citizens; in reality, they are the most ambitious, the most pushing, and the coarsest. Theoretically, the meaning of a vote deposited in favour of a candidate is that he is known and trusted by the elector; in reality, the elector knows nothing whatever about him except that a set of ranting

speech-makers have been deafening him for weeks with the candidate's name and placarding it before his eyes. The forces, which theoretically keep the parliamentary machine in motion, are experience, foresight, and abnegation of self; in reality, they are strength of will, egotism, and fluency of speech. Culture, intelligence, and noble sentiments are defeated by noisy eloquence and indomitable audacity; and the halls of legislature are ruled, not by true wisdom, but by individual and obstinate will.

"Not an atom of the right of representative legislation supposed to be gained by universal suffrage falls to the individual average citizen. Now, as much as ever before, is my poor Hans obliged to pay taxes and to obey the authorities, bruising his elbows again and again in contact with the thousand absurd restrictions which hem him on every side. All the share he has in the whole business of representative legislation, with all its fuss and ceremonies, is his fatigue on election days in walking to the polls, and his dissatisfaction that more entertaining and profitable reading matter is crowded out of the newspapers to make room for the uninteresting, interminable parliamentary debates."

In the recent parliamentary elections in India, for instance, every political party claimed that its successful candidates had a mandate based on its manifesto. But, perhaps, it is true that no party received a mandate for its manifesto, for the simple reason that about 95 per cent of the voters had no intelligent knowledge of the manifestos of the several parties to choose wisely between them and give a mandate for the manifesto of their choice. Perhaps 95 per cent of the candidates themselves would be unable to give an intelligent account of the manifestos for which they claim mandates!

Most voters voted for considera-



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tions more tangible and appreciable to them than party manifestos. It cannot be otherwise in India for a long time to come. Perhaps, it is so with people in other countries, though they have had longer experience of democratic elections and who are better educated and who have no factors other than political to influence their choice in the elections. Britain is perhaps the best example of the most enlightened democracy in the world. Literacy is universal and so is newspaper-reading. There are no castes and creeds to determine voting to any appreciable extent. Voters vote largely for policies and, sometimes for personalities, and candidates cannot appeal to religion, castes and creeds, as is almost universal in India.

But, even in Britain, the relation between voting at elections and mandates for manifestos is not clear. For instance, the great majority of voters in that country constitute the poor proletariat, urban and rural, while the intellectual aristocracy and economic plutocracy form a minority. The electorate is a pyramid, with the great majority of comparatively poor at the broad base, and the small minority of the richer voters at the apex. The Labour Party claimed to be the party of the proletariat, while the Conservative Party is said to represent the aristocracy. If the proletariat majority voted blindly for the

Labour candidates, the Labour Party would be perpetually in office, while the Conservatives would hardly ever have a look in. And yet it was the Conservatives who were more often in office than the Labour Party was!

I was in London in 1931 and witnessed the general elections that year. The Labour Party was in office under the Prime Ministership of Mr Ramsay Macdonald. Prof. Harold Laski was the Chairman of the Party and was absolutely confident that his party would be returned to office with a larger majority in Parliament and a clearer mandate for socialism. But, to his great surprise and discomfiture, the Conservatives were elected with a phenomenal majority! If the mandate theory were valid, and if the Conservative Party represented the capitalistic minority and the Labour Party represented the socialist majority among the voters, the conclusion was inescapable that the "socialist" Labour majority voted for the "capitalist" Conservative minority!

It was commented, partly as a joke that "socialists" were more capitalist than "capitalists" themselves, and that their only complaint was that their capital was much smaller than that of the latter and their smaller capital meant more to them than the larger capital meant to the capitalists.

Dr Henry S. Commager, Profes-

sor of History and American Studies, Amherst College, U.S., who was for some time a Professor in Oxford and Cambridge, writing in the *New York Times Magazine*, said that in Britain the Labour Government was not subservient to Labour, and the Conservative Government was not conservative! Nothing was truer.

Apart from the questionable validity of the mandate theory even in Britain, the professed policies of the political parties were more formal than serious. In India, the mandate theory had no validity at all. The differences between the Indian political parties were pretty thin and, indeed, the differences within each party were perhaps greater than between parties.

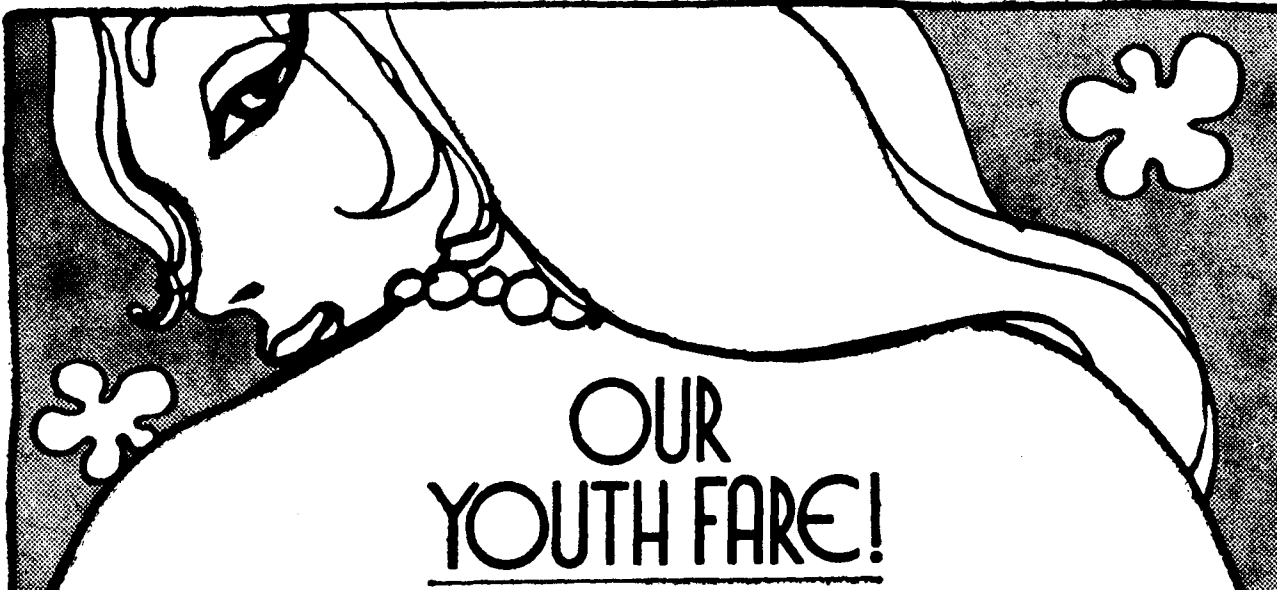
All that could be claimed was that the general election gave the winning party the constitutional right to govern India for the next five years, but not a mandate for its pre-election manifesto. For instance, the elimination of poverty is not, and cannot be, the exclusive policy of any political party at any time and in any country, to be emblazoned in its manifesto and committed to its members only as a mandate! There can be no party with a contrary manifesto and mandate! The propaganda that *garibi hatao* is the manifesto and mandate of the Congress Party in power today is only an example of "conventional lies of politics."

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FROM STATUS TO COMPULSION

PROF. S. SUBBARAMA AIYAR

DURING THE LAST hundred years or so, a great socio-economic revolution has been going on in Kerala (comprising the erstwhile Malabar district of the Madras Presidency, Cochin and Travancore), as in other parts of India to a less degree, in three stages — status, contract and compulsion. The period of status which prevailed when the British took over the administration was based on a more or less feudalistic structure of society with a spiritual overtone.

Tradition has it that the land reclaimed by Parasurama from the sea was distributed among Nambudiri Brahmins, who, till the end of the British rule, claimed *janmam* (birth) rights of ownership over a vast extent of land. They retained these rights by prohibiting partition and insisting that the eldest member of the family alone should marry in the community (though he may take more than one wife). Their main social function was to study the *Vedas*, *Puranas*, *Itihasas*, etc., and disseminate the truths contained in the sacred books among the masses as well as conduct religious ceremonies organised for the common good. They instituted and kept up temple worship by installing the idols of Siva, Rama and Krishna as well as of Kali (Bhagavati), Ayyappa (Sastha), etc., and laying down strict rituals and themselves performing the same. There are hundreds of these scattered in Kerala at the present time.

The land in the possession of the Nambudiris was divided into two categories — Brahmaswom, whose rental income was enjoyed by themselves and Devaswom whose rental income was used to carry on the temple rituals and festivals. It must be said that the rentals they collected from their tenants (*kudiyans*) were nominal and as the *Illoms* (as the Nambudiri families are called) possessed a vast extent of land, the overall income was adequate for their unostentatious living. In course of time overlordship of some lands — new and old —

came to be claimed by the kings to which the name Pandaravaka was applied.

The Nairs constituted the elite engaged in various services, military, civil, domestic, etc. They employed themselves also as agriculturists, either as owners or as tenants, sometimes subletting their lands to others. The Ezhuvas, another influential community, supplied manual labour of all kinds in agriculture, industry, commerce, etc. Some engaged themselves as tenants or landholders in many parts of the State. The lowest of all in the social scale were the Cherumas and Pillayas who formed the backbone of agricultural labour serving as serfs attached to the lands of their masters.

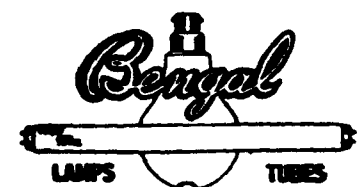
In this social complex there came two religious communities that comprise Kerala society down to the present day — the Moplahs (Mohammedans) mainly in the north constituting converts to the faith under the influence of Arab traders since the 9th century and Christians mainly in the south — converts from other communities — who trace their contacts to early Syrian and Catholic missionaries preaching the Gospel and establishing churches in the land to which they were attached through commerce starting from the early times. These two engaged themselves in cultivation and more particularly in trade and commerce as they continue to do at present.

Agriculture was the main occupation in which rentals, wages, profits, etc., were regulated by custom and payments were made in kind in the age governed by status which was solidified by caste restrictions of a rigorous nature. Every village of importance — which in Kerala even now is not a name applied to habitation but to revenue divisions — had its hereditary castes engaged as carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, potters, weavers, etc. Village self-sufficiency prevailed as the means of transport and communication were poor or non-

existent and the use of money as a means of exchange was not in vogue.

Into this socio-economic structure based on status British rule (though under Kerala kings in Cochin and Travancore) introduced certain concepts and changes which gave prominence to contractual relations. The concept of law was based on equality and courts of law enforced contracts freely entered into by people among themselves. They were under no obligation to enforce status or custom. The spread of means of transport and communication by road, rail and water broke down village self-sufficiency. Increased use of money as well as credit economy for exchange and business purposes made socio-economic relations more and more fluid. The educational pattern introduced by the British prepared the intellectuals for a new order of society other than the one based on status and hereditary occupations.

Subject to these influences the agrarian structure in particular underwent a slow but sure change whose essential features the present writer had an opportunity to study at first-hand both as research scholar and as an Economic Investigator appointed by the then Cochin Government in the forties (on the eve of Independence) to report on the same. My main conclusions were: (1) There were the following interests in the sharing of incomes from agricultural land: (a) the State or the Government entitled to land revenue; (b) the superior *janmi* (a Nambudiri *Illom*, a temple or a *Sthani* or feudal lord) entitled to a rental which still continued to



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be customary, though inroads caused by competition had begun to appear in some cases; (c) a landlord or owner who functioned as a rentier; (d) a tenant or *kudiyar* (mostly cultivators), who acted as an entrepreneur; (e) labour engaged in manual work from ploughing to harvesting. From a summary of village surveys the shares of the above agencies in order were found to be 10 per cent, 5 per cent, 18 per cent, 17 per cent and 25 per cent; the cost of materials, cattle power, etc., took away 25 per cent of the gross produce (in respect of paddy land).

(2) Owners' holdings (wet land) other than those of *Illoms*, temples, *Sthanis*, etc., were usually small (five acres on an average) and scattered in most cases. (3) Tenants' holdings ranged between five and ten acres and were also fragmented. (4) There was competition for the use of land and the pressure on rent and investment in land were rising. (5) Though wage payment in kind was still retained (in harvesting paddy for example), money wages

were becoming common. (6) Serf labour disappeared and labour became free. (7) Hereditary occupations were tending to give place to acquired skill and freedom of choice.

When came Independence, the abolition of monarchy and the establishment of a form of democracy based on adult franchise functioning as a party system of government. Kerala, like the rest of India, has developed a plethora of parties — some national, some local, and others communal — which fight one another and try to come to the top by promising all sorts of boons to the electorate; but so far only some form of so-called United Fronts (of dissimilar parties) have been possible. All parties held fast to their creeds embodied in their election manifestos and such of them got to the top who preach revolutionary changes in the socio-economic structure of society, the possession and distribution of land getting a major attention at their hands than any other. The so-called land reforms have been seeking to abolish ownership with-

out cultivation, putting a ceiling on land holding (as small as possible) with a view to securing land for distribution to the landless poor, putting up minimum wages (as high as possible) to agricultural labourers, formation of trade unions among the labourers under political parties mainly intended to enforce rights rather than restore responsibilities.

Kerala, at present, is the hotbed of other schemes of reform on almost all fields of social activity which are sought to be enforced through compulsion in the form of State legislation and even ordinances. The roots of the past are being cleared for a new order of society in which the Government will take the upper hand to regulate it in what it considers to be in the interests of progress or promotion of general welfare. In fact, compulsory regulation has been in vogue for a generation so far and the future is bound to be a held-in society with no ties based on status or means of adopting contracts freely among citizens for improving their individual or social progress.

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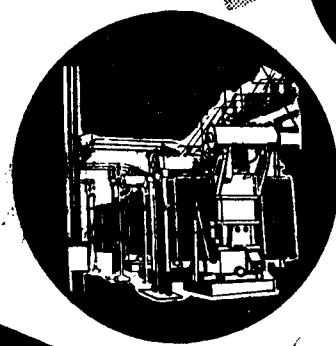
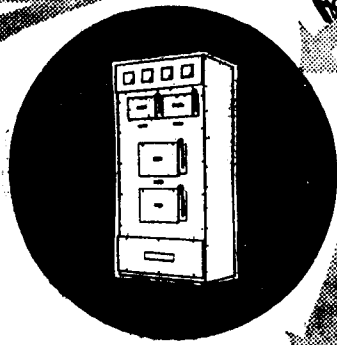
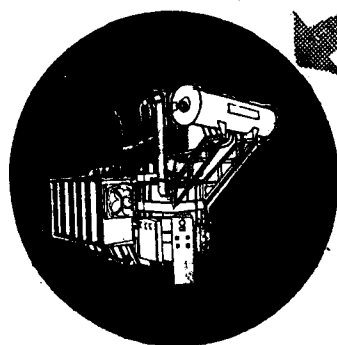
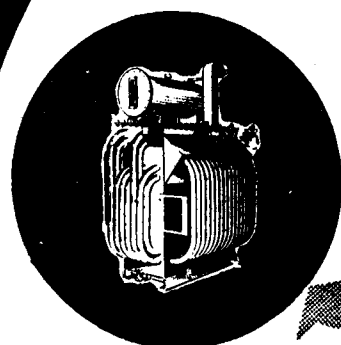


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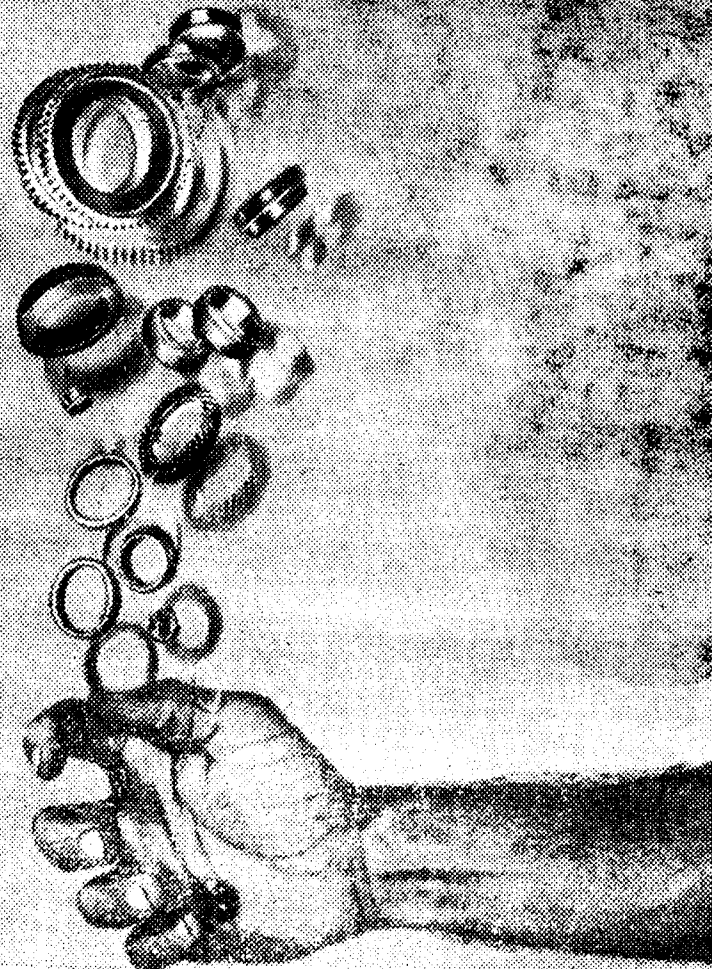
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**INDIA AND NEPAL: AN EXERCISE
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By SHRIMAN NARAYAN

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Mr Shriman Narayan was India's Ambassador in Nepal for a period of three years from 1964. A total stranger to diplomacy, as understood in international relations, Mr Narayan accepted the offer with considerable trepidation. He knew the tremendous responsibilities of this assignment. As Ambassador to a highly sensitive neighbour with a hostile China all the while looking on, he had to stem the rot in the relations between India and Nepal. This book is the success story of how he achieved the miracle and placed the relations between the two countries on a basis of friendship and cooperation. At the end of his tenure, he was complimented both by Mrs Indira Gandhi and King Mahendra of Nepal. Mrs Gandhi commended his work saying: "As a result of your sustained efforts there was a further strengthening of the bonds of friendship between India and Nepal." King Mahendra was no less appreciative. He told the author that "so long as you were here, I was free from worries in respect of Indo-Nepalese relations."

Mr Narayan performed this feat by setting aside conventional diplomacy and choosing "the diplomacy of truth." This book is an intimate and highly personal account of efforts. The notable triumphs include: King Mahendra's meaningful request to the Chinese Government to abandon the construction of the eastern sector of the East-West Highway over which the Government of India was much exercised; the changes in the West Kosi Canal Agreement which was looked upon by the Government of Nepal as one-sided and more beneficial to India than to Nepal; relaxation by Nepal of the rigorous rules regarding grant of citizenship rights to persons of Indian origin; and the grant of transit facilities by India between Nepal and Pakistan through Radhikapur which removed much misunderstanding among the Nepalese regarding Indian intentions.

It is Mr Narayan's sincere belief that his open diplomacy convinced a hostile press and suspicious Government in Nepal that India was a friendly and dependable neighbour. Mr Narayan, during his Ambassadorship, toured the length and breadth of Nepal and came to know the land and its people intimately. He has included in the book short chapters on Nepal's history and

political institutions and has also given glimpses of modern Nepal. The sections describing the age-long ties between India and Nepal will be read with much interest, as they are of a special type. There is no passport or visa system; Indo-Nepal trade is without restrictions, except for a few specified items; the Indian army can enlist Gorkhas; and in the field of religion, while the Kings of Nepal enjoy special privileges in the temples of Puri and Rameswaram, all the four priests of the famous temples of Pasupathinath in Nepal are recruited from South India.

Nepal is now accepted as an area of crucial importance by the big and small Powers alike. There is enormous diplomatic activity in Kathmandu and Mr Narayan says that the embassies of many countries of the world are involved in hectic spying on one another. It is disappointing that the book should altogether eschew any reference to them.

—V. RAMARATNAM

COMPUTATION OF TAX ON INCOMES

SALARIES AND INCOME-TAX:

By R. N. LAKHOTIA

Published by Asha Publishing House
P, 16, C. I. T. Road, Calcutta-14

Price: Rs 28

The computation of income-tax on salaries is not so complicated, so full of twists and turns and calculated to make one go off one's head as in the case of business or professional incomes. Yet, a book dealing mainly with taxation of salaries is welcome.

In 21 well-written chapters, the author discusses various matters such as 'Salaries', perquisites and how they are to be added to salaries, deductions from salaries to arrive at the taxable income, treatment of recognised and unrecognised provident funds, and employers' and employees' contributions, pensions and gratuities, reliefs allowed in respect of life insurance premia paid by employees and so on. Though salary is their mainstay for most employees, some of them have additional sources of income, such as income from property, interest on investment, dividends from companies and income from land. The author has rightly included all these in the discussion and made the book useful to a wide circle. Taxation of capital gains arising from sale of shares, house property and other assets is also well explained. Separate chapters devoted to assessment procedures and appeals and revisions deal with assessment without

calling for the production of books, notice for personal hearing, best judgment assessment, how to appeal, and so on, indicating the rights of the assessee.

In Chapter I the author points out that in regard to employees who join service in the middle of a year, e.g., 1st September 1971, the total salary for the purpose of deduction of tax at source is the *actual salary* paid by the employer from 1st September to 31st March of the following year. Unfortunately some tax practitioners and even Income-Tax Officers take the view opposed to equity and even common sense. For instance, if a young man fresh from college, joins service on 1st February 1971 in a company on a salary of Rs 1,000 per month, the employer is to assume his total salary in that year to be Rs 12,000 (Rs 1,000 x 12) and deduct from Rs 2,000 (the actual salary paid) the tax at rates applicable to Rs 12,000. Likewise, when a man leaves service with an employer, in the middle of a year, even by retrenchment — and no one, not even the Income-Tax Officer, can say whether he will at all secure alternative employment in that financial year — tax is to be deducted on an assumed income; e.g., if A who draws a salary of Rs 1,200 per month is retrenched from 1st July 1971, the employer is to deduct tax on Rs 3,600 (being his salary for the 3 months of April, May and June 1971) at the rates applicable to Rs 14,400, the total which the employee would have earned had he been in continuous service for the whole of that financial year. If the man does not obtain alternative employment and the total salary does not reach Rs 14,400, he can apply for a refund. It is good that the author of this book does not countenance this perverse view. (Page 178).

A sentence on page 178 reads: "It is because of this principle that salaries for any assessment year are taxable not at the rates of the Finance Act applicable for the assessment year, but at the rates in force as per the *previous Finance Act to be applied for the assessment year by the next Finance Act.*" In this sentence the portion I have italicised just makes no sense; it requires recasting to become sensible. Apart from this, what is stated here does not tie with what the author observes on the same subject on page 11, i.e., "The salary on which tax was deducted at the source during the previous year or financial year 1971-72 is assessable for the assessment year 1972-73, for which year only the return of income is required to be filed. In the case of salary, as in the case of other incomes, tax is levied on the income at the rates of the Finance Act operative for the

assessment year concerned." Regarding rates for the deduction of tax at the source what the author says is clear; But what about the rates for assessment when the employee files his return? To pursue the illustration given by the author, will the rates laid down in the Finance Act of 1971 or 1972 apply? (The salary is earned in the 12 months ending 31st March 1971).

On page 111 it is stated, under the head 'Casual Income': "Income from cross-word competitions, lottery, etc., is of a casual nature and hence is non-taxable." This is not the correct position at present. Such incomes have been made taxable by the Finance Act of 1972.

These minor flaws apart, the book is well conceived and the matter well presented. The printing and the get-up of the book are satisfactory, though the price is a little high.

—A. C. R.

AN INFALLIBLE GUIDE TO HUMAN CONDUCT

THE GEETA WAY OF LIFE:

By K. G. WARTZ

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, Bombay-7

Price: Rs 3

The *Bhagavad Gita* has been, for ages, "India's favourite Bible". Huxley held it as "one of the clearest and most comprehensive summaries of perennial philosophy ever to have been written. Hence, its enduring value is not only for Indians, but for all mankind", Gandhiji saw in it "an infallible guide to conduct", his spiritual mother. This short scripture of 700 verses entrenched in the great epic *Mahabharata*, a little shrine, in the vast temple is the best loved and most widely read

world scripture. The theme set forth is that the manifest destiny of man is God-realisation and that devotion to the Lord and dedicated performance of the duty nearest to one's grain (*svabhava*) are the means to the goal. Simple surrender to God, selfless participation in social duties, and sublime devotion to God are advocated.

Mr Wartz has given us an easy, eminently readable book on the substance of the *Gita*. With an unerring insight, the author lays stress on the greatest of the 60 imperatives of the *Gita* asking Arjuna to have his resolve steeled to fight evil and not give way to impotence and weakness of heart. (II-3). The call for strength and action in quelling evil when it confronts us is the topical message of the *Gita* which makes for its relevance to us today. We are to face evil, not run away, doing nothing about it. The *Gita* is a book of eternal relevance of unfading beauty, profoundly suggestive in its solutions. Though its message is universal, it has appropriate shifts graded to the levels of the spiritual development and psychological disposition of men. The *Gita* highlights devotion to God and duty to fellowmen.

In eleven short sections, Mr Wartz deals with all the themes and modes of God realisation. In the last two sections, he gives us a general survey of the teachings of the *Gita*. The *Karma-Yoga* of the *Gita* insists on (1) our exclusive obligation to act; It is against (*nishkriya vada*) do-nothingism; (2) absolute prohibition of interest in the fruits of our actions; (3) dedication to God in the spirit of worship; (4) self-effacement; and (5) and above all, conquest of the disinclination to act, i.e., not falling a prey to the temptation of inaction. In short, the *Gita* is

opposed to *Nastika-vada*, *Nishkriya-vada*, *Nirguna-vada*, *Maya-vada* and *Samaja-seva-vimukha-vada*. The volume is a satisfying book on a sublime subject.

—Dr. P. NAGARAJA RAO

A SANSKRIT LOVE-LYRIC

PHANTASIES OF A LOVE-THIEF:

Edited by BARBARA STOLER MILLER
Published by Columbia University Press, New York

Price: 11 dollars

This splendidly got-up edition of *Chaurapanchasika* belongs to the studies in Oriental Culture series of the Columbia University, and has been accepted by the UNESCO in the Indian series of its Translation Collection. The translator and editor, Dr Barbara Stoler Miller, a disciple of the well-known American Sanskritist, Dr Norman Brown, has already earned a name as the translator of *Bhartrihari*. She has given us here a good deal of critical material based on her thorough study of the available manuscripts of the poem, the list of which covers more than 20 pages of the book.

The title *Chaurapanchasika*, has been preferred to others found in some of the manuscripts; and though it literally means "a collection of fifty by a thief", the editor has given the book her own title, namely, *Phantasies of a Love-thief*. The question of the authorship of the poem being still a debatable one, the editor has thought fit to use the phrase *Attributed to Bilhana*, under the title, Bilhana being the 11th-century Kashmiri poet, the reputable author of *Vikramankadevacharita*, in praise of his patron, the Chalukya king, Vikramaditya VI (1076-1127).

The legendary genesis of the poem is this: "The poet became involved in a secret affair with a king's daughter and was condemned to death by her father when they were discovered. While awaiting execution he recited the *adyapi* verses to celebrate his love. The verses worked their magic and the poet won his life and the princess."

There are two main versions of the poem—the Northern Recension and the Western-Southern Recension, as they are called here. There are only five stanzas common to both, but each stanza in both the poems begins with *adyapi* and is in the *Vasantatilaka* metre. Both the Recensions are given here in English transliteration with their 17 Additional Verses taken from some of the manuscript sources.

The verses in Sanskrit are uniformly mellifluous and the long compound epithets, though conventional in thought and in diction, are fine examples of vowel and consonantal music. The translation is admirably lucid and terse, though with no hint of the sound

effects of the compound epithets of the original. The translator has shown admirable taste in not attempting any rhetorical flourishes. Here is a typical stanza in English:

Even now,
Even here, I constantly recall
her face;
Eyebrows curved like Love's bow,

Lips flecked with her teeth's lustre,
Golden earrings heavy on her ears.
One has, of course, to go through the whole poem to be able to enjoy its atmosphere.

The edition is enriched by the reproduction in black and white of the 18 extant Rajasthani paintings illustrating as many stanzas.

—Prof. A. RAMA IYER

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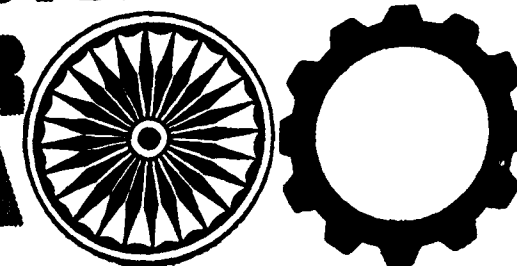
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—Prof. A. RAMA IYER






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THE SIMLA AGREEMENT

"CHANDRA"

THE SIMLA AGREEMENT between India and Pakistan has received acclaim the world over, including Pakistan, as also inside our country with the exception of the Jan Sangh. Since the partition a quarter of a century ago, Indo-Pakistan relations have been a saga of intense mutual distrust. Much as India has been going out of its way to support every movement in Arab Africa in its fight against colonialism, there is a feeling among the people in India that the Muslim countries are traditionally anti-India, as was evidenced during the 1965 and 1971 conflicts with Pakistan.

Sustained propaganda by successive Pakistani rulers against India since Independence has been the main cause of the paranoia of the Pakistani Muslim that India is out to destroy Pakistan as a State. So any talk of friendliness (much less a talk of alliance, federation or confederation) by India is suspect as the thin end of the wedge to undo the partition. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, was wise enough to announce, when Gen. Niazi surrendered in Dacca in December 1971, that India was calling an unilateral cease-fire on the western front as well as on the Kashmir front, and that India had no intention of destroying Pakistan as was hinted at by certain "interested" Western Powers, Muslim countries and China.

Mr Bhutto seems to have told the Prime Minister at Simla on the evening of July 2 when he went to take leave of the Prime Minister at "Retreat" and to thank her for the hospitality extended to him, his daughter and his 90 odd officials, that he was sorry that they could not come to any agreement and that a unique opportunity for settlement was being lost because of disagreement on some "minor" issues. This was Mr Bhutto's last gambit and it worked. He appears to have told Mrs Gandhi that he will be in the saddle for the next five years, having been elected Pre-

sident democratically for the first time in Pakistan's history, and that the Prime Minister enjoyed absolute power in this country; if the two could not arrive at a settlement, he wondered when would such another invaluable chance come by. Mr Bhutto seems to have also evoked Mrs Gandhi's sympathy saying that he had his own difficulties in controlling his armed forces which wanted to avenge the December 1971 defeat, and if he went back empty-handed, he might become a party to another war, which would benefit neither side. He would also have to scout for military hardware with his allies. Mr Bhutto it would appear, pleaded with her to be the usherer of peace in the sub-continent, and he swore that he was absolutely sincere in his desire for peace.

Mrs Gandhi, it transpires, said that she was all for an agreement but that the differences were not on "minor issues" as hinted at by Mr Bhutto but on fundamental issues. So, they sat down (without any aides) to discuss the last draft prepared by the officials, but Mr Bhutto had an important Press conference at Himachal Bhavan and he had to hurry away. Mrs Gandhi, therefore, went to Himachal Bhavan half an hour earlier than she was expected there for the leave-taking dinner hosted by Mr Bhutto, and the talks continued which resulted in the agreement late that night.

Mr Bhutto is a mercurial personality. In 1965 he saw to it that Mr Lal Bahadur Shastri signed the Tashkent agreement, bartering away strategically valuable and hard-won territory in Kashmir and in the Sialkot sector, and immediately afterwards raised a hue and cry that President Ayub Khan had "sold out" to India! This time he is himself in power, sitting on a shaky throne, and he wanted some settlement with victorious India on honourable terms.

Mrs Gandhi could concede only one of the two of Mr Bhutto's demands: withdrawal of the In-

dian forces from the occupied territories in Sind and West Punjab (though holding on to the present line of control in Jammu and Kashmir).

Though India has been very insistent that all disputes between Pakistan and India should be settled bilaterally without the Big Powers nosing into and complicating the issues, Mr Bhutto could not have gone back and explained to his suspicious people that the agreement was all right, because he would be asked that if bilateral talks on any point of dispute failed, what next? India is not prepared for mediation or for arbitration. Much as the United Nations intervention is abhorred by India, Mrs Gandhi had to agree to the induction of the UN Charter into the agreement, "that the principles and purposes of the Charter of the UN shall govern the relations between the two countries."

So, Mr Bhutto could explain to his people that though by one hand he seemingly gave away the right of Pakistan to refer any dispute to mediation or arbitration by other Powers or by the UN, he got it back by the other hand by inserting in the agreement that settlement of disputes will be according to the UN Charter, which may mean UN mediation or arbitration, to which India has all along objected. Mr Bhutto's, it should be remembered, is a seasoned legal mind and he had with him stalwarts in drafting, and this is reflected in the loose wording of the text of the agreement which helps Pakistan more than India.

The main question uppermost in the minds of the Pakistanis is the return of their POWs in our custody. It is all right to say that Bangla Desh is a party to the problem. But if there is going to be a war crimes trial, it will only exacerbate passions in all the three countries (Pakistan, Bangla Desh and India.) When there is a fight between one group of people and another, mass hysteria is let loose and there are no holds barred in the fighting. Similarly, in Bangla Desh a Muslim from West Pakistan exterminated the Muslims of East Pakistan. A war

crimes trial staged in Bangla Desh, with India as a partner, is not going to help in any way ease the Pakistani mind of his suspicion of India or bring about better understanding between the two countries.

While, until now, Pakistan, in all negotiations, had insisted that Kashmir should be discussed first and all other items should be taken one after the other *seriatim*, and we had resisted Kashmir being discussed at all, the position this time was reversed and we wanted Pakistan to accept the present line of control in Kashmir as the future international line. But, Mr Bhutto, and more so, Mr Aziz Ahmed and other hardline officials, refused to discuss Kashmir and said they could not be forced at gunpoint to accept a "surrender" on Kashmir. Mr Bhutto said that it would be difficult for him to go back to his people and convince them that the Agreement was an honourable one, if he had to admit that he had renounced Pakistan's claim over the Valley, while in return he could not successfully bargain to get the POWs back to his country. So it was agreed that for the present the Kashmir question should remain frozen. Though the Agreement meant Pakistan retaining the 50 sq. miles of Chhamb it had seized from India, Mrs Gandhi agreed to vacate the strategically important Chicken's Neck (which originally belonged to Pakistan), so that Mr Bhutto could crow over about them to his people as a double victory.

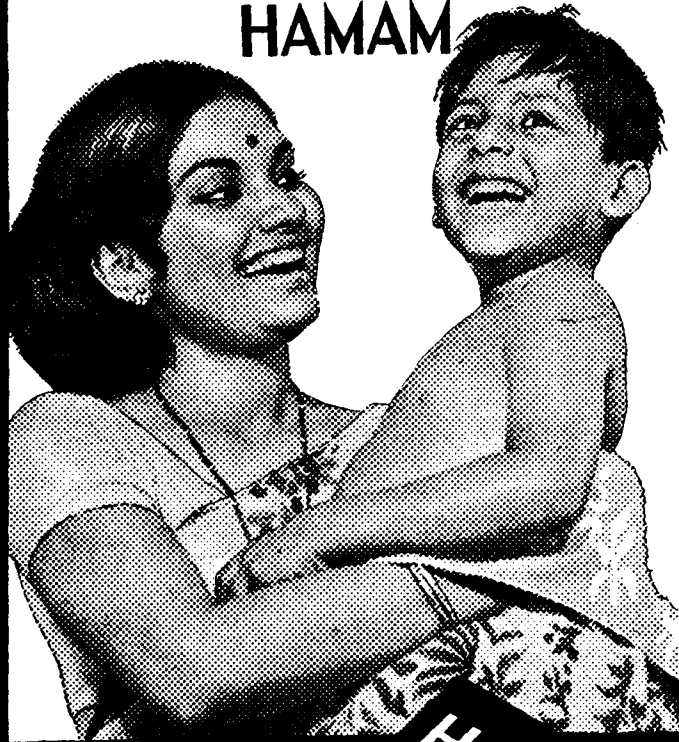
Now, it is up to Mr Bhutto to keep his word about convincing his people that the Agreement had been brought about because of the sincere wish of India to befriend Pakistan and bury the hatchet once for all. So, whatever India does now will be important to Pakistan which is waiting for such signs of change of heart in India. India should now have frank talks with Bangla Desh leaders (who have all unequivocally welcomed the Agreement) to help us in fulfilling the spirit of the Agreement by generously agreeing to release the POWs. If

we are going to be suspicious of the motives of Pakistan, after signing the agreement, it does not take us any far, because suspicion breeds suspicion. If the POWs, on return, were used for staging another war, against India, it would be of course very unfortunate for both sides, but we are not militarily weak as we have shown in the last December conflict.

The other important factor which will vitiate the spirit of the Agreement will be the purchase by either side of arms and equipment from world Powers, to strengthen the position of each side militarily, and to form new military alignments.

Both sides should, therefore, refrain from spending scarce resources on armaments. India may well take a lead in this matter. Similarly, if trade and commerce between Pakistan and India is resumed, enabling free flow of goods and people, the Pakistani distrust of Indians would gradually disappear. Trade has been the panacea in world history for mixing of people. Today, we import items like hides and skins, raw cotton and raw wool and dried fruits from far-off areas while they are available next door; and Pakistan imports its requirements of coal, cement and industrial goods and textiles, which

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Mr Bhutto's task is difficult, even with a majority in the Pakistan National Assembly, because he has to fight against deeply entrenched vested interests and appeal to the common man who only now is slowly emerging to a position of strength in the body politic. Mr Bhutto realised quickly on taking over from Yahya Khan that he cannot appeal to the people if he were to be Martial Law Administrator, and so by degrees he is casting off the garb of the military administrator. He will have to walk warily to establish his link with the masses whose interests clash with the interests of the vested interests and in particular with the mulla. In fact, the mulla is as powerful as ever in the Muslim world. Recently, the mulla seems to have issued a *fatwa* to the 'faithful' that the socialism Mr Bhutto had been talking about was against Islam! Mr Bhutto immediately realized the danger and promptly outwitted the mulla by

calling his socialism "Islamic socialism!"

It is therefore all the more important for us to help Mr Bhutto establish speedy rapport with his people and thus whittle down the pressure on him by vested interests who are benefited by keeping up Pakistan's enmity with India, and towards this end we should do all in our power to remove the suspicions of the Pakistanis.

Pakistan has problems on its western frontier too. The western half of Baluchistan is peopled by Iranians and that area has for long been demanding secession from Islamabad, having closer ties with Iran. Mr Bhutto's recent visits to the Shah of Iran and the visit to Baluchistan of Princess Ashraf (sister of the Shah) were all to appease the rebellious Iranian Baluchistanis with Iran's help. It will be advantageous to us to have a friendly Pakistan (whose people have such close ethnic identity with us), which will prove an effective buffer State to us with the Arab world.

WEST BENGAL LETTER:

NAXALISM DYING: DISENCHANTMENT WITH POLITICS OF MURDER

CALCUTTA, July 24: In true Gandhian style, the Congress (Organisation) in West Bengal has started satyagraha, which may continue for an indefinite period, in front of the Congress Bhavan in Calcutta in protest against the Government's action in requisitioning a wing of the party's office building. The party had earlier urged the Chief Minister to hand over the premises back to the rightful owner. But, there was no favourable response. In the view of Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray, there is nothing unjustified in requisitioning the western wing of the building since the owners themselves were negotiating with private parties for renting it out.

A close look into the affair, however, makes it obvious that the issue is not so simple as the Chief Minister has sought to make it out to be. There is, of course, no parallel between the forcible occupation of the AICC office in

Delhi by a group of overzealous New Congress workers and the Government take-over of a portion of Congress Bhavan in Calcutta.

Even if the episode be not viewed as a confrontation between the two rival groups, there is an odious ring about it. Mr A. K. Dutt, general secretary of the Congress (O) has gone on record as saying that prominent members of the Ruling Congress have for a long time been threatening to occupy the building forcibly. In fact, two attempts were made in the past. The Government's action was the culmination of all that.

Commenting on the incident, a local daily said that in view of the fact that a rival political party was involved, the Government "should have acted with extreme restraint. Instead, it has behaved in a manner that is suggestive of

high-handedness, if not of vindictiveness."

With the death of Charu Mazumdar, in Calcutta, while in custody, the founder chairman of the naxalite party, the present chapter of extremist politics in the State and probably in the country has come to a close. In fact, his arrest on July 16 was effected at a time when the party was in total disarray and Mazumdar was reportedly having second thoughts about his programme. A letter written by the extremist leader to his wife, which was seized by the police and which led to his arrest, showed that Mr Mazumdar was not happy over the way his programme was acted upon. It is now revealed that Mazumdar forced the party to accept the programme of *khattam* (murder) of class enemy. Yet, he now admits that it was "over-worked" and should be revised. He has also in so many words expressed his unhappiness over the murders of two policemen following his arrest. These, he said, were "stray" incidents, indicating that they were not done in accordance with the party decision.

It is, however, poor consolation that the father of the naxalite movement should now regret his action after the murder of so many poor and innocent people. The realisation has dawned on him after the whole edifice of the party had collapsed and the politics of murder that was preached was recoiling on the preachers themselves. Many of the party workers were done away with in the in-fight. The naxalites, who only two years back, had shaken the whole fabric of the State, are a dying force, if not dead already. Disenchantment with the party's theory is, primarily, responsible for the break-up of the party. Thousands of young people, who flocked to the party, soon realised that violence was no solution. The ruling party can now channelise their energy by formulating an attractive and constructive programme. The responsibility is, therefore, on the Government and if the ugly head of extremism rises again, it will be solely due to the Government's failure.

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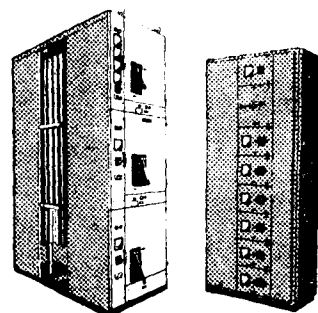
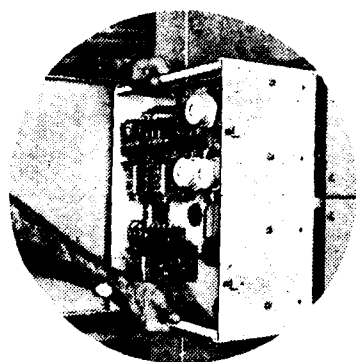
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SWT 003 (R)

SWARAJYA, August 12, 1972

28-A

Dear Reader

THE FIRST of August is the sacred anniversary day of Lokamanya Tilak's demise handing over the work for Swaraj to Gandhiji. It was on the first of August, the same day, that Gandhiji inaugurated the Tilak Swaraj Fund in honour of the departed giant for carrying on the work entrusted to him by the latter. The first of August is therefore a doubly sacred anniversary day.

★
THE UNION FINANCE MINISTER gave details in the Rajya Sabha on August 1, of India's debts. The total debt figure is Rs 7,610 crores, of which India owes more than 54 per cent to the United States.

★
CONFIDENCE BREEDS confidence; fear and hesitation breed fear and hesitation on the other side. This is an irreversible law of nature. If Smt. Indira Gandhi reduces military expenditure unilaterally on the strength of the Simla agreement it will be noted as a most important step, furthering the cause for which the Simla agreement stands. Not only will Pakistan be affected by it but even the U.S. Government will be morally compelled to desist from helping Pakistan with any more arms supply. I am confident about this whatever others may think about it. Sri Jagjivan Ram's statement at this juncture about military expenditure is an unhappy statement. Smt. Indira Gandhi knows her job and I hope she will appreciate these remarks of mine.

★
SRI N. G. RANGA has left the Swatantra Party and has joined the Indira Congress. The defection of a VIP is notable news for the press. Sri Ranga has long experience of politics and he must have thought about it a hundred times before defecting from the Swatantra Party to join the Ruling Congress. It is a futile step from every point of view. The people of India cannot continue

to give him the respect which he hitherto enjoyed at their hands. He cannot command the confidence of Srimati Indira Gandhi. He will be treated with the same suspicion as all defectors are treated. His defection will not serve him personally. It will not in any way serve the national interests. National interests do not call for defections to the ruling party but call for a vigorous Opposition irrespective of numbers, the functioning of men of experience in and outside the legislatures to stem the tide of totalitarianism. The Swatantra Party of Andhra has, in respectful language, severely condemned Sri Ranga's action.

★
THE SOARING of prices has been the subject of much discussion. It is stated that increased production would check the soaring prices. The Government is not a little responsible for production not increasing as desired. The curbs on industry in various ways and the heavy taxation policy act as disincentives for increased production. Again, deficit financing, that is, the printing of paper money to meet Government expenditure, is responsible, in a great measure, for the rising prices. The market cannot be compartmentalised according to commodities. It is one and

indivisible. A rise in the price of one commodity affects all commodities.

★
THE DRINK revenue derived from auction sales of licences for running liquor shops has increased considerably, much to the delight of the Chief Ministers concerned. If drink revenue goes up, it means that the welfare of the families, whose members are drawn to intoxicating liquors and hallucinating drugs, suffers in that measure. It is the women that suffer most and State Ministers cannot feel happy about it. It is particularly bad that the Government of a State which was dry for two decades should, for the sake of revenue, give up Prohibition and adopt a wet policy.

★
WHAT THE Tamil Nad Government has done in respect of intoxicating liquors has inaugurated large size advertisements of Brandys and Whiskys in important daily papers. I was just shown a great big advertisement of Brandy in the *Indian Express*. This is a most offensive way of celebrating the Silver Jubilee of the independence of Free India in whose Constitution, Article 47, among the Directive Principles Chapter, runs as follows:

Art. 47: The State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as



among its primary duties and, in particular, the State shall endeavour to bring about Prohibition of the consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health.

★
THE HINDU, in its leading editorial on August 4, dealt with the question of admissions to professional colleges in Tamil Nad as follows:

There is an undercurrent of bitterness in the many letters of complaint received by this newspaper on the closing of the doors of the engineering colleges in Tamil Nad to some students who have scored very high marks in the Pre-University examination. The State Government had been reserving 51 per cent of the seats for members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and the backward communities. It has been pointed out that even if the first category is definable, the second remains vague, when caste rather than poverty is taken as the criterion. Persons belonging to the same social group are treated as "forward" if they came from one district and "backward" from another. And the door is open to dishonesty in claiming backwardness. Apart from these anomalies, the method of selection by interview has led to the suspicion that, even for the 49 per cent of the seats supposedly open to merit, there is considerable manipulation and favouritism. It is otherwise not possible to explain how candidates with exceptionally high marks could be rejected out of hand.

★
A LOT of research has resulted from my "Dear Reader" paragraph in SWARAJYA of July 9 about renaming Mysore. I confess I am not any kind of authority in this matter. But with all respect for those who wish for a change in the name I feel that the name of the State ought to be allowed to remain as it is, viz., Mysore. Mysore is a name that has gone into modern history thanks to Hyder and Tippu Sultan who resisted British aggression. The name of Mysore will not prejudice the interests of any part of the State, new or old. If Karnataka is the name of any region, the authorities depended on for this conclusion would show that that region would include Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nad and Kerala and not

restricted to the Kannada-speaking region.

★
MR. K. P. KESAVA MENON, the totally blind Editor and Manager of *Mathrubhumi* of Kerala, was good enough to call on me last week and acquainted me with a remarkable episode in his life. Mr Kesava Menon was practising as an advocate in Malaya when the Japanese occupied that region during the Second World War. Japanese authorities put him in prison and he suffered incarceration for 22 months until the Axis Powers were defeated and the Japanese withdrew from Malaya. The Japanese officials who acted brutally during the Japanese regime, were prosecuted as war criminals. One of them was the official who treated Mr Kesava Menon with extraordinary brutality. When this official was tried Mr Kesava Menon was commissioned to appear as his counsel against the Government. The Judge found the official guilty of barbarity and cruel treatment of Mr Kesava Menon and proposed to sentence him to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment. Mr Kesava Menon pleaded as counsel for the Japanese official that the latter acted under the orders of his superiors and that a heavy

sentence should not be inflicted on him. The Judge gave his judgment that as the criminal's counsel, who was the victim of the criminal's brutality, pleaded that the official acted under the orders of his superiors, the prisoner should undergo a sentence of 18 months' imprisonment, instead of the 10 years' rigorous imprisonment which he had contemplated.

Mr Kesava Menon, after he became totally blind and returned to Calicut, is not only editing the *Mathrubhumi*, a leading daily newspaper of Kerala, but has written several books in Malayalam, one of which is a life of Jesus which was sold out within two months of its publication.

★
It is gratifying to note that the Madras High Court has quashed a notice issued by the Commissioner, HRE Administration, Tamil Nad, as being interference in religious matters. The Court upheld the contention of the writ petitioner that the autonomy of a temple in Madras should be left untouched in the matter of selecting and appointing trustees who would have authority of supervision and control in religious as well as secular matters.

C.R.

FROM THE CAPITAL:

TROOP WITHDRAWAL: FIRST STEP IN IMPLEMENTATION OF SIMLA PACT

SENTINEL

NEW DELHI, August 6: After Parliament's overwhelming support to the Simla Agreement, the next step of troop withdrawals to the international border has to be arranged. In Jammu and Kashmir, there is no question of withdrawal, as both India and Pakistan have decided on the maintenance of the new cease-fire line after December 1971. It would have been better if the President had ratified the Simla agreement after Parliament's approval. Of course, it is not a constitutional requirement. The Executive has the fullest power under the present system. Even so, nothing would have been lost by delaying the

ratification by just a week. There had been protest from the Opposition on the procedural aspect. As for the pact itself there was never such near-unanimous support. The only opposition came from the Jan Sangh.

Mr Bhutto too had a similar section to deal with in Pakistan but has managed to get overwhelming support to the Simla pact in his own country. This has been taken as a positive sign here that Pakistan, under the leadership of Mr Bhutto, is really trying hard to change from the earlier disastrous policy of confrontation to a new policy of seeking friendly relations with India. As Mrs

Gandhi told the Lok Sabha in the course of the debate, Mr Bhutto was making a sincere effort and it was in India's interest to lend support to the efforts of the Pakistan President.

Mrs Gandhi put the Simla Agreement in the right perspective when she disclosed the background to the talks held at Simla. She told the Lok Sabha that she put the problem straight to the Pakistan President. She asked him whether Pakistan wanted to continue a policy of confrontation or settle for peaceful relations with India for the benefit of both the peoples. If the policy of confrontation was not to be given up by Pakistan, then not one but even hundred agreements would lead them nowhere. And both countries would be embarking on a long destructive course. Mr Bhutto's response was positive. He had no doubt some difficulties to get over but on the overall approach for a framework of friendly relations, he fully endor-

sed Mrs Gandhi's stand. That set the pace for the Simla talks and the outcome was the agreement. It was an agreement that was born of a new situation and the realities had been recognised. Neither side wanted to lose the big opportunity afforded to make a break from the past and start on a new course of friendship, direct talks and mutual regard for the sovereignty and interests of the two countries. To this gain is added, the concept of bilateralism and exclusion of interest of or interference by third countries however powerful they may be. This position was forcefully reiterated by the Prime Minister when she vehemently denied having consulted Russia or any other third country in the course of the Simla negotiations.

Now that the Simla Pact has been approved by the Parliaments of both countries the stage is set for the operative portions to take effect. It was settled that work on the implementation of the

agreement would commence 30 days after the signing of the Pact.

The major part of the operative provisions relates to withdrawal of forces by India from 5100 sq. miles of Pakistan territory in the Punjab, Rajasthan and Kutch sector. The Cabinet has already discussed the first steps to be taken. Representatives of the Army Chiefs of the two countries have been nominated to meet at Suchetgarh checkpoint to finalise the arrangements. The troop withdrawal to the international border may be completed in a month's time. After this process is completed, the next step would be a second summit to discuss other issues like prisoners of war, demarcation of boundary in Kashmir and proposals for a final settlement. India is willing to proceed constructively on these issues as well, provided Pakistan responds in the same way as it did at the Simla talks. There may be official level talks in both countries to facilitate the holding of the second summit meeting.

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EDITOR'S NOTES :

OPPOSITION TACTICS

It is of the greatest importance to the country that the Opposition parties in Parliament should adopt proper tactics to expose effectively the failures and improper actions of the Government. There is no doubt that all Opposition members should be feeling indignant that the Government should have ratified by Executive order the Simla agreement just three days before the meeting of Parliament. It would have been all right if all of them had refused to attend the meeting summoned by the Prime Minister. When unanimity could not be reached on the matter, it was certainly more prudent to have gone to the meeting and pointed out the improprieties of the Prime Minister's action. The same problem arose when a resolution was moved by the Foreign Minister for the consideration of the agreement. If the entire Opposition could have boycotted the discussion on the ground that they were faced with a *fait accompli*, it would no doubt have been effective; but as this could not be done, it was right that all members were in their places and expressed as effectively as possible, their indignation at the disrespect shown to them and to Parliament. But as most of them approved of the agreement, this became a minor issue and the protest became feeble.

RETURN OF PAKISTAN TERRITORIES

Mr Vajpayee, President of the Jan Sangh, has raised an interesting constitutional point. He has argued that all territories occupied by India during the recent Indo-Pakistan war comes under Article 1 (iii) (c), according to which the territory of India includes "such other territories as may be acquired." The meaning of this phrase depends upon the interpretation of the word "acquired." This cannot possibly be identical with "occupied." "Occupation" during military operations does not amount to acquisition of ter-

ritory unless it is ceded by the enemy or after cessation of hostilities, the occupying Power has formally declared that it has become the territory of India. Jerusalem is an example. Though Israel has occupied a large extent of Arab territory, it is only in respect of Jerusalem that it has declared it to have become part of Israel. The other occupied territories are subject to negotiations. From the terms of the Simla agreement, it can be reasonably argued that the outposts in Kashmir in Indian occupation have been annexed to India, though this has not been explicitly stated in the agreement. But by declaring that the cease-fire line will be "outside these posts and that Pakistan has agreed not to seek to recover them by force, it may be construed as an implied admission that they are Indian territories. There can certainly be no constitutional objection to the evacuation of those territories about which India has specifically declared during the war that she does not covet any Pakistani territory.

EAGLETON'S WITHDRAWAL

Senator Thomas Eagleton has had to withdraw his candidature for the Vice-Presidency. This is the penalty he has had to pay for not disclosing the fact of his previous psychiatric treatment at the convention. That he has functioned as Senator for some years is *prima facie* proof that his present health is good. If he had informed the Democratic convention or the Presidential candidate before his nomination that he had to undergo treatment two or three times but that he was perfectly fit at present, there would have been no trouble, though he might not have been nominated. The Presidential candidate, Mr McGovern, bravely tried to stand by his nominee but bitter press comments all over the country and legitimate fears that Mr Eagleton may have to function as President if anything happens to Mr McGovern seem to have forced his

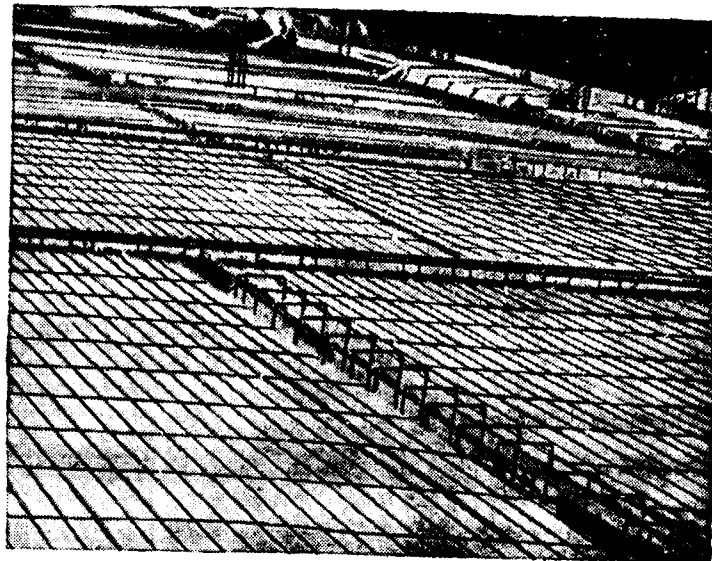
hand. It is the fierce and often pitiless publicity that is the great safeguard of American democracy. Though character assassination should be deprecated strongly, there are exceptions when persons seeking high office seek to hide the truth.

POOR PROPAGANDA

The American Government and President Nixon have not emerged satisfactorily out of the controversy regarding the bombing of dykes in North Vietnam. At first, the bombing was denied but later it had to be admitted. It has now been argued that dykes have been damaged only at some places, that the damage was not serious and that they could be repaired by the North Vietnamese. President Nixon, at his news conference, was angry with the Secretary-General of the U.N. He said: "I noted with interest that the Secretary-General of the U.N., just like his predecessor, seized upon this enemy-inspired propaganda, which has taken in many well-intentioned and naive people to attack the American bombing of civilian installations and risking civilian lives, and yet not raising one word against deliberate bombing of civilian installations in South Vietnam (by Hanoi)." Then he went on to quote the casualties in South Vietnam as a result of the present war. President Nixon has assumed as self-evident that the U.S. was the guardian and protector of South Vietnam and yet he proposes to withdraw the entire U.S. Army and even the Navy and the Air Force if only the North Vietnamese agree to a cease-fire and release the American prisoners. What happens if after the cease-fire, there is an internal revolt in South Vietnam or external invasion by North Vietnam? Does he want the U.S. to intervene again? Having for many years armed and trained the South Vietnamese, the U.S. should leave it to them to defend or make peace or even submit. The pretext of saving South Vietnamese cannot justify the U.S. destroying the dyke system and the entire economy of North Vietnam.

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SPORTS COMMENTARY:

QUEEN ELIZABETH AMONG 12 HEADS OF STATE TO WATCH MUNICH GAMES

SIDELINER

MUNICH IS READY to stage the greatest ever show on earth. The architects and engineers, artists and impresarios of West Germany have done a magnificent job. With typical German thoroughness and efficiency, they have transformed Munich into a city of cities for the Twentieth Olympic Games, and it now awaits the arrival of not only 10,000 athletes and sports officials but also 12 Heads of State, including Britain's Queen Elizabeth, 60 Prime Ministers and other dignitaries from other countries.

The Olympic Village has already been opened. The village is a misnomer, inasmuch as it is anything but a village. It is really a city of stadia and apartments and open air theatres, with lakes and parks fringing it. Besides an 18-storey apartment that will accommodate the men athletes and 13 bungalow-like blocks, where the women competitors will stay, the village has a press complex of 14 buildings with 3,800 rooms, a printing press and photographic laboratories, an indoor sports hall and a Sports Academy.

The Americans, Russians, Europeans, Australians and Kenyans are all so well geared to shatter track and field, swimming, gymnastics and other records, their standards being higher than those prevailing in India, that Indian athletes and other individual competitors are hardly likely to come through the heats. Hockey alone can save India from drawing blank in the prestigious gold medals list. India drew blank at Mexico City. But with a little luck, they can make amends at Munich, for after watching all the three matches which Harmeek Singh's team played in the South, in Madras, Tirupathi and Bangalore, one was convinced that India's challenge was in capable hands. The fact that, unlike most of their predecessors, they won all their seven pre-Olympic matches at home, speaks for itself.

Though they did not win the approval of critics in Madras, where on a bumpy ground they struggled to beat a Tamil Nad XI 2-1, they are nevertheless a team of supremely gifted individuals. The inside-trio—Harbinder Singh,

Kulwant Singh and Ashok Kumar—for instance, have the potential to break any defence by sheer skill and imagination, and if wingers, Ganesh and Harcharan Singh—and that will undoubtedly be the front-line set-up for the more important games—give them the service they need, India's attack will not be found wanting even against the robust and bustling game of the Continental sides.

The more one saw the team in action, the more one was convinced that its main strength was in defence with right-back Mukhbain Singh and left-half and skipper Harmeek as its leading lights. And with two officials, manager Keshav Dutt and coach Digvijay Singh Babu, who know their hockey, to direct operations intelligently, the team indeed has most of the ingredients to overcome all opposition and underline the fact of India's mastery of the game.

The India team's visit to Madras has, incidentally, done Tamil Nad hockey a world of good. Apart from giving Tamil Nad hockey, as such, a big boost, it has helped the hitherto not so affluent Tamil Nad Hockey Association augment its finances. Such indeed was the public patronage for the match that its organising secretary, Mr M. A. M. Ramaswamy, was prompted to suggest that it was time the Association thought of having its own stadium.

THE INDIAN CONTINGENT

Among the village's 10,000 odd occupants, representing a record entry from a record number of 122 nations, will be 59 Indians, and it is their performance that will hold India's interest. Twenty of them, constituting the hockey contingent, are already on their way. Their playing engagements in both Cairo and East Germany *en route*, were in continuation of their tuning-up tour of this country in their bid to regain for India the Olympic crown which she lost at the Mexico City Games in 1968. Will they do it? The question is asked on all sides, for to India, hockey is, frankly, the only hope.



The Indian Olympic Hockey Team being taken round the pitch in procession with Nadhaswaram music at the Nehru Stadium in Madras before the start of the Exhibition Match with Tamil Nad on July 30.

FACTS AND FIGURES:

THE OFFICIAL index of wholesale prices for the week ended July 8, 1972, stood at 201.1 (1961-62=100) against 199.2 in the previous week. This represents an increase of 7.1 per cent, compared to the index for the corresponding week a year ago. Over the past decade the index has practically doubled, giving an average compound rate of 7.5 per cent per annum. For commodity groups the rise has been even higher. For example, for food articles, the index stood at 209.4 in July 1971; this year it is 233.9, primarily due to a fall in the coarse grain production consequent on drought in large parts of the country. There has been a 25 per cent rise in the price of pulses. Sugar prices also rule high. The unprecedentedly large deficit financing in 1971-72 is stated to be the prime contributory factor for the price rise.

OUT OF 3,535 arrack shops in Tamil Nad 3,096 were auctioned for Rs 15.34 crores, against Rs 6.58 crores in the previous year; 690

foreign liquor shops have been licensed throughout the State for Rs 4 crores, as against 840 shops in 1971-72. Madras city had 231 foreign liquor shops functioning in 1971-72. Among the highlights of the auction was the shop in Mannady which fetched Rs 10.2 lakhs, and the one in Kothwal Bazar that got Rs 4.01 lakhs. The State revenue from this source has reached Rs 32 crores.

IN TAMIL NAD about 1,200 physically handicapped persons are registered with the Special Employment Exchanges for the physically handicapped persons. Of these, 1,145 are orthopaedically handicapped, blind persons number 31 and deaf mutes 23. The State Government is exploring avenues of finding employment for them.

ACCORDING TO Mr R. Venkataraman, former Member of the Planning Commission, the Government which did not permit industries which had the capacity and the

ability to expand and thereby open up avenues of employment, is making every effort to encourage such industries which had neither the capacity nor the ability to produce, by giving them various incentives. This has resulted in a fall in industrial production.

THE NUMBER of shareholders in the Tata Iron and Steel Company which has a capital of Rs 50 crores is 77,784. Of these, 77,182 are individuals, 523 are companies and 79 are Government, public financial institutions and insurance companies. Among the 77,182 individual shareholders 44.59 per cent hold 10 shares and below each; 38.21 per cent hold between 51 and 100 shares each; 8.18 per cent hold between 101 and 1,000 shares each; and 0.32 per cent hold over 1,000 shares each. The 79 institutional shareholders forming 0.12 per cent of the total shareholding number hold between them shares worth Rs 18.98 crores, or roughly 40 per cent of the capital of the company. Since these institutional shareholders are now limbs of the Government, after the take-over of the general

insurance companies, the Government control can be taken to be effective over 40 per cent of the capital of the company, an example of concentration of economic power, compared with 77,182 small and individual shareholders holding among them 60 per cent of the capital.

THERE WERE 19,216 unauthorised chit funds operating in Tamil Nad on 31st March 1972, involving about Rs 7.55 crores, according to one estimate. A drive is being launched to unearth and prosecute them. In this effort so far some 200 unauthorised chit funds have been booked.

SO FAR, 2,399 abortions have been performed after the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act came into force. Nine States reported 1,909 cases and 3 Union Territories, 490 cases. Maharashtra registered 670; Tamil Nad 494; West Bengal 337; Delhi 383 and Chandigarh 98.



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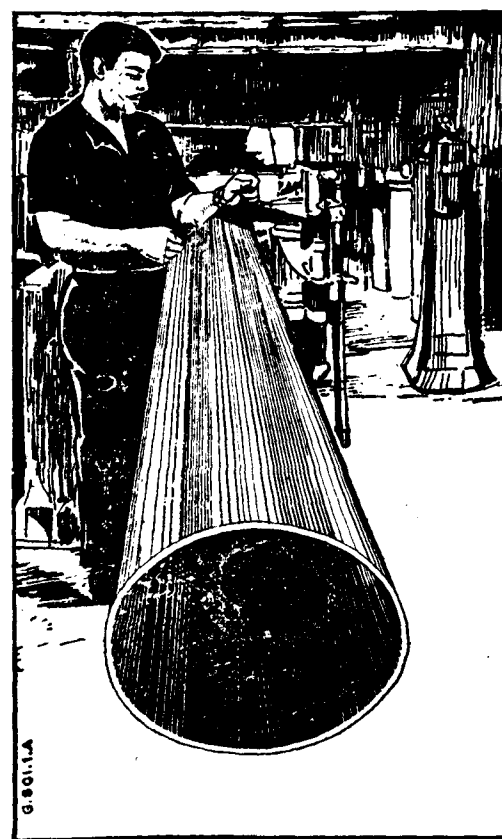
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Vol. XVII. No. 9

MADRAS, AUGUST 26, 1972

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WATCH AND PRAY

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE PRIME MINISTER'S message on the eve of the Silver Jubilee celebrations is a superb document. Not a word in it is out of place or open to any objection. The Prime Minister is a master of the English language. She does not use catch phrases which have become stale by over-use. There is no indication in it, direct or indirect, of the policies she will pursue. By itself, it stands perfect.

Two new Judges of the Supreme Court have been sworn in and one more will soon be added. These three new Judges can, if they are so minded, help the Prime Minister to do away with the Golaknath decision and

maroon the citizens of free India in total serfdom, such as citizens in communist countries have reconciled themselves to. I am unable to shed my apprehension in this respect in the absence of a specific declaration on the part of the Prime Minister that she will not do it.

The Constitution, as it was framed by the fathers of our freedom under the chairmanship of revered Rajendra Prasad, does not stand in the way of anything which the Prime Minister may desire to do for general welfare. What the Constitution insists on is that the fundamental rights of the citizens, as declared in it and

which distinguish the government in India from totalitarianism, should be respected. The absence of any clear denial of an intention to substitute totalitarian majority dictatorship for democracy should not mislead us into apathy or drift. Those who love liberty and a way of life free from serfdom should be on the watch and not sleep hypnotised by the Silver Jubilee celebrations. Watch and pray, as Jesus said to the Apostles. Pray for strength to resist the shattering of the Constitution. The Silver Jubilee may be marked by an era of cooperation between India and Pakistan, but it may also be the inauguration of something not so good.

THE MAKERS OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

K. SANTHANAM

THE INDIAN CONSTITUENT Assembly was elected indirectly by the State legislatures. As the Congress had a majority in most of the States, it could have been made a party caucus if its leaders had so decided; but the great leaders of India at that time, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Moulana Azad and others, took the view that they were trustees for the entire people of India and tried to bring within the Constituent Assembly important men from every section of the population and from every group and party.

As a result, the Constituent Assembly was even more representative than it might have been if it had been constituted by direct elections. Among the non-Congress members were included

Messrs. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, B. Shiva Rao, Father Jerome D'Souza, Dr M. R. Jayakar, M. R. Masani, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Frank Anthony, Shyam Prasad Mookerjee, Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, Sardar Ujjal Singh, Bakshi Tekchand, Hari Singh Gour, and Dr Satchidananda Sinha. Not only in the composition of the Assembly but in the freedom of discussion also, the members of the Congress Party had great liberty.

It was true that the meetings of the party were held in order to eliminate superfluous amendments and rationalise the business of the Constituent Assembly, but non-members were free to attend such meetings and the members of the Congress Party were free to press

their amendments in the open House if they felt them important, even though the party had not approved of them. This will be evident from the fact that no less than 7,635 amendments were tabled, out of which 2,473 amendments were moved in the open House. If one goes through the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, it will be found that more than half the members participated in the discussions. In this article I propose to deal only with some of the most important makers of the Indian Constitution.

Of all those, I consider the contribution of Sri B. N. Rau as the most outstanding. He was not a member of the Constituent Assembly but he was its constitutional adviser. He was officially responsible for almost the entire draft-

ing. An idea of his contribution can be found from the book, 'India's Constitution in the Making', consisting of the papers contributed by him in connection with the Indian Constitution and edited by his brother, B. Shiva Rao. In his foreword to that book, Dr Rajendra Prasad said: "If Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was the skilful pilot of the Constitution through all its difficult stages, Sri B. N. Rau was the person who visualised the plan and laid its foundation." He said later on: "When the history of the Indian Constitution comes to be written, Sri B. N. Rau will occupy in it a significant place. Among the many stalwarts who played their part in the Constituent Assembly in the fulfilment of an extremely difficult undertaking, he distinguished himself by his erudition and detachment and his quietly persistent efforts." It was my privilege to come into close contact with him and discuss with him many important issues. He was always open-minded and quick to appreciate constructive suggestions.

Dr. Ambedkar was in charge of piloting the Constitution through the Constituent Assembly. The work he had to put in in this connection was tremendous but he was never tired and was always ready to defend every clause. Though he was a radical on social issues, he was a conservative in matters relating to legal and constitutional matters. I remember that he resisted stoutly our attempts to simplify the financial procedure and combine the voting of demands on grants and Appropriation Bills. He was very insistent that we should not depart from British procedures. The Articles relating to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes were put in at his insistence. The fact that he fully approved of Article 31 relating to acquisition of property by the Government on payment of compensation should be enough to refute the allegation that it was put in to protect the vested interests.

Sri Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar was the legal expert of the Constituent Assembly. The allocation of subjects in the 7th Schedule,

the Articles relating to the Supreme Court and High Courts and the relations between the Centre and the States owe much to him.

The contribution of Sri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar was no less important. He was not only a great administrator but also a careful student of constitutional law and practice. When the Drafting Committee was considering the method of electing the President, there were sharp differences. The proposal that he should be elected directly by the people was rejected on the ground that it would give much

Gandhiji wrote in 'Harijan' in 1946

Rajaji is one of my oldest friends and was known to be the best exponent in word and deed of all I stand for. That in 1942 he differed from me I know. All honour for the boldness with which he publicly avowed the difference. He is a great social reformer, never afraid to act according to his belief. His political wisdom and integrity are beyond question.

power to a person who was expected to function merely as a constitutional head. Election by both Houses of Parliament was favoured by some but it was strongly opposed as he would then be a nominee of the majority party in power. I thought that the members of the State Assemblies and Parliament may prove to be a satisfactory electorate and I took the idea to Sri Gopalaswami Ayyangar. After discussion, he approved of it and had it accepted. In the controversial language issue, he was the mediator. He had great difficulty in persuading Sri Purushothamdas Tandon and his band of Hindi enthusiasts to accept the compromise which was finally embodied in the Constitution, but even he was unable to persuade them to accept the provision relating to international numerals. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had to use all his influence to get it passed by a majority.

Sardar Patel and Sri K. M. Munshi also contributed much to the Constitution. The elimination of communal representation for Muslims, Sikhs and Christians was due to the persuasive persistence of Sardar Patel. He was also responsible for the integration of States and the articles of the Constitution relating to them. The entire Constituent Assembly felt that he had achieved great success in persuading the Indian Princes to relinquish their sovereignty and accept modest privy purses and some nominal privileges.

As Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was burdened with the responsible work of Government which had increased tenfold owing to Hindu-Muslim conflict, the movement of millions of refugees into and out of India and the settlement of the issues arising from the partition. Still, he devoted considerable time to the Constituent Assembly. He took special interest in the Chapters relating to fundamental rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy.

I should not omit the part played by President Rajendra Prasad, whose patience, understanding and sweet temper made the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly move quickly and smoothly. There were many matters on which there were wide differences of opinion and his tact and understanding made the disputants conduct their controversies in a peaceful and reasonable manner. He also expressed his views on some matters; and he did not mind it when they were not accepted. For instance, he was of the view that some qualifications should be prescribed for candidates seeking election to Parliament and State Legislatures. The Assembly took the view that any limitation will restrict the choice of the electorate and was inconsistent with democratic principles. He was generally successful in handling amendments and persuading their movers to withdraw when they were defective or unreasonable.

Every Article of the Constitution was closely scrutinised by a

group of younger members of the Constituent Assembly. Among them were Durgabai Deshmukh, B. M. Gupte, Pataskar and myself. The Constitution, as it finally emerged, was so broad-based that it became the sheet-anchor of Indian democracy. It is true that there have been twenty-nine amendments so far, but only the recent amendments restricting the scope of fundamental rights were of much consequence. The Con-

RAJASTHAN LETTER:

RAJASTHAN'S DEVELOPMENT PLANS

JAIPUR, Aug. 10: What India as a whole will achieve by the end of the Fourth Plan period, Rajasthan will have achieved by the end of the Fifth Plan period. This clearly implies that from all-India averages Rajasthan will continue to be five years behind the rest of India unless the tempo of progress here picks up sizably. Judging by the very poor resources position of Rajasthan it appears that its backwardness will continue to haunt the State for some years to come.

The State Government, in its approach paper on the Fifth Plan, has said that the all-India minimum averages can be achieved in Rajasthan by the end of the Fifth Plan period if the rate of growth is kept at 7 per cent during the Plan period. And for this, it is necessary that there should be a total investment of Rs 2,136.71 crores during the Fifth Plan period. The outlay of the Fifth Plan has been proposed at Rs 775 crores — Rs 600 crores coming as Central assistance. The State's Fourth Plan, although not yet finally approved by the Planning Commission, envisages a total outlay of Rs 310 crores — Central assistance being of the order of Rs 220 crores.

The State Government hopes to raise a sum of Rs 85 crores during the Fifth Plan period from its own resources to finance the Plan. Because of the saturation point reached in taxation it appears unlikely that the Government's efforts will be successful. In the approach paper no mention has been made how the additional resources will be raised.

stitution itself still remains mostly as it was when it came into force on 26th January 1950. The people of India will do well to stick to it and allow changes only when they became necessary and indispensable for the better functioning of democracy or social justice and the development of a welfare State.—(Courtesy: *Bhavan's Journal* — Annual Number, Indian Independence Silver Jubilee issue).

This is Japan

Although the Japanese language has been greatly simplified over the years, the average Japanese has to know more than 2000 characters to be able to digest a newspaper. Today, Japan has over 100 daily newspapers with a total circulation of over 35 million copies.—K.S.R.

authorities.

The Jan Sangh's stir in the Pakistan-occupied territories across the Rajasthan border against the Simla accord, is continuing. It was launched by Dr Atal Behari Vajpayee on July 25 when he entered Gadra City without valid permits. Mr Vajpayee was arrested by the Army authorities and handed over to the civil authorities at Gadra Road where he was set free. The same practice is being followed by the State Government as no arrests are being made.

The stir has been able to serve only a limited purpose. On his way back to New Delhi, Mr Vajpayee told newsmen here that by launching the satyagraha his objective was only to focus the attention of the people on the mistake committed by Mrs Gandhi in agreeing to surrender the captured areas in Pakistan.

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EDITOR'S NOTES :

AN INGENIOUS FORMULA

The formula which is reported to have been put forward by the Prime Minister to the deputation of managements of private colleges in Kerala is certainly ingenious. It reminds one of the strategem of Lord Krishna who arranged to plant the tree bearing divine flowers in Satyabhama's garden, while the flowers actually fell in that of Rukmini. Under the present formula, the managements will have the prestige of appointing the entire selection committee of five members. But one of them will be a Secretary to the State Government or a District Collector, another will be an expert out of the panel supplied by the university and a third will be a principal, or the head of a department, or a Professor appointed with the concurrence of the university. The other two will be representatives of the managements. Thus, out of 5, 3 will be beholden to the Government or the university. Still, the formula, being the best that can be obtained under the present conditions, has been wisely accepted by the managements and the Kerala University. It should not be difficult to find a fairly independent person among the Secretaries and District Collectors. Similarly, the expert and the staff member can be chosen who is least objectionable from the point of view of the management. The financial issue raised by the reduction of fees has been settled by the Government agreeing to pay all the salaries. It should be a great relief to the stranded students and their anxious parents.

SHEER INCOMPETENCE

There are complaints all over the country of accumulation of arrears in all High Courts. It is reported that the Union Government has decided to increase the strength of judges in the Supreme Court and the High Courts. But, in reply to a question in Parliament, it was disclosed that as on August 1, 1972, there were 48 vacancies in 17 High Courts. As all judges have to retire at

a particular age, the dates when each vacancy will arise are known long before retirement. It is difficult to imagine why appointments should not be made so that the new judges may assume office as soon as the present incumbents retire. If the Central Government acts according to the spirit of the Constitution in respect of appointments of judges, the decision regarding new judges should be with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in consultation with the Chief Justices of the High Courts concerned. Neither the Law Ministry nor the Prime Minister should ordinarily interfere with their recommendations, as that will amount to nepotism and canvassing. It will be interesting to know whether the delay has occurred at the Law Ministry or the Prime Minister's Secretariat. In either case, it proves the incompetence of those departments.

STATUTORY REGULATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The attention of our readers is drawn to the text of the law of German Parliament regulating political parties in the Federal Republic of Germany. The German Consulate in Madras was kind enough to supply us the text in German of the law and the Max Mueller Bhavan generously translated it into English. As the law is fairly long and as it is desirable that the readers should have the text, it is being published in three parts, the first of which appeared in the last issue. The second part is being published in this issue and the third part will follow in the next. After all the parts have been published, the main features will be summarised and commented upon in a leading article.

THE NON-ALIGNED MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE

To call the gathering of the Foreign Ministers who collected at Georgetown (Guyana) as a non-aligned conference is a gross misuse of the word 'non-aligned'.

Many of these countries, including India, are aligned to one or more of the Big Powers. That the assembled Ministers themselves have scant regard for non-alignment is shown by the fact of their consensus that the so-called Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam should become a full member. As a matter of fact, it is neither a government nor is it non-aligned. It is merely a tool of North Vietnam which is itself totally aligned to China and Russia. The proper designation of the meeting should be that of a conference of weak nations trying to guard themselves against the Big Powers. It is something like a conference of mice against the cats. It is not surprising that in the economic report issued at the end of the conference, it is stated that economic pressures and threats from abroad should be considered as aggression. But such pressures can happen only when a small nation seeks the assistance of a rich country and it is always open to it to refuse to accept any assistance with political or other strings attached. Again, the report has affirmed the right to the full exercise of sovereignty over natural resources including the right to nationalise. But it has not been stated that such nationalisation should be accompanied by equitable compensation to be fixed by some impartial agency.

It is an elementary fact that weak nations can become strong quickly only with the help of strong nations and if they discard help, they will continue to be weak. Every Minister present at Georgetown knew this and in his own national policies, he acts accordingly. But when they all gathered together, they were carried away by a false enthusiasm for self-reliance and an imaginary resentment against domination. Even big nations like the U.S.S.R. and China have realised the need of obtaining the assistance of the U.S. and other advanced nations. While the spirit of independence and self-respect deserves to be encouraged, a glorification of weakness is a sure sign of inferiority complex.

ELECTION COSTS AND REIMBURSEMENT

The following is the second part of the law operating in West Germany relating to the composition and functioning of political parties. The first part comprising Articles 1 to 9 appeared last week:

Art. 10: Rights of members:

(1) The competent organs of the party decide about the admission of members, conditions for which are laid down at length in the statute. Rejection of an application for membership or suspension limited to a specific period is not admissible. Such persons who do not have voting right or right of election on account of penal restriction by a court of law may not be a member of a party.

(2) Members of the party and representatives in the party organs have equal voting rights. The exercise of voting right may be made conditional on the discharge of the duty of contribution on the part of the member, as prescribed at length in the statute. The member has the right to quit the party at any time without notice.

(a) The statute should contain conditions regarding:

- (i) Disciplinary proceedings admissible against members;
- (ii) Reasons for instituting disciplinary proceedings;
- (iii) the party organs which can institute such disciplinary proceedings against members;

(3) In the case of removal of a member from office or derecognition of a member's capacity to continue in office, such decision must be supported by valid reasons.

(4) A member can be removed from the party only if he wilfully violates the statutory regulations or acts in a manner prejudicial to the basic order and discipline of the party and thereby causes damage.

(5) Such removal is determined by the arbitration committee (court of arbitration) which is empowered to do so. Reference of the matter to a higher court of appeal must be guaranteed. Decisions must be substantiated in writing. In matters of immediate and grave nature which require immediate action, the executive committee or a regional council of a party can forbid a member from exercising his or her rights until a decision is taken by the court of arbitration.

Art. 11: Executive Committee:

(1) The executive committee (council) will be elected once in two years. It must consist of at least three members.

(2) Delegates and other persons from the party can also become members of the executive committee according to the provisions of the statute, when they have earned their office or a mandate by virtue of an election. The number of members not elected according to Art. 9, Para 4, should not exceed a fifth part of the total number of members of the executive committee.

(3) The executive committee administers the regional organisation according to the Act and other decisions of the higher authorities. It represents the regional organisation within the meaning of Art. 26, Para 2 of the Citizenship Act, insofar as no deviation from this procedure is foreseen in the statute.

(4) For the execution of the decisions taken by the executive committee as also for disposing of the day-to-day affairs as well as other urgent matters, an executive body (Presidency) can be formed from among the executive committee members. The members of such a body can be elected by the executive committee or determined by the statute.

Art. 12: General Party Councils/Committees:

(1) For all general party councils or committees or similar bodies, which have statutory competence in the matter of counselling or deciding political or organisational matters of the party, members can be chosen also from the regional bodies which are subordinate to the party.

(2) The executive committee and other personalities as defined in Art. 11, Para 2, can form an organ, if relevant provisions therefor exist in the statute. The number of non-elected members of such an organ shall not exceed a third of the total number of members of such an organ; the number can, however, be increased, on condition that such members have only right of advice (not of election), provided the number of such members is less than half of the total number of members of the organ.

(3) The tenure of the members of the organ mentioned in para (1) is two years.

Art. 13: Composition of the representative councils:

The composition of a representative council or any other organ which consists wholly or partly of representatives of the regional bodies, has to be laid down by statute. The number of representatives of the regional bodies is, in the first instance, to be determined by the actual number of representatives. The statute can so ordain that the remaining number of representatives upto a maximum

of 50 per cent be distributed according to the results of the previous elections in the area of operation of the regional body concerned.

Exercise of voting right may be made dependent on the fulfilment of obligations in respect of contributions.

Art. 14: Board of Arbitration of Party:

(1) For arbitration and settlement of disputes in the party or an area organisation between individual members and disputes regarding laying down of and applying the statute, boards of arbitration have to be formed when such disputes occur at the highest level of the party or at the regional level. For disputes concerning more than one regional group a common arbitration council may be formed.

(2) The members of the arbitration council are elected for a maximum period of four years. They may not be members of an executive committee of the party or a regional group and also likewise not be an office-bearer of the party of the regional group or be a member drawing a regular salary or remuneration from the party. They are independent and are not bound by instructions from the party.

(3) The statute may provide for the participation in the arbitration council of observers nominated by the parties to the dispute.

(4) The activities of the arbitration council shall be regulated by framing the relevant rules therefor, which will guarantee to the members of the council due processes of law, fair proceedings, and challengeability.

Art. 15: Opinion formation in the organs:

(1) The organs pass their resolutions by means of a simple majority of votes, insofar as this does not contravene the statute or any other act which might stipulate a higher majority.

(2) The elections to the committee membership, representatives of the council of deputies and to the organs of higher regional bodies are secret. In the case of the remaining elections the votes can be registered openly, if this is not objected to by the parties concerned.

(3) Right of appeal shall be regulated in such a manner that it is conducive to the formation of opinion within the party in a democratic way and that it helps even minority-groups to propose their own suggestions for discussion and possible adoption. In the case of regional body meetings of the higher regional groups the representatives of the two next lower regional groups shall have right of appeal. In elections and agreements adopting the decisions of other organs, appeal is not permissible.

Art. 16: Actions against regional bodies:

(1) The suspension and the dissolution of the regional bodies, as well as the dismissal of whole organs of the regional bodies are admissible only in cases of extremely serious violations of the statute of the party. The statute shall contain specific clauses as to—

- (a) the grounds on which such actions are allowed;
- (b) the organisations, or higher authority, or other organs which are entitled to take such action;

(2) As per Para 1 above, any action taken by the executive committee of the party or any other high regional council requires the confirmation of a higher organ. The action of reappraisal will become ineffective when the action is not confirmed at the next general body meeting of the party.

(3) Appeals against such actions of reprisals as mentioned in Para (1) above to a court of arbitration shall be allowed.

CHAPTER III NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION

Art. 17: Nomination of candidates for election:

The nomination of candidates for election to Parliament must be carried out by secret ballot. Rules for such nominations are contained in the Election Act and the statute of the party.

CHAPTER IV REIMBURSEMENT OF ELECTION COSTS

Art. 18: Basis and Scope of Reimbursement:

(1) The election costs incurred by the parties which are considered necessary and within admissible limits shall be reimbursed; this applies only to parties which have nominated their own candidates for the elections and fought the elections on their own rights. The costs are reimbursed *pro rata* at DM 2.50 per person entitled to vote at the election in question.

(2) This lump sum payment (reimbursement) shall be divided among the parties in a ratio depending on the final decision results provided a party has obtained a minimum of—

- (i) 0.5 per hundred of the valid votes in the area in which election was held;
- (ii) 10 per cent of the valid first votes in the area in which election was held, if in this particular area the party was not allowed to nominate candidates for the State elections.

(3) The quantum of reimbursement of election costs to parties shall be decided according to—

(i) the position of second votes in the area of election in the cases of parties covered by Para 2, sub-division (ii);

(ii) at the rate of DM 2.50 for every first vote in the area of election in the case of parties governed by Para 2, sub-division ii, when such party/parties has/have obtained at least 10 per cent of the valid votes recorded.

(4) Before working out the amount of reimbursement for parties according to Para 3, sub-division (i), the amount of reimbursement due to parties governed by Para 3, sub-division (ii), shall be deducted from the total lump sum.

Art. 19: Modus of reimbursement:

(1) The working out and payment of the reimbursement amounts (share of the lump sum set apart for election expenses reimbursement) have to be applied for in writing within two months of the meeting of the Federal Parliament to the President of the German Federal Parliament "Bundestag". Such application can also be limited to a part of the amount.

(2) The exact amount of reimbursement will be calculated and paid by the President of the German "Bundestag". Part-payments made according to Art. 20 will be taken into account for this purpose.

Art. 20: Part-payments:

(1) Part-payment of due compensation to such parties which, by virtue of the election results obtained by them are deemed to have fulfilled the condition and thus are entitled to reimbursement, shall be sanctioned. The volume of such part-payments shall not exceed 10 per cent of the total amount that might become due in the second year after the elections, 15 per cent in

the third year and 35 per cent in the year of elections, the percentage amounts being worked out on the basis of the reimbursement amount of the last elections.

(2) Applications for part-payments shall be submitted in writing to the President of the German "Bundestag."

(3) In case elections take place earlier than the normal period, the President of the "Bundestag" can make deviations from the rules contained in Paras (1) and (2) above and make part-payments, provided that such part-payments do not exceed 60 per cent of the total sum that might become due.

(4) Part-payments shall be paid back to the extent by which they exceed the total reimbursable sum due or when the party is not entitled to reimbursement.

Art. 21: Provision of Federal Funds:

(1) The amounts that are required for the purpose of Articles 18 and 20 shall be obtained from the Federal Budget.

(2) The Federal Audit Office shall examine whether the President of the German "Bundestag", in his capacity as the mediating administrator, has made the payment of reimbursement of election costs as per the regulations contained in this chapter.

Art. 22: Reimbursement of election costs in the States:

The States have been authorised to frame their own acts and regulations for the reimbursement of elections to the State Assemblies. These regulations, shall, however, be within the framework of Article 18, Para (1) and Articles 19 and 20. For parties with national minority the reimbursement shall not be made contingent on the share of minimum votes.

(To be concluded)

KERALA LETTER:

QUILON TEXTILE MILL TAKEN OVER BY N.T.C.

KOTTAYAM, Aug. 15: The Parvathi Mills, Quilon, has been taken over by the National Textile Corporation. Mr A. C. George, Union Deputy Minister, presiding over the function held in connection with the reopening of the mills on July 28, said that 23 of the 26 textile mills run directly by the NTC were working profitably and that the Corporation had made a profit of about Rs 30 lakhs during 1971-72. The NTC has authorised the Kerala State Textile Corporation to run the Parvathi Mills

with a licensed capacity of 25,000 spindles and 330 looms.

The Kerala Coir Advisory Board has suggested total nationalisation of coir export trade as the canalisation proposed by the Union Foreign Ministry would not result in an overall stabilisation of the industry. Mr T. V. Thomas, Industries Minister, Kerala, said that unless the middlemen (in the husk trade and also the coir stockists) were eliminated, the industry could not be placed on a sound footing.

LAND AND AGRICULTURE

L. A. NATESAN

AGRICULTURAL POLICY in the country seems to be changing front rather suddenly. Some fifty years ago, among the many problems facing agriculture were the prevailing high interest rates, heavy indebtedness, poor marketing organization, the exactions of the middlemen, and the poor agricultural banking facilities. The average holding was small and according to the Census of 1920 in Bengal it worked out to only 2.2 acres *per capita* of the population of ordinary cultivators, farm servants and field labourers. Extension of irrigation in some parts of the country brought more land under cultivation. This had some impact on production but little in general on the average land holding.

It was not merely the smallness of the holdings that adversely affected agriculture. There was also the fragmentation of holdings, caused over time by equal rights of inheritance, which sometimes went to the extent of dividing up each of the individual holdings, already scattered in the area because of variations in the degrees of fertility. Not all were so insistent on their pound of flesh. Many must have found an escape by selling their tiny strips to other inheritors for reasonable consideration and buying up contiguous fields elsewhere in the area, or turning to other occupations in urban industry.

Measures to remedy the situation were indeed put forward and in many cases carried out, e.g., cooperative consolidation of fragmented holdings, exchange and distribution of holdings to have contiguous fields, etc. Given goodwill and a desire for public welfare, there were indeed instances of successful solutions to the problem. But such cases were no more than a drop in the ocean. Directors of Agriculture in the States (then Provinces), teachers in economics, and other experts in rural problems, almost from the beginning of the century, recognised the need for larger holdings

nized and to save for the cultivator the enormous waste of time in trudging from one small plot to another. What really gave relief to the agriculturist were the stimulus during wartime, the gradual reduction of the real burden of debt by getting a better monetary return for his goods through higher prices, etc.

The extent of exhaustive discussions which had taken place in the past and the unanimity of the conclusions deserve to be recalled. Here are a few selections. Wadia and Joshi, in their *Wealth of India* (1925), referred to the views of Keatinge: "In the Bombay Presidency in general, and in particular, in the Konkan, West Deccan, and the garden and rice tracts of Gujarat, subdivision and fragmentation of land have reached an intolerable point" (1916). Dr Harold Mann, in his exhaustive and penetrating *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village* (1917) said: "By far the greater proportion of the holdings could not under the most favourable circumstances maintain their owners. It looks as if we had reached the limit of subdivision below which it is not worthwhile to divide." The same story is confirmed by Dr Gilbert Slater in Madras Presidency. Sir Malcolm Darling, in his *Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and in Debt*, in 1925, containing a wealth of valuable detail, also commented seriously on subdivision and fragmentation as the two outstanding evils holding up agricultural progress. The Howards, in their *Indian Agriculture* (1927), gave the same verdict.

The really comprehensive and countrywide enquiry into the problems on Indian agriculture was made by the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture (1928). The recommendations of this Commission have had a profound influence on future agricultural policy in the country. Much of the administrative changes, increased attention paid to the requirements of the rural economy, animal husbandry, expansion of research activities, and the Central

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ENGLISH WEEKLY

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and State levels, have all stemmed out of the Royal Commission's recommendations. There is a whole chapter on sub-division and fragmentation. Legislative restraint on subdivision of holdings below a prescribed minimum would correct the defects in the laws of inheritance. The door to this way out has been even more firmly closed to the new Hindu law of inheritance as women also now share equally with men in inheritance. Gunnar Myrdal, in his *Asian Drama*, has drawn special attention to this.

The proposals currently discussed in Parliament and States legislatures about fixing the ceiling on ownership at between 10 and 18 acres seem to me as likely to intensify the difficulties and possibly raise them to gigantic proportions. The tremendous increase in our rural population and their needs during the past four decades have been partially met by extension of agricultural operations to more land, bringing some areas, otherwise difficult to use, by irrigation, alternative employment of the normal population in industries in the neighbourhood or away from the village to which they belong.

Our population is bound to increase in the future. Can there be any doubt about the mounting pressure on land that this will certainly bring in its wake. Even taking into account the factors of

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increased productivity, yield, etc., what can be the limitations on the maximum size of a holding? What may be right for the first generation may prove totally impossible to get on with by the next and the subsequent ones. With the limited cultivable area available, the magnitude of the problem needs to be appreciated.

The logical course will be to follow the advice given by Dr Stanley Jevons of Allahabad, long ago, namely, to adopt a policy somewhat analogous to the English Enclosures Act, so that each property would be one compact block with roads laid out and water channels planned scientifically to economise both water and space. The great beneficial results of this policy have been confirmed by the experience of later generations in England. Under the present conditions the loss

of time, inconvenience and waste of effort for the rural working population must be colossal. These and the absorption of the population to the agricultural requirements in constellations of medium-scale industries alone can provide adequate employment. Emigration, which used to provide a way out in the past, is now out of the question.

The alternatives should be thoroughly investigated. Before any fresh legislation is taken up, let the country know what it is in for. Policies adopted without full investigation can do immense injury to millions of rural workers. I wish I could see some superior virtue as a long-term policy in the points currently canvassed. How the twin spectres of subdivision of the holdings and fragmentation are to be laid is most unclear.

WEST BENGAL LETTER:

NATIONALISATION BY THE BACK-DOOR

CALCUTTA, August 10: The compensation paid to the owners of the coking coal mines which have been nationalised raises a question of serious import. It was the first industry to be taken over by the Government after the 25th Amendment to the Constitution. No doubt it has made the question of compensation non-justiciable. However, in a democracy it is expected that the Government will be reasonable and fair in computing the quantum of compensation to a person for taking over his or her property. In the view of the coal industry, it was, therefore, a test case which will determine the Government's future compensation policy towards industries taken over. But the hurry in which the Bill providing for the compensation was passed by the Lok Sabha smacks of an authoritarian attitude. It was introduced on July 31 and adopted on August 4 even before the industry had time to study the Bill and submit its views on it.

For 214 mines, the Government has provided for a total compensation of Rs 16.37 crores. The joint working committee of the coal industry pointed out recently that the compensation amount

prescribed in the Bill had no relevance to the economic realities of the industry. The value of coke and coal at pitheads at the time of the take-over alone was Rs 11 crores. Thus, only about Rs 5 crores can be deemed to be the value of the assets (other liquid assets) handed over to the Custodian-General in October, 1971. The industry used to produce 14 million tonnes of coking coal worth Rs 50 crores. Thus the compensation paid works out at Rs 3.85 per tonne of coal. And, certainly, coal worth Rs 50 crores cannot be raised by an investment of Rs 5 crores only. The judiciousness of the Government stand becomes apparent when one considers that the net block of the National Coal Development Corporation for raising an equal quantity of coal is Rs 110 crores.

As such, the committee pointed out, the compensation was not only totally inadequate, but in most cases the mine-owners would have to pay out of their pockets to meet the liabilities. The question, it is felt, would have its impact on future investments for industrial growth, especially in West Bengal which is currently wooing industrialists for massive invest-

This is Japan

The containerised cargo transportation service, first introduced in the domestic market in Japan has now been expanded to overseas areas through the launching of container carriers and completion piers for the exclusive use of container vessels. The entire loading process is mechanised.—K.S.R.

ment for economic recovery.

Government take-over has involved West Bengal more than any other State. The Indian Iron and Steel Company was taken over a few days back on grounds of mismanagement. The Copper Corporation, also located in the region, was taken over earlier. As such the confidence of investors is shaken considerably. The Chief Minister has admitted that one of the constraints to proper implementation of the Fourth Plan is the inability of the monopoly units to expand because of the Monopolies Act. He would not hesitate to pass legislation to compel the monopoly houses to come into the joint sector.

Few will disagree with him that the monopoly houses—three-fourths of them are in West Bengal—can play a big role in the State's economic revival. Most of the proposals for fresh investment received by the State Government are being weighed against the possibility of a joint sector. But the question asked is: will it work after the IISCO take-over? For all practical purposes IISCO was a joint sector plant with the nationalised financial institutions holding a majority of the shares. Three of the Directors were Government-nominated and their views always weighed heavily with the management. What was the Government doing, if the production was falling? The take-over of a plant in which the Government directly or indirectly had a majority of the shares has only strengthened the suspicion in industrial circles that the joint sector will only serve as an instrument for nationalisation—the back-door.

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AUROBINDO - A LIFE OF CONTEMPLATION AND ACTION IN UNION

DR. P. NAGARAJA RAO

SRI AUROBINDO is one of our great spiritual savants and has left us a rich heritage in the form of poetry, prose, drama, and several bunches of letters. Besides these, he built an international spiritual centre at Pondicherry where he lived for over half a century. This has been the rallying place for spiritual aspirants from the East as well the West.

Sri Aurobindo, in a letter to his wife, speaks of three aspirations: to identify himself with his people, to see and experience God and to free Mother India from the 'rakshasa' of alien rule that was draining her of her life-blood. His life is described as an Epic of Contemplation and Action in Union. His message on India's Independence Day, 15th August 1947, spelt out his five cherished dreams: a free and united India; a free puissant and resurgent Asia; a world union of differing nationalities; a diffusion of India's spirituality all over the world; an evolution which would raise man to the highest consciousness resulting in the individual growth and perfect society. In a modern sense, he achieved all these dreams though not to the extent he wished and longed for.

Sri Aurobindo is a radical thinker. In his own words, he is 'a metaphysician doubled with a yogi.' Poet Tagore exclaimed in 1928 on seeing Sri Aurobindo: "You have the word and we are willing to accept it from you. India will speak through your voice to the world."

After his spiritual experience in Pondicherry, Sri Aurobindo outlined his theory of reality and his philosophy of *sadhana* in all his works. His literary output was given to the world first in a journal called *Arya*, which he edited and whose columns he filled with his long serialised articles from 1914 to 1920. Most of them are collected in book form today. Some of the important ones are: *The Life Divine*; *Essays on the Gita*; *Synthesis of Yoga*; *Ideal of*

Human Unity; *The Human Cycle* and *Savitri*.

It is difficult to summarise Sri Aurobindo's philosophy. It goes by the name of *Integral Yoga*. According to him the Supreme Reality is not a homogeneous consciousness. It is consciousness-force and bliss. This supreme reality has seeped into all the things in the world including dead matter. The process of the Divine descent into the world is called involution. It is because of this, matter is able to evolve into life, life into mind, mind into consciousness and that into Divine Life. Evolution, according to Sri Aurobindo, is neither a straight line nor merely physical. It is a spiritual curve in which everything that went before must be taken up and integrated.

Man, according to Sri Aurobindo, is a term of transition. He has to develop his potentialities. He cannot grow by the use of his reason alone. "The logic of infinite is the magic of the Finite." Man cannot attain his best by relying on the past. Writing about the past, Sri Aurobindo says: "There cannot be a healthy and victorious survival if we make of the past a fetish instead of an inspiring impulse." He suggests that the ego-bound reason of man must surrender to the Super Mind. The descent of the Super Mind in man divinises him. It makes his powers angelic. The descent of the Super Mind has the capacity to transfer all things into divinity.

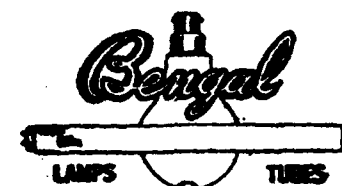
Sri Aurobindo's philosophy is integral and does not exclude anything. He does not despise *samsara*, or matter, of the body of man. He seeks to use all these as instruments of God. He stands for the positive outlook on life.

The Integral Yoga of Sri Aurobindo is a glorious chapter in the history of contemporary Indian philosophy. He combines in himself a commanding intellect and a massive scholarship and he was one of the most powerful spiritual forces of the present century.

What of the world's future? Sri

Aurobindo had this to say: "The ultimate result must be the formation of a World State and the most desirable form of it would be a federation of free nationalities in which all subjection or forced inequality and subordination of one to another would have disappeared and, though some might preserve a greater natural influence, all would have an equal status. A confederacy would give a greater freedom to the nations constituting the World State, but this might give too much room for fissiparous or centrifugal tendencies to operate; a federal order would then be most desirable. All else would be determined by the course of events and by general agreement on the shape given by the ideas and necessities that may grow up in future. A world union of this kind would have the greatest chances of permanent existence."

On Indian culture and ideal, Sri Aurobindo says in his *Foundations of Indian Culture*: "Spirituality is indeed the master-key of Indian mind. The sense of the infinite is native to it. India saw from the beginning—and, even in her ages of reason and her age of increasing ignorance, she never lost hold of the insight—that life could not be rightly seen in the sole light, could not be perfectly lived in sole power of its externalities. She was alive to the greatness of material laws and forces; she knew how to organise the arts of ordinary life. But she saw that the physical does not get its full sense until it stood in the right relation to the supra-physical; she saw that the complexity of the universe could not be explained in the present terms of man or



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seen by his superficial sight, that there were other powers behind, other powers within man himself, of which he was normally unaware, that he was conscious only of a small part of himself, that the invisible always surrounded the visible, the suprasensible the sensible, even as infinity always surrounds the finite.

"When we look at the past of India, what strikes us is her stupendous vitality, her inexhaustible power of life and joy of life, her almost unimaginably prolific creativeness. For three thousand years at least—it is indeed much longer — she has been creating abundantly and incessantly, lavishly, with an inexhaustible many-sidedness, republics and kingdoms and empires, philosophies and cosmogonies and sciences and creeds and arts and poems and all kinds of monuments, places and temples and public works, communities and societies and religious orders, laws and codes and rituals, physical sciences, systems of Yoga, systems of politics and administration, arts spiritual, arts worldly, trades, industries, fine

crafts—the list is endless and in each item there is almost a plethora of activity. She creates and creates and is not satisfied and is not tired; she will not have an end of it, seems hardly to need a space for rest, a time for inertia and lying fallow. . . ."

"The spiritual motive will be, in the future of India, as in her past, the real originative and dominating strain. By spirituality we do not mean a remote metaphysical mind or the tendency to dream rather than to act. That was not the great India of old in her splendid days of vigour,—whatever certain European critics or interpreters of her culture may say,—and it will not be the India of the future. Metaphysical thinking will always no doubt be a strong element in her mentality, and it is to be hoped that she will never lose her great, her sovereign powers in that direction; but Indian metaphysics is as far removed from the brilliant or the profound idea-spinning of the French or the German mind as from the broad intellectual generalising on the basis of the facts

of physical science which for some time did duty for philosophy in modern Europe. It has always been in its essential parts an intellectual approach to spiritual realisation. Though in later times it led too much away from life, yet that was not its original character whether in its early Vedantic intuitional forms, or in those later developments of it, such as the *Gita*, which belong to the period of its more vigorous intellectual originality and creation. Buddhism itself, the philosophy which first really threw doubt on the value of life, did so only in its intellectual tendency; in the dynamic parts, by its ethical system and spiritual method, it gave a new set of values, a greater idealism to human living and was therefore powerfully creative both in the arts which interpret life and in society and politics. To realise intimately the truth of the spirit and to quicken and to remould life by it, is the native tendency of the Indian mind, and to that it must always return in all its periods of health, greatness and vigour."

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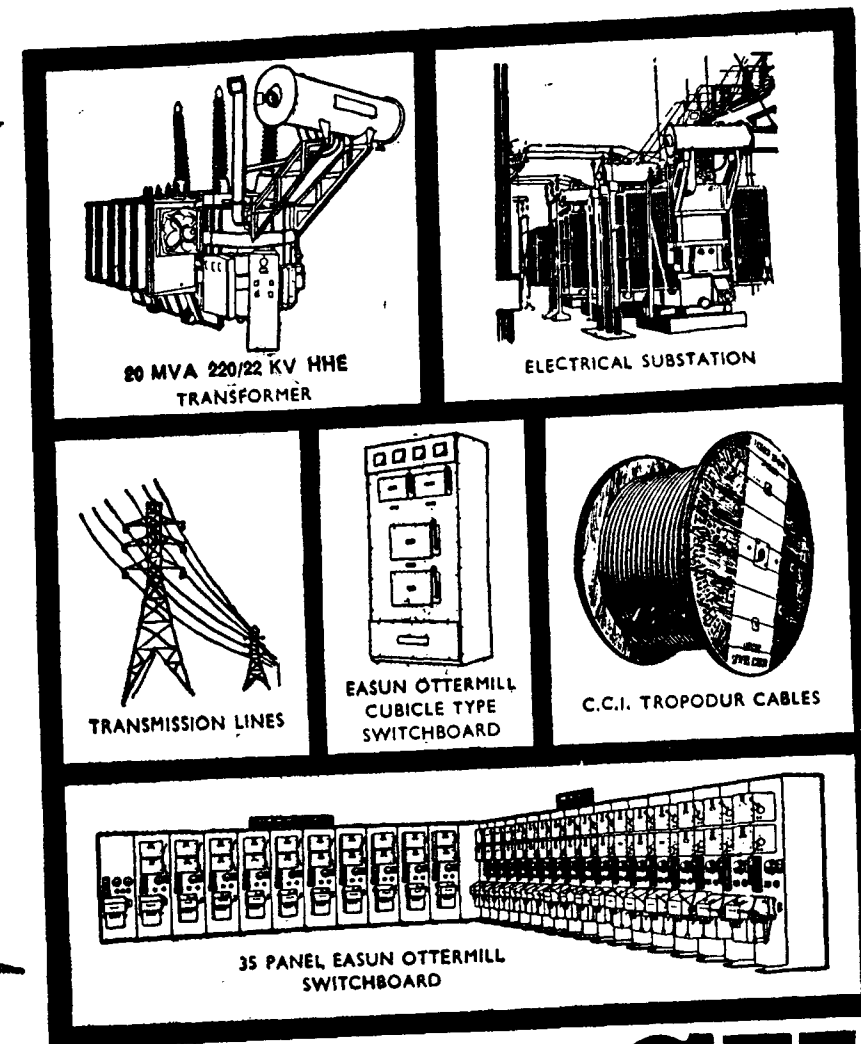
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RECONSTRUCTION OF BANGLA DESH'S ECONOMY

BANGLA DESH ECONOMY—PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS:
 Edited by V. K. R. V. Rao
 Published by Vikas Publications, Daryaganj, Ansari Road, New Delhi.
 Price: Rs 24

The book is a collection of eight papers read at a Seminar held under the joint auspices of the Delhi Institute of Economic Growth and the Indian International Centre with an Introduction and the Presidential Speech contributed by Dr V. K. R. V. Rao. It addresses itself, as the Publishers announce, to a close scrutiny of the basic economic issues of Bangla Desh, viz., reconstruction, trade, aid, industrialisation, food problem and economic co-operation with India.

Dr Rao, in his Introduction, summarises the findings in the Papers as follows: (1) As a result of the deliberate pro-west wing and anti-east wing policy adopted by the Central Government of Pakistan, the foreign exchange surplus generated by East Pakistan was mainly used for bringing about the industrial development of West Pakistan, except to the extent that development of jute manufactures was promoted in East Pakistan to bring about a further increase in the foreign exchange surplus that could be used for West Pakistan (page 3); (2) this was further aggravated by the disparity in public expenditure, the share of West Pakistan being 79 per cent; (3) the disparity between their *per capita* income grew apace, Bangla Desh registering Rs 399, as against Rs 500 by West Pakistan in 1969-70 (page 6); (4) the price level was distinctly higher in the eastern wing as compared with the west. This was the result of the higher value of Pakistani rupee in the western as compared with the eastern wing. Besides basic foodgrains, the prices of its imported manufactures from West Pakistan were also higher, not only because of the long transport haul but also because of the virtually monopolistic character of these imports and the forced lack of competition from the neighbouring countries like India (page 7). Dr Rao concludes that the studies included in the book reveal that "East Pakistan was treated more or less as a colonial appendage of West Pakistan and this in addition to the cultural and other discrimination it suffered at the hands of its West Pakistan rulers" (page 7).

Of the eight Essays included in this volume the first two refer to the past, viz., 'Regional Disparity' (by Arjun Sen Gupta) and 'Economic Stagnation

of Bangla Desh' (P. C. Verma). The next three deal with a description of the present, such as 'Land Reform' (P. C. Joshi); 'Some Current Economic Problems' (B. N. Ganguli); and 'Trade Problems' (B. B. Bhattacharya). The last three deal with the future such as 'Indo-Bangla Desh Investment Prospects' (A. M. Khuro); 'Economic Reconstruction: Immediate Perspective' (Arjun Sen Gupta); and 'Reconstruction of Bangla Desh and India' (B. Chattopadhyaya). The book closes with three appendices — The first is the opening speech by Dr. Rao at the Seminar, the second is a series of statistical tables (25 in number) dealing with different aspects of life in Bangla Desh (past, present and future) and the third is a list of 18 reference books used by P. C. Joshi in his paper on Land Reforms. There is a short Index at the end.

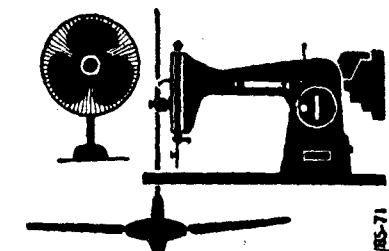
The approach to the subject by the several authors is comprehensive and their descriptions as well as conclusions are based on statistical data collected with considerable patience from all available sources. While the problem of rehabilitation is, first and foremost, the responsibility of the Bangla Desh Government and its people, India can take its contribution in a humble way, provided there are no political strings and it does not take upon itself the role of a big brother. We agree with Dr Rao that "if there is mutual understanding, mutual faith and mutually beneficial but cooperative and integrated action on the part of both countries a bright future awaits both India and Bangla Desh" (page 13). The lines of cooperation envisaged in the book are — (flood control, power development, agricultural growth, use of scientific research and technology and mutual cooperation in facing problems of foreign trade and foreign aid." (page 13). The three specific measures suggested by Dr Rao at the people's level are — (1) reconstruction loan to Bangla Desh on favourable terms; (2) the creation of a Bangla Desh Development Corps of qualified Indian youths who will work with their counterparts in Bangla Desh for at least three years in rehabilitation work; and (3) close cooperation between intellectuals, scientists and other professionals of India and Bangla Desh.

This book is a timely publication dealing with an important international problem of setting on their feet the people comprising a new nation in the Indian sub-continent who suffered considerable hardship at the hands of a State organised on the illusory bond of religion with no thoughts for other

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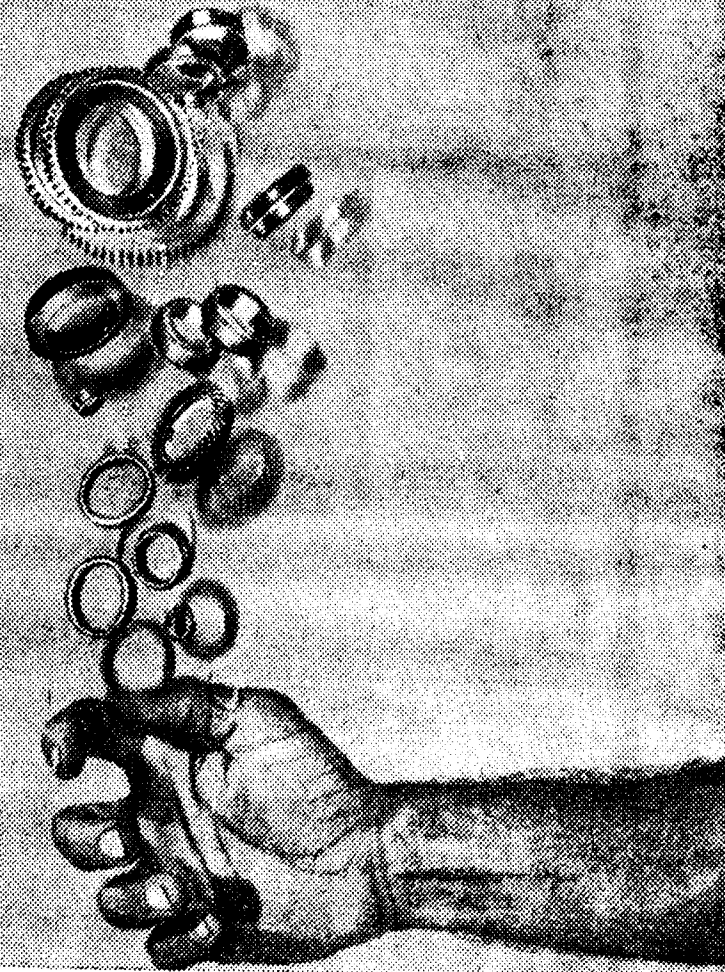


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(Prof.) S. SUBBARAMA AIYAR

TECHNIQUES OF MANAGEMENT

ESSENCE OF MODERN MANAGEMENT:

By N. H. ATHREYA

Published by the M.M.C. School of Management, 3E1 Court Chambers, New Marine Lines, Bombay-20.

Price: Library edition Rs 19.50; Student edition Rs 15

In Locksley Hall, Alfred Tennyson says, "Slowly comes a hungry people, as a lion creeping nigher; Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly dying fire." Such a nightmare may soon become true for us unless we hurry up and learn fast how to manage our national resources effectively for a better standard of living for all. A better quality of life for every Indian through sensible management as the national objective, is the central theme of Prof. Athreya's latest book.

It is written for the busy executive as well as for every manager in industry, government, business, hospital,

trade union, nay, even an ashram. Our legislators and law-makers, parliamentarians and Ministers should also find it equally educative and purposeful. It could be useful for the student of arts, technology or science, planning a management career. Prof. Athreya, who needs little introduction to the practitioners and students of the profession, presents it to one and all concerned with management. The book spells the need for right mental attitudes through result-seeking creative thinking, more by action and reflection, than mere concepts.

The first of the six parts of the book deals with the principles of achievement orientation, aimed at the broader goals of higher living standards. The essence, operational features and universal applicability of modern management thought to corporate business or any organisation, is the gist of Part II.

The basis, structure and features of organisational types and sizes are discussed in the third part, while a guideline for better executive action, irrespective of the operational area, makes the fourth part. The fifth searches the reasons for the continuous talk about management roles and responsibilities. The sixth part lists the several management thinkers whose books can help an avid reader drink from the fountain-head of concepts and principles. The appendix on Hippocratic Oath for Management reminds one that the me-

dical profession offers an appropriate analogy to the practice of management.

Evolving from the barber-surgeon centuries ago, today's doctor's healing touch has improved through better diagnosis and a deeper understanding of human physiology. So also has the modern professional manager become more effective through a better grasp of managerial essentials. The continuous snowballing of functional and general management knowledge in recent years has made the executive a professional specialist. Management, like an orchestral symphony, is composed of several techniques and technologies.

Prof. Athreya's book underlines the various restraints and inhibitions cramping the Indian manager today. It suggests debottlenecking methods through earnest human effort. A striking feature of the book is the sparkling humour and the inimitable wisdom of the thought-provoking cartoons of R. K. Laxman. As a whole, it is a stimulating book which kindles our thoughts on how well we can manage if we go about it the right way. Its 'phrase reading' format aids speedy reading and easy comprehension. The book should find a place not only in management libraries, but also in the personal book-shelf of any manager—top, senior, middle or junior—whatever he manages.

—S. SUNDARAM

BIHAR LETTER:

PARKINSON'S LAW IN BIHAR ADMINISTRATION

PATNA, August 14: The creation of 11 new districts, in addition to the existing 17, together with new subdivisions and all their attendant paraphernalia of duplicated establishments, is a major administrative shake-up, which is bound to run to expenditure on a prodigious scale. Yet, this is the "reform" that the Bihar Government has implemented at this of all times when the State's financial solvency has touched an all-time low. Administratively, the measure is defended on the ground of more efficient administration and law enforcement. So far as this goes, the plea seems justified. Bihar districts have always been unwieldy and the lawless spirit of the times has shown up the clay feet of the administration.

But, if the measure is justified on administrative grounds, financially, it is a disaster. The State's debt to the Centre amounts to a massive Rs 626 crores; annual debt repayments exceed the annual Plan assistance from the Centre. The tight financial position has obliged the State Government to prune the Fourth Plan by as much as Rs 100 crores from a projected outlay of Rs 531 crores. What is more, the Reserve Bank's threat to dishonour the State Government's cheques, if the State's overdraft exceeds Rs 7 crores for more than a week, has cramped the Government's style to some extent. But, for unproductive expenditure, designed solely to keep the administration ticking over, there is apparently no limit.

Bihar, with one of the lowest per capita incomes in the country, has been subjected to draconian doses of taxation by the present Government. More taxes, such as a further increase in irrigation rates and a 50 to 100 per cent hike in land revenue rates have been promised by the Chief Minister. But since the process of drawing blood from a stone must have a limit, these will not take the Gov-

ernment very far. The State Government's main reliance, therefore, appears to be on an anticipated rise in Central subventions, which may or may not materialize.

The announcement of district reorganisation was greeted in typical Bihari style, which to those familiar with it, is an easily recognized compound of bravado laced with acrimony. Prior to the announcement, deputations galore had waited on the C.M. urging the claims of their respective home towns to be made district or sub-divisional headquarters. The hardly disguised motivation for all this flurry was a keen awareness of the appreciation of property values in the event of headquarters being sited in their towns. After the announcement, disappointed residents of passed-over provincial towns held meetings threatening hunger-strikes, dharna and even, in one memorable instance, self-immolation. The dichotomy between heroic means and trivial ends seems to have struck no one.

Apart from property owners in the new headquarter towns, the principal beneficiaries of the "reform" will be the States bureaucracy who can look forward to considerable proliferation of their ranks eventually and immediate prospects of accelerated promotions. Whether the new administrative set-up leads to more effective law enforcement or not, one law, Parkinson's, is bound to be honoured in the observance.

FALL IN EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

The Bihar Government's war on crimes is a many-splendoured thing, as surprising numbers of people are learning to their cost; and not the least active sector in recent weeks has been in the realm of what can be described as the academic racket. University standards in Bihar have fallen precipitously in the course of the last

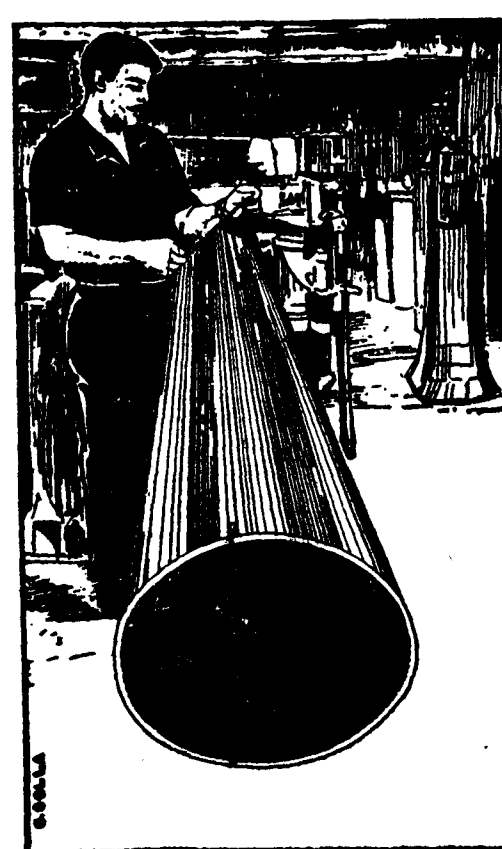
decade. Mass copying in examinations, threatening and assaulting of invigilators, manipulation of mark sheets, favouritism, nepotism and casteism have been the rule in all the universities. Cliques, dominant and dissident, in the university governing bodies have made a shambles of any attempt to enforce discipline and respectable academic standards. The clique, if dominant, led to free licence being given to malpractices of all kinds or, if dissident, to paralysis of university administration. The pay-off came when another university de-recognised the medical degree awarded by the Patna University.

As a salutary first step, the Kedar Pandey Ministry, superseded the governing bodies of all the universities early this year, superannuating at one fell stroke the V.C.s., the Senates and the Syndicates. I.A.S. officers appointed to clean the Augean stables have generally proved more businesslike open to pulls and pressures.

Some senior Government officers, who were required to pass a law examination, were recently detected copying with impunity from law-books.

This year's degree examinations marked a further turn in the academic screw. An order under Sec. 144 Cr.P.C. was clamped down on all examination centres; police pickets and magistrates were posted at all trouble-prone places and the examinees were searched before entry for hidden notes. For the first time in years invigilators did their duty.

The upshot of it all was that by and large the examinations were boycotted; at many centres not a single examinee showed up to take the examinations. At other places examinees found cheating were summarily turned out, and thereafter attendance dropped at all centres to 30 per cent or lower. It will be evident to the discerning reader that Bihar is more than half way to solving the problem of educated unemployment. The unemployed we shall have always with us, but not, alas, the "educated."



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MYSORE LETTER:

FUTURE OF BELGAUM

BANGALORE, August 14: The dramatic turn of events which resulted in the Bill seeking change in the name of the State from Mysore to Karnataka being passed by the Assembly unanimously on July 27, has given rise to the feeling that the whole thing is only a part of a bigger game. It has created the impression that the Prime Minister may have decided to overrule the verdict of the Mahajan Commission and give away Belgaum to Maharashtra. The fact that the leaders of the Ruling Congress, including Mrs. Indira Gandhi, have been very evasive on the issue of the Mahajan Commission's verdict lends support to this belief. The Chief Ministers of both States, Mr. Urs and Mr. V. P. Naik, have not responded to the Centre's suggestion that they should both meet and reach maximum agreement on the border issue between the two States. Mr. Urs favours implementation of the Commission's verdict *in toto*, while Mr. Naik has expressed preference for Central initiative. Considering the unseemly hurry with which the Ruling Congress rushed the Karnataka Bill through the Assembly closing up the ranks within the party, one feels that the passing of the Bill in Parliament will synchronise with the Centre's final decision on Belgaum, which is the bone of contention between Mysore and Maharashtra.

Mr. Unnikrishnan, Congress (R) M.P. and Secretary of the Congress Forum for Social Action, speaking at Bangalore on July 29, made a blistering attack on Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya, former Union Railway Minister. Mr. Hanumanthaiya did not share the party's views on "social and economic transformation" and claimed that "that was the reason why there was not even a ripple, leave alone a protest in the party, against the way in which he was made to leave the Ministry." He added that there were many in the party who were "out of tune with its ideals" and said "they will slowly get out on their own unless they

create a situation when they have to be thrown out." The time and the setting in which this fiery attack came unprovoked from one belonging to the ideological inner circle of the party, is important. Mr. Unnikrishnan has served many purposes. Many disappointed Congressmen were thinking of rallying round Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya in their bid to assert their importance in State politics. Though Mr. Hanumanthaiya stayed in the city for five days neither the Chief Minister nor the MPCC (R) President, nor any Minister met him. What is more, they all appeared to be in agreement with Mr. Unnikrishnan whose utterances could be interpreted also as a warning in advance to those who might disapprove of the Prime Minister's decision, when it becomes known, to hand over Belgaum to Maharashtra, the prospects of which are becoming clearer to political observers.

Mr. Unnikrishnan's visit and talks were apparently intended to save the twin purposes of forestalling any possible growth of a ginger-group round Mr. Hanumanthaiya and throttling any possible resistance that Mr. Urs's Ministry and the party in general may offer to Mrs. Indira Gandhi's decision on Belgaum, by-passing Mahajan Commission's verdict. Public opinion is so much worked up in favour of the Commission's recommendations and Mr. Urs has committed himself to it in so many statements that he will have no option but to resign when it is bypassed. It may not be long before Mr. Urs may have to speak the same words which Mr. Hanumanthaiya spoke the other day in the Lok Sabha.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya, who resigned from the Union Cabinet on July 20, arrived in Bangalore the very next day and stated in clear terms that he would play an active role in State politics. On being questioned about his relationship with the Prime Minister and the reasons for his resignation, he said that "the relationship of the Prime Minister with a Minister is one of confidence and trust". He looked

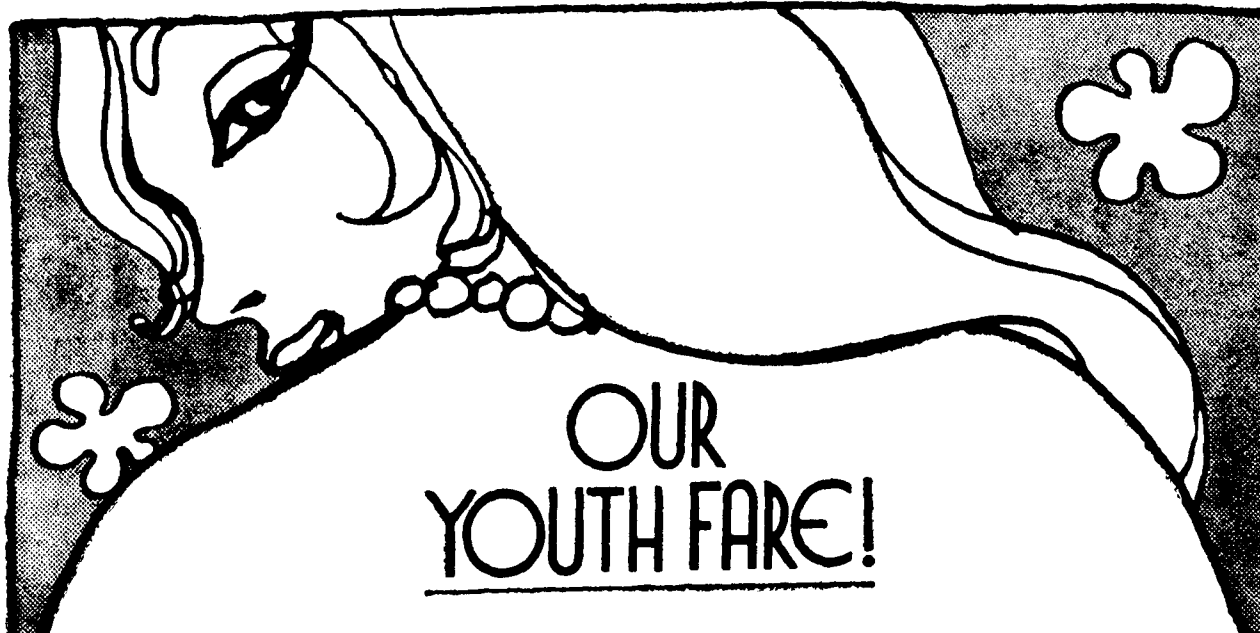
unruffled and evinced interest in the controversy over the sale of the palaces by the former Maharaja of Mysore, Sri Wodiyar.

The State Government is facing a strong attack on its decision to buy the Bangalore Palace and the lands around it which is part of the palace and which is to the extent of about 400 acres on a payment of Rs 20 crores. The Opposition, led by Mr. Dave Gowda and Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde, has been accusing that Mr. Urs got the inalienability clause lifted by the Central Government in order to facilitate Sri Wodiyar to sell the palace.

A tissue paper factory, with a capital of Rs 14.70 crores in the private sector involving foreign participation, would be coming up at Nanjangud in three years.

Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, Sarvodaya leader, stayed for more than a month at the Thippagundana Halli Guest House for rest. Taking advantage of his stay, the Gandhi Peace Foundation organised a six-day symposium in which some Sarvodaya workers participated. On the last day, July 14, Mr. Narayan addressed a public meeting. In his 90-minute speech, Mr. Narayan referred to the challenges facing the country and the world and warned against dangerous tendencies which were emerging under the much talked about political stability brought about by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. He felt that mere stability was not enough and something more was necessary, and added that the country now possessed "a mere frame-work of democracy without substance."

"I would say without fear of contradiction that elections in India were never free or fair," he alleged and said that in the eastern parts of U.P. and in Bihar, there were few booths where genuine voters could vote; the "capture of election booths" was the normal strategy and he had personal knowledge of all this. He looked very depressed by the situation in the country and spoke of corruption in the administration, dishonesty in public life, crisis in the field of education and erosion of morals in society.



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Dear Reader

IN THE QUOTATION from Gandhiji's article in *Harijan* of 1946, that appears on page 2 of this issue of *SWARAJYA*, there is a reference to my difference with him in 1942 which the younger generation may not understand, or may even misunderstand, because of their ignorance of the history of that period. Some may think it had something to do with the Muslim issue. It had nothing to do with the Muslim issue. I differed from Gandhiji when he started the 'Quit India' movement and took the stand that the people of India should not give help to the Allies in their struggle against the Nazis. I took the view that this would be a dangerous attitude, as it would strengthen the Nazis as against the Allies. Until America joined the Allies, Germany and Japan were in a strong position and the Allies were fighting to survive against heavy odds. Luckily, Britain got all that she wanted in India in spite of Gandhiji's campaign and after the Americans came in, the Allies triumphed and Japan surrendered. My difference from Gandhiji was that whatever Britain might or might not do about India's freedom, we should not help the Nazis and we should rest confident that we shall get our freedom after the war was over.

I CANNOT guess what Sri Jagjivan Ram is at in showering praises on the Tamil Nad Government when he was in Madras recently. White I.C.S. officers had testified that the Harijans had greatly benefited as a result of the Congress campaign against drink. The Harijans benefited materially, morally and in social status. Sri Jagjivan Ram knows all this and should also know the harm now done by the reopening of arrack and toddy shops by the Tamil Nad Government. Sri Jagjivan Ram loves his community and should, therefore, be very unhappy over the pro-drink policy of the Tamil Nad Government.

THE NAME Karnataka for Mysore would be faulty by reason of over-inclusion. Karnataka music cannot be claimed as having emanated from the Kannadigas. Even the Kannadigas would not put forward such a claim. If they did, the Telugu speaking people, the Tamil speaking people and the Kerala people would stoutly resist such an unfounded claim. Karnataka music is the music prevailing from time immemorial in all the regions of India not subjected to the impact of the culture of Western Asia. Karnataka music, as distinguished from Hindustani music, is a well-known term denoting the music prevailing in regions not brought under the influence of the culture of Western Asia. The new name proposed for Mysore would cause a lot of confusion in this respect. The names given later to the Karnataka ragas were popularised being based on a mnemonic sys-

tem. The ragas prevailed before the names were given.

It is a monstrous cruelty that the President of Uganda is guilty of in expelling thousands of Asians even though they hold Uganda citizenship. I hope this matter will be taken up and dealt with as the monstrosity should be.

The externees will no doubt find refuge somewhere but the matter should not stop there. Smt. Indira Gandhi and the Opposition parties and all India should rise as one man and express disgust and indignation in the strongest language demanding the ostracism of the dictator of Uganda. The world should ruthlessly isolate dictator Amin. Some explanation may be manufactured for expelling 60,000 Asians settled in Uganda. But there can be no explanation for or extenuation of the monstrous barbarity of Amin's extermination of 23,000 Asians holding Uganda citizenship.

C.A

FROM THE CAPITAL:

BANGALA DESH & U. N.: PEKING'S STAND DIRECTED AGAINST INDIA

SENTINEL

NEW DELHI, August 17: Peking's move to block the entry of Bangla Desh into United Nations exercising its veto power shows to what extent it is prepared to go to create tension in the Indian sub-continent. China has all along disregarded and flouted the U.N. Now, after gaining entry into the U.N., through the help of other countries, including the U.S., Peking has threatened to use the veto to prevent the entry of Bangla Desh. China's stand in the Security Council against the entry of Bangla Desh, which has already been recognised by over 80 members of the United Nations, has not surprised observers here. The earlier expectation of a thaw in Sino-Indian relations is now giving way to the sober reappraisal that Peking is unwilling to give up its hostile posture against India.

It appears as though it will not accept a situation which will reflect the increased strength and stability of India.

Though outwardly the move to block Bangla Desh's entry into the U.N. is to embarrass the new popular regime, the Chinese stand is directed more against India. It is clear that the Chinese have been unhappy about the turn of developments in the December war and the emergence of Bangla Desh. They are more unhappy about it after the Simla agreement which has brought India and Pakistan into direct friendly relations, on a strictly bilateral basis which would certainly have the effect of keeping all Powers out, including China. Peking will have much less room to play off one country against the other in the sub-continent. According to observers, the present move in

the Security Council is a belated game of demonstrating special friendship towards Pakistan. The real intention is to prevent the development of normal, friendly and direct relations between India and Pakistan. The Simla Agreement has changed the entire course of political relations in the area in which really speaking only three countries matter, namely, India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh. Peace and stability in the region have been welcomed by other immediate neighbouring countries. All these developments are unwelcome to Peking. China has not reconciled itself to the new situation. Its opposition to the Indo-Soviet Treaty is known. Peking is also against whatever the Simla Agreement seeks to promote. The objection to Bangla Desh is only an offshoot of this basic approach of China to the changed situation in the sub-continent. Against this background, it is just as well that the Foreign Minister spoke in more realistic terms in Parliament about the attitude of China. Sardar Swaran Singh frankly stated that Peking's stand on Bangla Desh's entry into the U.N. was not a very encouraging feature indicative of its desire to normalise relations with India. He described the move as all the more tragic because China itself had once seen the U.N. doors closed on its face. He also disclosed that there had been no response to India's invitation to Peking to take part in the Asian Trade Fair to be held in New Delhi in November.

The withdrawal of troops by India from the occupied territories

in West Punjab and Sind, as a follow-up of the Simla Agreement for the normalisation of the relations between India and Pakistan, is closely related to the demarkation of the line of actual control in Kashmir.

The Chiefs of Staff on the Indian side, General Manekshaw and on the Pakistan side, General Tikka Khan, have been concentrating on stabilising the cease-fire line in Kashmir. The two have been in touch directly and have exchanged quick correspondence. The position about the cease-fire line has been fully clarified in the exchange of correspondence.

TOP POSTS IN PUBLIC SECTOR

For more than an hour the Minister of State for Finance, Mr K. R. Ganesh, was grilled in the Rajya Sabha for the inefficient functioning of the public sector, at least part of which was attributable to top managerial or policy-making posts being kept vacant for months. The result was that the already indifferently managed public sector units were made more inefficient by the top men being just not there for months together. The issue was raised by Mr Loknath Mishra (Swat.) The Minister's reply was an essay in evasion. He conceded, however, that 30 posts were still vacant, the reason being the difficulty in getting persons with special experience and background. He was also claiming that the delay in selection was due to their caution in not putting the wrong persons. The reply did not satisfy members

of the Opposition; even some Congress (R) members had reservations about the policy as well as the method of appointments.

Mr Mishra made it clear that in raising a discussion on the unfilled posts, he did not want to give the impression that the posts already filled in other undertakings were happy arrangements. He specifically referred to the Food Corporation about which a lot of complaints had been voiced publicly. The posts of chairmen were already vacant in some important public undertakings—the Oil and Natural Gas Commission, the Export Credit and Guarantee Corporation, the India Consortium for Power Projects, the State Trading Corporation, the Indian Dairy Corporation, and the Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals. All the public undertakings were incurring colossal losses because either a wrong man had been put in the wrong place or there was absolutely nobody to assume the responsibility.

Mr Ganesh gave a long explanation about the procedure being followed, but members insisted on knowing why no advance planning was made in such matters. He talked of an Empanelment Board that got the names of the probables filled in first and then the Cabinet Secretariat to deal with it. "This is how, for good or bad, Indian democracy worked," the Minister said who was promptly asked by Mr N. G. Goray: "What has democracy to do with this?"

Mr Goray also pointed out that even in Army posts, just one day before the person was due to retire, his extension was announced. He asked the Minister whether this had something to do with Parliamentary democracy. Mr Ganesh replied he did not mean that. What he was suggesting was that Parliament had fixed certain guidelines, certain criteria to fill top posts.

Mr A. G. Kulkarni (Cong.) drew the attention of the Minister to the failure of the public sector resulting from the introduction of political appointments in the sector. That had to be stopped and the Government had to be very careful in the selection of persons.

SILVER JUBILEE OF FREEDOM: U. S. SENATE GREETES INDIA

The United States Senate, by an unanimous resolution on August 15, congratulated India on the 25th anniversary of her Independence. The resolution was sponsored by Messrs. John Sherman Cooper, Edward M. Kennedy, Robert Taft (Jr.), John V. Tunney and Frank Church, among others.

The following is the text of the resolution:

"Whereas 25 years ago, on August 15, 1947, India achieved its independence, becoming the world's most populous democracy; and

"Whereas the United States, from 1947, has supported and encouraged India's impressive efforts to develop its economy and strengthen its democracy; and

"Whereas India's free and secular society is based on a Constitution that seeks social, economic and political justice for all its citizens; and

"Whereas India's judicial system is devoted to the rules of law and justice; and

"Whereas over the last 25 years, India has embarked on an energetic programme of economic development to raise up 550 million people from the depths of poverty and to make the transition from a traditional society to one providing a just distribution of the benefits of wealth, science and technology; and

"Whereas, with the modernization of agriculture known as the 'Green Revolution', India is approaching self-sufficiency in wheat and rice production, and after major diversification of its industrial base, it presently ranks as the world's eighth industrial nation, able to supply to its people consumer and capital goods as well as export production; and

"Whereas, by raising the living standards of its people India is providing extensive health services, consequently raising life expectancy from a grim 29 years at the time of its Independence to 55 years today; has increased the literacy rate from 14 per cent in 1947 to over 30 per cent in 1972; and is waging effective family

planning programmes nationwide; and

"Whereas what happens in India, especially over the next 25 years will help to determine the future of other nations in Asia that look to this democratic Power for guidance and leadership; that India's political system, like that of the United States, is a test and a proof of the democratic path to achieve social justice and economic well-being; and that the significance of India's economic well-being and social justice, wrought in the open air of democracy, extends not only to the country's 500,000 villages and cities, but far beyond India's borders; and

"Whereas the diverse cultures of India and the United States are

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

GALLOPING INFLATION

Sir,—We have been living with inflation for the past 15 years, and yet our authorities repeat the same old, worn-out excuses. The world price level has gone up by about 32 per cent in the last nine years, while in India, it has increased three times as much.

Price rise is not inevitable in a developing economy. There are developing countries like Thailand, Iran and Taiwan which have had remarkable rates of growth with relative price stability (an annual increase of less than 2 per cent in the period 1963-71, while India was registering an annual increase of 10.5 per cent). We have the illusion of growth with a galloping inflation. A fixed deposit in a bank would have fetched in India 6 per cent interest over the last 12 months, but the price rise of over 7 per cent would have wiped out the benefit. The price rise cannot be dismissed as seasonal, because after the lean season is over in September, the general level of prices remain much above what obtained in the previous 12 months.

Like fever in the human body, arising from mismanagement of the bodily system, inflation is a fever in the body politic arising from mismanagement of the economy. In the last 20 years this mismanagement has resulted in a four-fold increase in money supply, while the national income has merely doubled. Owing to this large gap, prices have shot up. As Prof. B. R. Shenoy has

naturally linked by the bridge of democracy by which both societies guarantee free debate, free elections, and free worship; and both countries share the values set forth in the American Declaration of Independence, and demonstrate a deep sense of responsibility toward mankind, by offering a refuge for the oppressed;

"Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Senate that the Congress of the United States hereby extends its cordial congratulations and whole-hearted best wishes to the Parliament and the people of India, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of India's establishment as an independent nation."

It was also resolved that a copy of the resolution be transmitted by the Secretary of the Senate, through the State Department, to the President of India.—(USIS).

pointed out, the bulk of investible resources of the community is being forcibly fed into a low-production public sector. This has introduced many distortions and imbalances in the economy.

Unfortunately, the attitude of our politicians is such that they do not learn from past mistakes, and have only two pet solutions which have proved disastrous: more nationalisation to create State monopolies and controls. While fixed income groups are being ground to dust by inflation, legislators and Ministers are insulated from the heat of inflation.

Bombay

M. R. PAI

V. O. CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI BIRTH CENTENARY

Sir,—In connection with V. O. Chidambaram Pillai birth centenary celebrations, organised by a committee under the chairmanship of Mr C. Ramachandran, I.A.S., Collector of Tirunelveli, a souvenir is being got ready. Those who may have information regarding V. O. Chidambaram Pillai's life and work, in the shape of letters, photographs, documents, etc., are requested to send them, for inclusion in the souvenir, to Prof. A. Srinivasa Raghavan, V.O.C. Centenary Souvenir Committee, 'Mithilah', Tuticorin-3. The souvenir will be published on 5th September.

Tirunelveli

C. RAMACHANDRAN



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SPORTS COMMENTARY:

EXCITING CRICKET SERIES IN PROSPECT
SIDELINER

THE OVERTURES to another home Test series echoed across the length and breadth of this country the other day, when England selectors, headed by former Test medium-pacer, Alec Bedser, announced the 16-strong M.C.C. squad to tour India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka this winter. The tour of India starts on November 30. Bedser and his selection committee have done an excellent job, and deserves a "well done" from every cricket enthusiast in India. They have dispelled all fears of a second-rate eleven being sent for the mere formality of a tour.

The composition of the team may not have broken any new ground. As in the past, an Indian tour would seem to be anathema to top-flight English cricketers, because, to them, boarding and lodging facilities and playing conditions in India are sub-standard. Ray Illingworth, John Snow, Geoff Boycott and others have followed in the footsteps of such former stars as Woolley, Hutton, Hammond and May, by making themselves, for various reasons, unavailable long before the selection committee met. But India will not miss much. But for the absence of Boycott and Snow, Tony Lewis's team is the best England can field today.

The choice of the England team has indeed caused hardly any despondency in Indian cricket circles. The England selectors have given their team a new look by discarding the old guard, retaining the stalwarts of the series against Australia just ended, and introducing, with an eye on the future, the topnotchers of the county championship now in its final stages.

Even without the great opener, Boycott, and the fiery fast bowler, Snow, the only two really top class players to make themselves unavailable, England will be well equipped to make a strong bid to avenge their home defeat last year, when Ajit Wadekar and his team made history by recording India's first ever Test triumph in

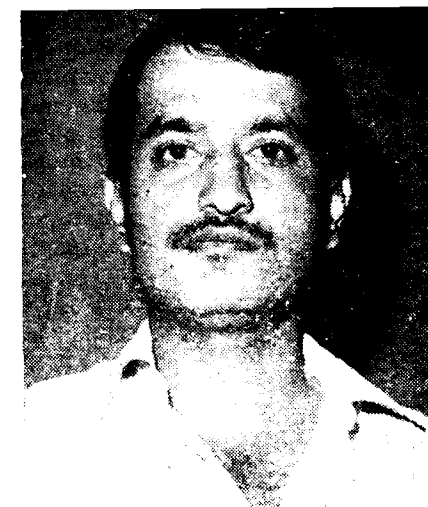
England, a victory that enabled India to win the three-Test series 1-0, with the other two drawn.

Barring skipper, Lewis, fast bowler Chris Old, off-spinner J. H. Birkenshaw and the all-rounder G. Roope, the rest of the contingent are all seasoned Test campaigners, especially Alan Knott, Derek Underwood, Keith Fletcher, Jeff Arnold and Dennis Amiss. But the man who will command the utmost attention is Mike Denness, as talented an opener as Boycott. He has played in only one Test, but was considered utterly unlucky to miss several others, for a Denness in spate, as he was against the Indians last year, can be a sight for the gods.

Denness is not the only batsman with adventure in his veins. Keith Fletcher, Dennis Amiss, Tony Greig and Alan Knott can give Indian fielders a good deal of leather-hunting. Fletcher would seem to be passing through a lean phase, but on the slow Indian pitches he could be his former self and emerge as a top-run-getter. And if England are engaged in a rearguard action, the tenacious Knott could prove a veritable stumbling-block to the Indian attack, even on a pitch responsive to the great Indian spin attack.

Well as India have the best spin combination in the world—who among B. S. Chandrasekhar, S. Venkataraghavan, Bishen Singh Bedi and P. Shivalkar will form its core and if E. A. S. Prasanna will be recalled are a different matter—England will not be found wanting in that department. D. L. Underwood, P. I. Pollock, and N. Gifford, who all have had a triumphant county season, can constitute an attack that can challenge India's claim to having the best spin trio in the world.

The visitors have an equally effective pace attack, spear-headed by Arnold, who will have either Old or Cottam as his partner, Arnold is not in the same class with Snow, but Indian batsmen's weakness against pace being what it is,



AJIT WADEKAR

and India not having any pace-man worth the name, the Surrey bowler could play a decisive role with shattering early blows to put India on the defensive.

England have indeed staked their challenge in a manner that leaves none in doubt: that they mean business. An exciting series is in prospect. India, who on paper, at any rate, have every claim to being world champions after their historic triumphs in the West Indies and England, cannot afford to be complacent.

Barring the absence of a genuine paceman, India have everything in their favour. To begin with, the victorious skipper of the West Indies and England tours, Ajit Wadekar, will again be there to lead India for the first time in a home series. That is psychological advantage No. 1. There is then the advantage of home pitches and conditions, and there is also plenty of time for team-building. This is Indian cricket authorities' most momentous and crucial task, for if Wadekar is given the best, and only the best team, India can, and will, repel England's challenge, formidable as it is.

The following constitute the M.C.C. team: A (Tony) Lewis (captain), M. Denness (vice-captain), D. Amiss, Geoff Arnold, R. Cottam, Keith Fletcher, N. Gifford, A. Greig, Alan Knott, Chris Old, P. Pollock, G. Roope, R. L. Taylor, D. Underwood, Barry Wood and J. Birkenshaw.

FACTS AND FIGURES:

THE NUMBER of ordnance factories in the country has risen to 30, and the product mix of these units covers hundreds of different items processed through diverse technologies in the fields of metallurgy, electrical and mechanical engineering, ballistics, aero-dynamics, under-water systems and optical systems, according to Mr Jagjivan Ram, Defence Minister. These factories meet the bulk of the requirements of the Indian Army for defence stores. In the range of small arms they are producing self-loading rifles, carbines and light machine-guns. Infantry requirements of 81 mm mortars are now fully met by indigenous production. In the field of light

artillery, they are producing 120 mm mortars. The value of production in ordnance factories rose from Rs 41 crores in 1961-62 to Rs 138 crores in 1971-72.

THE CENTRAL ELECTROCHEMICAL Research Institute, Karaikudi, has developed a process for a self-regulating high speed chrome salt. This salt is used in obtaining chromium plating which can meet the requirements, for both decorative and hard chrome applications with chemical, electrical, food, paper, plastic, rubber and automatic industries, besides those of defence, railways, etc. The know-how is available for commercial exploitation.

DURING THE FIRST five months of 1972 there were in India 952 strikes and lock-outs resulting in the loss of 35,45,405 man-days. These figures were furnished by the Union Minister for Labour in the Lok Sabha.

THE BANK OF MAHARASHTRA, one of the 14 nationalised banks, having operations in 6 States and 2 Union Territories, extended its banking activities by opening its 300th branch in the country and its first in Tamil Nad. As at the end of June 1972, the bank had extended financial assistance to 5,600 small-scale industrialists to the tune of Rs 22 crores.

THERE are, as on 31st March 1972, 133 private electricity licensees, including cooperatives, operating in India.

THE NUMBER of motor-cycles and scooters on the roads of Madras City in 1971 was 13,541, as against 5,597 in 1965. Taxis and autorickshaws have doubled from 1,716 and 198 in 1965 to 3,431 and 395 in 1971. The number of passenger buses increased from 1,070 in 1965 to 1,909 in 1971; the number of cars and jeeps also increased from 11,600 to 18,502 and goods vehicles from 3,016 to 3,767.

ACCORDING TO the Collector of Madras, the total revenue from the auctioning of all the 40 toddy shops and 55 arrack shops in the city for 1972-73 amounted to Rs 357 lakhs compared to Rs 115 lakhs for 1971-72, a three-fold increase.

THE OXFORD ENGLISH Dictionary, in its original and full form, consisting of 13 volumes and 16,400 pages, weighing 102 lbs., and taking up more than a yard of shelf space, is beyond the reach of many scholars, educationists and libraries, because of its size, and price around Rs 2,000 per set. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary therefore does the duty for the most part, in the place of the bigger one. The Oxford University Press has now made available the entire original in a compact two-volume edition, containing 4,200 pages, with nothing of the

414,825 words or the 500,000 definitions or 1,827,000 illustrated quotations left out. This feat of publishing technique has been achieved by reducing photographically 4 pages of the original on one page of the new edition. The types are naturally small, and though, according to the publi-

shers, it is possible to read the reduced text with the naked eye, each set of the compact edition is supplied with a reading glass which magnifies the types to approximately the size of the original. The two-volume compact Oxford English Dictionary is priced at £32 or around Rs 600,

thus bringing it within the reach of many libraries and the more affluent of private collectors of good reference books. The compact edition was formally released to the public of Madras on 7th August 1972, by the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, Mr N. D. Sundaravadivelu.

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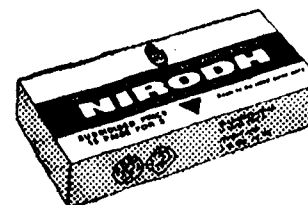
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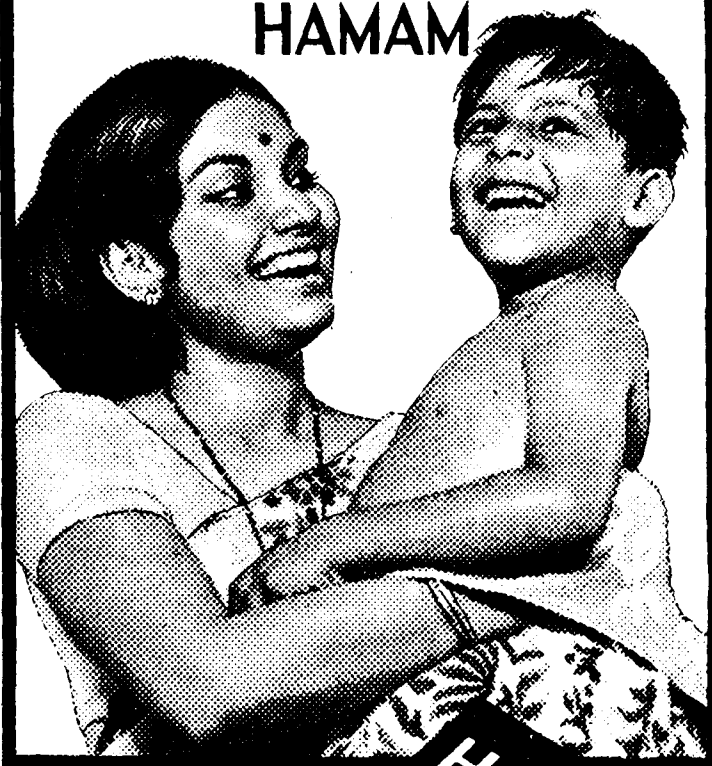
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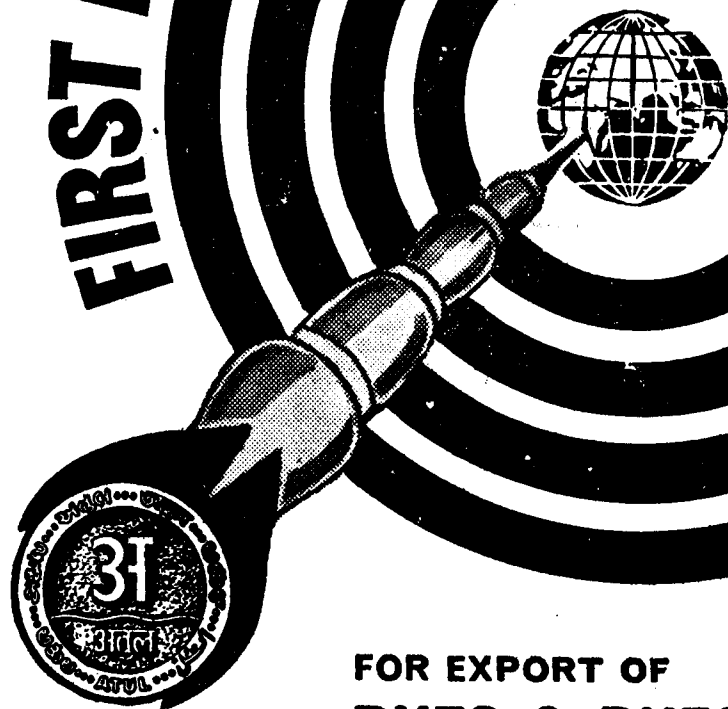
the longer-lasting toilet soap



A
TATA
PRODUCT

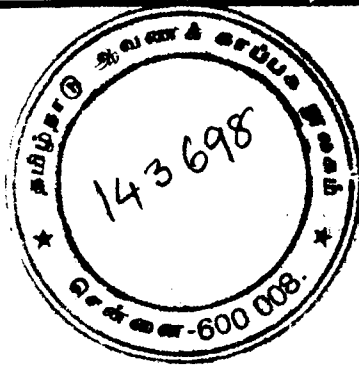
ATUL WINS

FIRST EXPORT AWARD FOR 1970-1971



REGD TRADE MARK

**FOR EXPORT OF
DYES & DYES INTERMEDIATES**



GIVEN BY BASIC CHEMICALS PHARMACEUTICALS & SOAPS EXPORT PROMOTION COUNCIL

ATUL now exports to markets like JAPAN, U.S.A., HOLLAND, U. K. AUSTRALIA, HONGKONG, THAILAND, IRAN, U. S. S. R., INDONESIA BRAZIL, GREECE, EGYPT, BURMA, EAST AFRICA, NIGERIA etc.

With this recognition, ATUL will continue to maintain and expand their exports year after year in the service of the Nation.

THE ATUL PRODUCTS LIMITED
POST ATUL, DIST. BULSAR, GUJARAT STATE.

GRAPHIC DEAL/AS/72