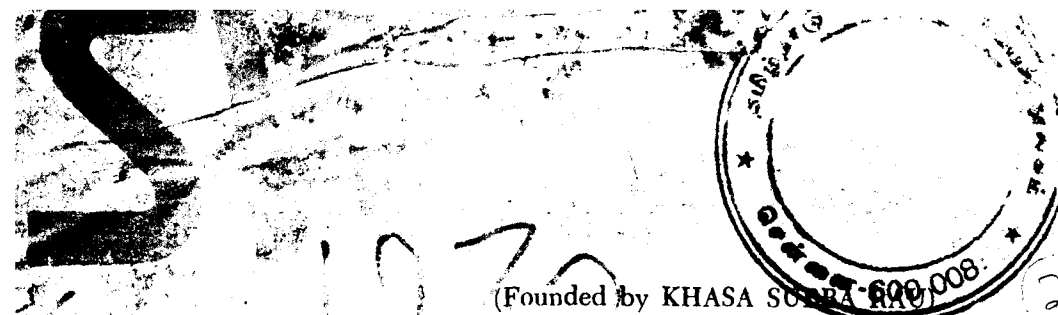




(Founded by KHASA SODHA 600 008)

Vol. XVII. No. 10

MADRAS, SEPTEMBER 2, 1972

Price 35 P

REGULATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

K. SANTHANAM

POLITICAL PARTIES are indispensable for effective functioning of democracy. Some idealists like Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan may think that a non-party democracy is possible and desirable but in actual practice, it will degenerate into a single party dictatorship as is prevalent among the so-called people's democracies. The need for political parties and the functions they are expected to perform have been described in the first article of the 'Law relating to political parties', passed by the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany on 25-6-1959. It says: "The parties work for the promotion of political understanding in the minds of the people in all fields of public activity, wherein they are actively concerned in the formation of public opinion and influence this." Their functions are to stimulate political opinion, promote active participation of citizens in politics, train citizens for assuming responsibilities in public life, selection and setting up of candidates for elections to the Parliament and State Assemblies, influencing political development in the Parliament and State legislatures and the Federal and State governments, initiating ideas relating to political objectives and lastly providing for a permanent and living contact between the people and the State public bodies.

In the older democracies like those of the U.K. and the U.S., political parties have grown side by side with the growth of democracy and they have been shaped and are functioning under established traditions. They have found

that it is the two-party system that is the most effective for democracy. But for new democracies without such long traditions, political parties have to be regulated by law if their evolution is to be satisfactory. Otherwise, factionalism, defections, arbitrary exercise of power, non-accounting and misappropriation of funds and other evils will distort the functioning of political parties. The experience of the last 25 years has shown that political parties in India have been suffering from these evils and not been increasing in popularity or strength. It has been stated that the Government of India will introduce shortly a law discouraging political defections which have been one of the worst evils of our politics. It is true that by bringing that law after fully exploiting defections in its own interest, the ruling party is liable to be suspected of improper motives but whatever they may be, such a law should be welcomed. But defection is only one of the evils that plague the political parties in India. I suggest that all political parties, journalists and persons interested in politics should study the German law carefully and judge whether a similar law in India will not help to strengthen and purify Indian democracy.

The German law seeks to achieve four main objectives. The first is to ensure that every political party in Germany functions democratically and has got a federal structure. There is no limitation on the formation of political associations but such an association becomes a political party

only when it begins to set up candidates in the elections to the Federal Parliament or State Assemblies. It must have a proper constitution defining membership and representative bodies and executive councils at the State and the Federal levels and also regional bodies, if they are considered desirable between the States and the Federal Centre. The constitution of the political party should also lay down clearly the qualifications and methods of admission of members and the procedure for any disciplinary action including expulsion of such members after proceedings before arbitration councils consisting of non-members appointed for specified periods. Representative and executive bodies should be elected but nominations or special representations may be permitted up to a fifth of the strength of such bodies. The State units are entitled to function autonomously subject to the general conditions laid down by the constitution of the party for the preservation and integrity of the party and in conformity with its basic principles and policies. There should be a procedure for any change of constitution and both the constitution and its changes should be filed with the Chief Election Commissioner.

One of the interesting provisions is that candidates to the legislatures should be selected by secret ballot by the party organisations concerned. Periodical meetings of the general bodies and representative organisations regulate the policies of the party from time to time and disciplinary

action may be taken only if any member of any such body flagrantly infringes its policies. Even then, he has a right to go to arbitration and in extreme cases, even to a court of law.

Stringent provisions have been made in the law for maintaining proper accounts and having them yearly audited. All sources of income and expenditure should be clearly shown and proper vouchers maintained. In the case of large donations amounting to 20,000 marks or more, the names of individual donors and their addresses should be given. Accounts at the Federal and State levels should be kept separately and annual financial statements, duly audited, should be filed with the Public Accounts Committee. After scrutiny by that Committee, the President of the German Lower House will arrange for their publication.

Perhaps, the most prominent feature of the Act is the provision for payment of subsidy to political parties on the basis of their performance in the elections. In the case of federal elections, a party is entitled to a subsidy of 2-1/2 marks for each vote it has secured provided that a federal party secures at least half per cent of the total votes polled. In the case of a purely State party, it is also entitled to a subsidy of 2-1/2 marks for every first vote it secures in the State, provided that it gets at least 10 per cent of the first votes polled in that State. This subsidy is given in instalments of 10 per cent in the second year after the election, 15 per cent in the third year and 35 per cent in the year of elections and the rest during elections. By this arrangement, the political parties are enabled to function to some extent at least without undue dependence on rich donors. It is true that a party which is successful in a general election gets a larger subsidy than the others, but if there are only two or three parties, the Opposition parties also get the benefit. In the State elections each State has its own rate of subsidy subject to the general pattern laid down in the

It is also worth remarking that German elections are based on the system of proportional representation and, therefore, tends to give to the minority parties representation approximately proportional to their voting strength. It is time that India gave up its slavish imitation of the British type of parliamentary democracy and assimilate some of the

SCIENCE TOPICS:

SOLID WASTE AND ITS DISPOSAL

P. N.

WASTE IS THE end product of man's economic and social activities. In most countries the waste is simply carted off to the outskirts of the town and dumped in an open ground, or the waste is carried into the rivers and then to the sea. As waste accumulates, open ground becomes less and less available for dumping, the atmosphere and waters become increasingly polluted, the stench from the waste becomes unbearable and the waste-dumps become increasingly unsightly. Municipal councils in large towns in India and elsewhere are aware of the problem and have taken action. In this country scraps of paper, metal and glass have still a resale value. But as standards of living improve the disposal of urban waste will pose a problem and it is worthwhile taking a lesson from Western countries.

KINDS OF WASTE

Urban waste or city trash, which poses an immediate problem, is only a small part of the total waste. In the U.S. it is estimated that urban waste contribution is 10 per cent. The affluence of the country plays an important role. The people desire to acquire more and more goods which, in turn, demands increased production. Affluence also permits one to satisfy the desire for novelty. Thus, very often materials are discarded before they are put to full use. People tend to think that replacement is better than repairing. Sentimental attachment is also very much reduced now. All this leads to an increased waste of solids. In the

able features found in other democracies with problems similar to our own. A careful study of the functioning of the German democracy with four political parties should be of great use to India. The example it has set in trying to regulate political parties by law without in any way infringing their freedom of action deserves to be followed.

U.S., old automobiles are discarded as such. Television sets and old refrigerators can often be found in dump yards. Packaging of consumable goods, bottling and canning have become necessities. Polythene bags, empty glass bottles and metal cans find their way to the waste tins. Papers once read have very little further use. Fifty per cent of urban waste is collected and dumped. The collection is a slow and expensive process.

process. Agricultural and animal wastes form fifty per cent of the total even in a country like the U.S. This waste is made up of animal manures, animal carcasses, prunings from vineyards, brush, crop harvesting residues and pesticide containers. Animal waste in the form of manure alone assumes fantastic proportions. A farm having 10,000 head of cattle accounts for 260 tons of manure per day equivalent to the contribution from 164,000 people. A dairy using 400 cows results in 14 tons of manure per day, while 5 tons of waste per day is produced by a poultry farm of 100,000 birds. This waste attracts flies and becomes a source of disease. Percolating water can carry this waste to rivers and results in water pollution. The soil cannot absorb such large quantities of waste quickly. Further, with the advent of chemicals animal waste is no longer required as fertilizers. It is easy to imagine the problem of waste disposal, particularly on the outskirts of a city surrounded by agricultural areas.

Mining and mineral processing

wastes form 40 per cent of the total. Waste used to be sludged into running water, thus polluting the rivers and the oceans. This is now reduced and the waste is often stored in warehouses. Improved technology may put this into use or dispose of them efficiently. The waste from the above sources will continue to increase, as the rate of production of metals and chemicals will continue to increase. Ocean mining is also now being resorted to. A stage will be reached when we will have to exploit poorer resources and work on lower grade ores. This would mean increased waste. Copper, iron and steel, coal, phosphates, lead, zinc, alumina and anthracite recovery contribute to the greatest extent to waste accumulation. Small hillocks of waste are a common sight associated with sand dredging and gravel quarrying and gold dredging. The carbon and sulphur from coal wastes pollute the air, blacken the atmosphere, cause smogs and intense corrosion.

WASTE DISPOSAL

There are several methods of disposing of waste. Whichever method is adopted, it should be carried out to the benefit of society and at low cost. The various methods resorted to are dumping it in holes or swampy areas, incineration and reclamation. Reclamation from organic matter is through pyrolysis or composting. Glass and metal may be reclaimed in powder or compacted form and returned to the factories. Cellulose can be obtained from paper and cardboard waste to be used again.

Dumping should be purposeful. Otherwise, both the solid waste and the dumping ground become useless. Large pits and holes can be filled with waste. Swamps can also be recovered. This process has to be carried out scientifically. The waste must be compacted to reduce the volume and increase the hardness. After spreading the waste, it must be covered with soil and the process repeated. We can extend this idea to the formation of parks and even formation of hills on flat lands. Precaution must be taken

to see that percolating water and rain do not carry the waste to rivers and seas. Methane is generally liberated from garbage in course of time and can make living in adjoining areas unpleasant.

Incineration : Burning waste may perhaps appear to be the best method of disposal, as this leads to ~~destruction~~ of 90 per cent of the waste. The heat produced can be carefully converted into other forms of energy. In Norfolk, Virginia, a steam generating incinerator burning waste with a capacity of 100,000 pounds per hour was commissioned in 1967. This generator is also provided with oil burners to keep the process continuous. The steam in turn can be used for running other power generators. Burning of waste in the open will result in intense atmospheric pollution. The plastic and other fibrous materials present in the waste can lead to clogging in the steam generator, while chlorine evolved can corrode various metallic parts of the generator. Hence prior separation of these is necessary.

Composting : The microbiological conversion of waste by time-tested methods in the backyard or on a large scale with improved techniques from the laboratory, results in organic matter which are good soil conditioners. Addition of other organic chemicals make this a good fertilizer.

Pyrolysis: This method is otherwise known as destructive distillation. The material is heated to 1000 degrees to 2000 degrees F in oxygen free or in low oxygen containing atmosphere. The waste breaks down into (i) a gaseous mixture of hydrogen, methane carbonmonoxide and carbondioxide; (ii) liquid tar made up of acetic acid, acetone and methanol, and (iii) solid 'char' which is a mixture of pure carbon, glass and other solids. The products can be separated and utilised.

INDUSTRIAL WASTE

Several processes have been discovered to recycle industrial waste. The flyash and slags from the blast furnaces of the iron and

steel industry have found use as construction materials, coalash as mineral wool, phosphates of the fertilizer industry as gypsum wall-board, etc.

MUNICIPAL WASTE

Old discarded automobiles can be hammered and compacted. The iron content can be separated from the rest by magnetic attraction and returned to factories for reuse. Oils and gases can be produced by pyrolysis of old tyres. A method to produce thermoplastic materials from old plastic and polythene is also in vogue. Glass can be used in building blocks and in glass wool insulations. Waste paper can be shredded into fibres, the cellulose can be recovered and recycled. Recently, a method of obtaining glucose by enzymatic decomposition of paper wastes has been reported. Gaseous products can be put into use as domestic burner gas. Any number of uses can thus be envisaged, given the proper motivation.

Reclamation and recycling necessitates two preliminary steps: (i) separation and (ii) size reduction. The paper, glass, metal and plastic components have to be separated. This separation is better done at the first stage itself. Housewives can be made to understand the importance of this step. Size reduction is necessary whether waste is to be dumped, incinerated or reclaimed. Size reducers have to be designed for the particular component of the waste.

In conclusion, the success of a multi-purpose waste disposal industry in Franklin, Ohio, may be pointed out. The municipal waste and sewage sludge is conveyed to a central location and dumped into large vessels. This is then mixed with water under pressure and rotors beat and crush the material. Metal wastes are compacted into balls and sent for use in other industries. Glass is powdered, while paper is transformed into cellulose fibres. The other materials after draining and drying are incinerated. Any inert residues are compacted and sent to the refill dumps.



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EDITOR'S NOTES:

POLICE AND LAW AND ORDER

It is certainly the duty of the police to maintain law and order but it is not enough if the police are willing to use violence for the purpose. They should earn the respect and affection of the people. When policemen are suspected of using their power for repression, or for improper purposes, popular resentment is likely to burst forth in mass violence. This is what happened in the capital of India recently. A home-guard official was shot down by a Sub-Inspector of Police. The allegation of the police is that he was assisting a band of dacoits but the people did not believe it and considered it as an act of private vengeance. So there has been mass violence on a big scale for two days and many policemen were injured and material damage was caused. It is to be hoped that a searching enquiry will be made and steps will be taken to deal with the erring police officer.

The Government of Tamil Nad should now redouble its efforts to restore public confidence in the police department of the State, which has been badly shaken on account of police firings and lathi charges against students, labour and agriculturists. It is not enough to say that the police merely did their duty. It is far more important that the man in the street should believe that the police acted only to protect the people and used the minimum force for the purpose.

THE MYSTERY ABOUT VIETNAM

Both in respect of military action and peace negotiations, the mystery of Vietnam is only deepening all the time. In spite of massive bombing from the air and mining of the harbours, the North Vietnamese and the rebel South Vietnam forces seem to be strengthening themselves. Though Dr Kissinger may get notoriety by his rush from Paris to North Vietnam and South Vietnam and then to Tokyo, there is no indication that he is making any head-

way in respect of cessation of hostilities in Vietnam. Mr William Rogers, U.S. Secretary of State, has made a statement predicting a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war before the November Presidential election, or shortly thereafter. It seems to be purely election propaganda and intended to convey the impression that if the North Vietnamese did not come to terms before the Presidential election, they will be compelled to do so when Mr Nixon is re-elected; but no one can blame the North Vietnamese if they are willing to gamble on the defeat of President Nixon and the victory of Mr McGovern who has made an unconditional declaration of withdrawing all American forces soon after his nomination. If the gamble fails and President Nixon is re-elected, there is also a chance that he too may get tired of this sorry business and agree to terms much more favourable to North Vietnam than what he has proposed now.

BLACK RACIALISM

It is strange that while so much passion and resentment are being displayed against the white racialism of South Africa, and Rhodesia, there is a tendency to ignore the worse racialism of the newly independent African countries. The decree of Mr Amin, the President of Uganda, to expel even the Asians who have become nationals of Uganda, deserved worldwide condemnation and the imposition of sanctions severer than those applied to South Africa and Rhodesia. In partial response to widespread protests from many quarters, including President Nyerere of Tanzania, the order against Asian citizens is reported to have been modified; but it is feared that the citizenship certificates of large numbers will be annulled on flimsy grounds. So far as the British Asians are concerned, it is refreshing to read the frank exposition of the duty of the British Government in a leading article of *The Spectator* of August 12, 1972. It says: "These unfortunate peo-

ple are British citizens who accepted a British offer and the most ordinary treatment they are entitled to expect, never mind the most generous, is automatic admission to this country if they are expelled from Uganda or elsewhere in East Africa. There ought not to be any argument whatever on this matter. This country has invariably gained from the admission of persecuted minorities in the past, and there is every reason to suppose that the British Asians of East Africa would make a useful contribution to our national well-being; but quite apart from such considerations, it is our plain duty to accept them and to welcome them. It is as simple as that."

If Great Britain can persuade Canada, Australia and New Zealand to take some of them, so much the better, so long as entry into Great Britain is open to all of them. Similarly, it may be expected that India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh will have to accept their nationals. But some thousands of Asians who have been nationals of Uganda will now become stateless and it is the duty of the United Nations to look after them. Unless drastic action is taken against Uganda, other African States like Kenya and Tanzania, will be inclined to act in the same cruel manner.

CHINESE VETO

China has vetoed in the Security Council, the entry of Bangla Desh into U.N. This is the first benefit which the world body has derived from the admission of China for which so many countries, particularly India, were persistently agitating. That China has done this at the instance of Pakistan is evident. It is to be seen how this will affect the negotiations now going on in New Delhi. Having taken advantage of the Russian veto in the Kashmir issue, India cannot pretend to be morally shocked, but no further evidence is needed that the veto provisions in the U.N. constitution deserve to be changed immediately. The Security Council, by three-fourths majority, and the General Assembly by two-thirds should be able to make decisions without a veto.

ACCOUNTING OF PARTY FUNDS

The following is the third and concluding part of the law in force in West Germany relating to the composition and functioning of political parties. The first part (Articles 1 to 9) appeared in the issue of SWARAJYA, dated August 19, 1972. The second part comprising Articles 10 to 22 was published last week.

CHAPTER V SUBMISSION OF ACCOUNTS

Art. 32: *Obligation to submit accounts to a public body:*

(1) The executive committee of the party shall furnish information regarding the source of its finances that the party has come into possession of in a calendar year (accounting year) in the form of a financial report and submit it to a public accounts committee.

(2) The financial report shall be audited by a chartered accountant or a firm of chartered accountants according to the regulations in Articles 29 to 31. The financial report shall be submitted to the President of the "Bundestag" before the 30th September of the year following the period to which the accounts relate. The President of the "Bundestag" shall arrange for its publication through the Federal advertisement medium. The due date mentioned above may be extended up to a maximum of three months in special circumstances by the President of the "Bundestag."

(3) The President of the "Bundestag" may withhold payments according to Articles 18 to 20, so long as the financial report, as stipulated in Chapter V, has not been submitted.

Art. 24: *Financial report:*

(1) The financial report consists of a statement of receipts. The financial report of the party and the financial reports of the State bodies have to be embodied separately and the financial reports of the regional bodies subordinate to the State bodies need not be shown separately but may be taken together in the State report. It is the responsibility of the State bodies to collect all reports pertaining to regional bodies under its control and present them together with their own (State wings) financial reports.

(2) In the income statement, the following particulars shall be furnished separately:

- (i) Membership subscriptions
- (ii) Regular contributions, contributions from fraction members and similar items

(iii) Income from

(a) Properties

(b) Programmes, sale of printed matter and publications and other material connected with the activities of the party

(iv) Donations

(v) Credits

(vi) Amounts reimbursed as per Chapter IV

(vii) Miscellaneous income from other sources

(3) The party can enclose a brief explanatory note to the financial report, particularly with regard to the individual parts of the report.

Art. 25: *Giving names of donors:*

Donations to a party or its area branches, the total value of which exceeds DM 20,000 in a calendar year, have to be mentioned in the financial report, together with the name of the donor, his address and the actual amount of the donation, during the period of the financial report.

Art. 26: *Definition of Income:*

(1) Insofar as particular kinds of income (Art. 24, para 2) are not governed by any special rules, income shall be defined as money or other benefits having the value of money that are bestowed on the party from outside, provided such inflow of money or other benefits of this nature are not compensated for by equivalent benefits, or by repayment in kind, or in other forms of compensation. Exemption from normal obligations which would have otherwise cost money as well as taking over by others of costs for programmes and similar actions which are explicitly in the nature of gaining publicity for the party are also to be considered as income for the purpose of this para.

(2) All incomes shall be deposited at the place specified for the purpose. Expenses, insofar as they occur for the only purpose of raising the said income, may be deducted from such income.

(3) Commercial commodities, not including money, have to be put down as income for this purpose, their value being fixed at the prices normally realisable for them at the time.

(4) Temporary receipts in the nature of money or other benefits which only pass through the books and membership subscriptions and other receipts which are, even from the beginning, earmarked for proportionate distribution among the regional bodies shall be transferred to the accounting units where these sums are to be finally lodged.

Art. 27: *Individual kinds of income:*

(1) Membership subscription within the scope of Art. 24, para 2, sub-division i, are those sums paid by the members in this capacity, particularly those sums paid by them as admission fees and other similar payments by them.

(2) In the case of sources of income mentioned in Art. 24, para 2, sub-division iii, the net proceeds shall be entered.

(3) While reckoning the income, benefits in terms of work or service may be left out when such benefits are placed at the disposal of the party by the members or other close associates of the party without any remuneration or when such benefits do not exceed DM 1,000 in a particular case. For taking over of expenses for party propaganda through functions and other actions, para (i) is applicable suitably.

(4) Income from credits are shown as receipts only if such credits exceed DM 1,000, and if they are not repaid before the close of the accounting year.

Art. 28: *Obligation of maintaining accounts:*

The parties shall maintain proper accounts in respect of all accountable income and such accounting shall be according to the rules framed for the purpose. The connected vouchers and documents shall be preserved for five years beginning from the end of the accounting period (year).

Art. 29: *Examination of the Financial Report:*

(1) Financial audit shall cover the party accounts as well as at least that of two State units and four regional bodies chosen by the examining officer.

(2) The Auditor may demand explanations and evidences in respect of the accounting records either from the executive committee of the party or such other persons as are authorised by the committee to act on their behalf for the purpose. The auditor shall be enabled to examine the documents connected with the financial report, all books and vouchers, together with the actual cash and other assets and properties.

(3) The executive committee of the organisation whose accounts are under examination shall give a declaration that all receipts that must be taken into account as per the rules have actually been included in the income statement.

Art. 30: *Audit Report and Certification of Audit:*

(1) The findings of the audit shall be recorded in writing in the form of an audit report which shall be submitted to the executive committee of the party and the committee of the

regional body whose accounts are audited.

(2) If the audit has not revealed any objectionable transactions, this fact has to be recorded by the auditor in a certificate mentioning that the accounts and related documents and books are maintained according to the rules framed for this purpose and as per the specifications of this Act to the extent to which the accounts were examined (Art. 29, para 1).

If there are objections to raise in the accounts, the auditor may refuse to give the above declaration or give a qualified certificate. The names of the regional bodies whose accounts were subjected to audit shall be mentioned in the audit certificate.

(3) The audit certificate and remarks shall be embodied in the accounts in their entirety according to Art. 23, para 2, sub-division ii, and shall be published as such.

Art. 31: *Auditor:*

(1) The present members of the committee of the party or its limb organisations or office-bearers of the party or a regional branch of the party and such of them who have held similar posts in the last three years may not be nominated as auditors.

(2) The auditors, their assistants and others who are lawful collaborators of the auditing agency are bound to execute their work conscientiously and without party bias or prejudices and to observe secrecy in all matters connected with their work. Article 168 of the Act of Joint Stock Companies shall be valid where relevant.

CHAPTER VI EXERCISE OF PREVENTIVE AUTHORITY IN THE CASE OF UNCONSTITUTIONAL PARTIES

Art. 32: *Execution:*

(1) If a party or its limb organisation is declared unconstitutional, according to Article 21, para 2 of the Basic Law, the authority nominated by the Government for the purpose shall take all necessary steps admissible under the law, to carry out the verdict. The highest State authority has unrestricted powers over the other authorities in the State which are responsible for the maintenance of law and order.

(2) If the activities of the organisation or party or that organ of the party which is declared constitutional extend beyond the jurisdiction of a State, the Minister for Home Affairs ordains a procedure which would facilitate a uniform course of action.

(3) The Federal Constitutional Court can direct the execution as per Art. 35 of the Act regarding the Federal Con-

stitutional Court and provisos contained in paras 1 and 2.

(4) Protests and rescissory actions, shall have no effect of delaying or suspending the execution (or staying the execution). If a point raised by the administrative court needs clarification, which is significant for the execution of the decree, this has to be excluded and clarification from the Federal Constitutional Court obtained. The Federal Constitutional Court also renders judgment in the case of objections against the manner and method of execution of the decree passed by it.

(5) In case of confiscation or seizure of properties Articles 10 to 13 of the Act regulating the freedom of association (public) dated 5th August 1964, shall be used to the relevant extent. Preventive authority is the highest State authority, in the case of para 2 the Minister for the Interior.

Art. 33: *Suspension of Banning of Substitute organisations:*

(1) It is forbidden to form organisations which carry on anti-constitutional (unconstitutional) activities on behalf of a party which has been suspended (banned) as unconstitutional under Article 21, para 2, of the Basic Law, read with Art. 46 of the Act regarding the Federal Constitutional Court. It is likewise forbidden to continue to run any existing organisation as a substitute organisation.

(2) If a substitute organisation is a party which had been in existence even before the ban on the original party or is represented either in the Federal Parliament ("Bundestag") or in a State legislature ("Landtag"), the Federal Constitutional Court shall ensure that such organisation is a substitute organisation which has been banned. The relevant portions of Articles 38, 41, 43, 44 and 46, para 3 of the Act, regarding the Federal Constitutional Court and Art. 32 of this Act will be applicable.

(3) Article 8, para 2, of the Act regarding Associations shall be applicable to the relevant extent in the case of parties and associations coming under the scope of Article 2 of the Act regarding Associations, which function as substitute organisations of banned parties.

CHAPTER VII

Art. 34: *Amendment to the Income-tax Act:*

(superseded by the revision of the IT Act):

Art. 35: *Amendment to the corporation tax act*

(superseded by the revision of the Corporation Tax Act):

Art. 36: *Application of tax regulations:*

Articles 34 and 35 are in the place applicable to the assessment period 1967.

Art. 37: *Non-applicability of regulations of Citizenship Act:*

Article 54, para 2 and Articles 61 to 63 of the Citizenship Statute are not applicable in the case of parties.

Art. 38: *Means of Coercion of Election Commissioner:*

The Federal Election Commissioner can detain the executive committee of the party by means of caution money for undertaking dealings as per Article 6, para 3. The regulations of the Administrative Execution Act dated 27th April 1953, amended by the Act dated 12th April 1961, apply to the relevant degree, the executive authority being the Federal Election Commissioner. The amount of caution money can be anything between a minimum of DM 500 and a maximum of DM 3,000.

Art. 39: *Transitional regulations for Reimbursement of Election costs:*

(1) Election costs in respect of past election periods are not reimbursable.

(2) Not affected by this are the costs of elections to the State legislatures, which have taken place after the Federal elections of September 1965.

Art. 40: *Validity of this Act in the Federal Area of Berlin:*

This Act is applicable also to the Federal Area of Berlin as per Article 13, para 1, of the Third Provisional Act dated 4th January 1952. Insofar as impediments are in the way of applying Article 21, para 2, line 2 of the Basic Law, Chapter VI and Article 38 of this Act shall not be applied to the Federal Area of Berlin.

Art. 41: *Coming into force:*

This Act comes into force on the day after its announcement to this effect (The announcement was made on the 24th July 1967). Articles 6 to 16 will be effective from 1st January 1969, Articles 23 to 31 are to be applied to the accounting year 1968 for the first time.

(Concluded)

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'AD HOC' CHARACTER OF BONUS, "ILLOGICAL"

S. R. MOHAN DAS

(Director, Industrial Relations Institute of India)

THE EFFECTIVENESS of an industrial system lies in its organized and structured ways of operation. As a part and parcel of such ways, any system of compensation that is devised in industrial working should also be organized and structured. The wage and salary systems are called such systems. Into such structured systems of wage and salary, various factors and influences can be brought to bear to affect the quantum of the wage or salary. No matter what the diverse considerations are that have to be taken into account, they are all channelised within the organized and structured framework of the wages or salaries system so that there can be efficient management of the wage or salary system. The structured wage or salary system is like a reinforced concrete foundation on which a complicated structure can be built.

Unlike the earlier compensation system of payment in kind, which cannot be easily quantified, the wage and salary system provides enormous scope for quantification, computability and thus perceptibility to the giver as well as the receiver. It imports disciplines of management to both the receiver and the giver in the proper utilisation and channelisation of the compensation system. Thus the wage and salaries system ought to have been structured better in a developing society like India.

But the situation prevailing now is something terrible. Not only has the wage and salary system been reduced to a shambles, making administration costs high, but to this is now being added another item called the bonus system as an *ad hoc* compensation arrangement to generate more conflicts among both the givers and the receivers of the compensation.

Bonus first started as an *ex gratia* payment given unilaterally by employers with their goodwill. The concept of *ex gratia* was galling to the pride and status of citizens in a democratic system, so the

concept of bonus was made when bonus was defined as "profit-sharing." This rationality could not, however, be lived with by those who provided the conceptual definition, because profits had many claimants for a share and workers alone could not be allowed by the other claimants to get the lion's share. This is the situation in the L.I.C. where no matter what happens, the Government shall not reduce its share of statutory return. Even if the business as well as premium incomes soar up, neither the policy-holders nor the employees could automatically expect any share in the increased income. The lion's share goes to the Government and all other constituents including labour have to be satisfied with secondary priorities.

There were other situations where workers worked well, but due to reasons beyond their control, profitability was absent. Having been given a taste of an additional compensation, apart from wages, the definition of profit-sharing given to bonus, generated frustrations among such workers. Therefore, a new definition had to be improvised and some trade union leaders started this semantic acrobatics. Bonus was sought to be defined as the gap between subsistence wage and fair wage in some respects, and fair wage and living wage in some respects. All these terms had only abstract meanings without any tangible or concrete connotations. The net result of all this exercise was not just "more and more", which is quite natural in all societies, but a totally unstructured and *ad hoc* "more and more" which produced some peculiar behaviour patterns in both the giver and the receiver of the "more and more."

It is because of the *ad hoc* character of bonus with illogical definitions that it has become one single issue, emerging as the cause of industrial conflict, work stoppage and inter-union rivalries. A high-power bonus

commission, the Bonus Act, numerous case laws and now a Bonus Review Committee, have all been made to go through an exercise within the rigid framework of the illogic of bonus and none of the opportunistic definitions could provide a fig leaf to cover the illogic of the bonus system that is fundamental. This is now inevitably going to lead to a situation where employees working in civil services such as State and Central Government offices, municipal offices, zilla parishads, municipal councils will have the fullest justification in demanding bonus and if they fail to get it, equally justified in agitating for it because, after all, they have been continuously encouraged and whipped into extravagant expectations.

This aspect of the bonus system as existing can be seen from two contrasting situations. Recently, in one firm, there had been an agitation by employees to give them additional bonus from the "set-on" reserves of bonus above 20 per cent which the Bonus Act provides for. But the Act also provides for a set-off in relation to the minimum bonus of 4 per cent that has to be paid irrespective of whether there is loss or capacity to pay. The "set-off" is provided for so that after paying the minimum bonus even without the affordability, when the affordability comes about later, the "set-off" could be taken advantage of. Though theoretically this has been possible, in reality, union leadership, for understandable reasons, can never accept compensatory adjustments in the "set-off" and there has never been a case reported of such adjustments, though the law provides for it.

In such circumstances, we are now trying to take our society into even greater modernism during the 1970s with such an unstructured *ad hoc* system as the present system of bonus, which offers itself as a noisy rattling about a ruinous situation. The Review Committee has been preempted from autonomous functioning. The whimsicality displayed by the authorities concerned when playing around with bonus system, has caused considerable havoc.



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MADHYA PRADESH LETTER:

REGIONAL IMBALANCES IN M.P. NEED TO BE CORRECTED

BHOPAL, Aug. 10: As one looks back on the 25 years which Madhya Pradesh has traversed since Independence, and tries to locate, if any, the eminences in its achievements, one is struck by a singular lack of them. The State was formed by merging the former States of C.P., Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh and Bhopal, to give birth to a new, sprawling province on November 1, 1956. The new State, the biggest that the country has, was a conglomerate of disjointed units, each with its own history, geography and culture patterns. Integration presented first problems, and indeed, many of the political and administrative problems of Madhya Pradesh rise from its basic character as a "federated" union of dissimilar units.

But, during the last 20 years, for which statistics are available, the State has made strides in several directions. Irrigation, which holds the key to the State's development, rose from 22.37 lakh acres in 1950-51 to about 38 lakh acres in 1970-71. Food production went up from 39 lakh tonnes to 109 lakh tonnes during the same period. But population also rose from 260.71 lakhs in 1951 to 416 lakhs in 1971. A real leap was recorded in power generation. The present installed capacity from hydel and thermal sources is 757 MW, and the effective capacity is 700 MW. But the State cannot consume all that it produces, and has to sell substantial quantities of power to the neighbouring States. Only four per cent of power is consumed by the agricultural sector.

In the field of industry the State has at least statistically gone ahead, but the contribution which the industry makes to the State's income is marginal. Although the total investment on industry in the State has gone up from Rs 37.37 crores in August 1947, to Rs 201.39 crores in 1971, the bulk of it is on the Central projects—the Bhilai steel plant, the Bhopal Heavy Electrical Factory,

the N.M.D.C.-run Bailadilla Iron ore mines and the diamond drilling project in Panna district. The incomes go directly to the Union Government, and the State has to satisfy itself with royalties, fixed by the Centre.

Minerals are among the State's major assets, but they have failed to create more employment. Forest is perhaps the sector where the State has achieved the best advance. Its earnings in 1971-72 from the teeming forest wealth was Rs 30.77 crores, against Rs 6.14 crores in 1956-57. But investments have been low, and there are no forest-based industries. Two large paper mills can be easily supported by the forests in the State, and they together can yield as much revenue as the entire forests today. The *per capita* income has crawled up to a mere Rs 266.6 in 1970-71 from Rs 260.4 in 1960-61.

There is perhaps no other State which continues to be so backward despite its rich natural resources in the shape of mines, forests, rivers and streams, and a good soil, wetted by good rainfall. The profits go into the hands of a few prosperous rice mill owners, bigger farmers and contractors of all types. Thirty-four per cent of the population consist of tribals and Scheduled Castes, who are the most backward of the communities. But in actual fact, another 20 per cent of the 416 lakh people who inhabit the State are as poor, if not poorer.

Until 1968-69, an amount of Rs 662 crores had been injected into the five-year plans of the State. The State income, at 1952-53 prices, went up from Rs 510.3 crores in 1950-51 to Rs 973 crores in 1968-69. But this rise was appropriated by the privileged few so that the poor stayed poor.

Another feature of the State's development has been large regional imbalances. While the Chhattisgarh and Mahakoshal areas, which have given all the successive Governments to the State,

barring the S.V.D., are better developed, Vindhya Pradesh and large areas of Madhya Bharat have lagged behind. In order to restore greater uniformity in levels of development in the various regions in the State, Mr Sethi's Government has decided to take the Block as the unit of development in framing the Fifth Plan. Except for industries, which will be planned on the basis of an entire district, minor and medium schemes of irrigation, agricultural programmes and other activities will be planned round a Block. It is also proposed to earmark 60 per cent of the funds for less developed Blocks, and spend only the balance of 40 per cent on the more developed units.

USE OF RIVER WATERS

The Inter-State agreement on the Narmada waters, under which the four States, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan, have agreed to abide by the decision of the Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, has opened the floodgates of the development of the central India region. Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh have been at logger heads over the sharing of the run-off in the Narmada, and the height of the Navagam dam. And while everybody was unhappy that vast quantities of water were being allowed to run down the sea year after year without bringing any benefit to the people of the concerned States, no one seemed to be in a position to do much about it.

The Narmada runs for 669 miles in its upper reaches in Madhya Pradesh, for 46 miles on the Maharashtra border and for the last 100 miles in Gujarat. Ninety per cent of the catchment area of the river lies in Madhya Pradesh, 1.7 per cent in Maharashtra and 8.3 per cent in Gujarat. Experts with the Government of India hold that at Navagam, 28 MAF of water are available. Below Navagam, another 1.12 MAF of water flow into the river. In August 1966, Mr D. P. Mishra, the then Chief Minister, agreed to leave 5.6 MAF of water for Gujarat. But this included 0.25 MAF of water for Rajasthan. As against this, Gujarat pegged its demand at 16.6

MAF of water, permitting M.P. to get only 11.4 MAF of water. Dr K. L. Rao, at the Chief Minister's meeting on August 22, 1966, pleaded for giving Gujarat 9 MAF of water, leaving the rest to Madhya Pradesh.

Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra agreed some years ago to build a series of four small dams on the lower Narmada at Maheshwar, Haranphal, Jalsindhi and Navagam, dotted over the river length of 128 miles. Gujarat wants

the Navagam dam to be built at a height of 500 feet. If the dam is built at a height of 500 ft. 1.7 lakhs acres of land in M.P. will be submerged. M.P. and Maharashtra do not want the Navagam dam to be higher than 210 feet.

Only 8.1 per cent of the cultivated land in Madhya Pradesh is under irrigation. It is proposed to irrigate 78 lakh acres of land in M.P. out of the 144 lakh acres which comprise the Narmada basin.

that Gujarat received in the last ten years. The matter was in dispute for the last four years between Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan. The Chief Ministers of the four States met in Delhi recently and in a dramatic manner announced an inter-State treaty. While Maharashtra is awarded 2-1/2 lakh acres feet of water and Rajasthan 5 lakh acres feet of water, the allocation of the rest of the total 280 lakh acres feet of water between Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh as well as the final height of Navagam Dam which is to be built in Gujarat are to be finalised by the Prime Minister who has been accepted as arbitrator. The P.M. will take into consideration the technical and other aspects when fixing the height of Navagam Dam. The four Chief Ministers will meet again after the Prime Minister announces her award and by mutual agreement finalise the distribution of hydro-power among themselves.

The chief hurdle to the implementation of this scheme has been the height of the Navagam Dam. Madhya Pradesh wants it to be 210 feet to save the maximum extent of land that might be submerged. Gujarat, on the other hand, wants it to be 500 feet as recommended by the Khosla Commission.

FARMERS' CONVENTION

Gujarat farmers are agitated because for the second time in 12 years they are affected by the ceiling legislation. The first State legislation was enacted in 1960. At that time the ceiling was fixed after taking into consideration all aspects of the question. That is now revised and the ceiling is sought to be scaled down further. Farmers held a convention in Ahmedabad to register their protest against this move of the State Government. It was attended by Mr Piloo Modi, President of the Swatantra Party. Mr H. M. Patel was the chief guest and Mr Ambubhai Patel of Sabarkantha presided. Prominent Swatantra and Congress leaders attended the convention. Farmers' representatives from all districts were present in large numbers.

GUJARAT LETTER:

15,000 VILLAGES IN GUJARAT UNDER SEVERE DROUGHT

RAJKOT, Aug. 18: The shadows of famine are looming large over the horizon of Gujarat. As many of 15,000 villages are in the grip of severe drought. It appears that only 3,000 villages, most of them from South Gujarat, can be partially saved. The State Government is preparing a report on the prevailing scarcity conditions. The State will need nearly 10 to 15 million tonnes of foodgrains. Kharif crops are on the verge of failure and the rabi crops will also be affected because the soil will not retain its dampness for long.

Irrigation sources like dams, canals, tube-wells and wells are all dependent on the monsoon. The storage of water is so poor that it cannot even see through the kharif crop, not to mention the rabi crop. Trees have been felled thoughtlessly, making Vanamahotsava festivals a farce and irrigation schemes have been neglected. All these have resulted in near famine conditions which invariably recur every 4 or 5 years.

Last year the State recorded an increase of 23.3 per cent in food production and the targets of the entire Fourth Plan were achieved in its first two years! This shows that the Government duly takes credit for nature's bounties. On the other hand, the State has witnessed a fantastic rise in the prices of essential commodities. On an average, the rise is 15 per cent in the last 11 months and in the

month of July alone the price rise was 30 per cent over the price level in June. The State Civil Supplies Minister, Mr Sanat Mehta, has admitted his Government's inability to curb the prices. The wonder is while he advanced a number of suggestions for keeping the price line when he occupied the Opposition benches, as a Minister now he is not able to translate a single suggestion of his into action.

August proved to be a trying month for the Oza Ministry in other ways too. The increase of Rs 5 in the examination fees by the SSC Board, sparked off an agitation by the students. Ultimately, the Government bowed down. Then teachers and professors came out with demands for better service conditions as well as for the establishment of a Corporation for secondary schools, management of all colleges by the University and for measures to safeguard their jobs. When their efforts to gain their points by negotiation failed the teachers and professors went on strike on the 8th. The Government has now decided to provide for safeguards for the service conditions of the teachers and professors in the proposed legislation.

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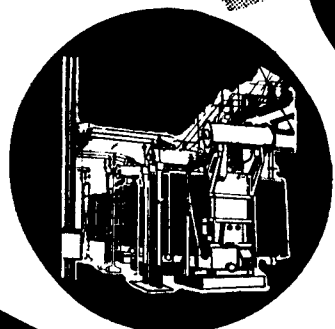
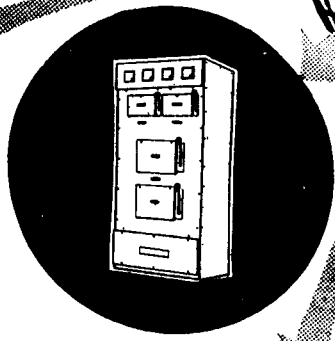
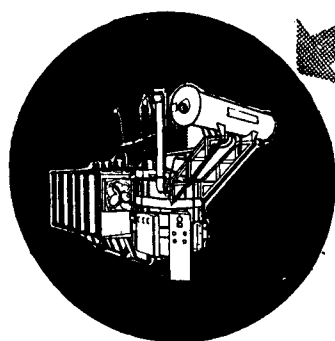
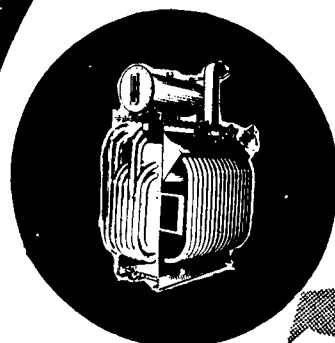


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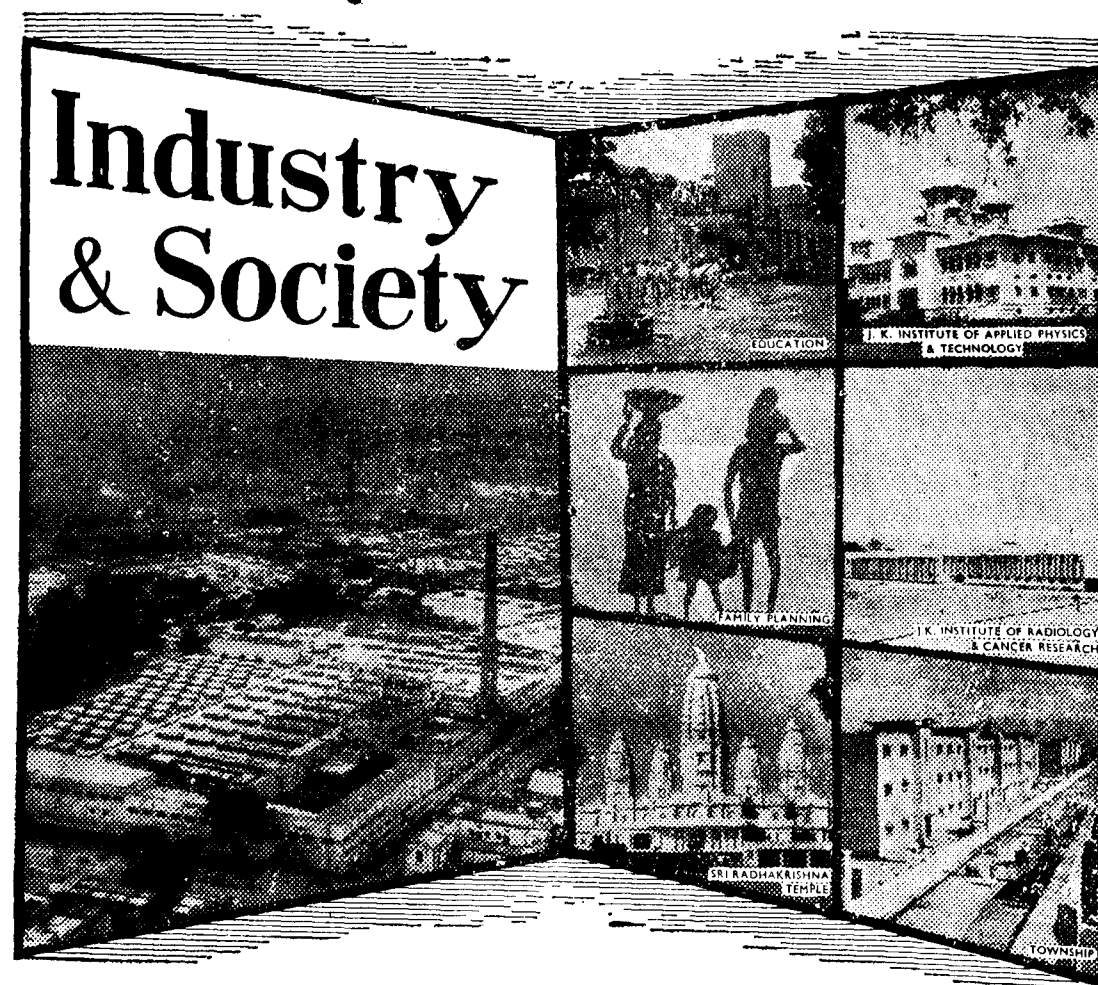
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BOOK REVIEWS:

CONSTITUTION AMENDMENTS AND BASIC RIGHTS

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND THE CITIZEN:

Edited by S. P. AIYAR and S. V. RAJU
Published by Academic Books Limited, Bombay

Price: Rs 27.50

That this book should come out when the 24th and 25th Amendment Bills have already become law, suggests the simile of locking the stable door, after the horse has bolted. Nevertheless, it has all the interest which can be created by the exposition of a controversial subject in a kaleidoscopic fashion: through the views of well known figures in the professions, and public life, each expressing views for and against the Bill, from highly individualistic angles. In addition, the book features the novel method of illuminating lay public opinion on the subject, with a collection of editorials in, and letters to the Press, which, interestingly enough, contain a few letters supporting the amendment of the Constitution, but muster a clear consensus of educated opinion, vehemently opposed to it.

In producing the book, the editors were doubtless faced with a choice: whether to feature only those writers conforming to the anti-amendment views expressed in the preface, or to present both sides of the case, and allow the reader to form his own opinion of the antithetical theses expressed. They chose the latter alternative, and have included the views of the Prime Minister, Rajni Patel, Indrajit Gupta and Krishna Kant, protagonists of both the amending Bills. Another, smaller group takes the rather illogical view that the 24th Amendment is to be supported, because it merely restores the *status quo ante*-Golaknath decision, but the 25th Amendment cannot be supported because it is too far-reaching in its scope. Finally, there is a fine selection of writings defending the Constitution, one of the best pieces being by Mr A. B. Shah, and (oddly enough!) by Mr Asoka Mehta, who propounds views and statistics which are thoroughly sound, suggesting that he, too, is undergoing a process of socialism reconsidered.

In respect of those who support the 4th Amendment Bill without supporting the 25th Amendment, it is only necessary to say first that it is factually incorrect to assert that the 24th Amendment merely restores the *status quo ante*-Golaknath decision, as the total obliteration of the President's powers of veto was not a feature of the Constitution-ante-Golaknath decision. Inasmuch as the 25th Amend-

ment Bill makes the intentions of the Government painfully clear, it is, as Mr Masani pointed out, like letting a man-eating tiger out of the cage, on the plea that it was unlawfully detained, in the first place.

Of the various arguments advanced by the protagonists of both the Bills, only one point has not been answered by those who are opposed to them. According to Mr M. V. Paranjpye, while it might be constitutionally correct to call for a referendum, and to create a new Constituent Assembly, these niceties are superfluous, because they will be voted upon by the same electorate which gave Mrs Gandhi a mandate to change the Constitution. In view of this argument, which is realistic, the Fundamental Rights Front, should combine with the committee on electoral reforms, headed by Mr H. V. Kamath to press for an electoral system like proportional representation, which overcomes the anomaly of a party capturing the majority of seats in Parliament, with a minority of popular votes.

Other arguments by the protagonists of the Bills are amply met by the theses of those opposing them: the representative capacity of Parliament *vis-a-vis* the judges being demolished by Mr Subba Rao's enunciation of the fact that neither Parliament nor the judiciary can be deemed supreme, when both are creatures of the Constitution itself; and by Mr A. B. Shah's and Justice Shah's categorical reminder that

judges may be in a better position to contemplate the eternal verities underlying the law, rather than members of Parliament, who are constrained to think, talk, and legislate in accordance with the exigencies of their next election. Nor have the champions of the Bill succeeded in showing how the Constitution was ever an obstacle impeding the course of progressive legislation. From the other side of the fence, it is abundantly clear that without exposing all other fundamental rights to erosion, the Government has weapons like taxation, and statutory safeguards like "Public Purpose" and "reasonable restrictions", within the Constitution itself, to introduce any measure of socio-economic reform which is genuinely for the public good. Most of all, one message comes through loud and clear, especially from Mr Palkhiwala's thesis which is emotional, historical, and factual rather than legalistic: that Fundamental Rights are a precious possession, which are not even now, enjoyed by the vast majority of the world's populations, of whom 2000 million live under tyrannies. Should not India conserve this rich heritage, with all the strength at its command? This appeal was made before people threw away this pearl of great price, by giving the Government a second mandate in the Assembly elections. Very little now remains of the Constitution. After reading the book, one can only say with Wordsworth, "Men are we, and must grieve, when even the shade of that which once was great, has passed away."

—LOUELLA LOBO PRABHU

WORLD CULTURE ON THE ANVIL IN INDIA

INDIA AND WORLD CULTURE:

By VINAYAK KRISHNA GOKAK

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

Price: Rs 22

This is a vague, large and unmanageable subject. The definition of "culture" itself raises a whole crop of difficulties. Are "culture" and "civilization" interchangeable or antithetical terms? Is "culture" merely the more inclusive term? There is, for instance, Mr A. L. Kroeber's definition (which Professor Gokak accepts) —

"the historically differentiated and variable mass of customary ways of functioning of human societies" — with breakdown under "basic or reality culture", "social culture" and "value culture", with fourfold process-formations (organistic, vitalistic, mental, superorganic) and divers components and qualities: such a definition, while it has doubtless the merit of pseudo-scientific thoroughness and superficial comprehensiveness also leaves one cold.

If "civilization" is only a term applicable to "larger and richer cultures, carrying an overtone of high development of a society", are we not here allowing ourselves to be seduced by question-begging words like "larger and richer" and "high development"? Mr A. A. A. Fyzee writes in his monograph, *Islamic Culture*:

"Civilization, it is said, is what we use; culture, what we are. Culture is the inward spirit; civilization, an outward manifestation."

This takes us to the realm of ends and means. A clear notion of "ends" and the fabrication and use of the "means" comprise between them the whole dynamics and pageantry of human history. "A true happiness in this world", says Sri Aurobindo in *Foundations of Indian Culture*, "is the right terrestrial aim of man, and true happiness lies in the founding and maintenance of a natural harmony of spirit, mind and body." All thought, all discovery, all gadgetry, all action, all organisation (in other

words, all our arts, sciences, technologies, economics and politics) help to promote or impede the fulfilment of the "aim" of harmony (or "integration", if you will).

But since even notions of "harmony" may differ, being tilted towards the spiritual (as in India), the mental (as in ancient Greece) or the vitalistic and material (as in the affluent West), patterns of "culture" and "civilization" too have differed from time to time, and from place to place. And so the East and the West glare at each other, and groups of human beings, either because they profess a particular faith or "ism", or because they live in an isolable region or speak a distinctive language, are apt to boast of their unique "culture", and they would fain preserve its separative identity if they could. There are thus individual and social, local and universal, changeless and variable, static and dynamic, elements in this phenomenon of "culture", and this is the reason it eludes the clasp of a prim definition. There is no doubt a trend towards integration, globalism and universalism; but, then, there are also back-lashes of divisive localism and stifling isolationism.

Prof. Gokak's inquiry is offered as a birth centenary tribute to Sri Aurobindo, and admittedly embodies applications and amplifications of Aurobindonian insights on the subject. Originally given as lectures at different times

in different places, the ten unequal chapters of the book nevertheless unfold a progressive and persuasive argument, forging the filiations between "ancient" and "modern", "East and West", and culture, society, science, politics, religion and secularism — guiding the argument to climax at last in the vision, and the first hint of realisation, of "World Culture" in Auroville, the City of Dawn, inaugurated near Pondicherry in February 1968. There is wide-ranging scholarship behind these discourses, much thinking too, and what is even more important, a commitment to the cause of culture — what liberates, humanises, harmonises, unifies, what dreams about and prepares for and creates the future. Of the culture of ancient and modern India, Professor Gokak has a good deal to say in a little space, and his exploration of the possible meanings of "secularism" is most enlightening.

In his "Dear Reader" column in SWARAJIA (July 1, 1972), Rajaji pointedly reminds us that there is not only a negative but a positive side as well to "secularism". Prof Gokak too remarks that "the maximum of human liberty prospers in a State which guarantees freedom of faith and the autonomy of primary institutions." But, of course, for the average politician in India, "secularism" — like its siamese twin, "socialism" — is just a handy piece of gimmickry.

Prof. Gokak is disturbed by the "four-fold paradox that is contemporary India": rich in resources but dire in poverty, unity in name but diverse perversity in action, world's biggest democracy reared on mass illiteracy, and lastly a welter of ideologies! But he also feels that here on India's soil "the pattern of the world culture of tomorrow is on the anvil", and this logically leads on to the concluding chapter, "Culture's Coming of Age", on the Auroville experiment. Tomorrow's "culture" would be neither of East nor of West but of global scope and sway: it would unite, not divide, mankind: it would be science-based, an electronic ordering of affairs: and it would be sustained and made meaningful by the ambience of a new consciousness. It must, in short, mean the marriage of 'Power' and 'Wisdom' (or 'Grace') and —

Then hate shall dwell no more in human hearts

And fear and weakness shall desert men's lives,

The cry of the ego shall be hushed within . . .

Only a poet's fancy? But the seer-poet's winged words could be the prelude to the future harmony. We have nuclear nightmares enough to haunt us, and who but the seer-poet can help us to retain our sanity and even to entertain a hope for the future?

—K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

MODERN TECHNOLOGY FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH

SUMANT S. BANKESHWAR

THE GROWING ECONOMIC gulf between the developed and the developing countries has become the central issue of our time. More than 50 per cent of the world's income is shared only by 7 per cent of the countries representing 10 per cent of the world population. Ten countries have a *per capita* income exceeding \$2000 (US) and the developing countries have a *per capita* income of less than \$200 (US). Such serious disparities pose a threat to world peace.

The outstanding external debt of the developing countries went up from \$21.6 billion in 1961 to \$59.3 billion in 1969. In the same period, the debt service increased from \$2.3 billion to \$5 billion. Moreover, repayment has to be made in foreign currency! Unless there is a corresponding increase in exports, the debt service tends to impose a severe burden on the developing countries. Exports have failed to keep pace with the debt service of the developing countries. Debt repayment has often been rendered difficult because of lack of foreign exchange. Developed countries have stipulated restrictions on their collaboration agreements with the developing countries against the national interests of the latter. These agreements have stipulated restrictions on the export of goods to particular countries, sources of supply of raw materials, plant and machinery and payment of royalties.

Technology has now become the most important factor in economic growth. More than half the economic progress of the world is due to the improvement in the methods of production. Out of the estimated \$50,000 million spent on research and development by all countries of the world, about 60 per cent is utilised for military research! Of this, only about 2 per cent is spent in developing countries.

One of the major shortcomings of the developing countries is the absence of the technological con-

tent in their activity and operations. Technology should be the kingpin of industrial and economic progress. A number of competent scientists migrate from the developing countries to the developed countries and are thus lost to the developing countries. As a consequence, only a small fraction of the world's scientific and technological resources is devoted to the problem of developing countries, the population of which constitute more than half of the world population. The emigration of scientific and technological personnel from the developing to the developed countries should be bilaterally planned and regulated.

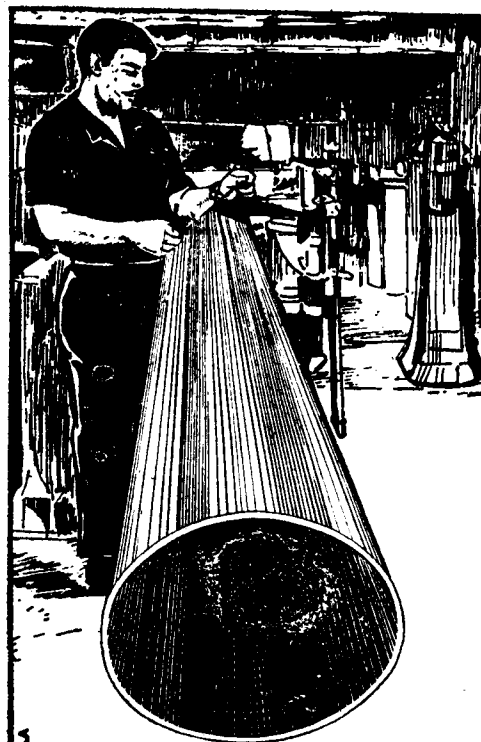
The terms and conditions of the flow of technology to the developing countries should be greatly liberalised if their economic structure is to be rapidly transformed without imposing an undue burden on their balance of payments. The developing countries are today paying heavy charges by way of royalties, dividends, repatriation of capital and profits, and are suffering from control of their technological and industrial activity in vital spheres by investors and suppliers of technology from

the advanced countries. The developing countries would never be able to improve their capacity to import appropriate technology and utilise it to their best advantage, unless they attain a certain degree of confidence in operating and owning technology, in generating technology of their own and in building their own infrastructure of research and development.

Since the end of the Second World War, there has been little transfer of public and private funds, skills and know-how from the technologically advanced countries to the developing countries. Ninety per cent of the world trade and transfer of technology is, however, today between the advanced countries themselves, resulting in an exclusive club!

The developing countries should focus more attention on useful projects rather than prestigious ones, and evolve new ideas and techniques for development backed by capital and technology from the developed countries.

Prosperity, like peace, is indivisible. If the developed countries try to relieve themselves of their commitments too soon, they will face international disorder caused by frustrations emanating from the accentuation of inequalities and injustice.



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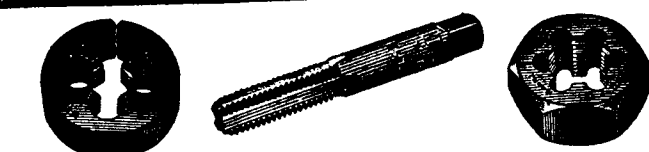
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Dear Reader

RIVAL BUSINESSMEN stockpiling demonetized currency notes in their Godrej steel safes are obviously foolish. Not so obvious but equally foolish and futile is the stockpiling of nuclear weapons which, it is universally agreed, can never be used. The illusion of strength in the one case is no better than the illusion of wealth in the other case, once it is universally recognised that nuclear bombs can never be used. Stockpiling them is on a par with stockpiling demonetized currency notes.

THE BANGLA DESH issue need not be mixed up with the Simla agreement question. They are different matters. Even if there had been no insurrection on the part of Bangla Desh against Pakistan the Simla agreement would be the inauguration of a new great era of cooperation between Pakistan and India. Our pledges of friendship with Bangla Desh need not become a hitch in the way of the flowering of Indo-Pakistan cooperation or be impeded by any difficulties in connection with the Simla agreement. They are entirely different and independent matters and can both be pursued without mixing up of issues.

WHEN I read the captain given in the Hindu (August 22) for the Uganda news item, I felt that it was great of the U.K., but apprehending that it was too good to be true I strained my eyes and scanned the body of the news item. I found that what the Prime Minister, Mr Heath, promised was that the U.K. would receive the ex-tenees from Uganda who had gone there on British passports, which is very different from "U.K. to accept Asians expelled from Uganda."

The ex-tenees will find an asylum somewhere or other in the world. But the violations of human rights should be dealt with in an effective manner. Dictator Amin should be punished for his offence by what in religious language would go by the name of ex-communication. It is gratify-

ing to note that British newspapers severely condemned Dictator Amin. He is described as a notable tyrant of history, ancient or modern.

The phrase Asian residents in the Uganda news reports, I guess, really means Hindus and Muslims from India and Pakistan. The latest news reported is that Dictator Amin has rescinded his previous order of extenment of people holding Uganda citizenship. It is not possible to believe that Dictator Amin has suddenly become a good and reasonable man. If he now sees the unreasonableness of his action he should have seen it when he notified the first order. I fear he continues to be the same man as he was and plans to take steps to exten these persons without a penny in the pocket. The natives of Uganda are made to believe that the dictator is doing something great for them. Excluding persons from more advanced nations is not the way to help the Uganda natives. Progress and prosperity call for the services of persons from more advanced countries.

THE STATEMENT made by the Finance Minister in the two Houses of Parliament about the loans to

be floated, whatever else it may mean, definitely indicates a big inflationist wave affecting the national economy.

It is good news that the Swadesamitran, the popular 93-year-old nationalist Tamil daily, which, it had been announced, would cease publication, will, by agreement between the management and the workers, resume publication.

I wish the craze for changing names were given up and the greatest attention paid to the improvement of the character of our people which has markedly deteriorated. Unless God and religion are restored through a mighty effort on the part of great and good persons, there seems to be little hope for the future. The national economy does not depend on names, but on character.

THE BIRTH centenary of Sri T. Prakasam is being celebrated. The Andhra Kesari was truly a lion-hearted person and deserves all the tributes that will be showered.

ALL THE Simpson Group units in Madras have reopened and are going on without any incidents. This is good news.

THE SUPREME COURT has reversed the decision of the U.P. High



Court and quashed certain land acquisitions notified by the U.P. Government on grounds that indicate that the Supreme Court is determined to uphold the Constitution.

THE SPECULATIONS by pressmen that fill their columns in the daily press are not helpful. I have no doubt in my mind that the Prime Minister will succeed in pushing the Simla Agreement forward in spite of all difficulties. I believe also that President Bhutto will sincerely cooperate, although he has to make his speeches in language which may not strengthen the political campaign against him in Pakistan.

NAMAKKAL RAMALINGAM PILLAI was a very early friend of mine.

FROM THE CAPITAL:

CONCERN IN CENTRAL LEADERSHIP OVER MYSORE DEVELOPMENTS

SENTINEL

NEW DELHI, Aug. 24: Mrs. Indira Gandhi's experiment of installing Chief Ministers from the Centre has run into trouble. In more than one Congress-ruled State, the Chief Minister is faced with an ouster move by dissidents within the party itself. The complaint generally heard is that the Ministries are either not coming up to the expectations of the rank and file or that the administration is too poor to command any respect. There may be a point in this general grievance of the partymen. But the real factor behind the ouster threats is the unwillingness of the Legislature Congress Parties in the States to tolerate the nominees of the Centre or the Prime Minister for the Chief Minister's job.

In launching this experiment, Mrs Gandhi obviously wanted to reverse the earlier trend of State leaders influencing Central politics. That trend had culminated in a threat to her position as Prime Minister to protect which she took counter-measures of a drastic nature which resulted in the Congress split of 1969. After the

He was a poet, painter and patriot and a total devotee of Gandhiji. Namakkal was a familiar town in my lawyer days and I cannot think of Namakkal without Ramalingam Pillai. His character was beyond question, which is a great thing in today's conditions. The picture he painted of Salem Vijayaraghavachariar is, I believe, adorning the walls of the Salem Literary Society.

It is a matter of great personal grief for me that Haribhau Upadhyaya has passed away. He was a veteran Gandhi-ite and, like many others who have passed away, bore the highest character.

C.A.

in the campaign announced publicly by Mr Hanumanthaiya.

The fact that the Central leaders are concerned about the ramifications of the Mysore development is seen from the consultations they have been having with Chief Ministers of other States. The Andhra Chief Minister was here to apprise the Central leaders and the Prime Minister of the situation in his State. From that State also complaints have come of laxity in administration. In Madhya Pradesh, Mr P. C. Sethi is under constant pressure from groups which have been combining and upsetting many of his calculations. He has, however, warded off an immediate threat to his position by expanding his Cabinet. That may not solve all his problems. In Assam, Mr Sarat Chandra Sinha is facing difficulties. In Bihar, Mr Kedar Pandey is not in a very secure position. There is one common complaint of poor administration in most of the States.

The main concern of Mrs Gandhi now is to see that the Mysore development does not become infectious. She would very much like the situation to be contained in Mysore before she applies her mind to the problems of other States. It will be interesting to watch how she grapples with the Mysore development.

There have been "informal" meetings of the Cabinet to consider the twin problems of production and prices. The Ministers are groping in the dark. A climate for higher production in the country can be created only if basic changes in the policies pursued are made. If the approach of the Government continues to be hostile to the private sector in industry, especially the bigger units, there can be little change for the better. Industrial production, stagnating already, will go down further. The answer is not another Industrial Policy Resolution or modifying it to curtail further the role of the private sector but to take pragmatic decisions to relieve that sector from the fetters and disincentives imposed on

it. By avoiding this economic imperative and talking of the "Joint Sector", the issues are being confused. When the Government talks of "joint sector", it means that it is seeking fifty or more than fifty per cent control of the private sector in many fields.

TAKE-OVER OF IISCO MANAGEMENT

The Steel Minister, Mr Mohan Kumaramangalam, had no difficulty in carrying through the Bill on the take-over of the management of the Indian Iron and Steel Company in the Lok Sabha. A resolution, disapproving the Ordinance and the subsequent Bill, moved by Dr Laxmi Narain Pandey (Jan Sangh), appeared to be a token protest rather than any real opposition to the move itself. Dr Pandey did not favour the idea of the Government handing back the management of IISCO to the owners after a period. The Steel Minister took Dr Pandey's view as virtual support to the Government's measure, notwithstanding the resolution.

Mr Mohan Kumaramangalam, both during his opening remarks and his concluding reply, declared that the take-over was a permanent arrangement. There was no question of handing back the company, he said. The time limit of two years mentioned in the Bill was to enable the Government to decide on the pattern of its own management and the restructuring of the company, under Government's control. Besides, such a limited period would protect the Government's action under Article 31-A of the Constitution and the Government was not liable to pay the management compensation.

The Minister was agreeably surprised by the "extraordinary" unanimity in the House on this question. Most members, having accepted the move as a *fait accompli*, were more concerned with the unsatisfactory functioning of the steel sector as a whole, including the public sector steel plants. They pointed to the many defects and the low rate of pro-

duction in the steel plants at Bhilai, Durgapur and Rourkela. As for IISCO, the members felt that since the Government held nearly 49 per cent of the shares, through its financial institutions as well as directly, the take-over was not regarded as an unusual step.

Regarding criticism of the public sector steel plants, the Steel Minister indicated that while the performance of the Bhilai and Rourkela plants had improved and brought in profits they were more than wiped out by the losses in Durgapur. He admitted that there was considerable scope for improvement. He also agreed that they had not been able to make significant changes in the Hindustan Steel plants. In the first quarter of this year, the plants suffered greatly due to power cut in Rourkela and Durgapur. In Bhilai, absenteeism had been very high in the coke oven plants during the summer months. Durgapur had also its own problems. But IISCO was probably in the worst position of all, the Minister said.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND OLD AGE ALLOWANCES

A non-official Bill to amend the Constitution to provide the right of work brought forth interesting information from the Government, though the Bill was withdrawn by the mover, Prof. Dhandavate. The Professor thought that the spirit of the Bill was accepted by everyone. The magnitude of the problems was, however, put before the House by the Minister of State for Law, Mr Nitiraj Singh Chaudhury. He said the mover had mentioned the figure of 14 million unemployed on the live registers of employment exchanges. There would be millions more who were in the rural areas where there were no exchanges. Mr Choudhury said that if allowance at the rate suggested by Prof Dhandavate was to be given to each one of them, then the figure of the total allowance would be fantastic—it would come to Rs 4000 to Rs 5000 crores a year. In the field of education, it was still far

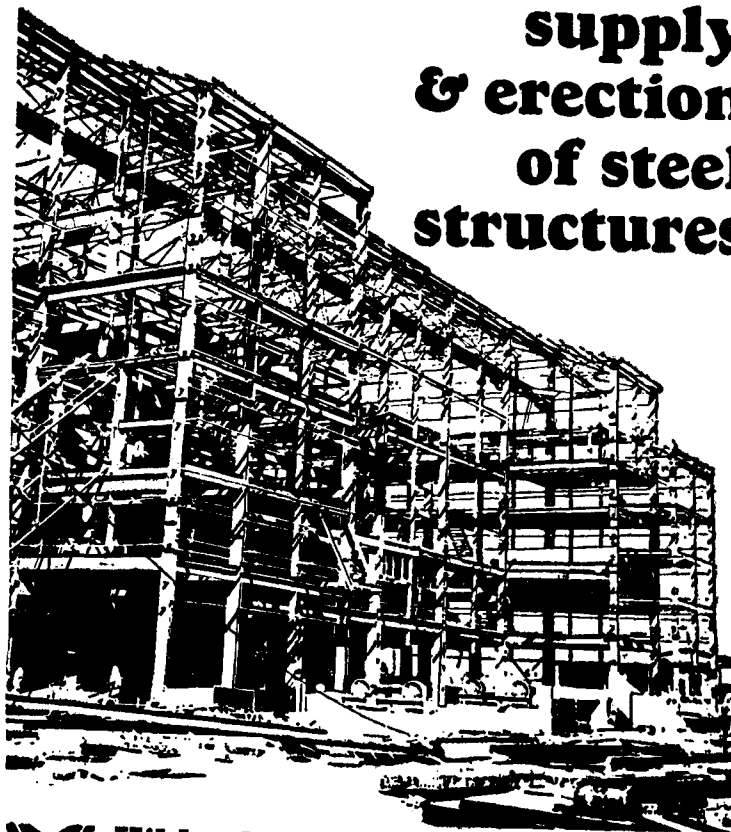


Courtesy—Abu: Indian Express

from easy to introduce universal education to all up to the age of 14. The total of this would be Rs 972 crores, something more than what was already being spent on all forms of education. Then there were the problems of providing text-books, clothes, food for children and so on. It was hoped that we could have all the children in the age group of 6 to 14 in schools by 1981. The mover had suggested that all persons above 60 who might be destitutes, or ill, should be provided with allowance. According to the 1971 census there were 3.16 crores of people above the age of 60. Then there were the blind people numbering about five millions. If allowances were provided for all such categories, it would come to the fantastic figure of Rs 8100 crores a year. The financial burdens involved were just unthinkable.

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PUNJAB AND HARYANA LETTER:

DRY BATTERY PLANT WITH JAPANESE COLLABORATION

CHANDIGARH, Aug. 22: The Punjab Chief Minister, Mr Zail Singh, is keeping his home town in good cheer and also carefully nursing his constituency. He has completed the "home assignment" by creating a new district of Faridkot and upgrading the town where he was imprisoned decades ago by the then Maharaja. Even though the reorganisation of some Punjab districts has been pending for years and the State is faced with many other pressing problems, Mr Zail Singh has given the highest priority to the establishment of the new district. The allocation of Rs 50 lakhs for the development of the Anandpur Sahib complex, Mr Zail Singh's constituency has a political tinge about it.

The Ministry has no solid achievements to its credit since assuming office last March and so it is particularly vulnerable. The administration at most levels remains inefficient and lethargic. Corruption is rampant.

The State having reached the saturation point in agriculture, considerable attention is now being paid to industry as the way out to maintain the region's progress. In fact, the lack of large-scale public sector establishments is one of Punjab's major handicaps. With the middle class dominating the economic scene, there is not much scope for large private enterprises. The State Government has once again urged the Centre to locate some major industrial units in this area. The Chief Minister announced on August 6 that the Union Government had sanctioned for the State 16 heavy industrial units costing about Rs 72 crores. Among these are a dry battery factory with Japanese collaboration and a State-owned tractor engine manufacturing plant. The Centre has, however, rejected Punjab's proposal to set up a Rs 4-crore synthetic detergents and soap plant in collaboration with Tatas. This plant may now be set up by the State Government itself.

However, a Rs 18-crore automobile tyre and tube plant, to be set up in collaboration with the MCM, has been sanctioned.

All this talk of expansion notwithstanding, the Punjab State Industrial Development Corporation, established in 1966, has failed to set up even one of the 16 heavy units sanctioned by the Centre. An official review discloses that licences or letters of intent for these plants (except four) involving a total outlay of Rs 78 crores were issued in 1969-70 and 1970-71. In most cases, even the project reports have not been prepared. Meanwhile, the Industrial Corporation has suffered a loss of Rs 5 lakhs — loss without any production at all! The commercial banks have, however, accepted the Government's plea to invest within the State 50 per cent of the total deposits received in Punjab.

THE HARYANA SCENE

While Punjab Ministers, especially those holding the Finance and Development portfolios, frequently indulge in more exercises

in radicalism, their counterparts in Haryana have been quiet and have slumped flamboyance. Even the Chief Minister has avoided making further commitments during the past few weeks, contenting himself with the observation that as a loyal soldier of the Congress he would carry out Central directives in all matters. He does not anticipate any hurdles in implementing land reforms, for instance. The principal reason for the slow-down on many fronts in the State is financial stringency. The heavy and disproportionate expenditure on rural electrification and other projects has eaten up a good proportion of the available resources. Several schemes have consequently been deferred, though it is claimed that the State's overall progress would not be affected.

According to an official spokesman, the State needs an additional allocation of about Rs 100 crores over a three-year period to tide over the crisis, complete the prestigious projects on hand and maintain its growth rate of 18 per cent. For drought relief, the Government has asked for Rs 88 crores, Rs 26 crores for immediate and Rs 62 crores for long-term measures. A Central survey of the damage caused by drought is now in progress.

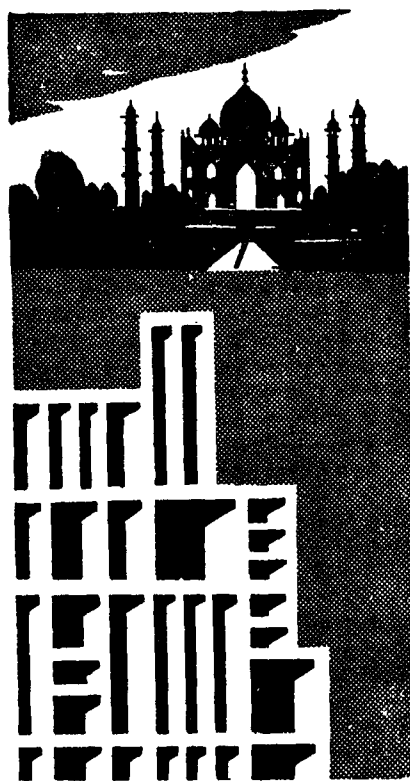
DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW

Inaugurating the Philip Spratt memorial lecture, under the joint auspices of the Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore, and the B.M.S. College of Law, Bangalore, recently, the acting Chief Justice of the Mysore High Court, Mr Ahmed Ali Khan, said: "Democracy is a subtle machinery. It is perhaps not by accident that the affluent countries of the world came to believe in and practise democracy. We, who belong to the other side, also believe in democracy, not because it is realise the dignity of man. In fact, the survival of the human spirit is only possible when a government is freely elected by the people of the country. Now, it is for us, who have accepted democracy, as a way of life to find out solutions for all problems confronting us within the framework of the rule of law."

The Constitution of India, Mr Ahmed Ali Khan said, stood for unity. To preserve unity, it was incumbent that the rule of law should provide the inspiration and must be maintained.

Rule of law was the mainspring of democracy. Respect for its measures was a duty enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The late Mr Philip Spratt (former Editor of SWARAJYA) realized the dignity of man and all through his life strove for it. In fact, according to him the survival of the human spirit was possible only when the government was freely elected by the people of the country and the freedom of the citizen was safeguarded under the law.

Prof. V. Krishnamurthy, Principal of the B.M.S. College, Bangalore, welcomed the gathering and said that the late Mr Spratt was an embodiment of renunciation and service. He was essentially a thinker and an intellectual like him had to face many a storm in life. He was a Britisher, with a Cambridge Tripos, who came to India at the age of 24. He laid the foundations of the Communist Party of India. The British clapped him into jail in 1933 in what was known as the Meerut Conspiracy Case. He was convicted

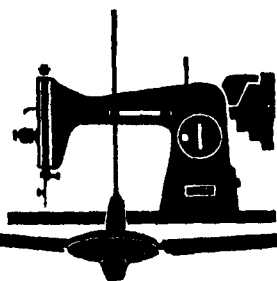


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and sentenced to 12 years' R.I. In appeal, his sentence was reduced and he was released in 1934.

While in jail, his wide and deep study of communism and the international situation made him renounce communism. Then he came out with a masterly work of "Gandhism — an analysis." Later, he joined the late M. N. Roy, another of the same ilk, and evolved an alternate philosophy to communism called Radical Humanism. Mr Spratt was the founder-president

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

A POSITIVE ASPECT TO PEACE

Sir,—West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, the architect of the German Federal Republic's reconciliation with Eastern Europe, received the Nobel Prize for Peace on December 10, 1971. Aase Lionses, Chairman of the Nobel Prize Committee, in her praise for Brandt, hailed his "Ostpolitik" as "an attempt to bury hatred and to seek reconciliation across the mass graves of war. If this hope for peace is fulfilled, the name of Willy Brandt will live in history as Germany's great Chancellor of Peace of Reconciliation," she concluded.

It was Alfred Nobel's express wish that the prize should be awarded to persons most worthy of the honour without their nationality being taken into consideration. The Nobel Prize Committee may consider giving the Nobel Peace Prize for 1972 to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi for her outstanding contribution to the cause of world peace and international understanding by taking remarkable initiative in concluding the Simla Agreement with the President of Pakistan and thereby paving the way for the establishment of durable peace in the Indian sub-continent. The Simla Agreement is bound to serve as a pace-setter for similar pacts to be signed in Asia and other parts of the world in future.

Mrs Gandhi is the first Asian statesman to have given a new meaning to the concept of peace, as she believes that without the establishment of durable peace, the developing countries of the world cannot hope to wipe out ignorance, poverty, unemployment and disease from their lands. For her, peace is not merely the cessation of hostilities between nations; it has a positive content, as it opens the way for the development of the living standards of the suffering humanity.

New Delhi

B. B. SAXENA

"TOO LATE?"

Sir,—On reading Rajaji's comments in "Dear Reader" in SWARAJYA of

of the Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore. He was one of the founder-members of the Congress for cultural freedom in India. He was the Editor of *Mysindia* for three decades and from 1965 till his death in March 1971 he was the Editor of SWARAJYA, Madras.

Mr G. N. Seshagiri Rao then spoke on the constitutional position of the President of India. Mr V. K. Narasimhan, Hon. Secretary, Libertarian Social Institute, proposed a vote of thanks.

August 12) on Shri Keshub Menon's episode of forgiveness, I was reminded of what I said in my farewell speech given at a Testimonial Dinner on April 30, 1958, in Washington(D.C. which I take the liberty to quote below:

"... The way to peace is a hard and dreary one beset with many disappointments and frustrations. Perhaps, there has to be love and understanding between ordinary individuals even while statesmen and rulers grapple with conferences and argue about procedures and agenda. Perhaps, some simple, loving hearts have to change before the rest can follow. In a moving book, *A Bar of Shadow*, by Laurens van der Post, John Lawrence, a brutally mishandled British prisoner of war, who wanted to forgive and save Hara, his Japanese jailor, who had tortured him in prison, observes:

"We may not be able to stop and undo the hard old wrongs of the great world outside, but through you and me no evil shall come either in the unknown where you are going, or in this imperfect and haunted dimension of awareness through which I move. Thus, between us, we shall cancel out all private and personal evil, thus arrest private and personal consequences to blind action and reaction, thus prevent specifically the general incomprehension and misunderstanding, hatred and revenge of our time from spreading further."

But when Lawrence found that Hara had been hanged before he could reach him and be reconciled, he cried in anguish, 'must we always be too late?' And let us ask ourselves again and again, are we getting 'too late' in our search for peace which has eluded men for centuries but which in this nuclear age has become the imperative of our very existence? Time will not be invited to international confabulations but time will not wait."

Bombay

G. L. MEHTA

FACTS AND FIGURES:

THE TOTAL assets of the top ten business houses in India in 1969-70, as disclosed by the Union Minister for Company Affairs, Mr Raghunatha Reddy, totalled Rs 2,229.60 crores, compared with Rs 1,752.73 crores in 1966. The break-up (in crores) is: Tatas Rs 623.50; Birlas Rs 629.60; Martin Burn Rs 176.0; Bangurs Rs 139.90; Thaper Rs 115.70. Surajmul Nagarmul Rs 103.90; Mahfalal Rs 156.70; A.C.C. Rs 120.70; Walchand Rs 100.70 and Srirams Rs 107.90.

INDIRECT TAXES in India increased from 5 per cent of the national income in 1951-52 to 10.4 per cent in 1969-70. Direct taxes showed a lower rate of increase, from 2.4 per cent to 3.1 per cent of the national income in the same period. The total tax revenue increased from 7.4 to 13.5 per cent of the national income.

DURING THE first six months of 1972, 359 new offices of commercial banks were opened in unbanked centres; 281 branches were opened in banked centres. Of these new offices, 467 were opened by the public sector banks, that is, the State Bank, its subsidiaries and the nationalised banks. The total number of new bank offices opened during the three-year period since June 1969 is 5,375. The average population served by a branch is now 40,000, compared with 65,000 at the end of June 1969. In 10 out of the 21 States (including Union Territories) a branch serves an average of 50,600 persons.

A STUDY made of civic amenities in Greater Bombay reveals that 64 per cent of the total number of families live in an area of less than 200 sq. ft. each; that 88 per cent of the people live in rented houses, mostly single rooms, and only 60 per cent of them have drinking water taps; that 70 per cent share a single bathroom and 67 per cent share one lavatory. The *per capita* water supply is 30 gallons a day.

ACCORDING to the figures furnished

by the All-India Institute of Mental Health, there were 43,644 suicides in India in 1969, or one suicide every 36 minutes, compared with the world figure of one in 12 minutes. This does not include cases of attempted suicide which, though impossible to estimate, was roughly 8 times the actuals. In 1971, in Bangalore alone, there were 272 cases of suicide.

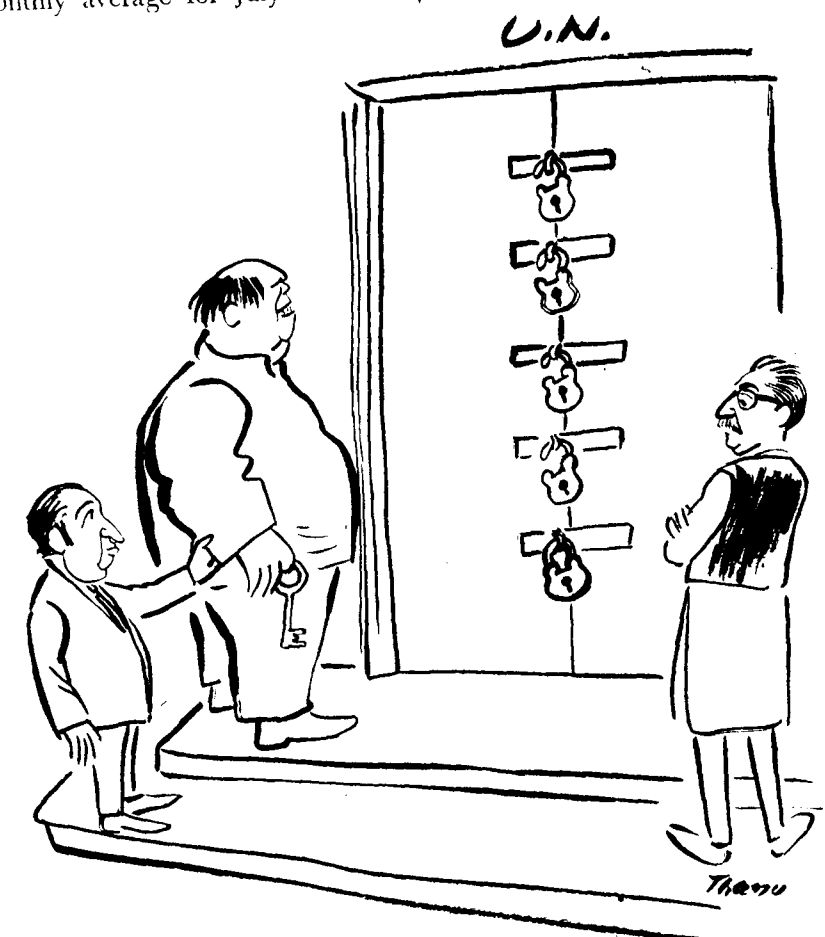
THE MAN-DAYS lost due to industrial strikes in India during 1970 and 1971 were 14,739,267 and 11,269,117 respectively.

THE WHOLESALE price index (with 1962 March 31, as the base year 100) advanced to 250.7 during the week ended July 29, 1972, as against 204.4 for the earlier week. The general index was also higher by 3.2 and 8.7 per cent respectively, compared with the figure for the corresponding week of June 1972 and June 1971. The monthly average for July worked

out to 202.4, against 197.9 for June and 188.0 for July 1971.

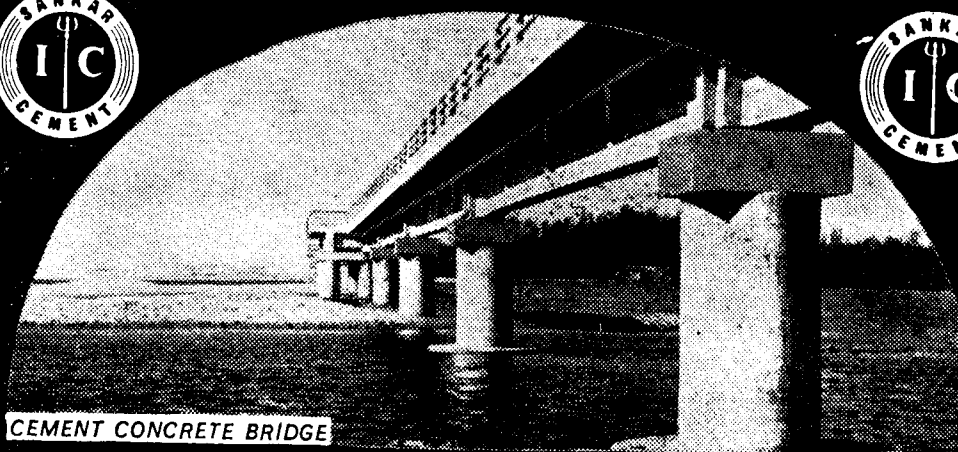
THERE ARE, as on date, 491 Harijan Trustees in the temples of Tamil Nad, according to Mr Kannappan, Minister for Religious Endowments.

EFFECTIVE FROM October 1, 1972, the World Bank will be reorganising its operations on a regional basis. Separate offices will function for (1) Latin America and the Caribbean; (2) East Africa; (3) Europe, Middle-East and North Africa; (4) Asia and (5) West Africa. The coordinating offices at the centre will have three principal sections—organisation planning and personnel management; Projects; and Operations — each manned by a Vice-President. The regional offices, within the approved policy, will have the responsibility of planning and executing the Bank's lending and technical assistance programmes in the member-countries. Mr I. P. M. Casgill will be the Regional Vice-President for Asia, under whose jurisdiction India will come.



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Vol. XVII. No. 11

MADRAS, SEPTEMBER 9, 1972

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PERSPECTIVE PLAN FOR TAMIL NAD

K. SANTHANAM

THE STATE PLANNING Commission of Tamil Nad has submitted a draft perspective plan covering the period of 1972 to 1984. Apparently, it is intended to cover the remaining two years of the Fourth Plan and the period of the Fifth and Sixth Plans. It is divided into five sections entitled (1) Objectives and Strategy; (2) Decentralised Planning; (3) Basis of Plan Projections; (4) Sectoral Profiles; and (5) Financial implications.

The chief objectives are stated to be doubling the *per capita* real income by 1984, full employment, providing minimum needs, reduction of inequalities, transformation of the social structure and decentralisation of planning and resource mobilisation. As the present draft is only a bare skeleton, the capacity of the plan to fulfil these objectives can be judged only when the comprehensive perspective plan is formulated. It is expected by the middle of 1973.

Doubling the *per capita* real income is one of the pet objectives of the Central Planning Commission and it is not surprising that the Tamil Nad Commission also has adopted it, though it has proposed to achieve these objectives in 12 years, while the first planning commission wanted to do it in 25 years. All the calculations in the report is based on 1970-71 prices and as prices have been increasing during the last 10 years by 5 to 10 per cent annually, the financial implications will also increase proportionately.

Between 1960-61 and 1970-71, the aggregate income of Tamil

Nad grew at the rate of 3.5 per cent and the *per capita* income by 1.5 per cent. At this rate, and allowing for increase in population, the *per capita* income in 1984 will increase only by 25 per cent. It is calculated that a compound rate of 7.6 per cent per annum will be required if the objective of doubling the *per capita* income is to be achieved. In the last 20 years of planning the national *per capita* income has risen only by 30.6 per cent. The report claims to have adopted a "new plan of strategy which combines production and distribution functions with implementation as the central aim." For the present, the reader will have to take this claim on trust and wait for fuller details before he can decide whether it can be rationally achieved to a substantial extent.

The report claims that an estimated unemployment of 16 1/2 lakhs in Tamil Nad could be solved by choosing "an investment pattern calculated to make the programme labour-intensive, in agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries and small industries." It is difficult to see anything new in this as these lines of development have been emphasised in every Planning Commission's report. It is only when quantitative estimates of investments and the resulting employment are available will it be possible to judge the employment potential of this investment pattern.

The report envisages radical improvements in food consumption, education, health, sanitation and other items relating to social welfare and social justice.

When the report proceeds to develop a strategy, it forgets its selective approach and suggests that investment on a massive scale in key sectors and programmes will show a high growth response to the application of science and technology and will result in maximum employment. All the programmes suggested in the various Planning Commission reports, agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries, are repeated. In industry, it is proposed that "fresh investment will be on sophisticated industries which have a high growth rate, in key industries, chemical complex and the Salem steel plant which have an acceleration effect in the complementary, ancillary and subsidiary small industries with high potential, as also in actual industries on an extensive scale." The handloom industry is to be developed and introduction of powerlooms is also to be encouraged. Thus, everything will be done in all directions.

Regarding increase in the generation of electric power, the report says: "The solution lies in the constitution of a regional grid with the fuller exploitation of inter-State rivers by suitable administrative arrangements among the concerned States." This, again, is one of the stock solutions intended to delude the planners and the people. A regional grid may be a good idea in itself but if all the States in the grid embark on plans as envisaged in the report, there will be acute shortage of power in every State and a grid cannot be to the total power generated by all the States. It has also become

painfully evident that too much dependence on hydro-electric power does not provide a stable basis for development, as it depends too much on monsoons. A co-ordinated development of hydro-electric, thermal and atomic power stations is the only possible solution. It is bound to be a very costly affair and involve a perspective of perhaps 30 to 40 years.

Perhaps, the most impracticable proposals in the report is the advocacy of "the strategy of the public distribution of essential goods (food, clothing, kerosene, etc.) for mass consumption at fair prices for those below the poverty line". As nearly 50 per cent of the people of Tamil Nad are below the poverty line, it will mean the replacement and unemployment of thousands of retail shop-keepers who distribute goods with very little margins for themselves and their substitution by bureaucratic and corrupt official agencies. It is a pity that the experience of even partial rationing during 1950s and 1960s has not left its impact on the Tamil Nad Planning Commission.

Coming to financial implications, in 1970-71 prices, an outlay of Rs 3,200 crores during the Fifth Plan and Rs 6,100 crores in the Sixth Plan is envisaged. Out of this the State is expected to produce resources of the order of Rs 1,300 crores and Rs 2,600 crores for the Fifth and Sixth Plan respectively and the Centre to invest Rs 1,000 crores and Rs 2,150 crores respectively, while the private sector is expected to contribute Rs 900 crores and Rs 1,350 crores. It may be readily conceded that to achieve the objectives, the scale of outlay is not excessive, but if all States are to proceed on the same scale, the Fifth Plan for all-India will have to be of the size of Rs 50,000 crores and the Sixth Plan Rs 100,000 crores at 1970-71 prices. This does not appear to be very realistic.

The report gives a brief description of the development of the infrastructure and social services. There can be no doubt that if they can be really achieved by 1984, it will be wonderful. For

instance, the report estimates that over 80 lakhs of units of housing will be required. Even assuming that the money required is available, has the Tamil Nad Government and people the requisite technical and material resources to build 7 lakhs of houses a year? Similarly, the proposal to provide education to the entire age group 6 to 15 and prevent the drop-out of children of the poor families is certainly a desirable objective but in the next 12 years, the Tamil people may well be satisfied if all children from 6 to 11 are in the primary schools and half the boys and girls between 11 to 15 are in the secondary schools.

In almost every other item, there is the same confusion between what the Tamil Nad people need

for a full life and what is really possible within the next twelve years. In fact, the selective approach has been submerged by the desire to bring down the Kingdom of Heaven quickly. One praiseworthy feature of the report is its emphasis on decentralisation of planning and resource mobilisation. This again requires a radical reconstruction of the structure and powers of local bodies; village panchayats, panchayat unions, municipalities and municipal corporations. It is to be hoped that in developing the comprehensive report, the Commission will pay more attention to the extent of practical achievements than merely to the desirability of particular social and economic objectives.

THE COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1972

M. S. KRISHNASWAMY

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT has again come with another amendment of the Companies Act, 1956. The Companies (Amendment) Bill, 1972, was introduced recently in the Lok Sabha. The Bill, which is described as representing "an instalment of the remedial measures" undertaken as a result of a comprehensive review of the working of the amendment-plagued Act, seeks to meet cases of abuse or distortion of the company system which have, "of late assumed comparatively serious proportions".

The foremost of the amendments is the one introduced to check the "striking unhealthy phenomenon" of take-over bids of well established companies by individuals or groups or combines. The Bill provides that no individual, group and corporate body shall, except with the previous approval of the Central Government, acquire any equity shares in a public company, the total paid-up of which is not less than Rs 25 lakhs, if the total nominal value of the equity shares so acquired exceeds 25 per cent of the paid-up equity share capital of such company. This amendment is considered necessary to protect the interests of the "non-controlling shareholders, particularly the financial institutions, who

are kept in the dark while secret negotiations are entered into by third parties with the controlling shareholders."

The Bill further seeks to regulate the transfer of shares by every body corporate or bodies corporate under the same management, whether holding singly or in the aggregate 10 per cent or more of the nominal value of the equity share capital of a company. This provision is also extended to transfer of shares in a foreign body corporate having an established place of business in India. It is also proposed to empower the Central Government to direct companies not to give effect to any transfer of shares, if, as a result of such transfer, a change in the controlling interest of the company concerned, prejudicial to the interests of the company or public interest, is likely to take place.

It is also pertinent to note that the scope of the definition of the term 'same management', has been widened. This is proposed as a further deterrent to the practice of lending money to and investment of funds in bodies corporate under the same management.

The Bill regulates the management and administration of companies at various points. First, the law lays its hands on the

appointment of former managing agents as secretary, consultant or adviser or to any other office. Such appointments will require the previous approval of the company in general meeting, and of the Central Government.

The existing provisions of the Act require the approval of the Central Government for the appointment of managing or whole-time directors for the first time. The present Bill requires the prior approval of the Central Government for reappointment also of such directors; this is made necessary even when no change in the terms of re-appointment is envisaged.

Holding of office or place of profits by directors or their relatives, etc., is also affected, inasmuch as, the Bill requires the consent of the company in general meeting for the appointment of the above persons to the office of legal or technical advisers of the company. These appointments, under the existing law, do not require such sanction.

The Bill empowers the Central Government to appoint such number of directors, as required, on the Board of a company for preventing oppression, mismanagement, etc. The existing power of the Government to appoint not more than two directors is considered ineffective, as it has been found that they form a "hopeless minority."

The Bill also provides that a company having a paid-up capital of over Rs 25 lakhs shall have a whole-time secretary who should not be a body corporate or a firm. This has been considered necessary in view of the complexion of modern business and the various laws which the management of a company are required to comply with. Besides, this provision will also help the growth of the profession of company secretaries.

In order to prevent unnecessary expenditure and erosion of funds of a company, restrictions are placed on the appointment of sole-selling agents. Accordingly, the Central Government may specify the commodities for which

sole-selling agents shall not be appointed. Appointment in companies with a paid-up capital of Rs 50 lakhs or more would also require the approval of both the shareholders and the Central Government.

The power of inspection of books of accounts, etc., of a company has been increased to such an extent that the Registrar or any officer of the Government may direct the production of the books, etc., within such time and at such place as he may specify and summon and enforce the attendance of persons and examine them on oath.

The Bill also seeks to regulate the receipt of deposits by companies from the public. It has been found in many cases that deposits taken by the companies from the public either have not been refunded or the companies have gone into liquidation. The present amendment makes it obligatory on the part of a company to advertise in such form and in such manner as may be prescribed including therein a statement showing the financial position of the company, before seeking deposits from the public.

The regulation of payment of dividends has also been touched by the Bill. The amendment is directed against the use of Reserve Funds for the purpose of declaration of dividends in a manner detrimental to the interest of the company, declaration of dividend when liquid funds are not available and alleged misuse by the management of unclaimed dividends.

The Bill does not even spare Chartered Accountants who have their own rules and regulations. The Central Government's approval is made necessary for the appointment of an auditor every year in the case of a company in which not less than 25 per cent of the subscribed share capital is held by public financial institutions, nationalised banks or general insurance companies and re-appointment of auditors once in three years in the case of other companies. By this amendment the Government hopes to prevent

concentration of audit work in a few established firms and close associations between the auditors and a group of companies.

The concept of private company being deemed a public company is extended further, so as to bring private companies having a paid-up capital of over Rs 25 lakhs and a turn-over of Rs 50 lakhs into the clutches of the stringent provisions applicable to public companies.

Among the minor amendments, significant are those relating to transfer of powers of court, in certain cases, to the Central Government, enlisting of shares in stock exchange and disclosure in the Director's Report, information about employees who are in receipt of emoluments in excess of Rs 36,000 per annum.

All these amendments are claimed to be proposed in the light of experience gained by the Government. It will be a welcome measure, if the experience gained which is sought to be translated into action through amendments of the Act is used in a manner beneficial to the interest of the corporate sector and society as a whole and does not merely turn out to be an instrument to stifle the private sector.



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EDITOR'S NOTES:

MARKING TIME

The net result of 4 days' negotiations in New Delhi of the representatives of Pakistan and India is that neither side has yet decided to back out openly from the Simla agreement. In "Alice in Wonderland", it is said that one has to run very hard to remain where he is. That seems to be the case with Indo-Pakistan relations. Strenuous negotiations seem to be required to maintain the *status quo*. The two delegations have recommended — not decided — immediate steps to carry out the clause in the agreement relating to the demarcation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir and withdrawal of forces. This could and should have been done without any conference. The only result of it is that the implementation of this clause was not possible within the time prescribed in the agreement and the date has had to be extended to 15th September. The issues relating to the release of prisoners, the resumption of diplomatic relations, recognition of Bangla Desh and other matters are conspicuous by not being mentioned at all in the joint statement. No indication is given whether there are to be further meetings at the summit or official level. Meanwhile, an influential Chinese delegation has been at Islamabad which amounts to a plain intimation to India that the Pakistani-Chinese collaboration of which the first fruit was the Chinese veto against admission of Bangla Desh to the United Nations, is going strong.

STRANGE BEHAVIOUR

There are six minutes of dissent to the Select Committee report on the General Insurance Companies (Nationalisation) Bill. Two of them complain of inadequate compensation, three protest that the compensation amounts provided for are excessive and one questions the propriety of paying any compensation at all. But all the minutes express the indignation of the M.Ps. concerned that the Government refused to disclose the basis on which compen-

sation had been calculated. Some shrewd guesses have been made but it is clear that the calculations have not been made on the same basis for all the companies. It is certainly strange behaviour that even members of the Select Committee should not be informed of the manner in which compensation has been computed. Though there may be some justification for the Government for refusing to pay full compensation on the basis of market value, it is essential for the integrity of the Government and the future of the private sector that there should be clear and rational principles for the calculation of compensation. Otherwise, it will be impossible to avoid the suspicion that particular concerns have gained through political pulls behind the scenes. Perhaps, it was considered that the disclosure of the basis might lead to litigation questioning the correctness of the calculations; but the present practice is bound to lead to litigation on the ground that discrimination has been made between Indian and foreign companies and between the Indian companies themselves.

PLANNING FROM BELOW

Mr D. P. Dhar, the new Planning Minister, has emphasised the necessity for planning from below and involving the people in the process of planning. This legitimate objective has been voiced by his predecessors also but, in actual practice, it is ignored. By the time the Planning Commission selects the Central Government projects and the State Government schemes, the resources get exhausted and the district and village plans are thrown into the wastepaper basket. If Mr Dhar is earnest, he should persuade the Planning Commission to allot some amounts available for the village panchayats, panchayat unions or samitis and the zilla parishad. It may be enough if a *per capita* allotment of Rs 5 is made to each of these bodies which will amount to nearly Rs 8,000 crores. Unless some

such procedure is adopted, planning will continue to be from the top and it will be mainly over the heads of the people.

OLYMPICS AND INTERNATIONALISM

One of the main objectives of the Olympic games should be the spread of internationalism. Its essence is that the individual should consider himself first as a citizen of the world and then only as a citizen of a particular State or country. However, the occasion of the Olympic games is being used for the glorification of nationalism. When a person takes part in a particular game or event, the victory is first ascribed to his country and then only to the individual player. Daily the radio summarises the distribution of gold, silver and bronze medals in terms of countries. The *New Statesman*, in its issue of 25th August 1972, has strongly condemned this tendency. The following observations deserve careful attention: "Far from the Olympics being a celebration of individual sporting skill, they have become — when they are a promoter's El Dorado or a businessman's bonanza—a chauvinist's paradise. The relentless playing of national anthems, the recurring running up of national flags, the remorseless reproduction of national league tables on the television screen—nothing could be further removed from the whole ethos of internationalism."

A GRUESOME TRAGEDY

The death of 15 children by the administration of a fever-control drug which contained an unauthorised toxic component, is tragic in the extreme. The managing partner, the chief chemist and others connected with the firm manufacturing the drug have been arrested. But the root cause lies in allowing small manufacturers to manufacture such drugs. Modern drugs should be produced only in well-equipped factories with laboratories where samples of every consignment can be tested. It is to be hoped that the case of all other drugs which are manufactured and distributed without such testing will be reviewed and remedial measures taken.

PROSPERITY AT HOME AND PEACE ABROAD: NIXON PROMISES FURTHER STEPS

The following are extracts from the address delivered on August 23 by President Nixon at the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach, as he accepted the party's nomination to seek a second Presidential term:

"I address you tonight, my fellow Americans, not as a partisan of party, which would divide us, but as a partisan of principles which can unite us.

"The choice in this election is not between radical change and no change. The choice in this election is between change that works and change that won't work.

"I have travelled to 80 countries in the past 25 years, and I have seen communist systems. I have seen socialist systems, I have seen systems that are half socialist and half free.

"Everytime I come home to America, I realise how fortunate we are to live in this great and good country. Everytime I am reminded that we have more freedom, more opportunity and more prosperity than any people in the world.

"We have the highest rate of growth of any industrial nation. Americans have more jobs at higher wages than in any country in the world. Our rate of inflation is less than that of any industrial nation. The incomparable productivity of America's farmers has made it possible for us to launch a winning war against hunger in the United States, and that the productivity of our farmers also makes us the best fed people in the world with the lowest percentage of the family budget going to food of any country in the world.

"Our Administration, as you know, has provided the biggest tax cut in history, but taxes are still too high. That is why one of the goals of our next Administration is to reduce the property tax, which is such an unfair and heavy burden on the poor, the elderly, the wage-earner, the farmer and those with fixed incomes.

WAGES AND PRICES

"As all of you know, we have cut inflation in half in this Administration, but we have got to cut it further, so that we can continue to expand on the greatest accomplishment of our new economic policy for the first time in five years, wage increases in America are not being eaten up by price increases.

"As a result of the millions of new jobs created by the new economic policies, unemployment today in America is less than the peace time average of the 60s, but we must continue the unparalleled increase in new jobs so that we can achieve the great goal of our new prosperity—a job for every American who wants to work, without war and without inflation. The way to reach this goal is to stay on the new road we have charted to move America forward and not to take a sharp detour to the left, which would lead to a dead end for the hopes of the American people.

"Americans today pay one-third of all of their income in taxes. If their (Democrats) programmes were adopted, Americans would pay over one-half of what they earn in taxes. This means that if their programmes are adopted, American wage-earners would be working more for the Government than they would for themselves. Once we cross this line, we cannot turn back because the incentive which makes the American economic system the most productive in the world would be destroyed.

"Let us always be true to the principle that has made America the world's most prosperous nation—that here in America a person should get what he works for and work for what he gets. Let me illustrate the difference in our philosophies. Because of our free economic system, what we have done is to build a great building of economic wealth and money in America. It is by far the tallest building in the world and we are still adding to it. Now because some of the windows are broken, they say tear it down and start again. We say, replace the windows and keep building. That is the difference.

THREE NO'S

"Standing in this Convention hall four years ago, I pledged to seek an honourable end to the war in Vietnam. We have made great progress towards that end. We have brought over a half million men home and more will be coming home. We have ended America's ground combat role. No draftees are being sent to Vietnam. We have reduced our casualties by 98 per cent. We have gone the extra mile. In fact, we have gone tens of thousands of miles trying to seek a negotiated settlement of the war. We have offered a cease-fire, a total withdrawal of all American forces, an exchange of all prisoners of war, internationally supervised free elections with

the communists participating in the elections and in their supervision.

"There are three things, however, that we have not offered and that we will not offer. We will never abandon our prisoners of war. Secondly, we will not join our enemies in imposing a communist government on our allies—the 17 million people of South Vietnam. And we will never stain the honour of the United States of America.

"To our friends and allies in Europe, Asia, the Mideast and Latin America, I say the United States will continue its great bipartisan tradition—to stand by our friends and never to desert them.

"When the history of this period is written, I believe it will be recorded that our most significant contributions to peace resulted from our trips to Peking and to Moscow. The dialogue that we have begun with the People's Republic of China has reduced the danger of war and has increased the chance for peaceful cooperation between the two great peoples. Within the space of four years in our relations with the Soviet Union we have moved from confrontation to negotiation, and then to cooperation in the interest of peace.

LIMITATION ON ARMS

"We have taken the first step in limiting the nuclear arms race. We have laid the foundations for further limitations on nuclear weapons and eventually of reducing the armaments in the nuclear area. We can, thereby, not only reduce the enormous cost of arms for both our countries, but we can increase the chances for peace. As a result of our initiatives, the danger of war is less today than it was.

"On your television screen last night, you saw the cemetery in Leningrad I visited on my trip to the Soviet Union—where 300,000 people died in the seige of that city during the Second World War. At the cemetery I saw the picture of a 12-year-old girl. She was a beautiful child. Her name was Tanya. I read her diary. It told the terrible story of war. In the simple words of a child she wrote of the deaths of the members of her family: 'Zhenya in December; Grannie in January; then Yeka; then uncle Vasya; then uncle Leosha; then mamma in May. And finally—these were the last words in her diary: 'All are dead. Only Tanya is left'. Let us think of Tanya and the other Tanyas and their brothers and sisters everywhere. Let us build a peace that our children and all the children of the world can enjoy for generations to come."—(USIS).

SPORTS COMMENTARY:

FIRST AMERICAN TO WEAR WORLD CHESS CROWN

SIDELINER

FOR ALL HIS notorious temperamental vicissitudes and his crusade against Russian communism, 29-year-old Bobby Fischer, the new world chess champion, is a grandmaster *par excellence*. No one else could have won the world title from the 35-year-old Boris Spassky in the manner in which the lanky American did in Reykjavik the other day.

Fischer did not have to see the 24-game series run into its full course. He clinched the title with a resounding victory in the 21st game, which gave him the needed 12½ points. His success in his first appearance in the challenge round—an appearance which, according to him, he had been denied over the years by the Russians—was all the more creditable, considering the fact that he had begun with a two-point deficit by losing the first game and throwing away the second through default because he could not see eye to eye with the match organisers on lighting and other arrangements.

Never before in any sport had a challenger shown such audacity, or confidence. Fischer, who, as a stripling of nine, had vowed to win the world title, at 14 had become the youngest ever U.S. champion and at 15, the youngest ever grandmaster, apparently knew his worth, and that of his rival as well. That he could afford a two-point handicap he showed before the championship was half-way through. He crushed Spassky in the third game, soon neutralised the Russian champion's advantage, and proceeded to build up a commanding three-point lead, which he eventually boosted to four to realise his boyhood dream.

Though a three-point deficit had never before been wiped out, none of the grandmasters and analysts, who had mustered strong of the Century, was prepared to in Reykjavik to watch the Match write off Spassky. True to their expectations, the Russians fought tenaciously, and had the challenger in a tight spot in more than

one game. It was when he was cornered that Fischer showed his genius. Every time he was materially and positionally down, Fischer's chess brain stood him in good stead.

As Spassky's hopes dimmed with every draw—seven in a row from the 14th to the 20th—Fischer's chances brightened. But Fischer was apparently not content with the sequence of drawn games, against which he himself had so often in the past protested, and decided on an all-out bid in the 21st by playing, for the first time in the series, the Kan Variation of the Sicilian.

The Reykjavik series will go down in history not only as the one that broke the Russian stranglehold on the world title, but also as one in which the challenger surprised the champion with a different opening in nearly every one of the games. Variety was the keynote of Fischer's success. Spassky seemed utterly unprepared for the Kan Variation. His game fell apart from the 21st move, and a puzzled, demoralised champion was left with a lost game at the adjournment after 40 moves. He duly resigned with out resuming, and telephoned his resignation to Chief Arbiter

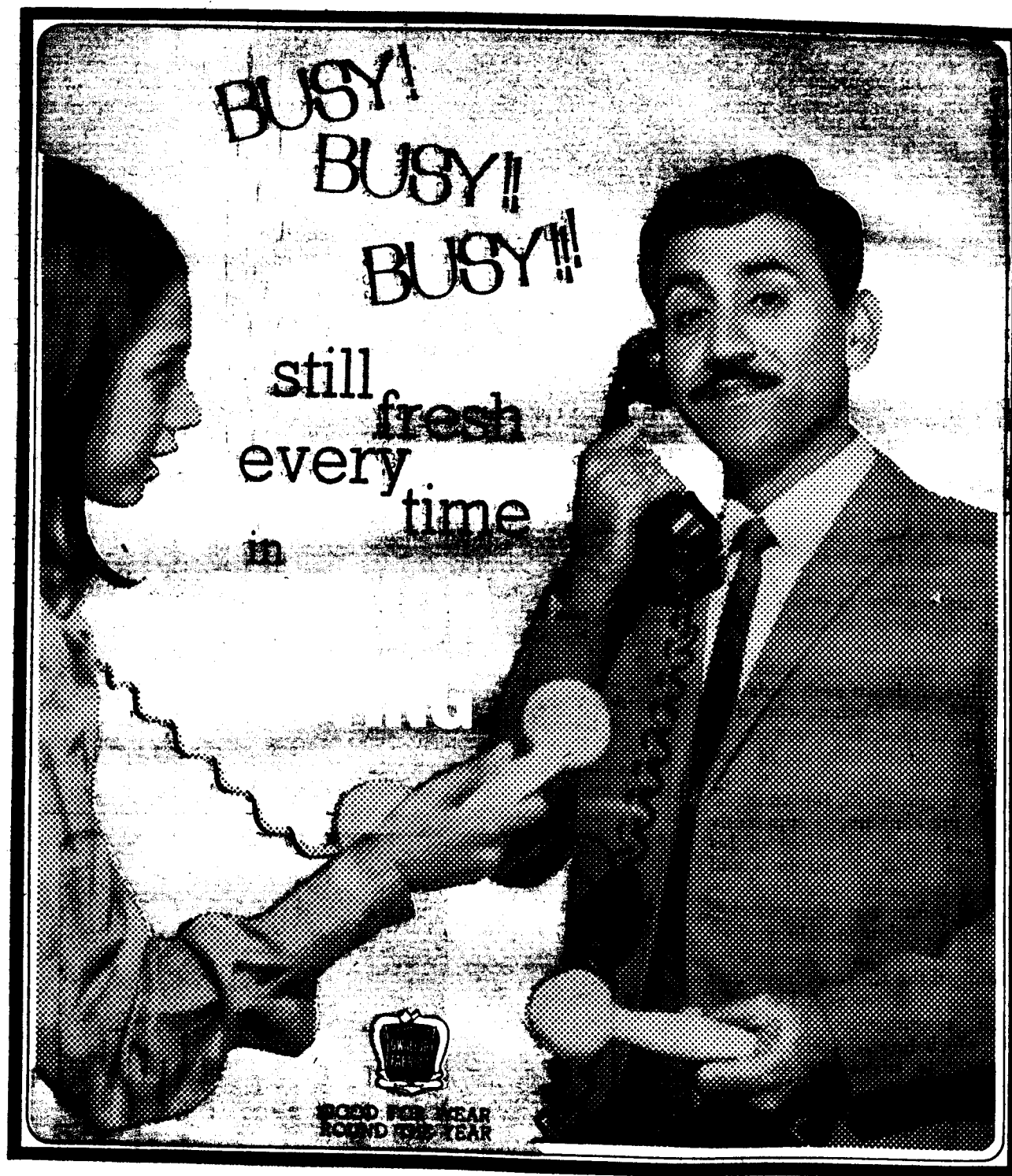
Schmid.

The fact that Fischer won seven games as against three including one through his own default, tells its own story. It also emphasises the fact that Fischer made no vain boast when a few years ago he claimed to be the greatest player.

Fischer made his boast to his old-time friend, J. Bjeliva, of Yugoslavia, who had for long played a Boswell to the American champion until the unpredictable Fischer sued him for \$3,000 for allegedly writing a series of articles under Fischer's name in a Yugoslav journal.

Fischer has become champion, and as he told a BBC interviewer, may remain champion all his life. Whether or not he retains the title all his life, Fischer has revolutionised the game of chess. Not even Capablanca, or Alekhine, or Reti has contributed to chess anything comparable to what Fischer has. Besides being a chess revolutionary, he is notorious for his brinkmanship, what with his tantrums and never-ending demands he went very near to scuttling the championship, which he eventually won to make chess history by becoming the first American to wear the world crown.

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MYSORE LETTER:

POLITICAL DRAMA IN MYSORE, WHILE PEOPLE SUFFER FROM DROUGHT

BANGALORE, Aug. 28: Mr Yeshpal Kapoor, Member of the Rajya Sabha, who is described as a confidant of the Prime Minister, spent two days in Bangalore and addressed the Congress (R) legislators and the MPCC (R) and had talks with important members of the party. He said that he had come to assess the functioning of the party in the State and that he would report to the Prime Minister all that he had learnt from his talks with the leaders here. The fact that Mr Kapoor made no secret that he had come to Bangalore at the instance of the Prime Minister on a fact-finding mission, gave a slight jolt to Mr Urs and his Cabinet colleagues. Mr Kapoor, who does not hold any position either in the party or in the Government, was hailed by Mr Urs as the link between the State and the Prime Minister. Mr Kapoor, in a confident note, said that there would be no change or reshuffle in the Mysore Ministry.

In the Legislative Council, Mr Ramakrishna Hegde, Opposition leader, questioned the propriety of Mr Kapoor's statement and added that it raised serious doubts about the fate of democracy in the State and also tended to lower the prestige of the legislature. The Agriculture Minister, Mr K. H. Patil's reply to a question about the reasons behind the Government's decision to postpone the taluk board elections gave an indication of the party's scant regard for the system itself. He said that it would not be proper to engage the people in "the democratic exercise of elections" at a time when they were in distress owing to drought condition.

Mr K. Hanumanthaiya held a Press conference on August 19, at which he virtually declared a battle against the leadership of the party in the State. Coming on top of the dust kicked up by the visit of Mr Yashpal Kapoor, who, it may be remembered, played the role of a Kissinger in Orissa on the eve of Mrs. Nandini Satpathi's election as leader, the explosive

news conference of the former Railway Minister has left the leadership rather confounded. Mr Hanumanthaiya said that a number of M.L.As. and a few Ministers had expressed to him their dissatisfaction over the manner in which the Government and the party were functioning in the State and added that he would work with dedication to purify the party which was developing "unhealthy trends." Significantly, he said that he would not take up any other work until the work on hand is brought to a successful conclusion, and added that the visit of Mr Kapoor had only accelerated the process of polarisation of the party and "converted thinking into action."

Mr Devaraj Urs reacted stoically to Mr Hanumanthaiya's declaration of war against "unhealthy trends", by saying "everything happens for the good." Speaking at Bhadravathi on August 22, he said that Congressmen who were sympathetic to the vested interests were trying to split the party and seek another leader, because his Government was fulfilling election promises ruthlessly.

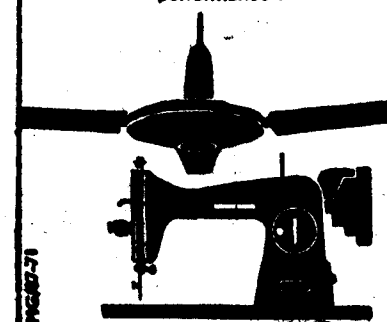
In between these political pulls and pressures, the State is suffering from the stresses and strains of drought. Mr Ghorpade, Finance Minister, held talks with the Union Government and the Planning Commission on Central grants to complete the Upper Krishna project and to expedite work on other major irrigation projects. He has asked the Centre, aid to the tune of Rs 250 crores. Mr Ghorpade, who returned from a tour of the drought affected districts of Bellary, Raichur, Bijapur, Bidar and Gulbarga, told newsmen that Rs 2.5 crores had been released for urgent relief works which had been taken up. He said that every man and woman would get a subsistence wage of Rs 2.50 per day from August 15; about 8,000 people in each taluk of these affected districts had been provided with employment.



USHA

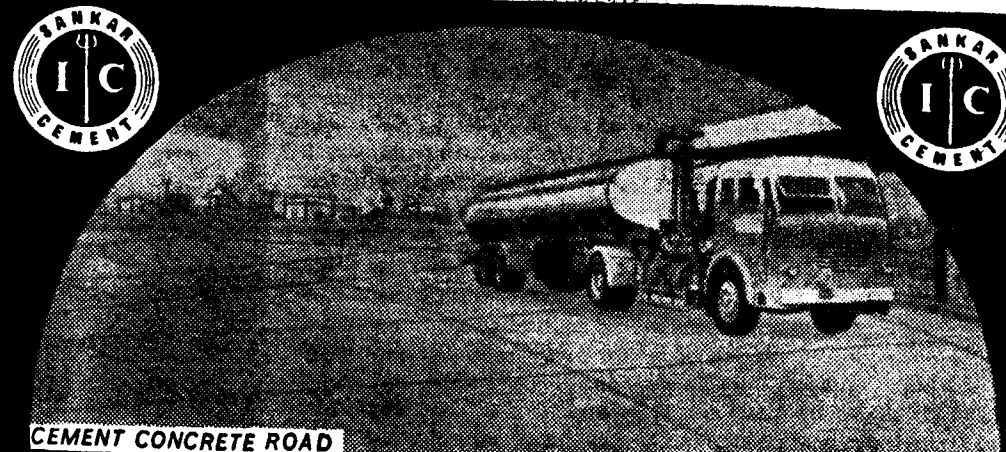
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WEST BENGAL LETTER:

WEST BENGAL'S AMBITIOUS FIFTH PLAN

CALCUTTA, Aug. 29: The West Bengal Government has submitted to the Planning Commission an approach paper relating to the State's Fifth Plan involving an outlay of Rs 2,700 crores. It is, undoubtedly, a bold Plan, for the State's Plan outlays were Rs 300.48 crores and Rs 322.50 crores respectively. For a Plan of this magnitude the State Government has to raise enormous resources. But the approach paper does not indicate how the resources will be found. For the Third and Fourth Plans the Central assistance was of the order of Rs 155.1 crores and Rs 221.0 crores respectively.

A government like the one in West Bengal would naturally attempt to draw up its plan in a big way to tackle the massive unemployment problem. At the same time, it is equally important that the Government should be realistic and not raise undue expectations among the people. Soon after assuming office as Chief Minister, Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray had drawn up a programme of electrifying 10,000 villages by the end of 1973. But power shortage has hit the State and it appears to be almost impossible to reach the target.

The State Government has also announced its intention to create a million jobs in the next five years on an investment of Rs 1400 crores. But, it is not clear on what basis the Government expects to reach the target. The data available with the Government regarding the State's economy are meagre. The State Government has also no clear idea about the extent of idle capacity in the engineering and other industries, or about the shortage of raw materials required by various industries. Information about the industrial progress and potentialities in the districts has also been quite inadequate.

The Planning Board is, no doubt, considering proposals to set up a series of working groups or task forces to study different subjects like, sick industries, petrochemicals, electronics, iron and

steel and agro-based industries in depth. But, it is not known when these working groups will be formed and how soon they will be able to submit their reports.

Meanwhile the State Government has submitted to the Planning Commission its Fifth Plan with an estimated outlay of Rs 2700 crores. The size of the Plan will be much bigger, if the investment in the Hooghly bridge and the tube railway is taken into consideration. The principal objective of the Fifth Plan is to provide employment and welfare to the largest number of people,

and for achieving this objective top priority has been given to inputs in the agricultural and power sectors. The development of the industrial infrastructure for power generation, irrigation, transport and construction equipment has also been given high priority.

As West Bengal is endowed with enormous natural resources, the State has large scope for setting up numerous industries with growth potential, including petrochemicals, electronics and others based on rubber and forest produce. In exploiting these resources, the State would do well to seek the cooperation of the neighbouring States, like Bihar, Orissa and Assam. These States also have vast mineral and water resources

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which could be pooled for the common benefit of the States in the region.

For an integrated development of the region the States should refrain from pursuing parochial policies. For instance, Mr Kedar Pandey, Chief Minister of Bihar, recently told a meeting in Calcutta that the problem of unemployment should be solved on a State-to-State basis. He said that 90 per cent of the staff should be

RAJASTHAN LETTER:

PROSPECTS OF GOOD 'RABI' CROP IN RAJASTHAN BRIGHT

JAIPUR, Aug. 28: Famine, it appears, has now blown over in Rajasthan. Even in the western region, where the conditions were pretty bad, there had been widespread rains. And in the eastern region, which at one time was threatened with acute famine, there had been flood, notably in the districts of Bharatpur and Sawai Madhopur, causing damage to standing *kharif* crops and property to the tune of about Rs 10 crores. Thousands of houses have collapsed.

It is believed in official circles that the overall food production will be greatly reduced. One redeeming feature, however, is that good rain in the eastern region has brightened up the *rabi* crop prospects in the State this year and, as such, this can be expected to compensate for the shortfall in the *kharif* crop. Prof. Sher Singh, Union Minister of State for Agriculture, who visited the State, advised the Government to increase the acreage under *rabi* so as to boost production. He assured all possible help from the Centre in this connection.

A Central study team may soon visit the State to assess what remains of the drought in the wes-

KERALA LETTER:

GOVT. OIL FACTORY IN CALICUT: FALL IN OUTPUT

KOTTAYAM, August 29: A report released after a sample survey in four high schools, three upper primary schools and three lower primary schools in each of

locally recruited. It appears that Bihar Chief Minister did not realise the implications of the statement. Any attempt to restrict job opportunities solely or even mainly to the "sons of the soil" of each State would not help solve the problem of unemployment. In fact, it may aggravate it, for a free flow of entrepreneurs and skilled labour from the relatively advanced States is essential for industrialisation.

tern region. Mr B. S. Manchanda, Programme Adviser of the Planning Commission, has already been to the flood ravaged areas to have a first-hand account of the damage caused.

The controversial book, "Agni Pariksha", written by Acharya Tulsi, has been withdrawn from circulation. This follows a personal appeal made to the Acharya by Mr Jaya Prakash Narayan, Sarvodaya leader. The withdrawal of the book has restored complete peace in Churu district where for over a month a strong agitation had been going on. With the withdrawal of the agitation, the State Government has released all those arrested in connection with the agitation. Cases against others have also been withdrawn.

In the State Assembly recently, the issue figured prominently. The Chief Minister, Mr Barkatullah Khan, asked members not to precipitate the matter further as normalcy had been restored. Mr Khan defended the Finance Minister, Mr Chandan Bal Baid, for his stay in Churu with a view to ensuring that normal conditions were created.

the ten districts in the State by the Education Department of the Kerala Government discloses that last year only one working day was lost through students' strike,

while 13 days were lost through teachers' strikes. While the Government spent Rs 49.30 and Rs 90.37 respectively on each student of the lower primary and secondary schools in 1965-66, the corresponding expenses last year were Rs 83.55 and Rs 169.11 respectively. Out of 1,000 pupils who joined First Standard, only 567 reached VII Standard. Out of 1,000 pupils who entered VIII Standard, only 525 reached X Standard.

It is reported that the Government oil factory in Calicut, a public sector undertaking, which was making profits running up to several lakhs of rupees, is now incurring losses. This is a joint stock company combining the Government hydrogenation factory and the Soap Institute. The oil factory was started during the Second World War to manufacture vitaminised oil to replace imported codliver oil. In 1958, it was taken over by the Government and it developed into the only public sector undertaking in India manufacturing vitamin pills and fish oil. During the seven years thereafter, till it was converted into a joint stock company in 1964, it made a profit of Rs 43,64,000. It continued to make profits, though reduced, till 1968. From then on the tale of losses started: 1968-69—Rs 1,58,000; 1969-70—Rs 37,000; 1970-71—Rs 35,000.

It is not as though the losses are due to want of a market. It is said that the fate of a Rs 5 lakhs order placed by the Kerala Government is still hanging in the balance. The output from this factory, which has an installed capacity of 300 tons, is declining appreciably. The production, which stood at 145.9 tons in 1966-67, fell to 90 tons in 1971-72. The production of fish oil and vitamin pills during April-May this year was 6.22 tons, as against 19 tons during the same period last year. Several items of machinery imported for the expansion of the factory and increasing its output are lying idle. According to Mr G. K. Panicker, Chairman of the Company, the loss, if any, is due to the considerable diminution in capital investment.



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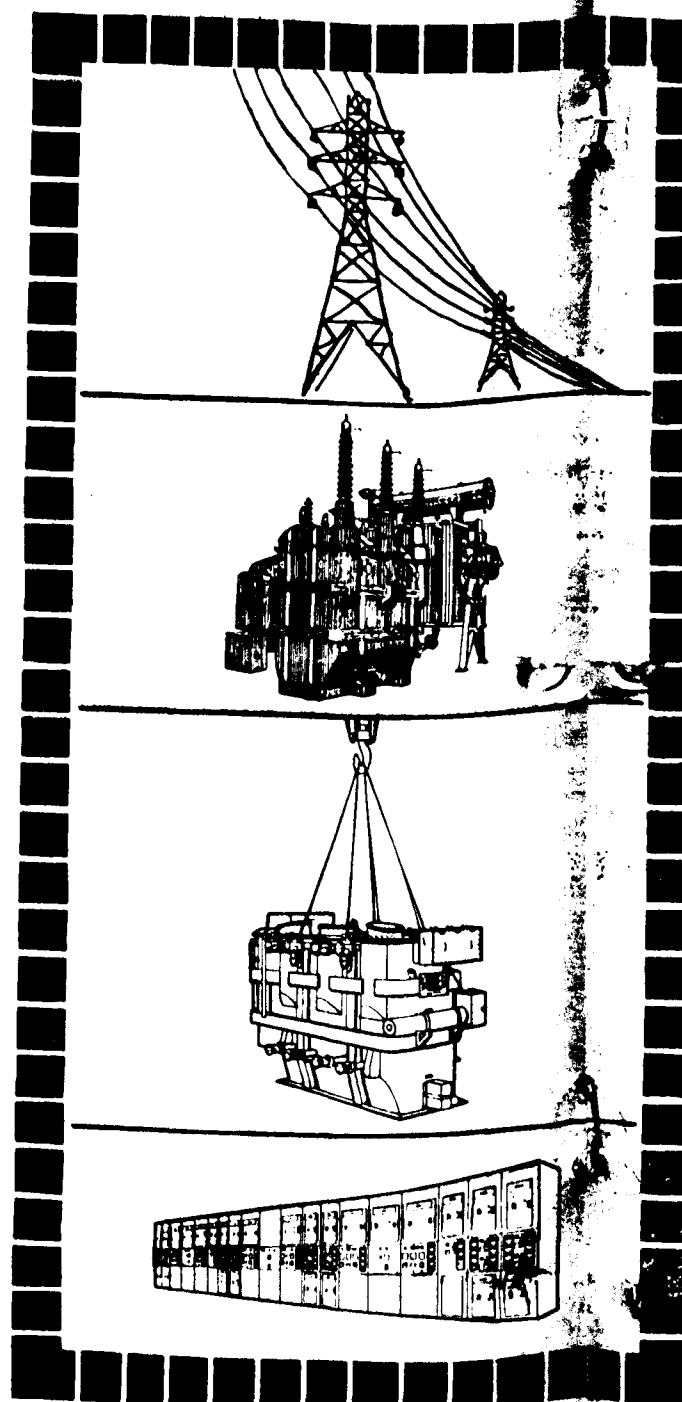
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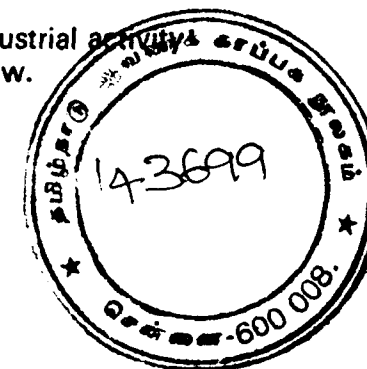
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BOOK REVIEWS:

THE 1857 'REVOLUTION' AND ITS AFTERMATH

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA:

By PANDIT SUNDERLAL

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

Price: Rs 36

Nations are born, their histories are made and are, often, made up. More than a score of historians have written on what is commonly known as the 'British Period' in Indian history and 'committed' as they were to singing the glories of the British Empire, made the British occupation of India appear almost like a mission of mercy. Paying tributes to Lord Wellesley, Vincent Smith, author of the 'Oxford History of India', wrote: "Wellesley believed thoroughly in the superiority of the British over any native Indian Government. That conviction enabled him to make annexations right and left without any qualms of conscience. Every annexation appeared to him to be an undoubted and unqualified public benefit. It is true that all the territories absorbed into British India benefited immediately by the change."

As against this, 'The Indian Governments with which the British had to deal were thoroughly debased. Treachery and murder of the most atrocious kind were almost universally recognized as ordinary methods of statecraft. English officials who had to transact business with Indian public men could hardly help themselves from suffering a certain amount of moral deterioration or yielding to the temptation of meeting guile by guile.' "No Indian politician in those days pretended to have any principles. Each one of them fought for his own hand with undisguised selfishness."

It was little wonder that the histories written by men armed with such wisdom turned out to be tissues of lies and varnished tales in which every incident was twisted to suit the convenience of the self-styled 'historian.' Traitors who betrayed the country appear in such histories as 'men with unswerving loyalty to the British' and Indian chiefs who fought desperately and with valour for their territories and their survival were dubbed 'rebels and infidels.'

When Pandit Sunderlal's 'British Rule in India' was first published in 1929, as a sequel to 'How India Lost Her Freedom', it was a refreshing departure from the usual run of histories and came as a breath of fresh air and a streak of light in darkness. It was banned by the British even while it was being written but 1,700 copies

were sold in the first four days of its publication, with Gandhiji urging people to break the law and face imprisonment rather than submit to the authorities. After persistent efforts, the ban was lifted in 1937 and tens of thousands of copies were sold and the book ran into four editions.

The most remarkable feature of Pandit Sunderlal's book is that it is entirely based on books written by British authors like Kaye, Malleon, Grant Duff, Malcolm, James Mill and Ludlow with the only difference that events have been put in their correct perspective. It is the unvarnished story of how a handful of shrewd and ruthless foreigners from across the seas had conquered a spirited people who had proved their mettle in numerous battles. The armies that faced the British were amongst the bravest and the best equipped of the Indian rulers. The reasons for their downfall were not far to seek. Peace and prosperity had led to wealth which bred vice amongst the upper and the middle classes. Sentiments of national pride and of love of freedom were completely lacking among the leaders.

As a contrast to this, the methods by which the British annexed one territory after another, graphically chronicled in this book, were bribery, corruption, sowing dissensions among the various sections of the people and 'traitor-making'. The policy explicit in the Roman motto, 'divide et impera' (divide and rule) had been adopted by the English from the very beginning of their rule in India. Indians killed Indians in their thousands and shed Indian blood on their own native soil to enable a handful of foreigners to establish an empire and deprive the 'natives' of their independence.

The book under review covers the period of about half a century from the end of the Second Maratha War in 1805 to the assumption of the governance of India by Queen Victoria in 1858 and the issue of her famous Proclamation. In more ways than one, this was the most crucial period in recent Indian history and was packed with intense activity of a far-reaching nature. It witnessed a series of wars fought by the East India Company, viz., the war with Nepal, the Third Maratha War, the First Afghan War, two Sikh wars and the Second Burma War. The crowning piece of this period was of course the 1857 Revolution which was in fact India's first war of independence, usually referred to as the 'Sepoy Mutiny.'

As a narrator, Pandit Sunderlal has a most arresting way of presenting even commonplace details. In their battles with the Gorkhas, the British could not take even an inch of Nepal's territory and had to resort to intrigues to annex certain regions illegally before concluding a peace treaty acknowledging Nepal as a fully independent sovereign State. The story was different with the Indian princes. Wellesley had initiated the system of employing a number of people in each Durbar, from ministers down to palace domestics, as spies and informers and had carried it out to its logical conclusion. During the Third Maratha War, Bajirao's army was honey-combed by cells of traitors in the Company's pay and the result was obvious. The treatment meted out to Peshwa Bajirao and Appa Rao Sahib Bhonsle drew loud protests from Edmund Burke in his speech in the British Parliament.

The annexing game went on and as stated by Lord Macaulay, the first Law Minister to the Government of India, the British came to the conclusion that 'India cannot have a free government. But she may have the next best thing—a firm and impartial despotism'. But the despotism was so 'impartial' that there was a systematic destruction of Indian industries and crafts; ancient educational institutions were made extinct and replaced by 'national' education to manufacture clerks for the Company; caste and tribe distinctions were perpetrated and Christianity was propagated at the expense of Indian religions. The Nepalese coined a significant proverb 'With the merchant comes the musket and with the Bible, the bayonet.' The years preceding the 1857 Revolution witnessed the largest number of usurpations by the British under the 'able' administration of Lord Dalhousie.

The most fascinating chapters of the book are those that describe the 1857 Revolution and its aftermath. Pandit Sunderlal's gripping narrative of the heroism displayed by Indian sepoys and their leaders will make every Indian heart swell with pride. There were mad killings by both sides because 'when passions are roused in men, the lust to kill very often dominates them and they are turned into ferocious beasts'. The characters during this period, Nana Sahib, Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Tanya Tope and Bakht Khan have since become legends in the real history of India. Even British historians of the Indian Mutiny like Malleon have paid unqualified tributes to leaders like Moulvi Ahmed Saheb. Rani Lakshmi Bai ranks amongst the rare heroines recorded in human history. Although the Revolution, the greatest and the most determined Indian struggle for freedom, failed in the

end, it is bound to be inscribed in letters of gold when the true history of India comes to be written.

After India achieved her Independence in 1947, any narrative of how she lost her freedom a century earlier is bound to be of academic interest, but Pandit Sunderlal's book assumes a special importance in this Silver Jubilee year of India's Independence. It proves

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This magnificent work in "simple, straightforward English" has deservedly gone into its second edition within a few years after its first appearance. The need for a fresh, authentic portrayal of the wisdom and beauty of humanity's Himalayan epics, has always been felt, and the present work demonstrates how best it could be fulfilled.

The Mahabharata is more than a mere epic. "It is a romance, telling the tale of heroic men and women and of some who were divine," to quote from Sri K. M. Munshi's own Foreword; "it is a whole literature in itself, containing a code of life, a philosophy of social and ethical relations and speculative

the utter futility of one nation trying to govern another and in the words of Lord Macaulay: 'Of all forms of tyranny, the worst is that of a nation over a nation.' Popular Prakashan have placed the book-loving public in their debt by bringing out this book at the time of the 25th anniversary of India's freedom.

—T. S. PARTHASARATHY

thought on human problems." With the Gita as its core, presenting the quintessence of *Brahma Vidya* and *Yoga Sastra*, it is rightly hailed as "the noblest of scriptures and the grandest of sagas", attaining its apocalyptic climax in the Eleventh Canto.

"For many years the Mahabharata has held me in thrall", avows the author, whose eagerness to share the delights of its versatile charms "with everyone, specially youngsters", has inspired her to attempt and accomplish with signal success this "free translation", which actually is more in the nature of a true and substantial condensation in a different language than a mere summary or a literal rendering. How free it is—and yet how true—is evidenced in the way that sections like "Yaksha Prasna" and "Vidura Netti" have been handled; how delicately sensitive and deeply insightful the per-

ception and the presentation, is revealed in chapters like "Sairandhri in the court-hall" and "the talks on the Dharma of a king". The teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita* is comprehensively and objectively treated. The background setting of the battlefield is faithfully sketched. Yudhishtira's chivalry, Lord Krishna's anger, Duryodhana's despair, Ghatotkacha's valour — are all vividly traced. A chapter captioned, "All five of us will marry your daughter," or "Surya is your father", or "When Draupadi laughed", would serve to highlight the author's mastery of the whole theme no less than her power of narration. These are but samples, selected at random. The work throughout reflects the spirit of the original.

The author's style is simple, vivid, fluent. The sentences are short, the phrasing is familiar, and the impact on the reader is direct and intimate. No expression is rugged, no idea obscure. No controversies are raised, none suggested. Where a scene is depicted, the presentation is at once realistic and dramatic. Where a character is portrayed, the personality is intensely alive and vibrant. These are, indeed, excellences of the original; but they find here an echo, true and total, in the author's manner and method, providing delight and instruction to the young and guidance and illumination to all who are earnest.

—(Prof.) K. SESHADRI

ANDHRA PRADESH LETTER

GOVT.'S STEPS TO FIGHT DROUGHT

HYDERABAD, August 28: Drought, continuing for the second year, it is feared, will affect almost the entire State. The Assembly discussed the situation for over seven hours. Many members spoke of the distress caused by the failure of rain. Without wishing to dramatise or play down the condition, the Chief Minister said that, from the beginning of July, this State had been under a continuous dry spell. The Government has set in motion several measures—"all that is humanly possible"—to meet the situation. Drinking water is proposed to be made available by sinking more tube-wells and by sinking and deepening more sub-soil wells in villages. Sixty rigs will go into operation simultaneously at selected points throughout the State. The postponement of the upward revision of power charges for agricultural purposes from 12 paise to 16 paise a unit, is expected to enable fuller energisation of tube-wells. The scheme to ensure minimum drinking water supply will cost about Rs 7 crores. The Centre has provided a sum of Rs 75 lakhs for this purpose.

More than Rs 2 crores have been spent on relief in the districts in less than two months. Farmers are given more fertilizers to make up for the deficiency of water. Taccavi loans also are being liberally sanctioned. Improved methods of transplantation and sowing of dry crops are being encouraged.

The Chief Minister has asked his Ministerial colleagues to tour specified areas and take on-the-spot decisions to step up relief operations. To a general demand for the postponement of land revenue collections, he told the Assembly that recovery of arrears would be suspended except in the case of "rich landlords".

LAND CEILING

The fearful drought situation has not, in any manner, altered the Government's resolve to bring into operation the land ceiling

programme by the end of this year. A joint Select Committee of both Houses has completed examination of the Bill. Ceilings have been in force in Andhra Pradesh since 1960. The existing limit ranges between 27 and 324 acres. The new measure seeks to limit the holding of agricultural land with a family of five persons, including three minor children to between 12 and 27 acres of wet land and 30 and 54 acres of dry land. The extent of the land held by a family will vary according to the classification of the soil and the number and kind of crops grown continuously for a period of three years solely on Government irrigation. For lands in drought-prone areas, the ceiling may be 20 per cent more than a standard holding. Exempted from the ceiling will be all land not irrigated by Government sources of irrigation, land held by the State or the Central Government, local authorities, religious, charitable and educational institutions of a public nature, lands held by the public sector undertakings and by cooperative societies especially formed for the welfare of the weaker sections, orchards and gardens and land covered by tea, coffee, cocoa and rubber plantations.

Transfer and sale of land made after January 24, 1971, will be void. Holders of land in excess of the ceiling will have to surrender their surplus land to the Government in lieu of compensation payable in cash or in Government bonds. The compensation will be on a slab rate, ranging between 10 and 50 times the land revenue payable on the land surrendered to the Government. Half of the surplus land is proposed to be allotted to agricultural labourers and village artisans for building and owning houses. Scheduled Castes and Tribes will receive special preference. But the grant will not be wholly free of cost. An allottee will pay the Government over a period of ten years an amount totally 50 times the

annual revenue payable on each category of land.

The Government, however, does not expect the ceiling legislation to have a smooth and easy course. Disputes are bound to arise in regard to the classification of land and soil and sources of irrigation, definition of the category of members included in a family, non-inclusion of land given as *streedhan* and liability over land mortgaged by a family to raise loans for agricultural development. A tribunal of three persons, headed by a Revenue Divisional Officer, will hear and adjudicate on every complaint. But an appeal will lie to the District Collector, and from his judgment to the Board of Revenue.

SANSKRIT UNIVERSITY

Scholars and administrators of higher education in Sanskrit from all over the country met at a two-day seminar in Hyderabad and gave full accord to the State Government's scheme for starting a Sanskrit university. The university will affiliate some 60 centres of Sanskrit study in Andhra Pradesh and will have seven facilities. These are: (1) Arts—economics, history, politics, philosophy, indology and linguistics; (2) Science — mathematics, jyotisha and library; (3) Languages—Sanskrit; (4) Teaching; (5) Medicine (Ayurveda); (6) Fine arts—music, dance and drama and silpa sastra; (7) Law — Dharma Sastra. The medium of instruction will be Sanskrit at least from the degree classes onwards. No tuition fee will be charged. The University is expected to be started during this year.

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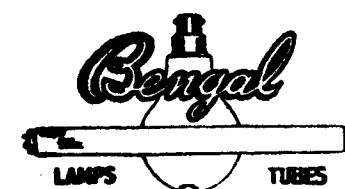
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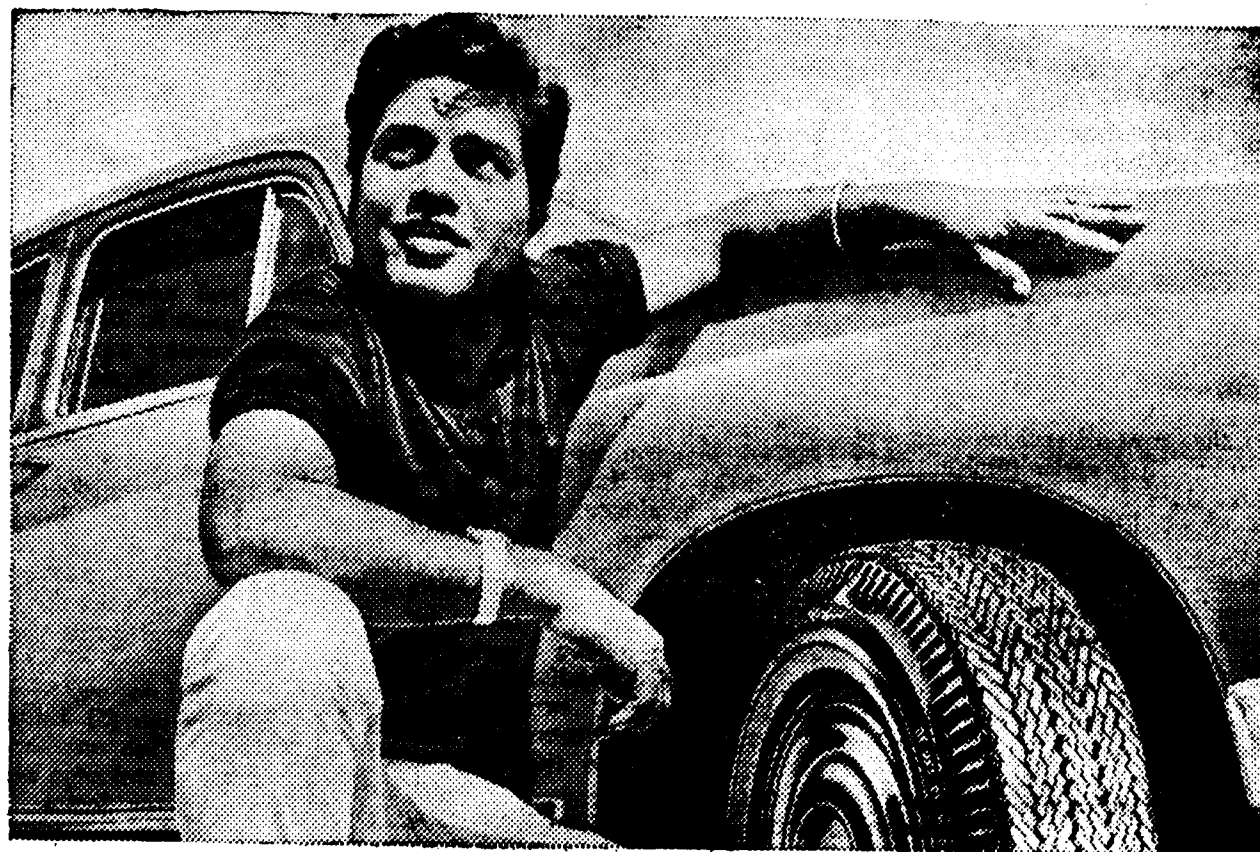


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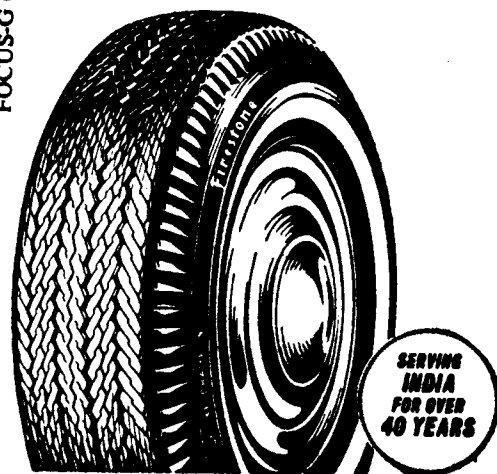
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Dear Reader —

ON ANOTHER page in this issue of SWARAJYA, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* report of my speech in the hall of the Grand Hotel in Calcutta on October 15, 1942, is printed. Readers will find it useful to read my speech at that meeting, which was presided over by the Metropolitan, the Most Rev. Bishop Foss Westcott. What my differences with Gandhiji in 1942 were and the reason therefor can be seen in the speech. Gandhiji's remarks thereon have already appeared in a previous issue of SWARAJYA.

★

MR. DAVID LAWRENCE, in his editorial in *U.S. News and World Report* of September 4, demands that atomic bombs should be wholly banned. Mr David Lawrence says that the United States has a major responsibility to bring about the prohibition of nuclear weapons. For he says that the American Government was responsible for the dropping of two atomic bombs on Japan shortly before the close of World War II, causing a huge loss of life. It is up to America, he says, to take the initiative in preventing nuclear weapons from ever being utilized again. . . . Mr David Lawrence tells the millions of his readers in the U.S. and abroad that "the time has come for all nations to join in an effort to protect humanity against the terror than man himself has created and which must be eliminated if civilization is to be preserved."

★

BEER DRINKING is getting into great fashion, thanks to the policies of State Governments. In making beer the resin-coated aborted flowering tops of the female hemp plants are put in the beer vats. This gives to beer the particular characteristics of that drink, viz., a bitter taste and a hallucination of happiness common to the imbibing the hemp plant product in any form. The active element in these drugs, whether in the form of drink or smoke, causes hallucination which allures the consumers of these most harmful

hemp products. Hallucination is worse than intoxication. The imbibing of any drink or smoke containing the alluring and hallucinating element ends in making the consumer a victim of the first pleasant hallucination and in the end a miserable wreck addicted to the poison. It is only the lowest classes in India that consume ganja, bhang and charas and today those who drink beer fall into that class, notwithstanding the sophisticated form of the drink. Ignorant men may not understand the special nature of the drink but doctors and drivers of cars who indulge in beer are guilty of a dangerous habit and there is no excuse for them. The latest issue of the *Indian Express* (September 3) has again a twelve-inch high beer advertisement.

★

I AM GLAD that Governor Sukhadia has, in a speech, laid great stress on our rediscovering the necessity for God and religion and deplored the tendency to look upon spiritual endeavour as superstition. He said in the course of his speech that "the feeling that material advancement alone could form the basis of life, had been one of the

prime causes of our present-day troubles."

★

SOME GOOD men are organizing a conference in November in Bangalore with Alhaj Afzal-ul-ulema Syed Abdul Wahab Bukhari, Rector, Jamalia Arabic College, Perambur, Madras, and a former Principal of the New College, Madras, as President, to push forward a scheme for emphasizing the unity of all religions. All religions were conceived by the founders as world religions. It is the folly of the followers that converted them into parochial and conflicting institutions. Wise and good men should retrieve religion from this error and help the progress of true civilization.

★

REUTER CABLES that the Prime Minister of South Africa has described the expulsion of British Asians from Uganda, as the most immoral of acts. He added that he felt sorry for the Asians—most of them Indians. He further pointed out that Uganda had been one of the countries loudest in its condemnation of South Africans for racism but was itself now committing a deed of the most flagrant racism.

C.R

FROM THE CAPITAL:

INDO-PAK. OFFICIAL TALKS: DELHI'S FIRM STAND PREVENTS DEADLOCK

SENTINEL

NEW DELHI, Aug. 31: The gruelling talks at the official level between representatives of India and Pakistan held here recently got bogged down over vital details. Though President Bhutto was in Rawalpindi and Mrs Indira Gandhi was in New Delhi, the two leaders intervened at the right stage to ensure that the letter and spirit of the Simla accord were fully respected. At the official level, it looked as though little further progress was possible. At times the Indian side could not conceal its disappointment at the extremely slow pace of the talks because it was holding up the very first major act of implemen-

tation of the accord, namely, stabilising the new cease-fire line in Kashmir and, as a follow-up, the withdrawal of Indian troops from Pakistani areas under their control. Even the Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, after his talks with the Pakistani delegation, was not sure of the hurdles being got over. That stage was when the Pakistani delegation, headed by Mr Aziz Ahmed, was still insisting on adherence to the old cease-fire line with all its attendant implications of U.N. association. India had firmly rejected this move by Pakistan. India's claim was that under the Simla agreement, the December cease-fire line was

entirely new and strictly bilateral between India and Pakistan. This reality had been accepted by President Bhutto in Simla. India made it quite plain to the Pakistani side that any other interpretation of it now sought to be put would distort the whole basis of the Simla accord and reduce the chances of a durable peace.

When the talks got slowed down to the point of reaching near deadlock, Mrs Gandhi took the initiative once again. She reaffirmed the clear stand of India that recognition of the new ceasefire line, as a line of control established by the two countries directly, was a 'must' before the withdrawal of Indian troops could take place. That formed the very basis of the Simla agreement. It was to put this matter beyond doubt that she had written to President Bhutto. It was in pursuance of that letter that the official delegation had been sent to Delhi by Mr Bhutto. The Pakistani delegation might have been quibbling over words and phrases at the official level talks. But when it met the Prime Minister the members understood how firm the Indian stand was. The issue involved was something bigger—whether India and Pakistan were trusting each other. The Pakistani officials promptly conveyed their impression to President Bhutto who equally promptly sent the right directions which resulted in a last-minute agreement.

Though, at the end of the talks, only a short identical declaration emerged, in content it was as

substantial as the original Simla agreement. It represented a real move-on in the framework of peace and good relations which had begun in Simla.

There were many who had doubts about the success of the Delhi talks. But as one who had initiated the round of talks by exchange of letters with President Bhutto, Mrs Gandhi did not seem disturbed. In fact, when she emerged from the brief talks she had with the Pakistani officials on the fourth day, she was smiling and cheerful. A draft was prepared by the Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. The draft kept close to the letter of the Simla agreement and, when transmitted to Rawalpindi, got the clearance of President Bhutto.

That the two sides got down to a firm declaration of acting fully in accord with the "letter and spirit" of the Simla agreement even when a high level official delegation from China, headed by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, was in Rawalpindi, speaks for the inherent strength and solidity of the Simla agreement. The Chinese certainly are not happy over the Simla *detente* and the presence of the Chinese delegation was intended to keep the Indo-Pakistan relations strained. President Bhutto has, however, steered clear to the extent that he has declared that the Simla agreement would not be disturbed and that Sino-Pakistan relations also would remain unaffected.

The Chinese veto on Bangla

Desh admission into the U.N. had no doubt cast a faint shadow on the Delhi talks but wisely India did not make an issue of it. At the same time Pakistan has been informed that the question of return of the prisoners of war and civilian internees cannot be solved without recognition of Bangla Desh by Pakistan. Any delay would only injure the interest of Pakistan. The hope here is that Pakistan would proceed early towards recognition of Bangla Desh.

The ultra-radicals in the Congress Party have received a jolt from the birth of a new Forum—The Nehru Study Forum. Not all the Forums in the Congress Party are innocent study groups as claimed by their sponsors. In fact, the so-called Congress Forum for Socialist Action that has somehow been on the scene had always been utilised on occasions to bring pressure on the party from the extreme left elements who have managed entry into the party. The moving force behind this are the ex-members of the Communist Party, a sizable number of them having been card-holders at one time or other. Some of the old PSP or Socialist Party men who have joined the Congress bandwagon cannot get along with this Forum influenced by ex-card holders. They would like to label themselves as Socialist Forum and function as an independent group. The Nehru Forum, as its sponsors claim, is intended to meet the challenge and criticism of both the extreme left and the moderate right. Though Ministers have not openly associated themselves with this new Forum, the fact that the name of Nehru is invoked and that the Congress President inaugurated it suggests that it has had blessing from the top, if not open support.

The entire Opposition was pitted against the Ruling Party when the latter brought a privilege motion against Mr Jyotirmoy Basu for having thrown some papers in the House during his speech. Mr Basu's explanation that he had no intention of showing disrespect to the Chair or the House but that he had acted

under strain from the noise and interruptions of the Ruling Party was not accepted. The Speaker allowed the motion to be moved even after the Opposition members had raised strong objections that the procedure was not quite correct and that such a motion could not be accorded priority. In the heated debate that ensued, the Opposition went in for such a strong condemnation of the attitude of the Ruling Party that the latter had to retrace its step, despite all the Ministerial backing it enjoyed and had to make peace with the Opposition. When the going became too hard for the Ruling Party and tempers were frayed on both sides, the suggestion came from the Ruling Party member, Mr Dinesh Singh, that nobody was happy over what had happened. He urged the Speaker to direct the Party leaders to sit with the Parliamentary Affairs Minister and find a way out. The Speaker adjourned the House for half an hour when the suggestion of Mr Dinesh Singh was endorsed by some Opposition leaders also. When the House reassembled, the

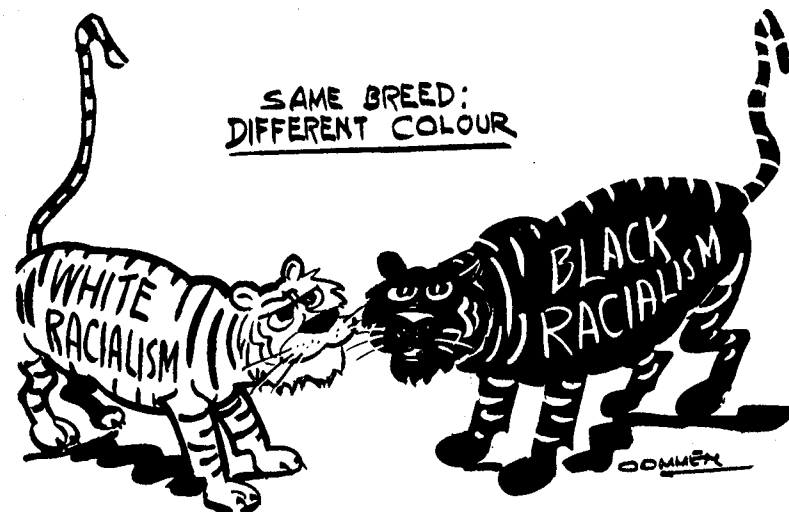
members came back in a different mood.

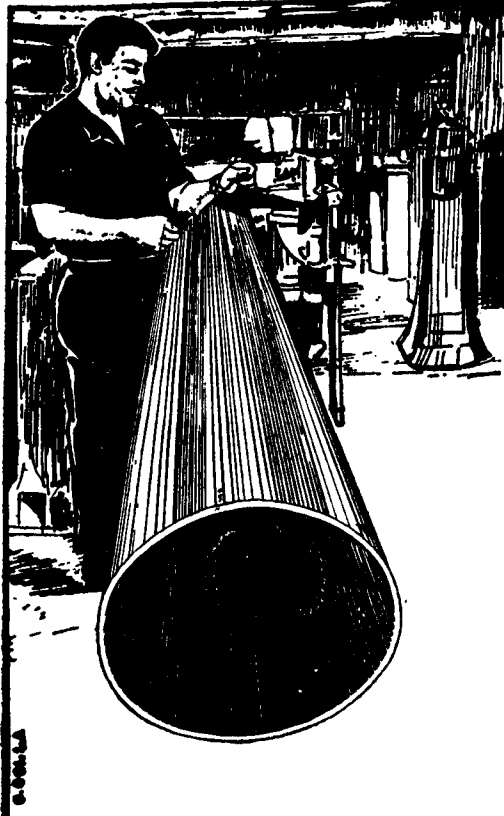
During the two-hour debate on the subject, it was contended on behalf of the Opposition that flinging a bundle of burnt newspapers by Mr Basu was at best an act of indecorum. Mr Indrajit Gupta (CPI), Mr Shyamnandan Mishra (Cong.-O), Mr G. Viswanathan (DMK), Mr Pilloo Mody (Swat.) and Prof. Dandawate participated in the debate. The motion was ultimately withdrawn.

PROHIBITION

The Government was caught on the wrong foot when its Prohibition policy was raised by Mr. S. N. Mishra (Cong. (O)). He wanted to know what the Government of India stood for when systematic moves were being made by the States to undo the policy of Prohibition which was also one of the Directive Principles of State Policy. The reply from Deputy Minister, Mr D. P. Yadav, in the Ministry of Social Welfare, was that the Union Government had not given approval to any Act of any State which would have the effect of scrapping Prohibition. He

conceded that a number of States, which had adopted varying degrees of Prohibition in the first two decades of Independence, had now been reviewing and relaxing the laws for various reasons. One reason was to prevent illicit distillation which had resulted in the death of many persons and proved to be a health hazard. This, he said, had been the main factor in influencing the States to rationalise their Prohibition policy. He referred to the suggestion made by the President of the All-India Prohibition Council that so long as complete Prohibition was not considered possible, the best that the Government could do was to take over production and distribution of liquor for all varieties to eliminate vested interests and unscrupulous traders. The Union Government could not do this, under the Constitution. So the States might take such action as they deemed fit or practical. The Minister did not think this was a reversal of the policy of Prohibition. Their suggestion to the State Government was that they should stick to the Prohibition policy to the maximum extent.





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WHEN RAJAJI MADE A STRONG PLEA FOR A NATIONAL GOVT.

Mr C. Rajagopalachari addressed a meeting held at the Grand Hotel, on October 15, 1942, in Calcutta under the presidency of the Metropolitan, the Most Revd. Foss Westcott. (The speech, as printed below, appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.)

Mr Rajagopalachari said that he did not like what was going on, the destruction that was going on, or what was sought to be done. This was, in his opinion, not for the good of this country. It might be argued that if destruction was done for a good object, in a proper way and under proper auspices then destruction might be good. But taking all things into account, Mr Rajagopalachari asserted that destruction would not bring the Indians to their objective, it would not improve them for the future, nor would it make them safe. It was a dangerous thing from every point of view.

But what else could be done? If nothing could be done, at least, for God's sake, let them keep quiet and let them not do the wrong. If there was no way out, God would help them if they kept quiet. But if they did the wrong



Two blacks make white when black money is blackmailed by persons in authority.—With apologies to Abu.

thing it could not be righted because there was no way out.

They all felt the urge to be free, but nobody seemed willing to free them and the people, therefore, were in a state of impatience and bitterness. Mr. Rajagopalachari believed—he had no doubt in his mind — that at the end of this war (the Second World War), the Indians could not be kept as a subject nation by the Britishers. He, however, warned the audience not to confuse this with trusting the Britishers. The Britishers might or might not be trustworthy, but the country would be free at the conclusion of the war; the speaker had no doubt whatever in his mind. He had no doubt that India would be free and would not remain a subject nation, even though Britain continued to be ruled by people who did not want to give freedom to India.

"If you share this conviction with me you will see why I object to this present programme. If you have the same faith why should we do anything destructive now? We do not propose to depend on Britain. We do not propose to wait on their pleasure — we shall be free on any account. And how long do you think this war will go on? Do not imagine that this war will go on for a very long time as it is going on. In this war, attrition is so terrific and the deficit balance every month between what is wasted and what is produced is so great that it cannot go on for a long time. It is bound to come to an end and it will end soon."

If they shared this confidence that India would be free at the end of the war, then they should agree with the statement of the speaker that destruction was bad. They had waited at least for 25 years since the slogan of *Swaraj* was raised and this war was surely not going to last 25 years.

Had the war remained confined to the western hemisphere or to a remote part of the world, he would have counselled the people to wait till the end. But, literally the war had come upon them. If they were bound to be

free, was it right to lose it in the interval and have to wait for another hundred years? If they lost their country to Japan they had to develop new techniques, new methods against the new government. It would take time and long trials and tribulations would have to be gone through. If Japan came they stood to lose. They, therefore, ought not to allow Japan to take hold of India. These acts of destruction, in the opinion of the speaker, were an invitation to Japan.

Proceeding, Mr Rajagopalachari exhorted his audience to compare the achievements in the sphere of law, culture and civilization of the Axis Powers with those of the United Nations.

Even hundred per cent Congressmen, he asserted, had, times without number, emphatically declared that, relatively speaking, the United Nations side was the better from this point of view than that of the Axis. Since the Allied side was the better one, if they were willing to help they must support not the Axis stand but the United Nations.

Looking at things from the standpoint of those who wanted to back the side which was likely to win, Mr Rajagopalachari thought that the Allies would win the war. There was no doubt that military organisation of the Axis was strong, their regimentation perfect, their discipline exemplary and they had the diabolical instinct to know exactly to do the right thing at the right moment. Yet, he believed leaving aside the smaller nations, the resources of England and America, hoarders of wealth, were more lasting and in the war of attrition the resources will ultimately tell.

Undoubtedly, Mr Rajagopalachari went on, Indians nursed bitter memories but for that reason they should not do things like mad and foolish people. They all wanted to defend their country. The Congress sincerely shouted for it. Those who doubted their sincerity were themselves insincere. The Congress shouted that it must have a share in the responsibility of defence not for the sake of luxury or splendour

of it. It wanted the responsibility of defence, at least the association with defence, to be absolutely plain, concrete and tangible, because it wanted to improve the strength of this defence.

How were they going to do it? What was the weak point? It was plain to everybody that the civil population in this country was not interested in this war. It had been admitted by the British Government that the Congress was a strong body, very popular—dangerously popular. It was obvious that in order to win the war one should have wooed the Congress, whether one liked it or not. But the Congress was not a difficult girl (laughter). She wanted it, but she was refused. A very foolish attitude was taken towards the Congress. The Congress said: "We do not want to disturb the arrangement, you keep it to carry on, but enable us to tell the people that this is our own Government, our own war, our own troubles and tribulations." That was the issue on which they broke. The British Government said, "no" to that. They made all sorts of speeches to show that it was the Congress which made a settlement impossible but the Indians knew that it was not true. There were lots of people in England and America who did not know as much as Indians knew. They knew very well that if the Congress had been helped a little by

the British Government a settlement would have been completed in the beginning of this year and the Indians could have their own government. In that event, instead of addressing a meeting of this nature, he would have asked the youth of the country to enlist in Air Force, the Army and the Navy. It was not done because there was suspicion and distrust.

Proceeding, Mr Rajagopalachari said that many well-meaning Englishmen had asked him why they should now struggle to get a national government, if they were convinced of freedom after the war. Why did they not allow the *status quo* to go on? They asked these questions because they did not understand the psychology of the people. Even Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the speaker pointed out, and other people working in the Congress and the national parties knew that they could not convince the people that the war was their own war, unless there was some form of government to reduce the racial bar, the discrimination, the arrogance, all the incidence of foreign domination, to reduce these to a minimum so that the people could see what really was going on and feel that it was their own war, it was their own government. They must feel like that. It was no exaggeration to say that Jawaharlalji almost went down on his knees before

the British agents on this point. He said: "I agree that the Axis should be defeated and I agree that we shall have freedom; but I tell you I cannot go to the people and ask them to suffer, burn their houses, destroy their lives, unless you create a tangible form of national government, which I can honestly tell them is our own government." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru asked the British agents to relax their obstinacy and concede this point. The British Government had got hold of the private proceedings of the Congress Working Committee and they only saw the confirmation of this point.

Mr Rajagopalachari would make bold to say that Lord Linlithgow had conspired with those who had started the present movement of the Congress (applause). "No clap-trap, I say most sincerely. It is no mere rhetoric."

"I feel in my heart of hearts that the obstinacy of the British had ruined the fair prospect of the country, the fair prospect of the war in this country. It is conspiracy-deliberate and unthinking conspiracy. I feel that we ought to have our own government, only by that can we rouse the people's imagination. You cannot rouse the people unless you give them a National Government. You can bring together all kinds of people, people with big names, but so long as there is no National Government, it is no use."

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FACTS AND FIGURES:

EMPLOYMENT UNDER the Government directly or indirectly, has more than doubled in the last 15 years. From 52.34 lakhs in March 1956, the number rose to 74.17 lakhs in March 1962, to 98.02 lakhs in March 1968 and 107.11 lakhs in March 1971. Central Government employees totalled 27.60 lakhs in 1971, compared with 27.15 lakhs in 1968, 21.86 lakhs in 1962 and 18.58 lakhs in 1956. State Government employees totalled 41.50 lakhs in March 1971, compared with 38.03 lakhs in 1968, 30.87 lakhs in 1962 and 22.65 lakhs in 1956. Quasi-Government employees were 19.23 lakhs in 1971, as against 14.84 lakhs in 1968, 8.79 lakhs in 1962 and 3.68 lakhs in 1956. Local bodies employees too increased from 7.43 lakhs in 1956 to 12.65 lakhs in 1962, 18.00 lakhs in 1968 and 18.78 lakhs in 1971.

COMPARED WITH the sharp increase in employment in the Government and quasi government sectors, the employment in the private sector has risen from 51.6 lakhs in March 1962 to 65.2 lakhs in March 1968 and 67.4 lakhs in March 1971. Of the 67.4 lakhs for March 1971, the manufacturing sector accounts for 39.6 lakhs, closely followed by services 10.00 lakhs.

AN ANALYSIS of the sector-wise employment of the 107.02 lakhs of Government employees as at the end of March 1971 shows that 2.75

lakhs were in forestry and plantations, 1.82 lakhs were in mining and quarrying, 8.03 were in manufacturing, 8.79 lakhs were in construction, 4.31 lakhs were in electricity, gas and water supply services, 3.07 lakhs were in trade and commerce, and 22.21 lakhs were in transport and communication services and 56.04 lakhs were in services.

DURING THE year 1971, the President of India promulgated no less than 23 ordinances, 9 of which were in May and earlier, one was in June, 9 were in October, and four were in November. The first session of Parliament was from 19-3-71 to 2-4-71, a total of 12 sittings; the second session was from 24-5-71 to 12-8-71, a total of 59 sittings and the third session from 15-11-71 to 23-12-71, a total of 31 sittings. The Lok Sabha spent a total of 410 hours for business, of which 119 hours or 29 per cent were devoted to legislative, 198 hours or 48.30 per cent to financial, and 93 hours or 22.70 per cent to non-official matters.

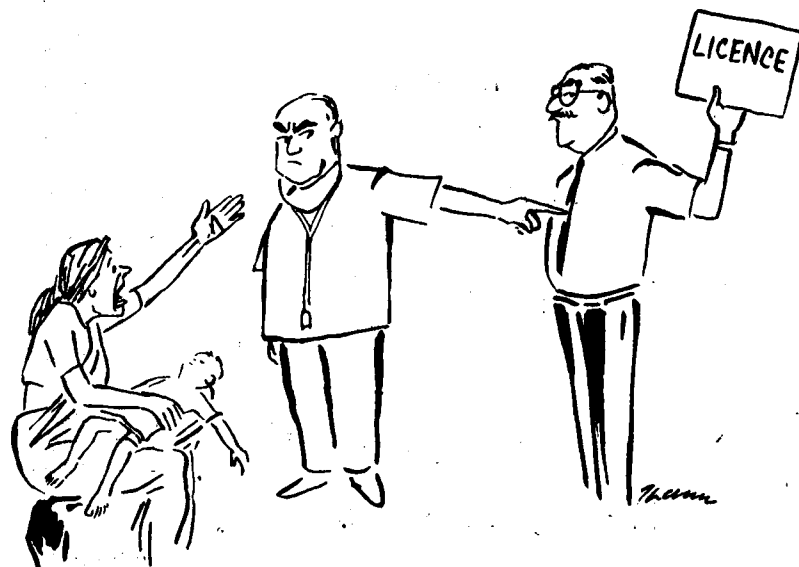
AS ON 1st May 1972, Indian shipping had a total of 196 vessels, with a gross tonnage of 2,312,429; of the 196 vessels, 121 were liners, 32 were bulk carriers, ore/oil carriers, 29 were small tramps, 6 were passenger cum cargo vessels and 8 were tankers. All these are engaged in the overseas trade of the country. Besides these 196,

there are 62 coastal craft engaged in coastal trade, 45 are dry cargo ships, 12 are passenger or passenger-cum-cargo, and 5 are tankers.

ACCORDING TO a survey made of school-going children in West Germany, it was found that 8 per cent of all second-year school children suffered from dyslexia — weakness in reading and writing despite high intelligence and good performance in other subjects. Typical symptoms are omissions from and additions to words, senseless word formations, guesswork, confusing similar looking letters and switching the order of sounds in a word or sentence. The reasons for this disorder have not yet been satisfactorily explained. Here is a problem for educationists.

AN AMERICAN company of Minnesota is experimenting and perfecting a new technique of printing odours on paper. Called micro-fragrance, its greatest potential is said to be in advertising and consumer promotion. A fragrance is captured in micro-capsules of synthetic plastic. The capsules are so tiny that 350 of them would encircle a human hair. These capsules are transferred to paper. A scratch breaks the capsules and releases the fragrance. A magazine reader reading an advertisement for food or beverage, for example, scratches a section of the page and smells the product exactly as it is. Chemists are stated to be working to perfect the system for use on high-speed newspaper printing presses.

ABOUT 42 MILLION Americans, or roughly one in five, are photographers of one kind or another. According to a report, amateur photographers take more than five billion pictures annually or about 158 every second, night and day, all the year long. Their purchases of film cameras, flashbulbs and processing services are the backbone of a \$4000 million industry. The U.S. Bureau of Labour statistics estimates that photography will be the 2nd or the 3rd fastest growing industry in the nation's economy during the 1970s.



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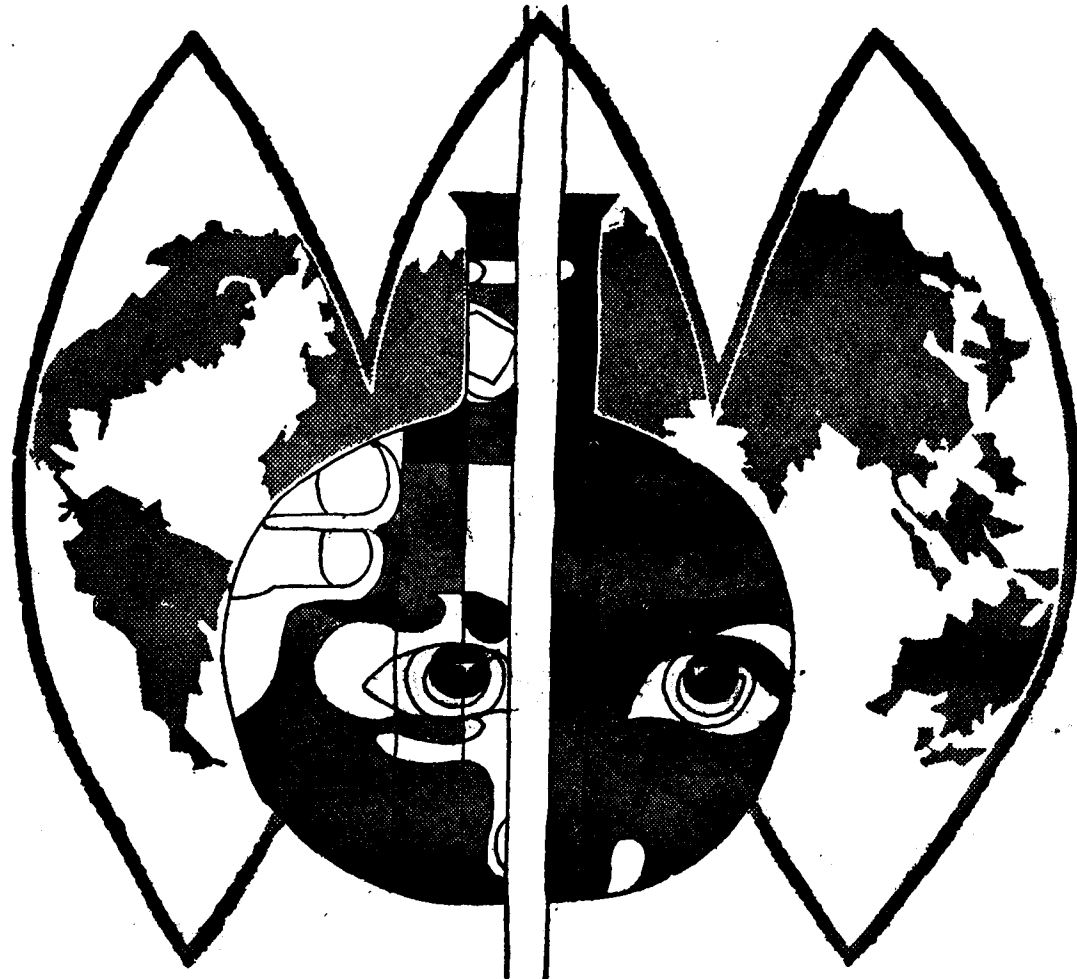
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Vol. XVII. No. 12

MADRAS, SEPTEMBER 16, 1972

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FUTILE POLICIES

K. SANTHANAM

THAT THE DISASTROUS decline in the rate of growth of industrial development in India in recent years was due to the mistaken policies of the Central Government was the firm opinion expressed by Mr R. Venkataraman at a meeting of the Rotary Club of Madras on 5th September, 1972. It was during his period of office as Minister of Industries in the State Cabinet, that Tamil Nad made a leap forward in industrial development, particularly in engineering industries. When he was appointed to the Planning Commission, Mr Venkataraman was in charge of industries. He is, therefore, one of the few persons who are competent to judge objectively and impartially the effect of the policies pursued by the Central Government. It is doubtful if, even his views will be considered seriously by those in power in New Delhi. His speech should, however, help to educate Indian public opinion.

Mr Venkataraman made three weighty criticisms of the present policies. He was emphatic that the industrial policy pursued by the Government of India since 1967 was out of date and had, therefore, become obsolete. He was of the view that the Industrial Policy Resolution and the Industrial Development Regulation Act were useful in the beginning as they helped to diversify industrial production and build up the infra-structure essential for economic development. If, in the early years of Free India, industrial development had been left completely free, there might have been a wasteful stampede in the

traditional industries like textiles and sugar and it was worthwhile to divert entrepreneurs to new fields like engineering and chemical industries, but by the end of the Third Plan period, the scope of industrial licensing and control was exhausted. The only limitation which was thenceforward justifiable was in respect of foreign exchange which was necessarily scarce.

If it had been stipulated that, except in the initial stages, every industry which required foreign exchange should earn it by export, if necessary at some loss, even this restriction could have been made very light. In such a free atmosphere, maximum scope would have been provided for enterprise. It might be that in some lines, there might have been overproduction but he rightly remarked that it is only through a plethora of goods and services and not by shortages that a country progressed. After all, profitability is an essential condition for private enterprise and it would have been an automatic check for over-expansion of particular industries. Such freedom for private enterprise need not have come in the way of development of the public sector in fields where the private sector was not willing or able to enter and even in those fields where it would have been worthwhile for the public sector to compete with the private sector. I do not think that any person acquainted with the economic development of the democratic countries of Europe in comparison with that of the U.S.S.R. and the other communist countries of the

eastern world and who has watched the economic miracles of Japan and West Germany will question the correctness of Mr Venkataraman's criticism.

The second major criticism made by Mr Venkataraman was the wholly short-sighted and mistaken interpretation of Article 39-C of the Constitution which seeks to secure "that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment." Mr Venkataraman has rightly pointed out that the so-called leftists, with their economic obsessions, caught hold of the words "concentration of wealth and means of production" and neglected to give due importance to the qualifying clause "to the common detriment." In modern economy many lines of development as, for instance, steel, shipping, aeroplanes and computers, cannot be manufactured without a considerable concentration of wealth and means of production. A wise government will take care that such concentration is not used to the common detriment but only for promoting industrial growth. The Indian Company Law provides the Government with ample means for this purpose and can, if necessary, be tightened. Instead of doing this, by putting a blanket prohibition against expansion of big industrial undertakings, the Government merely slowed down India's industrial growth without in any way benefiting medium and small enterprises. He rightly remarked that it was absurd to speak of monopoly in Indian

conditions. Even the biggest industrial undertaking in India, in terms of capital or production, is but a small fraction of that of the Imperial Chemical Industries of the U.K., Mitsubishi Heavy Industries of Japan or any of the industrial giants in the U.S. The prohibition of expansion of the big undertakings automatically restricted the growth of ancillary industries in the medium and small-scale sector.

Mr Venkataraman was highly critical of the new stunt about the 'joint sector.' He pointed out that financial institutions in the public sector had already considerable investments in all private sector undertakings and in this sense, the joint sector is already in operation but if by the term 'joint sector', it is meant that the management should be by the Government and private industrialists jointly, he had no doubt that it

THE DRUG MENACE

PREMA NANDAKUMAR

A CORRESPONDENT from Australia has written to me of his deep anguish at the unsavoury hashish episode involving an Indian diplomat's son in Sydney airport. The diplomat had used his 'immunity' to protect his son; but at what price?

"At the airport he seems to have knocked over a newspaper photographer trying to photograph him. Headlines, publicity and what not. Already this being the election year, a lot of controversy about the white Australia policy has been thrown in. And our 'diplomats' with such lack of tact and diplomacy get a bad name for all Indians." This is no way to win friends and influence people in the international sphere! Perhaps, an amount of meekness on the part of the devoted father would have served India better.

The problem here is three-fold. The menace of drug-taking, the avarice of young men to make easy money, and the tragedy of over-indulgent parents. The time of careful pruning is sadly neglected, and it is too late when the parents wake up to the reality.

While talking to the warden of

will have a disastrous effect. Such management can only reproduce the evils of both sectors without the merit of either. It will become inefficient and indifferent to the profitability of the undertaking like many public sector undertakings today and it will also suffer from the evils of nepotism and improper manipulations of the private sector.

The following observations of Mr Venkataraman deserve to be deeply pondered over by all those in charge of economic development in the Central and State Governments of India: "The time has come when liberal concessions to industrial production would improve the total volume of the wealth in the country and any restriction now introduced would only tend to stagnation or even, to some extent, to bring about a deterioration in the well-being of society."

a premier university hostel recently, I came to know of certain shocking practices. "Of course, the rooms are mini-casinos", he remarked; "They have also drinks flowing, but, you see, there are no girls."

"But couldn't you try to check these things?" I desperately asked. "How can I?", he said in reply; "None of my assistants dare talk to the students about these things. As for me, I never dare to be anywhere near the hostel after 8 p.m."

Parental and academic indulgence, the novelty of drugs and the desire for easy money have now percolated to schools as well. Commenting recently on the fast-spreading canker of drug poisoning in Delhi, the "drug-addict's paradise", the *Himmat* said:

"In the senior classes, it has become a status symbol to be taken for a 'junkie.' The malady seems to be particularly severe in the English-medium public schools, which attract the wards of the capital's elite."

Even school children. They are hardly in their teens when they are caught by the drug demon. The elite have their

swimming pools and cocktail parties and are busy with the 'tact and contact' rat-race in the capital. The result is the children go in search of love and novelty elsewhere. The latest craze is the worst despoiler.

The responsibilities of today's parents are numerous. They have not only to sustain their growing children but guard them from the polluting atmosphere around. Vulgar, sex and violence lie upon modern civilisation like a smog blanket. And darkening the horizon comes the drug menace. Because of the yawning abyss indicated by the worsening student-teacher ratio, the growing child does not get any individual attention in the best of schools. Where can the poor reed turn to for *adhara* if this should be the state of affairs?

Perhaps it is too much for us—individuals—to clear the polluted atmosphere by a single stroke. Certainly, in an under-developed country, such as ours, it is a day-dream to expect perfectly supervised schools. But one thing can yet be done. We can still cultivate our private garden.

We can teach the children the art of simple living and selfless giving. Once a child gets used to simple living at home, he would not be lured by notions of making easy money, for he would not think in terms of luxuries. By giving up a part of 'social' life for the sake of children and 'listening' to them, the parents can clear up the atmosphere to a certain extent. Like the light from a candle, such examples will serve to dispel the encircling gloom created by the drug spectre. We might take the cue from Gary Alexander's moving words in *The Plain Truth* (February, 1972):

"Parents, you can act now to prevent any future addiction to drugs by your children. A strong and loving family unit—even if one parent is absent—can be a binding force in drug prevention. A proper, uplifting home environment, coupled with constructive friends and an uplifting neighbourhood environment, are unbeatable insurance against dangerous drugs."

SCIENCE TOPICS:

SYNTHETIC LEATHER FOR SHOES

P. N.

SEVERAL SYNTHETIC materials have been developed to replace the natural materials of day-to-day use. Polythene, plastics and nylons have replaced metals; terylene and nylon have replaced cotton and formica and similar materials have replaced wood. Very often a mixture of natural and synthetic products result in a superior material. In the development of synthetic materials low cost of production is the primary object. Several synthetic materials to replace leather are available. Du Pont of U.S. developed a synthetic leather and called it 'Corfam'. The development cost 100 million dollars. Corfam shoes supposed to last indefinitely maintaining the shine were very expensive. B. F. Woodrich Corporation was the other American industry which was interested in synthetic leather. Both the companies recently pulled out of the synthetic shoe market as having no future. However, there has been an assessment based on new developments. Japan, Germany and Britain have shown active interest.

The synthetic leathers are polymeric and are called 'poromerics'. Poromerics are usually composites of two to three layers of synthetic materials which simulate the grainy undercoat and the smooth topcoat of natural leather. The structure permits the breathing of air and moisture just like leather. A woven fabric interlayer is incorporated into the poromerics to give the latter additional strength. Shoes made of such combination turned out to be rather stiff. This and the high cost did not make such shoes popular. The new development consists of incorporating a nonwoven interlayer with the poromerics. This structure will give the necessary strength and also maintain flexibility. The cost of production of poromerics has also been brought down below that of expensive real leather shoes. Poromerics may find additional use in the manufacture of luggage and furniture,

HOT SEATS AND HUMAN WASTE DISPOSAL

A previous note on "Science Topics" dealt with the possible ways of disposing of wastes usefully. A new invention patented in Britain disposes of lavatory waste and also provides central heating. This device will be particularly useful in country cottages in the colder regions. The solid waste serves as fuel.

The contraption consists of the usual toilet pan under which is situated a combustion chamber with an oil or gas burner. The solid waste is burnt while the liquid wastes are evaporated. The toilet pan is surrounded by a water jacket which is connected to a large tank by a siphon. The large tank feeds a closed circuit central heating system. The hot exhaust fumes produced are carried away from the combustion chamber through a stack of tubes. The hot fumes can be used to heat water in a separate heating system.

NEW HIGH STRENGTH ALLOY

An alloy of iron and nickel with a 36 per cent nickel content has been shown to have various possibilities. This alloy has a very high strength and a very low coefficient of expansion. This alloy could thus replace conventional metal alloys wherever a good metal to glass joint is required—in electric bulbs and valves, in bimetallic thermometers for temperature control, in gas seals and as tank materials for storing liquid natural gas.

Gas Seals: In the recently developed vertical take-off and landing (VTOL) aircraft, the nature of operations involves severe and rapid changes of temperature gradients in all parts of the central nozzle valves. These changes of temperature gradients necessitate a critical clearance between stationary and moving parts to permit free flow. The clearance should be 1.2mm, using conven-

tional alloys. This iron-nickel alloy gives a better performance under the above conditions, markedly reducing the clearance.

Glass Moulds: Any metal to be used as a mould for glass must satisfy the condition of close dimensional tolerance with temperature changes. This would ensure reproduction with respect to contour and precise size. The above alloy will satisfy this condition.

Storage Tanks: While transporting natural gas across the ocean, the steel hull of the ship is insulated from the low temperature of the liquid gas. The insulator is made of wood and perlite on which a stainless steel metallic membrane is constructed. On loading the liquid gas the stainless steel will contract. The tanks have to be designed to accommodate such contractions. Orthogonal corrugation is adopted. Using the iron-nickel alloy no expansion joint should be required.

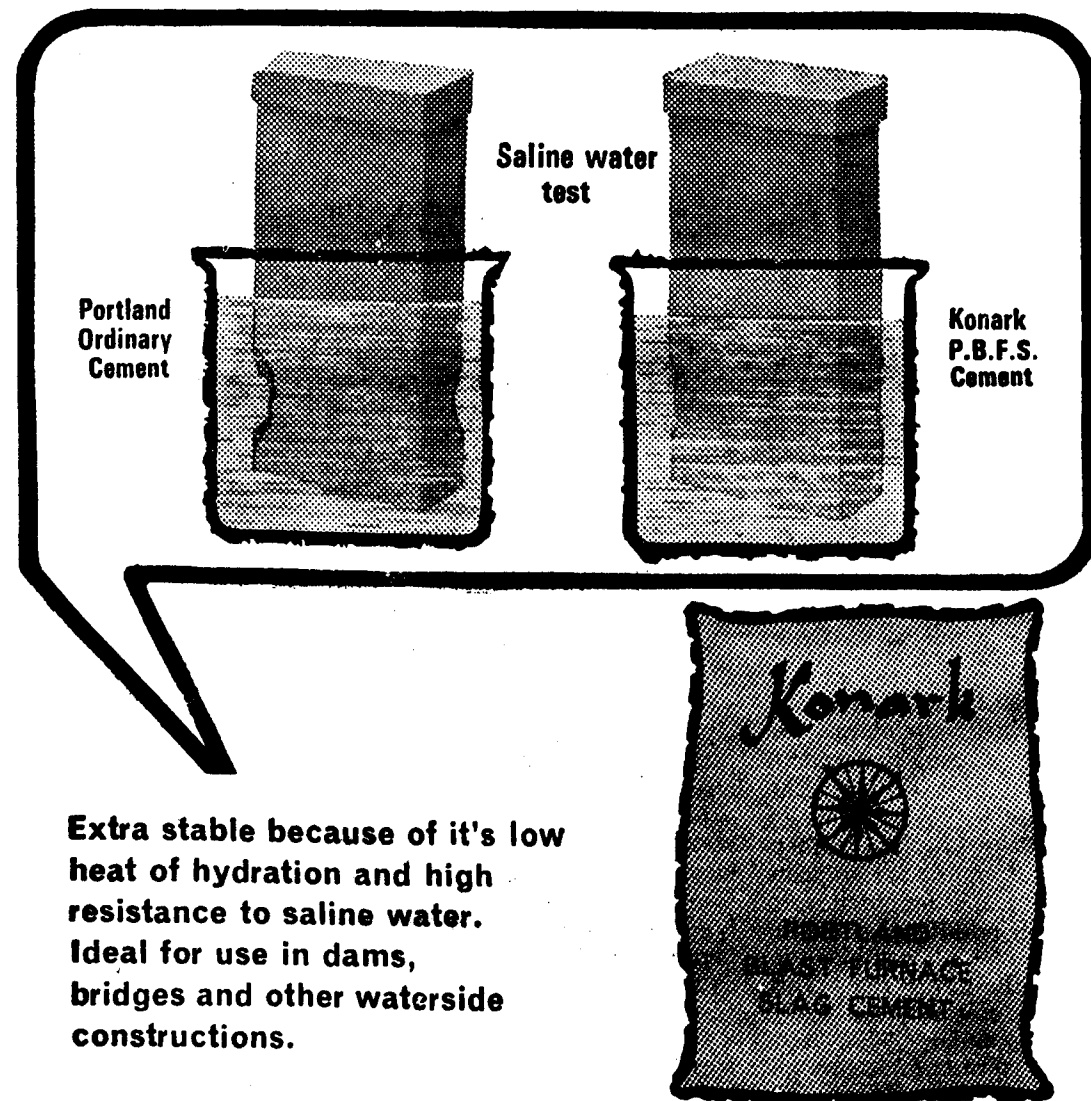
Bimetallic Elements: These are used for temperature control. They are strips of two different metals forming a composite strip. On heating, the two different metals expand to different extents. The composite will then bend; the extent of bending will be large if the difference in expansion is large. The heating is produced by the flow of electric current. On bending, the bimetallic strip loses contact with the terminal and the flow of current is shut off. The temperature subsequently falls and the strip regains its original condition and makes electrical contact again. The very low expansion of the nickel-iron alloy makes it ideally suitable as one of the bimetallic strips.

Glass to metal seals: The expansion of the alloy on heating compares well with that of glass. Thus good glass to metal sealing is possible. This will find extensive use in electric bulbs and valves industry.

The alloy has also good scope in the precision machine tool industry and in low temperature engineering. Collars made of the alloy can be used to reduce stress in bolted structures, with a minimum of distortion and fatigue.

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EDITOR'S NOTES :

FOOLISH PINPRICKS

That the Parliament of such a big country like India should have thought fit to waste its time for causing pinpricks to a few I.C.S. officers can be explained only by the morbid craving for cheap popularity of the ruling Congress party. The total number of I.C.S. officers is estimated only at 70, of whom about a third are retiring in a year or two and all of them will retire in five or six years. Having reduced their retiring age from 60 to 58, the Government of India is reported to be highly embarrassed that it will lose the services of many top administrators before it is ready with their substitutes. The Special Correspondent of the *Hindu* reports that some, if not all of them, are likely to be given extensions or re-employed on retirement. It is possible that the continuous propaganda in the last few years may have demoralised these I.C.S. officers also. Otherwise, every one of them will take it as a matter of self-respect to retire at the age of 58 and let the Government of India manage its affairs as best it can. Already, many public institutions and Government departments are functioning without their legitimate heads and the retirement of these I.C.S. officers will add to their number; but the inefficiency and incompetence of the Government of India has reached a stage to which nothing can add very much to make matters worse.

ILLEGAL AND UNJUSTIFIED

The mass abstention from work of the steam loco running staff of the Southern Railway has brought railway travel and traffic in South India to a state of paralysis. It is altogether illegal and unjustifiable. It is much worse than an organised strike conducted by an established union. The explanation given by Mr K. Anandan Nambiar, President of the Railway Employees' Union, is wholly unconvincing. One of the demands is said to be the delay in the submission of the report of the Third Pay Commission. This

is a matter which involves more than 20 lakhs of Central Government employees and not the few Loco staff. The other points mentioned by him may be legitimate matters for discussion and negotiation but absenteeism causing such acute distress to the public shows a spirit of reckless irresponsibility which cannot be tolerated. This is due to the growing belief that whether it is the student population or labour, the Central and the State Governments are utterly weak and incompetent. Unless a spirit of discipline and a sense of responsibility can be restored, the drift towards chaos is inescapable.

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, founded by the late Sri K. M. Munshi, has been steadily expanding its activities all over the country. On September 2, 1972, the President, Mr V. V. Giri, opened the new building complex of the Madras branch of the Bhavan. Next to the Ramakrishna Mission, the Bhavan is the most important non-official agency for spreading Indian culture and civilisation. It deserves whole-hearted public support.

THE EVILS OF AFFLUENCE

While poverty, when it is not voluntary, is a curse, affluence is not always an unmixed blessing. The issue of *Time*, dated September 4, 1972, has a long five-page article describing the growing menace of drugs, the widespread organisations engaged in this nefarious trade, the enormous profits accruing from it and the drastic measures which are being taken by the U.S. Government to check it. The following extract gives an idea of the extent of the evil: "Hard statistics are hard to come by, but the best Government estimates put the U.S. heroin-addict population at 560,000 — ten times the level of 1960 and almost double what it was only two years ago. On the average, a U.S. addict spends \$8,000 a year to support his habit. In New York City, with an addict population of more than

300,000, as much as 50 per cent of all crime is related to addiction. The U.S. has become a heroin market worth \$5 billion a year in the international drug trade." It says that the Americans in and out of the U.S. have seized so far 3,968 pounds of heroin this year but the amount represents less than 20 per cent of the estimated 111 tons of heroin that the U.S. used last year. Though heroin is the most deadly drug of all, others like marijuana, hashish and opium are no less dangerous. As one pound of heroin costs between 1000 and 5000 dollars, India's poverty is protecting her from this and similar costly drugs, but drug addiction seems to be growing especially among the student population. Unless drastic steps are taken immediately to stop it, mental deterioration will be added to our other evils of poverty, malnutrition, bad sanitation, ill-health and inadequate education.

TERRORISM AT MUNICH

The tragedy enacted by Palestinian Arab terrorists at the Munich Olympic village resulted in the death of 12 Israelis and 4 of the terrorists. Three commandos have been captured and some are said to have escaped. It is obvious that these Palestinian Arab terrorists are utterly reckless desperadoes who have no regard for human life, or consideration for time and place for the perpetration of their crimes. It is a matter of regret that police vigilance at Munich did not take sufficient precautions against the commission of such a crime. Ultimately, it is the Arab Governments which allowed these terrorists to plot and execute these dreadful deeds that should be held responsible; but Big Power rivalries, oil politics and other extraneous considerations prevent the powerful nations of the world from taking a hard line against such governments. It is strange that neither the President nor the Prime Minister of India has thought fit to send his or her sympathies to the Olympic Association or Israel. Only the latter has casually called it a dastardly act in a press interview.

MAHARASHTRA LETTER:

VIOLENCE IN BOMBAY CLAIMS
THREE LIVES

BOMBAY, September 4: Even as the working class is in a state of serious ferment on the issue of 8 1/3 per cent bonus, violence erupted in a big way all of a sudden in an industrial workers' colony at Vikhroli, a suburb, during the week-end, resulting in the death of a police officer, a police constable on wireless duty and a workman. As many as 26 policemen, including five officers, were injured, of whom over a dozen had to be hospitalized. Among the workmen, over 20 received injuries. It was the most serious clash between sections of workmen. Stones and lethal weapons are stated to have been used on a large scale. Lathi-charge and use of teargas by the police could not bring the situation under control and the police resorted to firing.

One hundred and seven workmen have been arrested by the police. Dr Samant Datta, a leftist trade union leader, has also been taken into custody.

It was only about 10 days ago, that the striking workers of a scooter factory resorted to gheraos and attacked the factory's directors and principal officers. The strike has been on for almost a month now. Following clashes and stone-throwing incidents at the premises of the factory lock-out was declared.

A one-day token strike of millmen had been called on September 2 by the communist-led Gini Kamgar Union, to proclaim the working class solidarity on the demand for a minimum bonus of 8 1/3 per cent. Only 10 out of Bombay's 60 cotton textile mills, including nine of them now taken over and run by the State Government's Textile Corporation, worked with full complement on September 2. Twenty-five mills worked with partial complement and 25 were totally closed on that day.

The INTUC-led Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sabha, claiming a mem-

bership of 1,00,000 out of over two lakhs millmen in Bombay, the officially recognised union of the city's mill sector, had opposed the strike though fully backing the demand for the one-month bonus. Over 75 per cent of the mill workers, however, responded to the communist call for strike, proving once again that even a minority union can bring about work stoppage, thanks to the laxity of labour laws. In other democratic countries, such as the U.K., a labour union is heavily fined or penalised for violating industrial law. In this country, though the Government goes through the futile formality of declaring a strike as illegal, once the strike is over, all further proceedings are dropped. It seems there had been only one instance of a prosecution arising from illegality of a strike in our entire strife-ridden industrial history.

The occasion of the one-day textile strike in the city was the two-day sitting of the Bonus Review Committee on September 2 and 3. This was the 7th and final meeting of the Committee to thrash out an interim report. Predictably, the issue of 8 1/3 per cent bonus proved intractable and the Committee Chairman, Dr B. K. Madan, made it clear to newsmen later that the interim report would be submitted to the Government and that there would be no more formal committee meetings till then. Workers' representatives on this bonus panel have insisted that all workmen should be paid a minimum of 8 1/3 per cent bonus (against 4 per cent prescribed in the Bonus Act), whatever be its cost and consequence on the economy and in particular the price levels. Employers' representatives, on the other hand, are stated to have been willing to raise the bonus to the demanded level only in the case of profit-making units. If this is accepted, there would be two bonus minima — 8 1/3 per cent in those units which could afford and between 4 per cent

This is Japan

According to the available statistics, nearly 3,000 new ships of one thousand gross tons or more are being built in the world every year. The Japanese share is nearly half. And one half of the total tonnage of ships built in Japan are for foreign ship owners. The ship-building docks are open at both ends so that a ship, when completed, may be launched without interference with the half section of a second ship under construction in the same dock.—K.S.R.

and 8 1/3 per cent in the case of losing units, or those with only marginal profits. As is well known, bonus has been the one issue which has given rise by far to the largest and most prolonged industrial unrest in the country in the last two decades.

The recent civic strike in Bombay has brought about a serious rift in the Bombay Pradesh Congress (R). It may be recalled that it was its leadership, including its President, Mr Rajani Patel, which had backed the civic employees' demand for 8 1/3 per cent bonus and that the Congress councillors vied with the other parties to get an unanimous resolution adopted in the civic body recommending such payment. The BPCC leadership started backing out only after it had started visualising the repercussions. The State Government not only questioned the competence of the civic body to recommend such a grant but went to the extent of introducing a Bill to curb the civic body's powers. Whether the debacle the BPCC had suffered would have any repercussion on its prospects in next year's civic elections is a moot point; but immediately, Mr Patel, who has been in the saddle for less than a year, is facing stiff challenge to his position within his executive. However, 21 out of 24 MLAs, elected from Bombay, including two Ministers, have sent telegrams to Delhi reaffirming their support to Mr Patel.

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FERTILIZERS AND SCIENTIFIC FARMING

VIRENDRA AGARWALA

THE PRIME MINISTER has refuted that lowering of land ceilings will dislocate the rural economy by promoting fragmentation of holdings and reducing the agricultural output. On the contrary, she asserts, small holdings would encourage the farmer to concentrate more on his land and derive a large benefit from it, as has happened in Japan. Japanese farmers have been provided with such large incentives that have produced the desired results. What incentives have we provided to our farmer that we expect him to raise his productivity?

Mechanisation of farming is possible only on economic holdings; therefore, land-ceiling should be determined in such a way as will raise agricultural productivity. High consumption of essential inputs is known to be necessary for raising agricultural production. In 1969-70, Rs 221 crores were set apart for imports; but the expenditure totalled only Rs 162 crores. The likelihood of a shortfall in the fertilizer industry suggests that a balance between demand and supply is as elusive as it was in 1969-70. No assessment of fertilizer requirements is possible without reliable information about the farmers' actual and prospective needs as well as their buying capacity. The national consumption rose impressively from 1.54 million tons in 1967-68 to 2.75 million tonnes in 1971-72; but the annual rate of increase has been falling from 40 per cent to 22 per cent. There has admittedly been some improvement in the domestic production of nitrogen and phosphoric acid but the output does not exceed 45 per cent of the total needs. The demand is expected to increase to 4.5 million tonnes by 1974-75, and despite an allocation of Rs 365 crores in the Fourth Plan period, this may leave a gap of about a million tonnes.

The Union Government has taken steps to overcome the present marginal shortage of fertilizers. It is estimated that the shortage is only about 1.25 lakh tonnes against the expected avail-

ability of 9.40 lakh tonnes for the *kharif* season. The present difficult situation has arisen in spite of the increase in consumption being below earlier estimates. The Government does not seem to have realised the set-back that the effort for boosting agricultural production would suffer due to a shortage of fertilizers. It does not seem to be in any great haste either to implement expansion schemes in the public and the private sectors. On the other hand, the construction schedules of some of the giant projects have been slipping and delay in commissioning some plants has extended even to 2 years beyond the target date. Even if some schemes under implementation were completed in the next 3 years, the additional capacity is not expected to be more than 2 million tonnes, taking the total capacity to 4 million tonnes. The poor utilisation of the existing capacity in respect of nitrogen — not more than 60 per cent last year — adds to the difficulties. This clearly indicates that there will have to be a massive imports bill which may exceed the sum of Rs 120 crores spent last year.

It is widely appreciated that the Government has decided to clear without further delay the pending applications for setting up new fertilizer units. The output during 1971-72 is estimated at 12.5 lakh tonnes, which, though higher than the previous year's production, is nowhere near the required quantity. How to raise the indigenous production is the crucial question. The total installed capacity in the public and private sectors is 19.64 lakh tonnes. We must take effective steps towards fuller utilisation of the existing capacity. The total fertilizer production can reach 60 lakh tonnes if the projects under implementation are completed and those under consideration are approved. The present fertilizer shortage is to be met through imports but the Government and industry must coordinate their plans for increasing indigenous production.

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

The recent increase in the fertilizer levy from 10 per cent *ad valorem* to 15 per cent under the 1972-73 budget, has been described as premature in its timing and short-sighted in its efficacy. It is sure to have a far-reaching effect on the promotion of these inputs which are basic to the success of the new agricultural strategy. It is a good example of incongruity between the operational short-term tactics and the long-term promotional strategy of the Government. It would ultimately mean the age-old folly of killing the goose that lays golden eggs. It is rather naive on the part of the Finance Minister to believe that the fertilizer levy will not affect the small farmers for they have not taken to fertilizers in any accountable extent. It is rather too much to argue that it will be a tax on the big land owners.

Recent studies conducted by Franine R. Frankel have disclosed that farmers with 20 acres or more have made the greatest absolute and relative gains partly by mechanising farm operations to take up double or multiple cropping patterns to include more profitable commercial crops. To tax the rich farmers in the name of equalising disparities is a myopic view of the Government, running counter to the country's long-term interests. A visible increase in the price would definitely have psychological impact on the fertilizer promotion. Will it not upset the farmers—both large and small—so far as their cost-benefit calculations are concerned?

What happened when, for the first time, the fertilizer levy at 10 per cent *ad valorem* was introduced in 1969-70? If we compare the annual growth rates of targets and actuals, the performance of

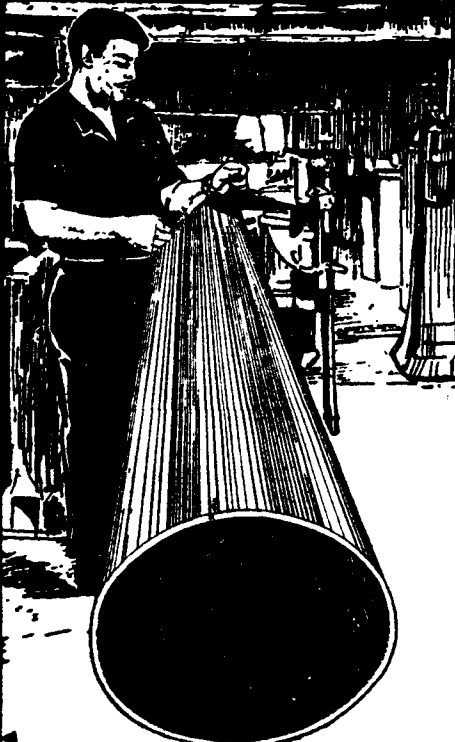
the actuals since 1969-70 is far from satisfactory. The growth rate in fertilizer consumption dropped from 40 per cent in 1967-68 to 8 per cent in 1970-71, as against the rate of increase of 27 per cent envisaged in the Fourth Plan. Production costs can hardly be reduced in view of the rising costs of raw materials due to the increase in the prices of naphtha early last year and fixing of sulphur production quotas for export purposes also. Distribution costs have also gone up because the Railways do not accord any priority. Any deviation from a long-term strategy for short-term gains would affect the fulfilment of the avowed objective. The targeted consumption for 1972-73 of NPK is put at 2.7 million tonnes by the FAC estimates and 3.8 million tonnes by the Government's estimates.

A number of research studies on the economics of fertilizer use have been made. According to these estimates, the net-return from fertilizer use for new varieties of wheat works out to over 100 per cent and for other varieties to about 69 per cent. Assuming that

the price of fertilizer is Rs 2.50 to Rs 2.75 per kg, the rate of return from fertilizer use works out to 40 to 80 per cent at the current level of support prices for rice and wheat. The proposed levy on fertilizer is regressive in nature and will act as a serious disincentive against the use of fertilizers so essentially needed for increasing agricultural production, more so when the increase in production is linked with intensive cultivation based on progressive use of modern inputs. The slow rate of fertilizer production should have affected food production but it has not done so. But there is considerable scope for improvement of the working of the fertilizer industry which has a high proportion of unutilised capacity. The shortage of fertilizer this year is only the beginning of a problem that may become more acute.

A shortage of one million tonnes of nitrogen by the end of the Fourth Plan period can reduce the output of foodgrains as much as ten million tonnes. The high cost of producing fertilizers in India means that all chances of carrying this essential input to the small

farmers in the near future would go out of the window. This year's production of 112 million tonnes must be raised to 130 to 140 million tonnes in another 3-4 years, but the Prime Minister's pious hopes may not bring the desired results if the small farmers are deprived of employing the essential inputs for raising their agricultural productivity. How does she expect the small farmers to be benefited by lowering the land ceilings? This is a crucial question. Self-reliance will remain merely a slogan if the economic revival does not ensure self-sufficiency in fertilizer production. A long-term strategy for self-sufficiency in farm output largely depends on our approach to scientific farming, which is possible only when the holdings remain economic in size for a fuller application of the essential inputs, particularly fertilizers. Fertilizer shortage, therefore, is a drag on the national economy. A comprehensive policy on raising fertilizer production is absolutely essential for a massive promotional programme to make the farmers more fertilizer-minded.



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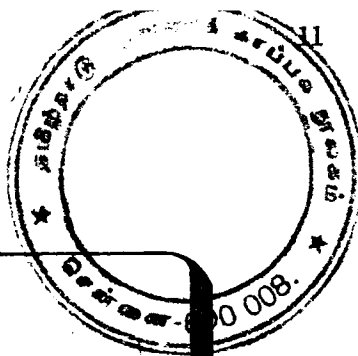


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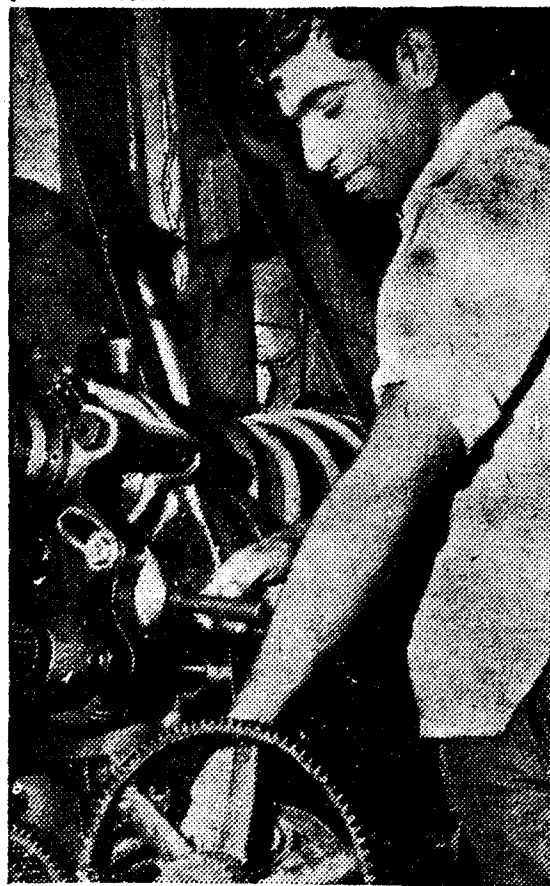
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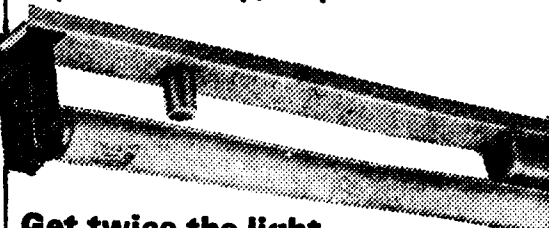


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BIHAR LETTER:

THE PRICE OF ENFORCING 'COMMITMENT' ON DISSENTERS

PATNA, Aug. 29: The Silver Jubilee celebration of a nation's independence is of necessity a proceeding wrapped in ritual and protocol which, once determined, admits of no deviation. The reader might, therefore, have been spared a repetition of events here identical with those witnessed in his own State capital.

The public celebrations (parades, flag hoistings, *tamrapatra* presentations, etc.) were got through without trouble, because the public, in dire need of bread this famine year, were in a mood to lap up circuses. But in the sacred precincts of the Legislative Assembly the solemn midnight ceremony to mark the hour of the transfer of power collapsed in a shambles. The Governor's address to the joint session of the Legislature began sedately enough with the Speaker obtaining the Houses' permission to welcome the Governor after he had ruled out a point of order from Mr Bindeshwari Prasad Mandal (Soc.) to have the entire proceedings declared "unconstitutional". It was after the Governor had been escorted in with all due pomp and panoply that the disturbance started.

A Socialist Party member, Mr Puran Chand, launched into a speech of his own as the Governor began his address. Irked by the unexpected jamming, the Governor, Mr D. K. Barooah, stopped short in his speech and twice, while the Hon. Member held forth, asked him if he had finished. But Mr Chand went on and on; so, deciding on a counter-attack, Mr Barooah resumed his speech even while Mr Chand was in full flood. Exhausted at last after his marathon performance, Mr Puran Chand sat down only to be replaced by another Socialist stalwart, who, running out of words after speaking for some time, lapsed into slogans in which other Socialist members joined.

Twice in the course of the session, the House had to be adjourned in the face of uncontrol-

lable disorder. Scenes hardly less boisterous were witnessed in the Legislative Council, the C.P.I. not the Socialists, taking the floor, for a change. A reasonable inference from this is that the communists can now be counted as a genuine Opposition party, the election-time marriage of convenience with the ruling party having frayed at the edges.

While such undignified and unparliamentary goings-on are to be regretted, they nonetheless, highlight the total divorce of the Establishment from the mass of have-nots. The high cost of the celebrations, running into lakhs of rupees, had jarred at a time when something not unlike famine is stalking the State. Both the C.P.I. and the Socialist Party had given this as the reason for their inability to participate in official celebrations. An even more fundamental cause was the fact that a cocksure ruling party has denied the vestigial Opposition a constructive role even in the Legislature. A steamroller majority, it now appears, has obvious limitations when it comes to enforcing "commitment" upon dissenters.

FOOD SCARCITY AND MALNUTRITION

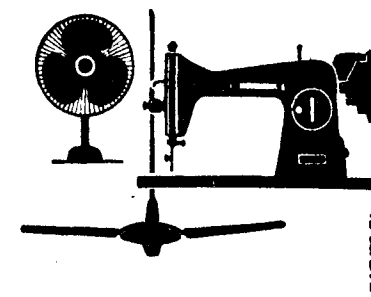
The spectre of famine dreaded through the long, hot months of June and July, when, to quote Mr Nehru's words in another context, not a blade of grass grew, leave alone crops, is now a palpable reality. According to the Revenue Minister, Mr Chandra Sekhar Singh, between 40 per cent and 60 per cent of the paddy crop can still be saved, depending on whether the monsoon holds for the next fortnight. This may be an optimistic estimate, in view of the fact that paddy seedlings were destroyed over large tracts during the drought.

Whatever the prospects of the paddy crop, destitution and starvation are already facts of observance. The State Government has so far denied starvation

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deaths; but in a press interview on August 23, the Revenue Minister went so far as to admit the possibility of deaths from "malnutrition."

While evasion and prevarication are writ large over Ministerial pronouncements on the food situation, the Bihar Government deserves a measure of sympathy in its predicament in the face of apparent Central indifference over the State's foodgrains requirements. The Chief Minister revealed on August 24 that food stocks had touched the critically low level of

23,000 tonnes against a monthly requirement of 125,000 tonnes; as against an earlier Central Government promise to supply 70,000 tonnes by August 15, only 30,000 tonnes have been received.

The impression persists in the State capital, as much as elsewhere, that New Delhi just cannot be bothered, that, in its eyes, so many deaths from "malnutrition" are so many liabilities shed, that, like inflation in the Prime Minister's view, periodic starvation is an inescapable phenomenon in a developing society!

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION IGNORED

DR. S. K. RAY

SEVERAL COMMISSIONS on examination and education have pointed out the need for a change in the existing system of examination and suggested various reforms. But the implementation of those reforms on any worthwhile scale or in a meaningful manner has not yet been possible mainly because of the complexity of the problem. Examination reform has been attempted in some cases through the adoption of the semester system, internal assessment, wider use of practical and oral examination, etc. But the effect of these measures has not yet been felt on the whole process of examination. And the number of instances of malpractice has been increasing at an alarming rate. The following simple and effective measures may, therefore, be tried:

(1) Teaching and evaluation should be continuous and simultaneous as far as practicable. The course for each examination should be short and well-defined.

(2) The 'Pass' or 'Fail' system should be abolished, and should be substituted by detailed results in different subjects. The idea behind this proposal is that employers might select people for their proficiency in certain subjects and that the stigma of failure (only because of failure even in one subject) should not be allowed to jeopardise the chances of

(3) Restriction on examination in a number of subjects simultaneously should be done away with and option should be given to students to appear in as many subjects as they may be willing to sit for.

(4) Five-point grading should be introduced in the place of hundred and one point cardinal marking.

(5) Another important step is the redesigning of question papers. The Education Commission's Report (1966) pointed out that no change in the present set-up could be effected unless the technical competence in the evaluation procedure of question paper setters was raised through an intensive training programme, and the nature of the questions was improved. The seminar on examinations conducted by the Inter-University Board in January 1971 also stressed the importance of redesigning question papers. This step can result in more meaningful teaching and learning within the class room, provide for the realisation of the larger objectives of education and also make evaluation standardised.

(6) An All-India Graduate record examination may be introduced to select the best among the graduates.

(7) The administration of examinations should be de-centralised as far as practicable. There may be separate controllers of examina-

gate students, as also for different faculties, arts, science, etc.

(8) The reservation of certain percentage of marks for internal assessment is necessary because external examinations have certain inherent limitations.

The writer believes that the Ministers of Education and university authorities may count on a favourable consensus of opinion among representative teachers' associations like the All-India Federation of University and College Teachers' Organisation, the West Bengal University and College Teachers' Association, etc.

These changes or reform can be easily effected and should be so—at least to begin with. In the long run, it may be necessary to formulate an alternative workable national policy on education and to prepare the blue-print of a national education plan. For, we are today faced with a set-up where dissemination of knowledge is the only objective of higher education in India. Other important instructional objectives like the development of practical skills and abilities are ignored now. Evaluation is the main process of determining whether the objectives of education are being attained by students and the extent to which each objective is being attained. In drawing up any future national education plan, planners should remember that there is an intimate relationship between instructional objectives

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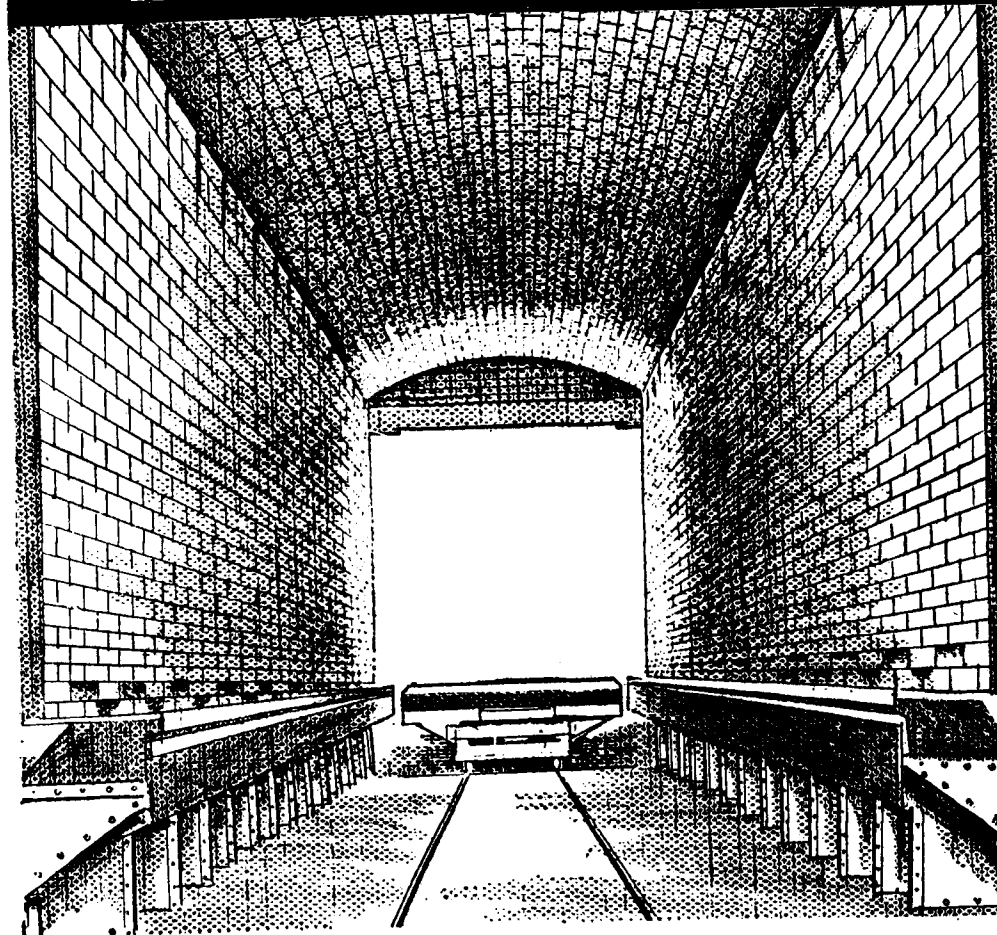
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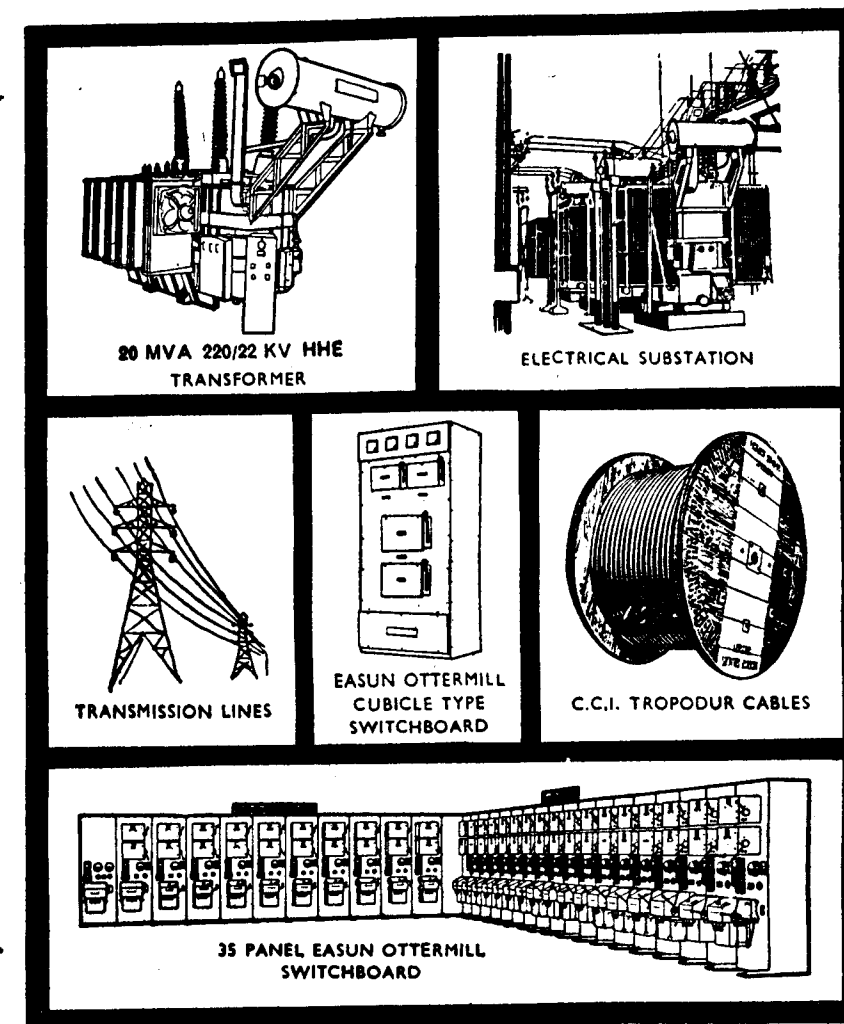
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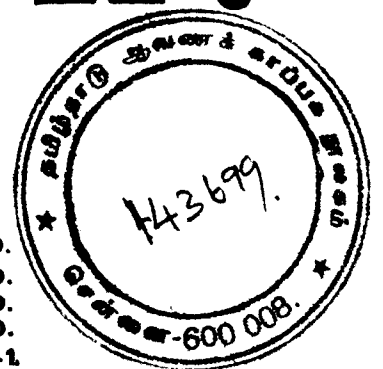
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BOOK REVIEWS:

NEHRU - THE FORMATIVE YEARS

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU — Volume One. A Project of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

Published by W. H. Patwardhan Orient Longman Ltd.

General Editor: S. GOPAL

Price: Rs 60

This first volume of the selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru, a project sponsored by the Memorial Fund named after him, contains his correspondence, speeches and writings during his school and college days in Harrow and Cambridge, his years at the Allahabad Bar, his plunge into the kisan movement in Uttar Pradesh and his first experience of jail life. The period covers nearly two decades from 1903 to 1924. These documents enable us to understand the strong urge of the young Nehru and the development of his personality which ultimately led to his total involvement in the struggle for the freedom of his country.

A sizable part of the volume contains Nehru's letters to his father while studying in England. There are a few letters written by him to his mother as well. These are at once documents of extraordinary filial endearment, the father anxious to know every little detail of his son's life far away and the mother ever worried over her dear son's health. The letters also constitute an extremely interesting dialogue between representatives of two different generations, each prompted by its own ideals, traditions and perspectives. While the father could be extremely solicitous about the welfare of his young son, he was a severe taskmaster at the same time. The son, for his part, loved his father, respected and even adored him, but chose to form his own views of men and events. We see even here the beginnings of the equation between the father and son which ultimately brought Motilal right into the ring. In a letter dated 20th December, 1907, Nehru wrote to his father from London: "I have read your article in the *Pioneer* and must say that I do not like it at all. I had till now the idea that you were not so very moderate as you would have me believe. But the article almost makes me think that you are immoderately immoderate. I would have said that the article had been written by a person with strong 'loyalist' tendencies if I had not known you better."

Of the historic Surat split in the Congress, Nehru wrote to his father from England on January 2, 1908: "It is, of course, a great pity that such a

split should have occurred. . . . You will most probably throw all the blame on Tilak and the extremists. They may have been to blame for it but the Moderates had certainly a lot to do with it. . . . The Moderates may represent part of the country but they seem to think, or, at any rate, try to make others believe that they are the natural leaders and representatives of the whole country. . . . I firmly believe that there will hardly be any so called 'moderates' left in a very few years' time." A month later, Nehru wrote to his father on the same subject somewhat more strongly. He said: "The Government must be feeling very pleased with you at your attitude. I wonder if the insulting offer of a Rai Bahadurship or something equivalent to it would make you less of a moderate than you are." The elder Nehru was sorely offended by these remarks and Jawaharlal had to explain later that he wrote purely in fun with no intention to offend.

Perhaps, the most interesting letter was the one in which Jawaharlal expressed his indignation at his father asking him to send an account of his expenses. He wrote back: "My reputation for veracity appears to be a thing of the past, and you will no doubt think my answer to be a mere excuse. . . . May I know if I am supposed to keep you informed of every penny I spend on bus fare or a stamp?" Again, "I suppose you have ceased to trust me altogether if you ask me for details of my expenditure. If that is the case, you may even think me capable of cooking up the accounts to deceive you. If you do, then surely the accounts I send you are not to be relied upon. If you do not, then no accounts are necessary." Nehru went further: "You will probably think that I have some horrible secrets which I do not wish you to know. If you ever adopt that frame of mind, I can do nothing. My word would count for nothing and the logical result of it would be for you to have a detective after me." Motilal, understanding the depth of his son's indignation, wrote soon expressing sorrow at what he had written and said: "I would have given anything in the world to recall that letter and destroy it."

The question of Nehru's marriage comes up again and again in these letters. Writing to his mother in May 1909, Nehru said: You and father are unnecessarily worried about my marriage. In my opinion, it is not essential that I should marry a Kashmiri. I have thought over this question time and again and every time I am more and more convinced of this. It is

obvious that many people would not like my marrying outside the Kashmiri community. But people do not like many things which one ought to do. In my opinion everyone in India should marry outside his or her community. Then why should I not act according to my beliefs?" Somewhat resigned to the parental pressures, he wrote to his father two years later: "As regards my marriage, you know my views well enough and it is hardly necessary for me to repeat them here. I do not, and cannot possibly, look forward with relish to the idea of marrying a girl whom I do not know. At the same time I acknowledge that your solution of the difficulty is the only one, if it is taken for granted that I am to marry a Kashmiri girl. And on the whole, I think it would not be particularly pleasing to most people concerned if I married a non-Kashmiri. If she was the Blue Bird you were in search of, it would be a different matter, but Blue Birds are as rare among the non-Kashmiris as among the Kashmiris. If you are intent on getting me engaged to the girl you mention, I have no objection to offer. Only I should like you to put it off till I have seen her. That ought not to disarrange matters very much as I expect to be back in India before long. If you think you cannot manage this, then you are welcome to do as you wish and I shall abide by your decision."

Nehru made a speech in Allahabad on June 20, 1916, the first of many thousands this indefatigable servant of the people was to make in the villages, towns and cities of this country for the next 50 years. It was a protest against the Indian Press Act of 1910 and the demand for security from Mrs Annie Besant who was then leading the Indian Home Rule movement. The volume carries a press report of their speech.

Mahatma Gandhi began his first non-cooperation campaign on 1st August 1920. Nehru, who played an important part in organising the campaign in Uttar Pradesh, was arrested along with his father on December 6, 1921. Nehru was convicted and sentenced for organising the volunteer corps which was declared unlawful. Thus began his frequent sojourns in jail. He was to go in and out of it during the next 28 years and spend more than half the period inside it. It now looks that Nehru had an intuitive apprehension even as he entered the prison for the first time that he was destined to spend long years inside the jail. His jail diary, a record of things big and small, makes fascinating reading. Many hallowed names in India's struggle for freedom flit across the pages of this diary. That Mahatma Gandhi influen-

ced Nehru most powerfully during this period is evident from a few entries:

"July 18 — Gandhi Day — Full 24 hours fast — spun 2½ hrs. Gita ½ hour."

"Aug. 1 — Death anniversary of Lokamanya Tilak and 2nd anniversary of Non-cooperation — complete fast 36 hours — special prayers in morning."

Nehru read voraciously inside the jail. He not only maintained a list of books he read but took elaborate extracts from some of them. These quotations give an insight into the working of his mind during those days. The following extracts may be considered typical:

From Byron: *Marino Faliero*—Act 11 sc. 2:

"Such ties are not
For those who are called to the
high destinies

Which purify corrupted common-
wealths;

We must forget all feelings save
the one,

We must resign all passions save
our purpose,

We must behold no object save
our country,

And only look on death as
beautiful,

So that the sacrifice ascends to
heaven,

And draw down freedom on her
evermore."

From the "Ballad of Reading Goal"
by Oscar Wilde:

I never saw a man who looked
With such a wistful eye
Upon that little tent of blue
Which prisoners call the sky
And at every drifting cloud that
went

With sails of silver by.

This first volume of the project makes a very promising beginning. The reading public in India, those who have seen Nehru in flesh and blood and those in future who will know him from his writings, will be deeply grateful to the Nehru Memorial Fund for this enterprise.

—V. RAMARATNAM

AN INTERESTING AUTOBIOGRAPHY

MY SON'S FATHER: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

By DOM MORAES

Vikas Publications, Daryaganj, Ansari
Road, New Delhi

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This is a remarkable frank, interesting piece of writing. Autobiographies

are usually essays in a particularly embarrassing form of egotism and exhibitionism — when they are not over-ridden by a pathetic sentimentalization of one's life. Although Dom Moraes claims to have 'edited' the episodes that make up his life, the truth is most of the time out and, even where the incident concerned is trivial in itself, very revealing of the kind of youngster Dom Moraes was. Son of one of the leading newspaper editors of modern India, Dom Moraes seems to have had a rather troubled home-life. This has, thank Heaven, not soured his outlook on life, or made him extravagantly extrovert or introvert. There is a subtle art in the telling and the writing is at all points lively. Dom takes his growth into manhood and to fame as one of a gifted younger English poets, in his stride—a sign of the boundless self-confidence that characterizes a certain type of modern young man. His sense of humour is always at hand, to sober him into a sense of reality. Oxford has been known to turn the heads of many young foreigners whom it has sought to Oxonianize. Oxford has made its impact on Dom doubtless but Dom's head is screwed on firmly to his shoulders. Dom shows in this book that he can write as well in prose as he does in verse!

—(Prof.) S. RAMASWAMI

ORISSA LETTER:

CHANGE OF GOVT. IN ORISSA: SWATANTRA PARTY'S DEMAND

BHUBANESWAR, Aug. 29: After the setback that the Swatantra Party got by the collapse of the last Ministry by the defection of seven of its members to the Congress to enable the latter to form a government, there is a rethinking on the problem of tackling the defectors from political parties. The creation of public opinion alone is now considered as the best means of eradicating this evil and not merely by the passing of any anti-defection Bill.

The party organised a demonstration in front of the Assembly with the stalwarts of the party in the State and the party's President, Mr Pilo Mody, leading it. Contingents of Swatantra Party members from other States also joined the procession which marched up to the barricade put up close to the Assembly premises. Continuous rain did not deter the processionists from staging the demonstration. The Deputy Leader of the party in Orissa, Mr A. N. Singhdeo, accompanied by three others, went to the Assembly and presented a memorandum to the Chief Minister, Mrs Nandini Satpathy and also to the Assembly Charman. The Speaker, Mr Nanda Kishore Misra, a former member of the Swatantra Party, was not in the chair at that time. Thereafter they presented the memorandum also to the Governor of Orissa. Mr R. N. Singhdeo could not take part in it as he was ill.

The memorandum said that the framers of the Constitution aimed at high norms of democratic standard. After the debacle of 1967, there was a change of attitude in the Ruling Congress Party, which has been forming governments collecting artificial majorities out of defectors. This was followed by a committee report but it was kept in cold storage "till the game of toppling of all ministries opposed to the Congress through naked defection and flagrant violation of the agreed principle was complete." The representation also referred to the drought, the Gov-

ernment's indifference to the unprecedented rise in prices and its inability to declare a minimum wage in the context of rising prices. It said: "We therefore demand that a government so callous to the needs of the people and whose only source of strength is political corruption through horse trading and defection should immediately go."

EDUCATION IN DISARRAY

The deteriorating situation brought about by malpractices at the examinations in schools and colleges was discussed at a meeting convened by the Chief Minister, Mrs Nandini Satpathy, which was attended, among others, by the Vice-Chancellors of Utkal, Berhampur and Sambalpur Universities and political leaders. The consensus at the conference was that the help of the police and the magistracy would be available

on requisition from the principals or centre superintendents, for the smooth conduct of the examinations, wherever necessary. The conference decided that an appeal by leaders of all political parties be issued to students, guardians, teachers and the public to create a healthy atmosphere for the peaceful conduct of the examinations, as also to refrain from activities which would tend to disrupt examinations.

The leaders of political parties stressed the necessity of putting an end to the malpractices in the examinations by drawing up both short-term and long-term measures.

Education in the State is in such a disarray that some of the examinations had to be cancelled and there were also violent disturbances in some of the centres. As a result, the results of some of the last examinations are still being published and the annual convocation of the Utkal University, which normally should have been held in January-February, is still not held.

MADHYA PRADESH LETTER:

SETHI'S ENLARGED CABINET

BHOPAL, Sept. 4: After repeated postponements, the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, Mr P. C. Sethi, at last expanded his ten-strong Council of Ministers on the Independence Day, bringing its strength to 21. Mr Sethi's circumspection in finding new and trusted colleagues is as marked as his promptitude in setting out to activate and cleanse the administration. Which is perhaps as it should be, specially for a man who is required on the one side to win popular acclaim and, on the other, to build up a firm political base for himself. After all, Mr Sethi never had very intimate contact with the political forces that operated in Madhya Pradesh prior to his present posting.

Mr Sethi's enlarged team is, on the whole, competent and cohesive. In its choice, the first consideration with the Chief Minister has been to get men who would be loyal to him, and who do not carry any stigma. Criticism from

two angles has been directed at the new team. First, it is stated that it does not represent the various regions in proper proportion; for, while the small Vindhya Pradesh area has five Ministers in the team (apart from the Speaker), including three Cabinet Ministers and two Ministers of State, the sprawling Chattisgarh region has only two Ministers of Cabinet rank, two Ministers of State and one Deputy Minister. The other criticism is from the Harijans and the Adivasis, whose strength in a House of 296 stands at hundred. They have complained of receiving a raw deal, with less representation than previously.

A question commonly asked is, how is it that Mr Sethi has not taken any member of the Shyama Charan Shukla group, although earlier reports had suggested that a rapprochement had been effected between the two leaders at a certain level. The Mishra faction, of course, is left out this time



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and it has surprised none, for the break between Mr Sethi and the ageing Mahakoshal leader is complete.

Since the "ten per cent formula" allows for a Ministry of 30 in the State, nine places are still to be filled in the Sethi Ministry. This will be done later, although it will be futile to try to guess what factors will influence his decisions at the time of selection.

Experts hold that the continuing dispute with regard to the allocation of the Narmada waters between M.P., Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan has cost the country Rs 1,500 crores annually in terms of agricultural production and power. Some 28 MAF of water has been racing down into the sea, which could have irrigated about 45 lakhs hectares in M.P., Gujarat and Rajasthan, and led to the generation of a thousand megawatts of hydel power.

SUPER-THERMAL PLANTS

Madhya Pradesh has been pressing the Centre to help it set up a thousand megawatts super-thermal power station. The State has very large deposits of inferior grade coal, with a high ash content, which can support several super-power stations. Although at present the State has to un-

burden itself of its power by selling it to the neighbouring States of U.P., Maharashtra and Rajasthan, it will fall short of power when in 1973 the Korba aluminium plant starts production.

The idea of the super plants was first mooted by Mr Shyama Charan Shukla, who, however, had to quit before he could give a concrete shape to the project. He also offered to sell power to needy States like U.P., Haryana and Punjab, and the offer was readily accepted. An international concern was also interested in helping the State by arranging to supply it with plant and equipment in exchange for iron ore from the mines in Bastar.

Meanwhile, Mr Sethi laid the foundation-stone of the first industrial unit in the State to be set up jointly by the State Industrial Corporation and a private firm. The unit will cost Rs 2.5 crores and will manufacture paper-insulated conductors, bare conductors, sections and allied products and will serve as an ancillary to the Heavy Electricals Factory at Bhopal.

Incidentally, the State Government has been given 51 licences for joint ventures, and this is the first private unit which has agreed to team up with the State Government.

GUJARAT LETTER:

DROUGHT STILL PREVAILS IN KUTCH AND SAURASHTRA

RAJKOT, Sept. 4: The rains came at last to flood South Gujarat. The level of the Narmada near Bharooch rose to 32 feet. Many villages in the area were evacuated; at least five villages were surrounded by flood waters. Central Gujarat and Ahmedabad were soaked with flood water. But the jaws of famine are still wide open in Saurashtra and Kutch where there was very scant rain. The situation continues to be serious.

The Ahmedabad unit of the Jan Sangh took out a morcha to the Raj Bhavan to mark its protest against the soaring prices and against the Simla agreement. The State Congress (O) President, Mr

Babubhai Patel, told pressmen that the root cause of the economic ills were the faulty policies of the State Government. It was regretted that though the Finance Minister had admitted that the rupee was worth only 42 paise today, there was no national price policy. The supply of currency was imbalanced, production had fallen and inflation was rampant. The remedy was to curtail money supply and release foodgrain stocks to control market prices. Over the past 12 months prices had increased by 13.6 per cent; the price of edible oil had recorded a rise of 20 per cent in the last three months.

The GPCC (O) Secretary, Mr Dinesh Shah, addressing the Rotary Club in the State capital, said that Gujarat was dogged by power shortage and that this could be remedied only through hydro-power from the Narmada waters. He said that to overcome power shortage in the State the Tarapore plant must be worked round the clock and an atomic power station should be erected in the State.

While Gujarat asks for Narmada waters for only 2 lakhs hectares of land out of its total of 5.88 lakhs hectares, Madhya Pradesh demands Narmada waters for 42 lakhs hectares out of its total of 62 lakhs hectares of land.

The Ukai project has now effectively controlled the floods of the river Tapi and therefore, Surat is out of flood danger. The failure of the monsoon which occurs every five years retards food production in the State to the tune of 10 to 15 million tonnes.

There are discordant notes in the labour wing of the Congress. Mr Natvarlal Shah, GPCC secretary, is the vice-president of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and he pulls the party-minded labour unions of the INTUC which is the officially blessed body. A demand has taken shape that Mr Shah should choose either the party or the Hind Mazdoor Sabha. Mr Krishnakant Vakharia, Congress labour leader, raised the issue at the meeting of the INTUC *ad hoc* committee held recently. The meeting was called by Mr Jhinabhai Darji, GPCC chief, but it resolved that all labour activity should be done through the INTUC but at the same time it allowed party members to continue their Sabha activities if they were already associated with that body. Mr Shah and Mr Vakharia are both candidates for the Lok Sabha seat of Ahmedabad which has fallen vacant due to the demise of Mr Indulal Yajnik. Mr Vakharia wanted to push Mr Shah out of the contest by cornering him on the Sabha issue but the plan misfired and Mr Shah has, on the contrary now, obtained a free hand with respect to his Sabha activities.



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BRANCHES ALL OVER SOUTH ZONE

Dear Reader

THE SUGGESTION that the Government of India should convert itself into a National Government and assure India that imperialist rule would end with the termination of the war against the Nazis was obstinately rejected by Britain. In reporting the speech I made in the Hall of the Grand Hotel in Calcutta, presided over by the Most Rev. Bishop Foss Westcott, the *Hindu* gave to it the following caption which underlined the vital point I made: "C. R. deploras acts of destruction." The destruction of national properties in pursuance of Gandhiji's 'Quit India' slogan was just what the Japanese Government wanted the Indian people to do. It helped the Nazi cause greatly. It is on this that I strongly differed from Gandhiji and with reference to which he wrote in *Harijan*: "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 never afraid to act according to

his belief. His political wisdom and integrity are beyond question."

THE GRUESOME crime committed by a determined gang at the Olympiad discloses the stark reality that a desperate and determined criminal gang can hold society to ransom and no government or other organisational force can prevent it. Unless God and religion, the real basic defence of law and order, are re-installed, there is no hope for humanity. God and religion are to nations what the breath is to individual life. Unless this pulmonary foundation of human welfare is reinstated, any attempt to deal with the situation will be futile. The notion that, in recent decades, has been developed and propagated that man can get on without God is the tragic folly that must now be abandoned. All men must recognise the need for God and work for His government in family, school and college, and in every institution which brings up the young. No time should be lost.

FROM THE GALLERY:

PROBE INTO WORKING OF FOOD CORPORATION

ONLOOKER

NEW DELHI, September 6: Strange and unprecedented happenings marked the close of the monsoon session of Parliament. After a day's extension, the Lok Sabha was to adjourn on 2nd September. The adjournment was scheduled after the debate on the items, specially raised, had concluded. One was on the Wanchoo Committee's Report and the other on corruption and bungling in the Food Corporation of India. Just when the Wanchoo Committee's Report was about to be taken up, a lady member of the Ruling Congress walked in to say that there was no quorum. She did not stay there and as she went out it became known to the Opposition

members that the Government whips were busy asking their partymen to stay away. So, despite the quorum bell, there was no quorum and the presiding officer adjourned the House. The Opposition members protested loudly against the tactics of the Government. They charged the ruling party with deliberately creating the absence to scuttle the debate on the Wanchoo Committee's Report and the Food Corporation of India, both being too inconvenient for the Ministerial benches.

The moment the quorum issue was raised, Mr Piloo Mody (Swat.) was ready with his counter-plan. He and all his Opposition

colleagues decided on a sit-in *dharna* inside the House till their demand for the debate was accepted and the necessary arrangements made. They soon drafted an urgent letter to the Prime Minister. Mr Mody read out the contents of the letter to the Press Gallery in what he described as the most "unusual Press Conference" and gave reasons for the *dharna*. The letter was rushed to the Prime Minister who, after hasty consultations, advised the Parliamentary Affairs Minister to inform the members still inside the House that the debate could take place after which it was decided to have a session on the following Monday to discuss the two subjects.

As one heard the debate on the two subjects, one could see why the Government wanted to get out of it all. In respect of the Food Corporation of India, it was a catalogue of very serious charges of corruption and misfeasance, the like of which had not been exposed before. The fact that a good part of the allegations are already under enquiry by the CBI did not prevent the Opposition members from putting before the House, and through the House, to the country, the information they were in possession of.

Initiating the debate, Mr Piloo Mody said that the Food Corporation had perhaps the largest trading turnover in the whole of Asia, namely, Rs 2000 crores. Out of this sum, several crores had disappeared. After having collected all this information, Mr Mody said, he had been able to discover and identify about Rs 6 to Rs 8 crores. He added: "If a person like me, so far remote from the Food Corporation, can identify Rs 6 to Rs 8 crores, that has somehow disappeared, how many crores must have gone which is in the know of all those knowledgeable people, sitting on or behind the Treasury Benches?"

Mr Mody referred to the purchase of 'Agmark III grade mustard oil, which grade never existed. He then mentioned a transport company which received payment in cash at Kanpur for cheques issued at Gauhati. Wooden crate purchases and starch price concessions were

other items listed. He wanted the Minister to lay bare the facts from the enquiry conducted by the CBI, which was already with the Government. He also said that according to his information records were being tampered with. Mr Shyam Sunder Mahapatra said that if there was to be an enquiry it should cover the entire machinery. Some Congress members also joined in the demand for a

BILL MARKET SCHEME - FLEXIBILITY IN OPERATION ESSENTIAL

SUBHASH J. RELE

THE REACTION to the New Bill Market Scheme introduced by the Reserve Bank of India on November 1, 1970, was understandably mixed. Initially, banks and financial circles were sceptical about the whole concept and some of them expressed it in no unequivocal terms. The advocates of the Scheme never expected spectacular results in the very first year of its operation. And the criticism made in some circles that its potentiality and utility had not properly been projected is valid. That is one of the reasons why it has achieved only limited success.

Introduced without much fanfare, it was perhaps the first fundamental step towards the rationalisation of the Indian money market by helping even out liquidity pockets within the banking system and helping to broaden the commercial money market. Credit is now related to specific transactions and limited to a specific period of time. One of the basic objectives was to improve the turnover of funds economically. The apprehension first expressed that additional money would be pumped into the money market has been found to be exaggerated. Under the scheme, the creation of money against transactions and paid on the due date, would be aligned to the needs and requirements of productive enterprise. The objective to divert the funds from financing non-productive needs of industry and trade to financing genuine needs of productive enterprise is now met.

Bill Market Scheme was in operation in India even in 1951, under

full and thorough enquiry into the affairs of the Food Corporation.

All that the Food Minister said at the end of the debate was that the whole matter was under investigation and study. The report of the investigating agency was under consideration. Beyond stating that the report would be made available to the House, the Minister did not meet the specific points raised by members.

which commercial banks could obtain credit from the Reserve Bank of India in certain circumstances. However, since it had to work under several constraints, it could not perform the function it was intended to. In February 1970, a Study Group was constituted by the Reserve Bank to go into the question of enlarging the use of bills of exchange as instruments for providing credit and the creation of a bill market in India. The Group came to the conclusion that it would be advantageous to take steps to enlarge the use of bills of exchange as instruments of credit and to create a bill market where bills could be purchased or sold according to the requirements of the institutions concerned. The Reserve Bank accepted the recommendations and introduced the new scheme with effect from November 1, 1970. In more than one sense, the New Bill Market Scheme is an improvement on the old one. Under the old scheme, the Reserve Bank provided refinance to banks against usance bills which were specially created by converting cash credit accounts of the borrowers. They were not negotiable or marketable and remained with the Reserve Bank. Thus, the Reserve Bank was the lender of the first resort. The bill to be rediscounted by the Reserve Bank under the new scheme are negotiable and marketable. The creation of money is now against specified transactions unlike under the old scheme. Bills now help even out surpluses and deficits in the banking system and make the

Reserve Bank the lender of the last resort.

The main advantage of the new scheme is to finance sales through bills, instead of through cash credit. Here the borrower could actually be either a seller or a buyer of goods. The seller of goods pays a lower rate of interest than on a cash credit basis. Since the buyer of goods makes a commitment to make payment of the bill on the due date, the seller can draw his financial plans on a more realistic basis. So far as the banks are concerned bills provide them an avenue for investment in an asset which is near liquid. A further advantage is that, through bills, banks are able to keep a closer contact with the customer. In the case of advances against book debts on cash credit basis, if the buyers of goods do not pay on the due date, the bank does not get first-hand information. In the case of bills, banks get direct information regarding payment and non-payments on the due dates. The chances of default in payment are very much less.

It is true that the resistance from buyers of goods, who, at present, are not subjected to the discipline of paying on a specified date will continue for some time. There is still some difficulty in allocating limits between the existing cash-credit limits and bill limits. This was anticipated at the time of the inception of the new scheme.

Several reasons are attributed to the slow pace of the scheme. It is unfortunate that banks have not yet realised their obligations to assess the genuine needs of the clients. Industrial circles point out that banks still have not given up their security-oriented approach. They feel that with greater understanding and co-operation between them and their customers, the scheme could make headway. One main drawback of the scheme is that interest rates continue to be high to be really attractive.

It is good to know that the Reserve Bank is keen on making a success of the scheme. The most essential ingredient for success is a greater measure of flexibility in the operation of the scheme.

THE NEW SUGAR POLICY

PROF. C. S. MAHADEVAN

THE NEW SUGAR policy announced recently by the Union Minister of Agriculture, Mr Sher Singh, deserves approbation in no small measure. The Government wisely accepted the persistent demand of the growers and the industry to link the minimum cane price to 8.5 per cent recovery instead of 9.4 per cent as hitherto. The new minimum price will be Rs 8 per quintal with a premium of 9.4 paise per quintal for every 0.1 per cent increase in the recovery above 8.5 per cent, in accordance with the principle of full proportionality. Further, the Government has accepted in principle the need to make sugar available at a uniform price throughout the country, with the adoption of the pooling system. It has sought to increase the availability of sugar for public distribution at a fair price and the Government deserves to be congratulated on this measure, particularly in the context of the steep rise in the price of free sale sugar.

The tropical regions of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Tamil Nad are better suited for the cultivation of cane. It has been found by experience that only half the acreage is required in these areas for raising an equal quantity of cane cultivated in the sub-tropical region of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. This view was based upon the fact that the production of cane was about 15 tonnes in U.P. and Bihar, while it was about 30 tonnes in the south. The Government of India, also accorded concessions for the transfer of factories from the North to the South in order to increase the productivity of this vital industry.

For a long time, the sugar industry grew only in jaggery centres. Due to the cold climate, jaggery production and consumption was heavy in North India and due to historical reasons, small factories of the size of 300-500 tonnes sprang up in U.P. and Bihar. But the industry, from the beginning, had to be sustained on Government assistance as the factories could not be run for more than 140-150 days and some units

could be worked only for 90 days. This was the reason which caused the appointment of the expert committee in 1945. Since then, the sugar industry has developed impressively in the Southern States as also in Maharashtra. If we take production in the last ten years, it will be seen that the share of the main producing States in the total production has significantly changed, U.P. and Bihar accounting for 40 per cent, Maharashtra for 25 per cent, and the three Southern States of Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nad accounting for 25 per cent in 1969-70 against 60 per cent, 15 per cent and 14 per cent respectively in 1960-61. In the current season, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar will be mainly responsible for the setback in the total production with their share being estimated at only 33 per cent against Maharashtra's 30 per cent and the Southern States' 30 per cent.

In order to help proper development of cane throughout the country, it is necessary to have a uniformity in the excise levies. In the first place the present *ad valorem* duty must be replaced by a specific duty. In the second place concessions must be given for longer periods of crushing. The excise duty rebate has to be revised on the following basis:

- (1) Rate of excise duty upto 150 days — Full duty,
- (2) Between 150 and 200 days — 25 per cent rebate,
- (3) Between 200 and 250 days — 45 per cent rebate,
- (4) Between 250 and 300 days — 60 per cent rebate.

The task before the industry is stupendous and the Government cannot afford to be complacent. Against the maximum production of 42.65 lakh tonnes achieved in 1969-70, the output in 1971-72, is not expected to be more than 31 lakh tonnes. A catastrophic situation would have arisen now, if there had not been large stocks carried over from the 1969-70 season. On the basis of the present trends in consumption the quantity required by 1982 will be a minimum of 70 lakh tonnes.

The needs of individual consumers should be continued to be met as at present at Rs 2 per kg., with sugar mills making supplies to the fair price shops at Rs 150 per quintal (ex-factory) and before payment of excise duty. But the system of distribution is at fault and State Governments have not been issuing quick instructions for the disposal of the allotted quotas in some regions.

A Sugar Marketing Board, with a retail network, will have to be created for looking after the marketing of the quantities allotted on a preferential basis and at preferential prices for being sold to bulk consumers as well as to general consumers at reasonable prices. If specified quantities were handed over by sugar mills to the Board, this marketing body can look after their movement to the consuming centres.

The economics of working of sugar factories also will have to be improved by increasing the capacity of the established and of new factories. For producing 70 lakh tonnes of sugar by 1982, the quantity of cane required on the basis of a recovery of 9 per cent will be 77.7 million tonnes. The area required for raising this quantity of cane will be 3 million acres.

There will also have to be an increase in the size of factories, besides creating conditions for enabling sugar units in all parts of the country to work for at least 200 days in the crushing season. While factories having a capacity of 400 tonnes daily will have to be located in Maharashtra and the Southern States, units up to 2,500 units can be located in the Uttar Pradesh-Bihar region.

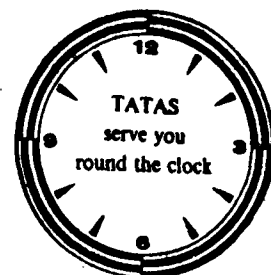
Thus, there will have to be a systematic approach to the question of near doubling of production capacity in a ten-year period with the evolution of new techniques in regard to the manufacture of sugar and the maximisation of recovery, the availability of machinery from indigenous sources and the existence of favourable weather conditions for the cultivation of the cane in convenient regions, the much desired regular increase in production in the coming decade can be assured.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

SILVER JUBILEE OF INDEPENDENCE

Sir,—Our Government, in its wisdom, has decided that the Silver Jubilee of our Independence will be celebrated from the 15th of August, 1972, to the same date next year. The celebrations will go on for one full year. This is something unique in the history of a nation. But then we in India have been and are a unique people!

Moreover, at present the country is suffering from agricultural and industrial depression. Prices keep rising from day to day. Even the middle class finds it hard to make the two ends meet. It may soon be reduced to the status of the lower middle class. The white-collar workers have already been reduced to the status of workers in the field and factory. At such a time the celebrations of the Jubilee for one year appear to be an extravagant luxury, which the nation can ill-afford. It is true that our Prime Minister has said that economy must be exercised. But, however modest and economic their observance they would cost the nation a pretty penny which it can ill-afford specially at this time of near famine. I am sure that if the celebrations had been for a couple of weeks instead of for a whole year, nobody might object.

Moreover, these celebrations have a baneful effect on our radio. It is mainly engaged in reporting the speeches of Ministers in the various Cabinets and they are in all conscience many! Also, there is a plethora of patriotic songs, lectures, exhortation and dramas calling us to love and serve our country. One would think that the Indians so lack the love of the Motherland that they must be constantly goaded to do their duty by the country.

We have also suddenly discovered the heroes of the independence fight. Anybody who went to jail for six months has been awarded a token signifying his love and his sacrifices for the country. This makes patriotism rather cheap. That after twenty-five years we still seek recognition and also get it from a benign government, which had forgotten us and our great services all these years, in the hurry of the reconstruction of the country is strange indeed! My experience is that we enjoyed the hardships of jail life and were proud of them, even as soldiers enjoy their wounds in the battlefield when defending their country and its independence. Jail life for us was the holiday of the freedom fight. It needed and needs no recognition.

Keeping in view all these circumstances, may I suggest to the authori-

ties that they give some serious thought to the matter of the Jubilee celebrations.

New Delhi

J. B. KRIPALANI

BLACK MONEY AND DEMONETISATION

Sir,—Demonetisation as a cure for the black money malady which afflicts our economy is like a time-barred medicine. Some eight years ago, the then Union Finance Minister put black money holders on the alert by an indiscreet remark on the problem of "unaccounted money". If, at that time, instead of talking about it, 100 and 1,000-rupee notes had been demonetised and safe deposit lockers frozen, many would have suffered heavy losses and the economy would have gained some health. Demonetisation will be ineffective now.

Replacing present high denomination currency notes will serve no purpose: Rs 10,000 and Rs 5,000 notes are mostly used for inter-bank transactions. With Rs 1,000 notes, which are generally accounted for, they constitute barely 2 per cent of the total stock of currency. Rs 100 notes, in which mostly black money is hoarded, constitutes about 49 per cent. After the scare, many have transferred holdings into denominations of Rs 10 (35 per cent), Rs 5 and Rs 2 (8.6 per cent) and even Re 1 (which is supposed to be a coin)!

The reported suggestion of the Wanchoo Committee to demonetise notes of Rs 10 and above is a desperate measure. The country's economic life in the organised sector will come to a grinding halt if nearly 86 per cent of currency is thus withdrawn all at once. Our total stock of currency is hardly sufficient for 7 to 8 weeks' transactions. With barely 15,000 bank branches and treasury chests, the physical task of exchanging notes in this period will be stupendous.

Moreover, just as the economy is getting monetised, demonetisation will administer a rude shock to rural people's faith in "government money". In any event, the lessons of 1946 devaluation are there as a warning. The measure was introduced by the Government in the teeth of opposition by Dr C. D. Deshmukh, the then Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. Hardly Rs 9 crores out of Rs 144 crores were considered to be affected in spite of the surprise measure.

Demonetisation today will be an economic joker, but perhaps a political trump-card.

Bombay

M. R. PAI

INCOME-TAX LAW

Sir,—During the quarter-century since Independence the approach of the Government in appointing several committees and commissions to investigate our tax system has been very much different from what it was before. The State assumed the responsibility and role of a welfare State instead of being merely a governing State. Several amendments have been made to the Income-tax law as a result of the reports of expert committees and commissions. The first major report that was submitted after Independence was of the Investigation Commission which made its final report on 29th December, 1948. Between 1947 and 1953, the old I. T. Act of 1922 was amended on ten occasions. The Taxation Enquiry Commission headed by Dr John Matthai was appointed in 1953. It made its report in 1954. Its recommendations were given effect to from time to time beginning with the voluminous Finance Act of 1955. The Indian Tax Reform Report by Prof. Kaldor in March 1956 was responsible for the revival of income-tax on "Capital gains" and the enactments of several other direct tax Acts, viz., the Wealth Tax Act, 1957, the Expenditure Tax Act, 1957 and the Gift Tax Act, 1958. The present Income-tax Act, 1961, which came into force on 1-4-1961, is a result of the recommendations of the Law Commission of India, 1958 and the Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee, 1958.

It is unfortunate that in spite of the intention of the Government to simplify and rationalise the income-tax law, the present I. T. Act has been amended on 25 occasions in the last decade. It is an irony of fate that the following words of the Committee of the Law Commission, 1958, have not been heeded: "The hopeless confusion into which Income-tax Law has fallen is mainly due to precipitate and continuous tinkering with the Act by the legislature. The amendments to Income-tax Act have been so short-sighted and so short-lived as to rob the law of that modicum of stability which is essential to its healthy growth." The reports of Mr Bhoothalingam and recently of the Wanchoo Committee also point to the same. The importance of stability in income-tax law cannot be gainsaid particularly when it is seen that it constituted 97 per cent of the total direct tax revenues of Rs 865.36 crores in 1970-71, as against the total direct tax revenues of Rs 240.32 crores only in 1958-59. It is necessary that the tax laws are made more stable and pragmatic and that the tax-payers also show greater awareness of their obligations to the State.

Calcutta

R. N. LAKHOTIA

FACTS AND FIGURES:

"WORLD BANK operations — Sectoral Programmes and Policies," a publication by the Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, analyses the World Bank groups' (including the IDA and the IFC) experiences in regard to the national development of the less developed countries. Among the highlights in these studies, all undertaken by the staff members of the World Bank groups, are its following conclusions: (1) industrial growth has failed to solve unemployment; (2) rural feeder roads and alleviations of urban congestion will require the attention of transportation experts in LDCs during the next few years; (3) a large gap continues to exist between supply of and demand for telecommunication equipment in the developing countries; the waiting time for telephone services is often several years; (4) the demand for electric power doubles every 5 to 8 years; (5) a negative bias by many governments has hindered the development of adequate water supply and sewerage

systems; (6) tourism has become a leading foreign exchange earner; in many cases receipts amount to over 20 per cent of the total value of merchandise imports; and (7) the absolute growth of urban population in developing countries is phenomenal, about 4 times what it was some 40 years ago. The publication contains relevant statistical information relating to each economic sector — agriculture, industry, transportation, telecommunications, electric power, water supply and sewerage, education, population planning, tourism and urbanisation and the Bank's involvement therein.

ACCORDING TO Jane's Fighting Ships 1971-72, the USSR has 83 nuclear powered and 318 conventionally powered submarines, 2 cruiser helicopter ships, 26 cruisers and 100 destroyers including missile ships, 100 escorts and 1,370 smaller vessels, besides a large number of support ships, auxiliaries and service craft. The British Minister for Navy, Mr Kirk, told the House of Commons on 11th March 1971 that apart from a relief squadron change-over in January, the maximum Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean comprised six vessels — three surface warships, one attack submarine and two support ships. According to a report of the Australian Parliamentary Affairs Committee, published on 9th December 1971, the actual size of the Soviet Fleet in the Indian Ocean had averaged four to six ships with a maximum of twelve in 1969.

ON AN AVERAGE 1 in every 43 persons in the country owned a radio set in 1971, compared with 1 in every 27 in 1951, and 1 in 109 in 1961, according to an A.I.R. Survey. In Delhi, however, it is 1 in 8; in Bihar and Orissa 1 in 139; in Assam 1 in 106; in Madhya Pradesh 1 in 86; in U.P. 1 in 72; in Rajasthan 1 in 52; in Kerala 1 in 50. The number of radio licences at the end of 1971 was 46 times what it was 25 years ago; it increased from 2,75,955 in 1947 to 1,21,72,297 in 1971.

A TOTAL number of 66.55 million pieces of Nirodh were sold during

1971-72 registering a growth of 26.3 per cent over the sale in the preceding year. The highest sales were in West Bengal where a little over 12 millions were sold. The highest rate of Nirodh users per 1000 married couples was 71.58 in Delhi, followed by West

Bengal (22.85) and Punjab (21.47). The national average of users per thousand married couples is 9.43. It is REVEALED that the city of Calcutta now has 40,000 vagrants, compared to 17,000 ten years ago; 25 per cent of these are mentally

imbalanced; 45 per cent are women and children. Their occupation is begging and the average earning of a Calcutta beggar is Rs 1.25 a day. It has been calculated that about Rs 6 lakhs a year are given away in alms by the people in Calcutta.

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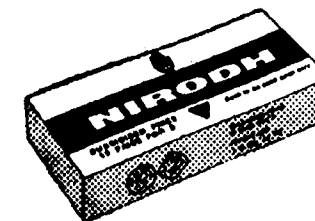
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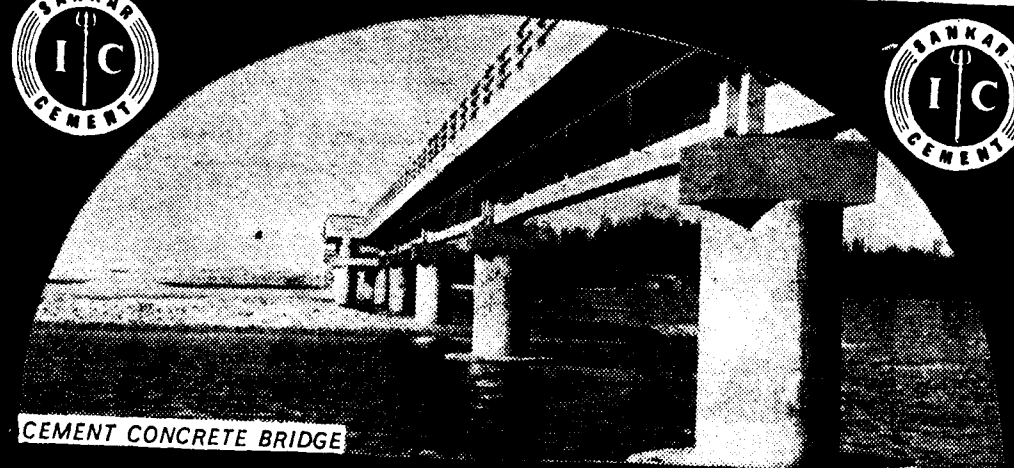
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Vol. XVII. No. 13

MADRAS, SEPTEMBER 23, 1972

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BLUFF AND BRINKMANSHIP

K. SANTHANAM

PRESIDENT BHUTTO of Pakistan seems to have convinced himself that bluff and brinkmanship are the best way of keeping himself in power. This is causing a great deal of embarrassment to India and Bangla Desh and is a source of confusion and instability to Pakistan itself. Having encouraged General Yahya Khan to suppress Bangla Desh by brutal violence, Mr Bhutto was alarmed at the unexpected consequences and having cajoled the dictator to part with power, promptly denounced him and put him in detention. At the Simla Conference, he blustered till he feared a breakdown and at the last moment, wangled from the Indian Prime Minister the important concession of evacuating the occupied areas in West Punjab and Sind in return for meaningless professions of peaceful intentions.

Again, it was due to the initiative of Mrs. Indira Gandhi that the official delegation met at the end of last month to demarcate the line of control in Kashmir and arrange for the evacuation of troops from the occupied areas. The delegations agreed that the demarcation should be finished by September 4th and the evacuation by 15th September. The military authorities on both sides are still haggling over the demarcation line. Apparently, these protracted negotiations are intended to impress the world that it was Pakistan and not India that made a great sacrifice in concluding the Simla agreement. It is likely that the military authorities of Pakistan will be directed to come to a final

agreement about demarcation and there will be further delays and procrastination in conforming to the line of control and complaints that India is delaying evacuation of occupied areas.

Mr Bhutto's attitude towards Bangla Desh is equally devious and intended to fool the world. Having persuaded China to veto the entry of Bangla Desh into the U.N., Mr Bhutto is reported to have said that as soon as he meets Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, recognition will follow. But the Sheikh knows the true nature of Mr Bhutto and has clearly and irrevocably declared that recognition must precede any talks. After some more vain efforts, it may be assumed, that Mr Bhutto will recognise Bangla Desh and boast that he had done a great favour to it.

In spite of the statement in the Simla agreement that all future relations between India and Pakistan will be settled by bilateral negotiations, it is evident that with a person of Mr Bhutto's nature, bilateralism does not promise any results. If India's Prime Minister had sought bilateral negotiations to bring about a ceasefire, the war might still be continuing. It is because she declared her intention of stopping the war and left it to Mr Bhutto to continue it, that the fighting came to an end. In the same way, it seems desirable that in all pending matters in which India and Bangla Desh have to act together jointly and, where India alone is concerned, unilaterally, the precise terms on which a settlement may

be made should be published. For instance, in the matter of release of prisoners, India and Bangla Desh should quickly decide upon the persons who are to stand trial and offer to release all others provided Pakistan released all prisoners in its hands and also allowed repatriation of all Bengalis, soldiers, officers and others who are now detained in Pakistan more or less as hostages.

Similarly, with respect to communications, trade and resumption of foreign relations, there should be no difficulty for the Indian Government to state the terms on which these matters can be settled and leave it to President Bhutto and his advisers to accept or reject them. After all, in every one of these matters, Pakistan has to gain more than India and there is no purpose in giving Mr Bhutto an opportunity to pretend to agree to difficult and unwilling concessions.

While bilateralism is the straight-forward method among two parties who are willing to negotiate with sincerity and goodwill, it is useless when one party seeks to gain tactical advantage over the other. In such cases, either unilateralism or the good offices of friendly nations have to be resorted to. For India, there is no reason for seeking the services of other nations, though Pakistan may find it worthwhile to do so. If it does, there should be no objection to the Government of India listening to the views of such friendly nations but until such a contingency arises, unilateralism

jointly with Bangla Desh in common matters and separately in those concerning India alone, seems to be the best and shortest method of peaceful settlement. That will force Mr Bhutto to face his own people if he declines rea-

PRODUCTION AND PRICES

S. Y. KRISHNASWAMY

MARK TWAIN said: "Everyone complains of the weather. But no one does anything about it." The attitude of the Government about the rise in prices is somewhat similar and fantastic, although occasionally the authorities burst out in anger against the malpractices of hoarders and traders and promise drastic and exemplary punishment for them. In the first place no one takes this kind of mock-heroics seriously and one wonders whether they believe it themselves. Secondly, in the context of widespread corruption at all levels action against unsocial elements is easier proclaimed than carried out. Thirdly, to attack the consequence and leave the cause free play is the *reductio ad absurdum* of any effort to control prices.

The latest pronouncement of the Finance Minister is that the people cannot expect any respite in the immediate future from rising prices. He attributed the price rise to a slide back in production and the cumulative effect of deficit financing over the years. These facts are correct. Indeed, he has laid his finger on the root causes. But what are the permanent remedies against these two evils?

Agricultural production fell short of the target, even last year when weather conditions were good. Production increased only by 3.8 per cent, compared to 6.7 per cent in the previous year. Industrial production has stagnated round about two per cent. Practically no important unit of production has been able to work to anything like full capacity. The performance of the *kharif* crop this year has shown up the "green revolution" as a mere fair-weather success. The vagaries of the monsoon still control agricultural production as ever before. The State Minister for Food has said

reasonable proposals. It is through the pressure of public opinion in Pakistan that its President can be made to realise that it will be better for himself and his country to establish good relations with India and Bangla Desh.

that this year's drought is unprecedented. On the other hand, every precedent of Indian history for the last thousand years shows that the monsoon fails every fifth year and that every tenth year brings about conditions of near famine. No agricultural plan is worth the name which does not take account of the recurrence of this meteorological phenomenon.

The Government is also curiously silent on the question of curtailing deficit financing. In the early days, an orthodox economic argument was advanced that an expanding economy called for capital intensive schemes and that during the period of expansion the money in circulation would be in excess of the goods available for consumption. One Finance Minister said: "Better progress with inflation than stagnation with stability." But today one has to assess the cost of progress. To mention this argument even after four plans, is to assume an infinite period of gestation for heavy industries and a total inability to put the products of these industries to proper consumer use. In these circumstances, the Government's policy of increasing deficit financing has little to recommend it.

In 1966-67 the public were told that since agricultural production had failed, an increase in the price level in the country was inevitable and that with the recovery in agriculture, prices would come down and become comparatively stable. The succeeding three years witnessed a steady increase in agricultural production. But during these years also prices rose instead of remaining even stationary. The average citizen is naturally puzzled and wants to know how prices can rise when there is low production as well as when there is high production. The answer is that in a vicious circle of

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increasing prices, causes and consequences get inter-mingled and unless definite action is taken at some major point, the spiral cannot be arrested.

The so-called green revolution, such as it is, has been achieved at high cost. It involves heavy inputs like fertilizers and pesticides, the costs of which are steadily going up. The industries concerned point to the high cost of their raw materials, heavy Government taxes and increasing demands of labour and claim that even the high prices given at present are not sufficient to make a reasonable profit. The raw materials for agricultural machinery, mainly iron and steel, are from pampered public sector units and have demonstrated how losses can be sustained under any conditions. Labour points to the increased costs of living and justifies its claims for more and more remuneration. In these circumstances, it is futile to pinpoint the blame on any one sector or group or set of conditions. Rather, it will be useful to make a start at some point and adjust the consequences on the other sectors suitably.

The basic theory of growth of physical products is unsuitable to India. That theory presupposes a developed infrastructure and a resilient industrial base. Growth which spreads employment widely is more important and not the rate of growth along with inflation.

There are many aspects to this problem, but the stability of agricultural prices at a particular level is the point at which the problem should be attacked in a major way. The whole logic behind a time-bound plan is to ensure reasonable stability during that period, so that it is possible to estimate the return on investment. It is the negation of planning to introduce grandiose schemes and

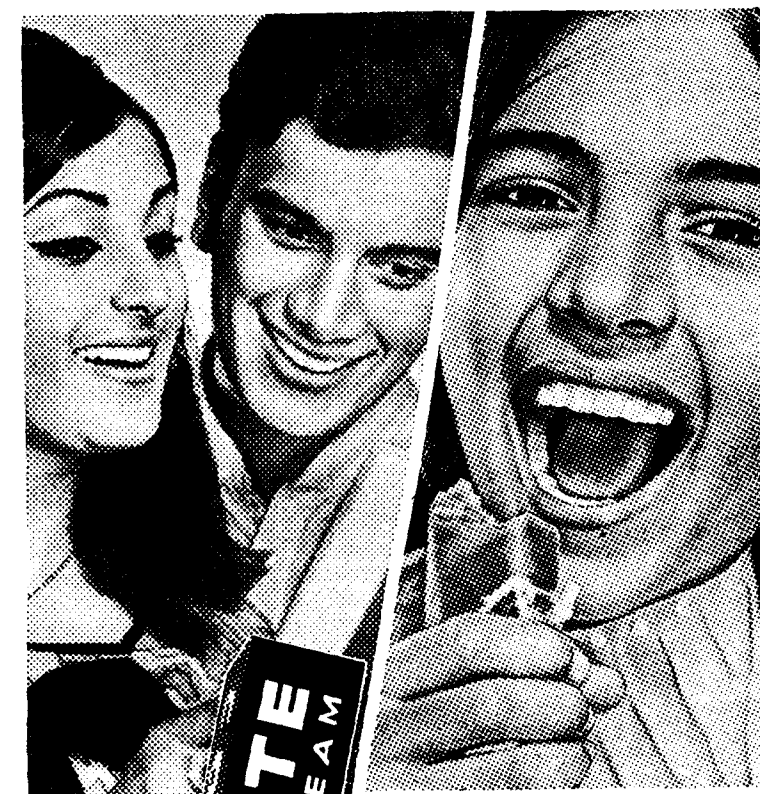
then to produce interim appraisals to explain the failure of the plan targets. This, in fact, has become a regular feature of planning administration. At the end of 1971, the Agricultural Prices Commission recommended a lowering of the grain prices to producers because of the bumper harvest. Every Chief Minister from the wheat growing States opposed this recommendation. The Chief Minister of the Punjab wanted the price to be increased. With the reduction of imports it is estimated that the subsidy which the public are paying for the selling price of wheat to the consumer will be about Rs 130 crores this year.

One may assert with confidence that, with the present deficit financing and high taxation policy of the Government, the effective bargaining power of labour, the high cost of production both in industry and agriculture, whether the output is low or high, there is no chance of prices coming down in the foreseeable future in this country. While a multi-pronged attack is obviously necessary to arrest this evil, it seems to me that a massive beginning can and should be made in the field of agriculture. Here, technical achievement has outpaced economy of production. While one is conscious of the increased output, one relegates to the background the cost at which this output has been achieved. The buffer stock of nearly 10 million tonnes of grain will be reduced by the withdrawals during the current year. What will happen if the next year also turns out to be a poor one? The object of the bufferstock is partly to meet crises but the object of planning is to prevent such crises from adversely affecting the possibility of maintaining adequate production. This is a different subject, but in the present context, it is sufficient to say that by an intelligent use of the bufferstock and by measures of widespread controlled distribution, food and raw material prices should be maintained at steady levels during a plan period. From this point it could then be examined how the consequences that flow from it can be confronted.

Nothing is more futile than distribution control of channels and prices when production costs cannot be arrested. The double-standard of sugar prices is a conspicuous example of this type of control which has failed. Con-

trolled sugar is either not available or one has to spend a whole day to get it, and one witnesses it being re-sold at higher prices on the spot. For whose benefit has this system been introduced?

(To be continued)



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EMINENT SERVANTS OF INDIA

P. KODANDA RAO

SEPTEMBER 22, October 1 and October 2 of 1972 happen to be anniversaries of the births of Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Dr Annie Besant and Mahatma Gandhi, who were all very eminent servants of India. Some aspects of their personalities and services may be gratefully recalled.

In 1906 Sastri joined the Servants of India Society, which Gopal Krishna Gokhale had founded in 1905 and succeeded him in 1915 as President of the Society. Of Gokhale, his Guru, Sastri said:

"At an age when other public men placed a trembling step on the first rung of the ladder of fame, Mr Gokhale had mounted to its top. Sacrifice and *sanyasa* are ideals that have a peculiar charm for the Hindus. A sacrificer of old had an eye to the joys of *Swarga* and a *sanyasi* often strove for his own salvation. From Mr Gokhale's sacrifice and *sanyasa* all thought of self is removed. Would that there were more such political *sanyasis*! All patriotic prayer is summed up in that wish."

Sastri himself made the necessary sacrifice and answered his patriotic wish and became a political *sanyasi* by joining the Servants of India Society. Gokhale was only thirty-nine years of age when he was elected President of the Indian National Congress and was its youngest President. He died at the comparatively young age of 49 in 1915.

In assuming the responsibility of President of the Servants of India Society, Sastri sought inspiration from Gokhale's example. He said:

"True, the event deprived us of the shelter afforded by a great name and even the senior-most of the survivors was without an established position. But his guidance had been clear and his example full of illumination."

Almost immediately he and the Society were faced by a crucial and painful trial when Gandhiji sought admission to the Society, because he had very great

respect for Gokhale. Of him, Gandhiji said.

"He seemed to me all I wanted in a political worker. He has, and remains for me, the most perfect man in the political field."

Gokhale had no less respect for Gandhiji, of whom he said:

"We may say that in him Indian humanity at present has really touched its high watermark."

Of Sastri, Gandhiji said.

"I have called Gokhale my political guru. Therefore Sastri is a fellow-disciple. I had, and have, no gifts which

Gokhale had, and Sastriar has, in luxurious abundance."

Considering their mutual relations, it was rather paradoxical that Gandhiji's application for admission to the Servants of India Society led to a major crisis! Said Sastri:

"Mr. Gandhi, having completed the year of travel prescribed by Gokhale, knocked at our door for admission. Anxious were our consultations at the time. We saw deep differences between him and us and felt, though none could have given clear expression to it, that his political evolution would take him farther from us. Still our heart trembled as well as grieved when we told him that it

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was best for both of us to remain apart and pursue our several courses. The event has vindicated our decision. We have indeed had many occasions to take the field against him. Looking back over the unhappy period, let us confess that, while we recall nothing but infinite compassion and tenderness from him, we have, like naughty children, indulged occasionally in merriment and strong criticism. Still so curious and contradictory is human relationship, that, sharply contrasted as Mr Gandhi and the Society are in outward action, they would be found near of kin where motives were weighed and the spirit was taken into account."

While Gokhale and Sastri followed constitutional methods of agitation to promote Swaraj for India, Gandhiji departed from it after the Jallianwalla incident and adopted direct action in the form of non-violent non-cooperation in 1920. Sastri openly opposed it. But so great was Sastri's respect for and confidence in Gandhiji's devotion to *Ahimsa* that he advocated in 1945 that the Mahatma should attend the Peace Conference at the end of the Second World War.

Gokhale, Gandhiji and Sastri were Indians, and it is the natural duty of Indian patriots to strive and even sacrifice for India's freedom. But Dr Annie Besant was a citizen of Britain and had made her mark in the public life of that country as a champion of several liberal causes. Later, she espoused the cause of India's freedom with unsurpassed devotion and suffered and sacrificed for it and claimed that India was her Motherland by love and service, though not by birth. During the First World War, she, a Britisher, went so far as to urge that Britain's difficulty was India's opportunity to press for Home Rule, while Gandhiji, an Indian, said that Britain's difficulty was India's opportunity to stand by her and not distract her by a demand for Home Rule for India! Like Sastri, she also stood for constitutional agitation and opposed Gandhiji's direct action.

Perhaps the most moving part of her address as President of the Indian National Congress of 1917 was as follows:

"For the first time in Congress history, you have chosen as your President one who, when your choice was made, was under the heavy ban of Government displeasure and who lay interned as a person dangerous to public safety. While I was humiliated, you crowned me with honour. While I was slandered, you believed in my integrity and good faith. While I was crushed under the heel of bureaucratic power, you acclaimed me as your leader. While I was silenced and unable to defend myself, you defended me and won

my release. I am proud to serve in the lowliest fashion, but you lifted me up and placed me before the world as your chosen representative. I have no words with which to thank you; no eloquence with which to repay my debt. My deeds must speak for me, for words are too poor. I turn your gift into service to the Motherland; I consecrate my life anew to her worship by action. All I have and am I lay at the altar of the *Mother*, and together we shall cry more by service than by words — *Vande Mataram*."

Let us pay our homage of gratitude to these eminent champions of India's freedom by repeating: "*Vande Mataram*."

KERALA LETTER:

FOUR NEW SUGAR MILLS FOR KERALA

KOTTAYAM, Sept. 8: Mr Vakkom Purushothaman, Minister for Agriculture, Kerala, told pressmen recently that there was no justification for Kuttanad agriculturists to leave their fields fallow. Though one section of farmers are willing to cultivate their fields, in several areas agricultural operations could be carried out only if all the farmers join. Bunding, de-watering and other operations have to be carried out in common.

The Government had decided to cultivate the fields which the parties in possession thereof refused to cultivate in that area, the Minister said. Those who have lands in excess of the ceilings may not be willing to cultivate the surplus areas, as there is no guarantee that the Government will not take over surplus lands between sowing and harvest time, nor can owners expect that they will be allowed to gather the crops from the surplus areas. There is the further apprehension that it might create a law and order situation. The Minister, however, said that the Government would give reasonable protection to agriculturists.

The agriculturists, on the other hand, refuse to cultivate their land unless the wages of labourers are agreed upon in advance. But the Government chooses to prevaricate on this demand of the agriculturists.

The Industries Minister, Mr T. V. Thomas, disclosed in Trivandrum that four new sugar mills would be set up in the State—in Trivandrum, Idikki, Kozhikode and Cannanore districts—in four years' time. This will make the State nearly self-sufficient in sugar in five years. Each mill will get Rs 230 lakhs as loan, Rs 140 lakhs from the FIC, Rs 50 lakhs from the LIC and the balance from other financial institutions. The working capital of each of the mill will be Rs 50 lakhs and the four mills together will employ about 20,000 persons. The State Government will get Rs 1.25 crores and the Union Government Rs 2.50 crores as tax revenues.

The Minister made it clear that the ban on power crushers in sugar mill areas was made to enable the sugar mills in Kerala to run profitably. He pointed out that the power crushers were threatening the existence of even well organised mills and that that was why power crushers were prohibited in all States.

The Kerala Government is objecting to the Kabini project of the Mysore Government on the ground that more than a thousand acres of Wynaad plantations will be submerged when the dam is completed.

EDITOR'S NOTES:

VIOLENCE IN DELHI

Delhi, new and old, has been the scene of disastrous mob violence for the past few days. Since the partition, with the settlement of lakhs of refugees in Delhi from West Punjab, N.W.F. Province and Sind, the capital of India has been emotionally very unstable and even minor incidents have led to mob demonstrations and violence. It is clear that the police arrangements in Delhi are not adequate. The main cause of the recent outburst seems to be the death of a Harijan girl. It is difficult to see why the authorities should not have acceded to the demand for a judicial enquiry. In any case, the administration of Delhi which is now dominated by the New Congress has not acquitted itself very well. Things were better under the Jan Sangh regime.

DECENTRALISATION OF WORLD ORGANISATIONS

It is true that in certain matters like travel and communications, the world has become one, but politically, economically and socially, the differences between the various parts of the world are so great that a centralised world organisation cannot deal with them properly. The World Bank has already decided to decentralise itself. Nations of Western Europe have decided to organise their own monetary fund. It is time that systematic decentralisation of the activities organised under the U.N. on a proper regional basis should be attempted. There should then be no difficulty in coordinating these regional units for world and inter-regional purposes. Political decentralisation may not be possible at present, as, in every region, there are democracies and dictatorships of the right and the left. The General Assembly of the U.N. will have to continue as it is as a mere forum for an exchange of views on important issues. It is also not possible to think of starting regional Security Councils but it deserves to be considered whether there should not be some weightage in voting in the General As-

sembly and the elimination of the veto in the Security Council.

A STRANGE BLACKMAIL

It is certainly strange that the Government of the U.S.S.R. should be demanding heavy sums for permitting the Jews to emigrate to Palestine or get out of Russia. The Jews are not given responsible positions or work in accordance with their qualifications. They are not welcome in the Soviet Union but yet they are prevented from going away. It is argued that the U.S.S.R. has incurred expenditure in bringing them up and educating them. They have fixed various scales for people with different qualifications. A Jewish research scientist has to pay a very large sum which he could never have earned during his life in the U.S.S.R. Apparently, the intention is to collect ransom from Jews in Israel, USA and other countries. This does not seem to be worthy of a great nation like the U.S.S.R. The money it will get by this blackmail will be hardly worth the loss in international reputation.

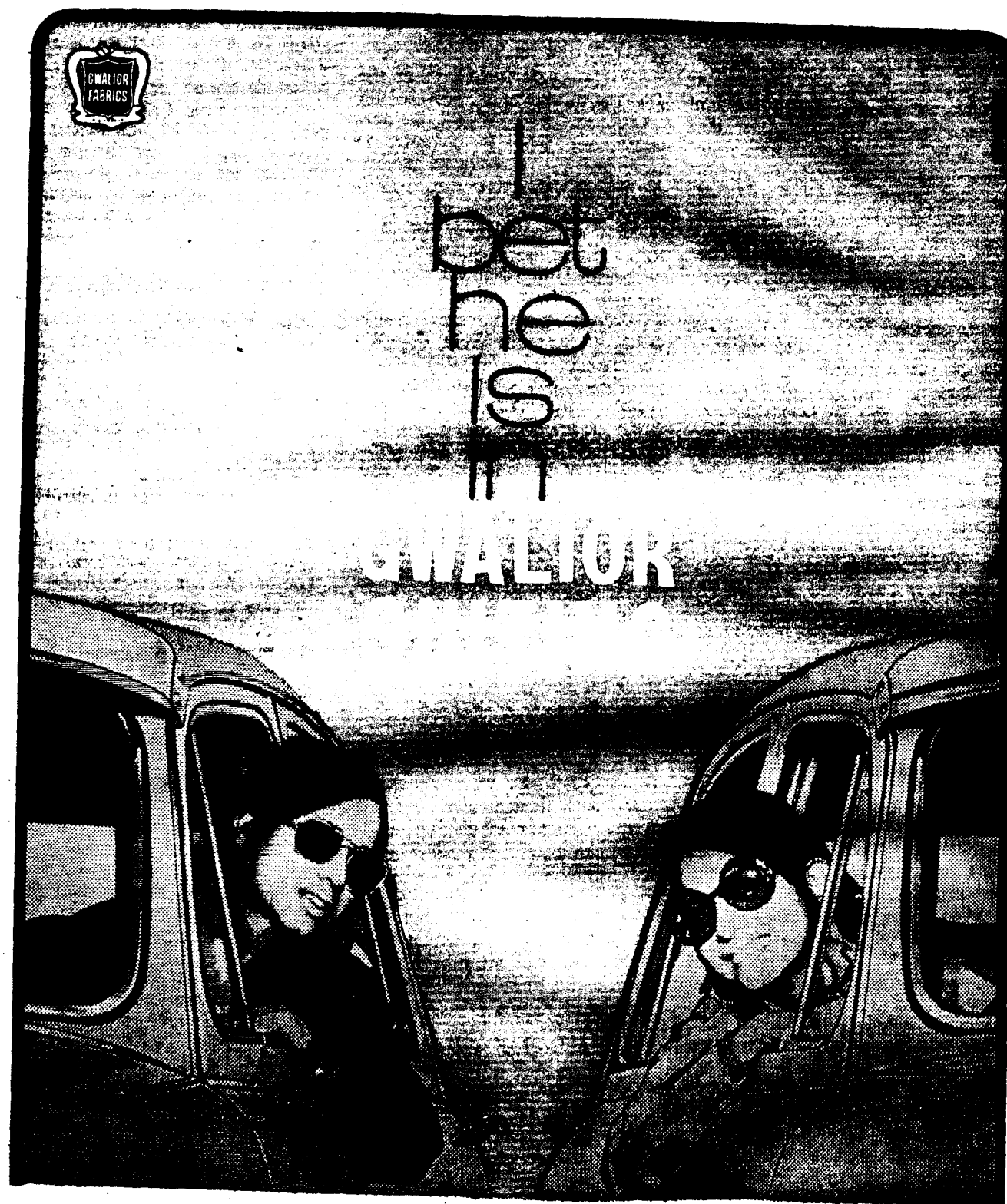
THE END OF MUNICH OLYMPICS

It is a pity that the closing days of the Munich Olympic games should have been marred not only by the tragedy of the killing of the Israelites and the shooting of Arab commandos but also by the misbehaviour of some athletic teams. The conduct of the members of the Pakistani hockey team in showing disrespect to the flag and their unseemly behaviour at the time of distribution of medals was highly regrettable. After all, the Pakistani team had done very well. It is not unnatural that a defeated team should feel that the ruling of the umpire was not quite justified but whether it is in a sports match or a legislature, it is a fundamental rule of conduct that the decision of the umpire or the Speaker should be accepted gracefully whether one agrees with it or not. All the members of the Pakistani hockey team have been debarred from participating in future Olympic Games. The

Pakistani team has been debarred also from world championship for the next four years. It is strange that the U.S. basketball team should have also made much fuss about its defeat, though it has not shown its disappointment like the Pakistani team. It is highly disappointing that India should have got only a bronze medal for hockey. It is to be hoped that all those interested in games and athletics in India will begin to train promising young Indians for the next Olympics.

THE BONUS MUDDLE

The bonus issue has become an embarrassing muddle to the Government of India. It was bad enough to have provided for a 4 per cent minimum bonus even when an undertaking was running at a loss. The idea of giving bonus by a losing concern is utterly indefensible in principle and undesirable in practice. In the case of a public sector undertaking, such bonus will have to be paid by the poor tax-payer. In the case of private sector undertakings, it will only undermine the solvency of the business. Still, having for some reason or other made such bonus compulsory, the Labour Minister should not have allowed the question of its increase to be raised. Having raised it, to have set up a committee consisting of employers and workers was bound to result in two conflicting reports. Now he is said to be negotiating with the labour leaders for a lower minimum than 8.33 per cent for losing concerns. Wherever business concerns are making substantial profits, the workers have been able to negotiate larger bonuses. Therefore, the question of raising the minimum bonus can only apply to the concerns which are either incurring loss or making neither profit nor loss. Already, Indian industry is in a state of stagnation and any step calculated to depress it will ultimately affect the workers in the form of increased unemployment. The only just and permanent means of getting out of the muddle is to provide for a fixed percentage of the net profits of an undertaking to be distributed as bonus.



TOURIST EXPLOSION ROUND THE CORNER

PROF. M. R. HAZARAY

WITH THE DAWN of the jumbo-jet age and the consequent cheapening of air travel, it seems that the stage is set for a veritable tourist boom in the second development decade. It is also high time that India got ready for it and caught the opportunity by its forelock as other developing countries are bent upon doing.

Tourism has become a major source of foreign-exchange earnings in a number of developing countries. The receipt from this source often goes as high as 20 per cent of their total value of merchandise exports in several countries. Their net foreign exchange earnings from tourism are relatively very high. Mexico, Spain and Yugoslavia account for 85 per cent of the gross receipts from this source. India, it is reported, earned about Rs 40 crores by way of foreign exchange from 301,000 tourists last year, compared to Rs 34 crores from 281,000 tourists in 1970. It is plain from these statistics that in spite of her stupendous historic monuments and exotic colourful cultures, India has so far not been able to exploit her tourism potential fully. It is, however, heartening to note that the department of tourism of the Government of India is increasingly becoming aware of this fact and so also the various agencies concerned with the trade of tourism.

Dr Karan Singh, Central Minister of Civil Aviation and Tourism, recently announced his proposal of setting up a National Tourism Board to prepare an outline of a national plan for the development of tourism. The Board is to be manned by representatives from the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism, Transport, Railways and Finance. Let us hope it will be able to offer some sort of a package deal to the prospective tourists.

The 21st annual conference of the Travel Agents' Association has pleaded for putting the tourist industry and promotion of tourism on scientific lines. Like charity, tourism also must begin at home. The tourism at home, therefore, must be developed as the base

upon which the superstructure of foreign tourism could be soundly erected. To achieve this end, a package deal to both home and foreign tourists is the *sine qua non*. Our nationalised banks can extend more and cheaper finance for travelling to our students all over the country in order to see the rich heritage of their country and imbibe its varied cultures. The schemes of reduced fares for 'round tickets' recently offered to Americans from New York to Bombay may be further extended. South India too must be given its rightful place on the tourist map of India. Many more hotels and motels must be constructed in both the public and the private sectors. Subsidies in this regard to the hotel industry would not be out of place for a number of years.

The tourist industry in the developing countries had received the attention it deserved in UNCTAD III as well. Its resolutions on tourism were unanimous. It recommended the encouragement of travel abroad from the developed to the developing countries through the abolition of foreign exchange restrictions on travel abroad, if possible and through relaxation of such restrictions. Through another resolution it sought to reduce the cost of insurance and reinsurance in developing countries, especially in those which do not have their own national insurance companies and, therefore, have to turn to foreign firms for that matter at least in the beginning.

The World Bank has indicated its willingness to promote joint tourist ventures between the developing and the advanced countries under which the developing countries could retain majority ownership without however harming foreign interests in any way. This is altogether a new direction of financing of tourism by the World Bank. This can, not only develop tourist trade in the developing countries but can also ensure the flow of visitors from foreign countries.

The World Bank has been financing tourism projects in the last five years. It has so far assisted 13 projects with a total finance of \$80 million. It has provided an additional sum of \$32 million through the intermediacy of institutions for another 79 tourist projects. Though the World Bank is quite aware of a number of problems of tourism in the developing countries, it is hopeful of trebling the number of its tourism projects with a fourfold increase in financing during the 1972-76 period.

The proposal of the Tourist Department to construct hotels and motels at different places of tourist interest and offer them for hire and purchase on terms similar to those for housing schemes is most welcome, as it will encourage the growth of subsidiary accommodation in the private sector.

The Tourist Department in India should do well to increase the number of places of tourist interest in all States in this manner and provide hotel and other infra-structural facilities for the holiday-makers. For, a tourist explosion is said to be round the corner. India must confidently feel that she will definitely achieve her Fourth Plan target of 400,000 tourists next year and doubling this target will be quite possible by the end of the Fifth Plan period. If so, the spring cleaning operations of the Tourist Department must start on good time.

The development of the tourist potential for developing countries like India, it must be remembered, is crucial to their overall economic development in more ways than one.

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WEST BENGAL LETTER:

W. BENGAL'S EMPHASIS ON SMALL AND MEDIUM INDUSTRIES

CALCUTTA, Sept. 8: For the first time a concerted move has been initiated by the West Bengal Government to revive the economy of the State. It will, of course, take time before the results are seen. The whole of last decade was barren and the pipeline was comparatively dry. In the past, it was a leading State, but today it has fallen to the category of a backward one. The *per capita* income has declined; trade and industry are stagnant and the growth is stunted. The West Bengal Industrial Development Corporation, whose aim, as the name suggests, is to develop industries, played a negative role. Its main function was to advance loans to the existing industries, most of which were sick.

It is only after the 1972 elections that the Government is making serious efforts for the revival of the economy. The climate has, undoubtedly, improved and what is helping it more is that the situation in some other States which were attracting industries from West Bengal has been deteriorating. In the last six months, proposals worth Rs 350 crores have been received by the Government. The figure may not be quite inspiring, but the trend is considered helpful.

Although the State Government is hungry and will accept whatever proposal comes for setting up industry, provided it does not clash with the Centre's industrial policy, its main emphasis is to develop medium and small industries. One of the drawbacks of the State's industrial growth was that it was one-legged, that is, the industries were in the large-scale sector and the medium and small industries were neglected. As such, the foundation was weak, although the structure looked impressive. Any crisis affecting a section of the industry was throwing the whole economy out of gear. The present Government is trying to rectify the past mistake. Its policy is to develop medium and small industries all over the

State, instead of in and around Calcutta. A few growth centres have been developed.

With power and transport facilities available it is confidently hoped that these centres, like, Haldia, Farakka and Siliguri will be the hub of new industries. Of course, Haldia is earmarked for big industries like a refinery, a ship-building yard, a fertilizer plant and a petro-chemical complex. A scheme has been worked out to grow ancillary industries around the big projects. This was also the idea of the late Dr B. C. Roy when he developed Durgapur and Kalyani, but for political reasons both the centres remained undeveloped, although Durgapur with a steel plant, a fertilizer project and a few private sector industries is the second largest industrial centre in the State.

The Government's approach is pragmatic and it has collected top technocrats and managerial personnel in the Planning Board. The main idea is to change what they call the "colonial base" of the economy. By this the policymakers refer to the big industries which were set up here in the past for consumers all over India without caring for the develop-

ment of the State's rural base or for its needs.

In the light of discussions with the Planning Commission, the Government has finalised the approach to the Fifth Plan. The outlay of Rs 2700 crores proposed in the draft approach paper has been cut down to Rs 1600 crores, but the policy has remained untouched. In fact, the Planning Commission has highly appreciated the policy incorporated in the approach paper and thinks that this should be the model for other States. The Government is guided by some inescapable considerations—acute unemployment, extreme poverty of the people, low and uncertain food production, tremendous power shortage and poor industrial performance.

The strategy to be adopted to meet the situation is two-fold; first, massive and integrated agricultural development, and secondly, expansion of the existing industrial base with the productive use of unutilized capacity and diversification of industrial effort into new channels of consumer preference. For the eradication of the acute unemployment problem, emphasis is on labour-intensive industries. A massive programme for power generation is also contemplated. It has been computed that the State will need 2,200 MW more of power in addition to the existing installed capacity of 1,500 MW.

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FROM THE CAPITAL:

THE EVIL OF ENCOURAGING DEFECTION COMES HOME TO ROOST

SENTINEL

NEW DELHI, Sept. 7: For all the big talk about the Ruling Congress having become a new force, the party's character remains the same. The flood of membership, in the wake of the enrolment drive, has brought home to the Congress leaders the fact that in trying to make the party look the biggest in the Indian scene they cannot escape the stampede of various sections that are more interested in the fruits of political power than in spreading a programme or a cause. Now belatedly the Congress High Command sits up to find out how there could be large-scale bogus membership in the organisation. The Central leadership finds itself saddled with an organisational structure that seems to be a made-up affair for a sizable part at the base. Observers have been sent to all the States to make an on-the-spot enquiry into the nature of the enrolment in the States.

Since the operation has been on a big scale, it is an almost impossible task for them to weed out the bogus and retain only the genuine members. A few sample cases may be put out to show that the malady had been checked. These will not affect the organisa-

tional structure as it has emerged, which is not very difficult from what the Congress has been all these years. The attraction is to the political power that goes with the organisation than to any of the so-called radical measures that it promises. And this explains the present plight of the Congress (O) which adheres to the original Congress programme but finds that all the flood of admission is diverted to the Ruling Congress. However, it still retains the basic strength of loyal workers in the districts. The Ruling Congress' efforts to obliterate it politically have failed. Despite electoral reverses, the position of the Congress (O) is strong in Tamil Nad, Mysore, Gujarat and U.P. at the grass roots.

Having freely allowed admissions to her party from the Opposition, during and after the Congress split, for political gains, the last one being in Orissa to bring down the non-Congress coalition, the Prime Minister is posing the question whether the ruling party has "gained anything or lost anything" by freely admitting members from other parties. She has asked her colleagues to make an assessment. Since the objective

in view had already been achieved, the party can now afford the luxury of such an investigation. There are two views on the matter. One is that the newcomers are as much loyal to the Congress as the others and that a number of them had been in the Congress before. The other section, influenced by the ultra-radicals, feels that the Congress has opened its gates to all sorts of people, including businessmen, reactionaries, etc., who, according to them, only parade as socialists but are not of the committed variety. In between is a third opinion that opportunists and self-seekers have flooded the Congress and the party needs cleaning up. As in the past, the retention of Ministerial power in the States will over-ride all other considerations. If weeding out helps, it may be adopted in particular cases and where it does not help, things may continue as before.

In U.P., the Ministry is sustained by the number of members who joined the party after the mid-term elections in 1969. The Ministry is currently facing considerable dissent. In this situation, a new formula has been evolved. The PCC Chief, Mrs Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, says that not a single new-comer from the Opposition is exempted from the ban on becoming 'active members.' But she hastened to clarify that this ban will not apply to 160 odd legislators who have crossed over to the Congress. As for non-legislators, their case would be examined.

The Congress (O) has decided to activate itself on the issue of rising prices. At its Working Committee meeting here, it directed all the State units to mobilise public opinion on the issue and stage peaceful *dharnas*, mass fasting, etc., to focus attention on the glaring failures of the Government. It is to be a combined mass protest campaign and mass contact campaign. Some 20,000 volunteers will be enrolled in U.P. In a resolution on the price situation, the party squarely blamed the Government and the Ruling Party for its many lapses.



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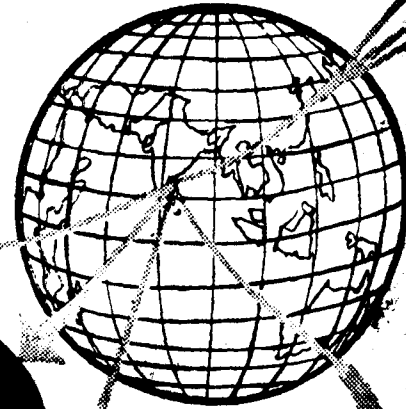
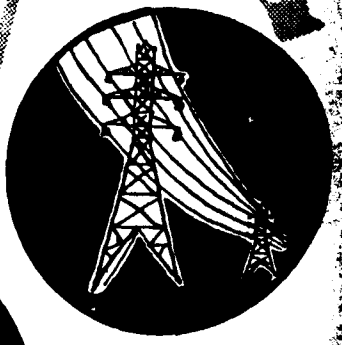
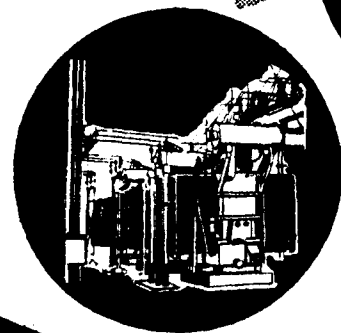
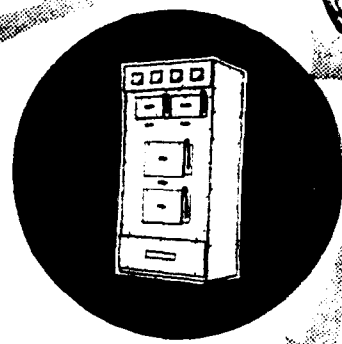
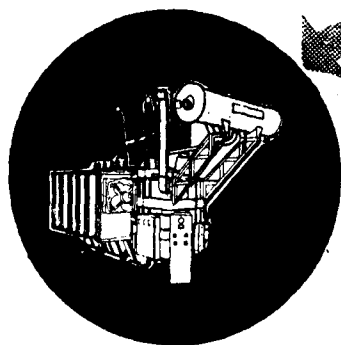
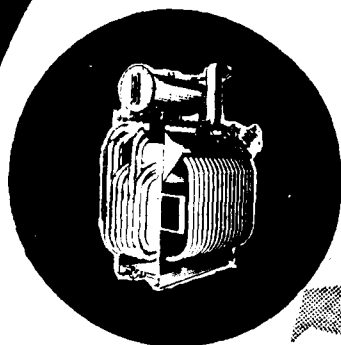
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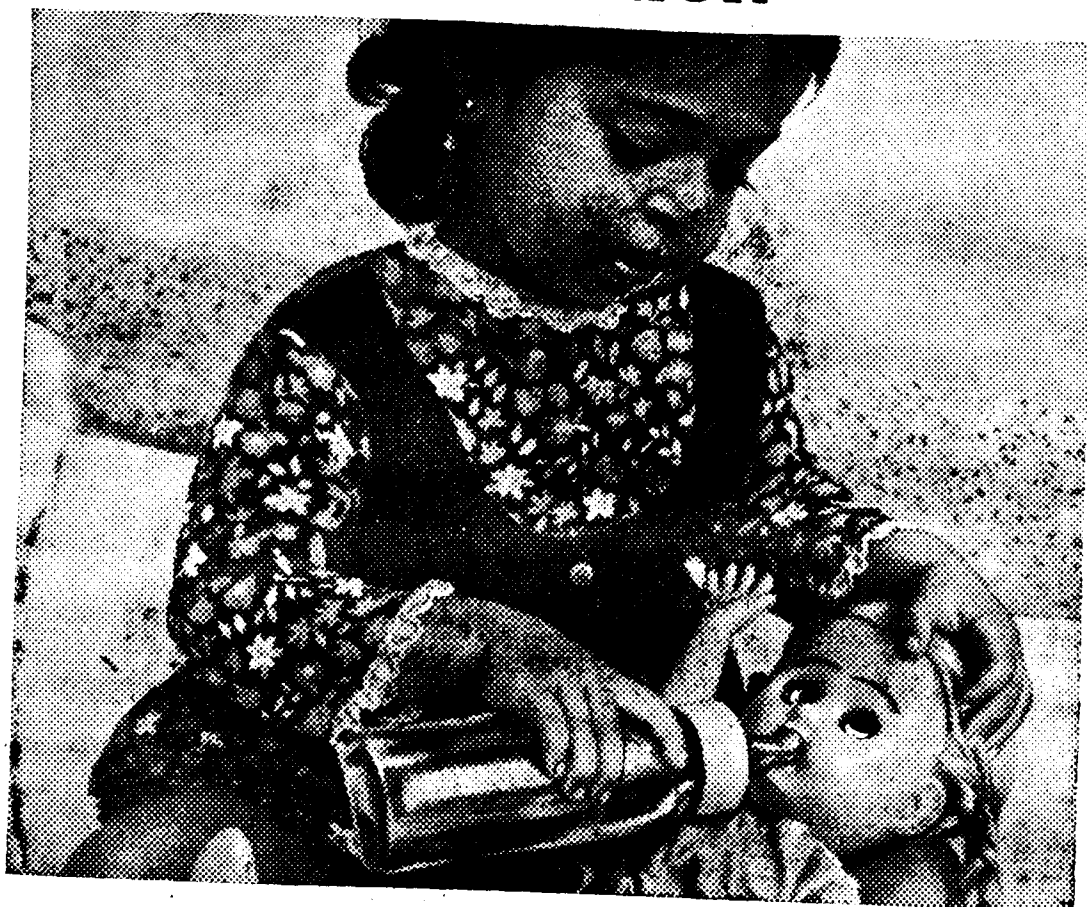
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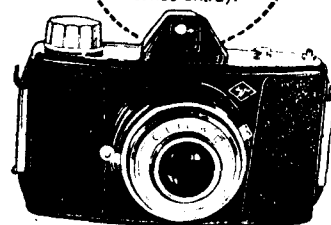
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BOOK REVIEW:

VALUE OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN TAMIL STUDIES

N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR

The international attention to Tamil language and linguistics has, for a long time, been due to the fact that it is the only language in the history of an ancient classical language which has had an unbroken and voluminous literary record of a high order covering a period of over two millenniums. It has survived as the spoken language of more than 50 million people with no significant modifications having occurred in its linguistic structure through this long period. The phonetic values of the phonemes of Tamil, as discussed in its earliest grammar of more than a thousand years ago, differ little from those of the phonemes of the standard Tamil of today. Sanskrit gained great attention abroad due to its affinity to Indo-European languages and its identification as the means for Indological studies. Sanskrit scholarship has unfortunately waned both abroad and in India in the present century. Interest in Dravidology, of which study of Tamil is the most important, was also longstanding, thanks to scholars like Caldwell, Grahl, Gundert, Kittel, Brown, Kahn, Pope, Dennys, Bray, Sten Konow, Vinson, Jules, Bloch and others.

It was not until the Mohenjo-daro inscriptions were suggested to be Proto-Dravidian that the possibilities of a greater research into Dravidian languages was fully realised. Indian scholars like Dr Sumiti Kumar Chatterjee, father of Indian Linguistics, made a more correct appraisal of the importance of Dravidology which was an eye-opener to scholars everywhere. Independently Prof M. B. Emeneau in America and Prof Thomas Burrow in England and more recently Prof Andronov, Prof Glazov, Prof Rudin and others in Russia, Prof Kamil Zvevab in Czechoslovakia and Prof Jean Filliozat in France, to mention only a few, have done a great volume of work on Dravidian languages, Grammar and Lexicology, together with the translation of Tamil classics in foreign languages. Dravidology has thus made a significant leeway during the past four decades. It is a good augury because the unscientific beliefs hitherto of the influence or supremacy of one language

over another is being given up, to the mutual advantage of the studies in both. The spearhead for the movement for international cooperation in Dravidological studies was the Academy of Tamil Culture started in Madras in 1952 (which is still existing) and the publication of the quarterly journal, *Tamil Culture*. The formation of an International Association of Tamil Studies in 1964, thanks largely to the initiative and organising ability of Dr Xavier Thani Nayagam, has strengthened these efforts. The first International Tamil Conference-Seminar held in Kuala Lumpur in 1965 was the manifestation of the new upsurge. The second conference was held in Madras in January 1968 and the Third, on a restricted scale, in Paris in 1971.

The publication under review* is the first of three projected volumes publishing the proceedings of the Second Conference in Madras in 1968. This first volume covers part of the papers presented in English at the Plenary Session and what are called 'Structured panels' and 'Group Panel', a rather invidious distinction, judging from the merit of the papers and authors themselves and particularly in view of the fact that all papers were screened before acceptance for presentation. It is unlikely that all the other papers will be published in a short time, if at all. The Notes on Tamil Studies prepared by the Conference and reprinted in the volume and the address of Dr Sumiti Kumar Chatterjee, Dr Jean Filliozat and others give to the general reader the scope for international cooperation in Tamil Studies and the very wide field open to it. Dr Chatterjee observes: "Sanskrit is no more the mother of Dravidian Languages than Hebrew was the mother of European languages. Kumārila Bhatta who belonged evidently to the Tamil country, sought to give Sanskrit origin to a few old Tamil words. Of course, he was not justified in this. Later on, attempts were made to derive Tamil bodily from some Prakrit and to trace Tamil words and forms to Sanskrit. But these unscientific attempts are now things of the past." He proceeds to point out that (linguistic distinctions apart) the cultures of the earliest Tamil literature and of Sanskrit are more or less the same.

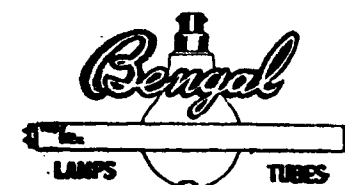
Mr K. Santhanam makes a similar suggestion, that when Sanskrit ceased to be a spoken language, Tamil, which retained its individuality, continued the primary function of the expression of religion and culture. In the present

century, attempts must be made to understand and admire the marvels of the language, grammar and literature of the *Ubhaya Bhasha* (Sanskrit and Tamil), which unquestionably are the only outstanding developed languages of India with a body of literature unparalleled in world literature. It is also a mistake to neglect the study of other languages in India which have affinity either to Sanskrit or to Tamil. It is to be hoped that the proposed International Institute of Tamil Studies, though giving importance primarily to Tamil, will not neglect an inter-discipline with other languages of India.

Dr. Filliozat, in his paper, points out that the archaeological side of Tamil studies is different from that of Egypt or Mesopotamia as the monuments here are "not a mute witness of the past" but have a living connection with the present. Dr H. D. Sankalia reviews the advance made in the last 30 years of the studies of the various stages of the civilization in South India from the dim past. He suggests that even as far back as 2000 B.C. the population of the area was not pure but mixed, judging from anthropological evidence and that the early megalithic builders were partly indigenous and partly Mediterranean and proto-Austroloid.

Dr Zvevab has a highly technical paper dealing with the connection between Proto-South Dravidian to old Tamil and Malayalam. He suggests that the disintegration must have occurred at least in 400—300 B.C. Mr Iravatham Mahadevan's paper on Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, which evoked considerable discussion, suggests that Tamil became a written language for the first time in about 200 B.C. by the adaptation of the Brahmi script to the old phonetic system and that the orthography of Tamil must have been established in another two centuries. The fact that Brahmi was adopted for early inscriptions does not necessarily prove that the language had no other written script as the extant script has no relation to Brahmi.

Dr S. K. Mukerji, in a sectoral paper on Linguistic and Cultural Studies of



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Tamil and Dravidian, draws attention to the baffling problem of inability to spot out Dravidian relations to any other language outside India, while Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan and Austric families could be so determined on more certain grounds. Prof Pentti Aalto discusses the alleged affinity of Dravidian and Finno-Ugrain languages and suggests that it is worth further examination. Prof M. Andronov, discussing the probabilities of a comparative study of the nature of Dravido-Uralian parallels, suggests a few cases of formal coincidence in the morphology of Dravidian and Uralian languages which are not accidental.

Dr C. R. Sankaran and Dr R. M. Sundaram attempt a historical study of *caarpezhuthu* in Tamil Grammar (i.e., a sound which depends on the following or the preceding sound for its pronunciation). Dr R. Panneerselvam discusses the Dimodel system of inscriptional dialect and literary dialect of 7th to 9th Century A.D. Prof Rudin discusses the grammatical classes of words in modern literary Tamil from morphological and syntactical points of view.

Dr S. K. Katre outlines a scheme for International Tamil Studies, taking into account four major aspects, to begin with, viz: (1) Linguistic Studies, (2) Textual Criticism, (3) Archaeology and Ancient Tamil Culture, and (4) Sociological and Anthropological studies. Judging from the lists of group papers

presented at the Conference-Seminar, interest in modern linguistic studies preponderates when compared to textual and literary criticism. The papers on the latter category are fewer and inconsequential. This imbalance should be corrected. Dr C. N. Annadurai, then Chief Minister of Tamil Nad, who delivered his address as the head of the host government, rightly suggested that the proposed Institute should be made to function as a research institution.

The volume contains a rich fare of about 70 papers in all on Tamil language and literature by Western and Indian scholars. It has been ably edited by Prof R. E. Asher of the Edinburgh University, himself a Tamil scholar and teacher of linguistics. He points out in his introduction the difficulties in adopting a uniform Roman transcription for Tamil words, as there is no international standardisation and even an exiguous code suggested by the IATR Secretariat for the sake of uniformity was not adopted by the contributors of papers. An international standardisation could well have been discussed by the Conference-Seminar itself but the opportunity was missed.

The printing of the proceedings of this Conference-Seminar has been made possible by a munificent grant by the UNESCO. The volume is excellently got up. The price is not high for foreign indentors and for libraries and institutions in India.

BOOKS RECEIVED

MUSLIMS IN FREE INDIA — By Moin Shakir — Published by Kalamkar Prakashan (P) Ltd., 10/A, Theatre Communication Building, Connaught Circus, New Delhi — Price Rs 20

SUDANDHIRA CHINTHANAIGAL — By S. Natarajan (Najan) — Published by Vanathi Pathippagam, 82/11, Pondy Bazaar, T Nagar, Madras — Price: Rs 6

THEIR FINEST HOUR — Saga of India's December Victory — By G. S. Bhargava — Vikas Publishing House (Pvt) Limited, 5, Daryaganj, Ansari Road, Delhi-6 — Price: Rs 20

TEN GREAT COSMIC POWERS — By S. Shankaranarayanan — Dipti Publications, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry-2 — Price: Rs 10

PARTNERS IN PEACE — A Study in Indo-Soviet Relations — By K. Neelkant — Vikas Publishing House (Pvt) Ltd., 5, Daryaganj, Ansari Road, Delhi-6 — Price: Rs 20

DISTANT NEIGHBOURS — A Tale of the Sub-continent — Kuldeep Nayar — Vikas Publishing House (Pvt) Ltd., 5, Daryaganj, Ansari Road, Delhi-6 — Price: Rs 20

PSYCHIATRY AND LAW — By J. C. Marfatia — Popular Prakashan (Pvt) Ltd., 35-C, Tardeo Road, Bombay 34 WB — Price: Rs 20

ROLE OF BAR IN THE SOVIET JURIDICAL SYSTEM

ALEXEI KHOLYAVCHENKO

(Deputy Minister of Justice of the USSR)

FIFTY YEARS AGO, the Soviet Bar was established. Born in the first years of the Soviet Republic it began to carry out a two-fold task of essentially the same character—legal defence of the interests of the proletarian State and of its population within the framework of fundamentally new, socialist laws worked out in accordance with the wishes of the working people. The Bar Association came into being as a voluntary public organisation. It consists of lawyers who are at any time ready to give simple-worded, exhaustive and competent consultations, advice, explanations, information, etc. They also draw up, at the request of the citizens and, of course, organizations, institutions, industrial enterprises and collective farms, applications, complaints and other documents of a legal character.

For all the diversity of their functions the most important is precisely this—to give effective legal help during court proceedings.

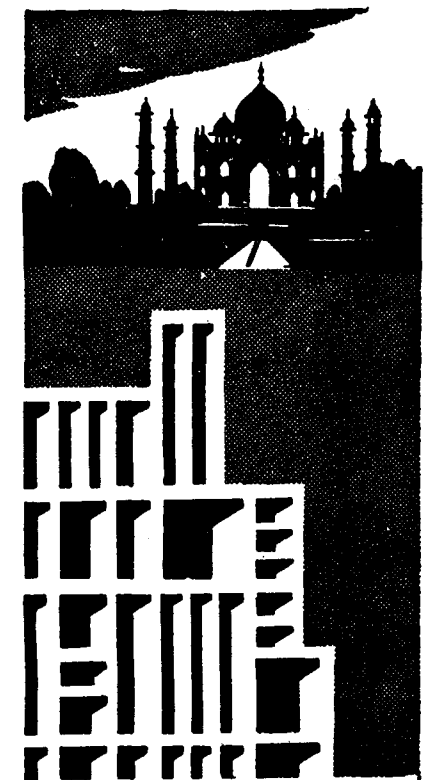
In accordance with Soviet laws, barristers take part in the proceedings of all criminal cases, beginning from the moment the accused is notified of the conclusion of the investigation and given the case for familiarization. If the crime has been committed by an underaged person (younger than 18) or one who by dint of mental or physical defects cannot exercise his or her right to defence, or a person who does not know the language in which the case is heard, the participation of a barrister is obligatory. He is entitled to be a party to the hearing of any criminal or civil case in any court of the country. It is the barristers' duty to use all legal means and methods to defend the accused, to ascertain circumstances extenuating his guilt. Moreover, the law forbids a barrister to give up the defence he has undertaken.

Legal services to State and public organizations in the USSR are

not limited to help in putting papers in order and pleading cases in courts of arbitration and justice. Lawyers working under contract establish to what extent legal acts of the management (orders, instructions, decisions, ordinances), correspond to the laws. They also participate in drafting legally sound agreements on production cooperation with other enterprises and institutions and in organizing control over their fulfilment. They also render important help in combating encroachments on people's socialist property, violations of State and labour discipline and labour protection and safety engineering rules, and the output of inferior goods. As a rule, lawyers assist in detecting and eliminating the causes of such phenomena and thereby invisibly but appreciably contribute to the development of the national economy.

As members of a public organization, members of the Bar speak to audiences on legal matters, lecture at public universities of legal knowledge, which are open to all, visit enterprises and collective farms to give consultations on particular questions to all who need them, and popularize laws over the radio and TV and in the press.

It stands to reason that in Soviet society ensuring unfailing observance of laws and protection of citizens' rights is the duty of not only lawyers. This function is performed by all State institutions and in the first place the procurator's office, the militia, the courts, the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, Party and trade union organizations—each within its own competence. At the same time it can be said without fear of exaggeration that the Bar is one of the most important elements of the Soviet juridical system; without it consistent implementation of the principles of socialist justice would be unthinkable.—(Exclusive to SWARAJYA).

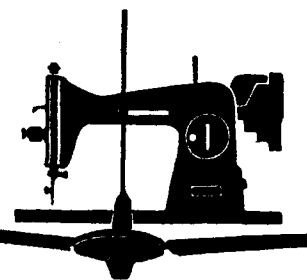


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Dear Reader

WHAT THE SAGES of India said in the Upanishads form the foundation of spiritual endeavour and respect for spiritual values prevailing all over the world. The foundation on which a super-structure of twenty storeys stands lies buried in the earth and is not seen. Similarly, the service of the Upanishad sages to the whole world lies buried and hidden from view. This should not, however, be a matter for any pride among Hindus. The Upanishad sages belong to the whole world and not only to the Hindus and therefore, there is no justification for Hindu pride.

IT SEEMS Mr Dange, C.P.I. chief, thinks that Smt. Indira Gandhi is going wrong because she is going right. To hold that going right is wrong and going left is always right is sheer dogmatism. Those in charge of governments should not be dogmatic, but understand realities and not depend on dogmas. They should know what is right and what is wrong from the point of view of eternal *dharma* and in the interest of the country and act accordingly. It is easy to be dogmatists but a higher order of talent is required to govern a country.

THE WHOLE WORLD has recognised Bangla Desh. More important than anything else, it has 'recognised' itself. But Pakistan continues to make out that it is only a hitch in its internal affairs and not a successful rebellion. This is as ridiculous as it would be if Great Britain imagined that the United States of America were part of Great Britain, notwithstanding George Washington's successful rebellion. Unreality cannot be maintained except on paper. The whole world has recognised that Bangla Desh is an independent country and an independent nation. It may be argued that for the sake of negotiation and bargaining it may be useful to keep the illusion going. But even for such purposes unrealities only form an im-

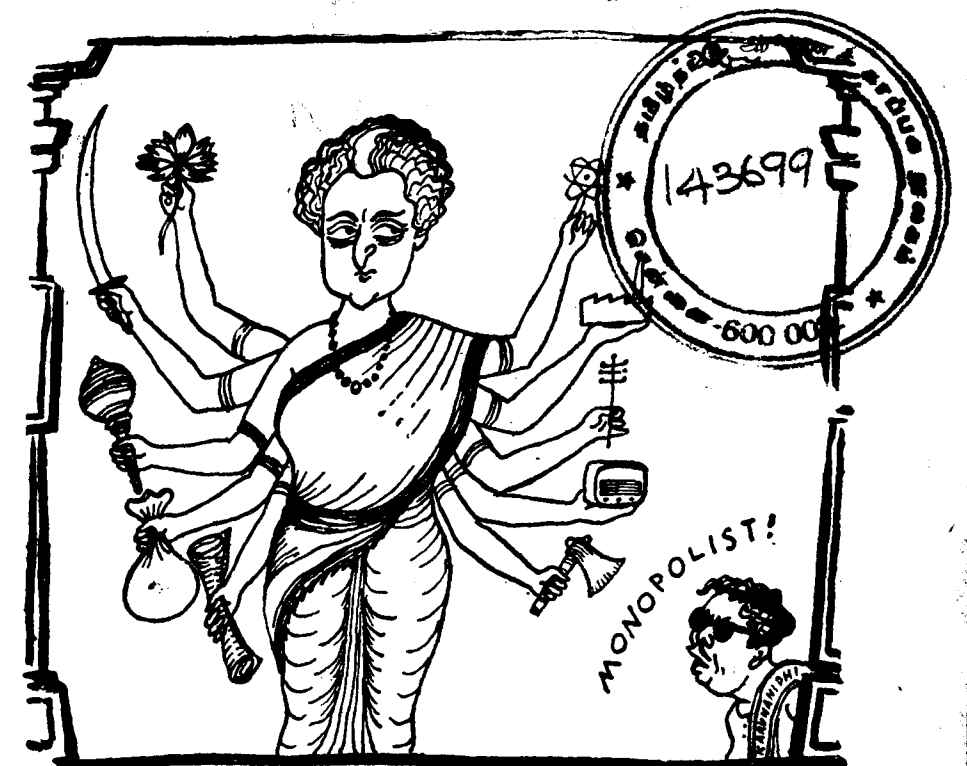
pediment and not a help. It is best to negotiate on the basis of unquestioned realities—*Satyameva-jayate*, not *anrtam*. To argue that Bangla Desh is still part of Pakistan is sheer *anrtam*. The Upanishad sages said what they said, to the whole world and not for the benefit of only the Hindus.

HAVING MADE MY views about Bangla Desh and its right of self-determination perfectly clear, I shall not be misunderstood if I sound a warning against confusion of issues which makes solution of problems more difficult than they already are. When there are two distinct problems they must be kept distinct and not allowed to interlace and affect clear thinking. I shall put a hypothetical question in order to clarify my point. Suppose tomorrow religious pressures induce Dacca to be part of Pakistan and not separate itself, should the great adventure of Indo-Pakistan cooperation be affected adversely by this? The Simla agreement has attracted worldwide appreciation

as a great adventure of peace and cooperation to replace hostility. It is an adventure of great importance to the whole world and cannot be affected adversely on account of a change of policy in Dacca. Even if there had been no insurrection in East Bengal against Pakistan, the Simla agreement would have been a great and wise step to be pursued vigorously. Let distinct matters be kept distinct and dealt with separately and not allowed to become cause for confusion. The wisdom of the Simla agreement is a matter totally distinct from the question of what regions go to make Pakistan.

TRUISMS repeated by the Prime Minister or the Finance Minister cannot go very far to improve the national economy. It can be done only by a bold reversal of those policies which act as disincentive to increased production. Good words may keep up the confidence of the people in the ruling party, but cannot change the economic situation.

THE PRIME MINISTER's letter to the Working Committee of her



(Courtesy: Abu — Indian Express)

Congress party, expressing deep concern about the relaxation of Prohibition in order to add to Government revenues without considering the harmful effects caused thereby, is a most important document.

The Congress Working Committee has directed State Governments to take certain steps to enforce Prohibition.

Pay days should be dry days, liquor shops should not be opened near hospitals, schools and places of worship and strict measures should be taken to ensure that there are no drunken drivers, States have been told.

The Working Committee discussed a letter from the Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi to the Congress President, Dr S. D. Sharma, in which she had expressed deep concern at the relaxation of Prohibition laws by certain State Governments merely to add to their revenue.

Mrs Gandhi had written that while taking measures to increase revenue, States did not take into account the

long-term effects of such measures on society. Most Western countries were grappling with the problem of alcoholism. With poor physical fitness Indians seemed less able to hold their drinks.

The Working Committee noted that many Western countries had taken strict steps to check driving of cars by persons under the influence of liquor. State Governments should ensure that there are no drunken drivers, and also direct Government servants not to drink in public.—(The Indian Express—Sept. 14).

★

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C.R.

FROM THE CAPITAL:

GOVT'S FAILURE TO HOLD PRICE LINE: BASELESS CHARGES AGAINST OPPOSITION

SENTINEL

NEW DELHI, Sept. 14: People's dissatisfaction over the economic situation, particularly the high prices, is manifesting itself in the form of organised public protests. Some of the protests in various parts of the country have led to confrontation with the police. The ruling party knows that the price situation is becoming more acute and unbearable for the common man. Yet, instead of taking corrective economic steps to mitigate the difficulties, the party has launched a broadside against the Opposition parties. The Working Committee, which met here to discuss specifically the price situation, could not carry its thinking beyond the usual palliatives of more fair price shops and arrangements for the distribution of essential commodities through them. Their idea of essential items covers food-grains, pulses, edible oils, cloth and kerosene.

Distribution of goods through

fair price shops against ration cards means ultimately that goods are sold at fixed prices to sections that cannot afford to pay more. But the main point is that the fixed prices themselves are on the high side. The common man is paying even at the so-called fixed rates in such shops 30 to 40 per cent more than what he was paying, say, two or three years ago. There is no well-conceived policy to bring prices down. It only shows that the inflation resulting from excessive public spending on unproductive public sector schemes is the basic cause. Deficit financing and crippling taxation come in the way of increased production. People do not know what the Government's policy will be next and in what form they will be penalised for higher production. This uncertainty is putting down the initiative as much in the industrial sector as in the agricultural sector. It is the planners who should be made

SWARAJYA, September 23, 1972

SWARAJYA
ENGLISH WEEKLY
Editor: K. SANTHANAM

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FOREIGN Rs. 44.00 Rs. 22.00

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SWARAJYA
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accountable for the present situation of high prices.

Instead of giving thought to the basic maladies that have been allowed for dogmatic reasons, the Congress (R) President, Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma, is side-tracking the whole issue by raising false bogeys. The latest is the allegation by him that in all these protest demonstrations there is a clandestine common strategy of the four-party "grand alliance" to create disturbance and unrest. He even called it a 'conspiracy'. For good or for bad, these parties or the small numbers of them that have managed to survive the electoral fight against the Ruling Congress have been functioning as separate entities both inside the legislatures and outside. The general tendency in the Ruling Party is to ignore the existence of the Opposition parties. But now Dr Sharma is disturbed by illusions of revival of the "grand alliance."

The Congress Working Committee had met to discuss the price situation. At the end of it, however, the Congress President, Dr Sharma came out with a carefully worded statement accusing the Opposition parties of a common strategy and plan of action to create situations leading to disorder. The charge was that a common technique was being employed to create unrest and he put the blame on the four parties. Though hesitant at first the Con-

SWARAJYA, September 23, 1972

gress President described the four parties as the Four S's, namely, Syndicate, Swatantra, Sangh (Jan Sangh) and Samyukta Socialist Party. Dr Sharma's theme was that the recent incidents were not isolated ones but were part of a well-laid plan of these four parties.

Dr Sharma did not fail to include the Congress (O) which has led to the impression that the coming peaceful *satyagraha* in U.P. on price rise by that party has considerably disturbed the Ruling Congress. The Congress (O) has planned to start a mass contact and mass protest programme on October 2. Already, 11 divisional headquarters have been selected where processions will be taken out. In case of prohibitory orders, some 20,000 volunteers are preparing to court arrest. The Ruling Party knows that it is the Gandhian type of action that is contemplated but for political reasons which suits it, it wants to give a different colour to the whole thing in an effort to discredit the protest march in U.P. The spokesmen of all the four parties have refuted the allegation

in the strongest terms possible. They feel that the utter failure of the Government and the Ruling Party on the economic front is driving them to such desperate tactics. Dr Sharma was, however, equivocal on the CPI's role, as it remains unpredictable; it may adopt different standards in different States.

RELAXATION OF DRY LAW

If what the Ruling Party spokesmen say is to be believed, then Prohibition is as good as given up. What is happening now is relaxation and more relaxation, notwithstanding the Prime Minister's holy concern at the policies now being adopted to scrap Prohibition step by step by one Congress State after another. Then why this concern after the States are freely allowed to go their own way? Even after the letter was discussed by the Working Committee the position that had emerged was that relaxation and not Prohibition will stay. All that was said afterwards was that while relaxing Prohibition, steps should be taken for vigorous check on

"drunkenness" on the lines of checks and tests in Western countries. In other words, the High Command does not come in the way of relaxation. Only, features of relaxation should include better tests on alcoholics as the holding capacity of the poor Indian is so little! The General Secretary of the Congress, Mr Chandrajit Yadav, was more forthright. He said the Congress Working Committee did not want the States to go back to total Prohibition. This amounts virtually to according sanction to the States that have relaxed Prohibition on grounds of illicit distillation, health hazard and more revenue. These arguments of the States have won against all the authority of the Directive Principle of State policy. Having opened the door for relaxation, the High Command only talks about avoiding drinks on pay days, by officials in public, keeping drink shops away from hospitals, school areas and so on. But what about the Prohibition policy itself? The High Command has no clear answer to that question after what States like Maharashtra, M.P. and Rajasthan have done.

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SPORTS COMMENTARY:

THE MUNICH LESSON FOR INDIA

SIDELINER

THE MUNICH OLYMPIAD was so unique in so many ways that one is at a loss as to where to begin the story of a fortnight of tragedy and error, of record-shattering performances and of events of supreme quality and mediocrity. Perhaps one must begin with a thought for a disillusioned President Bhutto and his country's condemned world champion hockey team.

Probably, the first Head of a State to apologise for its sportsmen's misbehaviour, Mr Bhutto, to some extent, rehabilitated his country's image with his public apology to West Germany for the Pakistani hockey team's antics at the medals presentation ceremony, by chiding them for not having learnt to behave, and by calling off the "hero's welcome" he had promised them. They invited his wrath, and they got it, for if after their lucky victory over India they behaved as though, to quote Mr Bhutto, they had really taken Delhi, after their defeat by West Germany they seemed to have lost their bearings.

Such indeed was the manner in which the Pakistanis insulted National Anthems, and tore to shreds all Olympic traditions, that it is doubtful if Mr Bhutto's apology will have any impact on either the International Hockey Federation, which has suspended the Pakistan Hockey Association for four years, or on the International Olympic Committee, which has banned the entire team for life. The Olympiad is no respecter of persons. If American athletes, Vincent Matthews and Wayne Collett, could be banned for life for their casual approach to the presentation ceremony, the Pakistanis more than deserved the extreme punishment they got for their arrogance and defiance of authority, and have little chance of it being modified in spite of Mr Bhutto and his apology.

While the Pakistanis paid dearly for their perversity and peevishness, the Indians, who, for the second successive Olympiad, had

to be content with a bronze medal, won the hearts of the Munich hockey crowd with their exemplary behaviour both in victory and in defeat. But when all is said and done, a solitary bronze is, frankly, poor consolation for an Indian contingent of over 50, and the question is again being asked if India cannot ever win an Olympic track and field, swim, or shooting medal, even if it be a bronze. Perhaps not in this century, if the Olympics, now unfortunately given a political colour, will last thus far. That was the Munich lesson for India.

One of the oldest members of the Olympic movement, India would seem to be a firm believer in the Olympic motto of participation being more important than winning. It has been the same story with every one of India's Olympic campaigns, and it repeated itself at Munich. Despite all the pruning of the Indian Olympic Association-picked contingent by the newly-constituted All-India Council of Sports, with Gen. P. P. Kumaramangalam, who must now be the most disillusioned man in the country, as its head, India finished at the bottom. Not only that. As at the end of every previous Olympiad, India's Munich performance was followed by the usual hue and cry about bungling officials, who stick to office like leeches, and incompetent selectors and all that. The Prime Minister was "shocked" at India's "meagre contribution" and the "sorry state of affairs in Indian sport." The Congress President and other luminaries called for an immediate and thorough probe into the entire gamut of India's sports set-up. But no sensible Indian will be deceived by their claptrap. Their words die in their mouth, and Indian sport will remain a disgrace to a nation of 650 millions as long as it gets its step-motherly treatment in schools and colleges, in the majority of which institutions it is an unknown quantity, for they lack the primary facilities for organised

SWARAJYA, September 23, 1972



Vincent Matthews (centre) who won the gold medal in the 400 metre at Munich on Sept. 7, and Wayne Collett who won the silver medal (both U.S.) who were banned for life by the International Olympic Committee for standing at ease and talking during the playing of the American National Anthem. The two are shown chatting during the presentation ceremony while Kenya's Jules Sang who was third in the event stands at attention.

sport.

Olympic sport lives in one world, and Indian sport in another, and that is all there is to it. We think of an Olympiad only on the eve of it, and all post-Olympiad talk of reorganising sport and taking sport to the masses, is an old, typically Indian verbal exercise in futility that has now reached a point of nausea. In a country where the importance of physical education is yet to be realised, and where the physical education teachers are among the lowest-paid, all talk of sport promotion on modern lines is meaningless, not to say, sanctimonious humbug.

Incompetent officials making their living out of sport are not the only bane of Indian sport. Just as Indian hockey will be no better off for the resignation of some of the Hockey Federation selectors, Indian sport will not undergo a transformation if the present officials are removed. The truth is, as Gen. Kumaramangalam has

SWARAJYA, September 23, 1972

pointed out more than once, Indian sport can make real progress only if it is given a firm base and only if it is tackled at the very roots. It is here that the school physical education, and the physical education teacher come in, and unless and until the importance of physical education is realised by governments as well as parents, and the discriminatory treatment meted out to the physical education teacher is ended, Indian sport will continue to eat the humble pie, and the vast sums of the taxpayers' money that go into the preparation and training of Olympic athletes and others will go down the drain, as it did in Munich with athletes failing in the preliminary heats with monotonous regularity.

A relieving feature was that more money was not sunk. More indeed would have gone down the drain had not Gen. Kumaramangalam stood firm against IOA President and Chef de Mission

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

LAND REFORM IN MYSORE

Sir,—Our politicians in power do not seem to be satisfied with the amount of loss and trouble already caused to the landlords by the existing Land Reforms Act; they now seek to bring an amendment, under the guise of removing certain difficulties in the working of the Act and improving the lot of the tenants and of furthering the cause of creating a socialist pattern of society. If only our politicians had the prudence to continue to administer the law of the land as it stood in 1947, by this time we could have really made some progress; but they have been amending the existing laws and introducing new laws with the object of strengthening their own position, with least regard to the welfare of one section or other of the citizens.

The Land Reforms Act is a most expropriatory legislation. It offends the principles of natural justice. Most of the provisions of the act cause a lot of hardship to the landlords. The provisions that landlords owning lands within the ceiling limit should not cultivate them through tenants, is unjustifiable, because now-a-days, at least so far as South Kanara district is concerned, it is practically impossible to get hired labour in villages to get the lands cultivated. Then again, in the

Bhalindra Singh's demand for a bigger contingent. And for the same Bhalindra Singh to tell his countrymen on his return from Munich that India did not really expect to win a medal except in hockey was the biggest joke of India's latest Olympic campaign, coming as it did from one who had until the very last minute campaigned for a bigger Indian representation at Munich.

It passes one's comprehension how the Indians failed in the heats after they all had achieved the qualifying standards at home, and after all the training some had received in East Germany and the U.S. The only explanation is that there must be something utterly wrong with the measuring-tapes and stop-watches used in India. The athletes' failure indeed emphasises the need for the import of the latest electronic devices used in Munich. It will then be interesting to know how many will qualify for the next Games in Montreal.

The idea of paying compensation to the land-lords for lands taken away from them, calculating it as a multiple of the land revenue will be disastrous to the owners of the land; this method of calculation will work out only to about 1/70th of the present market value of paddy land in South Kanara, on which two crops can be raised.

It would have been proper to give permanent tenancy rights to tenants, if only the tenants paid the rents due to the land-lords; by this a lot of complications and hardship to one section or other could have been avoided altogether. The volume of litigation could also be reduced.

Mangalore

S. KRISHNA BHAT

THE OUTRAGE AT MUNICH

Sir,—The Palestine commandos do not need any study. They appear and proclaim themselves as ruthless, violent and destructive. Unfortunately, they have associated their region with their activities. Egypt and its Arab allies are supplying the commandos with arms and skill and expect them to do such things as happened at Munich and sit back comfortably pretending diplomatic immunity. Truth is something beyond diplomacy.

It may be an extreme step that the Jewish Defence League of New York advocates, but one feels that what the Islamic theocratic States will heed to, is not soft words, but force. They know no other ethics. Israel is in the midst of enemies and needs to have frontiers that will protect it. It is willing to negotiate and wants to live in peace with the world.

Our foreign policy needs drastic revision. Everytime we had a conflict, not of our seeking, with Pakistan, the Arab countries have let us down. Egypt has not even recognised Bangla Desh, whereas Israel, with its technical skill, has offered to rebuild its shattered economy. It is time we drop our blinkers and see who are our friends.

Madras

DR. S. S. GANDHEKAR

EX-GRATIA PAYMENTS

Sir,—It is reported that the Union Ministry is making ex-gratia payments to the former princes to enable them "to adjust themselves" to the changed situation. Having broken a solemn promise given to them when they parted with their power and having deprived them of pensions and privy purses to which they had a moral and legal right, the Union Government wants to treat them as beggars queuing up to receive alms. It is nothing but adding insult to injury.

Bangalore

V. T. SREENIVASAN

FACTS AND FIGURES

THE TOTAL public debt of India in 1972-73 (as projected by the Economic Survey of India 1971-72) will be Rs 22,124.62 crores, of which external debt will be Rs 7328.00 crores, and internal debt Rs 14,796.62 crores. The internal debt comprises Rs 5052.38 crores of internal permanent debt, Rs 2997.92 crores in the shape of Treasury Bills, Rs 705.90 crores as other floating debt, Rs 2646.00 crores in small savings, Rs 1036.69 crores as State Provident Funds, Rs 850.27 crores as other unfunded debt and Rs 1507.04 crores as Reserve Funds and Deposits.

As on 31st March 1971 there were in the country 32,175 companies at work, of which 30,412 were joint stock companies limited by shares. Of these 91 were Government-owned public limited companies, and 6,413 non-Government companies, the total paid-up capital of which amounted to Rs. 1908.3 crores. Private limited companies numbered 23,878 of which 233 were Government-owned (as defined under the Companies Act) and 23,655 were non-government, the total paid-up capital of which was Rs 2393.1 crores. There were 543 foreign companies (registered under Section 59 of the Companies Act).

As on 31st March 1972, there were 1,62,357 insurance agents on the rolls of the L.I.C., out of whom 1,50,859 were active during the year. The average production of business per active agent, excluding group insurance business, was almost Re 1 lakh in 1971-72, compared to Rs 88,997 in the previous year. In 1957—the first year of nationalisation—the per capita production was Rs 31,000.

ACCORDING TO the present formula, under the new sugar policy announced recently, sugarcane growers in the southern region will get Rs 80 per tonne for a recovery of 8.5 per cent, Rs 84.70 for a recovery of 9 per cent and Rs 89.40 for 9.5 per cent recovery. For the season that has ended many mills in this region have

achieved a recovery of about 10 per cent and so will be paying around Rs 94.00 per tonne.

AGRICULTURAL and allied activities in 1970-71 contributed 42 per cent to the aggregate income of Tamil Nad; mining and manufacturing 22 per cent; commerce, transport and communications together, 17 per cent; other services 19 per cent. The primary sector with 63 per cent of the population now receives 42 per cent of the aggregate income; commerce, transport and communications with 6.6 per cent of the population gets 17 per cent of the income.

THE AGGREGATE income of Tamil Nad increased from Rs 1935.76 crores in 1960-61 to Rs 2686.66 crores in 1970-71 at 1970-71 prices, while the per capita income moved up in the same period from Rs 574 to Rs 654. These figures give a compound growth rate of 3.5 per cent per year for the aggregate income and 1.5 per cent on the per capita income. An analysis of the per capita income in Tamil Nad gives a figure of Rs 423 per head in the primary sector, Rs 933 in the secondary sector and Rs 1,117 in the tertiary sector in 1970-71. Sixty per cent of the people of Tamil Nad are estimated to be living at or below the poverty line, with their daily food consumption ranging from 1,000 to 1,800 calories, the 60 per cent illiterates and the school drop-outs coinciding with this figure in general. The number of unemployed in the State is estimated to be 1.1 million.

THE SHARE OF Tamil Nad in Central assistance over the past Plan periods has been as follows: Rs 36 crores, or 10.8 per cent in a total assistance to all States of Rs 332 crores, in the First Plan; Rs 95 crores, or 9.0 per cent of the total of Rs 1058 crores, in the Second Plan; Rs 186 crores, or 7.4 per cent of the total of Rs 2515 crores, in the Third Plan; Rs 119 crores, or 6.8 per cent of the total of Rs 1763 crores, in the three annual Plans; Rs 202 crores, or 5.7 per cent of the total assistance

A CORRECTION

In the issue dated 16th September, 1972, on page 30, col. 3, under *Facts and Figures*, the number owning radio sets in the country in 1951 should read as "1 in 527", and that in 1961 as "1 in 169", instead of "1 in 27" and "1 in 109" as printed. The total number of radio licences in 1971 was 127,72,297 and not 121,72,297 as published.

of Rs 3500 crores in the Fourth Plan. The Central assistance as a proportion of the State's outlay was 50 per cent in the first two Plans, 54 per cent in the Third Plan; 48 per cent in the annual Plans and 39 per cent in the Fourth Plan. The size of the Fifth Plan as projected by Tamil Nad in its perspective planning is Rs 3200 crores of which the State Plan (including Central assistance) will be Rs 1300 crores, while the size of the Sixth Plan is Rs 6100 crores, of which the State's share (including Central assistance) will be Rs 2,600 crores.

THE NUMBER of annulled marriages in German Democratic Republic was only 23,000 ten years ago; but it rose to 26,500 in 1965; in 1971 the number rose to 31,000, a record which is higher by 3500 than the figure for 1970. The divorce rate was 16 for every 10,000 inhabitants in 1971. It is now 18 per 10,000. Drunkenness is stated to be one of the most frequent causes for divorce.

THE NUMBER of people living in poverty in America, as officially stated was 39.628 million in 1961. In 1971 it was 25.553 million. Over a decade the number of poor has declined from 1 in 5 to 1 in 8; but over the last four years—1967-71 there has been little change, the steady decline having come to a halt. The study shows that the "hard core of the poor, constituting 25.5 million, or 12-1/2 per cent of the nation's population, may remain permanently poor. The 1971 figures are based on a minimum annual income of \$4137 for a non-farming family of four, which is the poverty line. The poverty line wage for a family of four is \$80 a week. An analysis has shown that (1) poverty is found in all

parts of the country, more particularly in crowded urban complexes; (2) that more than 80 per cent of the poor are children, the elderly or women; (3) that nearly half the poor are in families without a male head of the household—(in contrast 90 per cent of the Americans with incomes above

the poverty line live in families headed by males).

THE AMERICAN Indian population in the U.S. is now around 600,000, including 30,000 Eskimos and 6,000 Aleuts. These are divided into 263 tribes, the largest of which in the descending order, are

Navajo, Cherokee, Chippewa, Green and Sioux. These tribes, between them, speak 300 languages, though only 30 languages are now known to be spoken in their day-to-day affairs; others are used for religious and ceremonial purposes. English is now increasingly taught to these tribals.

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Vol. XVII. No. 14

MADRAS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1972

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EDUCATION IN THE FIFTH PLAN

K. SANTHANAM

THE UNION MINISTRY of Education has prepared an educational plan with an outlay of Rs 3200 crores. Presenting the plan to the Central Advisory Board of Education, Mr S. Nurul Hasan, Union Minister of Education, went into ecstasies over it. He claimed that it was going to revolutionise education and transform the present educational system to make it "a powerful instrument of social transformation, economic growth and national integration." The enthusiasm of the Minister deserves to be commended but in the conditions prevailing in the country at present dogged perseverance to achieve practical objectives are far more essential than romantic day-dreaming. Mr Chakravarthi, a Member of the Planning Commission, has already uttered a warning that the proposed outlay will be about four times the amount provided for in the Fourth Plan and should be scaled down. But even assuming that Mr Hasan is able to obtain all this amount, it will be just sufficient to make necessary improvements in the present system of education. No one will deny that there are many defects in that system and there is an enormous wastage of time and effort; but education in India, from the primary to the university stage, has to deal with more than 80 million boys and girls and unless reforms and improvements are very carefully conceived, it will be easy to do immense harm.

For instance, Mr Hasan has envisaged an uniform structure for education consisting of six plus four plus two plus three years

for the primary, secondary, Intermediate or Pre-University and the degree courses. At present, in Tamil Nad and many other States, the duration of primary education is five years, secondary education six years, Pre-University one year and degree course three years. A heavy price has been paid for the conversion of the two-year Intermediate and two-year degree course into one year Pre-University and three-year degree courses. Opinion has been steadily veering round for the reversion to the old system of 2 years of Intermediate and 2 years of degree courses. Now to tamper with the secondary education by reducing it by one year and adding it to the Pre-University course will involve so much structural change that for the next 10 years, there may be enormous confusion and dislocation. Uniformity in the earlier stages of education is not of much consequence, as all students will be undergoing a 15-year educational course before getting a degree. There will be uniformity at the degree level which is the most important stage for all-India and inter-State purposes. All available money and effort should be devoted to better training and living conditions for teachers, school buildings, libraries and laboratories and hostels.

Another proposal made by Mr Hasan is to set up a model secondary school in every district and a model primary school in every community development block. This idea of creating special institutions for a small number of boys and girls is essentially capitalistic and hierarchic. Opinion in the

U.K. is moving away from public schools though they are well entrenched in national tradition. A model secondary school in each district and a model primary school in every community development block involving an expenditure of three or four times that of the ordinary secondary and primary schools and catering to one per cent of boys and girls will be a wasteful and unjustifiable diversion of available resources. What we want is not show institutions but an all-round improvement of the quality and content of education and a better climate for education generally. It is to be hoped that this project for special institutions for the favoured few will be given up.

What are the essential needs of our educational system and what are its most serious defects? It is now admitted by all that university and higher technical education has been allowed to grow too fast and as a result, the quality of education is not up to the standard and a considerable number of graduates, general and technical, are unemployed. Therefore, there is no justification for quantitative expansion of either university or higher technical education. It is far more necessary to improve the equipment of colleges and technological institutions, limit admission to those who can benefit by higher education and ensure that professors and lecturers are of the highest possible qualifications.

Whatever justification there might have been for any kind of reservation for Scheduled Castes

and backward classes for admission to colleges and higher technological institutions during the last 25 years, it is time that all such discriminations and reservations were ended. Students from Scheduled Castes and backward classes are now studying in thousands in the secondary schools and a sufficient number of them should be able to gain admission in arts, science and professional colleges on the basis of their own individual merits. If members of these classes are induced to go in for higher education for which they are not fit, they will suffer, as well as public interest. Doctors and engineers, mathematicians and scientists cannot be manufactured through communal reservation and any system by which unqualified persons are enabled to get professional degrees will be to inflict a serious injury to national welfare. While merit should be the sole consideration for higher education, there could not only be no objection but every justification to provide generous stipends to all intelligent but poor students, most of them naturally coming from the Scheduled Castes and backward classes. Consolidation and improvement of quality should be the watchword for higher education in the Fifth Plan.

The Central Board of Education has rightly directed that priority should be given to the Constitutional directive of universal compulsory education of boys and girls up to the age of 14. At present, the position is that by 1974-75, about 96 per cent of the children of ages 6 to 11 are expected to be in school and, therefore, the major needs of this stage of education, are better school buildings, better teachers, playgrounds, equipment and teachers for crafts. Even if half the proposed outlay is spent on these, a part only of this improvement can be made. It should be a programme which must be systematically continued for the next 15 or 20 years till the entire elementary education in the country is put on a satisfactory basis.

At present, only about 50 per cent of the boys and girls between 11 and 14 are in school. It is in this stage that real expansion

is needed. It is desirable that all the teachers at this stage are trained graduates. This will be the most constructive way of providing employment for graduates. Mr Hasan has said that mathematics and science should be made compulsory subjects of study from classes 1 to 9. There is no reason why they should not be made compulsory up to the end of secondary stage. Today, science and mathematics are needed even for economic and other special sciences.

There is a great danger that a considerable amount of money which may be given to the States under the educational plan will be absorbed by taking over schools run by non-official organisations

MECHANICS OF DEMONETISATION

LOUELLA LOBO PRABHU

THE MARXIST Member of Parliament, Mr Jyotirmoy Bosu, has rendered a public service by disclosing that the interim draft of the Wanchoo Committee's report recommended demonetisation of all currency notes above the value of Rs 10. Why this recommendation was sidetracked in the final report, is a matter which the Government has failed to explain, thereby arousing suspicions that it was downgraded to a casual reference (though not totally obliterated), under pressure.

While evading the one measure which would have dealt a body blow to black money and its hoarders, the Government has sought to prove the purity of its intentions by opting for the acquisition of property at document value, and a ceiling of Rs 5,000 on cash holdings which are not recorded in bank accounts, or regular account books. Neither measure can be deemed to be an effective innovation in the campaign against black money. Except that the new law will dispense with the 15 per cent solatium customarily paid by the Government for compulsorily acquired property, it was, in any case, its practice to acquire such property on the basis of the last three recorded sales in the locality. Seizure of excess cash holdings is also "old-hat", as it is

by the State. Both on considerations of economy and of quality, it is of great importance that non-official agencies should be encouraged to participate keenly in all stages of education. The percentage of students in institutions run by the State or local bodies and of those in non-official institutions will vary from State to State and there is no justification for enforcing any kind of uniformity about it.

There are many other problems relating to education which require attention. The problem of language has yet to be solved. Effective utilisation of mass media of communication like radio and television to promote education has also to be tackled intelligently.

even now punishable under the Income Tax Law to be in possession of undeclared currency hoards. As recent raids have proved, this is not a very effective measure, as those subjected to it either manage to be "tipped off" in advance, or are adept in the art of disposing of their undeclared assets in a manner which defies discovery by the Government.

In an interesting analysis of various currency denominations in use, Mr M. R. Pai pointed out that notes of higher denominations mainly account for inter-bank transactions, and are not in general use; that the hundred-rupee note accounts for 40 per cent of currency transactions, and is the denomination most favoured by hoarders; that the ten-rupee note is most commonly used for small transactions, and that demonetisation of the latter will cause hardship and panic. While there may be a case for exempting the ten-rupee note from demonetisation, there is less validity in Government's case for shelving the proposal of demonetisation altogether.

One reason adduced by the Government is the administrative difficulty involved. This is more notional than real, as the existing currency notes have a working

span of approximately two months, before they are, of necessity, replaced. For the proposed demonetised denominations, it should be feasible to have new notes on imported paper, which may have a longer life span. Actually, it is probably not the administrative hurdle which intimidates the Government, but the realisation — which it dare not admit — that the economy has been kept afloat by black money financing a variety of enterprises, from scientific farming and building construction, to such respectable outlets as National Savings. Unfortunately, the Wanchoo Committee did not assess how far black money finances legitimate and illegitimate economic activity, but it may be presumed that if suddenly withdrawn, the economy, deprived of its customary financial fuel, may suffer a sudden setback. There is also the other consideration that a good part of the currency hoarded is in villages, where modern habits of savings have not yet obliterated traditional mores. In the event of de-

monetisation, such currency hoards may be fully encashed, inflicting hardship on the most needy and benighted sections of the population.

Yet, even after evaluating all these difficulties, it would appear that the case for demonetisation, is much stronger than the case against it. So far, the prolonged debate on the subject, not followed up with concrete action, may have contributed to the present wave of inflation, by causing hoarders to unload some of their currency into the money market. Worse, black money reduces the revenues capable of collection by the Government, thereby increasing economic disparities, with adverse repercussions even on legitimately acquired wealth. Most deplorable of all, black money has made a shambles of democracy, by providing subterranean finance for elections and the means for suborning the administration, ultimately contributing to the decline of age-old moral and social standards.

If the Government is serious and

purposeful in its effort to solve the problem, it should regard black money not as the cause, but as the result of economic malpractices and fostered by its own policies, particularly those of industrial licensing, export subsidies and import entitlements, which constitute the most fertile soil for ingenious operators, seeking to make profits outside the ambit of the tax collector's net. This study will generate a long-term solution, if the Government will allow itself to be guided by pragmatism, rather than ideology. Meanwhile, as a preliminary, it may have to prove to the public that it does not itself have a vested interest in perpetrating black money, by proceeding to demonetise high denomination notes, without the lengthy palaver which acts as a clear warning to those with cash assets to unload. Failure to do so, after Mr Bosu's disclosures, would be a grave error of political — if not economic — judgment, for the government of a nation, like Caesar's life, should be above suspicion.

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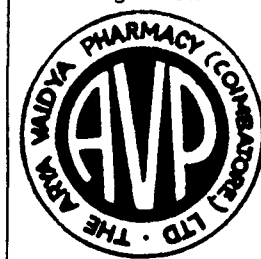
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NUCLEAR POWER FOR DEVELOPMENT

P. N.

THE COMMON MAN associates nuclear power with the production and stockpiling of atom bombs. It is true that the atom bomb was the most dramatic manifestation of nuclear power. But nuclear power has its peaceful uses. Every major government in the world has an atomic energy establishment, the main purpose of which is to design reactors and harness atomic energy. With the dwindling of the earth's conventional fuels, we need nuclear power in the future. We need it to conserve our fossil fuels, so that the oil can be exclusively used only where oil alone will serve and not burn it. Petrochemical industries are an outstanding example. Sea transport may ultimately depend on nuclear power.

Radio-active wastes are necessary end-products in the functioning of nuclear reactors. This waste disposal problem is generally exaggerated. The Government and scientists must see to it that mankind gets its perspective straight, lose fear of the bogey and prove that nuclear power can be beneficial.

Nuclear power generation depends on the breaking up of mat-

ter and release of energy according to the laws of conservation of mass and energy. A neutron, a subatomic neutral particle, travelling with the right speed is made to collide with matter in the form of the metal uranium. The neutron is absorbed into the nucleus of an uranium atom which subsequently becomes unstable and breaks up. This process is called fission. Fission need not be exactly into two halves. Hence several particles with different atomic weights and nuclear composition are produced. In short, several elements are produced. Some of these elements can be radio-active and in turn undergo further changes. During radio-active decay alpha particles, beta particles and gamma rays are given out. These have their specific uses. In the process of nuclear fission, neutrons are also generated. These daughter neutrons in turn attack other nuclei of uranium atoms and propagate fission. A chain reaction sets in.

In the process of fission a certain mass is destroyed. An equivalent energy is released as per the relation $E=mc^2$ where E is energy, m is mass and c is the velocity of light, ($3/10^{10}$ cm/sec).

If all the energies corresponding to the fission of several nuclei are released simultaneously an explosion results. We know the consequence of this explosion (Hiroshima and Nagasaki). However this fission can be made to occur in a controlled manner. The released energy can be used to run electricity generators. Several designs of nuclear reactors and nuclear power plants for this purpose are available. The atomic energy establishment of India in Bombay has three nuclear reactors, while several nuclear power plants are being set up all over the country. One of these is situated at Kalpakkam near Madras. Nuclear power is the primary reason for designing and building of a nuclear reactor. However, several by-products are obtained while producing nuclear power. What follows is a simple description of these by-products based on a lecture given by Dr H. A. Karky of AERE, Harwell, England.

Designing a nuclear power plant is a challenging problem for the engineer. The raw material requirements give ample work for the geologist. The chemists and the chemical engineers will have to be concerned with chemical processing, handling of the reactants and the products. The radio-active effluents can be dangerous. The physicists and health physicians will have to find ways to overcome the problem. Thus, new scientific and industrial opportunities are created.

THE BY-PRODUCTS

The by-products include subatomic particles like neutrons, fission products, alpha particles, gamma rays, irradiated materials, depleted uranium and last but not least 'waste heat'.

Waste heat is an important by-product. No engine can convert energy completely into useful work and dissipation of energy is a necessary consequence. The efficiency with which nuclear power is converted into electrical energy is 42 per cent. The waste heat is enormous and is normally dissipated into the sea. When this is not always possible, thermal pollution is the consequence. This waste heat could be used to warm

the reactor building and annexes. If this waste heat could be utilised to maintain the right temperature of waters, fish farming can be enlarged. Thus, sole and plaice normally found off the Dover coast could be raised off the Scottish coast with the help of the reactor at Hunterston. There is also a proposal to use nuclear heat to keep the Channel through St. Lawrence open for a longer period in winter. The Channel would normally be frozen. Five different reactors in the U.S. and Canada with capacities varying from 1000 MWe to 5000 MWe are to be erected along the river. These uses have been found for the low grade heat — the heat is only a few degrees higher than ambient temperature. However, if high grade heat is available, it will be most suitable for central heating of whole towns and districts. This high grade heat can also be used to distil sea water and produce drinking water.

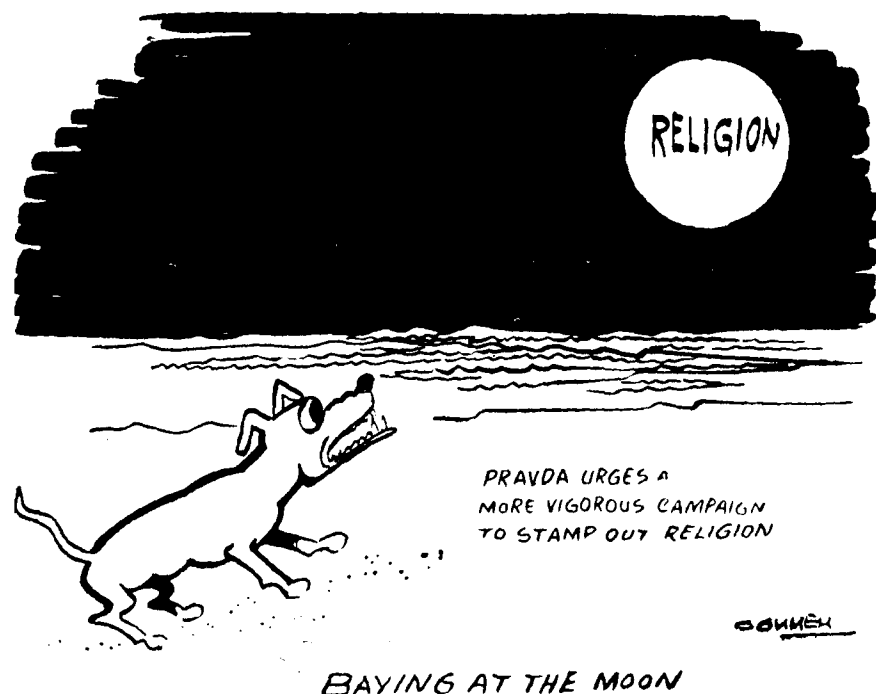
Plutonium is an element produced in the reactor. Presently it is a useless by-product and is simply stockpiled. However, in the 1980s Plutonium will be used in the so called 'fast breeder' reactors. These reactors will enable the production of power not only from U^{235} (presently being used) but also from its isotopic modification U^{238} . This will effect considerable saving in raw Uranium. Plutonium (Pu^{239}), a fission product, is also used in batteries which power heart-pacers and is also a power source in satellites.

A certain quantity of the Uranium fed into the reactor is left behind. This residue is depleted in the valuable U^{235} isotope. The depleted Uranium is still the densest metal ordinarily available and thus can substitute for lead wherever radio-active shielding is required. The more compact material can be more effectively positioned close to a radiation source. Alloying this metal with 8 per cent molybdenum improves the resistance to corrosion. This alloy finds use in helicopters for balancing the motor blades. Uranium also finds use in the glass and ceramic industries.

A very large amount of fission products containing some really

useful elements also forms the by-products. However, quite a few are dangerously radio-active. Hence handling and processing these requires an elaborate and expensive procedure. The problems of shielding and containment have been solved by and large and radio-active pollution of air virtually eliminated. Very rarely disposing of radio-active waste through the sea is resorted to. The most important radio-active products are Xenon, Krypton, Strontium, Caesium, Technitium, Rhodium and Palladium. The spent reactor fuel is left to itself for a few months. The shortlived radio-active species decay and disappear. The spent fuel is dissolved in a suitable solvent. Krypton and Xenon which are volatile and rare gases (occurring naturally in quantities less than 0.1 per cent in air) are recovered. Potential uses for the two are in lasers and human anaesthesia. The spent fuel solution is then processed further by a technique called solvent extraction, followed by chemical separation. The various useful elements are thus recovered. Technitium has anticorrosion properties but its uses at present are very limited. Rhodium and Palladium, like platinum, are highly priced and the expensive procedure may rightly be justified by recovering large quantities of these two metals and putting them to use immediately. Palladium can be used in jewellery, in dentistry, in hydrogen permeable membranes and as a catalyst. Rhodium is a good catalyst in the ammonia oxidation industry. However, small amounts of long lived radio-active isotopes always accompany these two. Perhaps, if the material is stored for a period of 20 years to allow the process of decay to go to completion, inactive Rhodium can be recovered.

Active Strontium (Sr^{90}) and Caesium (Cs^{137}) are two other useful products. Caesium can be used as a radiation source, and Strontium as a heat and power source. Normally, Cobalt, Co^{60} , is used as a radiation source but this is not a fission product. Caesium has a longer half-life and emits softer gamma rays. Caesium can be employed for the treatment of



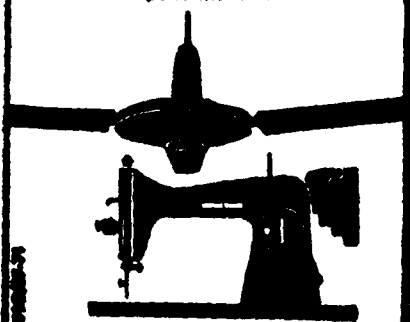
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head and neck cancers. In the by thermoelectric methods is reliable. Strontium in generators has long run this could be used forable. Strontium in generators has irradiation of medical equip- been used in navigation lights and ment, foods and wood-plastic remote weather stations and goes products.

As a heat source, a radio-active the U.K., 'Snap' in the U.S. and material is most reliable. Heat 'Morgueritte' in France. Stron- generation is continuous and thetium requires heavy shielding and conversion of heat into electricity hence at present is unsuitable for

other purposes as power sources for watches, heating of aircraft, etc. Promethium isotopes which are fission products find such applications.

The development of nuclear power is perhaps uneconomical at present but will be a 'must' in the long run.

FOR THE ATTENTION OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS

The Government of India have formulated a scheme commencing from the 15th August, 1972, for the grant of pension in deserving cases to freedom fighters who suffered imprisonment in the mainland jails for a period of not less than six months before Independence, and also to the families of those freedom fighters who are no longer alive. The following clarifications about the Scheme are made for the guidance of freedom fighters:

(i) The period of normal remission earned under the rules will be treated as part of actual imprisonment.

(ii) In case of freedom fighters who gave false/fictitious names and addresses at the time of arrest/conviction, certificates from MPs or Members of State Legislatures or ex-MPs or ex-Members of State Legislatures who were in jail with the freedom fighters would be accepted.

(iii) In the case of under-trials who were kept in jails but later convicted, the benefit of the entire period spent in jail will be given.

(iv) Where certificates of imprisonment from jail authorities are not available due to records being destroyed, an affidavit by the applicant about his imprisonment, supported by a certificate from an MP, or a Member of the State Legislature or an ex-MP or an ex-Member of the State Legislature, who had been in jail with him specifying the period of imprisonment, would be accepted.

(v) If freedom fighters who suffered imprisonment in areas now forming part of Pakistan and Bangla Desh are unable to furnish jail certificates, they may send an affidavit in support of their imprisonment, along with a certificate from an MP or a Member of State Legislature or an ex-MP or an ex-Member of State Legislature who had been in jail with him.

(vi) The term 'Family' as defined under the scheme would include *inter-alia* both father and widower of the freedom fighter, provided the widower has not remarried.

(vii) Families of ex-INA personnel who died fighting the British will be considered eligible for the grant of pension.

(viii) Persons who remained underground but did not suffer imprisonment will be considered for the grant of

pension if they were (a) proclaimed offenders, (b) those against whom awards for arrest had been announced but were not arrested, or (c) those against whom detention orders were issued but not served. In such cases, the applicants should furnish documentary evidence by way of court/Government order.

(ix) Persons interned in their homes, or externed from the district, will be considered for pension provided the period of internment/externment was for six months, or more. The applicants in such cases should send an affidavit in support of the claim of internment/externment for six months or more, if a copy of the order of internment/externment or any other documentary evidence is not available.

(x) Freedom fighters who suffered imprisonment in movements for merger of erstwhile princely States with the Indian Union after the 15th August, 1947, till the date of accession of each State will be considered for the grant of pension.

(xi) Persons whose properties were confiscated or attached and sold on account of participation in National movements, will be eligible for grant of pensions, provided they are in need of financial assistance. They should furnish copies of the orders under which confiscation, attachment or sale was done.

(xii) The following categories of freedom fighters will also be eligible for pension subject to their producing satisfactory evidence in support of their claim.

(a) Persons who became permanently incapacitated due to firing or lathi charge, etc.; and

(b) persons who lost their jobs or means of livelihood due to their participation in National movements.

One copy of application in the prescribed proforma along with affidavit may be sent to the Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, and the second copy to the Chief Secretary to the State Govt./U. T. Administration where the applicant is normally resident.

EDITOR'S NOTES :

A FRANK APPRAISAL

In a speech at the Madras Rotary Club luncheon meeting, Mr G. Ramanujam, the INTUC leader, gave a frank appraisal of the unsatisfactory outlook of Indian labour and trade union movement. He said: "The trade union movement has become a demand-oriented movement rather than a movement that thinks in terms of contributing something. The unions hardly think of productivity, discipline and cooperation with the management. The bad drives the good out of circulation." This is true even more in public than in private undertakings. He said humorously that in public undertakings the wages received are for attendance and work only for overtime. He sadly remarked that employers yield to agitation but tend to be impervious to reason and justice. In the case of a particular factory, workers may be able to obtain by blackmail unfair concessions but if this attitude becomes common, the result will be industrial stagnation and unemployment which will ultimately affect workers much more than the employers. The utter lack of discipline and absence of a sense of responsibility was shown in the strike by the loco staff in the Southern Railway. The manner in which workers have gone back to work not as a united body but in unorganised and indisciplined groups was even worse than striking without notice or for a just cause. What is the net result? The people of South India have suffered serious discomfort for many days. The Railways have lost some crores of rupees and the workers have lost their wages. All for nothing. They are now pleading for the release of the arrested workers and withdrawal of prosecution which was due entirely to their hasty action.

Mr Ramanujam suggested that if the Tamil Nad Government wants to have a good influence on workers in the State, it should give up any direct meddling with labour and dissolve all trade unions organised by the D.M.K. This is good advice which the D.M.K. Government should accept in its

own interests. Mr Ramanujam also pleaded for a new labour law providing for equal partnership between labour and capital. Such a labour law should provide for disputes to be settled quickly and compulsorily by arbitration, in the first instance and by adjudication, if necessary. This proposal deserves immediate and enthusiastic acceptance. Labour has every right to demand not only living wages but also a reasonable share of profits and it should not forget that wages and profits have to be earned by honest and conscientious work. Mere demand of rights without fulfilling due obligations can only lead to failure and frustration.

MATERIAL PROSPERITY AND LIFE EXPECTANCY

It has been assumed that material prosperity increases average life expectancy. That has undoubtedly been the case so far with respect to the prosperous nations. Better food, clothing, housing, cleaner towns, sanitation and medical services have tended to increase the length of life. But it appears the limit of such increase has been reached and the adverse effects of modern civilisation have begun to reduce it. According to the Director of the Bureau of Health Research in The Hague, the life expectancy in industrialised countries has decreased by 5 months in the past 20 years. A high incidence of heart disease, lung cancer and, to a lesser extent, road accidents are said to be the reasons for this. The Biblical age of three score and ten seems to be the upper average limit for human life.

CLOSURE OF AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES

Student indiscipline leading to closure of educational institutions is to be always deplored, as the days of teaching and study lost cannot be made good. But strikes and demonstrations in professional and technological institutions do greater harm than in the general arts and science colleges. The closure of the colleges at Coim-

bature and Madurai of the Agricultural University can only hurt the students and merely provide the staff and management paid holidays. That the students in the colleges should make a demand for higher grade of pay to agricultural graduates is absurd and fantastic. The proper time will be when they have graduated and are ready for employment. The interruption of studies can only reduce their capacity to serve the people when and if they become graduates. It is worthwhile making it obligatory on every student to give a written pledge before admission that he will not strike or absent himself from classes. A breach of such pledge should disqualify the student for university education. The issue of national discipline should start with students and perhaps the greatest mistake that has been made after freedom was not to realise the importance of this elementary foundation for national progress.

ON THE WRONG TRACK

It is a pity that the Chief Minister of Tamil Nad should have started on the wrong track in the demand for State autonomy. It is not as if there is no autonomy today. The Indian Constitution does provide for it and this autonomy can be enforced, if necessary, by resort to the Supreme Court. The real issues are in what directions and to what extent the autonomy envisaged in the Constitution has in practice become reduced and in what directions, as a result of the experience in the last 25 years, can or should the quantum of autonomy be increased. To call upon the Central Government, as he did at a public meeting, "to fix a date for granting autonomy for all the States in the country" is, therefore, meaningless and there should be no surprise if it is not taken seriously. In the Rajamannar Committee report, suggestions have been made regarding the strengthening of State autonomy. Instead of making wild and general demands, the Tamil Nad Government and legislature should concentrate on particular items and try to secure them one by one.

STEADY EROSION OF SOUND ADMINISTRATIVE TRADITIONS

A. D. PANDIT

SINCE THE EARLY days of planning, the Government of India has emphasised that an important adjunct of planning is an efficient machinery for the implementation of the plans. Attention was focussed on the improvement of the administrative machinery both at the Central and the State levels to make it capable of handling the new tasks of economic development including the formulation and implementation of individual projects. A number of committees reported on administrative reorganisation aimed at accelerating the pace of decision-making. Several experiments in financial and administrative delegation were tried and, to cap it all, a high-power Administrative Reforms Commission was appointed which produced after two or three years of labour a report running into several lakhs of rupees, without apparently making any one the wiser. It is difficult for an outsider to make out which of the recommendations of the Commission have been accepted, which rejected and for what reasons, from the disjointed bits of information given out from time to time.

In the meantime, what little lustre the civil service had acquired in helping to sort out post-partition problems including the integration of the States did not take long to tarnish. During the closing years of Mr Nehru's stewardship the civil service was under a cloud. A number of cases in which senior civil servants were held to blame, though acting under tacit or implied ministerial approval, exploded the myth of ministerial responsibility.

More recently, a rambling inquiry has been set up in a department of the Government in which the alleged misdeeds of all senior civil servants who have served in the department are being enquired into, the material for which is being furnished by a senior officer in the organisation itself. Of late, strident criticism of public servants by name, in

vention has been common in Parliament. All this has brought the morale of the services down and resulted in the loss of the mutual trust and confidence between Ministers and their advisers without which the public servant cannot put his heart into his work. In an atmosphere of mistrust, suspicion and fear, the advisers withhold honest advice, decline to take responsibility or exercise discretion, with consequent delays in the disposal of ordinary business. The writer after a long stint in the civil service had an opportunity of looking at the administration from outside as an employee of a private sector organisation and can vouch for the fact that even senior secretaries are now afraid of acceding to a legitimate request because they are afraid to overrule frivolous objections recorded on the case by a lower division clerk lest he carry tales of favouritism to a legislator.

Recent political developments have also had an adverse effect on the administration. The split in the Congress at the end of the last decade and the existence of Ministers belonging to two warring camps strained the loyalties of public servants and there was an unseemly rush to jump on to the winning band-wagon by casting traditional political neutrality to the winds, because in such a situation "those who are not with us are against us" is an operative principle. Many public servants hastened to discard their sober grey suits for the colourful attire of the New Radicalism and jettisoned what impartiality and objectivity they had acquired in their early years in dealing with public business. The concentration of political power consequent on the elections of 1971-72 and the establishment of a super secretariat close to the fountain-head of power sapped the initiative and influence of individual Ministries. Decisions which in the past would have been taken at the level of the head of a department had now to await approval at the highest quarters.

The latest trend of opinion expressed in Parliament and outside by persons in authority shows that India might be gradually abandoning the concept of a professional, objective and politically neutral civil service recruited by a competitive examination—a concept which we took over from the British. Preference has been expressed for a 'committed' civil servant, a change desired in the prevailing method of recruitment which, it is alleged, does not ensure the selection of 'committed' candidates. In an atmosphere vibrant with slogans expressing inchoate longings, it is difficult to rule out the possibility that the civil service may be transformed into 'party cadres' for the achievement of socialist objectives.

Talking about slogans there is another difficulty with which the civil servant of today is faced. He is trained to advise on the formulation of policies and their implementation to the extent they are practical. It is his business to point out all the snags and the constraints that the means and instruments at the disposal of the Government impose on such implementation. He cannot implement slogans or wild promises made at the hustings merely to win votes. He cannot help to bring down a New Heaven on a New Earth promised by the winning side. Impatient politicians wishing to realise such promises either blame all failures on the bureaucracy or authorise the issue of vague policy statements which make confusion worse confounded.

After the Dutt Committee's report on industrial licensing was issued and accepted by the Government of India, a spate of circulars emanated from the secretariat defining the eligibility for licences for new ventures or for expansion or diversification of the existing ventures. Not only was it impossible to get anyone to reconcile the contradictory directions in the various circulars but when the writer approached a very senior secretary and pointed out to him how difficult it would be for the existing industries to function (industries have to keep running to stand still, i.e., they must either expand and diversify



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or die of inanition), if the directions were rigorously applied, he quietly replied to the writer's considerable amazement that industrialists should not be worried by the circulars, because every case will be judged on merits and in the light of public interest!

It is a basic principle of good administration that while formulating a policy every situation that is likely to arise in its implementation should be foreseen as far as possible and the method of dealing with it decided in advance. Various types of cases requiring different treatment should be put into separate categories. If a new category of cases comes to notice during implementation, an appropriate method of dealing with it must be devised within the general framework of the policy. Even after such systematic categorisation some hard cases will arise for which solutions must be found at the appropriate level. Further, all directives from the top down the line on the implementation of the policy must be precise and unambiguous, so that subordinates do not have to refer upwards frequently in dealing with individual cases and the citizen affected by a new policy knows exactly where he stands, which doors are closed and which are open so that he does not have to knock frantically at all doors. On the other hand, ill-thought out policies, expressed in ambiguous language with unlimited discretion to modify them at will in the public interest, often result in the use of golden master-keys to open all doors, besides endless discussions behind closed doors for the disposal of every case. Confucius, one of the earliest civil servants, had said, "If language is not clear, duties will not be carried out, rites and music will not flourish, punishments will not be specific and people will do nothing without getting into trouble."

One unmistakable symptom of the flight from the responsibility of taking decisions at all levels of Government is the growing tendency to hold meetings, or, if a decision is to be shelved for a longer period, to appoint a panel, a committee or a commission. First, this saves the department

the trouble of collecting the relevant information, of analysing it and of making suitable recommendations for action. If the department itself does all these things, it is squarely responsible for the result of the action it takes on its own recommendations. A commission of outsiders takes years to report, more time can be taken for its examination, and as public memory is proverbially short, the report can safely be put into cold storage. We contracted this disease from the British, but the virus has proliferated in our warm climate. Can one keep count of the number of panels, committees and commissions through which the question of ceilings on rural and urban property has passed? And yet most of the basic questions which will arise at the time of implementation have not been taken note of, much less answered.

The daily routine of meetings of officials in the Government has become a by-word. About 75 per cent of the working day of a secretary or the head of a department is spent in meetings, very few of which result in decisions. But there is safety in numbers whether in justification of procrastination or in defence of a recommendation which may be unpalatable to the political head of the Ministry. Inter-departmental consultation is necessary and prescribed in the secretariat rules in cases concerning more than one Ministry; but this was formerly carried out by written notes unless the subject was so highly confidential that a written record of it would be highly embarrassing to the Government or detrimental to public safety.

The time spent in meetings away from the desk also serves the purpose of effectively avoiding face to face encounters with visitors, such as harassed industrialists who might corrupt the morals of the officer. It is well known that it is today extremely difficult to secure an interview with a senior official even on the most urgent business, such as the impending closure of a factory due to undue delay in the issue of an import licence for raw materials. All enquiries are directed to the P.R.O. of the Ministry, who, in

nine cases out of ten, answers them by a shrug of his shoulders.

Many secretaries do not waste the time left at their disposal after the meetings in studying files and writing well-considered minutes, but, take the primrose path to the Minister's office to ascertain his reactions, before putting pen to paper. This may mean cooling one's heels for several hours, but it saves one's skin and avoids the displeasure of the Minister at unwelcome advice. A Minister, or a superior officer for that matter, is not obliged to accept his adviser's or subordinate's proposal on every occasion; the subordinate should not take the rejection of his advice on some occasions as a reflection on his ability. But unfortunately many Ministers lack the courage to overrule their advisers and would rather the adviser himself gave the advice the Minister wanted.

Before Independence and until the first general elections in the Republic of India in 1952, Congress Governments in several States, notably in Madras, Bombay and U.P., ran a very good administration. Later, the virus of casteism and groupism crept into the politics of States and leaders of stature with administrative acumen were gradually siphoned away to the Centre. Along with them went some of the ablest civil servants from the States, both because of better career opportunities at Delhi and the greater insulation from political interference in their day-to-day work. In the States the local M.L.A. and the party bosses breathed constantly down the necks of the officers serving in the district and when the States were denuded of politicians of all-India stature, their successors found it more expedient to placate henchmen than to shield the district officer and his subordinates against improper political interference. Unless an officer was prepared to resign in the middle of his career, a step which few officers could contemplate, the only escape route open to him was a transfer to Delhi, where conditions of work were more congenial. The rapidly expanding administrative machine of the Centre including

the vast Planning Commission, could find berths for these refugees from the States. The decline in the quality of State administration which started in the mid-fifties became steep in the late sixties with the formation of short-lived coalition Ministries, weekly changes of Cabinets and the absence of any guidance or supervision from the top.

It is hardly necessary to adduce any evidence on the fall in the standards of State administrations. The mounting over-drafts of State Governments in spite of repeated warnings by the Centre and the failure of the latter to discipline them on account of political considerations have occupied much newspaper space during the last two or three years. The enormous increase in non-Plan expenditure goes hand in hand with crowded and filthy hospitals with second-rate professional services, electricity generating and distributing systems with frequent breakdowns, State highways with pot holes and ramshackle State transport vehicles running over them, making the citizen wonder down which drain all the over-drafts disappear. We are notorious for poor maintenance. Having constructed a steel plant, a hospital or a road we forget that these have to be properly maintained to get full value for our money.

The British who were thoroughly familiar with the long tradition of personal rule in the country buttressed the institution of the district officer. He was made responsible for keeping the peace among roughly half a million people, collection of revenue, the dispensation of justice and the co-ordination of the activities of different departments of the administration in the district and of the local bodies. The district officer exercised a paternal and benevolent authority, was the living embodiment of government functioning in a remote provincial capital and to him could be taken only legitimate grievances. Philip Woodruff has in the 'Guardians' sketched the life of a district officer in a nostalgic mood. In these times when authority in every sphere has suffered serious erosion without self-discipline

taking its place, one cannot be certain that even in the absence of deliberate measures to cut him to size, the district officer would have functioned with his former efficiency.

One such measure was the expensive experiment in democratic decentralisation known as Panchayati Raj, which was to usher Ramrajya in the rural areas, but has only brought corruption and tyranny in its wake on such a scale that some State Governments are reportedly contemplating abolition of these bodies. Today, people do not know who is responsible for the administration of the district and to whom they should take their grievances. During the course of the last two decades the district officer who was the king-pin of the administration in the States has lost all confidence and initiative and is unable to provide the requisite guidance and support to the police force at his command for the preservation of law and order. Formerly, the district officer kept his ear close to the ground, and confidently used the large powers the law gave him. If, in a crisis, he did not use his own judgment and referred to his superiors for directions he was marked down as unfit for executive duties. Now officers do not take the initiative and will only act under pressure from above when the situation has deteriorated to such an extent that a massive use of force is necessary to control it.

The Collector himself spent about three months touring the countryside on horseback inspecting the land records, the condition of the crops and the maintenance of irrigation works and chastising rapacious landlords and erring police and revenue officials. Today, the district officer spends much of his time in dancing attendance on visiting Ministers, hardly moves out of his headquarters and is sadly out of touch with conditions in his area. Even though there was little social legislation one rarely heard of the kind of mass atrocities that have been recently reported against tribals and Harijans when the district officer was vigilant and inspired both respect

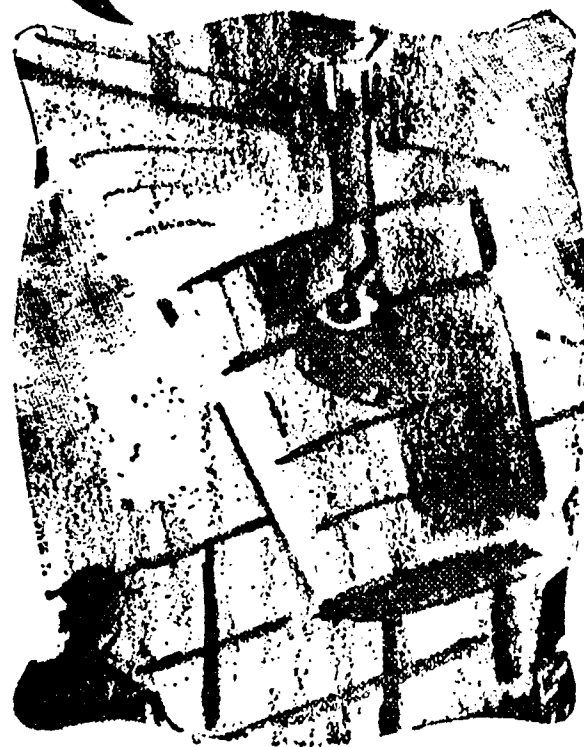
and fear. The erosion of authority of the district officer has brought conditions of near-anarchy in many areas.

If it be said that the foregoing sketch of Central and State administration has been painted exclusively in dark colours, the answer is that this has been done deliberately, acting on the saying of St. Jerome: "If way to a better there be, it demands a full look at the worst." One comes across little critical comment on the present conditions in the press of the country, possibly because we have been so long accustomed to adulation by foreigners and singing our own praises abroad, that we have never learnt the virtue of self-criticism. If per chance, a foreign observer conveys some hometruths to us, our immediate reaction is to brand him as an enemy. Such an attitude betrays immaturity and does not behove a people with a hoary past who presume to teach others the art of meditation and self-introspection.

A few days ago a Central Minister complained at an academic gathering that the civil servants gave the impression of working either under compulsion or merely to earn their salaries and did not bring dedication to their work. It is a quirk of fate that the British who managed to govern this country with a handful of British officers and a large native bureaucracy never found fault with the native element, but our own rulers continually find fault with a civil service which, but for an insignificant number, was recruited and trained under their own auspices. That on the eve of a five-year plan aimed at eradication of poverty our rulers should be saddled with an administrative machine in whose ability to deliver the goods they have no faith is indeed a sorry state of affairs. As each step forward in socialism inevitably means an increase in numbers of the bureaucracy, the sooner they decide what kind of instruments they want for the implementation of their policies, the better for the country. — (Courtesy: *Monthly Public Opinion Surveys* of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion, New Delhi).

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RAJASTHAN LETTER:

PLIGHT OF DOCTORS IN RAJASTHAN

JAIPUR, Sept. 18: There are about 700 doctors in Rajasthan who seek employment. The problem is growing but the Government has shown no interest to create better job facilities. The Government has asked the doctors to go to the villages but the conditions obtaining there are far from congenial. There is shortage of water, of good accommodation and of power in most of the villages.

The interest-free loan of Rs 5,000 given to a doctor if he puts up his clinic in the countryside is not enough. The medicos want that the loan should be increased suitably so that the clinics could be better equipped to meet the minimum demands. The Medical and Health Minister, Mr Joshi, said that no Government could

provide jobs to all the unemployed persons. The Government could not treat the medicos as a privileged class, he told a deputation of doctors who urged him to be more sympathetic to their demands.

In Rajasthan the campaign to swell membership of the Congress is gaining ground. There seems to be no check on bogus enrolments. According to Mr Girdhari Lal Vyas, President of the State Congress, the party has been able to enrol 5,73,985 primary members. He said that 24,610 more had been enrolled as active members.

The AICC has sent Mr V. N. Gadgil to hear complaints in regard to the membership drive.

MYSORE LETTER:

CRITICISM OF LAND CEILING BILL FROM SENIOR PARTYMEN

BANGALORE, Sept. 8: At a time when the Opposition was listing instances of nepotism and favouritism on the part of some Ministers who were close to the Chief Minister, Mr Urs, created a controversial post of Special Secretary to the Cabinet to receive and process the recommendations and suggestions of the legislators and to bring them to the notice of the concerned Ministers. This roused resentment among officials, while some MLAs feel that the creation of the new post was only a device to alienate them from the Ministers.

When it came to the question of drafting the comprehensive land reforms Bill which has been introduced in the Assembly and which would be coming up for discussion during the next session, the State Congress leadership appears to have yielded to the pressure of the new entrants into the party and the ultra-leftists who have neither any political background nor sound knowledge of either agriculture or economics, but got elected purely on the strength of Mrs Indira Gandhi's

election promises. Particularly the provisions which lay down that cultivators who do not live within a radius of 16 kms, from their land shall lose their rights, that those whose annual income from other sources exceed Rs 12,000 shall not hold any land, that a family for the purpose of the ceiling shall mean a couple and three minor children and the fixation of 10 acres (of irrigated land) as the upper ceiling and the provisions that make the Tahsildar (Revenue official) a powerful authority with certain judicial powers also, have attracted the opposition of a considerable section within the party. Mr H. M. Channabasappa, the P.W.D. Minister, stated on some occasions in public that the ceiling should be fixed on the basis of the actual income derived from the land, Mr H. K. Veeranna Gowda, former Minister and a member of the MPCC (R), has threatened of "a civil disobedience movement" if the 10-acre ceiling came into force. Mr Kadidal Manjappa, a former Chief Minister and a MPCC (R) member, has also been publicly

opposing the Bill and particularly the provisions relating to the family's annual income exceeding Rs 12,000 and prescribing that the cultivator should actually live within a radius of 16 kms from the land.

To all these objections raised by his own partymen as well as by the general public, the answer of Mr Urs has been that he cannot go back on the proposed land legislation as his party is committed to it. This bald and unconvincing stand betrays the hold the new and unthinking ultra-leftists have on him. His critics both inside the party and outside have been attacking Mr Urs for his attempts to strengthen his position in the State in view of the revolt that is gathering momentum, and for his unreasoned competition in leftism in order to win the confidence of the Prime Minister.

These developments have made many senior members in the party unhappy over his leadership and they have found an effective and ready outlet for their displeasure in Mr K. Hanumanthaiya, who has announced a "cleansing campaign". The people of the State have known Mr Hanumanthaiya to be an efficient administrator and they gather in good number wherever he goes; the flats said to have been issued by the MPCC (R) office to the local committees to ignore his visits do not seem to be working. Regardless of his views, Vokkaligas and many old Mysore politicians are behind him. His close friendship with the two powerful Lingayat Ministers, Mr H. M. Channabasappa and Mr H. Siddaveerappa, both of whom are being accused of not being progressive by the ultra-leftist-neo-Congressmen in the State, is well known. On September 4, the students of the Bangalore University had planned a strike and Mr Hanumanthaiya persuaded them to give up the strike. His charges against the Government are that casteism, corruption and nepotism are dominating it at all levels. He is conveniently making use of the unimplemented parts of the report of the Administrative Reforms Commission, of which he was the Chairman, which he claims, would

have prevented the various lapses on the part of the Government.

The hard time that the State came to pass due to the failure of rains is slowly coming to an end with the release of Government's food stocks and opening of a large number of distribution centres where jowar, rice and ragi are being sold at subsidised rates. In the eastern taluks of Belgaum district, arrangements have been made to supply free foodgrains to families without earning members and to all expectant mothers.

The Finance Minister, Mr M. Y. Ghorpade, who returned from Madras after attending the regional consultative committee

ANDHRA PRADESH LETTER:

15,000 VILLAGES IN ANDHRA STILL WITHOUT FAIR PRICE SHOPS

HYDERABAD, Sept. 11: The Government of Andhra Pradesh is to receive Rs 28 crores from the Centre as additional financial assistance to tide over the Statewide drought. The special allotment was announced by the Prime Minister at the airport as she took off from New Delhi at the end of a two-day tour. This latest gesture of sympathy raises Central assistance to nearly Rs 50 crores in less than two months.

Mrs Indira Gandhi, accompanied by the Chief Minister, drove through drought-affected areas in the three regions of the State — Telengana, Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra. The Prime Minister said that the places she had seen were not totally denuded of vegetation, as in the North. "Here, there are some green patches and some crops, which, of course, may not last." What the Prime Minister saw were only typical drought-affected areas. She did not see, nor was she shown, drought-relief works in progress or of people going fathoms deep to get pails partly filled with muddy water. An official statement made in the Assembly said that the progress of all relief works was "satisfactory" and necessary arrangements are being made for providing drinking water by digging new wells and deepening old

meeting, stated that the State had one bank branch for every 22,000 of the population as against the all-India average of one branch for 42,000 people. There were 1,200 bank branches in the State and in some areas of South Kanara and Coorg districts, there was a branch for a population of 9,000 and that 50 per cent of the branches were in rural areas. He said the total bank deposits which stood at Rs 4,000 crores in 1969 had gone up to Rs 7,000 crores in the current year, and added that only 8 per cent of the bank deposits was used in the agricultural sector during 1969, while half the national income came from that sector.

and surrender of surplus land. The ceiling on double crop wet land now ranges between 10 and 19 acres, and for wet land, other than the double crop kind, between 15 and 27 acres. For dry land, the ceiling varies between 35 and 54 acres.

The date from which the Bill will come into force will be notified later. The extent of land that will become available to the Government for distribution among the poor and landless people is yet to be finally reckoned. While legislation itself is a simple affair, its implementation bristles with difficulties, with inevitable disputes about classification of land and source of irrigation, apart from the tardy operation of the Governmental machinery. Meanwhile work on the imposition of ceilings on urban land has been taken up.

NEW DEAL FOR TEACHERS

From April next year, the liberalised pension scheme, now applies to teachers working under Government and zilla parishad managements, will be extended to all those working under local bodies and in aided educational institutions. This decision is part of a package deal announced by the Government on the occasion of Teachers Week. Selection grade posts of B.Ed. teachers will be increased by 400 a year. In the secondary grade teachers category, there will be a general 25 per cent increase in selection grade posts. Promotion chances will thus increase. The decision will mean the creation of 3,421 posts of B.Ed teachers and of 14,156 secondary grade teachers, thus helping relieve unemployment.

Other benefits include provision of medical facilities to teachers on a par with non-Government gazetted employees, grant of Government loans for buying sites and building houses to cooperatives formed exclusively by teachers, and building of rest houses for teachers in every district. In addition to National Awards for teachers, separate awards at the State level will be instituted. The awards will be of five categories, ranging in cash value between Rs 100 and Rs 700.

LAND CEILING BILL PASSED

The Assembly has passed the Land Reforms Bill. The Bill provides for (i) fixation of ceiling on agricultural land holdings after excluding certain specified categories, including gardens; (ii) distribution of surplus land on nominal payment to landless agriculturists and to the weaker sections of the people in villages; (iii) and the setting up of original and appellate tribunals to hear disputes arising from the classification of land

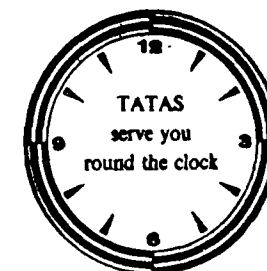
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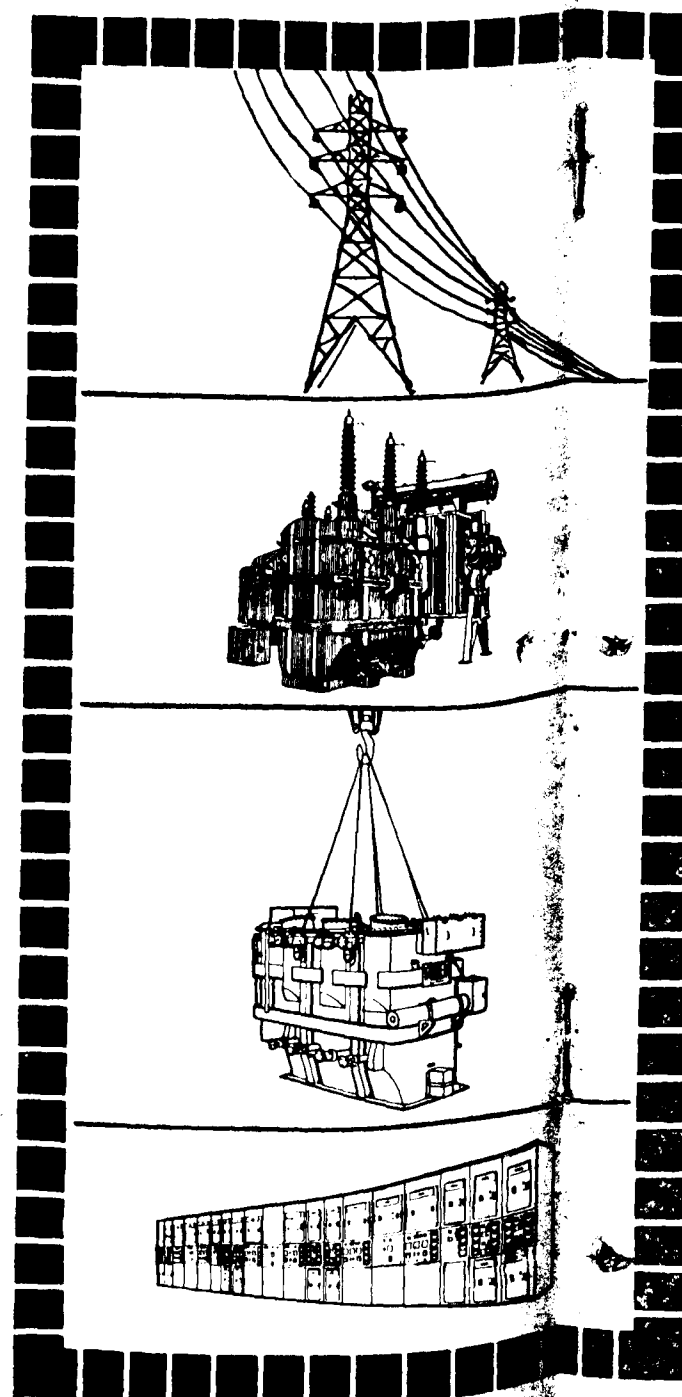


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BOOK REVIEWS:

"THIRUKKURAL," IN A NEW PERSPECTIVE

VOICE OF VALLUVAR:

By Rao Sahib S. R. V. ARASU

Published by Thyakam, 3, Subba Rao Avenue, Madras-6

Price: Jacket edition Rs 3; Deluxe edition Rs 5.

Three thousands years ago, from a lowly cottage in the village of Mylapore emanated the tick-tack of a loom which was plying ceaselessly to the tune of a gentle voice humming; the great master weaver's expert hands were weaving exquisite patterns on the loom the twin yarn of warp and woof, while his gitted tongue was composing inspired couplets which still live today, not only in the language in which they were sung—Tamil, but in several languages of India and the world. The *Tirukkural* of Tiruvalluvar has earned an immortal place not only in literature but in the lives of the Tamil people. The *Kural*, comprising 1330 couplets over 133 chapters, is looked upon as the Tamil Veda, or the Bible of the Tamils. Thiruvalluvar has *inter se* composed these short couplets in characteristically terse style, making them easy to memorise.

Thiruvalluvar has covered the whole range of human life and conduct, in a simple form which can be applied practically by the commonest of common men. Therein lies the virtue of the *Kural*. It does not merely belong to the age in which it was composed but it is relevant to the modern age and to the ages to come. Innumerable commentaries and translations of this great work have appeared in different languages. Among the latest additions to these commentaries is the book, "Voice of Valluvar", written by Mr S. R. V. Arasu. The author has tried to give a new look to the *Kural*, by relating its relevance to many of the modern problems. Thus he has selected such of Thiruvalluvar's aphorisms as could well be applied to the subjects which exercise our minds these days, viz., business, administration, democracy, socialism, social welfare, health, social evils, planning, public service, art of government, diplomacy, etc. This is not the first time that it has been claimed how our ancient seers and sages had foreseen many of the modern inventions and how the sciences had progressed even farther than at present (e.g., the atomic theory, the aeroplane, mathematical and geometrical theories, etc.). But the virtue of the *Kural* is that it could be applied straightway to modern life without effort or embellishment. Mr Arasu has tried to prove that in his commentary.

He has picked out about 150 verses and grouped them under 17 chapters—headings of the subjects with which the *Kural* deals—subjects like the universe, virtue, wisdom, wealth and welfare, welfare state, democracy, socialism, education, friendship, public health, love, etc.

Mr Arasu first gives a brief resume of each virtue of the *Kural* in Tamil with a free translation in English, followed by English couplets. In rendering the original Tamil verse in English verse, Mr Arasu has attempted to follow the Valluvar pattern but it is needless to say that the translation cannot truly reflect the original. Often there is a laboured attempt at rhyme with poor result, as for instance:

"The Goddess of wealth will gladly rest

Where smiles welcome the worthy guests"

"Good conduct sows seeds of blessings

Bad conduct endless evil brings"

"The truth knowers of sense control

Though in want covet not at all"

FARMING PRACTICES AND RURAL CREDIT

LONG-TERM PLANNING FOR AGRICULTURE IN NEPAL:

By Y. P. PANT and S. C. JAIN

Vikas Publications, Daryaganj, Ansari Road, Delhi-6

Price: Rs 25

AGRICULTURAL PLANNING AND COOPERATIVES:

By R. N. TEWARI

Sultan Chand & Sons, Delhi-6

Price: Rs 15

Present-day planning for agriculture implies a breakaway from traditional methods now practised on our over-worked and starved soils, not only through the use in the fields of new biological, chemical and mechanical inputs, but, also, through the improvisation in the country as a whole, of suitable cropping patterns, financial investments pricing policies and agrarian reforms. These forces are governed by economic considerations which can also be tested empirically. This is the purpose and content of one part of the book by Pant and Jain, and they have done a good job of it by analysing the data for 9 years between 1961-62 and 1969-70 in Nepal with familiar curve fitting functions, linear programming methods and regression equations. Some of the conclusions reached by them are noted here: (1)

As earth bears up with diggers too
To bear, revilers is prime virtue".

At best, Mr Arasu's is a laudable attempt to bring the *Kural* to the modern mind, in a new perspective. As the author says, his object is to "broadcast to the younger generation the universal message delivered to mankind by a sage and an immortal bard of rationality". If this object is achieved among the modern generation, whose attentions are diverted to more exacting things like "comic" strips, murder and mystery thrillers, pornographic literature, sex stories which have invaded our journals and the glamour of sex films, permissive cults and above all, political tub-thumping and alliterative oratory, it will indeed be a very glorious achievement. The Government will do well to see that the *Kural* is prescribed for study from the earliest stages of education up to the college stage, and such renderings as the book under review are made available to the younger generation. But unfortunately, the *Kural* is only exploited, like many other things, for political propaganda.

The book is handy — contains only 90 pages and quite readable. Dr B. Natarajan has written a Foreword and Justice Maharajan has given a handsome appreciation.

—R. P

although aggregate growth rates may be satisfactory, the majority of small farmers have failed to improve their former lot (p. 14); (2) so far, optimum cropping pattern has not received significant attention at the policy level in Nepalese agriculture (p. 19); (3) future agricultural policy must aim at providing price support and credit facilities at advantageous terms (p. 24) so as to help their repaying capacity (p. 29); (4) presently funds are not satisfactorily allocated among the different needs (p. 36) while, also, some important methods like crop restriction, buffer stock operations, pricing efficiency, etc., which help secure income stabilization over time and space, are generally overlooked (p. 43-48); and (5) from the standpoint of cultivation efficiency, the land reform laws of Nepal have been defective (p. 54). These do not, of course, make happy reading, but having identified the symptoms and their causes, it should now be the task of the policy-makers and planning officials to shape the future activities suitably.

The second part of this book deals with demand and supply projections for 8 crops over a "long term." A period of 20 years from 1970 is, on all accounts, a very "long" term, since many things may happen to upset the underlying assumptions which may go

to make the estimates merely 'shots in the air.' This is not to say that the method of using income and price elasticities along population and acreage projections is not sound, as, in the main, they are the only possible and plausible assumptions that may be made by a working statistician..

Dr Tewari's book is based on a specific research on a selected subject (namely, the scope and manner of financial aid to promote "high yielding varieties programme", HYVP) with reference to a limited area (namely, three purposively selected districts in Rajasthan). Here too the findings do not make happy reading. He says: (1) there is too much fragmentation of responsibility among the administrative agencies (chap. 2); (2) planning has been mainly "target oriented" by the State bureaucracy without regard to subdistrict differentials, seasonal variability, initiative or lack of it among the lower echelons, and general lack of realism or dynamism (pages 22, 39 and 41); (3) cooperatives are generally unable to finance or even educate members (pages 54, 58 and 60); and, in particular (4) the diffusion of the programme over too wide an area instead of concentrating on "growth centres" has resulted in the wastage of scarce resources of men, materials and money (page 63).

The most interesting contribution in this book is found in Tables 12 and 13

which seek to measure, under some criteria, the "expected" and actual performance of the "viable" societies; and the ('potential' loss" due to the non-viability of the societies declared viable in the three selected districts in Rajasthan on account of the operations during 1968-69. The author's comments on these findings may be stated in his own words (p. 47): "Potential loss in terms of credit business amounted to Rs 5.21 crores; deficiency in resource mobilisation by way of share capital amounted to Rs 1.22 crores; and the losses that would have otherwise strengthened the auto-financing capacity of the societies, amounted to Rs 1.90 lakhs. On per unit basis too the operational losses are staggering." In order to strengthen the progress of the HYVP, the author makes two positive recommendations: (1) the creation of District Production Boards which should have "real" power to implement not only farming, but also all ancillary activities of farmers; and (2) the introduction of a system of "negotiable credit authorization" through which central cooperative banks may be able to lend institutional support to primary members instead of the "monopolistic" or "semi-monopolistic" hold of primary agricultural societies now prevailing.

The findings in both these books are, in effect, likely to be found with greater or less intensity in other parts of the sub-continent as well, and, there-

fore, should serve as a warning to wider groups of planners.

—(Prof.) K. B. MADHAVA

PAKISTAN WAR IN RETROSPECT

DEFENDERS OF INDIA

By Dr. S. S. SHASHI

Published by Indian School Supply Depot, Publication Division, 3762, Netaji Subash Road, Delhi-6

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By JODHI SINGH and P. N. KHERA

(Also an I.S.S.D. Publication)

Price: Rs 40

The last India-Pakistan war will take its place in the history books besides the 1967 Israeli-Arab war, both because of the short time taken by the victors in achieving their ends and the number of books written and published about them. Not all of them offer us any new lesson in military or political strategy. But some of them are good as records; they do take their material from different sources — newspaper reports, official documents, statements by leaders, etc., and bring them together for the reader's benefit. Diagrams, maps, statistics, a diary of the war, pictures and biographical sketches of the leaders and of those fighters who

were later honoured for heroic acts add to the usefulness of these books.

Here are two books which have these features in plenty. Dr Shashi is a publicist of note and has made an interesting narrative out of the source material available to him. The author sees behind India's victory the massive power of an enlightened democracy. In his view, while both India and Pakistan inherited their military traditions from the British, India has built upon these and made them her own. He says India won the war because of her sound socio-economic base, clear political direction and enriched military traditions; Pakistan lost because she lacked all of these.

Two scholars with somewhat different backgrounds have teamed up to write "Indira's India." As the title indicates, the book has high and well-deserved praise for our Prime Minister's political and diplomatic acumen. The authors point out that walking in the footsteps of Gandhiji and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs Indira Gandhi has given a clear direction to the continuing democratic process in our country. The book gives a readable historical account of the developments in the sub-continent which brought about last December's confrontation and saw the emergence of the new nation of Bangladesh.

The printers have done a neat job and the illustrations are on a lavish scale. It is a pleasure to handle these books which will be welcome additions to our libraries. —S. A. GOVINDARAJAN

MANIPULATIONS OF U.S. DIPLOMACY

ANDERSON PAPERS

By VINOD GUPTA

Published by Indian School Supply Depot, 3762, Netaji Subhas Road, Delhi-6

Price: Rs 30

In this book, the author deals with the hostile attitude of the US during the recent Indo-Pakistan conflict. He describes vividly in the light of the Anderson Papers the evil designs of President Nixon and his Special Adviser, Dr Kissinger, to evade the undertaking not to supply arms to Pakistan or in any way intervene in the war. While the manipulations of American diplomacy have been brought out satisfactorily, it is a pity that the author should have indulged in passionate diatribes throughout the volume which tend to prejudice the reader against his conclusions. If he had taken a calmer and more objective attitude, the purpose of the book would have been better achieved. There is no justification for the high price of the volume. —K. S.

REGULATION OF CHIT FUNDS IN ANDHRA

COMMENTARIES ON THE ANDHRA PRADESH CHIT FUNDS ACT, 1971:

By M. BALASUBRAHMANYAM, Advocate, High Court of Andhra Pradesh

Available with New India Publications, 1-1-189/6, Vivekanagar, Hyderabad-20

Price: Rs 3

Chit has been one of the traditional methods of saving money, especially in rural areas in South India and it enables funds to be raised for necessity without resort to money-lenders. A group of people subscribe a definite sum monthly for a certain period and every month it is auctioned and taken by the highest bidder (with the highest difference between the amount of the bid and the chit amount) resulting in a dividend, namely, the difference between the amount of the chit and the amount bid, which is distributed to the non-prized subscribers. It also enables mobilization of deposits making advances to the needy and good dividends to the saver. For some years past, there has been a phenomenal increase in the number of organisations running chit funds and their wild and uncontrolled growth naturally resulted in unscrupulous persons handling them without regard to the interests of the subscribers. Very often it was found that chits did not run their full course, the prize money was not paid at all or in time and the public thereby suffered. This led to agitation for control and legislation was first thought of and introduced in Tamil Nad in 1961 by stages and it is now extended to the whole State since December 1969. It is now being considered if nationalised banks should not, while extending their activities to the rural areas, adopt this method of deposit mobilisation and expansion of rural credit.

The Andhra Pradesh Chit Funds Act of 1971 is designed to control and regulate the conduct of Chit Funds in the State. Wholesome provisions as to registration, the rights and duties of the foreman, the maintenance of proper registers and accounts protect the subscribers from possible fraud and ensure proper management. Not much of case law has developed on the subject. This comprehensive publication contains the Act, the Rules and a commentary under each section and a case law supplement containing all the cases decided so far under the Tamil Nad Act and an informative index. It bears an appreciative Foreword by Mr Gopal Rao Ekbote, a Senior Judge of the Andhra Pradesh High Court. It is

bound to be useful to all those interested in the chit fund business.

—N. VENKATARAMA AYYAR

BOOKS RECEIVED

INDIA'S POPULATION PROBLEMS

—By S. N. Agarwala — Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company Ltd., Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-55 — Price: Rs 27

INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: A Simplified Text --

By Ruth Reyna — Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Ltd., Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-55 — Price: Rs 24

PHILOSOPHERS AND KINGS: Studies in Leadership —

Published by Popular Prakashan (Pvt.), 35-C, Tardeo Road, Bombay-34 WB — Price: Rs 10

MAHATMA GANDHI: A Chronology

— Compiled by K. P. Goswami — Publications Division, Government of India, Patiala House, New Delhi-1 — Price Rs 10

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI (Vol. 47: June-September 1931) —

Publications Division, Government of India, Patiala House, New Delhi-1 — Price: Rs 9

THE UNIVERSITY IN TRANSITION:

An Indian Case Study — By Philip G. Althack — Sindhu Publications Pvt. Ltd., Hind Rajasthan Chambers, Oak Lane, Fort, Bombay-1 — Price: Rs 20

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO: Quest for Power —

By Dilip Mukherjee — Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 5, Daryaganj Ansari Road, Delhi-6 — Price: Rs 20

PORTRAIT OF A DIRECTOR: Satyajit Ray —

By Marie Seton — Vikas Publications, 5, Daryaganj, Ansari Road, Delhi-6 — Price: Rs 25

VISHNU SAHASRANAMA: A Study

—By T. M. P. Mahadevan — Price:

Rs 2: Temples and Legends of Nepal

—By P. C. Roy Chaudhury — Price:

Rs 3 — Both published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, Bombay-7

FOCUS ON WEST BENGAL: Problems and Prospects —

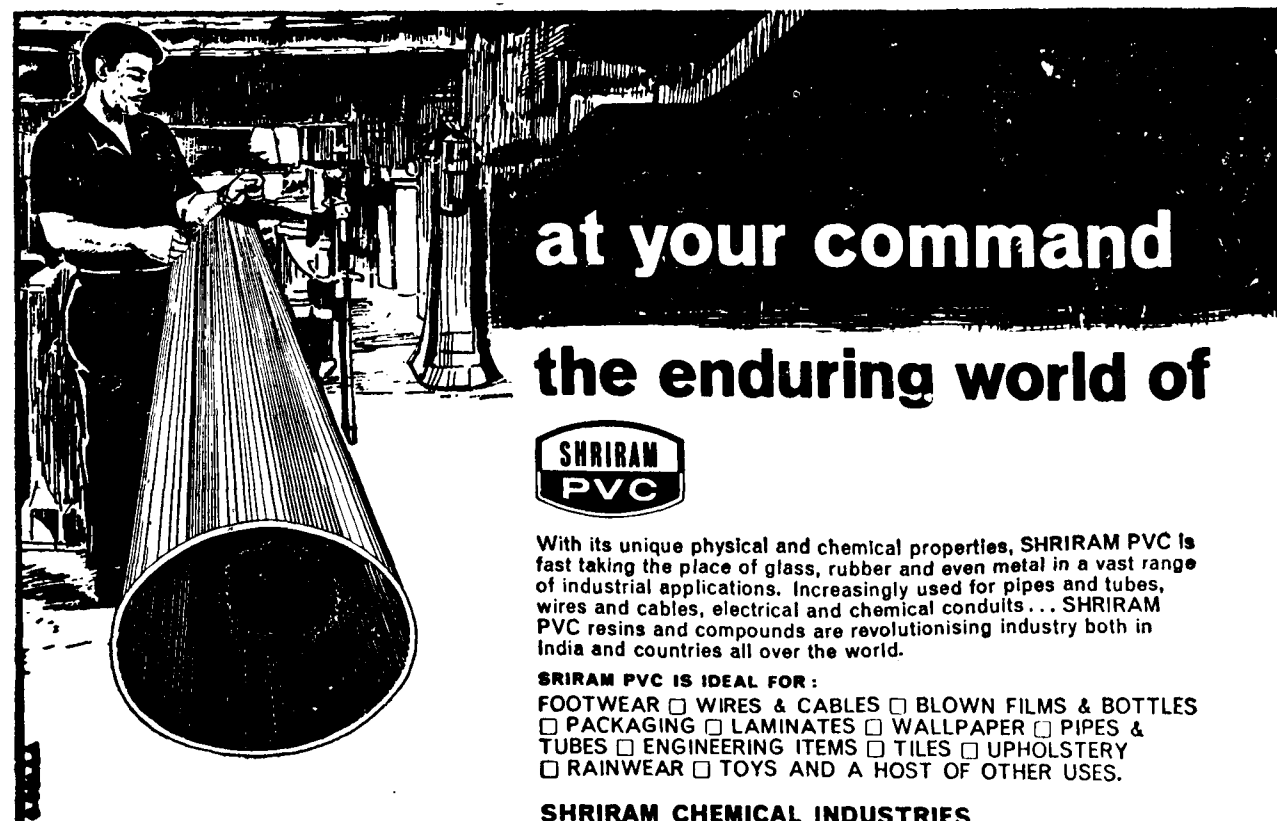
Edited by Bhattacharya — Published by Arghya Kusum Datta Gupta on behalf of Samatat Prakashan, 5/1/B, Deshpriya Park East, Calcutta-29—Price: Rs 20

GLIMPSES OF GREATNESS —

By Yogacharya Hausraj Yadhav — Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, Bombay-1 — Price: Rs 5

END AND MEANS: Their Dialectical Unity —

By C. G. Shah — Popular Prakashan, 35-C, Tardeo Road, Bombay-34 — Price: Rs 30



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VALUES ABIDE

BASUDHA CHAKRAVARTY

WEST BENGAL was, not so long ago, given up by the rest of the country for lost. Not unreasonably either. Life became insecure in the State, normal social and cultural life was curtailed, tourists avoided Calcutta, even sports teams from other States were unwilling to go there. Entrepreneurs cut down investment in West Bengal, many factories closed down or worked below their full capacity, even fields became scenes of strife and bloodshed. The toll of murder and assault was horrifying. All this was ascribed to political discontent, the revolt of left-wing parties against the sins of omission and commission of the ruling party.

Strangely, there was no remission in this state of things when the leftists themselves came for a while into power. Stranger still, they were then engaged in strife not with the erstwhile ruling party but among themselves, not merely physical strife, assault and murder; there was an all-out attack on the State's age-old heritage and culture. It took the form of demolition of statues and pictures of Mahatma Gandhi and Bengal's own great men; burning of educational institutions, libraries and laboratories; threats to doctors and professors and murders of, among others, veteran leaders, educationists and journalists.

The challenge was total. The familiar old world seemed to be collapsing from under the feet of the people of Bengal. One wondered if they themselves were a party to it. Doubts arose if the old ideas were any longer valid, if the values so long cherished were to be eclipsed for good. Had the methods of political and social advance chosen by the nation on the advent of Independence, failed to deliver the goods? Would the methods of bloody revolution or worse still, anarchy, which were now offering themselves, possess the State in totalitarian control? There was the anxious query if the anchor would hold.

But the molecular process of history was at work. The values built up through the generations would not yet give up. A number of traumatic experiences gave them a spurt to re-assert themselves. Among such experiences were the beheading of a bust of Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar, the murder of a Vice-Chancellor, the brutal killing of a number of saintly political and social leaders, the butchering of dedicated young men and some women, the ruin of thousands of homes and families, the destruction of educational equipment and the total disarray of public life. These deeply stirred the emotions of the people. The people were no longer

complacent and it was clear that they were not with the harbingers of death and destruction. They were anxious to return to their heritage of ethical progress.

The trek back to sanity had elements of wonder about it. It was found that the so-called and much-feared generation gap was easily overcome by the urges of the moment. It was the Chatra Parishad, the student wing of the Congress, that gave the lead to the resistance to violence let loose by the so-called leftists. The beginning was modest enough. Soon Youth Power mobilized itself through the Yuva Congress and took up the reins of destiny of West Bengal. The marauders were kept at bay; many of them went into hiding. In due course the people ratified this line of action by returning the Congress to power by a massive majority. Governmental action succeeded largely in suppressing anti-national and anti-social activities. But what was more important was the collapse of such activities due to their inner irrationality and lack of popular sanction behind them. That demonstrated that old values had not completely gone under, that the people at large still stood by the ideals of patriotism and social cohesion which were their rich heritage from both the remote and the immediate past. The ship of State and society had been tossed about in the ideological and politico-social tempest but the anchor still held.

So, the lesson West Bengal has learnt for itself and for others is that there is something abiding in the values mankind has discovered for itself in the course of ages, that they can be disturbed but not destroyed and that they do reassert themselves through and after social convulsions wrought temporarily by man's lack of accord with circumstances. But they have to be upheld, fought for and defended and by no means taken for granted. In the defence of abiding values, their restatement in changing times and their re-application to new requirements, lies the dynamism of life. In regarding them as static lies not stability but defeat and disaster.

PUNJAB—HARYANA LETTER:

CHANDIGARH ISSUE TO THE FORE

CHANDIGARH, Sept. 15: After about two years' respite, the future of Corbusier's elaborately planned and modern city of Chandigarh has again become a live issue. Time was when Sant Fateh Singh, the Akali leader, and several others were prepared to sacrifice their lives for it. The Akali leader twice undertook a fast unto death in a desperate bid to retain Chandigarh in Punjab. The Government and the people of Haryana, too, were then insisting on securing Chandigarh, especially in view of the Shah Commission's verdict that the city should go to this State. For months, the tussle became one of prestige, with neither party willing to climb down partly for fear of adverse political reactions. To settle the dispute, the Prime Minister announced her award in January 1970. While Chandigarh was to go to Punjab, Haryana was to be compensated for by the transfer of the rich Fazilka-Abohar belt (famous for cotton) and also, a Rs 10-crore grant as well as a loan of an equal amount to enable it to build a new capital. A boundary commission was also to be appointed to examine the inter-State territorial claims and counter-claims stemming from the linguistic reorganisation of Punjab in 1966.

Although the Prime Minister had made it clear that it was a package deal and could not be accepted or rejected in bits, the Akali-Jan Sangh Government welcomed the part that suited it but rejected the "sting"—the proposed transfer of the Fazilka-Abohar belt which the then Chief Minister, Mr P. S. Badal, described as "preposterous and arbitrary". Haryana, however, accepted the award *in toto*, despite the sporadic protests launched by some Opposition groups in the State early in 1970. Now, Punjab has also a Congress Ministry but so strong is the sentiment against the impending loss of Fazilka and Abohar that it is not keen at all on implementing Mrs Gandhi's award. Haryana is in-

sisting on early implementation, especially because its Government will have no *locus standi* in Chandigarh after January 1975. The Haryana Assembly last month demanded immediate action on these lines. The Punjab Chief Minister's proposal for maintaining the *status quo* (by which both the State Governments share the secretariat in the capital (the Chandigarh territory remaining under Central control) has not been approved either by the Prime Minister or the Haryana Government. The six rounds of talks that have taken place between the two Chief Ministers at Mrs Gandhi's instance have failed to produce a compromise. The net result is that neither State is now keen on complete possession of Chandigarh. While Punjab would like to split it up on the Berlin pattern and thereby retain control of Abohar and Fazilka, Haryana is not willing to accept any such modification of the original award. A fresh initiative by Mrs Gandhi on this ticklish issue (like that of Belgaum) is therefore awaited.

POWER SHORTAGE IN PUNJAB

The totally inadequate monsoon, especially in the catchment areas of the Gobind Sagar reservoir that feeds the Bhakra complex has caused considerable dislocation of the economy of the two States. Farms are as badly affected as factories. In Punjab, industrialists and others, observed a one-day "bandh" on September 11 to highlight the heavy losses to industry caused by the recurring power crises as well as the hardships caused to the people by the soaring price level. The "bandh" was stated to be a "60 per cent success" in the main towns and 25 per cent success in the smaller towns. In any case, the Punjab Government itself is fully aware of the distressing situation on both counts. By hastily arranging an additional supply of eight lakh units daily from the Satpura power

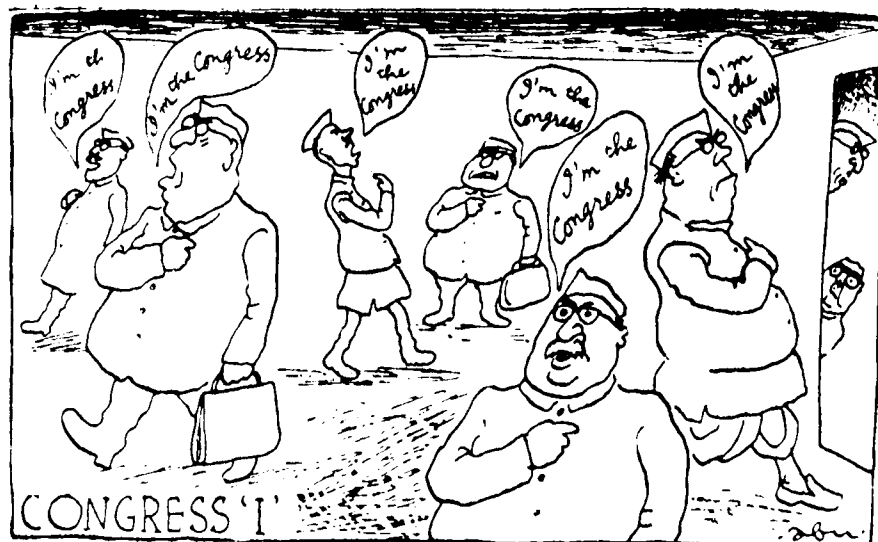
Contributions are welcomed but they should not exceed 900 words in length. They should be original and exclusive to SWARAJYA and should be specifically stated as such. The Editor will be grateful if they are typewritten with double space and on one side only. Unused articles will be returned only if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

house through the courtesy of the Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan Governments, and also by expediting the completion of the Bhatinda thermal plant (due to start functioning next year), the State administration hopes to lessen the hardship. But the glaring gap between the supply and the demand for power will remain for a decade and more. Much of the blame for the present situation is laid on the planners who failed to visualise the extent of the power shortage and did not provide for timely additional generation. The overdependence on Bhakra to the neglect of thermal projects has also contributed to the present acute distress among the people in both Punjab and Haryana.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

The Punjab Government's notification of September 9 banning the use of English by its employees for administrative work has caused considerable resentment. Disciplinary action has been threatened against officials, "regardless of status", who continue to use English in all file work, instead of Punjabi—the State's official language.

The exemptions to legal and other technical departments apart, the Government intends to organise "thorough and regular checks" to ensure implementation of the order. Most of the I.C.S. and I.A.S. officials, as well as heads of departments belonging to the State services, still prefer to use English for file notings. Even some Ministers stick to English. Meanwhile, spokesmen of the 44 per cent Hindus in the State are pleading for due status for Hindi. The linguistic tussle has been needlessly revived and it may have significant repercussions.



(Courtesy — Abu: Indian Express)

Woman.
mild yet wild.
now sad,
now glad.
Woman
with her
many moods
inspired
'mafrene'.

Mafrene

A 'Mafrene' sari makes a woman a queen.
Drapes like a dream. For, it's as light as woven air
As soft as a cloud. As cool as mist.
Tinged with tender pastels or splashed with loud,
proud prints. To bewitch him when he's near,
haunt him when he's away.

'Mafrene' 100% polyester saris and polyester
blended saris; polyester blended dress materials.

MAFATLAL GROUP



AIYARS-M. 287

Dear Reader

THE FUNDAMENTALS of Indian politics will come up soon for review by the Supreme Court. I hope, the Supreme Court's decision in the Golaknath case will remain unshaken. Otherwise, India will slide into dictatorship, democracy being replaced by totalitarianism. Whatever else we may be told that we shall get, citizens will lose their freedoms and the State will gather all power unto itself. Citizens will be serfs of an omnipotent government, instead of being the free citizens, the fathers of the Constitution planned they should be. It is God's grace that I continue to live and I have the privilege to sound this grave warning.

SOME GOOD PEOPLE are thinking of giving a new name to sweepers and scavengers. A new good name may give a sense of uplift for a time, but soon the new name will come to mean the workers concerned and nothing more. Giving a fresh name is not a new device. It has been tried before, by Gandhiji and before him by Sri Ramanuja, the Vaishnavite saint. Gandhiji, with the best of intentions, invented the name 'Harijan', hoping thereby to make people forget untouchability. Ramanuja invented the name 'Thirukkulathaar', 'திருக்குலத்தார்' with the same object—'Thiru' being a prefix to denote the sacredness of the literature, place or community to which the prefix is attached. But we know what has happened. The new name denotes the people concerned and the people concerned do not benefit by the new name. Neither 'Thirukkulathaar' nor 'Harijan' has changed the situation. The new names suffer a devaluation to take them closer to the reality, instead of benefiting the people concerned. If, for instance, we call the sweeper or scavenger by the name *Suchi Sevak*, the name may give for a short period a sense of uplift but soon *Suchi Sevak* will come to mean sweeper or scavenger and the situation will remain the same. A rose will smell as sweet as before though we call it by a new

name. A rupee will fetch the same in the free market as before even though we may re-baptise it as Bharat-dollar or Hindustan pound. And the people of India will remain the same whether India is called India or *Bhaarith* or *Hindoosathan*, as poet Iqbal called it to suit the rhythm of his anthem.

A transformation will come about when God is installed in the hearts of the people and men and women discard the desires and withstand the temptations that shut the door against Him. But God keeps knocking at the door. God is eager to save perhaps more eager than we are to be saved. Francis Thompson has told this in his own way in his great song, *The Hound of Heaven*.

MR DAVID LAWRENCE, in his editorial in *U.S. News & World Report* of September 25, expresses his doubt whether politics can ever be clean. My own answer has been expressed more than once in the columns of *SWARAJYA*. Politics can be clean and we should not despair. Politics cannot be dispensed with but clean politics will arrive if God is not shut out but the door is opened for Him to enter the hearts of men and women.

IT APPEARS that 95 per cent of the people of Russia continue to be

staunch Christians and prefer the consolations they find in Religion to the consolations that communism offers. *Pravda's* call for a vigorous drive to stamp out Religion is a recognition of the failure of communism in this respect. The people are sensible and Religion stands unshaken by communist atheism. The dogs may bark at the moon in the sky but the moon is not frightened by it.

WE READ in the 118th Psalm in the Old Testament: "The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes." Jesus referred to this as recorded in Matthew Chapter 21. English, with its lack of uniformity or principle in respect of spelling and pronunciation condemned by everybody and its irregular grammar and undependable idiom, has become the international medium of communication. A language attains its status as a result of the literature that is produced in that language. Correct and rigid grammar will not save a language if important books and journals useful to the world are not produced in that language. It is the wealth of English literature that has made English the 'head stone of the corner'.

MESSRS. Piloo Mody, P. K. Deo, H. M. Patel, Lokanath Misra, K. C. Panda and R. R. Singh Deo and

THE SCAPEGOAT TO BEAR
THE ERRORS OF THE RULING
CONGRESS



Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy have issued the following statement:

Here is another instance of India's "tailism" of the Soviet Foreign Policy. India not only came out with a mild protest at the murder of the Israeli athletes but refrained from participating in the memorial service held at the Olympic Stadium. In this we fell in line with the Soviet Union. By this action India has not only exposed her weak-kneed foreign policy but has created indignation in the hearts of the youth of this country who always aspire to keep sports out of politics.

There are reports that the Soviet Union is supplying arms

and other war material to the *Al Fatah*, a Palestinian terrorist organisation. Russian arms were used by Palestinian guerillas at Munich when they slayed the Israeli athletes. Are we devoid of human considerations that even at the funeral we should absent ourselves out of political considerations? Such an attitude of showing political hostility at a solemn function is entirely against the precepts of Indian culture and traditions. South Block has tarnished the image of this country. We hope the Prime Minister will take note of the indignation of our people and make suitable amends.

C.R.

FROM THE CAPITAL:

CHANGE IN INDUSTRIAL POLICY LIKELY SENTINEL

NEW DELHI, September 21: Mr C. Subramaniam has promised some clear-cut decisions on industrial policy within a few weeks. Whether such decisions would be within the framework of the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 or would be a new industrial policy resolution is not clear. His predecessor in office had talked of a new resolution. The intention then was to take note of the changes since 1956 in the pattern of industrial development, not with a critical eye on the shortfalls and lack of performance of the public sector but with a view to further curtailing whatever field was left open to private initiative. The policy change thought of was to be more restrictive so that more areas were brought within the ambit of the State sector.

What the State sector and the the philosophy of "commanding heights" has done to the economy is there for all to see. Failing to produce results, these new public sector units have cumulatively created a situation wherein the economy has been in a state of stagnation for long spells. With investments totalling over Rs 4300 crores, their failure has brought about inflationary pressure of the worst kind. Prices have shot up all-round making life very difficult for all sections of the people,

the poor being the worst hit. And with investments thus wrongly directed every plan brought in more and more rise in prices.

When the public sector units were launched on a grandiose scale, the people were told that they would produce and bring in profits that would meet part of the Plan expenditure. The experience has been just the opposite. The projects mounted up losses in a big way. To meet the losses, more taxation was resorted to and more deficit financing undertaken. It has to be mentioned here that deficit financing has been a continuous exercise during the last 15 years. And strangely enough, deficit financing has been the highest in the normal years, during periods unconnected with war or drought conditions. As a matter of fact deficit financing has been modest and even low during the two armed conflicts with Pakistan. So the rise in prices cannot be attributed to these developments. This distinction has to be borne in mind since official propaganda tends to make out that natural calamities or border conflicts have aggravated the price situation. It is not so. It is deficit financing and wasteful expenditure on public sector and other governmental schemes which have, year after year, added to

the inflationary spiral.

The Government has had to yield to regular demands for a wage increase resulting from price rise. Last week the Government announced an interim increase costing an additional sum of Rs 36 crores. The cost of living index has reached 238 and now rests there uneasily. After all this, the Minister harps on the theme that price rise issue should be viewed in the context of the world trend. But in other countries the rise is just by 2 to 4 points, while production has increased tremendously. Here in India, the rise is of the order 20 to 25 per cent every year, while production has fallen all along the line.

Mr C. Subramaniam promises to give a fresh look to the whole question. At a meeting of the State Industries Ministers, he spoke of certain hard facts. There was some recognition at last in his address of the factors that have led to inflation. Mr Subramaniam said prices had risen beyond the "tolerance limit" and he felt the only answer was increased production. As one who had occasion to draw up a mid-term appraisal of the Fourth Plan, in which industrial stagnation stood out as the main disappointing feature, Mr Subramaniam has no doubt identified the areas as well as the cause. He has given hopes of the new industrial policy clearing the "uncertainties" in the way of fresh investment. He also conceded that the recent take-over of some industrial units like the Indian Iron and Steel Company had led to uncertainties. There are other difficulties like raw material shortage, especially steel, power shortage, etc. Mr Subramaniam made no reference to fiscal disincentives.

If all these factors are taken into account and some dynamic policy is hammered into shape, it may be creditable. Clearing the cobwebs and shaping a scheme is one thing. But to get it accepted as a policy at the highest level is another. Mr Subramaniam may propose but if others with dogmatic beliefs are to dispose, the situation will remain the same—price rise and all the accompanying features.

GUJARAT LETTER:

STATE'S ECONOMY UNDER SEVERE STRAIN

RAJKOT, Sept. 18: Large parts of the State, particularly Saurashtra and Kutch, are in the grip of famine. Consequent on the failure of the monsoon the prices of essential commodities are jumping up. There will be only 25 per cent of oilseed crop in Saurashtra; against 18 lakh tonnes of groundnut produced last year, this year the output is expected to be only 5 lakh tonnes. As a result, the price of edible oil has shot up to Rs 4.95 per kilo. It is feared that there will be an acute shortage of edible oil in the State.

The Congress (O) in the State has girded up its loins to come in the midst of the people and to shed some of the fat that it has collected during its long years in office. On 27th August 500 workers of the Congress fasted in different wards in the capital to mark their protest against the spiralling prices. On the 30th ultimo, it organised a mammoth procession.

It is learnt that the State Government has submitted several proposals to the Central Government to curb edible oil prices, to place more stringent controls on advances, to arrange for more oil imports and to form an edible oil corporation at the national level. Meanwhile, as many as 6,253 villages are affected by scarcity. Relief works have been started. Grave signs of strain are already visible on the State's economy and even if rains come now, more than 50 per cent of the crops may have to be written off.

Meanwhile, with the organisational poll coming off shortly, groupism is at its worst in the Congress party. The Ratubhai Adani and the Darji groups have failed to enroll sufficient number of members. They have raised a hue and cry that bogus members have been enrolled by the other side. Mr Jhinabhai Darji made this a major issue and has ordered a probe into the whole affair. He has raised the bogey of the bogus membership with the High Command, to impress on the latter that regular poll is not possible

and that therefore another *ad hoc* committee should be constituted.

The Ranji Centenary celebrations are on in Gujarat. The late Jam Saheb Shri Ranjitsinhji of the erstwhile State of Navanagar in Saurashtra, was a renowned cricketer. He played for England to pile up more than 26000 runs in the 500 innings that he had played in first class and Test cricket in and for England. Centuries were

ORISSA LETTER:

CYCLONE HAVOC IN ORISSA

BHUBANESWAR, Sept. 18: The cyclone in all its fury visited Orissa again on September 10 for the third time in the past one year, causing the State's rivers to burst their embankments and to flood paddy fields. Thousands of acres have been inundated with saline water by the tidal waves on the coast. In contrast, the fields in the western interior of the States have been subjected to a long spell of drought. Thus the State had the foulest weather ever in the last one year.

The Government has already

so much of a habit with him that English commentators named him Runget Sinhji. He once scored three centuries in a day playing for three different teams in first class cricket in England. Even today boys in the street of England settle their disputes in cricket by swearing in the name of Ranji. He was born on 10th September 1872 in Sadodar village near Jamnagar in Saurashtra. Prince Ranji, by his unusual prowess in cricket, put Jamnagar's name on the cricket map of the world. It is indeed befitting that the cricket world is celebrating his 100th birthday.

spent over Rs 35 crores in the past one year over relief and thousands have been on gratuitous relief since the worst cyclone and tidal bore of last October which killed more than 10,000 people. The plight of the people had become so miserable that the UNICEF opened three centres under the nutritional therapy schemes on the northern coast of the State to tackle the vulnerable segment of the population, viz., pregnant women, nursing mothers and children. To the thousands of impoverished population will now



be added a few more thousands hit by the cyclone and floods. Destruction of dwelling houses was reported on a large scale besides damage to paddy fields. Human casualties were put at 90 dead but full details are yet to come.

A welcome feature however was the warning of the approaching cyclone which was broadcast hourly for over 24 hours asking the people to move to places of safety. Breaches occurred at three places on the coastline at Paradip. The speed of the gale at Paradip was 120 km per hour and the tidal waves rose to a height of 3.66 metres. The breaches were closed within 24 hours by the port authorities and but for the dislocation

of the normal work in the port due to power failure there was no damage either to the port installations or to the vessels inside the port or to the two ships waiting outside the harbour.

The Revenue Minister, Mr Braja Mahanti, who visited Bhanjanagar in Ganjam district, over 50 miles inland from the coast, was told by the SDO that 30,000 acres "have been sand cast and 10,000 houses have been damaged" by the floods in the local rivers in 300 villages of that subdivision alone. Subsequent reports said that 17,383 houses had totally collapsed, 41,500 had partly collapsed and crops on 1.45 lakhs acres were damaged in Ganjam district.

MAHARASHTRA LETTER:

RULING PARTY FACES SERIOUS DISRUPTION

BOMBAY, September 18: The BPCC (R) Executive in Bombay has suspended five senior dissident leaders and clamped a ban on partymen airing intra-party grievances in public. The present revolt in the party may not amount to an actual split but there is no doubt that the BPCC's image under the leadership of Mr Rajni Patel, known for his leftist leanings, has been badly damaged, particularly as it has come on top of the debacle the ruling party here has suffered by recent events. It was only last month that it had to make a complete *volte face* on the civic bonus issue. The current industrial strife in the eastern suburb of Bombay, involving two major engineering units, among many others, is openly attributed to a clash of personalities within the party organisation for gaining leadership of the INTUC-led unions in these establishments.

The BPCC's discomfiture was thoroughly exposed during Mrs Gandhi's visit to Bombay earlier this month when she regretted the incidents of violence on account of the industrial strife, resulting from rivalries among partymen. She made it clear in no uncertain terms to Mr Rajni

Patel that in the present juncture the Central Government would not tolerate prolonged strikes and loss of production, breach of peace and violence. She wanted the atmosphere of industrial strife in the city to end.

The open dissent in the BPCC is mainly attributed to an intra-party power struggle. But for the time being at least, Mr Rajni Patel appears to have complete sway. However, it is not quite certain whether this position will continue.

With the civic elections due early next year, the ruling party seems to be in a state of serious disruption. Its sins of commission and omission have been tabulated in a printed memorandum which the dissident leaders submitted to the Prime Minister and the Congress President in Delhi. The memorandum lists 17 specific charges against the BPCC leadership. Specifically, the memorandum accuses the leadership of having formed a "syndicate of the New Congress" and having ruled the party dictatorially, spreading "mounting discontent and frustration amongst the rank and file." It appeals to the Prime Minister and the High Command to dis-

miss the present executive which it terms as an "autocratic coterie."

Among the other charges made in the memorandum are: unaccounted collections of party funds, failure to call even one general body meeting during the year; the President is not accessible to the common worker; despite a few committees having been constituted to tackle common people's grievances, the BPCC has not done anything to agitate against rising prices of essentials such as sugar; sharing of public platforms constantly with communist front organisations; enrolment of bogus members in tens of thousands by the leadership (an AICC observer is in the city investigating this complaint). An interesting point made is that the BPCC executive has failed to maintain the dignity of the Congress office and its working. It also points out that a majority of the Executive Committee members and office-bearers do not conform to the basic requirements of active Congress membership.

Since Mr Vasantrao Patil, who was for over five years president of the MPCC, was inducted into the State Cabinet after the last Assembly elections, the successor issue was kept alive. The natural choice would have been Mr Gadam, vice-president, but ultimately, Mr P. K. Sawant, former Agricultural Minister, was unanimously elected president recently. It is believed that his name was proposed by the Union Finance Minister, Mr Y. B. Chavan, and seconded by the Chief Minister, Mr V. P. Naik. It had been known that both these leaders were in favour of Mr Gadam. Mr Sawant had been mentioned in the past in connection with the leadership issue when his support had been assumed to be in favour of Mr Shankarao Chavan, who had staked his claim to Chief Ministership of Maharashtra after the last Assembly election. There was possibly no compelling reason for Mrs Gandhi to select Mr Sawant for the MPCC Presidentship except that it fits into the general pattern of choosing someone whom Messrs. Chavan and Naik had not directly favoured!

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

RELIGION V POLITICS

Sir,—With reference to the gruesome crime committed by a gang at the Olympic village in Munich, Rajaji in his 'Dear Reader' column in SWARAJYA of September 16, wrote thus: "Unless God and religion, the real basic defence of law and order, are re-installed, there is no hope for humanity." In this context, one is reminded of what Swami Vivekananda, on his return to India from a lecture tour of Western countries, said in one of his talks: "Westerners are more politically-minded and politics is their main hobby; but India, being the granary of religious culture, should be more religious-minded. To the Westerners, even religion has to be taught through politics, whereas politics has to be taught through religion in India." Let India remain a secular nation but there is no harm if every one follows Swami Vivekananda's dictum: "God first, other things secondary or even tertiary for everyone in life." A change in the attitude of every politician to the extent demanded by Swami Vivekananda will go a long way in re-establishing faith in God, peace and goodwill among mankind in a country like India where the atmosphere remains surcharged with strikes, tension and violence unheard of in the first 25 years of Independence!

D. VAIDYANATHAN
Bombay

IT HAPPENED IN THE CAPITAL

(We publish below extracts from the copy of a letter written by Mr S. D. Mishra, General Secretary of the Congress (O), New Delhi, to the Inspector-General of Police, Delhi.)

Sir,—On 13th November 1971, when our office was trespassed into and taken forcible possession of by the supporters of the ruling party at the Centre, our Permanent Secretary, Sri N. Balakrishnan, had gone to the Parliament Street Police Station and lodged a report on the incident. The statements of our General Secretaries, Sri Manubhai Patel, Sri Viresh Pratap Chaudhry, Advocate and Secretary of the Youth Congress, and some leading members and workers of our party were also recorded by the police regarding the incident. The premises so trespassed remained in the possession of the supporters of the ruling party at the Centre from 13th November to 16th November. On 16th November the premises were sealed by the police in the presence of a Magistrate under Section 145 Cr.P.C. after the police had cleared the premises of the trespassers. After about three months of the proceedings in the

Court of S.D.M., the seals of the premises were removed by the police and possession was restored to us on 7th February, 1972.

The above facts were widely publicised in the press and among the public. Yet, strangely and surprisingly, a communication was handed over to our office on 4th July 1972, from the Parliament Street Police Station which informed us in substance that the police had not been able to track down those who had trespassed into our office and hence the case was being filed. The communication was in reply to the first report of the incident of November 13, 1971. While we are able to understand the police helplessness in the face of the ruling party's highhandedness, it shows that justice in this country is fast becoming what the ruling party thinks it should be. This feeling of ours gains strength from the following instances as well:

(i) Subsequent to our regaining possession of our premises, reports about articles like typewriters, cycles, etc., taken away by the trespassers were lodged with the Parliament Street Police Station on which no action seems to have been taken by the police;

(ii) Two of our cars were taken away by the trespassers between 13th and 16th November 1971. Though the cars were restored, no action has been taken against those who took away the cars, removed tool boxes and tyres;

(iii) Incidents, almost similar to those that took place on 13th November 1971, occurred in the last week of December 1969 and the beginning of January 1970 and the people involved have, to our knowledge, not been booked and punished.

Delhi-6 S. D. MISRA

OVERCHARGING BY TELEPHONE DEPT.

Sir,—The number of complaints of overcharging by the Telephone Department has increased sharply in the last three months. I personally do not blame the computer system for this. It is possible that a racket similar to the one that was exposed recently might be operating in all major cities. In Delhi, the bills of big firms were compounded for a consideration by an organised gang in the department. But, what is more shocking is the information that was given by some of our members. It appears that a linesman could transfer STD calls made by one subscriber to another for a consideration

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through some mechanical device at the telephone pole or so. Since individual complaints are never attended to, we have formed the Telephone Subscribers' Association to lodge all complaints on an organised basis. The number of complaints about overcharging has sharply increased after the introduction of STD services. This may increase even more after STD services are introduced between Bombay and Calcutta, Madras and Bangalore.

Bombay S. S. BANKESHWAR

THE LOCOMEN'S STRIKE

Sir,—The strike launched by the locomen of the Southern Railway has happily been called off. For this result the credit must go entirely to the Railway Minister, Mr T. A. Pai. He initiated a new procedure which must be an object lesson to other Central and State Ministers. He told politicians, who are always eager to fish in troubled waters, to keep off. He said the dispute was a matter between the strikers and the management and third parties had no business, whatsoever, to interfere and complicate matters. And this policy has paid rich dividends.

Bangalore V. T. SREENIVASAN

FACTS AND FIGURES:

ACCORDING to the annual report of the Reserve Bank of India for 1971-72, the wholesale price index rose by 6.8 per cent between July 1971 and June 1972, a rise twice as much as in the previous year. Sector-wise, foodgrain prices rose by 14 per cent, rice by 10.1 per cent, wheat by 3.8 per cent, sugar by 27.5 per cent, and manufactured articles by 5 per cent.

A RECENT SAMPLE SURVEY conducted by a Government agency discloses that the *per capita* expenditure of an average middle class family is Rs 79.36 in Bombay; Rs 70.80 in Calcutta; Rs 77.81 in Delhi and Rs 88.81 in Simla. The average per family income is Rs 374 in Bombay, Rs 378 in Calcutta and Rs 357 in Delhi, but only Rs 315 in Simla. The prices in Simla are generally 24 per cent higher than the all-India prices, thus making Simla the costliest city.

DR. B. V. BHOOTA, President of the AIMO, has given facts to show that the *per capita* availability of basic wage-goods and services — has not registered uniform or very appreciable increases over the last two decades. For foodgrains the availability in grammes was 305 in 1950-51; 431 in 1955-56; 468 in 1960-61 and 457 in 1970-71. For edible oils, it was 2.7 kg. in 1950-51; 3.2 in 1960-61 and 3.3 in 1970-71. For sugar the figure in kg. was 3.0 in 1950-51; 5.0 in 1955-56; 4.7 in 1960-61 and 7.3 in 1970-71. For cotton cloth, in metres, the figure was 11.0 in 1950-51; 14.4 in 1955-56; 13.8 in 1960-61 and 13.6 in 1970-71. Tea availability in grammes, was 257 in 1955-56; 293 in 1960-61 and 383 in 1970-71. The number of primary schools per 10,000 of population was 5.9 in 1950-51; 7.2 in 1955-56; 7.6 in 1960-61 and 7.2 in 1970-71.

ACCORDING to official statistics, in 1970-71, 1,01,210 tonnes of natural rubber, 32,911 tonnes of synthetic rubber and 16,137 tonnes of reclaimed rubber were produced in the country. The quantity consumed was 96,454 tonnes of

natural rubber, 27,209 tonnes of synthetic rubber and 15,772 tonnes of reclaimed rubber. The closing stock at the end of 1971 was 10,823 tonnes. Three agencies — the S.T.C., the Kerala Government, and the third and the latest, the Kerala Rubber Marketing Federation are or will be operating in the market off and on to buy stocks of rubber, as a part of price-stabilisation programme.

THE AVERAGE sum assured per life insurance policy (excluding group insurance business) was Rs 7,937 in 1971-72, compared with Rs 7,574 in the previous year. On an average 1,200 claims are settled on every working day.

IN 1971, 300,995 tourists visited India and brought in Rs 40.38 crores in foreign exchange, according to Mr J. G. Oakshot, the outgoing President of the South Indian Hotels and Restaurants Association. He stated that a fact-finding mission had established that tourist expenditure generated economic activity corresponding to 320 to 440 per cent of the initial injection of expenditure. A tourist revenue of Rs 40 crores last year would have, on this reckoning, generated economic activity involving Rs 120 crores.

ACCORDING to the South Indian Mill-Owners' Association, there were, between March 1 and June 30 this year, 34 strikes in 25 mills. From July to August-end, there were strikes in 19 mills, and two had declared lock-out. Already 4.25 lakhs man-days have been lost through these strikes in Coimbatore area in Tamil Nad.

IN THE 15 days ending 12th September 1972, over 160 children have been kidnapped in Colombo. The Sri Lanka Government considers this such a dangerous development that a proposal has been mooted to make kidnapping a penal offence carrying death penalty.

AS IN 1967, the share of the developing countries in the total migration of specialists

into the United States was recorded as 52 per cent. The leader-donor was India which in 1970 lost 2,900 diplomaed scientists, engineers and doctors. Most of the 90 per cent of Asian youth who obtain education in the U.S. are "tied" in advance to jobs outside their countries.

OUT OF 1,500 companies, only 23 per cent paid the minimum statutory bonus of 4 per cent, according to a Reserve Bank of India sample survey. All the rest paid more, many 8.33 per cent and some even higher.

IN THE FIRST four months (April-July) of the current financial year, 1972-73, the Central Government's revenue collections were Rs 183 crores higher at Rs 1184.50 crores, than what they were in the corresponding period of 1971 (Rs 1001.04 crores). The increases were: Rs 60.52 crores under Customs; Rs 107.80 crores under Corporation Tax; Rs 6.35 crores under Income-tax; Rs 1.60 crores under Wealth Tax; Rs 0.22 crores under Gift Tax and Rs 2.00 crores under opium. The increases are stated to be in accordance with the budgetary anticipations.

INDIA HAS HAD a record cotton crop in 1971-72, the production was 65.26 lakh bales, which is 15 per cent higher than the previous record of 56.77 lakh bales in 1964-65.

THE INTERNATIONAL Finance Corporation, an affiliate of the World Bank, has announced that it had made investments totalling 115.6 million dollars in 23 private businesses in 17 developing countries during the 1972 fiscal year. It is stated that this was the largest amount contributed by the I.F.C. in any single year since its inception in 1956. Including the investments in 1971-72, the total investments of the Corporation amounts to 694 million dollars in 181 enterprises in 48 countries. Of every dollar invested by the I.F.C., 41 cents come from local private investors, 37 cents from foreign private investors and 19 cents from the I.F.C.



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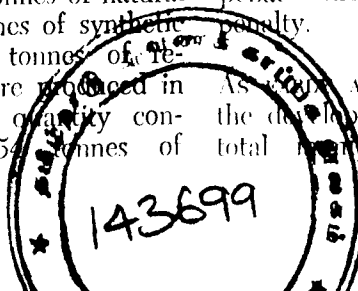
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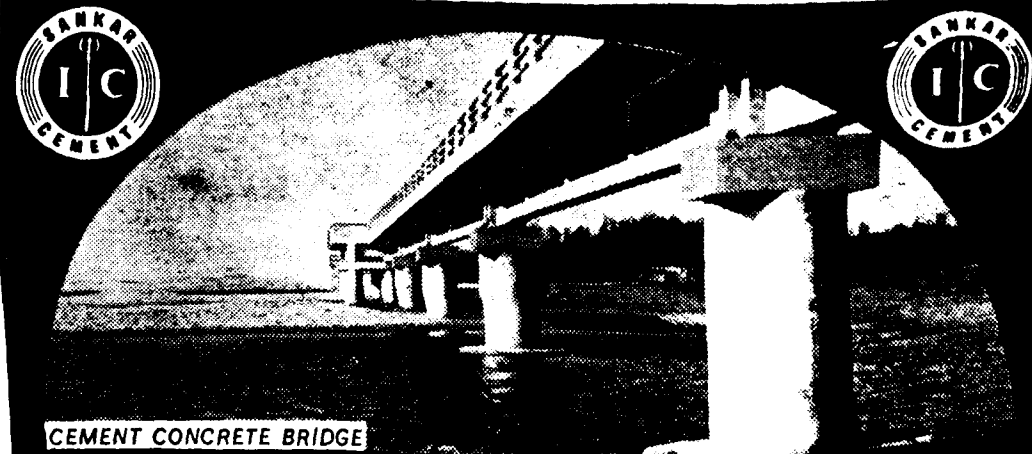


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Printed by R. Ananthanarayanan & published by T. Sadasivam on behalf of M/s. Bharathan Publications Private Ltd., at the Kalki Press, Chetput, Madras-600031. Editor: K. SANTHANAM