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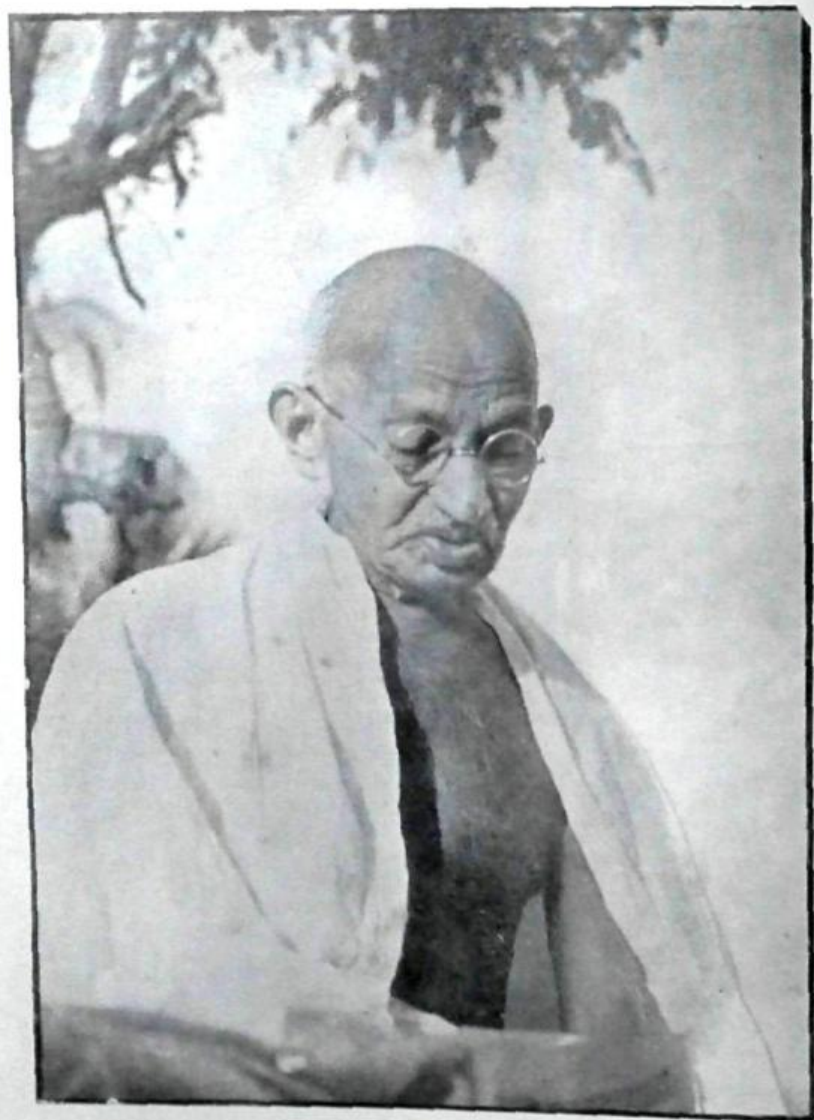
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MAHATMA GANDHI
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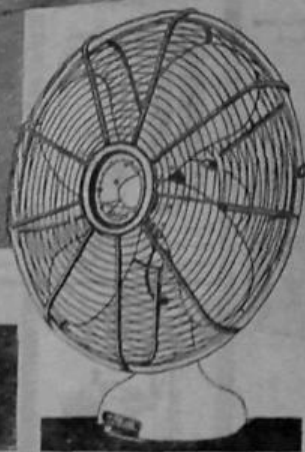
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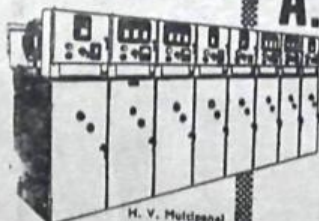
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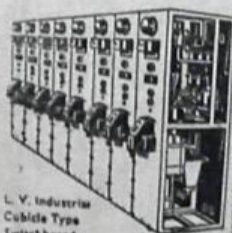
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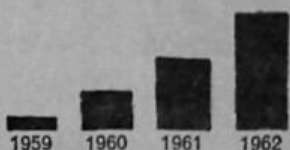
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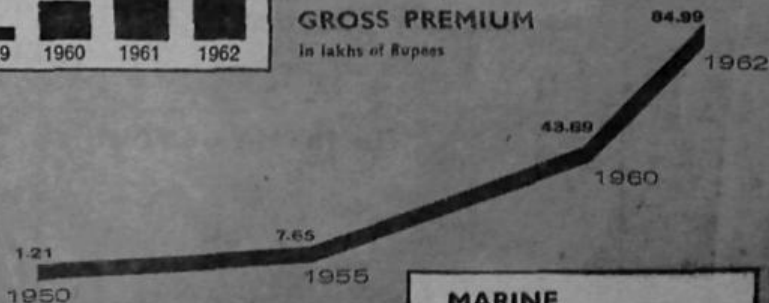
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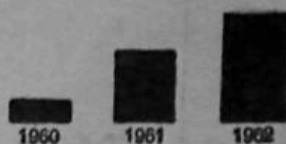


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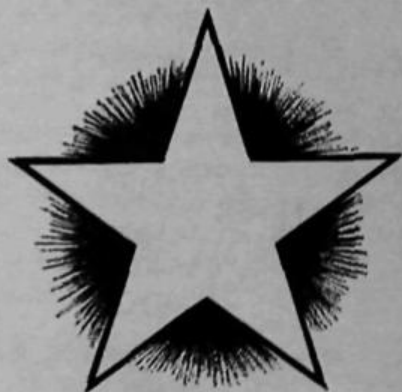
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*"Democracy is not a state
in which people act like sheep.
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liberty of opinion and action
is jealously guarded."*

MAHATMA GANDHI

TATA ENTERPRISES

SWATANTRA PARTY
Third National Convention



BANGALORE

February 1964

SWATANTRA PARTY
Third National Convention



BANGALORE

February 1954

PREFACE

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS are occasions for stock-taking. And in troubled times such stock-taking not only becomes important but is necessary if a Party is to attune itself to the requirements of changing needs. India, today, is at the crossroads.

The Third National Convention of the Swatantra Party meets under such conditions prevailing in the Country. The delegates from all the States will gather at Bangalore to assess the Party's progress since the last General Elections in 1962. They will have to review the Party's programme and plan and decide as to how best to contest the next General Elections successfully.

This *Souvenir* has been brought out at very short notice. The articles contained within these pages have been contributed by eminent persons. It is hoped that every delegate to the Convention and sympathiser will purchase copies which are priced very reasonably.

We take this opportunity to thank all those contributors who have taken the trouble to write for us at very short notice. At the same time, this volume would not have been possible but for the advertisement support received from generous donors whom we thank most sincerely.

A word of acknowledgment is due to the Proprietors of the *Kalki* and *Swarajya* Press for giving us an artistic design for the cover of the *Souvenir*. Our thanks are also due to the Bangalore Press for printing the *Souvenir* at very short notice and at a reasonable cost.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SWATANTRA PARTY

POTHAN JOSEPH

THE Third National Convention comes at a time of gloom when the Prime Minister is ill, but once his sickness disappears, Mr. Nehru's activities will cease to be front-page news in the world-press. He could not figure on the dais at Gopabandhunagar directing resolutions as at Sadashivnagar during the Bangalore Session of the Congress. Sri Kamaraj Nadar had then observed silence, hardly excited about definitions of terms like Socialism, the Welfare State, Democratic Socialism or other concepts now serving as ladders to the enjoyment of party-power. Evidently he had thought that the Avadi Resolution, briefly seconded by him in the shortest speech on political record in history, meant the last word for "progressives" to keep on applauding. Nevertheless he was expected at the 68th Session of the Congress to elucidate the targets obscured by the extra-Constitutional use of authority by the ruling party. The word Nazism in Hitler's time was "national socialism" in short, the very negation of Democracy which had to be fought out in the bloodiest war ever known.

The speech of President Nadar put through the mike is a disappointment, since the rigmarole of 3,500 words does not contain anything outside what is found in Part IV of the Constitution as our Swatantra Leader has already explained. A spokesman of the school of parrot-wise sycophancy has, however, flashed it to the listening world while Sri Kamaraj Nadar was on his feet reading his prepared manuscript thus :

Kamaraj's presidential address is the most incisive analysis of the contemporary scene in India. His mature wisdom, sagacity and practical experience are written large on every line of his address which, incidentally, is also a most concise document.

Obviously he has not heard that it was "bourgeois-Socialism" that his address was tilting at. He himself imagined he was bourgeois aiming at Capitalism in the belief that the ideal of "Socialism" had been unambiguously accepted at Avadi and that what remained was to "take steps" toward the dismantling of the Opposition, continuously smeared with ulterior motives.

Where have you got any advance from incoherence at Jaipur to lucidity in Gopabandhunagar? The result is that the muddle imposes on the Swatantra movement increasing responsibility to shake out of the administration the features of corruption, impoverishment and party dominance glamourised for no other purpose than shielding vested interests against objections raised by us. The burden of putting "infantile disorders" aright devolves on the Swatantra movement. Hence the vital importance of the Third Convention to repel sophisticated humbug.

"It is not in us to command success;
But we will do more, Sempronius,
We'll deserve it."

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ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತ ಬರಹಗಾರರ ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠ ಕೃತಿಗಳ ಈ ಸಂಕಲನದಲ್ಲಿ ಅತ್ತೋಗ್ನತಿ, ಸಮಾಜ ಸುಧಾರಣೆ, ಜೀವನದ ಕಷ್ಟ-ಸುಖ, ಕಾರಿಗ್ಯ-ಕಾರುಣ್ಯ, ವೈಚಿತ್ರ್ಯ-ವೈವಿಧ್ಯ, ಅಣಕ, ಆಚ್ಛರಿ, ಆತ್ಮಪ್ರೀತಿ, ಅನುಭವ, ಅನುಕಂಪ ಮುಂತಾದ ವಿಷಯಗಳು ಸೂರ್ಯಪ್ರಭೆಯನ್ನು ಒಂದು ಮುಚಿನ ಹುರಿ ಪ್ರತಿಬಿಂಬಿಸುವಂತೆ ಕಲಾತ್ಮಕವಾಗಿ ಸರಳ ಶೈಲಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಚಿತ್ರಿತವಾಗಿವೆ.

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“ಈ ಗ್ರಂಥವು ಅಖಿಲ ಭಾರತದ ವಿವಿಧ ಭಾಷೆಗಳೂ ತುರ್ಕಿಮೆಗೊಂಡು ಅಂತೆಯೇ ವಿಶ್ವಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದಲ್ಲೂ ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಣ್ಣ ಕತೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಒಂದು ಸ್ಥಾನವನ್ನು ಕಲ್ಪಿಸಿಕೊಡುವ ಸಂಯೋಜನೆಗೆ ವಾಕ್ಯವಾಗುವುದು ಒಂದು ಭಾವಿಸುತ್ತೇವೆ.”

—‘ಸುರೇಂದ್ರ’, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು

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PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE leaders of the new democracies in

Asia and Africa very soon develop the mood of benevolent monarchs, which is a mood native to the soil. The people, too, lapse into total trust in those whom God sends down to rule over them. The leaders understand how well this non-resistance dovetails into their own impulses and they make full use of it. But the Western patterns of parliaments and universal-franchise-elections and party-machines are maintained at great expense so as to impress Western democracies. The world has come closer together in external patterns of behaviour. The leaders of the oriental nations copy democracy as they copy Western dress.

National leaders in Asia and Africa are a distinct type. They are desperately in love with themselves. The degree of self-admiration they suffer from cannot be understood by the Western mind. It is coupled with a confidence that the people over whom they are placed will never think of resisting their appraisal of themselves, which in the West would be inconceivable. There, the people and every individual thereof have a spirit of resistance which is not inconsistent with law and makes for democracy, as Gandhiji often pointed out. This spirit is relatively absent in the nations of the East, and it is this which brings into being one-party democracies and other forms of absolute government. The spirit of resistance, which every individual in

America and Great Britain nurses as important for him and the nation, is deemed disloyal and anti-national in the new oriental democracies. 'Discipline' is the deceptive slogan for citizens in these countries which really means no-thinking and total acceptance, without question, of the wisdom and the authority of the boss and the 'High Command'—a word coined for the special purposes of one-party rule in the East and which figures so constantly in the daily press.

Democracy is a form of government in which the people as a whole have effective power and control over affairs. The people may exercise this power directly or through elected agents under a free electoral system. A government in which a party oligarchy operates in the name of the people and in effect holds all power is only a democracy in name. Reality, not mere definition, makes the government a democracy, that is, a government by the people. The difference between reality and legal definitions is well brought out by the most recent example of artificial definitions, the proposed 17th Amendment according to which every field shall be deemed to be a zamindari estate and every owner of land a zamindar.

Constitutions refusing freedom of action to all but a single party which has seized power are not democracies. But communist parties claim that the governments of Soviet Russia and China are democracies.

The claim is put forward not only by communists but now by several rulers in Africa and elsewhere. They argue that democratic government can be run by a single party, under a system by which no other party but the one in power can legally exist. This is based on the plausible ground that opposition views are expressed and considered in the meetings of the party in power. There may for some time be just government under this system but it is not democracy. It is an oligarchy—government by a few who control all power.

Tom Mboya of Nairobi (Kenya) has written a long letter published in the *New Leader* claiming that Western democracy is not the only type of democracy in the world and that in a single party rule, such as now obtains in Kenya, power is distributed and the rule of law is recognized, the judiciary is independent, the press is respected, trade unions and other pressure groups are also allowed to exist; so the Kenya government run by the Kenya African National Union party is not a dictatorship or oligarchy but democracy. This argument is fallacious. Indonesia's guided democracy is also claimed to be a democracy. So also General Ayub's government in Pakistan. These examples are likely to grow. There is a tendency among Asiatic and African peoples including India to accept one-party government and to consider it as good enough democracy. One-party rule is not democracy except in name. The usual plea is that an emergency prevails which continues indefinitely or that some permanent circumstances of the country call for that kind of government. This may be so, but those governments are not democracies.

Experience has taught us that political liberty is in jeopardy in all such arrange-

ments whatever be the justification. Soon the rule of law comes to an end, the independence of the judiciary evaporates and the press becomes subservient. Trade unions and other sectional organizations come, as soon as they assert themselves under the strict regulations of the party in power. There may be differences and discussions inside the party where the leader sagaciously allows it, but it is monolithic all the same. The more powerful section inside always prevails and does not permit any opposition to be active or express itself publicly and acquaint the people with its views. It is given no opportunity to canvas public support. Such canvassing would be treason and sooner or later the prison accommodates the dissidents.

A pluralist party structure is absolutely essential for a democracy to function as such. It is argued that all party organizations are really oligarchies. But assuming this, it is obvious that there must be such countervailing oligarchies, keeping each other in order, so that democracies may be really democracies. In the cracks between these countervailing oligarchies, the individual has some chance to draw free breath, although all political parties may deteriorate into oligarchies. The one-party democracies where the ruling party faces no powerful opposition or none at all always ends in totalitarianism and in the wreckage of individual freedom without which there can be no real democracy. No party in office can be assumed to have perfect wisdom. Unless another party is in a position to criticize and point out errors in open debate, there is no democracy.

This is the point at which we can examine the problems and the prospects of democracy in India.

The expensive nature of the elections is a big block in the way of a good strong opposition party forming itself and functioning in Parliament in India. The economic hold of the party at present in power makes the rise of any other party extremely difficult if not impossible. And one-party rule adopting what is called socialism means total economic power vesting in the ruling party, making the rise of any other parliamentary party impossible. The poverty of the people, which we wish to remove but which until it is removed is there, produces two results : one is that no others but those helped by the party in power can afford to go through an expensive election ; the other is that votes are easily purchased in large blocks so that there is no free electoral system.

The single party control over Indian affairs and the simultaneous elections to the State legislatures and to Parliament, practically on the same issues or on the same ideologies, together lead to the extinction of State governments as independent units united in a federation. The Union becomes a legal fiction. The States dwindle into local boards completely controlled by the central organization of the monolithic party. And when a policy is adopted by this monolithic government of State-control over the whole national economy, it leads to total loss of individual freedom. Such freedom as prevails is enjoyed only by licence and permission at the option of the central authority.

Unless, then, the system of elections is reorganized so as to make them very much less expensive and unless a new party arises strong enough to act as a countervailing force in Parliament and in the State legislatures against the party now in power, there

is not much of prospect for real democracy. This new party can arise either by a split in the present ruling party or by a fresh growth independent of the present ruling party. The chances of an opposition party arising by a split in the ruling group are small, because careerism dominates the atmosphere in the ruling party. People may curse and threaten but ultimately yield to the bosses, for otherwise there is no career.

The present leadership has not only secured for itself total power over the economy which is disastrous for free elections and for any individual freedom but it has by maintaining an image of divine heirship to authority robbed the bulk of our young people of their power of thinking in an independent and orderly way. It has drained the individual citizen of all confidence in himself. This spiritual damage is not less than, what Gandhiji complained, that the British regime had done in its time. It was not, in my opinion, so bad then as it now is under Swaraj. If the Congress Party sets about organizing its committees to control the official machine, *viz.*, the ministers, the heads of departments and the district officials, as it seems it is intending to do through the Kamaraj Plan, there will be an end of democracy as we understand it. It will be a replica of the Soviet system of a powerful party's absolutism.

One can state the problems. When we proceed to appraise prospects we are in a difficult field. Mice and men may propose and plan. But times and circumstances change. Calculations go wrong and God disposes. When things go very wrong, anything may happen. It is dangerous to foretell ; because often foretelling itself brings about catastrophes. As against this dark picture, I may express the hope that the

people of our country have solid virtues and may not allow things to go wrong. They may assert themselves and save democracy in spite of single party tyrannies and their cumulative powers. When good government fades away from Asiatic regimes, the nexus between the civil administration and the strong defence forces organized and maintained by government gets weakened. When this happens the forces maintained by the nation for security themselves become a great danger to democracy. We should not forget this. We should also remember the presence of a communist party with a strong base among industrial workers, always bent on subverting democracy and intent on establishing a minority regime in the name of the oppressed proletariat. The defence forces and the radio stations and the communist party are not minor elements of danger, although as long as good government is running smoothly, these are not only not dangers, but very useful each in its own way.

The front article in a recent *New Leader* issue written by Juan Bosch, who was President of the Dominican Republic until 25th

of September last, begins with the following paragraph full of meaning for those who are interested in the problems of democracy and its prospects:

"Forty days before the military leaders took me prisoner in the National Palace of the Dominican Republic, the Ambassador of the United States, John Bartlow Martin, said to me: 'Mr. President, your popularity is intact.'"

A stable democracy and a strong opposition party to be faced daily by the ruling party are essential for democracy and good government and to keep the defence forces confined to their legitimate functions. Educated young men and women should assert themselves and be active and bring about these conditions—not lapse into inactivity. They should learn to follow the *Gita* doctrine of how to live—to act according to conviction irrespective of prospects of success, not allowing difficulties and doubts to lead to inaction. A time will come when weighing their private interests against national calamity, they should decide to be active in a bid for true democracy.

(Courtesy "Swarajya")

SWATANTRA MARCHES AHEAD-AGRA TO BANGALORE

N. C. ZAMINDAR

ON the eve of the third session of the Swatantra Party it would be best to make a rapid survey of the party's fortunes. It must be admitted that the Agra session ended with great hopes for a grand success in the 1962 elections.

In my opinion the matter of fact strategy of Shri Masani would have achieved much better and bigger results. It was a mistake to abandon his realistic plan and spread the butter on too many loaves. The result was a disappointment in context of the large hopes entertained.

It was definitely a brilliant debut for an all-India party in its very first election. It came next to the Communist Party in the Parliament and next to the Congress Party in State legislatures.

In the meeting organized after elections in Bombay a critical analysis was made. The Swatantra leadership had the courage to face the unpleasant facts and results. It was a painful appraisal but had to be undertaken looking at the future of the Party.

The Swatantra Party had been consistently criticizing both the foreign policy and planning of the Government.

The Chinese aggression was an extension of the previous tactics of the Chinese ignored till then by Shri Nehru. It was expected that the Chinese aggression would press the Government to shed its unreal, artificial atmosphere and illusions. It was unfortunate that Shri Nehru did not revise his

dogmas and pathetically clung to them. The country knows that but for the immediate help of our Western friends the situation would have been extremely dangerous.

The Swatantra Party extended its wholehearted support to the Government and everywhere Swatantra Party men donated liberally to the defence. The Swatantra charged Shri Krishna Menon as the guilty man of the Chinese aggression. With a wealth of material the case was proven against his incompetence and mismanagement. The shock was so great that the supine Congress Party took courage and forced Shri Nehru to expel Shri Menon from the cabinet. It was the first blow to the Nehru myth. People had second thoughts about Nehru's leadership.

With the Chinese aggression came the obnoxious Gold control order. It was a blow to the age-old traditional class of the goldsmiths. Much witch hunting and bureaucratic black-mailing was done under its cover. The pro-Congress papers fought the local goldsmiths with vehemence. It was again left to Rajaji and the Swatantra Party to fight the battle against Congress statism even under emergency. The Swatantra Party pricked the bubble of Congress economic policy. With the budget came expropriatory taxation and the compulsory deposit scheme. The Swatantra Party came out openly against it and began campaigning.

In the meanwhile Swatantra experienced a storm in the tea cup. It must be stated that both the Raja Sahib of Ramgarh and Shri Masani united in denouncing the dangerous rift. It was amicably cemented and the Congress expectations of Swatantra cracking down were belied.

Swatantra won the Gujarat Parliamentary seat in a bye-election and its hour of triumph came when Acharya Ranga won the Parliamentary bye-election of Chittoor. His return to the Lok Sabha was welcomed by all opposition parties. His presence in the Lok Sabha gave a new turn to parliamentary tactics.

After the election came the important parliamentary elections of Amroha, Farukhabad and Rajkot, contested by three stalwarts of Indian public life Acharya Kripalani, Dr. Lohia and Shri Masani. All the three won with great margins over their Congress opponents. In all these elections Congress had gone all out but met with defeat.

In Rajkot all the big guns of the Congress thundered. Shri Dhebar worked day and night but the Congress got a well-deserved defeat.

The debut of the three musketeers led to the tabling of the first no-confidence motion against the Congress regime. Withering speeches were delivered by these honourable members. They not only shook India but impressed the foreign countries by their realistic and challenging ideas. It was right for Shri Masani to plead that time for a change in the Government has come.

Knowing well the total and miserable failure of co-operative farming and the land ceiling laws expounded with such fanfare at Nagpur the Government embarked on the expropriatory seventeenth amendment of

the Constitution. The Swatantra Party under the inspiring lead of Rajaji has undertaken a campaign to protest against this lawless legislation. It has electrified the dormant peasant masses into action. Countless villages have registered their protest to the Lok Sabha to drop the amendment. We find even Congress members of the Lok Sabha describing its almost Nazi process as legal dacoity. The former deputy minister for agriculture Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh called land reforms as failures and spoke against the seventeenth amendment. The Swatantra Party did not go into the Select Committee thus recording its protest against the very principle of the amendment.

It is encouraging to note that all the democratic opposition parties of India have agreed to oppose the seventeenth amendment. We expect a countrywide agitation of a joint democratic front to oppose the Government in its Communist tactics of bringing in collectivization on the fields and farms.

Acharya Ranga and others have been ably exposing the tyranny of the Congress rule.

In order to retrieve the lost prestige of the Congress Shri Nehru indulged in the stunt of Kamaraj Plan. Acharya Vinoba has criticized it as be-Kamaraj plan. It was a move to get rid of the right wingers of the Congress. It was a painless operation.

TTK who was being groomed by the Prime Minister came with two measures of relaxing gold control and abolishing the C.D. This finished Shri Desai's career for ever. There are no chances of his gaining favour with the masses again. It was a wrong policy which led to his political suicide.

In the winter session of the Parliament TTK brought forward the so-called socialistic measures according to the Jaipur spirit. They were widely and determinedly opposed by the Party. The back-door nationalization policy spells the end of private enterprise. Only the benighted can put trust in the Congress.

Shri Masani boldly demanded the scrapping of the Third Plan in the debate held on the plans mid-term appraisal. The development has back-gear. The unemployment figures are increasing. The country is completely frustrated both on the defence and

the development fronts. The younger generation is becoming cynical.

The Swatantra Party as we have seen has always presented a clear alternative policy to the Congress. The Country is looking forward for a much needed change. If the Swatantra Party steps up boldly and marches one can see the change in 1967.

Only realistic thinking and hard headed unsentimental planning of election strategies will yield fruitful results. The Swatantra Party has enough talent and young blood. Let it come up and take up the challenge to change the Nehru regime.

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**ROLE OF RETIRED GOVERNMENT SERVANTS
IN POLITICS**

C. S. VENKATACHAR

IN modern societies, particularly of the West, the civil officials form a very important and influential segment of the national and intellectual bourgeoisie. But they play no significant role in the politics of the country. They do not aspire to be politicians or Cabinet Ministers. In the British House of Commons, some retired officials may have found a place in the back benches; one or two who, in recent times, became cabinet ministers were rated as failures.

The respective avenues of selection to government service and to politics are so strikingly divergent, that interchanges between the two professions do not work out in practice. A government official passes through a long rigmarole of selection, examination, tests, interviews, position in a subordinate capacity, promotion according to service conditions; he finally reaches the dizzy heights of his departmental career after some prescribed length of service. The avenue to politics and to the cabinet room is through hustings and party machinery. "All rising to great place," Francis Bacon once wrote, "is by a winding staircase." Politicians wind their way upwards by devious means. They do not progress on annual increments and periodic promotions.

Politicians again are perpetually winding their way somewhere. They never retire.

Prince Matternich, on dismissal from office, went home and told his wife: "Yes, we are dead all right." That was an extreme saying. Politicians do not die easily. Why, they stubbornly refuse even to fade out. They have always an eye on the posthumous greatness to come, however dim may be their present reputation. A 19th century writer, said appropriately of the statesmen out of office: "A number of very little things which go to make up the bustle of greatness are necessary to keep them in a strong and very lively assurance that they are great."

On his dismissal as Imperial Chancellor, Bismarck said, "I was turned out at 75 but I feel young, far too young to do nothing. I was used to politics; now I miss them." When the public and politicians ignored him, Bismarck came to feel he was already dead but he aimed instead at a revenge beyond the grave, by appealing from the present to the future.

Unlike Bismarck in whose diaries the monotonous entries increased: 'bored'; 'tired'; 'bored and tired', Winston Churchill, in our times, made plenty of money from his books and from highly paid articles, when he was driven into political wilderness by Baldwin's Tories, by keeping him out of office. Yet he chafed at political inaction and was miserable without office. It

is difficult for a politician out of office to be radiantly happy.

An official has perforce to retire; he has no choice. A retired official belongs to an all-together different species from that of the politician. The government official fulfils his ambitions and achieves his reputation during his active service. Then he fades out to nobody's regret with a modest competency, in the shape of pension in his pocket. Thereafter he is of little use to society. His fate is settled beforehand. So he has no regrets in being an illustrious obscure.

After all, he had had his share of vain-glory during service. He had his self-importance in the position of a cog in the wheel of administration. He was like the (Æsop's) fly which sitting upon the axle of the chariot wheel said "what a dust do I raise". Around him in the official position, something was happening or he was causing something to happen. The business of government was carried through him, at any rate for the part he was made responsible. Francis Bacon was once more wise in his aphorism: "So are some vain persons, that whatsoever goeth above or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it."

A long period of service in administration is an uncongenial soil for the development of instincts for acquiring the art of politics. Government officials do acquire at the higher echelons of administration what is known as departmental philosophy by looking upon their department in government not as an exclusive world but as part of a larger world of government and the life of the community. This widening experience induces in the official a certain way of looking at things of life and a habit

of mind. Such influences crystallise into departmental experience.

The job of the Civil Servant is to place his experience at the disposal of his ministerial master. In modern democratic politics, the task of advising a minister, at the same time maintaining his goodwill, is a frustrating experience. This is why most civil servants develop little interest in politics, much less love for politicians. 'I conceded no superiority to politicians except in a clash they must win' so summed up a distinguished British public servant in his autobiography. The official advises and effaces himself out.

"In general," wrote Lord Attlee, "the Civil Servant must be content with anonymity and obscurity. Perhaps after retirement, he may become widely known. Every now and again, there appears in the ranks of the civil service a bright star like Lord Waverley who shines brilliantly in a wider firmament but, for the most part, the civil servant must rest content with the consciousness of good work honestly done." Even Lord Waverley, better known in India, as Sir John Anderson, a former Governor of Bengal, was, as his recent biography has revealed, colourless as a politician and a Cabinet Minister.

It is not far wrong to think that civil servants after retirement are a dead wood. By temperament, training and experience they are unsuited for playing a role in politics. More so in India, where politics has become the art of the impossible. It may be that the civil servant has become a dead wood so far as politics is concerned. Has he any residual asset after retirement which may be of some use to the State?

The answer to it depends on the policy of the government. In the old, pre-inde-

pendence bureaucratic state, the Government of India maintained a register of retired officials with a view to utilise their services and past experience in any suitable capacity. They were employed in the former Indian States, in quasi-government bodies, in the management of large estates and so on.

Some of these avenues of employment have ceased to exist after independence. Their place has been taken by the alluring prospects of employment held out by the private sector of Indian industry. At present the motive behind the employment of retired highly placed officers by the big business houses is not often too apparent. It may be that the private sector is overawed by governmental controls. The old business clans have, deservedly or undeservedly, an unsavoury reputation among the intellectuals, the politicians and the Civil Servants. Perhaps the emergent entrepreneurs feel safer in building their economic and commercial power behind the shelter of the prestigiousness of a few retired government servants.

By some strange reasoning of logic, the highest in the land hold that this form of employment of retired government servants promotes corruption in administration. If at all there is any corruption then the corruption in some form must have taken place when the official was still holding office; his employment after retirement being in the nature of payment for former favours shown and for past services rendered. A retired government official has little inducement to practise corruption.

By looking askance at the re-employment

of government official, government only exhibit their negative attitude. They are at present not interested in the utilisation of this category of the country's man-power. There are two reasons which strongly affect their attitude. Under Western domination, the political classes in India became a distinct secular elite. It was this group, rather than the businessmen and bureaucrats, which played the leading role in the political emancipation of India. Government servants are needed but not those who have acquired the system of values of the foreigners—the former I.C.S. being the most striking example. Retired government servants are inconvenient in another respect. They may not be subservient to the authoritarianism of the government who may be embarrassed by the independent and free attitude of the former officials.

Lord Vansittart relates an incident when early in his career as a diplomat he was Principal Private Secretary to Stanley Baldwin. Following a general election, Ramsay MacDonald became the Prime Minister and he asked Vansittart to continue in his post. Vansittart begged him to think over the offer for a few days. MacDonald said after some days, "I haven't changed my mind. My need is for somebody who will say No to me and I think you will."

The moral of this is the politics in India is yet to be democratised. Politicians should shed their love for YES-men. They should learn to respect NO-men. When there is decent democratic politics there will then be a place—beside the elite—for the humble, the insignificant—even the retired official.

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DEMOCRACY AS BALANCE OF EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE FUNCTION

LOUELLA CASTELINO

TRUE DEMOCRACY has rightly been defined as "A Government of the people, for the people, and by the people". In our own country, however, the image it presents comes closer to Shaw's cynical indictment of it as a balloon inflated with the hot air of high-sounding promises, which is sent up into the sky so that politicians can pick the pockets of the unwary who are gazing upwards in the hope that some miracle will take place. How to resolve the discrepancy between the ideal and the reality, is naturally a problem that exercises all who have the welfare of our nation at heart.

The chaotic condition of our political life undoubtedly stems from the fact that the letter—and even the spirit—of the Constitution have been set aside, in favour of a set of conventions which have been borrowed indiscriminately from the British pattern of government, without taking into account the completely different political climate of our country. In actual fact, the framers of the Constitution had envisaged a Presidential form of government definitely based on the American system. Unlike the king, who is little better than "a rubber stamp", the Indian President is specifically endowed with all effective executive power. Article 75 empowers him to choose the Prime Minister of India and other Ministers of India on the advice of the Prime Minister. Moreover, it is laid down that "There shall

be a Council of Ministers to *aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions*. It is this clause that is most relevant to the issue under consideration, but it may also be noted in passing, that the Constitution also confers on the President the final authority with regard to legislation; the power to promulgate Ordinances; Regulation and Rule-making Power; Emergency Powers, Powers relating to the grant of pardons and reprieves, and the Supreme Command of the Defence Forces. With some exceptions, the Governor of a State duplicates, within a smaller arena, the powers of the Union President.

After enumerating such a detailed and comprehensive list of Presidential prerogatives, it seems absurdly illogical that the holder of that office should be reduced to the status of an ornamental figure-head. It may be argued that the Cabinet system works efficiently enough in Great Britain, but it must be remembered that political institutions do not develop independently, and in isolation. They are conditioned by the traditions and the environment of the country in which they evolve, and consequently, cannot blossom with equal success on alien soil. Where there is a long tradition of parliamentary government, as in England, (where the beginnings of representative government date back to the

Anglo-Saxon "wergild"); where the temper of the people is pragmatic, objective and analytical; where the electorate is both vigilant and enlightened, it is possible for such a system to run. Later political philosophers and jurists: Jean Bodin, James Harrington, Locke and Blackstone, also recommend it as a safeguard against despotism, and a bulwark of individual liberty. The most telling justification of the principle appears in Montesquieu's *L'esprit de Lois* in which he writes: "When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person on the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty; because apprehensions may arise lest the same monarch should enact tyrannical laws to execute them in a tyrannical manner...."

There are naturally some criticisms of this theory which claim that government being an organic unity, it is neither possible nor desirable to demarcate the precise limits of each of its departments. It is argued, too, that "In a democratic set-up, concentration of authority in the organ most directly representing the people may possibly secure greater liberty than divided powers granted to independent organs...." Yet, even Laski concedes that at least a separation of functions is essential for the implementation of democratic ideals.

However, the best indication of this dictum can come, not from writers, but from how it works in practice. The American Constitution, based on Montesquieu's theory, provides for a President elected by the people to hold office for a period of four years. His advisers are personally responsible to him, and are generally chosen for their ability to discharge the duties assigned to them. In India, however, such a

form invariably means, not Bentham's dictum of "the greatest good for the greatest number", but rather, the rule of the privileged minority for the benefit of that minority. Nor is this favoured group, the aristocracy of intellectuals nominated by Plato as being most worthy of high office. It is significant that few of our holders of ministerial appointments could pay income-tax in their former professions; that few of them, again, have intelligence, education or personality to recommend them; that nearly all of them acquire a fleet of vehicles or a chain of theatres at the end of their five years in power, with barely anything done for the benighted mob that voted them into power. What is the way out of this impasse of corruption and inefficiency? The answer seems to be a separation of the Executive and Legislative functions, quite in keeping with the wishes of the framers of the Constitution, as embodied in the articles of that sacrosanct document.

The theory of the Separation of Powers—or the Separation of Functions—is hoary with age, and has been endorsed by leading writers on political thought, and Law. It is implicit in Aristotle's classification of governmental functions, and is further developed in Cicero's dissertations on the system of checks and balances which gave the Roman Republic its reputation for stability, efficiency and honesty. Neither the American President nor his chosen team-mates can sit or vote in the Congress; and in the ultimate count, it is the Supreme Court that acts as the arbiter of the Constitution and as the adjudicator of all executive and legislative acts. This system has already weathered the test of time. The measure of its success can be judged by the fact that it has been adopted by the framers of the Con-

stitutions of Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Australia.

In conclusion, no constitution in the world is wholly impeccable. Yet, it is wise to adopt, and to act upon one which has been endorsed by the verdict of posterity. The Presidential form of government, based

on the theory of the separation of functions, has justified the hopes of the thinkers who propounded the doctrine. If it is adopted in our own country, there is good reason to believe that Lincoln's ideal will be translated into a glorious reality.

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WEALTH FROM LAND

N. K. GANAPIAH

GOOD MOTHER EARTH is there in all its varieties of soil, texture, slope, etc., just as there are human beings with all kinds of characters, manners, intelligence, complexion, etc. It is up to men to derive happiness by extracting maximum wealth from land. Those who are unable to produce wealth from land using their experience, technical know-how, intelligence and capital and those who cannot manage their soil efficiently, should have no claims to land. All cannot produce ample wealth from land, just as all cannot be good cooks or businessmen or industrialists. All cannot be good writers even if they have requisite education as such.

Agricultural production in India, except plantation crops, is the lowest in the world with some 80% of the population devoted to agriculture. Without progress in agriculture, overemphasis on industrial development is not wise. Sixteen years after independence spending over Rs. 2,000 crores on Agriculture and Irrigation, why is it that the progress is poor? Whereas in the plantations the achievement during the decade is over 300% increase, in Agriculture, it is only 1.3% annually during the last ten years.

For immediate rethinking by our Government and the general public, I may quote a passage here from the *Planters' Chronicle* dated October 15, 1963: "Soviet Russia with far more agricultural land and

some 35% of its large population devoted to agriculture, after some 35 years of collective farming has not succeeded in becoming self-sufficient in agricultural products. The Americans, with less than 9% of their people engaged in farming, with no State planning or the advantages of collectivisation or of its non-profit objectives, have produced in sufficient abundance to meet their own needs set at the highest possible standards and to meet the demands of hungry peoples in other countries. Production is so huge that stocking and financing it is an embarrassing problem and subsidies are being paid for allowing the land to rest."

Among plantation crops let us take the instance of coffee. Within a decade the production went up nearly by 300% increasing national wealth from uninhabited part of Malnad, giving more and more employment to labour and staff and earning valuable foreign exchange. Coffee industry is a well-organised purely private enterprise providing ample labour welfare measures such as housing, medical, educational and recreation facilities, maternity benefit, sick leave, leave with wages, provident fund benefit, bonus, festival holidays, etc. Evidently the Government itself is not providing all these benefits to its own staff or employees. Coffee industry has its own Association, its own Research Station and is paying over a dozen taxes, highest rate going up more than 60% leaving little

margin for rehabilitation, replanting and development.

The most important aspect to be noted by all is that the industry is run by big joint stock companies owning thousands of acres, large individual holdings owning hundreds of acres, medium growers owning 50 to 100 acres and small holdings from 1 to 50 acres. The large growers and joint-stock companies set the example of using modern machinery, scientific methods of cultivation and capital investment. In recent years even small growers are producing a better crop following the method adopted by large growers. In spite of various handicaps this private enterprise is serving the nation by providing social justice and social welfare to all its employees without being a burden on the common people.

Instead of following this simple method of allowing men and money free to produce the unmost from the land without exploiting the weaker section, the Congress Party came out, after independence, with the out-moded doctrine of socialistic pattern imposing on the agriculturists, various land legislations, expropriation with very little compensation, low ceilings on land and joint co-operative farming. This scared the traditional and seasoned enterprising agriculturist classes from the land, with the result that agriculture lost its leaders.

Again I quote a passage from the *Planters' Chronicle*: "What is the magic that makes for such abundance from the land in the United States and for such acute and continuing shortages in the countries where agriculture has been collectivised? A better understanding of the springs of agricultural progress in one case and of the depressing short falls in the other seems to be called for. A perfectly socialistic system which

results in hunger for the masses has to be contrasted with the free enterprise abundance. Our own country has been toying with the idea of co-operative farming and much propaganda and money have been devoted to the cause since 1959 without evoking any great response from agricultural community. India's agricultural production is so poor that the economic development is such is now hostage to the random rains. With a population only second to China we have 81% of them wholly or partly dependent on agriculture. Our agricultural yields in general are the lowest in the world.

"The Government has actively supported co-operatives and collectives with liberal subsidies and other forms of assistance with little or no achievement to show for the efforts. Some 2,080 joint-farming societies covering 3,13,508 cultivated acres had, after several years of working, Rs. 3.86 crores in assets and Rs. 4.18 crores in liabilities as at the end of 1960-61. During the year these societies received Rs. 7.3 lakhs in Government subsidies and presumably paid no agricultural income-tax, sales tax or other taxes. The total value of the sales of produce of these societies was Rs. 1.18 crores. Management expenses amounted to Rs. 1 per cultivated acre and output value was Rs. 34 during the year.

"The record of collective farming was no better. The cost of management of these farms and their product value make very dismal reading. To say that these ventures in agriculture are costly or wasteful would not help towards ideological correction unless there is a better appreciation of the features that make for successful agriculture. For instance, the average production of tea per acre in India is only second to that of

Japan, quite in contrast with our general record in agriculture. We have, in coffee, reached in yield records of the most advanced producing countries. These facts and the reason why in large-scale operations under competent management we are able to obtain results the generality of agricultural holdings of India cannot, and far superior to anything joint or collective farming has been able to show, must be made known more widely."

The problem before us is hunger, but our present rulers appear to believe that the nation should live only for an ideology. This wrong emphasis has ushered in an era of economic ruin by destroying the firm foundation of our traditional economy. The sure way to stop this rot is to realise that the maximum production can be achieved by minimum interference and cease talking of isms and ideologies which do not contribute to appease our hunger.

Agriculture cannot progress merely from the files of Planning Commission. We have to face realities. It is not necessary that all should possess land as there is not enough

to go round, just as all cannot take to industry or commerce. There are millions of acres of cultivable land lying near the newly constructed Dam sites and other Government lands too which could be easily brought under plough if such lands are offered to enterprising farmers possessing expert knowledge, technical know-how and capital on a large scale. But these farmers should be assured that the lands so cultivated will not be taken away from them, as long as the land is put to the best use.

We have the example of Punjab. East Punjab which was a highly deficit area was turned into a surplus State within the course of just 4 years by the enterprising farmers who fled from West Punjab during partition days. This wonderful performance would not have been there, if ceiling legislation had been applied. If the Government ignores its own experience of failure in agriculture and the success in the Plantation Industry and in the Punjab, there will be woe and not weal from land.

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SWATANTRA ALTERNATIVE TO THIRD PLAN

M. R. MASANI, M.P.

THE discussion in Parliament on the mid-term appraisal of the Third Five-Year Plan has left behind a picture of almost unrelieved gloom. Members of the Congress Party vied with those in Opposition in drawing attention to one failure or another. It was agreed that the only targets that had been fulfilled or exceeded were those of the rise in prices and the rise in taxation.

Common-sense demands that, when a plan has failed, it should be abandoned and replaced by something better. But then, one is asked, what is the alternative? Here is an outline of a fresh approach which could provide the basis for such alternative planning.

My starting-point would be the words of Mahatma Gandhi, who once said: "I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test. Recall the face of the poorest and weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself, if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to *him*. Will *he* gain anything by it? Will it restore *him* to a control over his own life and destiny?" I imagine it will be agreed that, if we are to apply Gandhiji's talisman, it would impel us to take such measures as would facilitate the production of things that the people need most desperately—food, clothing, shelter, other basic needs of life and a certain measure of education. If this is agreed, it becomes neces-

sary to consider the implications of such a project.

The figures worked out in the Planning Commission indicate that a man needs Rs. 30 a month for the needs of life—consumption of food accounting for Rs. 21 a month, clothing Rs. 3 and shelter and other needs Rs. 6, totalling Rs. 30 a month or Rs. 360 a year.

Modest as this objective is, can we achieve this, say by 1975? To put it in another way, can we convert today's *per capita* income of Rs. 360 a year into the national minimum income by 1975? Statistical studies show that, if this modest objective is to be achieved, our *per capita* income in 1975 will have to go up to Rs. 540 a year. If this *per capita* is to be achieved, it has in turn been computed that we shall need a rate of growth of around 7 to 8% a year in place of the miserable 2% yielded by the Third Plan.

Now a 7 to 8% annual rate of growth is nothing unachievable. It has been achieved, and indeed exceeded, in many countries such as West Germany. Nationalist China which I visited recently has achieved a rate of growth of 7.7% in the last two or three years. Japan has recently achieved a rate as high as 20% which is considered in Japan to be excessive. So it can be done.

To illustrate what this involves in concrete terms, let us consider foodgrains and cloth, which must surely take priority. The

per capita consumption of foodgrains in 1960-61 was 16.5 ozs. This, according to our planners, has to be raised to 23.1 ozs. by 1975-76 to give what may be called a decent nutritional minimum. This in turn involves doubling of food production in India from 80 million tons in 1960-61 to 160 million tons.

Today the per capita consumption of cloth is 15.8 yards. What will be required by 1975-76 is 22.1 yards. This again involves doubling of production of cloth from 9 million yards to 18 million yards.

How is this to be done and by whom? The answer is surely obvious and has been given by none else than by Professor Galbraith in *Affluent Society*: "In poor and ill-governed societies, private goods mean comfort and life itself. Food, clothing and shelter, all technically subject to private purchase and sale, have an urgency greater than any public service with the possible exception of the provision of law and order."

If maximising production is to be the first objective, it is clear that the available resources of the country have to be utilised where the return is highest. Every unit of production must give the highest possible return. This can only be achieved where investment and production can shift in response to the needs of the consumer. Supply must keep pace with the peoples' needs and demands. This means consumer preference, which is economic democracy going alongside of political democracy. The people must be given incentives and the rewards for producing to meet their needs.

Our alternative planning, therefore, would be based on two pillars. The first is a sound order of priorities. The Chinese communists, rigid as they are, last year indi-

cated the correct path in the light of their own bitter experience. Their new order of priorities is, first agriculture, second light consumer goods industries and third heavy and basic industries.

Such an order of priorities, quite apart from meeting peoples' needs, also has the sovereign virtue of providing gainful employment to the largest number of people in labour-intensive industries so that their hands are used productively, so that there is money in their pockets with which to buy things. Human considerations apart, this is important even from the point of view of the rate of growth. Production is certainly important and normally precedes consumption. But there is a sense in which, in some cases, consumption is even anterior or prior to production. A starving man cannot produce and a certain measure of nutrition is necessary before you can get a productive human being at work.

The second pillar of our alternative planning would be a sound allocation of what is to be done by Government and what is to be done by peoples' enterprise. Within the four corners of a mixed economy, there is room for both State and free enterprise to compete in the service of the people on equal and autonomous basis. There are legitimate spheres for both indicated by the experience of those countries that have produced results in raising the standard of life of their peoples. This experience has indicated that the proper sphere of the Government is to build the infra-structure, the foundation for economic advance, and to create a climate in which peoples' enterprise can flourish. These are not minor functions. The State should concentrate on the provision of irrigation and water-supply, on the building of roads and other forms of com-

munication, on generation of electric power, and on the provision of technical and general education. The State also has the role of providing incentives to production and a certain measure of regulation to counter anti-social practices. These essential functions have been largely neglected in India so far. The Government must turn back to perform its proper function leaving the field of productive enterprise, whether in agriculture or industry, to the people. The change-over from the present pattern of planning to this new pattern need not involve any abandonment of the socialist objective. What it involves is a change of method from an obsolete and outmoded weapon to a more refined and serviceable instrument. Socialists in other countries have been making such a change. Only last October, the German Social Democratic Party was reported to have "turned its back on economic planning". A declaration of

faith in private enterprise was proclaimed by their socialist leaders at an economic conference in Essen.

President Kennedy, an outstanding progressive, made a speech a few days before his death in which he indicated that he too was treading the same path: "We have liberalized depreciation guide-lines to grant more individual flexibility, reduced our farm surpluses, reduced transportation taxes, established a private corporation to manage our satellite communication system, increased the role of American business in the development of less developed countries, and proposed to the Congress a sharp reduction in corporate as well as personal income-taxes and a major de-regulation of transportation."

Shall Indian planning follow the path of Gandhi, Western social democracy and Kennedy or land in the ditch with the outmoded dogmas and doctrines of Karl Marx?

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HEALTH POLICY FOR INDIA

H. R. PASRICHA

IN a recent speech, Mr. Nehru emphasised his strong and abiding faith in planning. He said, "Planning was a sort of war against poverty. To argue that there should be no plan at all was like saying that an army should fight bravely but without deploying troops properly." State planning is a feature of all communist or closed societies. India has waded through two State plans, and is now bogged in the third.

It is surprising, however, that a government sold to planning has not considered it worthwhile to have a Health Policy or Plan. There have been, no doubt, occasional, haphazard pronouncements on odd issues, but no clear-cut, long-term policy has emerged.

Before handing over the reins of government to the Congress Party, the then Government of India appointed a committee, presided over by Sir Joseph Bhore, to go into the health requirements of the country. The voluminous and erudite report submitted by that committee was much in the news for a while, but, apart from odd references to it now and then, it has not been put to any use.

Feelingful and lachrymose, but utterly impractical and nonsensical, appeals are frequently made to medical men by insincere and quixotic politicians to go to the villages and supply the medical aid badly needed there. The response has been negative, but no manifest indication exists of application

of either intelligence or vision to consider the root cause of this utter lack of response. So that while the politician never tires of expressing his concern for the poor villager, he continues to drag his existence in total lack of sanitation and medical care.

While the thoughtlessness of the politician in this country is now proverbial, deterioration in hospital administration is distressing. The Indian administrator is firmly convinced that a hospital can and should be run from the comfort of an office chair by a process of remote control. At one time, it was impressed upon us that regular visits to wards were necessary to keep them clean and upto the standard. The British administrator not only taught it, he practised it too. The present-day administrator has turned his back on all such mediaeval ideas and prefers to spend his time in a more useful manner by fawning upon the government official, the politician and such other individuals as can be of use to him. He has joined the bandwagon of politicians yelling for a nationalised medical service. That is a surer way of advancement than a meticulous performance of his duty. As long as he can keep his bosses happy, he does not care what happens in the wards. Complaints shake him up; to avoid them he would bend backwards to please a witless deputy secretary complete with a brainless cow and their shabby herd, or, for that matter, an asinine congress worker.

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In the name of Socialism and the poor, free medical treatment and hospitalisation are provided for all government employees under Central Health Scheme. A Secretary drawing more than Rs. 3,000 a month has been deemed to be in need of this assistance as much as the poorest paid peon. Needless to say that the bureaucrat gets the cream leaving not much for the poor Class IV employee.

If ever clear thinking obtains in this country, it is possible that the Government would clear its mind of all the ideological cobwebs and plan on rational lines. Medical profession needs long-term planning for the simple reason that scientific medical education is long and arduous. It needs an average of ten years to produce an averagely competent general practitioner and longer for a specialist. Planning of any sort would defeat its purpose if conditions it creates are ever changing and unpredictable. No one can plan his life and build on quicksands. A young aspirant, embarking upon medical career, must be reasonably certain that conditions in the profession would not change for the worse when he has finished his education and training.

Clear-sighted planning in the medical field is also imperative because increasing medical care and sanitation, by controlling epidemics and diseases, disturb the checks and balances on increase of population working in nature. A realistic plan would have a built-in mechanism for control of population or family planning, whatever name the squeamish and religiously susceptible prefer to give it. One cause of failure of our State plans is the blind refusal of those in authority to recognise that an increase in population can make mincemeat of any planning. It is impossible for any feasible increase in

production, industrial or agricultural, catch up with the current rate of increase of population in India. Chances of raising per capita income and or standards of living in an underdeveloped country are inversely proportional to the rate of production of human beings in that country. The latter industry seems to nullify the gains of industrial and agricultural progress.

The Government would have to make up its mind whether it needs the scientific system of medicine or would make do with the indigenous systems with homoeopathy thrown in. Coexistence of all these, however admirable in politics, is unfair to all three and the country. No one would like to spend ten years of his life in rigorous training and undergo the expense involved in the study of the scientific system of medicine if he could earn the privilege of medical practice after a semblance of training in Tibbia college. It would be an absurd situation. Votes of vairs and hakims may be an important consideration but the health of the nation is no less important.

The Government would also do well to make up its mind if it can afford a fully paid medical service. If there is no prospect of materialisation of the vast sums required for such a service, then it should in all fairness, stop dangling this tempting carrot before the public eye. In fact, it is foolish to expect that this country would be able to afford such a service in the foreseeable future. The British, who started this service with a great deal of fanfare, have found the expense rather back-breaking at government level, while at public level, people are beginning to realise that it is not easy to socialise medicine and expect the same kind of service. According to some of my friends

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torn with jealousy against those who succeeded. In this welter of pettiness of all concerned, the larger interests of the nation figure nowhere.

There is no sensible reason to sneer and turn up our socialist noses at senior medical men who offer their honorary services. Instead of looking down upon him he should be respected as a social worker of the highest type, certainly better than those specimens who, with an eye to advantages accruing, have taken to a make-believe sort of social work. Honorary system could be easily made to yield good results; it is capable of elaboration so that it would be possible to provide medical cover to villages. However, all that would need clear thinking and intelligence which is not forthcoming at the moment.

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THE PATTERN OF OUR FOREIGN TRADE

MURARJI J. VAIDYA

It is a well-known fact that world trade is growing at a faster rate than the growth of our own foreign trade.* It is, however, a matter of gratification that the Government of India as also all of us who are interested in the foreign trade of the country have come to realise the vital need for the expansion of our exports as a preliminary to the overall expansion of our foreign trade. Because of our inability to expand our export trade at the required rate our Government has had to cut down the imports very drastically during the last two years. It is obvious, therefore, that instead of the overall value of our foreign trade going up, there has been a reduction of the total volume of the foreign trade of our country. As a corollary to this realisation we have got to realise that unless our export trade is expanded at a rapid rate we will not be in a position to increase our share in the world trade.

There is plenty of criticism and there are also constructive suggestions from many quarters specially those who are directly concerned with operations of State Trading. Therefore there is hardly anything more that could be added.

However it would not be wrong to re-emphasise the role S.T.C. can play effectively in developing export trade with communist and rupee-payment countries. The framework of the operation of trade with these countries is exclusively controlled by the

Government through S.T.C. Instead of showing interest in the commission to be earned or indulging in such lines only which are profitable, S.T.C. should rather act as a promoter of export in those lines where trading is difficult and wherein active assistance is needed by the export trade in India in form of subsidisation of loss or even help in initial exploration of difficult markets.

S.T.C. should make a determined effort to export non-traditional instead of traditional items and manufactured goods instead of raw materials and minerals.

As in some of the other countries S.T.C. should work as a central pool wherein the profits are not merely accumulated but they are utilised for encouraging new lines by subsidising them out of such accumulated funds.

In spite of S.T.C., but as a result of the growth of economy and steps taken by the business communities and certain Governmental authorities in this country, there has, fortunately, been an increase in our export trade during the last year. The total exports, it is said, "amounted to Rs. 710 crores registering a rise of about Rs. 32 to 33 crores over the previous year". This progress has so far been more than maintained during the first four months of 1963-64, the export earnings during the period April-July 1963 amounting to Rs. 240 crores as compared to Rs. 208 crores in the corresponding period of 1962-63, indicating an in-

crease of Rs. 32 crores in "four months". The increase of about 15% as compared to previous levels is a matter of some satisfaction.

At the same time it should be a matter of continuous concern to us as also to the Government that there is still a gap, however reduced it may be, of as much as Rs. 99 crores between our exports and imports during the three months of the current financial year from 1st April to 30th June, 1963. This gap was of the order of Rs. 317 crores in the year 1962-63, of Rs. 413 crores in 1961-62 and of as much as Rs. 465 crores in 1960-61. We can only hope that with the increasing trends of export, this gap will continue to be reduced during the current financial year. It is well known, of course, that this gap continues because our imports continue to be well over Rs. 1,000 crores per annum while our exports, even with the recent improvement that has taken place, continue to be less than Rs. 800 crores per annum.

Looking at the direction of our foreign trade, we find that the U.K. and the U.S.A. continue to be, by far, the largest customers we have in the world. During the year 1962-63 we exported goods valued at Rs. 163.73 crores to the U.K., while the U.S.A. was second with purchases from our country amounting to Rs. 117.10 crores. The U.S.S.R., however, is now emerging as one of our major customers and during the last year they ranked third among our customers with purchases of goods valued at Rs. 38.53 crores. Japan is our fourth largest customer having bought Rs. 34.03 crores worth goods from us during the last year. Canada came next with Rs. 42.42 crores, Australia with Rs. 18.98 crores and West Germany with Rs. 16.40 crores. Czechoslo-

vakia came next with Rs. 11.36 crores while Singapore and the Federation of Malaya respectively accounted for Rs. 9.9 crores and Rs. 6.76 crores, with the Federation of Malaysia coming into being. Our total exports would enable them to rank fairly high among the list of our customers. However, when we look at the figures of the imports from some of these countries we find that from the U.K. we bought goods of the order of Rs. 178.31 crores, from the U.S.A. of even a much higher value of Rs. 315.26 crores (largely because of the aid and loans received from that country while West Germany supplied goods worth Rs. 96.46 crores, Japan following with Rs. 62.75 crores and U.S.S.R. with Rs. 55.50 crores. Iran supplied us goods worth Rs. 45.88 crores. Italy supplied goods worth Rs. 21.89 crores, Canada Rs. 14.70 crores, Sudan Rs. 17.11 crores, Czechoslovakia Rs. 19.71 crores and Switzerland Rs. 10.23 crores. The Federation of Malaya and Singapore together supplied us goods worth Rs. 18.82 crores. Among these countries we had an adverse balance of trade with the U.S.A. to the extent of Rs. 198.16 crores, West Germany Rs. 80 crores, Japan Rs. 28.72 crores, Iran Rs. 30.51 crores, Russia Rs. 16.97 crores, Saudi Arabia Rs. 9 crores, Canada Rs. 7.72 crores, Czechoslovakia Rs. 8.35 crores and Switzerland Rs. 8.5 crores. Among the countries with whom we had a favourable balance of trade during the last year, mention may be made of Argentina with whom we were *plus* Rs. 8.59 crores, Canada Rs. 7.72 crores, Nigeria Rs. 6 crores, Irish Republic Rs. 4.81 crores and Cuba Rs. 3.52 crores. The bulk of our favourable balance of trade, it would appear, is not with the highly developed countries except

Canada but with comparatively smaller countries, whose small contributions to our favourable balance of trade enable us to reduce our gap in the foreign trade.

It would, therefore, be clear that our main problem in trying to reduce our imports must be to develop manufacture of those items in the country which we are importing at present from the more developed countries like U.S.A., U.K., West Germany, Japan, and to try and to reduce the imports of commodities like crude oil from Iran and Saudi Arabia and raw cotton from countries like U.S.A. and Sudan. Because in the alternative we must see to it that these countries agree to purchase more from us so that we can continue to purchase commodities we have been purchasing so far from them.

Shri Manubhai Shah, Minister for International Trade, outlining our present export policy, said: "Our export policies, as the members are aware, are based on four fundamental principles, *viz.*, (1) increase in agricultural and industrial productivity and production; (2) continuous modernisation of plant and equipment and application of modern and scientific processes and technologies both in the field of agriculture and industry which would enable us to produce more goods at reduced costs; (3) improvement and maintenance of quality standards with improved packaging and presentation; and (4) improved and intensive salesmanship over a large number of selected items in selected regions of the world where the possibilities of their larger sales are indicated through market research and market surveys. Over and above this, as a short-term measure, we shall have to resort to some curb in domestic consumption with respect to some commodities so as to

make them available for larger exports." This presentation of the export policy of the Government is indeed a sound one. These four fundamental principles will, we hope, continue to guide the policies of the Government of India, so as to enable our country to build up the basic economic infra-structure on which the future expansion of our foreign trade can be built up. It is, however, necessary to emphasise that the same sense of urgency which is now felt in the Ministry of International Trade at the higher levels should also be felt and implemented at all the levels in the Ministry at New Delhi and at the level of the various officials of the Ministry dealing with the foreign trade at the different ports and centres in India, so that frequent complaints that we receive about the delay in disposal of applications for grant of incentives and for the removal of procedural difficulties in the promotion of our export trade may be minimised if not avoided in future.

As regards the suggestion made by the Minister that we shall have to resort to some curb in domestic consumption, let me point out that it would be wise to avoid any measures which might seek to curb domestic consumption because such measures can only take the form of more controls on distribution and consumption. It has been our experience in the past that such control measures do not prove to be either popular or effective in actual practice and merely lead to undesirable practices. Therefore instead of placing any curb on domestic consumption it would be more desirable to extend the present policy of providing incentives for exports so that manufacturers and businessmen may get an encouragement in making more goods available in export and thus promote our export

countries with which the major share of our foreign trade is built up are U.K., U.S.A., West Germany, Canada, Australia, Japan, Iran, etc. In the absence of the treaties of commerce, navigation and friendship between those countries and India, Indian businessmen going to those countries either for short stay or for long stay, for negotiating business deals or for establishing offices for business are not in a position to claim any privileges which the nationals of other countries are entitled to claim by virtue of the treaties existing between their own countries and the country in which they want to do business. Even in U.K. until the recent Immigrant Legislation was enacted Indian businessmen were allowed to do business and open office simply because the privileges, extended to citizens of the Commonwealth, were extended by the U.K. to Indian citizens. Even those privileges are now proposed to be restricted and regulated under the recent Immigrant Legislation. In other countries Indian businessmen cannot

claim any rights or privileges because there is no such relationship like the one we have with the United Kingdom as members of the Commonwealth. We believe that negotiations for treaties of commerce, navigation and friendship have been going on between the U.S.A. and India for over ten years but we are not aware of any such treaties having been signed between that country and our country in spite of the fact that thousands of crores of rupees worth of goods have been exchanged between our two countries during this period. The same can be said about the other countries like Canada, West Germany, Australia, Japan and even middle east countries like U.A.R. and the countries like Burma and Ceylon. I submit in all modesty that if we negotiate and sign such treaties with countries where our nationals are doing and have to do business, we will not be violating the principles of our foreign policy including our cherished policies of neutralism and so-called non-alignment.

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PROMISE AND PRACTICE OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

J. M. LOBO PRABHU

THE draft resolution of the Congress on Democratic Socialism is an unconscious admission of the failure of nearly every objective of the Congress during the last fifteen years. The resolution falls roughly into three parts, first the history of Congress ideas of Socialism, second their current objective and third the means of implementation.

It is claimed for the Congress that it emancipated the country, which ignores that the decolonisation of the world was a general policy, even in countries where there are no political parties. The correct position is that the Congress appropriated the independence of the country to develop itself at the expense of the people. The second claim that Congress had a monopoly of social objectives ignores that democracy by its very nature makes economic equality a consequence of political equality. Not to understand this is a mark of puerility on the part of the Congress, unless it is a subtle attempt to take advantage of the ignorance of the people. In actual practice, the claims of removal of untouchability, communal harmony, emancipation of women, rural development are an attempt to conceal complete failure in these directions. Caste has now become a vested interest for education and employment; no one stays in villages who can find employment elsewhere; untouchability is the despair even of Ministers like Jagjivan, who threaten use of force.

It is claimed that Planning is essential to Socialism, which requires that the principal means of production are under social control to increase production and reduce disparities. This ignores that all countries which have increased production, many times more than ours, have not brought the means of production under social control. The Communist countries which did so are now going with a begging bowl for food to countries which have depended on private enterprise. For our Planning not only have we raised our prices from 75 to 100% above world prices but have mortgaged our independence by loans and by continued dependence on imports, including food for which we cannot pay. It is only because the Congress assumes that the public is incapable of putting two and two together that it dares to claim that its planning has created an economy of abundance when in fact it has continually aborted the normal progress which is characteristic of the world economy since the war.

While there are many professions of its objectives, the basic one seems to be a National Minimum in respect of food, clothing, housing, education and health. The last two are really dependent on the first three in respect of which the policy of the Congress could not be more hostile. By the tests of production and prices, by re-imposing controls since 1955, the rate of increase has been reduced to a tenth of

what it was in the years controls were suspended, while the prices are nearly 80% higher. When the conclusions from these figures are obvious, the Congress has the temerity to claim that starving people who pay prices 80% higher than those anywhere outside the country are beneficiaries of its socialism. In respect of cloth, the mill variety which is the poor man's cloth because of its durability, the production rose only from 46,580 lakh metres in 1955 to 47,010 metres in 1961, less than 1%, when the population rose by nearly 12%. During the same period prices nearly doubled themselves, while world prices tended to fall so much so that last year we were compelled to sell our cloth at 66 nP. per metre abroad when our lowest prices were Rs. 1.25 per metre. Anything more cruel cannot be conceived and Government does not care if prices are further increased by more bonus demands being conceded to the workers. In respect of Housing, Government admits that "50 million out of 54 million houses in rural areas require to be replaced by new buildings or substantially improved". So far all that Government has done is to give Rs. 3.62 lakhs as loans for 12,470 houses. It is preposterous to think of achieving the prospective of Housing by the end of the Fifth Plan, when at the present rate it would take a thousand years.

While there are no specific proposals for achieving the objective of a National Minimum, the items of the existing plan which are irrelevant or have failed are repeated. The failure to make full use of man-power is ascribed to the failure to take advantage of science and technology. 70% of the population engaged in Agriculture do not require science so much as incentives to work harder and better. Where all the

science is available in Government's farms and dairies, the production is below the national average. The position is similar in respect of Co-operative Farming, which works with profit in less than one-third of the total number of farms.

Secondly, it is proposed to decentralise industries on a small and cottage scale. While this is in obvious conflict with the science of mass production, it has also proved not only to be a failure but a fraud with no one but Government departments willing to buy the production.

Thirdly, it is proposed to maintain Planning because it enables scarce resources to be used for the best advantage. It is notorious now that Rs. 1,090 crores of foreign exchange and resources invested only in the broad strategy of the National State Enterprises has resulted in a loss of Rs. 10 crores. The system of licensing an average profit of about 10%, supplying idle capacities of large industries side by side with shortages of many in common demand. The mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan showed how far Government can judge what it can do or what the people want. Planning without reference to Consumer Preference which can only be ascertained in a free market economy is the most colossal waste of scarce resources as even the Auditor-General's report disclose.

The Congress aims at reducing disparities in order to increase the income of the poor. Dr. Lohia calculated that even if the income of all people was equalised, the per capita increase would be only Rs. 20. Disparities can only be reduced under conditions of free competition, which ends the monopoly in a closed market, created by licence. Any direct attack on disparities will be an attack on incentives for investment and out which employment cannot be increased.

markets extended which is the true meaning of Socialism. With the highest production in the world, a further increase will not only deter new investment, including foreign investment but may lead to a winding up of existing enterprises.

It is proposed that the means of credit and investment should be more effectively controlled. If this means nationalisation of banks, the control implied would liquidate private enterprise, even in that field. The five Bills already passed have precipitated share values and have paralysed all new ventures. Government can more effectively control Banking but it will also more completely end savings and investments.

The Public Sector is proposed for enlargement, with the private sector playing a part only in the broad strategy of the National Plan. Just why private enterprise, making an average profit of about 10%, supplying 54% of the people's demand should make money for the public enterprise which can work only at a loss even for producing what is required only by the Government and the rich, is a question which has not been addressed to the Congress. Even in the private sector it is proposed to introduce increasingly the Co-operative method. So far this method has enabled politically important individuals to operate on public money as if it was their own, with no end of embezzlements and irregularities and without any benefit to the workers or the consumers.

Another proposal is that the worker should be associated with the management. Trade Unions have resisted this in other countries as they get committed. Even if they agree in India, what are the qualifications and contributions of the workers that they should manage in their own favour

against those who invest their savings or consumers who have to pay the prices. In the public sector enterprises, all are workers and if some of them are in the management, it is because of their higher qualifications. In private sector enterprises, the management is tending to be on qualifications without reference to ownership which is retiring from active participation.

Controls are demanded for checking prices, when statistics establish that they have invariably increased prices. What is not realised is that the type of controls utilised restrict the competition of the suppliers and increase that of the consumers. Where the Control is simple like the enforcement of the Essential Commodities Act, to seize stocks on the average of the previous three months' price, the Government prefers to be inactive. Controls have become the means of political control of those who can contribute to election funds of the Congress.

For Agriculture all that is proposed is more training of experts, when those already multiplied have not been able to make any impression. A new idea of crop and livestock insurance, which has not been tried in most advanced countries, is being thrown out to deceive the people and perhaps to create more clerical employment. Crop is already insured by the remission of rent when there is failure. Insurance of cattle will require identification of animals and their deaths which is impossible except with a special staff for each village, with its tiers of supervisors.

The Land Reforms Policy of bringing the tillers in direct relation with the State, subject to ceilings, is repeated but without the enthusiasm previously shown. In the Kerala Bill, the landlords are not dispossessed by the State but by acts of purchase between

tenant and owners. Since this Bill has passed the scrutiny of the Planning Commission, the policy of extinguishing landowners is apparently being given up. Similarly, ceilings are now meaningless because they have been already anticipated.

Equality of opportunity from birth of the child sounds very good but is meaningless when there is no assurance that the parents will have the constitutional right to work, even at minimum wages. The same goes for schemes of social security, which are mere window dressing in the circumstances of mass unemployment. The principle, that no child should be prevented from attaining the highest standard of education of which it is capable, is thwarted by the reservation of education on a caste basis. More of scientific education, when there is no employment for all those already educated, is a mistake of priorities between employment and education.

There is reference to unaccounted money without any examination of its cause and cure. Unaccounted money has followed from the permit licence raj which prevents prices finding their level by competition. It is also part of development for political purposes such as is implied in Co-operation, Community and Social Welfare Schemes, Khadi, Prohibition, which favour political supporters. The assets of the ministers, still not declared, are the worst examples of unaccounted money.

The orientation of the Administration for more positive work is an old aim, which ignores that a low-paid staff cannot be enthusiastic about schemes, which they know too well, involve a wastage of public funds, frequently for political purposes. The example of ministers whose way of work,

including touring, is a mockery of the duties has to be changed for a beginning. The grandiloquent purpose of changing the ways of thinking and living and spiritual and moral values also must begin with the ministers. Religion has been abolished from schools while religious institutions are being treated as Government departments. There can be no ethical values when the Congress President himself declares that the Congress is the way for paupers to become millionaires.

The Congress therefore has failed to define Democratic Socialism largely because it has practised Statism, which denies economic democracy to the people and increases poverty both of resources and spirit, which is against the meaning of Socialism. The draft Resolution is a windbag of ideas which have been tried and have failed. Its thinking is neither connected or constructive. It may have deceived the Congress and in any case meant to deceive the public.

The public will be deceived because other parties have not so far published their alternatives so much so that Congress dares suggest that they are opposed to Planning and therefore to development. It is on the ground that the draft Resolution claims that the electorate has twice approved of Planning for Socialism. Whatever the position may have been before, an alternative plan is now a necessity for the very survival against the Congress.

Such a Plan may proceed on three principles, first that the people do what they can and Government does only what they cannot; second that every item of Planning must be judged by Mahatmaji's principles mentioned by Mr. Masani as to how it will affect the poorest man and third, Planning must be for People and not for Projects.

opportunities for manual work being offered to the whole population on Government projects or private projects stimulated by Government loans and subsidies. By these principles almost two-thirds of the existing plan will be dismantled. This would enable Government to vastly reduce its taxes and loans from which the consequent deflation will increase the value of present incomes. At the same time, Government may increase its loans for private enterprise which will maintain the tempo of the economy and enhance it to the extent, there is more efficiency and economy from the personal interest of the investors. If Controls are withdrawn, the resources required will be found by the people from using the labour and resources which are unemployed at present.

For fifteen years, the Government has mistrusted the people's instincts and capacities for their own development. What Government has done instead has not only been insufficient and inefficient but has taxed the common people and spared the savings of the rich. All these are self-evident truths but the people cannot grasp them until they are embodied in an alternative plan for their ends and with their means. It is true that people will not be able to appreciate such a plan by its results but it can be assumed that to the extent, it meets the approval of the people, the Congress will adopt it, as it always adopts the successes of its opponents. Democratic Socialism can therefore be met by a plan for Democracy not only in politics but also in economics.

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BONUS AND PROFIT SHARING

V. S. NATARAJAN

ONE of the reasons, among others, for the lag in Industrial development is the highly unsatisfactory Labour-Management relationship in our country. There is, by and large, a built-in conflict between the two sectors. In a developing country like ours cordial and happy Labour-Management relationship would go a long way in promoting Industrial growth. The fruitfulness of the co-operation between the two sectors has been forcefully highlighted by the resurgence of Western Germany from a near annihilated state after the second world war to its present pre-eminent position as a major Industrial power in the world. I remember a high-ranking German Industrialist who visited our country in 1954 (when German Industrial revival was getting under way) was asked at a meeting in Bombay as to what contributed to the great progress Germany was making; he said that it was due primarily to the close co-operation between workers, management and the Government. This has a good moral for us. While I was touring Germany in 1959, I discussed with several friends the economic miracle that was transforming the country. I was told by industrialists that at the end of world War II, when all their factories were in ruins and conditions were deplorable beyond description, the workers in Germany did not need food so much as work to keep them busy and do something constructive. They encouraged the Industrialists to restart their factories with whatever

machinery and building that was available, promising to accept nominal wages till such time as their respective factories found their feet. This remarkable act of self-sacrifice did indeed bring about the rehabilitation of German Industry in a record time. Of course the workers who made the sacrifice have been paid off generously by their employers when profits came in and today the German worker has the highest standard of living in Europe. It is a common sight to see workers arriving at their factories in their Motor Cycles or Scooters and in few cases Cars. One would therefore wish that both the workers in our country and the employers would learn a lesson from the German example.

It must be admitted that as far as productivity is concerned, our workers have to make a great leeway to catch up with Western countries or even Japan. Even with identical equipment our workers' productivity is very low, as for example 3 male loom operators in our Textile Industry are employed to do the work of a single Japanese girl. The prosperity of any country depends on the quality and quantum of work turned out by its people. This is a basic fact which should be recognised by all thinking men and more particularly by our Political leaders. One of the chief causes of our sluggish economy is the low productivity in our Industry as well as Agriculture. In spite of the colossal amount of money injected

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in various schemes ours has become a high cost and low-performing economy.

Since Independence, a good deal of legislation has been passed in favour of the workers in the country. Minimum wages have been introduced. Provident Fund benefits, Gratuity benefits, Insurance, Sick leave, Compulsory holidays—all these have added up considerably to the earnings of the worker. The fact is that the average earnings of a worker is out of all proportion to the average *per capita* income in our country. I do not for a moment suggest that what our workers are being paid is far too much. On the contrary, my own view is that compared to advanced countries our wage structure is very low and should rise perceptibly. My point however is that the rise should come about with greater productivity.

One of the problems be-devilling Labour-Management relation is the question of Bonus. I believe that neither in England nor America payment of an annual Bonus is a general feature of Industries.

In both the countries the Trade Unions are powerful and the fact that they have not made an issue of Bonus is noteworthy. Perhaps it is felt that since Labour does not participate in Management the resulting profit or loss of an Industry is of no concern to the workers. Whatever be the case, I feel that in order to create a better climate of understanding and offer an incentive to the worker a scheme of profit-sharing in the form of Annual Bonus would be desirable. The worker should feel that he is a participant in the Industry and should give his best to it. In return he should get a reasonable share in the Industries' profits.

There is unfortunately considerable variation in the quantum of Bonus paid by the

several Industrial concerns. This is a grave misunderstanding and becomes a source of friction between workers and Management. A Capital Intensive Industry making large profits can pay very large Bonus to workers while a Labour Intensive Industry cannot pay as much, even though it may make handsome profits. In this context I would like to refer to the practice held in certain quarters that Bonus is a deferred wage. I do not accept this view for the reason that in majority of Industries minimum wages have been fixed by Government. If it is seriously contended that the Bonus is a deferred wage, then the quantum of Bonus also should have been fixed along with the minimum wage, lest there be no room for future conflict.

Having assumed that Bonus payment is desirable and equitable when a concern makes profit, the question arises as to what the quantum should be. Profits are determined by the utilization of Capital, Technology, Managerial talent and Labour. The workers contribute in production a certain volume of goods in a given period, is their total earnings during that period. For instance, if a Textile Mill produces a crore of rupees worth of cloth in a year, the total wage bill amounted to Rs. 10 crores, we can assume the labourers' contribution to the cost of the production at 10%. This would suggest that the same percentage should be the quantum of Bonus to the workers on the net profits of the Industry after providing the usual Depreciation, Taxation and Rehabilitation Reserves. The formula on the above principle appears to be fair to both Labour and Management. Profit-sharing should be linked to the distribution made by the workers towards the product they create.

WOMEN AND POLITICS

PREMA NANDAKUMAR

WOMEN everywhere—and especially in India—are being tacitly, or by implication, advised (of course in their own interests) to keep politics at an arm's distance. There have been notable exceptions: Annie Besant, Sarojini Naidu; and distinguished parentage confers a natural—though exceptional—advantage on some women. But exceptions are only exceptions. Women in Parliament or even in the Cabinet lend colour; that cannot do much harm. On the other hand, is it at all likely that women face the turbid tide of abstract discussion, the whirl of statistics, and the battle of the current politico-economic 'isms'? How-a-days women are receiving 'education' even higher education—almost as a matter of course. They become teachers, clerks, section superintendents, lawyers, and what not. They publish learned memoirs, head bureaus of research, and join international goodwill missions. But the basic limitation remains. She is daughter, wife, mother; these are vocations sacred enough for the most ambitious; and there is therefore, no real need to extend the sphere of her activities. Her place is in the home. Her main virtue should be to do nothing that might possibly injure the immediate interests of father, husband, son. In the larger world, the wider interests, the hurlyburly of controversial politics—she had best be left to the men.

I ask myself: What is happening to the large numbers of talented young women—

first class B.A.s and M.A.s and gold medalists and so on—who marry at the right time the right men (that is, men with belted peons and settled salaries and splendid 'prospects')? They seem too easily to dwindle into a synthetic culture of doll-house drawing rooms fed by the current stereotyped illustrated magazines and made-easy Digests. Talk is confined to the trivialities of dress, cooks' and servant-maids' problems, in-laws' vagaries, and sugar shortages. The so-called 'intellectual' woman is neither intellectual nor sheerly sensible in the traditional way. Who is responsible for this sudden arrest in the intellectual growth of the 'educated' woman? Cannot an 'educated' woman stay 'educated' even without actually taking a formal 'career'? It cannot be her fault, or hers entirely; the world of man prefers that she should be self-imprisoned by the habitual ease and luxury that his status and emoluments can provide for her—and she perhaps struggles for a while, then succumbs to the lure of ease and luxury and drawing room tittle tattle and all the meaningless sophisticated jargon of our synthetic urban culture. Talking of the intelligent or intellectual woman, Walter Bagehot says:

"The more you can put before such a person the greater she will be; the less her world, the less she is. If you place the most keen-sighted lady in the midst of the pure futilities and unmitigated flirtations of an aristocracy, she will sink to the level of

those elements, and will scarcely seem to wish for anything more, or to be competent for anything higher. But if she is placed in an intellectual atmosphere in which political or other important subjects are currently passing, you will probably find that she can talk better upon them than you can, without your being able to explain whence she derived either her information or her talent." Bagehot has in his mind women like Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who wielded "a lightening element of female influence" in the politics of eighteenth century England. That tradition passed, and England hasn't been quite the same place again.

Today politics is more than what it was in 18th century England; politics has been apt to invade all aspects of life, and under the peculiar conditions that prevail in India we can no more avoid politics than we can avoid breathing. Every decision or indecision of the Government has its effect on our daily life. Everything is sought to be regulated and controlled, and the regulations and controls work not efficiently and impartially but haphazardly and perversely. The woman who has the responsibility of running the home is up against all kinds of upsets in the economic sphere. Articles of food and clothing, primary needs and services, cost more and more month by month. One sees a hundred or more standing at 'Q' in front of a fair-price shop hoping to get a seer of rice at the so-called fair-price. Milk is scarce, sometimes it cannot be got at all. Baby-food is expensive, even if it could be got. Books are expensive, postage is expensive. If there are mothers and grandmothers, they speak of prices of commodities 25 years ago (even 15 years ago) which make us wonder what has happened

in the interim, what economic *pralaya* overtaken us, whether there is any hope all that we can still dare to embrace may be that some of us, in spite of spiraling prices and soaring taxation, can somehow balance our domestic budgets but at what cost, and—for how long longer can we do so? And how about

the vast majority—the people who earn but a few annas a day according to Dr. Lohia? In today's paper that Jan Sangh wrote counted 11,000 (eleven thousand) persons sleeping in the open on Delhi's pavements on a winter night. Tens of thousands live in miserable hutments in our cities by the side of cess-pools, defying the laws of hygiene. Pockets of affluence and luxury manage to co-exist in large areas of squalor and poverty. Are we one nation or two? Why haven't 2½ Five-Year-Plans done anything to alleviate the plight of the masses? Why are the middle classes being demoralized? We cannot ask these questions and remain unconcerned about it all. Siddhartha rebelled, not against his personal plight, but the plight of average man in the grip of the evils of age, disease, and death. A society without a social conscience is a pampered, selfish, dying society. And if we feel there is misery, there is squalor, there is confusion of ends and means, it behooves us to think—to think boldly—and to try to exert what infinitesimal pressure we can to remedy the situation. The misery next door may—in fact, it must—invade our home tomorrow. I therefore feel that women in India today must not shy from politics but regard it rather as their very bread and butter, and as the means to rethink our ends and means, and lend a helping-hand towards the realisation of a better world for us all to live in.

FAILURE ON THE EDUCATIONAL FRONT

M. RUTHNASWAMY

ON what facts and figures did the Prime Minister rely when he blandly boasted before an All-India Women's Conference on New Year's Day this year that the progress of education especially of women and in rural areas was satisfactory? Did he remember the facts and figures given in his own Planning Commission reports or was he indulging in his usual euphoric statements about the performance of his Party and Government based on superficial looks at people he casually comes across in town or village? It must have been the latter for the facts are dead against his complacency. The Third Plan report confesses that from 1951–1961 literacy has increased only from about 17 to about 24% of the population, about 25% in advanced States like Madras and 10% in backward States like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. And the growth of literacy in the most advanced States like Madras is about 1% per year. And the progress of literacy of women to which the Prime Minister made special, but in view of the facts, rather inconvenient reference is about half the rate of that of men. The gap in educational progress at the lowest level between town and village is lamentably wide, the attainment in rural areas being about half that in urban areas. At the rate of growth of 1% per year which is the rate of progress of literacy under the Congress regime it will take 75 years for India to be totally literate. Is this

progress something to trumpet to the public even if the Prime Minister is the trumpeter.

Nor is the failure at other educational levels less glaring. Although the confession in the Third Plan report that progress in establishing new schools during the first two Plan periods was relatively greater in respect of middle and high schools than in the case of primary schools—a revelation of lopsided planning—is honest, the quality of education in these middle and high schools is not of a high order. The proportion of trained teachers in middle schools has risen in the period 1951–61 from 53 to 65% and in high schools from 54 to 68%—so that in either category of schools about 35% of the teachers are untrained. As the result of the more intensive programme proposed for the Third Plan period its proportion of trained teachers in each category is expected to run to about 75% still leaving a gap of 25% of untrained teachers. Although general science is a compulsory subject in high schools and elective sciences for those who desire to pursue higher studies in science were recommended by the secondary Education Commission, the Third Plan report confesses that "a considerable proportion of schools lack the basic minimum requirements in respect of laboratories and equipment and also suitable text-books and handbooks". Science clubs to popularise the study of science were only 450 in number among the 15,500 high

schools in the country. The report also confesses to "a shortage of science teachers". Multi-purpose schools to vary the scheme of education in secondary schools from the monotony of academic subjects were recommended by the Secondary Education Commission. Only 2,115 multi-purpose schools have been established in the First and Second Plan periods and the programme of expansion in the Third Plan period is limited to 331 new schools of this character. Here also progress has been hampered by "the lack of trained teachers to teach the practical subjects, insufficient teaching material especially text-books and handbooks, limited range of elective courses and inadequacy of educational and vocational guiding facilities". Vocational guidance so necessary for getting the best out of education for the youth of the country and the economy of the country has we are told not yet made a significant impact on secondary schools. The Careers Master, so essential a part of the teaching staff of English schools, is conspicuous by his absence in Indian schools. How schools can get on without adequate libraries is proved in India, for few are the schools that have them. Crowded classrooms are another distressing feature of secondary schools in India. Few of them have playgrounds and other recreational facilities. Can such schools fulfil the duty they are charged with, that of providing the country with the largest number of educated citizens?

In any country that aims at increased production of wealth the training, general and special, of the producers of the wealth would fill a large part of the educational bill of the Government. The provision for technical training looks impressive. In Engineering and Technology provision has

been made in the Third Plan period for expansion at the degree and diploma level so as to increase the annual advance to 13,860 for degree courses and 25,570 for diploma courses to 19,144 and 37,200 respectively. In the field of craftsmen-training, apart from the schemes of various Central Ministries, States and individual industries, the intake of the Industrial Training Institutes will go up in the course of the Third Plan period from 42,000 to 100,000. The financial provision also looks impressive. During the Third Plan period outlay on technical education is about 25% of the total outlay on education. Impressive—but it is not enough, for the technical needs of the country. It is especially the training of craftsmen, the improvement of the skills of the skilled worker which is the foundation, the base of technical education that requires special attention and huge financial provision. The Planning Commission states that during the Third Plan period about 1.50 million craftsmen will be required, 810,000 in engineering trades and the balance in non-engineering trades. But, as stated earlier by the Planning Commission itself, there is provision only for training of 100,000 craftsmen. If the number of apprentices trained in Railways, Defence and other Ministries' workshops and private industry workshops be added the number may go up to 200,000 but that is only 1/5th of the trained craftsmen required. And then there are the millions of unemployed and underemployed men and women in the villages, the millions of masons, bricklayers, smiths, cartwrights, metal workers whose skill could be improved and the millions more of unskilled workers that should be trained into skilled craftsmanship. Nor will the 100 or

for technical schools contemplated in the Third Plan report add to the number of skilled workers in the country. Not till a technical school is established in every taluq area can the provision for technical education be considered satisfactory. And even there are the agricultural workers and farmers whose skills have to be improved with a view to greater agricultural production. The Planning Commission speak only of agricultural colleges even of an agricultural university (Oh! shades of Newman!) which can produce only graduates employable by Government but not of agricultural schools with model farms attached, one for each taluq or tasil area nor of an agricultural school attached to the taluq or tasil technical school where farmers and cultivators could have their agricultural skills improved which would meet the needs of agricultural education. And the primary schools in rural areas should have a rural bias in most of the subjects taught and in the syllabuses and books used, the nature lessons being based on the rural environment, the plants, the trees, the birds, the animals, the soil of the land around them. Of such agricultural schools and such agricultural bias in primary schools there is little mention in the Planning Commission reports, for one supposes there is little to mention.

As for university education the proofs and illustrations of its poor quality hit one in the eye. Quality has been sacrificed for quantity. Admission to universities or university colleges is lax and indiscriminate, proved by the large proportion of failures in university examinations and deplored in annual reports of the University Grants Commission. As if the number of unemployed and unemployable graduates produced at the rate of 5,000 per year is

not enough, Governments and University authorities including the University Grants Commission allow the starting of correspondence courses and evening classes and the factory shift system towards the production of more of them. Hostels are overcrowded, 2 or 3 students being crammed into a room meant for one. The frequent exhibition of indiscipline among university students is another proof of the low quality of university education. Here also failure has to be chronicled.

How can all this failure be reversed and education turned towards the road of success?

The Swatantra Party with its policy and programme of first things first can do it. It will concentrate first on primary and adult education so that the 1% rate of growth of literacy under the Congress regime can be converted to a 5% growth and total literacy be achieved in 15 years. Next in priority will come technical education providing such education for the millions of unemployed and underemployed. Not 100,000 in 5 years as is the Congress programme but 100,000 each year will be its rate of progress in technical education. University education it will leave largely to private enterprise the Government restricting itself to the establishment and maintenance of one model Arts and Science college in each State and enough Engineering and Medical colleges. Private philanthropy must be enlisted on behalf of university education. Little or nothing has been done by Vice-Chancellors to persuade Chambers of Commerce, Federations of Indian industries, individual businessmen to endow departments of pure and applied science at our universities. If it were shown and proved to them how much research

departments in service can help industry, they would follow the example of the Nuffields, the Fords and the Rockefellers of the West. And so if an educational policy and programme of first things first, of foundations before superstructure, of the useful rather than the pretentious followed as it would be by the Swa Party the failures of the Congress governments will be redeemed to the people education and the economic prosperity of the country.

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DENATIONALIZE STATE INDUSTRIES

PHIROZE J. SHROFF

THE so-called battle between the public sector and the private sector is no battle at all. In fact there is an unabashed aggression by the State with all its strength and violence against the prerogative of the people to carry on their legitimate avocations and earn an honest livelihood. (The terms "public sector" and "private sector" are themselves misnomers and should be substituted by "the state sector" and "the people's sector". Nobody objects to the state providing the infrastructure for the development of industries and agriculture. But the state by reason of its inherent shortcomings is incapable of delivering the goods and raising the standard of life of the people. Doctrinaire ideologists argue that in underdeveloped countries it is necessary for the state to water down the fundamental rights of the people and use coercion in order to bring about a rapid economic development and raise the standard of life of the people. However, those amongst them who are open to conviction learn from bitter experience that the intrusion by the state in the sphere of economic activities, which legitimately belong to the people, not only results in giving a serious jolt to the economic life of the community and causing severe stresses and strains but actually hinders economic development.)

The working of most of the public sector enterprises in our country is highly unsatisfactory. The gross profit as percentage of

capital employed for Bharat Electronics, Fertilizer Corporation of India, Hindustan Aircraft and National Coal Development Corporation works out to between 2.5 to 3.4. In case of Praga Tools, National Projects Construction Corporation and Eastern Shipping Corporation the gross profit as percentage of capital employed works out to no higher than 0.9 to 1.8. That the working of these and many other public sector concerns is inefficient, wasteful and harmful to the economy of the country can be easily perceived when it is realized that the Government obtains foreign and indigenous credit at very high rates of interest for a number of public sector undertakings.

Other public sector concerns like the Hindustan Ship-yard, and National Building Construction Corporation have been incurring losses. The nationalized Gold Mines in Mysore are being worked at extremely heavy losses to the public exchequer. Whereas the private sector companies have to pay a corporation tax of 50 per cent. or more on their profits, a great number of concerns in the public sector constitute hardly anything to the public exchequer.

Government spokesmen have been asserting that it is necessary to multiply public sector concerns in order to develop national resources. As a matter of fact these concerns as a class are consuming national resources rather than increasing them. The worst

offender in this respect are the three steel plants in the public sector. With an enormous capital of Rs. 700 crores, they have already incurred a loss of Rs. 61.5 crores. Fabulous sums amounting to well over Rs. 125 crores have been sunk in the townships and ancillaries of the steel plants. (Recently, a Union Minister has stated that the Indian steel from being the cheapest in the world has now become the costliest. For this deplorable development he has to thank the Government and the Planners to whom ideology is more important than production.)

Even communist countries have begun to realize that surpluses in the working of undertakings are a proper test of their efficiency. Recently, Premier Khrushchev severely castigated the inefficient and wasteful working of public sector concerns in his country and said that it would be necessary "to imitate those capitalist methods which have proved so successful in free enterprise societies". It is no wonder that Mr. Khrushchev had to make this forthright statement, seeing that after 45 years' of communist regime the U.S.S.R. finds itself in difficulties both on the agricultural and the industrial fronts. (Recently, it has become necessary for the U.S.S.R. to import 9 million tons of foodgrains. The Russians have had to bear for almost two generations an acute shortage of very ordinary consumer goods like shoes, cloth, plastic buttons, soap, paper and even vegetables. The miraculous economic recovery of war-ravaged countries like West Germany, Japan, France and Italy under a system of free market economy, resulting in more than doubling the national output in less than a decade, has caused a searching of heart amongst a number of communist countries.) When the Chinese

communists taunted U.S.S.R. leaders with deviationism and revisionism, Mr. Khrushchev made his devastating retort that sharing a pair of trousers between five Chinese persons is not socialism nor does socialism consist in starving the people or making them trudge to work without shoes or feet wrapped up in rags.

The Government of India Resolution on Industrial Policy dated the 30th April 1948 has put an effective brake on the industrial development of our country. Under this Resolution the Government has exclusively reserved to itself industrial activities in various spheres including iron and heavy castings and forgings of iron, steel, coal and lignite, mineral oils, mines of iron ore, manganese ore, chrome, gypsum and sulphur, mining and processing of copper, lead, zinc and tin, shipbuilding, manufacture of telephones and telegraph cables and generation and distribution of electricity. There is no reason why these industries should not be developed by private initiative and enterprise. In many of the fields which the Government has exclusively reserved to itself, it has failed to develop the country's resources or to provide employment to the people.

The Schedule B of the Industrial Policy Resolution enumerates industries "which will be progressively state-owned". These industries which are liable to be progressively state-owned include land transport, transport, chemical pulp, synthetic rubber, fertilizers, machine tools and aluminium. Except the exploded socialist and communist ideologies there is absolutely no reason why these industries should be progressively state-owned. What matters is the consumer is not who owns the industry

who supplies industrial products of quality at cheap rates.

The people have learnt to their cost that whenever certain public utility undertakings are nationalized not only the service deteriorates but its price substantially increases. The latest instance on the point is that of taking over by the State of the Poona Electricity Company. The State has come out with the proposal that the rate for the supply of energy to the consumers will have to be increased by 65 per cent. Moreover, whenever public utility undertakings are nationalized the public is treated with indifference, if not with contempt. Whereas private sector concerns realize the importance of giving satisfaction to the consumer and keep before them the motto that "the customer is always right" the public sector concerns seem to swear by the motto that "the customer is always wrong". The reason why the public sector undertakings treat the consumer with indifference is the concentration of political and economic power in the same hands. (Politicians manoeuvre to seize economic power with the ostensible object of protecting public interest. As a matter of fact public interest demands that political and economic power should not be concentrated in the same hands.)

There are a number of reasons why the public sector concerns have turned out to be white elephants in our as well as other countries. The main reasons are that the managements of public undertakings have no personal or financial interest in the working of the concern, they are afraid to take initiative or to shoulder responsibility, they are tied down by interminable paper work, they spend their time studying rules and regulations rather than in increasing productivity, and they are often lacking in

administrative experience for operating industrial concerns. Anyway, they seem to be sure of one thing, namely, that so long as they mechanically observe the state rules and regulations they need not worry about the financial success of the venture with which they are entrusted. They know that the State with its ideology is at their back and that the losses in working the enterprises will be thrown on the back of the tax-payer.

It is also a known fact that the State by its pricing policies gives "the most favoured" treatment to its own undertakings and gives a step-motherly treatment to undertakings in the private sector. It is reprehensible that the State which swears by socialism and welfare for the people goes in for heavy profiteering on the sale of antibiotics, after having included the manufacture of these and other essential drugs in Schedule B of the Industrial Policy Resolution. The State Trading Corporation is more a device for imposing and collecting taxes rather than for promoting trade.

(Public sector concerns whether run by the Union Government or the State Governments are incurring losses or making negligible profits, which, too, may be considered as losses when the heavy capital expenditures are taken into consideration.) On an investment of over Rs. 1,200 crores in the public sector concerns, the yield is Rs. 1.49 crores. This miserable performance is to be seen against the background of the Third Plan estimates according to which the Union and the State concerns were expected to yield Rs. 450 crores during the Plan period or Rs. 90 crores per annum.

There is some tardy realization in certain sections of the ruling party that there are built-in shortcomings in the working of the

State concerns. The Jammu and Kashmir Government has already made over to private entrepreneurs some of the State undertakings on which it had been making continued losses. Recently, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has decided to hand over the Rajahmundry Paper Mills to any private buyer, because the concern has been making continued losses under the State management. The former Hyderabad Government also thought it expedient to hand over Sirpur Mills to the private sector. Production of paper increased by more than seven times after the transfer of the Mills to private management. (After having incurred heavy losses and after having subjected the travelling public to an inefficient and costly transport service, the Government of Mysore is reported to be considering the advisability of handing over the nationalized Bangalore Transport Company to the private sector.) (The National Coal Development Council has become a national liability instead of a national asset because of inefficient and wasteful management. Some foreign governments have also become wiser by experience and have divested themselves of the ownership and management of State concerns.)

Steel and road haulage industries were denationalized in the U.K. with consequent improvement in their working. The basic point to be noted is that just as the peasant produces proportionately much more on his privately-owned small plot than on the state farm, similarly the private entrepreneurs

succeed in achieving much greater productivity than bureaucrats. That the State undertakings competing with private sector concerns on equal terms fare much worse is conclusively demonstrated by the record of the U.P. Government cement factory at Churk, which has been incurring losses, whilst private sector cement factories in the State are yielding substantial taxes to the State and ploughing back reasonable amounts of surpluses for the expansion of the industry.

The State must now retrace its steps progressively hand over its concerns to private ownership and management. This will bring about a rapid improvement in their working, with consequent benefit to the people and the public exchequer. The Government must stop its war against the people's sector. It must put an end to the licence-permit raj and drastically revise its fiscal policies. The Government must also stop the vast-scale corruption in our country which is the result of the licence-permit raj and proliferating bureaucracy. The people have had a very painful experience of a controlled economy with an expanding public sector for over a decade and a half. For too long hungry people have been fed with state and unclothed people have been clothed with paper plans. An immediate end to the ruling party's totalitarian-type planning and adoption of sound economic policies is urgently called for, if our people are to enjoy freedom from hunger and want and preserve their fundamental rights.

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN A DEVELOPING ECONOMY

M. R. PAI

It is generally recognised that the Government should play an important role in the economic life of a nation. The functions of the Government are no longer confined to defending the territorial integrity of the country and maintaining internal peace and order. Particularly, in a developing country like India, the role of the Government in the economic sphere becomes a decisive one. But it is essential to define that role, as otherwise, the energies and resources of the Government, which in the ultimate analysis are drawn from the people, are dissipated to the detriment of economic growth.

The present Indian context with the Government attempting to run the economy through comprehensive centralised planning, without appreciable economic progress, calls for immediate delimitation of the Government's sphere of action.

To solve the problem of poverty, and to meet the needs of social justice, in a democratic set-up, the Government should pursue three objectives: (a) provision, especially in rural areas, of basic amenities; (b) helping people to develop resources by providing the infrastructure of the economy; (c) using the regulatory powers of the community to see that in economic as well as other spheres the interests of the country as a whole do not suffer. These functions are apart from the traditional ones of

defending the country against foreign aggression, and maintaining law and order at home by upholding the Rule of Law, which is the essence of a democratic set-up.

Two eminent economists, Colin Clark and Milton Friedman, have ably described these functions of the Government as follows:

"The extreme preoccupation with capital investment has led to the neglect of the other factors in growth and economic development: improvement in education, the development of the legal and institutional framework required for a market economy—a dependable currency, a banking and credit system, general understanding and observance of laws on property, contract, company organisation, restraint of trade, etc., heavy investment in transport and other forms of communications."

—COLIN CLARK.

("Growthmanship", *Hobart paper.*)

"A Central Government which maintained law and order, provided for the national defence, secured people in the enforcement of private contracts freely entered into, provided a stable monetary framework, fostered the spread of elementary schooling and the improvement of road communication and, for the rest, fostered a free market to enable millions

of individuals in this country to use their own resources in accordance with their own objectives—such a Government would be engaging in good planning, in planning which was suited to the promotion of economic development in the sense of the improvement of the lot of the ordinary men."

—PROF. MILTON FRIEDMAN.
 ("Inflation—its Causes & Cure"—
 Asia Publication.)

It is precisely to these areas, the Indian Government has accorded low priority in its economic policy in its preoccupation with ideological measures like a Public Sector at any cost, emphasis on heavy industries and administration of intricate controls over private enterprise.

In a brief article, it is not possible to deal with all aspects of such neglected areas. But the magnitude of such neglect can be realised by focussing attention on two areas: good drinking water, a basic amenity sadly lacking in the country and roads.

In his address to the seventh annual general meeting of the Forum of Free Enterprise, the President, Mr. A. D. Shroff, pointed out as follows the deficiency with regard to good drinking water:

"One of the most pressing needs is good drinking water. The Director of the Central Public Health Engineering Institute recently disclosed that nine out of ten Indians drink unprotected, disease-spreading water. In August 1963, a Madhya Pradesh minister revealed that of 70,000 villages in the State, the Government had been able to supply drinking water facilities only to 10,000 villages. He added that there were still

places where people had to go as far as 14 miles to fetch drinking water. In Gujarat, the Deputy Minister for Agriculture has reported strange cases of avoidable human misery because the amenity of drinking water was unavailable. In one village, ropes were laid over every bed to enable people to get up in the morning because polluted water supply had caused an ailment of pains in the joints. In another village the filthy tank water had caused an epidemic of guinea worm. In yet another place, people had lost their teeth by drinking water in the village tank. A survey disclosed that water in 80 per cent of the wells near the capital city is below national standards. The recent cholera toll in Orissa had much to do with drinking water. A team of experts found in that place that two wells had been 'nursed' of cholera germs for the last 14 years. It is, therefore, not surprising that recently the Union Health Minister said that the crying need of the hour was to provide at least safe drinking water to the villages."

The position with regard to roads is equally deplorable. Even after 16 years of Independence, the network of national highways is not complete as the following position of missing bridges demonstrates:

No. of bridges missing in 1947	
Constructed upto 31-3-1961	74
Completion target for III Plan	60
Other bridges likely to be in progress at end of III Plan	52

The lacuna is distressing in view of the Planning Commission's recognition of

importance of transport facilities, along with power, as "basic to the success of most other schemes included in the Plan and the development of the country's economy as a whole."

In its techno-economic survey of Andhra Pradesh, the National Council for Applied Economic Research has pointed out: "Roads have to be accorded first priority in any programme of transport development in Andhra Pradesh. With agricultural growth and medium-sized agriculture-based industries playing a primary role in future development, a close link between the processing plants and the rural areas is essential. Roads can provide it. Roads require a smaller initial investment than railways and can be constructed within a shorter period. They are also not dependent on other transport services for traffic and can reach areas not served by railways and waterways. On these considerations a programme for expanding road facilities is recommended."

Two other significant aspects of road transport are the wastage of resources and employment potential. According to the Indian Roads Congress, the use of poor road results in a loss of two annas per vehicle mile. The annual loss to the nation on this account alone is estimated to be Rs. 75 crores, which, ironically enough happens to be

about the figure of revenues collected by State governments through vehicle taxes, sales tax on motor fuel, passenger and goods taxes and sales tax on vehicles and accessories!

The employment potential of road transport, which is possible only with a good network of roads, is about 12,000 persons for each crore of rupees as against 500 for a similar amount invested in heavy industry. The Indian Roads and Transport Development Association, recommending investment of Rs. 1,700 crores in road transport during the Third Plan, estimates that this would create employment for 6½ million persons in road transport, and road construction and maintenance. Considering the backlog of unemployed—9 million carry-over from Second Plan, another 3 to 5 million from Third Plan period—this is a significant contribution to the solution of the problem.

The drawbacks in other areas of Government's basic functions are likewise considerable. If any Government can attend to these, it will not only find its hands full for the next 10 or 15 years, but also create conditions in which the initiative and enterprise of the Indian people can thrive, develop resources, and speedily solve the problem of poverty in a democratic set-up.



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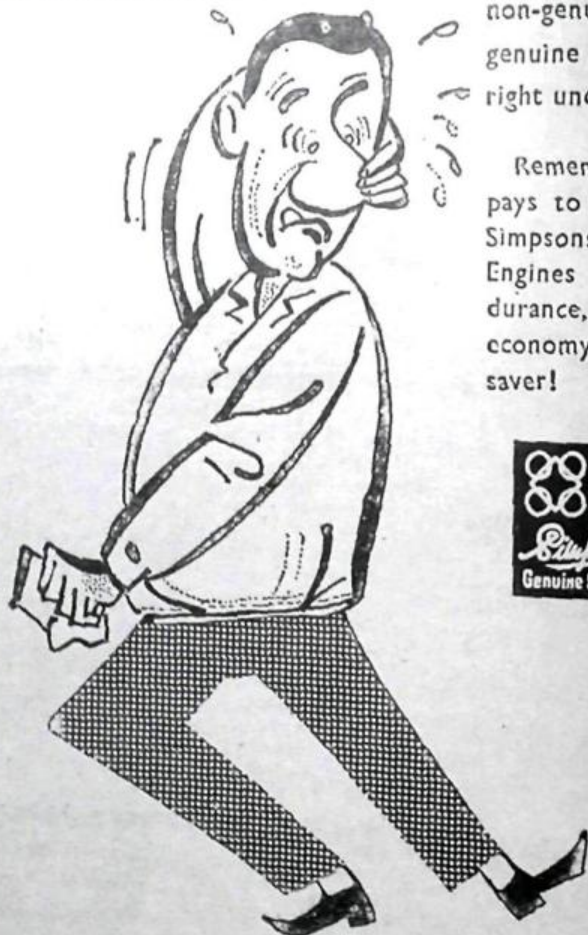
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175/1, Mount Road, MADRAS-2
Tel.: 54959

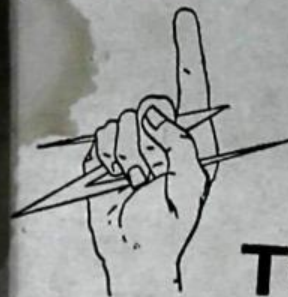


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