

Mrs. Gandhi & Sanjay

NISSIM EZEKIEL

No question is of greater immediate importance to our country at present than the one about Mrs. Gandhi's political aims and methods. She has said and done nothing since her return to power to indicate that they have changed. Absolute power is what she wants. It is impossible for her to get that without destroying the Constitution and controlling the Judiciary. All the evidence suggests she is impatient with both, and tolerates them till the time is ripe, by her assessment, for the necessary action.

Democracy will be rejected by "the people", Mrs. Gandhi has asserted, if it does not work to their benefit. The implication is clear. When she decides she no longer needs democracy for her purposes, she will get rid of it.

In the meanwhile, Mrs. Gandhi blames a number of forces for her poor performance during the last four months or so. The previous Governments are held responsible for the general decay of the economy, the growth of communalism, the failure of various public services, just about anything in the Indian scene that deserves criticism. In every field Mrs. Gandhi sees "conspiracies" against her progressive policies and collusion to prevent her from carrying them out. The media is frequently accused of exaggeration and distortion. The Opposition in all its divisions and sub-divisions, is condemned as representing vested interests and particular social groups, while Mrs. Gandhi and her party stand for the welfare of the nation as a whole, and for that of the oppressed classes.

Most of Mrs. Gandhi's stances could be dismissed as the routine politics of supreme authority if one did not see behind it a more sinister mode of thinking. The clue to it was provided by Mr. C. M. Stephen when he denied any real distinction between the legitimate exercise of authority and authoritarianism as a form of Government. If the "people" support it, Mr. Stephen claims, authoritarianism is right and proper. Dictators and their supporters have always taken the same line. Genuine democratic thinking moves in the opposite direction.

Mrs. Gandhi does not even care any longer to make reassuring remarks about democratic procedures,

fundamental rights, the independence of the Judiciary, Centre-State relations, or any other matter directly related to the letter and spirit of the Indian Constitution. Her interests and concerns lie elsewhere. What matters most to her is the further strengthening of her party till the stage is reached where Government by ordinance is normal, and offences against it lead to "non-bailable" arrests.

Mrs. Gandhi can easily dispel all fear of this by a single categorical declaration, committing herself to democracy as a way of life and to the pluralist society it entails. Her actions, it is true, would have to back the declaration, and these may be debated. But she has made no such unqualified declaration. On the contrary, not only her actions, but her words and the words of her followers create fundamental doubts about her political ambitions.

Such a person is not a safe bet in a democracy. By surrendering to her charisma or by backing her party on the ground that there is no viable alternative, the Indian voter is staking not only his hopes for a better life materially but his freedom to renew the stakes when the time comes around again. Outside democratic systems where Communism prevails, there is "voting" and there are "elections"—if you don't vote as you are told to, and you oppose the party list of candidates you risk your life. Non-communist dictatorships don't bother about such charades. Mrs. Gandhi's dictatorship—or Sanjay's—is likely to be of the second kind.

And mention of Sanjay brings me to the last point of this brief editorial as well as personal statement of political conviction about the question posed at the outset. Sanjay's dictatorship will be considerably worse than Mrs. Gandhi's, and may require her displacement. It is possible to imagine opposing Mrs. Gandhi and surviving—if only in jail. It is not possible to imagine resisting Sanjay and surviving. His dictatorship will adopt the cruellest, most ruthless methods of Communism and Fascism. Even Mrs. Gandhi may not be permitted to approve or disapprove.

Sanjay is now unquestionably on the high (or low) road to absolute power with a tough gang that is not dependent on Mrs. Gandhi's pleasure. In the next few months, the political relationship between Sanjay and Mrs. Gandhi is certain to become clear and is unlikely ever to be obscure again. Mrs. Gandhi's victory at the polls will be the beginning of her downfall. With a Sanjay take-over, India's experiment with democracy is surely over. The totalitarian darkness is then destined to spread over the whole country, for half a century or more.

PRESS FREEDOM AND OFFICIAL SECRETS

K. S. VENKATESWARAN

The announcement of Government's decision to appoint a sub-Committee of the Press Council for reviewing legislation affecting the freedom of the press could not have come a day too soon. The decision recognises, however symbolically, the pressing need for substantial changes in this much-neglected sphere of the law. It is all the more welcome for its refreshing departure from the complacent attitude of earlier Governments.

The Official Secrets Act, 1923, on which the newly-appointed sub-committee would be primarily focussing its attention, has been the subject of considerable criticism over the years, and not without reason. Modelled on the lines of the British Official Secrets Act, 1911, it regulates disclosure of official information, and makes its unauthorised disclosure a criminal offence. The extraordinary width and scope of its provisions have exposed it to the charge of constituting a continuing threat to the freedom of the press.

Demonstrably, the most derided clause in the Official Secrets Act, 1923, is Section 5. This provides for punishment with imprisonment extending upto three years, of any person who, having in his possession any document or information entrusted to him in confidence by any Government official, communicates it to any other person to whom he is not authorised to communicate it.

A similar liability is cast upon the recipient of any such document or information, knowing or having reasonable ground to believe that the communication was in contravention of the Act. By a subsequent amendment, the disclosure of documents or information which might affect "friendly relations with foreign States" has also been brought within the ambit of the Section.

The catch-all character of the Section is only too apparent. It brings within its sweep every kind of document and information which the Government may deem to be secret or confidential. What is worse, it makes Government the ultimate arbiter in matters of disclosure of confidential documents. An exact parallel is to be found in Section 2 of the British Act which is couched in identical terms.

Indeed, the pernicious nature of the provision has been commented upon tritely by a Departmental Committee (the Franks Committee) which was appointed by the British Government in 1922. Referring

to the enormous width of Sec. 2, the Committee trenchantly observed that "it makes no distinctions of kind, and no distinctions of degree. All information which a Crown servant learns in the course of his duty is 'official' for the purpose of Sec. 2, whatever its nature, whatever its importance, whatever its original source. A blanket is thrown over everything; nothing escapes."

So intense was the indignation against this provision in Britain that the Government was moved to admit that "the reform of Sec. 2 is not only a much-needed improvement of the criminal law, but a necessary preliminary to greater openness." Based on the recommendations of the Franks Committee, a White Paper was introduced in the House of Commons on 19 July 1978 which sought, *inter alia*, to remove criminal sanctions against the disclosure of information in the economic sphere or for Cabinet and Cabinet Committee documents (unless they fell into one of the specific categories which would still be so protected). Another laudable proposal was to ensure that the mere receipt of information would no longer be a criminal offence.

True to British democratic traditions, the Government acknowledged the fact that it has to "pay greater attention to the needs and expectations of the public in explaining its policies and actions. It is settled government policy to continue to expand the flow of information to Parliament and the public, in particular, in setting out the background to major policy decisions... The Government accepts an obligation to publish more information, and will continue to develop its practice accordingly."

In sharp contrast stand the observations of the Indian Press Laws Enquiry Committee which was charged with the task of reviewing the Official Secrets Act as early as in 1948. Revealing a disturbing insensitivity to the crucial issues involved, the Committee opined that there was no need to narrow down the scope of Sec. 5, adding that "the Government must be the sole judge in this matter." It went further to express the pious hope that "popular Democratic Governments in India (*sic*) would utilise the provisions of this Act only in case of genuine necessity and in the larger interests of the States and the public."

The dangerous fallacy underlying such a view has been brought out succinctly by Lord Devlin when he said that "it instals as the judges of what ought to be revealed men whose interest it is to conceal."

An equally perfunctory review of the Indian Act was undertaken by the Press Committee years later with results which were no less unsatisfactory. The Commission noted with approval the view that "merely because a circular is marked 'secret' or 'confidential', it should not attract the provisions of the Act, if the publication thereof is in the interest of the public, and no question of national Emergency and interest of the State as such arises." However, when it came to making specific recommendations towards giving effect to this salutary principle, the Commission shrank back on the specious plea that "in view of the eminently reasonable manner in which the Act is being administered," there was no immediate necessity for reform.

Be that as it may, it is worth while to examine, albeit cursorily, the significant advances that have been made by other democratic countries, notably the United States and Sweden, in safeguarding the citizen's right to information about Government and its agencies. The Freedom of Information Act in the U. S. for instance is a particularly remarkable piece of legislation which creates and firmly entrenches a statutory right of access to information.

Enacted originally in 1966 and amended substantially in 1972 as a fall-out from Watergate, the Act confers upon the citizen a degree of freedom which is unprecedented in the annals of recent history. It is an effective embodiment of Justice Douglas's dictum that "secrecy in government is fundamentally anti-democratic, perpetuating bureaucratic errors. Open debate and discussion of public issues are vital to our national health."

The need for introducing similar reforms in our own secrecy laws becomes imperative, especially in the context of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of which India is a signatory. Article 19 of the Covenant unequivocally provides that "everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information. . ." It cannot be subjected to any restrictions except "for the respect of the right and reputations of others" and "for the protection of national security or of public order or of public health or morals."

It is to be hoped that the newly-appointed sub-Committee will initiate a comprehensive study of the experience afforded by other democracies and its relevance to our system, so that some concrete steps are taken to strengthen and safeguard the citizen's invaluable right to know more about Government's style and method of functioning.

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THAT HELL CALLED CUBA

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN CUBA

Since Fidel Castro's Cuban Revolution, many thousands of people have been through the country's prison system. For most of them, political and religious belief has not been strong enough to prevent repentance, particularly when it has been made clear that declared repentance has been an open door from prison.

But about one thousand of these men have stayed in prison because their belief in spiritual freedom is so great that they have refused to renounce it in exchange for material freedom. The contrast between the fate of these people and that of those who have recanted has echoes of medieval torture. It is described in a recent report published by the Organisation of American States' Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

These non-recantors are called 'plantados'. They are the people who will stay in prison, for life if necessary. Here is an excerpt from the report:

"They are not men—they are ghosts, skeletons covered with skin. They are worse than those photos of Nazi concentration camps which horrified the world. The state of malnutrition, of generalised anaemia, keeps many of these unhappy people in a state of total prostration without enough energy even to stand up. In spite of everything, they have been beaten in a savage and brutal manner. Heads, necks and arms have been broken in a systematic way, cell-by-cell. Many have died (more than 470), assassinated in the Communist jails of Cuba".

The information on which the report is based comes from many varied sources. The most important of these is testimony by people who have themselves been released from prison throughout the last decade. And there have also been a number of letters smuggled out of prisons from people who have not yet been released. The Commission believes that it possesses the faculty to make a fair estimate of the authenticity of the numerous letters and pieces of evidence which have been placed before it.

Techniques in Cuban prisons need to be more clearly understood in parts of the world where the huge machine of Soviet propaganda has taught people to believe that conditions in Cuba are a model for Third World countries. In African countries where democratic movements are being kept down by the use of Cuban troops, many Cuban political and police methods have also been imported. The prison system described in the Commission's report has the considerable advantage for those who operate it that extreme fear of prison can be created without actually keeping more than a small minority of "irrecuperables" in jail.

Swiss Press Review and News Report

CASTRO AND DE CASTRO

"Cuba of course is not really Communist", they used to say, "Cuba is Communist but in an independent, idiosyncratic way—she's certainly no creature of Russia's," "Cuba is minutely obedient to the Soviet Union and provides her with unpaid mercenaries, but the Cuban people are so happy."

Not one glib legend favouring the absurd and failed regime of Fedel Castro has proved true. The people of Cuba are so happy that some 10,000 of them crowded into the Peruvian Embassy the moment guards were withdrawn. They are hungry, thirsty and footsore with voting for the sheer sweet pleasure of getting out.

Chickens come home to roost; and with them came Angolan swine fever, a failed sugar industry, a tobacco industry ravaged by collectivisation and a strain of Bulgarian tobacco unable to stand blight, a proposal that 10,000 Cuban workers might like to fell timber in Siberia, a new security force to suppress criticism—oh, and not a few of the dead fallen in a jackal's war against Africans. All this, and a huge Soviet subsidy...

Poor Castro, the beneficiary of so much charity of judgment is now in receipt of the real thing, having turned his country into the outdoor relief queue of Comecon. How startling is the contrast where not Castro but de Castro is the economic strategist. It is about time that the blind ill-will towards abused, unmentionable, shocking, successful Chile came to an end. Gen. Pinochet and the brilliant economic team led, ironically, by Senor Sergio de Castro, are owed a good measure of respect by Western liberal commentators.

Inheriting an inflation rate around the thousand mark, they brought it down so drastically that Chilean and United States lines might cross on the graph. They have been achieving 7—8 per cent annual growth recently and, most impressive of all, a marked fall in the rate of infant mortality. Look at the economic indicators for Chile and you will see brilliant progress.

There is no stone which can be cast against Pinochet, no legitimate criticism of his Government which may not be offset against Castro. Yet Chile, sustained by success, is willing to permit strikes at the very time when Castro enrolls thousands of new security patrols. And how many Chileans are trying to enter the Peruvian legation?

ANITA SETHI

Communism needs the whole charade of detente for only one purpose: to gain additional strength with the help of Western financing (those loans will not be repaid) and Western technology before it launches its next large-scale offensive. Communism is stronger and more durable than Nazism, it is far more sophisticated in its propaganda and excels at such charades.

ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN

Kremlin Shuts the Gate and Lives up to its Name

EDUARD NEUMAIER

Seldom in the past 10 years has the Kremlin been so deserving of its name as in the three months since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Kremlin means fortress, and the Soviet leaders certainly seem to have dug in deep.

The gates of the Kremlin were wide open for Western visitors from the early 70s, but not any longer, now they are firmly closed.

Words of whatever kind merely ricochet from the high red walls, be they fine words or neat reasoning.

Neither appeals to common sense from the West's neo-realists nor heart-felt words from proponents of detente nostalgia currently carry sufficient weight to penetrate the massive walls of the Kremlin.

More than three months have elapsed since Russia allegedly received an appeal for assistance from Afghanistan. In 100 days the Kremlin has neither uttered a word of good will nor given the slightest indication of seeing sense.

Still less has it shown by constructive action that it takes the West's anxiety seriously.

The most the Kremlin is prepared to concede is the least it demands: business as usual. Nothing more is forthcoming and nothing less is required.

Yet although the Soviet stand has not been likely to give rise to much misunderstanding, surprising contradictions have nonetheless arisen in recent months.

They have occurred in connection with both the Soviet invasion and its inevitable repercussions and its effects and consequences elsewhere.

The list of contradictions is headed by the reasons given for the invasion which vary according to what seems opportune.

There have been times when Babrak Karmal's two predecessors in Kabul from March 1978 had cried out for assistance for so long that Moscow could no longer turn a deaf year to their pleas.

At other times the request was made only by Hafizullah Amin, at whose wish Moscow marched in, only to liquidate him.

On occasion the invasion was necessitated to avert some danger or other that threatened Soviet security.

At yet other times it was rendered necessary by the need to defend Afghanistan's sovereignty and integrity from external attack.

Sometimes the Soviet Union talks in terms of a gigantic imperialist conspiracy, at others it prefers to refer mainly to counter-revolutionary elements who aim to stymie Afghanistan's progress from the deepest Middle Ages to the modern era.

Soviet behaviour in Afghanistan itself is likewise contradictory. Outwardly Moscow denies that Soviet troops are employed for purposes other than the cultivation of friendship with the Afghan people.

In reality the Red Army is not only propping up Mr. Karmal; it is also fighting the rebels now that there is virtually no such thing as an indigenous Afghan army.

Western visitors to Moscow, especially those of minor political importance such as West German *Jungsozialisten*, are made to feel the Soviet Union would soonest pull out of Afghanistan altogether.

These were the words of the Young Socialist leader, Herr Schroder, stating the impression he had gained in Moscow recently.

But Soviet actions indicate the opposite. The Red Army is settling in Afghanistan just as temporarily as it did in Hungary in 1956 or in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Afghanistan's cavalierly-treated Foreign Minister Dost recently returned from Moscow and preliminary negotiations on matters relating to "the temporary presence of a limited Soviet troop contingent".

The Soviet leaders at times convey the impression that they are not disinclined towards political solutions. Mr. Brezhnev called, for instance, for guarantees from America and Afghanistan's neighbours of an end to alleged outside intervention in Afghanistan.

At the same time the Soviet leader expected these guarantors to underwrite communist rule in Kabul.

But such offers as are made are either dismissed or scorned. This was the fate of Lord Carrington's proposal for neutralisation of Afghanistan, backed by international guarantees.

The same fate befell a later comment by Iranian Foreign Minister Qotbzadeh that Moscow was prepared to hold talks on Afghanistan.

Tass was quick to deny any such thing, and the emphatic nature of its denial was more characteristic than the denial as such.

Contradictions culminated in connection with detente with the West. Moscow is all in favour of perserving with detente yet for months has sought to avoid any discussion on the subject.

Those who like to do so may regard these contradictions as symptoms of Soviet uncertainty. Uncertain the Soviet Union may well be, but not in connection with Afghanistan.

It is more likely that these actual and presumed contradictions are simply intended to parry the verbal broadsides levelled at the Kremlin walls.

Moscow would like grass to grow over Afghanistan and gain time, especially to consider what kind of policy is still possible with a West that is evidently starting to redefine the form and contents of detente.

The West would be absolutely right to believe that Moscow is reluctant to wave goodbye to old-style detente. It is not only that this might put paid to Mr. Brezhnev's life work. Indeed, the reverse is true: there would then no longer be as many successes as had been notched up in the previous 10 years.

These successes have been less political detente than economic benefit, military prestige and strategic gains in both Asia and Africa.

(*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 1 April 1980. *The German Tribune*, 13 April 1980)

CHINA : NO PROGRESS

"Changes" not "development", is the word we should use when we talk of the Chinese mainland economy in the three decades since the Red regime came into being. There have been exaggerated stories and figures for the periods when economy was either recovering or making some headway. Similarly, the Chinese Communists have not been honest about their many serious setbacks. The overall picture has been one of confusion, with little actual progress to speak of. Yardsticks of development used by the outside world are not applicable.

At the outset of their mainland rule, the Chinese Communists noted that in the transitional period from the PRC founding to the completion of socialist society building, steps had to be taken one by one to bring about socialist industrialization as well as socialist reform of agriculture, handicraft, industry and capitalist business operation. Accordingly, a three-year "recovery period" was prescribed for 1950 to 52, to be followed by three five-year plans of socialist construction. The schedule was to usher in the promised "socialist society" by 1968. But the timetable was upset by the so-called "great progress" which actually was a "great leap backward", late in the 50s and the subsequent famine.

PEOPLE'S DAILY noted in its 1966 New Year editorial that two five-year plans had been "implemented" after the initial "recovery period". The first plan, the paper said, was completed in 1957, with "achievement in excess of the targeted goals." The second plan started in 1958 was "generally completed in 1960, two years ahead of the schedule." The editorial went on to say that this was followed by three years of "overall economic adjustment" and two years of "new economic high tide" to bring about "sufficient concrete grounds" for the launching of the third plan. The second plan had to be abruptly suspended because of Mao's impractical line, Russia's withdrawal of assistance, and the three-year natural calamities that started in 1959, but Peking said the plan was completed ahead of schedule.

There was nothing that could be termed "great progress" in the short-lived second plan period, for the regime, as the editorial said, had to spend three years in adjustment. The so-called "new high tide" was actually a painful march to a point where another five-year plan could be started. The editorial on New Year's Day 1966 was to greet the start of the third five-year plan. The paper said the plan was a great one but did not elaborate. No policy guideline was given. No goal whatsoever was advanced. The third plan originally was slated for 1963-67. Even after a three-year delay, the Communists could not be specific

about what the plan would be like. Instead of economic construction, Mao raised the curtain of his Cultural Revolution and plunged the mainland into a decade of devastating turmoil.

At the second session of the 5th "National People's Congress" last June, Hua Kuo-feng gave a number of figures to show so-called "gratifying economic progress" achieved since the fall of the "gang of four"; but he also said that the three years from 1979 had to be devoted to "adjustment, renovation, consolidation and elevation" so that "the first battle of four modernizations" could be won. In other words, the much-talked-about modernization will not get under way before the end of 1981. As already described, the path of Chinese mainland economy under Peking can be divided into these seven stages:

1. 1950-52: Economic Recovery (3 years)
2. 1953-57: First Five-year Plan (5 years)
3. 1958-60: Great Destruction (3 years)
4. 1961-65: Adjustment and Enhancement (5 years)
5. 1966-76: Cultural Revolution Destruction (10 years)
6. 1977-78: Economic Recovery (2 years)
7. 1979-81: Continuation of Recovery in the name of "adjustment, renovation, consolidation and elevation". (3 years)

In the three decades, destruction consumed 13 years and recovery, including the unfinished portion, also would call for 13 years. Only five years could be spent on construction. The first recovery period was called for not by something done entirely by the Communists themselves. The endeavour in 1950-52 was to bring the mainland economy back to the pre-war level. The eight-year loss was imposed by the Japanese. But the Communists also did a lot to hurt the economy before, during and after the war. Chinese Communist destruction of the mainland economy started with their Nanchang uprising in 1927 and continued for more than two decades until the 1949 fall of the mainland.

The 30 years since then has seen no war on the mainland, and yet Peking had to spend five years in 1961-65 for recovery and is now spending another five years, beginning in 1977, in the hope that things would return to normalcy. The extent of destruction by Peking itself is monstrous.

Characteristics of the mainland economy today include:

1. Technology level lagging 15 to 20 years behind developed First and Second World nations and behind some advanced Third World countries as well (*Peking Daily*, Jan 4, 1979).
2. Agricultural production still mainly in the stage of manual operation, entirely dependent on the "mercy of heaven." (*People's Daily*, Jan. 1, 1979.)
3. With 700 million people working to produce food for a population of 800 million including the peasants themselves, the situation still is "very tense." (Li Hsien-nien's remark quoted by *People's Daily*, Aug. 16, 1978).

4. United area production compared with advanced world levels: 1:2 for rice, 2:5 for corn, and 1:3 for wheat. (*People's Daily*, Jan. 1, 1979)
5. Energy spent for the production of 3 tons of steel can turn out 5 tons elsewhere; each mainland steel worker is producing an annual average of only 10 tons, compared with 300 tons in Japan. (*People's Daily*, etc.).
6. Power generation requires 500 grams of coal for each kilowatt hour, compared with 300 grams in industrially advanced countries (Teng Hsiaoping on March 18, 1978).
7. Workers with less than 10 years of experience account for more than two-thirds of the worker population. Those belonging to Grade 5 or above (altogether 8 grades) account for only a tenth. The average skill level is Grade 3 (*People's Daily*, Aug. 12, 1978).

RAMA SWARUP

VOICES II

DELHI SUPPORT TO PLO

In the light of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Israel and Egypt, the diplomatic status conferred on the PLO office in New Delhi has a touch of tragic irony. This is so because while Egypt, the main adversary of Israel, is mending fences with Israel, India's latest act smacks of being more loyal to the PLO "cause" than the Arabs themselves, when India's geo-political position demands a more positive approach rather than blind subservience to a terrorist organisation.

India's lopsided West Asian policy, which has avoided full and normal diplomatic relations with Israel, has now reached its nadir with the granting of diplomatic status to the PLO Office. It is strange how New Delhi continues to limit the representation of Israel in India to a consular office in Bombay, while an organisation committed to terrorism is granted respectability.

Curiously, the reasons advanced by India are, to say the least, self-deceptive. If occupation of Arab territories is the reason, why should India reserve its sermons on international morality only for Israel? China today occupies Tibet, the Soviet Union occupies Eastern Europe, Vietnam occupies Cambodia, Pakistan is in possession of Indian territories in Kashmir. If, in spite of this, India, can have normal diplomatic relations with these countries, our attitude towards Israel is incongruous.

While India has all along been over-sensitive to the Arab view, the Arabs have shown scant sympathy for India's stand on Kashmir. They have never concealed their hostility to us during our wars with Pakistan. In

any case, Israel was not occupying any Arab territories when it was established under the U.N. partition plan of 1947. There is no explanation as to why India did not establish diplomatic ties with Israel then, when more than eighty countries did so.

In the euphoria that followed the visit of PLO Chief Yasser Arafat to New Delhi, editorials and public comments, instead of examining the PLO's attitude towards its covenant, have singularly maintained a guilty silence on this crucial aspect of the PLO's strategy.

Foreign Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao, when he made the statement in Parliament granting diplomatic status to the PLO, did not explain India's stand *vis-a-vis* the Palestinian National Covenant, by which the PLO still swears, and *which calls for the liquidation of the State of Israel*.

In India not many know about the Palestinian problem or the real nature of the PLO. It is interesting to note that although the UN Partition Plan, 1947, allotted the West Bank and the Gaza Strip for a Palestinian Arab State, the Palestinian Arabs, together with the rest of the Arab world, refused to accept the same, and insisted that *the establishment of a Palestinian State should synchronise with the destruction of the State of Israel*.

In the Arab-Israel war that followed, Egypt occupied the Gaza Strip, Jordan occupied the West Bank and continued to do so till 1967. It is amusing that the Palestinian Arabs did not think about their State during the 19 years of Arab occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This is where the crucial query arises about India's stand on the PLO Covenant.

Article 19 of the Covenant reads: "The partitioning of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of Israel is fundamentally null and void". Speaking to *News-week* (March 14, 1977) Farouk Khaddoumi, the shadow Foreign Minister of the PLO, put it bluntly when he said, "There are two phases to our return, the first phase to the 1967 line and the second to the 1948 line. The third stage is the democratic State of Palestine. So we are fighting for these three stages."

It is thus clear that the destruction of the State of Israel forms the core of the PLO's "final solution" to the West Asian problem. If so, does the granting of diplomatic status to the PLO amount to endorsing the Palestinian National Covenant? Is India a party to this destructive design that defies all the canons of international law and morality?

The granting of diplomatic status to the PLO, with its terroristic and violent methods (however much it may deny them) is not only inconsistent with our creed of non-violence, but it has further eroded the credibility of our non-aligned policy.

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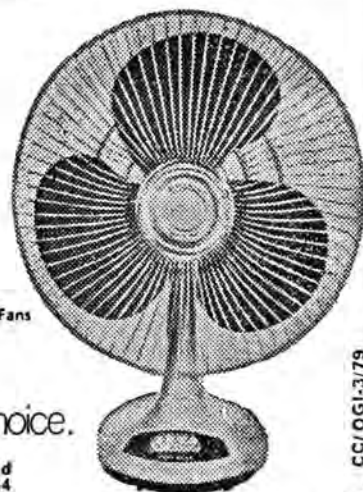
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CUE FROM THE INNER VOICE: The choice before big business, by Manohar Malgonkar, *Vikas Publication*, Pp. 147, Rs 45

India is a land of contradictions. In no country are vintage capitalists and socialists more common than here. And yet in the 1890s Jamsetji N. Tata pioneered trusteeship. In 1930s Gandhiji preached it. In the 1960s J. P. endeavoured to organise seminars on "Social Responsibilities of Business". And by 1980, at least a handful of firms have started practising it.

Perhaps such a subject needed a writer of fiction like Manohar Malgonkar rather than a historian or economist to deal with it. He begins by tilting his pen at a couple of former ministers who proposed nationalisation of Tata Steel and Hindustan Aluminium—George Fernandes and Biju Patnaik. If the first of them is a born socialist, the second must be a "born again" variety. For his riches are held reasonably tightly even if they are—as rumoured—held at considerably vast distances!

Mr. Malgonkar's book is broadly divided into three themes. First, an attack against nationalisation. Second, an explanation of the philosophy of trusteeship. Third, on some attempts to practise it.

The author sallies forth with vim, vigour and some vinegar to lambast those who, to conceal from the glare of truth the mess of public enterprises, raise the herring of nationalisation of the finest companies in India. The author quotes from a devastating study of the Hindustan Aeronautics which, with 40,000 employees, is bigger than TELCO. "Its Engine Bureau," says the study, "has been in existence for 17 years with no successful design to its credit."

Malgonkar speaks of Bharat Electronics which with its 17 guest houses—9 of them in New Delhi—is ready to compete with Indian Hotels Ltd. In our age public enterprises are virtually states within states.

If nationalisation is not the answer and it is accepted that old capitalism is not either, what is the alternative? The idea of trusteeship came to Gandhiji through a verse in the *ISWARYA UPANISHAD*:

All this, whatsoever moves in the world, is pervaded by God. Do not covet, for whose indeed is wealth? It is only through renouncing them that you can enjoy possessions.

To Gandhi, an industrialist did not represent an image of greed and selfishness so much as a professional creator of wealth. Gandhi saw nothing particularly reprehensible in co-existing with the super rich, so long as they did the right thing and gave generously to public causes. But how many of them do?

Malgonkar spends a considerable amount of time dwelling on Jamsetji Tata and some of the work of his successors. Whilst one is glad that this country

produced a man like Jamsetji N. Tata, one is also sad that in almost 100 years so few have followed in his footsteps.

In 1965 on J. P.'s initiative a seminar was held in Delhi on the "Social Responsibilities of Business" and a declaration issued. Only J. P. seems to have been impatient to get on with what was begun in New Delhi. At that stage Mr. Minoo Masani came on the scene and he brought in Mr. Nani Palkhivala to convene another meeting with J. P. of leading businessmen.

While the Tata group and the Bajaj group expressed their willingness to incorporate social objectives in their Articles of Association, companies as a whole proved indifferent. Ninety out of 100 companies to which an appeal was addressed were not prepared to show anything positive to implement the recommendations. A few companies have moved with slow but firm steps in this direction of social responsibility. Tata Steel, for example, is conducting a social audit by three eminent public men.

Gandhi's favourite prayer was: *Sabako Sanmati de Bhagawan*—"Let everyone be blessed with divine wisdom." Mr. Malgonkar's book is an effort to nudge men in big business along this path. Gandhiji also noted: "...If the capitalist does not wake up betimes, awakened but ignorant and famishing people will plunge the country (into chaos) and which not even the armed forces that a powerful government can bring into play can avert."

"The appeal of trusteeship," says Malgonkar, "is not aimed at the heart but at the head, not merely at one's finer feelings but at the instinct of survival itself."

Yet the instinct of survival has not propelled a substantial portion of men of industry to go in for trusteeship. Tax concessions or the accident of business have brought some big companies into the sphere of trusteeship, e.g. Levers finding the gratifying experience of improving agricultural productivity or the Indian Tobacco Company helping farmers to grow better tobacco to the commercial benefit of both the farmers and themselves. But can that really be called "trusteeship"?

Some concerns like ACC and Mahindras and Mafatlals do take an interest in rural development. And more are following suit. The key to trusteeship, one would have thought, is motivation. Jamsetji pursued it without perhaps even hearing of the concept. He did it because he loved this land and its people and had a vision for both. Think of his setting aside from his personal wealth 14 buildings in Bombay plus 4 landed properties for the Indian Institute of Science!

There are a few signs of hope that among the younger members of established industrial families this spark of Jamsetji may exist. If this is true, Mr. Malgonkar's book will help to set the spark on fire.

Another significant feature of the book is its accent on labour's vital role in trusteeship. V. Gopal, the Union Chief of Tisco, says of trusteeship: "It has to be mutual. It cannot be one-sided. If the employer is a trustee on behalf of society, so is the worker. Only when both are ready to accept the broad rules can there be room for negotiations."

The alternative to the sense of service in labour and capital is for them to gang up and to exploit the consumer. This is a growing danger in India. For labour and capital to move together to serve the community, certain moral values are a prerequisite. And moral values as Milton Friedman says "have to do with what each of us separately believes and holds to be true—what our individual values are."

When men's value system changes, the existing industrial systems are launched into the dynamics of evolution. When these values are lacking, the fruits of progress wither as they are held in a few hands.

In the inculcation of enlightened values India has lagged behind so far. But there is a ray of morning hope. And Mr. Malgonkar heralds it.

R. M. LALA

THE NAKED TRIANGLE: An Autobiographical Novel by Balwant Gargi, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1979, Pp. 168, Rs. 45

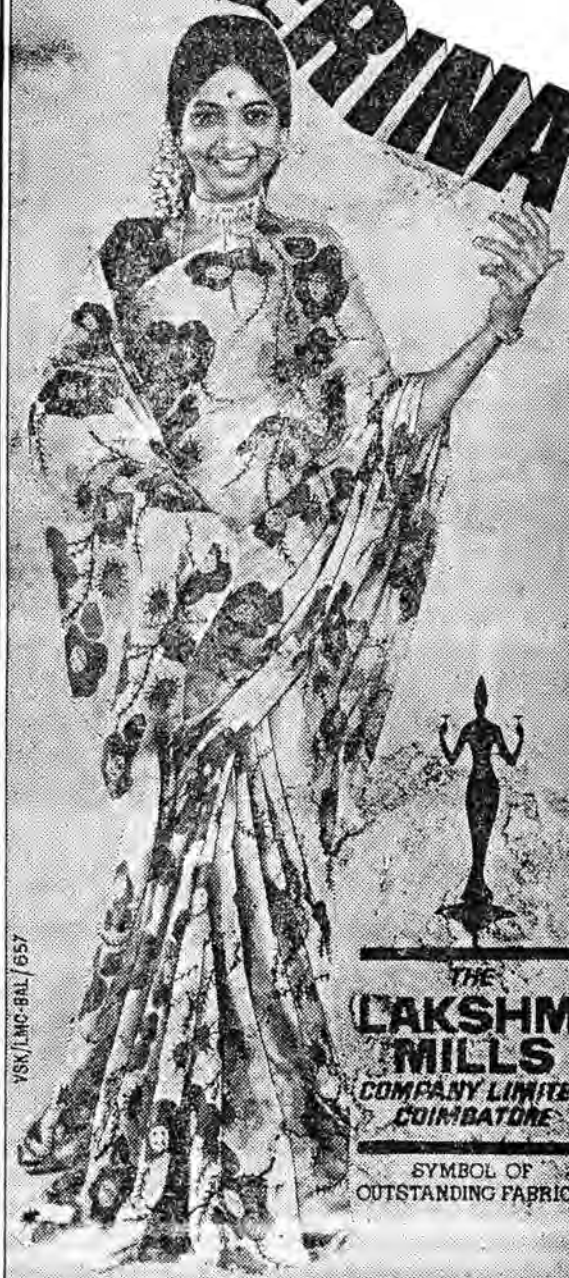
The book deals with a crucial decade in the life of its author, his marriage to a beautiful American blonde, their move to Chandigarh where Gargi is offered a job as Theatre-Director at the Campus, his affair with a Panjabi actress, and the crumbling of his relationship with both women in the form of betrayals. A host of celebrities like Uma Vasudev, Satish Gujral, Ved Mehta, Javed and Prithviraj Kapoor make highly theatrical entries from time to time, often delivering (in an inebriated state) page-long monologues on sex and politics. Gargi is rather good at the art of name dropping. He has a weakness for the theme which may be described as: "nobody loves me or understands me."

The book's preface interests me. The author states his intention to share with us "the magic of sex, the truth of desire, of creation, of my nightmares and their dark tastes." I expect a highly sensitive and intelligent exploration into the minds and emotions of the characters concerned. So when I read lines like "I gasped—a cruel pain ran through my body," and "I felt a deep sorrow", I only feel let-down. All of us experience pain and sorrow. What differentiates the artist from the rest of us is his ability to convey the experience in terms of his art, through poetic metaphor and not through bald statement.

When this ability is lacking it is no use telling your readers (as does our author) that you "explore (your) existence", that you "reflect" and "philosophise". And even when a demonstration of this philosophising is provided, it does not or cannot amount to anything very profound. A brief examination of a passage I shall quote will demonstrate this. Gargi is talking about a

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play which has been a flop: "The following day it became unreal as if it had never happened... It was like making designs on sand... masterpieces which disintegrated in no time. Most activity is like this. We are like ants who discipline their armies, marshal their forces.... working with patience and instinct. But the next moment a dust storm sweeps away their achievements. No one believes in anything."

I fail to see any connection here between activity that adds upto nothing and belief, nor does anything else in the book substantiate such generalizations.

There are moments of freshness in the novel when the mask of pseudo-intellectualism is temporarily removed, and I am grateful for these. The scenes depicting Gargi's relationship with his children—Jannat running up to him in the dark because she is scared of the bee-hive or Jannat and Manu fighting to sleep on their father's right hand side and demanding stories of the crow and the fox—these are real, charmingly so, and leave us in no doubt about the love between Gargi and his children. It is also on occasions such as these that I agree with the blurb which states that the narrative has "panther-agility and sparkle."

Unfortunately the style wavers between a racy Western colloquialism and a stilted Indian English, which gives one the impression that the author is not perfectly comfortable in either. Phrases like "I was creating in a small town," and "she had lust to see people," bring to mind second-rate translations into English from the Indian languages. The numerous printing errors (I don't know if the phrase "I dictated him" is one of them) strengthen this impression.

The worst feature of Gargi's novel is its pseudo-intellectualism which manifests itself in several forms. One of the most blatant is *arrogance at being an intellectual*. In a melodramatic scene Gargi accuses his mistress, Raji, of "ingratitude" to him. I quote "What were you before you met me? I gave you knowledge. Consciousness. A new mind. Without me you will be a cultural widow". If I were treated in that way the words "knowledge" and "Consciousness" would lose all meaning for me. I would opt to be a "cultural widow".

HUTOXI MEHENTI

IN THE SHADOW OF THE GALLOWS by C. A. Balan. Translated from the Malayalam by Saraswathy Menon, Orient Longman, Pp. 98, Rs. 6.00

Reading this book, one has to bear in mind that it is a translation and, as translations go, some flavour of the original has presumably been lost.

The author was a trade union member of the C.P.I since 1939, in Coimbatore. He was accused of a political murder in 1951 and spent more than 12 years in jail. His death sentence was revoked in 1963.

On the whole, the book is trite and, in several places, maudlin sentiment spoils whatever effect impending tragedy might otherwise have had. As witness the separation and immediate hanging of a newly married young man who is guilty of having murdered someone in the family: his passion is described in the best

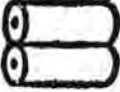
cinema style of eyes clinging to eyes remembering nights of love, the young bride seeing before her, felled in one blow, vermillion and happy days, with only bleak widowhood to look forward to! It is crude stereotypes such as these that make up our society. It is true, but for an avowed Marxist to get so mawkish is astonishing, to say the least.

Descriptions of jail life and police mal-treatment seem authentic, however, and the stark simplicity of language used here strikes home. One is assailed by a sense of futility at the long arm of the law being so cruel. The description of a hanging is oddly terrifying. At the door of death, human beings show themselves for what they are. The police assume one is guilty till one is proved innocent. One is friendless; one learns to become foeless. Balan gives a vivid description of how the most unlettered learns to live in limbo before being consigned to hell.

It is not clear for what reason Balan has waited so long before publishing this book. Some of the effect is lost when one considers the period of the imprisonment. Indeed, many things remain unclear and mysterious in the writing. What happened to the real murderer? Was there justice done at all? There is flatness and a sense of incompleteness. It is even obscure what the author's aims are in writing the book at all.

On the whole, an evening's reading—dramatic in some parts, sentimental in others, personal but not personal enough for the reader to say: This man I have come to know.

PREMA RAGHUNATH



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CALCUTTA: A Long Poem by P. Lal, *Writers Workshop, Red Bird Book, Pages 60, Rs. 20.*

A series of verse fragments with the same locale do not make a long poem. In *Calcutta*, P. Lal attempts vignettes on the city and its people—segments on anonymous people hungering for food, sex and religion in that order. *Calcutta* does not acquire a singular personality; the poem leaves one with the vaguely uncomfortable feeling of having a large over-populated, characterless city as a background. It might have been a success if the anonymous city had been given an aura of imminent menace. However, one never gets the gut feeling of the big city. The poetry is not up to it; it flounders in descriptive commonplaces which do not evoke any response from the reader.

One poem on destitution layered on another fails to give us even a concerted impression of human dissatisfaction and misery. A dominating down-and-out feeling might have lent the "long poem" its unity but it is absent, unforgivably considering that one of Lal's chief concerns is poverty.

In 'Prelude' Lal says:
"O my dear town and my dear town,
Calcutta, city of art societies,
Litterateurs that lead India, and poets
With Nobel prizes, city of the Bose-Einstein Theory,
City of multinational corporations,
When will your children not feed
On scraps in the festal dusbin? Beloved city,
When will the innocent famine in your children's hearts
Not show in their eyes?"

The volume abounds in these overcrowded adjectives. They are not sharp; nor do they have the ability to instil a fresh awareness of the situation. Has Mr. Lal never heard of the Imagists or of modern techniques in poetry which rely on economy and a taut form to get across to the reader with minimum fuss and maximum impact?

Mr. Lal admits in his preface that the poem did not have "emotional ballast". The strength of his emotions has been dissipated by the looseness of the forms his poems take and the repetitive discoloured adjectives which seek to tabulate and itemise rather than to deepen the emotional perspective.

Mr. Lal uses various personae to present still-life scenes of the interaction between the city-dweller and the city. A Purohita, a rickshaw driver, one Debendranath Basu, M. A.; one Lala Amarnath Khosla—Assistant P. R. O. Ahmed, and Paramananda, wear dramatic masks presumably to uncover varying faces. In each poem the voice of the persona changes but there is no change in the rhythms the poet uses. Mr. Mervyn D'Mellow's is the only poem where Lal succeeds in catching a register, sustaining, exploring it. It has a louncy every-day speech rhythm because of the speaker's genuine toughened city cynicism:

Get this straight, m'n, I'm no fool,
The Jesuits taught me sin in a school,
Went in big, came out small.
Lucky you came out at all.

Mr. Lal does not penetrate deeply into the personalities of his characters. The dramatic mono-

logues or semi-dramatic monologues do not operate at two levels—the poet's voice and the persona's voice.

There is a long prose exemplification in the middle of the book on the multi-faceted character of Calcutta which is extraneous. If the poetry had done its work, the prose would have been unnecessary.

GEETA RAMANATHAN

ORGANISATION AND MANAGEMENT OF SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES—A Systems Approach by Vasanti Desai, *Himalaya Publishing House, 710 pages, Rs. 80*

A developing economy faced with limits to growth and various constraints develops a number of stress points. Since the capacity to grow is inhibited, ever-increasing demands on resources tend to develop these stress points. A classic example would be that of providing employment. Low growth rates limit the scope for expansion of employment opportunities *vis-a-vis* an exponential increase in demand for jobs. Encouragement of Small Scale Industries at this stage is crucial from the point of view of broadbasing and diversifying economic activities.

The most significant aspect and the chief merit of this book lies in its emphasis on Technology. Most analyses of Small Scale Industries tend to ignore it. The question of development, as against growth, concerns itself with transforming a "traditional" society into a "modern" one. The key factor in any development process, particularly in the less developed countries is, therefore, Technology. Its use involves restructuring existing processes of production, consumption and exchange.

The question which is uppermost in the minds of policy makers and economists is whether Small Scale Industries can live up to the challenges posed by a dynamic society. The Indian experience seems to be impressive. As is well known, 92% of our factories are in this sector, contributing about 40% to the total Industrial production and well set to cross the Rs. 1000-crore mark in its export efforts.

The author has made a well-planned and co-ordinated study covering a wide range of topics from Organisational Structure, Role of the Government, Technical Know-how, Finance and Marketing to Problems and Prospects. A Case Study of Maharashtra is included.

One gets a feeling, though, that the book is over-optimistic. A look at the mortality rates of small units would probably bring the author down to a more objective plane. This aspect should have been developed in greater detail. Secondly, the Systems Approach is nowhere evident, except on the title page; unless its meaning is to be diluted sufficiently to incorporate what the author has in mind. Nevertheless, the book can easily serve as a comprehensive reference manual for officials as well as researchers, not to mention Small Scale Industrialists themselves.

V. V. SUBBARAO

THE MUNICIPALITIES I

ALOO DALAL

"Municipal institutions constitute the strength of free nations. A nation may establish a system of free government, but without municipal institutions, it cannot have the spirit of liberty."

Alexis de Tocqueville

The city has rightly been regarded as the cradle of democracy. In fact, representative government is put to its severest test in the city, for it is here that people come directly into contact with the government which plays a substantial role in the ordering of their daily lives. Yet, local government cannot be considered merely as a provider of services and amenities. At its core lies the idea of popular representation. It's truly a government of the city, by the citizens, for the city.

Municipal government in India is a product of British rule. Historically speaking, the Bombay Corporation was brought into existence by the Bombay Act of 1865, when Justices of the Peace—who were earlier charged with cleaning and maintaining roads in the Presidency towns of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta—were made into a body corporate. Seven years later, by the Act of 1872, for the first time, the principle of representation was introduced in the government of Bombay city, and by the Bombay Act of 1888, the number of elected members accounted for half the strength of the Council. The Act of 1888 has since come to be regarded as a model for other cities, and to this day has remained basically unaltered.

In recent years the Act has been increasingly criticised as being obsolete, a colonial anachronism which has outlived its usefulness. Although this criticism is largely true, it needs to be recalled that the spirit which moved men like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta to devotedly and painstakingly give their best to the shaping of this Bill, was indeed remarkable. In the hey-day of the Empire, the Bill of 1888 was subjected to the most searching public criticism and debate, and the partially elected Corporation did not hesitate to fearlessly state its views to the government of the day:

"The Corporation are anxious that their view of the case should not be ignored; either they are, or not, to be the governing body of this city. If they are to be the governing body, they should be entrusted with full powers to carry out what they believe to be right and best; if they are not to be the governing body, there is no apparent necessity for their existence." 1

This bold statement was worthy of the Corporation of those days, which had representatives of the people known for their ability, courage, and strength of character. Today, in free India, it is doubtful if any Corporation would make bold to say as much, and rare would be the government which could appreciate such a standpoint!

While popular representation can apparently be easily secured through a system of elections, it would be

quite erroneous to equate self-government with elections. The franchise is no magical charm which can ward off political ills. The vote must be used wisely and this implies the political education of the voter. The electorate must know the real forces which work for or against the citizen's welfare. It is hazardous to leave the education of the voter entirely to the interested and selfish propaganda of political parties. Political education based on a knowledge of civic affairs naturally leads to genuine civic consciousness.

Political education implies a two-way communication between the government and the citizen. In its absence, the civic administration appears to the average citizen as a complicated, incomprehensible machine, with its rules and regulations, its notices, delays, rates and taxes. The burden of civic responsibilities is real indeed. The benefits he gets in return, the difficulties of management, and the paucity of financial resources are hardly appreciated at all.

Municipal Inefficiency

Municipal services are far from efficient, several factors having contributed to this state of affairs. It has been pointed out that during the British period, municipal bodies were looked upon as training schools for self-government rather than as providers of services. Little thought was therefore given to the organizational and managerial aspects of municipal administration, and this trend has continued to the present day.

Further, rapid urbanization has brought in its wake tremendous pressures, the brunt of which is borne by the administrations of a handful of big metropolitan cities. Urbanization has meant, in the first place, large-scale migrations from villages, compelling the city administration to stretch its already strained resources over an ever expanding population. This could mean breakdown of essential services like water-supply, transport and sanitation. Drastic shortage of housing facilities, leading to the familiar proliferation of slums and *zopadpatties* is another consequence of urbanization.

These mammoth problems are sought to be tackled by municipal institutions whose organizational capacity and financial resources have remained static. Little effort is made at more realistic urban planning or the redesigning of organizations, or the improvement of personnel practices, and the adoption of new management techniques.

Municipal governments are also subject to acute financial crises. Over the years their finances have remained dismally stagnant. Economic planning seems to have had little impact on urban governments, and since they find it difficult to bridge the ever-widening gap between resources and expenditure, the standards of municipal services have been consistently falling.

As of old, the mainstay of municipal revenues is still the octroi and the property tax. The attitude of the State governments is not at all helpful. Many of them in fact encroach upon municipal tax resources. For instance, State governments levy and utilise the urban land tax, which should rightly go to the municipal government. It is true that the municipal corporations share in the State revenues from some taxes, e.g., the entertainment tax and the motor vehicle tax.

But the share of the municipal corporation is decided *ex parte* by the State government.

On their part, State governments give grants-in-aid to municipal bodies, and some of them have evolved well-defined formulae for this purpose. Some plan funds have also trickled down to the municipal bodies through the State governments. In future, it is quite possible that the Planning Commission will directly allocate plan funds to metropolitan areas for their integrated development. Financial stringency of municipal corporations has also been attributed to the constitutional limitations on the powers of municipalities to levy various taxes. Thus, Article 276 limits taxes on professions, trades and callings to Rs. 250 per annum. This provision goes against the principles of progressive taxation, as there are several professions in which a person can earn very high incomes.

State—Municipal Relations

These deficiencies of municipal administration—their poverty or resources, inadequate management and organization and limited technical know-how—are not entirely of their own making. They can, to a great extent, be attributed to the attitude of State governments who have done nothing to stimulate municipal administration. In fact, State governments have taken every opportunity to exploit the inefficiency of municipal institutions in order to increase control over them. Draconian provisions dealing with default powers, rescission of municipal resolutions, supersession and dissolution have been the privilege of State governments since colonial times. Less drastic powers relate to inspection, calling for information and reports, giving of conditional grants-in-aid, and powers over municipal personnel. State control over municipal

finances is the strictest, and at once brings to mind the French system of *tutelege*.

Supersession of municipal governments is not new, and in fact seems to be a regular feature of State-municipal relations. In 1976, 25 of the 35 corporations in the country were without elected bodies, and in 1977, 27 out of 38 corporations in the country were superseded. Thus, the system of local self-government "stood scrapped and discarded in 71% of the bigger cities".

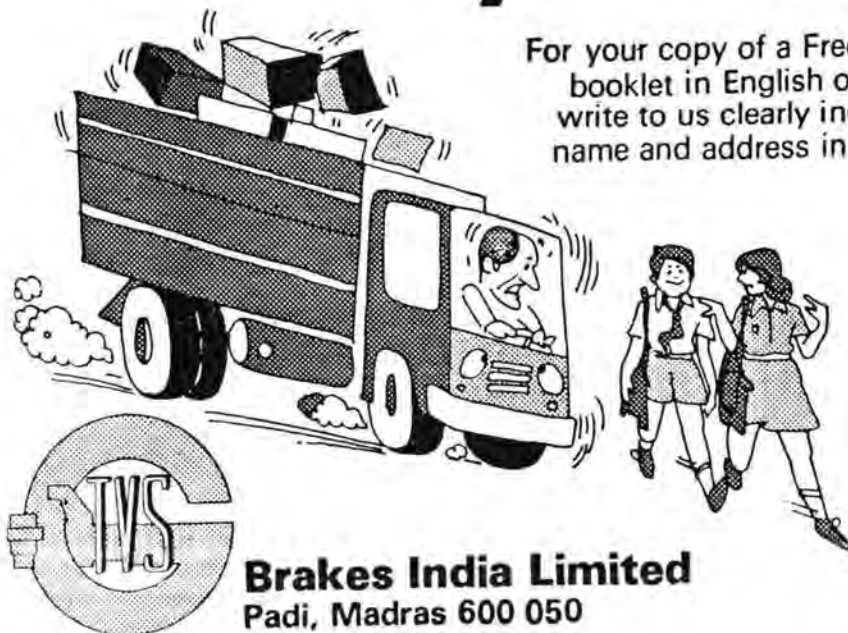
Municipal councils have fared even worse than the corporations. In 1977, in Haryana, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, all the municipalities were under supersession. Although Maharashtra fared better, even here, 22 of the 222 municipal councils were superseded. In some municipalities, elections have not been held for ten years and more. 2

Political forces, especially political parties, have also failed to play a constructive role. Far from contributing to the independence of municipal bodies, their activities in most cases have resulted in tighter State control. Corporations in Gujarat and Maharashtra have so far, on the whole, escaped supersession because of the high degree of political stability, dominance of a single party at both State and municipal levels, and relatively forward-looking State administrations.

With the erosion of these factors there has been a vociferous demand by the Congress-I members for the supersession of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. In some cases, municipal bodies have tried to solve their financial problems by transferring some of their functions to the State government. This is a retrograde action and strikes at the very root of local self-government.

Looking into the future, the prognosis for urban

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local government is gloomy indeed. Many have predicted the eclipse of municipal government in the eighties, with corresponding centralization of powers in the hands of the State or Central governments. Theoretically, it is probable that with more liberal grants-in-aid, the provincialisation of municipal services, and greater access of municipal bodies to highly qualified staff, the efficiency of municipal government will increase. But it will be achieved at the cost of self-government, losing its identity and historical appeal.

As metropolitan governments are pressurised to provide more and more services on a much larger scale, they are likely to be drawn much closer into the orbit of State governments on whom they will need to depend for financial assistance, technical know-how and planning. It has been aptly pointed out that in urban India, "self-government will in future have few troubadours to come to her succour and there may not be many to shed tears over a lost philosophy." 3

Local government is therefore in the tragic situation of being consigned to the museum-collection of lost causes. Moreover, the eclipse of local self-government is not likely to be self-limiting, for it will seal the fate of self-government at the State and Central levels as well. Authoritarianism feeds on conformity and centralization rather than decentralization and diversification. A rigid uniformity of administrative patterns will, in the long run, militate against the interest, welfare and happiness of the people.

No government official, however competent, ensconced in the Mantralaya, can know people's problems and serve their interests as they can themselves do.

There is no viable, long-term alternative to self-government, the only true basis of good government. The Bombay Corporation simply cannot go back on its hundred-year history of representative government without traumatic repercussions all round.

While the charges of inefficiency and corruption levelled against municipal governments are largely true, state governments have yet to prove themselves less corrupt or more efficient than municipal governments. Certainly, no miracles of efficiency have been witnessed where municipal corporation and councils have been superseded. Efficiency-wise, the record of the Bombay Corporation is nothing to be ashamed of. Self-government, however, can only thrive on the interest, initiative and participation of the people.

In the cultivation of these qualities, the Corporation has been sadly remiss. It has conspicuously failed to develop good public relations with the community it serves. In the absence of the Corporation's own initiative, it would not be out of place to blow its trumpet just loud enough for the average citizen to sit up and take note. (To be continued)

NOTES

1. Quoted by H. P. Mody, *Sir Pherozeshah Mehta* Vol. 1, The Times Press, 1921, p. 199.
2. Subhas Chandra Sarker, "Local Self-government Suspended?", *Journal of the Local Self-government Institute*, Vol. XLIX, No. 3, 1977, pp. 185-191.
3. Mohit Bhattacharya, *Management of Urban Government in India*, Uppal Book Store, New Delhi, 1976, p. 32.

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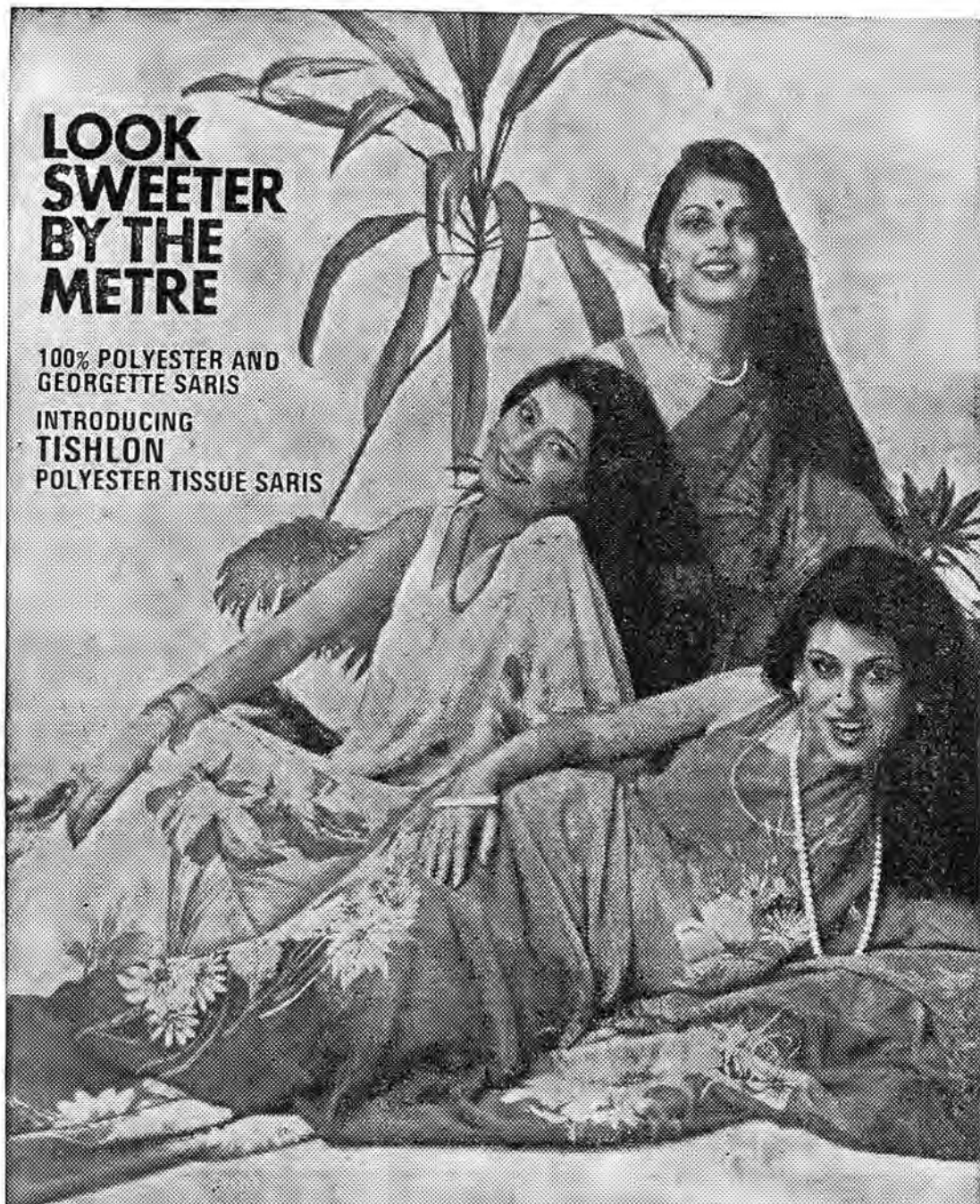


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