FOCUS

ON THE SOCIO—ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

D. B. THENGADI

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SURUCHI SAHITYA

New Delhi

Authors' Note

To Prof. Subramanian Swamy, I owe the deepest debt. I have always benefited from exchange of views with him. He is right in observing that these articles have been written by a man in a hurry. Inspite of his multifarious activities he has found times for this love's labour. His introduction has reassured me of the soundness of my approach. As Kalidasa aptly states:

"आपरितोषाद् विदुषां न साधु मन्ये प्रयोगविज्ञानम्"

And to that highly distinguished class Prof. Swamy certainly belongs.

I am extremely thankful to Shri V. P. Bhatia of the 'Organiser' weekly. But for him this booklet could never have seen the light of the day.

If these stray thoughts succeed in rousing curiosity of intellectuals about the problems discussed, this humble effort will be amply rewarded.

—D. B. Thengadi

Publisher's Note

India has contributed a great deal to world thinking on all aspects of human life, from science and philosophy to literature and politics. She has a glorious tradition of original thinking and it continues in the present times. The author is a part of this tradition.

Results of comprehensive thinking on all aspects of a problem, his studies stand out as blends of intellectual inquiry and practical purpose.

Shri Thengadi is convinced that the answer to India's problems will have to be found in India's own context. This is his basic approach. The present work is a three-dimensional study of the multifarious social, economic and political problems India is facing today.

Founder-General Secretary of the Bharatiya Mazdoor- Sangh, Shri Thengadi is one of the top-notch trade-unionists of the country. He is a Member of the Rajya Sabha since 1964. He is loved alike by admirers and detractors for his gentle, unassuming and pleasant ways.

We are thankful to him for permitting us to publish his ideas in this book form.

- PUBLISHERS

INTRODUCTION

Shri Dattopant Thengadi is known to all, and especially to his friends for the sheer extent and profound depth of his knowledge. I am one of his friends, and I have come away from every discussion with him not only wiser but fundamentally educated. This book for which I am humbly submitting an introduction, provides a peep into the panoramic vision of Shri Thengadi.

The book is a collection of articles written for various occasions. The style of the articles is persuasive. It does not use much inductive logic, especially in statistical terms. The deductive logic that Dattopantji employs is powerful, and often devastating as best illustrated by his piece 'A Nationalist Peasants' Organisation'. For sheer penetrating vision that pierces through all the brick walls built up by earlier woolly ideologues, this article should be read and re-read several times.

Shri Thengadi's articles are however incomplete. Some of them have clearly been written by a man in a hurry. But for scholars working on their dissertations, this is an opportunity to delve deep into the subjects and come out with further results and generalisation.

In his piece 'Bharatiya Technology' Shri Thengadi argues that technology has a culture associated with it. Foreign technology therefore has a foreign culture associated with it. He lists some of the components of this culture: (a) short-run maximisation leading to pollution, environmental hazards and depletion, (b) incredible waste, (c) imbalanced ecological system, (d) alienation of man from family, and (e) class-conflict. Thengadiji adds that if we accept foreign technology *in toto*, then we have to accept these components of the implied culture.

Thus Shri Thengadi poses the fundamental question, which our planners have evaded answering for the last twenty years: Are we going to modify our cultural values and systems to suit the

imported technology or are we going to modify the imported technology to suit our permanent cultural values?

Thengadi ji forcefully argues that we should do the latter. He says even in the West people are beginning to find their culture inadequate to deal with the human problems, although technology has solved every conceivable material problem of their day-to-day existence. Obviously, to subjugate the cultural needs of a society to the requirements of technology will hardly be intelligent.

Thus, he argues, we should preserve the permanent and eternal values of culture (purging of course the transitory or irrelevant values) of Bharat, and modify technology to suit these values. Our cultural values demand (a) long-run perspective in maximisation of resources and their uses, (b) to regard Nature as Mother and look after her with devotion, (c) preserve and reinforce man's association with his family. Such values demand the development of a "Bharatiya Technology'', which Shri Thengadi argues will have three basic elements: (a) decentralisation, (b) family-based, small scale, and (c) "intermediate" in its modernity.

He further argues that the management of this technology will be different... unlike in the West, it will be "participatory" through industrial councils in which all interests would be represented.

In my view, this contribution of Shri Thengadi is quite significant. He has very lucidly posed the central problem about choice of technology for our nation, and at the same time exposed the rather superficial and haphazard policy of our Government. The freedom-cry of "Swadeshi aur Swaraj", now long forgotten, was to emphasise to the nation that we need our own adapted technology if the nation is to prosper. Shri Thengadi has therefore reiterated this call, but with contemporary arguments and facts.

In his 'A Nationalist Peasants' Organisation', Shri Thengadi has very brilliantly analysed the failure of the Communist movement in the rural sector of India. He says that the classical trade union concept

cannot be made to work in the rural areas of India for several reasons. One reason is the fundamental difference between rural and urban areas in respect of workers. He notes that in urban areas workers from various locations assemble for work at one place. In rural areas workers (peasants) from one village scatter to different areas for work. This fact makes the classical concept of trade union totally inapplicable; hence, the need for a Bharatiya approach. I would urge the readers to study this article very carefully. It is illuminating.

In the rest of the articles, Shri Thengadi argues about the special problems of Trade Unionism. In the "Consumers' Movement" he argues that consumers should get organised, on a 'product-classification' basis, and fight for their rights. He also suggests that such unions should fight for the national interests such as for the Swadeshi movement. In his "A Broad-based Trade Union Movement" he urges for the carrying of the benefit of trade unions to unorganised labour such as construction workers, manual workers and others.

In sum, the grand message of Shri Thengadi in this article is: Evolve or revolutionise the Bharatiya way. The alternative to the Bharatiya way is disaster.

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Hauz Khas, New Delhi-29. SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY

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BHARATIYA TECHNOLOGY

The enlightened votaries of traditional Bharatiya culture are often dubbed as reactionaries. As a matter of fact, it should be understood that both the conservatives and radicals can have equal passion for progress. Progressivism with caution is conservatism; progressivism with adventurism is radicalism. Too much of caution indicates cowardice and leads to status-quo-ism. Too much adventurism indicates utter lack of any sense of responsibility and leads to chaos which the radicals are capable of creating but incapable of controlling.

Bharatiya culture strives to seek a golden mean of the two. It stands for caution without cowardice and the spirit of adventure without irresponsibility. It strictly adheres to *DHARMA* which comprises the eternal universal laws visualised by our seers, and introduction of changes in the socio-economic structure from time to time in the light of these universal laws, with a view to coping with ever changing circumstances and dealing with ever new problems.

We do not accept anything Western simply because it is Western; even as we are not inclined to reject anything Western because it is Western.

The so-called progressives in our country are very much carried away and impressed by the glamour of the Western civilisation. The scientific and technological advance of the West is certainly impressive. As a developing nation, it is our duty to study all the various aspects of their material advance and scrutinise them for the purpose of imitation, modification, adaptation or rejection.

But we cannot be oblivious of the fact that it is not possible to import or imitate foreign technology without imitating or importing simultaneously a part of the culture of the country or countries in which it was evolved.

While accepting foreign techniques, methodology or technology, we will have to be careful to adapt them to our indigenous culture. Conscious efforts must be made to modify everything foreign so as to make it part and parcel of the native culture.

Homo-centricism of the West

Unlike Bharatiyas, the Westerners have come to cultivate the attitude of homo-centricism. Not merely that, while it goes to the credit of the West that it has produced a number of scientists and religious teachers who have risked their lives for the promotion of human welfare, it cannot be denied that an average Westerner has no time or mind to think of the welfare of distant posterity. He is incapable of long-ranged view of things. Whatever is immediately beneficial to him or his generation is accepted and implemented by him without caring for its long ranged effects on the future of mankind.

For 'example, he has been continuously abusing his natural environment. He is ravagingly exploiting natural resources. This has given the West an edge over the East. But it is also true that within less than a century and a half, we will have completely exhausted stocks of different fuels furnished by nature. Scientists today are leaning heavily upon the use of nuclear energy. But the world stock of uranium and thorium is not unlimited. How will this affect the welfare of future generation?

The Hindu attitude

The Hindus have always considered Nature as Mother. Even as they worship cow as mother and milk it, taking full precaution that sufficient quantity of milk should be left for the use of its calf and that it should not be bleed to death in the process. They have also been particular to exploit natural resources for their own benefit, ensuring simultaneously that sufficient quantities would be left for the consumption of the posterity and that Mother-Nature should not be

wantonly put to destruction. This deprived them of many immediate benefits, but the balance of Nature had been maintained.

Land, water and air are the free yet invaluable gifts of Nature. But the Western industrialisation has been tampering with all the three divine treasures.

Land

The scientists have now come to realise that the reckless use of chemical pesticides has upset the balance of life in Nature; that the use of chemicals and other artificial substances has rendered the natural process of reproduction of oxygen and nitrogen, so essential for animal and plant life, defective and fitful; that excessive use of artificial fertilizers over a long period has denuded fertile lands of their capacity to produce any crop whatsoever; that excessive irrigation has resulted in salination of lands; and that progressive introduction of the process of deforestation, though immediately helpful, has, in the long run, given rise to the problems of the advance of sandy deserts and land erosion on large scale.

Water pollution

Waters are also tampered with. Nearer home, the rivers and coastal waters of Japan are clogged to a dangerous extent with the industrial waste. The pure waters of Siberian region are polluted by the Soviet paper and other industries. The waters of the Rhine river is contaminated to such an extent that neither fish nor any other species of life can survive therein over the length of hundreds of miles. A six-inch thick layer of oily discharges from factories has spread over the Rhine’s waters for not less than 200 miles from its mouth. In the United States, it is almost impossible to find a river or a lake which is not polluted by industrial waste or solid refuse, such as paper, tin cans, cardboard wrappers, and other discarded items. The rivers of the U.S. are daily carrying away at least 2,000 tonnes of solid refuse.

Industrial waste

Industrialisation has created a colossal problem of industrial waste, such as discarded automobile bodies, millions of tonnes of scrap iron, used and discarded glass bottles, tin-cans etc. Several methods, such as, incineration, conversion at the sources, recycling, etc. have not proved adequate to deal with the problem.

Air pollution

Air pollution constitutes a still more difficult and dangerous problem. In the air surrounding industrial centres, more than 3,000 foreign chemicals have been identified, and the whole atmosphere is thick with such solid substances as lead, soot, ash, rubber particles, asbestos, gases such as carbon monoxide and dioxide, Sulphur dioxide, and different varieties of nitrogen oxides—all of them detrimental to human health, causing asthma, bronchitis, lung cancer and emphysema.

Tonnes of such pollutants in the air of industrial centres affect adversely the plant and the animal life, and even corrode buildings, machinery and roads. The 'smog', i.e., smoke plus fog, is becoming a nightmare to the motorised West. Even Japan, which is so cautious in imitating the West, has not escaped these evil effects of industrialisation. In certain areas of Tokyo, people are forced to use gas masks for protection from air pollution.

Environment: A world problem

In fact, Mr. Maurice Strong, who has been assigned the task of organising the UN Conference on Human Environment at Stockholm next year, has said that, a tendency to link environment with the problems of the affluent countries only is wrong and that environment

is equally a concern of the developing, or rather the poor countries. "It is a human problem affecting all the world," he observes.
Must we tread the same path, follow the same routine, of committing mistakes first and then trying to rectify them? In their indecent haste for speedy material advance, the Westerners totally ignored ecology, and now the wiser amongst them are repenting at leisure for this lapse. Must **we,** in the name of 'progressivism', become equally oblivious of the ecological factors? **This question becomes all the more pertinent in view of the fact that the Hindus have their own distinct attitude towards the problem of milking Mother-Nature.**

This should serve as a warning against the indiscreet imitation of the West.

Measures

Even under the present stage of industrialisation, there should be enacted a law prescribing measures for control of the water and air pollution, assessment of the extent and character of air pollution of different industrial cities and water pollution of major rivers, the extent of responsibility of every industrial establishment for such pollution, and the procedure to recover social costs of pollution from different industrial establishments.

Another subject deserving careful scrutiny in this context is that of appropriate technology.

Mass production techniques

The West has evolved and has a preference for the techniques of mass production. Communism as well as Capitalism stand for these techniques. They give rise to capital-intensive, large-scale industries. 'Maximum production with minimum number of working hands' is the strategy of the West. Is it suited to Indian traditions, conditions and requirements?

Pragmatic approach

True, our approach to this problem must be pragmatic. We cannot dismantle the large-scale industries that are already set up. Even in future planning, the technique of mass production will have to be adopted wherever the logic of economics makes it inevitable. And mechanisation must be accorded the place it rightly deserves in the new scheme of things.

A case for small-scale industries

But it must be simultaneously realised that the expansion of large-scale industry is not necessarily the only form of industrialisation; that it is 'Large' production, and not merely 'Large-scale' production, which gives both—increasing return and a progressive downward shift in **the cost** curves; that these techniques are incompatible with the expansion of employment opportunities which is the supreme need of our national economy; that 'mechanisation' can assume variety of forms—some of them being drastically different from the current Western pattern; and that "a strong case for small industries has been made out by the fact that new technological developments like automatic machinery, synthetic alloys, die-casting, small- scale precision instruments and the developments in power- distribution have reduced the technological disadvantages of small-scale production".

Lopsided planning

Heavy plants imposed upon, but not integrated with the rest of the economy, production of capital goods not correlated with that of consumer goods, industrial sector running parallel to, but not co-ordinated with agricultural sector; processes of decapitalisation, disemployment, etc., initiated because of the lack of full and comprehensive consideration of the seven M's i.e., men, material, money, machinery, management, motive power and market; intro-

duction of foreign technology which, under Indian conditions, aggravates the problem of unemployment and, simultaneously, creates the problem of idle capacity; all these present a picture of the lopsided industrial planning, not suited to the optimum utilisation of available resources and fulfilment of national requirements.

Bharatiya technology

In future planning, it is necessary to lay greater stress upon the evolution of characteristically Bharatiya technology which would facilitate decentralisation of the processes of production with the help of power converting home, instead of factory into centre of production. The new techniques should cause minimum possible decapitalisation of our means of production. Our artisans should not find it too difficult to switch over from the traditional to the new techniques. The available skill competent to manage small-scale industries should not be rendered useless under the new system. Small investors should not be denied opportunities of investment.

Self-reliance

The new technology should make us self-reliant and put an end to our dependence on foreign countries for machinery, spare parts, capital, technicians, etc. Wherever inevitable, large-scale industries will have to be set up. But priority should be given to the decentralised processes of production that can bridge the gulf between the rural and the urban India, bring about greater coordination between agriculture and industry, and make the large-scale and the small-scale industries mutually complementary.

Duties of Technologists

For this purpose, our technologists must study thoroughly and assimilate industrial technology all over the world; locate and introduce such parts of foreign technology as are suited to Indian

conditions; and devise, for the benefit of artisans, reasonably adaptable changes in the traditional techniques of production, without incurring the risk of increase in unemployment, wastage of the available managerial and technical skill, and complete decapitalisation of the existing means of production.

Intermediate Technology

The main hurdle in this respect is the mental slavery of our leaders. We do not appreciate any technology which is not imported. That is why even the idea of an intermediate technology initiated by Dr. Schumacher was not received with the seriousness it deserved. The technology that should reconcile optimum utilisation of available capital and labour with the economic facts of capital scarcity and huge unemployment, the technology that would increase the employment potential of each rupee of industrial investment by one hundred times without increasing cost per unit of output, that was what the British economist pleaded for.

The intermediate technology, according to him, should be capable of reconciling growth in employment with industrial efficiency. For this purpose, it was necessary to conduct research in certain aspects of the problem. For example, in how many cases it would be feasible to scale down the size of plants without reducing their efficiency? How far it is practicable, on the strength of such technology, to reduce the number of migrants from villages to cities? Will it be possible, on this basis, to locate new industries in small towns and villages, utilising local capital, local labour, local raw materials, local managerial skills, and local entrepreneurial talent? Can such industries become self-supporting with the help of efficient marketing organisation, provision of appropriate infrastructure and revival of the spirit of Swadeshi? Is it practicable and advisable to have fresh spatial planning?

It is advisable to select, in the first place a few specific industries such as leather, ceramics, etc. for this purpose and assess probable impact of intermediate technology upon their future. This study can open new avenues, offer fresh stimuli, and pave the way for the development of

characteristically indigenous technology appropriate to particular factor endowment of our economy. Though it is true that the quantum of capital per employed worker cannot be the same in all branches of production and even within the same industry no single technology in the sense of one single capital-labour ratio may rule profitably. Different levels of technology may rule side by side. But the emphasis must be on the development and progressive utilisation of Bharatiya technology, with the object of securing an increase in employment at rising levels of incomes.

Ghaziabad Experiment

In this context, it is interesting to note the unique experiment that is being conducted by M/s Garg Associates Pvt. Ltd., Ghaziabad (U.P.). They have been trying to manufacture only such specialised wires and cables which are not available from any other source in India. Their products are used for advanced electronic equipment, for aircraft, atomic energy and rocket launching, and they are themselves manufacturing most of the required machinery. This machinery, if imported, would cost 5 to 20 times in foreign exchange as compared to the entire cost of designing and manufacturing it indigenously.

Full capacity of imported machinery could not be used at this stage of our industrial development. Nor could the automatic features of such machines be of value to us in view of the present small specialised requirements of Indian users. What we require here is flexibility and versatility, both of which have been achieved by the said concern through indigenous designing and employment of trained and qualified engineering graduates.

In small run, big imported machines would mean bigger waste; and sometimes this bigger waste is of costly imported raw material. Under this indigenous system, the industrial wastage is substantially minimised.

As stated earlier, industrial left-overs and wastes of costly raw material have accumulated in U.S.A. in huge quantities and they cannot hope to utilise such material because costly manual labour will be required to salvage it. Such wastes, the intrinsic value of which is high, can be brought into India, and good portions recovered from it after suitable processing, can be either exported or utilised in India. In most cases, such material is available in U.S.A. at no cost and without loss of any foreign exchange. This Ghaziabad concern has taken up two such projects, one of these is at present operational, in which, for the manual labour work done, Americans will pay at the rate of $ 2.25 per pound of sorted material. This would mean that a diploma-holder engaged in this work would earn about Rs. 50 per day in hard currency foreign exchange.

Cultural Aspect

The development of indigenous technology is important not only from the economic point of view but the survival and growth of our culture is also integrally connected with this problem. It is not as if any culture can thrive in vacuum, with no reference to the existing socio-economic structure which, in its turn, is largely conditioned by the techniques of production. Foreign technology can never come alone; it comes along with culture patterns of the country of its origin. We have experienced this in case of the techniques of mass production imported from the West.

These techniques have resulted in the concentration of capital and labour force in the urban areas, disturbing thereby the traditional joint-family system and autonomous village life. The rapid urbanisation has created problems which are cultural as well as social and economic in character.

Preservation and promotion of Bharatiya cultural values could be possible in the past because of the preservation and promotion of family atmosphere on three different levels of hereditary family, industrial or occupational family and regional family.

Rapid Urbanisation

Once the process of urbanisation is set afoot, hereditary families in rural areas are disrupted and organisation of healthy family unit in the industrial areas becomes extremely difficult. Consequently, the *sams-karas* that could be imparted m normal course through family life are no longer being transmitted from generation to generation in the new industrial environment. The old system is discontinued and no new system has yet been evolved which could fulfil the same purpose. Traditional, occupational or industrial families have already lost the essence of their existence.

Traditional Industrial Families

There is no industrial or occupational family today either in the rural or the urban areas. But it is, nevertheless, true that the survival of our culture depended to a very great extent upon the socio-economic structure of which occupational or industrial families constituted an integral part. Here again, we are confronted with the situation of 'unborn tomorrow and dead yesterday'. Our regional units constituted regional families comprising all hereditary families and industrial or occupational families within the same area. All the three organisms enjoyed autonomy at their respective levels. The hereditary joint family was completely free to determine the rules and regulations for its internal administration. Every industrial family consisted of all the individuals connected with production, distribution or exchange of any commodity or service. For the purpose of internal management, the industrial family had complete autonomy. The family life on village or *pargana* level was also autonomous.

To be sure, all these three organisms had their own disciplines, not contradictory with one another, within the framework of national discipline. Every organism enjoyed full autonomy regarding its own internal administration but was subservient to the discipline of higher organism in matters within the jurisdiction of the latter. These three units constituted the basis of Bharatiya socio-economic structure. The

mass production technology, as our experience so far shows, is not all conducive to the survival of all the three.

Needed: New Techniques

It is, therefore, imperative that, in the first place, new techniques of production should be devised which would help maintaining these social organisms intact, and, secondly, new measures should be devised to revitalise these organisms in the industrial areas which have adopted the mass production techniques.
More particularly, it is worth-noting that division of persons connected with the same industry into two hostile camps of employers and employees is not in keeping with the tradition of Bharatiya Order. To restore it, it is necessary to reorganise industrial families comprising all the individuals connected with each industry. The characteristic feature of Bharatiya Order is the vertica' arrangement of society instead of its horizontal division.

Industrial Councils

Under the new set-up, this can be best achieved by accepting the Bharatiya principles that labour and managerial or technical skills are also the contributory forms of capital, evaluating labour and managerial or technical skill in terms of shares, and thus making workers as well as the technical and managerial cadres share-holders of their respective industries, and constituting industrial councils comprising the elected representatives of workers, managerial and technical cadres and capitalists for the purpose of the entire management of the industry.

Such industrial councils should have final authority subject to the national financial discipline in determining general policies and problems of administration of the industries, including those pertaining to deployment of labour force, managerial and technical cadre and capital within the industry. The entire labour force, the managerial and technical skill and the capital within the industry

should be at the disposal of the industrial council for their own deployment as well as for the purposes of formulating and implementing decisions on all relevant matters, such as, production and employment targets, levels of technology, policy of import and export of the products, etc.
Each industrial council should work for an objective and targets given to it by the nation and coordinate its activities with similar councils of other industries following the discipline laid down by the nation. For this purpose, it should revise and suitably amend from time to time its constitution and re-formulate the internal relationship of firms, units, groups, individuals, etc., working within the industry.

The industrial councils should follow a plan of income distribution adopted at national level to meet the needs of workers, technical and managerial skill, capital, consumers, research and development needs, plan priorities and dues of the State. The industrial councils thus constituted should be under an obligation to ensure that no worker is retrenched consequent to mechanisation, rationalisation, modernisation, or automation, unless an alternative employment is offered to him without loss of continuity of service in the same industry.
Each industrial council should take full care of each individual worker and members of his family, and foster his full growth on natural lines, never throwing him out of employment or in distress or privation for want of basic necessities of life. All those depending for their daily livelihood on the industry should be treated as members of one large joint industrial family and the family social security cover should be extended to workers as well as their children, elders, the afflicted, the widows, the physically and mentally handicapped persons that are the natural members of the industrial family.

It should be the duty of the industrial family to absorb within the industry the children of their member- workers unless they themselves opt differently. The industrial family working on these disciplines will give a material shelter to all persons that are its constituents and afford to them suitable opportunities for their cultural and spiritual pursuits and fulfilment of life. For country-wide major industries, the

families and the councils should be of national level, and for minor industries or their trade groups these should be at state levels. On regional level, members of every industrial family will be subject to discipline of the regional family units for the purpose of matters within the jurisdiction of the latter.

Whose responsibility?

To be sure, whatever has been stated so far is only an indication, and not a comprehensive suggestion. The blueprint of the socio-economic reconstruction will have to be worked out by experts in course of time through trial-and- error method. But one thing is certain. Indiscreet transplantation of Western technology and structure will convert us into a Western State without Bharatiya nationhood. What is imperative today is thinking—free and fearless thinking, original thinking, hard thinking. The culturists of this generation will have to shoulder this responsibility, since our fashionable radicals are suffering from intellectual inertia and Western type of obscurantism.

—April, 1971

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NATIONAL SOCIAL POLICY

Every creature has a will to live. And yet the official figures of reported suicides in India are alarming. During the year 1968, as many as 40,688 suicides were reported in the country as against 38,386 during 1967, indicating an increase of 6.0 per cent, according to the latest report released by the Bureau of Police Research and Development.

Suicides

The incidences of suicide increased by 21.0 per cent during the last five years, as against a 10.2 per cent increase in the population. This indicates that the rate of growth of suicides is practically double the rate of growth of the population.

It is not as if the methods employed for committing suicide were attractive. A majority of persons adopted drowning, hanging and poison for the purpose. These three means were responsible for about 23.7 per cent, 19.2 per cent, and 20.2 per cent of the total suicidal deaths respectively. Fire, fire arms or jumping before railway trains are some other known methods.

According to the Bureau, despair over dreadful diseases was the major cause accounting for 17.4 per cent of the total suicidal deaths, while quarrels with the married partner or parents-in-law together accounted for 14.4 per cent. The cause-wise break-up of the remaining 68 per cent of suicidal deaths was not published. It is, however, well known that failure in examination or in love affairs,

poverty, strained family relations and acute mental conflict are some of the other factors responsible for the tendency.

Mental Disorders

It is generally believed that the depressing conditions which drive extroverts to suicide affect introverts differently. The latter suffer from neuresthenia or lunacy. While no statistics on neuresthenia is available, some figures about lunacy are periodically published. Not that they are exhaustive. The Indian Lunacy Act of 1918 has become out-moded, the procedure therein archaic. As Mr. S. P. Kotwal, Chief Justice of the Maharashtra High Court, puts it, "while there must be adequate safeguards to ensure that sane persons through a conspiracy are not committed to lunatic asylums, it is obvious that the procedure should not be so archaic that it defeats its whole purpose." Justice Kotwal suggests that there should be separate courts to try certain categories of mental retardation. These courts must be presided over by a person trained in the diagnosis and treatment of such cases, and not merely some one well-versed in law.

According to official reports, about five million people suffer from mental disorders. Poverty, frustration and the tensions of modernism are stated to be the main factors responsible for this plight. Whatever be the reasons, the fact remains that 5,000 (five thousand) psychiatrists are required to treat one million mental patients. For five million, we need 25,000 psychiatrists. Presently, we are having only about 200 psychiatrists and less than 30 psycho-analysts.

Social Treatment

This indicates that, apart from our inability to tackle the problem, **we are not even in a position to asses accurately its magnitude of this problem.** The factors responsible for these mental maladies are not exclusively economic in character. While it is true that gainful employment to all will go a long way in minimising the severity and magnitude of these problems, it cannot be denied that they require to

be attacked mainly on social plane. It is not as if these ills accompany poverty alone. The case of the United States deserves special mention in this context. In that country, the affluence and the mental disorders are often seen going hand-in-hand. Rather, incidence is greater among the comparatively richer sections than among the 25 million classified as poor (by American standards). In U.S.A. the number of people suffering from nervous and mental disorders is about 6 per cent of the total population. This fact highlights the need for social treatment of the problem in our country also.

Juvenile Delinquency

We have not yet fathomed the depth of the problem of juvenile delinquency, though we commenced taking cognisance of it as early as in 1919, when the Indian Jails Committee emphasised the need for separate treatment for young offenders. Notwithstanding the various Children Acts, Juvenile Courts, the extra-judicial agency of the Child Welfare Boards introduced under the Central Children Act, 1960, the remand homes, the certified/approved schools, other correctional institutions, after-care services, etc., the fact remains that the legal and institutional frame work set up so far is weak and inadequate; there is no statutory provision for the starting of preventive services in correctional measures; the counselling services are not yet organised; there is no uniformity in the concerned laws in various States; and the uniformity or coordination is lacking even in the measures adopted and institutions set up for the purpose in different States.

Recently, the juveniles have been making progressively greater contribution to crime in the country. During 1968, juveniles accounted for 2.5 per cent of the total cognisable offences and the volume of the crime committed by them for one lac of population was 4 per cent. The crimes indulged in by them were cattle-lifting and ordinary thefts, house-breaking, public disturbances and riots, and murders. While about three hundred murders a year used to be attributed to juveniles even in previous years, the number is steadily

on increase with the respectability accorded to extremism. The total cognisable crimes committed by juveniles in the year 1969 were 21,703, including 321 murders, 185 kidnappings and abductions, and 96 dacoities.

Crimes & criminals

Even in general, **the growth of crime in India is fast outstepping the increase in population.** While the population increased by 24.3 per cent between 1960 and 1969, the incidence of crime rose by 39.4 per cent. The volume of murder for one lakh of population was 2.7 for the entire country during 1969. The report compiled by the Bureau of Police Research and Development gives out the details and percentages of different varieties of crimes committed during 1969. And yet there has been no fresh and realistic thinking in criminology and sociology, no shift to lego-sociological attitude to crime on the part of our judiciary, no change-over to reformative measures from the stereotyped punitive ones, and no coordination between different official and unofficial agencies dealing with crimes and criminals in spite of the obvious scope and need for research and rethinking, particularly in view of the fact that, on an average, 80 per cent of the criminals in our country get short-term imprisonment, 30 per cent getting less than one month's imprisonment. The extent of psychological damage done by the disintegration of traditional social organisms under the pressure of industrialisation has not been scientifically assessed. The experience of various experiments conducted by the West in this field has not been brought to bear upon the problem of crimes and criminals in our country.

Sex-education

The task of sex-education and family life education has also been neglected, with the result that the younger generation is becoming very permissive and **the problems arising out of ignorance, wrong**

concepts and attitudes towards sex are shaking the very foundations of the society.

Public Health

The problem of public health is also being dealt with in a casual manner by the planners and the Government.
Representatives of medical profession were never associated with the process of plan-formulation. Sufficient money is not made available for development of health purposes. The Planning Commission, the Government of India, and, particularly, the State Governments have given a very low priority to the subject of health, and whatever funds were earmarked for this purpose were not properly utilised because of the poor administrative organisation of the Health Services. The Public Health Engineering Department has not been adequately and extensively organised. A Number of Community Blocks are without proper primary health centres.

The Indian Medical Association had suggested regulation of the items of drug production on the scientific basis of the need of our country, that is, for the amelioration of diseases prevalent in the country. This has so far been only a cry in the wilderness. The suggestions of that organisation regarding expenditure on Rural Medical Relief or Rural Water Supply have also met the same fate. Even the need for a second look at the schedule of occupational diseases has not been officially recognised. A W.H.O. Committee has concluded that almost three quarters of all forms of human cancer are caused by environmental factors, including noxious chemicals. Their number and the extent of damage caused by them need immediate assessment in view of the rapid advance of technological chemistry. This aspect has been completely ignored. Our President, Shri V. V. Giri has made a plea for evolution of an integrated system of medicine, relevant to the subsistence level of masses. But it has fallen on deaf ears.

The Apathy

The apathy of the authorities towards the problem of public health can well be guessed from the ignorance of the general public regarding the magnitude of the incidence of some of the dreadful diseases. For example: in India about 20 million persons are suffering from veneral diseases, and yet mobile and other clinics are not in sufficient numbers. The incidence of VD among teenagers is particularly alarming. About 2.5 million patients of leprosy also are victims of social indifference. Less than 20 per cent of them are being cared for by less than 1,500 centres. The nation will have to pay huge cost for such apathy.

The Social & The Economic

True, it is often difficult to completely disengage the social from the economic. Various social evils arise out of economic factors. Unemployment poverty, sub-standard living, malnutrition, under nutrition and soaring prices are responsible for number of crimes, immoral traffic in women, general moral degradation, beggary, perversion, violence and other social vices. But it is also true that economic and industrial evils are aggravated because of the disintegration of family organism under the pressure of over-urbanisation, absence of sound community life in industrial areas and self-alienation of individuals shifted from the rural to the urban areas, loss of social and moral values of life on the part of the villagers psychologically uprooted from and torn of their natural social environment, and impact of western civilisation causing loss of traditional cultural values without generating simultaneously new compensating virtues. While changes in the pattern of economic activity have affected the functioning of all social organisms, such as, family, village or community, disintegration of the latter has also, in its turn, affected the efficiency of economic activity.

Then there are some problems which defy all attempts of classification between the social and the economic. For example,

population explosion. While it severely disturbs the national economy, it is the dregs of population that invariably breed recklessly. In many regions, the problem of landless labourers is as much social as it is economic, since this group comprises mainly the scheduled castes' workers. Is it possible to state categorically whether their economic insecurity is the cause or the effect of their social weakness? Recently, a Children’s Charter has been published. A comprehensive child welfare programme comprising services for health, nutrition, education, and recreation of children with special attention to those from villages, slums and weaker sections, and specialised services for those retarded, handicapped and maladjusted, is a must. But would it be purely an economic programme? Is it not a fact that social factors mentioned above are equally responsible for the present plight of our children who constitute the human capital of the nation? Even beggary is not a purely economic problem. In some cases, it is considered as a hereditary profession. Apart from the orphans, the diseased, the disabled, the infirm or the aged, there are hundreds of able- bodied persons who take to beggary consequent to their 'individual disorganisation’. And, again, there are professional goondas who kindnap and maim children and use them for begging. Along with poverty, social factors such as family disintegration, caste rigidities and social customs are responsible for entry of large number of girls into immoral profession.

It is now generally recognised that the larger the city, greater the per capita crime rate. Bad and inadequate housing, large slum areas, dislocated family life, industrial accidents, imbalance in sex ratio—all these factors contribute to the growth in number of crimes in industrial areas. In fine, compartmentalisation of thought would be quite unrealistic in this respect. Illiteracy, decay in religious and educational institutions, degeneration of values, maladjustment in the existing institutions, superstitions—both traditional and modern, caste and group prejudices, corruption of all varieties, high individualisation of modern life, lack of balance between the material and non-material advance, lack of adjustment with new patterns of

behaviour, inability to adjust to the strains of modern life,—all these social and psychological factors are at least as important and decisive as the purely economic ones. While there is a need for proper integration of the social and economic components of development planning and social orientation of economic programmes, the urgency of identifying social problems separately can no longer be ignored. Social components of development must be separately recognised. It is wrong to consider social development as just an end- product of economic growth.

Social Remedies

It cannot be claimed that gambling, alcoholism, drug addiction, i.e., to opium, charas, bhang, LSD, etc., are the vices of lower economic standards only. Misuse of leisure, low level of recreation and self-consuming habits are not the monopoly of the poor. These are prevalent even among the richer sections. Problems of deviants, vagabonds, truants, petty thieves, adolescent-rebels, sexual variants and perverts, hedonists, neurotics, psychotics, etc., are more social than economic in character.

Family is the basic unit of society. The Vice President, Mr. G. S. Pathak, has rightly said that problems encountered by the family in the process of modernisation had received scant attention from academicians as well as the planners in the country; that the new technologies in agriculture, industrialisation and growth of urban centres were bringing extensive changes in the nature of family and the community; that nowhere the problems created by the process of modernisation were more apparent and more deeply experienced than in the family; and that the modern families should be helped to adjust themselves to the changes and challenges of a developing society, so that they might function as the active promoters of social progress.

Thus, though it is not always easy to bifurcate the social from the economic, it should not be so difficult to locate problems that are predominantly social and to seek their solution through social

remedies. The problems of orphans, delinquents, destitute women, divorcees, eunuchs, the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the limbless, the physically, mentally or socially handicapped, the victims of leprosy, venereal diseases, etc. are, in the first place, social in character, and it is on that level that we have to meet their challenge.

Cultural Lag

A social problem arises whenever social actuality is at variance with social standards. When growth of social problems threatens or disrupts smooth functioning of society, social disorganisation is said to be in existence. Disparity, regarding the rate of change, between material advance and non-material culture is termed as 'cultural lag'. Whenever the harmonious functioning of an individual's daily life is disrupted, it becomes a case of 'individual disorganisation'—of which suicide is an extreme symptom. Individual disorganisation and social disorganisation are inter-related, and, to a considerable extent, interdependent.

Evolution of a National Social Policy can brook no delay. In its absence, purely economic development would present a picture of lopsided growth. How much of its financial burden should be shouldered by the Government is a matter of details which can be worked out, though, in keeping with the Bharatiya tradition, it is always desirable that initiative for social services and social welfare services should proceed from the socio-cultural leaders, that voluntary effort should precede the governmental action.

A Social Policy

As Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh of the Council for Social Development has pointed out, 'social policy' envisages a network of inter-related preventive, protective, promotive, curative and rehabilitative services. Health, education, housing, etc. are social services. Social Welfare Services comprise (a) services for the care and rehabilitation of needy mothers and children, for the youths or

adults—including the handicapped ones; (b) social security services, such as, insurance and assistance in cash and in kind to meet contingencies like unemployment, sickness, etc.; (c) emergency services for relief and rehabilitation of the victims of disasters like floods, earth-quakes, wars, etc.; (d) recreation for all the citizens; (e) services in the field of social defence, looking after delinquents, etc.; and (f) special services for the victims of social customs or prejudices.

Surveys

For the formulation of such a policy, it is necessary to conduct a national survey of the handicapped, the disabled, the diseased, the beggars, etc. Sample socio-economic surveys of the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes, the denotified tribes and other backward classes should also be undertaken in different areas. The task of an exhaustive national resources survey should also be completed at the earliest.

Special Characteristics: Scheduled Castes

It is further necessary to take into account the special characteristics of the plight and problems of these different downtrodden sections of our population. For example, the scheduled castes. Most of these belong to the economic class of the proletariat, the 'Daridra- narayans'. But, in India, economic relationship is not the be-all and end-all of human life; economic motive alone is not the driving power behind all human activity. As Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar put it, the exploitation cannot be merely economic; it is political and socio-religious also. In India, the misappropriation of surplus value by the owners of private property cannot be the only reason of exploitation. Dr. Ambedkar asks the westernised radicals ignorant of the socio-economic conditions of the country, "Can it be said that the proletariat of India, poor as it is, recognise no distinctions except that of the rich and the poor? Can it be said that the poor in India recognise no distinctions of caste or creed, high or low? If the fact is that they do, what unity of front can be expected from such a proletariat in its action against the rich? How

can there be a revolution if the proletariat cannot present a united front?" (Annihilation of Caste, P. 18). In this sense the Marxian theories have no relevance to Indian conditions. While dealing with the problem of the scheduled castes, greater emphasis will have to be laid on the social aspect, though, undoubtedly, most of them are victims of economic backwardness and "exploitation".

Scheduled Tribes

On the contrary, in the case of the scheduled tribes, greater attention must be paid to the economic aspect, though the importance of social programmes, such as, eradication of the anti-social systems like, 'Gothi', 'Palemodi', etc., cannot be overstressed. Serious and sustained effort to raise their educational standard is also a must. Justice demands that the facilities made available to the members of the scheduled tribes in specific areas should be extended for their benefit to the entire country. Distribution of surplus lands; debt relief measures; protection of the Minimum Wages Act; priority in forest services; preservation and restoration of their traditional rights in the forest areas; encouragement to forest-based industries; protection of forest labour co-operatives from the conspiracy of contractors and conservators; these, among others, are some of their main demands deserving immediate attention. (Even the facilities prescribed for them do not reach them for want of suitable organisational machinery.)

Article 46 of our Constitution states: "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

It is our sacred duty to ensure that this pledge is fulfilled.

Ex-criminal Tribes

There is also a demand for amending the Constitution with a view towards extending the protection and facilities offered to scheduled tribes therein to all the denotified communities or the Ex-criminal Tribes and all the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes.

Other Sections

As economic classes, pensioners and ex-servicemen as well as women workers and working housewives also deserve special attention and relief.

The Directive Principles

All such sectional needs, demands and handicaps must be fully considered with the seriousness they deserve, while evolving the national social policy. Apart from these sectional requirements, as a general policy, the Directive Principles of the Constitution enjoin that "The State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want" (Article 41); that it shall make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work, maternity relief, a living wage, and conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities (Art. 42 & 43). Provision for free and compulsory education for children (Art. 45), and the duty of the State to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health (Art. 47), are other Directive Principles in this category. These Directive Principles—along with those contained in Articles 38 & 39 of our Constiution, furnish us with the necessary background and guidelines **for** the 'National Social Policy.'

Integrated Scheme

A social policy further envisages, among other things, a wide-spread network of mental hospitals, general hospitals, clinics, sanatoria, 'day hospitals' psychiatric out-patient and mental hygiene clinics, extended medico-social projects in public health settings, community health programmes, placement agencies for the handicapped ensuring adequate supply of uncomplicated gadgets, prosthetic and orthopaedic aids and artificial limbs, institutes like 'The School for Children in Need of Special Care' (Bombay), 'Day Care Centres', child guidance clinics, scientific family welfare services, 'homes' and 'workshops', schools and vocational training centres for the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the crippled, the aged, the infirm, the disabled, the diseased, the handicapped, the delinquents and lunatics, the criminals, the beggars, the destitutes, etc., occupational centres and 'colony system' as in U.K., mobile vans for carrying trained persons, various public welfare agencies, and the official and non-official organisations for social and social welfare services for the benefit of the backward and the downtrodden.

This framework of institutions needs to be supported by suitable legislation, such as a comprehensive, model central law on beggary, or a separate law providing special facilities to the handicapped in terms of training and employment, medical aid, grant-in-aid in the form of raw material and tools to the trained disabled, priority and quota in job opportunities, and Govt. subsidies to their wages. Every suitable industry should be required to absorb a fixed minimum number of the disabled.

The United Kingdom has on its statute the Disabled Persons Employment Act of 1944, which stipulates that 3 per cent of the recruitment in an establishment of 20 or more people must be compulsorily from the disabled. The Federal Republic of Germany stipulates 8 to 10 per cent compulsory employment of the disabled, Greece 7 per cent and Brazil 2 per cent Argentina reserves certain occupations for the disabled. In Austria, certain vacancies in the public services are reserved for them. In Australia, one for the first

fifteen, and one for every twenty employees thereafter, are reserved for the disabled.

In India also, certain percentage of employment and/or certain occupations must be reserved for the disabled.

An integrated social security scheme, including unemployment insurance, should be evolved for the benefit of all.

Training of Social workers

This would necessitate appropriate provision for training of social workers in such subjects as philosophy and history of social work, Indian social problems, social legislation, welfare services, basic social work techniques, namely, case work, group work, community organisation, social research, dynamics of human behaviour, adult and child psychiatry including psychopathology, crime psychology, treatment of neuroses and psychoses, behaviour problems and management of the mental patients, medical social work, psychosomatic medicine, social and emotional components of illness, care and rehabilitation, case work in psychiatric settings, child guidance techniques, and organisation and administration of psychiatric social service in various settings. They should be able to provide channels of communication between social work and medicine by organising themselves into professional groups under the auspices of organisations, such as, Indian Conference of Social Work, the Association of Alumni of Schools of Social Work, or the Indian Medical Association. They should be enabled to act as a liaison between the patient, his family and the community on the one hand, and doctors, psychiatrists, nurses, occupational therapists, physiotherapists, etc., on the other. They should also inspire scholars to conduct extensive research in the prevention, causation and treatment of different major maladies.

Missionary Zeal

It is not within the competence of the State to raise cadre of idealistic social workers. It is the duty of the socio-cultural leaders to raise, encourage, inspire and guide the properly trained and qualified social workers having interest in and sympathy for the downtrodden, and to review, balance and integrate the social work that is being done by the various official and non- official (voluntary), local and national agencies and schemes.

While evolving national social policy, peculiar characteristics of our national traditions and conditions must be taken into account. Mere imitation of the west is not enough. The instincts and institutions grown in this country in course of centuries should be properly utilised for this purpose. The main source of inspiration for social work is the general religiosity, the religious dedication. This must be revived and strengthened. This alone can be the solid foundation for the successful implementation of the policy. Paper-schemes and commercialised institutions will not serve the purpose. Fashionable but empty slogans borrowed from the west can generate conceit, — not conviction. A St. Francis of Assisi, a Florence Nightingale, a Livingstone or a Damien cannot be raised out of the voluminous document of the Planning Commission or the beautifully worded manifestoes of political parties. Illustrious examples from our national, cultural heritage would be the surest source of inspiration for our social workers.

While it is the duty of the Government to furnish all financial and administrative assistance to social work, the execution of the national social policy must be entrusted to and undertaken by the Socio-Cultural Leaders. For, the first pre-requisite of success in this field is missionary zeal—as distinct from mercenary spirit.

—April 15, 1972

3

NATIONALIST PEASANTS' ORGANISATION

In Pre-independence era, the peasant's movement initiated by patriots like Prof. Ranga or Sahajananda Saraswathi constituted a powerful weapon in the hands of the people to fight the British Raj. But the organisation was soon dominated and taken over by communists. Lack of unity in the non-communist ranks was mainly responsible for this debacle. Once in the saddle, the communists fully exploited the All India Kisan Sabha for their partisan ends. In keeping with their bookish approach, they organised the Tebhaga agitation in Bengal, and uprisings of peasants in Worli and Telengana.

But, curiously enough, they did not conduct any original thinking on the problems of rural India. Constructive approach to the problems was naturally ruled out. And, in the post-independence period, they failed to take cognisance of the fact that the very context and character of the problem had undergone a drastic change; that the changed circumstances demanded greater emphasis on constructive outlook; and that the need of the hour was a practical solution of the problem—and not mere agitation for it.

Communist Hold

With a split in the Party, there was split in the Kisan Sabha also. We have thus two red Kisan Sabhas in the country. Both of them have very loose organisational structure. (Curiously, again, both the Kisan Sabhas are being dominated by communist activists mostly from the rich and middle peasantry).

Recently, the communists have also floated a separate organisation for agricultural proletariat, though, till now, the grievances of agricultural workers as well as peasants used to be taken up for redressal by the Kisan Sabha only. But this new body is only a paper organisation. It has no properly constituted units. Whenever and in whichever area communists want to launch an, agitation for agricultural labourers they use the name of this organisation for the purpose.
Before the introduction of agrarian reforms, it was comparatively easier for the communists to conduct their activities in rural areas. They are known for their technique of united fronts. In natural course, landless agricultural labourers and small peasants could be united against the Government, the landlords and the rich peasants. Both the former sections had much in common against the later. There could be joint struggles for redistribution of lands, prevention of the eviction of tenants from the lands they were cultivating, or securing land for house-sites for the poorer ones.

Ceiling Legislation

Presently, in some States the class of landlords is being gradually eliminated due to ceiling legislation. To that extent communists are finding it difficult to mobilise small peasants and agricultural workers simultaneously under the banner of Kisan Sabha. But in some States the very ceiling prescribed is very high. It is noteworthy that today five per cent of the rural households possess 37.29 per cent of the total land under cultivation, whereas seventy per cent of the peasant families possess twenty per cent of the land. Again, in the States in which ceiling is not so high, the ceiling legislation is being tactfully

bypassed. Moreover, the processes of mass production through mechanised farming are giving rise to a new class of rural capitalists. All those factors have been helpful to the utilisation of communist technique of joint struggles.

And now the communists are not averse to make their united front still more broad-based, so as to include, occasionally, even rich peasants in them. Theoretically, on certain issues, it is possible to forge a united front of the entire peasantry, including rich peasants. Prices of agricultural produce and manufactured goods; provision of chemical manures, etc.; irrigation and drainage facilities; credit facilities; reduction of rent, land revenue and various cesses; loans at reasonable rates of interest; educational and medical facilities in the rural areas; reduction in the rates of taxation; allocation of larger finance for rural projects—these can be some of the common demands constituting the basis of such a broad-based front, though, in the very nature of things, such fronts are bound to be short-lived.
There has been a demand for lowering down of ceilings. Of course, it is not possible to make any general statement about the justification of this demand. Each case will have to be judged separately—on its own merit. But if the main purpose be to make still more land available for distribution, it is not likely to succeed, because it is not physically possible to allot land to every landless labourer in the country; even if we choose to render every piece of land thus distributed extremely uneconomic. With different uneconomic holdings scattered over the entire village area, it is not possible to utilise service cooperatives to render them economic or less uneconomic.

After the completion of Aswan-Dam, the Egyptian Government distributed adjacent lands amongst landless labourers. Each holding was uneconomic by itself. But all these holdings being contiguous, it became practicable to render each one of them economic through proper utilisation of service co-operatives. In India, the uneconomic holdings are not contiguous. To ensure continuity, it would become necessary to undertake reconsolidation of land. Those who suffer initially in the process can be allotted lands adjacent to theirs by way of fair compensation. But, it is doubtful whether the present ruling

party will relish any such measure, particularly in view of the fact that its main following consists of peasants who would be disturbed in the process. Nevertheless, even if such a measure is adopted, it would not be feasible to distribute land to all the landless labourers.

The fact, however, remains that introduction of land reforms, howsoever inadequate according to communists, has considerably affected the efficacy of the traditional communist technique. They are required to study afresh the consequent changes in the "class composition" and "class relations". They are also forced to reconsider the validity of their age-old methodology under the new circumstances. For example, even as the areas of collaboration are not constant,—they vary from issue to issue, the areas of conflict also do not remain constant, they too vary from time to time in the similar fashion.

Conflict

It is not as if there is a conflict of interests only between the landlords, the rich peasants, and the rest. A conflict arises between small peasants and workers also, notwithstanding the fact that many of the owners of uneconomic holdings serve partly as agricultural workers. In case of such a conflict, it has been the tactics of communists to evade the issue. With a view to side-track it, they try to create yet another problem in the same area which would necessitate formation of a united front of small peasants and agricultural workers. Naturally, either petty government officials, or rich individuals, such as money-lenders, etc. become the targets of such agitations.

If even after such attempted distraction, the original conflict continues to remain alive, they reluctantly take up the cause of a section that dominates the local party unit. Again, much to their dismay, the tenants acquiring peasant- proprietorship through processes of law become equally ruthless with their own workers, and the workers acquiring land are not inclined to keep contact with the party any longer. Still worse, there is no uniformity in the 'class composition' of communist following in different regions. This renders evolution of

uniform tactics an impossibility. For example, general policy of anti-tractorisation cannot be implemented in the area in which the main support to the party is from peasants bent upon the use of tractors.

Land-grab Movement

The leftists recently conducted a novel, romantic experiment of 'land-grab' movement. Now, to launch an agitation is not at all difficult. One can easily enlist active support of a large number of landless labourers for such a move. But the difficulties manifest themselves at a later stage.

Firstly, the land so grabbed and distributed amongst landless labourers cannot legally belong to them within the frame-work of existing law; and to legalise land grabbing is not feasible unless there is a complete revolution. Secondly, the land available for distribution after grabbing is limited, and the number of those who aspire for a portion of it is too big, so that it is not practicable to grant a piece of land, howsoever uneconomic, to every aspirant. If some are to benefit and others to be left out, it becomes necessary to determine the criteria for extending benefit. And howsoever just the criteria may be, those left out are bound to have heart-burning. This means the initial unity is shattered on the rock of the process of distribution. Thirdly, the whole operation is conducted under the guidance of some full-time activist of the party. But the number of activists is limited and the number of villages to be managed so huge.

In natural course, when an activist quits one village after accomplishing his mission to his satisfaction, the beneficiaries of land-grab movement become helpless, rudderless. They find themselves incompetent to face the joint onslaught of local peasants and administrative machinery. The lands grabbed are again snatched away, but the bitterness continues. Whatever leniency local peasantry used to show to the local workers vanishes completely. And in this atmosphere of open hostility poor agricultural workers find it

extremely difficult to survive. Their opposition to workers brought from outside by local peasants becomes weak and ineffective. The radical leaders, after receiving due publicity for their radicalism, quit the field and poor workers realise at their own cost that it is a wrong strategy to antagonise the local peasants.

Political Instigation

The 'political trade unionism' cannot lead to the real and abiding solution of the problems. Even if technique of genuine trade unionism is extended to these areas, it is likely to cause greater harm. For, in the first place, the nature of agricultural operations is very much different from that of modern industrial techniques. In a factory, workers from different villages come together at one place; while in rural areas, workers from the same village get scattered over very extensive area. Consequently, the growth of 'class-consciousness' is not as easily attainable in case of rural workers. Secondly, implementation of Minimum Wages Act and other similar laws is almost impracticable without the willing and active cooperation of peasants whom these laws seek to restrain and regulate. True, the rural wage-structure has no relation whatsoever with either the urban wage-structure or the rural cost of living-index. But the supervision of the implementation of such laws would require the raising of a huge inspectorate. The industry of agriculture cannot afford to pay the expenses for the maintenance of such inspectorate. There is no scope for recovery of these expenses from any other source, without disturbing the economy as a whole. And, as stated earlier, what the agricultural labourers are interested in is the solution of their problems, and not mere agitation incapable of delivering the goods.

In the strife-free areas, communists concentrate through their mass organisations on social problems. A very large section of agricultural workers belong to the scheduled castes that have been discriminated against for centuries. The Prevention of Untouchability Act cannot be enforced effectively unless the so-called higher strata of rural

population undergo necessary change of heart. No social organisation has succeeded so far in bringing about such a change in outlook. Consequently, a sense of vengeance or retaliation is growing stronger amongst the scheduled castes that are also being pampered by self-seeking politicians for their own ends. Instead of educating both these so-called 'high' and 'low' sections of rural population and inculcating in them the spirit of social integration, politicians find it easier and more profitable to instigate the one against the other. Communists are the first to exploit this situation. Since, by and large, agricultural workers belong to scheduled castes, it becomes easier for communists to take cudgels against peasants who are mostly from the so-called higher castes, on behalf of agricultural workers, and to carry the war from the economic to the social sphere. The denial of access to hotels, village tanks, wells and other common places further aggravates the malady.

If, through appropriate social organisations, we succeed in eradicating, on practical plane, the evil of un- touchability and bringing about solidarity in the entire Hindu society in rural India, it would be impossible for communists to exploit the situation.
The Hindu society has been specifically mentioned in this context because, as Shri Jagjivan Ramji puts it the non-Hindu communities in India cannot be free from such social evils, so long as these evils continue to dominate the Hindu society. If anybody aspires to introduce social reforms in the non-Hindu communities he will have to introduce them in Hindu society first; that done, the communities.

Communal Politics

This is not to suggest that communists utilise casteism or communalism only against the Hindu castes. Any other community can become their target, if it suits their design. For example, in the Kuttanad area of Kerala, Christian peasants have been the victims of their communal politics.

But this *modus operandi* is not without its characteristic risks. It can often boomerang. The newly awakened masses encouraged to revolt against the old hierarchy may well turn against the new hierarchy also, simply as a matter of habit. It has not been possible, even for communists, to save themselves completely from the clutches of such a Frankenstein.

In whichsoever direction they may try, whichsoever strategy they may adopt, Communists are not going to succeed in solving or exploiting the problems of rural population in which peasantry occupies the pivotal position. They are not interested in solution. Even for successful exploitation, original thinking without academic inhibitions is a must. And the Communists are suffering from these limitations right from the early stage of their movement.

Marx and Peasants

It would be interesting to note that Karl Marx had not given adequate thought to the problems of peasantry. The Manifesto bracketed peasants with handicraftsmen and small traders all of whom had no right to survive. Politically, peasants lacked the entity of a class, being rather an agglomeration of individuals, which Marx compared to a 'Sack of potatoes'. He praised capitalism for having saved a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. He never concealed his contempt for the peasant. The logical sequence of his theory of economic determinism was the expropriation of the peasants. It was useless, he thought, to worry about the fate of the peasant. He was interested in production, not in the producers.
The fact is, Marx did not study fully the peasant problem of any country. In England, where he spent the latter part of his life, capitalist farming was making rapid progress. It justified the generalisation that peasant farming was doomed. "Are you speaking of the petty bourgeois, of the small peasant property which was before the bourgeois property? We do not need to do away with any of it. The evolution of industry has done, and is daily doing away with it".

Marx believed in the superiority of large-scale production. Since it was superior, it was also inevitable. There could be no doubt about the fact that even in agriculture the large producer would in the long run replace the petty peasants. Sooner, rather than latter, agriculture was to be put on a factory basis. Ever-increasing concentration of wealth was inevitable in agriculture also. Parallelism between agriculture and industry was quite 'scientific'.

What forces of progressivism were called upon to face in rural areas was the 'Land Problem'—not 'Peasant Problem'; it was a problem of production, not of social organisation.

On socio-economic level the peasant was already doomed, because he was a peasant. The existence of peasantry indicated lack of progress. Progress was inevitable, equally inevitable, therefore, was the utter extinction of the peasantry.
What was the position of a small peasant in the Marxian scheme of things? He was neither capitalist nor proletariat. And according to Marx, the entire Mankind was divided only into these two hostile camps.

Marx passed the sentence of decay and death upon the peasants. He expected them to be obliterated, as a class. But peasant is in no mood to oblige the Prophet.

While the peasant could not be allotted a place of his own in the rank and file of the revolutionaries, no revolution could be even possible without his sincere cooperation.

The peasant against whom the decree was already passed 'must somehow be won over for the time-being.' This necessitated a change of strategy. The characteristically communist technique of united fronts was to be followed. But were the angels of Communist paradise to stand shoulder to shoulder with the devils of reaction, for all times to come?

"The community of interests”, observed one authority, "may at times weigh heavier than the opposition of interests and favour the working together of peasants and proletariats. But no matter how often they may be fighting the same battle, as a rule they will have to march separately, and the ally of today may become the opponent of tomorrow.”

The Communist Bogey

No wonder this stand taken originally inevitably leads to confusion of thought among communists in countries like India—notwithstanding the one time controversy over the role allotted to peasants in the Chinese revolution. The significance of Communists’ activities in some parts of the country need not be unduly magnified. Caution is always commendable; but it should not be allowed to degenerate into panic. Those who approach this problem through a sort of fear-complex are doing disservice to the country. There is no justification for panic. True, all patriots must naturally be worried over the problems of national reconstruction. But they need not worry about the advent of communism through the willing cooperation of our rural brethren. Karl Marx appealed to 'workers of the world’ who had nothing to lose but their chains. But in India, even under the present miserable condition, Government servants receiving a paltry sum of about Rs. 150/- p.m., bank and insurance employees drawing a little more than that, agricultural workers receiving minimum wages, and small peasants holding some piece of land, have something more than mere chains to lose in case of a revolution. Any leader who expects these sections to be the vanguards of a revolution must be in a fools’ paradise, though it must be realised that the neglect of these downtrodden is a crime against Nation and God, that social justice demands abolition of all unearned incomes arising out of profits and rents, that the armies of the unemployed that constitute real threat to the law and order situation must be confronted with suitable jobs —

and not with bureaucratic bullets, and that we owe all this to the Mother, irrespective of the growth or decay of communist parties.

Measures for Uplift

That the process of national reconstruction would require, as one of its main instruments, a socio-economic organisation of all those connected with the land, goes without saying. To ensure constant mutual cooperation; to thrash out all issues causing internal differences; to improve the quality of material, men, machine, and methodology; to fight injustice against the weaker sections; to promote thrift or saving habits in spite of poverty; to sponsor other appropriate institutions for the uplift of rural masses; to formulate or help formulation of microplans of development of villages in general and individual families in particular; and to ensure sincere cooperation of all sections for the planned efforts for rural reconstruction, — all this cannot be done without appropriate agency. In view of the peculiar character of rural problems, the structural pattern of such an organisation would be necessarily different from that of a political party or a trade union.

Our peasants need to be educated on the techniques of production; the newly introduced exotic crop varieties or the 'miracle crop strains', scientific organisation of harvesting, processing, storage, transport and marketing; and the various official and unofficial agencies set up for their benefit. They should be enthused to undertake, with appropriate official assistance, suitable programmes and projects, such as, construction of large-scale storage facilities in the areas in which they are not currently available; development of all-weather roads connecting villages with the communication arteries, etc.
They can also be induced to organise, in their respective regions, 'demonstration plots' with the financial and technical assistance from the Government. Elementary knowledge of regional agricultural operations should be furnished to children in rural middle school classes, and coordination and integration of teaching, research, and extension achieved at the agricultural university level. Rural

development would require an unofficial, voluntary agency which would function as a liaison between the planners and the various departments and agencies of the Government on the one hand and peasantry on the other (It is well known how coordination is lacking between the various departments of the same Government).

Every medium of mass education should be utilised for the purpose. It has been found that even the least demonstrative or dramatic programmes organised unofficially yield very good results. For example, periodical meetings of peasants from selected areas for exchange of experiences prove to be extremely helpful to all concerned, with just a small dose of technical guidance. Unofficial publication of journals furnishing timely information about agri-cultural operations and other allied subjects can be of a great help to peasants who are thoroughly ignorant of or indifferent to similar official publications. Along these Lines, more vigorous and colourful projects can also be thought of. Above all, they must be made to realise the supreme importance of constant hard work, as in the words of the Nobel Prize Winner, Dr. Norman E. Borlaug, who was particularly connected with agricultural research activity, "there are no miracles in agricultural production."

Because of the communist activities in this field an impression has been created that the only approach to rural problems must be agitational. But it is not so. While agitation becomes necessary, and even inevitable, for securing justice from the stronger parties, such as, landlords or the Government, their success alone cannot bring entire satisfaction and prosperity to the rural community, (It is noteworthy that the CPM led organisations launch struggles only where CPM is in power). The more important and lasting benefit can be had through constructive approach only. The thinking in this regard must be integrated and comprehensive, not sectional and compartmentalised.

Unfortunately, the Government of India and the Planning Commission have not yet adequately realised that agricultural stagnation leads inevitably to stagnation in the whole economy; that even in the West urbanisation with industrialisation was made feasible only by an equally impressive progress in agricultural sector, that our

peasants can be taught to use better seeds, fertilizers, or pesticides, and to fully utilise the irrigation facilities; and that they can be trained to run their own cooperatives for production, finance and marketing, efficiently. Had the Government and the Planning Commission allotted larger sums of money for the development of agriculture, the picture of rural India today would have been very much different.

Agricultural Census

It is however a matter of great satisfaction that since July 1, 1971, a much-needed yet long-neglected move has been launched at the instance of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of United Nations. For the first time in our country an agricultural census is being undertaken, as a part of the world agricultural census sponsored by the FAO. So far, the State Governments of Andhra, Bihar, Haryana, Punjab, Mysore and Maharashtra have with them detailed records on the size and nature of the land holdings within their jurisdiction; but other State Governments have no such records with them. It is going to be an uphill task to collect data on a variety of items, such as, the nature, number, size and distribution of the land-holdings, the cropping pattern, land utilisation, livestock, irrigation and tenure and tenancy, and the agricultural implements and machinery used, because the census is to cover not less than 60 million holdings distributed in over five lakh villages. This census will reveal how the pattern of farming is changing in different regions, and how far the green revolution succeeds in increasing employment potential. Dr. M. S. Swaminathan, Director of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, has stated that the green revolution has the potential to create 40 million jobs during 1971-81. This aspect is important because even in 1981,, nearly 70 % of the work-force will have to depend on agriculture for employment. This consideration apart, after completion of this census we will be better equipped, for the first time, to formulate the micro and the macro plans for rural areas on a scientific basis.

Exact assessment of the magnitude of the problems of paucity of drinking water and rural housing would then become practicable. The inadequacies and non-implementation of debt-relief measures can then be dealt with effectively (Rural indebtedness has by now mounted to Rs. 3000/- crores). Rural bankers and money-lenders will have to be taught to identify their interests with those of the village community, to convert their safe capital into 'risk capital', and to start or finance suitable small-scale industries in their areas. It would further be practicable to conduct industrial survey, that is, of soil, water, forests, fisheries, minerals, etc.—of every district and to know its development potentialities, i.e., the products that can be grown or manufactured in the district. Research can also be conducted so as to make these products, by processing, saleable and more commercial. Linking of the surplus areas with deficit areas can also be planned. There can be a planned effort to introduce and encourage forest-based industries throughout the country, providing more employment opportunities to the Vanavasis who should be given priority in forest-based industries and forest services. In the light of the district surveys, centres of suitable crafts and vocational training can be started in different regions.

Along with peasants and workers, artisans constitute the third important section of our rural population. So far as the progress and prosperity of village artisans is concerned, technologists should introduce for the benefit of the artisans reasonably adaptable changes in the traditional techniques of production, without incurring the risk of increase in unemployment, wastage of the available managerial and technical skill, and complete decapitalisation of the existing means of production.

Role of Banking

What trade unions are to the industrial workers; cooperatives, particularly market cooperatives, are to the artisans. It is, however, necessary that the formation of a cooperative should be preceded by inculcation of the spirit of cooperativism. To inculcate this spirit is

essential not only for the benefit of artisans, but also for protecting and promoting the interests of peasants, particularly those with uneconomic holdings. Because for them service cooperatives become indispensable.

Our villagers cannot improve their lot depending entirely upon themselves. They can be inspired to work hard; but they must be given necessary financial assistance and technical guidance. Herein comes the role of our national financial institutions, particularly, the banking industry. Though an autonomous monetary authority is not set up, the nationalised banking industry should organise the Financial Consultation Service up to village level. The financial consultation service should be required to invite from small uncreditworthy peasants, village artisans and self-employed persons in rural areas their individual and collective developmental plans, scrutinise and modify such micro-plans in the light of the technical and managerial experience, advance short term and medium term loans for their implementation, inspect and supervise the process of implementation, and thus render credit- worthiness to uncreditworthy citizens through phased programmes of Breeder Finance in course of which income generated at every stage would be bigger than the expenditure incurred. The F.C. Service should also take economic survey of every village, suggest and initiate appropriate subsidiary industries in it, and ensure full employment of all faculties of every individual throughout the year. We are, however, of the view that the better instrument for this purpose would be an autonomous monetary authority, and the Government of India should still consider this seriously since it is never too late to mend.

No amount of planning can enable our land to bear the entire burden of all those who are at present dependent upon it. Ways and means must be found out to relieve it substantially of its burden. This would necessitate the redrafting of the industrial map of the country.
Today we are confronted with the problem of over-urbanisation on the one hand and that of growing rural unemployment on the other. Can we reduce the relative numbers in agriculture?

Firstly, the type of education that is being spread in rural areas is causing a constant drift from villages to cities. But employment opportunities in urban areas do not increase in the same ratio. Emphasis on the vocational and technical training should help absorbing most of these youngsters in the local subsidiary industries, and those others who drift to cities would be more easily accommodated in the industries therein.

There is a general temptation to locate all new industries in big cities. For, the social costs of urbanisation, i.e. the slums, the juvenile delinquency, etc., are borne by the Government and not by the concerned industries. If industries are required to shoulder the burden of these social costs, they would certainly avoid location in big cities.

Dispersal of Industries

Industrial opportunities can be more widely dispersed, and pressure taken off the big cities, if the Government selects a number of localities outside these cities, builds there some industrial estates, and offers sites on easy terms.

There should also be a planned effort to develop medium size towns and make them more attractive by ensuring a full range of public services, including schools, water, electricity, hospitals, etc.

Dispersal of industries from the urban to the rural areas is yet another measure helpful for this purpose.

Apart from the policy on location of industries, the technology to be adopted is also a subject deserving serious consideration. While different technologies are apt to rule simultaneously different levels of even the same industry, the 'intermediate' or 'appropriate' technology must be accorded the place it deserves in the rural scheme of things. Under this technology the cost of machines is comparatively lower, so that the capital required to start the industry is low. The depreciation and other capital charges are low. The machines are made very simple. The work is so simplified as to enable the unskilled workers to accomplish it. Automatic gadgets and labour saving devices are

avoided to the maximum possible extent. Consequently, the problem of providing employment to many is properly taken care of.

Unlike large scale industries, small scale industries based upon the appropriate technology are not required to spend huge amounts on the high factory overhead charges and management charges, transport charges from the factory, and high proportion of intermediary profits after passing through many traders. Direct personal touch between the management and workmen minimises the areas of tension and consequent loss of production. The comparative figures of the quantum of investment, the number of workers required, daily earnings per worker, and the minimum required size of installation, for a high technology and an intermediate technology factories can be worked out in case of different industries.

Our public undertakings, situated as they are, can be asked to profitably organise ancillary industries with proper planning, so as to render the big projects and their ancillary industries mutually complimentary. The Undertakings should be required to organise social welfare and community development of citizens not only in the project areas but also in the adjacent localities and villages.

The groups of construction workers scattered in different, distant areas can help the growth of petty commercial and other incidental activity, if they are provided with a fair wage, a reasonably steady volume of work and employment, and mobile dwellings at work-sites.

Professional talents, found to be surplus in urban areas, should, in a planned way, be shifted to rural areas where they are very much in demand.

While revising the Fourth Plan, such a reconstruction of the industrial map of the country must be kept in view.

These are just the broad guidelines. Further, better suggestions regarding progress, projects and plans can come forth. On the eve of general elections, political parties were required to conduct some hard

thinking in this direction. Consequently, the crash programme of rural employment at a cost of Rs. 50 crores annually was initiated last year. But our problem has been to find out or set up an appropriate agency for proper implementation in rural areas. Bureaucracy cannot be entrusted with this work. Initiative must come from the people themselves. Not much can be achieved through official spoonfeeding.

All our plans will be reduced to mere paper work if there is no network or nuclei of patriotic activists spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. Unfortunately, this basic work has been completely neglected so far by politicians. This is the need to be fulfilled by the socio-economic organisations of our rural brothers. In fact, this would be the infrastructure of rural reconstruction.

(A paper submitted to the State Conference of Karnatik Rayat Sangham on 25-10-71).

PART II

4

CONSUMERS' MOVEMENT

'Consumer' constitutes the most important and yet the most neglected basic economic unit of the Nation.

It is rather difficult to define the term 'Consumer' precisely. Technically, Government is the biggest consumer in most of the countries. It is fully equipped to safeguard its interests as 'Consumer'. But consumer- aspect is not the main feature of its character or function; it is only incidental. In fact, even to govern is not the only function of modern governments. They are employers, too. And in this capacity their interests are likely to come into direct conflict with those of their employees as well as general consumers.

In the initial stages of industrialisation, it was customary to presume that the only parties to industrial relations were employers and employees. Subsequently, it came to be recognised that the Government also was a concerned party. The Government has certainly a role to play in proper regulation of industrial relations. But it cannot play the role of a third party in disputes between itself, as an employer, and its employees. And in India, the Government is the biggest employer. Moreover, it is also the biggest single consumer, often in competition with other general consumers. It cannot, therefore, truly and fully, represent the nation or the society which is the fourth and yet the most important party to industrial relations.

The Ultimate Consumer

Industry and Trade constitute the second biggest and organised section of consumers. But, like the Government, they are also frequently vying with, and never to be equated or identified with

ordinary, ultimate consumers who are the real, the genuine consumers representing truly the Nation or the Society in all economic and industrial matters.

Notwithstanding their incidental consumer-aspect, the Government, the Industry or the Trade cannot be included, for all practical purposes, in the broad category of consumers. The ultimate consumer, that is, the general public is the supreme but the most indifferent party to all industrial relations.

In fact, he is just a sleeping partner, so that, with the connivance of the Government, it is so easy for the conspiring employers and employees of the same industry to hold the consumers to ransom. **It is the interest of these ultimate consumers that is the nearest economic equivalent of 'national interest'.**

Everyone is a consumer; but, paradoxically enough, no one is merely a consumer. Everybody belongs simultaneously to some other interest-group also. All such economic interest-groups are comparatively more specific in composition, well defined in character, and clearly distinct from the others in function. Consequently, it is easier in their case to rouse group consciousness and set up group organisations. Comparatively 'Consumer' appears to be an abstract phenomenon. Hence the difficulty in awakening consumer-consciousness.

The Government has at its disposal the entire state- apparatus, its powers and mechanisms to safeguard its interests as consumer. The industry and trade can always avail the services of various trade bodies, employers' organisations and chambers of commerce and industry, for this purpose. But the general consumers are completely defenceless. They are the helpless spectators of the play of different economic forces, of which they are the worst-hit victims.

Lack of Consumers' Lobby

This is not to suggest that there are no agencies which are meant to serve their cause. Theoretically, Parliament itself can be considered or treated as the custodian of their interests; and, once in a while, it does carry out this responsibility as well. But it is well known that consumers as such do not have their own lobby in Parliament or State Legislatures. No group therein seems to function consistently as an ever-vigilant watch-dog of consumers.

Consequently, the pro-consumer legislation in the country is neither thorough nor systematic. And whatever laws are already in existence are not being implemented properly because of the weakness of government regulatory agencies and absence of consumers' organisations. There are no agencies to study existing laws and make suggestions for fresh legislation to protest consumer interest.
There are some other agencies to help the common consumer. For example, Indian Standards Institution, Agmark, Drug Controllers' Office, Fair Trade Practices Association, etc. But their benefit cannot be extended to the masses so long as there are no consumers' organisations to undertake follow-up measures for conduct policing activity. Again, there is presently no provision for comparative testing of all consumer goods and industrial products and to issue certificates thereof for quality and performance, and, what is more relevant, there is no suitable medium to press for such a provision.

Marketing organisation, if it so wills, can render useful services to consumers at large by studying demand patterns of various commodities, working out accurate demand forecasts, suggesting consumer-oriented industrial licence policy, conducting research on consumers' problems, ensuring the quality of products, enforcing due standards, and inculcating in the business community an awareness of its obligations to the consuming public. Indian marketing did not have its own national body until the Institute of Marketing and Management was founded in January, 1968. However, its utility to the consumers' cause is yet to be established.

But it is a matter of some satisfaction that its leaders have rightly realised the necessity of some consumers' organisation which would serve as an effective liaison between consumer on the one hand and the IMM and other useful agencies on the other. They have, therefore, organised the 'Indian Consumers Union' for the purpose. It would be too early, at this stage, to pass any verdict on the practical utility and organisational efficacy of this new body. Its success, however, would depend considerably upon its ability to cultivate grass-root contacts, adopt down-to-the-earth policies, and avoid ivory-tower mentality. This apart, the IMM itself is not yet fully developed organisationally, because of its recent origin.

Even as it becomes easier to organise workers in the industries whose technology leads to concentration of labour, it is easier to rouse consumer-consciousness amongst consumers of some large-scale and advanced industries, such as, railways, electricity, road transport, etc. If consumers' organisations for such industries are allowed to participate in the consultative committees for the industries, the consumer movement in that particular sector would receive a further fillip. Representation of railway passengers' associations on the railway users' committees has, for example, encouraged and strengthened the consumers' movement on railways. Such industry-wise mobilisation of consumers, or, at least, some symbolic gesture in that direction, becomes comparatively more practicable. But this would not touch even the fringe of the main problem which demands a comprehensive organisation of general consumers.

Mazdoor Sangh Stand

Sporadic attempts have been made in India since 1958 to organise consumers. But the impact of such efforts is local, short-lived, and that too, in a very small number of selected areas. No doubt, a few bodies, such as Consumer Guidance Society at Bombay, have

some commendable record of service to their credit. But all this is quite insignificant, considering the magnitude of the problem.

In its 'Order of Duties and Disciplines' submitted to the President in November, 1969, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh has defined the function of consumers' forums. Apart from the general work with a view to protect and promote consumers' interests, the consumers' councils should undertake the task of disseminating knowledge and information about consumers' needs and problems; protect consumers against hazards of defective food, drugs, appliances, machines and other consumer goods; adopt measures, such as, vigilance, investigation, legislation etc. against unfair trade practices, cheating, charging of exorbitant prices, short weights and measurements, deceptive packaging, misleading advertisements, and quackery of all kinds; and persuade consumers to buy only the standardised and certified goods, as far as possible.

The Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh has stated that it is the duty of the socio-cultural leaders to recognise the fact that consumers' interest is the nearest economic equivalent of 'National interest', to rouse consumer-consciousness in the society, to organise Consumers' Forums to steadily and continuously educate consumers about all matters affecting their interests, including the correct state of affairs in the industrial field of the country; to mobilise public opinion through frequent consumers' conferences, seminars, etc. in order to bring appropriate pressure to bear upon Government, traders, or different parties to industrial relations, whenever this becomes necessary, to organise consumers' resistance and consumers' strike in course of which they would refuse to purchase the product of any plant following anti-consumer policies; to set and propagate consumption patterns with a view to encourage Swadeshi and healthier personal habits; and to set up, for major industries, Consumers' Advisory or Consultative Councils on the model of the two 'Coal Consumers' Councils' of Great Britain whose annual reports to the Minister are laid before Parliament alongwith the report received by the Minister from the National Coal Board.

Foreign Pattern

To study the taxation structure and to suggest the ways and means of reducing the burden of indirect taxes, should also be the responsibility of such leaders.

In many foreign countries, such as Great Britain, United States, Sweden, Japan, Malaysia, etc., the consumers movement is organised to a lesser or greater extent. More than a hundred countries are represented in the Apex Body at Hague in the form of International Organisation of Consumers' Unions. India also will do well to become a member of this international body. But, it is doubtful whether the consumer movement in this country can profitably imitate the organisational patterns of consumers' organisations of these other countries. For, outside India, consumers' bodies are laying exclusive stress on the economic aspect of the matter, which is not in keeping with the traditions and temperament of our nation.

In India, the consumers' resistance and consumers' strike were first organised on mass scale by Lokmanya Tilak, who, in the first decade of this century, offered the nation his famous 'Chatuh Sutri', comprising among others, 'Swadeshi' and 'Bahishkar' of foreign goods. The movement was further carried on, intensified, and widened by Mahatma Gandhi. No one came forward to continue this thread in the post-transfer-of-power era.

To be sure, the character of consumers' movement now will have necessarily to be different, more positive and broad-based. But it must have its roots in the spirit of patriotism. Mere 'economism' would not inspire our people to undergo the strain necessary for building up consumers' organisation. Mere institutional frame-work will not be able to achieve its professed objective, unless it is backed by strong sense of nationalism.

The success of the movement would depend, to a very great extent, upon the quality and character of its leadership. The patriots who are

psychological identified with the entire nation, but not with any one of the economic interest groups, would alone be competent to undertake this supreme yet thankless task in the economic field.
The emergence of such a leadership is the need of the hour.

—October 16, 1971

5

BROAD-BASED TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Does the present Trade Union Movement aspire **to** represent the entire working class? Can it be really described as protector of all the down-trodden, the poor, the exploited in the country?
The attention of our trade unions has been mainly towards the plight of workers in organised industries. This is natural and justifiable on grounds of necessity, practicability and utility. These industries cause concentration of labour force which facilitates growth of trade union-ism. But in industries and occupations that are not so organised, the need for workers' organisation is still greater. **This is the paradoxical situation. Those who are in need of greater protection are least protected either by trade unionism or by legislation.**

In urban areas, there is a huge number of unprotected workers such as, fishermen, saltpan workers, mathadis, hamals, lokhandi jatha workers, casual piece rated workers under Mukadams, tolaiwalas, etc., employed in iron and steel markets or shops, cloth and cotton markets and other establishments, railway yards and goods sheds, public transport vehicles, godowns, vegetable markets etc., in connection with loading, unloading, stacking, carrying, weighing, measuring, or other similar operations.

No doubt, the Maharashtra State Government has taken initiative in enacting law, i.e., 'Maharashtra Mathadis, Hamal, and Other Manual Workers (Regulation of Employment and Welfare) Act', 1968, for their benefit, but in other States they are still unprotected, and trade unions in this field are rare and weak.

Casual Workers

Casual workers in Railways, Public Works Depts., Irrigation Depts., Transport Corporations, State Electricity Corporation, Construction Works, Engineering concerns, Central and State Government Depts., Ports and Docks, etc., are also being neglected, though workers of most of these establishments have their own trade unions. In most of these, Standing Orders do not specify the strength of casual labour against the normal strength of the establishment, and the process of decasualisation is not being followed strictly.

In fact, if employment is discontinued for a short period and the worker is re-employed, this short period should not be treated as a break in service, and after a casual worker has completed a stipulated period of service, he should be allowed the same benefits which a permanent worker enjoys. Pending completion of decasualisation, there should be a better regulation of their conditions of work.

Construction workers are particularly subject to irregularities and inhuman treatment. The 'Fair Wage Clause' is not strictly enforced and there is no review of the fair wages from time to time. Attendance registers showing permanent local addresses of all construction workers are not generally maintained. What is needed is enactment of regulatory and protective legislation for them, setting up of adequate statutory enforcement machinery, and prescription of severe and deterrent penalties to contractors, sub-contractors, labour contractors, etc., for malpractices. Building contractors should be classified and registered. In Government undertakings, there should be a suitable planning of the programmes undertaken to ensure a reasonably steady volume of work and employment; and workers should be provided with mobile dwellings at work sites.

Forest Workers

The forest workers also are, by and large, not being taken care of by our trade union movement. Distribution of surplus land amongst them; debt-relief-measures; protection of the Minimum Wages Act; priority in forest services, i.e. those of forest guards, watchmen, etc., placing the private forest areas at par with Government forest areas for the purposes of concessions; preservation and restoration of their traditional rights in the forest areas; introduction and of encouragement to forest-based industries; protection of forest labour cooperatives from the conspiracy of contractors and conservators; encouragement to the formation of Cooperative Corporation for managing the forest labour societies; simplification of cooperative laws, rules and regulations, immediate rehabilitation of vanavasis displaced in the name of 'development'; setting up of machinery at the Central and the State levels to follow up strictly and implement the already accepted recommendations—these, among other, are some of the measures required for their protection.

Who will, again, share the socio-economic responsibility for the upliftment of the nomadic and the semi- nomadic (ex-criminal) tribes, termed otherwise as 'de- notified tribes'? The protection and facilities offered by the Constitution to Scheduled Tribes have not yet been extended to these 'denotified tribes'. The nature of their problems is partly social; it is not practicable to bifurcate the social from the economic; and social institutions organised for their welfare are not sufficiently powerful.

Artisans

Traditional artisans in the urban as well as the rural areas are 'workmen' in the literal, but not in the legal sense, since they are self-employed, and not wage-earners. For their benefit, it is necessary to evolve indigenous technology and organise market cooperatives. What trade unions are to industrial workers, market cooperatives are to traditional artisans. And they themselves have no central organisation for this purpose.

In agricultural sector, trade union movement is too weak. It is but natural. While in factories workers from different places come together at one place, in agriculture, workers from one place are scattered over a wide area making growth of trade union consciousness among them extremely difficult. They cannot be profitably clubbed together even with petty Kisans in Kisan organisations, and the ideal of a cooperative commonwealth of peasants, artisans and agricultural workers does not appear to be so very attractive under the new circumstances, though the methodology of urban trade unions cannot be applicable in this sector for obvious reasons and new appropriate methodology has not yet been conceived.

Social Work

Our Central Labour Organisations have not yet taken adequate cognisance of the problems of nearly one lakh employees of more than ten thousand social work and social welfare organisations. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda had determinedly kept them outside the purview of industrial law on the plea that these are social service bodies and not profit-making industries. But, in the first place, his own Bharat Sewak Samaj had undertaken a number of construction projects on contract basis with profit motive, and, secondly, most of the employees of such organisations join the service for earning their livelihood, and not for missionary zeal.

There are certainly some persons who take a vow to lead dedicated life for this humanitarian cause; but their number is small. An average worker of such bodies joins the work as an 'employee’ for all practical purposes. It is unjust to impose missionary character on him only for the purposes of pay-scales and service conditions. While the national reconstruction demands that the spirit of selfless service should be imbibed in as many citizens as possible, there is absolutely no justification for keeping employees of these organisations outside the pale of industrial law and trade union organisation.
No appropriate legal protection is being offered today to the employees of educational institutions, hospitals, religious institutions,

cooperatives other than workers' cooperatives, cottage industries, concerns and institutes of various arts, firms of advocates, solicitors and other legal agencies. Those engaged in Rickshaw-pulling and Mallah work are also legally defenceless. This is all the more why the trade union movement should pay particular attention to their organisation though the nature of legal protection in each case may be different.

Domestic Servants

Domestic servants all over the country would require a different type of remedial measure, because of the very nature of their work, and the direct personal relationship between the employer and the employee. But there is no other apparatus available today to look after their interests or welfare, though the difficulty in organising them in some suitable form or other is obvious.

Private, as distinct from municipal, sweepers; leather workers in small towns and villages; workers employed in cottage industries;—these and many other similar sections are in this neglected category. I was surprised to know that the number of boys engaged in tiffin carrying at Bombay is more than 12,500. A comprehensive survey from this point of view must be undertaken.

Pensioners

Again, how pitiable would be the condition of one who enjoys protection during active youth but finds oneself deprived of it during evening of life? The protection of industrial law is not extended to pensioners, ex- servicemen and their associations. The current pension rates need to be revised co-relating them with the present cost of living index. These revised rates should be linked to the index number. Pension Committees should be organised in different industries and services in order to expedite judiciously the disposal of cases and grievances pertaining to pensions. Pensioners should be provided with —

(a) Light, part-time jobs for a period of ten years

after retirement;
(b) A guardian's allowance (to those having one or more children under sixteen);
(c) and facility of free medical treatment during their own life time and that of their dependents.

All this cannot be achieved without legal and institutional defences.

All these facts, though only illustrative, are sufficient to establish the need for broadening the base of our trade union movement. That the workers in industries occupying strategic position in the national economy should have engaged attention of our labour leaders so far is but natural. But now we have reached a stage when the depth and breadth of their vision should enable the Indian trade union movement to be truly representative in character.

—November 20, 1971

6

PLANNING & LABOUR

Planning is the most important instrument of economic reconstruction. But planning in India has been proceeding so far in an unscientific manner. For example, it is astounding that the Planning Commission has not been able to define 'unemployment' in India, even after its pompous yet futile exercise in planning for about two decades.

In the past, the Planning Commission used to present at the beginning of every Plan document estimates of the backlog of unemployment, of the increase in the labour force during the Plan period, and of additional employment likely to be created through implementation of the Plan as formulated. But there used to be considerable divergence of opinion regarding the appropriate definitions of and suitable yardsticks for measuring unemployment in rural and urban areas, and consequently, the widely differing magnitudes of unemployment worked out on the basis of various sources such as the Census, the National Sample Survey and the Employment Exchange data. In August 1968, the Planning Commission set up a Committee of Experts to enquire into the estimates of unemployment worked out for the previous Plans and the data and methodology used in arriving at them. The Committee has observed that the estimates of labour force, additional employment generated, and unemployment at the beginning or end of a Plan period, presented in one-dimensional magnitude are neither meaningful nor useful as indicators of the economic situation and that the method adopted by the Planning Commission so far might be given up. The Committee has stressed that the character of our economy and consequently that of the labour

force, employment and unemployment is too heterogeneous to justify aggregation into single dimensional magnitudes.

In spite of the Committee's recommendations, no attempt has been made in the Fourth Plan document to present data on the lines followed in previous plans. Even the Bhagawati Committee, appointed subsequently, has not accomplished this basic task. Instead, it has only suggested some *ad hoc* measures to reduce unemployment.

'Human' Investment

Nevertheless, the Plan document refers to a report on the World Employment Programme in which the International Labour Organisation has argued for the integration of employment creation to economic development through the maximum possible productive use of available labour to accelerate economic growth and, more particularly, to substitute labour for scarce capital where this is economically feasible. The ILO suggested that this could be attained through a strategy of development involving comprehensive programmes of rural development, labour intensive public works programmes and fuller utilisation of industrial capacity, promotion of labour intensive industrial products for domestic and foreign markets, and application of economically sound labour intensive techniques in industrial production.

Taking congnisance of the report, the Plan document does state that there will be need for more investment (at least of certain kinds) in "human as compared with physical capital", that a greater volume of investment will have to be directed for rural development rather than to urban development; that investment plan will have to give some preference to small-scale over the large-scale projects; that a shift in investment towards economically sound labour intensive industries rather than capital intensive industries will have to be necessary; and that, as a corollary, it will also be necessary to adopt the choice of techniques and product-mix to this approach. The Plan professes to lay great emphasis in its investment programmes on labour intensive programmes through development of agriculture, rural infra-structure

including communication and transport links, rural electrification, minor irrigation, water management, rural industries, decentralisation and dispersal of industrial investments, and rural and urban housing.

But in reality this has been only a lip-service to the professed objective. The allocations in the Fourth Plan indicate beyond all doubt that the Planning Commission learnt nothing even after the sad experience of so many years.

The problem of resources has also been dealt with in a shabby manner.

In the first place, the magnitude of the problem of the paucity of resources, the usual apologia of the Government, cannot be accepted with full seriousness in view of the fact that every year various departments of the Government, both at the Centre and in the States, continue to surrender funds which they are unable to use. For example, out of the allocation of Rs. 1,190 crores allotted under the Fourth plan for new schemes, only Rs. 180 crores were used by the end of the third year of the Plan.

Incidentally, this indicates that, apart from defects in execution, the problem of the availability of necessary materials is not being taken into consideration while drafting the schemes.

Secondly, while assessing resources for the Fourth Plan, the Commission has taken into account the Award of the Fifth Finance Commission, the nationalisation of 14 major commercial banks, acceleration in their branch expansion and deposit mobilisation, particularly in rural areas; reorientation of investment policies of the Life Insurance Corporation and the Employees' Provident Fund; and the more recent trends in receipts and expenditures of public authorities. But, nevertheless, the fact remains that the Commission had not initiated till recently a comprehensive national survey of all our resources. And, again, the Commission has also not yet conceived the ways and means of attracting the capital of Indian industrialists abroad.

Our planning has failed so far to take into account the 'saving-investment' mechanism of our country where as Prof. S. Swamy

points out, household saving accounts for over 75% of the total savings and direct investment of this saving is the prevalent practice, the investors being also in overwhelming numbers the savers—which is not a condition prevailing in Western economy where a decision to save is not necessarily a decision to invest and savers as a group are generally different from investors as a group.

Planners have, therefore, not provided adequate incentives for savings nor have they given adequate scope to small investors, which can be done efficiently only by changing the present industrial strategy. They have not made any effort to press into service the traditional rural saving habits. Small investors have not been encouraged to increase investment and curtail conspicuous consumption. The production of luxury goods has thus received an impetus. It has been forgotten that stepping up investment in the public sector would not be helpful unless the climate for saving is generated simultaneously. The traditional cultural values laying great stress upon austerity and simplicity have not been fully utilised for the purpose of capital formation, the Government itself indulging in ostentatious, superflous wasteful and unproductive expenditures, with the false notion of ministerial or secretarial prestige. The revival of the spirit of 'Swadeshi' would have suitably altered our consumption patterns. But this has been totally neglected.

Our import policy and industrial policy should have been so framed as to eliminate all non-essential imports; utilise imports for producing producer goods only; make luxury consumption a costly luxury; boost up import substitution programme; progressively minimise maintenance imports or imports of raw materials and components required for stepping up the growth rate, such as fertilisers, pesticides, crude oil, chemicals non-ferrous metals, special varieties of steel and components and spare parts of machinery; strengthen domestic production with a view to meet substantially the capital goods requirements for industrial expansion; and substitude with courage and conviction the more sophisticated Western machinery with that designed and produced indigenously

Objectives of planning

It is necessary to restate the objectives of our Planning. Fullest employment of all the faculties of all citizens; maximum increase In the growth rate through maximum production; equitable distribution; guarantee of a minimum living standard to all; balanced and coordinated development of all regions and sections of society and self-reliant and egalitarian national economy—these should be the specified objectives of planning, and priorities should be fixed in view of these objectives. Self-reliance and decentralisation of economic authority should be considered at least as important as increases in national income. Apart from defence, agricultural production, minor irrigation, massive rural works programmes, subsidiary industries and agro-industries, expansion of the sector of self-employment, small-scale and medium industries and a balanced nuclear technology—these should be given investment priority over large-scale and capital intensive industries.

Misconceptions

The planners should free themselves from certain misconceptions that have dominated the national scene so far.

For example, they must realise that there is no complete incompatibility between defence and development— part of the defence expenditure can be utilised to stimulate the national economy. Under the peculiar conditions obtaining in India, there is also no inherent incompatibility between the private and the public sectors, capital formation and decentralisation of all economic authority, or expansion of employment opportunities and rise in incomes. They should ensure that the small and the large-scale industries become complimentary to each other, that small industries become suppliers of various inputs to the producer-goods industries and also users of their producer- goods. They should note that the small-scale industries' concept focuses on the need to separate the various stages

of production, with each stage producing with low overheads and with labour intensive technology, and that even the traditional large-scale industries can, in certain cases, be profitably divided into different small-scale units as has been the case of railways in Yugoslavia.
They should appreciate that the 'capital formation' is one thing, and 'capitalism' another; that there can be capital formation without paving the way to capitalism; that the processes that result in capital formation are not necessarily those that give rise to capitalism.

They should also recognise that every wage-rise does not necessarily lead to price-rise and that the wage-rise is responsible for price-rise only to the extent to which the former is in excess of the productivity rise. They should learn to treat 'social welfare' not as a 'cost' in the normal sense, but as an investment capable of paying dividends. It should be accepted that there should not be two standards of incentives within the same system. When workers demand higher wages it is argued that they should not do so in the national interest. Interests of the nation should have precedence over personal gains. This is true enough. This is a social incentive. But in that case the same should be made applicable to employers also. In their case, it is argued that they would not have any incentive if they do not receive high profits. Individual incentive in the case of employers and social incentive in case of employees— this is the system of double standards which is socially unjust and psychologically unsound.

Need for an Integrated System

The entire economy should be viewed as an integrated system comprising various interdependent systems. Our approach should be multi-sectoral. The policies of various ministries should be properly integrated. The monetary and fiscal policies should be reformulated to maximise the savings. The planners should recognise the dangers inherent in the system of foreign aid which invariably carries with it compensatory restrictions denying us flexibility in the three instruments of financial management; i.e. purchase, allocation and evaluation and thus causing distortion in the investment pattern of the Plan.

Deficit financing should be treated as a delicate instrument; additional deficit financing should be used for generating additional employment in the rural sector.

It is imperative to devise suitable ways and means to put an end to the parallel economy of black money which, if whitened, can provide employment to about 3.5 million persons. (According to the Wanchoo Committee, the unaccounted money in the country was to the tune of about 7,000 crores in 1968-69).

But, most important of all, the very style of planning needs to be changed. At the formulation stage itself, the various socio-economic organisations should be associated with planning; different interest groups should be involved in the process. The successful implementation of any plan depends considerably upon the willing cooperation of the people, their self-discipline and voluntary modification in attitudes and behaviour in the economic field. When men participate in the process of the formulation of a plan, they feel that they are a part of it, there is no need then to convince them of the desirability of self-discipline. As wide a participation by the interest groups as possible should tend to minimise the areas of socio-economic conflict and offer greater possibility of evolving a consensus on the overall aims. Participation at this initial stage would enhance the status of the participants and develop in them a positive attitude towards development, much beyond the personal monetary gains.

Proper use of Pressure Groups

Of course, this would necessitate proper organisation of various socio-economic entities at every level. The associations of interest or pressure groups that are already organised should be accorded their pride of place in the scheme, and efforts should be made to organize expeditiously the interest groups that are unorganised so far. Industrial workers, employers, commercial communities, professionals, etc. constitute the first category. The latter comprise

peasants, agricultural workers, traditional artisans, etc. All these bodies should be imbued with the spirit of patriotism, and equipped intellectually to play their part in the formulation and implementation of a plan. To ensure efficiency of this process, as well as for other practical purposes, every State should be divided into different Janapadas, each one of them comprising areas with common local characteristics and under the supervision of a Janapada Committee consisting of the representatives of the general public and also those of the industries (industrial workers) therein.

The primary, the lowest level units of these industrial associations should be required to prepare micro-plans of their own and submit the same to their Janapada Committees on the one hand and their occupational/professional associations at the national level on the other. The Janapada Committees should take into consideration all such industrial/occupational micro-plans within their jurisdiction while drafting their regional plans; the same process should be followed by occupational/professional associations while formulating their occupation-wise/profession-wise national plans. It should be the duty of the Planning Commission to integrate all such region-wise and industry-wise microplans into a national macro-plan. The Planning should be evolved from below, and not imposed from above.

For the successful implementation of this process, it is imperative that all these organisms and individuals should be well-acquainted with the country’s socio-economic scene. They should be furnished with all relevant statistics, i.e., the growth rate index, the cost-of-living indices, productivity indices, the availability of resources, the existing "relationship between the critical variables, such as, employment and productivity, investment and output in different sectors,” statistics on employment and income distribution, etc. They should also be given a national consumption plan comprising the sum-total of "goods and services that will be needed to ensure minimum nutritional, health, educational and housing standards”—production under such 'consumption plan’ being needs-based and not demands-based. This would eliminate all possibilities of their thinking remaining static,

self-centred and lopsided. This would also minimise the evil of regional or sectoral imbalances.

Mass Education

But the first pre-requisite for this is a constant, continual, persistent national programme of mass education. In its absence, various interest groups would pull in different directions and in opposition to the direction required by the national development plan. The healthy, democratic evolution of a national plan is inconceivable so long as we do not bring the pressure of our cultural heritage to bear upon the problem and achieve national integration. Special efforts will have to be made to bring the so far backward areas and sections of population at par with the rest of the country, so that they may be able to function as equal partners in the process of the formulation and implementation of a national plan.

Such a programme of mass education would require the Government to constantly keep contact with the various interest group organisations and through them with the people at large, to keep them informed of economic condition, problems involved, actions proposed and the kind of support sought for. With a strong and perfect system of communication it should be possible to develop rom the grass-root levels the healthy and positive attitudes with integrated view of total national interest.

Thus equipped, the primary units of all socio-economic organisations would effectively contribute to the process of evolution of a national plan.

The growth of national consciousness coupled with a change in the style of planning would convert the entire people into a Standing Planning Commission. It is the duty of all Central Labour Organisations to equip workers to participate in this process.

(Based on extracts from the Secretarial Report submitted to the BMS session at Bombay on May 22, 1972).

7

THE WAY....

(Some Stray Glimpses)

For industries to be set up in future it is advisable to bifurcate the process of investment from an automatic right to ownership. Today we have a number of big finance corporations. They have certainly a purpose to serve. But we think that it would be more appropriate to organise industrywise or industry-cum-regionwise small financial institutions which would be devoted exclusively to their respective industries and encourage, mobilise and channelise small savings into industrial investment. Through these institutions small savers will be persuaded to invest their money in particular industries or projects. They would be assured of a fair minimum rate of interest under all circumstances and a higher rate in case of the higher profits of their industry, but they would not participate in the ownership of the industry. We believe that a fair minimum rate of interest should be an adequate incentive for patriotic small savers to invest their money in different industries. Such financial institutions would help the process of identification of small savers with the particular industries. These institutions would be big enough to mobilise and channelise small savings into industrial investment, but not so big as to become monopolistic monsters themselves. This process would counter-balance to a considerable extent the losses consequent to elimination

of monopolies. But it presumes high-level of patriotism among common men. The boards of management of these financial institutions should comprise, among others, the representatives of these savers also. These institutions should have a right to supervise, assist and regulate the conduct of their respective industries, but they would also not participate in their ownership which should be vested in the workers themselves. The big financial corporations should be required to assist these institutions without tightening their strangle-hold on the latter.

While we are pragmatic on the problem of the patterns of industrial ownership, we must record here our strong resentment against the continuance of the system of the Public Limited Companies and the Private Limited Companies. We feel that in future these categories of 'employer' must be dispensed with. While it is a fact that the economy needs a vigorous search for the not-yet- discovered entrepreneurial talents, it is equally true that continuance of the status of entrepreneurs in a set up in which entrepreneurship has no specific role to play is detrimental to the health of national economy. Sleeping partners of the Limited Companies enjoy the status and privileges of 'entrepreneurs' without functioning actively as real 'entrepreneurs'. This has given rise to a number of malpractices too well known to require enumeration here. Mere higher incidence of taxation on these companies cannot cure our economy of maladies caused by this system. The status of entrepreneurship should be allowed to continue only where entrepreneur has a real and effective role to play. The entrepreneurial skills remaining unemployed due to the abolition of these categories of 'employer' can be absorbed and utilised profitably in other prevailing categories.

The Surplus Value of Labour is managed and deployed by:-

Employers (accountable to themselves)	Under	Capitalistic	Order
State (accountable to the party)	Under	Communistic	Order
Workers (accountable to the nation)	Under	Bharatiya	Order

The industrial structure in future would continue to be complex, with various patterns of ownership existing side by side. But greater stress will have to be laid on setting up industries which will be:-

Financed	By	Commoners
Owned	By	Workers
Supervised	By	Institutions
Decentralised	By	Technologists
Served	By	Experts
Coordinated	By	Planners
Disciplined	By	Parliament
Assisted	By	State
Utilised	By	Consumers
	&	
Governed	By	Dharma

The Author

An outstanding intellectual and thinker, Shri Dattopant Bapurao Thengadi is a trade unionist with a difference. He is the Founder-General Secretary of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh and was elected to the Rajya Sabha for second successive term in 1970.

As Organiser of Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh in Kerala, Bengal and Assam during 1942-48, he made his mark as a silent and dedicated worker in the cause of national reconstruction. He is a life member of Adam Jati Seva Sangh.

He entered the trade union field through Indian National Trade Union Congress of which he was Organising Secretary in Madhya Pradesh in 1950-51. Since then, he has served almost all categories of Indian workers through unions connected with P. & T. Department, Railways, Insurance, Banking industries etc. He has also been the Organising Secretary of Tenants Association and Civil Liberties Union in Madhya Pradesh.

He is a widely travelled man. He visited the U.S.S.R. in May, 1967 as a member of the Indian Parliamentary Delegation.

He has eked out for himself a prominent place in the parliamentary life and served as a Vice Chairman of the Rajya Sabha in 1968-70. He served on the Public Undertakings Committee in 1968.

Author of a number of books and treatises, he has delved deep into the domains of Indian History, Economics, Sociology and Labour Problems. Apart from his mother tongue Marathi, he has a command over Sanskrit. Malayalam, Bengali. Hindi and English.

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Jhandewala, New Belhi--55.