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A Thought for Today

Order means light and peace, inward liberty and free command over one's self; order is power.

Amiel.

NARROWING THE GULF

It would be easy to fix on the one glaring omission in the Indo-Pakistan agreement concluded at New Delhi and murmur wryly on Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Kashmir was conspicuous by its absence on the agenda. But the "very substantial measure of agreement"—to quote the official communiqué—reached on most of the important political and economic differences between the two Dominions will be welcomed by men of good will on both sides. Rarely does the cold logic of facts prevail over emotion, and in the political stampede which preceded partition the adjustment of several important inter-Dominion problems was tragically postponed. Some at least of the issues which appeared on the Delhi agenda might reasonably have been settled before and not after August, 1947. The Delhi agreement constitutes in many respects a considerable advance on the Calcutta conference. Calcutta, as events proved, was largely a pious expression of hope, embodying proposals which were rendered ineffectual for lack of appropriate machinery to implement them. That lacuna Delhi has remedied, and apart from an Inter-Dominion Information Consultative Committee, provision has been made for monthly meetings between the Dominion Ministers as also for frequent consultations between the Premiers and the Chief Secretaries of the provinces of East and West Bengal. Each Dominion will similarly set up an organisation to ensure the speedy and satisfactory working of the various political and economic clauses.

In effect, liaison machinery has been established between India and Pakistan whose influence and utility may well be more pervasive than its present limited functions would suggest. Whether it will in fact serve this larger purpose depends on the spirit animating the two Governments and their spokesmen, but the advantages of settlement by committee or conference as opposed to the hitherto familiar method of verbal brow-beating are too obvious to be stressed. The habit of talking to and not at one another has much to commend it. Not only does the Delhi agreement envisage contact at Dominion and provincial levels but it also provides for co-operation at district level. Thus, on the East-West Punjab and East-West Bengal borders, district magistrates and other officers of the areas concerned have been authorised directly to contact their opposite numbers in the other Dominion to examine and settle such frontier incidents as arise and to take necessary steps to prevent their recur-

rence. An earnest of the constructive determination animating both sides is provided by the time-table set for the fulfilment of various clauses.

As a result of the agreement it is to be hoped that the gulf between the two Dominions will be substantially narrowed. If the liaison machinery functions successfully it should see not only the easing of political differences but the promotion of inter-Dominion commerce and trade. The erasing of suspicions and fears, and the establishment of mutual confidence which this step may eventually evoke should go far to pave the way to a settlement on the larger and more contentious issues. That is a consummation devoutly to be hoped for. Meanwhile, the Delhi agreement will be welcomed with cautious optimism.

"Incentive" Bonuses?

It is now nearly three months since the Committee set up last May to devise a profit-sharing scheme for industry issued a report which did little more than emphasise the lack of agreement among its signatories. A formula was certainly recommended for application to six industries, but the attached notes of dissent were so diverse as to make it doubtful if any compulsory scheme could command the support of both capital and labour. Nevertheless, the report was handed on to the Central Advisory Council which, according to what Dr. Matthai said in Calcutta, "has not concluded its labours." No doubt the perplexed members of the Council, who should be concerned only with producing what is practicable, envied the ease with which the Congress Working Committee was able to give its blessing to such a confusing and confused report. When the profit-sharing recommendations were first issued we said: "Imposition by Government of any 'general scheme would create 'such anomalies as to lessen 'the chances of achieving industrial peace." On Monday last the Associated Chambers of Commerce passed a resolution, proposed by Mr. A. D. Finney, stating that it "does not regard 'the introduction of a compulsory profit-sharing scheme in 'its strictest sense as the most 'appropriate method of implementing the declared intention 'of the Resolution that capital 'and labour will share the product of their common effort'". The critics are right. The best thing the Advisory Council can do is to recommend to Government that employers and workers be left to settle their own schemes on a unit basis, though emphasis should be placed on production bonuses rather than on straight profit-taking and Government would need to keep a vigilant eye on the interests of the consumer.

Agreement between capital and labour will not, unfortunately, be an easy matter, although several leading concerns have their own schemes in satisfactory operation. There is hardly any chance of prices in India being substantially lowered unless production is increased, and workers are not likely to produce more until they adjust their attitude towards wage incentives. Britain herself has been slow in developing the system, largely owing to labour distrust, but a recent article in *The Times*, London, held that there was "a growing accumulation of evidence that the 'modern incentive wage systems, with the workers' support and confidence, is commonly followed by quite 'remarkable increases in productivity.' All over Britain individual concerns have devised schemes which best suit their own particular needs. Some operate on a bonus for the individual productive worker with a group system for the non-productive; some make a whole factory a group; others approve the group system but like the groups to be as small as possible in the interests of team-work; and there are firms which combine individual, group and merit-raising bonuses with a straight profit-sharing scheme. Handled haphazardly, of course, there is danger in such schemes; they should all be based on expert time-study. It has been found that when the workers' suspicions have been removed—there is still a fear of being the third man when two people begin to do the work of three—both production and wages increase substantially. When Dr. Matthai spoke at Calcutta he did not seem to be optimistic about the chances of increasing production and his lack of confidence can be understood. India's greatest economic need is more goods. Output is not likely to increase unless individual concerns are permitted to operate their own systems of incentive bonus. Labour wants higher wages, but wage increases will mean anything at all in purchasing power only when they are the reward for greater effort. It is not too late to begin tackling the problem of profit-sharing from an entirely different angle.

A LETTER FROM LONDON

Government's Loss Of Prestige

From SIR STANLEY REED, K.B.E., M.P.

LONDON, December 16.

To intelligent observers in touch with, but not limited by, partisanship of politics it is fascinating to watch the ebb and flow of authority of Governments. In the early part of the session which adjourned on Friday the prestige of this Government was high. Things were going fairly well and Sir Stafford Cripps's encouraging survey of our economic recovery heartened Mr. Attlee's followers. Today that prestige is low and it is worthwhile to consider why this recession has occurred.

Foreign affairs have had a great influence. It is almost unprecedented in Parliament for the Foreign Secretary, surveying the world from China to Peru at a grave stage in international relations, to lose the attention of the House. Yet it is a fact that before Mr. Bevin concluded his laborious exposition there were not more than a hundred listeners in the House of Commons and while he was attacked as usual by the neo-Communists of the Left he did not gain the confidence which the Opposition had hitherto given him. That is not because the critics underestimate the complexity of his task. He does not act alone and has to consider at every stage the policies of the United States and the susceptibilities of France. But there is a feeling that his actions lack urgency and drive and, though progress is being made towards the Western Union and the Atlantic Pact is in the offing, there is no proof of vigour and decision in his direction.

BERLIN AIR-LIFT

Berlin is staggering through the winter without a clear issue, though against the burden and strain of the airlift there is to be seen the admirable training of our reconstituted air force; ample development of ground facilities. But I have amplest confirmation of the view that a golden opportunity was lost when the blockade was imposed. A single resolute action then in moving an armoured convoy into the city would not have been opposed.

Another golden opportunity was lost when immediately on the termination of the war Britain did not declare her refusal to carry the Palestine mandate alone. The only indication of settlement there springs from no wisdom in foreign policy but from the weariness of the two conflicting parties. Arab disunity grows deeper and we are waiting to see the upshot of the movement for the kingdom of Abdullah over the whole of Arab Palestine which would render the Arab League in twain. This may be a hard thing to say, but the Arabs must adjust their policies to the recognition that Israel has come to stay and can only be ejected by a force which the Arabs cannot exercise.

There is grave disquiet at the humiliating part Britain has played at the United Nations which has run true to type. There is the last-minute Russian veto on the admission of Ceylon which is unjustified by any canon of fairness; and the bold declaration of human rights and the condemnation of genocide which means nothing without the power of enforcement. What do these windy resolutions mean on the other side of the "iron curtain"?

TROUBLED WATERS

At home the Government is in troubled waters. No one is enamoured of the nationalisation of steel and the discussions in the Select Committee to which the Bill is referred reveal, as in the case of coal, that the Government has got no well ordered plan. There is a very uneasy feeling that Sir Stafford Cripps allowed the control of exchange movements to be political rather than economic in sanctioning transfers of substantial sums of French miners while refusing to permit a memorial to the 48th Division which helped to save France.

I am convinced that Sir Stafford Cripps's action was governed by his desire to assist French miners and their families and strengthen the non-Communist trades union in its struggle with the Confederation

Generale but there is evidence from impartial American observers that a frame of these moves went to alleviate distress and they were deeply regretted by the French Government engaged in a life and death struggle with Communist revolution.

Why at this moment Government has plunged into the troubled sea of licensing practice passes the wit of man. There was a certain case for action since inns and refreshment houses must be provided in new satellite towns. The ordinary procedure of transferring licences from areas where they are superfluous will not work but there were many ways in which the need could have been met without any great extension of State ownership and management. Provision might have been left to the established machinery which is the licensing justices and local authorities—or as in Weymouth garden city by arrangement with establishment. But Government is nationalisation mad. This is another case where Government is taking sweeping powers even if it does not mean to exercise them—for State ownership may extend over three million people. The reformed inn of today is one of Britain's cherished institutions and the community has had enough of State coal with its large admixture of stone and slate and the lifelessness of bureaucratic office to welcome usurpation of the functions of "mine host" or State beer and ginger pop.

But food is the greatest preoccupation. Do not harbour the thought that we are comparatively well off, but meat is essential to the physical well-being of industrial workers and beef is likely to be terribly short. Britain is being held to ransom by Argentina and the Australian drought has limited alternative supplies though New Zealand as usual is greatly assisting.

Bulk buying, whatever its advantages, is a double-edged weapon because it inspires bulk selling. Signor Miguel Miranda has been exploiting Britain's needs and is withholding supplies for higher prices which he tucks into the Argentine Government's purse without passing them on to producers. He has brought certain troubles on Argentine economy which is desperately short of dollars and it is a question of who will strain the strain longest.

So much for facts; now for side-lights. The Parliamentary Opposition does not like Mr. Strachey and housewives do not give him the confidence they extended to Lord Woolton. Dr. Summerskill is competent enough but has a dogmatic and aggressive parliamentary technique. So the public is less tolerant of austerities, however inevitable, than they would be under such happy combination as Woolton and Gwilym Lloyd George.

DISMAL RECORD

It is in the field of administration that the Government faces the gathering storm and is vulnerable. Although willing to give the Coal Board a year's grace, none are happy over its composition and working. There is the dismal record of nationalised civil aviation. Estimates of the cost of the national health service will be fantastically exceeded because, debauched by the doctrine of something from the State for nothing, thousands are rushing for medical aid appliances which they do not really want. Mr. Strachey refuses to disclose the working of the groundnuts scheme for the good reason that promise bears no relation to performance. Instead of a million and a quarter acres of oilseeds promised for 1949 we shall be lucky if we get sixty thousand, chiefly sun flower. That is the fruit of a policy of grandiose rush.

For all these reasons, whether justified or not, Government's stock is low. There are extraneous factors which have aroused extraordinary interest but which it would be improper to develop. Does this portend an early General Election? Despite Mr. Churchill's warning, no. And nothing but a totally unexpected development will bring an appeal to the country before May to June, 1950.

Medical Fees

Current Topics

Mao Tse-tung

MANY will be disturbed at the manner in which the agitation of students in medical colleges in Bombay Province against a 75 per cent. increase in fees is developing. They have resorted to direct action. They are refusing to pay the fees, demonstrating before the Secretariat, and they now threaten hunger-strikes.

Such actions are deplorable and cannot be mitigated by the fact that the students' agitation has been preceded by what may be called constitutional methods of ventilating their grievances including waiting in deputations on the Minister concerned.

The case for the increase in fees is the enhanced cost of providing education. The case against it is that despite free seats and non-increase in fees in the case of some others, the parents and guardians of many among the 60 to 75 per cent. of the students who will be affected by the increase, find the burden almost unbearable.

Assurances

There is also the modern conception of democracy according to which the State must provide education even of the specialised type at a rate which does not put it beyond the means of at least the middle classes.

However that may be, the students may be well advised to pay heed to the recent appeal of the Secretary of the Bombay Branch of the Indian Medical Association and call off their agitation.

He has assured them that his Association is considering the matter and expects to place some constructive suggestions soon before Government. With a renowned doctor in charge of the portfolio, the Association's efforts to reach an acceptable formula should not fail to bear fruit.

Communist Leader

DRAMATIC events in China have once again let loose a flood of publicity on Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist

Party. For a man of his political stature Mao Tse-tung has "ared little for that type of personal publicity which is regarded as legitimate by most men of affairs.

What little is known of him, however, indicates that he is a remarkable man by any contemporary standards. Known as the "Red Napoleon" and "Genius of China," he is the driving force of a movement which claims a following of a hundred million people. With Chou En-lai and General Chu-teh, Mao Tse-tung is the co-author of the Communist revolt against Nanking China.

He became the first Chairman of the "Soviet Republic of China" in 1931, but he is better known for his organisation and leadership during the famous Communist "Long March" of 6,000 miles from Kiangsi in South China to Yenan in the north-west. He has been school teacher, outlaw, organiser of revolutions, a newspaper man, philosopher and poet, strategist and statesman.

"Dead Or Alive"

In 1947, the Chinese Government issued a formal order for the arrest of Mao Tse-tung. Twenty-two years previously, General Chiang Kai-shek had placed a price on Mao's head and had ordered his commanders to capture the Communist leader "dead or alive."

Hopes in some quarters that Mao Tse-tung might eventually turn out to be another "Tito" may be the result of wishful thinking, but there appears to be a most significant clue in the fact that the fundamental belief underlying Mao Tse-tung's doctrine recognises the need to adapt general Marxist theories to the realities of the Chinese scene.

Raw Recruit

The new M.P. flung down several typewritten sheets before his secretary.

"Don't use such long words in my speeches," said, "don't know what I'm talking about."

READERS' VIEWS

Petrol Ration

To The Editor "The Times of India"

SIR—The jubilation resulting from the increased ration of petrol recently conceded by the Area Rationing Authority was damped to a degree owing to the lack of judgment displayed by them in making this belated gesture. To give one example, for a commercial vehicle which is allowed 40 gallons of petrol in the first instance for the quarter September-December, a special increased allotment of 30 gallons was made late in November, and now there is a 10 per cent. increase in the ration. This has made it incumbent on the owner of the vehicle to use in one month and a half 74 gallons of petrol, whereas his requirements in the first half of the quarter had to be met with only 20 gallons.

It beats one's imagination to see on what principle the Area Rationing Authority may be working. If the explanation is that such a ration should be issued in November so far as the provincial quota went, does it not stand to reason that this surplus should have been reserved for the next quarter, or alternatively that the ration issued in November should be made "unscalable" in December and January? What has now happened is to encourage indiscriminate "burning" of petrol, and then we have to revert to the rationing level for the next quarter. While it is possible that some motorists may be doing a few more miles in December for shopping, there is another section of them who may go on a holiday, and their consumption of petrol will be excessive. In any event, this inordinate magnanimity shown towards the commercial vehicles is just inexplicable, and its result can be nothing other than literally burning this precious money in the wind.

I request the Area Rationing Authority to reconsider the position, and allow vehicle-owners to utilise the extra coupons issued this month, during December and January.

C. R. NAIR.
Ville Parle, December 15.

Commercial Art

To The Editor "The Times of India"

SIR—I am of the opinion that the commercial art section of the Bombay School of Art should now be developed as an independent institution devoted to training commercial artists in graphic arts and industrial design. The growth of the commercial art section since its inception in 1935 justifies such a move. According to the Quinquennial Report of the School for 1932-37, there were 40 students in the section in 1932-33, 42 in 1933-34, 48 in 1934-35, 52 in 1935-36, 58 in 1936-37, 65 in 1937-38, 72 in 1938-39, 80 in 1939-40, 88 in 1940-41, 95 in 1941-42, 102 in 1942-43, 110 in 1943-44, 118 in 1944-45, 125 in 1945-46, 132 in 1946-47, 140 in 1947-48, 148 in 1948-49, 155 in 1949-50, 162 in 1950-51, 170 in 1951-52, 178 in 1952-53, 185 in 1953-54, 192 in 1954-55, 200 in 1955-56, 208 in 1956-57, 215 in 1957-58, 222 in 1958-59, 230 in 1959-60, 238 in 1960-61, 245 in 1961-62, 252 in 1962-63, 260 in 1963-64, 268 in 1964-65, 275 in 1965-66, 282 in 1966-67, 290 in 1967-68, 298 in 1968-69, 305 in 1969-70, 312 in 1970-71, 320 in 1971-72, 328 in 1972-73, 335 in 1973-74, 342 in 1974-75, 350 in 1975-76, 358 in 1976-77, 365 in 1977-78, 372 in 1978-79, 380 in 1979-80, 388 in 1980-81, 395 in 1981-82, 402 in 1982-83, 410 in 1983-84, 418 in 1984-85, 425 in 1985-86, 432 in 1986-87, 440 in 1987-88, 448 in 1988-89, 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