Chapter I

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

With the stroke of the mid-night hour during the night between 14 and 15 August 1947, India became a free country. Indian leaders had to decide on a Constitution under which the country was to be governed, and for this purpose a Constituent Assembly was set up. After long discussions and debates and exercises in drafting, the Constitution of India was finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26 November 1949. While some of the Articles of the Constitution came into force at once, it was decided that the remaining provisions would come into force with effect from 26 January 1950 — the day which is celebrated in India as the Republic Day.

According to this Constitution, India was declared a "Union of States". Second, India was declared a Sovereign Democratic Republic. Third, a federal system of Government was adopted. All the subjects relating to administration were divided into

1. As per the Constitution (Forty Second Amendment) Act, 1976, the words "Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic" were inserted in place of "Sovereign Democratic Republic".
three categories according to Article 246 of the Constitution. List I contained subjects which were to be exclusively under the Union Government. The subjects within the exclusive purview of the States were included in List II. List III is called the "Concurrent List" as it contains subjects on which the Central Government as well as the States can legislate or take action.

Similarly, the finances of the Central Government and of the States, the areas of taxation, the Consolidated Fund and Public accounts of India and of the States, and all inter-connected financial arrangements were given in the Part XII of the Constitution.

For the governance of the country, the British Parliamentary System was adopted. Accordingly, two Houses were set up at the Centre, namely, the Council of States (also called the "Upper House", but more popularly called the "Rajya Sabha"). The other, i.e., the main House was termed as the House of the People

2. The 'Union Government' is also called the 'Central Government', but more popularly it is called the "Government of India".
(also called the "Lower House", but more popularly called the "Lok Sabha"). Both are jointly termed as the "Parliament". It may be made clear here that the nature and structure of the Council of States of this country are entirely different from those of the House of Lords of Britain. The Council of States has mostly elected members representing the various Indian States in a specified number.

As far as the States were concerned, two Houses (called the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly) were envisaged for certain States, while, for the other States, only one House (called the Legislative Assembly) was provided. (Legislative Assemblies are popularly known as "Vidhan Sabhas").

For raising funds (either through taxation or through other means) and for sanctioning expenditure (for day-to-day administrative work and for expansion, growth and development) the power and authority vests in the legislatures, both Central and States.

After attaining Independence, India found herself far behind the developed countries of the world. Its agriculture was carried on by the farmers
by the most primitive methods. Industries were few and far between. India was mainly an agricultural country, yet it could not feed its people, nor could it give them the barest minimum clothing. India had been treated by alien rulers as a producer of raw material for their industries and a market for their finished products. India found herself beset with a hundred problems. In keeping with its long and brilliant history, its wonderful culture, its area and its vast man-power, India wanted to be reckoned amongst the advanced or developed countries.

While there were hundreds of fields which required attention, the major tasks to which the Government and the people of India were required to address themselves immediately were: Establishment of Indian Navy and Indian Air Force and acquisition/manufacture of warships, aircraft-carriers and other naval vessels, as well as of aircrafts (both bombers and fighters) and of helicopters; expansion and modernisation of the Indian Army; manufacture of the latest weaponry and military hardware; expansion of the Railway system and manufacture of railway engines and coaches and other equipments; improvement and extension of road transport, including construction
of a large number of bridges and manufacture of trucks, buses etc.; improvement and modernization of agriculture, including manufacture of modern agricultural tools, implements and tractors etc., and inputs such as chemical fertilizers, insecticides; expansion of educational and training facilities by opening new schools, colleges and universities (including Agricultural Universities), Medical, Engineering and Technical Colleges, research institutes and national laboratories etc.; expansion and development of medical facilities by opening a number of primary health centres, rural dispensaries and hospitals with the latest equipments; expansion and improvement of Postal, Telegraphic and Telephone services; setting-up of shipyards for the manufacture of naval and commercial ships; manufacture of civilian aircrafts; setting up of steel mills and a large number of industries for the manufacture of consumer goods, particularly cement, paper, electric gadgets, cars, bicycles, textiles etc.; supplying irrigation facilities to farmers through canals and tubewells; and increasing production of electric energy by building big dams and by setting up thermal plants etc.

All these developmental programmes needed huge funds which could be got only by extending the
net of taxes, and taxes could be levied only by the legislatures.

By and by, the concept of the state as a "Welfare State" was accepted in an ever-increasing measure. Welfare activities, again, required large funds.

The phenomenal development of science and technology in the developed countries of the world made it incumbent on India also to advance in these fields. New organisations/departments had to be established for the advancement of science and technology in this country. This again required huge funds.

Since it is only the legislatures which are empowered to raise funds through taxation etc. for the governmental activities — routine as well as developmental — the Indian Parliament at the Centre and State legislatures at the States' level had to levy heavy taxes to collect money for the purposes enumerated above.

Simultaneously, the legislators felt that it was their moral duty to see that the huge funds collected by the Government from the people were spent economically and gave the best results. For
this purpose some sort of legislative agencies were required which could oversee and scrutinize the State expenditure. For this purpose, the Indian Parliament set up two financial committees, namely, the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee, on the pattern of similar committees of the British Parliament. The State legislatures followed suit and established similar committees for their States. More light will be thrown in the formation of these committees in the following pages.

As would be seen from the foregoing paras, India offered vast opportunities for the setting up of all kinds of industries. At the initial stages private entrepreneurs were given full opportunities to establish industries. However, they failed to establish certain industries, either due to heavy investment involved, or due to their apprehensions about the profitability of these industries. However, these industries were of vital national interest and, therefore, it was necessary to establish them. So the Central Government had to step in to fill up the gap and it established these industries. Then there were industries which had to be established by the Government itself for political and other reasons. Thus the
phenomenon of "Public Undertakings" arose in India. Huge amounts of public money had to be invested in these "State enterprises" and it became necessary for the Parliament to set up a third financial committee, namely, the Committee on Public Undertakings, in order to have a close look at their working and results.

Later on, the States also found certain areas in which they could set up industries and run some services on commercial basis. Large public funds were invested by various States on these enterprises or "Undertakings". To oversee the working of these State Undertakings, the State legislatures set up committees on Public Undertakings on the pattern of the Central legislature.

It goes without saying that finance plays the pivotal role in the administrative and welfare activities of a state. In the present times, huge finances are involved in governmental activities, particularly in the developed countries and in those countries which want to become developed.

Financial management has become highly complicated, intricate and technical work. Financial
administration falls into five well-defined divisions:
(1) Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure called "Preparation of the Budget"; (2) Securing legislative sanction for these estimates, called 'Legislative approval of the Budget' or 'Legislation on the Budget'; (3) Execution of the Revenue and Expenditure operations, called 'Execution of the Budget'; (4) Treasury Management of the Finances; and (5) Legislative accountability of these operations i.e., maintenance of proper accounts and their audit. Financial management involves the management of finance in such a way as to accomplish the targets with the minimum expense of money and energy within specified time limits.

No doubt, it is the legislature that decides about the tax structure or fund-raising schemes of the State and also determines the channels wherein the money to be spent will flow. But to perform the whole exercise the State has to employ a large army of civil servants called the 'executive'. It is the executive which collects the income from various taxes and it is through it that the funds raised are spent. It is,

however, essential for the legislatures to oversee the State expenditure but it is not possible for the whole House of the legislature to do so. Therefore, they have evolved the system of setting up Standing Financial Committees to undertake the task of scrutinising State expenditure on their behalf.

However, the time and opportunity available to the large majority of the legislators for knowing and scrutinising the working of the Government machinery particularly its financial administration, are insufficient. Moreover, the members of the legislature generally do not possess expert knowledge about the intricacies and complications of financial administration. So it is necessary for the legislature to arrange scrutiny of the expenditure incurred by the executive through some agency working on its behalf.

For exercising supervision and control over financial matters, the Haryana State Assembly has followed the practice of the Parliament and other Indian State legislatures, set up three committees, namely, the Estimates Committee, the Public Accounts Committee and the Committee on Public Undertakings. It is the duty and privilege of these committees to
ensure a proper spending and financial management by the State Government.

No indepth study of the functioning of the financial committees of the Haryana Vidhan Sabha has been made so far. The present study has been undertaken to fill up this gap.

An attempt has been made in this study to find out in what manner, and how far, the financial committees of the Haryana Vidhan Sabha have succeeded as instruments of the legislature in exercising vigilance and supervision over public funds.

An attempt has also been made to give some details about the manner of their working.

Review of Available Literature

Haryana came into existence on the 1st of November, 1966 after the division of the State of Punjab, under the Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966. But, as pointed out above, no attempt has so far been made toward a comprehensive study of the working of the financial committees of the Haryana Vidhan Sabha.

A good amount of research work has been done with regard to the working of the financial committees of the Indian Parliament.
R.N. Aggarwala⁴, in his book *Financial Committees of the Indian Parliament* has dealt with the working of two financial committees of the Parliament — the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee. He has suggested that the members of the Public Accounts Committee should be elected for three consecutive years in view of the technical nature of the committee's work. Regarding the implementation of the recommendations of the committee, he feels that "It may be necessary to pursue the implementation of the recommendations in the present day conditions of India, but it is not the job of the committees to make it a mission"⁵. The author also suggests that the Estimates Committee should submit its report to the House before the estimates are actually voted upon by the Parliament. The author is also against the discussion of the reports of the committees on the floor of the House. He also finds that the investigations of the committees act as a deterrent on the officers engaged in spending Government money.

2. Ibid., p. 357.
Like Aggarwala, D.N. Gadhok, in his *Parliamentary Control Over Government Expenditure* has also dealt with the two financial committees, i.e., the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee of the Parliament. He holds that both the committees have played a vital role in educating the civil servants in the subject of financial propriety and have also created a consciousness in them for economical and prudent spending. He concludes that the financial committees have served the purpose of an organised Opposition which has so far been non-existent in the country. He suggests that the Estimates Committee should appoint a sub-committee to examine the Supplementary Estimates before they are submitted to the House. He further suggests that "If the value of the committee's labour is not to be lost, the Committee will have to devise a suitable machinery to watch the implementation of their recommendations on which the Government has promised to initiate action".


7. Ibid., p. 272.
Godhok opines that the reports of these committees should be discussed on the floor of the House.

Parliamentary Control Over Finance by S.S. Seshadri⁸ is an in-depth study of the evolution, growth and working of the Public Accounts Committee. The striking character of this committee, according to Seshadri, is "its non-party approach" and "its ability to withstand political pressure"⁹.

B.B. Jena¹⁰, in his book Parliamentary Committees in India, concludes that the committees of the Lok Sabha are working as dignified substitutes for the 'Opposition' as the Opposition in the Indian Parliament has been weak and divided. The recommendations of the committees are, by convention, as good as resolutions of the Parliament, and are binding on the Government. According to Jena, another important contribution of the committees of the Parliament is that they have "successfully saved the House from its impotency vis-a-vis the growing menace of Cabinet

---

9. Ibid., p. 244.
dictatorship". The author is also of the opinion that the committees have played an important role in checking the autocracy of the bureaucracy which is ever increasing under the cloak of ministerial responsibility.

Besides the above studies which deal with the working of the financial committees of the Indian Parliament, some work has also been done on the committees of a few State legislatures.

S.M. Sayeed, in his book The Committees of U.P. Legislature, holds that "the power of the committees to examine the officials, and the appearance of the civil servants before the committees, has considerably curbed the growth of bureaucratic tendencies in administration". But the recommendations of the committees, the author feels, have not been taken as seriously as they ought to have been. He suggests that the term of the committees should be increased from one year to two and a half years.

11. Ibid., p. 313.
13. Ibid., p. 264.
Sunanda Ghosh, in her book *Legislative Committees in West Bengal*, suggests that the legislature should evolve ways and means by which it can make the committee reports binding on the Government after they are accepted by the House. Otherwise the whole purpose of the legislative committees would be lost.

Besides these two studies, some articles on the subject have also appeared from time to time in various research journals and periodicals. G. Ram Reddy's article entitled "The Estimates Committee and the Parliamentary Committee on Public Enterprise in India" is quite an interesting study on the subject. It gives a detailed background of the formation of the Committee on Public Enterprises. He states that the committee owed its origin, as in Britain, to the desire of the members of the Parliament to secure some form of relationship between the Parliament and the Public Enterprises. According to him, the members of the Parliament wanted to have a system by which they could best inform themselves about the working


of the public enterprises in India, without encroaching upon their autonomy.

R.R. Morarka's article "Parliamentary Control Over Public Expenditure" highlights the principle of parliamentary system that there can be no taxation without the people's consent and no public expenditure without the people's authority. Morarka also points out that the prevailing budgeting process in our country is based essentially on the British pattern introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly more than half a century ago. He states that the time allotted for the budget discussion in the Parliament is not adequate. Although the article offers a good study on the subject, yet it is limited in its usefulness as it does not cover the study of similar committees of the State legislatures.

Haridwar Rai's article "Parliamentary Control Over Autonomous Public Enterprises in India: A Study with Special Reference to the Role of a Standing


Parliamentary Committee" is also a useful study. Tracing the background of the Public Sector in our country to the eve of independence he says the study is limited to a few state undertakings such as the railways, the posts and telegraphs, the defence industries etc. These undertakings were of such a nature that either the private capital could not afford to manage them or the exigencies of the Government demanded that they should be managed by the departments of the Government. These enterprises were, however, intended to preserve and promote the interests of an Imperial Government on an alien soil and, therefore, they lacked a social base and purpose. In this article, the writer has discussed in detail the enormous expansion in public enterprises in the post-independence period. However, this study is confined to the period upto 1961 and therefore serves only a limited purpose now.

D.N. Tiwary, in his article "The Committee on Public Undertakings", also deals with the rapid growth of the public sector in our economy. He refers to the Industrial Policy Resolutions of 1948 and 1956,

which clearly demarcated the sectors that have been reserved for development by the Government. He also praises the autonomous character of these public undertakings. But this study too has a limited scope, as it covers the developments that took place in the public sector upto July 1967 only.

S.L. Shakdhar's article "Two Estimates Committees" deals with the developments relating to the Estimates Committees of England and India. However, it does not touch upon the working of other financial committees, namely, the Public Accounts Committee and the Committee on Public Undertakings in our country.

J.P. Sharma's important article "Estimates Committee Reports on Public Enterprises — I & II" was published in the Indian Journal of Public Administration in two instalments. The first instalment deals with "Problems of Organisation" while the second deals with "Personnel Administration and Financial


Management". However, this study again is confined to the period up to 1965.

B.S. Murthy's文章 "Public Accounts Committee — Its Need" was published in a souvenir in 1971. The author says that finance is the driving power in the Government machine and the extent of a legislature's authority over the financial administration is the measure of its supremacy.

N.N. Mallya, in his article "Parliament Surveillance of Administration: The Role of Committees, Particularly Financial Committees", stresses the point that the sovereignty of the Parliament is only a myth. The belief is widely held that, under our Constitution, the Parliament, representing the sovereignty of the people, is supreme and that the Cabinet is a "mere committee of the House" carrying out its dictates and behests. It is believed that the Parliament lays down


the policy, controls the administration, controls the finances and makes all laws. According to Mallya, nothing could be more remote from facts and actual practice.

Some scholars have also written articles on the financial committees of some States. For example, Pramila Agarwala's article entitled "Legislative Control Over State Finances: A Case Study of the Public Accounts Committee in U.P." is a study of the Appropriation Accounts (1956-57) and Audit Report (1958) along with the implementation of the recommendations of the P.A.C. by the Government. She holds the view that the sub-committee system helps in greater concentration on the part of the members. She also finds that the P.A.C., as it functions at present in U.P., is effective only in the sense of pointing out mistakes but not of preventing their recurrence.

A.G. Goni, in his article "Legislature's


Control over Public Expenditure — Role of the Financial Committees, discusses the role played by the financial committees in exercising control over public expenditure. He holds the view that "it is just possible that these committees might not be in a position to devote the same amount of care and scrutiny over the entire field of public expenditure as was done when this expenditure was comparatively limited. The need of the hour is, therefore, to build up expertise in these committees to facilitate smooth discharge of responsibilities devolved on them."25

Partap Singh's26 article, "Committee on Public Undertakings" is also a useful study on the subject. He gives a brief account of the work done by the Committee on Public Undertakings.

P. Manikyamba's27 article "Public Undertakings

Committee of Andhra Pradesh Legislature — A Study of its "Working" comes to the finding that it is the most important organ of parliamentary control over public undertakings. According to him, the effective functioning of the committee helps in striking a good balance between responsibility and authority of public undertakings.\textsuperscript{28}

Ramesh K. Arora and Satish K. Batra's\textsuperscript{29} article "Legislative Committee on Public Undertakings in Rajasthan — A Review and an Appraisal" examines some significant aspects of the performance of the Committee on Public Undertakings of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly. The period covered by the article ranges from the inception of the committee in 1968-69 to 1976-77, i.e., the period encompassing the Fourth and Fifth Assemblies. The writers have pointed out that "it appears that its major focus was on the large public enterprises and the consequent lack of detailed inquiries into the functioning of small undertakings."

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., p. 212.

only reflected its lopsided approach in the selection of enterprises for investigation.\textsuperscript{30}

\textbf{Scope of the Study}

In the present work, a study of the working of the three committees of the Haryana Vidhan Sabha for the period 1974-1984 has been undertaken. The Committees are:

(i) The Public Accounts Committee.
(ii) The Estimates Committee.
(iii) The Committee on Public Undertakings.

The plan and organisation of the work are as under:

The \textbf{First Chapter} includes the introduction, highlighting the importance of the financial committee's work, the Methodology, an indication of the scope of the study and objectives of the study etc.

The \textbf{Second Chapter} gives an overview of the legislative and political developments in Haryana, the significance of finance and the evolution of the financial committees.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., p. 199.
The Third Chapter deals in depth with the structure and functions of the financial committees of the Haryana Vidhan Sabha.

The Fourth Chapter attempts to evaluate the performance of the financial committees of the Haryana Vidhan Sabha, and compares it with the performance of similar committees of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha.

The Fifth Chapter relates to the assessment and recommendations made by the financial committees.

The Sixth Chapter gives the researcher's conclusions and some suggestions.

The study is based on an indepth examination of the following issues or points:

Party and age groupwise composition of the financial committees of Haryana Vidhan Sabha have been analysed. Effort has been made to find out whether the past legislative experience served as one of the qualifications or criteria for membership of a committee as well as its Chairmanship. Did educated and well-informed legislators find sufficient representation on the committees? Did the membership of the committees reflect a rural and urban balance? Did the committee membership reflect a proper agricultural and industrial
representation? Did women legislators get a fair representation on the committees? What had been the criteria for nominating members to a committee? What considerations were taken into account while nominating the Chairman of a committee? What role did the leaders of the various political parties play in the nomination of the members of their choice from their parties? To what extent had the functioning of the committees been affected by having their Chairmen from the ruling party? Was the numerical strength of the committees enough for representing different political view-points?

It was also examined as to what kinds of functions these committees performed, what kinds of tasks were entrusted to them and whether more functions could be entrusted to them. Did the committees possess sufficient powers? Was there any need of making them more powerful? Did the committees discuss various issues seriously across party lines before presenting them to the House? How seriously had the committees taken various issues that came before them? Whether the necessity of appointing sub-committees of a committee had been examined in the light of the issues? If any sub-committees were appointed, did they work
satisfactorily? Whether it was a useful practice to constitute sub-committees of the committees?

An attempt has also been made to ascertain as to how regularly the committee meetings took place? Did the members show interest in attending their meetings. Did they take serious interest in their work? The researcher has also examined as to who decided upon various matters in a committee? Were the decisions of the committees unanimous? Who took more initiative and interest in their deliberations? Were the members given full freedom to express their views?

Sometimes, officials from various ministries were summoned for clarification of certain points and for production of documents and records etc. In this regard the researcher has tried to find out whether the departmental representatives came fully prepared? Did they try to convince the committee? How far was it a desirable practice to summon the Government representatives?

For assessing the effectiveness of the work of these committees, this study has attempted to raise the following issues:
What kinds of matters came up before the committees? Whether it was appropriate to refer these matters to the committees? Whether the committees were so constituted and equipped as to take appropriate decisions on the matters coming before them for consideration? — and whether the committees were doing "the expected job" seriously and efficiently, or whether they served only as smoke-screens to dupe the legislators?

Did the committees deal with the problems on non-partisan basis? Did the committees take expert views on the problems before them, and avoid overlapping or inconsistency in their recommendations? The nature and scope of the committees' recommendations meant to exercise control over public expenditure in order to bring about efficiency and economy in administration were also examined. Whether or not the administration paid due attention to the speedy implementation of the recommendations? To what extent did the committees expose irregularity, illegality, embezzlement, fraud and misappropriation of public funds? Whether or not the recommendations became rules, and reports were recognised as case law relating to various questions of public accounts?
In order to understand the committees' more important recommendations relating to various organisational aspects of different State departments in the right perspective, it was found necessary to examine their composition, terms of reference, method of enquiry and overall approach. Fortunately, new methods of enquiry and analysis have helped the researcher in pointing out the shortcomings of the financial committees and in enabling him to offer useful suggestions for their improved functioning in the last Chapter of this thesis.

Methodology

The present study is based largely on primary sources and some field work. However, the information and data obtained from primary sources have been supplemented by secondary sources, wherever considered necessary.

So far as the primary sources are concerned, an extensive survey and study of the published official documents was undertaken. For this purpose, the reports of the various financial committees — the Public Accounts Committee, the Estimates Committee and the Committee on Public Undertakings — laid on the table of the House during the period under study.
have been studied and analysed. Apart from this, relevant data has been collected from the publication entitled *Committees: A Review* brought out annually for assessing the performance of various committees of Punjab and Haryana Vidhan Sathas separately. Besides these, several other official documents such as *Haryana Vidhan Sabha Debates*, *Who's Who of the Haryana Vidhan Sabha* and the *Rules of Procedures and Conduct of Business in the Haryana Legislative Assembly* have also been used for an analysis of the functioning of these committees. The rules about the internal working of the Estimates Committee have also proved helpful.

Further, in order to supplement the information and data obtained from the above sources, a field investigation was undertaken. Initially, informal discussions with the Chairmen and a few members of the financial committees and with some officials of the Haryana Vidhan Sabha without any formally structured questionnaire were held to get some information about the internal working of these committees. But, as the study progressed, it was realised that for the purpose of a meaningful scientific analysis a formally structured interview schedule would be more useful than such impressionistic informal interviews. Therefore, an
interview schedule was designed. It was tested by administering it to a few respondents. Insights obtained during this test were incorporated in the interview schedule. The final interview schedule, as administered to the respondents, is given in Appendix I.

The interview schedule contained 61 questions, in addition to the 14 items relating to the background data of the elected members. Some of these questions were structured or close-ended and a number of structured alternative questions were provided. Others were unstructured or open-ended.

Out of 85 persons to whom the questionnaire was addressed, 70 responded and co-operated with the researcher, while the remaining 15 remained indifferent, or they were quite vague in their answers. Out of the 70 respondents, 12 (17.14 per cent) were members of the Public Accounts Committee, 14 (20 per cent) of the Committee on Public Undertakings, 14 (20 per cent) were associated with all the three financial committees, 4 (5.72 per cent) with the Estimates Committee and the Committee on Public Undertakings, 5 (7.14 per cent) with the Public Accounts Committee and the Committee on Public Undertakings, and 6 (8.57 per cent) were associated with the Public Accounts Committee and the
Estimates Committee. Out of the 15 officials, 2 (2.86 per cent) were of the Under-Secretary rank, 5 (7.14 per cent) retired Under-Secretaries, 3 (4.29 per cent) Superintendents and 5 (7.14 per cent) Vidhan Sabha Reporters.

Apart from the constraints of time and money, a number of other difficulties were faced during the course of this study. In the first place, it was difficult to get hold of respondents and some of them could be contacted only after repeated visits to their residences and/or offices. It took a long time to fix appointments with them for interview and discussion. A few respondents gave evasive replies. Some of them pointed out that information provided by them might not be reliable.

However, most of the respondents did not show any hesitation in replying frankly and openly to the questions posed. Though most of the respondents were interviewed during the Assembly session when members were quite busy, yet almost all of them gave the earliest possible appointments. Each interview took about one hour. The interviews were supplemented with informal queries.
The information obtained with the help of the interview schedule was further supplemented by informal discussion with other knowledgeable officials. Discussions with the officials were very helpful to the researcher in finding out the real state of affairs in regard to the financial committees.

In the course of doing this research the present researcher was deprived of an opportunity to study the detailed proceedings of these committees. He was told that these proceedings belonged to the category 'top secret' and an outsider could not be allowed to study them. Had he been permitted to go through the proceedings, perhaps the results of this research could have been more useful to the public at large.