

## DEMOCRACY AND DESTITUTION

**Bhanu Pratap Singh**

*Union Minister for Agriculture and Irrigation*

**T**HOUGH the restoration of civil liberties and democracy in the country is in itself a great achievement, we should not lose sight of the fact that what is described as the new phase of Indian democracy is only a new lease of life for democracy in India. It was not merely a sudden mental aberration of Smt. Indira Gandhi, which induced her to clamp down the emergency, throttling all democratic institutions in the country. The Allahabad High Court judgement might have proved the proverbial last straw on the camel's back but, even before that, she was finding it difficult to cope with the rising resentment in the country. Rampant corruption in Government, spiralling prices, growing unemployment amongst the educated youth, were the reasons which had led to the J.P. movement.

Gross injustice — which is only the end product of corruption — coupled with abject poverty cannot for long co-exist with democratic freedom. Finding it beyond her capacity to deal with corruption, and poverty, Smt. Gandhi decided to take the path of suppression. No Government can remain democratic for long if it fails to establish a just and economically viable society.

The Janata Government can claim that within a short period of 3 months, it has established in the country the rule of law. If injustice is done to any citizen now, he can go to courts for redressal. The institution of Lok Pal, Lok Ayukt, which are soon to be established, will also considerably minimise corruption in our society. But all this will not be of much avail, in the long run, if the economy of the country does not improve, and improve in such a manner that the common man may feel it.

The Indian economy is not in a state of good health. At this, some may raise their eye-brows, and ask questions. Is it not a fact that we have got more than 20 millions tonnes of foodgrains in our buffer stock? Is it not true that we have reserves of foreign exchange of more than Rs. 3,000

crores? Also, is it not true that since 1950-51, we have more than doubled our agricultural production, and more than quadrupled our industrial production? All this is true, no doubt; but there is another side of the picture, which is quite alarming. In spite of large foodgrains reserves, the *per capita* consumption of foodgrains has gone down. The *per capita* consumption of pulses, which is the only source of protein for the vast majority of our people, has declined steeply from nearly 70 grams in the 1950s to less than 45 grams during recent years. This has happened in spite of continuing heavy import of foodgrains. We imported during the years 1951 to 1953, which were the first three years of the First Plan, 10.77 million tonnes of foodgrains. During the last three years, i.e. in 1974, 1975 and 1976, we have imported 18.8 million tonnes. Thus our dependence on imported foodgrains has increased considerably. There has also been a decline in the *per capita* consumption of vegetable oils, sugar and cloth. In a poor country like India, if *per capita* consumption of eatables and cloth goes down, no

(Continued on page 14)

### IN THIS ISSUE

The article on the front page was written by Mr. Bhanu Pratap Singh, himself a *krishi pandit*, before he assumed office as Union Minister of State for Agriculture & Irrigation. It will now carry even greater weight. An important article 'Dancing With the Soviet Bear' analyses the Soviet Union's double faced policy towards India and the amazingly naive response of the Janata Government.

The conclusions reached at the Seminar organised by the Leslie Sawhney Programme on 'STRENGTHENING THE NON-POLITICAL ROOTS OF A FREE SOCIETY' also figure in this issue.

# DANCING WITH THE SOVIET BEAR

"Cato"

SINCE the Soviet scribe Alexander Lavrentyev was quoted in the *Times of India* of 21st June 1977 as describing the Soviet Union as a 'disinterested and 'principled' friend of India and Mr. Rajeshwar Rao, the CPI Secretary, scolded Mr. Subramaniam Swamy, M.P. for his impoliteness towards Mr. Brezhnev, it is perhaps time to examine the much vaunted Soviet record of friendship for India.

Actually, the record of the past two years shows that the Kremlin unabashedly supported Indira Gandhi's authoritarian regime and all its works and maligned Jayaprakash, Morarji Desai, and leaders of the present Janata Government. Their miscalculation about the course of developments in this country turned out to be as gross as was Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's. Unlike Mrs. Gandhi, however, the Soviets refused to be caught on the wrong foot and made their *volte face* with the usual unscrupulousness the Kremlin has exhibited for fifty years now. For sheer hypocrisy, the appreciation of the Soviet Government of the present regime is hard to beat. The sad fact, however, is that our present Government appear to have accepted all this at face value and bent over backwards, as was manifested during Gromyko's visit to Delhi and since.

The Soviets, who must be highly amused at the gullibility of our present rulers in Delhi, are naturally extremely relieved at being forgiven quite so cheerfully. At a discussion at the 'House of Soviet Culture' in Bombay reported in the *Indian Express* of June 22, halleluiahs were sung to our Foreign Minister by Mr. V. I. Sizov, the Soviet Consul-General, who said that Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee had rightly observed in his interview with French Television telecast in Paris on June 4 that 'Indian and the Soviet Union decided that the area of their co-operation should be widened and that there should be greater depth in relations based on equality and mutuality'.

Mr. Rajni Patel went one better and congratulated the Janata Government on continuing Mrs. Gandhi's foreign policy. Mr. Patel "complimented Mr. Vajpayee for reflecting the spirit of friendship that existed until the Janata Government came to power. 'Mr. Vajpayee's pronouncements make us feel as though it was Jawaharlal Nehru speaking through Mr. Vajpayee'."

Now let us examine the record of the Communist Party of India and their Soviet mentors.

"Our party underestimated the sense of suffocation and fear that the continuation of the Emergency was creating amongst the vast majority of our people" admitted a resolution of the C.P.I. National Council with breathless candour. And well may they have reason to be breathless for only two months prior to this on February 9th '77, the C.P.I. General Secretary Rajeshwar Rao was telling the Press that there was nothing to be ashamed about in his party's support of the emergency. The Soviet Union which fully supported the emergency imposed in India in June, 1975 did not take long to point out the "mistakes and excesses" committed during that time once the elections were over, and a new government was in command.

## Sudden Change

Indeed this sudden change of tune will not seem surprising to those who have watched the performances of the Soviet bear outside its native soil. The experience of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) under Aidit during the time of Sukarno is similar to what has been happening in India recently. With the influence of Aidit the PKI formulated a strategy which sought to inflate the importance of the President and encourage him to assume extremist nationalistic stances together with the usual anti-imperialist and anti-Western postures which would eventually isolate him. In doing so they hoped to change the existing nationalistic government from within, with the ultimate aim of taking over once the leader began to grow old, as in the case of Sukarno, or his charisma began to fade. Though the Indonesian experience ended in a disastrous and even tragic failure, which may have been due to either to their inability to take into account the jealousy with which the Army had regarded their rise to power or to the fact that they had strayed from the prescribed Leninist path of organising secret cadres which would take over at the right time, it would be foolish to ignore how close they came to success. It only underlines the recurring Soviet dilemma when faced with the problem of dealing with Asian countries emerging from colonial rule, the problem in the words of one commentator of "how to unite with the national bourgeoisie, counteract its compromising tendency and at the same time build an independent communist party."

The answer that the Soviet Union recommended and which the C.P.I. faithfully followed was to

adopt a policy of "unity and struggle" towards the Congress which meant that they could stand by all the left wing policies and oppose whatever they found were "bourgeois tendencies". During the first year of the emergency, the C.P.I. theoretician Mohit Sen had no difficulty in condemning allegations about the bagging of democratic opinion in India and the closure of the Jana Sangh publishing house as bourgeois hysterics. Instead the Soviet Union's role in standing by the declaration of national emergency was hailed by Mr. Mohit Sen writing in the "Soviet Review" (No. 27 June 1976) as invaluable "in securing our victory" which "provided a new impulse both to the forces of internal democratic transformation and to those of detente and imperialism." Furthermore the Opposition leaders were denounced in classic communist fashion as being "fascists" and "anti-national", while India's national freedom and sovereignty were declared to be threatened by "right reactionary fascist forces inside India". Shortly before the elections a Moscow radio commentator expressed concern that if Mr. Desai came to power he would repudiate the Indo-Soviet treaty and that the people should be warned against such "tricks". Yet the moment that he did come to power the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko was one of the first visitors on hand to assure him that Indo-Soviet friendship was not based upon "transient or momentary circumstances."

It would be curious to know whether the C.P.I. did not feel any misgivings over the lack of support given to it by the Soviet Union when its relations with Mrs Gandhi's government began to sour. Though after the elections it was not long before they criticized the "non-constitutional centre of Power" in the person of Sanjay Gandhi who "unceremoniously interfered in the administrative leadership in the States" earlier, according to the official Congress weekly, "Socialist India" the Soviet's leadership was "not very happy" over the C.P.I.'s criticism of Sanjay which eventually led to Mrs Gandhi's sharp rejoinder to it in December 1976. In fact while in the midst of its soul searching about Sanjay Gandhi's tactics, the C.P.I. had to watch the spectacle of him being given the usual red carpet treatment by the Soviet Union during Mrs Gandhi's Moscow visit in June 1976.

The Communist Party's representation in the Lok Sabha dropped from twenty three to seven seats and its share of the vote from 4.73 to 2.82 per cent. Some commentators believe that the poor showing of the C.P.I. represents a reaction of the voters against its electoral opportunism and its backing for many of the repressive measures of the Emergency.

It would be well to remind ourselves of an old proverb of Russian origin which cautions that "Russian bears make good company, but do not hold their hands too closely. Their claws are sharp."

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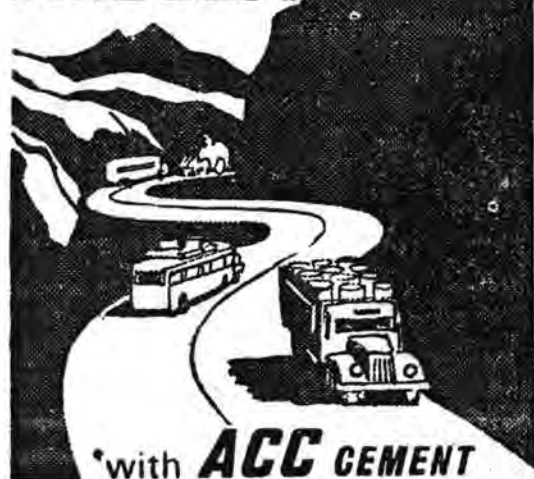
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# RAJAJI CENTENARY

K. Vedamurthy

DECEMBER 10, 1978, is the Centenary Birth day of the late C. Rajagopalachari, popularly known as "C.R." or "Rajaji" throughout India. He never cared to let the world know the correct date of his birth and during his life time, his admirers and friends were celebrating December 8 as his birthday.

It was in the course of my assisting the Rajaji Biography Committee convened in Madras by Mr. T. Sadasivam in 1973, and more particularly Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of Mahatma Gandhi and Rajaji, in writing the latter's biography that we stumbled on the discovery that December 10, 1878 is the correct date of C.R.'s birth. December 10 is celebrated every year as "Human Rights Day" by the United Nations and lovers of freedom and democracy the world over, as it was on December 10, 1948 that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was incorporated into the United Nations Charter. Free India was a willing signatory to that historic declaration and incidentally, Rajaji was then the Head of the Indian State as her last and only Indian Governor General (1948-50). It was on his seventieth birth anniversary that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the U.N. though at the time the world was hardly aware of any connection between the two!

Rajaji's support to the cause of human rights dates back to the years of the first decade of this century when braving the ostracism of the community of his birth viz. Brahmins, he began his life-long battle against the evils of the caste and untouchability. He began giving his precious time and hard-earned money to help the cause of India's depressed classes and 'Harijans' long before Mahatma Gandhi came on the Indian scene and made it the central plank of his movement for India's freedom. Says Mahatma Gandhi in the Harijan of February 10, 1946: "Rajaji is one of my oldest friends and was known to be the best exponent, in word and deed, of all I stand for. That in 1942, he differed from me (on the Pakistan question), I know. All honour for the boldness with which he publicly avowed his difference. He is a great social reformer, never afraid to act according to his belief. His political wisdom and integrity are beyond question."

The Gazette Of India Extraordinary issued by the Government of India when Rajaji passed away at the age of 94 on Christmas Day in 1972, referring to Rajaji's incessant campaign against nuclear tests and weapons, says: "His voice against the nuclear weapons was only an outward manifestation of a mind and a heart imbued with spiritual and

moral values and boundless love for humanity. Basic values of religion formed the sheet-anchor of his life. He wrote a number of books, all of which have profound moral significance to the conflict-torn world. He was convinced that civilization based on materialism was self-destructive. The cultivation of moral values alone could provide a durable foundation to civilization ... His book *Hinduism-Doctrine and Way of Life* is an elaboration of his Vedanta and is of special interest to scholars and statesmen of all countries. The crises of the contemporary world can be overcome only by a constructive examination and appreciation of the moral and philosophical background of the faiths and practices that have hitherto kept civilization moving towards progress instead of self-destruction."

At the age of 84, Rajaji made his first and only trip abroad to some of the world's capitals on a great quest—a treaty for the suspension of nuclear tests. Long after his hour-long interview with Rajaji (one September afternoon) in 1962, President Kennedy turned to one of his aides in the White House to confess: "His (Rajaji's) impact on me has been one of the most civilizing influences since I became President." President Kennedy was gracious enough to publicly thank the Gandhi Peace Foundation of India (which sponsored Rajaji's visit to Mr. Kennedy) for the significant contribution their Delegation (of which Rajaji was the spokesman) made towards signing of the Moscow Treaty in 1963 by Super Powers regarding nuclear tests.

## An Appeal

It will therefore be in the justness of things if India and the rest of the Free World declare and celebrate the Birth Centenary Year of C. Rajagopalachari commencing from December 10, 1977 as the "International Year of Human Rights." It will be pertinent to conclude this appeal with what Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, the central figure in the story of India's most recent liberation struggle has to say of C. Rajagopalachari: "Rajaji is one of the makers of modern India and architects of her Swaraj (freedom), but it is not as a political leader though he has reached a supreme rank in that sphere—that he will be remembered by later generations, but as a teacher of humanity. His deep insight into human nature, his extraordinary knowledge, his ripe wisdom, his capacity to make his way through a forest of inessentials and externals to the heart of a problem, all go to make him a timeless teacher of man." (Swarajya Annual, 1962).

# TORTURE & PREVENTIVE DETENTION—II

S. A. A. Pinto

**W**HY now the surprise at what happened during the Emergency when all normal laws were suspended and those who protested were few in number? It does not require more than a process of ratiocination to appreciate that what was usual and normal practice in the case of the common people became during the Emergency usual and normal practice in the case of all including even those who had material or political muscle prior to their arrest. Guaranteed immunity by the despotism of the Emergency, torture became more widespread and increased in intensity and ferocity. This was especially so in the case of the Naxalites because already, long before the Emergency, they were regarded as fair game, being somehow outside the pale, some kind of sub-human creatures.

Besides the distortion of evidence and the miscarriage of justice, what the infliction of torture implies above all is that the police have already meted out the punishment even before the victim is brought to trial — by which time he is not in a fit condition to care about his defence anyway. Under the law, the maximum punishment for any crime is only rigorous imprisonment for life, or death. Death has to be instantaneous and imprisonment may be accompanied by hard labour but never by torture; not even whipping is legal today. We have seen how there are conditions in which a victim prefers death, instantaneous death, to torture. Therefore, it is clear that when the police torture a person, they have already inflicted on him, without evidence, without trial, without proving his guilt, a punishment more severe than the law decrees for the crime (assuming he were at all found guilty of it), worse even than capital punishment.

Let us now turn to the subject of preventive detention. As there can be no case of torture without detention, this aspect assumes vital importance. Atrocities are committed in prisons but they are more common in the case of those prisoners who have the appearance of being abandoned by society. Consequently, the most frequent victims are political prisoners and, of these, Naxalites are the most common target for the reasons already mentioned earlier. Most of these are detained under special laws without trial and although they may be in regular prisons they are carefully segregated. Where they are under trial and the trial has continued for several years, by all canons of natural justice the description of the proceedings as a "trial" must be regarded as a cruel euphemism. In the majority of cases, therefore, where torture takes place the victim is under preventive detention, or detained without trial, having been arrested under a special law, or a prisoner under trial (so-called). The

circumstances of all these make them an easy target for the police to indulge in their propensities for sadism, the excuse being the extortion of evidence relating to alleged conspirators or confessions of the suspected guilt of the victims themselves. To the extent that the laws of the country permit persons to be susceptible to arrest by the police without obligation to produce them before a magistrate or even to communicate to the victims the grounds on which the order of arrest has been made, the laws must be regarded as preparing the ground for police atrocities. Unless such laws are removed from the statute book one ought not to be surprised that torture continues.

## Unique

When the Constitution was enacted at the end of 1949, India became unique in that preventive detention was provided for even in times of peace. "The proper function of these provisions", explains Mr. H. M. Seervai in his book 'Constitutional Law of India', "is to safeguard the State against those who claimed for themselves the democratic freedoms assured by our Constitution with the openly proclaimed intention of destroying them". The origin, therefore, was political and the purpose was the containment of sedition. As a matter of fact the Congress party in power during the next 27 years used these provisions against political opponents of all kinds. With one or two notable exceptions, the opposition parties unwittingly aided and abetted the Congress party when they debated or contested the ostensibly social or economic aims of a plethora of legislation which, while they failed to achieve these goals anyway and often had the opposite results, always contained in them ingredients for the debilitation and destruction of individual and civil liberty, which point unfortunately the opposition parties in general completely missed.

The result was that instead of nurturing and reinforcing the spirit of individual and civil liberty, the people were made accustomed to inroads into these rights and gradually but imperceptibly an attitude of submission, even servility was engendered so that it was only a short step to the Emergency and there was hardly any protest from the public.

The Indian Penal Code of 1860, provides unambiguously for the punishment of torture. Sections 330 and 331 deal exhaustively with this offence and prescribe upto a maximum of seven years rigorous imprisonment in the case of "hurt" and upto ten years where "grievous hurt" is caused by torture. There is thus no room whatsoever for doubt that the law already declares torture to be a criminal

offence and imposes heavy penalties for its commission.

The problem is that since the offence is in almost all cases committed by the law enforcement authorities themselves, the sections of the IPC have rarely been enforced and the cases of police or other officials being indicted under these sections, much less convicted, are few and far between. The people are either not aware of their rights or they are intimidated from enforcing them. There are also difficulties in securing evidence. Some of the methods of torture have been invented not to leave tell-tale marks. Women who have been sexually assaulted do not like to talk about it.

As recently as April 2, 1977, the writer happened to be near the vegetable market on the western side of Grant Road Station in Bombay. He saw a policeman grab a young man, whom he first slapped on his face and then started beating him with a lathi on his head and back. The time was four in the afternoon, a Saturday, and the place was seething with people but no one protested. The beating stopped when the writer intervened. The explanation advanced by the policeman was that he was investigating a complaint against the young man! He seemed very surprised that anyone should object to his beating a suspected criminal.

Therefore, the first step would be to publicise as widely as possible the existence of the right and to set up special machinery in the government to enable victims, most of whom are the poorest of the poor, to obtain redress. The best form of publicity would be the exemplary treatment which must be meted out to policemen and officers in cases where torture has been perpetrated. The punishment of the senior-most officers of the police force, none of whom can really be absolved in cases where torture is practised by their subordinates, should go a long way in the direction of reform. For this one must not wait for politically sensational cases such as those of Rajan.

The government should not hesitate in incurring the necessary expenditure on the establishment of forensic laboratories and in the training that goes into the scientific investigation of crime.

Finally, politicians both in government and outside, members of the legal profession, judges and magistrates and the press, should be made conscious of the necessity for continuing vigilance in putting down acts of highhandedness by the police. This can only be achieved and maintained by frequent surprise checks and a sincere interest in providing continued security to those under custody.

### Thirty Years Later

Thirty years have passed since Independence but the scene at remand time at the Metropolitan Magistrates' Court at Esplanade in Bombay is far from being reformed. It was in those days the Chief Police Court; subsequently, re-designated as the Presidency Magistrates' Court. Apart from a more high sounding name, physically the court is much the worse for wear. Decorum has been overtaken by democracy. The furniture is badly in need of repair. At opening time in the morning cigarette butts and other debris are strewn on the floor, but let's revert to the human side. Over 90% of the cases of remand relate to persons who clearly appear to have been literally picked up from the streets and by-lanes. Many of the persons are escorted by plain-clothes men except that their clothes are filthy and they are almost indistinguishable from their wards. Incidentally, even the women prisoners, mainly prostitutes, are escorted by male police. Most of the prisoners are under-nourished, many are phthisic, some are ill, others injured, many disabled a few of them can hardly walk. It is difficult to imagine what crime they would be capable of committing. Constables stand all round them when their names are called out. In spite of this, some still make bold — clearly out of desperation — to complain about their treatment. On the day I was present — June 11, 1977, more than two months after the Janata party came to power in Delhi — a man complained that he had been mercilessly beaten by the police but when asked by the magistrate was unable to display in court outwardly visible signs of injury. The end result was that his application for being transferred to jail custody was turned down and he was back in the hands of the same police whom he had accused. The consequences for the hapless complainant may easily be

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## BOMBAY DYEING

imagined. Nobody took much notice, not even the press. It was all in the day's business.

The case for abolition of preventive detention is far more difficult as it is surrounded by much greater controversy. Mr. H. M. Seervai, the most eminent commentator on the Indian Constitution and probably one of the most respected members of the legal profession in India today, develops the argument in the following passage which relies on the judgement of Justice Jackson of the U.S. Supreme Court:— "The 'invocation of Constitutional liberties as part of the strategy for overthrowing them presents a dilemma to a free people', a dilemma which has produced a sharp conflict of judicial opinion in the United States ..... Our Constitution has resolved this dilemma by providing that even freedom of speech must yield to public order, for in the words of Jackson J. 'the choice is not between order and liberty, but between liberty with order and anarchy without either and that doctrinaire logic must be tempered with a little practical wisdom, if a bill of rights is not to be converted into a 'suicide pact'."

Mr. Seervai states that these provisions "are no doubt capable of abuse but our Constitution provides for an Executive responsible to the Legislature and therefore responsive to public opinion."

It is submitted that it is this view that has proved "doctrinaire" and the Executive during the last 30 years has shown itself irresponsible. The Congress party, without a single voice of dissent subverted the Constitution, established a personal despotism and almost perpetuated it but for a miracle. Mr. Seervai himself appears now to be a supporter of the Janata party philosophy and there is reason to believe that the experience of the last two years has brought about a revision in his views.

Unfortunately, the influence of the doctrine expounded in Mr. Seervai's book has been far-reaching and can be seen even in the statement of the present Union Home Minister, Mr. Charan Singh to Parliament on April 5, 1977. It says the Janata Government was clearly of the view that no one should be detained for an indefinite period (from what follows, obviously the emphasis is only on "indefinite"). The state governments were being advised to release all those still under detention "except in cases where the interests of the country were clearly involved or where persons had been detained on account of their recent indulgence in violent activities". This completely evades the important question of who is to be the judge that the interests of the country are involved or that the persons detained have in fact indulged in violence.

Again, Mr. Charan Singh states, "that those still under detention were largely those who believed in violent rebellion ..... etc." There were also other

detentions made *after* March 21, 1977, for violence. It is with dismay that one contemplates a leader of the Janata party, born out of the travail of victims of preventive detention and arrest without trial and many of whose colleagues in the Cabinet have been the main sufferers of police highhandedness, himself now falling into the mental trap which is inherent in the argument that any persons, whether they are Naxalites or not, can be considered as guilty of violence without trial and simply on the judgement of the Executive.

This only serves to emphasise the difficulties ahead but one must not be deterred from undertaking the task of re-establishing personal and civil liberty simply because it is formidable. I quote from a lesser known writer, the author of "The Law of Preventive Detention", Mr. V. G. Ramachandran: "To confer on a state absolute domain over all that man holds dear (personal liberty) is to confer arbitrary power on those who are masters for the time being. Despotism in any shape will only land the country in abject slavery."

These words were uttered before 1958 and everyone will see how prophetic they were. For the first time since Independence there are people in power in New Delhi who have themselves experienced the consequences of the loss of freedom and have therefore reason to heed the lesson. This should encourage us in our task.

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# FREE SOCIETY THE END, DEMOCRACY THE MEANS

*Conclusions of the seminar organised by the Leslie Sawhney Programme on "Strengthening The Non-political Roots of A Free Society."*

**D**ESPITE the wide variety in the background and orientation of participants who included men in public life, management, legal experts, educationists, social scientists, economists social and Sarvodaya workers, journalists, authors, in fact men and women belonging to all denominations, class, creeds, castes, there was general agreement that the democratic political process was only a means to achieve a free, pluralistic non-exploitative society and that, therefore, the non-political dimensions of such a society needed to be strengthened. Just as it is difficult to conceive of a free society without democracy, it is equally difficult to sustain it without strengthening its non-political roots.

Among those who initiated the discussions and participated in the Seminar included Mr. Achyut Patwardhan, Prof. V. V. John, Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. P. G. Mavalankar, M.P., Mr. Soli Sorabji, Mr. C. R. Irani, Mr. Piloo Mody, Mr. Balraj Madhok, Prof. Ram Joshi, Mr. Khushwant Singh, Mr. Shamim Ahmed Shamim, Col. Manohar Malgonkar, Prof. B. R. Shenoy, Prof. K. D. Desai, Mr. Narayan Desai, Dr. (Mrs.) Promila Kapur, Dr. C. Kulshrestha, Mr. Kanshi Ram, and Mr. Jehangir Patel.

The Seminar endeavoured to identify the non-political dimensions of a free society. It was pointed out that the task of strengthening and enriching these possibilities was jeopardised when vested political interests, particularly during the Emergency, had sought to replace the basic values of Justice, Freedom, Equality and Fraternity in the Constitution with the secondary concepts of progress, change, stability, efficiency, and development, as though these values and concepts are mutually inconsistent. Another issue which came up for consideration concerned the finer distinction between democracy and a free society. It was asked whether or not the two concepts could exist in mutual isolation, and it was considered possible to regard one as the means and the other as an end.

There was general agreement that the urge to fulfil the basic requirements of the people had led to a greater concentration of power in the State and the consequent politicization of Indian society. The excesses committed during the Emergency and the public awareness of the hazards inherent in allowing too much power to the State have, however, now generated a feeling that the non-political roots of Indian society should be nurtured in such a way that indiscriminate displays of State power are avoided. Education and appropriate technology, it

was felt, could also substantially help the cause of freedom.

The Seminar took note of the relevance of education to the dynamics of a free society. It was agreed that education for the development of personality had to be distinguished from a mere training for occupational skills. Education, it was felt, should inculcate a critic temper and a capacity for discrimination and induce a wide awareness of social problems and issues. This involves academic freedom and the absence of political interference. A recent example of such interference was the directive from the Prime Minister's office that a certain text book be withdrawn because of alleged bias.

The present educational system in India came in for considerable criticism, and it was suggested that educational planning should specifically concern itself with the environment and the empirical needs of the student. In this connection, it was considered worth while to give primacy to a large number of small scale innovative projects over complicated and highly theoretical all-India schemes.

The principal economic constituents of a free society were discussed. The economic policy followed during the past thirty years came in for critical analysis and it was generally felt that it had led to an erosion of the free and independent spirit of the people because of the concentration of economic and political power in the same hands. There was, therefore, a great need for a radical change in our policies, particularly in regard to the system and manner of the allocation of investment resources. As 72% of the population drew its living from agriculture, vastly greater attention needs to be paid to public investment in agriculture, particularly in irrigation, power, extension services and viable rural industries. Overall economic policies need to be reoriented for assured maximisation of production, employment and income. Gandhiji's talisman that all policies should be tested by the impact they would have on the well being and the dignity of the poorest in the land should now be adopted so as to make the poor man a viable consumer.

The Seminar considered the role of the press and the mass media in a free society and noted the various methods resorted to by Government to control the media and recorded that though the Emergency was behind us, subtle threats to freedom of expression still lurk.

It noted that while the new Government had fulfilled its promise to scrap the Prevention of Objectionable Matter Act and restore the "Firoze Gandhi

Act", there were other areas where reforms needed to be carried out. These concerned the control of Government advertising, newsprint supply, and the present monopoly of the news service, television and radio.

It was noted that the Government, through its control of newsprint and public sector advertising, pursued a carrot-and-stick policy towards the press. In addition, since 1969 the Congress Government had intensified its efforts to create a schism between editorial staff and proprietors by pampering or victimising journalists and proprietors in pursuit of the objective of controlling the press. It was felt that to ensure independence of the press, the D.A.V.P. should serve only as an advertising agency functioning on normal commercial lines and newsprint should be imported direct by the newspapers. It was noted that in the past the Government had discouraged the local production of newsprint through the licensing of newsprint machinery.

As regards the news agency monopoly, the Seminar felt that the recommendations of the Kuldip Nayar Committee would not end either the monopoly or Government's stranglehold over news. The report favoured one English language service and one for the other Indian languages, while on the international front only one agency would be permitted. The news agencies would be subsidised by the Government. This will only replace the present monopoly by three new monopolies and inhibit competition that is essential. The question of the viability of setting up private news services was considered and it was understood that while it was possible within India, it would not be permitted for the overseas services on grounds of conserving foreign exchange.

In regard to radio and television, it was noted with regret that instead of following the recommendations of the Chanda Committee the Government had appointed a new Committee. This, it was felt, would entail needless delay. Nothing less than an immediate setting up statutory autonomous Corporations would meet the needs of the situation.

In conclusion the Seminar felt that freedom of all media lay in competition, diversity and multiplicity and that vigilance continued to be the need of the hour.

The Seminar discussed the need for modernizing our social structure and institutions, taking into account the role of Caste, Class and Women. Obstacles to social mobility presented by the caste system inevitably hamper the functioning of a free society. The various kinds of socio-psychological problems and tensions created by the caste system could be greatly mitigated by moving from a hierarchical and discriminatory pattern of inter-group and inter-personal relationships towards a socially equa-

litarian pattern. Effective social action towards the eradication of the evils of caste is greatly needed.

A crucial test of a free society is a feeling of security and freedom among the minorities. Recent reports of the assaults on Harijans are, therefore, a matter for grave concern.

While it was agreed that generalizations of any kind in the diverse and complex socio-cultural Indian scene should be avoided, it was strongly felt that every effort should be made to improve the position of women of different strata by keeping in mind the actual but different needs of the women of each strata of society. Apart from providing them education, employment opportunities, social and old age security, it was imperative to bring about a radical change in the value systems of an essentially male-dominated society. Some stress was also laid on the need for the educated and enlightened women and men to help this process.

The Seminar considered the relevance of Man, Character and the concept of Total Revolution. It was realized that the recent eclipse of civil liberties culminating in authoritarianism in India had made it necessary that the whole mechanism of safe-guards available to democracy be reconsidered. Basic to this problem of preserving a free society is the view that Man is the measure of all things and that society is made for Man and it is Man who makes society. In fact, democracy presuppose obedience to the Moral Law (Dharma). The concept of Man will ultimately determine what constitutes freedom and democracy. In his context the need for building up character was also stressed.

There was need to subject the concept of Total Revolution to more rigorous critical scrutiny and to spell out its wider implications which would include the changes sought to be made in our values, attitudes, and the politico-economic structure. One cannot change society in a large measure than one is prepared to change oneself. It was conceded that neither science and technology nor systems and ideology can be expected to solve our problems or lead to a non-exploitative society which would give real content to the ideal of fraternity. In the immediate context, however, Total Revolution meant social transformation and specific improvement in political and economic processes. It would mean a reversal of our life style. It would also mean that periodic elections are not by themselves any safeguard of a free society and there is need to supplement them by continuous accountability through grass-roots vigilance and active citizenship. It is thus that a decentralised and participative society can be built.

Our feudal background and backwardness has led to a preponderance of statism and party politics. In the light of current awareness it has now become possible to correct this imbalance and thus strengthen the non-political roots of our society.

# WORLD VIEW

## COKE SUCCESS ABHORRENT

Washington, Aug. 10

**T**HE 'Wall Street Journal' today editorially supported the Coca-Cola Corporation against the Indian Government.

The paper, which broadly reflects American business views, said its secret ingredient has made Coca-Cola a phenomenal international success. Industry Minister George Fernandes seems to find something abhorrent about industrial success, said the 'Journal'.

The fact that the 21 Coca-Cola bottlers in the country are in fact Indian enterprises and that they employ some 1,50,000 Indians apparently weighs very little in the balance. Mr. Fernandes seems to have succeeded in raising new doubts around the world about the wisdom of the new Indian regime and about its seriousness in dealing with the nation's economic problems.

— *Wall Street Journal*, August 10.

## TRANSFER SECRETS OR LEAVE

By Kasturi Rangan

New Delhi, Aug. 10 (NYT.)

**T**HE Indian government has served notice on the Coca-Cola Co. of the United States to transfer its "know-how" and majority shares of its unit to Indian shareholders or end operations in this country.

Industries Minister George Fernandes said in Parliament yesterday that, in accordance with the government policy toward multinationals operating in low-priority areas, the Coca-Cola Co. had been given a year from April to transfer 60 per cent of the equity shares to Indians and also the know-how of making the soft drink to the Indian firm.

The Coca-Cola Export Corp., a fully U.S. owned firm that distributes Coca-Cola concentrates to Indian bottlers, had agreed to reduce the foreign equity shares to 40 per cent, on condition that Coca-Cola would be allowed to have quality control and a liaison office in India to protect its carefully guarded secrets concerning the drink's formula, the minister said.

Mr. Fernandes said the Coca-Cola Co. was told that that condition was unacceptable since the proposed Indian company would not actually be taking over the operations of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., but would merely function as a selling company of the concentrates, which would still be under the manufacturing control of the U.S. company.

An Indian official of the Coca-Cola Co. said in a telephone interview that the government did not seem to make any distinction between "technological knowhow and trade secrets."

He said that it was unlikely that the company, whose operations in India formed only 1 per cent of its total world turnover, would agree to transfer its trade secrets to an Indian firm.

According to the official, 22 bottling plants are operating in India selling Coca-Cola and other soft drinks.

"It looks like we have no choice but to wind up in India," the official said.

— *International Herald Tribune*, August 11.

## SIKKIM PLEA TO INDIA

From Sunanda Daata-Ray in Calcutta

**I**N a carefully-documented secret petition to Prime Minister Morarji Desai, a leading Sikkimese politician, Nar Bahadur Khatiwada, has launched a devastating attack on New Delhi's imperialist and expansionist methods and demanded restoration of his country's freedom.

It was Khatiwada who notoriously helped the tortuous manoeuvres through which India seized the Himalayan kingdom. He and two companions travelled to New Delhi last week to hand over to Desai a three-page letter above 10 signatures.

Four of the signatories are elected members of the Sikkim Assembly who were, like Khatiwada, once dupes of Indian policy. They also gave the Prime Minister an eight-page resume tracing step by step the sad and shabby story of Indian machinations between 1973 and 1975. Their petition ends with a poignant appeal to Desai's conscience.

On their way back to Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim, the three men stopped off at Patna to seek the active support of veteran politician Jayaprakash Narayan. ....

With the benefit of hindsight, Khatiwada, now 26, admits that 'that (Indian) political officer in Sikkim and his staff and the Government of India agencies posted in Sikkim, played a very vital and decisive role' in the 1973 rebellion. But 'the popular demand was for full-fledged democratic rule and not for merger. Under the pretext of ushering in democracy to fulfil the wishes of the people, India's action in Sikkim seems to have been motivated solely with the object of annexing it.'

His hard-hitting expose — startling as much for its candour as for the fact that it comes from a formerly pampered protege of the Indian authorities—accuses Mrs. Indira Gandhi's regime of 'deceit, exploitation and betrayal.'

We had certainly not asked for merger with India, which was imposed on us as a political trickery. ... The sum total of the whole sordid episode has been that we are today branded as leaders who have sold away our country.'

This is the first time ever that a Sikkimese leader of stature, apart from the Chogyal, has dared to repudiate New Delhi's claim that India merely responded to a popular demand for integration.

The taunt of 'country-seller,' much heard nowadays in Gangtok's bazaars, may have provoked Khatiwada to take this stand. ....

More to the point, the petition complains of 'four years of misrule and tyranny' by the Indian Governor, Bipin Behari Lal, and his officers, 'whose callous attitude towards the Sikkimese recalls the humiliating, snobbish and brutal attitudes of the civil servants of the British Raj. While the rigours of Mrs. Gandhi's emergency have not been relaxed by the dictatorial Lal, Indian immigrants are apparently squeezing the Sikkimese out of jobs. ....

Khatiwada must bear much of the blame for what has happened, though he now pleads: 'As persons who were comparatively young in age and inexperienced in constitutional processes, we had fully reposed our trust and confidence in India.'

'I will drink the Chogyal's blood,' he told me during the high noon of a phoney revolution when, flushed with Indian Congress Party funds and jeeps, Khatiwada and his militant youth cadres swaggered menacingly about Gangtok's bazaars. ....

It was Khatiwada, too, who brought in the mob in April, 1973, to prevent the newly-elected majority National Party — which was committed to Sikkimese sovereignty and was therefore viewed with alarm by New Delhi — from taking office.

That rising provided India, which already had 25,000 troops and about 2,000 armed policemen stationed in Sikkim, with a law-and-order excuse for intervening. In 1975, the 600-year-old monarchy was abolished.

No one familiar with the scenario will question either 'the high-handed manner in which (the Sikkimese) were bullied and ultimately betrayed' described so graphically in the memorandum, or Khatiwada's charge that Sikkim continues to labour under repressive authoritarianism. The point is whether Morarji Desai will do anything about it.

His mentor, Jayaprakash Narayan, was sympathetic when the Chogyal's two sons, Tenzing and Wongchuck, went to see him. But the Prime Minister is probably a little tired of Narayan's admonitions.

.... Janata leaders agree in private that wrong was done, but argue that righting it would only revive secessionist lobbies in Nagaland and Kashmir.

It all depends now on whether Desai has the strength and courage to live up to his private moral creed and honour the liberal mandate of his election victory, even if it means forgoing some of the spoils of Mrs. Gandhi's rule.

By responding to Gangtok's appeal, says Khatiwada, 'India will not only earn the goodwill of Sikkim and the Sikkimese, but will also once again regain and re-establish her lost prestige in the world comity of nations.'

— *Observer*, August 28

### POLITICAL MAGIC

From Inder Malhotra in Bombay

Astrology has been an integral part of political life in India. There are ministers in today's Gov-

ernment, as there were in the previous Congress regime, who wouldn't make the slightest move in a complex power game without consulting their soothsayer.

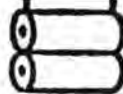
Even modern-minded and forward looking Jawaharlal Nehru was forced to advance ceremonies connected with Indian independence 30 years ago because astrologers decreed that midnight was more auspicious than early next morning.

Now a casual arrest at a railway station has brought sensationally into the open what has been whispered for a long time — that sorcery and black magic too play as important a part in Indian politics, even at the highest level, as astrology. It was at the station of Gonda, in Uttar Pradesh state, that Mr Purushottan Nath Kapoor, a middle aged man was arrested by railway police for allegedly travelling in an air conditioned compartment on a fake railway pass.

Police officers evidently didn't know of Mr Kapoor's importance until the telephone started ringing and orders came from Mr Raj Narain, the controversial minister in Mr Morarji Desai's Cabinet, that Mr Kapoor be released at once. This was done but not before Mr Kapoor, well-known in Lucknow and Delhi as an expert in Tantra, the ancient Hindu art of magical rites, was produced before local magistrates on a charge of ticketless travel.

According to Mr Kapoor, Mr Raj Narain got him released because he was greatly beholden to him for his recent triumph over Mrs. Gandhi .....

*Guardian*, August 1



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## IN MEMORY OF GROUCHO MARX

(Groucho Marx, whose sharp wit and slapstick brought laughter to millions around the world, died in hospital at the age of eighty-six on August 19. As a tribute to his memory FREEDOM FIRST is happy to recall below some of the most memorable of his sallies.)

\* \* \*

On his 82nd birthday, when asked how he would like to be remembered.

Alive. If not that way, then dead.

\* \* \*

After handing on a restaurant bill to a woman: Nine dollars and 40 cents. This is an outrage. If I were you, I wouldn't pay it.

\* \* \*

I once shot an elephant in my pyjamas. How he got in there I'll never know.

\* \* \*

His brothers Harpo and Chico, who both died in the sixties, promised to get in touch with him if there was an after-life:

I have not heard from them.

\* \* \*

After taking the pulse of an unconscious man:

Either this man is dead or my watch has stopped.



'Either this man is dead or my watch has stopped'.

Courtesy: The Guardian

In a love scene:

I could dance with you till the cows come home. On second thoughts, I'd rather dance with the cows till you come home.

\* \* \*

In a screen proposal to Margaret Dumont:

There are so many bonds that will hold us together. Your government bonds, your savings bonds, your Liberty bonds.

\* \* \*

Asked by an interviewer if there would always be a Groucho:

There'll always be a Groucho, just as there will always be an England — although lately England hasn't been doing so well.

\* \* \*

## Letter

### NO SUICIDE FOR ISRAEL

All the nonsense about our being intransigent is just malicious propaganda.

If the Arabs show a readiness for peace-making and when I say peace I mean a fullfledged genuine peace treaty and good neighbourship with freedom of movement across the borders in either direction, then there should be no difficulty in finding a compromise. Everything can be hammered out in direct negotiations. But if the Arabs stick to their present stand "First give up all 'occupied' territories, then agree to establish a Palestinian State in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, then negotiate with that State the so called legitimate rights of the Palestinian refugees and finally ..... we shall agree to non belligerency but not to recognition and peace", then not only the Likud but 95% of our people will stay entrenched "intransigent".

We are not going to commit suicide and nobody will force us to do so.

M. Savidor,  
Member of Knesset,

Some homes just overflow with happiness.

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## Review

### PRESIDENT'S RULE

S. R. MAHESHWARI

(MacMillan, Price Rs. 50, pp. 223)

"PRESIDENT'S Rule in India" by Sri S. R. Maheshwari will prove useful to students of Indian Constitutional History. Within a span of 216 pages the author has not only summarised the events that have led to the imposition of President's rule 36 times in the various states of India but has also touched upon the genesis of Article 356 of the Constitution, upon the role of the President, of the Central Government, of parliament and of the governor and his advisors in the imposition of the President's rule. He has also discussed the image and the reality of President's rule and the trends, issues and problems which have surfaced during the last three decades.

President's rule is a euphemism for rule by the Central Government. The President is merely the figure-head in whose name the administration of the State is run by the Centre when the Constitutional machinery of that state breaks down. The Rashtrapati has to sign the proclamation imposing the rule and cannot demur. That is why Sri V. V. Giri, the then President signed the proclamation imposing President's rule in Uttar Pradesh in 1970 even when he was on his tour of the Soviet Russia. It would be idle to wonder whether another occupant of the President's post could have acted otherwise because the Presidency in India does not carry with it the powers, the initiative and the drive which were thought to reside in it prior to the Judgements of the Supreme Court in the case of *U.N.R. Rao V/s Smt. Indira Gandhi* respondent and AIR 1971 S. C. p. 1002. The President does not exist today as anything more than glorified rubberstamp of the Central Government.

"President's rule" is to be imposed when the Constitutional machinery of a state breaks down. This is expected to occur in a variety of ways depending upon the behavioural pattern of politicians and the democratic norms they observe in public life. Unfortunately these have sharply deteriorated during the last 27 years. Excessive preoccupation of our public men with power and open political horse trading have eventually led to ministerial crisis and President's rule in many cases.

The author has enumerated at least six distinct casual events besides miscellaneous ones, which have created ministerial crises in states that have ultimately led to the imposition of President's rule in the states. These are (i) party instructions; (ii)

defections; (iii) withdrawal of support by coalition partners; (iv) widespread agitation resulting from Governmental policies; (v) corruption and (vi) necessity.

Most of these show that political manoeuvrings by individuals, groups and parties and not considerations of public weal have been the cause of the imposition.

An interesting point made by the author is about the frequency of imposition. In the periods between the years 1950-1966, 1967-1970, 1971-1976 the imposition occurred 7 times, 9 times and 16 times respectively. In 1971 the Congress won the General elections to the Lok Sabha with 352 out of 518 seats. The author has noted that "when in March 1972 the 16 states of the union went to the polls to elect their assemblies She (Smt. Indira Gandhi) was the greatest mobiliser of votes for the Congress and the electoral tide continued running in its favour. Of the total number of 2757 seats in the assemblies the Congress captured 1936". The author has, however, not discussed in details the reasons why in spite of the runaway majority of the Congress in the assemblies and at the centre the frequency of imposition increased so sharply during the period 1971 to 1976.

This pattern of frequency does raise a few questions. What were the causes for the breakdown of Constitutional machinery to a greater extent during the period 1971 to 1976 than during the earlier periods? Had the turmoil grown so much when one would expect greater stability with a sweeping Congress majority? Was the Central Government trying deliberately to create instability in order to impose President's rule? Was it because the Congress party at the centre had embarked upon an unscrupulous game to wipe out the opposition parties? Were the opposition parties feeling that elections were unfair? Had the public morality of the ordinary run of legislators plummeted after the death of Nehru? Why had defections and floor crossings become so marked a feature of our political life after the fourth general elections? A discussion on these questions would have been welcome.

However the following questions have been raised by the author.

- (a) whether President's rule ought to be invoked by the "party in power at the centre simply to rescue its state level party from internal factional policies" or in order to deny another party the opportunity of forming the ministry when its political philosophy does not meet with the approval of the party controlling the Central Government.
- (b) whether the central government can bypass other parties and impose the President's rule

## DEMOCRACY AND DESTITUTION (Contd. from page 1)

one can claim that India's economy is flourishing. What is still worse is, that in spite of heavy investments in later years, the growth rate of all major crops in India except wheat has declined after 1960-61. In recent years, even wheat production has remained stagnant. Taken as a whole, *per capita* agricultural production today is lower than what it was in 1960-61, which means that agricultural growth has failed to keep pace with the growth in population. As if in sympathy with slowing down of agricultural growth, industrial growth has also considerably declined. The average annual rate of increase in industrial production during the fifteen years between 1950 and 1965 was 7.9%. In the next 10 years, i.e. from 1965-75, the average annual rate of industrial growth declined to 3.3%. Those who plead for rapid industrialisation without caring for agricultural growth should learn a lesson from these figures. Without agricultural growth, it is not possible to have industrial growth in our country. Stagnation in agriculture leads to poor demand for industrial goods, which in turn is bound to affect industrial growth.

## Where to begin?

The Janata Party, having achieved its political aims, should now earnestly take up the task of achieving its economic goal, namely that of banishing destitution from the country within ten years.

(Continued from page 13)

when these other parties are able to provide an alternative ministry.

- (c) should corruption or threat of secession be considered a sufficient reason for the imposition of the President's rule or should these be dealt with by the ordinary laws of the land?
- (d) whether the President's rule ought to be utilised for reversing decisions of major import made by the popular ministry?
- (e) is the appointment of a central minister to deal with the affairs of the state under Article 356 — of the Constitution justified?

Does such an appointment undermine the status, the constitutional responsibility and the prestige of the Governor? Are such appointments contemplated under the constitution?

If this book is able to raise a public debate on these as well as other related questions this book will have served its purpose.

GIRISH MUNSHI

But the question arises how and where to make a beginning. It is obvious that the attack on poverty should be made where there is maximum poverty, i.e. in the rural sector. Not only do the largest number of poverty-stricken people live in villages, but there has also been no improvement in their living standard during the last 25 years. There has, in fact, been a decline in the average income of the rural people. According to Prof. B. R. Shenoy, the value of per capita production of agricultural population at 1960-61 prices which was Rs. 197.8. In 1976-77, it has come down to only Rs. 196.5. Similar figures for the non-agricultural population of the years 1950-51 and 1976-77 are respectively Rs. 399.4 and Rs. 821.9. The disparity between rural and urban incomes, which was nearly 1:2 when planning had begun, has now widened to more than 1:4. Therefore, even from the point of view of social justice it is imperative that more attention be paid to the agricultural sector. It may also be mentioned here, that money invested in agriculture has given the maximum return in the shortest time. Therefore, the quickest way to end destitution in the country is to modernise our agriculture. Intensification of agriculture can also, at least for the time being, solve the problem of unemployment. In Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Egypt, the number of workers engaged in agriculture per 100 acres is more than twice those who are engaged in agriculture in India. It follows that in our agriculture, there is a large potential for additional employment provided conditions are first created for the success of intensive farming. If the yield is doubled per acre through intensive farming, employment in villages will go up by at least 50%. It is estimated that a mere 15% increase in agricultural employment can solve the problem of rural unemployment.

## Reversal of Priorities

Agriculture has indeed the potential of solving all the economic problems of our country: chronic poverty, inflation, unemployment and lack of demand of consumers' goods. But agriculture cannot achieve its potential unless there is a genuine reversal of priorities as has been promised in the Janata Party's manifesto. The main question before us today is why there has been failure on the farm front. Is there anything wrong with our soil and climatic conditions which inhibits production? Or, are our farmers so stupid that they would not take to improved farming? Or are our resources too inadequate to provide the infrastructure which is required for modern farming? The reply to all these questions is 'No', 'No' and again 'No'. The soil and climatic conditions in India are most suited for agricultural production. Our well equipped farms compare favourably in production to the best in the

world. Our farmers have amply demonstrated their capacity to take to improved farming provided they are given the proper incentives. They increased production of wheat more than 2½ times from 10.39 million tonnes to 26.41 million tonnes within a short period of six years from 1965-66 to 1971-72. Our resources too are not inadequate, only they have been misdirected and misused. Further, the agriculturists have been subjected to such exploitation that they do not have any purchasing power even to keep their bodies covered, leave aside investing in agricultural inputs.

### Inputs

The agricultural production of a country can be attributed to two kinds of inputs, one primitive and the other scientific. The primitive inputs are natural rainfall, animal and human power, some rudimentary tools and non-descript seeds. Scientific inputs are irrigational facilities, fertilizers, plant protection chemicals, improved seed, machines for quick operations, power to run these machines, and readily available credit. In 1947 when our country became independent, the percentage of irrigated area to the net area sown was 19.7. This has now gone up to nearly 30%. Our potentially irrigable area is estimated to be 80% of the total cultivated area. At the speed at which the percentage of irrigated area has increased since Independence, it will take another 150 years to achieve our full irrigation potential. And what is described as the irrigated area, in the reports, is really not so; because most of the time, water is not available for one reason or the other from the government irrigation works. In terms of adequate irrigation, our facilities can meet no more than 10 per cent of the requirements of intensive farming. The total consumption of fertilisers in our country per hectare is only 20 kg. which is not even 10% of what is required for cultivation of high yielding varieties. The share of power made available to farmers is less than 1/8th of what is generated. The credit that is advanced to agriculturists by the nationalised banks is less than one-tenth of their total advances. When the needs of modern farming are not being met beyond 10% of the requirements, is there any wonder that we are dependent on the mercy of the monsoon for our mere survival? Primitive agriculture with a thin crust of 10% modernisation cannot provide anything better than primitive living.

Where are the resources for modern agriculture to be found? These are so colossal that no government can provide them. However, our resources can be raised from land itself within a short period of ten years provided, — and it is a big proviso — savings in agriculture are allowed to be ploughed back in land development, and are not syphoned away, through price manipulation as has happened in the past, for appeasement of the organised sector of our society and heavy industrialisation of the country. That is the only way the Janata Party can liquidate destitution within ten years and also strengthen the roots of democracy in the country.

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# WITH MANY VOICES

"The deep  
Moans round with many voices. Come my friends,  
'Tis not to late to seek a newer world."  
— Tennyson

Communism is the left foot of Socialism and Fascism is its right foot, using Socialism in the sense  
— Mrs. Margaret Thatcher on T.V. quoted in *Daily Telegraph*, August 29.

Whenever you accept our views we shall be in full agreement with you.  
— General Moshe Dayan welcoming Mr. Cyrus Vance quoted in *Sunday Observer*, August 14.

Liberty is conforming to the majority.  
— Mr. Hugh Scanlon in *Sunday Observer*, August 14.

Liberty is when I am allowed to defy Mr. Scanlon.  
— Mr. Paul Johnson in *Sunday Observer*, August 14.

According to the Bible, they that take the sword shall perish by the sword. It could be equally true to say that they who take to censorship may perish by censorship.  
— Editorial in *Statesman*, July 23.

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It is a new world that calls for a new American foreign policy.

— Jimmy Carter quoted in *Time*, August 8.

We musicians believe that we've been able to reach out across boundaries where politicians have been unable to.

— Zubin Mehta quoted in *Time*, August 8.

It is our country just as much as it is the Prime Minister's or the entire Cabinet's, and it is up to us, to each individual she and he within the land, to see that things go as they should on merits, that no one, however reputable, bamboozles us or leads us along the wrong path.

— A. D. Gorwala in *Opinion*, August 16.

Power does something to people.

— *Democratic World*, July 31.

The Government need not worry about getting a two-thirds majority in both the Houses of Parliament to nullify the worst features of the 42nd Amendment.

— Mr. N. A. Palkhiwala quoted in *Statesman*, September 21.

If you can't ride two horses at once you ought not to be in the circus.

— Prime Minister James Callaghan in *The Observer*, July 31.

I do not think it would be a disaster if Britain withdrew from the Commonwealth. I am sure it could survive without Britain.

— The Prince of Wales quoted in *Times*, July 29.

Love of power does far more harm than love of drink.

— *Opinion*, August 23.

Government is the most precious of human possessions; and no care can be too great to be spent on enabling it to do its work in the best way: A chief condition to that end is that it should not be set to work for which it is not specially qualified.

— Joel M. Gershowitz *The New Leader*, June 6.

Japan is a male-chaubinist-pig society, but most successful companies thrive on women.

— *The Economist*, August 6.