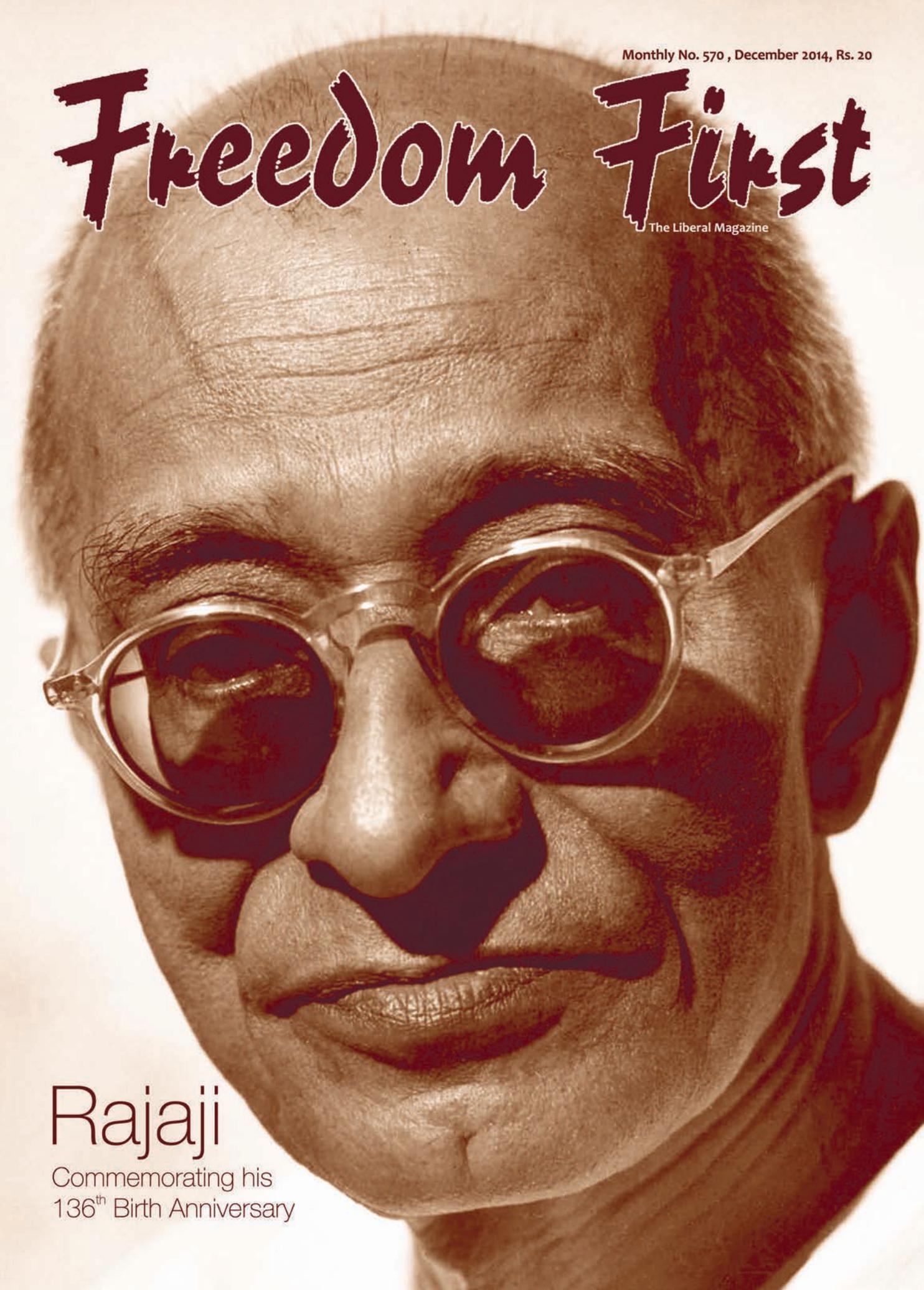


Monthly No. 570, December 2014, Rs. 20

# Freedom First

The Liberal Magazine



## Rajaji

Commemorating his  
136<sup>th</sup> Birth Anniversary

# *The Wit and Wisdom of Rajaji*

**When asked in 1959, why, at the age of 80, he felt it necessary to form a new political party – The Swatantra Party – Rajaji replied:**

*“When I see the spreading abuses, the cant, the hypocrisies and the general fall in the moral sense from the highest level down to the unfortunate poor, I do not feel inclined to run away from the struggle for improving things – old, weak and incapacitated though I am.”*

\*

*“Montesquieu said in his famous book, The Spirit of the Laws, that there is no word which contains a wider variety of meanings than ‘freedom’. Abraham Lincoln also said a hundred years later that we will declare in favour of freedom but we do not mean the same thing when using this word. By far the best word to denote the freedom which we desire in national economy is the word we use in India: **Swatantra**. It is the power of the individual to put his will in motion without having to submit to the coercion of another’s will in the management of his affairs”.*

**March 26, 1966**

\*

*What a fool Rama was say, Congressmen, to give up the crown and go to the forest in order to enable his father to keep his word of honour and not to break his pledge. ‘We break pledges without compunction’ the Congress Party says. ‘Our ideas of morality and honour have marched with the times. We are not old fashioned like Gandhiji or Vallabhbhai Patel.’*

**July 27, 1968**

\*

*The PM of India described that the payments to ex-rulers were an anachronism. I quite agree in another sense. It has now become an anachronism to keep promises. A people’s reputation cannot be saved when they look upon the keeping of promises and pledges made in return for performance of the obligation on the other side as out of date. Breach of promises and breaking of pledges have become the characteristics of the new era in India under Smt. Indira Gandhi.*

*I am glad the small band of Swatantra Party members in the Lok Sabha as well as in the Rajya Sabha voted against the wreckers of the Constitution undaunted by the massive numbers ranged on the other side.*

**December 18, 1971**

\*

*Democratically based governments should be able to sense public opinion beforehand and act in advance of agitation and violence. Waiting till violent and intimidatory forms of agitation start and then swearing firmness but yielding to such agitation, step by step, is the surest way to kill parliamentary government.*

**February 4, 1967**

\*

*Here are two gems taken from the Sunday Statesman (August 22) weekly record of unconscious humour: “Pakistan is a peace-loving country,” said Mr. Z. A. Bhutto. He might have chosen some other time to make this claim. Even more unconsciously humorous is the following statement of Mr. Morarji Desai; “If Hindi is made the official language, the country will produce more engineers and doctors than ever”.*

**September 4, 1965**

\*

*Here is a new thought, a complement to Lord Acton’s often quoted proposition which a new book on Herod gives us to understand and remember: “If power corrupts, the fear of the loss of power is the mightiest corrupter of all.”*

**November 4, 1967**

\*

*I don’t know if the story is apocryphal. But it deserves to be true. Max Mueller was asked by someone, why though taking so great an interest in the ancient wisdom of India, he did not go to India. “I do not wish to be disillusioned” was his answer.*

**April 6, 1968**

\*

*We can be said to have correctly understood a principle, political, moral or legal, only if we know when to make exceptions to the general rule. Dogmatic adherence to a general rule without understanding when to depart from it is stupidity.*

**August 15, 1970**

# Freedom First

The Liberal Magazine – 63rd Year of Publication

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December 2014

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## Between Ourselves...

We had a successful symposium on “Gokhale’s Legacy.” The inaugural Address by Dr. Aroon Tikekar drew much appreciation; so did the speech by Mr. Sunil Gokhale. The symposium which was organised to mark the 100th death anniversary of Gopal Krishna Gokhale ends in February next year. We shall dedicate the February 2015 issue of *Freedom First* in his honour along with an extensive coverage of the presentations made at the symposium.

If any of you reading this would like to contribute any article, comment or draw attention to any aspect of Gokhale’s life and work, please do send it along to us for possible inclusion. Also the February issue may, hopefully, carry additional pages. Any advertising support we can get with your help will be much appreciated.

This issue now in your hands could not carry all the contributions that were received due to space constraints. Nevertheless the canvas is wide. PM Narendra Modi continues to dominate in terms of the number of pages. Of particular interest is the one from our subscriber from the US, Dr. Sardul Minhas who writes on those who opposed the PM’s visit to the US.

There is a considerable revival of interest in the life and work of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. We would be fully justified in blaming the Indira Congress for this, as this was no lapse of memory but a deliberate policy to deny the post independence generations the names of the large number of participants in the freedom movement particularly in rural India.

December 10 this year marks the 136th birthday of Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari (variously addressed as C. Rajagopalachari, CR or *Rajaji*). We honour him on the cover and apart from the ‘Wit and Wisdom of Rajaji’ on the inside front cover we have, on this occasion, wherever there was space filled it with Rajaji’s quotes.

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## M. V. Kamath (R.I.P.)

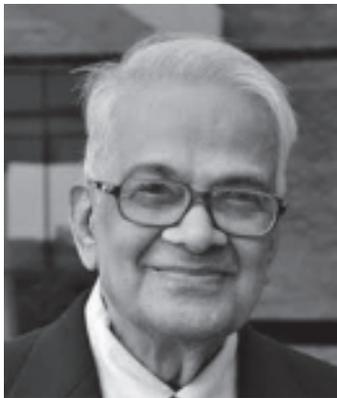
P. M. Kamath

**M**adhav Vithal Kamath (93), or MV Kamath as he was better known was an eminent journalist, writer, thinker philosopher, and, at the time of his death on 9 October this year, Honorary Director of the Media Studies Department at Manipal University. I had known him since the late fifties as his nephew Dr. Suresh Kamath was my classmate in NKES High School in Wadala. I had countless interactions with him particularly after I joined teaching in the 1960s, almost until recently.

In his personal letters, M. V. Kamath always addressed me as PM and invariably signed as MV. Hence, what is my assessment of MV as a person? In the brief write up here, I wish to bring out only two prominent characteristics of MV based on my long interactions with him.

First, he had definite political opinions but kept them close to his heart until the right time. I have formed a general theory that when you constantly teach a subject you tend to acquire certain primary qualities of your subject as the object of study. Having studied politics for the last sixty years, I often try to search whenever others interact with me their political motives! As a senior journalist as MV was, he dealt with many top politicians in the country and abroad; hence, acquiring all the behavioral traits of politicians!

Let me illustrate this point. After my initial interactions with him in Bombay, I had the good fortune of interacting with him in Washington, DC. For about 15 months in 1976-1977, I was also there as a Fulbright doctoral fellow at the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies; MVK was there as the correspondent of *The Times of India*. We met over lunches, dinners and evening teas and at public meetings. Often we discussed the National Emergency then declared by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and as a teacher already with 16 years experience I told him all that we in the Bombay University did to oppose the imposition of emergency and my continued opposition to it. He on the other hand, told me of all that the opponents of Mrs. Gandhi did to destabilize the country. He appeared to me to be a supporter of emergency and Indira Gandhi!



1921-2014

I returned to India in late 1977, while he came back the following year to join as the editor of the *Illustrated Weekly of India*. In his writings he appeared to me to be closer to the Janata Party Government! I happened to meet him in his office and asked him about the change in his approach. He simply told me that being in Washington, DC he was not privy to domestic developments!

The NDA government appointed him as Chairman of the State-owned TV media Prasar Bharati. He was a BJP supporter. He had published a biography of Narendra Modi then Chief Minister of Gujarat. My friends in Manipal informed me that the BJP government under Narendra Modi had offered him a governorship. But he declined on health grounds. Thereby I missed an opportunity to visit him in a Raj Bhavan and enjoy a royal reception!

The second observation I make about my friend MV was his anti-Americanism. Again, he is no exception to this attitude as those who specialize on America and have spent many of their productive years in the US, as I have done, tended to be critical of that country. But as a trained American specialist, I have also written and spoken on many good things that the US has given to the world. But MV was uncompromisingly anti-American; maybe he spent a longer span of time abroad and under the influence of John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State and his Cold War thoughts.

I had invited him to deliver an inaugural address at an international seminar I had organised on the Reforming and Restructuring the UN. Not only was he very critical of the US but also advocated Asian nations breaking off from the American dominated UN and setting up a UN of Asia. Of course his anti-Americanism arose from his intense nationalism.

**DR. P. M. KAMATH** is a former Professor of Politics, University of Bombay, and currently Honorary Director, VPM's Centre for International Studies Regd.) and Adjunct Professor, Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal University, Manipal.

**Freedom First** SALUTES THIS DOYEN OF INDIAN JOURNALISM REFLECTING IN HIS WRITINGS THE DIVERSITY THAT IS INDIA! – ED.

# From Our Readers

## Andhra Pradesh Day

The decision of the Government of Andhra Pradesh to observe June 2nd as Andhra Pradesh Day is ill-thought. In fact, that should be a sad day for all the Telugu people because Andhra Pradesh was disintegrated and Telugu people were divided into two separate states and their chiefs are on the warpath. 2nd June should be observed as a *Vighatan Din*, that is, disintegration day.

The right date for celebration should be 1st October as it was on that date that the Telugu speaking people in what is now Andhra Pradesh got their own state separated from the then Madras Presidency. In so doing, we would be remembering the great sacrifice of Potti Sriramulu which led to the formation of the Andhra state.

Dr. T. H. Chowdary, Secunderabad.  
Hanuman.Chowdary@tcs.com

\*

## “A Tale of Three Nations” - A Correction

I regret that there was a major error in my article. I myself got mixed up between the ASEAN nations and the “tiger” nations. The ASEAN nations are a total of 10 nations and these are Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

So the first two sentences of my article (*Freedom First*, No.569 November 2014), should have read:

We’ve all heard about the Asian “tiger” nations. These would be countries like Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, Hongkong, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and perhaps, more recently, China. I am going to put it to you etc,...(as in the remainder of the article)

I offer my sincere apologies to you and to your readers for this error. The arguments made in the article remain.

Arvind Banavalikar

\*

## Why this Discrimination?

Tajikistan requested for a hospital to be established at Farkhor, about 130 kms from the capital Dushanbe. It was to serve the local population and the Afghan Northern Alliance soldiers injured in the fighting. Army Headquarters decided to send a Field Ambulance unit to establish a hospital. General Malik, the COAS, was informed that the officers of the ministries of external affairs and defence were not agreeable to treat posting of personnel to this

hospital as “foreign posting” which would allow them to get the allowances being drawn by the civilian officers posted there. It was not to be treated as even a “hard area”. General Malik had to speak to Yashwant Sinha, the then External Affairs Minister, to resolve the issue. The hospital did good work to establish rapport with the locals. Massoud who was fatally injured in a suicide attack was rushed to this hospital. Later, this hospital was shifted to Kabul. It was not the first time that the Defence Services were denied their due pay and allowances. The battle continues.

\*

## Compelling Scientists to Teach

This refers to the article “Should scientists be compelled to teach in schools (*FF* No.569, November 2014).

At the opening ceremony of the National Physical Laboratory by C. Rajagopalachari in 1950, hopes were raised for quality research. I recall the discordant note by microbiologist John D. Bernal making a plea for research not to be isolated from teaching. Scientists carrying out research should teach as well and teachers should devote themselves to research.

The Government has taken a typical bureaucratic approach by instituting 12 hours of teaching by all scientists of CSIR laboratories. Some of the scientists may not be good teachers and some teachers may not be good research workers. Basically, the scientists can always talk about their work. Questions by the students may lead to investigation and solution of even difficult problems and it is certainly a source of inspiration to the students to be taught by the original research scientists. To have organizations exclusively committed to research is not an ideal solution.

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brigsc@gmail.com

\*

“Oh for a Gandhi!” says a very good cartoon in the *Organizer*. But supposing a Gandhi or Gandhiji himself came in answer to this and other earnest calls for help, what could we do with him? We will not do what he wants us to do and will do what he does not want done. Like Karl Marx rising from the grave, saying “I am not a Marxist”, Gandhi too would exclaim “No, I am not one of you!” to the Congressmen who drag his name down and hang on to it whenever they feel like slipping from power.

Rajaji in his ‘Dear Reader’ page, *Swarajya*,  
October 14, 1967

# “I Touch a Sensitive Spot”

C. Rajagopalachari

*Three men all giants compared to their successors are very much in the news. Two of them are almost projected as being in opposition to one another. The third person belonging to the deep south is all but forgotten in this unseemly contest. All three were Gandhi's lieutenants. Elsewhere in this issue, we carry an article by Mr. Hanuman Chowdary of the deliberate devaluation of the role played by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the freedom movement and post-freedom when he forged one India out of many; and how Gandhi played favourites and enabled Nehru to become free India's first Prime Minister.*

*That Jawaharlal Nehru ensured India's parliamentary democracy a permanence when elsewhere newly freed democracies were falling like nine pins is an achievement itself; but to what extent he is culpable in the emergence of a dynasty bearing his name is and will continue to be debated.*

*The Indira Congress (which at best is a splinter of the original Indian National Congress) ruled India for the next four decades and whether he would have approved it not – in the name of the father. Sardar Patel was all but forgotten until he has been brought to the centre stage as the mascot of the present ruling party. The third, C. Rajagopalachari, was sidelined after he had served the purpose of the real Indian National Congress in ousting the communists who were seen as a grave threat to the INC's continuance in power in Madras, now Tamil Nadu.*

*We commemorate in this issue the 136th Birth anniversary of this great man, who in the last decade of life threw the gauntlet at his friend and comrade Jawaharlal Nehru, convinced that his friend was taking the country, ironically, too far to the left. Ironically, because it was to save the INC from the Left that Rajaji was sent to Madras!*

*We publish an extensive excerpt from an article by Rajaji in the Swarajya of July 20, 1963 which, is both giving his old friend some advice and at the same time an assessment of Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister. – Editor.*

“No one expected Sri Jawaharlal Nehru to tell the people that had gathered to hear him recently in the Punjab, that he was determined to remain in office, whatever may be the opinion of the others. That would have been crude... the seemingly middle course he publicly adopted was natural. Yet one can see the flaw in the crystal. His claim is that the progress of the country depended on his continuing as PM which is the much the same as General Ayub's and Sukarno's claims. It is an established historic pattern.

\*

“Propaganda is not administration. When the people have to be educated, good ideas publicly expressed by men in great places are useful. But where officials have to be made to do or forbear, something more is wanted. That talent is the gap that makes for many of our ills.

Sri Nehru being bred all through the best part of his life in using the platform for educating the public, the virtues and defects of the romantic schoolmaster characterise the PM's sayings and doings. He has not learnt to get things done as he wishes. Probably he cannot do it. Indeed he hesitates to do it lest something should go wrong. The administrator's function calls for the courage to face things sometimes going wrong and also with

resourcefulness to right them, and put them in good repair if and when they go wrong. It demands the pre-eminent talent to size up men, to judge aright and appraise the complicate and deceptive thing known as personality, and the instinctive perception necessary to allot the right tasks, and not to let personal favour and prejudices deflect judgment in this respect.

I am touching a sensitive spot because this is good Sri Nehru's weak point. No one can blame him for not doing what he cannot do. He requires a Vallabhbhai Patel by him. But Vallabhbhai Patel is not there. Apart from all the policy differences which I emphatically maintain, the present point I urge is that he should have a brave Chief Secretary (or better still a Deputy Premier) who will not act as a stooge or tremble to speak out or who fears losing his favour or position and therefore suppresses himself, but a strong personality – one who will discuss things frankly with him and perform the special task of converting his wishes into action. May be that this arrangement may accelerate the demonstration of errors in the policies and priorities adopted, but even that would be a gain both for the PM and the nation.

# Haryana

## A Decisive Victory for the BJP

**B. N. Mehrish**

**V**ery few residents of the posh condominiums in Gurgaon turned up at the polling booths clocking voter turnout at 64%. The overall voting in all the four constituencies of Gurgaon district was 69% - lower than the state average of 76%. Sohna remained at the top with 77.4%, followed closely by Pataudi at 68.9%, and Badshahpur at 68.7%.

“We have got very little response from such posh condominiums as Hamilton Court despite the fact that we went to plead with them to turn up on polling day many a time. The situation is pathetic,” said Manish Arora, PRO of RWA (Residents’ Welfare Association) of plot holders DLF-4. “People have given up on politicians. None of them made any effort to influence the residents. It was only during the last 4-5 days, before polling that the candidates came to talk to us. They were also not very impressive and people were also not interested. The people here are busy with their lives. There is both lack of interest and lack of good candidates,” said Col.(ret) Sarvadaman Oberoi, secretary, Uniworld garden RWA. Also, none of the candidates has done much development work for the areas. During Lok Sabha polls, people voted as they wanted to bring Modi to the Centre,” said Viraj Choudhary, a resident of DLF-3.

Many senior citizens participated in the electoral process with a vigour unmatched by the younger generation who remained conspicuously absent from the polling booths in Gurgaon. “During the 1970s and 1980s, there used to be long queues at the polling booths which is rarely seen these days,” said Singh a resident of sector 9A. First-time voters too lamented the lack of enthusiasm among the youth. “This is my first vote. Posh areas in Gurgaon are notorious for being apathetic to voting. Even many of my own family members have not come to vote today,” said Siddhartha a resident of DLF-1

### **Badshahpur Voters Take the Cake**

In the Badshahpur constituency, which largely represents posh localities promoted by private developers, 212,860 voters cast their votes bringing the poll percentage to 68.7%. It fared better than the Old Gurgaon assembly

constituency where 188,894 votes were cast pushing up the voter turnout percentage to 64%. Relatively, Gurgaon performed better than in the last assembly elections when the voter turnout had remained at 54.17%. However, it was dismal compared to the turnout during the Lok Sabha poll in May this year.

For the first time, Gurgaon voters could see who they had voted for immediately after casting their votes, courtesy Election Commission of India’s (ECI) initiative to ensure transparency in the polling procedure. The Commission introduced Voter Verifiable Paper Audit Trail System (VVPAT) as a pilot project in 19 constituencies in the assembly elections. The vote is displayed for seven seconds to the voter and is then cut off and passed into a sealed black container so that it is not visible to others.

“It is a move towards improving technology in the electoral process and ensuring transparency so that complaints by voters of faulty EVMs can be addressed. The system has been used earlier in other states but was introduced in Haryana for the first time,” said Shrikant Walgad, chief electoral officer, Haryana. The system was introduced in Gurgaon, Rohatak, Karnal, Sonapat, Panipat and Thanesar.

### **Haryana’s Glass Ceiling Cracks**

The newly formed assembly in Haryana has 13 women MLAs – the maximum in the history of this north Indian state since it first assembly polls in 1965. The All India Democratic Association (AIDWA) Haryana fielded seven candidates who made their debut as legislators in the 2014 assembly elections. Electoral Politics in Haryana has defied the gender factor. According to Kavita Jain, MLA from Sonapat, “It is unfair to say that women act as proxy for men in the family.”

According to Namta Bhandare, Haryana is poised for change, not just in government, but also for a new deal and a new direction for its women.

### **Conclusion**

After charting victories in Haryana and

Maharashtra, BJP president Amit Shah is now expanding the Party's foot print in other states. According to a comment the campaigns of 2014 Assembly elections was "war of words, not a clash of ideas."

**DR. B. N. MEHRISH**, Retired Professor of Politics, University of Mumbai. Now a Gurgaon resident.  
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It is ironical that Congress leader Shashi Tharoor had to lose his job as the Congress Party's spokesperson for praising Narendra Modi for his speech at the United Nations General Assembly on September 27, 2014. Tharoor tweeted, "Strong speech by PMO India soaring internationalism, support for democracy & environment, anti-terrorism." Digvijaya Singh and Ghulam Nabi Azad also praised Modi's efforts during Jammu and Kashmir floods. Assam Chief Minister Tarun Gogoi praised Modi's Saansad Adarsh Gram Yojana.

In the Congress Party there will be a change of guards. The Congress Working Committee will be restructured; young faces will be inducted like BJP. The Congress Vice-President Rahul Gandhi has planned to rebuild party's image and take full control of the party after the humiliating defeat in the 2014 Lok Sabha and Assembly polls – the party's worst ever electoral performance.

**B. N. Mehrish**

# Maharashtra

## Have the BJP and the Shiv Sena Missed the Mandate?

**Nitin G. Raut**

In the recently concluded Assembly elections while the BJP's victory in Haryana was complete and convincing it failed to secure an overall majority in Maharashtra though emerging as the largest single party with 122 seats in a House of 288 in the Maharashtra Assembly.

Maharashtra politics is complex and an enigma. Apart from the Congress – an umbrella for power seekers – there was also a significant presence of socialists and Hindu nationalist schools of thought in the state but their influence was limited, scattered, and isolated. The socialists comprising the erstwhile Praja Socialist Party and Samyukta Society Party were nursed by stalwarts, like H. V. Kamath, Nath Pai, S. M. Joshi, N. G. Goray, who made a mark as parliamentarians and leaders with a national impact. But as a mass movement, it hardly had any force and were nowhere in sight of power. It was only as a constituent of the Janata Party that the socialists were elected in large numbers and earlier during the Samyukta Maharashtra Movement.

Maharashtra in a way is also the birthplace of Hindu nationalism. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh or the RSS was founded by Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar in Nagpur in 1925 and is today the largest Hindu organisation in the country. It has a nation-wide presence though sparsely in the northeast and states like West Bengal and

Tamilnadu. The erstwhile Jan Sangh and today the BJP cannot deny ideological links with the RSS. Five out of the seven *Sarsanghchalaks* (Head or Supreme Leader) of the RSS are from Maharashtra. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was one of the founders of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha. As an ideologue and author, Savarkar's thinking and books continue to be the guiding light and influence on Hindu nationalist thought. The Hindu Mahasabha had a significant presence at the time of pre-independence in the erstwhile Madhya Bharat and to some extent in Maharashtra and even in West Bengal. But post-independence the Hindu Mahasabha is in political oblivion. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, another Hindu icon was also born in Maharashtra.

However, the influence of these schools of thought was limited and it never yielded electoral dividends. It was only after 1989 with the BJP-Shiv Sena [SS] alliance that these two parties started making headway. However, Maharashtra never became a stronghold of the BJP like the Communists in West Bengal or Kerala.

### **Breaking the Dominance of the Marathas**

In the 60s, the Congress Party under the leadership of the Maratha strongman Y. B. Chavan started the co-operative movement in Maharashtra. The Congressmen formed Co-operatives in banking, sugar manufacturing and marketing, credit, cotton mills - which provided

## *The Elections to the State Assemblies of Haryana and Maharashtra*

Maharashtra Congressmen the financial clout to control their fiefdoms which in turn ensured captive vote banks. A network of educational institutions controlled by Congressmen assured captive voters in their areas. The co-operative movement also came to be dominated by Marathas (42%) who form the backbone of the Indian National Congress (INC) and Nationalist Congress Party in Western Maharashtra. From Ahmednagar down to Kolhapur became the impregnable bastion of the NCP who came to dominate Maharashtra politics with their money power.

It is against this backdrop that the BJP's victory, though short of majority, is still spectacular in spite of the split in the BJP-SS alliance and the failure of a post-poll alliance. The defeat of the IC and the NCP has for the first time yielded space to the saffron parties – the BJP and the SS. It is a tectonic shift in the balance of political power in Maharashtra. But has the BJP and the SS decoded the message of the Modi crafted victory?

### **Short-sighted Moves**

The uncertainty has provided the wily Maharashtra leader of the NCP, Sharad Pawar, a playing field for political Machiavellianism and it would not be surprising if Pawar does to the BJP what Indira Gandhi did to Charan Singh who after being installed as Prime Minister, she pulled the rug. For the BJP to flirt with Nationalist Congress Party is to raise the obvious question of aligning with the “Naturally Corrupt Party”, as the Prime Minister called it. The BJP has sworn to expose the NCP's irrigation scam. Therefore, Sharad Pawar's declaration of support to the BJP, even while the counting was on, raises serious questions of a secret deal. It would require incredible naivety to think that it is more than crass opportunism. Even if the BJP is silent on Pawar's support, its failure to reject it, is bound to dent BJP's image and its anti corruption campaign and may have an adverse impact in the forthcoming elections to the Delhi, Jammu & Kashmir and Jharkhand Assemblies.

Maharashtra is debt ridden with a debt burden of Rs.3 Lakh Crore. The law and order situation is in poor shape. Farmers' suicides are rampant. The infrastructure in prime metros like Mumbai is pathetic. The present scenario is none too comforting. For the BJP to provide stability and development is of prime importance. It is in this context that a BJP-SS alliance is imperative. Both parties fail to understand that it is the anti-corruption plank that catapulted them to a majority and by futile bickering it will make the INC relevant in the same way as the Janata Party feuds in 1977-78 ensured INC's return.

The breakup of the BJP-SS alliance does not augur well for the stability and development of the state. It was not the state unit of BJP or the SS, but it was Prime Minister Narendra Modi's charisma that was responsible for ousting the IC. It was a mandate against corruption and for development that ensured BJP and SS getting 122 and 63 seats respectively. This election also pulled down the walls of social and caste barriers which are as bad as the physical Berlin Wall which divided the same people. In the post-Mandal era, where caste politics ruled, it was unthinkable for a party like the BJP to ever dent the INC bastions of the Jat dominated Haryana and Maratha dominated Maharashtra. It is development that the voters aspire for and any instability in Maharashtra because of the BJP - SS standoff will be a political hara-kiri for the BJP. On the one hand, the BJP has the support of the NCP, an unreliable party, on the other, it will have to contend with a hostile friend turned implacable foe in the Shiv Sena. This is bound to affect the administration and development agenda.

Is Maharashtra a case of mandate misread by both the BJP and the SS ?

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### **October 2014 Assembly Elections**

<b>Party Positions in Haryana</b>				<b>Party Position in Maharashtra</b>			
<i>Party</i>	<i>2009</i>	<i>2014</i>	<i>Gain/Loss</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>2009</i>	<i>2014</i>	<i>Gain/Loss</i>
BJP	04	47	+43	BJP	46	122	+76
INLD	31	19	-12	Shiv Sena	44	63	+19
Congress	40	15	-25	Congress	82	42	-40
Others	15	9	-6	NCP	62	41	-21
				Others	41	20	-21

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# Point Counter Point

Ashok Karnik

*Every issue has at least two sides. A wise person examines all sides before coming to a conclusion. This is an attempt to present various sides of an issue so that a considered opinion can be formed.*

## Whither Maharashtra?

### Point

1a) The election results in Maharashtra (October 19, 2014) were more or less on anticipated lines. The rout of the Congress and NCP with or without their alliance was the writing on the wall. What added uncertainty to the battle was the break-up of the Shiv Sena – BJP alliance. With the partners of 25-long years fighting each other, the result became a little uncertain. In the end, it did not help the Congress or the NCP but denied a steam-roller majority for the saffron combine. Both BJP and Shiv Sena improved on their 2009 performance but did not get a majority on their own. The anti-Congress forces were expected to dominate the State for a few years to come. Even after the break-up of the BJP- Shiv Sena alliance it was expected that the two adversaries of the Congress would form a strong and stable Government, given their strength in the Assembly. Instead, the old friends turned into foes. The show-down over the vote of confidence on November 12 was as unedifying as anything seen in our faltering democratic practices. What has been achieved is that a stable state has been rendered nearly defunct through the indefatigable urge at fratricide. The age old societal problem of India struck again. No escaping the faulty DNA; all for a few seats here and there. There were no ideological or programmatic differences, just personal egos and piques.. A progressive state has been rendered ineffective. It is shameful but we have to accept the genetic blemish that has hit us again through mythological times (Mahabharata) to history (Moghuls and the Peshwas) and now to the present.

### Counter Point

1b) The euphoria of ousting the Congress has given way to desperation. The BJP emerged as the bigger party but is fated to run a minority Government. The Shiv Sena emerged as the junior partner whereas for the last 25 years it was the elder brother. Its lack of foresight landed it in this position. In politics, miscalculations can be expensive. The NCP played a clever card by declaring unconditional support to the BJP-led Government from outside blunting the Sena's power thrust. The BJP used the NCP support to negate the Sena's bargaining capacity. MNS has reached the near vanishing point by getting one seat. BJP's plan to develop as a major party in all important states has succeeded to some extent but left a lot to regret for. The Shiv Sena gave BJP cause to break the alliance and to humiliate it further while forming the Government without its support. The Sena overplayed the Marathi 'Asmita' (Marathi Pride) card and devalued it. The Sena went from abusive defiance to demands to requests and haggling for posts, losing cohesiveness and respect. Uddhav Thackeray will live to regret his hesitation in taking a unilateral decision like the NCP to support the new Government unconditionally and stop groveling. The two old associates have drifted apart from being friends/ allies/ partners to being sworn enemies which is unfortunate for Maharashtra. Shiv Sena can be a great nuisance as an opposition. The problem for the BJP is to run a minority Government with the help of the NCP which is not the most desirable thing for Maharashtra. A holy mess after the euphoria! Will the horse-trading start now?

## Ottawa Attack

2a) Another Parliament House came under attack (October 22), this time in Canada! The attack was not threatening like the one on the Indian Parliament (December 2001). One soldier was killed and one attacker died. It is not known if the attacker was alone. The damage was negligible but the fact of the attack itself should ring warning bells. Individual fidayeen acting on their own is the new danger. The attacker was a converted Muslim fired by the call from his Caliphate. The ISIS has asked Muslims all over the world to kill the enemies of the Caliphate wherever possible but make it a public exhibition of punishment. This directive allows the madness in the Middle-East to spread to the rest of the world. The terrorist attacks so far were

2b) India which is the victim of terrorism for the last 35 years is now the target from several directions. It is a prime target for the Pakistan Army and Pak-based terrorist organizations. Pakistan has already stepped up its hostility in the hope of making Kashmir an international issue. The Pakistan Assembly passed an anti-India resolution. Terror outfits like L-e-T, JeM, Hizbul Mujahideen, etc., have stepped up infiltration to obstruct the elections in Kashmir. The ISIS has urged all Muslims to take up arms against the infidels. The Al Qaeda has opened a new wing to attack the Indian sub-continent. Local radicalized youth are active through secret cells. While organized violence can be tackled somewhat, individual action such as seen in Ottawa

## *Point*

organized by well trained jihadis, working under some sort of concerted plan of action. Now the call is for individual action wherever and whenever possible without any control or guidance from above. For example, in Canada, a week earlier a sympathiser of the ISIS ran over two soldiers killing one of them; consequently he himself was shot down by the police. This kind of mad violence opens up new areas of concern. Anybody any time could turn into a terrorist.

## *Counter Point*

is impossible to counter. Fortunately, India is free of the gun culture; at least guns are not available across the counter. Otherwise, we could have faced the specter of radicalized youth picking up guns and shooting down people at random! The US may see such suicidal jihadis next.

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*At a Cocktail lounge, Norway: Ladies are requested not to have children in the bar.*

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## **The Black Money Hype**

3a) Recovery of Black Money is being projected as a solution for our economic ills. Wild claims that if the Black Money is brought back, every Indian could be give Rs. 15 lakh or our medical expenses could be covered for the next 10 years etc., are mind-boggling. It is true that vast amounts are kept by Indians in secret accounts abroad; it is also now possible to get the names of such account-holders through international treaties but nobody has worked out a method to bring back the money so secreted. We would be happy if those who have opened accounts abroad are named. Is the mere exposure of names enough to shame the persons concerned to bring back the money? Or are we empowered to hang them summarily and appropriate the funds for the country? Baba Ramdev made it an election issue by campaigning for recovery of Black Money, making it appear that the mere will to act tough was enough. He put the blame on the UPA which was not bold enough to point out the impediments in bringing back the Black Money. It appeared that the UPA was hand in glove with the secret account holders and did not want to act against them. That was how far it had sunk in public esteem and credibility. NDA took advantage of the mealy mouthed approach of the UPA to score propaganda points. The real problem is how to retrieve the black money. PM Modi and his Finance Minister appear genuinely keen to get the loot back but is it enough? Black Money would fall in two categories: the income on which no tax has been paid and therefore hidden away and the money that is earned through illegal means like extortion, arms trade, drug trafficking, human trafficking, terrorism etc (crime money). The first lot can get out by paying the taxes and penalties, the second lot will give flimsy explanations. Do we have the means to deal with the second category? We await legal eagles to draw a road map for us to understand what the Government needs to do and is not doing. Merely exposing the names is not enough although that appears to be the political agenda now. It might not lead us anywhere except satisfy our cherished desire to shame a few big politicians.

3b). It is argued by some experts that the Black Money is already back in India, invested in sweet deals like realty, gold and Bollywood. The last is no longert profitable but the other two are better investments than most in the world. How can we recover what is already in the country? India has signed various treaties for exchange of information (EOI) with 130 countries after international recognition of the dangers of illegal money circulating in the world. Under various names like the Dual Tax Avoidance Act (DTAA), Tax Information Exchange Agreement (TIEA), Competent Authority Agreement (CAA), international treaties have been signed. The one thing common to all of them is that the information so exchanged would not be made public; this is necessary to protect the privacy of the account holder unless he/she is charged with an illegality (not irregularity of tax evasion). This stymies the public anxiety to know the names. Our fanciful hope is that big names in politics would be so exposed. Barring exceptions our hopes may be belied. There may be nothing shameful in most cases as the accounts could be fully legal. Any Indian doing business abroad would open such an account. Only those who have avoided payment of taxes can be hauled up or those few who have no explanation how they earned the money to stash abroad could be prosecuted. According to international financial experts, about \$ 200 bn could be found in the foreign accounts out of which \$ 30 bn could be recovered through penal taxation in India. Those who are really guilty of serious offenses will give us a legal run around for years. Their crime would have to be established before confiscating their loot. Our gains could thus be limited and not astronomical as predicted; that too if very fast and effective taxation measures are put into effect. Courts could come in the way as our judicial system is well-known for delays. Is it then a lot of high expectation headed for disillusionment?

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*At a Budapest zoo: Please do not feed the animals. If you have any suitable food, give it to the guard on duty.*

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# Containment and Co-operation: Continuity and Change in India's China Policy

**B. Ramesh Babu**

*In international relations, just as in real life, all problems do not necessarily get resolved. Ambiguities have their uses. Managing them and not letting them to explode in one's face is the essence of diplomacy.*

Two distinct and contradictory strands of conflict and cooperation run through India's foreign policy towards China. This is the only meaningful response to the double edged policy of China towards India. India's first and foremost objective is to do all that is possible and a lot more at home and abroad to deter the dragon from launching another war in the Himalayas. The second and secondary goal is to cooperate with China bilaterally for mutual benefit and work closely with her on key global issues dividing the North and the South. India will continue to move forward on both fronts as long as possible and the two are not unconnected with each other. How long this tight rope walk will go on depends entirely on China. However, we in India must clearly recognize the fact that only a credible countervailing force in place will deter the dragon from aggression on the border with India and in the South China Sea, the latest theatre of China's expansionism. Since assuming office, Prime Minister Modi is injecting much needed energy and realism i.e. "*lakhshmana rekhas*" in dealing with Pakistan and China even as he continues to bid for expansion of economic and trade relations with both of them. How this alters the political/strategic mix in the region and beyond only future can reveal.

Since the 60th Anniversary celebrations of the Panch Sheel agreement of 1954 in Beijing in June-July 2014, many developments of significance to India-China relations have taken place: BRICS Summit, Modi-Xi meeting on the sidelines of the Summit, Modi-Abe meeting, President Xi's visit to India, Modi-Obama meeting, and President Mukherjee's visits to Vietnam and Bhutan. On Tuesday (12 November 2014) Modi will embark on his 11-day three stop foreign tour covering the ASEAN and East Asia Summits in Myanmar, G-20 Summit in Australia, and Fiji. As of now (9 November 2014), there is no confirmation of a meeting between Modi and Chinese Premier Li on the sidelines of the Summits. It is also not clear whether Modi will meet Chinese President XI on the sidelines of the G-20 Summit. Modi has already declined the Chinese invitation to attend the APEC meeting to be held in Beijing

on November 11, 2014. Since the intrusion of Chinese soldiers in the Chunar sector in Lakdakh during Xi's visit to India in July 2014, relations between the two countries have been uneasy. On the sidelines of the APEC meeting, China organized a neighbourhood leaders' summit in Beijing. Leaders from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, Mongolia, and Tajikistan attended. Nawaz Sharif and Xi Jinping signed many agreements whereby China pledged to invest about \$46 billions in energy and infrastructure sectors in Pakistan. Chinese news reports once again described the two nations as "iron friends." This may be seen as China's response to Modi's efforts to energize India's "Look East" policy, which was rechristened as "Act East" policy. Let us take a quick look at these developments.

The BRICS Summit of 15-16 July 2014, held in Brazil is a landmark in global affairs. Together with their intercontinental partners, India and China were able to move a step further on their shared agenda of countering America's global hegemony and multi-polarisation world politics. The BRICS Bank launched at the Summit is conceived as an alternative to the World Bank and the IMF, which are dominated by the US and the West. The long term goal of the venture is to develop a global currency alternative to the US dollar. Closest possible economic and political cooperation between China and India on a sustained basis, which has many imponderables, is crucial for such distant goals to fructify.

The Modi-Xi meetings on the sidelines of the Summit are even more significant for India-China relations. In addition to reiterating the Chinese intent to invest in India on a large scale, the two leaders agreed on the crucial need to resolve the border issue quickly and amicably. President Xi invited India to join the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) as the founder member. AIIB was formally launched recently and India is the only other big country that joined hands with the Chinese on the venture. In view of the American opposition to the Bank, Australia, Indonesia, and other countries did not join AIIB. In a

welcome departure from the past, Xi invited India to be an active member of the SCO. Furthermore, he invited India to attend the next meeting of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting to be held in Beijing in November 2014. This could be seen as China's readiness to accept India as a legitimate player in Asia-Pacific, and not merely a South Asian regional power. All these seemed a good prelude to President Xi's forthcoming visit to India.

Prime Minister Modi wanted to meet his Japanese counterpart Shinzo Abe before the Chinese President came to India. Modi's twin goals were to attract massive Japanese investment and to bring Japan closer to India politically and strategically. Modi succeeded immensely on both counts. Japan pledged to invest 2.1 lakh crores of rupees (\$35.5 millions) in the country during the next five years in many areas including in the defence sector. In a move of far reaching import, the two leaders agreed to upgrade their global and strategic partnership to a "special" level. Furthermore, the two leaders decided to explore with the US the possibility of upgrading their trilateral dialogue to the level of Foreign Ministers. Modi and Abe declared their intention to rope in "other countries" to enhance the security situation and ensure freedom of the high seas in the region. Modi made it a point to warn against "forces of expansion" in the region without mentioning any country by name. This is a noteworthy departure from the past. Earlier, the Manmohan Singh Government declared that India did not want to join any group perceived to be an anti-China coalition.

In an act full of symbolism, the three day State Visit of President Xi Jinping began on Prime Minister Modi's birthday at Ahmadabad. They posed together on a lacquered swing in the hallowed precincts of Mahatma Gandhi's ashram on the bank of river Sabarmati. There was a lot of media hype in India prior to and during the visit. Unlike in the past, the Chinese side also publicized Xi's trip to India widely. Official spokesmen in Beijing billed it as "historic" and that it would usher in "another era" in the bilateral relations between the two countries. There was a pointed pre-visit build up saying that China was capable of matching or even surpassing the projected massive Japanese investments.

However, the reality turned out to be far more modest and even counterproductive in the end. China pledged to invest \$20 billion in India during the next five years. The number of Industrial Parks were reduced to two from four promised earlier. A five year plan was mooted to reduce the massive adverse trade balance of \$40 billion. But, there was no reference to opening Chinese market for Indian exports. The pre-visit declared intent of a China-

Russia-India linkage to counter America's global hegemony did not surface, nor was there any mention of the earlier stated possibility of including India in the recently signed mega (\$400 billion) energy deal with Russia. The why of the sudden and unexpected scaling down of the mutual expectations may be known only in the future, if at all?

On the negative side, China indulged in its usual double game of playing hot and cold at the same time, which back fired this time around. Even as the offers of huge investments and a new era of economic cooperation were on the table, Chinese soldiers intruded across the LOAC in Chumar sector in Ladakh and set up camps there. The Indian side responded by confronting the Chinese with a matching military buildup. Modi told the Chinese President while the official level negotiations were in progress that unless peace and tranquility are assured on the border no progress would be possible in the bilateral relationship. Such a forthright declaration right in the middle of the delegation level negotiations did not happen before. Prime Minister Modi was clear and categorical on this score and deserves high praise. President Xi responded by merely stating that he would look into the matter. But, the confrontation on the border continued till five days after President Xi went back home.

Prime Minister Modi's five day trip to the US, UN, and Washington was full of style, symbolism, and also substance. It helped in transforming the image of India as a global player and an attractive investment destination for business and industry. What is of immediate significance in terms of India-China relations is the Modi-Obama decision to take the US-India strategic partnership to the next level (whatever that may mean). In the areas of defence cooperation, joint production of weapons, and transfer of dual use technology credible progress was made. The US-Japan-India trilateral equation was scaled up. Australia was willing to join the next round of the four nation naval military exercises. China opposed the developments by **hoping that the "Malabar" naval exercises will not hinder peace and stability in the region!**

The latest meeting of the Working Mechanism for Consultation and Coordination on India-China Border Affairs (WMCC) held in New Delhi during 16-20 October 2014 ended by repeating the same old good intentions. The two sides decided to "establish a regular meeting mechanism between the two military headquarters ... and have hotlines ..." etc. The two sides expressed, **yet another time**, the belief that these measures would help to enhance communications and connections between the two militaries. These can at the best be seen as incremental steps. Talks on clarification of the Line of Actual Control

(LOAC) or steps towards the final settlement of the border dispute are yet to make it even to the agenda! Lack of understanding between the two countries on the border is not because of lack of communication facilities and connections, it must be stated emphatically.

Towards the end of October 2014, Nguyen Tan, Prime Minister of Vietnam, visited India as a follow up to the visit of the Indian President earlier. India-Vietnam signed several agreements, including one for off shore oil exploration in the South China Sea. China reacted by warning India not to meddle in the maritime disputes between her and Vietnam. India chose to ignore the warnings and agreed to help Vietnam in modernizing its defence and security forces. The two countries also agreed to expand bilateral trade on a large scale.

As can be seen from the above, a lot of water has flown down the Brahmaputra and Yamuna Rivers in recent months. To begin with India and China seemed to be on a bonhomie trip. Japan pledged massive investment and moved closer to India politically and strategically. India-Japan-US trilateral inched forward. India was not averse to promoting a countervailing coalition of concerned countries in the region. On the other side, China showed its fangs by indulging in military intrusion in the Himalayas even as President Xi's visit was in progress. All the positive declarations emanating from the Xi and Li dispensation in recent months did not make any difference on the ground. Hard evidence to the contrary is called for if such an assessment of China's perfidy on the border is to be modified.

The border issue can be resolved only when China is ready to do so. In the meanwhile India has no choice but to deal with the devious, dangerous, and proximate enemy with its own brand of double edged policy.

Containing China for peace and cooperation with the country for mutual benefit and on global issues dividing the North and the South divide will have to continue as long as such a tight rope walk is possible. While the transactions and interactions between the two have grown measurably in recent years, the macro picture of distrust and suspicion has not changed and will continue for a long time to come. To have a strong leader with overwhelming popular support and a comfortable majority in the Lok Sabha is an advantage for India in dealing with the aggressively expansionist China. Both Modi and Xi are strong and powerful leaders. They have long innings ahead of them. Let us hope Xi and Li are sincere in their declared intentions to build good and peaceful relations with India and will be able to assert their authority over the PLA in the near future. If there is no rift between the political and military centres of power in China and they are acting in concert, as is more likely, the stalemate and recurrent crises on the border will continue for foreseeable future.

In international relations, just as in real life, all problems do not necessarily get resolved. Ambiguities have their uses. Managing them and not letting them to explode in one's face is the essence of diplomacy. Both sides should do their best to ensure that the armed confrontations on the border do not escalate into shooting wars. Recurrence of war on the border will change the whole ball game! Then, containment of China by all means will certainly take precedence over cooperation with the proximate and powerful enemy!

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When M. R. Masani said that the Fourth Plan now produced was mulish, he used the word in its correct sense, obstinately attached to old errors. The Prime Minister diverted the House with an exposition on the excellent qualities of the mule, its patience, its hardihood, etc. But it was no answer to the charge of a plan or policy being mulish. If one's behaviour is sheepish, that is awkwardly bashful or timid, it is no good answering that sheep's is good meat. If a fellow is called goatish for his lustfulness it is no use expatiating on the nimbleness of the goat.

There is no harm in entertaining the House with a diversion of this sort. Adjectives with an — ish ending convey the not so admirably qualities of the substantives from which the adjectives are derived, e.g., boyish, womanish, etc. I was amused reading a cutting sent to me which said the PM "rebuked" Mr. Masani. The PM did nothing of the sort, but merely entertained the House with praise of the donkey-mare sterile hybrid.

Rajaji in his 'Dear Reader' page, *Swarajya*, June 21, 1969

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# Modi Triumphant

Firoze Hirjikaka

*The emphatic message is that Modi and the BJP are here to stay; and they will not rest until the Congress is consigned to the dust heap of history.*

Narendra Modi is a phenomenon never before witnessed in this country, not even during the dominant era of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. Nehru's authority was unquestioned, but he was respected rather than loved. The people of India accepted his occasional admonitions as that of a benevolent father correcting his errant children. They could not imagine an India without Nehru, but they maintained a respectful distance. The relationship was that between a great leader and his followers.

Modi, on the other hand, has the uncanny ability to make his audiences believe he is one of them. Unlike the regional satraps they had been used to for 60 years, who encouraged sycophancy and expected their followers to grovel in front of them, here was a man from their own background who fostered the impression that he treated them as equals. The people lapped it up. They were enthralled, even mesmerized. When Modi promised that *achhe din* would come almost immediately if he was elected, they implicitly took him at his word. Even now, six months later, when the good times have yet to materialize, they continue to believe that prosperity is just round the corner. They are giving him a very long rope, but they have no intention of someday hanging him with it.

A prime example of the Modi magic at work can be found in the current conundrum about the recovery of black money stashed abroad in foreign banks. While in full flow before the Lok Sabha election, Modi promised that if he is elected, he would bring back all the illegal wealth within 100 days and the amount would be sufficient to put Rs.15 lakhs in the pocket of every Indian. Now anyone with even a rudimentary knowledge of mathematics would have deduced that this claim was not only wildly implausible, but virtually impossible, since the sum would exceed by several times the Gross Domestic Product of the United States. However, such was the about-to-be PM's charisma that his adoring audiences flew in the face of logic and maths and believed him implicitly. You may recall that when the previous regime pointed out that it was not so easy to get information from foreign banks because of international treaties, the BJP hooted with derision and accused them of making excuses. Now Arun Jaitley is

saying practically the same thing; and the people are nodding sympathetically. The new messiah cannot be faulted, it seems.

Modi has brilliantly manoeuvred himself into a position where he has become indispensable to his party. Not everyone in the BJP loves him and in fact, some senior members actively dislike him, but they have to keep up the pretence of fawning over Modi because they need him to win elections. This fact was amply demonstrated during the by-polls held in September and October. Modi kept himself aloof from campaigning and consequently the BJP got a drubbing. I suspect the decision to keep his distance was a deliberate strategy on Modi's part, aimed at driving home the reality that without him the BJP did not have a leg to stand on.

So the Modi juggernaut rolls on and Maharashtra and Haryana now have a BJP government. I personally voted for the Congress candidate, but I have to admit a BJP victory is probably a good thing. What is revolutionary this time round is how and why the people of Maharashtra voted for the BJP. In fact, they did not. They voted for a single individual. Modi came, Modi saw, Modi conquered. It is as simple as that. It is a phenomenon that is rapidly becoming the norm – and a pattern that is likely to be replicated in all state elections for the foreseeable future. You may ask what is wrong with that. Modi is dynamic, purposeful and clearly a man of action. Yes he has displayed a tendency to concentrate all power within his own person and – with the exception of Amit Shah – treats his ministers with amused tolerance, if not thinly disguised contempt, but after his wishy-washy predecessor, perhaps that is what this country needs.

However, the public euphoria over the BJP victory in the Maharashtra assembly election needs to be tempered with a dose of reality. It is sobering to note that out of the 122 seats won by the BJP, a full 35 were gained by defectors from the Congress, NCP and the Shiv Sena, who changed sides just before the election for reasons that are apparent to everyone. In addition, the BJP has cobbled together an alliance with a further 12 independents and members of smaller parties, who will also demand their pound of flesh. It is a safe bet that these Johnny-come-

latelies will demand minor ministries and/or chairmanships of lucrative public sector companies as the price for their “loyalty”. With individuals, who have no concept of loyalty to the organizations that nurtured them and have obviously been paying only lip service to party ideology, governing some of the state’s affairs, one can imagine what kind of “good governance” they will provide. I am afraid Narendra Modi’s promised *achhe din* will probably remain a pipe dream for the people of Maharashtra. I hope I am proved wrong. As far as the Shiv Sena is concerned, now that Modi has called Uddhav Thackeray’s bluff, only a face saving gesture by the BJP can retrieve the broken alliance.

What is wrong is that Modi harbours a thinly disguised ambition to have BJP rule in virtually every state in India – and with his charisma and vote pull, he is well on his way to achieving his goal. In future assembly elections, he will campaign vigorously, mesmerise his audience and bring home another BJP victory. In effect India will be a one party democracy; if one can still call it that. Sure, all the trappings of democracy will remain; free and fair elections, various commissions and limited power to the people. However in the absence of a credible national opposition anywhere in the country, who will rein in potential excesses committed by the ruling party – not to mention the ever present greed? I’m sure Modi means well and is sincere about his desire to pull up the economy and better the lot of the common man. However, there is already a perception that the PM with his micro-managerial style of functioning may have bitten off more than he can chew.

The swearing-in ceremony of the new Maharashtra CM promised to be another Modi extravaganza. Our new PM has now proved beyond doubt that he is a formidable showman. He seems to have adopted the philosophy of that great American impresario P. T. Barnum who correctly divined that if you give the people enough of a spectacle, they won’t pay much attention to substance. And what a spectacle it was. By inviting film and sports stars, not to mention Mumbai’s swish set, the organizers ensured that the television cameras had a lot to focus on. Fishing boats bedecked with the lotus symbol formed a saffron necklace from Marine Drive to the Gateway of India. The finishing touch was that while the new CM was being sworn-in, a short film depicting the coronation of Shivaji played in the background. There was a plan for the newly minted CM to be driven around the stadium in a chariot (probably borrowed from the set of *Mahabharata*) after the ceremony. It was a not-so-subtle reminder that there is a new emperor in town; and one more opportunity to rub it in the faces of a defeated and demoralized Congress. The symbolism of holding the ceremony on the

anniversary of the newly resurrected Sardar Patel – while pointedly ignoring the death anniversary of Indira Gandhi on the same day – was meant to drive the final nail into the Nehru-Gandhi coffin. The emphatic message is that Modi and the BJP are here to stay; and they will not rest until the Congress is consigned to the dust heap of history.

Strange how attitudes change depending on who is wearing the cap! The BJP Finance Minister Arun Jaitley is reported to have cautioned the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) against “sensationalising” audit reports and quoting unrealistic notional values for the lapses uncovered; a very logical statement that cannot be faulted. Except that this is the very same BJP which latched on to the CAG’s sensational figures of around Rs.1.8 lakh crores each as the losses incurred to the exchequer due to improper allocation of telecom spectrum and coal blocks. When the Congress leaders proffered the same arguments as Jaitley is now doing, they were derisively dismissed as puerile excuses.

So there you have it. The Congress ruled India for almost half a century since Independence, but it now looks as if the next quarter century will belong to the BJP, with Modi going from strength to strength. It is ironical that the same BJP that routinely lambasted the Congress for being subservient to one family, now allows itself to be completely dominated by a single individual. Concentrating such formidable power in the hands of one individual can be a mixed blessing. Modi has started off well by shaking up the bureaucracy and attempting to jump-start the economy. However, after he has set these tasks in motion, who knows what new worlds he will seek to conquer? There is no one to check him if he gets carried away by his power. Whether or not this will prove beneficial to India’s democracy, only time will tell.

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When a Dictator is Prime Minister, the defections from the other parties to the Congress(R) have become as common as fire-flies in their season. The reasons sometimes offered for desertions may be made to look reasonable but the real motive is to please and acquire influence with the dictator. The defectors, at least some of them may please and acquire some personal influence with the P.M. But they will not command her respect or confidence.

Rajaji in his ‘Dear Reader’ page,  
*Swarajya*, May 27, 1972

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# Modi's Detractors in America

Sardul Singh Minhas

*As Prime Minister Narendra Modi travelled to America in September, a back story persisted...That the visa-denial coalition was powered primarily by right-wing Christian evangelical support soon disillusioned Rajagopal, who had desired a large, secular coalition to accomplish his goal.*

Just hours before his arrival, to start what was expected to be a triumphant five-day visit to the United States, a federal court in New York issued a summons for Mr. Modi to respond to a lawsuit that accuses him of human rights abuses in connection with sectarian riots in 2002 in Gujarat. The court's directions came in response to a mendacious complaint by the American Justice Centre, acting on behalf of two alleged victims of the riots.

The complaint, filed in the Southern District of New York, was well timed for maximum embarrassment to the prime minister. The lawsuit would most likely be dismissed, but it achieved its purpose of distracting attention from the visit.

The lawsuit claimed damages against Modi for crimes against humanity, accusing him of at least failing to prevent the deaths of more than 1,000 Muslims at the hands of Hindus during the 2002 riots in Gujarat. It was silent on the deaths of over 300 Hindus who died in the riots too.

The same attorney who filed the law suit against Modi, Gurpatwant Singh Pannun, also filed a lawsuit against Sonia Gandhi, alleging human rights abuses during anti-Sikh riots in 1984. And a summons was presented to her last year. Mrs. Gandhi made a motion to dismiss the claim, and that motion succeeded this year. Apparently, Mr. Pannun has a penchant for filing high-profile cases against visiting Indian leaders.

Pannun arranged for a small group of mostly Indian immigrants to picket Madison Square Garden in New York when Modi was given a rock star reception there on September 28, and organized protests outside the White House on September 30. The group alleged Modi bore responsibility for the poor treatment of India's Muslim and Sikh minorities. Typical of the protestors was one Ahmed Syed, an IT consultant from San Diego, who carried a poster with a photo of Modi on one side, and photos on the other of Hindu militias training with firearms in India, with the message: "Wanted: Narendra Modi for crimes against humanity."

The astute timing of the protests organized by Pannun served to greatly magnify his message in the American news media. It was carried in just about every report on the prime minister's activities during the visit. For instance, the Guardian-US quoted Mr. Pannun saying "When Modi was in charge of the state of Gujarat he gave an open hand and an open field to the hunting down of Muslims, with many killed, hundreds of thousands of women raped and more than 10,000 injured. And now he is getting the red carpet treatment from the US." The law suit and the protests threw a shadow of controversy across the visit.

Anti-Modi activity in the US began soon after the 2002 riots. It gained strength when Modi was invited by the Asian American Hotel Owners Association to address a conference in South Florida in late March 2005. It had also invited the then Governor, Jeb Bush, of Florida and the TV talk show host Chris Matthews. The group's chairman, Nash Patel, said at the time that many of the group's members had roots in Gujarat.

Soon after Modi's US visit was announced, 41 South Asian groups across the country came together to form the Coalition Against Genocide. On Feb. 24, 2005, a letter organised by the group was sent to the hotel association, asking them to rescind Modi's invitation. Another pressure group flooded Matthews with letters; on March 8, Chris Matthews backed out of the conference.

One key leader of the above coalition was John Prabhudoss, an India-born, Washington-based evangelical Christian. Another was Raju Rajagopal, a retired professional based in Berkeley, California. Prabhudoss focused on Washington to lobby for denying a visa to Modi. He found an ally in John Conyers Jr., a Democratic Congressman from Michigan who had a large Arab and Muslim constituency.

As their vehicle against Modi they used the International Religious Freedom Act, which had been enacted by the Congress in 1998. Of particular use to them was the clause that read "Any alien who, while serving

as a foreign official, was responsible or directly carried out severe violations of religious freedom ... was inadmissible (to the United States).” They arranged to introduce a resolution in the US House of Representatives in March, 2005, condemning Modi “for his actions to incite religious persecution.” Three days later, the State Department denied Modi a visa.

That the visa-denial coalition was powered primarily by right-wing Christian evangelical support soon disillusioned Rajagopal, who had desired a large, secular coalition to accomplish his goal. In the nine years since, the coalition has faded; it can now be characterized as antediluvian. Its denouement appears to lie in the likes of Pannun, the New York immigration and human rights lawyer. He and his ilk are using the anti-Modi shenanigans to garner publicity for their own business, it appears.

In the meantime, the very basis of the denial of the visa to Modi, that he was responsible or directly carried

out severe violations of religious freedom – the lynchpin of the International Religious freedom Act – has been demonstrated to be false. A Special Investigation Team (SIT) appointed and monitored by India’s Supreme Court not only exonerated Narendra Modi in 2012, it emphasized that “Mr. Modi took all possible steps to control the riots.”

If one were to go by the numbers, the rapturous 30,000-strong crowd of Indian Diaspora inside Madison Square Garden presented a vivid contrast to the conniptions of the couple of hundred protestors outside. The Diaspora is thrilled with and energized by Modi. They view him as the doughty leader who will accomplish the resurgence of India on the global stage as a proud and strong nation.

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A news item from Bangalore tells us that the police have registered a case under the Defence of India Rules against the owner of a Bakery on a charge of having sold eatables after the “prescribed” hour on a Monday afternoon. The case has not yet gone to court. I would respectfully advise the Government of Mysore to stop this comic business of connecting the defence of India with biscuits or cakes in a cafe after 4 p.m. on Mondays in Bangalore. It is very doubtful is the “prescribed hour on Monday” is constitutionally valid. The Prime Minister’s appeal was for voluntary restraint.

Rajaji in his ‘Dear Reader’ page, *Swarajya*, January 8, 1966



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# Rediscovering The Sardar

T. H. Chowdary

*Three times during his life time, Sardar Patel stepped down from becoming the President of the Indian National Congress (INC), every time to make way for Jawaharlal Nehru, even though no Pradesh Congress Committee was forthcoming to support Nehru. Mahatma Gandhi prevailed upon Sardar Patel every time to withdraw in favour of Nehru.*

In 1945 when India's independence was imminent and the new President in place of Abul Kalam Azad was to be elected, all Pradesh Congress Committees (PCC) proposed Sardar Patel to be the President with the intention that this would enable him to become the Prime Minister. Not one PCC proposed Nehru's name; yet, on Gandhiji's advice Patel withdrew in favour of Nehru. The fear was that if he did not become the Prime Minister, he would leave the Congress or split it in the company of Congress socialists like Jayaprakash Narayan. Gandhiji feared that this would be disastrous. Earlier, in 1928, for the first time, Sardar Patel's name was proposed as President of the INC. Nehru's father Motilal Nehru requested Gandhiji to make his son succeed him. On Gandhiji's advice, Patel withdrew his candidature. In 1959 Indira Gandhi was made President of Congress at the insistence of Jawaharlal Nehru.

These are some of the actions of Sardar Patel which have made him *persona non grata* with the Nehru Dynasty, the Communists, their fellow-travelling "intelligentsia" and their "eminent" historians. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was another potential rival to Jawaharlal Nehru. He was elected the President of the Congress despite the opposition of Gandhi. Nehru who called himself a socialist cooperated with Gandhiji to see that Subhash Bose did not continue as Congress President. Bose left the Congress in disgust and founded, the Forward Bloc. It was Gandhiji's patronage that built up Jawaharlal Nehru and excluded Patel and Subhash Chandra Bose from the leadership of the Congress.

The 600 and odd princely states in India had the choice to join either Pakistan or India or be independent. When Sardar Patel gave his consent to Mountbatten's proposal for the division of India, he put the condition that he, that is Sardar Patel, and not Mountbatten should deal with the Princes and Nawabs – Mountbatten agreed. Sardar Patel was able to persuade almost all the princes not only to accede to the Indian Union but also for their consolidation into viable units like PEPSU, Madhya Bharat etc. Later on, all these were integrated into the Indian Union during his remaining life of less than two and half years

after Independence. Junagadh's Muslim Nawab acceded to Pakistan but under Sardar Patel's guidance, there was a people's movement against that accession. The Nawab fled and Junagadh became part of Saurashtra later merged in Gujarat.

Jawaharlal Nehru did not allow Patel to deal with Jammu & Kashmir. Nehru was under the influence of the Mountbattens. J&K remains a problem costing us a great in men and money. The Nizam of Hyderabad was in collusion with Pakistan. He was wanting to be independent. Mountbatten, as the Governor General with the tacit approval of Nehru was wanting to give a special status, to Hyderabad, not accession. The Nizam and the his Razakars wanted that it should be an Islamic state in alliance with Pakistan. There was a Standstill Agreement. Sardar Patel waited for Mountbatten to leave India in June 1948. By that time, every attempt to have some settlement or the other with the Nizam including Mountbatten's and Nehru' offer of special status failed. Then, unlike Nehru in Kashmir, Sardar Patel decided on Police Action. In a matter of four days, on 17th September 1948, the Nizam, his army and his Razakars were worsted. The territory was integrated with the rest of Bharat. It is now the Indian State of Telengana.

From 1949 to 1951, Communists in India instructed by the Cominform the coordinating body of communist parties worldwide, under the hegemony of USSR's dictator Stalin, took to arms to throw out the newly independent Nehru-led government, describing it as a lackey of Anglo-American imperialism and establish "people's democracy", the communist euphemism for the dictatorship of the communist party in the name of the proletariat. Sardar Patel suppressed this movement with determination, imprisoning hundreds of above-ground communists, under the Preventive Detention Act. His successor, Govind Ballabh Pant finished the insurgency of the communists, and their war against the Indian Army in Telengana by September 1951.

Communists not only infiltrated into the Congress

but the Congress labour movement. Sardar Patel was instrumental in founding the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) to distinguish it from the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) which was captured by the communists.

In the last few years, over 400 projects and schemes, airports and universities have been named after members of the Nehru Dynasty. They outnumber organisations and institutions and projects named after Gandhi and other national leaders .

The single party majority that the BJP secured in the elections to the Lok Sabha in 2014 can be considered as heralding the Second Republic of India. The first Republic Nehruvian, made us *effete*. It has been taken over by

unIndian elements from within and outside the country. During this Second Republic, all those who mightily contributed to the freedom movement and our nationhood and integrity of this state should be honoured. It is for the first time that Sardar Patel's Jayanti is being celebrated with the involvement of the Government of India. Persons like Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu, Purushottam Das Tandon, J. B. Kriplani, C. Rajagopalachari not to talk of Subhash Chandra Bose, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal should all be given the honour due to them.

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### **When the Princely State of Hyderabad was integrated into the Indian Union**

“On April 30, 1948, the Indian Army withdrew fully from Hyderabad. After that, Rizvi and the Razakars began to behave licentiously all over the state. Mountbatten had left and Rajaji was the Governor General. Nehru, Rajaji and Patel were all aware of the dangerous situation prevailing in Hyderabad. Patel believed that the army should be sent to put an end to the Nizam's wantonness. At about that time, the Nizam had sent an emissary to Pakistan and transferred a large sum of money from his Government account in London to Pakistan. At a cabinet meeting, Patel had described these things and demanded that army be sent to end the terror-regime in Hyderabad. Nehru, who usually spoke calmly, peacefully and with international etiquette, losing his composure said, ‘You are a total communitist. I will never accept your recommendation.’”

“Patel remained unperturbed but left the room with his papers.

“The situation in Hyderabad worsened day by day. Rajaji wanted to find a solution to the basic issue and also conciliate between Nehru and Patel. He called V. P. Menon and talked to him. Menon let Rajaji know that the army was being kept battle-ready and could be asked to attack at any time. Rajaji invited Nehru and Patel to come to Rashtrapati Bhavan (then the Governor General's House) next day. Menon was also asked to be present. As Menon was on his way to Rashtrapati Bhavan for the meeting, an ICS officer named Butch (from the State Home Ministry who had conducted discussions for integration of Travancore and Kochi) stopped him

and handed over a letter. It was from the British High Commissioner protesting the rape of seventy year old nuns of a convent two days earlier by Razakars. Menon handed over the letter to Rajaji when he arrived for the meeting.

The meeting at Rashtrapati Bhavan began after Nehru and Patel arrived. Rajaji in his typical style described the situation in Hyderabad. He felt that, to safeguard India's reputation, a decision should not be delayed any longer. Nehru was concerned about international repercussions. Rajaji then played his trump card – the letter from the British High Commissioner. Nehru read it. His face turned red and veins bulged on his bald head. Anger choked his words. He shot out of his chair, slammed his fist on the table and cried out, ‘Let's not waste a moment. We'll teach them a lesson.’

Rajaji immediately told Menon, ‘VP, inform the Commander-in-Chief to proceed according to plan’

Menon conveyed the order to General Bucher. Nehru sat with his head in his hands. He drank tea and remained silent. Rajaji smiled and said: ‘If it is cancer, it has to be removed, even if it is painful.’

**From M. K. K. Nair's book titled “The Story of an Era Told without Ill Will”. Contributed by Srinivasan Varadarajan. alamelousvr@gmail.com.**

# Federalism, Governance and Growth

Sunil S. Bhandare

These are interesting times in India; and many, especially those in business and industry [including foreign investors], perceive these as exciting times. After almost three years of what has commonly come to be described as “policy paralysis” and a non-performing UPA II regime, we now have the NDA government in office for the past six months, under the PM Narendra Modi. He symbolizes “disruptive” political leadership, which is quite distinctive from the conventional mold. And this is visible right since the time of the general election campaigns.

No negative nuances are implicit in this proposition. Like disruptive business models or disruptive innovations and technology, he seems to be bringing about transformational shifts be it in political discourse, policies, official socio-economic programs, institutions of governance or international relationship. What positive outcome this may bring to bear on India’s federalism, governance and growth needs to be watched very carefully. But for an objective assessment, the timeframe cannot be short-term, but has to be at least a period of next two to three years.

In the meantime what stands out is that his leadership has infused high expectations and heightened confidence among various stakeholders about the future of our economy – the prospects of better governance and stronger economic growth. Also, some early indicators of performance based on key macro parameters like inflation rate, balance of payments, exchange rate and investment sentiments are found to be quite encouraging. There is a clear break from the sense of despondency and drift that marked the last three years of the UPA II government.

## A Nature of Symbiotic Relationship

Turning to the core theme of this article\*, let me start with a premise that there exists some kind of a symbiotic or intrinsic relationship among federalism, governance and growth – and growth to be measured by its strength, sustainability and quality. I believe this is a perfectly legitimate relationship to envisage and evolve

\* This is based on Mr. Bhandare’s remarks as the Chair at the session on the subject of this article at the Symposium on “Gokhale’s Legacy”, held on 15th November 2014, organised by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom in association with the Project for Economic Education, Indian Secular Society and LiberalsIndia for Good Governance.

even in the absence of any expert knowledge about any particular empirical evidence or study relating to cause and effect relationship among these three crucial parameters. Surely, there is a *prima facie* sound rationale that good governance is a condition precedent for sustainable high growth. For example, India’s two recent phases of high real GDP growth rates of about 7.5% and ~9% in the post-reforms period, namely, in 1993-97 and 2003-08, respectively, were at least partially reflective of good governance, especially in the sphere of fiscal management.

Further, the nature of governance – good or bad – is embedded in a political and institutional system of any given country. In turn, the political and institutional system owes itself to whether the country is unitary or of a federal form. In the case of India, alongside democracy, federalism has become a cornerstone of her constitution. Of course, many constitutional experts and jurists have characterized the Indian Constitution in being “quasi-federal”. It envisages strong states with a stronger center.

While reflecting on our federal structure, a TINA [There Is No Alternative] factor obviously comes to the fore. For the sub-continental size of our country – a nation of over 1.2 billion spanning 29 States and 7 Union Territories with a vast diversity of languages, ethnicity, religion, culture and socio-economic strata, federalism is an act of faith as much as it is an act of principle. Lord Meghnad Desai, in his book the Rediscovery of India puts it well: “*India is a collection of many nations – unique among modern democracies. It is a multi-national polity*”.

Over the last sixty-five years, the Indian Constitution as well as the federal structure has gone through many trials and tribulations. The most classic illustration of that is the unfortunate phase of the so-called Emergency [1975-77]. Even so, the system has shown remarkable resilience and preserved the basic structure and macro framework of all the key institutions of governance – the legislative, the executive and the judiciary. While unity overrides diversity, one cannot be oblivious of complex issues of “National” “State” or “Local” identities. There are political issues [conflict of interest] about developmental role and responsibilities as enunciated in the Constitution between Center and States. So also, are there serious deficiencies in the decentralization of

economic power at the level of local governments, despite the fact that the 73rd Constitutional Amendment has been in operation for almost about two decades now! There are several other vexatious challenges about asymmetric nature of our federalism – inequality among states, regional imbalances, failure to create an internal common market, and so on.

How the NDA government seeks to strategize its approach to these complex issues will determine the evolving nature of governance system and its impact on growth. By all accounts most of the institutions of governance are in place. In the post-reforms period, the need was also strongly felt for creating new regulatory institutions, especially in all those areas which were hitherto in the domain of public sector, be it telecom, electricity, roads, ports, airports or insurance. Moreover, consequent upon the repeal of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, the Competition Commission of India has come into existence. Like-wise, there has been strengthening of existing institutions of financial sector and capital markets as well as support system for citizens' issues – for example, creation of a mechanism for Public Interest Litigation, Chief Information Officer, etc. The NDA government proclaims that it would continue to strengthen various regulatory institutions, and also recreate some existing ones – for example, long-pending abolition of the Planning Commission and replacing it with strategic economic policy think tank.

### **The Thrust of the BJP Manifesto**

Going forward, in what way would the NDA government push forward its agenda of good governance? In this context, a reference to the BJP Manifesto [BJP-M] becomes extremely relevant, albeit the past experience does suggest there are proverbial gaps in promise and performance in the implementation of the statements of good intentions by almost all the political parties. Thus, while reflecting on future of centre-state relations, BJP-M talks about Team India and evolving a working system, which leads to harmonious relations. It promises to address genuine grievances of every state in a comprehensive manner and *“to evolve a model of national development, which is driven by the states. ... Team India shall not be limited to the Prime Minister led team sitting in Delhi, but will also include Chief Ministers and other functionaries as equal partners”*.

It further promises fiscal autonomy of States while urging financial discipline. It proposes to create *‘Regional Councils of States’* with common problems and concerns, with a view to seeking solutions that are applicable across a group of states. It also talks about giving *“the unique status to Union Territories”* and promises to focus on developing and strengthening their economies.

But most important are promises for reviving *“the moribund forums like National Development Council and Inter-State Council”* and convert them into active bodies. It talks about involving the states in the promotion of foreign trade and commerce; help the states mobilize resources through investments in industry, agriculture and infrastructure. It goes further to emphasize imperatives of integrating the Nation – its Vastness and Voices and *“working within the framework of our Constitution and with the spirit of ‘India First’”*. Further, it assures the fact that all Indians living in different regions of the country have an equal stake in the progress of the country and they have to be assured of the fruits of the progress.

Specifically on matters of governance, the BJP-M mentions quite an ambitious agenda, which among other things, promises [a] technology-enabled e-Governance - minimizing the discretion in the citizen-government interface; [b] system-based, policy-driven governance - making it transparent; [c] rationalization and simplification of the tax regime - which is currently repulsive for honest tax payers; [d] people's participation in the developmental process through pro-active, pro-people good governance and creating a four Ps model – People-Public-Private Partnership (PPPP) for developmental projects; and [e] empowering Panchayati Raj institutions with extensive devolution of functions, functionaries and funds, and rewarding the Panchayats with additional developmental grants for their good governance efforts.

In summing up, economic reforms of the early nineties brought about a paradigm shift in India's formulation of economic liberalism. It transformed the economic landscape with increased participation of private sector, competition and globalization. India has certainly broken the shackle of Hindu and Neo-Hindu growth rates. It has proven its capacity to deliver much higher growth if the government is responsive with policy support backed by good governance. For the past over five years, especially after the economy showed remarkable resilience in the wake of the Global Financial Crisis of 2008, the economy was desperately looking for another major phase of transformational change. But the UPA II government lost the theme of a wonderful growth story in the midst of a series of scams, corruption cases, reckless pursuit of social welfare agenda, overall “policy paralysis” and above all incompetent political leadership.

There is a refreshing new phenomenon driven by a “disruptive” political leadership, which has the capacity to steer the path of “creative destruction” and build a new edifice of stronger federalism, good governance and high growth.

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# The Political Economy of Black Money in India

Ajit Karnik

*Studies have shown that possibly far greater amount of black money is lying within the country than has been stashed abroad. So, why not go after black money that is located in India without being hamstrung by the issue of confidentiality that is involved in the various double-taxation agreements?*

The sparks flying over the Indian political firmament in connection with the disclosure of the names of illegal foreign bank account holders have obscured a crucial aspect of the profoundly important issue of black money in India. This aspect is only peripherally related to the question of who is likely to be included in the list of more than 600 names submitted by the Government to the Supreme Court. The crucial aspect I refer to is connected with the very dynamics of black money generation in India. Even more importantly, I believe, attention needs to be diverted away from black money stashed abroad to black money stashed *within* India. I believe this reorientation of attention will take the discourse beyond petty and unseemly party politics. It will also spare us the usual and predictable mud-slinging that various party spokespersons indulge in on Indian news channels.

The recent displeasure expressed by the Supreme Court in connection with the black money issue has been an embarrassment for the Government. However, I do believe that the court's charge that the Government was providing a protective umbrella to black money holders was a bit harsh. As of now, I have no reason to doubt the government's sincerity in pursuing those who have illegal foreign bank accounts. Arun Jaitley's statements, in a TV interview, had a ring of honesty to it.

If the government was not interested in providing anyone with a protective umbrella, why was it keen on releasing names of foreign bank account holders in a small trickle? My conjecture is that the government wished to play out the release of these names in the manner of a long drawn out TV serial: it would release a tranche of names every time it needed to embarrass its political opponents. My reasoning for this conjecture comes from the same interview of Jaitley. He had a smile writ large on his face when he said that the Congress Party will be embarrassed when the next set of names of foreign bank account holders is revealed. It was the look of one who has seen the next episode of the TV serial and wishes to titillate the audience by dropping this nugget of information. Alas, the Supreme Court would have none of that: it had been sufficiently incensed with the UPA for its lethargy on the issue and, unfortunately, the NDA had to face the

flak. The court was in no mood to wait for the drip-drip of foreign account holders' names to be released as per a schedule determined by the government. Rather than wait for the slow crawl towards a climax, as is the wont of TV serials, the court wanted the denouement of the black money saga to be revealed in the first episode itself!

One thing is certain from the government's run-in with the Supreme Court: The BJP has found out that being in government is more difficult than being in opposition. It should have also found out that success does not come with good intentions alone. The process of bringing back these illegal funds parked abroad is fraught with numerous onerous responsibilities on the part of the Indian government. These responsibilities may be given short shrift only at the cost of incurring the non-cooperation of the countries with which double taxation avoidance treaties have been signed. While in opposition, the BJP could afford to pour ridicule and scorn on the UPA for pointing out the stringent conditions involved when revealing the names of illegal foreign bank account holders. The boot is now on the other foot.

The Congress and other losing parties of the 2014 elections now have the luxury of hurling criticism at the current government. The NDA government, however, still has its Teflon coating intact: given its clean image, hardly any mud hurled at it tends to stick. Nonetheless, the NDA finds itself in a problem of its own making. No one had compelled the BJP to make the grand promise of getting all black money back to India within a hundred days of assuming office. That promise, unfortunately, has now come back to haunt the party, giving the Congress an opportunity to grab the moral high ground while taunting the BJP with the "we had said the same thing about the binding double taxation treaty clauses" refrain. Anyone who has read the double taxation treaty agreement with Germany would know that the UPA was right in being circumspect about revealing names in public. The UPA's position then and the NDA's position now are identical.

Studies have shown that possibly far greater amount of black money is lying within the country than has been stashed abroad. So, why not go after black money

that is located in India without being hamstrung by the issue of confidentiality that is involved in the various double-taxation agreements?

Political commentators have been pointing out the importance of black money in Indian politics, especially during elections. Indian political parties are estimated to have spent Rs.30,500 crore (1 crore = 10 million) during the 2014 general elections. Just prior to the elections, the Election Commission of India had raised the limits on expenditure by a candidate for a parliamentary constituency to a maximum of Rs.70 lakh (1 lakh = 100,000) with the limit being lower for smaller states. Given that there were 8,251 candidates in the 2014 parliamentary elections (including candidates from unrecognized parties as well as independent candidates) and assuming all candidates in all states spent the same amount (i.e. Rs.70 lakh each), the maximum legal expenditure for these elections should have been Rs.5,776 crore. If the NDTV amount mentioned above is to be believed, actual expenditure was over 5 times the legal amount. More specifically, the Congress with 464 candidates should have spent a legal maximum of Rs.325 crore and the BJP with its 428 candidates should have spent a legal maximum of Rs.300 crore. Even the most ardent supporters of these parties will admit that these amounts are laughably low. Is it a surprise then that neither the BJP nor the Congress have submitted details of their elections expenses to the Election Commission of India as of October 2014? Where did these additional funds that were spent by the political parties come from? The major source of these funds is believed to be the real estate sector. Experts estimate that the real estate sector accounts for 10% of India's GDP of \$ 2 trillion and of this 30% of transactions of all property transactions use black money.

Is there a way out of the black money mess that India finds herself in? There are two ways of doing this. The first is to indulge in the cops and robbers game which both the UPA and the BJP have been playing while trying to uncover illegal foreign bank accounts. The problem with this is that there may not be a neat separation between the cops and the robbers: at least some cops may be helping the robbers or, worse, maybe robbers themselves! However, if the incentives for generating black money remain intact, this cops and robbers game is a mere palliative. At best, it provides excitement to the public, talking points to loud-mouthed TV anchors and fodder to political parties to go after each other.

The second and, unfortunately, the more complicated approach is to change the incentive structure for the generation of black money. The economic reforms introduced in 1991 brought about such a major change

in this incentive structure. The amelioration of the rigours of the license-raj system and curtailing the discretionary powers of the bureaucracy and the government substantially reduced the avenues for black money generation. However, as experts have pointed out "economic liberalization has not ended the government's discretionary powers over resource allocation in numerous domains". As the Government of India's 'White Paper on Black Money' testifies, there are sectors which are still susceptible to black money generation. These sectors are real estate, finance, bullion and jewellery, mining and other natural resources and equity trading. Since the government still holds substantial discretionary powers in these sectors, select individuals or groups are able to "buy" favours from government. This ability to buy and sell favours provides powerful incentives for the generation of black money, a large part of which is possibly diverted for financing election campaigns.

The problem at the heart of the black money problem is the nexus between those who receive discretionary favours (private business in the sectors listed above) and those who provide these favours or even those who lobby for these favours on behalf of private interests (the polity in general with a central role for the government). Unless this nexus is broken, there is little chance that the primary cause of black money generation will be nullified. But who will bell the cat? Given the enormous amount of resources that are required to fight elections, can we expect political parties to slay the goose that lays the golden egg? In the absence of a policy which reforms the electoral system (e.g. public funding of elections has been proposed as a solution), we the electorate might as well sit back and enjoy the show-biz of illegal foreign bank accounts being played out on the 24-hour news channels.

**This is excerpted from Ajit Karnik's blog and published with his permission. For the full text with explanatory footnotes visit <http://ajitkarnik.blogspot.ae/2014/11/the-political-economy-of-black-money-in.html>**

**AJIT KARNIK, Professor of Economics, Middlesex University, Dubai, UAE. Blog: [ajitkarnik.blogspot.com](http://ajitkarnik.blogspot.com)**

When the office of the Federal Chancellor of West Germany, Ludwig Erhard, recently indented for a new car to replace the four year old Mercedes, the Federal Audit office rejected the request saying: "Vehicle O-2 must complete 200,000 kilometres."

**(From *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 21st June 1960)**

**Rajaji in his 'Dear Reader' page, *Swarajya*, July 23, 1966**

# Agriculture and Rural Indebtedness - IV

R. M. Mohan Rao

*Freedom from British Rule did little to improve the lot of the Farmer.  
This is so even today 67 years after Independence.*



*In this the 4th part of the series on 'Agriculture and Rural Indebtedness' Prof. Mohan Rao discusses the Agriculture Policy Framework*

The relatively low share of NPA in non-priority sector vis-a-vis agriculture have to be seen in the light of the discriminatory policy of onetime settlement for debtors in non-priority sector and absence of similar options for agriculturists. Even if NPA are really higher in agriculture, it has to be seen in relation to the adverse natural conditions viz., excessive rains, droughts, cyclones, and uncontrollable pests; and due to irregular or insufficient supply of electricity - factors beyond the farmer's control. The differences in NPA, if any, cannot be attributed to the wilful default on the part of farmers and one cannot justifiably conclude that the urban and the affluent are more honest and law abiding than the rural and the less affluent.

There is also need to reflect on the rationale behind charging higher rates on agricultural loans while charging lower rates on consumer items of a luxury nature. Similarly, inadequate agricultural loans are subject to multiple restrictions on end-use while crores of rupees are advanced outside agriculture without any restrictions on end-use and that too, without proper documentation.

## Critical Issues (continued)

### (iii) Institutional Credit flow to Agriculture

Government initiatives through support to institutional sources reduced the role of private channels in rural credit from 92.7 per cent in 1951 to 30.6 per cent by 1991. We do not have evidence to show whether this has further come down or increased. Indications are that this positive trend might have reversed due to the weakening of the cooperative credit structure and rural banks on the one hand and financial sector reforms affecting rural credit flow from the banking sector on the other.

The myths against the greater flow of institutional credit to agriculture, particularly from the banking sector, needs to be dispelled. The arguments that poor recovery, bad debts, and Non Performing Assets [NPA] are more in agricultural loans are not well founded. The over-dues of banks from agriculture are far lower when compared to the total number of suits filed against borrowers enjoying advances of Rs.1 crore and above. There are 5,013 suits among the latter aggregating to Rs.27,988 crores as on 31 March 31, 2000. During 2001-2003, a period of consecutive droughts in many states the NPA of agriculture to outstanding advances formed 12 per cent as against 9.4 per cent for non-priority sector as a whole. But in absolute terms they are Rs.7,635 crores in agriculture as against Rs.28,764 crores in the non-priority sector.

### (iv) Risk and Uncertainty in Farming

Risk and uncertainty are intertwined with agriculture. Among the various insurance schemes introduced to cover the farmers' risks, crop insurance is the major one. However, this has not taken roots due to the farmers' dissatisfaction with norms relating to area, premium charged, compensation payments, and the like. Crop insurance, if effective, can help farmers overcome production risk. But there are other risks such as market risk and price risk.

### (v) Viability of Farming

Viability of farming is affected due to decline in man-

land ratio, non-existence of value addition to products at the local level, and absence of supplementary incomes from on-farm, off-farm activities in the rural areas.

Trends in distribution of ownership holdings show that the proportion of sub-marginal holdings has increased from 35.24 per cent in 1971-72 to 40.11 per cent by 1991-92. Similarly, marginal holdings increased from 17.74 to 20.52 during the same period while a marginal decline was noted in respect of smallholdings from 15.49 per cent to 13.42. An almost similar trend is noted in the case of operational holdings as well, with a rise in the share of marginal holdings from 50.62 to 61.58 per cent during 1970-71 and 1995-96 (See Annexure IV)<sup>i</sup>.

Achieving viability of these holdings through contract farming, often talked about in recent forums on farm issues, doesn't seem to be an effective solution. Given the unequal partnership among players involved, the absence of required discipline to honour delivery schedules of supply of raw materials from small farmers at contract prices, particularly during periods when market prices are higher than contract prices, this is an impractical proposition at present. This novel venture with mixed outcomes can be a distant solution in the absence of mechanisms to strengthen and safeguard the interests of the parties and more particularly absence of effective farmers' organizations to articulate farmers' interests.

#### **(vi) Cost of Production and Profitability**

The cost of production data of the Comprehensive Scheme (CS) of Government of India showed that significant changes have occurred in the structure of cost of production over the last two decades reflecting both changes in technology and the relative prices of inputs. It also showed that though diffusion of yield improvement continued in the 1990's, it slowed down considerably for most crops and in most regions whether measured by the use of inputs such as fertilizer or by resulting growth in yield. There is also a deceleration in the growth of private real capital stock in agriculture.

Increased use of purchased inputs together with increase in costs in a scenario of decline in output in the recent period had adversely affected profitability in Indian farming. For instance, fertilizer consumption per hectare increased six-fold from 16.08 kg in 1971-72 to 95.23 kg in 1999-2000 at the all India level. It was as high as 162.68 kg in Andhra Pradesh in 1999-

2000. According to the cost of cultivation data of the CS, the share of hired labour charges in the total cost of paddy at the all-India level increased from 22.42 per cent in 1971-72 to 32.71 per cent by 1998-99. Similarly, in respect of sugarcane in Andhra Pradesh, it increased from 19.55 to 31.87 per cent between 1970-71 and 1990-91. The share of paid out costs for paddy at the all-India level increased from 56.05 in 1970-71 to 62.08 per cent by 1998-99.

The margin of gross value of output (GVO) over costs (i.e., paid out costs plus imputed value of family labour and owned land and capital) per hectare almost stagnated during 1988-93 – 1995-2000. It was Rs.2,754/- per hectare during 1988-93 and Rs.2,793/- during 1995-2000. The GVO-Cost A2 ratio is not only low but also witnessed a slight fall. It was 1.23, 1.23 and 1.21 in 1981-86, 1989-93 and 1995-2000 respectively. Though the number of agricultural labourers grew at 3.70 per cent during 1990's, payments to hired labour grew at 3.10 per cent per annum (CPIAL deflated), which is much higher than the value of farm output. The all-India rate of growth of real (CPIAL deflated) Farm Business Income, i.e., (the difference between value of output produced and costs actually paid) per hectare decelerated sharply from 3.21 per cent per annum during 1980 to 1.02 per cent per annum during the 1990's.

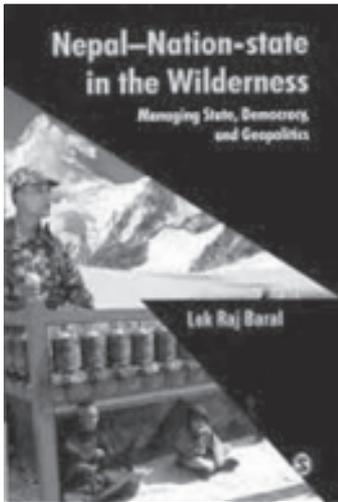
In this context, it must be noted that whether a household earns adequate income from farming or not depends on farm size and cropping intensity among other things. Since average farm-size has declined from hectare 2.30 in 1970-71 to 1.41 in 1995-96, the outcomes were less favourable in cultivator terms than per hectare.

*This discussion paper was prepared by Prof. R. M. Mohan Rao, retired Professor, NABARD Chair, Waltair, Andhra Pradesh. The purpose of serialising this paper is to invite readers to share their views on the issues raised to recommend policies that would ensure a fair deal for India's farmers.*

<sup>i</sup> Email: [freedomfirst1952@gmail.com](mailto:freedomfirst1952@gmail.com) or write to Freedom First, 3rd floor, Army & Navy Building, 148, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Mumbai 400001, if you are interested in getting a copy of Annexure IV.

*To be Continued*

# BOOK REVIEWS



**NATION STATE IN THE WILDERNESS, MANAGING STATE, DEMOCRACY AND GEOPOLITICS** by Lok Raj Baral ● Sage Publications, New Delhi ● marketing@sagepub.in ● 2012 ● pp.308 ● Rs.750

Reviewed by Dr. G .R. S. Rao, formerly Chair Professor in Public Policy, Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad. dr.grs.rao@gmail.

Lok Raj Baral has done well by introducing the theme of his publication with a set of parameters of Nepali politics. For, though human society seems to have ushered the era of democracy, democratization to be precise across the world, the soil

formulate kaleidoscopic ingredients of democratization, but difficult to fix them on a canvas.

For any discerning student of contemporary Nepal, it becomes evident that attaining 'political freedom' through a revolutionary movement is relatively easier than bringing about democratic social transformation. For, it is a process of socio-legal engineering, at two levels viz., institutionalization of democracy, and, the more challenging dimension of democratizing the people, so as to fuse with the liberal democratic values and the global institutions of governance.

conditions are germinating diverse mutations of democracy.

Baral is not an ivory tower academic satisfying himself merely with analytical chastity. He is at once an academic, a diplomat, a politician and above all an enlightened citizen. He has presented the several streams traversing different terrain adding to the turbulence of the confluence of democracy. The beauty is that social churning leads to the mainstreaming of democracy. Baral's analytical narrative of Nepal's struggle brings out, vividly, the turbulence of cross-currents.

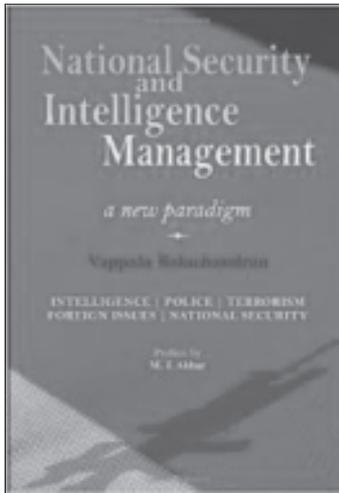
Standing at this critical cross-roads of building a nation, Baral comes to the inevitable issue: 'what next'? The first Prime Minister of contemporary democracy, Prachanda crystallized this issue saying: "Nepal may have attained its political freedom, but we have to face the World Bank moulds of growth and development." Though some comparisons can be cited in the publication under review, Baral did well in not adopting a comparative study of countries and communities around the globe, but firmly setting his sights on the challenges of democratic transformation in Nepal.

Democracy itself means social (political, economic, cultural, ethnic et al) change, managing the challenge of change. This democratic transformation is more complex, for it involves the spectrum of change concurrently, and thus constitutes a greater challenge than the attainment of 'political freedom' through any or many processes, ranging from the evolutionary to the revolutionary. The vintage democracies as well as the contemporary democratizing societies demonstrate this fact. Baral's analytical narrative of Nepal illustrates this integral process of democratization.

A comprehensive narration of the current critical challenges, a bit more of the status of institutionalisation of democratic transition, with their inter-se roles and role-relationships, would have thrown more light and plausible approaches to the process of democracy and maintenance of a moving equilibrium.

The empirical ground reality is that all the genres of democracy, evolved from diverse civilizational conditions, represent cross-cultural factors and a historical continuity. A bottle of wine may be described as wine, yet California Napa wine is not the same as the French Bordeaux. Cultural cross-currents do not permit any such comparison of Nepal's dynamic gut issues of social-political harmony, federal relations, and stable state as a vital prerequisite as well as an integral part of the end objective of democratic transformation. Such issues and processes have been dealt with photo-statically. It is easier to

The eminent author brings out this internal strife as a contra-indicator of democratization very appropriately. That Constitution-making is no small challenge is evident from the situation obtaining in Nepal today. The democratization and Constitution-making in the case of India was characterized by what has been called consensual democracy. The paradox in India is that we have amended the Constitution more than 120 times, and aborted such attempts (to amend) many more times. It was the dominant characteristic of consensual democracy that prompted a commentator to say, "It was bliss to be born at that time of history". Prof. Baral deserves compliments for bringing out a comprehensive and analytical narrative of Nepal negotiating the rapids of democratization, seeking to establish a constitutional democracy.



**NATIONAL SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE MANAGEMENT** by Vappala Balachandran ● Indus Source Books, Mumbai ● info@indussource.com ● www.indussource.com ● 2014 ● pp.331 ● Rs.895.

**Reviewed by Brig. Suresh C. Sharma (Retd.), advisor to the telecom industry and a freelance writer. And member, Advisory Board of Freedom First. Email: brigscs@gmail.com**

The book is a collection of articles and papers contributed by Mr. Balachandran, a distinguished officer of the IPS cadre. He had served in the Maharashtra Police for 17 years and in the Central

foreign Intelligence for 19 years. He had an inside view of the security and intelligence apparatus.

There is need to collate, coordinate and arbitrate to build up actionable intelligence from bits of conflicting reports. Absence of an apex body to carry out the function of arbitration and policy formation has been responsible for lapses that resulted in Kargil crisis, assassination of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi and attack on political leaders at Rajghat on 2 October 1986.

National Security Council [NSC] was formed in November 1998 as an apex body but it did not perform its functions well. During the Kargil crisis, it met only on 8 June 1999, a month after the incursion was confirmed. Nor did the Joint Intelligence Committee [JIC], recast in 1965, deliver the desired results.

Work suffers due to turf war between various intelligence agencies. The State Police cannot handle the increasing traditional and non-traditional threats to security. This task should be the responsibility of the Central Government, who need international cooperation to tackle terrorism, supply of arms and drug running. The author has given examples of link up between crime and terrorism which can be dealt with only by cooperation between Central and State agencies. All attempts to achieve this change have not been successful due to opposition by the States. In USA, the NSC is an advisory body and is staffed by professionals often drawn from outside. In USA, lateral induction at senior level from outside is often done even at the senior level in various departments. The bureaucracy would not let this happen in India.

During the Cold War, the CIA undertook covert actions as against espionage. This led to wrong recruitment and promotion policies and quality of

intelligence work suffered. It was preoccupied with the threat of chemical and biological weapons and ignored terror groups residing in Pakistan. In India, the Intelligence Bureau (IB) had inherited the British tradition of watching the opposition and neglecting external threats. It continued to consider communists to be the main threat. Indira Gandhi had to warn the IB about the dangers from the communalists. RAW is largely staffed by police personnel on deputation for limited period which is not the ideal arrangement. Direct recruitment through UPSC has not given good results either. The difficulty remains unsolved.

Intelligence work has suffered due to lack of oversight and accountability. The CIA has established a website for the information of the public. We deny information to the public in the “public interest”. Reports of enquiry into major security lapses like the attack on Taj Hotel remain classified while the recommendations of the Kargil Enquiry Committee have not been implemented. Vice- President Ansari made a plea for sharing the information with the public. He suggested substituting the phrase “need to know with the phrase “need to share.”

Under pressure from the Western countries, the Ministry of External Affairs [MEA], attempted to change India’s policy on the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Intervention by Dr Sethna at the behest of the author and Kao rectified the situation. The MEA had made a similar mistake by committing that the Indian communication satellite launched by NASA would not be used by the Defence Services. The Space Department was able to get this commitment cancelled. These two incidents bring out the dire need for coordination amongst the various ministries. Shashi Tharoor has suggested the augmenting of the under-staffed diplomatic service. The difficulty arises due to our diplomats giving priority to conferences than to ground realities.

President Sadat of Egypt visited Israel in search of peace and followed it up with talks in Camp David in USA. Progress could be possible by compromise on core issues. This could not have been achieved if the negotiations had been left to bureaucrats sticking to old files. Vajpayee’s visit to Lahore was a similar attempt but it failed due to the Kargil aggression. The author recommends people to people contact and fostering of

bilateral relations without waiting for a solution of the Kashmir problem. This approach ignores the vested interests of the Army and the rise of the Taliban in Pakistan.

In a TV interview on 16 October 2014, Musharraf openly talked of inciting Kashmiris to revolt and infiltration by a few hundred thousand Pakistanis. Security experts view China's military and economic rise as a threat while the finance writers predict a China-India century. Those in charge of national security cannot ignore threats arising from China's modernization of its armed forces. In his press conference on Navy Day, Admiral Joshi, Chief of Naval Staff, was right to assure the nation about our capability to protect our interests.

The USA has a similar approach of engagement and containment. The "containers" want to subvert China through military and economic pressure while the "engagers" prefer a détente and hope that democratic China would adopt a Western style democracy and follow a peaceful path. A democratic government does not necessarily give up hostile acts as we have seen in Pakistan. The governments of Benazir Bhutto and Sharif continued to follow wrong policies directed against India and Afghanistan.

Our security experts are concerned about China establishing a string of pearls around India. It is a step to ensure safe transit of oil needed by China. Isolated pearls can be neutralized and should not be a threat as long as we have adequate military strength to do so. China cannot be blamed for using its economic power to build close relations with India's neighbours. In disregard of national security, we have been guided by electoral interests in West Bengal and Tamil Nadu regarding sharing the River Teesta water with Bangladesh and the issue of Tamils in Sri Lanka. Visits of former NSA Narayanan, to Colombo on 24 April 2009 was construed as requesting Colombo to defer the end game against LTTE till the voting in Tamil Nadu on 13 May.

The US intelligence agency had knowledge of Pakistan's nuclear bomb project but ignored it since USA had to depend on help from Pakistan for the war in Afghanistan. For reasons of realpolitik Pakistan continues to be a preferred partner of the West ignoring Pakistan's sponsorship of terror acts. Our diplomats have to understand the importance of realpolitik. The Western countries are guided by their own interests and not by justice for all.

Friendly police committees can be a great help in promoting peace. The citizens of Bandra, a Mumbai suburb took commendable steps during the Christmas season to

guard themselves. Delhi police should be accountable to the Chief Minister who is answerable to the people. Police reforms have often been talked about but not carried out. CBI needs to be free of political interference but it would be dangerous to give it a constitutional status. Why should even small crimes like murder be made the responsibility of the CBI? A point missed is the need to restore the credibility of the Criminal Investigation (CID).

Indira Gandhi was assassinated at about 0920 hours and confusion prevailed due to absence of a clear hierarchy. After consultations with all the senior ministers, Rajiv Gandhi was sworn in as Prime Minister [PM]. Even today, there is no designated hierarchy. The Army could move in only two battalions by evening and the GOC insisted on a magistrate accompanying the troops. It has not been clarified why more troops could not be rushed to Delhi. The brigade stationed in Delhi was not deployed, may be, due to the class composition of the units. There was complete chaos. H D Pillia, DIG [security], had withdrawn the guards based on intelligence reports. He was punished and humiliated. None of his seniors who were party to the withdrawal of guards stood by him.

India is facing armed revolt on economic, religious, regional and ethnic grounds. The Naxalite movement has spread to 143 districts. They have improved their weapons, forged external links and operate like an army. They have developed a harsh system of collecting revenue from traders and contractors. Political parties have drawn mileage from Naxal and communal forces. The political leadership ignored participation by indigenous elements in jihads. It suited them to put the blame on Pakistan. Terrorism is borderless and unpredictable. The State Governments are not able to take effective action since training of jihadis, purchase of explosives and location of terror acts may involve activities in more than one state. The police and judiciary may get intimidated and give up too easily. This problem must be tackled by Central forces and it is so in most of the countries in the world. The British campaign in Malaya after World War II is a model for counter-insurgency operations. The Security Forces had a strength of twenty to one guerrilla and the villages were cordoned off to deny food to the rebels. A rehabilitation programme was launched for the rebels who surrendered. The major task was carried out by the Army.

We have rightly taken the decision not to employ the Army which should be used only for short periods as was done for ensuring fair elections in West Bengal in 1971. We did try to isolate the rebels from the villagers in Mizoram but failed to provide adequate supply of food to the villagers. They broke the fences and ran away. Undertaking any measures half way is worse than no action

at all. The Red Army of Japan boarded a plane in Mumbai to hijack it because of weak security. We all have experienced the difference between a thorough check of air passengers at airports at Colombo or Kabul compared to the patting at Mumbai.

In spite of previous experience of terrorists using sea transport for entering India, coastal security was neglected and we witnessed the massacre of a few hundred people in November 2008. Recently, press reports revealed that the boats given to the police for patrolling the coastal waters have remained unutilized due to shortage of funds for fuel. This is not the complete story. Police are not at home on the high seas. Nor can effective surveillance be done by patrolling. As in other countries, this task is best

carried out by relying on the coastal people who have an intimate knowledge of the sea and people living on the coast.

These are only some of the many issues dealt with by the author in this book which is a compilation of the author's published works and lectured on different facets of our national security. Additionally the author has participated in decision making at the highest level on Intelligence and anti-terrorism policies. He has presented India's viewpoints on terror activities at international conferences.

The book is a must read for professionals and students concerned with these issues.

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## *Educating Adults*

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### **The Legality of 'Tolerated Prostitution' - Remembering Meliscent Shephard as we Debate**

**Jyoti Marwah**

*The debate today for legalizing sex work centres around the argument that it can help regulate the 'industry' and reduce trafficking in women and children, improve the working conditions for such women.*

Stephen Legg has condescendingly lamented that Meliscent Shephard, in spite of having been an embodiment of 'the feminist urge to challenge patriarchal gender relations' and believing strongly that the blame for the exploitation of prostitutes lay with the colonial State and economy, failed to cultivate intimate relations with Indian colleagues at all levels of national and racial politics. Legg makes his point based on the documents acquired from the Women's Library London, London Metropolitan University, a part of the UK Archives, maintaining the records of The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene. His exemplary work on 'An Intimate and Imperial feminist: Meliscent Shephard and the Regulation of Prostitution in Colonial India' fails to look beyond 1947 after Meliscent Shephard returned to England.

Legg narrowly misses the fine discerning line to view the challenge that lay in this sphere of reform. The area of work that Shephard took to was extremely precarious and any reform movement related to it would have been opposed tooth and nail. It needed refined and fine sensibilities which the native Indians had still to

acquire and for whom prostitution under various customary practices was rooted in traditions and religious beliefs. Hence it was but natural that she would have faced challenges from anti-colonial nationalism. Though she was well trained to fight commercialised prostitution, the essence of her work can be understood better by reviewing its impact on Independent India and the efforts by 'natives' to carry forward her work.

The degraded condition of Indian women was taken as the reason for India's inferior status in the hierarchy of civilizations and colonial discourses had focussed on issues of reforming the status of women. The rise of 20th century welfare bio-politics had forced the colonial State into the realm of social hygiene. Hence in the nineteenth century there was a movement for female education to create the 'New Women' and this rested with three agencies as classified by Geraldine Forbes – 'the British rulers, the Indian male reformers and the educated Indian Women.' The 'imperialist feminists' like Josephine Butler attacked the 'State and not imperialism, viewing regulated prostitution as a threat to the validity of the Empire and arguing in favour of a more ethical imperialism'. Thus it

can be said that imperial feminist literature examined women not as objects of orientalist representation but in 'their imperial settings they shared common attitudes of racism, paternalism, ethnocentrism and national chauvinism.' However these campaigns by Butler against prostitution through the Butler Ladies National Association which merged with the British, Continental and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution to form the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene [AMSH] in 1915 laid the foundation for a larger framework of programme for tackling the issues related to prostitution. The Association was a gender equality pressure group independent of any political party, philosophical school or religious creed. The International Abolitionist Federation was already in place in 1875.

Shephard had come to India in 1928 at the request of CF Andrews, a historian and a reformer closely aligned with Mahatma Gandhi, to represent the AMSH formed in India. Gandhiji also wanted abolition of 'tolerated brothels'. Earlier during the non-cooperation movement Gandhiji had appealed to include women participation, which percolated down to the marginalised sections such as the prostitutes and the *Devadasis*, though at this point of time he was not too keen to involve them in the original core group of volunteers. It was not without reason that for 20 years Shephard had contributed progressively till her return in 1947, campaigning against regulated and tolerated brothels. Gandhiji had met Shephard on 4th march 1933 and explained "You have no need to apologize for being a foreigner doing this service. When people realize that you have no other motive, but simple motive of serving these fallen sisters of India and through their service also serve the fallen men of India, they will forget that you are a foreigner. Those who have other ends to serve under the guise of humanitarian service will always be treated as foreigners whether they wear the white skin or the brown skin." She was awarded the Kaiser-i-Hind in 1938.

She wrote extensively preparing social scientific reports on the need for 'economic and material improvement in the lives of indigenous women'. Her earlier reports focussed on the effects of colonial economics and

society rather than blaming indigenous traditions and customs entirely. She left behind branches of the Association in 128 districts of 18 states in India which was by no means a small contribution.

The educated women had enough to learn from Shephard's work to carry forward the task of reshaping society by giving dignity to women in the India of the 50's, 60's and 70's. She had deeply stirred the Indian mindset and the feminist urge in educated Indian women. Mrs. Shakuntala Lal, Malti Chatpal, Veena Duggal and Urmila Devi Masooda were the pioneering feminists of these times to work for improving the moral and social hygiene among these women. As a consequence in Independent India the primary law dealing with sex workers was first passed in 1956 and was known as the 'Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act' (SITA) which made buying and selling of girls for prostitution a crime under Section 372 and 373 of IPC, a culmination of the work started by Shephard. This was then changed to Immoral Trafficking Act (ITPA) in 1986.

The debate today for legalizing sex work centres around the argument that it can help regulate the 'industry' and reduce trafficking in women and children, improve the working conditions for such women and lower the spread of sexually transmitted diseases including HIV. Also it is argued that the majority of the women in this trade are compelled to do so out of necessity to run their families and provide for their children. Brothels and pimps are the cause for their exploitation. Monitoring these operations becomes the need and concern for prostitution to be legalized. The National Commission for Women is fighting for the rights of these women before a panel of the Supreme Court.

It is further reported that trafficking of women and pimping has not ended in the 50 countries where sex work has been legalized. It is reported that before and after independence, the AMSH in India, struggling to work for moral hygiene and sexual responsibility for men and women in India, found it hard to achieve their goals in bringing dignity, social justice and equality before the law for these



women. Their work was projected at the conference of the International Abolitionist Federation in 1962.

Could we be treading on dangerous grounds by restarting what had been fought against by many like Meliscent Shephard or can we hopefully experiment with

changing times and maturing sensibilities?

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## Legalizing Prostitution – The Way Forward

**Elizabeth Rosen**

*Legalization would mean ratifying prostitution, whereby those entering the trade do so voluntarily, and out of a need for livelihood, without anyone coercing them into it.*

**P**rostitution is as old as humanity. Religious and social mores have played significant roles in curbing or tempering such supposedly dangerous illicit relations to some extent. However, recent statistics have shown that despite being aware of the dangers of AIDS, there has been no let up in the sexual fervour of those indulging in prostitution. The point here is that all sorts of dangers haven't dampened the urge and the inclination to take risks in illicit sex.

The crux of the argument is: Should prostitution be curbed by the heavy hand of the law?

### **Benevolent State or Exploitative State?**

The classical definition of the State predisposes it to act as a benevolent guardian, taking a strong moralistic and paternalistic approach towards individual and collective development. This compels it to interfere in the human interactions process, empowering itself to gauge, decide, and break, or altogether halt that interaction, when it feels that the process itself is not circumscribed or supported by either law or religion. This, on the face of it, looks welcome or even respectable. However, such interference by the State tends to allow prostitution to survive and thrive, on the sidelines. We are referring to the gaps in law enforcement, wherein the police, aided by the ringleaders, collaborate with one other to keep the trade flourishing.

An act of collaboration between the police (which represents the State) and the ringleaders in prostitution implies a wilful and deliberate attempt to keep the flesh trade alive by bringing in more hapless and helpless women and even minor girls into the trade. This is done by kidnapping the victims, those rendered lonely or unwanted by force of circumstance - widows and orphans being prime

targets.

Coercion requires the law to turn a blind eye to such kidnappings, at times with the police themselves acting as agents in the procurement process. Such collaboration also has its intended benefits: the police stand to be enriched both materially and financially. Instances are not found wanting where the police are themselves prospective customers for the sex slaves who are kept in rooms no bigger than cages kept for animals, and where starvation and torture are refined and used to force the women/minors to comply with the customers' wishes. The horrendous treatment meted out to the women ensures they are caged for life. Precautions to prevent unwanted pregnancies are abandoned by some clients, with the result that the kids born out of wedlock, live, eat, breathe, and grow in the very same atmosphere in which they are born into. This sort of legitimises the beatings and the torture in the eyes of the innocent newborns, with the result prostitution becomes an accepted fact of life for them.

Such incidents are commonplace across the length and breadth of India, and highlight the concerns in the public health space as regards women and children forced into the trade, and the newborns that grow up within that space. There are concerns that impinge on the social, economic, political, and legal rights of these women who are free citizens of India - but only on paper.

### **What Then, is the Way Out?**

Legalize the trade?

Legalization would mean ratifying prostitution, whereby those entering the trade do so voluntarily, and out of a need for livelihood, without anyone coercing them into it. Regulation of prostitution would mean an attempt

at social reform or even a complete transformation of the victim in the Indian context. The State would reinforce its role as a guardian in seeing to it that sex workers fall within the ambit of social security, so that their health care needs are met, and alternate forms of livelihood could be sought for them. Legalisation negates the role of the police as a willing accomplice to the perpetuation of the trade, and cuts off the nexus between them and the ringleaders of the trade. Commercial sex workers would no longer be harassed by the police, and all claims to such engagement on an illicit, clandestine basis would end forever. This would rob both the police and the pimps of their ill gotten gains, and would remove the veil of fear under which the sex workers operate.

Legalisation of the sex trade would open up new vistas in the social, education, and cultural transformation of the victims. The Aadhaar Card combined with mobile telephony and financial inclusion in banking can radically alter the status of these workers by making them recipients of government grants with no leakages or intermediaries. A new identity would thus be a stepping stone in the empowerment process, and would lead to a seamless and rapid integration of the victims in the society in which they live and function.

Ratification of prostitution could also ensure a life of dignity to the children born to these sex workers while still in the trade, and could give them life making choices, an alternative to what their mothers chose. In fact, it is empirically proven that legalization of prostitution has only

helped in making the progeny of sex workers alive to the immense possibilities that are available to them, and which would stop all attempts at perpetuating the vicious cycle of poverty, hunger, illiteracy.

Legalization of prostitution would help women by changing their situation from helplessness, hunger, dejection and shame – all conspiring against them to make them miserable victims of a vicious and endless cycle of violence and subjugation – to being lured into the trade for money, and the thrill of meeting some of society's high and mighty. The social escorts come in the latter category. The shame and the ostracizing that follow in the normal course of events for people making such choices won't shame them now.

Many countries have legalized prostitution with very positive effects. It has served to lift the veil of secrecy and opposition based on notions of ethical and religious propriety that bound most societies for centuries. The nexus between the police and the pimps is eliminated as participants in the trade are registered, and any coercion from any quarter is severely opposed and put down by the State.

It is high time India legitimises prostitution, thereby ending at one go, the vicious cycle of violence, greed, lust and neglect by the many catalysts in the process.

**Elizabeth Rosen,**  
**Department of Economics,**  
**G. N. Khalsa College, Mumbai.**

## **Sending Sheetal from a Red Light Area to a U.S drum school?**

*A Campaign launched on the Net which Freedom First commends.*

**F**orced prostitution is one of the major concerns in India right now. Girls at a young age of 10 (or even less) are pushed into this trade forcing them to become sex-workers for the rest of their lives. I always wanted to do something about it, and finally, there's something we can do to fight against this heinous crime. I found that Kranti, a Mumbai based NGO has been doing some phenomenal work in raising awareness about getting sex-workers and their daughters out of the system. I am inspired by the efforts and have decided to share this story with you. 19 year old Sheetal, grew up in Mumbai's red light area and was taught that a sex worker's daughter ends up in the flesh trade too. However, Sheetal was found

by Kranti and with the help of this NGO, she studied, underwent therapy, and unleashed her ambitions. She also found her passion – playing drums. Her dream is to study in the U.S and learn drumming. But the only thing standing in Sheetal's way right now is financing her trip, tuition and stay in the US. Your one small contribution of even as little as Rs.100/- (\$5) also can make a huge difference in sending her to a college. I really care about this project – so please come forward to support this worthy cause. If you'd like to tweet, post to Facebook, or email your friends about it, that would be great too!

**Warmly, <https://milaap.org/campaigns/Sheetal2USA>**

## Facilities Alone do not make for Good Education – A Personal Experience

A TV Channel displayed the picture of a school in Uttarakhand. The class room had roof made of thatched work and there was no provision for drinking water; nor was there any toilet. This brought back memories of my school in a small town. There were three schools. We joined the one which had class rooms of thatched work since its academic results and sports performance was the best out of the three schools.

The parents believed that there was considerable effort towards character building. We took great pleasure when a holiday was declared due to heavy rains. On a sunny day some miscreants caused fire to the roofs and in spite of efforts by staff and students the building was destroyed. A small section made of bricks was left intact. The school management continued the classes upto the sixth class in this old building and constructed a new building in the sports ground in the suburb for the remaining

classes. Surprisingly, there was no decline in education results. The new building had tin roofs. The visitors would talk of inconvenience due to tin roofs in summer. The students never noticed or complained about it. We had to travel longer distance daily which was good for us. Incidentally, some of the students from the surrounding villages travelled five kms daily. They covered it at walk and run.

I wish to emphasize that the essential inputs for good education are committed teachers and keen students. Infra-structure is welcome but we should not be satisfied with facilities alone. It is alarming that only 5% candidates could qualify in the Eligibility Test for teachers in Maharashtra. 25% teachers are said to be absent from duty every day. Drinking water and toilet facilities alone would not give us good education.

Suresh C. Sharma

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# MANY VOICES - *From The Past*

The point about India is that while there may be corrupt officials and corrupting businessmen corruption is not a way of Government life as it is in some other Asian countries. There is corruption, but the moral climate of the Government is not a corrupt climate and that, of course, is important.

**A. M. Rosenthal, *New York Times*, February 9 1958**

\*

Our newspapers, like our Prime Minister, have a way of shifting their convictions in the light of calculated probabilities, ending by lending their active support to just the things they had previously condemned.

***Swarajya*, February 15, 1958**

\*

Let all those who aspire to step into Prime Minister's shoes take note, Krishna Menon's unshapely feet are being shod into shape to suit them.

**'Jupiter', *New Socialist*, February 1958.**

\*

Under a democratic set-up people have to make a choice (for a Government) between "two evils" as political philosophers put it. But in our country at the present moment they have to choose between "an evil" and a "devil".

**D. F. Karaka, *Current*, April 23 1958**

\*

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon thrives on indignation. He is always at the epicentre of self-directed earthquakes.

**Vighneshwara, *Swarajya*, April 28.**

\*

Temperamentally he (Nehru) is like Mr. S. A. Dange (Communist-Bombay) in believing that the solution lies in sloganising "progress" in "nationalisation and more nationalisation" in tilting only at the windmill all the time.

***Periscope*, *Thought*, March 22, 1958**

\*

Mr. Nehru, a good judge of principles but a poor judge of men, gives his loyalty indiscriminately to all who ask for it. It is at this point the compromise begins. The rot and indiscipline follow.

**B. G. Verghese, *The Times of India*, May 7, 1958**

\*

I was really thinking not so much of the Congress but of what was happening in the country as a whole, a

deterioration of our standards, a certain coarseness into our public life, a certain vulgarity coming into it.

**Prime Minister Nehru, *The Times of India*, May 4.**

\*

Mr. Nehru may bemoan the deterioration of the moral standards in the country and the vulgarisation of our public life, but he is more responsible for this than the Congress Party itself.

**Raja Hutheesing, *The Times of India*, May 7**

\*

He (Nehru) often indulges in that kind of criticism Nehru the agitator castigating the misdeeds of Nehru the Prime Minister and his Government, and the people who bear him applaud him, and go away with the impression that Panditji is a real "Jawahar" (Jewel) and gladly dissociate him from his "bad" government.

**H. V. Kamath, *Current*, May 21, 1958**

\*

The Congress organisation has become something like a mutt which attracts and supports people who have no calling of their own and who obtain power over the affairs of the mutt itself. Need we wonder at the deterioration we deplore?

**C. Rajagopalachari, *Swarajya*, May 10, 1958.**

\*

We in India suffer from a split personality - a real split personality.

**Prime Minister Nehru, *The Times of India*,  
May. 4, 1958.**

\*

But when the split personality is sheathed in robes of power the danger of damage is far greater.

**Ashoka Mehta, *Statesman*, May 8, 1958.**

\*

The opinion of the Indian communists with regard to domestic problems is also influenced from outside. This becomes internal interference due to external causes.

**Prime Minister Nehru, *The Times of India*,  
May 13, 1958.**

\*

Hunger is more important even than freedom, except in odd individuals.

**Prime Minister Nehru, *Time Magazine*,  
October 20, 1958**

\*

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