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Editor—K. R. Malkani

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MONTHLY ORGAN OF DEENDAYAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE,

Vol. VIII, No. 2

FEBRUARY, 1987

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THE MIRACLE OF ANNA HAZARE &
RALEGAN SHINDI

NATIONAL INTELLECTUALS MEET

RIGHTING THE WRONGED INDIAN ECONOMY

SOME INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF
THE INDIAN ARMY

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MONTHLY JOURNAL OF DEENDAYAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, NEW DELHI

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Vol. VIII

No. 2

FEBRUARY, 1987

Contents

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| Manthan : From Quarterly to Monthly—Why? | |
| —Nana Deshmukh | 13 |
| National Intellectuals Convention | 15 & 47 |
| What's Wrong with Indian Economy & how it can be brightened | |
| —L.K. Jha | 19 |
| A Modern Miracle | |
| —Yadav Rao Deshmukh | 29 |
| DRI Team in Ralegan Shindi | |
| —Mahesh Sharma | 32 |
| Some Internal Problems Facing the Indian Army | |
| —Indira Awasthy | 37 |
| DRI Workers Camp | 53 |

'MANTHAN' Monthly

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Dear Reader :

Namaste !

Hope you enjoyed reading the January issue of 'Manthan', a bumper Bhakti Special. Do let us have your comments—and suggestions.

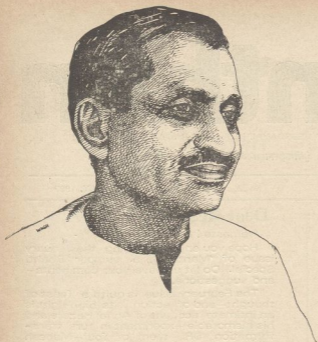
The February issue is quite a feast of thought—and of action. Its high-light is an intimate account of Anna Hazare and his memorable experiment in rural transformation. DRI team of four—Mahesh Chandra Sharma, Yadav Rao Deshmukh, Ramashanker Upadhyaya and Kharak Singh—specially visited Ralegan Shindi, in Ahmednagar district, Maharashtra, to study the project.

Recently Shri LK Jha, our Grand Old Civilian, delivered the Govind Ballabh Pant Memorial Lecture and spoke on the prospects of the Indian Economy until the turn of the century. Extracts from his talk will make instructive reading.

A few months back the United Service Institute of India and the Editors Guild of India organised a Seminar on 'Military and Society'. Many valuable Papers were read on the occasion. One of the more perceptive ones was the one by Indra Awasthy. Extracts from the same will be read with much interest and some anxiety.

And then there is a report of the National Intellectuals Convention. The discussion is as lively as it is thought-provoking.

Yours,
'M'



Deendayalji for Dharma Rajya

IN OUR COUNTRY we cannot think of any sentiment with which Dharma is not bound up. Hence we feel that our State cannot forsake Dharma. A secular state, in our opinion, does not mean a State without Dharma. The word 'Religion' means a tenet in this country and those who believe it are called sects like the Jains, Shaivas and Christians. Naturally the State cannot belong to any of these sects. It must look on all with an equal eye. So we can say that a State is non-sectarian. This would be the ideal, but such a State, even without being partial to a particular sect or against some other sect, can encourage ways and means of achieving both material and spiritual progress and thus be called Dharma Rajya.

Let us understand very clearly that Dharma is not necessarily with the majority or with the people. Dharma is eternal. Therefore, in the definition of democracy, to say that it is a government of the people, is not enough; it has to be for the good of the people. Dharma alone can decide. Therefore, a democratic government "Jana Rajya", must also be rooted in Dharma e. g. a "Dharma Rajya." In the definition of 'Democracy' viz. 'government of the people, by the people and for the people', 'of' stands for independence, 'by' stands for democracy, and 'for' indicates Dharma. Therefore, true democracy is one where there is freedom as well as Dharma.

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Manthan : From Quarterly To Monthly—Why ?

By : Nana Deshmukh

MANTHAN is the quarterly organ of the Deendayal Research Institute. Every issue focuses attention on some major problem. For this purpose, seminars are organised on a given subject, inviting experts in the field as well as thinkers deeply involved in the developing ethos of our society.

This form of MANTHAN has been heartily welcomed by intellectuals and social workers here and abroad. Sometimes so much valuable material was collected on a topic, that more one issue was devoted to the subject. The demand for these issues was so heavy that we had to publish them in book-form. Innumerable subscribers and patrons have found this material very useful and of permanent value. That is why MANTHAN will continue to be published in this very form twice or thrice every year.

But there is another aspect. It is nearly forty years that India became free. During this period, we have no doubt achieved some progress in the economic field. But the Common Man is disappointed and disillusioned and he is sceptical about the future. Now-a-days, there is not even security of life and property.

At the same time strikes, lock-outs and violence affect production adversely. Organised sections of society, whether they are formed on the basis of caste, class, sect or region, use their organised strength to derive maximum benefit for themselves.

They never care for the innumerable unorganised brethren of the society struggling for their existence. The feeling that every citizen should contribute his mite towards reconstruction of the society has not taken root in men's minds.

Old problems remain unsolved, while new ones are cropping up everyday. This cycle has been going on continuously for the last forty years. Leaders are content to blame one another.

Taxes and prices are rising all the time. The condition of the poor and the unemployed is most pitiable.

But there are some rays of hope even in this polluted atmosphere. In some parts of the country some idealist individuals are busy concretising the vision of the martyrs of the Freedom Struggle. Maybe they are confined to only some limited area, but they have ushered in a revolution in the life of the oppressed and the neglected sections of society. They have been able to inculcate in them self-reliance as responsible members of society. They have created models which show that even without power, an ordinary citizen, endowed with a sense of duty towards the society, can still do much for the society. Such inspiring models are there for anybody to see. If brought to the notice of the wider public, they can kindle anew fire in their hearts.

But the Press, Radio and TV do not seem to have any interest in focussing

public attention on such inspiring examples. Maybe unconsciously, they are only contributing to deepening the gloom in the hearts of the people. Most of their column-space is devoted to sensational news, or leaders' speeches or leaders' wrangles. I have tried to persuade some senior journalists and editors to take note of constructive work, but in vain.

It has, therefore, been decided that MANTHAN should shoulder this responsibility. Paper, printing and postage costs are going up all the time. But we have to keep our subscription low, to be able to reach more readers.

There is another problem. After Independence, many people have lost the habit of reading serious literature. However, considering the need of the hour, DRI has decided to launch this campaign to inform and inspire the citizens to contribute their mite towards the rebuilding of our nation. Our only sure support is the cooperation of such people as are trying to help the suppressed and neglected brethren in the villages and in slum areas, people who do not care for their name and fame, who do not climb the steps of power with the slogan of "Garib Hatao".

In this very issue, you will find a first-hand report about the successful efforts of Shri Anna Hazare Ji in this direction. He is a living example of how an ordinary citizen, a common citizen, can transform the life of his fellow-villagers. Neither any power nor post is needed to improve the lot of the poor or the condition of the society. If even an illiterate citizen makes up his mind, he can fill thousands of his countrymen with prosperity and joy.

If such examples are highlighted from time to time, people will begin to stir themselves, and not depend only on government help. People themselves can reconstruct a life of prosperity and honesty with mutual cooperation and honest hard-work. They can kindle hope and confidence in an atmosphere of disappointment. Making this positive approach popular among the people—that is the need of today. MANTHAN is transforming itself from a Quarterly into a Monthly with this object in view.

We are confident that all those interested in uplifting the rural poor, and improving the quality of their life, will cooperate, with us in this noble enterprise.

**DONATE RS. 1,000 ONLY TO DRI
& BECOME OUR LIFE MEMBER**



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Seshadri ji speaking, with prof. Shankhdhar and Shri K. S. Sudarshan by his side.

National Intellectuals Convention : New Delhi, January 11-12.

A National Intellectuals Convention was held in DRI on Jan. 11-12. It was sponsored by Suruchi Sansthan, with Prof. M. M. Shankhdhar as Convener.

Shri K.S. Sudarshan, Baudhic Pramukh, RSS, inaugurated the conference. Prof. Rajendra Singh, RSS General Secretary, was present throughout. Shri Bhaurao Deoras, attended some of the sessions. Shri K. Seshadri, RSS Joint General Secretary, made the concluding remarks.

There were four visiting intellectuals from abroad : Dhiraj Bhai Shah (UK), Gokul Nath (Canada), Mohan Singh Verma (Norway) and Ram Prakash (Burma).

Here is a brief report of the deliberations :

K.S. SUDARSHAN: You are all aware of the various challenges facing the country. Today our intelligentsia is paralysed by confusion of thought and weakness of will, even as Arjuna was on the field of Kurukshetra. Earlier this year, the Jagannath Yatra was stoned in Ahmedabad. Even Majoor Mahajan founded by Gandhiji, which had never before gone on strike, this time struck work. It was evidence that our people are awake. But some so-called intellectuals felt unhappy about it.

Our intelligentsia has been over-much influenced by western scholarship, rooted in western denigration of everything Indian. It is the British who described this country as a 'sub-continent', though it is much smaller than USA, Russia and

China, which countries are never described as 'sub-continent'. They have also falsely alleged that India was always ruled by invaders. The Aryan-Dravidian theory is also their invention. Many Indian intellectuals have come to accept this British propaganda as "Indian history". We have to revive authentic Indian scholarship and expose the malafides of anti-Indian 'scholarship'.

Indian scholarship is there. But it is dispersed and unorganised. All the state patronage goes to those oriented to the West. All this must stop. The Indian people have to come into their own. Then only will Indian scholarship be put back on the rails. As Bernard Levin noted after the 1977 elections: "India has voted in such a manner that it has put the ancient and sophisticated democracies to shame and this shows the educated incapacity of the intelligentsia and the illiterate intelligence of the masses". The masses have to re-educate this westernised elite.

M. M. SHANKHDHAR : Hindu national consciousness is growing; but it is not growing fast enough. Meanwhile dangers to national unity are growing. Russian influence is growing in the country. Politicians are interested only in votes. Hindu society is reputed to be assimilative. Why don't we claim back our lost sheep ?

KULDIP AGNIHOTRI : The Punjab reality on the ground is very different from how it is reported in the Press. The Sikh in Punjab is alienated from New Delhi; the Sikh outside of Punjab is not so alienated. The Hindu in Punjab is alienated from Punjabi language. As a result, even Guruvani is being interpreted differently—as 'Hindu' or 'non-Hindu'—

by Hindu and Sikh scholars, respectively.

There is some Hindu-Sikh tension in urban areas—and cities are known to have weak roots. But in the villages, Hindus and Sikhs live in peace and amity. In Amritsar district, which is the worst affected by terrorism, most of the victims of terrorism are Sikhs. In any case we should stop sectarian counting of corpses. It is Punjabis who are being killed.

The history of Punjab as written by the British, has played havoc. They describe the three Punjab Wars as 'Sikh Wars' ! Also it is given out that in 1857, Sikhs had sided with the British. This is not true. Only the Sikh princes had sided with the British; and many Sikhs in the British Army had joined the revolt.

SITARAM GOEL : In India it is the leaders who have failed, not the people. The people had whole-heartedly responded to the call of Aurobindo, Tilak and Gandhi, which was very Hindu in its inspiration. Only such leaders as serve the Hindus, will win Hindu support.

RAMASHANKAR AGNIHOTRI : It is a small world we live in. The challenges to us are global. Our response, therefore, has also got to be global. The Hindu has to learn to think big, act bold. Today 20% whites are ruling 80% non-whites. This gross injustice must be removed. It is these forces which arm both, Iran and Iraq, and make them fight. These same forces create problems for us in Punjab, Darjeeling and elsewhere, to pin us down and put a brake on our progress.

DR. SUJIT DHAR : There are many

scholars, respective-

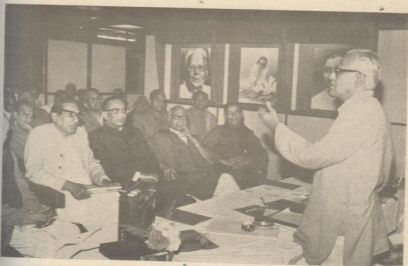
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Seshadri speaking. (L to R) Sitaram Goel, Dr. Sujit Dhar, Ram Swarup, R. S. Agnihotri

threats to our society. What are the bigger threats? What are our priorities? Dr. Shankhdhar thinks political power is the panacea. It is not. What we need is ideological clarity and assertiveness.

DEVENDRA SWARUP : Our constitution, our politics and our elections have an in-built tendency to divide us. We have to have a close searching look at them.

RAMA SWARUP: Dharma is fundamental. It is greater than country. We have to take cosmic view of things. Today Hindus are not only ignorant of the true nature of Islam and Christianity, they are quite innocent even of Hinduism. They glibly talk of the unity of religions and think that only the mode of worship differs. This is not so. For example Islam and Christianity are more in the nature of political ideologies than spiritual seekings. We have been face to face with Islam for over a thou-

and years. But there has been no Hindu study of Islam. Even Swami Dayanand's commentary on Islam is more polemical than informative and analytical.

There is an impression abroad that Hindu temples are rich. They are not. A census of 10,520 temples in Tamil Nadu, ten years ago revealed that they have an annual income of only Rs 2.74 crores. This is the kind of money that Government collects in single raids on the corrupt.

DR. SUJIT DHAR : How do you view western rationalism and consumerism?

RAMA SWARUP : Consumerism is a menace. But Rationalism is necessary and desirable. It was rationalism that exposed Christian orthodoxy, and civilized the West. Hinduism should accept Rationalism as its ally in the search for Reason, Peace and Humanity.

SITA RAM : Geography is not worshipful in itself. India is sacred to us not because of its plains and mountains and rivers, but because of the thoughts and actions associated with them. The challenge is not to India as a territory but to its essence, the Dharma. We should not view internal and external challenges separately. The challenge is total and our response also has to be total and well-integrated. For this we need a cosmic view. Also too often we are judging ourselves by others' values. This is ridiculous. We can be rightly judged only by our own values. Let there be no mistake about it. Our is the only living spirituality in the world. Our responsibility, therefore, is very great.

When the British came, we had a fractured society. The saints had saved us from total disintegration. But our society was splintered. Since then we have been trying to adjust to Islam by praising Mohammed, equating Koran with Gita, and placing Islam on par with Sanatan Dharma. In the process we have not only confused ourselves, we have even failed to convince Muslims. We should study Islam. A higher criticism of religions is a must for their understanding. But the Indian law forbids it. This is wrong. We must likewise x-ray Christianity. In the name of "Seva", they are subverting our society. My grand-daughter "crosses" herself when she goes to Hanuman Mandir.

Fortunately Communists stand exposed—even to Communists. But as for the USA, it is a bad friend and a bad foe.

The Macaulayans, who denounce Indian culture, are not confined to the English Press; they have spread all over the land. There is a bankruptcy of Indian

scholarship. There are 'scholars' claiming that Taj Mahal is a Hindu monument. We have to identify, encourage and unite bonafide Indian scholars, and expose, both anti-Indian scholars and anti-scholarship Indians.

DR. HARSH NARAIN : We must study the various challenges facing society. White-washing or wishful thinking will not do. For example people must know that 'looting' is sanctioned in Islam as 'Mall-i-Ghanimat'. A share of the loot went even to the Prophet.

Our variety and tolerance are our strength; but they are also our weakness. The Muslim embraces everybody; we don't. Sometime back a Khasi tribal told me that Brahmins treated them as 'Chandals', but missionaries gave them schools and hospitals and affection. Even the Khasis who are renouncing Christianity as 'foreign', are not becoming Hindus; they are reverting to tribalism, including human sacrifice.

What is our message to Hindus? And to non-Hindus? We don't seem to know. Hinduism has a whole range of ideals, ideas, institutions, practices. We must select the right mix of these for our times. We have to decide on our Yuga-dharma. Vedas won't do; Gita will; but what more do we add to it?

Maulana Faruq has come out with a study of 'Veda & Koran'. Christians are doing much more work. Are the Hindus doing anything? In the Twenties, Maulana Hassan Nizami had come out with a detailed secret plan—Daiya-e-Islam—for conversion of various sections, from barbers to barristers. It was the lucky exposure of this plan by Swami Shradhdhanand that triggered the Shuddhi

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What's Wrong with Indian Economy and how it can be Righted

L.K. Jha, I.C.S. (Retd.), M. P.

QUITE FRANKLY, I do not attach too much importance to the commencement of a new century in the Gregorian calendar. But the fact that in the year 2000, we shall complete half a century of planned development prompts me to ask what should be our targets of achievement by that date and what we should be doing in this decade and the next to achieve them.

Ever since Independence, we have, in successive plans, been pursuing the triple objectives of growth, social justice and self-reliance. It is my contention that we should, by the end of the century, succeed in having sustained growth rate of 7 per cent per annum, eradicating poverty and no longer be in need of external financial assistance.

These targets are realistic, not over-ambitious. Having regard to our past performance and present potential, I am convinced that they can be attained and even surpassed by the end of this century. While it is only the Planning Commission which can draw up a blue-print for the purpose, what I shall attempt to outline is the kind of policies and priorities we need for the purpose in the '80s and '90s.

Initially the main hurdle in the way of raising the growth rate was the paucity of capital. The savings level of less than 10% of the Gross Domestic Product was

a major constraint in stepping up levels of investment and raising the growth rate. Through heroic efforts of additional resource mobilisation—mainly through massive doses of taxation—we succeeded in doubling the rate of savings in the first quarter of a century of planned development.

But there was no corresponding spurt in the rate of growth. Overall, it stood around 3.5 per cent, which the late Prof. Raj Krishna used laughingly to call the Hindu rate of growth. Although in recent years, there has been an improvement in the trend growth rate to 4 per cent and higher, it is not good enough. With the present level of investment, around 25 per cent of the GDP, to step up our rate of growth to 7 per cent, we need not a fresh dose of additional resource mobilisation but a more efficient use of capital.

Efficiency in the use of capital is measured either by the Incremental Capital Output Ratio (ICOR), which means how many units of capital are needed to give one unit of output, or by asking the same question in reverse: what is the percentage of additional output per unit of investment? Our Incremental Capital Output Ratio or ICOR for the decade of 1960s was 6.4. In the first, second and again the fifth Five Year Plan, it was well below 4 per cent. If we could lower our

Our problem is not lack of resources but mismanagement of resources

ICOR to what it was when we began planning, we should get a growth rate of above 7 per cent, even with the present level of investment.

The efficiency of our capital use compares unfavourably not only with our own past performance but also with what other developing countries are able to do. Our ICOR is higher than it is in Pakistan or Bangladesh. The ICOR of Indonesia and Brazil is less than 3. Again, looking at the additional output per unit of investment, the figure in India is 15 per cent, in Bangladesh 22 per cent, in Pakistan 28 per cent, in Indonesia 40 per cent and in Brazil 35 per cent. The sad fact is that while in terms of our level of savings we surpass most developing countries, in terms of our rate of growth, we are far far behind.

Let me at this point make it clear that I am not belittling our achievements. We have carried certain burdens on our shoulders which many other developing countries have not. Our defence expenditure has had to be high, because we have been exposed continuously to external threats, and we met it out of our own resources without external help. Likewise, we have made much larger outlays on considerations of social justice, on relief measures, subsidisation and the like than other developing countries. But even after making allowances for these factors, I maintain that a more efficient use of resources can result in a growth rate of 7 per cent or more, without any additional resource mobilisation, if we rectify

some of the weaknesses in resource management and utilisation.

It is necessary to identify the reasons why the productivity of capital in India has gone down and is so low. A whole range of factors have combined to create this situation. First and foremost, paradoxical though it may seem, the very fact that we were short of capital has encouraged us to rely excessively on capital as the principal resource in all our development projects as well as in the pursuit of social justice. We have paid scant attention to land and labour which are equally important resources and are not as scarce as capital.

Thus, little attention was paid to raising the productivity of land by giving adequate priority to agriculture. It was not until the mid-sixties, when successive droughts drove home the dangers, economic, social and political of the country not producing enough foodgrains to feed our rising population, that we gave to agriculture the importance it deserved. The Green Revolution followed and it is the step-up in the rate of agricultural growth which led to an improvement in the over-all rate of growth, even when the rate of industrial growth was declining. Even today, there are vast areas in the country where agricultural productivity is still very low. Through policies of land reform, adequate attention to minor irrigation and water management, they can make a significant contribution to raising the growth rate, without heavy capital outlays.

With our surplus of manpower and with the very proper concern we feel over the rising level of unemployment, we should have given every encouragement to setting up industries which were by their nature labour-intensive. Instead we made the large capital-intensive industries in the public sector uneconomic by saddling them with far more labour than they needed. As a result, their costs went up and profits went down, even becoming negative. The expectation that they would contribute to resources was belied. In the private sector, certain industries were reserved for the small-scale sector in the interest of de-centralised employment generation. In the list of reservations, many items were included which were basically capital-intensive. They did not generate much employment in relation to the capital invested. Often, their productive capacity was under-utilised in order to keep within the definition of a small-scale industry. On the other hand, the setting up of most industries in the medium and large-scale sector was subject to a tight regime of industrial licensing, sometimes to shelter the small-scale sector, sometimes on the view that consumer goods did not deserve a high priority and sometimes to prevent the capacity exceeding planned targets.

Similarly, when thinking of developing the backward areas—a very legitimate objective—some very capital-intensive industries were located in uneconomic sites, which involved massive outlays on developing the infrastructure, construction of townships and provision of various civic amenities. In consequence,

they too became uneconomic. The more so, when the capacity to be created in the country was split into a number of plants, sacrificing economies of scale and necessitating a much higher capital investment than was really necessary.

In consequence, not only the capital output ratio kept rising but the benefits to the unemployed as well as to the backward areas were much lower than a similar deployment of capital in lighter industries would have given. Similarly, some of the rigours of labour laws have had the effect of encouraging industrialists to go in for labour-saving devices in any new investments which they make, thus raising the capital-intensity of output, while lowering its labour-intensity. The point which has to be realised is that the productivity of capital can be substantially stepped up, if we do not look upon it as the prime resource but instead give primacy to land and labour in the choice of projects and programmes and then allocate such capital as may be necessary and available for implementing them.

I am not arguing against capital-intensive industries as such. It was but right and proper that we began developing our capital goods industries as well as steel and oil refineries because they had to be there to provide the base for the expansion of lighter industries which are labour-intensive. But the tragedy was that when the capacity for producing in the country the machinery for the manufacture of lighter consumer products had been established, the expansion of the latter was kept under a leash. As a

*We have set up capital-intensive industries
& then burdened them with too much labour !*

There are industries that were punished for producing more

result, the machine-building industries had much idle capacity and could not make the contribution to growth which they should have. Thus, we had the sorry spectacle of the country facing a tremendous shortage of cement, which had to be met by imports, while the expansion of the domestic cement industry was hampered by a variety of controls and the capacity for manufacturing cement machinery was largely idle.

The malfunctioning of the regulatory apparatus with the proliferation of control and controllers has been another potent cause for the capital output ratio going up. The time taken in the clearance of any major project, whether in the public sector or in the private sector was getting longer and longer, as different authorities scrutinised the proposal from different angles. There were time over-runs and cost over-runs. The slow implementation of plan projects led to shortages of supplies and a sellers' market. As imports had to be restricted on foreign exchange considerations, the forces of competition, which encourage efficiency and economy in the use of inputs, were suppressed.

There were many other ways in which the control apparatus contributed to a slowing down of growth. For a country short of capital, any increase in output from capital already invested in industrial undertakings should have won the praise of the authorities. Instead, industrial undertakings were taken to task and threatened with dire consequences, if they had the temerity to produce

more than their licensed capacity.

Fortunately, many corrective steps have been taken to remove these obstacles to higher growth. Many controls have been liberalised and the process is still continuing. At the same time, some other steps are necessary if liberalisation is to give all the benefits that can accrue from it.

The most important change in policy which I would urge in the interest of accelerating the tempo of growth is to do away with the concept that plan resources are to be committed to new projects only, while the maintenance of old projects has to be taken care of from non-plan resources. Now, if adequate allocations for maintaining the productivity and raising the output from old investments could be made out of non-plan resources there might have been some justification for such a demarcation. In actual fact, there are some mounting demands on non-plan resources on account of defence, the rising expenditure on the pay and dearness allowances of government servants and interest charges on past government borrowings, which cannot be resisted or curbed. So the availability of non-plan resources for the maintenance of older projects keep steadily shrinking. In consequence, their output goes down, even while new investments in the same field are being made to get additional output by making much larger outlays on creating new capacity. In order to make efficient use of capital, I suggest that in the allocation of plan resources, the criterion should be

of investing capital wherever its contribution to output would be the highest. Here again an example would help.

There is a tremendous shortage of power, crippling both industrial and agricultural production in the economy. We are busy making massive investments to add new generating capacity. Yet, the capacity utilisation in the existing power plants is far below what it should be. The Plant Load Factor (PLF) in many thermal plants is less than 40 per cent, the average at the end of the Sixth Plan being just about 50 per cent. Every improvement of one % point in the PLF would generate 500 megawatt of electricity, while the installation of new capacity for generating the same volume of power would cost about Rs. 500 crores. Should not much greater priority be given to the maintenance of the existing plants, replacing their worn-out equipment and making other improvements which would require only small investment? In this particular instance, there would also be a consequent rise in industrial and agricultural production, contributing significantly to higher growth in the Seventh Plan itself.

The problem of under-utilisation of capacity is not confined to the power sector alone. Many industries are presently having idle capacity. In most countries, whenever such a situation develops, industries start exporting to make full use of their capacity by lower-

ing their prices to cover their marginal costs only. If Indian industries did the same, they could contribute to a reduction of the trade gap. The reason why they cannot export is that their technology is poor, being old and outmoded. Even if they lowered their price, they lose out on quality.

In order to step up growth rate and lower costs, the induction of fresh technology is essential. This has to be done not just by a symbolic presence of high tech industries like television and computers but applying technology to every field of production and at every level of production including literally the grass roots level. It was technology at its best in the shape of a combination of high-yielding varieties of seeds, fertilisers and water which led to the Green Revolution. More skilful management of our water resources which, unutilised, flow into the ocean, can solve our irrigation problem and eliminate the threats from droughts and floods. Technological improvement can simply raise the productivity of soil in the backward areas and help eradicate their endemic poverty.

Similarly, in the industrial economy, it can lead to cheapness and improvement of quality by conserving on the use of scarce resources like energy, introducing new designs and improving the quality and durability of every product. Only then can India enter the 21st century with an economy which is strong and self-reliant.

Unfortunately, there is much con-

In industry after industry, there is gross under-utilization of capacity

Let there be more competition, both internal and external

fusion of thought on the true meaning of self-reliance. There are some who argue if we go without the vast range of goods and services, which are being produced in the modern world and adhere to the life styles and living standards of previous centuries, we shall need very little by way of imports and thus become self-reliant.

What is forgotten in this line of reasoning is that in such an environment, the people will be getting poorer from year to year. Our population is rising relentlessly. Until we began to make use of seeds and fertilisers which are the products of modern technology, we could not even produce enough of foodgrains for our people to consume. Similarly, agriculture and village industries cannot provide employment even for the present population, leave alone the addition which is taking place from year to year to the work force. If the Malthusian forecast of a tragedy overtaking mankind because food production does not keep pace with the rise in population has been falsified, it is because of the tremendous progress in technology which has led to an upsurge in productivity. As a result, in many developed countries, there are far more human beings per hectare than we have in India and they also have a far higher standard of living.

Another faulty approach is put forward by those who champion industrial development and argue that our aim should be to produce in India all the things which we import, regardless of costs. Our trade gap can be eliminated

and the country can be said to be self-reliant. One of the consequences of this approach would be that the cost of everything produced in the country would be so high that only a small percentage of the people will be able to afford them. They will be those who profit from industries which thrive behind a protective wall. The farmers in the field and workers in factories will have no access to the high cost industrial products, and live in poverty. Even those who can afford to buy domestic manufactures may have to put up with goods of poor quality. Indeed, such trends have been in evidence in our economy because of the emphasis we have laid on import substitution regardless of cost and quality in our industrial development.

I, therefore, welcome the policy of subjecting domestic industry to greater competition, internal and external, by embarking upon, what is loosely referred to as liberalisation. A good deal of criticism is being voiced these days by drawing attention to our adverse balance of trade, which is attributed to a liberalisation of imports. What the critics forget is that an integral part of the foreign trade policy in the '80s is the promotion of exports. As a result, the trade deficit in the first six months of the current financial year is substantially lower than last year, exports having risen much faster than before and imports, despite liberalisation, having registered a relatively small increase.

This is as it should be. Asew

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develop, as income levels rise and poverty diminishes, our imports will go up. Indeed, the more prosperous countries have much larger import bills than we have. What makes them self-reliant is that their levels of export are very high too. Without import control, without denying to their people access to whatever they want, they remain free of the nagging worries over the foreign exchange situation. This is because of the internal strength of their economy, a high and rising level of production which is internationally competitive and enables them to compete with imports at home and export more abroad.

To be truly self-reliant, we must step up our rate of growth, giving priority to products whose costs would be low rather than following a policy of import substitution regardless of costs. Certainly, for some strategic and basic needs, self-sufficiency is an important element of self-reliance. Vital products whose supply may get disrupted due to adverse international conditions or in a balance of payments crisis must be indigenised even if their cost is high. But self-sufficiency, across the board, is neither attainable nor desirable. Import substitution must be selective. Further, we must have a vigorous policy for exports which in the past have suffered from many impediments, not the least important of which have been the many restrictions on imports, including imports of technology.

The country can be said to be self-reliant when without recourse to import licensing, it can maintain viability in its

external trade and payments, as the developed countries are able to do. The transition to such a state will not be an easy or a painless process. The steps necessary to make this possible lie largely within the framework of domestic policies rather than trade regulation. We must from now on lay special emphasis on the modernisation and rehabilitation of our older industries which have become uneconomic because of the obsolescence of their plant and machinery as well as technology. The financial institutions as well as the government must give even greater priority to the rejuvenation of old industrial plants than to the setting up of new ones. Otherwise, industrial sickness will lead to closures which we cannot afford, not just because of our concern over unemployment but equally because we do not have so much of capital that we can afford to let old established capacity die and replace it by new capacity.

To help in this task and to motivate the owners and managers of older industrial units to go in for modernisation, we must increase their exposure to competition. But we must do so gradually, so as not to make them collapse. Initially, they should be exposed to freer domestic competition by lifting all restrictions on output, while they are given the necessary financial and fiscal support to become more economic and to face international competition at home and in export markets. Such a policy will help the consumer in India who cannot afford high-cost products.

Side by side, in creating new capacity

*Modernising old industry is cheaper
than setting up a wholly new industry*

We should not fear to raise loans; we should only fear their misapplication

we must take care to ensure that it is economic. Nothing should be done in regard to the location, scale of production of new industries to undermine their competitiveness. There should be no restriction on their capacity creation or expansion on account of estimates of the domestic demand for their products. They should be encouraged to have surplus capacity so that they have an in-built urge to export.

Essentially, what we must realise is that self-reliance has to be achieved not by cutting down imports to the level of exports; it is not an exercise in good accounting and book-keeping. It is by making the economy strong enough to withstand competition that we can achieve self-reliance. This depends on raising levels of production to match the rising level of consumption, as mass poverty becomes a thing of the past. A high rate of growth is essential for the purpose. Further, the growth pattern must include a substantial increase in the availability of goods, services and other needs of the relatively low income groups, the wage earners and salaried classes, which are commonly referred to as wage goods.

However, it is necessary to recognise that in the effort to achieve a high rate of growth, the balance of trade gap may widen to the extent that the volume of investments exceeds the availability of domestic savings. This could and should be covered by inflows of external capital, whether from official sources like the World Bank, or friendly governments, or

by way of private equity capital, or in the shape of commercial loans. We have so far made maximum use of Official Development Assistance and been cautious and reserved in regard to private inflows. There are now clear indications of a decline in the former. This may make the task of economic management a little more difficult, but on the whole we must welcome this declining trend because when we can do without official assistance and yet accelerate the tempo of development, as we should by the end of the century, we can be truly self-reliant. Therefore, we must consider ways in which the economy can make use of external capital while official inflows diminish and disappear.

At the same time, we must avoid the kind of mistakes which many developing countries have made and which has led them to fall into a debt trap. We must make use of external capital with prudence and restraint.

There are many who argue that the very fact of being indebted would weaken our economy. This is a misconception. If we look around us, we find that those who owe hundreds of crores to the financial institutions are prosperous and strong, while those who owe but small sums are often in difficulties. There are also those who have remained poor because they have been unable to get credits from banks to set up or maintain a profitable line of production. Internationally, too, the United Kingdom in the fifties was heavily in debt while India had huge sterling balances. Yet no one

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could say that we were more prosperous and self-reliant than the United Kingdom. What is important is that we must make use of any external capital that comes into the country only for productive purposes, choosing the fields of investment with great care.

One of the factors to be taken into account in regard to loans is that the schedule of repayments must not be such as to become too heavy in particular years in relation to our export earnings. Otherwise, even while the economy may be in good health from a long-term viewpoint, it may face a short-term crisis.

In this respect, equity capital has some distinct advantages. It entails no repayments until the investment becomes productive and profitable. An additional advantage of equity capital over loans in present day conditions of floating exchange rates deserves attention. If the currency in which a loan is taken by India appreciates, the repayment burden in rupee terms would go up proportionately. On the other hand, since the dividends accruing on equity investment would be in rupees, they will get converted into the appropriate foreign currency at the then prevailing rate of exchange and the investor will have to carry the exchange risk. As regards the fears which are often expressed that foreign equity capital would mean the Indian economy getting dominated by foreigners, I can only assert that India is not a banana republic and can ensure that foreign investors operate with due regard to our laws, policies and interests. I would also

add that much of the misgivings about foreign majority in an enterprise are misplaced. Even with a 40 per cent equity holding, the foreigner would have as effective a voice in the management as with a 70 per cent holding. We, therefore, need to have a more open policy towards such investment. To put it briefly, we should be cautious—as we have been—not nervous in making use of foreign capital for our development.

A further point to note is that to the extent that we do make use of foreign capital, there must be a corresponding gap in our currency account trade to absorb it. Otherwise, the capital inflow will merely raise the level of foreign exchange holdings of the Reserve Bank of India which will mean that we shall probably be paying more by way of interest and dividends on the investment than the Reserve Bank would be getting on the foreign securities that it holds. So long as capital is available on acceptable terms and we use it efficiently and effectively to strengthen the country's economy, it will contribute to self-reliance. It would be a pity if the general sentiment against imports, which was fully justified in British days when official policy was geared to making India an exporter of raw materials and an importer of manufactures, continues to dominate our thinking in the eighties and nineties.

The basic point to remember is that self-reliance for a country of the size of India must mean much more than a mere balancing of country's payments account by achieving parity between earning and

*A wise policy mix will end poverty
and strengthen our economy*

expenditure, by cutting down the latter. Nehru's emphasis on heavy engineering was not, as many people imagine, an exercise in import substitution but to import to the Indian economy the strength and stamina it needed to fulfil its historic role in world affairs. His emphasis on science and technology and on the development of nuclear energy has to be viewed in this wider perspective which has nothing to do with the book-keeping of India's international payments.

Self-reliance for a country like India cannot have the limited meaning of the country not being influenced one way or another by external economic forces. It should instead be measured in terms of India's contribution to the shaping of the international economic forces.

Such a policy-mix will not only raise the tempo of growth and put an end to poverty by the end of the century, it would make the economy self-reliant as well. The foreign exchange problem which has been worrying us over the last three decades is essentially a symptom of

a deeper malady that our levels of consumption and investment have been rising faster than our levels of production and savings. An attempt to solve this problem by applying curbs on consumption, or curtailing investment, would slow down growth and perpetuate poverty. No country which has to depend on import control to balance its external payments can be said to be self-reliant. We must concentrate on efficient industries which will be internationally competitive, and generate surpluses for export to make the economy self-reliant and strong. This would not be export-led growth, but growth-led export.

In addition, India must also develop the most sophisticated modern industries. With our abundance of scientific and technological talent, the full utilisation of our human resources would entail our keeping abreast of the most advanced countries in the world and not lagging behind them in the sphere of high-tech industries.

It is with such a vision that we should move towards the 21st century. □

Technology is Crucial : not System !

PEOPLE still say: It is not the technology; it is the "system". May be a particular "system" gave birth to this technology; but now it stares us in the face that the system we have, is the product, the inevitable product, of the technology. As I compare the societies which appear to have different "system," the evidence seems to be overwhelming that where they employ the same technology they act very much the same and become more alike every day. Mindless work in office or factory is equally mindless under any system.

I suggest, therefore, that those who want to promote a better society, achieve a better system, must not confine their activities to attempts to change the "super-structure"—laws, rules, agreements, taxes, welfare, education, health services, etc. The expenditure incurred in trying to buy a better society can be like pouring money in to a bottomless pit. If there is no change in the base-which is technology—there is unlikely to be any real change in the superstructure.

E. F. SCHUMACHER
IN "GOOD WORK" PAGE NO-42-43

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Anna Hazare of Ralegarh Shindi



Anna Hazare
Ex-Serviceman
-turned-
Ideal Social Worker

A Modern Miracle

By : **Yadav Rao Deshmukh**

Organising Secretary, DRI

IT WAS NOV. 1965. The Indo-Pak war was on. In the western sector of Khemkaran, a supply convoy of 22 trucks was speeding to the Front. All of a sudden, the sky filled with the roar of enemy bombers; and when the view cleared, the entire convoy stood destroyed. Out of about 50 truck-drivers and assistants, less than 10 survived. The leader was one of them. His name was enrolled as 'Kishan'.

Grieved by the death of his companions, Kishan began to wonder. Why had God spared him? "Surely He wants

something to be done by me!" He decided to do something for the country, for his fellowmen. He made his own village the centre of his activity.

But even a social worker needs some means of sustenance. Kishan Hazare and his four brothers had only a small piece of land. Kishan, therefore, continued in service for a few more years. In 1975, he sought voluntary retirement and returned home. Now, he had a small pension to take care of his basic needs. He had taken a vow not to marry. The village was calling him. And he was ready.

*1965 War incident became
the turning point in his life*



*Here is a government primary school running ideally,
thanks to Anna Hazare and his friends*

With a Khaddar dhoti and Gandhi-cap, Anna is the very picture of simplicity and transparent sincerity. What this short-statured half educated man has been able to achieve, can only be visualised by a visit to his village.

Anna's family was too poor to educate him beyond seventh class. Young Anna started a flower-shop in Bombay. Probably because of living in the midst of flowers, his heart also become equally tender. He was easily moved on seeing anybody in distress, and would at once rush to his help. Meanwhile, China attacked India in 1962. A sensitive person like Anna could not keep aloof when

there was a call for the defence of the country. He went to Aurangabad and was recruited in the Transport Section of the Army.

In the solitary moments of his soldier's life, Anna began to ponder upon human life. As good luck would have it, he got hold of 'Thoughts from Vivekananda': "Human life is a rare boon. Service of God is its best use. And God is all about you in the form of the poor, the suffering and the afflicted. The service of the poor Daridra Narayan is the real worship of God". Anna began to view the people in his village as the incarnation of Daridra Narayan. By the

Fellow-villagers look upon him as God-incarnate

grace of God, he has dedicated his life to the service of this Narayan. He established himself at the local temple, then in ruins. Whatever he got as gratuity from his job, was used to get the temple repaired, and he took a small cabin there for his residence. From this place, he started his work.

Love, sympathy and kindness have turned the semi-literate Kishan into the venerable Anna Ji. Everyone in the village from a child to an old man regards him like an incarnation of God

Himself. On 15th Jan., 1987, when Ahmednagar Municipality accorded him a civic welcome, the elders of the village were besides themselves with joy. The oldest of them said: "We have got God Himself in our midst. We do not know what good actions we had performed in our previous births, to deserve Anna in this life. Whatever life is still left to me, let God give it to our beloved Anna, so that through him, the whole of Maharashtra, nay the whole of India, may become a model like our own village!"



*This school hostel was built by the villagers of Ralegarh Shindi
with their own money and labour*



Anna Hazare, flanked by Shri Mapari, Surpanch, on one side, and Maheshji and Yedav Rao ji on the other

What a DRI Team Saw, Heard & Felt in Ralegarh Shindi

By : Mahesh Chandra Sharma

Secretary, DRI

RALEGARH SHINDI is a small village of 2000 in Parner Tehsil, Distt. Nagar, Maharashtra. But Anna Hazare has made it unique.

Only ten years ago, it was one of the more backward villages, with little water, less agriculture, no industry, but as many as forty illicit distilleries. Today all that is changed. For any social worker, Ralegarh Shindi is something more than an example of rural uplift; it is a place of pilgrimage.

The day begins with devotional music from the temple. This is followed by

radio news in Marathi and Sanskrit. By 8 A.M., all the adult males collect in front of the temple for allocation of the day's work by Anna. It is still not a rich village; but it is a village with a difference. Most houses are Pucca. All houses are white-washed. There are public baths and toilets. Every man, woman and child is well-washed and dressed in simple but clean clothes. The village belles fetching water at the village well, are as happy as their vessels are shining clean. Every house has its clutch of trees. Every yard is swept clean.

The village has two schools—Govern-

The village Library is open all the 24 hours !



Every house in this fortunate village is a garden house !

ment Marathi Primary School and the villagers' own Sant Niroba Rai Vidyalaya, High School. And then there is a beautiful Balwadi, complete with staff-quarters and students' lodges—and a 2-story hostel built by *Shramdan*.

The Vidyalaya works from 11 A.M. to 5 P.M., but the Head Master is there even before 9. A.M. All teachers in the two schools are required to stay in the village—and not commute daily from a distance. There are a few children who drop out of school; but every effort is made to re-induct them in the educational system. Since everything in the village is tip-top, even the Government school works well. Anna looks upon these schools as the centre of village life—and the hope for the future. His object is

nothing less than to produce model citizens. He himself is the secretary of the Niroba Vidyalaya and he has no doubt that these children will be as bright as city kids and will, in addition, have the right *Sanskaras*. This village has a library and reading room, which is open 24 hours. There is no lock, only a latch, which anybody may open, day or night. No books or magazines have ever been lost here. All disputes are settled locally by the Panchayat. There is no recourse to law courts.

Ralegarh Shindri has no industry. And this year's rainfall was only five inches. In the surrounding area the crop has withered away. But here it is waving tall green all round. Reason : they have sunk eight wells in the bed of the local

This small village now has 2,50,000 trees

river. It is a case of cooperative irrigation. And these wells yield enough water to irrigate all the village lands. The Bank of Maharashtra extended a loan of Rs. 25,000 per well. Within four years, most of the farmers were able to return the loans. The two wells for the lands of Harijans didn't do well. But Anna persuaded the well-off peasants to help them till their land better, and produce a bumper crop. Two years later, they were also able to repay the loan.

There is no industry in this village, but Anna is able to get Government projects for afforestation, road-building, lift-irrigation etc. And these provide supplementary income for those with small farms. The tree-cover is the life of

the land. In the last 3 years, this village has planted as many as 2,50,000 trees—and a remarkable 80% of them have survived. No house or street is without its trees or creepers. Three cooperative fruit gardens have 350 trees, laden with guavas, lemons, chikoos. No wonder Anna Hazare was honoured by GOI as 'Vrkisha Mitra'.

Ralegarh Shindi was notorious for its illicit liquor. Today nobody in the village drinks. (Even smoking and gambling have disappeared). All those engaged in wine production and sale, have found alternative work. Babu Tatyapari, who was once the biggest wine-dealer, is today a sincere colleague of Anna. Marriage expenses have come



The area surrounding Ralegarh Shindi has been ruined by drought...



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Even Anna had to go on fast to get certain things done



... But Ralegarh Shindi lands are smiling with waving crops

down from more than Rs. 10,000 to less than Rs. Rs. 3000. The marriage guests are the guests of the whole village.

In place of the old two burning ghats, for Harijans and others, now there is one common ghat for all Hindus.

Eighty per cent people have adopted family planning. Since the goats used to destroy shrubbery by pulling out their roots, this village has disposed of its goats. Cattle care is so good that, in place of 40 litres of milk marketed 10 years ago, the village now has a daily marketable surplus of over 600 litres.

Rajaram of Ralegarh Shindi was working in Bombay. During his recent

visit, he was so pleased with his village that he decided not to go back to Bombay!

It has not been easy to achieve all this. Even Anna has had to struggle for it. On three different occasions, he went on fast—to secure official recognition for Sant Niroba Vidyalaya, to get lights fitted on electric poles, and to get water tankers from the taluka centre, when necessary.

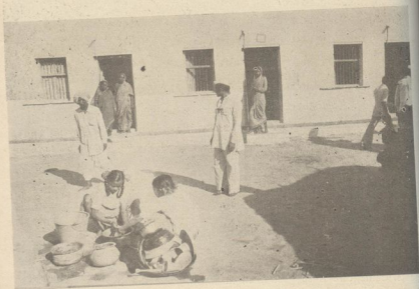
Anna Hazare also takes care *not* to take part in party politics. The whole village votes *en bloc* for the party candidate of its choice, after due deliberation. (In three elections, they have voted for

One good man can change the world around him

three different parties!) The Gram Sabha election is unanimous.

Such is the miracle of one good man dedicating his life to a whole village. Can this noble experiment be continued for long and replicated elsewhere? That is the question. Anna Hazare is trying to institutionalise the local arrangements.

But the best of arrangements will need good men to work them satisfactorily. The key factor, therefore, is, good men, who are "the salt of the earth", and who alone can transform society. This is not a one-time phenomenon. It is a continuing process, ever renewing itself with ever new idealism in the service of fellow-men. □



Here is simple but sturdy, neat and clean, Harijan housing

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Some Internal Problems Facing the Indian Army

...Indira Awasthy

THE PRIMARY FUNCTION of any Army is to train for, fight and win wars, to be a credible deterrent and thus to safeguard the sovereignty of the nation. In the present day scenario of developing countries, the involvement of the military "in aid of civil authorities" has increased to an extent that this can no more be considered a peripheral issue, but one which has far-reaching consequences for the ethos of the group itself, if not for the political structure of the country.

Ethos can be defined as habitual characteristic behaviour of the majority in the group based on a set of values and perceptions. A man functions according to his motivation, which is a psychological phenomenon created by environmental forces, and the internalised needs of the individual. The old concept of "making much" of a soldier or giving "strokes" to officers to ensure good conduct or by screaming fiercely to discipline men into conformity does not hold water today, though the Indian Army leadership still continues to behave like before. This amalgam of an individual's needs and urges and external factors operating on a peculiarly placed and isolated group, fashion the values and ethos of that group.

BY THE 20th century, the British had evolved the concept of martial races i. e. Sikhs, Gorkhas, Jats, Dogras, Garhwalis,

Marathas and some Muslims. Soldiers came from land-owning rural background, and from more and more geographically isolated areas. Mostly relatives of soldiers were chosen, so that a network of kinship grew up in the companies of battalions. Military service was accorded high prestige. The Army was isolated and insulated against politics. The man's loyalty was simply to do his duty (train & play hard) in order to enhance the prestige of his battalion. The soldier's loyalty was more of a personal relationship with his "Sahib" and a Government which fed and paid him and looked after his interests and whose salt he had eaten. His unit was his universe where he spent 10 months a year. Soldiers were "disciplined" or brainwashed into blindly accepting as to who the enemy was and asked no further questions. The ethos for the soldier was "Izzat" and "Iqbal" the invincibility of British rule.

Indians were admitted to the officer class only from 1923 KCIOs and then from 1932, ICOs. Officers were commissioned from the highest and well off Indian families and those professionals who were committed to the Raj. These officers were then insulated and fully anglicised to turn out Brindians. The ethos of these officers was to obey, to be just in exercising their own command and to be concerned about the welfare of their troops. There was an obsession with

The orientation of the Indian Army & the Paki Army is very different

games, officer-like qualities included sociability, holding one's drink, attachment to regiment, camaraderie etc. It was an axiom of British management that a mystique was created around the officer class. Even the British officer and the 'tommy' were from separate classes—or made to appear so.

THE SPECIAL feature that the Indian Army inherited from the British was its non-political nature, tradition of subservience to civil authority but a very high status accorded to officers and soldiers by society and Government.

At Independence in August 1947, the same British Indian Army was split into the Pakistan Army and the Indian Army. Both had traditions of non-politicism, devotion to duty, loyalty to one's command, implicit obedience of orders etc. However, in a very interesting development, in Pakistan the army got involved in politics.

Some factors can be listed briefly. The Pakistan Army inherited few training institutions, felt deficient in weapons and was initially dependent on British officers and has always had foreign links. From its inception the Pakistan military pressed forcefully on the political leadership to strengthen the military machine. In India civilian bureaucratic and financial control was institutionalised. For the avowedly theocratic Pakistani State the sword arm was the military. Secular India cannot use religion as a rallying point. On the contrary, in India religious differences, when passions run

high, as they do these days, can only be a divisive force. In the feudalistic rural society that Pakistan presided over, the soldier continued in a high status role. The Pakistan Army had a dominant element of Punjabis who formed a cohesive power block within the military and ambitious-cum-conscientious Generals could combine for concerted action. The ruling political elites also kept emphasising external threat which led to a high militarisation of politics. Break-down in the civilian order gave a moral right to the military to intervene. The military had always felt, and had been told so by Jinnah, that their professional contribution was vital to the new State. In India the Army has no broader sense of mission or purpose.

Varying socio-economic infrastructures in the two countries determined the forms of polity. Along one-party domination and strong political leadership in India, the change in the sociological base of military leadership and the policy of civilians making strategic decisions, did not allow the nexus between underdevelopment and military dictatorship to be formed in India.

At Independence, the Indian Army was blooded in the 1947 Kashmir operations and convinced a grateful nation about the loyalty and steadfastness of its men under arms. The national volunteer army has fought 3 major wars against first class Asiatic powers and given a credible account of itself. A new situation has arisen. The geopolitical and economic constraints of our neighbours

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in potential adversary relationships and their threshold and actual nuclear weapons capabilities make the outbreak of war a moot possibility.

The military in any country and at all periods of history is said to be a conservative regime based on authoritarian discipline and a hierarchical organisation necessary for the conduct of war.

After Independence, recruitment to all ranks in the Army was thrown open to men of all religions, races, castes and regions of India, including the NEFA, Assam, Kashmir. Restrictions on men from U.P., Bihar, Madras and Bombay regions enlisting in the Army were removed. The social and regional composition of the soldiery or jawans has changed and is changing still further (with intensification of agricultural activity in Punjab and Haryana), but slowly.

At Independence, the military officer class was of the same stock as the civilian bureaucracy. There was no clash of interests within the 'privileged' and 'superior' class.

Gradually, but more speedily after 1962 and 1972, the changed socio-economic class composition of the officer cadre has become noticeable in the Indian Army. The factors responsible are widening alternative employment opportunities in I.A.S., I.F.S., in business houses, agriculture, private entrepreneurial enterprises etc, leading to sons of better off and higher

classes turning to more prestigious and remunerative jobs. The Army Officers profile has dropped to a lower middle class and perhaps even below that. To quote some statistics :—

(a) At the I.M.A. (Indian Military Academy) in 1974-75 only 70% of the vacancies were subscribed, and in the Technical Arms it was a mere 50%. As far as the quality of intake was concerned, 88% of the candidates were in the *lowest acceptable grade*. These criteria too had to be considerably lowered in order to recruit anybody at all.

(b) At the N.D.A. (National Defence Academy), 30% of the intake were sons of J.C.O.s and NCOs, 20% were sons of civilians who had sent their sons to Sainik Schools and 40% were those who did not make the grade for Universities.

(c) A bare 10% were the sons of Service Officers of which 9% fell in the category of those who could not make the University grade. (Figures taken from a Report of a Seminar on Recruitment held at the USI in February 1977.)

That an Army officer's career has lost attractiveness is an obvious and inescapable conclusion leading to an acute situation of under-subscription to the officer cadres. Factors responsible are not only more remunerative and prestigious alternative employment opportunities but in-built disadvantages of military service itself—such as lack of career-wise opportunities (in spite of two cadre

The continuous down-grading of Indian Defence Forces

40% Army officers regret joining the Services

reviews), inherent hazards and disturbed family living conditions which are not sufficiently compensated for, and biggest dread of all, early retirement with hardly any attention paid to the retiring and retired personnel.

THOSE WHO do join the Army are affected by the social ethos of the country. The new heroes are those with political clout and economic power. There is a breaking down of moral values. There is a growing emphasis on economic success and personal liberty. These factors are engendering in the new military leader, even when he arrives from a lower economic strata, higher and higher expectations and aspirations. Military leadership has become extremely self-centred and concerned with self-advancement.

Some statistics are offered as indicating the change of attitudes. The writer conducted an original research in 1981 on attitudes by canvassing the opinion of 50 Lt. Colonels, mostly commissioned just before 1962, and 500 officers with one to ten years of service. 70% of the respondent junior officers came from families with parental incomes less than Rs. 900/- per month. 40% of all respondents regretted having joined the services. Only 53% of the young officers were satisfied with their lot. The most acutely felt stresses were financial stringencies, separation from families, curbing of initiative and self-expression, problems of children's education and house building. Asked to comment on the three most important priorities of an Army

officer today, an overwhelming response was for socialising and pleasing bosses, building up professional competence came a poor second and husbanding resources and making contacts for post-retirement competed strongly for the third place with training and welfare of troops. Loyalty to one's command was nowhere in their list of priorities. Assured re-employment for 5 years after retirement would ease the tensions of 51% of all respondents.

The old soldier was physically hardy with a high sense of duty, less selfish, with higher attributes of character, pride and honour, though less educated. The 'new' soldier is physically well endowed, better educated, better suited to grasp the complexities of his trade or profession in the military but can be motivated only under conditions of sustained supervision by officers. The new soldier also has a trade union mentality and is more self-centred than before and a larger number join up because of unemployment and their inability to find jobs elsewhere. These are not men for whom soldiering is a vocation; it is an occupation. To get the best out of this soldier material, which has undoubted potential, is the prime challenge of military leadership. This challenge is rendered even more acute because officers and men now come from similar economic backgrounds and respect for leadership is no more axiomatic. Officers must reinforce their competence with precept and example and exemplary fairness, impartiality and un-corruptability, physical and moral courage, and professional knowledge. The

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recurring fear is that the new generation of mediocrity commissioning in the officer ranks may not attain these standards.

PROFESSIONAL competence must manifest itself in the contribution of officers to their units and establishments and not only to be treated as visa stamps for upward rise. There appears to be a decline in the intelligence, character and dedication of the officer corps. However, opportunities for training have greatly improved and the acquisition of purely professional knowledge has risen. This is unfortunately negated due to the rise of "careerism" in the military, engendered by limited opportunities for career advancement.

It is necessary to explain why a nation needs officers of the first rate. Much smaller armies have defeated huge armies, due to lack of good officers and lagging behind in technology of weapons systems. Napoleon is alleged to have said: "There are no good or bad regiments; there are only good or bad officers." A good officer, according to traditional yardsticks, is one who is prepared to die while leading his men, in order to inspire his men to fight and to win their conviction and to establish his credibility. So far the record of the Indian officer performance has been credible. The ratio between officers and other rank casualties has been 1.67 : 1. This must not be allowed to be changed.

No one wants to remain in 'command' posts for more than the minimum duration of 1½ years, to minimise the possibility of anything going wrong; the accent

is on pleasing the boss by sycophancy so as to obtain a good ACR. A command or staff appointment is executed with the object of making it pay off in terms of 'real' time and to create a good impact to build an aura and reputation for individual officers. Seniors tend not to stand by their subordinates and to make scapegoats of them and to dump responsibility on them for mistakes or accidents in order to save their own skin. This is what is meant by careerism. The first concern of the 'new' officer with financial and personal matters, over that of his command and charge, has already been mentioned. It should not be difficult to draw the conclusion that such persons would be increasingly unwilling to lay down their lives. This has already happened in the case of JCOs and the tendency is fast appearing in the officer ranks.

DISPARITIES in promotion prospects between the civil and military are the biggest crib, and they cause discontent. A seminar on Retirement Ages held by the United Services Institution, gave the following statistics:—

—As in 1970s, 16.6% of IAS officers drew salaries above Rs. 2,000/- p.m. while 0.32% Army officers did so;

—In the above period, 40.6% officers retired in the rank of Major and below and there was not a single case of retirement at this rank in the IAS or IPS;

—An IAS officer becomes a Joint Secretary with 16/17 years' service and it

'There are no good or bad regiments; only good or bad officers'—Napoleon

The Annual Confidential Reports have become irrelevant

takes an officer 28-30 years to become a Major General:

—Nearly every officer commissioned in the Administrative Service will become a Joint Secretary and only 3.11% of Army officers will reach the rank of even Brigadier;

—The Army officer cadre is 10 times the size of the IAS and it has only one full General (Secretary). The IAS has 100 such appointments.

Even after the 1980/81 cadre review, of the 34,851 Army officers, 86.78% are in the rank of Majors and below, 11.11% are Lt. Cols and Cols, and only 3.11% are Brigadiers and above. In a batch of 100 young officers passing out of the Academy in a given year, 60 will become Lieutenant Colonels, 50 will become Colonels, 20 will get to be Brigadiers (Directors), 8 will be Major Generals (Joint Secretary) and 2 will reach to be Lieutenant Generals. In the years ahead, the percentage of officers becoming Brigadiers and above will be reduced to decimal points.

An Officers Management Study was undertaken in 1979/80 under the chairmanship of General Hira. The idea was to suggest ways and means to overcome the high rate of supersession and delay in promotions. The study reveals that the Infantry is the most unpopular Arm, has the most difficult conditions of service and needs the largest compensation to attract good officers to it.

Another finding was the increasing popularity of the 'Services'—Army Service Corps/Army Ordnance Corps/Electrical and Mechanical Engineers etc—as compared to the fighting arms. The reasons being higher retirement age in the services, job security, less hazards, better rehabilitation prospects.

IF CAREER assessments of Indian bureaucrats are "politicised", that of Army officers are "personalised".

The military uses the Annual Confidential Report (ACR) to control the behaviour of officers, making it the instrument for promotions, decisions regarding job placements and course seats. Performance appraisals are not seen as a feedback to the officer regarding his strengths and weaknesses and to give him an opportunity for self-initiating change and development. The organisation is not "perceived" as benign or even neutral. Officers bitterly deride it as "an elimination and not selection system."

Some of the weaknesses of the ACR procedure as it exists today are—one, its confidentiality. This coerces people into servitude and sycophancy, but heightens fear and apprehensions about malpractices and curbs initiative. It does not help the individual to correct or improve himself, because he does not see how he has been observed to be performing. However, since the object of the organisation is to find excuses to axe people through the ACR, secrecy must indeed be required for this macabre drama.

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Two, there is a total lack of standardisation of marking tendencies of reporting officers. One has to be lucky or unlucky to be posted under a generous or stingy awardee.

Three, the appraisal is based on traits and has serious limitations because it is not a review on direct job dimensions. For instance, a man may be pugnacious and determined. While this is a virtue in some situations and at certain ranks, in other situations and higher ranks may be flexibility, wide vision and patience is more important. How are qualities like honesty, integrity, loyalty to be quantified?

Four, the most serious charge about ACR markings is one of high subjectivity. Whether an officer is professionally "sound" (itself an unscientific word), has good relations with subordinates, peers and seniors, is a matter of "opinion" of the reporting officers. No reason has to be cited for reaching these "feelings", which are, more often than not, based on unprofessional non-issues, regimental preferences and personal equations. The "halo" effect largely rules reporting patterns, when impressions gained on one or two points at some stage mark the man high, low or mediocre consistently on all dimensions for the rest of his career. An adequate system of performance appraisal is laying down of actual, physical performance targets to be achieved for each job and then adjudging a man against these key performance areas (KPA).

Rules and procedures change every

two years. Why? Why are policies not thought out carefully for their long-term implications? Ad hoc-ism and policies based on inspiration of successive Chiefs, and not rationality, will naturally be challenged in the courts and give the Defence Ministry an avoidable intervening.

UNFORTUNATELY not enough thought has been given to leadership behaviour in keeping with progressive changes in the mentality, skills, attitudes and aspirations of those to be led. The army still thinks that a forceful mode, loud voice, an impressive personal appearance (whiskers, swaggerstick *et al*) and position and power, bull-dozing over subordinates, is a good command style. It is an often heard remark on an army campus "Yaar, my Army Commander/Corps Commander/GOC is a bilkul Company Commander". The dissatisfaction is compounded by the knowledge that the boss keeps subordinate formations in a spin and interferes constantly because of his own self interest. No boss wants to take a risk about the visit of a VIP. Units spend most of their time, money and energy catering to the whims of visiting senior officers and their wives, from bathroom decorations to idiosyncratic food habits, to propensities for peculiar professional strategies. Hardly anyone in the Army has the privilege to think through his own nut.

Even in the matter of selections for appointments and promotions, the military power elite prefer to perpetuate like-minded men with views harmonious with

Affection & respect missing in Army Rank & File

The Warrants of Precedence are an insult to Army officers

their own. Divergent views or leadership styles disturbs the brass and are quickly pushed out of the mainstream.

The Warrants of Precedence are another major irritant with the military having been down-graded in a humiliating manner. Never has, or will, the military challenge political, not necessarily bureaucratic, supremacy over Defence. But the deliberate and systematic humbling of the status of the military officer defies rational explanation and erodes the confidence and exuberance of military leadership. Here are some examples :—

—After the 1947-48 Kashmir War, the Chiefs of Staff of the three services moved below judges of the Supreme Court. Major Generals were placed below Chief Secretaries to State Governments.

—After the 1962 China War, the Chiefs were put below the Cabinet Secretary and Major Generals moved under the Director of Intelligence Bureau.

—After the 1965 Indo-Pak War, the 'Chiefs' were put below the Attorney General and Major Generals placed below the General Managers of Railways.

—After the 1971 Indo-Pak War, the 'Chiefs' came down under the Comptroller and Auditor General, Lt Generals below Chief Secretaries in States and Major Generals below the Deputy Comptroller and Auditor General.

—In Rajasthan, Manipur, Mizoram

and Nagaland, Brigadiers are ranked below DCs. Such disparities are absurdities, to put it mildly.

Another important challenge to be faced is the increasing use of troops to put down so-called "insurgency" and "law and order" situations. These are basically political problems for which the "military solution" is not suitable. The military feels increasingly uncomfortable in these roles. The Army does not have executive power to deal with these problems, the civil administration absolve themselves from the responsibility of mis- or non-governance, the State and Central Governments may find the military convenient scapegoats to dump the blame on. In communal tensions, it is significant that feuding communities have the greatest faith and reliance on Army impartiality. But increasing use of the military in such affairs may erode public credibility of the Army image.

Military sociologists like Janowitz and Huntington have called the military an "elite". This is far from the truth in India. An elite is a small, cohesive group with access to command of various institutions in society and this bestows its members with authority, position, superiority, power, prestige, wealth, influence. In the Indian context, the military feel neglected by society in its problem of finding second careers. Being left to fend for themselves, they shiver under the cynical disregard of the public for the unique hazards of military service. Military leaders suffer from post-retirement psychosis leading to erosion of values of

integrity, courage, and 'careerism' chits.

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integrity, loyalty, moral and physical courage, and making for the rise of 'careerism' and 'management' of good chits.

THERE IS A slight feeling of alienation in the Army. Alienation can be at many levels, the military group as an institution versus society as a whole; alienation between the rank and file and the officer class; alienation between elites and disgruntled groups among the middle piece officers; alienation of the bulk of officers from command or contact with troops (virtually most officers of the rank of Lt Col and above are commanding only other officers). The last aspect will further intensify with the division of officers into command and staff channels.

Over the years, a dissensus has appeared between the value system of the dominant groups in the power structure of the country, and, military personnel, first, due perhaps to the lowering of the social profile of the Army officer, and more due to the marginal role allocated to the Army, now named Defence. The status and position of the military has been consciously devalued by the bureaucracy and the politicians. The blatant and deliberate downgrading of the rules of precedence at State and Central Government functions, make self-respecting Army officers smart under such humiliations. In the country, the dominant social value is the power of money. And the means, any means, to its access are the new gods. The erstwhile soldier was a respected member of the rural and

urban community. Today no consideration is allowed to servicemen, who are turning into decoits and smugglers just as easily as into idlers and petty shop keepers. Society does not respect the released soldier and cut adrift in a world ruled by money and not justice and honour, the soldier is turning to crime or inertia or apathy. Retired officers today prefer to call themselves "Shri Atal" and not Col Atal because of the scant respect that they receive shames the rank held by them. In British times, on receipt of a letter from a Second Lt. the D. C. took action. Today, the recommendations of the Chief of Army Staff are turned down by an Under Secretary. So if in a democracy you want to degrade the status and incentives of the military, second-rate men will join the Army and you will get second rate service. So why crib ?

Estrangement of values between the military group and the bureaucratic group creates frustration and humiliation, leading to a subservient military leadership at the top, whose image to their subordinates is one of despicable, self-seeking sycophants who are bullies in their command roles. This command style then gets replicated below, percolating to the humblest level.

Excessive emphasis on authoritarianism has led to an impression of arbitrariness, ad-hoc-ism and personalisation in the decision making process. Why have the services got the short end of the stick regarding the pay rise recommendations of the Fourth Pay Commission ? Why were recommendations made to the

Growing dissensus between Army Ethos & Value System

Neglected ex-Army men are becoming even dacoits

Supreme Court which adversely affect all jawans and junior officers in the matter of the restoration of commuted pensions? Why has the age of retirement been lowered for the so-called 'staff channel'? Is it a punishment being meted out to general cadre officers? The aftermath of "Blue Star" has opened the floodgates for "understanding" the feelings of a community even when they violate military discipline. These are dangerous precedents for discipline.

So far the Army has give a credible account of itself' because of the following positive factors :

—the socialising effect of the training imparted at Regimental Centres and the Academies for officers, where young men imbibe the culture of the military based on the cardinal principles of order, discipline, proficiency, heirarchical control, devotion to duty, courage, and outdoor existence etc. In Battalions and Regiment they further internalise concepts of regimental pride.

—group cohesiveness is an important factor leading to military efficiency where men enjoy feelings of 'extension' and are bound together by common experiences and shared dangers and hardships;

—there is an increase in proficiency levels or instrumental capabilities per se, like technical skills, job knowledge, physical fitness and education levels.

Hence on the surface the Army mana-

ges, just about, to perform well. But the undermining factors are catching up with meaningful positive values. One might ask that if the system is so inequitable, how do people adhere to strict discipline? Jawans, for whom the military is just a livelihood, do not have expectations of more than monetary compensations. Officers stay in line through the exercise of a fear complex. Fear of a bad ACR resulting in non-promotion. Once superceded, few perform at more than 20% of their capability. Supercession too is accepted because there is no alternative job outlet. The vast majority of officers from the rank of Lt Col and above are superceded and according to the present Chief's own admission these officers are better than their civilian counterparts. Please tell me what is the motivation and morale of these 'left over' bits of humanity? And what does it portend for the Army?

DISCIPLINE, loyalty, patriotism and such heroic words evoke primeval emotive reactions but in cold reality man management and motivation today is more than evoking emotional hysteria. Unless people are given avenues to exercise initiative; unless the grievances of serving and retired personnel are looked into; unless people have fair and sufficient career rise opportunities to realise their full potential; unless the performance appraisal system is open and fair; unless there are compensatory incentives, all these exhortations are only filmy dialogues between Sohrab Modi and Prithviraj Kapur. □

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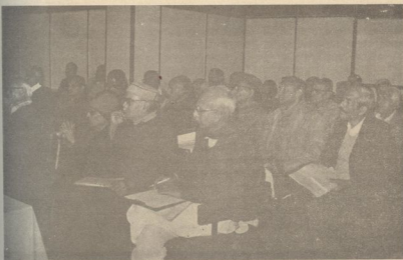
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(Seated L to R) Rama Swarup, Bhaurao Deoras, Prof. Rajendra Singh, K. S. Sudarshan

movement. They are planning 'Crescent East', hoping to make major inroads not only in India but also in Russia and China. Concerted efforts are being made, in league with the ruling party, to quarter Hindu society into Backwards, Forwards, Harijans and Tribals. But we are cool as cucumber. What is our Platform? What is our Manifesto?

PREMNATH BUTT: I don't think we have to exaggerate the Islamic threat. Poet Hali had rightly said that Islam which had crossed the seven seas, came and sank in the Ganga.

*Woh Deen-i-Hejazi ka bebak bera
Nishan jiska aqsai alam mein tha,
Kiye passipar jisme soaton samundar
Who dooba dahane mein Ganga ke aakar.*

Not only that, Islam got Indianised in a big way, said Hali:

*Woh tawhid jo phahli thi saare jahan mein,
Raha sharq na baqi wahm-o-guman mein,
Wah aakay badal gaye, Hindostan mein.*

It is true Islam talks of jihad, war on non-Muslims. But they also have Jehade-Akbar, the great crusade, which they are expected to conduct against the lower 'self'.

SHATRUGHUN SINHA: Leftist historians are busy white-washing history. According to them, Mahmud Ghazni was a great ruler, Allauddin Khilji was a socialist and Aurangzeb was a strong ruler. However it is also true that 80% weavers in the north embraced Islam because they were being treated as 'Shudras'.

NATUBHAI THAKKAR: The people have sound instincts. It is only some English educated people who are out of

tune with society. I am working for Vishwa Hindu Parishad. Thousands pay Rs. 5 each to attend our day-long district conferences. Our Gujarati magazine is selling 30,000 copies.

KRISHNA RAO SAPRE : I am studying Christian activities in tribal areas. Missionaries are busy telling them they are Mongol, etc. But a study of tribals shows that they are as Indian as anybody else. Karbis of Karbi Anglong have come from Kaveri side. Mikirs talk of Sugriva. Tiwas, a clan of the Khasis, claim descent from Sita Vansh. Arunachal and Vindhya mountain music tunes are an echo of the same Sama Veda. Garos sing of Shiv-Parvati.

GOKUL NATH : I come from Canada. Media programmes there claim 500 converts to Islam every day. The Church hopes to see fifty per cent Christian states in India by the year 2001 AD. This is just for your information.

DR. SURENDRA MITTAL : At the thought level, Islam is not, and never has been, a challenge. Hindus have always viewed it as something inferior. And traditionally the West, even with its Christianity, has been regarded as 'mlechha'.

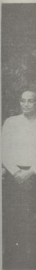
I have three suggestions to make to meet the challenges to Hindu Society. Firstly English-medium education must be totally replaced by Indian languages. It is ridiculous that Economics, Politics and even Philosophy courses should include mostly western thought. This is due to English being the medium of higher education. Secondly, a study of Indian thought and culture must be compulsory in all higher education. Thirdly, the leftist strangle-hold on key educational institutions like UGC, NCERT, JNU and various Institutes of Social Science Research, must be ended.

BHANU PRATAP SHUKLA : The Dharma-raj of yester-eras has become the intellectual of today. The masses are all-right; but this particular class is quite wrong. The people know that this is a great and ancient nation; but these people want to "make the nation"—as though it is some kind of a cake to be baked. Their whole orientation, their thought categories, their very idiom, is foreign. They denounce astrology—but read astrological predictions. They denounce rituals in public but observe them in private.

When Swami Ramtirth went to USA he was asked why India had gone to seed. He said that when a seed is planted and it begins to sprout, there is lot of smell, chemical reaction. That is the smell in India. When this seed sprouts into a mighty tree you will understand and appreciate it. It is for this society to make this analysis come true. Only 'Hindu Dharma' can solve our problems, whether these be in Punjab, Tripura or Darjeeling.

DEVENDRA SWARUP : The Britishers have planted all kind of weeds in the country. Independent India has only been watering and manuring these weeds. This is our dilemma and our tragedy.

DR. AMARNATH SINHA : In India we have always had two streams of social thought represented by Vashisht and Vishwamitra. While Vashisht stood for Varna-Vivasthā and Rakta-Shuddhi, Vishwamitra stood for Varna-parivartana and 'Krinvantu Vishwam Aryam'. It was the glory of Rama that he synthesised the two strands in his life. That is why he came to be looked upon as God-incarnate. We have to learn a lot from his example. Some leftist writers are busy dismissing Rama and Krishna as myths and interpreting Tulsi and Kabri



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A group photograph of participants

as 'marxists'. We have to expose all these tricks.

DR. BAJRANG LAL : We have to view ourselves and the world by our own lights. We don't have to accept anything from the West before assessing its real worth. The better kind of European is beginning to see our point of view. Gunnar Myrdal, economist-philosopher, has been influenced by Indian thought to replace the western concept of 'living standard' by 'Gross Social Happiness'.

NARENDRA SEHGAL : The challenges that face us are not peculiar to us. There are countries which were over-run by Islam and Christianity, but which later rejected them and threw them out. People in Pakistan are also beginning to reach for their roots. Bihari Muslims in Karachi are keeping a picture of Buddha. Punjab

Muslims say that their 'National Day' is Vaisakhi. Sindhi Muslims adore Raja Dehir Sen, the last Hindu King of Sindh. There is hope for Hindus, Hindustan and Hindu Dharma.

DHIRAJ BHAI SHAH (U.K.) : Living and working in UK, I perceive the threats very differently. We today are practising Hinduism. Will our children be Hindus, except in name? This is the biggest challenge Hindus face outside India. Very much more dangerous than Islam, Christianity and Communism is the value-less consumerism promoted by the profit-centred economy and media-power. In this new permissive atmosphere, drug and sex are king. British Government views AIDS menace as a national emergency and has already sanctioned £ 20 million. Through blood transfusion, disease is spreading. Govern-

ment have accepted drugs as a fact of life and are now gifting needles free—so that at least addicts don't infect each other with their ailments through the use of a common needle. Advertisements are telling people to have only one partner; they don't have the moral courage to tell them to confine themselves to their wedded partner. The 'Dallas' TV series with its promiscuity is breaking all moral barriers; and it is the most popular programme.

When you read the story of the abduction of Sita, to an Indian child, he is moved and shocked into indignation. But when the same story is read to an Indian child brought up abroad, he is only amused; he even laughs! Under cover of 'liberalisation' GOI is encouraging multi-national corporations. This can only promote the disease of consumerism. Today Mrs. Thacher is pleading for restoration of Victorian values. But it is almost a voice in the wilderness.

VASANTRAO OKE : The Government and the People are not on the same wavelength. The PM's approach to Ganga is very different from that of the people of India. A big chasm of feeling and perception divides the people from the Government. We have to find Indian solutions to the Punjab problem.

DEVENDRA SWARUP : Britain deliberately grafted the West on India. This has disoriented the country. The people do not know how to react to this new situation. Today there are more Macaulayans in India than at any time during British rule. Our scholars have to delve deep into mountains of research to come to any meaningful conclusions.

SITA RAM : Let us stop running down

the British for everything. We don't have to lap up the "conspiracy theory." Our job is to identify and unite nationalist intellectuals in the field of Spirituality, Culture, History and Society.

BATUK SANYAL : As professor of Philosophy at I.I.T., Bombay. I found that all models of study and research were foreign. I matched these with Hindu models of thought—from sphota theory to sex behaviour. And we found that we were able to come to sounder conclusions.

VIRESHWAR DWIVEDI : In Bangalore I found scores of scholars studying single subjects from the Church angle at the Ecumenical Centre. These researches have long-term effects. We are doing nothing of the kind.

KULDIP AGNIHOTRI : During my visit to Iran, I found the Russian Lobby persuading Baluch revolutionary youth to adopt the Russian script for their language. The American lobby was pressing the Roman script on them. I asked the Indian consul why not we befriend these Baluch youths, since Baluchis and Iranians are so close to us. Indeed, when in Iran, you don't feel you are in a foreign country. But the Consul said we have no ideology, no cultural policy. He was only too right. While I was still in Iran, the Government imposed a ban on American books. I thought India could easily fill the vacuum. But before New Delhi could do a thing, Russia had flooded the market! Russia is even flooding the world market with nursery rhymes in English!

SATISH MITTAL : In MA and IAS courses, Ancient History is consistently neglected. What little real research there is in India, is based on foreign books. We are all the time quoting foreigners, even when

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better local authorities are available. UK, USA, France, Germany, Russia etc., they all have their own Encyclopedias, through which they see the world from their angle. We don't have any Encyclopedia Indica. Why? Our whole approach is faulty.

NARENDRA SEHGAL : Communists are able to popularise Das Kapital; why are we not able to interpret Deendayalji's Integral Humanism in simple terms for the masses?

DR. HARSH NARAIN : Some universities in UK agreed to incorporate a study of Hindu religion in their syllabus. But Hindus could not agree on common syllabus!

BHANU PRATAP SHUKLA : Some people ask: What has the RSS done? I ask: what has the RSS not done?

K.R. MALKANI : The challenges that face us are not confined to India, they are global. Islam and Christianity are a challenge to each other: capitalism and communism are also a challenge to each other. Non-Hindus perceive even Hinduism as a challenge to them. Muslims think India may expel Islam, as Spain did five hundred years ago, after five centuries of Islamic domination. When Janata Party came into power, Saudi Arabia thought a Hindu Army might march against Mecca! Even Hatha Yoga and ISKON, Mahesh Yogi and Rajneesh are viewed as threats by some non-Hindus.

We are all familiar with the Hindu-Muslim problem. Ram Swarup and Sita Ram have done great service by analysing Islam and Christianity in depth. It is very important that Hindus should know it all. However, we may also consider whether we should not look to the future

and offer Muslims a hand of friendship. We should make it clear to them that we will stand no nonsense but, at the same time, we will do no injustice to them. We should remind them that they are all former Hindus and that even Muslim kings used to celebrate national festivals like Basant, Holi and Divali.

We complain of the media and the historical research institutions being anti-Hindu. What have we done to induct our promising young men into these two streams? Let us monitor Radio and TV talks—and study language and history text books in school and college in each state—and see what is wrong with them. Lastly, in the words of Gokhale, "what cuts deep in politics, cuts deep all-round." Until and unless we mobilise our resources and bring irresistible pressure on New Delhi, we will have no impact on policy-making.

NARASIMHAN : Notwithstanding DMK propaganda to the contrary, scholars have shown that Sangam Literature is as Hindu as anything. And now even DMK professors agree. We have contacted many public-spirited writers and organised them in a group, 'Vigil'. We have instituted 'Panchjanya' awards for promising young writers.

DR. SUJIT DHAR : I suggest that we do not launch a new organisation for this work. Let's just have a Central Information Bank and Clearing House here.

O.P. KOHLI : We should have specialised cells to do analytical and critical work. Whenever a major incident takes place, we should send a well-informed team for spot study—like PUCL and PUDL. Let there, for example, be a study of Bangladeshi immigrant presence in Delhi itself.

KRISHNA RAO SAPRE : In the tribal areas, jhoom cultivation is joint, but when the same land is irrigated, it becomes private for the party watering it. Large tracts of land have been irrigated with missionary monetary support, and so all those lands have gone into convert hands. Please arrange competent legal advice for us in the Supreme Court so that we can challenge all these practices.

DEVENDRA SWARUP : We must have a week-long workshop to thrash out various issues. Today the position is that even all RSS men don't see the Sikh issue in the same light.

PROF. M.M. SHANKHDHAR : We need an English daily to influence the intelligentsia and the Establishment. It is not enough to write letters to the editors of other papers.

DHIRAJBHAI SHAH (U.K.) : Letter-writing is not everybody's cup of tea. In UK we flood them with phone calls, and media men have to sit up. Some time back the Independent Broadcasting Authority carried an anti-Hindu story, critical of RSS. We not only jammed their telephone lines with 5000 calls; we sued them in court and got the right of reply on IBA.

BRAHMA SWARUP : Here letters will be more suitable. We should not mind if a letter is rejected; it will impact on the letter-reading-editor all-right. We must try and try, and we are bound to succeed. For years most of Tolstoy's writings were rejected. But once he made a name, even those rejected articles were sent to the same papers—and they were published!

K. S. SUDARSHAN : We should react to situations by writing letters to the editor. It is not true that newspapers are always flooded with letters. Shri M. V. Kamath, when he was editor of 'The Illustrated Weekly', addressed a questionnaire to

four lakh readers. And do you know how many responded? Just one hundred. We don't write in the Press because for decades we were told in the RSS not to seek any publicity. Publicity for self is all-wrong; publicity for a cause, is all-right. Our writers' organisations in Tamil Nadu—and Kerala—'VIGIL' and 'TAPASYA'—are doing very well. Even leftist writers are appearing on these platforms and interpreting events from the national angle.

Many valuable suggestions have been made here. They will be given serious thought. We will be in touch.

K. SESHADRI : Our people are very sound at heart. We have to build on that. I will speak with special reference to the South, which is where I work.

When we published Sāvarkar's biography in Kannada, we invited Bhagat Singh's mother Vidyavati to release it. She was old, speaking in Punjabi, which was translated first in Hindi and then in Kannada. But I have never seen a more moving function. Young men present had but one desire—to touch Mataji's feet!

Great scholars are proving that untouchability is not sanctioned by Shastras. We are conducting Veda Shiksha Shibir, Sanskrit Shiksha Shibir. We are giving Mantra-Deeksha to Harijans. Today DMK is agitating against Hindi; but this agitation is not even one-tenth as strong as it was twenty years ago. Some Tamil Nadu MLAs even said that Hindi is as necessary for Tamils as medicine is for the ailing.

Our Rashtrothan Publishing House has a hundred branches all over Karnataka. Small papers are asking us for good nationalist articles. Recently we organised an 8-day Drama Workshop in Bangalore. We must work, we must study, we must preserve, and success will be ours. □

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DRI Workers' Camps

The DRI organised three Workers' Camps last month. The first camp, on 31st Dec.-Jan. 1, was held in Singhbhum, Bihar. The second camp, Jan. 3-7, was held at Jayaprabhagram, in Gonda District, U.P. And the third on Jan. 17-18 in Beed District of Maharashtra at Vaidyanath Dham.

DRI is engaged in practical experimentation in the field at the Svalalamban Kendras (Self-Help Centres) under the Gramodaya Prakalpa (Rural Development Projects) and Rachna Prakaalps (Reconstruction projects in urban area). Wholtime workers of the DRI motivate the local people, particularly the youth, to make their village or locality self-reliant, healthy and happy.

Singhbhum is a backward hilly, forest district of Bihar. DRI has so far taken up only Health service work there. But this time a call had been given to the Vanavasi Youth for the extensive plan of locating Svalalamban-Kendras. The Project Director, Shri Satish Jha, made a detailed tour of the area and consequently 175 young men and women participated in this camp. For most of them, it was the first experience in social service. After this camp, there is a new confidence in the district that Svalalamban-Kendras can be established in this area also.

In the Gonda District of Uttar Pradesh, the DRI Advance Gramodaya Project has been at work for the last 8 years. In the 26 Development Blocks of the district, 52 Svalalamban Kendras have

been established. There is a plan for Rachna Prakaalpa at eight urban centres, and work has already been initiated at these. At this camp in Gonda, only prominent workers of the Gram Svalalamban Kendras and Rachna Prakaalpa were invited. Thus, only 68 workers attended. Other workers will be participating in zonal camps in March-April, 1987.

In Beed District, for the first time the idea of a big camp of workers at Gram-Svalalamban Kendras and other service centres was mooted. For this purpose, senior workers made an extensive tour of the district and selected 275 participants—190 men and 85 women. There are in the District today 6 Svalalamban Kendras, 20 Health-Service Centres and 3 Rachna Prakaalpa Centres.

Nanaji Deshmukh, Chairman, DRI and Yadav Rao Deshmukh, Organising Secretary, DRI, attended all the three camps. The Gonda Project Director, Rama Shankar Upadhyaya, Singhbhum Project Director, Satish Jha, Beed Project Director Rajabhau Dhat, Dongri Svalalamban Kendra and Sondara Gurukul Director, Krishna Joshi, Beed District, whole-time Samaj Shilpi, Sanjay Shroff and other prominent workers, made these camps very purposeful and very successful. Shri Mahesh Chandra Sharma, Secretary, DRI, also participated in the camps at Gonda and Beed. The DRI Agrim Rachna Prakaalpa, Nagpur, is holding a Workers' camp at Nagpur on February 13-15

At all these camps, Nanaji Deshmukh explained in lucid detail the concept and methodology of the DRI regarding Integrated Social Reconstruction. Nanaji in his speeches referred to pre-Independence tendencies and the social-trends that have developed after Independence. He said that the psyche of the society during the freedom movement was to ask what one could do for the country; now the effort was to see what one could grab from society.

Nanaji said that both *Vasana* (desire) and *Samedansheelata* (sympathy for the suffering) are instinctive in everyone. "Today *Vasana* has got hold of the individual and *Samedansheelata* has been eclipsed. We shall have to arouse the latter and bring the former under control. There has to be a happy and balanced relationship between the individual and society. What links the individual to the society, is the Family. A healthy and congenial family alone can produce able and honest individuals for the society. DRI wants not merely individual men and women, but whole families in the social reconstruction work."

In the course of discussions with the workers of the Gram Svavalamban Kendras, the following points were stressed in order to make these centres 'Model-villages': (1) The people of the village, selected as Gram Svavalamban Kendra, should give up drinking; there should be no distillery or Govt. wine-shop. For this, a mass-consciousness programme has to be initiated with the greatest affection for the people.

2) No child in such villages should remain out of school. Even adults should be literate enough to write at least the name of their deity.

3) Efforts should be made that no dispute of the village goes to the courts. The people themselves should adjudicate their cases informally or within the Gram Sabha and Panchayat, which should be above group—politics and whose elections should, as far as possible, be unanimous.

4) Child-labour should be discouraged and stopped.

5) Every house and every street in the village should be clean, and planted with flowers and creepers. There should be massive tree-plantation on the village common land.

The next year's plans were also discussed in these camps. For Gonda District it was decided to contact all the 2264 Gram-Sabhas and hold a big camp of workers and active sympathisers. For Beed district, it was planned to build a tank to meet the drought conditions with the help of 'Shramdaan' by 2000 students.

Generally the daily routine at the camps was as follows :—

Get up early for prayer and Dhyana at 5.00 A.M.; Yogasana at 5.30; Ekatmata Stotra at 7.00; Vaicharic Satra (Discussion Session) from 7.30 to 8.30; breakfast 9.00; Shram-Sadhana 9.30-10.30; Bath 10-11; 11-12 A.M. self-study; 12.00-2.30 P.M. midday meal and rest; 3.00-4.00 group-discussions; 4.30-5.30 Vaicharic Satra; 5.30-6.30, Games; 7-8 P.M. meeting; 8-9.00 P.M. Dinner 9-10.00 cultural programmes; 10-30 lights off. All the participants in the camps paid their own expenses. □