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in Memory of

GEORGE FERNANDES



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Editor's Note

One year has gone since George Fernandes left us. Now, the George Fernandes Foundation is bringing out this Souvenir to remember George Saheb's extraordinary contribution towards the upliftment of the poor, marginalized and the working class. This Souvenir has some special articles from his admirers and followers.

Since George Saheb was internationally known as a fervent socialist, Willy Brandt's article: "Objectives of Democratic Socialism" and Johan Galtung's "Socialism is Dead: Long Live Socialism!", both published in *Dignity for All* on George Fernandes' 60th birthday, are the most timely reading. Raby Ray, who was close associate of George Saheb, also contributed to that volume, "Parliament as a Vehicle of Social Change".

Our special thanks to Nitya Ramakrishnan, K. Vikram Rao, Padmababh Shetty, Anirudha Purushotham, and Arun Naik, who have a lot to tell readers today about George Sahab's vision and tireless work for the poor. His fights for the dignity for all and for the rights of the working class and the underdog are a shining example of his long-standing commitment to the historically underprivileged. We thank all those who worked hard and supported us to bring out this souvenir. Last but not the least, our thanks are due to the advertisers for helping us to publish this Souvenir on the occasion of the first Commemoration Concave in memory of George Fernandes today.

George Mathew

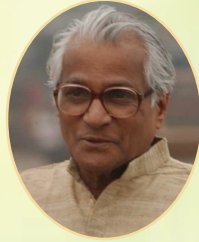


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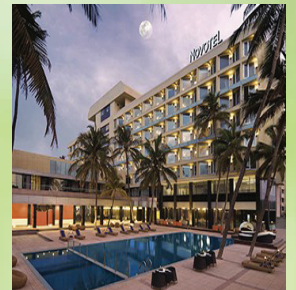


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George Fernandes Foundation

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George Fernandes Foundation has been established to promote the ideas of freedom and social democracy which inspired George Fernandes in his mission to create a new society. These ideas envisaged uplifting Dalits, minorities, women, adivasis, workers and poor peasants and empowering them to play their legitimate role in our democracy. His life was dedicated towards the fulfilment of these ideas, which is a source of inspiration for future generations. The Foundation's objective is to promote the ideas and values of freedom, humanism, socialism, democracy, pluralism and communal harmony. With these ideas, today, the Foundation has brought out this Souvenir. We hope the valuable thoughts by eminent leaders and writers in this publication will act as a vehicle for younger generation to work as agents of social transformation.

In this context the George Fernandes Foundation is organizing the Commemoration Conclave on the first death anniversary of George Fernandes to celebrate his life and work.

The friends and admirers of George Fernandes are deeply concerned about the current situation prevailing in the country. It is time to uphold the values of Democracy, Constitutional Morality and the integrity of various judicial and political institutions. Since the independence of these institutions is under severe challenge, we hope to unite people who value freedom and democracy to guide the nation towards a better future.

We hope today's deliberations will be a step forward in promoting the ideas and values for which George Fernandes struggled throughout his life.

Arun Kumar

Former Member
of Parliament

Shambhu Shrivastava

Socialist Leader,
Former MLC, Bihar

Ashok Panda

Senior Advocate,
Supreme Court

George Mathew

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REMEMBERING GEORGE FERNANDES

As He Was, Before He Lost Himself

A look back at the ups and downs of the veteran politician's life.

Nitya Ramakrishnan

Delhi based Lawyer



George Fernandes first entered my life when I was six or seven years old, as a cause of envy. For, when he once came to Delhi, my father took my brother Niranjana to see him, leaving me behind. His signature scripted in Devanagari in my brother's autograph book was a daily reminder of the exclusion. But I did come to know George eventually, a privilege that I owe to my father K.G. Ramakrishnan, a lifelong socialist who had participated in the 1942 Quit India movement.

A friend and admirer of Ram Manohar Lohia, my father attributed the emerging relevance of George Fernandes in Indian politics to the genius of the great Doctor Sahib as much as to Fernandes's own array of talents. The secret of success lies not only in knowing how to lead, but also in knowing how to be led, as Fernandes's equation – first with Placid D'Mello and then with Lohia – would bear out.

The socialist pantheon in the '60s and '70s was impressive, but even amongst its stalwarts, the cerebral Madhu Limaye and the dashing George Fernandes stood out. Lohia's uncanny instinct could spot and galvanise political energy to fight the degenerating ethos of the Congress party. Key to this was an organised workers' movement and George Fernandes was the man for this task.

George's march from a seminary in Bangalore to the trade unions of Bombay is legendary. The effortless mastery of Hindi, Marathi and other languages, the ability to forge (and break) alliances and above all, the sheer magnetism that could command lasting loyalty, marked him with

a heroism that would endure. It would endure because behind the dazzle and the sparkle lay a core of genuine moral courage. The many physical assaults and spells of incarceration that George suffered unflinchingly in free India gave hope that the spirit of Gandhi had survived the marginalisation of the Mahatma by the Congress.

The astonishing defeat of S.K. Patil in Bombay South brought George into the Lok Sabha in 1967, making it clear that his organisational talent was not limited to trade unionism. He had come to stay in national politics. The 1974 railway strike and its sabotage by a vicious state – through the betrayal of those who might have been his ideological comrades – is a story that must be told afresh for the coming generations. Here I will only refer to a remark Madhu Limaye made to me personally, in his usual dry tone, but barely masking a wealth of affection and admiration for his old comrade: "You all know of George's ability in organising the strike – do you know what strategy and courage it took to call it off?"

As teenagers, our political baptism was the Emergency of 1975 and George Fernandes was its unmistakable hero. With his amazing contacts, he got wind of it in the evening of June 25, ahead of its declaration at midnight. In an instant, he disguised himself as a fisherman and went underground. My father met him in those days, which I did not then know. As I write, my brother tells me that on one occasion my father got into a waiting car where George was sitting and drove around with him for an hour discussing resistance. They, the men in my family, kept all

this exciting stuff from me. But just the thought that George was out and about in those dark days thrilled my young mind. Then, on June 10, 1976, he was caught. So important was his capture to the rulers and their opponents alike, that even the muzzled press could not but broadcast the fact. I myself learnt of it from the 'Spot News' stand on Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg and felt that all was now lost.

Shackled, not silenced

But, George Fernandes in chains proved more potent than a free George Fernandes. Every production in court was turned by him into a political campaign. Holding his manacled hands aloft, he would signify defiance with every gesture. That picture will be my lasting memory of George.

That spirit of defiance, the moral force of Jayaprakash Narayan's leadership and some incidental factors led to the declaration of elections in 1977. Thinking first that it was a ruse for legitimising the Emergency, George and Madhu Limaye argued for a boycott but were wisely overruled.

George was in jail during the election campaign. I recall getting off a bus on my way home from college – at a stop just outside 5 Duplex Road (now Kamraj Marg). That was then the home of Morarji Desai. The days were different and the leaders not behind walls of security. I had only to walk in to meet Morarji**bai**. I asked him why he had issued no statement in support of George Fernandes, who was contesting the election from prison. "I do not support violence." said the man clad in spotless white. Too disappointed and too young to understand the quality of his conviction, I made my way home with a heavy heart.

But the people of India were straining at the leash. And George Fernandes was George Fernandes. He "romped home" as per the election lingo of the times, from Muzaffarpur, Bihar with nearly four lakh votes. The poster of the man in chains had done the trick once again.

The great communist leader A.K. Gopalan died just as the election results were coming in. At a condolence meeting on the lawns of Vithal Bhai Patel House, George Fernandes, who had been released that morning, spoke in Hindi. His last meeting with Gopalan had been while underground, and they had both noted how India's vociferous trade unions had tamely buckled under the Emergency. Ruefully, they concluded that their trade unions had been grounded more in economism than in political ideology.

I pass over Fernandes' initial reluctance to join the cabinet, his later enthusiastic stewardship of the Ministry of Industries and the ouster of Coca Cola – which was replaced by a soft drink christened 77 (Double Seven) by his fellow socialist H.V. Kamath. I also pass over his masterly defence of the Morarji government in Parliament (that I watched from the visitors' gallery with my friend and George's brother Michael) – only to join, on the next day, the suicidal bid for mid-term polls. That is oft repeated history. I refer instead to his public stand on political prisoners, and support to the cause of self-determination and human rights even while in power. I refer to this because it makes all the more poignant my grief over his alignment with the BJP and his continued support to it during and after the Gujarat pogrom of 2002. As I told him, during a chance meeting in 2003 at a book release, it made me wish never to speak again with him. "But you are speaking to me now," he said throwing an affectionate arm around my shoulders – but that was really the last time that I met or spoke with him.

"The wrath of the people will be upon you", George Fernandes had warned members of parliament in a telegram, in the wake of the murder in 1966 of the charismatic tribal leader Pravir Chandra Bhanjdeo of Bastar – engineered, by a powerful politician of the time. My brother reminds me of this. Was it the same George in 2002?

Yet, before this, he was my first stop for many of our causes. He addressed a People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) meeting, as minister in 1978, and spoke in support of Naxal prisoners. I took to him every case for commutation of the death penalty. He was a minister I think when Kartar and Ujagar, the hired killers in the Vidya Jain murder case were to be hanged, while the chief minds behind the murder had been granted premature release. The class bias was shockingly evident. George pointed this out to the president and the cabinet, but to no avail. He campaigned against the unconscionable execution of Kehar Singh in the Indira Gandhi assassination case. And if there is any one reason that two condemned Dalit men are alive today in Andhra Pradesh, that reason is George Fernandes.

After a midnight reprieve of a week from the Supreme Court on Good Friday in 1996, just five hours before they were to be marched to the gallows, it was George Fernandes who (along with a team led by the great and good V.M. Tarkunde) persistently lobbied with the Deve Gowda cabinet for their life. It was George who called to tell me that as one of Deve Gowda's last prime ministerial acts the execution had been put off indefinitely (The final order of commutation came when K.R. Narayanan was president.)

Innumerable men detained without cause during the conflict years in Punjab were released with his intervention. His initiatives in Kashmir were stymied by a pusillanimous Centre and we are still facing the consequences of that crass insensitivity. Naga, Tibetan, Burmese and other politically targeted activists found a ready refuge in his home, even when it became a ministerial one. His own living quarters were in two rooms. The rest of his sprawling bungalow was home to trade unionists, party workers and human rights activists and their various causes. There was no security paraphernalia and he often drove a battered Fiat himself.

His election campaigns were a joy to behold. Indefatigable, eating by the roadside or going without food, his whole being was a political statement. With numerous electoral victories, he was perfectly at home in any part of the country. But the great thing is that, even in defeat, he secured dividends. The fateful Chikmagalur by-election of 1978 brought Indira Gandhi back into Parliament. She had been routed in 1977 chiefly by the North and so chose the safer South for a re-entry. Besides, Karnataka was under Congress rule at the time. George ran the campaign for Janata Party's Virendra Patil against her. The simplicity of his attire and manners made people frankly incredulous that this man was a minister! He electrified the atmosphere. Though Mrs Gandhi won, George Fernandes had managed to strengthen the Janata Party in Karnataka.

I wrote after the *Tehelka* sting of 2001 that as an expose it was overrated – and flimsy. It was a sham in the face of the daily atrocities that the underprivileged in this country reel under but go unnoticed by the media. None could believe that Fernandes was corrupt. Even *Tehelka* could allege nothing against him personally. In fact, the armed forces were enthused by his visit to each station in India's inclement frontiers, and by the unprecedented ministerial attention to their needs of gear and sustenance. The tragedy of George Fernandes was not that he was corrupt but that he had lost himself. I retain the sense of betrayal that such a powerhouse of courage, brilliance and energy should have sided with and attempted to legitimise the BJP, which represents the greatest ever assault upon the idea of India.

Brilliance and energy are the two words that I will always associate with George Fernandes. My father used to remonstrate with him, saying that his main problem was his energy for he did not seem to know what to do with it. George used to jokingly tell me: "Every day your father calls me with one bit of advice". I have marvelled at his

racing mind and his articulation, both elegant and powerful, and grieve that he is unable to speak any more. My grief at his involuntary silence that is owed now to the collapse of his health is equal to my grief at his deliberate silence that came more than a decade earlier – a silence that was owed to the tragic collapse of his judgment. But

while I find it hard to come to terms with the final phase of his political career, in the history of the socialist movement as a whole, George Fernandes will rank as one of the most dynamic associates of the incomparable Doctor Sahib.

The Wire, 29 January 2019.



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जार्ज के बिना एक वर्ष

कै. विक्रम राव

वरिष्ठ पत्रकार

आज (29 जनवरी 2020) ठीक साल भर हुए, जार्ज फर्नान्डिस हम साथियों से बिछड़ गये। यूं तो उन्हें स्मृति लोप हुए कुछ वर्ष बीत गये थे। हर तीन जून को भारत के जगह जगह समारोह कर लोग जार्ज का जन्मदिन मनाते रहे। मगर भारी मन और विषाद के साथ। इसीलिए चौतन्धावस्था में जार्ज का व्यक्तित्व और आखिरी सतहों में निश्चेष्ट जार्ज को देख कर करीबी लोगों को कष्ट अधिक होता था। इसका कारण भी है। जिस युवा समाजवादी द्वारा बन्द के एक ऐलान पर सदागतिमान, करोड की आबादी वाली मुम्बई सुन्न पड़ जाती थी। जिस मजदूर पुरोधे के एक संकेत पर देश में रेल का चक्का जाम हो जाता था। जिस सत्तर-वर्षीय पलटन मंत्री ने विश्व की उच्चतम रणभूमि सियाचिन की अठारह बार यात्रा कर मियां परवेज मुशर्रफ को पटकनी दी थी। सरकारें बनाने-उलटने का दंभ भरनेवाले कार्पोरेट बांकों को उनके सम्मेलन में ही जिस उद्योग मंत्री ने तानाशाह (इमर्जेसी में) के सामने हड़बड़ाते हुये चूहे की संज्ञा दी, वही पुरुष अब अनन्त में विलीन हो गया था। जार्ज के देशभर में फैले मित्र याद किया करते हैं। विशेषकर

श्रमिक नेता विजय नारायण (काशीवासी) और साहित्यकार कमलेश शुक्ल, जो मेरे साथ तिहाड़ जेल में बड़ौदा डायनामाइट केस में जार्ज के 24 सहअभियुक्तों में रहे थे। प्राण तजकर भी जार्ज मैथ्यू फर्नान्डिस इतिहास रच गये। ईसाई थे, लोदी रोड विद्युत शवदाह गृह में चिता पर लेटे। शेष अस्थियाँ पृथ्वीराज रोड क्रिश्चियन कब्रगाह में गजभर भूमि को अर्पित हो गईं। जीते जी भौतिकवादी और लोहियावादी वे थे। ईसाई माता-पिता के पुत्र, सुन्नी महिला के पति, (मौलाना आजाद के साथी, शिक्षाशास्त्री, हुमायूँ कबीर के दामाद) गीताज्ञानी और मानसपाठी, जार्ज से बड़ा कोई और सेक्युलर राजनेता क्या भारत में कहीं मिलेगा?

अपने पचास वर्षों के सामीप्य पर आधारित स्मृतियां लिए, एक सुहृद को याद करते, मेरे इस लेख का आशय यही है कि कुछ उन घटनाओं और बातों का उल्लेख करूं, जो अनजानी या कमजानी रहीं। आजमगढ़ के संसदीय उपचुनाव (1978) में वह जनता पार्टी के रामबचन यादव के लिए अभियान में आया था। मुकाबला इंदिरा गांधी की प्रत्याशी मोहसिना किदवई से था। चुनावी जलूस में साथ मैं भी हो लिया। तिहाड़ जेल से रिहाई

के बाद टाइम्स ऑफ इंडिया ने तब मुझे लखनऊ में राज्य ब्यूरो प्रमुख बनाया था। आपातकाल में की गई मेरी बर्खास्तगी निरस्त कर दी थी। आजमगढ़ के सड़क पर फुटपाथ पर बने नल से चुल्लू लगाकर उसने पानी पिया। मुझसे रहा नहीं गया। मैंने नाराजगी जताई, "जार्ज तुम भारत के उद्योग मंत्री हो, रेस्ट्रां जाकर गिलास में पानी पियो।" वह मुस्कराया, बोला, "पहले से मैं ऐसे ही पीता रहा हूँ। क्यों बदलूँ?"

फिर चवालीस साल बीत गये। फासिस्ट इमरजेंसी लगी थी। इन्दिरा गांधी का हुकुम स्पष्ट था सी.बी.आई. के लिये कि भूमिगत जार्ज फर्नाण्डिस को जीवित नहीं पकड़ना है। दौर इमरजेंसी का था। दो लाख विरोधी सीखचों के पीछे ढकेल दिये गये थे। कुछ ही जननेता कैद से बचे थे। नानाजी देशमुख, कर्पूरी ठाकुर आदि भूमिगत थे। जार्ज की खोज सरगर्मी से थी। उस दिन (10 जून 1976) शाम को बडौदा जेल में हमें जेल अधीक्षक पण्ड्या ने बताया कि कलकत्ता में जार्ज पकड़ लिये गए हैं। तब तक मैं अभियुक्त नम्बर एक था। मुकदमों की तहरीर में भारत सरकार बनाम मुलजिम के. विक्रम राव तथा अन्य था। फिर क्रम बदल गया। जार्ज का नाम मेरे ऊपर आ गया। तिहाड़ जेल में पहुँचने पर साथी विजय नारायण से जार्ज की गिरफ्तारी का सारा किस्सा पता चला। कोलकता के चौरंगी के पास संत पाल कैथिड्रल है। बडौदा फिर दिल्ली से भागते हुये जार्ज ने कोलकता की चर्च में पनाह पाई। कभी तरुणाई में बंगलौर में पादरी का प्रशिक्षण टुकरानेवाले, धर्म को बकवास कहनेवाले जार्ज ने अपने राजनेता मित्र रूडोल्फ राड्रिक्स की मदद से चर्च में कमरा पाया। रूडोल्फ को 1977 में जनता पार्टी सरकार ने राज्य सभा में एंग्लो-इण्डियन प्रतिनिधि के तौर पर मनोनीत किया था। सभी राज्यों की पुलिस और सी.बी.आई. के टोहीजन शिकार को सूँघने में जुटे रहे।

शिकंजा कसता गया। चर्च पर छापा पड़ा। पादरी विजयन ने जार्ज को छिपा रखा था। पुलिस को बताया कि उनका ईसाई अतिथि रह रहा है। पर पुलिसिया तहकीकात चालू रही। कमरे में ही एक छोटे से बक्से में एक रेलवे कार्ड मिला। वह आल-इंडिया रेलवेमेन्स फेडरेशन के अध्यक्ष का प्रथम एसी वाला कार्डपास था। नाम लिखा था जार्ज फर्नाण्डिस। बस पुलिस टीम उछल पड़ी, मानो लाटरी खुल गई हो। तुरन्त प्रधानमंत्री कार्यालय से संपर्क साधा गया। बेशकीमती कैदी का क्या किया जाए? उस रात जार्ज को गुपचुप बीएसएफ के जहाज से दिल्ली ले जाया गया। इन्दिरा गांधी तब मास्को के दौरे पर थीं। उनसे फोन पर निर्देश लेने में समय लगा। इस बीच पादरी विजयन ने कोलकता में ब्रिटिश और जर्मन उपराजदूतावास को बता दिया कि जार्ज कैद हो गये हैं। खबर लन्दन और बर्लिन पहुंची। ब्रिटिश प्रधान मंत्री जेम्स कैलाघन, जर्मन चांसलर विली ब्रान्ड, आस्ट्रिया के चांसलर ब्रूनो क्राइस्की, स्वीडन के ओलाफ पामें तथा नार्वे के प्रधानमंत्री ओडवार नोर्डी जो सोशलिस्ट इन्टर्नेशनल के नेता थे, ने इन्दिरा गांधी को मास्को में फोन पर आगाह किया कि यदि जार्ज का एनकाउन्टर कर दिया गया तो परिणाम गम्भीर होंगे। योजना थी कि जार्ज की लाश तक न मिले। गुमशुदा दिखा दिया जाता। मगर वे बच गये और तिहाड़ जेल में रखे गये।

जार्ज की राजनेतावाली ओजस्विता तिहाड़ जेल में हमारे बड़े काम आयी। दशहरा का पर्व आया (अक्टूबर 1976)। तय हुआ कि अखण्ड मानसपाठ किया जाय। पूर्वी रेल यूनियन के नेता महेन्द्र नारायण वाजपेयी ने संचालन संभाला। मानस की प्रतियाँ भी आ गईं। आसन साधा गया। मुश्किल आयी कि हम हिन्दूजन केवल आधे-पौन घंटे की क्षमतावाले ही थे। कम से कम दो तीन घंटे का माद्दा केवल जार्ज में था। आखिर श्रमिक

रैली, चुनावी सभाओं और लोकसभा में भाषण की आदत तो थी ही। तय हुआ कि जार्ज को पाठ के लिए चौबीस में से बारह घंटे चार दौर में आवंटित किये जाये। शेष हम बारह लोग एक एक घंटे तक दो किशतों में पाठ करें। इसमें थे सर्वोदयी प्रभुदास पटवारी जो बाद में तमिलनाडु के राज्यपाल बने (फिर प्रधानमंत्री बनते ही इन्दिरा गांधी ने उन्हें बर्खास्त कर दिया था)। स्वर्गीय वीरेन शाह थे। नामी गिरामी उद्योगपति और भाजपाई सांसद, वे पश्चिम बंगाल के राज्यपाल रहे। दोहों के उच्चारण, लय तथा शुद्धता में कवि कमलेश शुक्ल माहिर रहे। आखिर पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के विप्रशिरोमणि जो थे। विजय नारायण, महेन्द्र नारायण वाजपेयी, वकील जसवंत चौहान बड़े सहायक रहे। तभी भारतीय जनसंघ (तब भाजपा जन्मी नहीं थी) के विजय मलहोत्रा, सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी, मदनलाल खुराना और प्राणनाथ लेखी, अकाली दल के प्रकाश सिंह बादल आदि भी हमारे सत्रह नम्बर वार्ड में यदाकदा आते थे। एक बार हम सब को भोजन करते समय ये राजनेता हमें "त्वदीयम् वस्तु गोविन्दम्" उच्चारते देखकर अचरज में पड़ गये। वे समझते होंगे कि लोहिया के अनुयायी सब अनीश्वरवादी होते हैं।

एक बात जार्ज के बारे में और। समाजवादी हो और आतिशी न हो? यही तो उनकी फितरत होती है। जार्ज ने रक्षामंत्री के आवास (तीन कृष्ण मेनन मार्ग) में बर्मा के विद्रोहियों का दफ्तर खोल दिया। ये लोग फौजी तानाशाहों के विरुद्ध मोर्चा खोले थे। तिब्बत में दलाई लामा की घर वापसी का समर्थन और उनके बागियों को धन-मन से जार्ज मदद करते रहे। अण्डमान के समीप भारतीय नौसेना ने शस्त्रों से लदे जहाज पकड़े जो अराकान पर्वत के मुस्लिम पीड़ितों के लिये लाये जा रहे थे। जार्ज ने जलसेना कमाण्डर को आदेश दिया कि ये जहाज रोके न जाएँ। श्रीलंका के तमिल विद्रोहियों ने अपने दिवंगत नेता वी. प्रभाकरण के बाद जार्ज को अपना सबसे निकट का हमदर्द माना था। सच्चा समाजवादी दुनिया के हर कोने में हो रहे प्रत्येक विप्लव, विद्रोह, क्रान्ति, उथलपुथल, संघर्ष, बगावत और गदर का समर्थक होता है। क्योंकि उससे व्यवस्था बदलती है, सुधरती है। जार्ज सदा बदलाव के पक्षधर रहे। इसलिए आज भी आम जन के वे मनपसन्द राजनेता हैं।





BR NATH PAI SHIKSHAN SANSTHA SINDHUDURG

**ADD : Br Nath Pai Shaikshanik Bhawan, Plot no 4, MIDC
Tal Kudal, Dist Sindhudurg 416520, Maharashtra**

Phone : 02362-221207 / 221181 Mob : 9422055089 / 9423447736

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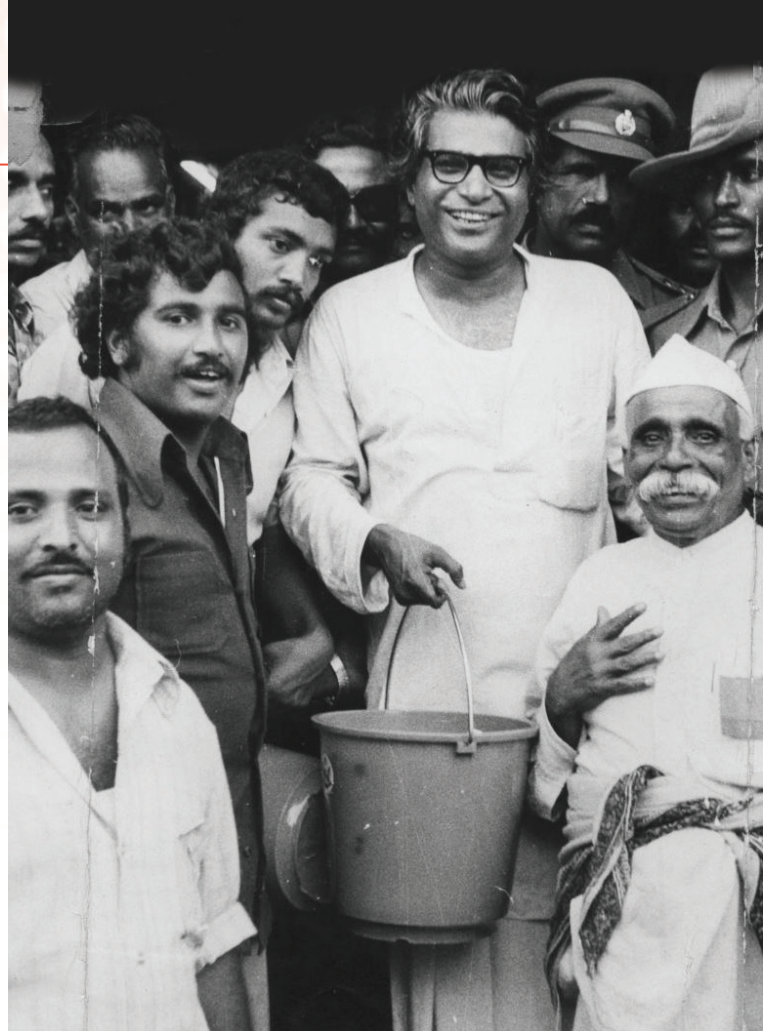
IF THERE BE ANOTHER EMERGENCY

George Fernandes

The present may be the best time to ask, if should there be another Emergency in the life-time of people like me, and if it should come, what kind of responses will it evoke? When the last Emergency had been imposed, hardly anyone in the country was prepared for it. The result was that the initial responses were either muted or cautious, even in the most radical and militant elements in our public life chose the easiest option of going to prison.

I had seen the emerging fascist tendencies in our country from the time of the Bangladesh War when, in the immediate aftermath of the Indian Army's spectacular success in carving Bangladesh out of Pakistan, Mrs Gandhi decided to take the maximum advantage of the national euphoria by ordering elections to the State Assemblies. "I seek another mandate - from the States" read the legend in all national languages on posters which the Congress Party produced with Mrs Indira Gandhi's picture looking literally like that of Adolf Hitler sans moustache and the receding hairline. That was in the beginning of 1972. I had a poster pulled down from a wall outside the Socialist Party office in Delhi and asked my colleagues to recognise the shades of Hitler in it. Manu of them saw the point, while others felt that I was stretching the point too far.

Though immeasurable power came in her hands both at the centre and in the states, it was obvious that Indira Gandhi was not to offer any solution to the people's problems; and it did not take long before the tide of the people's disenchantment began to overwhelm her. Predictably, she went about laying the blame for her failures at the



doorsteps of the opposition parties and began branding them unpatriotic. The tactic of finding scapegoats was a typical fascist strategy. In my Presidential Address to the Socialist Party's National Conference in Bulandshahr in December 1972, I was to refer to the signs of a fascist order emerging in the country, and asked the people to see the writing on the wall and prepare to fight against it.

Then, in May 1974, came the Railway Workers' strike. It was a strike that was consciously and deliberately foisted on the workers by Mrs. Gandhi's political strategists. All the awesome laws, including the MISA and the DIR were used against the Railwaymen and their supporters, and the state - owned as well as private-owned media launched a well-organised campaign of lies and slander against them. From inside the walls of Tihar Central jail, I was to make a statement that the entire of the Railway Strike was a dress-rehearsal for the government for the fascist takeover of India. In a little more than one year the Emergency was on us.

The Emergency was imposed not merely because of the political developments in the country including Mrs. Gandhi's losing the Gujarat elections on the very day the Allahabad High Court set aside her election to Parliament, and the J P Movement in Bihar and elsewhere in the country on issues like corruption, etc. The economic crisis, including rising prices and growing unemployment, was an equally, if not more, important factor that brought about this development. Unfortunately, even Jayaprakash Narayan had perhaps not thought that Mrs. Gandhi would take recourse to the last refuge of all power-hungry despots who have no answers to the people's problems. I vividly remember a question posed to me by Madhu Limaye, while we were driving towards Ramlila ground in Delhi for a public meeting, that was to be addressed by J P and others on June 21, 1975. Madhu asked me. "If Mrs Gandhi should abrogate the Constitution, declare a state of Emergency and arrest all those who matter politically, what were our contingency plans?" There were none. And so it happened that on June 25-26 when Mrs Gandhi did all that Madhu had thought she would do, the political leadership of the country could not cope with the situation.

The political and economic conditions prevailing in the country today are far worse than those that acted as a catalyst for the Emergency. And, as on the earlier occasions, each one of them – Punjab, Gujarat, Assam – is the result of the ruling party's cynical approach to these problems. The economic situation has reached a point where optimism would tantamount to day-dreaming. In the past five years, prices have more than doubled, registered unemployment has almost doubled and the concentration of economic power in the hands of a microscopic minority has reached unprecedented dimensions. And now, with computers and 21st century programmers taking over decision-making, we are planning to create redundancies to aggravate an already difficult employment situation.

The State, of course, has reacted predictably in dealing with these crises. The spate of laws designed to curb the human rights and civil liberties of the people culminating in the recent enactment of the Anti-Terrorist Law mean that those in power are now fully equipped to protect themselves and their establishment from any concerted attack whose objective is to dislodge them from positions of power. The concerned ask in frustration: "But where is a Jayaprakash Narayan?" What they seem to forget is that it was not J P who launched the attack on the establishment in the early '70s. The Nav-Nirman movement of Gujarat was started by the students. J P was to publicly acknowledge on innumerable occasions that he was groping in the dark when the youth of Gujarat showed him the way. If the students of Bihar had not launched their struggle against corruption in the government and on other political and economic demands and the state had not launched the most barbaric attack on them they could not have gone to J P for support, there would have been no J P Movement.

Be that as it may, the best way to fight another Emergency would be to create conditions to pre-empt it, which of course, is more easier said than done. Yet, if all those concerned with bringing about a radical change in the country were to make a common cause, irrespective of whether they belong to a political formation or not, the ruling establishment would cave in like a house built on sand. A dialogue among the parties of the Opposition on all national issues and the creation of a National Alliance for Democracy and socialism should be the priority items on the agenda of those who wish to defeat the emerging forces of chaos and disorder so assiduously cultivated by the Congress(I) as a prelude to the imposition of another Emergency. The trade unions, farmers' unions, women's organisations, youth and student bodies, associations of writers, journalists and film-makers, activists doing constructive work, the cooperative movement, the civil liberties

movement, all should be involved in this broad national alliance. Most of these groups and individuals are not associated with any political party in the country. As a consequence, even while they are doing magnificent work in their respective spheres, such work becomes pointless insofar as an attack on the ruling establishment is concerned.

The Alliance for Democracy and Socialism should chalk out the programme for an alternative polity which is democratic and which is concerned with social and economic justice to those who are now denied it. Specific programmes for decentralisation of economic and political power should also be drawn up and a struggle be launched for their fulfilment.

Given the enormous coercive powers acquired by the State, there are genuine reasons to wonder if the establishment would really need to take recourse to another formal declaration of Emergency even as the political and economic crises get exacerbated. Perhaps, it may not. After all, if the Army can now be called out to gun down citizens because of the total collapse of the civil administration, and if Special Courts can be set up to circumvent all accepted norms of jurisprudence, and if censorship can be imposed on reporting developments in Assam, Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir – and all this with the sanction of Parliament - there is nothing more an Emergency is expected to do. This is where there is the need to create a National Alliance involving the masses to draw the ruling establishment out for a battle on the issues of people's choosing, never mind if the problems have actually been created by the establishment itself. Politics must once again be lifted from the mire of weak responses to the establishment's initiatives to the high plateau of people's initiatives on confronting and defeating the establishment. At another level, politics must be pulled out of the drawing rooms of the party leaders to the market squares and to the factory gates.

Yet, the sad fact must be faced that should the establishment strike today in whatever form it may choose, there is hardly any preparation on the part of those committed to the preservation of our democratic polity to fight back. If anything, the situation today seems more bleak than it was in June 1975, when the Opposition Parties were in the thick of the J P Movement, and there was a certain euphoric quality to their politics. There were suspicions then about each other's motives, but there was not the kind of bitterness that prevails today among the leaders of the opposition. That is why it is important for the opposition parties to engage themselves in an ongoing dialogue with each other on various national issues, to identify areas of agreement and to reduce the points of disagreement, even while they build their respective organisations and project their policies and programmes.

One last point. In my own underground fight against Indira Gandhi's dictatorship, I had resorted to the use of dynamite which, according to the State which prosecuted me, was enough to "overawe and overthrow" the government. If a handful of us could succeed in overawing the awesome might of the government, it only means that the dictatorship, like dictatorships everywhere, comprised a bunch of cowards who feared their own shadows. But the point has to be once again made. If the State turns its back on democratic values and destroys or neutralises all democratic institutions, then I believe, all means are justified in overthrowing such a state. For myself and for my underground colleagues we had enjoined on ourselves that we shall do nothing that would endanger human life while we went about the task of "overawing" Indira's Dictatorship. Should the need arise to engage ourselves in a similar fight again, I shall do all that I did then - hopefully, without repeating the mistakes I then committed. July. 1985

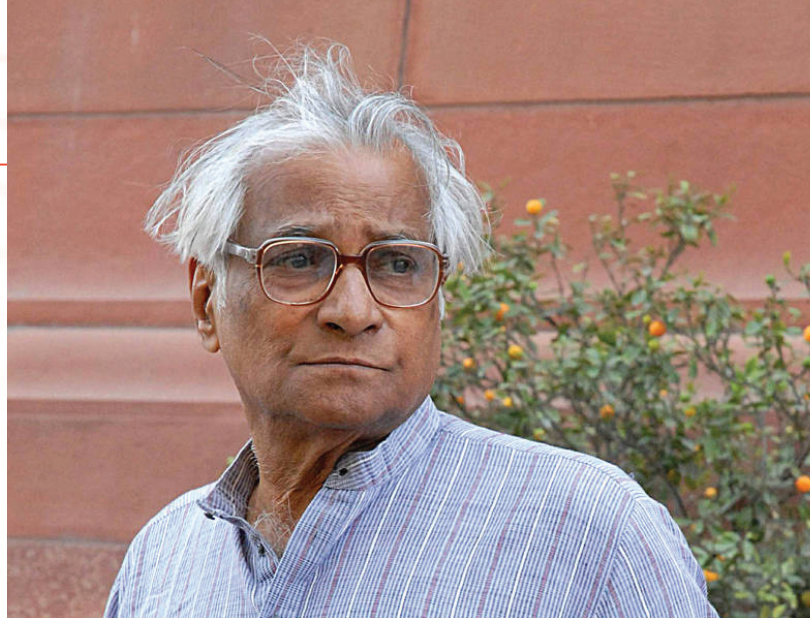
Source: George Mathew (ed.), George Fernandes Speaks, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi 1991

OBJECTIVES OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

Willy Brandt

Social Democratic Party Leader

Chancellor, Federal Republic of Germany (1969-74)



New challenges necessitate the discovery of new answers in our perspectives on democratic socialism. What can be termed as true progress in a world marked by increasing environmental destruction and squandering of resources on arms arsenals which threaten the very existence of mankind and by the continuous pursuit of dangerous technology accompanied by growing misery in large parts of the South? Certainly not the laissez-faire-oriented idea of progress of the liberals and latter-day conservatives. Their progressive path would lead us directly into a hopeless situation. The fact that the ideology of progress in Communism has led to the wrong path is something which has become obvious, and not only in the countries of Eastern Europe.

In the polemics with other political forces, Democratic Socialism emerges with impressive results, even if these are nowhere near what many of us had originally hoped to achieve. In countries with strong social democratic or democratic socialist parties, considerable progress has undeniably been made in achieving greater democracy, social security and freedom. But even in these countries, the possibilities and conditions for further progress have undergone a sea change. Advances in the fields of technology, economics and social policy are not only increasingly becoming competitive but also are very often conflicting. Consequently, new technologies when viewed in isolation appear to spell progress. However, when viewed in the

light of achieving viable individual and collective freedom, they prove to be dangerous. This compels us to redefine what we mean by the term "progress".

FUNDAMENTAL VALUES OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS

After a decade of self-critical debate and preliminary studies submitted by a number of countries, a new Declaration of Principles was passed at the Stockholm Congress of the Socialist International held in June, 1990. This envisaged a realistic, peaceful, just, democratic and ecologically healthy world. This does not mean the end of the debate which will naturally continue. However, with the new Declaration of Principles the Democratic Socialists have staked their claim to actively and decisively participate in the shaping of the 21st century.

"Irrespective of the existing differences in culture and "weltanschauung", social democrats are united in their vision of a world society which combines freedom and justice with solidarity. Democratic Socialism aims at social justice and comprehensive democratization of society- and also of the economic order-on the basis of unconditional respect for Human Rights, founded on the inviolability of the Rule of Law. These fundamental values have emerged from the experience gained from the workers' movements, the national freedom movements, cultural tradition of mutual help and the collective solidarity that exists in many parts of the world. In

addition, these values have also been fostered by various religious and humanistic traditions.”

UNDIVIDED HUMAN RIGHTS

In the future also, the Democratic Socialists will not make any compromises in their representation of human rights. No matter howsoever different be the social conditions in the North and the South, the protection of Human Rights must form the basis for development everywhere for the transition to the 21st century. Consequently, in the future we will be more stringent in demanding their observance wherever Human Rights are violated and we shall fervently press for changes where they are not adequately protected.

The Democratic Socialists are advocates of undivided Human Rights. The Liberal Rights to Freedom should not be relativised, yet these alone are not sufficient. We oppose just as strongly the viewpoint that the Right to Social Welfare alone is most crucial. For the sake of human dignity, Human Rights should neither be relativised nor divided nor played off one against another. The Liberal Rights of Freedom, the Democratic Rights of association and participation and the Right to Social Welfare are contingent upon each other and collectively guarantee Human Freedom. Whoever takes Human Rights seriously must fight for the realisation of Total Social Equality among Men and Women. This is indispensable if society is to optimally and productively utilise the values, patterns of thought and experience which women alone can contribute. This is a challenge which is confronting all societies, irrespective of the fact that the distance to be covered is not equal.

FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

The original idea of Democratic Socialism, that freedom must be guaranteed to all people in all walks of life, has come up time and again. It is no coincidence that the resolute and consistent reformers in the rapidly changing Communist camps have, in the meantime, realised that

real freedom can exist only where the people themselves democratically decide all questions affecting their lives. The politically guaranteed and socially realised democracy is and will remain the focus of our vision. Human Dignity is at stake as also the Right of the People to collectively and unitedly exercise their Right of Self-Determination.

The Right of the People to have self-determination regarding work, the Right of the Society to participate in decision-making with regard to economic development and effective checks on power—all these exclude the monopoly of the State over the means of production as well as the arbitrariness of private ownership. Where the market is regulated out of social responsibility, it serves as a better instrument for taking economic decisions than centralised bureaucracies can ever be.

Due to the different levels of development in their countries, as also due to the varied traditions, the Democratic Socialist Parties in different countries differ in the importance they attach to private enterprise, cooperatives, nationalisation, forms of co-determination and participation in decision-making and structural planning. However, they are all agree on the principle of a Mixed and Democratised Economy. In future also, Economic Democracy will continue to be an important goal for securing the dignity of the Worker and to serve as an instrument for controlling power. The Participation of society in economic decision-making is also an essential prerequisite for an effective struggle against unemployment and underemployment.

Any discussion on the fundamental principles of Democratic Socialism involves discussion of the dignity of man, his right not to be pushed around by others, his right to his own individuality and of progress, which reduces man to a technical cog, would strip him of his human dignity. The dangers associated with genetic engineering are the most alarming example of how highly

sophisticated technology acquires political nuances. This also holds good for nuclear energy, for the new communications technology and for the application of advanced chemistry. In the light of the risks associated with the applications of modern technologies dangers which affect all mankind-the use of any particular technology should be decided by democratic public opinion.

The contradiction between what we can achieve technologically and the knowledge of the consequences arising from such achievements has been becoming increasingly sharper ever since the Scientific and Technological Revolution of the 18th century. We must finally harmonise our technological mastery of nature with our responsibility towards posterity. Consequently, one important political task regarding future projects ought to be the setting of aims and the working out of procedures for shaping a democratic policy on technology. This is not an attempt to impede progress in any manner. Rather, this is an attempt to ensure that the future of work places as well as of society itself is not decided in laboratories and executive offices alone.

PEACE AND COMMON SECURITY

The existence of increasingly horrific chemical, biological and nuclear weapon systems has become a grave threat to the whole of mankind. Their potential is infinite. Due to their technological peculiarity, there is an inherent danger in these weapons of mass destruction and their accidental or unauthorized use, since their information systems are automatised. Moreover, there is always the danger that these systems may be used in the expectation of achieving assured victory, since the target accuracy of delivery systems makes the success of a surprise attack on the opponent plausible.

Although the relationship between the nuclear superpowers as well as the East-West relationship in general have been marked by welcome

easing of tension and arms cut-backs, they are still very far removed from the ultimate goal of Comprehensive Disarmament. It remains an undeniable fact that the vast expenditure for military purposes, which is urgently required to meet civilian needs, is a threat to survival and to human dignity in the whole world.

Through its consistent and unwavering pursuit of a Policy of Peace, Democratic Socialism is promoting the concept of global common security. This concept of the Palme Commission which has, in the meantime, achieved widespread acceptance, has been further developed in the Socialist International through proposals for a balanced disarmament with the goal of achieving a non-offensive capability. We emphatically reiterate that peace can be secured only by increasing international cooperation and interdependence. For mutual security means much more than a peaceful interlude; it includes, at the same time, economic and social security in the North and in the South, in the West and in the East. Consequently-as has been suggested for a long time by the Socialist International-a large part of the money will be saved through cut in defence spending which should be diverted to needy countries through international coordination.

AN EQUITABLE NORTH-SOUTH BALANCE

The glaring and intolerable divide between the affluent societies in the North of the world and the poverty-stricken zones of the South is widening. Underdevelopment and hunger are the lot of a large part of mankind. Currently, over a billion people are leading miserable lives, in absolute poverty - a wretched existence below the poverty line. With the continuing growth in population, their numbers will swell even further. The unjust global economic order and international financial relations as well as the mounting expenditure for military purposes have prevented developmental progress in many parts of the world. This

expenditure could have been used to provide for basic necessities.

In the world market, a ruthless war is being waged to gain a competitive edge. Poor countries are no match for the richer ones and are apparently hopelessly losing ground. Structural changes are envisaged everywhere but these very often denote a downward adjustment. Enormous indebtedness and flight of capital have resulted in blocking development. With serious social, ecological and political consequences, more and more people are being forced into the misery of the informal sector. Destitution and misery accelerate the destructive exploitation of the nature. Mounting Social Tensions endanger democracy which, in many cases, has been won only recently.

An end to these conditions is in the interest of both the South and the North. Massive continuous unemployment and social stress due to the new conditions of mobility and flexibility, are the well-known costs of structural changes in the industrialised countries. Ruthless aggressiveness and assertiveness are on the rise, since conservative "modernisers" are vigorously trying to weaken the Social Welfare State. However, a world of prosperity can be achieved only through levelling. For Democratic Socialists, it is the most fundamental principle to fight for the right of all mankind to have a somewhat secure existence and a life of human dignity. Solidarity has to be on a global basis. We need a new world economic order and appropriate international institutions in which the interests of both the North and the South are adequately represented. Democratic Socialists are all for economic competition. However, they are against the blind glorification of the world market. Since we want to politically influence the market laws, out of our sense of public responsibility, we favour close international cooperation. Isolationists will reach a dead end, since transnational corporations and banks can easily circumvent individual State regulations.

It is not mere coincidence that the States of the European Community are pursuing a policy of close regional cooperation. This policy is indeed worthy of emulation. In order to ensure that regionalisation does not lead to unhealthy block-building and to protectionist trench warfare, we require inter-regional agreements and cooperation.

As for the rest, who disputes any longer that unchecked industrialisation is indeed the cause of the global destruction of environment? That the unrestrained utilisation of resources by the industrialised nations has resulted in environmental catastrophe is a known fact. One recent evidence of this is the discovery of the widening hole in the protective ozone layer surrounding the Earth. Gradually, it is also becoming clear that, to a large degree, environmental destruction is being accelerated because of under development. The Report of the Brundtland Commission set up by the UN has drawn particular attention to the global connections that exist. Based on this Report, the Socialist International presented its strategy on Ecological Security in Stockholm as Democratic Socialism Advocates Sustainable Development.

A lot would be achieved, if planning were global and its rational implementation local. The industrialised societies have the financial means and the technological possibilities for an ecological transformation. In addition, it should be possible to mobilise sufficient political will to curb crude economic interests. However, the global environmental problem cannot be resolved only through a change in the ecological policy of the industrialised countries in the West and by removal of risks in the countries in the East for which they themselves are responsible. Since we are aware that it is the continuous poverty which drives millions of people to the destructive exploitation of nature, we want to help create conditions in the South of the Earth which are conducive to development, human dignity and

are ecologically compatible. In order to save the world, we must change development strategies on a global scale.

CLOSE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The long-term trend towards a Global Domestic Policy calls for a new understanding of the Concept of Internationalism even by Democratic Socialist Parties. We have always been and will continue to be against external interference. We have always supported the concept of responsibility for one's own actions as also the concept of participation in decision-making especially with regard to international cooperation. Consequently, the Socialist International has always stressed the full independence of member parties and this is one principle which must be adhered to in the future also. At the same time we must strive to intensify cooperation since common problems increasingly call for coordinated political responses. To arrive at a consensus is not always simple – not even in a body such as the Socialist Parliamentary Party of the European Parliament. In spite of this, we can proceed internationally if particular interests are consciously given a back seat. This alone is the need of the hour, otherwise ultra liberal or arch conservative forces will determine the forms and pace of internationalisation. We cannot afford to move at a snail's pace especially because the narrowing scope of national policy is making international cooperation for democratic Socialists inevitable.

As part of the New Thinking in the current changed situation, forces in various political camps, which are Conscious of their responsibility, have recognised that priority must be given to human interests over group and regional interests. In recent years, this has emphatically and convincingly been stressed upon by no less a personage than the President of the Soviet Union. Should the reform programme associated with the name of Mikhail Gorbachev endure and be endorsed, it would have an important global

fall-out – even if the successes of the democratic revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe are temporarily eclipsed by the setbacks received due to the renewal of nationalism. In any case, one of the most important and hopeful signs of our times is the consciousness of interests transcending systems, which makes new dialogues possible.

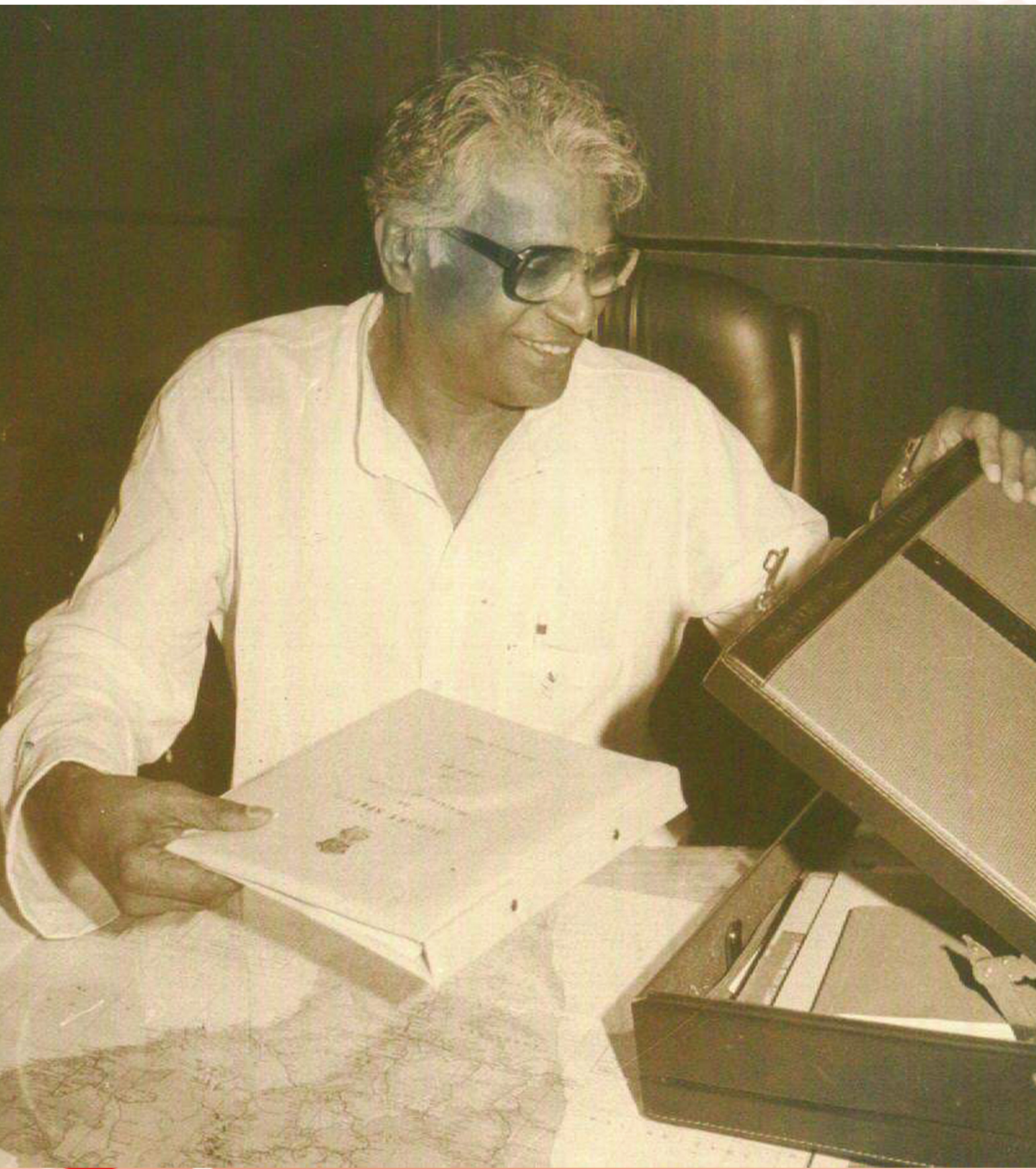
With the growing awareness that, in spite of existing differences, the area of undisputed commonality is increasing, opportunities are opening up for different political formations to interact with each other in a different manner-such that all peoples can benefit from it. The Movement of Democratic Socialism is determined to be the precursor of a new international political culture of dialogue. Such a project of understanding and, at the same time, of cooperation can in no way be equated with a precipitate dismissal of important controversial Issues – such as the role and guaranteeing of Human Rights, Organisation and Scope of Democracy and the Function and Shaping of Social Pluralism. Admittedly, we too do not possess the magic formula for a conflict-free social transformation. Democratic Socialists are too aware of the fact that how difficult is it to guarantee social justice in a market economy, and how much strength is needed to safeguard the Democracy and the Rule of Law as well as to consolidate it. We will always be willing to contribute our varied and diverse experiences, but we cannot offer any patent remedies.

The opportunity for Democratic Socialism to prove itself to be a credible alternative, globally, rests not on political appeal but rather on presenting economic, ecological, security-policy based and cultural programmes which clearly identify what social prerequisites must be secured in order that all are able to enjoy a large degree of individual freedom. The focal point Democratic Socialism today is – as it was at the time of its inception-the responsible, self-determining man who, together with others, determines the conditions affecting his life and seeks his individual fortune within this

framework. He pursues this goal with the help of a policy geared to ensure access to the various sources of national and international cultures as well as to provide the possibility of acquiring knowledge for one sees so that people can become responsible subjects even in a technological and scientific civilisation.

A democratic global society is a practical necessity in our highly interdependent world. Let us utilise this opportunity to realise an era of just and equitable cooperation among the peoples of the world.

Source: George Mathew (ed.), Dignity for All, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi 1991



PARLIAMENT AS A VEHICLE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Rabi Ray

Socialist Leader

Speaker, Lok Sabha (1989-91)



The Parliament of India is the cornerstone on which the edifice of parliamentary democracy has been erected in this country. It occupies a pre-eminent and pivotal position in our democratic polity. Parliamentary democracy presupposes the fact that the people are their own masters. They have the inherent right to govern themselves, to be governed the way they want and by the People whom they choose. Such a political system also recognises the innate equality of men and, needless to say, the concept “one man one vote” is based on that very recognition. .

We, in India, have been the proud inheritors of a rich and varied democratic tradition. Our democratic history can be traced back to the Vedic period when institutions like popular assemblies and elective monarchy were in vogue. During the later period of nearly 16 centuries, Republican form of Government flourished in many parts of the country. Besides this rich heritage, our democratic parliamentary polity has also drawn sustenance from the national liberation movement. It can, no doubt, be said that the freedom struggle was not aimed at merely liberating the masses from the yoke of colonialism by driving out the colonial rulers. More than that the stalwarts in the forefront of the struggle were acutely aware of the many ills affecting the Indian society which were rooted in traditions several millennia old. They realized fully well that mere political independence could not bring about the emancipation of the people. They also felt the imperative need to usher in social

and economic justice which alone could make a meaningful change in the lives of the people. No wonder that when Independence dawned on the Indian horizon, they had the right perspective to approach the myriad socio-economic and political problems facing the nascent nation.

It has been our consistent endeavor, right from the days of Independence, to provide a better life for the people. Progress is the essence of any governmental activity. Democracy envisages and envisions evolution of every individual to his or her fullest capability. It is a total concept which aims at the full development of man and society. In a developing country like ours, it becomes all the more central to our national development to effect the right balance among man, society and the most pivotal institution, Parliament. For it is the Parliament which, by its unique stature, is in a position to effect the greatest good for the greatest number.

Naturally indeed, this is a gargantuan task, more so in a country like ours which is a sociologist's paradise in the sense that every part of the country is so different from the other, each with its own individuality. Be it tradition, history, culture, language, even food or dress habits, the north is different from the south, as much as the east is from the west. Be that as it may, this diversity has always been the mainstay of our unity. Yet, social transformation encompassing such a magnitude and affecting a wide spectrum of varied human

activity is Herculean by any means for any Government.

The needs and requirements of a modern-day society have changed manifold. The scientific and technological revolution has ushered in a world the face of which is very different from what it was till a few decades back. Information explosion has made people greatly aware of the remarkable developments taking place all around them. It is only a natural corollary that simultaneously the expectations of the people have risen tremendously. Any Government anywhere in the world would be hard put to come up to such rising expectations and when governments fail to cope with such demands, we come to hear about revolutions of different varieties. All these have made the tasks of governments everywhere all the more challenging.

The fact remains, however, that we in India have been able to tackle several problems in a very democratic way. It is a tribute to the maturity of our democratic spirit that we have strictly adhered to the ballot and not the bullet whenever we felt we needed a change. If we have even a cursory look at those countries around us and elsewhere in the world who attained freedom around the same time we emerged independent, we could hold our heads high and say, yes, we have been able to consolidate our hard-won freedom in the most democratic fashion. It is heartening to see that the world now is realising the folly and futility of not giving the people their due. Winds of change are sweeping across continents and oceans and many a government which denied their people a say in the affairs of the nation have been swept out of power. These dramatic changes also signify the relevance of democracy and the inherent responsibility that it entails. It is in this context that we should try to understand and appreciate the problems which our leaders faced in the formative years of our Republic. Any young nation is confronted with two gigantic tasks to ensure its security, stability and status-the choice of its polity

and the framing of its Constitution. The choice of a political system naturally was an onerous task taking into consideration our centuries-old democratic traditions. The acid test for our leadership was the framing of the Constitution. Sagacious minds as they were, those visionaries gave to us, the people of India, a Constitution which could well be the pride of any people anywhere. Independent India's Constitution came to be an embodiment of the noble ideals and cherished goals of the freedom struggle and, in no small measure, the living spirit to guide the nation through the democratic path towards a secular, socialistic and egalitarian society.

If we attempt a reappraisal, we can safely come to the conclusion that the founding fathers of our Constitution were fully conscious of the enormity of the situation. Free India's Constitution ensured that the people got a democratic republic which was at once responsible and responsive. In its Preamble itself, it envisioned a new society with the cherished goal of justice – social, economic and political. It was left to Parliament to initiate the process of social engineering for the emancipation of the millions who make up this country. The end-goal of a welfare state must have weighed heavily on the minds of those who sat together to draft the Constitution. Thus Part IV of the Constitution containing the Directive Principles of State Policy enumerates the principles which should guide the State in promoting the welfare of the people. Accordingly, the State is required to secure for the citizens, men and women equally, the right to and adequate means of livelihood; equal pay for equal work; protection against abuse and exploitation of workers' economic necessity; the protection of their health and strength as also of children of tender age and youth, against exploitation and moral and material abandonment. Within the limits of its economic capacity and development, it is required to make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old

age, sickness or disablement and in other cases of underserved want. It is also required to make provision for just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief. Besides the, State is required to secure work, a living wage and conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of living for the people.

Among other things, under the Directive Principles, the State is required to endeavour to provide free and compulsory education for all children until they complete 14 years of age, within ten years of the commencement of the Constitution. It is required to consider it among its primary duties to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living of the people and improvement of public health. It has been directed to endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption-except for medicinal purposes-of intoxicating drinks and of drinks which are injurious to health. Furthermore, the State is to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, particularly the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. The State has also been directed to secure better distribution of resources of the community, to check the evils of concentration of wealth and means of production leading to common detriment and to secure a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India.

The Directive Principles, in short, have been aptly characterised as basic to our social order. They are an extension of the socio-economic and political concepts outlined in the Preamble to the Constitution. Besides, the Fundamental Rights under Part III of the Constitution also provide citizens with the most fundamental and basic rights, including right to equality, right to freedom, right against exploitation, right to freedom of religion, cultural and educational rights and right to constitutional remedies. Together, the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles form the very core of our Constitution.

In the set-up emerging immediately after Independence, it was the Parliament which had to play a significant role in our socio-economic transformation. It was the key actor in the great task of nation-building touching the very fabric of our national activity. Over the years, the Parliament has evolved into a multi-functional institution and has come to represent the people's hopes and fears, urges and aspirations. It is the mirror of the people themselves for the simple reason that it is they who change the very face of the Parliament every time general elections are held. When the people of the country exercise their franchise, they express themselves in favour of a particular political philosophy which they feel is best suited for the country at that particular point of time. When they feel a change is necessary, they do so with utmost diligence.

It has to be kept in mind that the Parliament is the supreme representative forum in the country, deriving its legitimacy and sustenance from the people. And every action of the Parliament is viewed critically by the masses, for each and every one of its actions does definitely affect their day-to-day lives. It is invariably a symbiotic relationship that exists between the people and the Parliament. They act and interact; it is a two-way relationship, each trying to nourish and enrich the other. Without one, the other is not complete. If one suffers, the other is bound to be affected. Fortunately for us, both these vital factors have always been approached from the proper perspective.

The relevance of the Parliament in societal change is worth re-emphasising. It must be understood that the Parliament is a living dynamic institution which should ever be able to monitor the needs and hopes of the people. It should be able to comprehend and even share the character of the organic growth of our society. And the Parliament has to act as a beacon of light to the executive and administrative machinery so that the right initiatives and approaches are attempted towards

effecting social transformation. Its traditional law-making function has to be put to the optimum use in this noble task.

Thus the Parliament has to play a very crucial role as a catalyst in the socio-economic transformation by way of social engineering. It has to even anticipate the social needs and prepare people to try to accept these changes. It has to mould the existing social institutions to meet the changing needs of times; it has also to mould the social consciousness of the people so that they do not find it hard to accept the changing norms and mores. Herein lies the significance of social legislation. The prime motivating force in social engineering is, of course, law, which like science, is a very potential force for orderly progress. This is particularly so in our country where any law has to take into consideration the influence of very many factors including religious beliefs, superstitions and custom-grown attitudes and habits. The object of social legislation thus has been and must necessarily be to serve the overall social and economic objectives the nation has set for itself and also to deal with existing social ills. If we have a fleeting glance at the progress of social legislation in independent India, we can classify them into three main categories: (i) social reform legislation, mainly pertaining to the personal laws of the Hindus, Muslims, etc.; (ii) social welfare legislation; and (iii) labour welfare legislation.

The Parliament of free India can be credited with four significant legislations reforming the Hindu Law. They are: (i) the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, codifying and amending the law relating to marriage among the Hindus and introducing monogamy and providing for divorce for the first time; (ii) the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956, which among other things, declares that a Hindu wife is entitled to be maintained by her husband during her lifetime and that a widowed daughter-in-law is entitled to maintenance from her father-in-law; (iii) the Hindu Succession Act, 1956 which introduced total equality between men

and women in regard to succession of property; and (iv) the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act; 1956 which codified some portions of the law relating to minority and guardianship among the Hindus, with the welfare of minors receiving prime consideration while appointing a guardian under the Act. With regard to the Muslims, the Wakfs Act, 1954 is of paramount importance. The Special Marriage Act, 1954 provides that parties belonging to different religions could get married even while retaining their respective religions.

Social Welfare legislation encompasses welfare of women and children, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes and is aimed at improving the lot of the downtrodden. The Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956, the Children Act, 1960, the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, the Drugs (Control) Act, 1950, the Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985 and the Prevention of Food Adulteration Act, 1956 deserve special mention. The Maternity Benefit Act, 1961, the Women's and Children's Institutions (Licensing) Act, 1956, the Orphanages and other Charitable Houses (Supervision and Control) Act, 1960, and the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971, the Dowry Prohibition (Amendment) Act, 1986 are worth mentioning in the field of women's welfare. As for child welfare, special mention may be made of the Children Act, 1960 which aims at the overall development of the child, the Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Act, 1956 and the Motor Transport Workers Act, 1961. Incidentally, in 1974, Parliament adopted a resolution on a National Policy for Children giving further importance to the needs of the children.

Additional efforts have also been made to promote the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes. The Constitution has prescribed certain protective measures and safeguards for these classes either specifically or by way of insisting on their general rights as citizens with the object of promoting

their educational and economic interests and of removing the social and economic disabilities they are subjected to. Besides providing for their special representation in the Lok Sabha and the Vidhan Sabhas, another important legislation in this field, the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, has been amended to become the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1976. The Parliament also proved the setting up of a Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Besides, it set up a joint committee of the two Houses of the Parliament for the purpose of specifying castes, tribes, etc., as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

It is pertinent to point out here that the Parliament has always taken a keen interest in improving the lot of the weaker sections of society. Thus, the Parliament, in pursuance of Article 46 of the Constitution, amplified clause (3) of Article 15 by adding clause (4) to this Article enabling the State to make laws for the benefit of the socially and educationally backward classes and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Subsequently, a Backward Classes Commission was appointed in 1952 but nothing concrete emerged out of its report. A significant development though in this regard was the constitution of the Second Backward Classes Commission in 1979, popularly known as the Mandal Commission, which was entrusted with the task of determining the criteria for defining the socially and educationally backward classes in the country. The Mandal Commission, among other things, has held that besides the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which constitute 22.5 per cent of the population, 52 per cent of the total Indian population could be categorised as backward and as such 52 per cent of all posts could be reserved for them. The National Front Government has already announced that it would take appropriate steps to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission and in this regard, it has constituted a high-level committee of the Union Cabinet.

In another significant development, the Parliament, in 1968, specially constituted a Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to ensure implementation of the recommendations made by the Commission in its report. The Committee, during the past 22 years, has made significant contributions which could go a long way in ameliorating the socio-economic conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It was mainly due to the Committee's efforts that reservations were provided for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in appointments to various posts under the Government in proportion to their population as cited in the Census reports. It goes to the credit of the Committee that the Bureau of Public Enterprises has instituted annual returns to be submitted by the enterprises showing in detail the position about new recruitments, promotions, etc., of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates to the Ministry of Home Affairs. The enhancement in the quantum of the post-matric scholarship for those doing technical courses and those pursuing academic courses was also effected on the recommendations of the Committee. Again, it was on the Committee's insistence that the Government decided that the period for carrying forward of reserved vacancies should be increased from two to three subsequent years. Surely, the Committee's efforts have been praiseworthy.

In the field of Labour and Labour Welfare, we have laws relating to labour-management relations (Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 and Industrial Employment Standing Orders Act, 1966); laws dealing with social security measures (ESI Act, 1948, EPF Act, 1952 and Maternity Benefit Act, 1961); and laws providing for minimum standards in respect of wages, leave, hours of work, weekly holiday, welfare, health, safety, etc. (Minimum Wages Act, 1948, Payment of Bonus Act, 1956). On another front, with a view to putting an end to the pernicious system of bonded labour, Parliament

enacted the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976.

The Parliament has also been active in the field of agrarian reforms. Legislative measures have been taken throughout the country for providing to the tenants security of tenure and for regulating rates of rent in the prescribed manner. Several State Legislatures have enacted laws conferring ownership rights on the cultivating tenants. Under the Constitution (Forty-fourth Amendment) Act, right to property was repealed by Parliament. Incidentally, while many land reform Acts are already placed under the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution, the National Front Government has committed itself to bring all land reform legislation under its jurisdiction.

The Parliament has resorted to several constitutional amendments having a bearing on social change. Thus, it has periodically extended reservation of seats in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. As already discussed, by way of a constitutional amendment, it has repealed the right to property. Perhaps, the most significant constitutional amendment made by the Parliament was to declare India a Socialist State in the Preamble itself, keeping in mind the urges and aspirations of the people. By another constitutional Amendment, it has reduced the voting age from 21 to 18 years.

While the Parliament's role in effecting social change has been impressive enough, it does not end in merely passing legislations. Ever since we adopted the concept of planned development through Five Year Plans, the role of the Parliament has increased manifold in this crucial area. Parliament, it needs to be emphasised, must be in a position to lay down the guidelines of public policy and also oversee the way in which they are carried out with a view to making sure that they remain in conformity with the aspirations of the people as a whole. Without doubt, the Parliament does not

have the time at its disposal to sift through the enormous quantum of Plan documents nor does it have the expertise for a searching scrutiny of the technicalities and complexities of the Plan. It was because of this imperative need that, in 1956, the Business Advisory Committee of the Lok Sabha decided to set up Parliamentary Committees for discussing the draft Five Year Plans. While these Committees do not arrive at decisions nor pass resolutions, they are free to express their views which are made available to all the members. The Draft Outline of the Five Year Plans is discussed extensively, so also the annual reports, mid-term appraisals of the Five Year Plans and the Plan in its final form. It is true that motions or resolutions moved by the Government and adopted by the Parliament do not have any statutory authority but the fact remains that indirectly the Plan gets Parliamentary sanction when it passes the Financial and Appropriation Bills.

There have been instances when the Parliament's suggestions have gone a long way in making necessary changes in the Plan document. This becomes significant in the absence of any system whereby reports are made available to the Parliament or its Committees about actions taken pursuant to members' suggestions. For example, a Chapter on Unemployment was incorporated in the final document of the First Five Year Plan when many members pointed out the importance of such an incorporation. The Third Five Year Plan document also underwent considerable changes in the outlays on and targets of various sectors taking into consideration Parliamentary suggestions. The three Financial Committees of Parliament-the Public Accounts Committee, the Estimates Committee and the Committee on Public Undertakings-also keep a constant vigil over governmental performance against projected objectives and targets of Five Year Plans. With the recent setting up of three departmentally related Subject Committees and with more such committees to come up

in the near future, parliamentary surveillance over the planning process is bound to be closer, continuous and concurrent. The Parliament has also taken a number of initiatives asserting itself in many matters of national importance. There have been instances when the Government had had to change its course of action on the basis of Parliamentary opinion. The Gold Control and Compulsory Deposit Scheme of 1963 is an example worth mentioning. On several occasions, probes were instituted as a result of parliamentary pressure as in the case of the inquiry into the steel deals in 1966. There have been occasions when, directly or indirectly, parliamentary opinion led to the resignation of Ministers. The resignations of T. T. Krishnamachari, V. K. Krishna Menon and K. D. Malaviya may be mentioned here. On another front, the Parliament played a very crucial role in approving the nationalisation of 14 banks in 1969 and the abolition in 1971 of privy purses and other privileges extended to erstwhile princes till then. Besides, the Parliament had extensively deliberated, from time to time, upon important matters of national importance like the States' reorganisation, language policy, Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 and social maladies like communal disturbances, corruption, the state of women and children and many other problems facing contemporary society.

It is a popular misconception that our parliamentary practice and procedure are an exact replica of what is available at the Westminster. Far from it, over the years, we have come to evolve our own practices, and procedures to suit our needs and requirements. 'Question Hour', as it has evolved in our country, is very distinct in several of its features. The procedure for transaction of financial business in India is relatively much simpler. Conduct of business according to a precise time-table and follow-up of the assurances or undertakings given on the floor of the House, are Indian innovations. This is done through the Business Advisory Committee and the Committee on Government Assurances. 'Calling Attention

Notice', another Indian procedural development, enables members to draw the attention of the Government to sudden developments of urgent public importance and to elicit their stand thereon. The 'Short Duration Discussion' also provides members an opportunity to discuss for a short time a matter of urgent public importance on the condition that the Speaker admits the notice on grounds of urgency and public importance and the Government agrees to find time. The Committee on Petitions may not be an institution exclusive to India but the scope of the functions of this Committee here is something unique. Thus, it may be seen that the practices and procedures in India have been evolving all through as much as a result of the compulsions of emerging situations as through a conscious and continuous search for better fulfilment of its growing tasks. They also enable private members adequate procedural means by which they can bring up urgent public issues before the nation's Parliament.

Every country has problems unique to itself. Every society has to confront inherent ills native to its soil. And it is only natural that solutions to problems of one country or society may not perhaps be the ideal ones to be applied in the case of societal problems elsewhere. Thus, any society or any country for that matter has to evolve its own mechanism to deal with the problems that it faces. In India, we embarked upon the noble task of nation-building keeping in view our past experience. Our efforts were entirely suited to our ethos and genius and our approaches were more or less our own. We may not yet have fully succeeded in tackling all the problems to our satisfaction. But, at the same time, we can feel happy that our approaches have paid dividends: Yet, we must not remain complacent. Rather we should strive hard to build upon what we have already achieved.

Thus, the Parliament has ceaselessly endeavoured to fulfil its role as an active partner in social transformation. But the fact remains that in

spite of various legislations and other related measures, Indian society continues to be afflicted with several pressing problems which are definitely detrimental to our body politic. If we go by newspaper reports or analytical studies by independent organisations or groups, many societal ills are still prevalent, especially among the underprivileged sections of society. We hear about continued atrocities on the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes, ill-treatment of women and children, dowry deaths, illicit liquor tragedies, bonded labour and many other unseemly happenings. And have we not enacted legislations to tackle each one of these problems? Is it that the implementing authorities have failed to do their duty sincerely and, if so, how do we go about tackling such a situation?

The Members of Parliament must take note of these aspects when they embark upon new measures. As opinion-makers and opinion-moulders, they have to help and even rouse the social consciousness of the people. They should attempt to monitor the impact of the legislations, how they are being implemented, if there are any violations and if so what action has been taken to bring the culprits to book. Their interaction with the people should be constant and continuous so that the legislation has the desired impact. Thus, there should be a mechanism for feedback on the effects of various measures taken by the Government.

The people of India, through successive general elections, have reposed their abiding faith in and unswerving commitment to parliamentary democracy. The ninth general elections were a further reiteration of their full confidence in the electoral process. The Ninth Lok Sabha has, within a very brief period, introduced several measures aimed at further consolidating the hard-won independence. There have been proposals to introduce Bills to include right to work as a fundamental right and on workers' participation in management. Under a constitutional amendment,

reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas has already been extended for another 10 years. All these augur well for the Indian society.

Thus, Parliament has always endeavoured to live up to the expectations of the people as a vehicle of social change. Jayaprakash Narayan wrote way back in 1946:

The objectives of socialism are elimination of exploitation and poverty, provision of equal opportunities to all for self-development, full development of the material and moral resources of society and utilisation of these resources in accordance with the needs and wishes of society as a whole rather than in accordance with the dictates of profit; equitable apportionment of national wealth and social, educational and other services between all who labour and serve society. A system of social organisation that serves these ends is a socialist society. . . . My picture of Socialist India is the picture of an economic and political democracy. In this democracy, man will neither be the slave of capitalism nor of a party or the State. Man will be free. He will have to serve society which will provide him with employment and the means of livelihood, but within limits he will be free to choose his vocation and station in life. He will be free to express his opinions and there will be opportunities for him to rise to his full moral stature.

Much has been done in this direction but we are one in saying that much more needs to be done. And no institution other than the Parliament can provide the momentum for socio-economic transformation of the country. One can safely look forward to the Parliament marching forward with renewed vigour and dynamism in the years ahead and during the Ninth Lok Sabha, particularly, in its function as the grand inquest of the nation, as the sheet-anchor of our parliamentary democracy and as the most effective mechanism for the redressal of grievances of the people of our country.

Source: *Dignity for All*, New Delhi, 1991.

SOCIALISM IS DEAD; LONG LIVE SOCIALISM!

Johan Galtung

Founder

International Peace Research Institute, Oslo



Recently right-wing commentators of USA (which means most of the US commentators) have had a field day commenting on the events of Autumn 1989 in Eastern Europe. Their delight is easily understood if not necessarily shared, nor, for that matter, admired for its subtlety. The reasoning runs as follows.

There are two political systems in the world: democratic pluralism and dictatorship-singularism, authoritarian or totalitarian, based on the guaranteed monopoly of one party, even truth, over all others. In the same vein, there are two economic systems in the world: capitalism and socialism, based on free enterprise and the market system, and the State enterprises and planning, respectively. In Eastern Europe, dictatorship and State planning, both were defeated, burnt to ashes by the wrath of the masses, thrown on the garbage heap of history. Thus, with the alternatives, the antitheses so to speak, falsified, the conclusion is that the theses are verified. The triumph of pluralism and the market system can now be declared. Alternatives were tried, and they failed, miserably. One author even became so lyrical that he declared the end of history. But let him remain unnamed. Enough has been said about it: the contradictions of capitalism remain exactly the same as before, only one alternative has been proven wrong.

There are many points that can be made in this connection. The first and the most obvious is that the US analysis is cut too dichotomously; a clear example of a meta-discourse which may be referred to as "US Two-ness". Everything comes

in pairs; if one is wrong then the other has, by definition, to be right. I shall return to that point. However, as a point of departure let it only be said that I see no reason to quarrel with the assumption that dictatorship is bad. Like tumours dictatorships may be benign or malignant; that does not mean that the benign ones are good. But with the economic discourse the matter is different. There can be good and bad socialism. The problem lies in the definition.

No doubt a concept of socialism was overturned by the Eastern European Events (EEE) of the autumn of 1989. Some may say this was not "real" socialism; but like the "real" Christianity it is in the eyes of the beholders. Since I am against it, I would prefer to use a negative term for it, and one possibility is "economic stalinism"; reserving the term "socialism" for "good socialism", the socialism I like. However, before discussing the legitimacy of doing this, let me try to come up with definitions of bad and good socialism.

Bad socialism, or "economic stalinism" has four basic characteristics: centralised planning; domestic priority to large-scale projects and the production of capital goods; foreign trade priority to large-scale projects and the production of capital goods; and little or no opportunity for public discussion. Let US examine the implications of these characteristics.

Central planning, not only of production and distribution but actually also of consumption, even for daily needs, meant in practice that a group in the order of magnitude of two, at the most three

digits can decide about details in the life-style of seven, eight, nine digits people. Ultimate decision-making in Gosplan, and the corresponding agencies for Eastern European countries, hardly depended on more than 100, at the most 1,000 people; and they decided for 400,000,000 people, three-fourths of the population in the Soviet Union and one quarter in Eastern Europe. Rarely have so few decided on petty material details affecting the daily life of so many. I remember a summer day in Moscow in 1962: very many women were wearing green dresses with black spots, the decision for that month or year.

Of course they were not able to deliver the goods, and even less the services. The assumptions underlying the whole exercise were very classical: omniscience, omnipresence and omnipotence' in addition to the beneficence that was taken for granted, at least by themselves. Of course, these are the basic properties of the Christian god, taken over by the supreme planner in the secular Leninist State. But these people were very, very far from some idealised god. They were, in fact, very similar to the way the world is run, only too similar. The result was closer to chaos than to cosmos.

Such or similar conditions may also obtain under monopolistic capitalism. But the market system, at least in principle, opens for alternatives and for appeals to the consumers. The plan is based on rationality, and it would be difficult to plan for competition as this would simply mean competing concepts of what is rational. The search would tend to be for the solution rather than for solutions in plural. And the centrally planned economy would, of course, favour the type of project and production that would call for centralised planning.

In short, the thesis would be that the production is adjusted to the mode of decision-making, not the other way round. In a market economy the appeal is ultimately to consumers' tastes. They

may be manipulated, within limits. But since there are many and diverse tastes there may also be many and diverse products. In a centrally planned economy the ultimate consumer is given no alternative. As a consequence, the planner steps into the clothes of the consumer appealing to himself as the ultimate decision-maker. If we now assume identification with the country, the Nation-State, having at their disposal both national goals and the nation's means of production, it would be strange if their projects should not be large-scale. The domain will colour the scope; like a municipal board planning for municipal needs.

This does not mean that individual needs cannot be met. But they will tend to be met with large-scale and industrial rather than artisanal production, using fully the means of production at the disposal of the State. In practice, this would mean production of cereals of all kinds rather than vegetables, and in general, products that would call for more artisanal modes of production, more "love and tender care". Manufacturing would be in terms of iron/steel and electromechanics rather than electronics that require much more attention. The assumption would be that each system prefers to do what it thinks it is good at, and deal with the rest sloppily or not at all.

Foreign trade will be subjected to similar considerations. There is no reason to believe that a country negotiating with other countries will arrive at deals that are nothing but the sum total or" deals arrived at by firms negotiating across borders with other firms. The foreign trade of a centrally planned economy will tend to favour big projects and large-scale production. As a result, the country will end up with some giant factories and the population will be fed products that can be mass produced, on a giant scale. The myriad of small deals engaged in across the borders of multifirm capitalist countries also require the minute attention of myriads of competent and motivated people; and these people are not fostered by the centrally planned economy.

Finally, since central planning is seen as the implementation of almost apodictic, self-evident truths, fundamental and open discussion was ruled out since it would be futile, unnecessary anyhow. As a result, the system continued out of sheer inertia; turning out more and more giant projects and large-scale production runs. On the other hand, exactly for that reason the system also has the capacity, if it so wanted, to abolish misery. This could be done for instance, by feeding the whole population cereals (including vodka and other strong liquors derived from cereals) with predictable health consequences: survival, but not with a very high life expectancy.

Moreover, the flip side of the ability to plan for the fulfilment of social and economic rights is the ability to plan for destruction and death using a Military State for aggression and repression. Again, as regards setting up of giant projects that call for large-scale production and central decision-making, Capitalist democracies also do the same. The point only is that Stalinist systems do not rule out this possibility either.

Let us then turn to “good socialism” which I shall also try to spell out in terms of four components: a negotiation economy bringing together State and capital, plan and market; first priority to production to meet the basic needs of those most in need; control over the foreign sector of the economy; and open discussion of economic priorities in a pluralistic system. In short, I am essentially talking about social democracy or democratic socialism, and leave to others to define the difference between the two.

Absolutely fundamental is the option for democracy. What made the centrally planned economies so anti-pluralistic was not that they were centrally planned, but that they thought they were in possession of an ultimate truth (Marxism-Leninism), one consequence of which was central planning. In a social democracy there will also be some element of central planning, for instance,

to provide or maintain full employment. But the administration, if not the ownership of the State would be up for bidding once every four, five or six years. Of course, we will talk only about pluralism to the extent that the bidders (the candidates, the parties) stand for qualitatively different images of the future of the country, giving the electorate a real choice. Only in that case will we talk about a democracy, making it very difficult to see USA as a democracy and very easy to see India as one.

So, let us say again that Economic Stalinism is dead; and Social Democracy/Democratic Socialism is not. Some may even argue that it is more alive than ever precisely because of the death, complete with burial and funeral services of Economic Stalinism. It is too early to say anything definitive about this but a turn in Europe East and West toward Social Democracy and Green Parties, the latter also essentially socialist but with more emphasis on environmental, peace, feminist and local issues, looks rather likely. And this possibility is not at all captured in what is described above as the politically rather infantile USA “Two-ness” discourse; ignorant of the spectrum of alternatives.

Quite another problem is whether Social Democracy is feasible in countries outside the North-western Europe and the ‘White Dominions’ of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Much is needed. A balance between State and Capital will always be more difficult to maintain than the prevalence of one over the other. Two, rather than one, complex institutions will have to be built and maintained; in addition, a balance will have to be struck when strong social forces tend to favour one rather than the other. In short, some kind of restraint or “political culture” may be called for. Could it be that countries like the Nordic ones, said to possess that precious commodity, also look somewhat boring to the outside and less relevant as models?

Be that as it may. I would see no more worthy goal for economic activity than to rid humanity of that

all-time plague, misery. Not poverty; it does not hurt or harm to have less, even when others have more. What hurts and harms is to have so much less that even basic needs are not met—like the needs for healthy nutrition, clean water, clean air, clothes, shelter, sleep, a minimum of health care and schooling and transportation-communication. Take all or most of these away from people and we are dealing with very real suffering. People untouched by that and unmoved to do something about it, even to the point of developing clever rationales for misery (they like it, they deserve it, they are simply lazy), are somewhat less than human. A basic element of compassion is missing.

Giant projects; large-scale production. The argument is not that they are all wrong but that they are wrong standing alone, dominating the economy completely. Combine them with production of small things on a small scale for basic needs, often at a local level and within a non-formal (non-monetised) economy and the system has more scope precisely because the domain for decision-making has been expanded.

Foreign trade Economic Stalinism erred on the side of trade for the State/country only; unfettered capitalism errs by laying the country open in the name of “free trade” for total economic invasion. “Good Socialism” tries to strike a balance: let the State trade, let common people trade; but keep ultimate control to prevent the economy from getting out of control with the electorate. With foreign owners democracy becomes a farce.

Back to the point of departure: EEE. We may say that a hypothesis was tested and was falsified: the hypothesis of the feasibility of a centrally planned economy in the service of the State. On the other hand, the “bad socialism” also had one point to its credit: by and large misery was abolished, no minor feat that one, eluding the US economy successfully, for instance. Something in our mind revolts against attributing good effects to bad causes and makes us look for the shadowy side of

the effects and the sunny side of the causes.

They both exist: the monotone, unfree greyness of the Stalinist Welfare State for the former, the undoubted idealism for the latter and the ability, in the case of the Soviet Union, to stand up against one of the most vicious regimes in human history, the Dritte Reich. So, let us just immediately admit that reality is complex. There is a yin side and a yang side to everything. More fruitful is the search for answers to the obvious question: How can we obtain the abolition of misery with other and better means? Answer: through green and social democracy.

Imagine now that we make Economic Stalinism somewhat better than it was. Let us imagine that it did in fact deliver goods and services and a variety of them, and provided not only for misery abolition but even for poverty abolition. In other words, that it scored better in terms of economic efficiency and got out of its predilection for the grandiose and dedicated itself more to the local and human scale. Would that not be what we are looking for? No. There would still be good reasons to be against it because of the total lack of participation, both in the decision-making and in the articulation of alternatives (points 1 and 4 above). A Stalinist economy delivering the goods and services to the point of making people happy would be less Orwellian. But to be Huxleyan instead is a poor substitute indeed.

So the contradiction is no longer between Capitalism and Stalinism. That should be celebrated, without being so naive as to believe that Stalinism will never recur. The strong State will tend to want economic control; the rest is a question of finding an ideological epithet for the exercise. Next time it will certainly not worship Stalin as a hero. But maybe its near kin fascism instead? And maybe precisely in Eastern Europe which has a strong tradition in that direction.

The contradiction is now between Capitalism and Democratic Socialism, Social Democracy and Greenism. As mentioned earlier, Capitalism has exactly the same contradictions as it had when Marx analysed it. For good reasons he never made an analysis of Socialism; there was no such thing around during his time. Stalinism produced repression. But Capitalism still produces misery; only that clever Capitalist States are capable of locating that misery outside their own borders so they can line up their social credentials and get high marks on intellectually stupid indicators. That type of capitalism will probably again and again have to be defended by police and military. In short, it will be repressive, and precisely in its own periphery that will continue to be the target of invasions and “rapid deployment forces”.

In my view, that is the essence of what happened in China in June, 1989: a Capitalist Economy unable to satisfy the expectations of the urban sectors, students and labour alike, run by and protected by a party referring to itself as “Communist” with tanks, like in Kwangju, South Korea, 1980.

Precisely for that reason Social and Green democracies have to remain democratic and rid themselves of some of the authoritarian streaks in their past. Only by doing so can we refute, in practice as well as in theory, the conservative commentators all over the world celebrating that Capitalism has been given a new lease of life because one type of Socialism is dead.

Source: *Dignity for All*, New Delhi, 1991.



आपातकालीन, बडोदा डायनामाईट षडयंत्र और जॉर्ज

पद्मनाभ शेटी
वरिष्ठ अधिवक्ता



१९७५ में प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में कांग्रेस की सत्ता केंद्र में शासित थी. श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी सरकार की जनता विरोधी नीति, अत्याधिक भ्रष्टाचार, महागाई, इ. के विरोध में लोकनायक जयप्रकाश नारायण के नेतृत्व में देशभर में नवनिर्माण आंदोलन तीव्रता से शुरू हुआ. विशेष रूप से लोकनायक जयप्रकाश नारायण के सभा में लाखों विद्यार्थी और नवयुवक सहभागी होते थे अतः उसका प्रथम परिणाम गुजरात के चुनाव में जनता मोर्चा ने कांग्रेस को हराकर चुनाव में बड़ी जीत हासिल की.

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी रायवरेली उत्तर प्रदेश से लोकसभा का चुनाव लड़ती थी और उनके खिलाफ मुख्यतः समाजवादी पक्ष के श्री राजनारायण लड़ते थे. १९७१ में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के चुनाव को विविध कारणों से चुनौती देते हुए श्री राजनारायण ने इलाहाबाद उच्च न्यायालय में उनके विरुद्ध चुनाव याचिका दाखल की. दि. २५.६.१९७५ को इलाहाबाद उच्च न्यायालयके न्यायाधीश, श्री जगमोहन सिन्हा ने ऐतिहासिक फैसला देते हुए श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के चुनाव को रद्द करते हुए गैरकानूनी ठहराया. उसके कारण देशभर में सर्व विरोधी पक्ष और जयप्रकाश नारायण, श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी सरकार का राजीनामा माँग रहे थे. परंतु श्रीमती गांधी ने अपना

राजीनामा नहीं दिया. दि. २५.६.१९७५ के दिन दिल्ली के रामलीला मैदान में श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण के नेतृत्व में लाखों की संख्या में इंदिरा गांधी सरकार के विरोध में सभा हुई और उस सभा से उन्होंने सरकार गिराने के लिए जनता और सैन्य से अपील किया. उसी दिन आधी रात को श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने पूरे देश में आपातकालीन घोषित करते हुए, देश के संविधान, संसद, मानवधिकार, समाचार, स्वतंत्र, मजदूरों के अधिकार, हडताल पर जाने के अधिकार, इ. स्थगित करते हुए रातोंरात सभी विरोधी पार्टियों के सांसद सदस्य, राजकिय नेता, मजदूर नेता, छात्र नेता, वकिल, विद्यार्थी, शिक्षक, ऐसे हजारों लोगों को गिरफ्तार कर जेल में डाल दिया गया. इनमें विशेषरूप से लोकनायक जयप्रकाश नारायण, मोरारजी देसाई, मधु लिमये, अटलबिहारी वाजपेयी, लालकृष्ण अडवाणी, प्रो. मधु दंडवते, अशोका मेहता और आपातकालीन विरोधी कांग्रेस नेता चंद्रशेखर, मोहन धारिया, रामधन, इ. लोगों में यह लोग भी सामिल थे. आपातकालीन के समय में लगभग १.५ लाख लोगों को Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) AaOr Defence of India Rules (DIR) के अंतर्गत बिना पूछताच के जेल में डाल दिये. (१९४२ में भारत छोड़ो आंदोलन के समय ब्रिटीश सरकार ने केवल ४० हजार लोगों को जेल में डाला था.)

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी सरकार के जासूस विभाग, पुलिस और सरकारी तंत्र ने सभी प्रकार के प्रयत्न करने के बावजूद भी श्री जार्ज फर्नांडिस को गिरफ्तार नहीं किया जा सका . २५ .६ .१९७५ को जिस समय आपातकालीन घोषित हुआ उस समय जार्ज उडिसा के गोपालपुर में थे . आपातकालीन घोषित करने के बाद देश के सर्व अधिकार अपने हातों में लेकर इंदिरा गांधी तानाशाह बनी हुई थी . उसके बाद २२ .७ .१९७५ को संसद में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि, **“You called me dictator when I was not, now ‘Yes I am”** .

आपातकालीन घोषित होने के बाद जॉर्ज ने भूमिगत रहते हुए इंदिरा सरकार के विरोध में आंदोलन करने का निश्चित किया . उन्होंने दाढ़ी बढ़ाकर कभी सरदारजी और साधुवावा का भेष धारण करके भुपिंदर सिंग, वी . पी . सिंग, एम .एस . दुग्गल इन नामों से देशभर में उनके राजनीतिक मित्र व कार्यकर्ताओं से मिलकर भूमिगत आंदोलन शुरू किये और उनके इस सिख और साधू भेष को उनके अतिनिकट कार्यकर्ता भी नहीं पहचान पाए . भूमिगत आंदोलन के द्वारा आपातकालीन के विरोध में उन्होंने लेख और साहित्य छापकर अपने कार्यकर्ताओं के द्वारा देश - विदेश में वाटने का काम किया . इसके अलावा वे विदेश में भी अलग अलग राजनीतिक पार्टियों , सोशलिस्ट इंटरनेशनल, इंटरनेशनल ट्रांसपोर्ट वर्कर्स फेडरेशन, अमनेस्टी इंटरनेशनल, इत्यादि से संपर्क करके आपातकालीन के विरोध में उनके इस आंदोलन में उन सभी लोगों का समर्थन प्राप्त करने का काम किये . आपातकालीन और श्रीमती गांधी के विरोध में उनको भूमिगत रेडियो स्टेशन का स्थापना कर और एक हजार वायरलेस सेट हासिल करना उनके योजना का एक हिस्सा था . आपातकालीन के विरोध का प्रचार व रेडियो स्टेशन की स्थापना करने के लिए विदेश में श्री सी .जी .के रेड्डी

को भेजा गया . परंतु जार्ज इसके अलावा आपातकालीन के विरोध में कुछ बड़ा आंदोलन करना चाहते थे . ऐसा विचार करते समय देशभर में अस्थिरता और अराजकता करने के लिए उन्होंने डायनामाईट (सुरुंग) का उपयोग करने का सोचा और तभी बडोदा के एक खान से डायनामाईट मिलने की संभावना है ऐसी जानकारी मिली . तभी बडोदा में टिंवरोड खाण के वहां जाकर डायनामाईट के उपयोग से क्या परिणाम हो सकते हैं उसका जॉर्ज ने प्रत्यक्ष रूप से आकलन किये . उसके बाद टिंवरोड खाण, बडोदा, से भरपूर मात्रा में सुरुंग के छल्ले, वासुदेव अंड कंपनी, हालोल से डायनामाईट का विस्फोट करने के लिए डिटोनेटर्स और फ्युज वायर की व्यवस्था किए . इसके बारे में भूमिगत सभा और आंदोलन में मुंबई, बडोदा, बैंगलोर, विहार और दिल्ली में सी .जी .के रेड्डी, विक्रम राव, किरीट भट्ट, डॉ . जी .जी . पारिख, सोमनाथ दुवे, एस . आर . राव, एस . वेंकटराम, लक्ष्मण जाधव, प्रभुदास पटवारी, विरेन शाह, स्नेहलता रेड्डी, पद्माभी रामा रेड्डी, कॅ . आर .पी . हुईलगोल, डॉ . गिरीजा हुईलगोल, माईकल फर्नांडिस, लॉरेंस फर्नांडिस, फ्रेड्डी डिसा, विजय नारायण सिंग, कमलेश शुक्ला, रेवतीकांत सिन्हा, भरत पटेल, जसवंत सिन्हा, गोविंदभाई सोळंकी, मोतीलाल कनोजिया, सुरेश वैद्य, गोपाल शेरगार, विश्वनाथ शेटी, पद्मनाभ शेटी, इ .नेता व कार्यकर्ताओं ने सहभाग लिया . डायनामाईट मिलने के बाद मुंबई, विहार, यु .पी . व अन्य अलग अलग जगह पर कार्यकर्ताओं द्वारा भेजा गया . सुरुंग द्वारा विस्फोट करने के पहिले जॉर्ज ने सभी संबंधित कार्यकर्ताओं को अपना यह आंदोलन जो कि अहिंसक है उसमें किसी निर्दोष व्यक्ती का प्राण नहीं जाए ऐसा स्पष्ट निर्दिश दिये थे . सौभाग्य से इस मामले में एक भी जान मान का हानी नहीं हुआ . इसके बावजूद डायनामाईट का उपयोग करते समय अगर कुछ भी गलती हुई तो जान भी जाने की संभावना है और पुलिस के पकड़ने पर फासी तक

की सजा हो सकती है ऐसी जानकारी दिये . यह सुनकर कुछ नेता और कार्यकर्ता डर गये और आंदोलन से अपना नाम वापस ले लिए . जॉर्ज, महात्मा गांधी और डॉ राम मनोहर लोहिया के कट्टर अनुयायियों में से एक थे . एकवार गांधीजी ने कहा बोला था **“Given the choice between cowardice and violence , I would recommend violence to the people of India.”** इस तत्व के आधार पर जॉर्ज ने यह सब भूमीगत आंदोलन चलाये थे .

डायनामाईट अलग अलग जगह पहुंचने के बाद इच्छुक कार्यकर्ताओं को डायनामाईट का इस्तेमाल करने का प्रशिक्षण दिया गया . उसके बाद देशभर में करीब करीब ५० जगहों पर मुंबई, नाशिक सब जेल, दिल्ली, विहार, गुजरात, कर्नाटक, रेलवे स्टेशन, रेलवे के पूल, पटरियों, मुंबई में एअर इंडिया इमारत, क्लिंट्स साप्ताहिक कार्यालय, आदि अक्टूबर १९७५ से जून १९७६ तक इस दरम्यान डायनामाईट का विस्फोट करके आपातकालीन का तिव्र विरोध और आंदोलन हो रहा है ऐसा उन्होंने करके दिखा दिया . इस मामले में महाराष्ट्र, गुजरात, दिल्ली, विहार और कर्नाटक, के अलग अलग जगह पर पोलिस ने इस प्रकरण में अपराध (FIR) दाखल किये .

एप्रिल १९७६ में जिसके द्वारा डायनामाईट लिया गया था उनके एक रिश्तेदार ने इसकी खबर पुलिस को दे दी जिसके कारण पहिली गिरफ्तारी और डायनामाईट बडोदा में पकडा गया . उसके बाद देश में अलग अलग जगहों पर गिरफ्तारी होने लगी और जून १९७६ में जॉर्ज को कलकत्ता में गिरफ्तार किया गया . किंतु मुंबई के साथी जिन्होंने विस्फोट करने में हिस्सा लिया था उनको पुलिस नहीं पकड सके थे . आपातकालीन के वर्षगांठ के दिन अर्थात् २६ .६ .१९७६ किंग्स सर्कल मांटुगा रेलवे स्टेशन के ब्रिजपर श्री सोमनाथ दूवे और श्री पद्मनाभ शेटी ने

विस्फोट किया और उसके कारण एक विशाल पथर मांटुगा पोलिस स्टेशन के छतपर जाकर गिरा . जिस वजह से मुंबई पुलिस ने इस घटना को बड़े गंभीरता से लिया और जुलाई १९७६ में मुंबई के सभी अभियुक्तों को गिरफ्तार किया . इस घटना में पकडे गये सभी अभियुक्तों को पुलिस ने हरप्रकार के मानसीक और शारिरीक उत्पीडन किया . इस घटना में गिरफ्तार किये गए कुछ अभियुक्त घबराकार पक्षद्रोही गवाह अथवा पुलिस के गवाह बनकर जॉर्ज और अन्य लोगों के विरुद्ध गवाही देने के लिए तैयार हो गये . पक्षद्रोही गवाह में से विहार के समाजवादी नेता रेवती कांत सिन्हा और बडोदा से जिसके द्वारा डायनामाईट मिला था वे भरत पटेल मुख्य लोग थे . बडोदा डायनामाईट घटने का मुकदमा अलग अलग राज्यों में दायर होने के कारण केंद्र सरकार ने सीवीआय द्वारा दायर किये गए सभी मुकदमाओं को ईकठा करके दिल्ली में चलाने का फैसला किया और जॉर्ज व अन्य २४ लोगों के विरुद्ध तीस हजारी कोर्ट में मुकदमा चलाया गया . दिल्ली में मुकदमा चलाने हेतु देशभर से अलग अलग जगह से गिरफ्तार किये गए अभियुक्तों को दिल्ली के तिहार जेल में उच्च सुरक्षा सेल में सितंबर १९७६ में लाया गया . सभी अभियुक्तों के विरुद्ध चार्जशीट दायर करने के बाद उनको जमानत न मिलने हेतु Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) के अंतर्गत गिरफ्तार किया गया . दि .२४ .९ .१९७६ को सी .वी .आय ने जॉर्ज व २४ अभियुक्तों के विरुद्ध ६०० गवाहों के आस-पास की सूची और ६०० दस्तावेजों के सहित ३००० पृष्ठों की चार्जशीट नई दिल्ली स्थित मुख्य महानगर दंडाधिकारी (Chief Metropolitan Magistrate) के समक्ष दायर किया गया . उस गवाहों की सूची में जॉर्ज के साथ काम करने वाले कुछ करीबी नेता और कार्यकर्ताओं के नाम गवाहों के रूप में थे . इस चार्जशीट में जॉर्ज और अन्य लोगों के विरुद्ध भारतीय दंड संहिता (IPC) की

धारा १२१अ और १२०व, विस्फोटक अधिनियम की धारा ४, ५, ६ और भारतीय विस्फोटक अधिनियम की धारा (३ब) और (१२) के अंतर्गत आरोप लगाया गया . अगर उपरोक्त आरोप सही साबित होते अथवा सरकार नहीं बदलती तो सभी अभियुक्तों को २ वर्ष से फासी तक सजा होने की संभावना थी . तिहार जेल से तीस हजारी कोर्ट कम से कम १३ किलोमीटर की दूरी पर स्थित था . सप्ताह में ३ से ४ दिन अभियुक्तों को न्यायालय लेकर जाते थे . पुलिस जॉर्ज सहित सभी अभियुक्तों को जंजीरो से बांधकर उच्च सुरक्षा के साथ करीब ३ वस और ३ व्हेन में लेकर जाते थे . इस दौरान हमसब और जॉर्ज इंदिरा गांधी सरकार और आपातकालीन के विरोध में इन्कलाव जिंदाबाद, जॉर्ज फर्नांडिस जिंदाबाद ऐसा नारा लगाते हुए जाते थे .

जनवरी १९७७ में इंदिरा सरकार ने मार्च १९७७ में लोकसभा चुनाव होगा ऐसा घोषित किया . जनवरी के अंत तक देशभर के जेल में बंद सभी विरोधी पक्ष के नेता व कार्यकर्ताओं को रिहा किया गया . किंतु बडोदा डायनामाईट मुकदमा के २२ अभियुक्तों को सरकारने अंतिम समय तक नहीं छोड़ा . पुराना काँग्रेस, भारतीय जन संघ, समाजवादी पार्टी और स्वतंत्र पार्टी लोकनायक जयप्रकाश नारायण इन सभी के मार्गदर्शन में जनता पार्टी का स्थापना कर उसमें विलय होकर लोकसभा चुनाव लड़ने का निर्णय लिया गया . जॉर्ज उस समय समाजवादी पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष थे फिर भी वे जेल में ही थे . जॉर्ज चुनाव लड़ने में उत्सुक नहीं थे . परंतु जयप्रकाश नारायण के आग्रह पर जॉर्ज ने बिहार के मुज्जफरपुर से लोकसभा चुनाव का नामांकन जेल से भरकर चुनाव लड़े . जॉर्ज के चुनाव प्रचार हेतु उनका जंजीर में बंधे हुए एक फोटो पोस्टर्स द्वारा चुनाव प्रचार का एक हिस्सा करके लगाया गया था . उसमें जनता से जॉर्ज ने अपील किया कि “आप इस जंजीर को तोड़ सकते हैं” . मार्च १९७७ के तिसरे सप्ताह में पूरे देश में जोरदार प्रचार के बाद चुनाव हुआ . उस चुनाव में इंदिरा गांधी, संजय

गांधी और काँग्रेस पार्टी के मजबूत नेता भरपूर मतों से हारे और जनता पार्टी बड़े बहुमत के साथ विजयी हुई . जॉर्ज का जन्म मंगलोर में हुआ, कार्यक्षेत्र मुंबई था और चुनाव तिहार जेल में से लड़े फिर भी उनको मुज्जफरपुर निर्वाचन क्षेत्र से उस समय के काँग्रेस के मजबूत नेता श्री दिग्विजय नारायण सिंग को लोकसभा चुनाव में ३ लाख ३४ हजार मतों से हराकर विश्व कीर्तिमान बनाया . दूसरे दिन २१.३.१९७७ को जॉर्ज व अन्य लोगों को लोहे के जंजीर में बांधे हुए तीस हजारी कोर्ट में लेकर आये और वहाँ हजारों की संख्या में लोग उपस्थित थे और सचमुच लोगों ने न्यायालय के परिसर में उपस्थित पुलिस के समक्ष जॉर्ज के जंजीर को तोड़ दिया . उसके बाद जनता पार्टी के संसदीय दल द्वारा श्री मोरारजी देसाई को प्रधानमंत्री पद के उम्मीदवार घोषित किया . जनता पार्टी और श्री मोरारजी देसाई को जॉर्ज फर्नांडिस कैबिनेट मंत्री बनाना चाहते किंतु जॉर्ज उस वक्त जेल में थे . परंतु जॉर्ज का यह जिद्द था कि जबतक उनके सभी साथियों को जेल से रिहा नहीं किया जाएगा तबतक वे मंत्री पद नहीं स्वीकार करेंगे . अतः २२.३.१९७७ के दिन जॉर्ज व अन्य अभियुक्तों को जमानत पर रिहा किया गया और २६.३.१९७७ को डायनामाईट मुकदमा को पिछे लिया गया और जॉर्ज सीधे न्यायालय से राष्ट्रपती भवन केंद्रीय संचार मंत्री पद की शपथ लेने के लिए गये .

बडोदा डायनामाईट मुकदमा में अभियुक्त जॉर्ज और अन्य के वचावहेतु आचार्य श्री जे . पी . कृपलानी इनके अध्यक्षता में वचाव समिती बनाई गयी और उनके संयोजक व मुख्य वचाव अधिवक्ता मुंबई उच्च न्यायालय के पूर्व न्यायधीश श्री व्ही . एम . तारकुंडे थे . दिल्ली में यह मुकदमा जॉर्ज व अन्य के तरफ से न्यायधीश तारकुंडे के मार्गदर्शन में अधिवक्ता श्री के . के लुथरा, ओ . पी . मालवीया, सुषमा स्वराज, स्वराज कौशल, के . एल . शर्मा, सागर सिंग, इ . लोगो ने चलाया . सुषमा और स्वराज कौशल ये दोनों अपना काम छोड़कर अपना सर्वस्व इस मुकदमा चलाने

मे झोक दिये थे . मुंबई मे शुरू मे वकिल, श्री पी .डी . कामेरकर ने काम देखा और किया . सत्र न्यायालय मे मुकदमा लडने के लिए वकिल श्री .धर्माधिकारी, मध्यप्रदेश के भूतपूर्व अडव्होकेट जनरल, ने केस लडने की इच्छा दिखाई थे . भारत के बाहर वचाव समिती इस नाते से वचाव हेतु हेन्स जेनीसचेक, एम .एस . होडा व सुरेंद्र सक् सेना इनके नेतृत्व मे लंडन समिती की स्थापना किया गया और व न्यायालय का पुरा कामकाज और समन्वय सुरेंद्र मोहन, प्रो . विनोद प्रसाद सिंग, रवि नायर और सोमदत्त यह सब देख रहे थे .

वडोदा डायनामाईट प्रकरण के अभियुक्त

श्रीमती . गांधी सरकार और सी .वा .ई . ने भारत के अलग अलग भाग और क्षेत्रो से लोगो को वडोदा डायनामाईट प्रकरण मे अभियुक्त बनाये गये .

अभियुक्त विहार, उत्तर प्रदेश, दिल्ली, मध्यप्रदेश, गुजरात, महाराष्ट्रा, कर्नाटक, केरळ और आंध्रप्रदेश के अलग अलग राज्य से थे और ये सब अलग अलग उम्र के थे . इस प्रकरण के सबसे नवजवान युवक श्री पदमनाभ शेड्डी (लेखक), उम्र २१ वर्ष और उनमे सबसे वृद्ध श्री . प्रभुदास पटवारी, ६८ वर्ष के थे . यह सब लोग अलग अलग कार्य क्षेत्र से थे . मिल मजदूर (मोतीलाल कनोजिया), पत्रकार, (विक्रम राव, किरीट भट, विजय नारायण, कमलेश शुक्ला), सवोच्च न्यायालय वकील (प्रभुदास पटवारी), मुकुंद औद्योगिक कंपनी के अध्यक्ष (विरेन शाह) और छात्र (पदमनाभ शेड्डी) .

यह सभी लोग अलग अलग राजकीय पक्ष के सदस्य थे और कुछ लोग किसी भी पार्टी के सदस्य नहीं थे .

निम्नलिखित अभियुक्त आरोप पत्र मे दिए गये क्रम के अनुसार है :-

- १ . जॉर्ज फर्नांडिस राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष, समाजवादी पार्टी , हिंद मजदूर पंचायत और ऑल इंडिया रेल्वेमेन्स फेडरेशन .
- २ . के . विक्रम राव ६० के दशक के उत्तर प्रदेश युवा और छात्र नेता, टाईम्स ऑफ इंडिया वडोदा के पत्रकार .
- ३ . किरीट भट्ट, इंडियन एक्सप्रेस वडोदा के पत्रकार .
- ४ . प्रभुदास पटवारी, वकील, प्रमुख कॉंग्रेस (ओ) के नेता, महात्मा गांधी सावरमती आश्रम और अन्य संस्था के प्रबंध ट्रस्टी .
- ५ . डॉ . जी .जी . पारिख जनता मासिक के संपादक और समाजवादी पार्टी मुंबई के अध्यक्ष .
- ६ . जसवंत सिंग चौहान प्रमुख युवा समाजवादी के नेता और वडोदा महानगर पालिका के सदस्य .
- ७ . गोविंदभाई सोळंकी वडोदा के सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता .
- ८ . मोतीलाल कनोजिया वडोदा के सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता .
- ९ . महेंद्र नारायण वाजपेयी विभागीय सचिव, इस्टर्न रेल्वेमेंस युनियन, पटना .
- १० . सी .जी .के . रेड्डी नेताजी सुभाषचंद्र बोस इंडियन नेशनल आर्मी के एक प्रमुख सैनिक, मैसूर राज्य के समाजवादी पार्टी के अग्रिम अध्यक्ष, राज्यसभा के पूर्व सभासद और द हिंदू समाचार पत्र के प्रबंधक .
- ११ . विजय नारायण सिंग पत्रकार, उत्तर प्रदेश के समाजवादी पार्टी के संयुक्त सचिव .
- १२ . कमलेश शुक्ला कवि और पत्रकार, समयुक्त समाजवादी पार्टी के पूर्व संयुक्त सचिव, प्रतिक्षा साप्ताहिक के संपादक .

१३. सुशिल चंदर भटनागर ऑल इंडिया रेल्वेमेन्स फेडरेशन के प्रमुख कार्यकर्ता .
१४. विरेन जे. शाह मुकुंद आयरन स्टील कं.लि. के अध्यक्ष व व्यवस्थापकीय निर्देशक और राज्यसभा के सदस्य .
१५. एस.आर. राव वॉम्बे लेवर युनियन के उपाध्यक्ष .
१६. लक्ष्मण जाधव वॉम्बे लेवर युनियन के उपाध्यक्ष .
१७. सोमनाथ दूवे वॉम्बे लेवर युनियन के उपाध्यक्ष .
१८. गोपाल शेरीगर छात्र और वॉम्बे लेवर युनियन के कर्मचारी .
१९. पद्मनाभ शेटी छात्र और वॉम्बे लेवर युनियन के संघटक .
२०. विश्वनाथ शेटी केंद्रीय रेल्वे कर्मचारी सहकारी सोसायटी के कर्मचारी .
२१. जयराम मोरे सेंट्रल रेल्वे के विद्युत तंत्रज्ञ .
२२. देवेंद्र मोहन गुजर कनिष्ठ अन्वेषक, वॉम्बे महानगरपालिका .
२३. सुरेश वैद्य पुलिस अधिक्षक नाशिक इनके कार्यालय के लिपिक .

२४. लाडली मोहन निगम प्रसिद्ध समाजवादी नेता को आपातकालीन खत होने तक गिरफ्तार नहीं कर पाए .

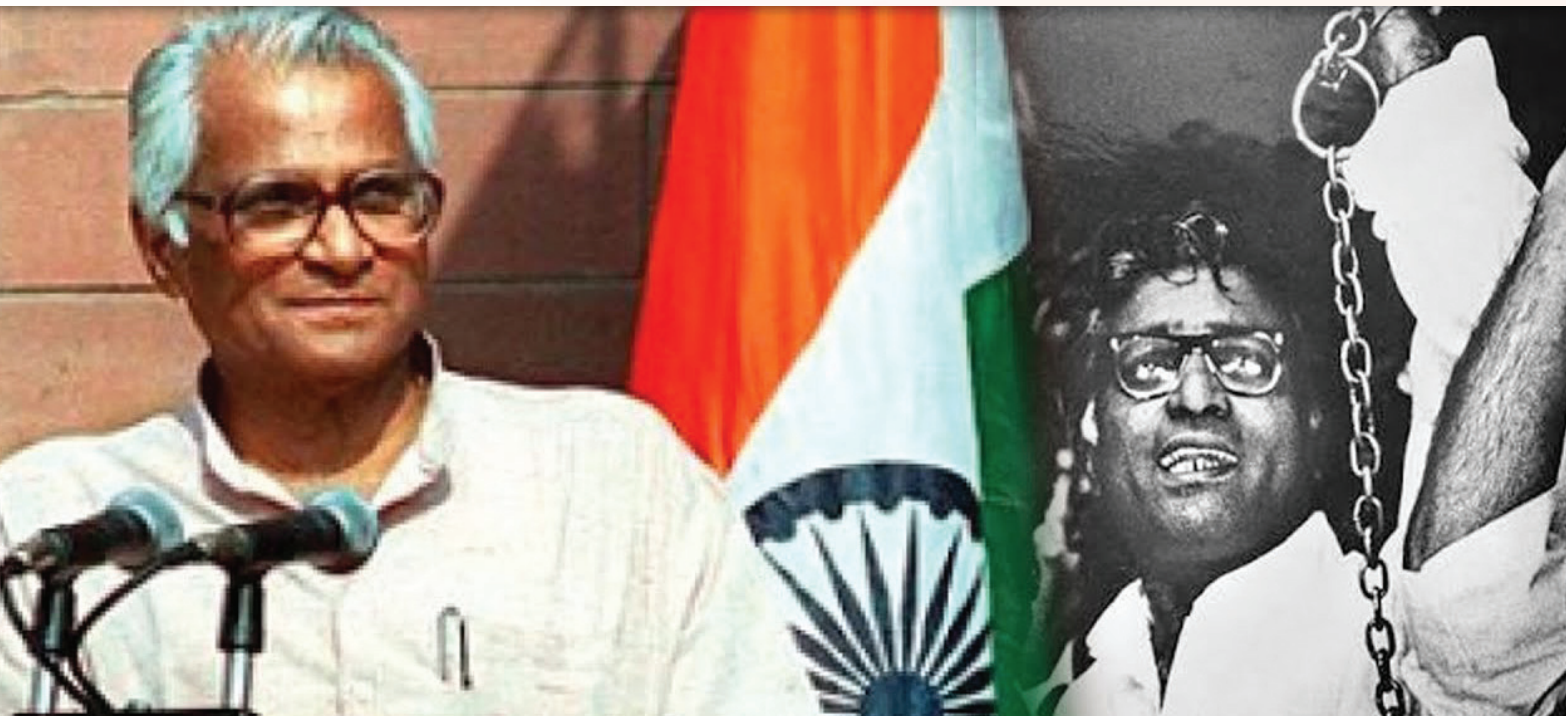
२५. अतुल पटेल, भरत पटेल के भतिजा, जो अंततक दुबई में छुपे हुए थे .

वडोदा डायनामाईट केस के अभियुक्तों का छायाचित्र खडे मुद्रा में : जयराम मोरे, एस.आर. राव., सुरेश वैद्य, पद्मनाभ शेटी, सोमनाथ दूवे, मोतीलाल कनोजिया, गोविंद सोलंकी, सुशील भटनागर .

वैठे मुद्रा में : कमलेश शुक्ला, लाडली मोहन निगम, सि. जी.के. रेड्डी, जॉर्ज फर्नांडिस, विरेन शाह, लक्ष्मण जाधव, महेंद्र नारायण वाजपेयी .

निचे वैठे मुद्रा में : देवेंद्र गुज्जर, विश्वनाथ शेटी आणि गोपाल शेरीगर . कुछ अभियुक्तों का छायाचित्र में नहीं है .

लेखक : अंड पद्मनाभ शेटी . वडोदा डायनामाईट के प्रकरण के सबसे छोटे छात्र अभियुक्त थे . उन्होंने मुंबई लेवर युनियन, हिंद मजदूर किसान पंचायत, डॉ लोहिया समाजवादी विद्यापीठ, इ. में अलग अलग पदों पर लगभग २५ साल काम किये . इस वक्त मुंबई और ठाणे में वकालत कर रहे हैं .



NEW CHALLENGES FOR THE YOUNG WORKING CLASS IN MODERN INDIA

Aniruddha Purushotham

Advocate, Supreme Court

The working class today truly needs a leader like our Comrade George Fernandes. Younger generations remember the life and work of George Fernandes not from firsthand experience, but rather from the pages of history. Our Comrade's campaigns and triumphs in the 20th century were monumental in bringing social and labour reforms. He strongly stood against mistreatment and abuse of the weaker sections of society and demonstrated strength in unity. Unfortunately, the majority of the youth labour force today is fragmented and divided.

Over time, our country has grown and prospered. With economic reform, the government allowed private and foreign participation in many sectors of the economy. This liberalization allowed our nation to become a land of opportunity and saw an exponential rise in the number of commercial ventures. However, this rapid growth resulted in the fragmentation of the labour force and the steady loss of their collective bargaining power. Companies and MNCs attracted the working class with better pay and service conditions. While this was beneficial in the short run, over time the companies and industries began taking advantage of labour fragmentation. Resultantly, service conditions have progressively worsened. Thus, following the economic liberalization of 1991 and rapid



globalization of the 2000s, the economy prospered, profits soared but the working classes suffered.

The Indian labour force, spread across the formalized, informal and unorganized sectors of the economy, is one of the largest in the world. However, due to increasing reliance on technology and a sudden surge in the strength of the labour force, unemployment- for both unskilled labour as well as for the educated youth - is at one of the highest rates in history. As a result, many sections of the labour force are no longer treated as human beings by management, but more like tools and expendable resources that can be discarded at a moment's notice.

The younger working class has neither seen the struggles and triumphs nor realized the importance of defending their rights. This has allowed management and corporate entities to sideline the genuine needs and rights of their workers.

Similarly, the rural and agrarian parts of the country are being neglected. There has been little improvement in the implementation of farming technology and, as a result, the rural economy is weakening. For farmers, the traditional methods of cultivation are no longer viable for them to sustain themselves and their families. Younger agrarian generations, seeing no future for

them in their villages, migrate towards urban parts of the country in search of opportunity. Unaware, timorous and with limited education, they are exploited, subjected to abysmal working conditions for meagre pay. However, rural India is full of potential and the time is ripe for agrarian reform and technological advancement. In furtherance of this, the government has launched several capacity-building initiatives, especially in the agricultural and food-processing sectors. The youth must take advantage of these initiatives and progress forward and tap the potential of their agrarian economy.

Circling back to the issues of the working class in urban India, young workers presently lack guidance. The majority of the present working has never experienced the power of collective bargaining. The youth needs to learn how to gather the masses and stand together as one, especially in emerging sectors of our economy like the IT, Logistics and Transport industries. These industries, where the labour force is primarily young, lacks the practical wisdom and experience of the veteran labour force.

With contractual employment becoming more commonplace, the attrition rate has significantly risen, to such an extent that the workers do not even get a chance to develop familiarity with each other. The new corporate philosophy is that the “workers must be seen and not heard”. The voice of protest is immediately silenced by management, and hostile workers are quickly replaced. Management has compelled workers to feel grateful that they have a job in the first place, and forced them to overlook the difficulties of their service.

The present reality has thus become so grave that members of the young working class no longer believe that they can grow and prosper in their line of service. For them, there is no promise of professional success and they do not share the

belief of the past generations that if they work hard, they can eventually climb the corporate ladder.

The traditional social protection systems, which focused on “jobs for all” and “jobs for life”, are slowly dying out. In the past, social insurance schemes, minimum wage laws, trade unions, bonuses, wage increases, medical cover, unemployment allowances, pension schemes and provident funds covered almost all types of risks faced by workers and allowed them to live a full life. However, this is no longer true today.

Considering the present state of the economy, the future appears bleak for most workers, as job losses are imminent. It is of paramount importance for the younger generations to unify their voices and share in the ideals of equality, democracy, individual freedom, self-realization, and community. Most importantly, workers must actively participate and stand in solidarity towards achieving and realizing these goals.

We are now on the brink of the next big challenge on labour policy. In an attempt to draw foreign investment and improve the ease of doing business, the government has sought to change the present labour law framework. Although streamlining the present complex system of labour laws is a welcome move, it is important that the rights of the working class are not lost in this process. For instance, these new laws should not become a gateway for strengthening the corporate hire-and-fire policy.

While bringing in labour law reforms, the government must also focus more on its capacity building initiatives to train unskilled workers and bring them at par with today's technological demands. Ultimately, the government has to bring the workers into its confidence, make necessary amendments to its labour law reforms, and be able to show that these reforms will improve the

conditions of workers. These reforms should not result in the country becoming a source of cheap labour easily exploitable by foreign companies and entities.

The prosperity of our nation should not be measured by its GDP or its economic growth, but by the quality of life of its citizens. Today, the younger generations in the labour force are in a state of confusion, and are looking towards

veteran leaders to guide them to restore order and secure their rights in the hopes of a better future.

It is in this light that we remember our dear Comrade George Fernandes – the man who truly fought for the people– and we hope that the message of the young and struggling working class is spread across nation.



KASHMIR AND GEORGE FERNANDES

Arun Naik

Writer



I have known George for ages. All of us have. He was always up and about. He was always active. One often wondered whether he ever slept. But now he is sleeping. As if he is making up for all those years when he never slept.

I have been following public figures in India and abroad ever since I was a boy. Those who were alive then were Nehru, Chavan, JP, SM, NathPai, Lohia, MadhuLimaye, Krishna Menon. And George. I've always wondered what they contributed to India in those early days of Independence. And then I start comparing.

George had umpteen interests, as he himself always said. The first one was trade unionism. Mostly in Mumbai. One reads about how Sawarkar dived into the sea at Marseilles. About MadanlalDhingra. About Lohia and JP. About Subhash Chandra Bose when he jumped house arrest in Calcutta and travelled to Peshawar incognito as a Muslim communist. George was in Gopalpur in Orrisa when Indira Gandhi declared Emergency. Well George escaped from Gopalpur-on-Sea as a fisherman, hoodwinking the Police. Overnight he went to Calcutta. And George travelled in North India in an Ambassador car as a bearded and turbaned Sardarji selling cars spare parts. When he was finally arrested in Calcutta, he was living in a church hostel as a mentally deranged old person from Belgaum! Even the priest who took him in was fooled.

One talks about SenapatiBapat and his bomb. George too did it. He planned an armed uprising against the Emergency government of Indira Gandhi with the Baroda Dynamite Case. Real dynamite!

As Railway Minister, George brought in the Konkan Railway. People dreamt about it since Independence: Walawalkar, NathPai, MadhuDandawate. But Only George did it. He took the support of four states. He engaged BimalJalan to work out the finances and Shreedharan to work out the technical aspects. He floated the Konkan Railway bonds which he sold himself by addressing public meetings. The government fell in 11 months. But the Konkan Railway project did not stop. George endeavoured till the end. Even countering the incumbent railway minister.

George also served as Minister in Charge of Kashmir Affairs. It happened this way. Rajiv Gandhi was the leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha. V. P. Singh was the prime minister. A Parliamentary delegation was sent to Kashmir, headed by Rajiv Gandhi. Farookh Abdullah was the chief minister. Jagmohan was the governor. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed was the Union home minister. The delegation was put up in the Dal Lake Palace Hotel for three days. None left the hotel as there was curfew in Srinagar.

Only George vanished and went to a railway guest house. He met terrorists who came with their AK47s. George was not deterred. He negotiated with the terrorists. When the party returned to Delhi, Rajiv Gandhi suggested that George should be given charge of Kashmir. But with Farookh, Mufti and Jagmohan around in key positions, George was not effective.

The Rightists always wanted to remove Article 370 which concerned Kashmir. George had always opposed this. The first NDA government was formed in 1998 and George was the Convenor of NDA. He and Jaswant Singh drafted the Common Minimum Programme for the NDA Government. George was the main force in keeping away the BJP agenda of removal of Article 370. This was like bearding the lion in his own den.

The present government has now removed Article 370. We know the repercussions. George did not allow it to happen then, and he would not have allowed it to happen now. That was the greatness of the man.

The latest controversy about Kashmir is the fleeing of the Kashmiri pandits from the Valley. This happened mostly in the 1990s. As Minister for Kashmir Affairs George was concerned about this and he made efforts to resettle them in Kashmir. He visited Jammu a number of times and assuaged the fears of the Kashmiri pandits. No other leader even thought about this then.

George knew all the languages in India. To quote a source:

Fernandes speaks ten languages—Konkani, English, Hindi, Tulu, Kannada, Marathi, Tamil, Urdu, Malayalam, and Latin. Konkani is his mother tongue. He learnt Marathi and Urdu in jail, and Latin while he was in the seminary in his early youth. He is extremely fluent in Hindi and English.

I've myself heard him speak Tulu, Kannada, Konkani, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, Tamil, Bengali, English. He had even studied Latin. And he wrote in Kannada, Konkani, Marathi, Hindi and English.

As a writer George was a literary stylist. He was very sensitive. I worked with him for over 25 years. I printed the monthly *the OtherSide* and all his later books. I had the task of editing and proofreading his text. I hardly had to do much. The text was so perfect.

George did a lot when it came to Hindu-Muslim riots. He was on the spot in a jiffy. I've worked with him during the 1993 Mumbai riots. In Ahmedabad George emerged as the saviour with the Army in the 2002 Godhra riots.

George was the only leader in India who always concerned himself with everything evil in a variety of fields. A true fighter. I can think of no other today.





*With the best compliments
from*

**HIND MAZDOOR KISAN
PANCHAYAT**





GEORGE FERNANDES
1930-2019

“

One should learn from the past, but one should not live in the past. My concern is to look to the future, learn from the past, and deal with the present.

”

- George Fernandes



गिरते[^] बाल?

बादाम वाले तेल का पोषण#

बजाज आमंड ड्रॉप्स की हर बुन्द में है बादाम का पोषण*,
जो बालों का गिरना करे कम.

3X VITAMIN E*



रचनात्मक चित्रण

[^] बालों के टूटने के कारण उनका गिरना.

[#] स्वीट आमंड ऑयल और विटामिन ई कंटेंट के संदर्भ में.

^{*} 3X विटामिन ई, आम तेल के मुकाबले. अन-ब्रांडेड हेयर ऑयल के संदर्भ में. IMRB कंटार वर्ल्ड पैनल 2018-19 डेटा के अनुसार.