

(Founded by KHASA SUBBA RAU)

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## TWENTY TODAY

R. VENKATARAMAN

WITH THIS current issue, SWARAJYA enters on its 20th year of service to the nation. Looking back over this eventful period of our national history we feel a sense of pride that during all these years SWARAJYA has been a beacon lighting the path to a higher and nobler way of life. The name SWARAJYA brings hallowed memories of the valiant fight against the British imperialism waged by the great patriot, T. Prakasam. Khasa Subba Rau, the founder of the weekly, or Khasa, as he was fondly called by his friends, was a journalist of outstanding integrity, undying patriotism and ardent devotion to the freedom of the press. With a mastery over the language and an inimitable style, Khasa could be devastating or pungent, sarcastic or kind and generous, according to the needs, circumstances and times. He always regaled his readers with the vintage of finest brew. Pothan Joseph and Philip Spratt carried forward Khasa's traditions, enlivened the pages of SWARAJYA and added variety to it. Sri K. Santhanam brought to bear his mature wisdom, vast and varied knowledge and experience, a sobriety and an inoffensive dignified style of writing that not only soothed the frayed tempers of our public life but shed light and lustre in the midst of dust and din.

Whoever was the editor, SWARAJYA was always regarded as Rajaji's paper. The saintly wis-

dom that flowed from his crisp, incisive and epigrammatic sentences, the lacerating wound they caused to those who erred and the fearless and forthright expression of views on all political, social and economic issues they contained gave to SWARAJYA, a weight and importance unequalled by any other paper of its kind in India or abroad. Through his 'Dear Reader' column, he shared his innermost thoughts with his audience and established a holy communion with them. The readers were truly orphaned on the demise of this universal parent. The credit for bringing together such a galaxy of eminent men and enabling the machine to function smoothly and efficiently goes to Sri T. Sadasivam, who obliterates himself from the picture and

always remains in the background. To his managerial talent, the SWARAJYA owes much of its success. Rajaji ensured that SWARAJYA remained at all times a champion of democracy. He was quick to notice deviations from the hard and straight path and condemned them in no uncertain terms. He insisted on a clear line of demarcation between the party and the Government and urged the ruling party through the columns of SWARAJYA not to blur the lines. Under his guidance, SWARAJYA never wavered from its commitment to democracy. Today, grave threats to democracy are looming large on the horizon. Many of the cherished fundamental rights have been put in the cold storage in the name of emergency. Conventions of par-



liamentary democracy are sneered at and trampled upon. We are only left with the shell of democracy, the substance having disappeared long ago. In this context, SWARAJYA pledges itself to fight for

the cherished objective of a real democracy based on individual liberty and dignity of man and seeks the combined support of our people for the achievement of the objectives.

by internal disturbance may be made before the actual occurrence of war or of any such aggression or disturbance if the President is satisfied that there is imminent danger thereof.

## PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY

The President of India, Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, issued a proclamation on June 26 declaring a state of emergency throughout the country.

The following is the text of the proclamation:

"In exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (one), Article 352 of the Constitution, I, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, President of India, by this Proclamation, declare that a grave emergency exists, whereby the security of India is threatened by internal disturbances."

The relevant provisions in the Constitution of India on Emergency say:

Article 352 (1): If the President is satisfied that a grave emergency

exists whereby the security of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbances, he may, by Proclamation, make a declaration to that effect.

(2) A Proclamation issued under Clause (1): (A) may be revoked by a subsequent Proclamation; (B) shall be laid before each House of Parliament; (C) shall cease to operate at the expiration of two months unless before the expiration of that period it has been approved by resolutions of both Houses of Parliament.

(3) A Proclamation of Emergency declaring that the security of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened by war or by external aggression or

## PRESS CENSORSHIP

Simultaneously with the Proclamation of Emergency, the Press in the country has been brought under censorship for the first time since Independence. There was no censorship during the first spell of emergency proclaimed in the wake of the Chinese aggression in 1962. A press advisory system was in operation at the time of the Indo-Pakistan war in 1965.

In a pre-dawn swoop, top non-CPI Opposition leaders and some Congress leaders were arrested on June 26 under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act. In all, over 600 arrests were made in several parts of the country that day.

**We refrain from commenting on the emergency because of press censorship.—Ed.**

## IS OUTLAY ON FAMILY PLANNING UNPRODUCTIVE "EXPENDITURE"?

PROF. L. G. BAPAT

AT A RECENT seminar, Dr R. T. Ravenholt, Director of the Office of Population of the Agency for International Development, expressed disappointment at India's failure to implement her family planning programme vigorously. Our planners concede it when they admit in the Fifth Plan draft (pages 240 and 252) that even the modest Fourth Plan targets of family planning have not been achieved.

### DIVERSION OF RESOURCES

Still, not only enough funds have not been provided in the Fifth Plan, but those earmarked for family planning have been classified as "expenditure", suggesting their unproductiveness. However, both in theory and practice, family planning expenditure is found to be much more

productive than investment in agriculture, industry, etc.

In his theoretical model, Prof. Stephen Enke, an American economist, has shown that in India, the *per capita* income can be raised *much more quickly* by *diverting* some resources to population control. He says: "Resources earmarked for controlling population) will be more effective in raising the *per capita* income over, say, a 10-year period than are resources of equal value invested in traditional development projects."

Prof. Paul Demeny, a French economist, applies the principle of opportunity cost. He compares the two alternatives: investment in family planning and investment in increasing material production. If more is invested in controlling births, there shall be

less sharers in the national income. But less will be available for investment elsewhere. Hence, some material production will be lost. If we invest less in population control, material production will be at a higher level, but there will be more people to be fed too. Opportunity cost of lower births is equal to loss in material production, whereas that of higher production is equal to extra births.

### U.N. PROJECTION

By using an aggregative model, Prof. Demeny concludes that the opportunity cost, namely, forgoing of some production, is much less than the benefits of reduced sharers in the national income. He says: "The economic case in underdeveloped countries is very strong for forgoing, if necessary, large directly productive investments in order to achieve an early substantial reduction in fertility."

What is our own experience? During 1951-69, the actual amount