COLLECTED WORKS OF R.P. SARAF

Volume IV

A collection of his writings from
Internationalist Democratic Viewpoint
(January 1992 - December 1994)

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FOREWORD

Our leader Mr. R.P. Saraf may not be there to guide us today but he has left us a huge ideological treasure house in the form of his writings. To preserve this invaluable legacy, we had avowed to publish the Collected Works of R.P. Saraf, and this volume is the fourth in the series. It is gratifying for us to make it available just a few months after the third volume of the Collected Works of R.P. Saraf was released at Samba on his third death anniversary on June 24, 2012.

Mr. Saraf authored these articles during 1992-95. It was the period during which he had been chesrishing the ideas of Internationalist Democracy along with making attempts to comprehend reality about Nature and Man.

In this endeavour, he put forward a few points for general consideration. The first was that the operational pattern of the human social community had been similar (not the same) to that of other natural processes. It was the pattern of two-sided interaction between Nature and Man and among the social units within the human social community—which led to continuous partial quantitative and qualitative changes in certain processes of Nature and the human social community and, later, at a critical point, to the transformation of one sort of human social community into another. The next was that in the said two-sided interaction, the aspect of unity as well as the aspect of struggle played an equally important role, with each occupying the primary role at one time or the other.

He further maintained that the social relations of domination in the human social community so far had firstly been due to the low level of economic and political development and secondly to Man's gradual evolution from a savage and barbaric culture to a rational, humane culture; and in the present phase, the margin of domination had been coming further down since the development of scientific-technological mechanism and the level of human social community required the peoples participation in

the social process. Furthermore, he inferred from the facts that the nature of Man was bio-social and since both these aspects constituted an integral whole, the one could not be delinked from the other. Still further, he concluded that there was an equation between the quantity and quality of every phenomenon and that quality resided in quantity and vice versa.

Unbelievable things had been happening in the world arena during those years. One superpower, the Soviet Union, had disintegrated. The remaining sole one, the US, was in multiple troubles economically, politically and socially. The West was a house divided in itself. The global economy was in disarray. There was an ethnic upsurge in the world. Religious fundamentalism had been on the rise. It seemed as if disorder was becoming the prevailing global way.

In pursuit of global reality then, Mr. Saraf had understood that the process of the interdependence of countries, stirred up by the new scientific-technological revolution after 1945, had resulted in the transformation of the major human problems—of environment, development, ban on nuclear weapons, disarmament, population growth, poverty, gap between rich and poor countries and people, capital, labour, market, space and oceanic research, etc.—into global ones. But due to man's problem management mechanism remaining national, it was not possible for each single country to solve them individually.

He, therefore, had envisaged that the globalisation of problems demanded new priorities like a total ban on nuclear weapons, linking of disarmament with development, sustainable forms of production and lifestyles, strengthening the UN powers, etc. But the nation-states had not been obliging. Mr. Saraf had realised that the globalisation process needed common initiatives and common responses on different issues, but 178 nation-states functioned through varying devices. This disharmony between the human needs and human responses had been continuously creating various types of disorder, which continued to shake the human community one after the other.

Meanwhile, when the international community, by holding the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in June 1992, took the first step towards a new environmental and developmental international order, Mr. Saraf acknowledged that the event had, “for the first time, placed the issue of environment and development on the world agenda for immediate action, with an added consciousness to protect it from any further degradation.

It provided a new momentum to the environmental movement."

But the Rio Summit had its limitations. Though it highlighted the concept of One Earth-One Human Community, and demanded a new environmental and developmental strategy along with new environmental friendly technology on the basis of sustainable growth, yet it defined this growth as a process that placed Man at the centre of its concerns—thus putting Man permanently in the principal and the Nature in the secondary position. But Mr. Saraf asserted that as both Nature and Man constituted the inseparable twin concerns for human society, sustainable development should be a pro-Nature and pro-People process which, on the one hand, placed Nature and Man at an equal level and, on the other, established a humane, just and fair social order.

Mr. Saraf hihglighted all the above-said issues and many more in the magazine *Internationalist Democratic Viewpoint* (IDVP) of which he was the editor. At the national level too, he delved into political, economic, cultural, diplomatic and defence aspects of India's nation-building. He characterised criminalisation of politics, poverty, centralised polity, communal approach, casteist outlook and double-dealing and manipulative methodology as the seven main features of the national scene that had been threatening the process of India's national unity and modernisation. Accordingly, he suggested taking two basic initiatives—the short and the long-term—for India's systemic reform.

The short-term initiative was aimed at freeing the political process from money and muscle power as well as criminality by ensuring the broadest possible mass involvement. This included: State funding of all types of elections; Barring of election expenditure by all parties and candidates; Granting of the right to recall; Fixing of more than 50% of polled votes for a successful candidate; Making of the parties accountable to the people by ensuring the former's free elections every two years, the authentic auditing of their accounts and delinking of their politics from religion, caste, race, etc.; Amending of the Service Rules, ensuring protection and encouragement to the honest and prescribing stringent punishment for the corrupt and the criminal; and Abrogation of the three undemocratic laws—Official Secrets Act, Contempt of Court Act, and Provisions concerning special privileges to the Legislators—which shielded corruption, criminality and inefficiency in the system.

The long-term initiative, on the other hand, was aimed at updating the national model according to the new national and

global realities, . Its essential elements included: Adoption of a rational humanist approach; Establishment of a federal polity, granting of autonomy to all states, and special status to Punjab, decentralisation of power from top to bottom and resolution of all conflicts through peaceful means; Building of a sustainable development structure, focusing on the qualitative improvement of environment and material and human resources and using a judicious mix-up of market mechanism and state planning; Developing of new behavioural value system, stressing rational thinking and democratic functioning; Pursuing of a peaceful foreign-cum-defence policy, standing for the resolution of all disputes with Pakistan through dialogue, settlement of Jammu-Kashmir problem through joint Indo-Pak control over the state, transforming of the SAARC into a common market and a regional security system, etc.

Several of Mr. Saraf's old formulations, including the above ones, although underwent modifications during the later years, but his most recent viewpoint owed its origin in his past theory and practice. In his last years he had put forward Nature-Human Centric Viewpoint and championed a system that considered environment and man as two top priorities and followed environmental promotion, fair equality, productivity, peoples led democracy and all sided transparency as its basic principles.

During the 3 years, a few other articles also appeared in the IDVP. Some documents—like the "Declaration adopted at the UN Conference on Environment and Development" and "Universal Declaration of Human Rights"—were emulated from the respective international organisations, while others—like "Dunkel Draft by A.V. Ganesan", "Some GATT Related Concepts" and "Referendum and Sovereign Kashmir not Feasible, says US"—were reproduced from the newspapers so as to complement the readers' awareness. A few historical documents regarding Jammu-Kashmir's accession to India were reproduced from the archives which could help the readers to understand Kashmir problem in a correct perspective. All these articles have been added as annexure at the end of this Volume. Sometimes, a few non-party persons too contributed to the IDVP and during 1992-95 period, Prof. Iqbal Ansari from AMU wrote on "Terrorism and Law Enforcement" which too has been produced as an annexure.

In the end, we are grateful to the designer who checked the page make-up and Mr. Mamman Singh who looked at the final pages of this volume. **—Editorial Board**

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