A pressure group must be distinguished from a political party which is concerned with the formation of governmental policies. A political party is concerned with obtaining control over governmental machinery, so that its leaders are in a position to determine public policy guided by party principles. A pressure group, on the other hand, has no aspirations of controlling the machinery of the government, but to influence the process of governmental decision making for the benefit of its members. Unlike the trade union organizations, the business organizations are not controlled by political parties. However, the business organizations do not stand at an equidistance from all political parties. Many groups have close traditional, empirical and even administrative links with parties, which will have them added strength when policies relevant to their group interests are being considered. In modern days the parties also recognize the importance of groups and make direct appeals to them. Formal connections may exist between a political party and pressure groups. While there may be no formal connections, a group may demonstrate its consistent support of a political party by giving the latter financial aid or a group may use its resources to promote the cause of a particular society. Of all the political parties

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1 Sabulal Fadia, *ibid*, pp. 13, p. 21
the Congress in spite of its socialist declarations was the most favoured party of the Indian business. The association of the congress and the business is not a new phenomenon. It has been there since pre-independence days. The principal reason for supporting the congress was the belief that it ensures stability, law and order.

Gujarat till the congress split was governed by one dominant political party and policies and programmes of the congress have a large bearing on governmental actions and decisions. Therefore, groups have to concentrate their energies on the aid and congress working committee for favourable access and recommendations. As in France, so in India, parties and interest groups do not constitute differentiated, autonomous political sub-systems. They interpenetrate one another. There are some parties which more or less, control interest groups e.g. congress party of India at the centre. Till 1970 one-party dominance by congress had influenced the development of Gujarat. But central intervention in congress affairs and Gujarat politics was virtually absent during this period. Political stability with economic development characterised its governmental performance and maintenance of cordial relation with big business houses of the state provided no scope to great public controversy. The whole scenario changed with the turn of the decade around the congress split. Stability both of the government and political varieties got greatly disturbed. The increased impact of the centre and congress High Command, all centered around the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi,
broke open the congress organization for the penetration of the central politics. Gujarat hitherto a thermos model vis-a-vis the national mainstream flowing from New Delhi became now a thermostat model in terms of centre-state relationship. Its open door policies and absence of a farsighted recruitment strategy made congress a melting-pot and a hot-bed of rabid factional powerplay that neither allowed it to enjoy its dominance effectively in spite of a big majority nor allowed it to sit down to the task of performance. Another factor responsible for instability has been the influence exercised by the oil lobby and increasing resort to politics of manipulation by the ruling elite.

**Oil Lobby**

Gujarat produces about 80% of the groundnut produced in the country. The groundnut producers and the oil mill owners, known as the 'Oil Lobby' are comprised mainly of the well off Kunbi-Patidar and some Garasia farmers who dominate the politics of Saurashtra. After the merger of the Saurashtra with Gujarat also, the distance between the dominant group of the main land congressmen led by Morarji Desai and the Saurashtra group remained practically unbridged. This phenomenon was crystallised in the ousting of the Jivraj Ministry (Saurashtra group) in 1963. This group smarted under political eclipse. The same congress leaders of Saurashtra were,

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2 P.N. Sheth, *ibid.* pp. 7, p. xxi
therefore, first to join Congress (R) when it was formed to challenge, "Desai's congress" in Gujarat. In the new Congress, therefore, the Saurashtra group led by Adani had an important place and they are more amenable to the oil lobby of their region. The result is that the oil lobby has increased its influence beyond imagination in post-1970 Congress politics. As a result, governments after governments, irrespective of their party character, found it difficult to resist their demands like export of edible oil or fixation of the prices of groundnut and oil and its lobby. As one high-powered edible-oils executive states "we in the oil trade have our very own Mafia.... There are people in the trade who ignore laws completely, who on occasions carry crores around in attache cases, who have some of the country's best Supreme Court lawyers on their payroll and who could, if they so wished, have anyone bumped off at will........" All this creates dilemma for the governments for as a result of the concession to the oil lobby, the oil prices go up and its supply becomes scarce which in its turn immediately causes consternation among the vast number of consumers and the common people particularly in the urban centres. Gujarat is one state where the price of groundnut oil is as mercurial an issue, politically, as sugar is in neighbouring Maharashtra. "The Chimanbhai Congress Ministry" as one Gujarati pointed out "once fell only because oil prices rose too high." Again the fact that the governments under the President's Rule and Solanki had to change their policy thrice during the three months of November,

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3 Sunday Observer, May 8-14, 1983.
February, 1977 indicates the successful politics of pressure that is played by the dominant forces of Saurashtra. In fact, the powder-peg in the pre-Nav Nirman days was detonated by the sudden price rise and scarcity of the edible oil. Thus, almost every government has to face this dilemma of satisfying the oil lobby of Saurashtra and the consumers need of the common man. And this regularly injects certain amount of instability in State politics of Gujarat.

The second factor giving scope for the interest groups to come closer to political parties, as we have said, is the increasing resort to politics of manipulation by the ruling elite. The function of converting demands into general policy alternatives is called interest aggregation. Before independence, interests were usually aggregated either by the colonial British Government or by the nationalist movement. By the late 1930s the congress party, in its effort to reconcile diverse movements within it, articulated an ideology emphasising a broad socialistic outlook which still guides the party. After independence many of these diverse interests were aggregated by the congress party leadership - or, more accurately by the congress working committee, the congress parliamentary party and the council of ministers. The congress party has constantly been in power and those who wanted to influence government policy had to turn to the congress. Autonomous economic interest groups, such as business and landlords, tried generally to work with the
congress fold especially after 1952 elections. And it is amazingly true that the congress party aggregate myriad diverse interests more effectively than other parties of the world. It is just like an omnibus in which various sections of people are joyfully riding and getting down at convenience whenever their ends are not served. The desire to seek wide spread electoral support compels it to include in its policy package those demands which have very broad popular support and to avoid alienating the most prominent interest groups. In a political culture where the parties aggregate in terms of certain of general considerations, the policy alternatives are likely to be more clear cut and consistent. But in India as also in Gujarat, where a chief objective is the election of partisan candidates the ruling party has a strong incentive toward aggregating at least the most prevalent patterns of demands. Since the ruling party has the means of "distribution of resources" at its command the articulated interests feel spontaneously inclined to aggregate their demands in the party.

The function of leadership recruitment has been the sole prerogative of the political parties but like other functions (particularly decision-making) the interest groups have exerted a great deal of pressure in this field also. The congress party yields to such pressures mainly because it has not contributed to the function of political socialization which it apparently left to the

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4 B.K. Srivastav, ibid. pp. 48, p. 217
pressure groups themselves. The political leaders felt it easier to catch hold of a few group leaders, whom it thought enlightened and potent enough to mobilize the votes in its favour. Contesting and winning elections do not actually mean that the election manifesto of a particular party has been endorsed with the wishes of the people. The citizens have to choose only from amongst those who have come out victorious out of the conflicting group politics. The representatives thus elected are largely concerned with persuading the interests of their respective groups and wangling Ministry, failing which they concentrate on permits, quotas, and licences. Gone are the days of national movement when people joined politics for reasons of power, prestige, patriotism, sacrifice, and rarely for the material gain. Now entering politics generally means entering a career, or otherwise making politics an adjunct of one's professional or business activities. After independence congress was joined by businessmen, rich industrialists and such others who had remained out of the national movement, but who now felt that the party membership would be to their advantage. The congress party has now attracted some businessmen, lawyers and such other professional group leaders, who, in the tradition of British and American parties look upon their political work not as a career but as an avocation.

The caste and group feelings play miracles in the elections in Gujarat. In Gujarat Vidhan Sabha the highest number of representatives are recruited from amongst the agriculturists. They have also got the
highest contesting capacity. This number also includes mostly two
groups - the reserved seats of the scheduled castes and tribes, and
the rich landlords. Even among the scheduled castes and tribes,
their group leaders, who have emerged as the rural power elite, are
recruited as they have a mutual understanding with the caste factional elite. The rich landlords have their bases both in the rural
and urban centres. They are the actual link between the rural men
and the government. The urban economic elite, the industrialists
and big businessmen on the other hand, work for their own economic
interests which cut across caste boundaries. They ignore caste
appeal if it does not coincide with their economic interests. In
that sense, they have become more secular in their political behaviour
and their representation in the assembly is gradually increasing
since 1967.

Table
Businessmen/Agriculturists Representation in
Gujarat Vidhan Sabha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Businessmen</th>
<th>Agriculturists</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-62</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-67</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-71</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8.7</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>12.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-85</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: 1. 'Lokshahina Chabhara', Gujarat Vidhan Sabha, 16 years
(1960-1976); Gujarat Vidhan Sabha Library - Sarkari
Madhyasth Press, Gandhinagar.
2. Sixth Gujarat Vidhan Sabha (1980-85). Parichaya Pustika,
Gujarat Vidhan Sabha Sachivalaya, Gandhinagar 1981.
While in Indian Parliament the percentage of business/industry representation has steadily grown down (in the first Lok Sabha it was as less as 10%), the business/industry representation in Gujarat is comparatively high. It is not our concern here to find out any explanation for this, but it tends to underline that unlike the rest of India, the commercial culture of Gujarat might have given a little more political clout or credibility to the business/industrial elite in Gujarat. There has been fluctuation in the percentage of business representation in the elections of the Vidhan Sabha over the years since 1960.
Similar has been the case for the farmers representation. Both these groups emerge politically significant groups in Gujarat. But the farmers emerge as far more powerful groups which has sustained, political support in growing representation in the Vidhan Sabha.

The farmers constitute a large bulk of the rural society in Gujarat. According to the Land Commission (M.R. Patel Report) it is the middle farmer who constitute the bulk of Gujarat peasantry. Again owing to their participation in the struggle for independence, the farmers as a community have undergone a long period of political socialization eg. their participation in the Satyagrah of Kheda, Ras, Barsad and Mansa which were fought mainly over agricultural issues.

It is in this light of the peculiar role the farmers have acquired in the political life of Gujarat that they seem to overwhelm the business people in political representation. Otherwise, viewed in the overall context, the business representation in Gujarat may be considered significant.
Both during and after elections the groups hold the key to the explanation of much party behaviour. As leaders in the formation of opinion, the parties at election time seek support more assiduously than that of aggregate of individuals. The vote of one individual hardly matters. As such the candidate never cares for an independent educated voter whom he thinks politically unimportant. He catches hold of the headman of every group and every strategic area of his constituency who commands the votes of many mute voters. It is through these headmen that money is distributed among such voters as labourers, scheduled castes and tribes. The candidate is always aloof from such game to avoid legal complications. The campaigners manage for him. In election campaigns this means that the real significance of the platform on which party nominees run for election can be found only in the expressed or implied desires of the groups supporting the candidates. Thus, the control of legislation and rule formation has shifted in large measure from the parties to the lobbies and allied organizations. The voice which political parties hear now is the voice of groups rather than that of political leaders who prefer to speak for the people.

Indian business organizations actively sought to influence the government's policy from the very beginning. The Indian National Congress is the leading and dominating party in Indian politics. It is like an umbrella under which all shades of people with different interests and opinions get together. From the time of the first

5 Babulal Fadil, ibid. pp. 13, p. 23
Civil Disobedience campaigns the internal history of the congress party was the reconciliation of a multitude of special interests and different points of view. After independence the congress ceased to be a movement and has been converted into a recommendatory forum for the governmental organs. The congress working committee, for example, emerged as a "legislature behind the legislature." The working committee is not only the executive of the congress but is a kind of shadow cabinet with more real power and influence than the regular cabinet. It is not wrong that tensions and factions within the congress stimulate and are stimulated by the pressure of outside groups.

A big political leader of the state was once asked as to what exactly was the criterion of giving a congress party ticket. The reply was that it was too simple a logic to judge the ability of a candidate "who can easily win in a particular constituency". And it is here that pressure groups count: Caste, money and personal influences are the qualities that determine the candidature in Gujarat State. When a candidate who is not thrust upon the voters, capturing of votes becomes a tactic rather than a spontaneous exercise of franchise. The election campaign involves a lot of money, men, material and time. The greatest requirement is money. One member of parliament, in speaking about this matter, reflects that one of the critical ways of affecting legislative decisions is that of providing a certain amount of financing for political parties and political candidates. The groups expect that, in return for the outlay, those elected will not
than proceed in the legislature to favour of legislation not wanted by the group. This is not always the way things work out in reality, but it happens often enough to warrant the continuation of this kind of financial support. It is widely understood among group leaders, members of the legislature, political observers almost anyone with a sharp political nose - that single industries and industrial associations make financial contributions to the electoral campaigns of candidates they favour. One businessman of Gujarat puts it in this way: "The industrialist who says he is uninterested in politics will very often be the same one who contributes a considerable sum of money to guarantee that there will be in the legislature a minimum number of representatives who will support the business of the industrialist groups." During the recent elections of the U.P. Assembly, a prominent Hindi Weekly published a general survey of the average money spent by each candidate. The Election Commission specified a limit of Rs. 13,500/- but the way the different parties and their candidates were campaigning it was apparently estimated that no candidate would have spent less than a lakh. The candidate who were capable of exploiting their parties or some other vested interests spent even five lakhs. Legally a MLA is not supposed to earn that much of money in his full tenure of five years. The election campaigns of Gujarat were reported to be equally expensive.

6 Based on personal interview.
Campaign finance is more complex than the saying would indicate. Certainly some campaign contributions are thinly disguised bribes, that is, payments to persons who have the power to exercise official discretion to the advantage of the contributors. More often, however, although the contributor may hope that he will receive a quid pro quo, he has no expectation based on explicit promise. Perhaps even more generally the expectation of reward is not in terms of a specific desired action, it is rather a belief that the general trend of events will be more favourable if one candidate win, rather than another. The contributor pays his money, keeps open an avenue of access and takes his chances. If his own party wins, he feels right-thinking men like himself will regard his problems very sympathetically, and the fact that he has made a campaign contribution will not be held against him. The following empirical analysis will show how during the mid-term poll the businessmen bargained with the government.

"It is alleged by the opposition parties that after the dissolution of the Lok Sabha certain industrialists were granted licences worth Rs. 700 to Rs. 800 crores, so that they could help the ruling party in the mid-term elections. Accordingly, the Chief Election Commissioner directed the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to collect the requisite information on the issue.

7 V. V. Key, ibid. p. 15, p. 526
Dr. Karan Singh, M.P. also put an identical oral question in the Lok Sabha to which the Minister of Industrial Development replied as under:

"With the announcement of the new Licensing Policy in February, 1970, the number of industrial licence applications increased very considerably during the year and a total number of 2226 applications were received besides 807 applications for the licences in respect of industries which required licences after announcement of the new policy. The position of disposal during the period from 27 December, 1970 to March, 1971, showed that 161 letters of intent were issued. 88 licences were also issued in respect of industries which had been delicensed prior to 18th February, 1970."

Thus the statement of the Minister virtually confirmed the allegations. 161 licences were quite unusual and the distribution of these licences was not democratically made. In the matter of issuing licences the big industrial houses were shown special favour in many ways. For example licences were granted to Kasturbhai Lalbhai for his Super Phosphate project, particular parties were intimated and approached in advance about certain projects and asked to apply accordingly after it is already approved. In some other cases while most applications took months and years for final decision, applications
Election funds come mainly from five sources. One source consists of party membership fees, contributions by the candidates and their friends and donations collected from the masses in general. Another source is the community of small traders. The third source is the landed gentry. Money is at times received from foreign agencies as well. But the fifth source is believed to be the most important one, the big business. The exact proportion of contributions from each source is difficult to assess. It is, however, estimated that business provides about 90 per cent of the election funds in India. Business has no systematized method for giving contributions to political parties. Contributions are made in several ways, and the money donated is not always "White." In the early 1970s the industrialists and politicians started utilizing the souvenirs as a means of financing political parties. Corporate advertisements for which the shareholders paid became a major source of funds. Subsequently new channels have been devised. The most important of these ways is the routing of funds to parties through a host of Committees, clubs and ostensibly philanthropic trusts.

8 Charan Singh, 'India's Economic Policy,' The Gandhian Blue Print, p. 64.
The major source of political contributions has been private contributions made directly to individuals collecting funds for the party or to individual candidates themselves. In the early years, the outstanding fund collector from Gujarat was Vallabhai Patel. Later Morarji Desai performed this task. At the state level, it is the Chief Minister who is the supreme collector of party funds.

In Gujarat, the congress appears to have been the biggest beneficiary of big business contributions upto the Lok Sabha election, 1977. Some of the business houses which regularly contribute to congress funds are: Lalbhai group, Ambanis, Jarabhai, Mahendra group, etc.

But this does not mean that business houses do not give funds to other parties. Some leaders of the Janata Party openly admitted that they had received funds from various business houses. Sometimes the election expenditure of some important party leaders are mainly financed by some rich business men of their own constituency.

Individual contributions are also made directly to selected MPs. These MPs are influential members of Parliament who provide easy access to the bureaucracy and particularly to ministers. They were also expected to argue specific cases for particular individuals to provide advice on how to approach government, and to raise questions in parliament that would bring pressure to bear on ministries or on the
bureaucracy. Because of tight party discipline, the financing of individual MP is regarded as a means of accomplishing specific objectives rather than as a way of influencing the formation of larger party policies.

Private business contributions were also used to support selected political figures who approved to have bright future but needed financing to build their career. Aid was channelled in the form of campaign contributions and funds for publicity and supplementary expenses. The hope was that the bright young men who gained positions of authority would be sufficiently grateful to be a major asset to the individuals who had sponsored them.

At the state level, by and large, political contributions stemming from business have been individual, and not collective, and they have been given for individual and not collective benefits—that is to ensure access for the purpose of obtaining an industrial licence, permit, or other such benefits. Elections in India have become progressively more costly over the years, partly because parties must now pay for what was once volunteered. As the memories and loyalties of the nationalist movement fade, the parties must reach the vast electorate through party mechanism rather than through local notables or vote banks. Often one wonders as to how and on whom this big amount of money was spent as apparently in the name of campaign jeeps were seen running helter-skelter, microphone seething in the
bazar, crowd and posters pasted on the walls. Somewhere public meetings were organised incurring the cost of microphones, chairs and dias etc. All these things, even if superfluous, are not very expensive. The real expenditure was so secretly made that unless one had gone in the inner texture of campaign, it was very difficult to be understood. But now it is no more a secret either. The group plays miracles in the elections.¹⁰

A time honoured method of fund collection from industrial corporations and big business is through publication of souvenirs. The method is not illegal and has been widely utilised for humanitarian and cultural causes, but it was converted into a normative system for electioneering and organizational build-up of political parties. A page in the souvenir could cost as much as Rs. 10,000 ostensibly for advertisement. In the 1977 elections, each company was asked by the ruling congress party to buy a number of pages so that a minimum amount of Rs. 1 lakh was made available. The opposition parties are no angels in this regard, but they do lack the strategic advantages of the party in power. It is a common practice to print only a small number of souvenirs to comply with the law governing company donations.

Money and politics have thus an "Adulterous relationship."

In a democracy, all political parties need money. As Mrs. Gandhi in an interview to National Herald said, "It is not true that the congress

¹⁰ B.K. Srivastav, ibid, p. 244
alone gets the money or gives the favours......, we do collect money, but everybody does. While all political parties are guilty of seeking the support of trade and commerce and big business, the party in power has a distinct advantage over others. There is a semblance of collections from individual admirers and ideological adherents, but it is no more than a trickle, who else is in a position to meet the demand willingly or under pressure, than the industrialists and big business men who has much at stake and more to gain. There are persistent allegations that the rice millers in Madhya Pradesh have donated Rs. 52 lakhs to the congress in the expectation of lax enforcement of regulations and rice control for three months in 1974. One estimate from Gujarat State is that the oil extraction plants association has given to congress Rs. 52 lakhs in 1974. The Gujaratis are by nature non-violent. They are good businessmen - captains of industry and trade, with a singular aversion to violence, but due to their prominent position in trade and commerce, it will not be surprising, if there are more white collar offenders among them. Thus Viren Shah from Gujarat (outgoing President of the Indian Merchant Chamber of Commerce) remarks:"can we say that we have not contributed to corruption by bribing those in authority or making clandestine contribution to party funds?"

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11 Ajit Roy, *Political Power in India*, Naya Prakash, p. 61
12 *ibid.* p. 62.
Speaking from the forum to eradication of corruption

Dr. Karan Singh, then Minister for Civil Aviation and Tourism pointed out that elections were becoming so costly that they could be fought only with black money. During the elections of the U.P. Assembly, for which the whole nation's resources at the command of the ruling party were exploited it became the banner news for national dailies that the sugar lords and the groundnut kings of Gujarat were asked to donate liberally to the party funds for the election campaign. Donations, supposed to have been made through black money did not come to public eye but the rewards given to the capitalists certainly caught the eyes of the public.\(^\text{13}\)

We believe in free and fair election but in practice it has become a myth. The political parties receive money from the capitalists to contest elections and in return pay them off in terms of financial gains by conceding to their demands. The political culture reflects itself in the political behaviour of groups which feel that elections may be contested and won mainly by money duly supported by traditional groups of castes and communities.

This vast divergence between the ideal and the action has created a confused, ambiguous, hypocritical and unethical sort of political culture. It has encouraged the view that political

\(^{13}\) B.K. Srivastav, ibid, pp. 48, p. 114
independence had done little more than displacing a foreign with a native privileged group. This privileged group has been mainly responsible for creating many groups and inducting vested interests in the political system through leadership recruitment and associational interests. Most of the legislators do not feel satisfied with only a seat in the house. They crave to sit in the treasury benches, and for this, they have to indulge in factionalism and remain in the vanguard of party politics. They wish to work as support channels to win elections and manoeuvre with the chamber to maintain the majority of their party in legislature.

Generally the side with the most money win in the electoral campaign. The question has arisen here, "Does the side with the larger purse win because of the purse, or does it receive the money because it is in the habit of winning?" There is undoubtedly a little of both elements for as Mr. Vajpayee, President of the Bharatiya Janata Party after his party's defeat in the last Delhi election (February, 1983) said, "Party workers did their best in the campaign, but they could not mobilize enough financial support. Lack of resources with the party became too conspicuous in the light of massive financial support which the congress (I) nominees got during the campaign."
But there are campaigns in which the most generous expenditures would not have turned the tide. The 1977 election was definitely a turning point in the history of voting behaviour that the exclusive economic groups could not play a dominant role in the elections. The electorate virtually without any external aid showed a mettle that the masses of India had a real power to change the government, however, strong and wealthy the persons holding the authority might be. Furthermore, the recent state elections in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu have also proved that the most potent factor in changing the minds of voters is not expensive publicity but the personal and individual appeal of the party worker or other partisans of the candidate. It may be that the most inexpensive type of political propaganda may outweigh heavy expenditures.

It need not be supposed that the power of wealth is the only means of gaining influence in party councils and in the formulations of public policy. The rise of agricultural groups to a position of great power in party activities and in government of Gujarat itself has not been accomplished by means of lavish campaign contributions by agrarians. Labour, similarly achieved considerable influence long before it became of importance in party finance.

In weighing the significance of campaign finance it is also well to place the problem in a larger setting. Campaign finance is merely one aspect of the broader issue of access to the electorate
through media of communication. The sympathetic support of those controlling the mass media - the press, radio, television - plays during and between the campaign a significant part in the battle for the control of men's mind. Moreover, the events between campaign often far outweigh the tumult of the campaign in conditioning the attitude of the voters. Those events may fall quite impartially, aiding or hindering candidates and parties without much regard to the length of their purse.

Besides financial assistance another pre-independence tradition which has survived to become a means of securing access is the provision of hospitality and services to political leaders. Business houses in India maintain guest bungalows in various parts of the country. These bungalows provide facilities that are appreciated by touring Ministers. Perhaps the most elaborate hospitality is provided during meetings of AICC and Annual sessions of the congress party. Indian business provides funds for setting these tamashas, feeding the ordinary delegates, supplying fleets of vehicles for party use, and also provides accommodation for VIPs, including chief ministers and members of the cabinet and council of ministers. 14

Perhaps even more important is the patronage which business is capable of providing to the sons and nephews of those in power. Some of the most prominent examples of such employment are found in...
the families of Union Ministers like S.K. Patil and Morarji Desai. At the time when S.K. Patil was a Minister, his son was employed by the Times of India in their circulation department and his son-in-law was employed by Birla. Morarji Desai's son Kanti Desai was employed for some time by a foreign firm run by one Shri P.N. Balasubramaniam. On 11.6.1979, he is reported to have written a letter to his advocate Shri R.K. Garg to the effect that he had connections -business and political with Shri Kanti Desai for the last two decades and that on account of his ill health, he had stopped his business, but continued to pay him a salary despite the fact that he had ceased working for the firm and had become a private secretary to his father. When the Janata government was formed in 1977, under the guidance of his friend Kanti Desai, the same Sri P.N. Balasubramaniam re-started his business and became quite rich.\footnote{S.V. Rao, 'Crime in our Society,' Vikas Publishing House, 1983 p. 28.}

Sri C.B. Gupta, treasurer of the Janata Party publicly admitted that on his authority, Kantilal Desai had collected huge funds in the name of the Janata Party. Till today neither the names of the donors nor the actual amounts have been disclosed.\footnote{Ibid.}

It may be pointed out here that this pattern of party finances and hospitality being supplied by business people is not peculiar to Gujarat or India, as such. It has been noticed in many other countries...
like the US, Britain, Japan and Germany. It may perhaps be said that, with the exception of the socialist countries for obvious reasons, the "story is in fact monotonously the same everywhere." But "nowhere in the world is corruption as widely discussed as it is in India," says S. N. Karhoney. Yet many of the devices used by business for maintaining access to ministers serve more on conflict of interest than outright corruption. After the Fourth General Election of 1967, most of groups, however, adopted a neutral attitude towards the political parties. They realised that if they identify themselves more with the congress party, they may lose their influence on the government if the other party comes to power. Even among the committed groups the tendency now is to rely less on party connections and more on governmental consultations, no matter which party is in power in order to safeguard their interests. Thus, the business groups rely more on constitutional consultations with the government now than in their connections with the congress and other political parties.