

Freedom First

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NUMBER 385

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Deliver the Goods?**
Subramaniam Swamy



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M. V. Kamath

What About The Software?
Govind Talwalkar

QUARTERLY ESSAY **What is Liberalism?** Minoo Masani

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A Quarterly of Liberal Ideas

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AFTER a 32-year innings as a monthly, *Freedom First*, beginning this issue, turns Quarterly. This change, as we explained in our last issue, has been prompted primarily by a desire on our part to provide better and more varied fare to our readers. We hope we shall succeed in achieving this modest objective and in making *Freedom First* a really effective voice for freedom.

We are, as our masthead proclaims, a Quarterly of Liberal Ideas. But what do we mean by Liberalism? Nothing could be more appropriate, we thought, than letting our founder and that doyen of Liberalism in India, Minoo Masani, explain this vital concept in a seminal essay which will be the first of a regular series by various writers in *Freedom First*.

We invite readers to send us their comments on this issue and suggestions to make the journal interesting as well as instructive.

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With Many Voices

*"The deep moans round with many voices. Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world"—Tennyson.*

No amount of exchange control can prevent currency moving around the world.

Mrs. Margaret Thatcher
The Times, London
January 31

The right way of dealing with Russia's likely tactics in the new round of nuclear jaw-jaw will be snore-snore.

The Economist
January 12

Rajiv Gandhi is the Prime Minister to serve the people of the country. I am Chief Minister to serve the people of my State. Where is the contradiction?

Ramakrishna Hegde, *India Today*, March 31

Opposition and dissent are far removed from treason.

Indian Express, March 9, '85

I love the Indian people. They're very subservient. They're very emotional people. They whine a lot.

Melvin Belli, American lawyer, quoted in
India Today, March 31

There used to be a time when individuals distinguished themselves in public life and were then ultimately anointed by office. Now they alight in office and we are left to pray and hope that they have the stuff in them.

Arun Shourie
Times of India,
January 13

A professional politician in India does not change his mind, he changes his Party. He shifts one area of monologue for another.

James Cameron in "An Indian Summer"
—*Debonair*, March 1985

The absence of MGR has had consequences which cannot be described as anything but bizarre, unthinkable even in the absurd scenarios produced by our absurd film industry.

Quark
Times of India
January 13

We are learning to throw out bad governments through elections but we have not been able to install good governments through them.

Arun Shourie
Times of India,
January 13

Every State, one imagines, is waiting for a credible leader—no matter what his party.

—Janardhan Thakur, *The Week*, March 17-23

How can a man who is afraid of even a lizard work against the country?

Mrs. Geeta Narain, wife of
Mr. Coomarr Narain,
The Sunday Observer,
February 17

Industrialists have always known that they are more pampered rather than hampered by the licensing system.

—L. K. Jha, *India Today*, March 15

Of Cabbages & Kings

The Shahenshah Complex

COMMENTING on the results of the Assembly elections, Mr. H. K. Dua, political correspondent of the *Indian Express* (March 7, 1985) observed: "The Congress (I)'s carefully articulated thesis of one-party State has been rejected by the voter." Earlier, addressing an election meeting in Bombay on February 25, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi "clarified that when he said that there should be governments at the Centre and in the States of the same Party to ensure faster progress, he did not mean that there should be one-party rule as in communist countries." (*Indian Express*, February 26, 1985).

The Prime Minister's clarification is welcome, though his recipe for "faster progress" bodes ill for the future of Centre-State relations. And yet, barring perhaps the late Lal Bahadur Shastri, every other Prime Minister including the one during the Janata interregnum, has directly or through implication sought governments of the same complexion at the Centre and in the States. The Delhi *gaddi* obviously afflicts its occupier with the Shahenshah complex!

If the northern belt voted for Rajiv Gandhi in the absence of any noteworthy personality in the Congress (I) or from among the Opposition parties, the South voted their favourite sons in. The need is for the Prime Minister to accept the electorate's verdict and not get involved in manipulative politics. It would have been statesmanlike and a harbinger of friendly relations if the Prime Minister had publicly congratulated NTR and Ramakrishna Hegde. At the time of writing (three days after the results were announced) there is no mention anywhere of the Prime Minister having done any such thing.

In the heat of the campaign perhaps, the Prime Minister made many unkind remarks and said things that do not behove a gentleman. We trust these remarks were nothing more than debating points, base as some of them were, and now that the elections are behind him will seek to build bridges and work towards a national consensus, at least on issues that transcend narrow political considerations. Above all, the Prime Minister in his oft-repeated statement has

"the time has come," the
walrus said,
"to talk of many things:
of shoes-and ships-
and sealing wax-
of cabbages -
and kings -"

- Lewis Carroll



expressed his determination to introduce a new public culture. The first step towards realising such an objective would be recognise that India, even while being a single nation has within its national boundaries, such diversity that any attempt to force Delhi's views down the throat of States particularly those ruled by other parties would be counter-productive.

Neither his grandfather nor his mother enjoyed the kind of near-universal goodwill that Rajiv Gandhi enjoys. It would be tragic for the country if he blows it.

—SVR

Of Spies And Double Standards

BY NOW the double standards characterising our Soviet-backed media have almost passed into a byword. Further proof of the lengths to which even leading newspapers are willing to go in ingratiating themselves with the denizens of the Kremlin is provided by their coverage of the recent spy scandal in New Delhi.

When the scandal first erupted, there was an orgy of anti-Western sentiment in the press which lost no time in condemning the 'sordid role' of the American Central Intelligence Agency in the affair. This, at a time when official investigations had barely begun and not the slightest proof existed of the CIA's involvement, direct or indirect. The cocksureness with which edit page writers and columnists asserted that the ultimate destination of the leaked documents was the vile West (and through it, Pakistan) was truly astounding.

Then came the sensational revelations about the role of the Eastern Bloc nations in the scandal. And lo and behold, the selfsame papers which had raved and ranted over the 'chilling' implications of Western involvement, changed their tune almost overnight. *The Times of India*, in characteristic fashion, went so

far as to castigate the Indian government in an editorial which remains unparalleled for its casuistry.

"If the government is justified in being angry at anyone, it has to be angry with itself," pontificated the *Times*, in whose learned opinion the Prime Minister erred grievously in raising the issue of Polish involvement in the scandal with Gen. Jaruzelski during the latter's recent visit to India. "The discovery of an espionage case has to be handled discreetly as if an important state secret is being protected," said the paper which only a few days back had upbraided the government for not "clearing the air" and keeping back "authentic information on what the government knows or suspects."

Seasoned media-watchers will, of course, find nothing new or novel about such behaviour on the part of some of our national newspapers. Didn't we, after all, witness similar cant in the media's handling of the Hardgrave affair or the Bhopal tragedy, to name only two recent examples?

—KSV

Do Our Voters Know Their Onions?

A GOOD FRIEND, a politician to boot, responded thus to the results of the Assembly elections: "I must say our voters know their onions!"

Do they indeed?

We are filled with pride when we hear the remark that 'India is the world's largest democracy.' That we are. But have we progressed qualitatively? Have our voters acquired the ability to discriminate between candidates. Can our voters exercise their franchise on the basis of a candidate's record of public life? Are our voters still capable of being herded into vote-banks in our cities and villages by slum-lords or caste leaders? We could fill a whole page with similar questions and the answer would still be that while there is a qualitative improvement when compared to earlier elections the progress is however very slow. Our instincts are getting honed but we still lack the sophistication to make mature political choices. For our democracy to take deep qualitative roots what is needed is a continuing education of our people that in choosing our representatives its our mind and not our heart that should decide, its issues and not personalities that are important. Here is a task for India's liberals.

—SVR

Drugs: The Cost of Over-regulation

NOT SO long ago the American Enterprise Institute sponsored an important study on the regulation of pharmaceuticals, with special reference to the attendant costs and benefits of such regulation. The results of the study, conducted by Henry G. Grabowski and John M. Vernon, have subsequently been published and they more than justify the apprehensions voiced by several observers of the industry. US patients, says the report, have had to forgo significant health benefits because of regulatory delays while the benefits they obtained from their reduced exposure to risk were only marginal.

While there can be no gainsaying that regulation in this field poses far more intractable problems than in any other, it also generates a lot of irrational, largely emotive, responses from the lay public. This has been seized upon by diverse activist groups, some of which are plainly antithetical to industry as a whole, to destroy the very viability of the leading pharmaceutical companies.

A new publication just released in London examines in detail the characteristics, motivations, declared aims, strategies, achievements, and strengths and weaknesses of some fourteen of these activist groups. Entitled *Bitter Pills: The Right Kind of Medicine* (Scrip Bookshop: £185), it also reviews the industry's response at various levels and suggests an action programme to combat the growing influence of the groups.

Pharmaceutical producers should, says the report, adopt a 'horse-sense' approach. Primarily, they should ensure that their own system for self-regulation (e.g. the IFPMA Code) is effective. Industry spokesmen should also improve the quality of their responses to activist arguments, especially "by accepting the credo that the aim of the industry is good health and good treatment for illness rather than the sale of products."

Whether such a strategy will work is difficult to predict. Given the highly sophisticated methods being used by the activists and the sizeable support they have been able to draw from official bodies like the UN and its various agencies on an international scale, industry will have to evolve more ingenious methods of countering the attack.

—KSV

Can Rajiv Deliver the Goods?

Subramaniam Swamy

MR. RAJIV GANDHI is barely 41 years old, and hardly four years in politics. Yet by a stroke of fate, he has become the Prime Minister of India, a nation of 730 million people. The question therefore that is uppermost in the minds of the people is whether he can deliver the goods. His mother, Mrs. Gandhi was 30 years in politics before she became Prime Minister, and despite a long tenure of 16 years as PM, she failed to deliver the goods.

The odds are thus against Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. However, on the other hand, the expectations that the young Prime Minister has raised are so high and so much out of proportion to his tested ability, that I wonder whether the people are just simpletons or that they have some intuitive insight that makes them feel that Rajiv Gandhi indeed has some magical capacity to perform upto their expectations. Time alone will tell how justified they are in their belief. However that may be, it would be instructive to look at the plusses and minuses of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's situation and arrive at an overall assessment of whether he is in a position to satisfy the aspirations of the people.

A Three-Dimensional Framework

The main problem with the new Prime Minister is his lack of a clear framework within which he should work. A framework for the PM has three dimensions—ideological, government / administrative style and party control. Take the first dimension: What are Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's ideological moorings? Mrs. Gandhi had some clear notions, whether out of conviction or convenience. One was that Government must have the dominant control of economic decision-making even in the private corporate sector. In her scheme of things therefore, high taxes, MRTP, export canalization, and even black money had a definite place. Does Mr. Gandhi want the same? From his speeches one discerns that he does not, but then he can get away from his mother's legacy only by a major shift in economic policies towards a market economic system. There is no concrete indication from the new Prime Minister that he wants to do that. In fact, the recent raids of the income-tax department suggest that he wants to combat black money in the same old way and not by tax reform. His mother had used these raids to terrorize the business community and not to curb black money.

Similarly on the question of foreign policy, Mrs. Gandhi had a clear notion that the policy would clearly and definitely tilt towards the Soviet Union. No action of the USSR would be criticized. If the Americans sent troops to Grenada, or the Israelis crossed into Lebanon, a strong condemnation would be issued by India. But if the Russians occupied Afghanistan or Vietnam crossed into Kampuchea then there would be no criticism. In fact there would be an "understanding of the compulsions" of a "true friend", the Soviet Union. The Pakistan-baiting of Mrs. Gandhi fitted well with this tilt. But what is Rajiv Gandhi's concept? There is an impression in New Delhi that he will be less pro-Soviet than his mother. There is however no substantive basis for this impression. True the new Prime Minister was educated in England, loves technological gadgetry, and has an Italian wife. That may draw him closer to Western Europe emotionally, but there are no definite indications of his inclination yet. In fact his Pakistan-baiting is as bad as his mother's. And there can be no safe correction of our Soviet tilt unless Indo-Pak relations are markedly improved.

Thus on the ideological plane I do not find any clarity in the new Prime Minister's thinking. Except for some tentative impressions there is no substantive change apparent in either his economic or foreign policies. My suspicion is that because the new Prime Minister's economic and foreign policy advisers are the same timid group that his mother had relied upon, he cannot effect any real change with these hand-me-down advisers. However, the continuation of Mrs. Gandhi's policies will mean that the new Prime Minister will not be able to deliver any more goods than his mother was able to which in any case was not much.

Dealing with the Bureaucracy

As for administrative style, the new Prime Minister has displayed no acumen whatsoever. Some heads have rolled, but not because Rajiv Gandhi knows what he wants. These heads have rolled because of the spy scandal. Here, too, the new Prime Minister is ambivalent. He accepted the resignation of Mr. P. C. Alexander because of "a grave moral responsibility" that necessitated it, and yet in a recent interview to *Blitz*, he dismissed the spy scandal itself as nothing

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more serious than industrial espionage without grave national security implications. There is therefore a feeling in Delhi that the PM has used the spy scandal to get rid of officials he did not personally like. Such a feeling, even if unfounded, has a dangerous demoralizing effect. The PM should take a cue from Sardar Patel who utilized the talents of the ICS and obtained loyalty with fervour. Never keep the bureaucrats guessing, because then they play safe and become idle. Verily, an idle bureaucrat's mind is a devil's workshop. As of now, in New Delhi bureaucrats feel that Rajiv Gandhi has a "hit list", and nobody knows who is on it. They are all sitting in Delhi and going "mutter, mutter" like old widows. In my opinion, the failure of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to develop an administrative ethos will seriously hamper him in delivering the goods.

Finally, there is the question of the Party. It is in this dimension that the new PM is weakest. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi wants to convert a party which under Sanjay had become a *dharmashala* for criminals, hijackers and bootleggers to a streamlined corporate organization. That is a tall order, because the Congress is a mass organization and functions phlegmatically. But the more difficult problem is that Mr. Gandhi has been in politics only four years. Therefore, how does he know who is a shady character and who is not? And whose

information is he going to rely on for it? In the Lok Sabha elections, the Congress (I) denied a ticket to a sitting MP, Xavier Arakkal from Cochin, and gave it to a "blankety blank". Arakkal is a highly educated honest young lawyer, with teaching experience in a US university. Rajiv Gandhi knew about all this. Similarly in the Mulund suburb of Bombay, the Congress (I) has given the assembly ticket to a well known bootlegger of Bhandup. Examples such as these are too numerous to be dismissed as aberrations. Furthermore, in U.P. and Bihar, 40 per cent of the tickets have been given to relatives of party functionaries. Just 90 families have cornered these seats. Thus, the party may well turn out to be Rajiv Gandhi's nemesis. The PM's political inexperience may be his undoing.

In my personal meetings with Rajiv Gandhi, I found him a polite and genuinely motivated person. But that was before he became PM. Now with the bandwagon rolling, and the driver having no past experience of the terrain, God only knows how it will end. Right now the sun is shining and the landscape is clear. But nightfall is sure to come. Then the bandwagon can roll out of control.

Dr. Subramaniam Swamy is a former Member of Parliament.

Delhi Riots—the Basic Issues

Minoo Masani

THREE reputable organisations have now published their reports about the massacre of Sikhs in Delhi on October 31, 1984, and the following days. These are the PUCL-PUDR report released by Mr. Gobind Mukhoty and Mr. Rajni Kothari, the Citizens for Democracy report released by Mr. V. M. Tarkunde and the report of the Citizens' Commission consisting of former Chief Justice Sikri, Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal, former Foreign Secretary, Mr. Badr-ud-din Tyabji, former Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Gobind Narain, former Governor of Karnataka, and Mr. T. C. A. Srinivasvaradan, former Home Secretary.

All three reports have come to the conclusion that it was a "politically-sponsored massacre" and pre-determined conspiracy and that some members of the Congress (I) Party were among the culprits. All three reports paint an extremely ugly picture.

While the first two name Congress (I) elements in Delhi, the third report abstains from doing so. When

the question was raised in Parliament, the Government refused to order a judicial enquiry into these allegations. The Prime Minister said in an interview to a newsmagazine: "It would raise issues which are really dead". That unfortunately is not true. There are at least two basic issues that a public enquiry can consider. First, were the riots instigated or abetted by people in positions of power? Secondly, did the authorities charged with law and order do all that they should have to maintain the peace?

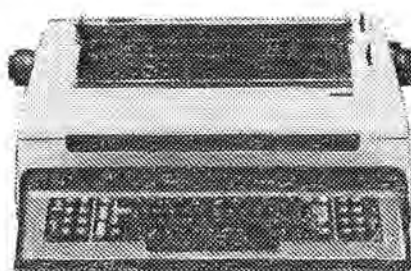
It is sad that the Prime Minister, by his surprising refusal to have a judicial enquiry, is creating an impression among the public in general that several senior Congressmen in Delhi including one of his own Cabinet Ministers were privy to such crimes as murder and arson! What a pity such an attitude should make it more and more difficult for people to believe that the new Government has made "a good start".

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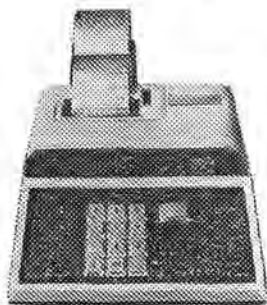
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What About the Software ?

Govind Talwalkar

THE results of the elections to the Legislative Assemblies will have been out by the time this article appears. It can safely be predicted that, except in one or two States, the Congress (I) will emerge with comfortable majorities in all the State Assemblies thereby confirming the massive mandate received by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in the parliamentary elections earlier this year.

The main theme of the ruling party's campaign this time was to have Congress (I) ministries both in the States and at the Centre. By and large, this will have been achieved. It was constantly suggested that States under Opposition rule could not get along well with the Centre with the result that the onward march of national development was thwarted. In the post independence era, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan had Congress ministries barring some years of Opposition rule. But the Hindi belt has not done well or better than, say, Punjab or Tamil Nadu. So this theory of a unified political set up all over the country does not hold water.

In the last three months Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has taken some steps which have aroused hopes and expectations. Sometimes, of course these are exaggerated. Mr. Gandhi dispensed with some persons in his secretariat who were too big for their boots. About seventy ministers in the erstwhile State Ministries did not get tickets as also about a thousand legislators. Chiefs of three nationalised banks were dismissed. The spy scandal has taken its toll. All these have helped Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to enhance his image as 'Mr. Clean'.

The Challenges before Rajiv Gandhi

Now with Assembly elections behind him, the Prime Minister and his government will have to tackle urgent political and economic problems. On the political side, Punjab and Assam are crying for solution. Both of them require sagacity and magnanimity of spirit.

The Prime Minister is credited with a vision to modernise the economy and society. One would wish him well. As this article is written before the presentation of the Central Budget one cannot be aware of the kind of fiscal measures which the government desires to adopt. But the views the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister have expressed so far, indicate that constraints on the economy would be loosened.

Mr. Gandhi has said that the 1980s are not the 1950s and our thinking will have to be changed. One hopes he will follow up on this. He also wants to give a great boost to electronics as he rightly thinks that this is an age of electronics and we should not be left behind. Electronics have ushered in a new era; it is nothing short of a revolution.

Government is keen to give concessions to the electronic and other industries. New machinery will be imported or manufactured. These in turn will require new techniques and technicians. And this is where the rub lies.

What About the Software?

We may import hardware or even manufacture them here but what about the software, i.e. the people with the required skill and the necessary outlook? Most of the ministers, both at the Centre and the States, as well as the bureaucrats are incapable of new thinking. It is no use blaming the politicians all the while as bureaucrats have also played havoc with the economy. Mr. Nani Palkhivala has over the years eloquently explained how the bureaucrats have either through ignorance or wilfully framed rules and regulations which no sane person would have thought of. It is one thing to dismiss or transfer officials but quite another to change their narrow outlook. The economy is to be freed not only from restraints but also from the clutches of petty-minded *babus*.

If we are to 'go electronic' then a massive programme of training in the use of new machines will have to be undertaken. The French government has recently launched one such programme. The facility of communication by satellite should be used to teach lessons to students all over the country. These lessons must be prepared by the best available teachers so that every one gets the benefit of their expertise. This will also pave the way to encourage the idea of excellence. This method of instruction by television will save money. About fifteen years back I had seen this experiment in Glasgow which deserves to be followed here.

Do Away with Needless Restrictions

The Prime Minister has talked about cleaning the electoral system and dealing with the menace of black

money. If he means business let him start with legislation allowing the corporate sector to donate to political parties. An 'election tax' should be imposed so that a separate fund is created to finance elections. As with the Federal Republic of Germany political parties should be allotted money from this fund according to their voting strength. Whatever black money is in circulation may be allowed to be deposited in the banks without going into its source. This way, the Government will also benefit considerably. If earned income is not taxed heavily and is permitted to be enjoyed there will be far less temptation to conceal.

Doing away with various unnecessary restrictions and regulatory policies will free the economy. This will, in turn, break the hold of dishonest businessmen, politicians and bureaucrats. But then the government will lose much of its power. The Prime Minister and his party will have to be prepared for this. I do not think that these measures will loosen the hold of the Prime Minister as an individual or collectively as the head of a party. On the contrary he will be acclaimed as the leader of a real new age about which he speaks so often.

The Prime Minister will be well advised not to think that the government has to be the agency which gene-

rates all-round development. People will have to be on their own, and given the opportunity, they will not lag behind. Both the politicians and the people will have to adopt a new outlook. In this connection it is worthwhile comparing Reagan's America with Thatcher's Britain. Both are for monetarism. But England is now the sick man of Europe as the people, especially the workers and their leaders, do not change. In our country, too if new technologies are imported and there is no accompanying change in attitudes we will be foredoomed to failure.

We have to function in a democratic set up unlike Singapore or South Korea where there is tremendous economic growth but where the legitimate Opposition is curbed. It is not easy for any politician to function in our democratic set up and bring the country forward to the threshold of the 21st century. But politically and otherwise the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is favourably placed and it is upto him to make the best use of the opportunities available to him. He will have to lay stress not only on modern hardware but show an equal awareness of the need for appropriate software.

Mr. Govind Talwalkar is editor of the Maharashtra Times.



This picture of Laxmi is from the Glaxo audio-visual "Let My Child See" on Xerophthalmia.

Glaxo in its contribution to disease prevention has especially devised audio-visual productions (slide-sound presentations) for public health education in urban slums and villages. The diseases covered are TB, Xerophthalmia (blinding malnutrition), home remedies for diarrhoeas and fevers, immunisation and nutrition.

The Ministry of Health and Family Welfare of the Government of India in its Statement on National Health Policy emphasizes that there will be only marginal results in health programmes "unless nation-wide strategies are launched to provide health information in easily understandable form, to motivate the development of an attitude for healthy living".

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RADEUS/G/1 83

Freezing the 400

Minoo Masani

(The anti-defection Bill is now law having received the President's assent. But the last word on this subject has not yet been said, for, as Mr. Masani observes in the following piece reproduced from *The Statesman*, morality cannot be legalised upon.)

IN MY view, the anti-defection Bill is a disaster and the way it was rushed through Parliament a disgrace. Let me explain.

I for one have never, even when I was in Parliament, supported legislation to curb defection. I happen to believe as a liberal that there are definite limits to the process of making people good by law. Defection, however unpleasant, is a mere symptom of corruption and lack of character. As every doctor knows, fighting a symptom is no way to cure a disease. The real punishment for a defector is the social boycott. If such a man is shunned by the people in his constituency, not invited to their homes, not greeted in the streets, and in general "sent to Coventry", defection will cease to be fashionable. In principle therefore, such legislation is misplaced and certainly will not raise the low level of public morality of which it is a symptom.

The Bill that was rushed through Parliament at the end of January suffers in addition from numerous concrete defects. For lack of space, I can list only a few:

1. For the first time since Independence, political parties—and what a miserable lot they are—which are unknown to the Constitution are given statutory recognition. Among real democracies, it is only in the USA that the Republican and Democratic parties were given such recognition, but the law also provides for primaries and other forms of internal democracy. In this country, almost all parties are self-appointed coteries. Once you start recognising political parties by law, you take the first step away from democracy and towards an authoritarian system where some parties are "licensed" and others are not.
2. Members of Parliament are now placed at the mercy of their own bosses and caucuses who are even more corrupt than the rank and file. No wonder the leaders of discredited Opposition groups who are now placed on a pedestal rushed forward to support the Bill in Parliament.

3. Edmund Burke had rightly argued that Members of Parliament were not mere delegates but have their consciences to consult. This Bill reduces an MP to a mere voting machine. It is good that even Congress (I) Members of Parliament at their meeting on January 30 stopped the Prime Minister from leading them even further down the slope.
4. The Bill contains no provision for a Member of Parliament whose conscience leads him as it well might, to defy his party *diktat* and not even the right to abstain, which British parties concede to their members, is accepted.
5. The Bill requires the concurrence of the majority of State legislatures and, without such concurrence it is invalid. The President would be well advised not to give his consent to this measure unless this is first done.
6. The view of the Election Commission that no amendment of the Constitution was required has been ignored.
7. Most outrageous of all, the jurisdiction of the courts to protect the Member of Parliament from a "kangaroo court" of the party is excluded and the decision of the Speaker or presiding authority who is normally a party stooge is to be final.

No wonder a Bill of this dubious nature had to be rushed through Parliament before public opinion could be roused to its real character.

The record of the Congress (I) which has sponsored the Bill is not one to inspire confidence. This is the party that induced defections in Sikkim, Kashmir and Andhra only a few months ago. This is the party that welcomed defectors to its fold in Manipur and Meghalaya even as the Bill was before Parliament. Can one be blamed therefore for suspecting that the real motive behind the Bill is to "freeze" the 400 members in the Lok Sabha for the next five years? One is reminded of the old Hindustani saying "*Billi sou chua kha ke haj par gayi*" (The cat having swallowed a hundred mice, now goes on a pilgrimage.)

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The Agony of Ethiopia

Rama Swarup

ALTHOUGH chronic drought has been the major contributing factor to the famine now ravaging Ethiopia, acts of men have transformed this into a calamity. Adverse weather conditions set the stage for Ethiopia's disaster, but it is the political priorities of Ethiopia's dictator, Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, that have crippled Ethiopian agriculture and reduced its ability to cope with the drought.

Since seizing power in a 1974 military coup, Mengistu has outlawed traditional agricultural practices and severely disrupted peasant patterns of food production without providing a workable alternative. He instituted a land reform under the slogan "land to the tiller" but installed a fixed price system that drained the tiller's motivation to produce and market food surpluses. The State kept farm prices artificially low to hold down the costs of feeding the burgeoning Ethiopian Army, now the largest in black Africa with 250,000 troops.

The Mengistu regime channels 90 per cent of agricultural investment into inefficient state farms that produce only 6 per cent of the nation's grain. Virtually no land has been irrigated, and little has been done to correct such environmentally destructive practices as deforestation and overgrazing that accelerate soil erosion and degrade agricultural productivity. Marxist rule drove thousands of talented technocrats into exile, including agricultural scientists whose Western training made them suspect in the eyes of Ethiopia's Marxist rulers.

Not only has the Mengistu regime failed to develop policies to minimize the effects of the drought but it has hamstrung the ability of Ethiopia's peasants—85 per cent of the population—to cushion themselves against food shortages. Traditionally, Ethiopian peasants have saved food in good years to prepare for bad harvests. The government outlawed this practice, branding it as hoarding. Peasants traditionally invested money earned from surplus crops in their own farms to expand production. This was denounced as capitalist accumulation. Independent food traders traditionally bought food in food-surplus areas and transported it to markets in food-deficient areas. This was outlawed as exploitation, and government commissions replaced the free market.

The regime's oppressive economic policies and repressive political programme provoked rebellion in

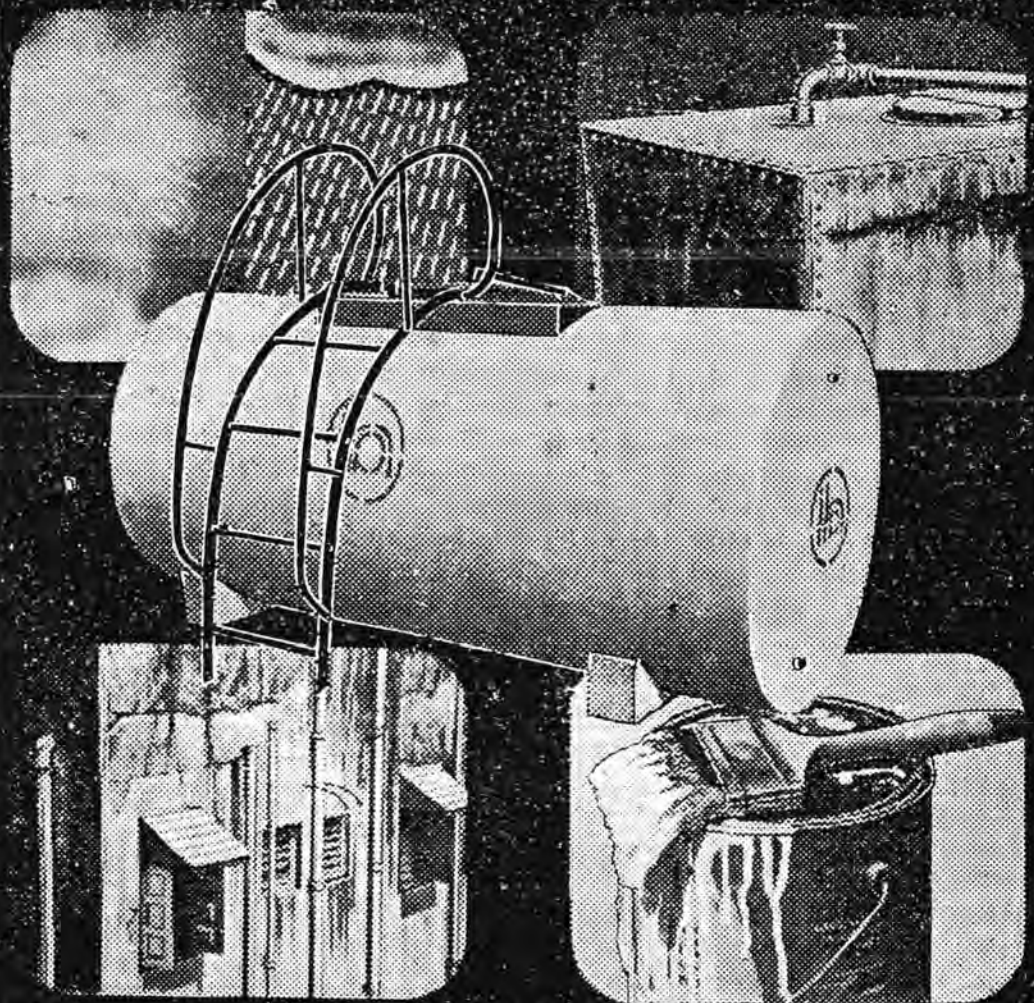
Tigray province and elsewhere while renewing the determination of the Eritrean guerillas, who have battled the Ethiopian army intermittently since 1962. Mengistu has ruled out a negotiated settlement with the Eritreans and Tigrayans, although they have signalled a willingness to end armed struggle in return for greater autonomy. Mengistu's stubborn prosecution of these stalemated wars in the northern highland provinces has produced large, unproductive refugee populations, hindered the sowing and harvesting of crops, disrupted food distribution, diverted manpower from food-growing activities, and imposed a heavy defense burden estimated to be one-third to one-half of the national budget. Ending the intractable fighting in the northern provinces would go far towards reducing the threat of famine.

The West Is Not to Blame

The Mengistu regime has repeatedly berated Western nations for allegedly failing to provide enough food aid even as tons of food from the West was pouring in. At the same time, Mengistu has praised the Soviets "for their unselfish and timely relief"—even though Moscow and its allies have provided Ethiopia with little food but much weaponry. Praise for the stingy Soviets coupled with reprimands for the generous West prompted M. Peter McPherson, director of the U.S. Agency for International Development, to warn Ethiopia not to bite the hand that feeds it. Yet the Mengistu regime is attempting to use Western donor nations as scapegoats for its own disastrous economic policies. Mengistu is painfully aware that the ineffective response of Haile Selassie's government to the 1973-1974 famine undermined its support and created conditions that led to the Emperor's overthrow in 1974. The current famine has already claimed more Ethiopian lives than the one that prompted Selassie's downfall—an ominous sign for Mengistu.

If the West is morally responsible for Ethiopia's food crisis, it is not due to a lack of charity but to its lack of courage when it acquiesced to and indirectly financed ruinous economic and social experiments in Ethiopia and Africa. Between 1978 and 1982 the Mengistu regime received \$1 billion in Western aid, the bulk of it through multilateral agencies, which made explicit accountability impossible. This aid

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helped Mengistu suppress private enterprise and supplant it with state monopolies. Much of the aid was "routinely diverted into projects designed to bolster Colonel Mengistu's regime."

Over the past 20 years, Western aid programmes have poured over \$80 billion into African countries. The tragedy is the sad lack of lasting benefits from this massive generosity. The economies of most of these countries stagnate or decline because of domestic economic policies based on ideology or short-term political goals. Tanzania, for example, probably has received more per capita Western aid than any country in the world, yet its pursuit of socialism has crippled its economy and imposed extraordinary hardship on its people.

Import Duties on Food Aid

Until recently, the Mengistu regime assigned low priority to famine relief. The government-controlled press made little of the famine in the months before this past September's elaborate ceremonies celebrating the tenth anniversary of the 1974 revolution. Many observers believe that the regime minimized the extent of the famine to avoid tarnishing the revolution's image and embarrassing the more than 50 Communist Party delegations that participated in the \$150 million to \$200 million gala. The festivities also marked the founding of the Ethiopian Communist Party. Catholic Relief Services officials estimate that 250 people in Ethiopia's northern provinces starved to death each day during the lavish festivities.

Ethiopian authorities for a long time refused to grant preferential treatment to Western food shipments in congested Ethiopian ports. Soviet cargo ships carrying cement were given priority over ships carrying Western food relief. And then, when donated food supplies finally were unloaded, the Ethiopians charged an import tax of \$12.50 a ton, plus handling and trucking charges of \$165 a ton! Tons of food have rotted at Red Sea ports for lack of the means to transport it inland. At one point almost half of the 500 trucks of the inefficient Ethiopian Relief and Rehabilitation Commission were out of service, because of the lack of spare parts. Few Ethiopian officials are willing or able to assume responsibility because of the lack of trained manpower and the rigidity of the overcentralized, labyrinthine Ethiopian bureaucracy.

Once food shipments reach the Ethiopian Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, accountability ends.

Food supplies have been diverted, and many times, have disappeared. Reports of abuses are rampant.

Many Starving Ethiopians Are Denied Food

An estimated 60 to 80 per cent of Ethiopia's starving are located in rural areas controlled by Eritrean and Tigrayan rebel forces. Since the government does not sanction relief operations in these areas, most Western relief agencies refuse to provide food supplies to rebel areas for fear of jeopardizing their relief operations elsewhere in Ethiopia. Although several relief agencies have initiated shoestring relief programmes through neighbouring Sudan, famine victims in Eritrea and Tigray have received much less aid than other Ethiopians.

To save their people from starvation, rebel leaders have announced their willingness to negotiate a ceasefire to permit external relief operations to function safely. The Mengistu regime has refused to consider this, apparently hoping that famine will do what its soldiers could not—bring the rebels to their knees. It may be recalled that this use of famine killed some seven million Ukrainians in 1933-1934. The Eritrean Relief Association estimates that 1.75 million Eritreans face starvation and that 20,000 tons of food a day would be necessary to sustain them. Due to the pusillanimity of most relief organizations operating in Ethiopia, Eritrea receives only 2,000 tons a day, leaving nine out of ten Eritreans with no assistance at all.

A Global Rescue Is Needed

The Ethiopian famine is an "unnatural disaster", in that the Mengistu regime's policies exacerbated and sought to exploit the food crisis for political reasons. Addis Ababa now desperately needs more food but has proved that it is not to be trusted to manage such a massive feeding programme effectively. It has been unwilling to feed all Ethiopians.

The U.N.'s encrusted bureaucracy is not competent to rescue Ethiopia's starving masses. The mandate of U.N. agencies, for example, forces them to deal only with established governments; they thus would be unable to operate in the rebel-held areas where most of the famine is concentrated. In earlier crises, moreover, the U.N. failed to deliver the food relief to those in need. The U.N.'s World Food Programme (WFP) relief effort in Cambodia in 1979-1980, for instance, allowed itself to be plundered by the Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin regime. Complained a senior Red Cross official in Phnom Penh at the time: "No one knows anything. For the WFP it's total rape." And

this month, at the very moment when Ethiopia desperately needed help, the U.N. General Assembly saw nothing wrong with appropriating \$73.5 million for a conference centre in Addis Ababa.

In place of the U.N., the U.S. should call for and help an *ad hoc* international rescue mission. This rescue mission would furnish aid to Ethiopia, but only on the donor's terms. Aid without strings would not be appropriate. It would only bolster Ethiopian bureaucrats and insulate them from their own costly errors. Aid should be contingent on:

- (1) Accountability in the form of an independent corps of international observers (whose composition would be proportional to the aid donated) to monitor food needs, coordinate logistical efforts, and ensure that sufficient aid

reaches all needy Ethiopians without regard to their political orientation.

- (2) A warning that never again will such a rescue be mobilized unless Ethiopia begins to help itself. Ethiopia should abandon right policies that stifle food production in favour of policies that encourage output. It should remove restrictions that hinder the most important agricultural sector — small landholders—from maximizing food production.
- (3) Assurances that food go to the hardest hit provinces—Eritrea and Tigray—regardless of whether or not the central government accepts the Council's terms for aiding the rest of the country.

Mr. Rama Swarup is a Delhi--based journalist

ON THIS MEMORABLE DAY

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Since time immemorial, the people of Karnataka have been a tolerant lot. Jainism and Buddhism flourished. Karnataka is closely linked with Sankara, Basava, Madhwa and Ramanuja, later Muslim and Christian priests and Hindu saints enriched this spirit of tolerance. Even today, Temples, Mosques and Churches are found side by side.

That is Karnataka, its hospitality to others, spontaneous, ungrudging and tolerant. Perhaps this tolerance and integration is a result of history. The Chalukyas, Kadambas, Rashtrakutas, Gangas, Hoysalas, Mauryas and the Rayas have all come and gone and left behind the richness of their cultures. Later, it was the Muslims, in Bijapur, the Christians in Mangalore who added their flavour to this melting pot of cultures.

The psyche of the people has been moulded by centuries of thinkers producing a state full of poets, philosophers, bankers and entrepreneurs.

With the awakening of nationalism in the late 19th century, which spread throughout the country, it was inevitable that this would give rise to local patriotism. From Tippu Sultan and Rani Chennamma to modern freedom fighters, Karnataka has through its various leaders, Hindu, Muslim and Christian, played its part in the struggle for freedom and produced more than its share of freedom fighters.

Today Karnataka is active along with the other states in trying to build a new India worthy of its great past.

Karnataka has led the way in the Industrial Revolution and vindicated the visionary, the Great Shri Visveswaraya.

The hopes and aspirations of the people are slowly being realised. Surface transport has improved tremendously. Communications has grown at a rapid rate.

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People of all castes, religions, languages from various states have blissfully integrated to form a homogenous group united in their march towards prosperity. However, there is so much more to be done.

TODAY THE PEOPLE OF KARNATAKA ARE CLOSER TO THEIR GOALS.

KARNATAKA INFORMATION

Ecology - The Drift Towards Disaster

M. V. Kamath

The cumulative actions of a world population approaching five billion are now capable of causing continental and even global changes in natural systems. Nowhere is this more tragically evident than in Africa where famine is spreading across the continent.

As recently as 1970, Africa was essentially self-sufficient in food. In 1984, however, some 140 million Africans out of a total of 531 million were being fed with grain from abroad.

This comes through very vividly in a study made of world conditions by the prestigious Worldwatch Institute of Washington D.C. It is a frightening picture. The study was led by its Director, Lester Brown, who terms drought "the triggering event" for Africa's famine, not the basic cause. Noting the gradual decline in per capita foodgrain production in Africa since 1967, Brown said the food crisis is the result of the fastest population growth of any continent in history, wide spread soil erosion and the neglect of agriculture by African Governments.

Soil Erosion and Acid Rain

As Brown said, accelerating soil erosion is dimming the food prospects of virtually every country from the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope and that in one country, Ethiopia alone, a billion tons of top soil was being lost annually. As Brown saw it, the famine now gripping that ancient country was foreshadowed by years of severe soil erosion.

Such things had happened before. It happened in India in ancient times when overgrazing led to the creation of the Rajasthan desert. It is happening in large parts of Africa today.

Brown's research team found that stresses on natural systems caused by population growth tend to have a self-reinforcing effect. Actually the team suspects that population growth may be indirectly reducing rainfall by decreasing the land's vegetative cover. As Brown put it: "As vegetation is reduced by deforestation or overgrazing, the share of rainfall running off directly to the ocean increases. Less rainfall evaporates into the atmosphere to recharge rain clouds that move inland". The speculation now is, that if population growth is leading to a long-term decline in rainfall in Africa, then we are on the edge of an unfolding drama in human life, on a scale that has no precedent, one that the world is not well prepared to manage. Al-

ready thousands are dying in Ethiopia while the United States is playing politics. There is need to rush food to Ethiopia on a massive scale but there seems to be considerable hesitancy to do so. Ethiopia, it may be remembered, is within the Soviet sphere of influence.

If Africa is beset with one set of problems, advanced and highly developed Europe is suffering from another set of problems no less dangerous. Here, the danger comes from acid rain and air pollutants from the combustion of fossil fuels in automobiles and power plants both of which are reported to be laying waste the forests of central Europe. As one researcher states: "Indeed pollutants may be destroying the forests of Czechoslovakia, Poland and West Germany even faster than the axe and plough destroyed those of India and El Salvador".

One survey of West German forests shows that damage to them have increased from a low 8 per cent of the forested area in 1982 to a high 34 per cent in 1983 and to 50 per cent in 1984. This is spreading cancer. The Germans call it *Waldsterben*—literally forest death.

A Frightening Prospect

The loss of forests is not the only unforeseen cost of the growing and spreading use of fossil fuels. One result of the use of fossil fuels is the addition to the atmosphere of carbon dioxide. Rising atmospheric carbon dioxide levels could lead to a warming of the earth and a rise in average temperature of several degrees in the decades ahead. The warming would then affect rainfall, shifting it from one zone to another.

A frightening prospect that is held out by Brown and his researchers is the possibility of the principal grain-growing regions in the United States and the Soviet Union becoming potential rainfall losers. China, too, they assert, could lose rainfall in the northern part of the country and gain in the south, thus worsening the existing water imbalance between the two regions.

Forests are not replenished fast enough. In Africa the loss of forests exceeds the planting of trees by a ratio of 29 to 1—which is clearly inadmissible and is bound to create havoc. In Latin America the ratio is 10 to 1 and in Asia, 5 to 1. Even 5 to 1 is an unacceptable ratio and the gap has to be filled. The extent of planting must eventually begin to exceed the

amount being cleared, if climatic stability is to be restored.

The tragedy is that, hitherto unknown and unsuspected dangers are presently surfacing in the world as a result of deforestation and lessening rainfall. Until this century, for instance, widespread extinction of plant and animal species has been somewhat rare. The proliferation of new species gave rise to the great diversity of life on earth. But now, it would seem, as human demands on the ecosystem have grown, extinction of plants and animals are outpacing the appearance of new species at a rate never before experienced. The world's genetic base is shrinking just when the need for genetic diversity is greatest.

Control the Use of Fossil Fuels

The Worldwatch report does not specify when some of the calamities that are threaten—such as the after-effects of a rise in carbon dioxide concentration in the atmosphere—will come to pass, except somewhat vaguely. Thus two scientists have been quoted as saying that if industrial countries expand fossil fuel use beyond 4 per cent a year (the rate prevailing from 1900 to 1980), atmospheric carbon dioxide levels will double pre-industrial levels by 2030, without even considering any increase in fossil fuel use for developing countries. Under this scenario, average temperatures would rise 3 degrees Celsius (just over 5 degrees Fahrenheit) within the next 45 years, a period well within the life span of today's young adults. And what would happen if atmospheric carbon dioxide levels go up? One deduction is that thermal expansion alone from the temperature increase would raise average sea levels by some five feet as the oceans slowly warm by absorbing heat from the atmosphere. In addition, melting ice in both Greenland and Antarctica would contribute to a rise in sea level. There also would be a substantial rise of sea levels as a result of the melting of floating ice in the Arctic Ocean.

The outside time limit for a doubling of atmospheric carbon dioxide and a rise of 5 to 7 meters in ocean level is about two centuries. But even a short-term rise of one meter can adversely affect many coastal cities and low-lying agricultural land. And inundation of low-lying lands with sea water can not only reduce rice output, and increase water salinity but contribute to shifts in population, increase in unemployment and rural distress.

With seas that are five to seven metres higher, vast areas of rice land in the flood plains of the Ganges, the Yellow and the Mekong rivers would become un-

cultivable in the absence of *dikes* to hold back the sea.

More Chipko Movements Needed

Many governments all over the world tend to dismiss these warnings as "worst-case" scenarios not to be taken too seriously. And that is the greatest danger of all. Futurology is considered a dismal science fit only for science fiction.

It is difficult to get peoples and governments enthused over saving future generations two hundred years later. They are more concerned over the here and now. Which is a pity. But a sense of responsibility demands that we invest not only in today but in the future as well. It may not have occurred to the Aryan cowherds that they may be doing untold damage to the country's ecology by permitting over-grazing. It was their folly that led to the Rajasthan desert. The cycle has to be reversed and the world's cumulative experience suggests that the cycle can indeed be reversed, given the courage and vision to do so. The Chipko movement in India is the beginning of such a movement for reversal. Steps are being taken both in Europe and the United States to decrease pollution of the air, especially from emissions from automobiles which cumulatively could lead to "acid rain". Western nations are finding to their cost that the problem is one of *immediate* concern. Wholesale destruction of woods in Sweden which supplies newsprint to the world is a matter not only for the Swedish economy, but for communication media all over the world. Ecology and economy are inter-related and what happens to Sweden becomes a matter of concern to people the world over.

This is not a matter of crying wolf. The Worldwatch Institute says categorically that if the goal of economic, environmental and population policies is to improve the human condition, then the policies of many governments are now failing. There is less and less faith and hope in the future, when advancement in medicine, technology and expertise in many fields should make us anticipate the future with joy. There is a whole range of steps that need to be taken in India, for example, which we should not lose sight of, in our pre-occupation with politics. The alarm bells are ringing and we would be a singularly irresponsible generation if we do not listen to the warning signals and act on them—now. And action has to be stepped up as much in regard to afforestation, air pollution, sub-soil water as to family planning.

Mr. M. V. Kamath is a former editor of the Illustrated Weekly of India.

The Truth About Mr. Nicechapovich

Bernard Levin

I have frequently drawn attention to a curious habit which many people in this country seem addicted to: it is the habit of hailing every new Soviet leader as a truly enlightened and liberal figure, vastly different from his brutal and obdurate predecessors, who is going to sweep away tyranny in his own country with one hand while encouraging mutual trust and friendship in ours with the other. The addicts of this habit do not seem to notice that they are thus obliged, by implication, to classify their new hero, the moment he goes, as among the brutal and obdurate ones, repeating the reclassification every time they greet the new dawn in the new hero; what they never do is to denounce a Soviet tyrant while he is actually tyrannizing.

Malenkov, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov, now Chernenko; each of them frees the addicts to admit part (usually a small part) of the truth about the previous messiah while hailing the advent of the new one. Indeed, it has now gone so far that the next Soviet Leader, Mr. Gorbachev, is being promoted in the same fashion, even though Chernenko is still alive.*

Robert Conquest coined a name for the allpurpose Soviet redeemer; he is Ivan Nicechapovich Peacenikov. But—or perhaps I mean so—it is necessary for us to remind ourselves, before the current Ivan NP is buried with full military honours, of what kind of man he is, or more precisely, what kind of system the Soviet ruler, whoever he may be at any given moment, lives by and directs.

As it chances, I have information today which does indeed serve to remind us of that which so many voices in Britain are raised in order to make us forget.

First, there is the case of Dr. Anatoly Koryagin. Dr. Koryagin, as my readers may recall, is a Soviet psychiatrist who committed the one unforgivable crime against Soviet medical ethics; he examined a Soviet dissident who had been incarcerated in one of the Soviet Union's madhouses-for-the-sane, found that there was nothing mentally wrong with the man, and said so. For this, he was sent to the concentration camp, and later to a prison, where he is now reported to be dying; he has been weakened by the hunger strikes he has endured as a protest against the frightful conditions in which he is being kept, and as an at-

tempt to persuade the authorities to allow him a visit from his wife. He is receiving no medical treatment; in plain English, he is being slowly and methodically murdered, and by the time these words appear he may already be dead, a martyr to the truth and to his determination to uphold the standards of his profession as a doctor.

In the Soviet Union, the private or semi-private teaching of foreign languages is encouraged as a socially useful activity. The teaching of one such language, and one only, is forbidden, and the prohibition is ferociously maintained with long prison sentences; the language is Hebrew. The ban is in force partly because of domestic Soviet anti-semitic policies and practices (many Soviet Jews, suffering more and more for their identity, have sought solace in the learning of their ancient language), partly because it is the language of modern Israel, which as a Jewish state is *ipso facto* to be condemned, partly because refuseniks (almost invariably sacked from their jobs as soon as they apply for emigration) can eke out a living by such teaching, and partly because the bond it offers tends to strengthen the determination of those who give the lie to Soviet statements by persisting in their desire to leave the country for ever.

Three Soviet Jews have recently learned what a Jew in the Soviet Union must face if he wants to teach Hebrew to those who want to learn it. They are Yuly Edelshtein, Alexander Kholmiansky and Josef Berenstein; they are aged respectively 26, 34 and 47.

Mr. Edelshtein, in mid-December, underwent a show trial on a charge of possessing forbidden drugs, viz., one gram of marijauna and eight grams of opium "in the raw stalk". No evidence was given to support the prosecution's case that Mr. Edelshtein used such drugs; the militia men who arrested him said that the drugs had been found on a window-sill, though there are no sills to the window of his flat; experts in these matters point out that to make usable opium from the raw stalk is impossible without a laboratory process (to which, of course, Mr. Edelshtein would have had no access); and the prosecutor ordered his arrest on a charge of possessing illegal drugs before sending the substances for analysis.

Before the trial, the guards were overheard being briefed; they were told that the defendant was a Jewish nationalist who had been criminally dealing in drugs,

*(This article was first published in *The Times* (London) of January 8, 1985).

and ordered to fill the public seats and prevent any genuine member of the public getting in (in the event, only Mr. Edelshtein's mother and wife were allowed to attend). The defence was not permitted to call any witnesses, and Mr. Edelshtein was sentenced to three years in prison.

The second victim, Alexander Kholmiansky, was charged with possessing a revolver and ammunition. These things were "found" in his room in his flat he shares with his parents; the only person in the flat at the time of the search by militia men was Mr. Kholmiansky senior, and he was not present when the actual "find" was made. The militia men also planted some Hebrew texts, one of which turned out to be a document removed, in an earlier search, from the home of another young man who was learning Hebrew; the only possible conclusion is that the production of incriminating documents is so inefficient that some of them have to be used twice. Mr. Kholmiansky has not yet been tried, but has been held for more than three months in prison; he embarked on a hunger strike, and when last heard of was being forcibly fed.

The third teacher of the forbidden language, Josef

Berenstein, was returning from the consecration of his mother's gravestone when he was attacked by a gang of militia-men. He resisted, and was sentenced to four years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet actions".

In prison, he was so badly beaten up that when his wife managed to get permission to visit him, she could recognize him only by his voice (they have been married for 25 years). The prison authorities claimed that he had inflicted the injuries on himself (he has lost the sight of one eye and much of the sight of the other); they told his wife that unless both he and she co-operated, he would face a new charge of causing grievous bodily harm to himself. When she asked for medical assistance for her husband, it was refused.

After Mrs. Thatcher had met the latest Ivan Nicechapovich, she said: I like Mr. Gorbachev; we can do business together". I have to remind her that, in an earlier day, there were senior figures in the Conservative Party who liked Herr von Ribbentrop and who not only could but did "do business together" with him. Happily, their approbation did not save him from subsequently being hanged for, among other things, complicity in persecution and murder.

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De-linking: The Need for Caution

S. K. Ookerjee

WE HAVE of late been hearing from some very high quarters of the need to delink jobs from academic degrees. The idea is being announced as if it is a startling new discovery, while in fact it is at least half a century old. It is obvious that there is no real connection between the kind of education that is available in our colleges and universities and the kind of jobs that most graduates seek and manage to get. The education they have had, or are supposed to have had, does not equip them to do the kind of work they are employed on. Many of them therefore come to feel that the four or more years of their youth that they have spent in acquiring a B.A. or an M.A. degree have been a waste. Many of those who have studied their subjects well sincerely feel a sense of frustration when they find that what they have studied cannot be put to use in the offices or factories or wherever else they are employed. As a result academic or higher education is denigrated and it is even suggested that such education be scrapped in favour of some kind of practical or technical training.

Knowledge is an Ultimate Value

Although there is much to be said for practical training and for setting up a large number of technical institutes or polytechnics which would help relieve much of the present pressure on the colleges and universities, it would be a gross and mischievous error to do away with academic education. A society which would banish theoretical knowledge—subjects like pure physics or mathematics, archeology, ancient history or philosophy—would not remain a civilized society for long for the simple but not always obvious reason that knowledge as such (without any strings attached) is an ultimate value and the desire for it is a fundamental human desire, a man's birthright. Words written about metaphysics (the theoretical subject *par excellence*) could well apply to all academic knowledge:

"Whatever nation has given up Metaphysics is in a state of intellectual insolvency. Though its granaries should be bursting, though its territories should be netted with railroads, though its mills and foundries should be the busiest in the world, the mark of the beast is upon it, and it is going the way of all brutality." (D. Masson)

Apart from the above consideration and even from the point of view of sheer expediency, a removal of theoretical knowledge would be suicidal. All the most sophisticated achievements of technology, from computers to nuclear reactors and space ships, have been the result of high-grade theory, a result that, at the time of theorising, were unintended and even unsuspected by those who did the theoretical research. Hence, it is anybody's guess as to what future applications might follow from a piece of pure research.

A Big Hoax

Let it be accepted, then that a civilised society cannot abandon academic education. Let us also admit that such education does not, as such, have any direct practical applicability and, in the large majority of cases, is not relevant to the kind of employment which our graduates seek and obtain. The real tragedy is that most of them have not imbibed the kind of education that their degrees appear to indicate. It is not that they are academically educated but cannot put that education to use; the pity of it is that they are not really so educated at all. In most cases it has only been a great, big hoax.

The reason for this has been obvious for years. Academic education, by its very nature, is for those who are theoretically inclined and capable of benefiting from it. The others can make nothing of it, but the unfortunate 'linking' of degrees and jobs that has obtained in India has forced them to go in for it and thus to waste the best part of their youth when they could have been more profitably employed. It has, in addition, made them completely disillusioned about the value of education. And society in general, watching the performance of the degree-holders, has become cynical about higher education.

The main cause of the failure of higher education in India is the very large and ever-growing number of those who join the colleges and the universities. The student population in 1982 was 18 times what it was in 1950, while the number of teachers increased ten times. In 1950 the teacher-student ratio was 1 to 8, while in 1982 it was 1 to 14.8, which means that a lecturer now teaches almost twice as many students as a lecturer taught about 32 years ago. But even this is a misleading picture, for while in a few subjects like literature, history or philosophy the classes consist of

a handful of students, in others like economics, sociology or psychology and most of the science subjects a teacher has to lecture to 80 or a 100 students. Since, for all practical purposes, the lecture method is the only viable method among us, the teacher-student ratio in most cases is really 1 to 80 or 100.

Add to this utterly unsatisfactory situation the fact that most college teachers have to give 17 lectures a week*, and it is easy to see how the present situation makes nonsense of real academic work.

De-linking Alone not the Answer

'De-linking', then, appears to be the only logical solution to our problem. But it is not as simple as it has often been made out to be for two reasons: (i) feasibility and (ii) effectiveness.

1. Since there are always bound to be more applicants than jobs, many have to stay out, and so far the degree has served as a criterion of selection. 'De-linking' would mean that each employer would have to devise and give his own test. Devising suitable tests would call for intensive research and imagination, and giving the tests and assessing the performances would require the kind of work that the universities are doing at present. Would the government (the biggest employer) and the various organisations in the private sector be able or willing to do this?

2. Suppose that these difficulties are overcome and we now can get students who are properly motivated and potentially capable of undertaking and benefiting from an academic education, the millennium is not immediately likely to follow. Unless the government were to change some of the conditions of its educational policy, there is going to be no improvement in the quality of higher education. Since the government pays the salary bill, it has laid down three conditions:

- i. The maximum number of students in a class or a division is 80, but this limit is elastic and may be stretched to 100 (i.e., if, say, 93 students opt for a subject, a new division cannot be opened).
- ii. Unless 15 students have opted for a certain subject in the First Year class, that subject cannot be taught.
- iii. A lecturer is bound to give 17 lectures a week*.

* Those who take 1 post-graduate lecture a week have a remission of 14 lectures a week in their undergraduate work and heads of departments have a further remission of 2 lectures a week and those who are guiding Ph.D. students a further 2 lectures.

Thus, if the number of undergraduates drops due to 'de-linking', the staff of a college will correspondingly be reduced, so that the teacher-student ratio would remain the same as before (or even worsen in some cases) and a closer contact between student and teacher—the need of the hour—would remain an idle dream.

The maximum number of lectures that can be taken per subject is fixed by the University (though, of course a lecturer, if he has the stamina, may take more, but the extras will not be counted towards his lecture-load). As per condition (iii), two lecturers will be needed to give the 36 lectures. In those subjects where there are two divisions, each division will have about 80 students. Now, suppose that due to 'de-linking', there is a 50 per cent drop in the enrolment. Two divisions for Psychology in the first and second years, and two divisions for the Foundation Course in the Arts and Science classes will not be permitted, with the result that the lecture-quota will drop by 14 lectures (as per condition (i) above). Further, due to the general drop in enrolment, there would be fewer than 15 students opting for Philosophy in the First Year, so that (as per condition (ii) above) this class would have to be closed down. This would result in a further drop of four lectures. With 18 lectures out of 36 gone, one of the two lecturers would also have to go. There is also another condition that if no students take a certain subject in the First Year, none can take it in the Second and Third years either, so that if, say, in 1985-86 nobody takes Philosophy in the First Year B.A., in 1987-88 there would be a larger exodus of lecturers.

It is not difficult to see that unless, along with 'de-linking', the three obnoxious conditions mentioned above are also removed, there could be no improvement in the teacher-student ratio.

Along with the talk about 'de-linking' there has so far been no mention of revising any of the arbitrary, short-sighted and unacademic conditions that stifle all attempts at effective teaching, however well-motivated, competent or sincere our teachers might be. The bureaucratic mind that decides and arranges these things has a very hazy idea as to what academic education is all about. A change, at least for the better, is unlikely, and so, with or without 'de-linking', we will probably remain at square one or whatever square we are at.

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U. S. Policy in Latin America

Ashley Tellis

TO THE policy makers in Washington DC, Caribbean-Central American politics must look like an unending suppuration. The 1980 election of President Reagan signalled a more assertive U.S. response in the Caribbean, but the irresistible seduction of supply side economics in the early Reagan years resulted in Central American concerns being thrust into the background. The painful truth is that despite occasional blusterings, the American policymakers have not taken the Caribbean-Central American Basin seriously enough and it sometimes seems that they imagine the invisible hand will somehow deal with the suppuration. In retrospect, then, one cannot escape the uneasy feeling that the Caribbean-Central American miasma may turn out to be one more instance of praxis in search of policy, as American policymakers are learning, once again, of the trouble caused by talking and chewing gum at the same time.

It is almost self-evident today that the foreign policy establishment itself is rent deep by differing perceptions and hence, differing policy recommendations for the region.¹ "Doves" tend to view the miasma as an autonomous problem caused by indigenous structures of poverty, injustice and oligarchic, closed political systems, rather than by Soviet interventionist activity. In contrast, "hawks" argue that the real issue revolves around Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan covert intervention and, as such, this activity embodies the core of Soviet needling in an attempt to hit America's soft underbelly, through alterations in the regional balance of power.

Inability to Think Strategically

However, both views are only partially correct. The dovish interpretation, while pointing to the need for a comprehensive solution embracing the economic and social causes of instability, fails to understand the crucial element of predatory Soviet actions and while the hawks are excellent elucidators of meddlesome Soviet tactics, they, in turn, seem unable to clearly explain the strategic purposes of such behaviour. It is hardly any surprise, therefore, that America's traditional Caribbean-Central American policy heretofore, was exemplary for its lackadaisical vacillation. Whilst this is partly a product of the lack of internal consensus on the nature and gravity of the problem, it is more importantly a conspicuous example of the bureau-

cratic mentality that has permeated American politico-military institutions and which consequently, retards their ability to think *strategically*.

The purpose of this article is to avoid the contemporary analyst's affection for petty details pertaining to logistics and insurgency,² and instead sketch out the larger stakes that underwrite such operations, from Moscow's perspectives. In so doing, one argues *a fortiori*, for renewed American interest not in petty operational details so beloved of beaureaucrats, but rather in the grand canvas of Soviet strategic purposes.

Soviet Strategy

Soviet strategic purposes are best understood against a backdrop of American policy in the Caribbean-Central American region and one must go back briefly to the crucial early 1970s for a better appreciation of the problem. The ushering in of *detente* and the Nixon Doctrine marked a shift from an activist American policy in the region to one of benign neglect where with the heady successes of *detente*, the U.S. tacitly abandoned, in 1974, its policy of economic denial against Cuba and attempted to normalise relations with it, Cuba's African adventures notwithstanding. This development encouraged Latin American-Caribbean nations to enter independently into expanding ties with Cuba and the Soviet Union, whilst Soviet theoreticians like Boris Ponomarev saw in such developments magnificent opportunities for the achievement of Soviet strategic objectives:

"Seemingly quite reliable rear lines of American imperialism are becoming a tremendous hotbed of anti-imperialist revolution. A tremendous revolutionary movement is developing by the side of the main citadel of imperialism, the United States. These changes are having and, unquestionably, will continue to have a strong impact on further changes in the correlation of world forces in favour of the international working class and socialism."³

The sudden opening of intra-American relations paved the way for a dual Soviet policy where local Communist parties were malevolently encouraged to infiltrate trade unions and domestic politics, whilst Moscow pursued the more benign objectives of normalising diplomatic and commercial ties. Meanwhile, populist military coups in Ecuador, Bolivia, Panama and

Peru, assisted Moscow's prime objective of influencing the armed forces, an institution hitherto immune to communist influence. This unexpected bonanza, however, quickly disappeared with a spate of right-wing military takeovers in Uruguay, Bolivia and Argentina and thus, the clumsy Soviet theoretical contraption that "progressive military regimes can aid socialism" gave way as well.

Cuba—The Revolutionary Fulcrum

With right-wing military takeovers having thwarted Moscow's bid to influence Latin American political outcomes through manipulation of domestic factions—a phenomenon the despairing Soviets termed as "a reactionary counteroffensive unprecedented in Latin American history"—the path was now set for Moscow resurrecting Cuba as the revolutionary fulcrum through which terrorist groups like the Tupamaros in Uruguay and the Montoneros in Argentina were directed. The victory of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua however, proved the conclusive ideological victory for Havana over Moscow, as Soviet theoreticians who had previously heaped scorn on the Castro-Guevara-Debray concept of the efficacy of armed struggle, now began to pay revisionist obeisance to the Castroist logic.

Thus, the world (and avid American specialists!) were introduced to the now familiar Cuban tactics of—
(a) unifying splintered radical groups behind commitments to armed struggle, as a pre-condition for Cuban training and assistance—sometimes, even sanctioning assassinations within guerrilla factions in order to unify diverse guerrilla sects;⁴

(b) placing KGB and Moscow trained ideologically committed cadres in guerrilla command structures and training camps to shape the direction of the insurrection;⁵

(c) developing supply lines routed through Cuban advisors, who besides guaranteeing the security of logistics, became Castro's bargaining chips with the insurgents;

(d) inserting Cuban advisors in the strategy planning of guerrilla movements to ensure control both, of the movements and of the governments once they had gained power. As Alejandro Montenegro, Salvadoran guerrilla field commander, admitted.

"From the political and military point of view, all the decisions the DRU took—from the strategic sense, from the military sense—were done in coordination with the Cubans. For example, in November 1980, when guerrilla leaders met in Havana, the military plan for the final offensive in January, 1981 was authorised by the Cubans."⁶

Since 1975, the Soviet Union has indulged in the most lavish rearming of Cuba with fanciful weaponry utterly remote from aiding any simple insurrection. Cuba has by far the most formidable and larger military force in the Central American Basin, with the exception of the United States, a potency made manifest by massive transfusions of MiG-23 and MiG-27 aircraft, T-62 tanks, BM-21 multiple launch rocket systems, BMP Infantry Combat Vehicles, ZSU-23-4 SP antiaircraft guns, MI-24 helicopter gunships, SA-2 and SA-6 surface-to-air missiles, Turya and Zhuk fast attack craft, Foxtrot class submarines, Osa/Komar class missile boats as well as a Koni class frigate—and various other stores amounting to a record 66,000 tons transferred annually to Cuba since 1981, in lieu of basing facilities at Cienfuegos and a heightened Soviet military presence on the island.⁷

What is of serious concern is not simply the rearmament of Cuba, *per se*, or for that matter Nicaragua, as much as the goals embodied by the quality and nature of the armaments so transferred.

The bulk of Soviet arms transfers to both these states, does not consist of infantry and personnel arms, which might be construed as "defensive" in orientation but instead, power projection, amphibious and transport assets, and high-quality interdiction strike/interceptor aircraft constitute the bulk of Soviet generosity. It is fairly logical to conclude therefore, that massive transfers of such big-ticket items hardly constitute the stuff of which insurgencies are made!

Soviet Goals are Mostly More Ambitious

Even more sinister than the arms transfers are the growing logistical networks that the Soviets have sponsored in both Cuba and Nicaragua. In Cuba, at least three and possibly nine airfields have been upgraded to host the Soviet TU-95 Bear heavy bombers capable of carrying nuclear air-to-surface missiles, which since 1970 have been routinely transiting from the Kola peninsula to Cuban airfields without any U.S. protest. In Nicaragua, aircraft revetments to handle high performance fighters have been completed at Sandino airfield and a new military airfield at Punta Huete when completed, will have the longest runway in Central America (3,200 m capable of accommodating Soviet jet fighters, heavy transport aircraft and Backfire bombers. Equally troublesome is the reported secret Nicaraguan-Soviet agreement for the construction of a sea level, interoceanic canal across the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua, which would in effect, sever the hemisphere and clamp a vise of Soviet naval projection around the Caribbean.⁸

Despite the obvious and short conclusion that such Soviet presence is immediately threatening to American interests in Central America, Soviet goals are in reality vastly more ambitious. They include nothing less than an elaborate castrametation designed to effectuate "strategic denial" through pursuing an entire flanking movement directed against the sea lines of communications of Europe and Japan in case of conflict.

The *primary* goal, then, of Soviet naval and air presence in the Caribbean is to create an interdiction capability effective enough to disrupt sea lines of communication, and impede NATO's "swing strategy" in case of conflict. Current NATO strategy calls for the airlift of three U.S. reinforcing divisions to Europe in an emergency, where they would mate with previously stored and forward deployed war materials, whilst, simultaneously, 5 additional divisions with heavy weapons would be moved by the Military Sealift Command and other requisitioned bottoms by sea. The optimal embarkation port for three U.S. divisions—the 2nd Armoured, the 1st Mechanised and 5th Infantry—is Beaumont, Texas, on the Gulf of Mexico, whereas the other three, the 7th, 9th and 25th Infantry Divisions based in Hawaii, Washington and California, respectively, would be moved by sea through the Panama Canal and thence eastwards, south of Cuba.

Sealing the Sea-lanes

Soviet strategy thus conceives that Cuban/Nicaraguan based Soviet forces would indulge in persistent harassment and sea denial operations, attempting to seal the four major choke points in the thirteen Caribbean sea lanes through which all the reinforcements would have to pass. In doing so, the Soviets would also attempt to attenuate the American advantages of operating through the Panama Canal as well, which far from being obsolete, currently remains the key multiplier that enables the U.S. maintain a three-ocean presence with a depleted one-and-a-half-ocean navy. Since only 13 of the roughly 500 U.S. naval vessels are too large to transit the Canal, there is no reason to believe that American naval movement through it in the future will be any the less important than it was in the past. Interdicting the same, thus, remains the key to obstructing the wartime reinforcement of Western Europe and so achieving Soviet strategic objectives on the Continent.

Soviet sea denial capabilities were ominously demonstrated in Exercise OKEAN '75, where the Soviets practised obstructing U.S. naval breakout into the South Atlantic, while simultaneously interdicting con-

voys in the North Atlantic shipping lanes. World War II demonstrated the lethality of such an operation when German U-boats without the aid of replenishment and air cover, sank over 260 ships in six short months, in the face of an Allied 2 : 1 superiority in anti-submarine forces. Today, Soviet submarines operating from Cienfuegos not only benefit from replenishment and air cover, but also have the ratios exactly reversed to their advantage.

Since the naval ship visits programme began in 1969, truly a landmark year in Soviet naval expansion, Cuba has hosted a variety of Soviet ships, including the mammoth Kara class cruisers. Numerous Cuban based MiG-23 and MiG-27 sorties have been flown by Soviet pilots, some of which have been sighted with operational nuclear bomb bays. Intelligence sources have consequently speculated about the possible presence of nuclear weapons on the island and a furious debate has erupted between the U.S. Senate and the Department of State on this score.⁹

The construction of a nuclear submarine docking facility at Cienfuegos gave notice of the *secondary* intention of Soviet presence, namely, to service ballistic missile submarines (SSBNs) and nuclear attack submarines (SSNs) operating in the Western Atlantic. Thanks to inhospitable geography, Soviet SSBNs departing on patrol have to traverse through numerous "choke points" like the Bosphorus, the G-I-UK Gap and the Kurile Trench, before they reach their patrol areas in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

It has been an article of faith amongst Western naval strategists that mining these "choke points" prior to hostilities will cause a high rate of attrition, devastating the Soviet SSBN fleet if it attempts a breakout to sea. However, the use of a forward deployment and replenishment facility like Cienfuegos preempts the need for Soviet SSBNs to traverse risky "choke points" and besides increasing their on-station patrol time, enhances their rate of survival beyond standard Western naval estimates.

The *tertiary* goal of Soviet presence in the Caribbean is interdicting American strategic trade. The Caribbean sea routes carry more than 50 per cent of U.S. oil imports to domestic markets as well as over 70 per cent of American imports of strategic raw materials. The Caribbean basin itself is a principal source of U.S. raw material imports, especially strategic minerals like silver, zinc, gypsum, antimony, mercury, bismuth, selenium, barium and rhenium. The loss of trading routes would be extremely detrimental to the U.S. economy, the effects of which in a crisis could well nigh be incalculable.

On reconsideration, it is easy to perceive that Soviet aims are far more grandiose than exporting "revolution". The real issue beyond the headlines is the Soviet capability to squarely interdict the vital American interests and Western Alliance lifelines and in effect, hold America's global strategy hostage in the event of a larger conflict. The American policymakers' obsession with the "export of revolution" snaps at a red herring lured to distract attention and direct American defensive strength from Europe and Asia, to mount a costly and burdensome shield, leaving in the process primary American interests vulnerable to Soviet hegemony.

Need for Change in U.S. Thinking

As the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, correctly argued,

"At the level of global strategy, therefore, the advance of Soviet and Cuban power on the American mainland affects the global balance. To the extent that a further Marxist-Leninist advance in Central America leading to progressive deterioration and a further projection of Soviet and Cuban power in the region required us to defend against security threats near our borders, we would face a difficult choice between unpalatable alternatives. We would either have to assume a permanently increased defense burden, or see our capacity to defend distant trouble-spots reduced, and as a result have to reduce important commitments elsewhere in the world. From the standpoint of the Soviet Union, it would be a major strategic coup to impose on the United States the burden of defending our southern approaches, thereby stripping us of the compensating advantage that offsets the burden of our transoceanic lines of communication."¹⁰

If viewed in strategic perspective, the Caribbean-Central American crisis was long coming. The temptation of being able to hold American global strategy hostage in her own "strategic rear" was too prized a plum to pass over unsnatched and was almost inevitable since Khrushchev as far back as 1961, declared the Monroe Doctrine "dead". What is fascinating, however, about the post-62 Soviet behaviour is not that they have systematically transgressed the Kennedy understanding but that they have done so methodically and patiently, making small and ostensibly marginal moves that, if undiscovered and/or unchallenged have been steadily followed by new incremental moves, leading to a consistent building of power in the Carri-

bean Basin and a projection of it to other parts of the Hemisphere.

The time has come for the American nation to recommit itself to holding the Soviet Union to the substance of the Kennedy agreements and her task, however, will only be made easier if she begins to think of Soviet activities *strategically*, rather than if she buries herself in an interminable mass of *tactical* details. If the Reagan Administration succumbs to this crucial latter temptation, it will be judged more guilty of a lack of strategic thinking than it is wont to accuse its detractors of.

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Bhopal and the Multinational

Thomas M. Gladwin & Ingo Walter

We reproduce below an article that appeared recently in the Asian Wall Street Journal on the Bhopal tragedy. The authors, who teach at the Graduate School of Business Administration at New York University, draw attention to the fact that multinationals dilute control when "forced by host governments to share control of foreign units." When this happens "fewer resources are typically committed by the parent." In other words the tragedy resulted from the fact that safety standards were not rigidly adhered to by the affiliate. Government regulations are blamed for coming in the way of multinationals exercising greater control over their affiliates. We invite readers to comment on the issues raised in the article.

Restrictive Indian foreign investment regulations that mandate significant local participation and sourcing, alongside economic self-sufficiency policies, may have reduced Union Carbide's motivation and/or capacity to ensure adequate environmental and industrial safety at its Bhopal plant, largely by diluting the degree of parent control and reducing the flow of relevant expertise into that 50.9% Carbide-owned affiliate. Indeed, regulations driven by nationalism may lie at the core of any in-depth explanation of Bhopal's tragedy.

How have multinationals such as Union Carbide generally behaved when forced by host governments to share control of foreign units—either with a local partner, a group of local investors, or the government itself. All organizations, including multinationals, tend to economize on internal coordination and control whenever possible, whether it involves financial, environmental or other matters. When control over an affiliate is diluted and rewards from the activities of that affiliate are depressed, fewer resources are typically committed by the parent. Intangible assets, such as proprietary technology, are less likely to be shared with the local partner, given the reduced flexibility of the venture and its limited responsiveness to the needs of the larger corporate structure. The multinational is less likely to fully include such a venture in its global information/expertise network in the presence of the

"free-riding" local partners. It is more likely to be held at arm's length.

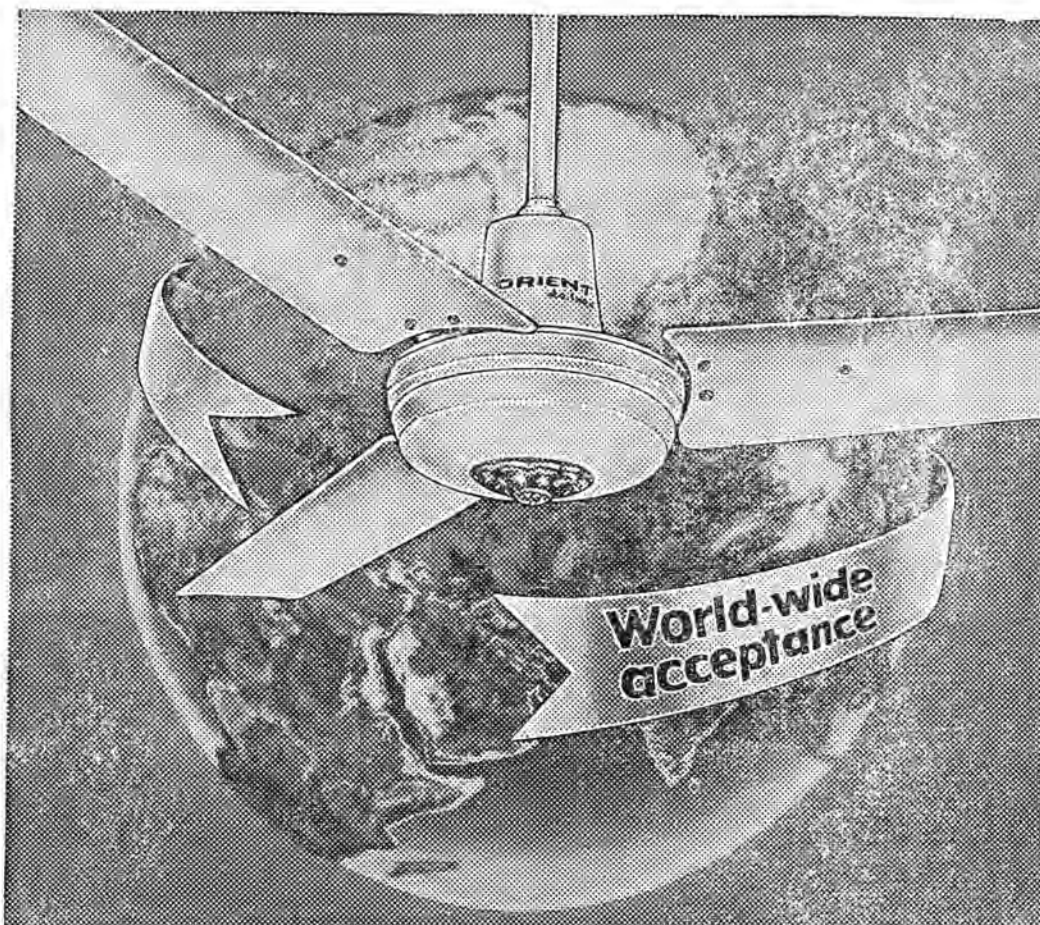
Control Dilution

With diluted control, conflicts are likely to occur between local and international perspectives on such issues as plant modernization vs. dividend payouts. Cultural differences may raise communication obstacles and give rise to disputes over management philosophies and operating procedures. Some studies show that joint ventures, compared with wholly owned subsidiaries, tend to be less profitable, although they do seem to be more likely to adapt manufacturing technologies to local conditions.

Does this "control dilution" hypothesis apply to Bhopal? It obviously is too early to tell for sure, and the posturing of the various parties in the now more than \$100 billion of lawsuits filed against Carbide has clouded the true relationship between the parent and its Indian affiliate. But a tentative reading of the publicly available evidence so far suggests that the Bhopal facility may have been operating quite independently of the parent with regard to industrial and environmental question—thus adding credence to the recent admission by Warren M. Anderson, Carbide's Chairman, that Union Carbide India Ltd. basically "operated as a separate company." And much of this relative autonomy can probably be traced to the pattern of restrictive Indian regulations imposed on foreign investment and the importation of products, know-how and managerial and technical skills.

Carbide's Bhopal facility came under the rules of India's 1973 Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, which generally limits foreign investors to a 40% equity stake. In the late 1970s, however, Carbide persuaded the government to grant an exception on the strict application of FERA, based on its significant export volume and the technological sophistication of its operations.

Carbide was required by Indian law to design, engineer, build, operate and maintain its Bhopal plant with local labour, materials, equipment and staff, unless it could prove to the authorities that needed resources were unavailable locally. At the time of the accident,



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the plant was totally managed by Indian nationals. Detailed plant-design, engineering and safety procedures were reportedly left to an Indian team. Although process safety standards developed by Carbide in the U.S. were reportedly communicated to the Indian team, Carbide's director of health, safety and environmental affairs had to admit to the press in December that "how those design engineers responded to those standards is not known at this time."

Local management determined the frequency of safety audits. The plant had not been inspected by headquarters auditors for 2½ years prior to the accident. The 1982 inspection report warned that, due to a range of deficiencies including insufficient understanding of safe operating procedures, "the plant represented either a higher potential for a serious accident or more serious consequences if an accident should occur." Although many of the safety related changes recommended by the American inspection team apparently were made, it seems that no safety experts from the parent company ever returned to Bhopal to follow up on the critical 1982 study.

Fail-Safe Systems Ineffective

Nor had a computerized data-logging system like the one at Carbide's West Virginia methyl isocyanate plant—to detect buildups of temperature or pressure in storage tanks—been installed at Bhopal, where more labor-intensive, manual safety systems were relied upon instead. An extensive report on the accident published in India charges that at least five fail-safe systems designed to prevent precisely the kind of gas escape that occurred—the vent gas scrubber, the flare tower, the water curtain, the refrigeration system and the spare tank—either were shut down for maintenance or failed to operate effectively on the night of Dec. 3. Statements made by the general secretary of the union of the Bhopal plant seem to corroborate this "fail-safe failure" scenario.

It seemed clear to many observers during the two weeks after the accident that executives at Carbide headquarters had little substantive knowledge of what was really going on in India. No detailed knowledge of the safety standards, safety systems or evacuation plans in existence at the Bhopal plant, or blueprints of the facility, could apparently be found at Carbide headquarters.

Much of this reflects a pattern of "local adaptation," in which Union Carbide India Ltd. apparently followed its own course, without much in the way of active

and coherent headquarters intervention, monitoring, control and sanctioning on matters of plant safety and environmental protection. Carbide executives in Danbury, Connecticut, acknowledge that "no direct authority link" was effectively in place between headquarters and the Indian subsidiary. Such potentially cost-raising headquarters involvement may not have been desired either by local management or by the local shareholders—given that the plant was underutilized, had been cutting costs through personnel reductions and had been up for sale. Nor is such a pattern of loose control and decentralization on environmental and safety matters atypical for multinationals in joint ventures. Most studies in recent years have found varying degrees of "local accommodation," rather than "global standardization," to be the prevailing approach of multinationals to environmental management as well as occupational health and safety in their overseas operations.

Painful Realities

The propensity of host governments, especially in the Third World, to require that multinational corporate operations be "indigenized" has increased dramatically in recent years. Yet it is still not clear that the net benefits that host countries obtain from joint ventures and other forms of indigenization outweigh the gains that come with wholly owned foreign subsidiaries. Any gains may be largely political and symbolic. Host countries need to realize that they may pay a price for such ephemeral gains.

For their part, multinationals in hazardous industries can be expected increasingly to resist mandatory joint ventures when such arrangements might increase exposure of the company to risk and potential liability. Both Du Pont and Dow Chemical executives in recent weeks have noted the difficulties of conducting hazardous operations abroad where they cannot attain effective control over safety and related matters. Even Carbide's Mr. Anderson joined this chorus last week, warning in an interview that companies in the future may opt out of foreign ventures if declining ownership also means losing management control.

The message is that if developing countries continue to insist on a dilution of multinational corporate control, they will also be diminishing the motivation and capacity of companies to invest and to transfer environmental management and safety competence. The painful realities of this trade-off may turn out to be a key lesson of the world's worst industrial accident.

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Liberalism

Minoo Masani

The word 'Liberalism' derives from liberty. In other words, the individual is in the centre of the picture. Society is there to serve the individual and not the other way around as certain other systems of thought like communism or socialism try to make out.

The essential elements of Liberalism are all pervasive and touch every aspect of life. In so far as matters of the spirit are concerned, tolerance, particularly tolerance of dissent, is basic. Whether an issue is religious, communal, regional, national or pertains to small groupings like caste and linguistic groups, tolerance of the other point of view and willingness to argue about it are of the essence of Liberalism.

In so far as religion is concerned, Liberalism is not anti-religious but it is non-denominational and perhaps sceptical. A good Liberal does not attack all religions equally as a 'secularist' would do. A good Liberal would tolerate and respect all religions equally. In that sense, Gandhiji's attitude to religion was much more liberal than that of those who call themselves 'secular' and who look at all religions with an equally malevolent eye. The Indian Constitution is, in that sense, highly liberal and extends equal respect to all religions and religious institutions.

Pragmatism

Another basic characteristic of Liberalism is its pragmatic approach to whatever problem there may happen to be at a particular time. The Liberal does not approach any problem with a dogmatic or preconceived attitude. He is open-minded on all issues. Thus, for instance, in so far as democratic socialism is concerned, the Liberal would be quite prepared to accept as large a dose of State control as the circumstances of a particular country, case and time may warrant. While holding the view that competition, consumer preference and the laws of the market should predominate, the Liberal is flexible about the exact nature of the mixed economy which would be desirable in a particular context.

Pluralism

The Liberal is of necessity a pluralist, that is, he does not accept the predominance of any one line of thought or dogma or even one class of society. In the Liberal's mansion there are many chambers and

there is room for everything. The Liberal, therefore, believes in a pluralistic society where there are checks and balances between different organs of government such as the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. In a federal form of government, there have also to be checks and balances between the federal government on the one side and the state government on the other. In the case of countries with multi-religious, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual groups, such as India, the Liberal believes in the protection of the rights of Minorities. In the conflict between the individual and the State, there should be Fundamental Rights for the citizens with an appeal to the Courts of Law. There should be a separation of political and economic power. In other words, the Liberal believes in limited government. 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's'. God, in this case, is the conscience of the individual.

The Liberal is never a determinist. He never says that such and such a thing is bound to happen, as does the Marxist. All he can say is that, on the basis of a rational analysis, certain things are likely to result if certain other things happen.

Justice and Modernity

The Liberal stands for justice for the underdog, whoever he may be. Thus, he is for equality of women with men, though he may not be for Women's Lib. with all its aberrations. The Liberal stands up for the right of children and decent treatment for them. So too, the Liberal pleads for sympathy for the criminal and the odd man out.

The Liberal is a modernist. He is an advocate of change. He welcomes and cheerfully accepts modern technology with all its implications. He stresses the role of managerial skills in industry and business and other walks of life. He accepts the importance of science in modern society. It is not an accident that technology only thrives in freedom and, where freedom is denied to the scientist and technologist, there is stagnation.

In the conflict between modernism on the one side and obscurantism, whether that of the nation, the caste or religion on the other, the Liberal is on the side of modernism and change. The Liberal is not against tradition. On the contrary, the Liberal respects what is good in the tradition of people and seeks

to build and change on the basis of that tradition. In that sense, the Liberal is not an incendiary or disrupter but a constructive element of change.

"Bread or Freedom?"

The Liberal rejects the false antithesis between freedom and bread which the communists and the fascists always pose. They ask: "Do you want bread or freedom?" As if we have to choose the one or the other! As if, when you have freedom, you don't have bread or, to have bread, you must give up your freedom! Now this is a huge hoax. Because actually you don't get bread except *through* freedom. There is no known instance in human history where a country of slaves get bread. Now, by bread, we don't mean only bread. By bread we mean the good things of life—the material values of life, consumer goods, as we call them. There is no known example in human history till this day where, by denying people freedom, you give them a prosperous life. On the contrary, the Affluent Society comes only where there is maximum freedom.

Which are the countries where you have the most bread, to put it like that, that is the best time? Obviously, the U.S.A. leads, Canada, Australia and New Zealand come very close, then come the Scandinavian countries of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, then comes Switzerland, then you get West Germany, France, Italy, Japan and so on. Right down at the bottom along with us, you get the Soviet Union ahead of us, and China below us. In other words, when you do deny people freedom, you take away their bread also. That is natural. Why should slaves be well fed? Why should any government feed its slaves well? The Egyptians, who used slave labour to build the Pyramids, did not treat them well. They flogged them until they built the Pyramids and died in the process. It is only the free man who has a right to ask for bread. Because he has the right, he has got the strength, he has the vote, whatever you like to call it.

A Free Economy

A free economy therefore means that government has to play a rather limited and restricted part. Social control must be limited to a minimum. The whole idea of control is to interfere with people when something is going wrong. You stop a man from stealing, you stop a man from hitting somebody else, you stop a man from cheating somebody else, you stop an employer from cheating his worker—that is fair. But you don't stop a man from doing something which he

should be doing. So controls are only police measures to stop somebody from doing something he should not. The Government should not be like the mother who told the nanny: "Mary, go and see what Johnny is doing and tell him not to"! Johnny should only be stopped when he is really doing something which he shouldn't.

The second characteristic of a free society is that "the consumer is king." Everything must be done to serve the needs of the consumer, not of the industrialist, not of the businessman, not of the factory worker, but of the man who consumes, because he is the ordinary citizen. We *all* consume. There is not a single human being in India today who doesn't consume. He would be dead if he didn't. We consume, you consume, our children consume. Now what does "the consumer is king" mean? It means that the consumer must determine the pattern of production. The consumer must tell the industrialist what to produce and what not to produce. The consumer can do this by his purchasing power, by the little money in his pocket. The industrialist or businessman only produces what he thinks will make a profit. In other words, if there is a demand for a commodity, you produce it. If there is no demand, you are a fool if you produce it because nobody will buy it and you will lose your capital. In this way, the smallest consumer can determine the pattern of production in a free country.

Every time we go shopping, we cast a vote. As you buy a ticket to back a horse, so you go to a shop and say "I want Hamam" or "I want Godrej," or whatever it is. You cast a vote for that particular brand of soap against another brand, just as you vote for me and not for the Congress Party or vote for the Congress Party and not for me, or just as you back one horse and not another. Now, all these preferences for soaps and perfumes, for bread and biscuits and cakes, and whatever else you like, are totalled up on the economic tote and, by looking at the economic tote, the business community and the industrialists decide what is popular, what is favoured. They shift their production according to the demand.

This is what "the consumer being king" means. It has led to the highest prosperity known in history, the highest standard of life and also of equality of opportunity and status. This is a paradox. The countries where there is greatest equality—there is nowhere perfect equality, nor can there be—but wherever there is equality of opportunity and of status, it is in the capitalist countries. Which is the country in the world where the worker calls his boss by his

first name? The American worker never calls his boss Mr. so and so. He always says Tom or John. That is the United States. People in Europe are shocked at this kind of "vulgarity" or lack of good breeding because they are still class bound. So you get this strange phenomenon that you get not only the most prosperity but also the greatest measure of equality, which is supposed to belong to socialism, only in so called capitalist, or what I call liberal, countries.

Socialism

Now, let us turn to socialism, which is the denial of liberalism. Socialism is the reverse of liberalism. The Oxford Dictionary defines it as follows: "It is a principle that individual liberty should be completely subordinated to the interests of the community with the deduction that can be drawn from it, namely, the State monopoly of land and all capital." That is, the human being is nothing. The collectivity or community is everything. Man must be destroyed or used for the good of the community, which is to make Liberalism stand on its head.

The Labour Party in Britain, which is a very moderate socialist party and not a communist party, has in its programme included "the nationalisation of the instruments of production, distribution and exchange" as the objective. Now what does this mean? The instruments of production are the land and all factories. All industry and all agriculture should belong to the Government. Distribution is trade. So all trades, all shops, should belong to the Government. And exchange is banking. So all banks should belong to the Government. And what remains for anyone else is nothing! Only the flat or the home where you live or the motor car. Now, the only countries, luckily for socialism, where this has been tried are the communist countries. The British Labour Party, although it is often in Office, never tries to carry out its own objective, because it knows it would be horrible. It would be destroying liberty and Britain would become another communist State. So the British Labour people, the socialists, do not practise socialism. They only practise about 15 per cent of it or less. I once asked Mr. Herbert Morrison, the well known British Labour leader who is now dead, how much of industry they could nationalise in England without losing their freedom, without the House of Commons being abolished and a communist dictatorship ruling England. He thought a little and said: "Well, in England I would risk about 15

per cent but, if I were you, I wouldn't go so far." Britain is a very strong democratic country. They have got the tradition of freedom from the days of Magna Carta. They have got the "non-conformist conscience" which came as a result of the Protestant Revolution standing up to the Pope. In India we have no non-conformist conscience. We are only too easily prepared to obey whoever is on top, whether it is the head of the family at home or the boss in an enterprise or shop or the Government of the day, whether it is British or Indian. Now, in India, we have got well past 15 per cent Statism already.

Communism

What is the result in the communist countries? Let us take the Soviet Union as an example. Colin Clark, who is one of the world's leading economists and who has written many books on these subjects, has shown statistically that the rise in the standard of life in the Soviet Union since the revolution of 1919 till today has been about the slowest and the lowest in the world. There is no country where the rise in the standard of life has not been faster. That goes all the way from America to Japan and all the countries. Even today in Moscow and Russia, there is very poor housing. Two or three families have to share a room, exactly like our workers do, where two sets of parents and children will share a room in a chawl. This is common practice in Russian cities even today. A man is considered lucky if he can get a flat for himself and his family and that measure of privacy which we all enjoy. Good clothing is very short, shoes are even scarcer. Every Russian diplomat or engineer in India, when he goes back, takes back several suits and several pairs of shoes, not to oblige his friends but to sell them at a profit. He makes a huge profit out of this private trade or blackmarketing.

Agriculture has been the biggest failure in all Communist countries, because the peasant is very conservative and loves his land. Even if it is four acres, he loves it just as a mother loves her baby, however small it is. Mr. Nehru once said to me in Parliament: "Why should the peasant love his land? He has only got a miserable four acres". I said to him: "Think of the mother. Does she love her child less because the baby is small and not big or thin and not fat?" The peasant in India loves his land even if it is half an acre. He will fight for it, he will die for it, he sometimes stabs his own brother over a dispute as to dividing that land which the father has left them.

Freedom was won long before 1947. By people who could think for themselves and shed the shackles of dependence; by men of foresight and determination, like Ardeshir and Pirojsha Godrej, who had confidence in the country's capabilities and shared the same ideals with Tilak, Tagore, Gandhi, Nehru.

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Self-reliance is both a means and an end. For Godrej it is the essence of independence.



So the peasants in Russia have simply refused to co-operate. Stalin killed three million peasants because they refused to hand over their land and their cattle. The peasants slaughtered their cattle and Stalin slaughtered the peasants. It still hasn't improved anything. The yield per acre of land in the Soviet Union is among the lowest in the world. With their tractors and mechanisation, they still can't get as much out of an acre as most other countries in the world.

There are more inequalities in the Soviet Union than in Liberal countries. The American technician, the highest skilled, gets two and a half times the wage of the American "coolie", who does the hard manual work. This is the range of inequality between the "coolie", as we call him, and the most skilled technician or mechanic. In India, the inequality is probably about 1 to 25,—ten times the inequality in the U.S. Now, in the Soviet Union, it can be 40 or 50 to 1. This gives you an idea of how, far from creating equality this kind of system creates inequality. And there is a good reason for it. In the Soviet Union the people with millions of roubles of income every year pay only 13 per cent as income tax. It is flat. A clerk pays 13 per cent and the millionaire pays 13 per cent! This is called socialism in the Soviet Union but not in India.. Here they would call it reactionary.

You might want to know about the Estate Duty. There are Russians who leave millions of roubles to their children. You will be interested to know they do not pay a single rouble of Estate Duty or Inheritance Duty! There is no such thing. Now why does this happen? This happens because political power is being misused by the bosses of the Communist Party, the rulers, to feather their own nests. That is human nature, and communists are no different from anyone else. They like to line their pockets also with the good things of life and money. So what has happened is that the Commissars are looting the people as the Tsar used to loot the people. All ruling classes are apt to pocket more than their fair share of the dividend, and in Russia the ruling class is the Communist Party. There is no voting, there are no elections and the Communist Party dictates. So naturally political power is used by them to have a good time.

Lesson Learnt

Mr. Lee Kwan Yew, the very intelligent Prime Minister of Singapore, who is a socialist came to Bombay to meet Indian socialists some years ago and he asked a question of them. He said: "It is pertinent

to ask how is it that in Asia, countries like Japan, Hongkong, Formosa, Thailand and Malaysia, which are bustling free enterprise economies, have achieved success, while countries professing Socialism have failed to produce satisfactory results?" Prof. Kenneth Galbraith, who was American Ambassador in Delhi and who was an ardent socialist and planner in Mr. Nehru's time wrote a book called *The New Industrial State*. This is what he writes in this book:

"In India and Ceylon, and also in some of the new African countries, public enterprises have not as in Britain been accorded autonomy. Here the democratic socialist prerogative has in effect been fully asserted. India, in particular, has a legacy of colonial administration, has an illusion of official omniscience which extends to highly technical decisions The effect in these countries of this denial of autonomy has been exceeding inefficiency in operations by the public firms In India and Ceylon, nearly all public owned corporations operate at a loss. The situation is similar in other new countries One result is that a large number of socialists have come to feel that public corporations are by their nature, in the words of a Minister in the Wilson Government, 'remote, irresponsible bodies, immune from public scrutiny or democratic control.'"

The reason why this should be so is very simple. The body politic is like our own bodies. It consists of organs developed by society over the last few thousand years since we were primitive apes or beasts. Now, as human society develops, it throws up institutions. The Joint Stock Company has been thrown up in the last two hundred years to run business. The Government or State has been thrown up to rule, to maintain order. Our bodies are like that. We smell through our nose, we eat through our mouth, we hear through the ears, we breathe through our lungs, we digest in the stomach and so on. Now what would happen if we tried to distort our organs and asked them to do something different from what they were meant to do? Supposing we tried to breathe with our stomach and digest with our lungs or hear through the nose and smell with the ear? What would happen? It just wouldn't work. That is exactly what happens when we try to misuse an organ of society. Governments were thrown up by society and civilization to protect the country from attack, to stop one person from attacking another, to see that justice is done. In other words, Governments are there to keep law and order, do justice, protect people, protect the

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country from attack. That is where the basic functions of Governments stop. When Government tries to run a factory and to produce either penicillin or steel or whatever it is, it makes a flop because Governments are not made to make profits or to produce goods. Governments are not made to produce anything. Governments are meant to consume things, to keep order and give you a chance to produce. So state socialism and communism are a perversion of the laws of social growth. Therefore they are bound to fail. The conclusion to which one is driven then is that we have got to turn to Liberalism from this barren path.

The Old Liberalism

Liberalism is making a beginning in India. But this is not the first time that Liberalism has come to India. It came in the 19th century also. There was the old liberalism in India. Its leaders were Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Gokhale, Ram Mohan Roy, Surendra Nath Banerjee, whose names you know. I saw many of them when I was a boy or as a student, attending the lectures of Srinivasa Sastri. I remember as a boy playing round the feet of Dadabhai Naoroji at Versova where he was a neighbour of ours. I have seen Dinshaw Vachha, I saw Phirozshah Mehta, I knew Sapru and Jayakar. They have all gone and the old liberalism has gone also. It was killed by Mahatma Gandhi. When Gandhiji came on the scene as a dynamic nationalist following Tilak and Lajpatrai, he had no use for the old liberalism, because the old liberals were extremely moderate in their opposition to British rule. They were for Indian self-government. As you know Dadabhai Naoroji coined the word Swaraj—"Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it." But the method of fighting was very temperate and very moderate. He joined the British Parliament as a Liberal Member. He argued for India, but he was a constitutionalist. Liberals are not people who go to the streets, wreck things, attack people, and so on. Even today they are not. So, being constitutional, they appeared to be terribly moderate. As a young man, I was extremely impatient with my father and liberals of that type for being so slow and gentle about the evil of foreign rule.

Nationalism

Even today I am not against nationalism. I have been a very ardent nationalist in my time. But when we become free, we don't need nationalism any more.

It is like the measles. When you grow up, you don't have children's diseases like chickenpox and measles. Nationalism is a disease of foreign rule. When somebody is sitting on your chest, you want independence very ardently. You can't breathe without freedom and that is as it should be. But when you are free, you don't have to go on talking about your nationalism. Mature, advanced countries are not very nationalistic. They don't need it. Go to Switzerland. They are a very patriotic people, but they don't talk about Switzerland being the most wonderful country in the world! They are wonderful, but they don't talk about it. So, as we grow up, there is no need to be juvenile about nationalism. Of course love of the country must be there. When the country is attacked, we must rush to its rescue. We must make sacrifices for it every day. But we don't want to be chauvinists, We don't have to hate foreigners. We don't have to throw out missionaries. Nationalism, while a good thing, has had its day. We can afford to relax on nationalism.

Ends and Means

Socialism has failed to deliver the goods. It has produced neither equality nor a better life for the masses of the people. I have suggested to you why it had to be so. The aims of socialism are good. I am still a socialist in that sense. If you put it to me: "Do you believe in Lenin's 'free and equal society'?" I will say 'Yes'. If freedom and equality are the objectives of socialism, I am for it. But when I find that the weapon that I have used does not create freedom or equality but creates tyranny and slavery on one side and inequality and poverty on the other, then I would be a fool if I stuck to the weapon. I am not that conservative that I cling to an out-of-date blunderbuss when the weapon has become obsolete. What I am trying to say is that the objectives of socialism are still valid, but the methods are lousy. The methods have failed. State Planning, nationalisation, collective farming, these are weapons that have been tried and failed and only a stupid man hangs on to a weapon when he knows it can't deliver the goods. We have to be true to the objective, not true to the method.

This I learnt from Mahatma Gandhi with whom I used to argue as a young socialist. He kept on saying that by doubtful methods, you can't get a good end. Ends and means are meshed, interlinked. The end does

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not justify the means. We have seen from experience that we cannot get the good result of a free and equal society by injustice, by regimentation, by oppression, by lies.

The New Liberalism

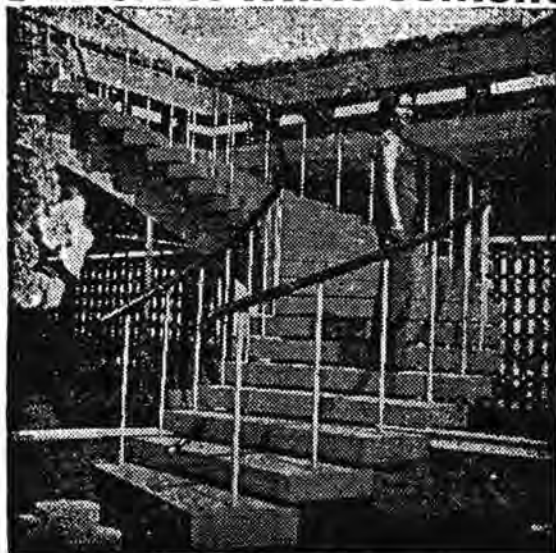
So the new liberalism has come to India after the failure of socialism. It is a fusion of western Liberalism and Gandhi. When the Swatantra Party was formed and I was drafting its programme, that is how I put it in an article in *Life* magazine—that two streams of thought had gone into the making of this effort, Western liberalism as they understand it *plus* the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.

What are these teachings that we graft on to liberalism or fuse with liberalism? First, that ends and means are interlinked; that if we want a decent society our methods must be decent. We cannot create a free and equal society by expropriation, liquidation, lying, as the communists claim they can. Secondly, as Gandhiji used to say repeatedly, "that Government is best which governs the least." Minimum Government. The essential thing is to leave the people free. Thirdly, Trusteeship, that those who have the good things of life, those who have wealth must use them for the good of the community. While we have a good time with what we have, we must not be devoid of a social conscience or a sense of social

obligation. Gandhiji called it Trusteeship of the rich for the poor. He said: let every rich man use his wealth. Certainly, let him keep it. Nobody should take it away. But let him use it so that he can have a good conscience that he is doing what he can for those around who are not so fortunate.

Now democracy has its disadvantages. I am not starry eyed about democracy. I realise its limitations, its corruptions, its deficiencies. Winston Churchill was a great democrat. He was asked a question about democracy towards the end of his life. He had tasted both the fruits and the bitterness of democracy. He had been in political exile for many years before World War II. He was brought in during World War II, and then he was put back on the scrap heap when World War II was over. This is how democracy works. It is just as well. We in this country don't place our great men on the scrap heap and that is why we are going down. After giving a little thought, Churchill said: "Of all the known systems of government, democracy is undoubtedly the worst—except for all the others!" That great Liberal in Asia, Carlos Romulo was once heckled by some communist students in the University of which he was President who asked him for a declaration of policy. They asked: "Mr. President, are you going left or right?" Romulo answered: "I am going forward". That is the essence of Liberalism. Neither left nor right, but right ahead.

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Reservations—The Political Vested Interest

Sumant Bankeshwar

IN one of their pre-Lok Sabha poll advertisements, the Congress (I) rightly asked whether one's destiny should be decided by birth or merit. This is precisely the question that is being raised by student agitators in Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat. We are all accidents of birth and none of us chose our parents. Should we then be penalised for not being born to a family belonging to a backward class or to a scheduled class or tribe?

That the agitation turned violent is to be condemned. But then the students are not unaware of the fact that in post-independent India peaceful agitations have rarely delivered the goods. This is not to condone violence, merely to explain it.

Pouring Salt on a Wound

The Supreme Court set a reservation ceiling of 49%. To this already high figure to add another 29% is to like pouring salt on a wound to the large number of students desperately seeking higher education on grounds of merit alone. In such a situation government's reported rejection of the proposal to link the economic criterion with caste as determinants of backwardness is callous to say the least. The entire reservation policy is against all principles of natural justice. It may be recalled that the first Backward Classes Commission had totally rejected caste as the criterion for determining backwardness and rightly so.

What is tragic is the race by many communities to claim the status of being described as a "backward class" for the privileges it brings with it. To describe a man as belonging to a "backward class" far from being resented, is actually welcomed. I know many young men who are not part of these classes bitterly describe "ST, SC and OBC" as the 'Sarkari Brahmins'!

It is time that the ruling party and those in the Opposition define backwardness. They should ponder over the fact that by continuing to treat backwardness as a caste and not economic criterion they are perpetuating the caste system as a permanent feature of our society. Does this not then mean that their preaching a casteless and secular society is sheer hypocrisy?

For the fact of the matter is that our politicians irrespective of political affiliations have a vested interest in perpetuating the caste system. Their condemnation is only for public consumption. The back-

ward classes constitute "vote banks" which political parties can ignore only at their peril. Hence the reluctance of even Opposition parties to support the anti-reservation stir.

If governments and politicians continue this it will not be long before a demand is made that the selection of our national representatives for cricket, football, hockey, tennis, or badminton and other sporting events should also be made on the basis of birth giving weightage to the "SC, ST and OBC" to the exclusion of talent. It may sound far-fetched today but can well become a reality soon.

Politicians and political parties have failed us. They have neither the courage nor the will to educate the backward communities on the long term evils of the reservation policy.

Citizens' Action Needed

What is needed is to evolve a phased programme to end the system of reservation over a period of time and not to legislate quantum leaps in the number of reservations at all levels. It is well to remember that reservations were conceived of as a facility that was initially time bound and which by now should have been eliminated altogether.

This is the kind of situation which calls for citizens' action—a non-party movement for justice based on merit, talent and economic backwardness irrespective of religion, caste or sub-caste. Initially it will be hard going but given the patience and the will, such a movement alone can save our country from sliding into the morass of incompetence. This will also reduce considerably the flight of talent abroad. For, among the major reasons for the so-called brain-drain is the absence of recognition and opportunities within our country for those with merit and talent.

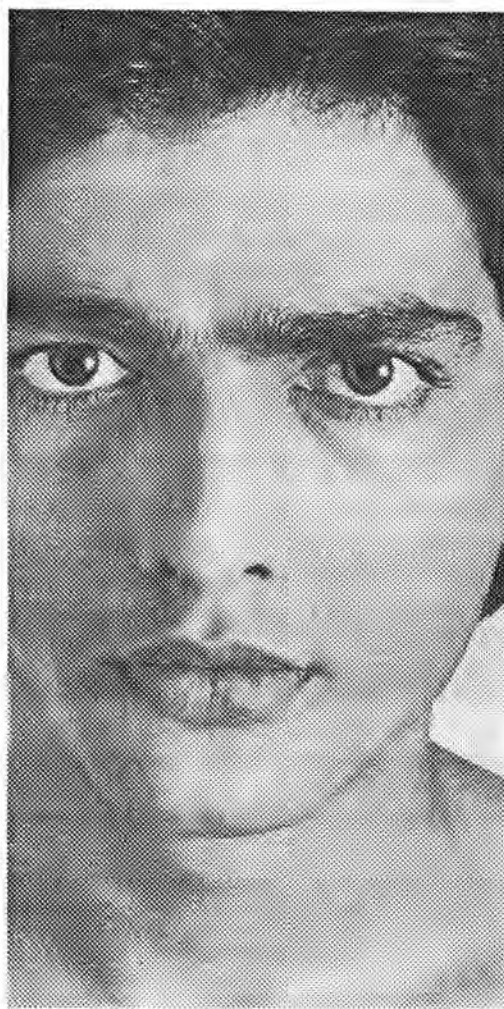
Meanwhile, speaking to newsmen at the Hyderabad airport on March 1, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said that the government would review the reservations policy after the elections. "The whole thing about the reservations is going a little out of hand and it has to be reviewed." When asked whether he proposed to constitute a Commission to go into the issue, Mr. Gandhi quipped "Why jump the gun? Wait and see."

We certainly intend to, Mr. Prime Minister.

Mr. Sumant Bankeshwar is a Bombay-based freelance journalist.



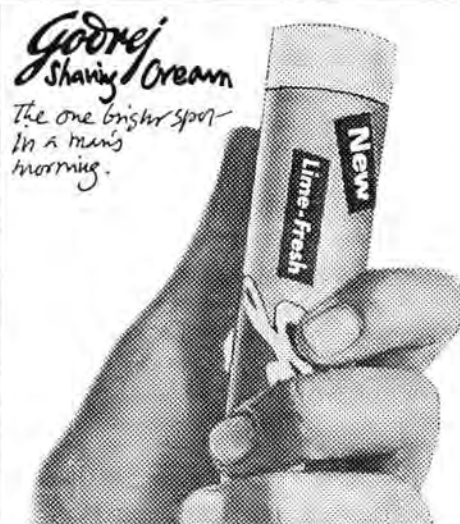
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Nissim Ezekiel

Who is Mr. Isi J. Leibler and why should we in India know his views, his work, his plans?

Mr. Leibler is an outstanding Australian citizen who was awarded the CBE in 1977. He is a personal friend of the present Australian Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, and also of former Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser. The Executive Council of Australian Jewry elected him President a few years ago. He is today also Chairman of the International Advisory Committee, Asia Pacific Branch, World Jewish Congress.

Mr. Leibler is also a journalist, political commentator and author. His first book, *Soviet Jewry and Human Rights* (1964) was a Marxist analysis of its theme and created a stir, among other reasons, because its facts, arguments and conclusions were endorsed by a leading Australian communist. At present he keeps up a steady stream of non-Marxist articles on Israel and the Middle East, on world Jewish problems and on Western as well as Asian politics.

I questioned him for an hour or so on his major concerns and activities.

Q. When did you start taking an interest in the Jewish community?

A. I started when I was still a college student. It is a question of one's identity and also, clearly, there was a cause that needed support. The Soviet treatment of its Jewish citizens seemed to me later, after the defeat of Nazi Germany, worth investigating for the light it threw on the communist state. The subject is better known now throughout the world than it was when I began writing my book. More recently, my concern for Israel and for Jewish communities in Asia, including India, led to much travel and to meeting leaders of the Asian countries.

Q. You had met Mrs. Gandhi, too, I believe.

A. Yes, and found her more sympathetic to Israel and the Jewish people than the policy of her Government indicated. She was obviously under tremendous pressure to take the line she did.

Q. Do you feel the official Indian stand on Israel could be different?

A. Yes, certainly. It can, for instance, do without the element of hypocrisy permeating it. Other countries are opposed to the stances and actions

of the Israeli Government, but they do not assume a superior moral position. The Indian Government has, for its own security and defence needs, done what it opposes morally when the Israeli Government appears to do the same for Israel's security. Would India tolerate the right of any group to oppose its very existence, its survival as a national entity? Yet Israel is supposed to negotiate with those who openly declare that their ultimate aim is the destruction of Israel.

Q. Is there any prospect of a change in this context?

A. I find that there is little official or unofficial hatred of Israel in India. There is, in fact, plenty of sympathy beneath the surface. India will discover that in dealing with the Arab world, prostration will have little effect. Australia is one of the closest friends of Israel. Yet, there is much trade with the Arab world, and it is not affected by the Australian feeling for Israel.

Q. Do you think India can be persuaded to really understand the Israeli position, and not merely modify its present policy?

A. Why not? There is an India-Pakistan problem. India is the bigger and more powerful country. Yet, India claims the right of pre-emptive action if Pakistan does not respect its frontiers. Israel is a small country with a population of only three million people, with the greater part of the Arab population wanting to crush it, wipe it out, not merely defeat it in war. What should Israel do? Wait passively till it is wiped out?

Q. What do you propose to do?

A. I propose to act as a friend of India, which I am. The direct business contacts can be supplemented by political, social and cultural contacts between Australia and India, between world Jewry and India. I believe that it will be a small contribution towards the Indian appreciation of the Israeli dilemma and of the problems of world Jewry, in general.

Prof. Nissim Ezekiel is a writer and a former editor of Freedom First.

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"The Punjab Story"

Darshan Singh Maini

Any collection of articles on a controversial issue by diverse hands is apt to reveal a variety of responses, such being the structure of the human mind. The aim, of course, is not to simply gather a few strays, but to see such an issue in an all-embracing manner, or, at any rate, in a non-partisan spirit. Any monistic approach tends to excess and extravagance, if not to a peculiar type of falsification. And the dangers multiply if the issue in question happens to be politically explosive, involving a clear clash of perceptions, attitudes and sentiments. That's how a volume like *The Punjab Story** becomes valuable as an exercise in information, analysis and comment on the *raison d'être* and modalities of Operation Bluestar on the hand, and on the role of its chief *dramatis personae*, on the other hand. Undoubtedly, the writers of these ten-odd articles have presented the Golden Temple tragedy as they see it, each in his own way.

Before I take up these articles one by one for comment, it is important to add a word of caution. Since the volume under review came out soon after the Army action in Punjab, any response today is likely to be coloured by the tragic and brutal events in Delhi and elsewhere. The new tragedy which, of course, subsumes the earlier, is an order of experience which inevitably falls across one's line of thought. Few of the contributing writers could have foreseen the horrendous consequences of Operation Bluestar. Some, I trust, may even be in a mood to revise their views, now that the true character of that lethal exercise, with all its tragic imponderables, has become all too clear. The grim dialectic of the situation since October 31 compels us to return to the events of June 1984 in a somewhat altered perspective.

In the opening article entitled "Genesis of the Hindu-Sikh Divide" Khushwant Singh gives us a brief, compact and helpful history of the birth and rise of Sikhism, and the emergence of the Sikh identity as a requirement of the changing politico-economic situation in India. He traces the Hindu-Sikh divide to the rise of the Arya Samaj Movement in Punjab which under the aggressive and polemical leadership of Swami Dayanand Saraswati started ridiculing the Sikhs in lecture, debate and verse. In one of his intemperate speeches in 1877, the pontifical Swami

"described Guru Nanak as a *dambhi* (hypocrite), and dismissed the *Guru Granth* as a scripture of no value or importance." No doubt, this provoked the Sikhs to become equally militant and harsh in their rejoinders, but, I think, it would be simplistic to view that polemical skirmish as anything more than a passing act of irrationality. For the fact remains, the Hindus and the Sikhs were till recently one large, integrated community of feelings and sentiments, despite their separate identities. For the most part, Khushwant Singh is content simply to record the sad story of these deteriorating relationships without going into the psychology of events, persons and movements. He holds Mrs. Gandhi as much responsible for this divide as the militant Akalis and the extremists.

In "Akali Dal: The Enemy Within"—a cheeky and provocative title—Amarjit Kaur, 'Our Politician from Patiala', whose rise to the Rajya Sabha is still a subject of so much surmise and witty comment in that princely town, bends over backwards to present the Congress (I) case, and please her patrons in New Delhi. It is all along an uneasy exercise in *double-think*, casuistry and rhetoric. Surely, we do not need an Amarjit Kaur or some hired scribe to tell us the pathetic role of the Akali leaders and their moral lapses in this great tragedy. It is Mrs. Gandhi's politics of aggression and confrontation that needs to be brought into the picture if a stereoscopic view of the tragedy is to be had. And there, Amarjit Kaur conveniently finds a whipping boy in Darbara Singh, giving a clean bill of health both to Giani Zail Singh and Mrs. Gandhi, the prime agents of this awful situation. In one of her rhetorical broadsides, she asks: "Where is the danger to the Sikh community?" The simple answer is that there was indeed no such danger till Mrs. Gandhi, and later the inheritors of her legacy—the criminalisation and communalisation of politics for voters—elected to make the Akalis' tactical and specious cry a brutal fact of life.

In her article "Terrorists in the Temple" Tavleen Singh, who had visited the Golden Temple complex several times during the 'hour' of Bhindranwale, and again a week after the storming of the holiest Sikh shrine, gives a graphic picture of the gory proceedings. At the outset, she attempts a fairly perceptive portrait of the prickly and warped personality of Bhindranwale whom she met for the first time in April 1983. Though she also presents *his* case from his own mouth in that

*THE PUNJAB STORY; Roli Books International, New Delhi; 1984; Pp. 199; Rs. 68.

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language of holy wrath, cunning and evasion which the maverick priest, in her view, had fashioned for himself, she is right to think that the man created by the Congress (I) for its politics of convenience and subversion turned away in disgust finally to return to his essentially religious, albeit obscurantist moorings and ministry. And, as she puts it, "The Bindranwale myth may, by the look of things, prove more powerful than the man."

The next piece, "Blood, Sweat and Tears" by Shekhar Gupta centres round the assault on the Golden Temple complex, and describes in some detail the terribly difficult and unhappy position of the troops against a well-entrenched 'enemy'. The regiments and some of the commanders are named, though, it becomes clear from the account that while a few Sikh officers were pressed into service for the sake of form, the actual task was left wholly to non-Sikh soldiers. It's a blow by blow description of *Operation Metal*—the battery and the assault—and an account of the surrender, the stench and the ruins that followed.

Subhash Kirpekar's "Operation Bluestar: An Eye-Witness Account" is less a chronicle of the military action than a hurried peep into the mind of Bhindranwale on the eve of the assault. Kirpekar claims to be "perhaps the last journalist to meet the lion in his own den." The impression he seeks to convey is of a man who was cruel and crafty, and who had succeeded in "romanticising" his role and "the cult of

violence.' The brief and brusque colloquy that's reproduced here shows Bhindranwale as a blustering fanatic who retained his rhetoric of wrath and his agile wits till the bitter end. As for Giani Kirpal Singh, the Akal Takht *jathedar*, he is "a haunted man, weak-willed, confused and brainwashed." However, Kirpekar's apologia on behalf of Baba Santa Singh, the hired Nihang chief, and his rejection of other alternatives to the storming of the Golden Temple complex put him finally in what may loosely be called 'the Government Party'.

However, when we come to a professional soldier's account, "Assault on the Golden Temple Complex: 5-6 June, 1984", one at once senses a different order of thought, and a different line of argument. For Lt. General Jagjit Singh Aurora (Retd.), the famed hero of the Bangladesh War, pulls no punches when he begins to examine the rationale, the field of operations, and the strategies of mounting the final assault. It is a military officer's verdict, and by one who had held one of the highest commands in the country. At the political level, he finds the Centre's policy of deliberate and tragic procrastination not a little responsible for the decision which apparently was, in the end, inevitable. Even then, if the military operations had been conducted more humanely and without political constraints, there would not have been that tremendous loss of life and wanton destruction as we eventually saw. He also nails both the official and the media lies regarding the Golden Temple itself. "In actual fact, "says

the hurt General," the Golden Temple had more than 250 bullet marks which I saw with my own eyes. I also saw that there were no prepared defences inside the Golden Temple." Clearly, Gen. Aurora despises the politics of murder and mutilation, but in his view the disease of fundamentalism has less to do with it than the climate of political corruption, knavery and cynicism in our bodypolitic. And finally, he gives a befitting reply to those who keep pillorying the Sikh intellectuals for failing to do their duty. "When were intellectuals," he asks, "ever consulted or asked to give their advice about solving the problem before 5-6 June, 1984?" Apparently, neither Mrs. Gandhi nor the Akali leadership had any thought for them, then or now.

M. V. Kamath's "Myth and Reality" saddens me more than any other piece in this volume, probably because I expected a greater grasp of the situation than he has shown. He has a fine, incisive mind, and he is right to say at the outset, "Punjab is a state of mind", not simply a State. And yet, in the end, he fails to remember his own aphorism, and suggests a remedy which, if anything, will queer the pitch to a point where we all shall be reduced to prayers, as it were. And, it is amazing how a book called *Heritage of Sikh Culture* by one Pritam Singh Gill rushes him into unwarranted fears and conclusions. The fact that it was made available to him by the SGPC would not mean much even if Gill had given his own biased version. It is this kind of exercise that makes him question afresh the idea of linguistic states, and, *inter alia*, offer a most specious argument in defence of the betrayer of their mother-tongue by the Punjabi Hindus. I have no doubt that Kamath takes a high-souled stance in the matter, but the concept of the linguistic states is not as retrogressive as he thinks. On the contrary, it expresses a revolutionary urge to reorganise the structure of a people's sensibility. If the politicians make the language look a villain of the piece, that doesn't destroy its force or value. Anyway, let him go and 'teli it in Gath!' New Delhi too is thinking on these desperate lines, with the difference that *the linguistic unity of Punjab alone is to be set aside* in its next move to tame the Sikhs.

In his piece "The Great Divide" Sunil Sethi tells us how Bhindranwale, a peasant sensibility suddenly pitchforked into politics and history, held Punjab "on a short fuse" for a couple of years. He had about a dozen meetings with that "combination of half-clown, half-loon", though wisely for Sethi, he never used such expressive phrases for him while the man was around.

And, if he did, it is even more wonderful that he is still alive and kicking. Bhindranwale's infamous 'hit-list'—a subject of so much 'black humour'—knew no bounds. So much for the intellectual integrity and courage of the tribe that once blew him up into a charismatic leader to secure interviews. And then the same folks blame the Sikh intellectuals for their silence.

The concluding article, "Lessons from the Punjab" by Arun Shourie distributes the blame for the Punjab tragedy almost evenly between "Mrs. Gandhi & Co." with their "dithering" and politicking, and Bhindranwale who, appeased and groomed by the Congress (I), was in the end "riding a tiger that he could not dismount." Shourie's belief that "the overwhelming majority of Sikhs disapproved as strongly of Bhindranwale, his politics, his brand of religion, his ends, his methods as anyone else", I trust, is well-founded, though what he writes about "the sense of relief" even in the Sikh community at his demise and exit is not true in one sense. It appears to me that the greater tragedy—the assault on the Golden Temple complex, the slaughter of hundreds of innocent pilgrims, the Army and police atrocities in the countryside—did not permit the Sikh psyche to experience any kind of relief. If anything, all these terrible happenings gave Bhindranwale a posthumous 'life' quite beyond his own dream and reckoning and deserts. Such are the irrationalities of charismatic politics. Of course, Shourie comes down heavily on Mrs. Gandhi as well. A few quotes will suffice.

- (1) "... action was delayed because for long the situation fitted in quite neatly with Mrs. Gandhi's politics: to foment chaos, to foment insecurity . . . and then present *oneself as the only available saviour*."
- (2) "Mrs. Gandhi's strategies will remain what they have been. But as the Punjab episode shows, they will be even more destructive than in the past." How true and prophetic, these words.
- (3) "Now, she depends on setting one community against another." And, that's precisely what her son and Party did in the wake of her assassination and the General Election.

Clearly, the sour grapes eaten by Mrs. Gandhi and Bhindranwale have set the teeth of the two communities on edge.

Dr. Darshan Singh Maini is a former professor of English at the Punjabi University.

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LANDMARKS IN THE LAW by Lord Denning;
Butterworths; Pp. 394; £6.95.

A broken resolution is not always a bad thing. When Lord Denning published *The Closing Chapter* in 1983, he had indicated that that would be his last book—a fitting finale, many thought, to a judicial career that had spanned four decades and seen some of the most remarkable developments in English law. But now, barely a year later, Denning is out with yet another volume of legal miscellany, to the pleasant surprise of his countless admirers.

"Since my retirement I have done lots of things," says the former Master of the Rolls by way of apology. "Yet I wanted to do more. I wanted to write just one more book. But what about? I would have liked to write a play. But I could not think of a plot. I dallied with a novel. But I could not invent the characters or situations. I prefer fact to fiction. So I turned to the law again."

And just as well. For the present volume, like its four predecessors, does what a dozen textbooks would have failed to do, viz. instruct, in the most entertaining fashion, lawyer and layman alike on the history and evolution of the legal process over the years. What is more, it is, in Denning's own words, "an anthology—a hotchpotch—in which you can dip at will. You can pick it up and read a chapter or two in the train or before you go to sleep; and then put it down. It is not a connected story with a central theme. It is a series of disconnected stories on disconnected themes."

The themes themselves are as absorbing as they are varied: high treason, torture and bribery, freedom of assembly, matrimonial affairs, martyrdom, international terrorism, freedom of the press, racial persecution, and so on. Denning has included, for good measure, a whole section on the notorious Profumo affair which rocked Britain in the 'sixties and over which he was asked to conduct an inquiry by the then Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. (Denning's report on the inquiry, incidentally, created a record which stands unparalleled in the annals of official publications: it was, in Bernard Levin's words, "the only blue-book for which both Her Majesty's Stationery Office and the largest bookshop in London opened their doors, outside which long queues had formed, at midnight, so as to be able to sell copies of it at the first moment allowed by Parliament").

As always, Denning's approach is essentially historical. His treatment of high treason, for instance,

opens with the interesting statement that it is the only offence now left in England which is punishable by death and governed by a statute passed over 600 years ago, the Parliament Roll being in Norman French. The felicity with which Denning has described the landmark case of Sir Walter Raleigh, who was prosecuted for this offence by James Stuart with the active assistance of Sir Edward Coke, is as impressive as his conclusion is damning: "According to the law of evidence, as we know it, the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh was outrageous. It was a travesty of justice. The conduct of the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Coke, was monstrous. Every bit of the evidence against Raleigh was inadmissible. It was all hearsay, rumour and conjecture. Each of it was the evidence of a self-confessed accomplice. It was not corroborated in any respect. None of it was taken in the presence of Raleigh. It was all done in his absence. He had no opportunity of cross-examining or seeing any of the witnesses. . . . One of the judges said afterwards that 'the justice of England has never been so degraded and injured as by the condemnation of Sir Walter Raleigh'."

Among the other cases of high treason recounted by Denning are those of the Irish nationalist Sir Roger Casement (which involved the interesting question of jurisdiction, for the guilty act was committed in Germany) and the American William Joyce who broadcast anti-British propaganda from Berlin during the First World War. Each of the accused was proved guilty and made to pay with his life. As a natural corollary to the chapter, Denning sets forth his own, much sought-after views on capital punishment:

"The punishment inflicted for grave crimes should adequately reflect the revulsion felt by the great majority of citizens for them. It is a mistake to consider the objects of punishment as being deterrent or reformatory or preventive and nothing else. . . . The ultimate justification of any punishment is not that it is a deterrent, but that it is the emphatic denunciation by the community of a crime: and from this point of view, there are some murders which in the present state of public opinion, demand the most emphatic denunciation of all, namely the death penalty."

The reference, obviously, is to organised terrorism, particularly of the kind practised by the IRA. "Take the bombs which were planted in Birmingham and Regent's Park and outside Harrods. Some of them

were planted by terrorists from Northern Ireland who owed allegiance to the Queen. In Northern Ireland terrorists deliberately shoot to kill the soldiers of the Queen. Are they not guilty of high treason? Yet none of them has been charged with it. They have only been charged with murder," laments Denning.

The same feeling of outrage permeates the author's discussion of the happenings outside the Libyan Embassy in London last April when Yvonne Fletcher, a woman police constable, was shot dead, and the only thing Her Majesty's Government could do was to order the closure of the Libyan mission. "You might have thought that our police would have entered the building at once—in defence of our people—and have arrested the miscreants. But no, . . . Not one of them will ever be brought to justice. . . . Why, why were these murderers allowed to go free? The reason given by the Government was that they were covered by diplomatic immunity"—an excuse Denning finds untenable.

Denning's comments on the coal miners' strike are no less interesting. "The trade unions," he says, "are facing a crisis. They have to decide whether to obey the law of the land or not. For over 70 years they were immune. Now, if they disobey, they are liable to fines and damages and to having their assets sequestered." He sees the 1980 and 1982 amendments to trade union law as fully justified. These amendments, contrary to the strident propaganda of trade union leaders, do not, in Denning's opinion, mean the end of the trade unions. "Far from it. They will still have much to do for the well-being of their members. They will still have to consult with management and co-operate with it. In case of disagreement, they will still be able to call strikes—within the limits laid down by law. They will still be able to set up pickets—within the limits laid down by law. They will still be able to 'black' goods or transactions within the limits laid down by law. They must keep within the law. That is fundamental to our Constitution."

One section of the present book which is bound to surprise, even shock, some of Denning's admirers is his treatment of *Liversidge v. Anderson*, the landmark case on preventive detention which figured so prominently in our own *Habeas Corpus Case* decided during the Emergency. In that case, four Law Lords held that under war time regulations, it was perfectly legal for the Government to detain any person on grounds of national security on the subjective satisfaction of the Minister concerned. However, in a powerful dissent (which has been revered by libertarians the

world over), Lord Atkin opined that the relevant statute had to be construed *objectively*, thereby making it obligatory on the government's part to give particulars. "In this country," observed Atkin, "amid the clash of arms, the laws are not silent. They may be charged, but they speak the same language in war as in peace." Atkin also expressed his apprehension over the attitude of his brethren who "show themselves more executive minded than the executive", an observation which Denning characterises as "wild rhetoric". He is firmly convinced that Atkin's dissent was wrong, although he concedes that Atkin's sentiments "find an echo in the hearts of every Englishman."

However correct Denning's view may be technically, the fact remains that with the runaway expansion in the powers of the government—more particularly of the executive branch—even in England the scope for abuse of such an unfettered discretion is frighteningly enormous. As for nascent democracies like our own, the experience of the Emergency is a grim reminder of the catastrophic consequences that can follow the acceptance of such a view. Even as tens of thousands of people were locked up, often under patently defective orders, and hundreds mercilessly tortured all over the country, the Supreme Court (speaking through Mr. Justice M. H. Beg) thought fit to observe that "the care and concern bestowed by the state authorities upon the welfare of detenus who are well housed, well fed and well treated, is almost material." Need one comment further?

—K. S. Venkateswaran

MEMOIRS OF A MEDIOCRE MAN by S. Y. Krishnaswamy; Bhamati Books; 1983; Pp. 243; Rs. 50.

"THERE WAS an annual dinner in which the Governors of The School participated. A senior colleague told me the following story. As he was one of the speakers on behalf of the students of the School, he was placed near the centre of the long dining table and not, as his rank warranted, 'below the salt.' A distinguished old gentleman was seated next to him and asked him from which part of India he came from. He told him that he came from Madras. He replied that he knew quite a bit of Northern India, but his knowledge of the South was meagre. He then told the old gentleman a great deal about South India, to which he listened with patience and what my friend thought was good understanding. After a

while, my friend asked him what he had been doing in India. He smiled and said casually "My name is Chelmsford. I used to be the Viceroy of India." During the rest of the dinner, my friend concentrated on the meal and did not utter a single word."

x

"Another English officer was invited to a "sitdown" dinner by an Indian gentleman. The plantain leaves were laid in a row and wooden planks behind them for the diners to sit. The host asked the English guest to lead the way, which he did, by promptly sitting on the leaf and expecting the food to be served on the low wooden table. Another English officer who attended a marriage feast was served with buttermilk soup which is mixed with rice and eaten. It had a generous dose of chillies ground into it, but he ate it without batting an eyelid, drinking a great deal of water all the time. His face turned a deep-red, and there were beads of perspiration on his forehead. When he took leave of his host, he was offered semi-liquid sandal paste, which one rubs on one's palm (in the olden days it was plastered all over the body for its cooling effect) and which reminded the Englishman of the fearsome yellow soup which he had consumed earlier. He thought it was the custom to offer it again to the departing guest. So he said "Ah, again this" and held out his palm, and promptly swallowed it. I think that the British have personally suffered much to uphold the prestige of the empire."

These and other delightful anecdotes are to be found in these *Memoirs* by a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service. S. Y. Krishnaswamy joined the Service in 1928 and retired in 1957. During the course of his life he held several important positions. As a young officer he was in charge of the administration of the Krishna District and after retirement he held the high position of director in the FAO. He was also adviser to the first UNCTAD Conference. The title of the book is modest but misleading for S. Y. Krishnaswamy, now in his eighties, is anything but mediocre and the *Memoirs* reflect a cultivated and versatile mind.

Interesting Observations

The book is remarkable for many reasons. It scrupulously avoids personal details in the belief that these are not likely to interest everybody. In fact the whole of Part I deals with the hazards of writing an autobiography. Krishnaswamy writes with malice

towards none and there is a gentle humour in almost all the episodes he narrates, of the men and women about whom he writes. There is no "politics" here although he was the first Secretary of the Swatantra Party—a position he resigned from, following some disagreement with the leaders.

When Krishnaswamy joined the ICS it was the highnoon of Indian nationalism. By this time the administration which was well known for its high ideals in the early 19th century had become lifeless and wooden; files become more important than men. SYK writes delightfully about the uneasy relationship between the young urbanised Indian members of the Service and their British counterparts with whom they had very little in common. Conversations at parties meandered into mindless topics which left the young Indians bored. They just would not fit in. The situation became even more uncomfortable when the wives were invited.

There are several interesting observations on the social habits of people particularly in South India and they indicate the social context in which the administration had to function. Administration had become a paradise for litigation, specially in Kumbakonam where they had converted it into a fine art. A habit quite common in Kerala, Tanjore and Punjab was people weeping before the officials whenever they wanted something. When one woman's supplicant who wanted her transfer was turned away, her husband was heard asking her "did you cry?" and the woman said "Did I cry!" You must have seen me at it" and they went away laughing.

Save for occasional lapses, the style is elegant and studied without being pedantic. Shakespearean allusions are cunningly worked into the prose. The book can be read as much for its fine writing as for the author's reflections on the men of his time.

Rajalakshmi P. Aiyar

THE DOCTRINES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY BY Cecil V. Crabb, Jr., Louisiana State University Press: Pp. 446; Price not stated.

THIS BOOK examines and analyses the significance and historical importance of the various American foreign policy doctrines, the changing pattern of global power politics and the Big Power rivalry that influenced the formulation of those doctrines. Each of these doctrines is the outcome of some crisis in Ame-

rican history. For example, if the Truman doctrine was based on the 'policy of containment' (as propounded by Kennan) the Middle East crisis was the justification for the Eisenhower doctrine. The Truman doctrine epitomised the American global role in world affairs with Truman calling for action "which will launch the United States on a new and positive foreign policy of worldwide responsibility for the maintenance of peace and order."

The author has done painstaking research and gives a lucid background to every doctrine. He has analysed the domestic factors that have influenced and moulded U.S. foreign policy as well as the patterns of Congressional reactions and support, which, refreshingly enough, are bipartisan, reflecting the national interests of the U.S. in world affairs.

This book is a valuable textbook for students of American foreign policy. Reading it one discerns that the salient features of the doctrines of American foreign policy, irrespective of their authors, is their recognition of vital national interests abroad as well as the quest for U.S. supremacy in global strategies consistent with the values of liberty and free institutions

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Prof. Nissim Ezekiel Prize Fund

Readers will be heartened to know that on the eve of Prof. Nissim Ezekiel's retirement from the Bombay University, some of his students, ex-students and friends have decided to raise a Fund with a view to instituting a Prize in his name. The Prize is to be awarded annually to the student who stands first in the American Literature/Indo-English Literature papers at the M.A. examination of the University.

Prof. Ezekiel retires from the University this month after a distinguished teaching career spanning over three decades.

Those desirous of contributing to the Fund may send crossed cheques drawn in favour of the "Professor Nissim Ezekiel Prize Fund" to Ms. Snehlata Pandit, 7 Jo'liza Building, 30 Sasmira Marg, Prabhadevi, Bombay 400 025.

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I, J. R. Patel, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

J. R. Patel
Publisher.

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FREEDOM FIRST FOUNDATION

Freedom, with social responsibility and the rule of law, is the foundation of civilisation and a precondition for social and cultural progress. Few people however, have an adequate idea and understanding of the meaning and value of freedom and its implication in day-to-day life. Generally, freedom is taken to mean merely the absence of restrictions of whatever one wishes to have or do. It is doubtful whether freedom as a basic value has become a part of our cultural ethos.

There is urgent need to promote the acceptance of the values of freedom and dignity of the individual among our people and specially among the young. The only hope lies in the efforts of voluntary organisations specifically dedicated to the promotion of these values. A long-term programme of sound popular education in the meaning, implications and responsibilities of freedom in all its aspects is necessary.

These considerations, and the desire to make efforts in that direction, have prompted the establishment of the **Freedom First Foundation** as a non-partisan, educational, charitable Trust for the promotion of these values and ideals. The Foundation will organise lectures, seminars, study classes, and other educative and cultural activities, and will publish and/or subsidise the publication of periodicals, books and pamphlets, for the promotion of these aims and objectives.

We appeal to all those who are committed to freedom, democracy and an open society to support the Foundation by sending donations and contributions to the corpus of the Foundation.

The Foundation has been registered under the Public Trust Act and donations of Rs. 250 and above are exempt from tax under Section 80 G(1) of the Income tax Act, 1961.

Cheques should be made payable to the **Freedom First Foundation**, 127, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 400 023, and earmarked for its corpus.

Anyway

People are unreasonable, illogical and self centered. **Love them anyway.**



If you do good, people will accuse you of selfish ulterior motives. **Do good anyway.**



People really need help but may attack you if you help them.

Help people anyway.

If you are successful you win false friends and true enemies. **Succeed anyway.**



The good you do today will be forgotten tomorrow. **Do good anyway.**

Give the world the best you have and you'll get kicked in the teeth.

Give the world the best you've got Anyway.



Honesty and frankness make you vulnerable. **Be honest and frank anyway.**



People favor underdogs but follow only top dogs. **Fight for some underdogs anyway.**

What you spend years building may be destroyed overnight. **Build anyway.**



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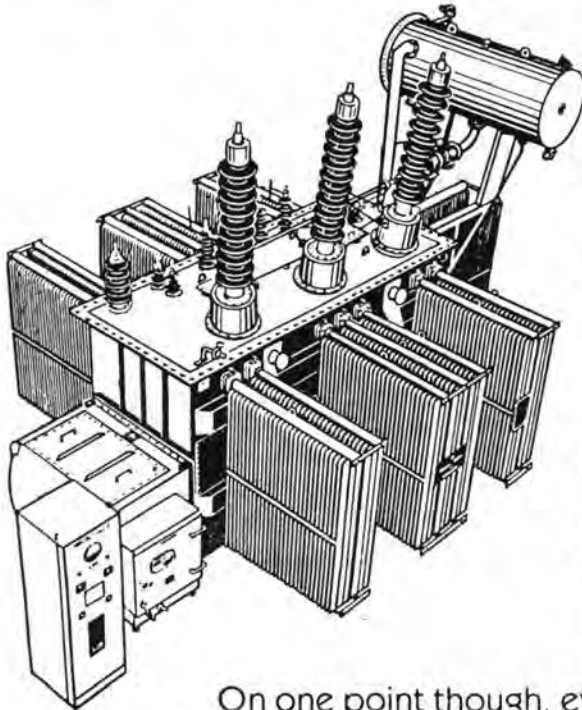


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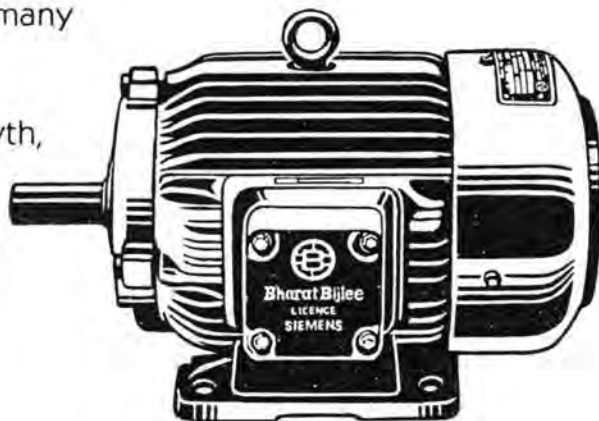
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