

A QUARTERLY OF LIBERAL IDEAS

Freedom First

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42ND YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Kashmir

... Promises to keep

South Africa's Moment

An Ominous Parallel
from Kenya

All about Earthquakes



H.M.Patel - A Many-Splendoured Personality



An outstanding human being, an able administrator, and a builder of institutions, passed away on November 30, 1993 at his residence in the university town of Vallabh Vidyanagar.

I was in Baroda earlier that year and, on an impulse, decided to call on 'Mr. Patel', as I used to call him. (To his peers and close friends he was HM or Hirubhai. Though I was no peer but a much younger man who admired and respected him I use the initials here when paying this tribute to his memory for the world knew him better as HM). I was led into his study and there he was watching a football match on Prime Sports, the Sports channel of Star TV!

HM was an avid follower of sports, particularly cricket. And it was not unusual for him to be seen at the break of dawn with a transistor radio, sitting on the swing in the verandah of his home and listening intently to the running commentary of some match or the other. He had an advantage over us if the match was being played overseas because needing only 4 hours sleep HM could be wide awake till late in the night or be up in the early hours of dawn to be able to tell us what the newspapers of the following morning couldn't - the latest score!

He was happy to see me but not surprised. On more than one occasion I heard him say that whenever he ran into a

former comrade in the Swatantra Party the warmth of the greeting touched him greatly. He said that he found this kind of comradeship and fellow feeling missing in the Janata Party or its successor, the Janata Dal. So, the fact that I, a former Swatantrite dropped by to say hello didn't surprise him.

He was such an outstanding civil servant that even a bare recitation of the positions he held after passing the ICS examination in 1926 is enough to reveal HM's remarkable contribution to India, particularly after 1946. The British had already recognised their appreciation of his services by awarding him the CIE (Commander of the British Empire).

To mention just two: As Defence Secretary (October 1947), he played a major role in reorganising the Indian Armed Forces fragmented by partition. As Principal Secretary in the Department of Economic Affairs, he was instrumental in the nationalisation of insurance companies, and the formation of the Life Insurance Corporation of India (LIC), reforming the Company Law administration, the decimalisation of the currency and the conversion of the Imperial Bank into the State Bank of India.

Falsely implicated in a scam involving the LIC (of which he was Chairman), HM, though totally exonerated, was obviously so disgusted that he took premature retirement from the service and involved himself actively in the work of the Charutar Vidyamandal at Vallabh Vidyanagar.

Wrote Mr. Bhailalbhai Patel or Bhaikaka as he was known to the people of Gujarat:

"His retirement from the Government service came - as an indirect blessing to Charutar Vidyamandal and the people of Gujarat. I particularly, was fortunate to have him take over the work at Vallabh Vidyanagar; so that I could employ my energies in other fields. The Charutar Vidyamandal and the people of Gujarat in general and Kaira District in particular have every reason to feel grateful for and proud of his work."

In 1966, he responded to Bhaikaka's call to enter politics, joined the Swatantra

Party and took charge of the party's election campaign in Gujarat. Though he himself lost the elections in 1967, he saw the party emerge as a major political force in Gujarat with 67 members. He entered the State Assembly through a by-election. He was elected to Parliament in 1971 the year of the so-called 'Indira Wave' when most stalwarts of all parties other than Mrs. Gandhi's Congress fell. During the 'Emergency' he was the leader of the Janata Front in the Lok Sabha. Re-elected as a Janata Party candidate in 1977, HM was Mr. Morarji Desai's choice as Finance Minister and later Home Minister in India's first non-Congress Ministry.

In 1968, HM was elected national President of the Swatantra Party. How he was thwarted by a coterie that ultimately destroyed the party is a long story and not quite appropriate for this occasion. But it was during his tenure as Swatantra Party president that I came to know him intimately and to realise what an outstanding human being he was. The man behind the stern visage had a heart of gold.

He gave up active politics in 1980 and was involved in the setting up of a hospital in nearby Karamsad, Sardar Patel's birth place. Despite his advanced age or perhaps because of it, HM worked like a man possessed to complete the hospital and complete it he did. Today the 850-bed hospital complex with an attached medical college is a reality. When I called on him at Vallabh Vidyanagar in 1981 I found that the hospital project had rejuvenated him. With energy and enthusiasm that would have been the envy of a much younger man he insisted on my accompanying him on his round of the construction site pointing out where the radiology department was or the special arrangements being made for relatives who accompanied the rural patients - for this was a hospital for the rural folk in and around Kaira district.

If the University town of Vallabh Vidyanagar is a testament to Bhaikaka, the hospital is a monument to HM's concern for his fellow human beings.

Freedom First salutes the memory of a worthy son of India.

S. V. Raju

Freedom First

A Quarterly of Liberal Ideas

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BETWEEN OURSELVES ...

For the second time in four years we feature Kashmir on our cover. In October 1990 we reported on a seminar organised by the Rajaji Foundation under the title: The Kashmir Problem - Time for a People's Initiative. Introducing the subject we wrote:

"The winds of change that have swept across Europe and the Soviet Union have had no effect whatsoever on India. The non-Congress National Front government was expected to depart from the discredited policies and pattern of governing of its predecessor. Nothing of the kind has happened.

"A case in point is Kashmir. Holding on to the now outmoded idea of national sovereignty we continue with our policy of hanging on to a state with armed force."

Nothing has changed since then. There has been no genuine peace initiative by the people nor has the present government engaged itself in any new thinking. In fact the situation has worsened with a new dimension. India is now viewed internationally as a violator of human rights in Kashmir. The title we have chosen this time is an attempt to recall the time when Nehru and Ayub Khan almost agreed on a solution. Unfortunately Nehru's death put paid to that one chance we had of solving the issue. Along with the two articles we carry a response from a reader who has taken umbrage at our having reproduced Bernard Levin's comments in *The Times* (London) on the Indian Army's activities in Kashmir even if we find it difficult to agree with his view that "Kashmir is a part of India and this is not a negotiable issue." *Freedom First* is second to none in being proud of the great traditions of the Indian Army which have been maintained when everywhere else in the sub-continent (the former British India) the Army has interfered in the political process. It is this pride in the our Army's glorious traditions that prompted us to draw attention to a criticism by a well-known columnist who has the added qualification of being a lover of India. We invite readers to write in their views.

We came across a bunch of resolutions adopted by the *Shetkari Sanghatana* and were deeply impressed by the level of maturity and the fund of commonsense shown in these resolutions which are not confined to issues directly affecting farmers but also economic policy in general.

We carry an exclusive from our Founder Mr. M.R. Masani: An open letter expressing concern over the slowing down if not a reversal of the reforms process and its long term impact on India's economy already battered by 40 years of socialist misrule.

Finally a belated but nevertheless sincere 'Happy New Year' to you. Thank you for your patience in putting up with our incompetence in producing the issue on schedule.

S.V. Raju, R. Srinivasan

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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

The Congress can today produce a hundred prime ministers. So can the Opposition. Delhi is full of monuments, *samadh*s and former cabinet ministers.

Arun Nehru, *The Sunday Observer*, July 11.

For 40 years we refused to recognise Israel, the only democracy between Greece and Gujarat. Yet we embraced the Chinese though they invade Tibet, and occupy Indian territory.

TVR Shenoy, *The Week*, October 10.

When communism falls in China - as it surely shall - not all the perfumes of China can hide the stink that hovers around India's benighted Nehruvian foreign policy. The stench of cowardice.

TVR Shenoy, *The Week*, October 10.

In formulating his budget for 1994-95, the finance minister seems to have taken the view that, if life itself was a gamble, how could it be otherwise in the case of the budget?

Madhu Dandavate, *The Times of India*, March 12.

Giveaways may cost a lot in the long run, but at election time they look like a price worth paying.

The Economist, February 23.

After all, if Coca Cola, Kentucky Fried Chicken and Littlewoods can have a free run of the middle class consumer market, it is arbitrary to deny *The Financial Times* or *Time* the same privilege.

Swapna Das Gupta, *Indian Express*, February 10.

Power is New Delhi's main marketable commodity.

Govind Sarathy, *The Times of India*, December 15.

Korean workers sleep on the factory floor to save commuting

time; their European counterparts, as the story has it, also sleep on the factory floor, but during working hours.

Gerd Behrens, *Time*, October 25.

Come to think of it, our glorious temples are where our Constitution is violated more than in any other place.

K. Govindan Kutty, *Indian Express*, January 31.

Mutts and Shankaracharyas are sprouting all over the country in the same manner as the unauthorised Jhuggi-Jhonpris in Delhi.

A senior social scientist quoted in
The Times of India, December 15, 1993

I am not afraid of dying of AIDS tomorrow. I am worried about dying of hunger today.

A Bombay streetwalker, *The Statesman*, January 1.

There are two types of lands (in West Asia) - oily lands and holy lands.

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres (during his visit to India in June '93), *The Statesman*, January 1.

In the long run, rights must be based on what people have in common - their membership of the human race - not on genes or accidents of birth.

The Economist, December 25, 1993

Don't squeeze an orange that is not yet in your grasp.

Swaminathan S.A. Aiyar, *The Times of India*,
November 14, 1993.

If you cannot trust Kashmiris, the local administration and police, then what is your business to be there. It is not that we want only the real estate in the valley.

George Fernandes, *Communalism Combat*,
November 1993.

The Seven Don'ts for Indian Business

- Don't club but compete.
- Don't beg for level playing fields but create them.
- Don't fight, but leave the field to the professionals.
- Don't shun science.
- Don't be extravagant.
- Don't neglect human resources.
- Don't neglect your social responsibilities.

Prof. S. Ambirajan, *The Hindu*, January 27.

OF CABBAGES AND KINGS

"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



A Gram Panchayat connives with a Rapist

Most of us are great believers in decentralisation. But even this laudable and highly democratic belief must be accompanied by education and a high degree of social consciousness if the holders of such decentralised power are to act with a sense of responsibility. This is the moral of a story emanating from Meerut (in UP) that the gram panchayat of a village in the Charthaval police station area in Muzaffarnagar set free a rapist after giving him a minor punishment and *destroyed all relevant evidence of the crime according to the police*.

According to the report in *The Pioneer* a minor girl was raped. The girl's mother took the matter to the panchayat who decided to debar the youth's entry in the village for six months after blackening his face. And, at the same time destroying all relevant evidence.

Mercifully the chief of the panchayat was subsequently arrested by the police while the rapist was absconding.

Panchayati Raj is an integral part of democratic decentralisation. But Panchayat members must be educated in basic democratic concepts and precautions taken to ensure that panchayat members are not stooges of the dominant caste or the village rich.

SVR

Hear No Evil, See No Evil

A reader has written asking us to

discontinue mailing him copies of *Freedom First* despite his endorsing and appreciating our stand on issues and the efforts made by our organisation. He says that he has stopped reading newspapers, switched off the radio and TV to be saved from the continuous assault on one's moral sensibilities. The immorality and unprincipled action of the majority of public men compels him to retreat into a shell.

How many of us do not feel similarly when we read in the newspapers of the shamelessness of politicians; of the thugery of the socially mighty; of the scams of financiers? It is true that the worst have a passion while the saintly can only whisper. But has the world ever been any different? Public life has had its dark corners and its bloody deeds which made Gibbon, the great historian, declare that history is a register of crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind.

But surely the world has changed, even if slightly, for the better. Could there have been a Medha Patkar earlier? For the first time we have as Vice President someone from the backward classes. People in slumber for centuries have been awakened and are demanding things. The exposure of evil deeds by the media is a valuable thing in itself. Had there been a free media then Nero would not have dared to indulge in his horrors and obscenities nor Mohammed bin Tughlak have brazenly murdered his father. The media brought to book Nixon, turned out Indira Gandhi and Antulay and sent a Dharendra Brahmachari to Coventry.

We have to learn to live with evil and to tame it. One of the ways of accomplishing this is through a free media exposing all and sundry. It may not do good to us individually but collectively it has the potentiality of improving the world.

RS

Communalism Combat

Human rights activist Teesta Setalvad and Javed Anand the journalist have set up an organisation called Sabrang Communications to "analyse and expose the machinations of communal politics in India and to publicise the attempt of secular individuals, groups and organisations engaged in fighting them."

As part of their effort they have founded a monthly publication entitled appropriately named *Communalism Combat*. The first issue appeared in August 1993. I have been reading this journal and I must compliment the editors for their even handedness in dishing it out to fundamentalists irrespective of all hues.

Strongly recommended for those who would promote a secular temper in our country.

Annual subscription Rs.110.

For further details write to:
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SVR

Indian Secular Society - 25 Years of Commitment

R. Srinivasan

Now more than at any other time is it imperative for us to promote secularism and tolerance of dissenting views. The repeated attacks on unpopular opinions, the bold assault on journalists have made all of us in the post-Ayodhya era helplessly to witness the practice of what one of the oldest books once eloquently advocated-

"..... he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death and all the congregation shall certainly stone him...." [Leviticus, 24:16]

Every local satrap has now become an Ayatollah issuing fatwas within his domain. Earlier, there would have been a shamefacedness from people indulging in these; now they revel in such barbaric acts. The widespread intolerance in matters civil, and religious is disturbingly similar to what happened in Europe. We are reminded how in Europe intolerance arose first against religious minorities and their ways of life. These were so widely shared that such attitudes of hatred became almost normal and unquestioned. From religious intolerance, it is easy to fatally slide to intolerance of other unpopular views - whether it be about Shivaji, Shahu Chatrapati, the Swaminarayan sect or the Acharya of the Lingayats. Religious tolerance is the foundation on which other civic values can be raised. Secularism is the basic, fundamental need of the hour.

In this context readers of *Freedom First* would be heartened to learn that the Indian Secular Society has completed twenty-five years of useful service to the cause of India's social and mental betterment. Also, the bimonthly journal *The Secularist* completes its 25th year of continuous publication.

A special issue of *The Secularist* [Jan-Feb, 1994] recalls the history of the Indian Secular Society from its inception in 1968 at Bombay. It is interesting to note that its inauguration was in a college run by the very institution in whose founding the great secularist humanist of modern Maharashtra, G. G. Agarkar had a part to play.

Professor A. B. Shah the moving spirit behind the Society conceived of this to labour "mainly at the level of ideas and communication." Conceived as a clearing house of information on secularist and obscurantist trends in India, it wanted to examine the grievances relating to religious freedom, the problem of minorities and to enlarge the area of secularization in India's public life. This was felt to be necessary for Indian men of public affairs [including Rammohun Roy and M. G. Ranade] have had to truckle down to forces of obscurantism at some time or another. Since any secularization of Indian public life could not ignore the Muslim predicament, Professor Shah took the bull by the horns and ventured early in advocating reforming Muslim society and institutions in India. He was extremely fortunate in having Hamid Dalwai as one of his early activists, for, apart from Shah, none had the grit and determination to tackle the forces of darkness in that religion.

Several conferences, seminars, workshops relating to the problem of the Muslims, particularly their women were examined. Extensive lecture tours were undertaken. The tasks were indeed Himalayan such as, the continuous propagation of a Uniform Civil Code, founding the Muslim Satyashodak Mandal etc. It mustered Muslim women who braved more than mere disapprobation from

their community to meet together and participate in workshops promoting the idea of a Uniform Civil Code.

At the same time it took on the Hindu Sanatanists as well for their well orchestrated attacks on dissidents. It also organised an all India Congress of Forward Looking Muslims in Delhi in 1971. For a non-Muslim who had no special legitimacy or appeal to the community and to see to its successful completion needed a great deal of determination. Fortunately Professor Shah had this in good measure.

It was a tragedy to the movement that both the stalwarts, Hamid Dalwai and A. B. Shah died early. But their successors are carrying the ideals with equal commitment.

Readers can do a great deal to foster the values of Secularism in our country. They could become members of the Indian Secular Society, contribute to its corpus fund, enrol new life members, take out gift subscriptions of *The Secularist*. Of course, the best thing would be to enrol oneself as a life member of the Indian Secular Society. The Society publishes pamphlets, holds workshops on universal humanism and is affiliated to the International Humanist and Ethical Union, Utrecht.

Life Membership	Rs.500/-
Ordinary Membership	Rs. 50/-
[journal sent free]	
Annual Subscription	Rs. 30/-

For more information, write to:

**Indian Secular Society,
850/8A, Shivaji Nagar,
Pune 411 004.**

The Masani Viewpoint

An Open Letter to My Younger Friends

Dear Friend

Way back in 1959 when Rajaji and I founded The Swatantra Party and pleaded for a market economy for India it was considered politically foolhardy, if not downright foolish for us to go against the then prevailing dogma of socialism. Nevertheless we persisted because it was already apparent to some of us that the economic policies being followed by Pandit Nehru and his party based on the 'socialistic pattern of society' would lead the country to bankruptcy. Our worst fears came true for the 'socialistic pattern of society' did lead to economic disaster and moral degradation.

Over forty years later, Mr. Narasimha Rao as Congress Prime Minister admitted that the economy was in dire straits and 'hard decisions' had to be taken. Yet he and his party refuse to admit that the 'socialistic pattern of society' was responsible for the country being in "dire straits" - to such an extent that we had actually to pawn the country's gold with banks overseas to borrow money to run the Government of India.

This is hardly surprising considering the fact that they have been the biggest beneficiaries of what Rajaji so aptly described as '**The permit-licence-quota raj**'. A cosy arrangement which enabled the ruling party and its variants in the opposition, in the name of 'socialism', to control the so-called 'commanding heights of the economy' and, thus hold the reins of both economic and political power in their hands.

If they have now taken the path of economic liberalisation it is only because there are no other options available to save the country from economic ruin not to speak of their own political survival.

This explains why the present Congress leadership speak with different voices to different audiences:

Free economy	-	to international institutions, foreign and NRI investors;
Continuity	-	to their supporters and their partymen;
Residual socialism	-	to organised labour; and
Welfarism	-	to the poor.

If the economic reforms fail then the one opportunity the people of India have had in forty years to look forward to a better life and a fighting chance to reduce poverty and unemployment, will have been lost and it will be a long long time before another such opportunity presents itself.

Why do I lay so much stress on liberalisation? I do so because I believe that the business of government is to govern and not be in business. How true that Gujarati proverb: 'Where the king becomes a trader, there his subjects become beggars'. The policy of involving itself in industry, trade and commerce has led to the state neglecting its primary responsibilities: The maintenance of law and order, the provision of drinking water facilities, primary health care, primary education, and a network of good roads and rail lines.

These ought to be the objectives of the new economic policy. And this is the essence of liberalisation. It will enable the government to live within its means as it will make it unnecessary for governments to maintain huge administrative overheads. It will eliminate the need for deficit financing which in turn will help keep prices at reasonable levels. A government committed to liberalisation will not, even while proclaiming its policy of freeing

The Masani Viewpoint

the economy, engage in the dubious and anti-market act of administering prices as it did recently in the case of petrol. Such acts make a mockery of economic reforms and can only hamper the process of liberalisation.

I am personally unhappy with the fact that the Indian voter today has to make his choice between unwilling liberalisers on the one hand and those who seek the people's support through appeals to religion or caste be it Ayodhya or Mandal. Had I been even ten years younger I would have taken an active role in educating people on the real meaning of liberalisation, why it was so important that the economic reforms succeed. I might even have taken the initiative to once again organise a movement to put pressure on the government to ensure that it honestly implemented the reforms.

Since my advanced years and consequent physical frailty prevent me from doing so I appeal to my younger friends and all those who have faith in the dignity of the individual, their right to live their lives with the minimum of state intervention, and who wish to see an India where people have a fair opportunity for self-fulfilment, to get together and organise a movement. If such a movement does not emerge soon I am afraid the reforms process will, in the not so distant future stutter to a stop and when that happens we will once again find ourselves at the bottom of the heap.

Surely, we do not want that to happen because the people of India deserve better.



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Kashmir - The Way Out

K. S. Ramamurthy

India should get out of the hangovers of the past and stop thinking of Pakistan as a permanent enemy. Good neighbourly relations with Pakistan and Bangladesh are essential for stability and the economic development of the subcontinent. Statesmanship of a high order is required to approach Indo-Pakistan relations afresh with an open mind taking into account the realities of the situation as of now.

Kashmir is the major irritant to Indo-Pakistan relations and India has been consistently ignoring certain facts. It is unpalatable perhaps but a fact all the same, that the Congress accepted the two nation theory when it agreed to the partition of the sub-continent. The basis of partition as applied to the British Indian territories was that the Hindu majority areas were to be retained by India and the Muslim majority areas would form part of Pakistan. Mr. A.A.A. Fyzee has pointed out that if Kashmir was British Indian territory and not a princely State, "under the terms of the partition and in consonance with the agreed basis thereof, the Kashmir valley would have gone to Pakistan" (*Seminar*, June 1964).

Basis of Accession

There is a mistaken notion that after the withdrawal of the British the princely States were to accede to one or the other of the Dominions that came into existence. The legal position was put forth on behalf of the Government of India by the late N. Gopalswamy Iyengar in his address to the Security Council on February 6, 1948: "If I may explain the position in detail, the law bearing on the facts is as follows: Under Section II of the India Act, any Indian State is at liberty to accede to either Dominion or to remain independent." However it was made clear by Lord Mountbatten that princely States in exercising their option must have due regard to the basis of partition. Mr. Fyzee is right in saying: "This is borne out by the fact that when Junagadh acceded to Pakistan, India very justifiably challenged the step taken by the ruler of Junagadh, pointing out that the accession was not in conso-

nance with the basis of partition. On the same basis India prevented the Hyderabad, Jodhpur and Bhopal rulers from exercising their own will and asked them to accede to India in accordance with the basis of partition" (*Seminar*, June 1964).

The Circumstances

In the case of Jammu and Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh, the then ruler, did not accede to either of the Dominions. In fact he proposed standstill agreements with both India and Pakistan. Pakistan concluded such an agreement with the ruler of Kashmir. No such agreement could be concluded with India as, in the meanwhile, a part of Kashmir was overrun by invaders from across the Pakistan border. Maharaja Hari Singh offered to accede Kashmir to India only because of the overwhelming raids from across the Pakistan border. In his own words: "With the conditions obtaining in my State and the great emergency of the situation as it exists I have no option but to ask for help from the Indian Dominion. Naturally they cannot send the help asked for by me without my State acceding to India. I have accordingly decided to do so" (from his letter to Lord Mountbatten, October 26, 1947). In regard to this accession, the Government of India on its own volition took the following position: "We accepted Kashmir's offer of accession when she was in peril in order to be able to save her effectively from extinction. We will not, in the circumstances, hold her to this accession as an unalterable decision on her part....We shall accept it now but we shall leave it to her and her people to change their minds and ask to withdraw from the accession to India

and to accede to Pakistan or remain independent. If Kashmir does change her mind, then we commit ourselves to the position that we shall give our consent to her withdrawal from the accession to India" (From Mr. N.G. Iyengar's speech at the Security Council on February 6, 1948).

In considering the question of Kashmir we shall bear in mind Article 370 of the Indian Constitution which, in providing a special status to Kashmir, makes clear that the accession was not considered by India as final and irrevocable. That India scrupulously, if tacitly, agreed that the status of Kashmir was yet undefined was also obvious from the separate Constituent Assembly for Kashmir and many other special arrangements for the administration of the State. Kashmir was not integrated with India like other princely States that acceded to or were made to accede to India.

Indian Commitment

Considering that Maharaja Hari Singh was yet undecided and proposed standstill agreements with India & Pakistan, it is not inconceivable that he might have opted for an independent Kashmir if there were no raids and if the State had been allowed normal political life without duress, without pressure from any quarter. The accession of Kashmir to India by Maharaja Hari Singh would have perhaps been final in law notwithstanding the circumstances that forced the accession, had not India, of her own accord, added the provision for the accession to be given the seal of approval by the people of Kashmir. It is no use arguing that since then several elections have been held in Kashmir (even if

one were to ignore the rigging that took place at least in some of them) because the finality of the accession was not the issue on which any election had been fought in Kashmir, as pointed out by Jayaprakash Narayan (*The Hindu*, September 17, 1974). India has to accept the fact that a large majority of the people of Kashmir feels alienated and does not seem to have accepted as final the State's accession to India.

Both India and Pakistan tend to think of Kashmir as though the issue concerned only the two of them and the people of Jammu & Kashmir were nowhere in the picture. Whether there is a dispute over Kashmir between India and Pakistan has long ceased to be relevant. What matters is to find out what the Kashmiris want the future of their State to be.

Honouring the Commitment

The only way to prevent the intervention of international busybodies is for India and Pakistan to start earnestly

a dialogue without preconditions. In all such discussions India should remember her solemn assurance to the Kashmiris that they would be allowed to decide for themselves the future of their State. India and Pakistan should come to an agreement for a plebiscite to be held in a free and fair manner in the entire State of Jammu & Kashmir within a stipulated period for the Kashmiris to decide by a majority if they wish to ratify the accession to India, wish to accede to Pakistan, or wish to stay independent. Any agreement between India and Pakistan such as the one recently canvassed by Farooq Abdullah to recognise the ceasefire line as the international boundary will not be proper if such an agreement is not put before the people of Jammu and Kashmir and accepted by them. In fact, even if Pakistan does not come around to agreeing to the people of Kashmir being given such a choice and irrespective of what she may say, India should go ahead with an internationally acceptable free & fair plebiscite in that part of Kashmir which

is under her control and accept the majority verdict. This is the right thing to do and this will enhance India's prestige with the international community.

Since India has unequivocally declared that it would not hold Kashmir's accession to India as an unalterable decision on her part and leave it to her people to change their minds if they wished to, there will be no loss of face for India even if the people of Kashmir decide by a majority not to ratify the accession.

Mr. Karan Singh's warning that there is the danger of another Indo-Pakistan war over Kashmir is too real to be ignored. India should cease to be a prisoner of her own past mistakes and take courageous steps to bring peace and stability to the subcontinent.

MR. K.S. RAMAMURTHY is an Executive in a manufacturing enterprise in Tirupati, the famous temple town in South India.

The Solution : An Independent Kashmir

The name of this solution is independence for Kashmir. A conflict which has been festering in this part of the world for many decades could become a symbol of peace and hope. Both sides should realise that such a solution would not be contrary to the fundamental principles of either of them.

Pakistan and India are armed to the teeth. They are engaged in sporadic fighting on the Siachen Glacier. And they disagree with singular passion on the status of Kashmir. So it seemed a good augury when 1994 started out with talks in Islamabad between senior representatives of both sides. It was the first serious meeting for fifteen months, and for the first time India agreed to accept Kashmir as a subject which might be discussed.

Unhappily the talks seem to have got nowhere. Both sides agreed that no progress was made on any subject, and although it was decided in principle that further talks would be held, no date was set for them; there seems to have been mutual agreement only on the fact that there would be no point in meeting again at the moment. The world is uneasily aware

that both India and Pakistan are nuclear powers and that there is a serious risk of a nuclear confrontation on the Kashmir issue.

India's prime minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, said during his last national day speech that Kashmir would always be a part of India. In spite of the fact that it was included in the recent talks as a subject of discussion, this did not mean that its status as part of India would be brought into question. The Indian view is that the only aspect which is worth discussing is Pakistan's interference across the frontier.

A Stupid Conflict

The Siachen Glacier war is a stupid conflict which neither side can win, and both are quite aware of this. It takes place in a totally inhospitable

and snowbound area where the frontier between the two countries has never been fixed with any clarity, and it would be a simple measure to carry out the surveys necessary for this. But it is symbolic of the deeper enmity between the two countries. Pakistan says that agreement on Kashmir is essential before agreement between them can be reached on any other issue - and this includes the Siachen Glacier. A recent statement by the Pakistani Senate says that any kind of meaningful discussions on subjects other than Kashmir "would be tantamount to side-stepping the real issue".

The issue of Kashmir has two quite distinct aspects - although they are of course inextricably bound up together. The first is the fundamental issue of its status, and the second is

the accusation that the Indian army has been guilty of human rights abuses in trying to maintain it as part of India.

Nehru Realized Mistake

India has always been beset by centrifugal forces. It was always a rock-solid policy of India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, that no part of the Indian Union could be allowed to go its own way, because this would set an example which would in the long run lead to the break-up of the country. For many years he applied this doctrine to Kashmir, but towards the end of his life he came to see that this was a mistake.

When he died, Nehru had become convinced that Kashmir - which was divided between Pakistan and India at the time of partition - should be given independence, and that its future status should be guaranteed by both Pakistan and India acting together. This would mean that the issue which had become the biggest bone of contention between the two countries would finally have the historical effect of binding them together.

There have never been meaningful elections on the status of Kashmir. In the early days there would certainly have been a rock-solid majority in favour of independence. In the last few years, however, the independence movement has been largely overtaken by organisations which have been working in favour of union with Pakistan. This is in spite of the fact that such a solution is not realistic, i.e. although there is a possibility that in the long run India would accept that the province should have an independent status between India and Pakistan there is no possibility that it would allow Kashmir simply to be detached from India and transferred to Pakistan.

If Pakistan intends to approach the matter with realism, it must surely take this into account. It will have to stop referring only to Indian-held Kashmir and accept that the problem of Kashmir as a whole will have to be addressed. The Senate Resolution makes short shrift of past negotiations, and it accuses India of attempting to use

them as a trap on various occasions in the past, notably after 1962 and in the late 1980s.

An Opportunity Lost

But it was precisely in the year and a half after 1962 that the only glimmer of light ever appeared. It was during this time that a chance actually occurred - and it was the only chance there has ever been so far - of solving the Kashmir problem. This was the period during which Nehru finally decided that Kashmir would have to be regarded as an exception to his principle of keeping every part of Indian territory. He was finally prepared to take into account the fact that it was an entirely Muslim enclave in India - and that its status was special precisely because it was partitioned with Pakistan. He was statesman enough to realise that if the Kashmir problem were not solved it would remain as a running sore in Indo-Pakistani relations for many generations. It is doubtful whether he foresaw the nuclear danger, but this would certainly have come as grist to his mill.

Just before his death Nehru reached agreement with the then president of Pakistan, Ayub Khan, on independence for Kashmir, coupled with a joint guarantee of its neutrality by the two countries. After his death, however, the subject was dropped, never to be taken up seriously again. Pakistan does not serve the cause of peace by saying that these negotiations were a trap; they would be far better engaged in making Indians aware that the man whom many of them consider to be the father of their nation finally reached the conclusion that Kashmir could not be contained for ever within the Indian Union.

The Human Rights Issue

Pakistan is certainly justified, however, in stating that the situation in the Indian part of Kashmir is now dismal in the extreme. Though insisting that its inhabitants are Indian citizens, Mr. Rao's government has deprived them of all the rights and advantages of citizenship. Indian military units have committed many crimes against civilians, and there has been little talk

of punishment. These crimes include murder and rape, arbitrary imprisonment, theft and arson. The rule of law has totally collapsed, and constitutional rights and guarantees are not respected. No foreign observers are allowed into the area. This can be summed up in the fact that over 12,000 people have been killed in Kashmir since 1990, by far the largest proportion of them being civilians.

Kashmir has already been the subject of two wars. If there is a third confrontation, fingers will be curling round nuclear triggers on both sides. The outcome of the recent talks represents a poor showing by both sides. No international problem can be solved without a readiness to compromise. Refusal to face the inevitable is particularly blameworthy on the Kashmir issue, since a perfectly reasonable solution was envisaged in the 1960s by two of the most prestigious leaders who have ever been at the helm in India and Pakistan, Jawaharlal Nehru and Ayub Khan.

The Solution

The name of this solution is independence for Kashmir. A conflict which has been festering in this part of the world for many decades could become a symbol of peace and hope. Both sides should realise that such a solution would not be contrary to the fundamental principles of either of them.

P.V. Narasimha Rao's position as India's prime minister has been immeasurably strengthened by his recent electoral successes. Benazir Bhutto is now in power in Islamabad in circumstances which give her far more reason for confidence in facing the future than during her first period of office, when she was at odds with a president who was prepared to act unconstitutionally to drive her out of office. If these two prestigious leaders were to come together to solve one of the longest-lasting problems stemming from decolonisation, they would be assured of a most honourable place in history.

COURTESY: *Swiss Press Review*

Indian Army's Role in Kashmir

Ashok V. Chowgule

By publishing the article "India's Army on the Rampage" (*Freedom First*, Oct/Dec '93) by Mr. Bernard Levin, you have done a great disservice to India in general and the Army in particular. You should realise that India is fighting a proxy war with Pakistan in Kashmir. While India is subject to all types of rules, neither the terrorists nor Pakistan are held responsible for their actions. The most unfortunate part of the situation is that our government has done very little to put our case to the people of India and the world in the right perspective.

In the type of operations that the Indian Army is involved in Kashmir, there is no question in my mind that excesses have taken place. This has happened in similar conditions all over the world. The behaviour of American and Pakistani troops under the aegis of the United Nations in Somalia is a case in point. The question is how such abuses are dealt with. In his book, "The Crescent over Kashmir", Mr. Anil Maheshwari quotes from the Verghese Committee report (appointed by the Press Council of India on its own initiative in December 1990): "The reports of human rights excesses against the Indian Army in Kashmir have been grossly exaggerated or invented. (The report) added that some excesses did occur, but these have been inquired and action taken against those found guilty." If the incident quoted in Lord Avebury's letter to *The Times* is correct and the government has taken action against those concerned there is no reason why it should not be owned. I am sure the members of the Indian Army would not support such an atrocity. If the incident is false, the whole world should be so told.

Mr. Maheshwari has also written a chapter on how the media in India has perverted what is written about the problem. "The media in Kashmir have

probably done more than terrorist organisations themselves to make organised violence at the hand of fundamentalists glamorous and successful." The JKLF, in advertising alleged human rights violations, uses articles by Indian journalists printed in Indian publications. But the JKLF, in the same publications takes no cognisance of the Verghese Committee report or Mr. Maheshwari's book. For them, by definition, Mr. Maheshwari and Mr. Jagmohan ("My Frozen Turbulence") are not telling the truth.

Mr. Levin says "I have just received a further substantial mass of evidence of the crimes (by the Indian Army); perhaps one item will suffice." And the instance he quotes is of one person who claims to have been tortured. If this is the worst example that he can give, then the others have no substance at all. (This is not to say that I do not condemn the instance, if it is true.) Moreover, he should identify the source from whom he has got the evidence and pass them on to the Government of India and let him not worry if the government acts on it or not - he would have done his part in trying to see that justice is done.

Kashmir is a part of India, and this is not a negotiable issue. The problem can be solved only by taking a firm stand on the law and order issue. Sopore was a well known hideout for the terrorists. Recently the Indian Army conducted a well planned operation to weed them out. They did this successfully, without any civilian casualties. Why is this also not reported? If India has done something wrong, let it be reported. But, unless one looks at the issue in totality, it will not be possible to come to the right conclusions. Would it be right on the part of Indians to pass judgement on British society on the basis of the sectarian violence in Ireland?

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The Rural Perspective

This Fifth Convention of the Shetkari Sanghatana ...



Mourns the terrible loss of life in the regions of Latur and Osmanabad following the earthquake of 30th September 1993;

Shares the grief of the farmers who have suffered injury and serious loss of property;

Notes that the loss of life and damage from the earthquake has affected only the farming community, while neither the nomadic tribes living in shanties and huts nor the officials

Notes that whether it is drought, floods or earthquakes, it is the farming community which has to take the blows, since due to longstanding exploitation they have barely the strength to pull on from day to day and find it impossible to cope with even minor disasters;

Proclaims that the earthquake victims in the Latur-Osmanabad region are due not to the wrath of Mother Earth or any gods; but are the toll

option to farmers to settle on their fields;

Expresses anger at the Chief Minister's putting the estimated expense of building houses at twice the actual expense, which amounts to fattening off the misery of others;

Condemns the policy of allowing political parties to adopt villages or settlements under the name of relief and rehabilitation;

The Truth about the Earthquake

residing in houses of plain brick and cement had to suffer so much loss of life.

Notes that middle peasants throughout the country live in houses with walls made of stones and mud and roof consisting of crossbeams covered with mud, and with neither surplus nor capital accumulation possible from agriculture they have never been able to escape these death-traps, with the result that a minor earthquake has devastated the entire life of the farmers of the Latur-Osmanabad region;

taken by the State's sustained anti-farmer policy;

Takes serious note of the indecent haste being made in the work of rehabilitation with an eye to political gain as of the despicable efforts are being made to snatch economic profit from the catastrophe;

Expresses the opinion that before building new habitations it would have been more advisable, both for the farmers concerned and for agricultural development, to have given the

Demands that only non-political and non-communal organizations should be allowed to adopt villages;

Recommends that in order to make it possible for farmers throughout Maharashtra to leave their present deathtraps in the village residential clusters and build proper houses in secure areas before the next contingency of an earthquake or other natural calamity, the Maharashtra government should give a special bonus price to all agricultural produce in the state.

This Fifth Convention of the Shetkari Sanghatana ...

Notes that the rain which fell throughout Maharashtra during the last rainy season while insufficient to fill the water of wells was nevertheless satisfactory from the point of view of the crops, while there was extensive damage to crops from the unseasonal rains from 21 September onwards, including the discoloration of jawar; large-scale devastation to soyabeans everywhere; adverse effects on horticulture, especially on grapes;

Price in northern states;

Condemns the fact that, in Maharashtra, despite so much trumpeting about the adoption of a free market economy, the corrupt and inefficient monopoly in cotton purchasing is continued, and even public sector organizations like the Cotton Corporation of India are not allowed to enter the market to make parallel purchases; the Government's milk collection system

Government's anti-farmer policies; as also overall profligacy:

The farmers should consider themselves as free from all governmental restrictions as regards the production, storage, transport, processing, trade and export of all agricultural produce and resist on a 'Do or Die' basis', in particular:

The state monopoly in procure-

The Price of Agricultural Produce

Condemns the fact that the Government has not yet begun the purchase of jawar; under the Cotton Monopoly Purchase Scheme it has given the Maharashtrian farmers Rs. 400 to 500 less than in neighbouring states, and even from that deductions are made towards the Capital Development Fund and towards the Price Stabilization Fund; the maximum price for sugarcane in Maharashtra, i.e. only Rs. 525 per tonne, is less than the Administered

has failed completely with the result that lakhs of litres of milk are being poured down drains and the Government, nevertheless, persists in denying, private enterprise free entry in the field of milk processing; restrictions continue on milling of paddy, ginning, wine-making, processing of milk, gurmaking etc.

Proclaims the following programme to express the condemnation of the

ment of cotton, Agricultural Produce Marketing Committees, Monopoly procurement of agricultural produce from the Scheduled Tribe farmers;

Levy on rice;

Restrictions on disposal and processing of sugarcane, milk, cotton;

All increases in taxes, and tariffs on electricity and water.

This Fifth Convention of the Shetkari Sanghatana ...

Considering that the winds of freedom are blowing throughout the world; those wanting to control human society on the principles of poultry farming, to herd human beings like sheep or keep them in pens like cattle have been defeated; human beings, by their very nature, struggle to enlarge their degrees of freedom, that it is for this they develop implements and build organization, and that the aim of this striving is not hedonism but freedom;

an entrepreneur who looks upon agriculture as a vocation rather than as a primitive life-style; aware that some "herdists" are, with great bravado, trying to delay the rising of the sun of freedom by kicking up thick clouds of dust, with the following especially in the lead: Those merchants, industrialists and farmers who have thrived on thievery in various forms, have gotten the gains of protection in the old "licence-permit raj", do not have the self-confidence

other property; the communalists who want to take the country back to the middle ages;

Regrets the indecisiveness and the lack of political will on the part of the Government to go ahead with economic reforms with even the minimal speed necessary;

Fully convinced that the nation's economy will not be able to stand up on its own feet without completely

Welcoming "Bali Rajya" (Liberalisation)

Welcomes the world-historical victory of "Bali Rajya" at three levels, the destruction of the "socialist" empire, the fall of the "Nehru model," and the new spurt in efforts to open up the world market;

Asserts that the farmer, despite the various handicaps he/she has faced over the years, has come forward as

to face the competition of the free market; the bureaucracy whose burgeoning unproductive legions have fattened on sumptuous pay, benefits, and corruption; the *netas* who have enriched themselves on government schemes, who have been intermediaries in the "licence-permit" planning system, and who have profited from the laws and regulations regarding land and

routing parasites like bureaucrats and "netas", and without eradicating the poison of communalism; the paradoxical situation today is that industrialists who were pampered under the "Nehru model" are unable to stand up to the competition, while the farming community which has for so long faced both natural calamities and state oppression is entering with confidence

into the world market; no child can learn to walk without falling or learn to swim without swallowing some water; nothing but competition prepares one for competition, least of all the protectionist umbrella;

Expresses determination to realise a free and open society;

Appeals to all the productive sections of the country to be prepared to welcome the open market;

Invites all producers to form an alliance against "parasites" to defeat the machinations of the *netas*, bureaucrats and industrialists who have fattened on government favour;

Calls upon all producers to prepare themselves for a sustained fight in diverse fields - economic, social, educational and political, for the triumph of freedom.

This Fifth Convention of the Shetkari Sanghatana ...

Having carried out an extensive assessment of the efforts made by the Government in the last two years to open up the economy,

Expresses the opinion that the manner of implementation of economic reforms clearly brings out that

- * the Government has no true commitment to an open economy but is only stumbling towards reforms as if it were an unfortunate necessity under the pressure of international institutions;

an open economy;

Demands that steps be taken expeditiously to bring about structural reforms essential for the new economic order and in particular that

- * the constitutional right to property be restored.
- * positive and comprehensive efforts be made to minimize unproductive and non-developmental expenditure, particularly on administration, with a view to narrowing the fiscal and

without any restrictions on exports; such restrictions as quotas, canalizations and minimum export prices should also be abolished;

- * any agricultural import should be on a commercial basis, the Government should not intervene in this, and products from outside should not be dumped in the domestic market;
- * the "Essential Commodities Act" should be abolished;

The Implementation of Economic Reforms

- * the Government has agreed that "an environment that rewards hard work, efficiency, discipline and social responsibility" is the key to economic reforms, but in actuality few signs of creating this environment appear in non-agricultural sectors, while in agriculture the Government's intention appears to be to continue the old discredited "Nehru model";
- * the Government is determined to safeguard the pay and privileges of the bureaucracy which has spread like a poisonous weed since independence;
- * due to the prevalent political situation the programme of economic reforms is being implemented in an *ad hoc* way and the Government is not ready to even think about the structural changes which are essential for

budgetary deficits;

- * all sectors relating to inputs necessary for agriculture, e.g. chemical fertilisers, pesticides, seeds, should be thrown open to competition;
- * all kinds of levies, compulsory procurement, zonal restrictions, as well as the monopoly powers of Agricultural Produce Marketing Committees should be abolished;
- * all forms of agricultural processing should be delicensed;
- * all forms of restrictions and government intervention in the export of agricultural produce should be abolished, and even if there are shortages in domestic production commercial imports should be resorted to, as necessary, to meet the deficiency

- * all the concessions given to co-operative societies should be abolished; there should be no restrictions on forming co-operative societies; the extortionist system of collecting dues owed to cooperative societies should be stopped; in particular, Section 48A of the Maharashtra State Cooperative Societies Act (1950) should be abolished;

Concerned that unless immediate reforms are initiated on the above issues there will be a negative effect on agricultural production and export;

Proclaims, in order to force the issue, that farmers will not agree to any increase in the prices of electricity, water and such other services and will not pay the increased bills; nor will they agree to any increase in land revenue and will refuse to pay such increase.

This Fifth Convention of the Shetkari Sanghatana ...

Emphasizes the fact that the right to property is essential in a free society for both indigenous industrialists and foreign investors;

Recalls that in the Constitution given to the nation by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar the right to "acquire, hold and dispose of property" was enshrined as a fundamental right;

empowerment of the Government to seize lands at cheap prices under various legislations - agricultural land ceilings, urban land ceilings, land acquisition, urban development, and industrial development - has resulted in gross injustice to farmers, served little public purpose, and permitted unscrupulous politicians and officials to amass vast wealth;

sation should, in no case, be inferior to the cost of full resettlement;

Demands that all the amendments that have been made in the Constitution since 1951 in regard to the fundamental right to property should be abolished;

Demands that a broad-based pub-

Restoration of Property Rights

Regrets that that under the Nehruvian regime this right was gradually eroded and finally destroyed; further that Schedule IX of the Constitution was devised to prevent farmers from all recourse to the judiciary on the issue of property rights;

Expresses concern that the

Is convinced that in a free economy the notion of "public purpose" for which lands can be acquired needs to be redefined;

Demands that lands should be obtained for all economic use in the open market and that too only if it is truly for public purpose; the compen-

lic enquiry be held in the cases of politicians known to have amassed vast wealth through dealings and manipulations in land.

Announces the determination of all farmers not to cede any land to the Government except voluntarily and at prices acceptable to the proprietor.

This Fifth Convention of the Shetkari Sanghatana ...

Convinced that management of budgetary and fiscal deficits is of paramount importance for the efficiency and competitiveness of the economic system;

Notes with concern that the Government is making only inept and superficial efforts to reduce the budget deficit:

- * the fertiliser subsidy was brought down by hiking fertiliser prices but the inefficiency, corruption

market rate and other incomes estimated at twice the official one;

Wishes to emphasize that to increase the cost of services without any reform in them means nothing less than throwing a veil over the current maladministration;

Demands, therefore, that before raising the prices of services such as electricity, water, transportation, and communication these fields should

used for unproductive expenditure;

Considers that at a time when the Government's role in the economic field is diminishing it is senseless to increase the burden of taxes;

Convinced that on the contrary, to reduce the Government budget deficit, unproductive administrative expenditure must be reduced by at least half and any new taxes should be used only for repayment of international debts;

Austerity in Governmental Expenditure

and Government intervention in fertiliser production continues as before;

- * under the name of ending subsidies the price of inputs such as electricity, water etc. is being unreasonably increased, while there is no effort to increase the efficiency of the institutions providing these services; the governmental and semi governmental bureaucracy which is already twice the justified size, has pay and benefits twice the

be thrown open to competition or their administrative expense should be at least halved.

Considering that the Government is known to be contemplating, on the basis of the Chelliah Committee report, to augment direct and indirect taxes in order to raise Government income;

Concerned that such an increase in taxes will raise prices and adversely affect exports, even more so if the income from such increased taxes is

Demands that the administrative expenditure which represents an unbearable burden on the budget, the domestic economy and an impossible handicap for export effort be slashed drastically through

- * replacement of the cadre system of service by a fixed tenure system;
- * stopping all further recruitment; and
- * freezing the scales of salaries and allowances.

Bombay Peculiarities

Jude H. Gomes

Bombay owed its existence to its harbour, and its continued maintenance to its dockyard. The Parsi shipbuilder Lowji Nassarwanjee Wadia, rather than the English, was the true maker of Bombay.

Bombay was from the time of its acquisition surrounded by powerful neighbours. The Moghul port of Surat was a rival with a population of 400,000 or more, while, Bombay had still not touched 100,000. Portuguese Bassein and Salsette were the other rivals of Bombay till 1739, when the Marathas took over. In the meanwhile, the first Parsis had arrived in Bombay by 1675.

Yet Bombay continued to remain the Cinderella of the English settlements in India, the unhealthiest, the poorest and the most despised. This was because of its malaria swamps and the thickness of its toddy trees and coconut trees from which the East India Company derived a revenue of Rs.25/- per thousand coconuts. This unhealthy climate led to Bombay being labelled the cemetery of the English; for Englishmen and new recruits, with their non-vegetarian diets, drinks and dress (tight-fitting) succumbed to fevers and fluxes - cholera, scurvy, small-pox, gout, prickly heat,

Demoralization was another negative factor - Keigwin's revolt in 1683-84, was the first great shock and Child's Moghul war was the second. These resulted in the lowering of its reputation, its inhabitants and its trade. The population which had grown from about 10,000 in 1660 to an estimated 40,000 - 60,000 in 1678 had shrunk to 16,000 in 1716 and not until 1744 was it optimistically estimated at 70,000

Besides a rather more than average turbulence, in early Bombay corruption was as rampant then as now, but then it was among officials such as the Purser, Master Mariner, Stewards and Master of Attendance, the Chief Bookkeeper at Mahim. The Paymaster-General

Charles tried to weed this out to an extent to attract the more honest to Bombay.

Bombay owed its existence to its harbour, and its continued maintenance to its dockyard. The Parsi shipbuilder Lowji Nassarwanjee Wadia, rather than the English, was the true maker of Bombay.

But the uniqueness of Bombay life did not lie in its wars with its neighbours or in the squalor of its settlements. Even after its recovery from the gloom of its early years, its isolation from the other settlements, its comparative poverty and its closer connection with the mercantile trade as distinct from the princely class of Indians, gave it a distinctiveness and an individuality which it has never quite lost even today, its cosmopolitanism.

The difficulty with which the prosperity of Bombay was built up was very different from the early wealth of other settlements as Bombay had first to be conducive enough to attract traders from Surat. Its cosmopolitan atmosphere helped in the spirit of co-operation based on mutual respect and security as India's merchants could not otherwise be attracted by a trade which already existed; they had to be attracted in order to create trade and wealth for themselves

The first distinctive feature of English Bombay was its houses. Bombay Castle was a fine example. Houses then spread to Malabar Hill and elsewhere, the gentry maintaining town houses in Bombay city. Even Bombay's servants were peculiar. The upper servants were either Parsis or Mohammedans, the cooks were generally Portuguese or

Goan, the ladies maids were Malabar girls, and the gentlemen's personal servants were Malabar slave boys. In 1789 there were 431 slaves in Bombay. On arrival from Madagascar or the Red Sea, these slaves usually became Roman Catholics, being much attracted, we are told, by the exotic images of Portuguese saints. Coachmen were usually Parsis.

Like the Christians, the Parsis' outlook on life was more sympathetic to the English. The Parsis and the Christians had no purdah system to close their houses to the English, no prohibitions of pork, beef or wine to embarrass social or convivial relationships, no caste inhibitions to separate themselves from the outside world and from each other. In consequence the Christians and the Parsis were at once peaceful and independent, conciliatory and enterprising, and acceptable. Both had the political powerlessness of the Jews without the odium of their religion or composition. Their munificent philanthropy, their clan spirit as shown in the care of their poor also appealed to the free-living Englishmen of the time.

The amusements of Bombay were the same as elsewhere: riding, dining, dancing and card playing; shooting, cock and dog fighting. The popular Indian amusements were nautches, dancing and hookah smoking.

Slowly, and gradually, in spirit and understanding, Bombay prepared to enter the 19th Century and become the Gateway to the West.

COURTESY: *The Bombay Explorer*, June 1993.

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N.P. Nathwani

He Bestowed Dignity to Dissent

Yogesh Kamdar



N. P. Nathwani
(1913-1993)

Two days before the PUCL National Convention (31 November and 1 December 1992) at Bombay, Justice Narendra P. Nathwani (Retd.) phoned to enquire about the programme and the agenda. He had not yet fully recovered from the injuries sustained in two serious road accidents in quick succession and was allowed to move about only in his room. After getting the details, he enquired: "Should I come earlier or will it be alright if I reach the venue at around 10 o'clock for the Inaugural Session?" It was a preposterous suggestion. On being told that it was not at all advisable for him to take such a grave risk, his response was: "It would be highly improper on my part not to attend the Convention; particularly when it is being held in Bombay itself. Had it been elsewhere, it was a different matter, but here, being one of the hosts, how can I stay away?"

And attend he did. He sat throughout the Inaugural Session and it was with great difficulty that he could be persuaded to return home to take rest.

Total devotion to a cause that he

held dear and determination to uphold it - even at great personal risk remained two of the most notable characteristics of N.P. Nathwani's personality till his death on 1 September, 1993.

In a long and eventful life spanning almost 81 years, Nathwani Saheb, as he was affectionately called, championed diverse causes - popular as well as unpopular. As a student, lawyer, freedom fighter, Member of the Constituent Assembly, Member of Parliament, and a crusader for human rights, what propelled him was the quest for justice and compassion for his fellow beings. Calculations of popularity, of personal benefits could never ever deter him and he preferred to follow the dictates of his own conscience than become a "practical" man.

Narendra Pragji Nathwani was born in 1913 in Uganda. His family returned to India in his early childhood and settled in Junagadh in Gujarat. He attended schools at Junagadh and Rajkot and did his graduation in Bombay. He studied law at Bombay and stood first in the Bombay University, winning a string of awards and scholarships.

In 1932-33, as a student, he participated in the freedom struggle and was jailed. He remained "underground" during the "Quit India" movement in 1942 and fought the imperial power.

At that time he had already established a name for himself as a formidable lawyer at the Bombay High Court where he had started his legal practice in 1937. He worked as a junior to Purushottamdas Trikamdas and K.M. Munshi - doyens of their times.

During the Partition, the Nawab of Junagadh wanted Junagadh to accede

to Pakistan. The people of Junagadh State revolted against the Nawab and "Aarzi Hukumat" was established to fight the Nawab's game plan. Nathwani Saheb was one of the leading figures of this "Aarzi Hukumat" and served it as a Minister for Law & Justice.

Nathwani Saheb was elected to the Constituent Assembly and also to the Lok Sabha in 1952 and 1957. Nathwani Saheb, Feroze Gandhi and R.R. Morarka were the "Young Turks". As an M.P. and a member of various Consultative Committees and Select Committees of Parliament, Nathwani Saheb took an active part in the formulation of a number of important legislative Acts - particularly the Companies Act, the Hindu Code Bill, the Citizenship Act and ironically, the Preventive Detention Act. In fact, Jawaharlal Nehru fielded him as one of the main defenders of the Preventive Detention Act. This he did brilliantly; but when he witnessed the gross misuse of the Act, he had no hesitation in publicly confessing that his defence of this draconian law was not just a blunder, but a sin.

Though a close confidante of Sardar Patel and a leading M.P. of the Congress party, he was quite vocal and blunt about many of the policies and programmes of his own party. He spared none - Nehru, Rajendra Prasad and even Sardar Patel. He was a fierce critic of the Congress party's policy of reorganising the states on a linguistic basis and this cost him dearly. He was not nominated by the Congress to contest the 1962 general elections.

Thereafter began another illustrious chapter of his life. He was appointed a judge of the Bombay High Court in 1964. Even today he is remembered for

his sincerity and integrity as a judge. He was soft-spoken but firm. He could disagree without becoming disagreeable.

It was the Emergency proclaimed by Mrs. Gandhi that showed his true mettle. As a leading activist of the "Citizens for Democracy" founded by Jayaprakash Narayan, Nathwani Saheb fought the dictatorship with all his might. The judgement delivered by the Bombay High Court on his writ petition to uphold the fundamental rights of freedom of speech and freedom of association is a landmark in the constitutional law of India. He toured the country addressing numerous meetings against the curbs on freedom, against censorship, against detention of political dissenters. Many of his friends advised him to "go slow" but mincing words was one thing he could never do.

Nathwani Saheb was again elected to the Lok Sabha in the historic elections of 1977. In 1978, Jayaprakash Narayan urged him to head the Commission of Enquiry set up by the Citizens for Democracy to probe into the autocracy of the chief priest of the Dawoodi Bohra community. The report of the "Nathwani

Commission" about the repression of the Dawoodi Bohra community by its chief-priest is an indepth and exhaustive study of the various aspects of this problem. Its recommendations can be accepted as "model" commandments for an open and just society. Heading the Commission was fraught with serious risks to his life but he accomplished his task fearlessly; braving calumny and personal attacks.

Nathwani Saheb was a deeply religious person in his private life. For him, religion was a communion between an individual and his creator and not a thing of public exhibition. As the hysteria of "Hindutva" was mounting, he wrote to many of the leaders of the 'Sangh Parivar' registering his protest against their fanaticism. His cryptic remark was: "these fools know nothing about either Lord Ram or Hinduism".

Another impressive trait of his personality was his simplicity and spartan life. As a judge, M.P. or a senior citizen, Nathwani Saheb always travelled by public conveyance. He would carefully open up used envelopes and use them as scribbling pads. About four years

ago, there was a public uproar against a multi-crore wedding in Bombay. Nathwani Saheb, at the ripe age of 77, stood with young activists outside the venue of the wedding, with a placard in his hand to protest against such vulgar display of wealth. His presence at the forefront of this protest shamed at least two couples into turning back without attending the wedding.

Such was Nathwani Saheb - a rebel and a crusader. He participated with rare distinction in a wide spectrum of activities in our public life. He imparted a sense of fair play to everything that he associated himself with. More importantly, he bestowed dignity to dissent. It can be truly said of him: "where he met a stranger, there he left a friend". His innumerable friends and admirers will not only cherish the fond memories of their association with him but will also be inspired by his fearlessness, integrity and nobility of character.

YOGESH KAMDAR is a civil rights activist and a member of the Advisory Board of *Freedom First*.

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Anti-Defection Law

Y.D. Altekar

Parties are not known to field only candidates of high integrity and a sense of service. All that parties are interested in is someone who has got what it takes - money and muscle power - to get elected and vote in the legislature the way he is told to.

As the historian Percival Spear observed in his book "The British Impact on India," Indian intellectuals under the British tutelage have developed excessive faith in parliamentary democracy, the party system and socialism. They are neither willing nor able to see any shortcomings in the system even when it failed to deliver the goods, but they are prone to blame the failures on the failings of human nature rather than on the system itself. And yet, any worthwhile system dealing with people must take into account their foibles and be able to guard against them!

Ajit Singh's 'defection' to the Congress party has once again brought this problem to the fore. People have once again started clamouring for tightening the anti-defection measures so as to make it impossible for a legislator to change his party affiliations. (*Maharashtra Herald*, January 8 and *Indian Express*, January 11). Although political parties are not mentioned in the Constitution, some people even feel that such change by a legislator is unconstitutional, since "people vote for the party and not the candidate". (*Maharashtra Herald*, January 8). Not all people, fortunately, vote for parties; some are accustomed to looking up the credentials of the candidate before deciding on whom to vote for. That a number of independent candidates get elected is proof of this statement.

However, most people are forced to vote on the party label of the candidate because of lack of background information about the candidates. In such cases they mostly rely on the credentials of the party leaders, rather than on the parties themselves. Of course, there are people who advocate that "people

should vote for a party and not for a person." (*India Today*, January 31, 1986) But parties are not known to field only candidates of high integrity and a sense of service. All that parties are interested in is someone who has got what it takes - money and muscle power - to get elected and vote in the legislature the way he is told to.

Parties do not allow free discussion on any topic, much less dissent. When a member disagrees with the party position the proper course for him, according to our 'intellectuals,' is to resign from the party and the legislature, and seek re-election. They may have probably applauded the 'disciplined' conduct of the Congress MPs in backing the Emergency measures of Mrs. Gandhi and the "Muslim Women's Rights Bill" of Rajiv Gandhi. After all, according to them, a member's loyalty must be first to the party and only then to his constituency or the nation.

One effect of this philosophy is already evident: the thinning of the attendance during House proceedings; sometimes there is even a lack of quorum and the proceedings have to be adjourned! Since the ordinary member cannot go against the party position, or, as Henri Nevinson expressed it, since "a member counts for a vote, but seldom as a voice" ("Growth of Freedom", People's Books, TC & EC Jack, London, 1912), he has little to contribute to the discussions on the floor and hence, has no interest in the proceedings of the House. He therefore prefers to spend his time attending to private business, and rush to the House only when the division bell rings, to vote as per his party dictates, (sometimes without even being aware of the issues at stake), and thus qualifying for his perks and his

allowances. The party position too, on any issue, is usually predetermined so that the discussions in the House are no longer parleys but mere statements of party positions and their justifications. Since the members belonging to a party must vote along with the party, and since only a few of them take part in - or even attend - the discussions, the effective strength of the House is reduced to some 20 or so - equal to the number of parties - with each party exhibiting different voting strength.

Since all this is acceptable to our 'intellectuals' who set so much store by the party system - some even want to ban independent candidates from contesting elections (*Indian Express*, December 16, 1993) - we may well ask whether the physical presence of members who do not contribute anything to the discussions is really necessary at the time of counting votes. We may, perhaps, simplify things by allowing each party to field only one single candidate from as many constituencies as it wishes, and grant him a voting weight in the legislature numerically equal to the number of constituencies in which he is successful. Thus, the Congress may, for example, field Narasimha Rao from all the 545 constituencies, and if he wins from, say, 270 constituencies, his strength in Parliament will be 270 votes. The BJP may field Advani, or Vajpayee, from say, 330 constituencies in which it is hopeful of winning, but actually wins in say, 230 constituencies. The voting strength of the BJP will then be 230. Similarly for other parties. (Shiv Sena will obviously prefer to contest only in Maharashtra since it has little chance of winning in any other state.)

These elected representatives who may number 20 or so - equal to the

number of successful parties - would then form the legislature. While voting on any issue, the voting weight of each representative should be taken into account, much as in the general body meetings of any limited company: resolutions are passed not on the basis of the numerical strength of the members present, but on the basis of the proxies held.

The advantages of the system would be obvious:

- 1) Defections would be impossible since each party would be represented by only one member;
- 2) With the reduced size of the House, the proceedings could be conducted in a more orderly manner without rowdiness and din in the House;
- 3) Parties will have less difficulty in choosing their candidates - they have to choose only one; and finally
- 4) Enormous savings in the expenditure on the housing, perks and allowances of the legislators because of the drastic reduction in their number.

It is not likely that we would suffer in any way by adopting this system, either in efficiency or in representation. Since we have put our faith in the party, the party will be there to represent us and all those members - party leaders - who usually participate in the deliberations will be there also. So we lose nothing by limiting our representation this way. Other members whom we send to the legislature have little to contribute anyway.

Of course, the problem of instability will still persist. Governments may still fall due to shifting party alliances, as happened, for example, in the case of V.P. Singh and Chandrashekhar governments. Thus we find that even making defections impossible does not protect us from instability - the main reason for the anti-defection legislation. The instability appears to be inherent in the system itself, and we must find some other, more effective method of

combating instability.

A solution to the problem of achieving stability without the loss of accountability was suggested by Shri B.K. Nehru and others some time back (*Indian Express*, February 14, 1992). The idea is to eliminate the dependence of the executive on the legislature for his survival while still retaining legislative control on his actions and to ensure that defection does not pay. These twin objectives are realised by:

- 1) The direct election of the Chief Executive by the people rather than by the legislators - he will, thus, not be required to have a majority backing in the legislature for his continuation; and
- 2) prohibiting legislators from taking up any post of profit - including that of a minister. In other words, all ministers should be chosen from outside the legislature and no minister should be a legislator.

The first condition will put an end to the more serious effect of defections, i.e. instability; while the second condition will remove the main temptation for defections, although defection is already rendered irrelevant to the survival of the government by the first condition. The legislature still retains control over the executive by its power to accept or reject nominations for ministries and to sanction or deny funds to various activities.

* See also: "A Fresh look At The Constitution", B. K. Nehru; S. Ranganathan Memorial Lecture, January 1992.

MR. Y.D. ALTEKAR is an electronics engineer and active in civic affairs in Pune.

That Government is best that governs least

I heartily accept the motto, "That government is best which governs least"; and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe - "That government is best which governs not at all"; and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have. Government is at best but an expedient; but most governments are sometimes, inexpedient.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU
On the Duty of Civil Disobedience, 1849.

Anti-Defection Act

It is an established principle that "even the act of a private individual may become an act of the State if it is enforced or aided by any of the authorities of the State" (Dr. Durga Das Basu: *Introduction to the Constitution of India*, 1990), and also "the guarantee of equal protection includes absence of any arbitrary discrimination by the laws themselves or in the matter of their administration."

Therefore, for the Anti-Defection Act to pass the acid test of reasonableness, it is imperative that, the "executive", implementing the procedures laid down under such Act, must itself be accountable to the State, and thus the State must safeguard the democratic set-up in the political parties.

There are provisions for formation of trusts, co-operative bodies, companies, banking institutions and so on. They do get a right to formulate their own rules and have their own constitution. But various laws make it compulsory for these institutions to register themselves in the prescribed manner and various statutory agencies keep a watch whether these institutions function within framework adopted by the institutions themselves. It is high time that some tribunal or commission is set up to oversee the functioning of political parties. Their members should have a right to represent to such a tribunal or commission against the decisions of their party executives. Only those parties, which are based on a strong democratic foundation, can solve the problems before us.

The organisations working for strengthening democracy have to insist that democratic norms gain roots in each aspect of life, even in the areas which may not appear to be directly related to the spheres of their activities.

Dr. Rajeev Joshi
Neral

The Decline of U.P. Politics

S.S. Bankeshwar

There are quite a few lessons to be learnt from the recent U.P. elections.

What is so 'glorious' or 'spectacular' about the Mulayam-Kanshi combine's so-called victory in the recently held U.P. elections? It is as 'glorious' or as 'spectacular' or as spurious as the election of V.P. Singh or Chandrashekar as the Prime Minister of India with 'outside' support or 'issue-based' support of the BJP to V.P. Singh or similar support by the Congress to Chandrashekar.

The 'glorious' and 'spectacular' victory of the Mulayam-Kanshi Ram combine is now followed by equally 'glorious' and 'spectacular' achievements, viz.,

1. The withdrawal of the 'Anti-Copying Act' and the release of all those students held guilty under this Act.
2. The withdrawal of the 'Anti-Goonda Act' releasing all Goondas held under this Act.
3. The release of the notorious Phoolan Devi, the dreaded dacoit, and other dacoits.
4. The withdrawal of the Sales Tax, which used to earn an annual revenue of over Rs. 2,000/- crores for the U.P. Government, without finding out an alternative source of revenue to compensate for this loss.

Some achievements this!

Kanshi Ram is a one day wonder created by the media and has nothing to do with Mulayam's 'victory' in U.P. The promise of Mulayam to repeal the Anti-copying Act and withdraw sales tax in U.P. resulted in a swing of about 5% votes from the traders and the youth, the traditional supporters of the BJP, in favour of Mulayam's party. Kanshi Ram had nothing to do with these two master strokes of Mulayam's party which resulted in the 5% swing.

All said and done, one should however, appreciate Kanshi Ram's honesty,

something rare among our politicians. Kanshi Ram had warned U.P. voters at an election rally: "I have no ideology, no manifesto to offer you and no false promises to lure you. All that I want is power in Delhi without which I cannot deliver the goods". Despite this clear warning, if voters voted for Kanshi Ram's party, he cannot be blamed, if he fails to deliver the goods in U.P.

Both the Congress and the Janata Dal in U.P. are in a dilemma today. If they support the BSP-SP combine's ministry for long, both will be wiped out in the next mid-term election in U.P. which is inevitable. They cannot support the BJP for obvious reasons. Both the Congress and the Janata Dal M.L.A.s in U.P. are fully aware that the Congress and the Janata Dal have no future in U.P. Mulayam is also aware that the Congress and the Janata Dal M.L.A.s in U.P. have no patience to remain in the opposition for five long years. Since there is a 'recession' in the M.L.A.s market in Lucknow, according to the latest report, buying about 40 M.L.A.s from the Congress and the Janata Dal parties at the wholesale rate will do the trick. No need for suitcases; briefcases will do!

The Mulayam-Kanshi Ram combine's government will go bankrupt within a year, following the withdrawal of sales tax which used to earn an annual revenue of over Rs. 2,000/- crores. If this combine introduces a new tax to recover this amount, the voters will consider this as a new name for sales tax and revolt. The BJP will not miss or fail to exploit this revolt, and will launch a massive agitation demanding the withdrawal of this new tax.

Following the withdrawal of the Anti-Copying Act, parents of bright students are now greatly worried about the future of their children. There will be no takers for graduates from U.P. universities in the job market, and in future, newspaper adver-

tisements for jobs may carry the caveat 'Graduates from U.P. universities need not apply'. An exodus of bright students from U.P. to other universities (not yet afflicted by 'Mandalitis' and where copying is strictly prohibited) from the next academic year is inevitable, provided admissions to such universities are available.

For the BJP, the recent elections in U.P. was an election worth losing for implementing the right policy to retain the credibility of U.P. graduates - the Anti-Copying Act. In the long run, it is better to lose elections by following right policies rather than win elections by following populist, but disastrous policies for short-term electoral gains.

There are quite a few lessons to be learnt from the recent U.P. elections:

- No cheque can be encashed twice - the Ram cheque or the Mandal cheque or the Sympathy wave cheque.
- Populist policies may bring a party to power, but they cannot ensure stable governments that last their full term.
- The IOU factor (Inter-opposition Unity factor) can make or mar the electoral fortunes of a ruling party. In the recent U.P. elections, the IOU factor rose from 40% to 60% which resulted in the 'rout' of the BJP.
- The first-past-the post electoral system, borrowed by us from the U.K., completely distorts the electoral verdict of the voters. When two political parties are more or less equally matched, a swing of about 5% votes can make or mar the fortunes of one of them.

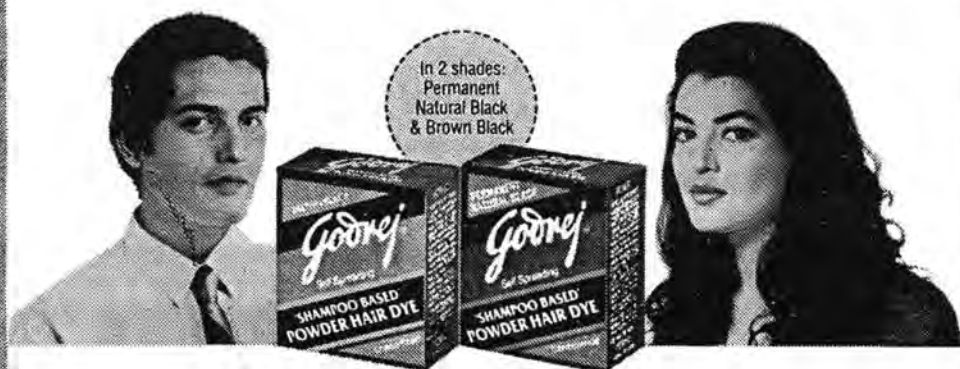
MR. S. S. BANKESHWAR is a freelance journalist and on the Advisory Board of *Freedom First*.

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The Religion Bill : A Political Gimmick

Nitin G. Raut

In Indian politics there is apparently no dearth of non-issues to preoccupy the minds of its elected representatives. The latest is the Religion Bill, ostensibly aimed at delinking religion from politics. The Bill itself raises the question of its constitutional validity.

The Religion Bill has sinister implications, and, if implemented, would deal Indian democracy a lethal blow. Under the Bill even petty district bureaucrats will be delegated the power to disqualify a candidate's application on a complaint by a rival candidate alleging that the former had appealed for votes on religious grounds; it would virtually ensure that the Congress Party candidate romps home 'victoriously' after eliminating his opponent without a poll. Did not the tinpot dictators of the banana republics and authoritarian regimes go through the rituals of electoral process by banning, on some pretext, political opponents and ensuring victory by a margin of 99.9% votes in their favour?

Congress Track Record

The Religion Bill by no means lends credence to the Congress Party's secular image. On the contrary, it is the Congress Party that has debauched secularism in this country. Was it not the late Mrs. Indira Gandhi who appealed to Hindu voters in Jammu and to Muslim voters in the Kashmir Valley or played the Hindu card against the Sikhs in the Punjab? This so-called secular party went out of its way to assure a Christian state in Mizoram. It was the same Congress Party that subverted a secular and progressive Supreme Court judgement in the Shah Bano case and ensured the perpetuation of archaic religious laws. And who opened the gates of the Ayodhya Temple but the Congress Government led by Rajiv Gandhi? And what 'spirituality' save and except Congress politics, lay behind the disastrous 'havan' of a jet flying godman, whose guidance is so much sought after by Congressmen? And, for that matter, are not Presidents,

Prime Ministers and Chief Ministers participating in religious functions of one faith or the other? Can this track record of the Congress inspire confidence in their underlying motives vis-a-vis the Religion Bill?

The objectives of the Bill were obvious from the beginning. Its target: the BJP and Ayodhya. The Congress Party unable to combat the BJP on the Ayodhya issue thought that the Bill would have secured the support of other non-BJP parties. However, both the National Front and the Left Front were quick to realise that the provisions would affect them equally. Hence their opposition to the Bill.

The 'Leftists' are No Better

Indian democracy has thus been saved from a potentially explosive crisis. Not that the NF-LF have an impeccable track record vis-a-vis 'secularism'. In his Independence Day speech as Prime Minister Mr. V.P. Singh declared that Prophet Mohammed's birthday would be a national holiday - yet another example how "secularists" breached the line dividing religion and politics. And, is it not a fact that the Congress, Janata Dal, CPI & CPM are ready to have an alliance with the Indian Union Muslim League during elections and have coalition governments in states like Kerala? These are not aberrations but festering sores that have destroyed secularism in its true sense.

The by-election to the Ottapalam parliamentary constituency made a mockery of the Religion Bill. Significantly, the Congress-led United Democratic Front allied with the Muslim League and the CPM-led Left

Democratic Front embraced the People's Democratic Party - a new incarnation of the banned Islamic Sevak Sangh led by Abdul Nazer Madani. That these two political coalitions should violate the letter and spirit of the Bill in order to woo the 25% Muslim electorate eloquently speaks of their secular credentials. *The Economic Times* (7 September '93) report on the Ottapalam election observed that in no elections "... has the communal card been so blatantly used and communal votes been so crucial". In fact the Congress Government of Kerala even went to the extent of canvassing the idea of publishing an encyclopaedia on Islam and has declared Friday a holiday!

The ostensible purpose of the Bill is more to ensure the de-linking of the BJP in particular and the non-BJP parties in general from the electoral process. Delinking of religion is only a ploy to give political legitimacy to an outrageous piece of legislation. Ayodhya may well prove to be the Waterloo of the Congress and therefore Ayodhya (and not religion) needs to be delinked.

All for the Muslim Vote

If the BJP is accused of politicising the Mandir issue to justify the Religion Bill, can one forget the hyper-reaction of the Congress, the Communists, Socialists and the Muslim League to the Al-Aqsa Mosque issue more than twenty years ago, when a lunatic Australian damaged it and the Congress Party and the Government joined the brouhaha with the Islamic world? Why? Because the appeasers wanted the Muslim vote in India. If that was not enough, the then Food and Agriculture

Minister Fakruddin Ali Ahmed was despatched post-haste uninvited to Rabat where he had to face ignominy and humiliation by being barred from the Islamic Conference called to condemn the Al-Aqsa incident, while the then Foreign Minister Swaran Singh was kept cooling his feet in Delhi awaiting the call to go to Rabat. The Congress obsession with power was such that it was prepared to overstep the limits of decency even if it meant sacrificing issues of national honour and prestige.

In a secular state religious issues cannot be outlawed by legislation. Arbitrary laws like the Religion Bill discriminate against one religious denomination to appease the other and are aimed at a particular event rather than making it accepted national policy. In the United States and Britain, Christianity is the official religion, yet these states are indeed truly secular because there is a clear and unambiguous line dividing Church and State and secularism cannot infringe on a citizen's faith or by in-

discriminate and politically motivated pieces of legislation.

Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's Address to the *Qaumi Tazneen* in September '93 in New Delhi and his reference to the Religion Bill and Babri Masjid issue explicitly confirms that the Religion Bill is only aimed at pandering to the religious sentiment of the Muslims rather than curbing the malaise of communalism that has gripped the nation. It is a pre-poll gambit aimed at further dividing the nation on religious grounds. The heckling of Rao at the *Tazneen Conference* of Muslims in Delhi and the Muslim boycott of his rally at Sikar in Rajasthan have occurred despite the Bill. Religious fundamentalism is in fact a shameful legacy of the Congress Party, that can only be erased by political will or far sighted statemanship - characteristics which are already extinct in Indian politics.

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Hindu Tolerance & Secularism

I would like to express my views on Hindu tolerance and secularism as under: A character from one of the novels of the renowned Marathi novelist, Mr. S. N. Pendse rightly says: "The Hindus will not allow anyone in the world to surpass them in the field of cowardliness".

Thus their cowardliness makes them appear tolerant, though actually they are not so.

But when they are quite sure that the opposite side is too weak to resist their aggression, then only they become militant and aggressive!

A Hindu cannot be a secularist in its real sense as the Hindu religion completely surrounds him from the very moment he takes his first breath till he breathes his last. There are thousands of Do's and Don'ts in the Hindu religion.

The New Standard Ency-

clopaedia, published by *The Times of India* in 1936-37 gives the following information about the real meaning of secularism: "System that rejects all belief in god, religion and future life. It was founded in England by G.J. Holyoake and took an attitude of opposition to all religions. Its foremost advocate was Charles Bradlaugh, and to forward its ideas, the National Secular Society was formed. By this society a good deal of literature has been issued".

The idea of "*Sarva Dharma Samabhav*" is utterly contrary to the idea of real secularism. The rulers of India being mostly followers of Mahatma Gandhi have no capacity to be secularists in the real sense, because Mahatma Gandhi himself was not secular in the real sense as he was a follower of the Hindu religion.

G. Y. Dharap
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South Africa's Moment

An Ominous Parallel from Kenya

Padma Srinivasan

It is naive to see '1947' in South Africa today for Buthelezi is not a Jimnah and Mandela is emphatically not a Gandhi.

South Africa's moment of truth is at hand, for her people will go to the polls next month to bring a new state into being. The vigorous debate and talks since 1990 have disturbing parallels with the Kenyan situation exactly thirty years ago, 1960-63. The Kenya African National (KANU) stood for 'unity', i.e. for a monopoly of undivided power at the time of transfer - a stand that has been now taken by South Africa's African National Congress (ANC). Both favour a unitary pattern of state. Both Kenya and South Africa encompass numerous tribes and are deeply pluralistic. Such societies need federalism in which power is divided and shared if there is to be democracy at all. The Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) championed the rights of minority tribes and like the Inkatha Freedom Party, found itself on the same side as the European and Asian minorities (and, in the South African context, the Coloureds). With a healthy suspicion of power, they have urged the adoption of a federal pattern in the new state so as to keep authoritarianism at bay. Undivided monopoly of power is the very definition of dictatorship. It is noteworthy that the dividing lines in Kenya and in South Africa are the very same. The transitional period in Kenya was marked by great controversy over the question of minority safeguards and regionalism. Like the ANC leadership, the KANU was desperately eager for a transfer of power; even the militants were anxious to make tenuous compromises so that they could form the government.

The Great Dialectic

Kenya, like South Africa today, faced the Great Question; the answer to which would decide whether the new state would be authoritarian or democratic.

This was : 'Unitary or Federal'. KANU like the ANC had made unity its slogan; it stood for 'unity of purpose and action'. The ANC has not been fighting for 'democracy' as such, but for the *end of White rule*; what matters is the *transfer of power in its totality* to the Black majority. The ANC's primary aim is 'a transformation' in which power will be 'transferred to the people'. By 'people' is of course meant 'all' Black people, i.e. the *majority* and specially the ANC itself, which claims to represent all the Black groups, who have little in common besides the colour of their skin.

Kenya's freedom-loving, fragmented, acephalous tribes were wisely apprehensive of the monolithic nature of the unitary state. But the Question was answered for them by Kenyatta's fell treachery and unbridled ambition to grab absolute power through the imposition of a unitary state upon them all.

The Fight for Freedom

During the Lancaster House Conference of 1962, the desire for a speedy transfer of power made KANU agree to one concession after another to the principles of federalism. There were to be six Regional Assemblies, with entrenched rights. After the Conference each of the parties thought that it had won, and made contradictory speeches. After the elections in May 1963, in which KANU swept the polls, talks on the new constitution were held between July and October 1963 - crucial months in which the die was cast. At the very start, Ronald Ngala, leader of KANU, warned that no basic changes should be made in the constitution. Ngala fought the battle for democracy valiantly, but could do nothing against Kenyatta's wiles except boycott the plenary session.

Murder Most Foul

In the final plenary session on October 16, 1963, far-reaching changes had been made; some of them in a secret collusion between Duncan Sandys and Kenyatta. It was a treacherous deed in which Duncan murdered Democracy. On the same day Ngala read to the press a letter he had written to Sandys: "We are frankly appalled at your decision to impose changes in the present constitution without the agreement of one of the two main political parties in Kenya, in concert with the Kenya Government and in complete breach of the solemn pledges and undertakings made by you and your predecessor in London and in Kenya during the last eighteen months." The letter went on to accuse Sandys of being "misleading, even dishonest" in pretending that the changes had been made because the present constitution was unworkable, as in fact it had "not yet been implemented; let alone tried out in practice"; it alleged that Mr. Sandys and the Kenya Government had in fact repudiated "a Constitution forming the only acceptable basis of one united Kenya".

Same Treachery Again?

One wonders whether History is repeating itself in South Africa after all this foul-play in October 1963, in Kenya. In a press report² we learn that the de Klerk government and the ANC had made a private deal among themselves that impinges on the question of regional autonomy which was crucial to Zulu interests - Buthelezi was not associated at all and the agreement concerns a five-year government of national unity. No press reports give us full details or highlight the treachery of the secret negotiations, or yet condemn the margin-

alisation of the Zulu nation and their leader. Almost all the reporting and the literature on the transition negotiations, nay, even the headlines purport to project the image of Buthelezi as an obdurate and extremist leader who is making immoderate demands. This is extremely unfair. If Buthelezi should threaten "bloodshed and misery" and say angrily that the government and the ANC "would have to resort to force to compel the Kwazulu homeland to accept the plans they announced", how serious must the treachery of de Klerk and Mandela have been?

We learn that there have been no talks between Buthelezi and the duo for almost nine months and that the Inkatha Freedom Party has been considering boycotting the April elections. There is more detailed press reporting on the deeds and words of Mandela than of Buthelezi. "It is easy", writes Patti Waldmeir in the *Financial Times*³ "to heap most of the blame on the Inkatha leader, Mr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi; however, his demands are not outrageous. One can question his motives, his reliability as a negotiator, his willingness to contest free elections. But his basic constitutional demand is far from unreasonable: he wants a federal South Africa, arguing that such a model would best cater for one of the most ethnically fragmented societies on earth". She goes on to point out that "No issue is so central to South Africa's future: will the political system guarantee ethnic minorities real power, or relegate them to the role of permanent, impotent opposition"? Federalism alone will give minorities a chance to secure a political base as well as check the abuse of power by the majority. And yet the ANC is impervious to all these arguments.

Why not Federalism?

Kenya was faced by the Great Dialectic: 'Unitary or Federal?' and found that the choice, forced upon it, through treachery, intrigue and greed, was Unitarism; the direct consequence of this was a dictatorial regime. Bit by bit the complex institutions of federalism were dismantled. But first the dog had to be given a bad name; so, federalism or regionalism was referred to pejoratively

as 'Majimboism'. Again, the idea of 'majority' was exalted and that of 'minority' deprecated, at all times and in every speech in and out of Parliament.

In South Africa, the stress is also on 'majority', for the very idea of 'minority' calls up painful memories from the past, in which the *Minority* was the hateful, White Minority of oppressors. The ANC has, throughout, rejected federalism, as well as every form of consociational accommodation, because of this hangover from the Apartheid days. Here is a theoretical rejection of the idea of minority or group rights. Since Apartheid government was the tyrannical rule by a minority, no concession should ever be made to any minority; the Whites alone are a minority, while all Blacks are The Majority. Now, all this thinking has no basis at all in the sociological realities on the ground.⁴ Yet it is the ANC's party ideology.

South Africa today is perhaps the only country in the world where any talk of 'minority' rights will not be countenanced. Here is a weird hangover from the past that will, in its rejection of federalist principles and power-sharing, do infinite harm to the new state, struggling to be born. The ANC has, at least, this historical justification, which was absent in Kenya. However, the ANC has succeeded in raising a tidal wave of world opinion, reflected in every newspaper item, and even on the U.S. campuses, against the idea of group rights in South Africa. This success in influencing world opinion in its favour is because, we, non-Africans, see the process in South Africa as a simple matter of power transfer from the White Minority to the Black Majority. We see this over simplified picture because in the bad, old days of Apartheid, the South African state appeared to be ethnically bi-polar with the whites and the Blacks. The vast majority of the Blacks seemed like one group because of their shared experience of injustice.

As it happens in every lifting of a colonial lid, the cracks among the colonized begin to appear and to widen. So, it is the rights of black minorities which should matter now, if the emergent state

is to be democratic at all. Let us pause here, lest we are in the habit of thinking of the Zulus as a 'minority'. They are not a 'minority' in the usual sense of the term for there are 8 million of them; thus, numerically they closely match the 7.5 million Xhosas, most of whom are ANC followers. If there is to be a just political system, there must be power-sharing and not a winner-take-all Government by the ANC 'majority'. If the only change is in the colour of the skin of the ruler and there is a continuance of the same authoritarianism (as in Kenya) it would be sorely unjust.

The task of discrediting the very concept of the Minority was less easy in Kenya in the 60's than in South Africa today, where the ANC is helped by the historical hangover. Nevertheless, it was accomplished with consummate theoretical skill by KANU members. I shall give here some samples to show how dangerously relevant the arguments are for South Africa:

Senator Nyagah : "Let me remind you again that in Kenya there are no minorities, minorities are those who do not belong to the African race. If you are an African, I do not see why you should call yourself a minority". And **Senator Gichohi** : "So you see, we do not want an opposition. We do not have minorities in this country, minorities were only created by these self-seekers the settlers who told the Masai, for instance, that they were a minority and that the Kikuyu were going to beat them".

Majority Rule is not the same as Democracy

Let us not be lulled into thinking that majority rule is the same thing as democracy. The recurrent theme of the ANC is 'Majority' while the refrain in Kenya's propaganda was 'Unity', the words are different but the tune is the same, that of majoritarian autocracy. With the song of Unity, Kenya's federal assemblies, the Senate, the Opposition parties, the neutrality of the Civil Service and the freedom of the Press were all swept away. The right to disagree was gone. As Senator Gichohi said, 'the Opposition is there for the sake of Opposition' and 'since the answer of the

public was a unitary government, there should be no opposition'; 'we do not need minorities'. The ideology of 'Unity and Majority only' can be used to destroy all democratic institutions if a Unitary State comes into existence in South Africa. It is only federalism, or consociationalism, that offers scope for widespread representation and participation through a complexity of political institutions, so that there is both sharing of power and resources and dissent and debate.

The ANC's make-believe that there is only one majority, the Black, of which it is the representative encompasses this confusion between 'majority rule' and 'democracy', which appears in many a press report and article. Another ambiguity is that a Black Majority ANC government in the new Unitary State is also at the same time 'Multi-Racial'. This is something I fail to understand. Another puzzle is that the demands of the Whites has a sort of 'legitimacy' that the stand of the Zulus does not - is this just because of skin pigmentation?

Loss of Trust

There has been so much violence in South Africa that talks cannot take place in a context of mutual trust. The ANC exhibits the qualities of political monopolism that may drive the Zulu nation to the wall. How can one blame Buthelezi for insisting on strong, cast-iron guarantees for federal autonomy that will not be taken away in the near future. We cannot forget that entrenched clauses, protecting federalism, in Kenya's constitution were nullified in a year's time.

Fight for Freedom

Man's fight for freedom is never done. Freedom has to come first, and democracy's battle is raging in South Africa. One may hope that international mediation for the demand of the Zulus for regional autonomy - a last straw of hope will not fail and that there will not be another great Kenya-type, betrayal of Democracy after the April 27 elections. It is naive to see '1947' in South Africa today for Buthelezi is not a Jimmah and Mandela is emphatically not a Gandhi⁵.

Crucial issues are being clouded by such facile comparisons; for what is imminent in South Africa is not the 'advent of democracy' (which Buthelezi and pro-apartheid whites' are seeking to sabotage 'without compunctions') but the advent of black majority rule where black is Race term and 'majority' is not synonym of 'democracy.'

For the advent of truly multi-racial democracy there must be a wide spread, mingling goodwill and idealism that looks to the future and not to the past; there must be a will to transcend the racist habits of the mind. But all this forgiveness, charity, and nobility is conspicuous by its absence in the election campaigning of the ANC. It is sad to read⁶ that Ms. Ela Gandhi, a grand daughter of the Mahatma, who is contesting the elections on the ANC ticket, condemned the visit of de Klerk to the Statue of Mahatma Gandhi in the Natal city of Pietermaritzburg on March 3, 1994, saying that it was a 'damned disgrace.' For it is she who lacks the Gandhian spirit of charity, and has descended to the level of a common ANC politician. Let us hope that the Spirit of the Mahatma may yet again prevail.

Footnotes:

- ¹ It was not democracy alone that was done in by Kenyatta's government. Later Ngala himself would become a martyr, and later still; J. M. Kariuki. The story of democracy reached epic dimensions with the official murder of Kariuki in 1975.
- ² Richard Ellis, "Buthelezi threatens bloodshed", cited *The Times of India*, February 20, 1993.
- ³ Cited: *The Times of India*, February 22, 1994.
- ⁴ Even as the Hindus of India are not an undifferentiated mass but are vibrant with varied cultural pluralities, the Blacks are no single mass of people. The Xhosas, the Sotho, the Venda and the Zulus share only common pigmentation. But culturally they are even more varied than the Sindhis the Gujaratis, the Maharashtrians etc. who at least share the same religion.
- ⁵ '1947 in South Africa' (second editorial) *The Times of India*, March 5, 1994
- ⁶ 'de Klerk's poll act condemned' *The Hindu*, March 5, 1994.

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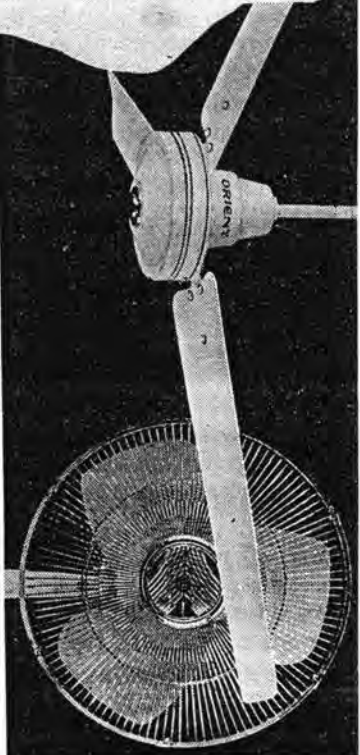
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झरने बहायें



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खूबसूरत पंखे।
सीलिंग, टेबल, पेंडस्टल और एक्जॉस्ट—
क्रिस-क्रिस की डिजाइनों में बेशुमार
पंखे। जो गर्मी के मौसम में,
सालीसाला तारों ठंडी-ठंडी हवाएं,
आपके कमरे में।

ये ताज़ी हवाएं, जीवनभर आपकी हो जाएं

ORIENT FANS

Why Islamic Fundamentalists Hate Hosni Mubarak

Egypt is the key to so much that happens in the Middle East. Cairo is not only one of the greatest metropolitan centres in the world - with a present population of over 15 million - but it is the centre of political activity in the Arab world. Political ferment in Cairo is a microcosm of political activity throughout the area. What happens in Cairo is followed throughout the Middle East. This is why Hosni Mubarak - and not any western politician, including the President of the United States - is the greatest enemy of Muslim fundamentalism. And of course it must take a Muslim to point out to the millions of believers throughout the world that Muslims do not have to be, indeed should not be, fanatics.

It is a factor peculiar to the Islamic world that state socialism can be bound up with religious fundamentalism to such a high degree. In all the other varied forms of socialism found across the world, religion is despised - and socialist values are put forward as the modern world's replacement of religion. Not so in Islam. Here religious motivations can be melded with religious ones into a most explosive mixture. The greatest example of this was Gamal Abdel Nasser, who combined in his own person the religious and lay streams of the modern Islamic world - and who has now entered into history as an Arab as great as the greatest of the caliphs of old.

Two decades have elapsed since the death of Nasser - a day when millions wept. The first decade was that of Sadat, the second that of Mubarak. The second of these leaders was the antithesis of the first, just as they were both antitheses of Nasser. Sadat's chosen instrument of power was charisma. He intended to outdo Nasser, but in spite of his undoubted achievements he could not arouse the enthusiasm of his predecessor. He spent so much time trying to prove that he emerged spontaneously from the people of Egypt that he had time for little else. Nasser had the gift of making the fellahin think this without ever stating the fact.

Hosni Mubarak has no time for such posturings. He is so low-profile that most

of the people of Cairo have never seen him. Yet he has done much more than Sadat to bring Egypt into the modern world. Like Boris Yeltsin in completely different circumstances, he has realised two things: that the economy has to be put straight by means of extremely radical measures, and that this will take a very long time. He is bedevilled by the powerful legacy of Nasser and by the forces of Islamic fundamentalism - which, now as in the past, can be made to appear the same thing.

There is enormous poverty and enormous corruption in Egypt. Too much is made of this in the world's media. President Mubarak is often pictured as being at the head of an enormous political and economic mafia sucking blood from the poor people of Egypt. This is far from a true picture. Mubarak has little choice other than to accept the organisation as it appears. He has replaced the arthritic structures of Nasserite socialism with the free market and, as we all know, this is something which can have a very ugly side.

Here are some of Mubarak's economic achievements. He has satisfied the IMF by allowing price rises, i.e. by ending government subsidies. Although for political reasons this does not apply to bread, the mainstay of the Egyptian diet, the programme has been carried out in sovereign negotiation with the IMF. This has led

to a reduction in inflation to 13% for the last twelve months - whereas this key figure has not been below 30% since anyone can remember. Egypt's estimated budget deficit for 1993 has come down to 2.5% of gross domestic product from 4% last year, which was already considered low. Reserves stand at an all-time high of 15 billion dollars. Favourable results of this development are that the Egyptian pound, now fully convertible, has been able to maintain its strength against other currencies and that Egyptian entrepreneurs - i.e. the rich, for whose prosperity Mubarak has been blamed in such contemptuous terms - are increasingly inclined to invest their riches, ill-gotten or not, in their own country.

In his day, Nasser claimed he could better the lot of the poor. He took provisional measures to this end. These were called government subsidies. But they led to much greater poverty in the long run, and they also required a bureaucratic machine which has been the ruin of the country. There was no question of looking to the future; the future could look after itself. The Egyptian poor are today very poor indeed, but Mubarak has shown himself capable of carrying through economic reforms without doing them any great harm - even though there are now more than twice as many people in Egypt as in the time of Nasser.

The Islamic fundamentalists address

the poor directly. They are not exactly new to Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood has existed since before the Second World War. It disclaims revolutionary designs, but its main slogan claims "Islam is the solution". It says it is not a political movement but one devoted to charity and education. Mubarak does not deny that Islam is the solution. He is a devout man who believes that Islam condones neither violence nor coercion.

But the fanatics are not interested in economic advancement. They want to rid Egypt of Mubarak and impose their own regime. Cairo is the centre of their world, and they are sure that if they win there the rest of the Arab world will follow.

COURTESY: *Swiss Press Review*

● Our resident wit, Som Benegal, has spotted a fast-food vendor on the pavements of the Press Area on Bahadurshah Zafar Marg claiming: "Mere choley ke pichchey kulchey hain."

Courtesy: *The Pioneer*.

Arafat - The Issue

Now that a Palestine with a defined territory looms on the horizon for the first time, the personality of the PLO leader, Yasser Arafat, has become controversial. It is a truism that the qualities of a resistance leader are not necessarily the one needed for running a country. Wars have to be waged by soldiers; the best officers are those who issue orders and are able to see them carried out. Running a country, whatever its status, needs the virtues of compromise and democracy.

Arafat is not a man reputed for either of these gifts. He does not delegate gladly. He would like to run the Palestinian areas autocratically, as he ran the war against Israeli occupation. But a new generation of Palestinians has now grown to maturity. They realise that those who run the autonomous areas must show that they are able to operate on democratic lines and that respect for human rights must be a hallmark of all they do. Otherwise there is no way that they can win against the fundamen-

talists of the Hamas movement.

Success of the new Palestine operation depends on the generosity of the international community. The famous handshake on the White House lawn led to a welter of offers of finance. There is plenty of money available to better the lot of the slum-dwellers of Gaza and the other Palestinian camps as long as the conditions are right. Yasser Arafat was congratulated widely for his readiness to shake hands with Yitzhak Rabin. But the gesture will have to be followed by doing the right thing. This is not something that the PLO leader is famous for. He has a lot to live down: from being the world's number one terrorist for over two decades and for passionately espousing the wrong side during the Gulf war. If Arafat is to make good on the promises contained in the Declaration of Principles, the new Palestine had better be a democracy.

Swiss Press Review

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Back to the 'Thirties in Europe

Ian Tickle

There is more than a whiff of the 1930s in this *fin de siècle* post-communist Europe. Those wishing to understand the facts of the matter could do worse than to consult a manual about the problems of Europe between the wars.

There is more than a whiff of the 1930s in this *fin de siècle* post-communist Europe. Those wishing to understand the facts of the matter could do worse than to consult a manual about the problems of Europe between the wars.

Until recently, the 1930s have been symbolised by the spirit of Munich - the policy of appeasing the conquests of dictatorship which led to the Second World War. The attempt to dominate Europe by the communist monolith were often put into this context; and it was felt that if the Soviets were allowed to advance one step beyond the Iron Curtain as designated in the aftermath of the war they would be so encouraged that nothing would stop them from taking the whole of Europe. It was accepted wisdom - and no doubt entirely correct - that it was only the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation which stopped the Red Army from arriving at the shores of the Atlantic in the early 1950s. This was certainly the ambition of Stalin.

NATO Kept the Peace

The post-war democracies had indeed learned the lessons of appeasement. They were determined that the same thing was not going to happen again. And for half a century the existence of NATO kept the peace in Europe. The policy was the right one - and the fact that it was persisted in for so long enabled the western half of the continent to recover from the war. It was under its shield that the European Community was able to grow up into something entirely new in European history: a serious attempt to promote political as well as economic integration.

And then came the turning-point. Suddenly in 1989, the post-war European order came to an end. The captive countries of central and eastern Europe were liberated. The Berlin Wall came down, and Germany was united. In the aftermath of this the Soviet Union disappeared, and its constituent republics became independent.

Back to the 'Thirties

In a flash, in the twinkling of an eye, we were almost back to the map of the 1930s. The one big difference was the Soviet Union itself; this had existed in the 1930s, and the problems of the Caucasus, Central Asia and the rise of fundamentalist Islam are new. Belarus and Ukraine are also new European states, the latter - for the moment at least - being a potentially dangerous nuclear power. But in the rest of Europe things are by and large back to what they were before the massive aggressions of Hitler and Stalin. In some cases the frontiers are of course a little different, the main change being the fact that Poland has shifted to the west.

The German problem as it was known in the first forty years of the century is with us again. This is first and foremost a geographical problem. Today's Germany has most of the territory of the Germany of the 1930s - except that it has lost part of its eastern regions and the former east Prussia, with the great Hanseatic city of Königsberg. It is still a big power lying four-square between the west and the east of the continent. Although its present government has excellent democratic credentials, its geographical presence is overwhelming - and in fact does overwhelm the smaller countries of Europe.

The European Union

In these circumstances the European Community, now the European Union, takes on added importance. It is no longer simply a question of bringing the democratic countries of Europe together in an integrated group which will enable them to maintain their prosperity and maintain the peace. It is now a matter of harnessing Germany in a united Europe which will include countries in both the west and the east of the continent, in such a way that the former will never again harbour ambitions of conquest.

In terms of this sort of European integration, the figures of Adenauer and de Gaulle tower above all post-war European statesmen. Each in his own way, these were men who felt that the historical rivalry between France and Germany was the basic factor which had pushed the whole of Europe into war again and again in the 150 years since the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. They were determined that this terrible weight should be lifted from the European scene, and they succeeded in this. When the Berlin wall came down, when East Germany ceased to exist and was attached to its western brother - the new Germany was a piece of western Europe sticking out into the east of the continent. This was the achievement of Adenauer and de Gaulle. It was a vast change from the 1930s, when Germany's destiny could lie either way.

The main purpose of the European Union for the present generation is to maintain this situation. The problems which occurred throughout 1992 and 1993 in ratifying the Maastricht Treaty took on added poignance because at

the precise moment when the European Union seemed more essential than ever before in broad geo-political terms it was encountering growing opposition at the hands of voters.

Five years ago, as the east was beginning to turn, there was a succession of moments of unbelievable joy. Freedom was coming back to places where the light had gone out more than half a century before. Most people alive had forgotten that Czechoslovakia between the wars had been an enlightened democracy with a standard of living up to that of the west, that Albania had been a beacon on the benighted Balkan scene, that Poland then was more free than anything which has been seen since. These countries had now retrieved their liberty, and the horizon was bright.

Short-lived Euphoria

During a permitted period of euphoria, the problems were forgotten. But not for long. The captive countries broke off from the Soviet bloc in a process of fragmentation - but, horror of horrors, the process then seemed to be

unstoppable. First Yugoslavia fell apart - although it had been one country long before the advent of communism. The two constituent parts of Czechoslovakia decided to go their separate ways. In spite of the fact that the two Germanys were now one, there was increasing disharmony between the inhabitants of former West Germany and the new "Lander" in the east. No one would have believed this possible on the day the destruction of the Berlin wall was celebrated.

In the 1930s the continent was overshadowed by the German question. But there was a sense in which the German question was also the Russian question. With the arrival of Hitler at the helm of Germany in 1933, the countries of eastern Europe were squeezed between two aggressive totalitarian systems. History shows that their days were numbered, and the people alive at the time had a shrewd suspicion that this would be the case. In all its years of power, communism was redolent with the ghost of fascism - but fascism itself in its Hitlerian guise was absent from the scene. Now in the last days of 1993, it has been sprung upon Europe once

again in the form of the Russian demagogue, Vladimir Zhirinovsky, uttering sentiments which have been unheard of for decades but which are in some cases almost identical with those of Adolf Hitler.

It is understandable, though perhaps regrettable, that this strange version of the Russian bear was refused permission to visit Germany. His wild, paranoid, seemingly mad utterances would have been on a real world stage if uttered in the great cities of Germany. He would have been recognised as a pale copy of his evil precursor. The German government could not stomach the thought of it, and he was refused a visa. But it is probably a mere matter of time before he will be able to scream his thoughts in other countries of Europe. It is difficult to imagine that states like Britain or France, with their more liberal traditions, will bar him entry.

The Zhirinovsky Threat

What Zhirinovsky is in fact doing is to remind us forcefully that the problems of the 1930s which have again arisen among us have to be solved this time round. Like the Soviet potentates of the years between the wars, he is sending

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out double signals to Germany: On the one hand he threatens that if he comes to power he will finally realise the Russian ambition of wiping Germany off the map, and on the other hand he is saying that the two countries could have a great future working together. There were a number of dramatic moments in the inter-war years when Germany suddenly and unexpectedly turned its back on the west and allied itself with Russia. The first of these was at Rapallo shortly after the First World War, and the second was the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in 1939, which resulted in the destruction of Poland and the Baltic states and led within a few days to the outbreak of the Second World War. Both were climacterics of the time.

There is of course a big difference this time round. Zhirinovsky - for the moment at any rate - is a boisterous though unpleasant nobody, while Germany is an established democracy. This does not mean that the basic problem is different - only that this time there is not that great urgency that there was in the 1930s, with a permanent sense of time running out. But it often happens - and this is true at all levels of human experience - that when there is no great urgency there is a great temptation not to get things done. And the fact is that five years have elapsed since 1989, and nothing has been done.

Zhirinovsky is already doing a good job in focusing the thoughts of public opinion and politicians on these matters. But there were stirrings before he came along. First and foremost in Poland. This is a country which has good reason to be extremely jealous of its independence. It epitomises some of the worst problems of the 1930s, and in 1939 as on other occasions in its long history it was destined to disappear from the map - albeit temporarily. South western Poland - formerly the German province of Silesia - has been targeted consistently in recent years by neo-nazis in Germany who want it back. Recently some of the few remaining German residents in Silesia have been taking the same line on a matter which to most Europeans is a local phenomenon but which for Poles is a matter of life and death.

NATO Membership

For the eastern countries, the most appealing answer to their problems would of course be membership of NATO. This is the self-protection organisation comprising the democracies of Europe and North America, which prevented the communists from continuing with their westward advance in the years following 1949. It is still an essential instrument of western policy, and its obligations for the defence of its member states are today as binding as they ever were. This means western Europe is effectively sheltered from what ever could happen in the east of the continent. In relation to the unhappy events of ex-Yugoslavia, there have been widespread calls for the alliance to be activated for "out-of-area" operations - but these have not led to concrete action.

The first ex-communist country to request admission was Albania, terrified as it has reason to be by a prospect of the Bosnian conflict being transformed into a fire spreading throughout the whole Balkan peninsula. This was refused, and the new Albanian democratic government had to be satisfied with confidential undertakings by a number of western countries that "they would not stand idly by" if a non-aggressive Albania were attacked from the Serbian side. Non-aggressive in this context meant that Albania should refrain from any act of interference to help the Kosovo Albanians.

"Partnership For Peace"

As the noises from the east have started to become louder, however, there have grown up ambitions by strategically placed countries between Germany and Russia - in particular Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and most recently Lithuania - to become members of NATO. This was a suggestion which was scuppered almost immediately by the realisation that Russia - by the mouth of its president, Boris Yeltsin, and not that of Zhirinovsky - would consider this unfriendly. The United States and Britain are at present inclined to accommodate the Russians on this, although the attitudes of France

and Germany are a little more ambivalent. A new concept called "partnership for peace" is now being worked out, based to some extent on the unofficial guarantee given to Albania. It means little or nothing and has been described by the Polish foreign minister as "a buzz-off project".

Taking the historical view, we might well be tempted to say that NATO has proved itself the way it is and should stay the way it is. It is not always very useful to tamper with a success story. The European Union too has political and defence implications, although these are not as clearly targeted as in the case of NATO. It is also a purely continental organisation, whose express objective is in the end to be identical with the geographical frontiers of Europe, although when the time comes it will doubtless prove difficult to define these frontiers, particularly in the Mediterranean and Caucasian theatres.

'The Peace Dividend' Myth

These are the questions which must now be faced. Even though there is no urgency, they should be tackled now - for experience tells us that a moment of reckoning can suddenly appear - and when this happens it is usually too late. In the euphoria of 1989, there was much talk of the peace dividend. In the United States this was concretised by the widely welcomed statement that history had finally come to a full stop. It was a period which did not last long, and it affected only those blinded by starlight.

There is still some trace of it in European budget-cutting, however, particularly in the United Kingdom. But the citizens of democratic countries are increasingly coming round to the idea that they must remain armed, that the peace dividend is just about as big a myth as the idea that history has come to an end. NATO's success has always depended on its members being well enough armed to operate the strategies which were constantly being worked out at headquarters and are now being adjusted to deal with today's truth.

COURTESY: *Swiss Press Review*

*Men sacrifice themselves for the
good of the State, for the safety of
future citizens and for their
happiness in the coming
generations. In all this men and
women derive a joy which is
instinctive and not argued from
hopes or expectations of present or
future rewards of such conduct.*

- Rajaji's Speech



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All about Earthquakes

A.K. R. Hemmady

Soon after the Khillari earthquake in September last year, Rajya Sabha Member Dr. Prakash Ambedkar wanted a public interest petition filed in the Bombay High Court charging the State government with criminal negligence for not shifting the people from earthquake prone areas in Marathwada. At the same time he referred to a Geological Survey of India (GSI) study which revealed that the entire Deccan Plateau was prone to earthquakes.

India's Vice-President Mr. K. R. Narayanan stated that 'no part of the country was totally free from earthquakes.'

If the entire country is earthquake-prone then where is the point in moving people from one area to another. Perhaps what Dr. Ambedkar had in mind was that despite earlier earthquakes of medium intensity the people living in this area were not adequately cautioned and warned of the consequences from earthquakes of much higher intensity.

Plate Tectonics

A major theory on why earthquakes are caused was developed in India by certain brilliant geologists of the Geological Survey of India (GSI) - the Blandford brothers and Mr. R. D. Oldham.

The theory known as the Plate Tectonic Theory assumes that the earth is made up of about 12 rock plates, around 110 kms thick. These plates are constantly moving on a semi-molten mantle. What keeps them moving is not well understood. But what happens is that when two plates rub against each other in a restricted area the movement gives rise to stresses along the lines of contact. When the stresses reach breaking point rocks fracture, causing earthquakes.

Glaciation

In 1856 the Blandford brothers found a peculiar assemblage of rocks near Talchir village in Orissa and called it the

Talchir Boulder Bed (TBB). The Blandford brothers concluded that only continental glaciation could have resulted in such a geological formation - 270 million years ago. In other words today's tropical India was covered by ice 270 million years ago.

For the benefit of the layman: Glaciation is of two types. Continental - due to ice caps and confined to the polar region - and the other Alpine - related to ice caps on high mountains as those in the Himalayas at present. In other words, continental glaciation depends on latitude and Alpine on altitude. The TBB bore all the marks of continental glaciation.

How was continental glaciation possible when the poles were so far away from India?

When a jumble of rock fragments are pushed ahead of a glacial snout, the angular edges of rock fragments carve out grooves or scratches on the pavement on which the glacier moves.

In 1872, another GSI geologist, Mr. Francis Fedden discovered ice-scratched payments on the banks of the Irai river, just upstream of its confluence with the Penganga about 16 kms. west of Chandrapur in Maharashtra. It is a place of pilgrimage for geologists the world over. Fedden's discovery proved that the Blandfords were right in their theory of continental glaciation in the tropics of India.

Gondwanaland

Similar boulder beds are to be found in other countries of the southern hemisphere eg. South America, South Africa and Australia. These boulder beds which occupy the basal position of a great succession of rocks later came to be known as the "Gondwana Supergroup" of rocks - and these rocks are the main repository of the coal resources in these continents. We shall not go into how these coal resources came to be there. But why "Gondwana"?

The term was derived from the kingdom of the Gonds - a tribe that still lives in the border districts of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. The term was used by another famous GSI palaeobotanist, Mr. Fiestmantel in 1870. But it was the Austrian geologist Eduard Suess who immortalised the Gonds struck as he was by the similarities between India and the other southern continents. He gave these the name Gondwanaland to describe a distinct geological phenomenon cutting across continental barriers.

Continental Drift

The Gondwanaland concept led, in 1912, to another historic and well known theory enunciated by the great German explorer and meteorologist Alfred Wagner - the theory of the Continental Drift. According to this theory all the continents were once part of a single

When Tagore Chastised Gandhi

Commenting on the great Bihar earthquake of 1934, Mahatma Gandhi said: "It is an ennobling thing for me to guess that the Bihar calamity is due to the sin of untouchability ... I do not interpret this chastisement as an exclusive punishment for the sin of untouchability. It is open to others to read in it the divine wrath against many other sins".

Poet Laureate Rabindranath Tagore chastised Mahatma Gandhi for his irrationality: "It is all the more unfortunate, because this kind of unscientific view of phenomena is too readily accepted by a large section of our countrymen ... I keenly feel the indignity of it, when I am compelled to utter a truism in asserting that physical catastrophes have their inevitable and exclusive origin in certain combination of physical factors. If we associate ethical principles with the cosmic phenomena, we shall have to admit that human nature is morally much superior to Providence".

landmass which, during the course of geological time, broke apart and drifted away. To support his theory, Wagner drew attention to the amazing similarities between geological, structural features and the fossil contents of rocks on opposite sides of a continent which, in his scheme of things, fitted each other, as in a jig-saw puzzle.

Even the distribution of earthworms was cited in support of his theory. Earthworms cannot survive salt water hence cannot migrate across the seas. Nor can they survive frozen ground. Therefore their present distribution can only be explained by presuming that these continents were once joined together.

There were of course those who opposed this theory of the continental drift. Their main objection was 'how could the continents move through the rigid rock of the earth's crust? It was Wagner's contention that the mantle underlying the crust might be plastic in nature over which the lighter continents floated and moved. Others speculated that radioactivity in the earth's interior might have supplied enough heat to convert the solid interior into a semi-plastic mass.

But the correctness of Wagner's theory of the continental drift was proved by another unexpected and very mundane occurrence.

The Mid-Atlantic Ridge

A number of telephone cables across the Atlantic ocean had snapped during the post-war years. Oceanographers Dr. Heezen and Marie Tharp studied the configuration of the ocean floor and found that the cables had snapped near a deep rift or valley running down the centre of a great undersea mountain range called the Mid-Atlantic Ridge. The rift is 25 to 50 kms. in width.

Pursuing their find, Heezen and Tharp discovered that the Mid-Atlantic Ridge was just part of a great mid-oceanic ridge system about 650,000 kms long, winding its way from the Atlantic to the Pacific and Indian oceans. Another oceanographer, Sir Edward Bullard who joined the study found that the temperatures along the ridge system

were considerably higher along them than elsewhere on the ocean floor. This study led to the 'sea floor spreading' theory according to which the gash at the centre of the mid-oceanic ridge were deep cuts in the earth's crust through which molten rock welled up, triggering earthquakes as it forced the sea floor to move outward on either side of the mid-oceanic ridge.

In 1965, British scientists P.M.S. Blackett and S.K. Runcorn proved through palaeomagnetic studies that the continents had moved. By studying the magnetic properties of rocks, it is possible, with reliable accuracy to determine the latitudes through which the continents traversed in the geologic past. Most Indian rocks show that India (reference point Nagpur) crossed the equator around 55 million years ago to move on to the northern hemisphere from the southern at the rate of 30 cms. a year - and India is still believed to be moving northwards.

India owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. P.M.S. Blackett who brought the study of palaeomagnetism to India. His student Dr. C.R.K. Murthy of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR) set up the first palaeomagnetic laboratory at Lonavla. Unfortunately this laboratory had to be wound up despite Dr. Murthy's protests because the Maharashtra government wanted the land for a Police Academy! (This writer too protested and wrote to the press - which only a few newspapers cared to publish). So much for the concern of our politicians who remember earth scientists only when an earthquake jeopardizes their seats of power!

The Study of Earthquakes in India

Ironically it was in pre-independence India (or in the British India of the 19th century) that the study of earthquakes and the development of methodologies to study them received their maximum encouragement. Beginning with a study of the great Cachar earthquake of 10 January 1869, Sir T. Oldham the then Director of the GSI, made it mandatory for the GSI to carry out field investigations of all major earthquakes to assess damage; from the evidence collected,

draw conclusions as to the source and cause of earthquakes; and to advise on the precautions to be taken in the construction of buildings in seismically unstable tracts.

Sir Oldham prepared 'A Catalogue of Indian Earthquakes' which recorded some 90 earthquakes upto 1869. Of these as many 28 were in south India - the supposedly 'stable peninsular' block.

Another eminent head of the GSI had this to say in his reminiscences: "The succession and frequency of earthquakes in India has been such that almost every Director of GSI has found it necessary, at one time or another, to detach geologists from their regular work to investigate urgently and report upon earthquake damage... All the information thus obtained by geologists in the field, by observatories and from circular letters of enquiry, is collated ... It is doubtful if there can be any other geological survey department in the world that has produced so long a record of important memoirs and records on earthquakes."

Peninsular India - A Stable Block?

The Indian sub-continent travelled about 8,000 kms from its original location near the South Pole at tortoise pace - about 140 million years to cover the distance. An ancient sea called 'Tethys' separated the Eurasian block in the north from the approaching Indian sub-continent in the south. This sea provided the scene for the deposition of Himalayan sediments, whose marine heritage is proved by the number of marine fossils found in these rocks. Caught between the two approaching continents, Tethys Sea sediments were thrown into stupendous folds, now representing the Himalayan Range. At this plate boundary, the Indian plate is thrusting under the Eurasian plate and this causes earthquakes much more frequently in this region than in Peninsular India.

Reservoir Induced Seismicity (RIS)

The potential of man-made reservoirs causing earthquakes was noticed around 1945 at Lake Mead in the United States. But the Koyna earthquake in 1967 and an upsurge of seismic activity

that year presumably due to the filling up of the man-made Lake Kremasta in Greece lent credibility to a theory called 'Reservoir Induced Seismicity'(RIS). A survey by the United States Geological Survey(USGS) in 1981 listed more than 100 instances of RIS but concluded that only those reservoirs which are more than 100 meters deep are likely to produce seismic effect.

Deep Seismic Soundings(DSS)

In the early 'seventies the Hyderabad-based National Geophysical Research Institute(NGRI) carried out Deep Seismic Soundings(DSS) (Deep holes are drilled for underground blasting and by measuring the velocity of earthquake waves, generated artificially, deep seated structures of the earth are delineated). A deep seated fault was found below the Koyna region leading to speculation that the load of the Koyna Reservoir may have triggered the release of stresses accumulating around this fault and the resulting crustal adjustments may have caused the earthquake. This however has not been conclusively proved.

What caused the earthquake in Khillari on September 30, 1993 ?

A number of theories have been put forward - blaming it on the 'Kurudwadi Fault'(a theory based on the what is called gravity anomaly. But no one has said so far that the 'Kurudwadi Fault' had the potential to cause an earthquake); or on the three reservoirs Makni, Ujani and Jayakawadi(which may have caused RIS). These dams are not more than 100 meters in height and the statement will not carry credibility unless supported by seismic data.

Unless substantiated through monitoring of seismic activity it is not necessary for the nearness of a 'fault' to have caused an earthquake. Nearness of a 'fault' to the epicentre is no criterion to implicate a 'fault' because the clinching evidence, focus of the earthquake, may lie deep down below on an inclined plane of some other fault.

Probability of Earthquake in Bombay

Is there a probability of an earthquake in Bombay ? My answer before

the Koyna earthquake would have been a prompt 'No'. Geologically I was brought up on the well-entrenched notion that Peninsular India is a stable block. After the Koyna earthquake I might have given a qualified 'a remote possibility' because there are no big dams around Bombay. But after Khillari my response would be a counter-question, "What else was happening on the early morning of September 30, 1993." At Virar I was woken up from sleep by tremors and 'woken up from sleep' falls under category five on the Mercalli scale, considered rather strong. The point I wish to emphasise is that any area can be rocked by an earthquake even if the epicentre lies far away.

Predicting Earthquakes

This brings me to the question of predicting earthquakes.

How accurately can earthquakes be predicted ? As early as 1910 Geologist Harry Reid expressed the view that it should be possible to predict earthquakes by keeping a close tab on gathering stress along faults. In 1949 the Garm region of Siberia was rocked by severe earthquakes. A team of Russian scientists, while conducting a post mortem also sought in their study to glean geological changes that might help predict earthquakes. The study continued for almost two decades and, in 1971, the Russians announced the result of their study at the International Geological Congress held in Moscow. According to them their study revealed that by monitoring the seismicity generated by natural earthquakes and by underground mine and nuclear blasts it was possible to predict earthquakes. The key was abnormal seismic wave velocity preceding the event.

That the velocity of seismic waves undergoes a change when the rock medium is subjected to stress was known since 1960. An MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) team led by Geologist William Brace had found that rocks under stress (near breaking point) showed a marked increase in their resistance to the passage of electricity but a decrease in the velocity of earthquake waves. These changes were attributed to an effect called 'dilatancy' -

the opening up of innumerable microscopic cracks in the rocks subjected to stress. Bruce suggested that dilatancy could be a tell-tale sign of an impending earthquake. Unfortunately at that time there was no instrument available that could measure dilatancy.

After studying the seismic record of twelve major earthquakes in Japan between 1904 and 1963, Russian scientist S.A. Fedotov evolved the 'seismic gap theory' in earthquake prediction. By plotting the size of each tremor struck, he found that each 'quake segment abutted the next contiguous one without overlapping, as if each deep seated crack had been shut off by a barrier at the end of the fracture zone. He found that each large earthquake was in a segment which was quiet for the last thirty years or so. Fedotov predicted that these segments which were quiescent will be hit by earthquakes sooner or later. Three of these blocks in the Kurile Islands were struck where, according to Fedotov earthquakes were due. Based on this theory Dr. Kiyo Mogi of Tokyo successfully forecast some tremors in Japan. Similarly earthquakes were predicted in the Adirondak area of the United States, and the Chinese in the north-eastern province of Liaoning.

In India we do not have the kind of financial resources that the USA has, for instance, to carry out extensive studies that could help us study our seismic zones. On the other hand it is for our scientific organisations such as the Indian Meteorological Department(IMD), the National Geophysical Research Institute(NGRI), the Indian Institute of Geomagnetism(IIG), the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC), the Survey of India, Geology and Geophysics faculties of various universities and Institutes of Technology(IITs) to put their talent and resources together to carry out studies that could help predict earthquakes.

Safe Dwelling Houses

In this connection I would like to mention that the Indian Standards Institution now known as the Bureau of Indian Standards has been doing commendable work in the field of seismic zoning. Their publication No. 1893 'Indian Standard Criteria for Earthquake

Resistant Design of Structures', gives the seismic zoning, a tectonic map of India and a horizontal seismic coefficient for important Indian cities to be considered when designing heavy structures to ensure safety against earthquakes. Another important publication of the Bureau is its publication No. 4967-1968 'Recommendations for Seismic Instrumentation for River Valley Projects'.

Geologist R.D. Oldham's observation that earthquake waves particularly surface waves which do the most damage have no effect in underground mines was corroborated by experiments carried out in Japan. It was found that earth tremors are very much less in pits which are 7 meters in depth than at the surface.

According to Mr. Alfredo Montel ('Building Structures in Earthquake Countries' Charles Griffin, 1912) who recorded his observations of Italian earthquakes iron structures are not well suited; well bonded, strongly baked brickwork is recommended; heavy blocks of stone deprecated (most of the damage in Khillari was due to this);

although a masonry of small blocks set in strong mortar is much safer; reinforced concrete is strongly recommended; tapering (parabolic) walls in order to avoid the development of an inverted pendulum motion is recommended. The most suitable house is that known as the 'monolith' building in which the main walls are so bonded and knit together as to behave like one single unit. Such structures should be low in height, approach a circular plan and have free and undeformable roof in order to avoid increasing the bending movement of the walls. Alfredo Montel warned that "the repairing of old houses for the purpose of giving them greater seismic stability is generally not satisfactory. Experience proves that during an earthquake the old and the new are torn apart".

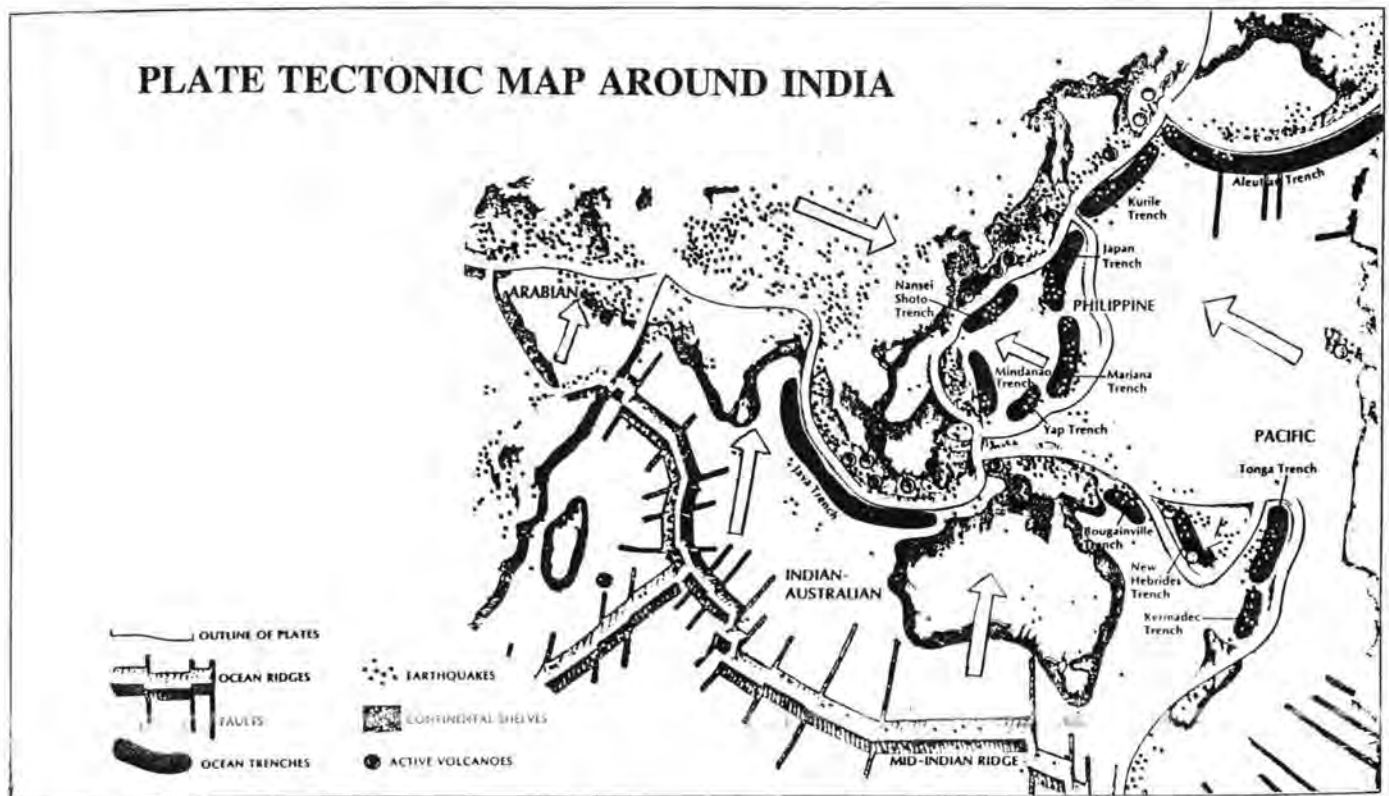
After the Khillari earthquake an interesting report appeared in the press that the famous Bhavani temple at Tuljapur, where Shivaji used to pray, was intact. The report added that the temple architecture was 'Hemmadpanthi' - typical of many an imposing South Indian temple in which the edifice is erected by placing stone blocks, one over the other and

balancing them without the the help of mortar. I do not know whether such a structure is safe in the event of an earthquake but maybe these structures are earthquake proof!

Apart from the design of the building, the type of the natural earth material on which the foundation of the building is laid also plays an important role in providing safety to the structure. The Report of the California Commission (Vol. I) dealing with the 1906 earthquake along the San Andreas Fault, USA, has it that the city of San Francisco, severely affected by this 'quake was built on three distinct types of foundations: solid rock, made ground and alluvium. The worst affected structures were on alluvium and the safest on solid rock. In the current urban sprawl rapidly overtaking India there is little or no choice in being able to select the type of foundation but where solid rock is within reasonable depth, it is safer to lay the foundation on solid rock.

MR. A. K. R. HEMMADY is a Consulting Geologist and Deputy Director-General of the Geological Survey of India (Retd.).

PLATE TECTONIC MAP AROUND INDIA



The Advocacy Institute

Strengthening Democratic Processes

Mangesh Kulkarni

The struggle of people against power is always an unequal contest, but there are periods when it is so acutely tilted in favour of the powerful as to seem almost hopeless. The previous decade seems to have been such a period in the history of the U.S.A. The un-interrupted rule of the conservative Republican Party which savagely cut social expenditure, leaner and meaner corporations, and the self-centred, status-quoist ethics of the yuppies, all adversely affected the American under-class comprising large sections of the working class, blacks and other ethnic minorities, immigrants, as also women.

There was a ray of hope, however, in this gathering darkness. A number of Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and activists had emerged and taken up cudgels on behalf of the under privileged. There was an urgent need to co-ordinate their activities and to devise common strategies so as to make the best possible use of their limited resources, in the face of heavy odds. It was with this intention that the Advocacy Institute was set up in Washington D.C. in 1985 by David Cohen (former President of 'Common Cause' - a major U.S. public interest group) and Michael Pertschuk (senior member of the Senate staff and chairman of the Federal Trade Commission in the Carter administration).

I had an opportunity to meet and talk to David Cohen during his recent visit to Bombay. He was here to get a closer view of Indian CBOs that have sought inspiration from the Advocacy Institute (AI) and launched a similar organisation - the National Centre for Advocacy Studies - which has its headquarters in Bombay. A product of the movement politics of the rebellious 1960s, Cohen holds left liberal views and supports the Democratic Party. He has authored a number of books on advocacy and defines it as an organised effort to strengthen the pro-

cess of democracy by using democratic tools such as lobbying, media work, civil disobedience, litigation and persuading policy-makers in various ways so as to alter power relations and empower the under-privileged.

The AI does not advocate for anyone but provides training and guidance to CBOs working for those denied justice, resources and access to participation. It imparts useful skills and perspectives to CBO personnel in the formulation of issues, use of media, lobbying techniques and the management of grassroots campaigns. The overall objective is to gain an understanding of how the system works in order to demystify and penetrate it so that people can participate more effectively. This also involves building up and drawing upon the power resources of the people their culture, the history of their movements - and adroit use of modern communication technology.

The AI also works with groups fighting the abuses of the tobacco, alcohol, gun and pharmaceutical industries, the environmentally harmful activities of the automobile and oil industries, as also against pollution and resource wastage in general. Similarly, groups advocating funding of education and public health by cutting down military expenditure form part of its constituency. It actively promotes networking among like-minded groups. Cohen proudly cites an international electronic network of anti-tobacco activists, as an example. It has linkages with progressive think-tanks such as the Institute for Policy Studies and with the Democratic party. The AI network now includes several Indian and other Third World CBOs.

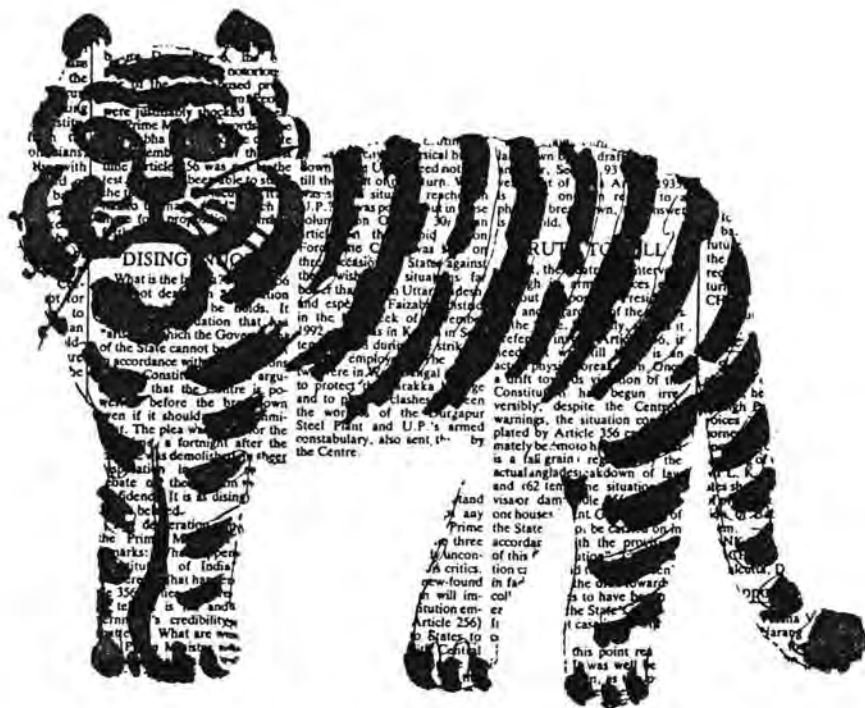
Campaigning is an art that requires a great deal of imagination and flexibility of approach. A negative demand such as a heavy tax on tobacco to discourage people from taking up smoking must be

linked to a positive programme by insisting on the use of the tax revenue so generated to fund public health schemes. Often *ad hoc* and unlikely alliances have to be formed. Thus, the AI which belongs to the pro-choice camp on the abortion issue, has nevertheless found it possible to work with pro-life groups on issues such as adequate provision of pre-natal and child care. Sometimes majoritarian symbols must be used to get results. The use of religious authorities to challenge fundamentalism is an example of this.

Most important of all in a democratic system is a proper use of elections to further one's cause, by raising issues for candidates (across party lines) to address, getting commitments from them and ensuring their observance. Politicians must be used without allowing them to use you. Hence campaigns must be issue oriented, not personalised, and public endorsement of candidates must be avoided. The art of using praise and criticism judiciously and objectively as methods of influence, must be mastered.

Cohen agrees that the theory and practice of advocacy have their roots in American political culture. But he feels that understood broadly as a systematic process of defining the public agenda and educating as also empowering people, advocacy has its uses even in the Third World, provided it is properly indigenised. He has great admiration for people's movements in India, particularly their innovative and successful use of popular culture and modern communication techniques in struggles such as the one against the Silent Valley Project. In Cohen the American saga joins its more tumultuous Indian counterpart.

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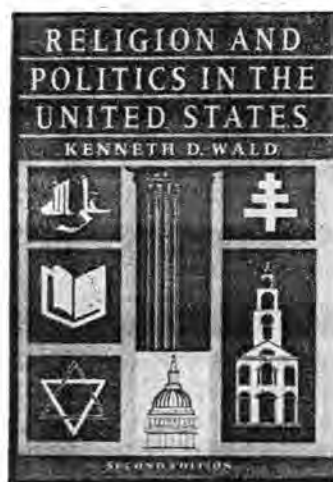
PAPER TIGER

In a way, yes. In a way, no. There's nothing paper-tigerish about us in our unbiased views, our fearless news coverage and editorial policy. But paper is our business and we have that strength and drive associated with tigers in tanks.

The Statesman
The paper people trust

BOOK REVIEWS

RELIGION AND POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES by Kenneth D. Wald; Popular Prakashan, Bombay; 1992; pp.380; Rs. 100.



Reviewed by
Lionel Fernandes

In Wald's own words: "I have written this book to show that religion is more important in American politics than most Americans realize but in different ways than they commonly imagine." He goes on to state: "Religion has penetrated public life in many ways. Not only has the American religious tradition contributed to some of the enduring principles that undergird the political system, but also religious values and interests have helped to shape the political perspectives of individuals, probably affecting their reactions to both candidates and issues. Religious communities have entered the political process itself, in an organized effort to influence public policy on a wide range of issues".

Wald expends considerable effort in highlighting the impact of religion on American political culture, political behavior, political structure and public policy. This is of special interest in view of the fact that the United States is generally viewed as a self-consciously secular society in which there is a constitutionally erected "wall of separation" between Church and State. To readers

in India, Wald's thesis acquires heightened significance against the backdrop of the growing phenomenon of religious fundamentalism and communal politics affecting the Indian political scene in recent years.

In discussing American political culture, Wald observes: "Accustomed to thinking about God and morals in contractual terms, Americans were receptive to a political theory that treated government in a similar fashion." Again, "the widespread belief that humans behave sinfully disposed the colonists to accept the doctrine of limited government." Thus "religion was one of the factors that facilitated the development of a common political outlook." However, Wald adds the rider that religion can be a divisive force no less than a unifying one, as "some important features in the body politic originate in differences among religious groups over theology, social standing and institutional interests." He points out how during much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, religion was a source of continuing social conflict and political dispute.

He extensively surveys the existing literature as well as judicial decisions to illustrate the evolution of Church-State relations through their many vicissitudes upto their present state of what he perceives as a pragmatic compromise that "seems to have worked quite well." Paradoxically, notwithstanding the Supreme Court's post-World War II movement towards separationism (of Church and State), "the relative independence of religion from the government has left the churches and religious people free to pursue political ends." To us in India this might seem a peculiar way of permitting a backdoor entry of religion into politics, which would defeat the concept of the secular state. But according to Wald, "the current balance of power does not make everyone happy, but it appears to have helped to prevent the widespread religious and political violence that has plagued other societies."

A basic question that arises from

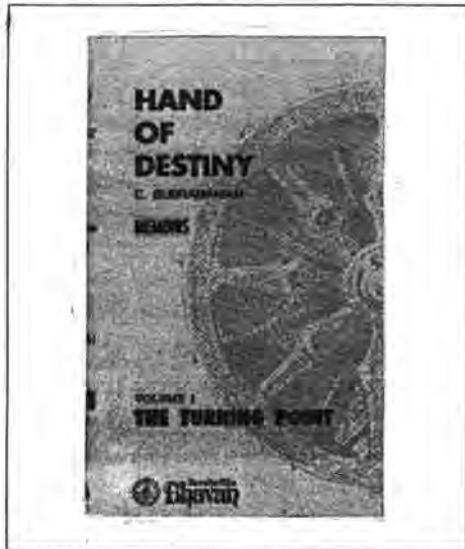
Wald's inquiry is to what extent religion and politics can effectively be insulated from each other, and indeed, whether this needs to be done at all. If it is a truism that politics on the one hand and religion on the other cannot be divorced from real life concerns, then there must unavoidably be an interface between religion and politics at some point or other. Thus there cannot be a Jekyll and Hyde relationship between religion and politics. This needs to be stressed if we are not to entertain unrealistic notions of what a secular polity is all about. Religion cannot be wished away from the real world any more than politics can. If religion creates its utopias so does politics. And a world devoid of politics and religion is no less utopian. Thus there is no alternative to religion and politics coming to honorable terms with each other. Must the relationship between the two be necessarily a stand-off? Could it not be a tryst?

Wald painstakingly documents the political orientations and activism of the various denominations that make up contemporary American society. This is of interest to the reader from the point of view of general information. But one is left with the impression that religious factors may not of themselves motivate groups to behave in a certain manner politically except in certain matters considered crucial. It is other factors like race and socio-economic interests that might be more decisive for most denominational groups save the fringe groups which anyway do not represent the mainstream. Thus, as in most matters social, religious influences on political phenomena cannot be categorically affirmed or ascertained. There is a certain ambiguity in drawing inferences one way or the other. This is seen especially in the concluding chapter dealing with "Religion and American Political Life." While attempting a balanced picture of the credit and debit sides of religion in American political life, Wald puts forth contrasting sets of arguments that leave one with mixed feelings about the role that religion can and does play in national life. While what he has stud-

ied refers to the United States, the issues are wide-ranging and have relevance, *mutatis mutandis*, to other polities, like the Indian one, which face problems relating to the relationship between politics and religion.

DR. LIONEL FERNANDES, Lecturer, Department of Civics & Politics, University of Bombay.

**HAND OF DESTINY (MEMOIRS)
VOL. I THE TURNING POINT** by C. Subramaniam; Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, Bom-bay 400007; 1993; pp.410; Rs.275.



**Reviewed by
D. Anjaneyulu**

Among the most successful of political leaders, with an admirable record of administrative ability, still happily in our midst today, is Mr. C. Subramaniam.

Mr. Subramaniam, who is 83 plus, has occupied almost all the most important positions at the State and Central levels during the three decades and more of his active political career. Starting with membership of the Constituent Assembly in 1946, he became a Minister in the composite Madras State (Rajaji's Ministry) in 1952, continuing in Kamaraj's cabinet in 1954 and after Kamaraj's quitting under the "Kamaraj Plan" in 1961, he stayed on in Bhaktavatsalam's Ministry, for a brief while, till he was elected to Parliament in early 1962.

He has had a fairly long innings at the Centre, under Pandit Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi and Charan Singh, holding a variety of major portfolios ranging from Food and Agriculture to Steel, Finance and Defence. After the 1969 split in the Congress Party, he was President of the Indira Congress for some years. The last position he occupied was as Governor of Maharashtra.

Apart from holding many high positions, Mr. Subramaniam had quite a few achievements to his credit: The Green Revolution, with the association of Dr. M.S. Swaminathan, the establishment of many institutions including Matscience (Institute of Mathematical Sciences) in Madras, the Electrochemical Research Institute at Karaikudi, all leading towards the science complex at Tarnaka. It was certainly an eventful career, on which he alone could throw more light and provide more insights than anybody else.

It is a matter of deep satisfaction that Mr. Subramaniam has decided to record his experience in detail, collecting them in book form in three volumes, of which the present one is the first.

Explaining the format of the whole series, the author says:

"The title 'Hand of Destiny' has been given to the series, because I am convinced that "destiny" has played a significant role in my life. I have also avoided using the term 'autobiography', but preferred 'Memoirs'. The volumes contain not only an account of my life but contemporary historical events of national importance during six eventful decades: 1930-1990.

"This volume bears the subtitle 'The Turning Point' for the reasons given within. The second volume, which deals with my efforts at modernising Indian agriculture hailed as the 'Green Revolution', is given the same title. The third volume, 'In the Battle Line', covers the Emergency and the turbulent days of the Seventies".

He also mentions his intention to

bring out a fourth volume, containing his "reflections on national problems".

The volume under notice is quite informative. "The Turning Point" referred to here, is the Salt Satyagraha of Mahatma Gandhi in 1930, which had a tremendous impact on the people of India. It was a turning point too in the career of the author, who was then preparing for his B.A. Degree examination at Presidency College. At that time, his sights were set on going abroad to study Electrical Engineering in England. But that was not to be.

His paternal uncle, Swami Chidbhavananda, one of the three or four personalities who had influenced his life, had advised him to stay at home and be of service to the country. Subramaniam, accordingly, gave up his original idea, and preferred to join the Law College and set up practice. He had also joined the Congress and went to jail from time to time, in response to the call from Gandhi.

The other personalities mentioned by him, in this connection, were Jawaharlal Nehru, the dynamic leader, who took a liking to him; and T.S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, who had dedicated his life to the cause of women's education in particular, and social welfare in general, besides service to the country through the Indian National Congress. The author was helping them all, while doing well with his legal practice in Coimbatore.

All the while, he was going up in the hierarchy of the Congress organisation from the DCC to the AICC, becoming a member of the Constituent Assembly, when Independence was in sight in 1946. It was about this time, or a little later, his name came into public view in Madras, when he accompanied O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, the Premier-designate, as an interpreter, to Government House at Guindy, to meet the Governor, Sir Archibald Nye.

Ramaswami Reddiar, had earlier, been elected leader of the Legislature Congress Party, on the resignation of

T. Prakasam, whose government had run into trouble, because of his textile policy. In fact, the trouble started earlier, at the beginning itself, because, supported by Kamaraj and his followers, he rejected the idea of bringing Rajaji (in view of his non-participation in the 1942 movement and his favouring the separation of Pakistan). Gandhiji was not pleased, because his own nominee, Rajaji, had been kept out.

The author has his own version of the story of these developments, which may sound plausible to the uninformed and the unwary but cannot be accepted in toto. He says:

"Prakasam's leadership was somewhat controversial. At one time he wanted to close down all the textile mills in Madras State. As most of the textile mills were located in the Tamil Nadu areas, it was thought that he was trying to strike a blow against Tamil Nadu and its industrial development. In addition, there were complaints against Prakasam's son using his father's influence to promote his own interests - the usual extra-constitutional authority at work." The statement, or collection of statements is, at best, only half-true. True that Prakasam was a controversial personality, because of his adamant character and tactlessness. Not true that he wanted to close down the textile mills of Coimbatore and thereby hit the industrial development of Tamil Nadu. He only sought to put a ceiling on spindles so that the mill industry did not altogether eliminate the handloom sector, which he tried to encourage by allotting to it a few simple items like black-bordered dhotis and sarees of low-count yarn. True that his son (rather two sons) brought no credit to him. But this had nothing to do with the textile crisis.

The fact of the matter was that the textile mill magnates of Coimbatore were very affluent and powerful and could, through their lobby in the Congress, easily get the ear of Mahatma Gandhi, who brooked no opposition or criticism of the slightest sort,

irrespective of the other party's commitment to his own declared basic principles like promotion of cottage industries in the countryside. Prakasam was *persona-non-grata* with him, like C.R. Das, Subhas Bose and quite a few others. They all had to go, sooner or later.

It is well that Subramaniam was in the good books of Rajaji, who obviously liked him for his intelligence, industry, resilience and flexibility, as also diplomacy and tact in dealing with the powers that be. Small wonder then that he should become his right-hand man, when Rajaji was invited to form the ministry in 1952 as the Congress found itself in a minority in the first General Elections in 1952.

As Rajaji had been nominated to the upper House (by Governor Sri Prakasa), and did not want to contest an election to the lower House, he made Subramaniam the Leader of the House in the Assembly in addition to entrusting him with the important portfolios of Finance and Food. He acquitted himself creditably in all his responsibilities. The fast unto death by Potti Sriramulu, forcing the pace of formation of a separate Andhra State took place during this period (in 1953).

But that was not the most intractable of the problems. It was the Tenants Protection Act and Rajaji's decision to convert primary schools into Basic Education Schools, especially the latter, which proved more thorny and dangerous. Both Kamaraj and E.V.R. were very severe on Rajaji, the latter going to the extent of charging Rajaji with an attempt to perpetuate the caste system.

Anyway, it was obvious that Kamaraj had no longer any use for Rajaji when the Congress found itself again in a majority, after the separation of Andhra. The erstwhile 'Kingmaker' now chose to be 'King' (or Chief Minister) with the blessings of Nehru. 'C.S.' who had until then been lucky enough to win every election, lost the one for the legislature party leadership against

Kamaraj. That he was a reluctant candidate, persuaded by others, doesn't soften the blow.

Again, he was reluctant to join Kamaraj's cabinet, but finally agreed, with all the old portfolios and more (Finance, Law and Education, Information and Publicity) devolving on him. It was smooth sailing all through, including the period when Bhaktavatsalam succeeded Kamaraj. There is, however, no mention of the controversy between 'C.S.' (as Education Minister) and Dr. A.L. Mudaliar (as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras) on the introduction of Tamil as the medium of instruction in the Degree Courses in Government Colleges.

A substantial factor contributing to the bulk of this volume is the incorporation of verbatim reports of his own speeches and statements and those of his leader (Rajaji), which must be available in the Secretariat Library and/or the Legislature Library. It doesn't add to reader interest, with the musty smell of the archives hanging around it. An intelligent summary highlighting the gist of the proceedings would not only have cut the bulk, but saved some space for more interesting aspects of the author's personal life and those of his friends, colleagues and contemporaries.

On his great contemporary, Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, for instance, he says some things, but not enough: "After he took his Honours Degree, he sought a posting as an Assistant Professor in Presidency College, but the foreign regime at that time would not consider him for the post. So he left the country for the US and became a world-renowned Astrophysicist, winning the Nobel Prize".

Not that simple, as a matter of fact. It was the same foreign regime, which might have had many sins to answer for, which awarded Chandrasekhar a scholarship to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he worked for his doctorate, under the guidance of Dr. Fowler and the inspiration of Lord Rutherford and Prof. Dirac. It was only

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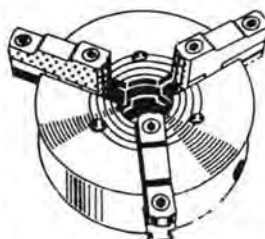


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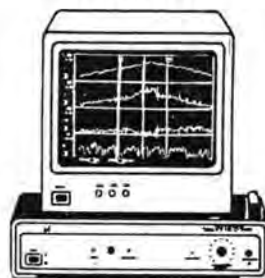
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after this, that he went to Chicago and became an FRS, many decades before getting the Nobel Prize. There are quite a few other inadequacies and avoidable inaccuracies in an otherwise carefully prepared volume.

The anecdote about Alladi, the legal luminary, is quite amusing and enjoyable: "While he had a strong memory for legal matters, he had a poor memory for names of persons. He used to address me as 'Mr. Pillai'. I did not care to correct him initially, but once I told him, 'Sir, I am not a Pillai, but a Gounder'. He exclaimed loudly: 'Oh is it so?, I am sorry, Mr. Pillai.' I left it at that, but later he corrected himself."

At one place (page 333), it is mentioned:..... "The Justice Party — was in power during the Dyarchy under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1935". (it should be "the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919"). Such slips could be corrected in the next edition.

The book is well printed and well produced, with around ninety photographs of contemporary personalities on art plates. By and large, it is a work of undoubted value, of special interest to students of politics, not to speak of its general appeal to the intelligent layman.

MR. D. ANJANEYULU is an author and journalist based in Madras.

J. R. D. TATA

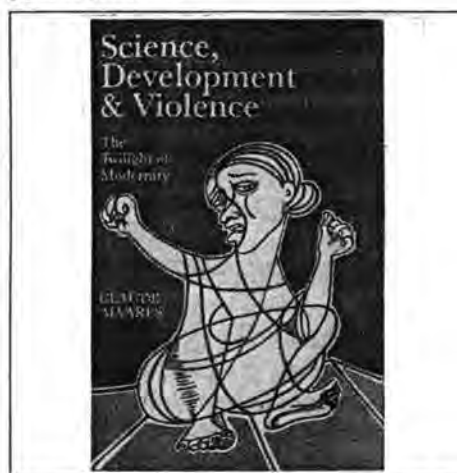
He walked across our Century

J.R.D. Tata died as he lived, quietly and without any fuss, like a private citizen. It is only when telephones started ringing from all over the world, that the State Hospital in Geneva realised that they had an international celebrity living with them as a patient for nearly a month.

J.R.D. Tata straddled the world. He walked across our century in solitary splendour. Such was his stature that wherever he went people looked up to him and whatever he touched came to life and fruition. Our J.R.D.! He is now a part of India's history. Peace!

Dinshah Malegamvala

SCIENCE, HEGEMONY AND VIOLENCE. A REQUIEM FOR MODERNITY; edited by Ashis Nandy; Oxford University Press, Delhi; 1990; pp.309;Rs.100.



Reviewed by Kannamma S. Raman.

Ashis Nandy makes a pathbreaking effort by bringing together a number of essays which explore the very nature of western science and challenge the popular image of its superiority. Seven authors from diverse areas of specialised training, such as physics, philosophy of medicine, history of technology, sociology and psychology examine the intricate links between modern science and violence in different fields. The violence referred to in this book pertain not only to annihilatory armaments but also to other forms of mutilation such as displacement, monoculture and bureaucratization of human sufferings.

The editor sets the tone for the book by raising certain fundamental questions regarding the problems of unbridled pursuit of science and development, the relationship between science and the State and how science and technology have been sold to the Indian public like a consumer product - a cure for all ailments. This belief stays even if the western technology in question has become obsolete and has been given up in the rest of the world as being dangerous or ecologically non-viable. The editor's note also makes a special mention of two very disturbing trends in western science namely (a) its attempt to assume the status of being the only legitimate mode of rational

knowledge and (b) its developing over the years, an inverse relationship with the culture of open politics. Western science has enabled the growth of new forms of secrecy, centralisation, disinformation and authoritarian structures.

The first essay by J. Bajaj concludes on the basis of a philosophical audit of the scientific method and values of Francis Bacon that the ultimate roots of violence inherent in science lie in the obsession of modern society with power - a legacy of Bacon's homeocentric vision of the natural world. Though Bacon asserted that he was advocating value-free knowledge, Bajaj argues that all that Bacon succeeded in was in substituting older values of good and evil by a new set of values. This resulted in his sanctioning all the misery that were inflicted upon people in other continents because truth (science) had no reason to bother itself with good and bad.

Finally, on the basis of an analysis of Kuhn, Needham and Husserl, Bajaj concludes that, somewhere, the Baconian view is totally in agreement with the Eurocentric view of the world and that this emphasis on uniqueness of European science merely reveals the diverse forms of racism.

Claude Alvares in his essay, "Science, Colonialism and Violence: A Luddite View", reiterates Bajaj's views in a more contemporary political framework. His main contention is that the third world's expectation that science and technology would help in their emancipation is completely misplaced because the science of our time cannot be disassociated from violence. This becomes clear when we note the serious physical harm that has resulted from the application of modern science to various fields such as agriculture, forestry, medicine and food.

Pollution is the first indication that modern science has not really understood nature. Moreover, this so-called search for knowledge has resulted in some of the most cruel experiments being carried out - an issue that is referred to by both Kothari and Mehta

and Visvanathan in their respective essays.

In the first of his two essays, Shiv Visvanathan attempts a sociological analysis of the popular works of the Viennese journalist Robert Jung. Through this, Visvanathan brings out the scope and limitations of the contemporary library critique of science and technology. He demolishes the myth that scientists have no responsibility for the final use to which their research is put to. He also shows the symbiotic relationship that exists between scientists and the government. This is significant because after World War II, science has moved away from its earlier characteristics of innocence, freedom and conviviality to the tyranny of secrecy and hegemony. What is more worrisome is that, of late, scientific research is now carried out more often in defence laboratories and company towns rather than in universities.

Manu Kothari and Lopa Mehta's extremely well written article deals with the sources of violence in modern medicine. They argue that of late, doctors often find the disease interesting but the patient a nuisance. They aver that repeated experiments on animals numbs a doctor's feelings to such an extent that once he gets used to ignoring the animals' cry, he learns not to listen to diseased human beings.

An extremely fascinating and yet disturbing aspect is where the authors reveal as to how most of the doctors would never accept for themselves the treatment they regularly foist on the unsuspecting patients. The authors also analyse the unholy alliance between the pharmaceutical industry and doctors and the consequences - both financial and psychological - of over-testing. Unlike the other essays in this volume, Kothari and Mehta end their critique with constructive outlines for a non-violent science of medicine.

This is followed by an analysis by Veena Das of four popular pieces of fiction written by Ira Levin to show how they provide a critique of the official ideologies of state, science and the market, the violence induced by the

four orders of technology and how dissent is sought to be destroyed.

Vandana Shiva argues that modern science has become too reductionist and hence fails to recognise that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. She argues, like Alvares, Kothari and Mehta, that this reductionist western science is necessarily violent and substantiates her argument by giving examples of different types of violence inflicted in the field of agriculture (ill-effects of eucalyptus plantations) and health (rise of iatrogenic illness). She basically argues that the properties perceived in nature depend on the attitude of the person analysing it and the logic of a capitalist world i.e. maximisation of profit, is closely related to the reductionist character of science.

In the final essay in this volume, Visvanathan comes back to the central concern of the editor's note, i.e. how progress and modernisation automatically legitimise any violence done. This is especially clear when a system of triage is recommended whereby the most hopeless nations are to be left without food, or, poorer children are left to die without medication or appropriate immunisation or when the poor are regarded as irrational, superfluous refuse and hence expendable. This is doubly tragic for the third world countries because the modernist impulse of the elites in these countries has often resulted in their adopting projects which have created more refugees than has resulted from any bloody war.

The book is, as the editor states, "a celebration of dissent" and makes a concerted effort to take seriously the feelings, ideas and values of non-western cultures. It realises that unless we do something immediately, there is danger that the theoretical and practical knowledge accumulated over centuries would be wiped out completely by western science and technology. Almost all the authors emphasise the need for a more human understanding and acceptance of nature and the need to appreciate those individuals and movements which try to provide an alternative philosophical baseline both

for an evaluation of western science and for the exploration of new forms of knowledge. What is required is the replacement of our obsessional lust for power by a new empathy with the rest of the living world.

The book is cogently written and all writers show admirable passion and conviction. At times however, the authors tend to use jargon which could have been avoided. There are some areas where the reviewer does not entirely agree with the authors in question. For instance, the authors commit the same error that they blame the west for, when they reject western science in toto by deeming it violent. Surely there must be some positive and redeeming factors to western science. How else can one explain the hold that it has on even perceptive individuals. Even the devil deserves to be given credit where it is due. Moreover, using knowledge to control others has been a tendency in India long before colonisation and therefore, there is nothing unique about the urge of western countries to control. What is pre-eminent about western science's domination is that it does so in a very sophisticated manner even as it gives the impression of being open.

Though the anti-life aspect of western science is disturbing and we definitely need to halt infructuous and cruel experiments on animals, the authors have not come out with any alternative suggestions. Moreover, Visvanathan quotes figures which date back to 1971. It would have been more appropriate if the authors had evaluated the impact of the movement of animal lovers all over the western world in halting many a cruel experiment. Since the editor promises that in the next volume, a social and philosophic audit of various peoples' movements which seek a more compassionate and a more open system of knowledge would be undertaken, it can only be hoped that this will be taken into account at that time.

There is no denying the fact that the book makes a commendable contribution to the field of philosophy and sociology of science and takes up where Mumford, Lakatos, Kuhn,

Feyerband, Rifkin and others left off.

The book must be read by every concerned individual.

DR (MRS) KANNAMMA S. RAMAN is a Lecturer of Political Science at the Sophia College for Women, Bombay.

SCIENCE, DEVELOPMENT AND VIOLENCE. THE TWILIGHT OF MODERNITY by Claude Alvares; Oxford University Press, Bombay; 1992; pp.180; Rs.195.



Reviewed by
Padmini Murti

Rajni Kothari in his book "Politics And People", Vol. II, reminiscences about a meeting he had under the auspices of Lokayan. An eighty year old farmer from Kanjhawala, a place near Delhi, made a moving statement. He said: "*Kai log aa gaye, Turki aaye the, Suna hai, greek log bhi aye the, Dilli Sultanat wale aaye, Mughal log aaye, British bhi aaye. Itna hum ko farak nahin pada, Jitna ke aap ke Vikas ke ane se pada. Aap ke development ne tabah kar diya hum ko*". Translated in English, it reads: "So many have come to our land. The Turks came; we hear the Greeks had also come, the Delhi Sultanate people had come, the Mughuls came, the British also came. It did not make such a difference to us as this 'Progress' of yours. This 'Development' of yours has destroyed us.

It is this destructive nature of development that constitutes the theme of the book under review. Alvares launches a no-holds-barred attack on science and development. He demolishes the argument that development is identified with progress, modernity and emancipation. Development to him is a label for plunder, violence and triage. The origin of the term triage is interesting. It was brought into circulation during the debate on the global resources crisis forecast by the limits to growth. Western ecologists have argued that if the resources of the world were limited then those who had access to them and were already well off should strengthen their privileged position on earth while societies already in ecologically impossible situations should be left to fend for themselves. If in the process they perished so be it.

Alvares talks about two kinds of triages - passive where triage follows as an inevitable consequence of development. The other triage - active when clear direct conflicts arise out resource-use between powerful economic classes or elite and the rest of their societies. Development works actively to eliminate the latter's right to economic systems and the cultural life styles associated with them. The earlier battles for and against triage between the powerful nations and the so-called poorer nations are now being replaced afresh by those behind industrialisation projects in the South and their victims.

Development today has become an officially sponsored triage. Governments in the South legitimize the ideology of industrialisation, underwrite its costs and give it priority. Industrialisation requires not only that jobs be appropriated by the Corporate or the modernised sector of the economy, it also demands that the resources traditionally used by a subsistence economy be reserved for the use of modern industry. Alvares meticulously documents the exploitative nature of modern industry, the plunder that goes in the name of industrialisation and exposes the dishonesty and am-

bivalence of the State in this development.

In the chapter on "Development and *Himsa*" (violence) the author debunks the claims of the green and white revolutions. The green revolution turned out to be a revolution in the production of a single commodity namely wheat. Also it has displaced the cheaper millets and pulses on a massive scale. This has had a negative impact on nutritional levels. Development has restricted the options of the majority of the nation's population compelling them to eat wheat instead of rice and to give up superior proteins like pulses and dals for cheaper and more dangerous varieties like Kesri the consumption of which causes lathyrism - a disease that causes crippling below the knees. Alvares' diatribe on the dairy industry is well known. He questions the wisdom of importing exotic European cows in an effort to augment milk production. These bovine creatures are often unable to adjust themselves to Indian conditions. Farmers having acquired them are forced to provide them with luxuries that are denied even to their closest family members. A few farmers have even installed air-conditioners or fans for their exotic stocks! On one occasion owners of these exotic breeds launched an agitation to return these animals as they found them uneconomical to maintain. The agitation continued for some time without any resolution until they threatened to present the unwanted cows to Kurien's (icon of the white revolution) only daughter on the occasion of her wedding reception.

Alvares is of the firm opinion that development ideology legitimised by modern science constitutes the greatest threat today. Here the author directs his attention to food science. Accordingly to him the preparation of food requires a high level of knowledge. India and China are in that sense fairly advanced culinary civilizations having perfected the art of food preparation and appropriate diet to an elaborate degree. In matters of food we retain admirable technologies and processes and not even the most sophisticated food science can dis-

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pute that. He decries the invasion of processed foods and directs his wrath towards white sugar and white bread. He contemptuously dismisses them as major symbols of modern society.

A whole chapter is devoted to popular movements directed against destructive development policies and plans. These range from anti-baby food campaigns, protest against destroying forest resources, countering the green revolution to anti-dam and anti-nuke movements. To Alvares these movements constitute a sliver lining in an otherwise dismal situation.

The author has his pulse on the ills of modern industrial society and all that goes in the name of development. One may not go all the way with him in his indictment of the development process. Nonetheless the book raises several searching questions. As a critique of the prevailing development model the book is invaluable.

DR. PADMINI MURTI teaches Political Science at VPM College of Arts & Commerce, Thane, Maharashtra.

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