

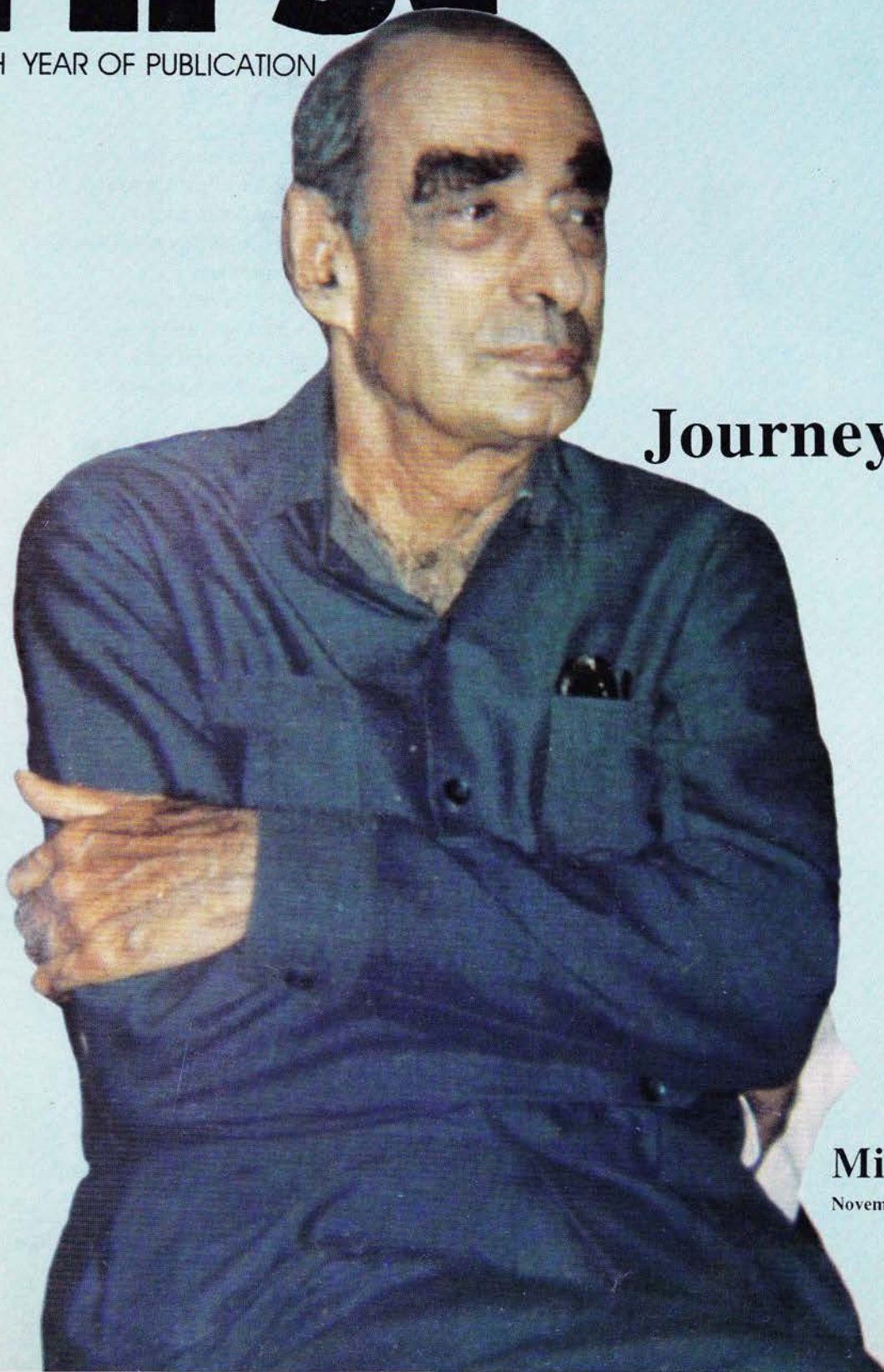
A QUARTERLY OF LIBERAL IDEAS

Freedom First

46TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

July-
September 1998
No. 438
Rupees Fifteen

Journey's End



Minoo Masani

November 20, 1905 - May 27, 1998

Journey's End



In Remembrance of My Friend and Mentor Minoo Masani

Quenched is the light of one who all his life
Was not afraid of intellectual strife;
Or being in a minority of one,
(Surprisingly, with still some viewpoints won).
When all Parties wore shades of pink and red,
His clear gaze saw horizons far ahead,
And with true grit brought forth upon the scene.
The best Party India has ever seen
Clear in its concepts ("taboo" at the time),
It was a "Liberty Bell" which would chime
Calling to its fold, people clean and true.
Seeing India's good, as task they had to do
In politics to give and not to get.
They were a band whom no one should forget.

The Party died, but its philosophy,
Once maligned, now, is public polity.
As governments, too late, see how and why.
Excess State control, made things go awry.
This comes with no acknowledgement of source:
But the concept survived with its own force.
Not near New Delhi's centrestage for years,
His death elicited few public tears –
No public funeral, or State "samadhi",
Accorded feckless heirs of "Dynasty".

But tears were shed by those who knew him well,
And of his many-splendoured life, could tell.
I count myself among those – he to me,
A guide on Humanism, used to be.

Dear Minoo,

Your long life, always rowing against the tide,
Saw you, of rest ... worldly honours denied –
In the full measure, which was your just due.

You did not court them – did what you MUST do.
Now take your rest, my dear, revered old friend,
In tranquil anchorage at journey's end.

Dr. Louella Lobo Prabhu.

Freedom First

A Quarterly of Liberal Ideas

Founder
Minoo Masani

Editor
S. V. Raju

Associate Editor
R. Srinivasan

Advisory Board
Sumant Bankeshwar
Arvind Deshpande
Geeta Doctor
Nissim Ezekiel
Yogesh Kamdar
Jehangir Patel
S. A. A. Pinto
Nitin Raut
Abe Solomon
Ajay Varadachary

Cover & Layout
M. G. Talwadekar

Publishers

Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom*
3rd Floor, Army & Navy Building,
148, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Mumbai 400 001.
Phone: +91 (22) 284 34 16

Published by J. R. Patel for the
Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom
and printed by him at
Kaiser-E-Hind Private Ltd.,
300, Perin Nariman Street,
Mumbai 400 001.

Typeset at **Kotak Printers**,
59, Dr. V. B. Gandhi Marg,
Fort, Mumbai 400 001.
Phones : 204 60 18 - 284 26 19.
Telefax : +91 (022) 204 60 18.

Single Copy : Rs.15
Annual : Rs.50
Life : Rs.500
(Add Rs.10 for outstation cheques)

Overseas (Intl Class Air Mail)
Annual : \$10 or £7
Life : \$100 or £70

Cheques to be drawn in favour of
Freedom First and mailed to
the publishers at the address marked *

BETWEEN OURSELVES ...

Minoo Masani is no more. He passed away on May 27, 1998 at the ripe old age of 92. The editor, who had the privilege of being associated with him for almost 40 years, knows that Masani would not have wanted us to waste too much time mourning. He would have wanted us to get on with the job and that is precisely what we intend to do.

But a brief pause for re-dedication is called for. He wouldn't have grudged that!

Freedom First's mission when it started publication in 1952 was, to use Masani's words, "to combat communist subversion among the intelligentsia" a task in which he received much encouragement and support from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The flip side of this objective implied being the sentinel of individual liberty and a free society. With the destruction of the Soviet empire and the disappearance of the fatherland of International communism, *Freedom First*, in 1985, converted itself into a quarterly of Liberal values and continues to champion the cause of individual liberty, a free society and a free economy. To these tasks we re-dedicate ourselves.

The passing away of Mr. Masani was widely reported in the English press. However, barring a few exceptions like *The Statesman* and *The Afternoon Despatch and Courier*, most English language newspapers did not consider it necessary to assess Mr. Masani's contribution to India's public life. This was left to the language press. Hardly surprising. Even during his lifetime Mr. Masani and the Swatantra Party rarely received adequate attention in the English press. Be that as it may, we carry a fairly comprehensive report of a condolence meeting held on June 12 and three very relevant articles - one being a testament of his beliefs, another on the Pokhran blast of 1974, and the third, an essay on Liberalism. We have also reprinted a dialogue that Masani, then a socialist (1934), had with Gandhiji, updated with his own comments as he looked back at this dialogue in 1977 in his autobiography *Bliss was it in that Dawn...*

Freedom First does not join the multitude in applauding the government of the day for Pokhran II. We condemn it unequivocally and unreservedly as we did Pokhran I 24 years ago. Yet as a Liberal journal we publish four articles supportive of the tests by four well-meaning and thinking but, in our view, four nervous gentlemen!

A number of articles that had been typeset for this issue had to be held over because of the bomb and the passing away of Mr. Masani. They will be seen in print in the next and subsequent issues.

Editor

Contents

July-September, 1998
No.438

Many Voices

2

Minoo Masani - Journey's End

The Quintessential Dissenter	S. V. Raju	3
Tributes to a Lover of Freedom & Individual Liberty		6
I Believe	Minoo Masani	13
Gandhiji & Masani in a dialogue on Socialism	K. R. Malkani	15
The Big Bang	Minoo Masani	20
Liberalism	Minoo Masani	22

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

27

The Ethics of Nuclear Testing	E. D'Souza	29
Why Buddha Smiled Again	A. K. R. Hemmady	35
No One Dare Attack Us Now	S. S. Bankeshwar	38
The Only Option	Nitin G. Raut	40
The Nuclear Dilemma	Arvind A. Deshpande	42
An Open Letter to President Narayanan	J. B. D'Souza	44
Why this Nuclear Frenzy	Anjali & Satish Kirtane	45

Book Reviews

49

WITH MANY VOICES

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

The *fatwa* against Salman Rushdie is final and non-negotiable, nobody should dare to doubt this.

Ayatollah Ahmad Jannati, *The Times of India*, July 25

I joined Janata Dal in 1996 as it gave me a ticket when the Congress refused. In 1998 the Janata Dal denied me a ticket. So I joined the Congress.

Ratnamala Savanoor, a former Union minister, *Outlook*, June 29

Forget Tiananmen, Tibet and Nukes. And the critics at home. For Clinton, China is big money.

Ludwina A Joseph in Washington DC, *Outlook*, June 29

One of the great, if sometimes exasperating, gifts of Indians is their ability to rationalize anything. So after every disaster India just shrugs its collective shoulder and moves on - unchanged, unrepentant. Lack of Accountability has become conventional wisdom.

Editorial comment, *India Today*, June 22

In this land of extremes, some people do not have clothes to cover themselves, while others spend Rs.2,500 on something that covers nothing at all.

D. V. Malhotra in a letter in *India Today*, June 22

Protecting books is not the problem. What is important is to protect the authors. Authors burn much more easily than books.

Salman Rushdie, *The Times of India*, May 13

In Europe, football is a business. But in Africa, it is pleasure and that makes the difference.

Sunday Oliseh, Nigerian soccer star, *The Express Magazine*, June 21

Our Prime Minister, you will be happy to know has finally been given a clean 'secular' hit by *Time* magazine...because he enjoys an occasional drink, likes music and even has (Allah be praised) a few Muslim friends.

Tavleen Singh, *India Today*, April 13

India has shrunk today into a small nation - diplomatically, economically, politically, and certainly morally.

Mahabubul Haq, *Dawn*, May 21, quoted in *India Abroad*, May 29

Some say the Internet is ushering in a world in which prices change at the click of a mouse.

The Economist, May 16

Ironically, when Pakistan began its erratic experimentation with the democratic system of governance, the biggest democracy of the world started losing its secular identity.

Professor S. Haroon Ahmed, *Communalism Combat*, June 1998

It is ironical that while we had "secured" our lives through nuclear capability, we were yet losing them to very simple causes like bureaucratic ineptitude and callousness as in the Gujarat cyclone disaster.

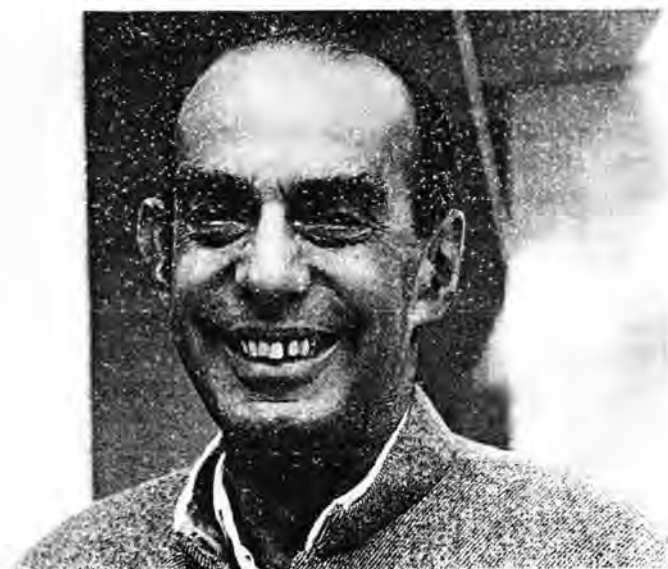
Editorial in *Dear Humanist*, May/June 1998

Britain has been a good country for Indians to make good in. Conversely, India has been a good country for entrepreneurs to run out of.

Ashok V. Desai, *Businessworld*, May 22

Minoo Masani - The Quintessential Dissenter

S. V. Raju



Minoo Masani author, politician and eminent parliamentarian, who participated in the freedom movement and was a member of the Constituent Assembly died in Bombay on May 27, 1998 after a prolonged illness. He was 92.

Author of *Our India*, an all-time bestseller and a prescribed textbook in schools even in pre-independence India (the book was withdrawn when he parted company with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the then Establishment), Minoo Masani was an alumnus of Bombay's Elphinstone College, the London School of Economics and Lincoln's Inn. He joined the Bombay Bar but soon gave up practice to participate in the freedom struggle. He courted imprisonment in 1932 and 1933. He joined Jayaprakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan, Yusuf Meherally and others to form the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) and became its Joint Secretary. In 1938, he presided over the CSP conference in Lahore.

An admirer of the Soviet Union, he visited that country in the late 'twenties when he was a student at the LSE and later as Secretary of the CSP. The early 'thirties were the period of Stalin's purges of his rivals in the CPSU and the liquidation of millions of farmers who opposed his policy of forced collectivisation of farms.

Horried by Stalin's brutality, Masani's disenchantment with Soviet communism led to his questioning the credentials of the Indian communists. He strenuously resisted communist attempts to infiltrate and capture the CSP. Unable to convince the majority of his colleagues in the CSP to support him he resigned along with Ram Manohar Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan and Asoka Mehta. A year later, the communists were expelled from the CSP. His disillusionment with Soviet communism led him to question marxist dogma and to a rethinking of his socialist beliefs. The result was his well known essay 'Socialism Reconsidered'.

The freedom movement was gathering momentum and when Gandhiji launched the 'Quit India Movement', Masani who was then an employee in the Tata organisation, resigned his job, volunteered himself as a *satyagrahi*, courted imprisonment and found himself with other Congress leaders in Nasik jail.

On his release from jail, Masani entered legislative politics via the Bombay Municipal Corporation (he was Mayor in 1943) and to membership of the Indian Legislative Assembly, which was later converted into the Constituent Assembly. He played his role in the drafting of the Indian Constitution as a member of the Fundamental Rights Subcommittee and Union-Powers Committee.

Following his renunciation of socialism, it was only logical for Minoo Masani to start thinking of an alternative to socialism and an economic system for independent India. His was a middle-of-the-road recipe - a mixed economy in a free and open society. This was the theme of a series of lectures he delivered in 1947 to the Bombay University's School of Economics which were later published under the title "Plea for a Mixed Economy".

Nominated by the Government of India as

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

representative on the UN Sub-Commission on Minorities, Masani invited prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru's wrath when he refused to turn a blind eye to the persecution of minorities in the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe and was sent off in 1948 as India's Ambassador to Brazil.

Those were the Cold War years when the Soviet Union sponsored front organisations to promote its interests worldwide. Several organisations were set up internationally to counter the Soviet challenge. One of these was the Congress for Cultural Freedom based in Paris. In India, Masani along with Jayaprakash Narayan, Asoka Mehta and A. D. Gorwala took the initiative in establishing the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom (ICCF) and affiliated it to the Congress in Paris. The ICCF is a non-party organisation of scholars, writers, artists and scientists to defend intellectual liberty, to cultivate a spirit of free enquiry and an appreciation of the arts.

Two years earlier, he had founded, with the blessings and encouragement of the then deputy prime minister and home minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Democratic Research Service to educate public opinion on the dangers to India's national independence posed by communists who, acting under instructions from the Comintern in Moscow, were conducting a violent insurrectionary movement in Telengana in Andhra Pradesh.

His election to the Lok Sabha as an Independent from Ranchi in Bihar in 1957 signalled the beginning of his efforts to implement his thesis of a mixed economy and to combat the statist policies which went under the name of Nehruvian Socialism. In 1959, he joined C. Rajagopalachari to found the Swatantra Party which could broadly be described as a liberal-conservative party..

Masani was that rare combination - an intellectual with tremendous organising competence. During his tenure as general secretary, the Swatantra Party grew rapidly and in less than ten years emerged, in the 1967 general elections, as the single largest party in the opposition in the Lok Sabha with a strength of 44 members; leading a principled coalition government in Orissa; as the officially recognised opposition in the Rajasthan and Gujarat Assemblies; and with significant representation in the Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu legislative assemblies.

As the party's ideologue, he was clear that the

Swatantra Party should eschew non-parliamentary forms of protest like *satyagrahas*, *morchas*, *bandhs* and walkouts in the legislatures. He was largely influential in ensuring that the party did not form fronts in the trade union and student movements. Perhaps it was his insistence on discipline and doing the right thing that led to the party's exit from electoral politics. In 1971 the 'Indira wave' swept all parties aside including the Swatantra Party. He accepted responsibility for the party's miserable performance (he himself failed to retain his seat in the Lok Sabha for a third term from Rajkot) and resigned from the presidentship of the party and from party politics.

His was an outstanding performance as member of the Lok Sabha between 1957 and 1971. He was chairman of the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament. As leader of the single largest party in the opposition he invariably opened the debate on the Finance Bill that follows the introduction of the Union Budget. Many of his speeches in parliament were later published under the title "Congress Misrule and Swatantra Alternative". Masani kept a close watch on the attendance of members of his group and their behaviour. He firmly believed that occupying the opposition benches did not mean opposing for the sake of opposition. On many an occasion he supported the ruling party but did not hesitate in going against all other groups in the house if a particular issue warranted such action. Two instances that come to mind are the 'liberation' of Goa when he opposed India's action on the ground that it was unnecessary and that the whole affair was an effort to ensure Krishna Menon's return to Parliament. The other was the abolition of Privy Purses when the Swatantra Party in Parliament was alone in opposing the move as it went against solemn assurances given by Sardar Patel and recorded in 'Instruments of Accession'. He would often quote this verse to encourage his colleagues to treat issues on their merit without being worried about being isolated or in a hopeless minority:

"They are slaves who dare not be
"In the right with two or three."

He took over the editorship of *Freedom First* in 1972 which he had founded in 1952. As editor, he fought the censorship imposed during Mrs. Gandhi's 'Emergency' and sought the court's intervention against her censors in what came to be known as the *Freedom First* case. Though the court vindicated his stand he found that there were too many impediments to his exercising editorial freedom. He suspended publication which was resumed

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

soon after the Emergency was withdrawn.

In 1978, when the Janata Party was elected to power, he was appointed Chairman of the Minorities Commission, but soon resigned over differences on principles and approach.

Minoo Masani the socialist agitator in his 'twenties became the Liberal *par excellence* whose contribution to the Liberal movement was acknowledged when he was honoured as a patron of the Liberal International. He was a secularist (though he disliked the word preferring to call himself by the more cumbersome description 'Non-denominationalist') and an uncompromising champion of individual liberty. Starting out as a friend and supporter of Pandit Nehru he began to see in his later years the practical wisdom in Sardar Patel's policies.

Though he had retired from politics he continued to be active in public life. In March 1968, he founded the Leslie Sawhny Programme of Training for Democracy to train young people in citizenship - to be conscious of their rights and their duties as citizens.

He founded the Society for the Right to Die with Dignity and enjoyed being in the centre of a minor storm when he campaigned for passive euthanasia for the terminally ill.

In 1985 he set up the Project for Economic Education in association with the Leslie Sawhny Programme and Prof. B. R. Shenoy's Economic Research Centre to educate public opinion on issues relating to the economy in general and the economic reform programme that began in the 'eighties, in particular.

Masani's reputation as a man with a very high level of integrity in public life, was formidable. This quality by itself was enough to disqualify him from being a 'successful' politician where success is measured in terms of ministerial positions or other similar patronage wielding offices.

He concluded his two-volume autobiography (which he wrote in 1981) with the observation:

"Since our politicians are by and large beyond repair, if India is to be saved, it will

have to be saved by the small man, particularly the middle class of the cities and the landed farmers of the countryside who are the backbone of the nation. These classes have suffered cruelly under the so called 'socialist pattern' that Nehru imposed on the country and which is still rampant, but their back is still not broken. It is to these that I would look to save this country."

He was happiest when surrounded by young people. Not surprisingly his first and last books were meant for the young. The first was *Our India* and the last was its sequel *We Indians*. If optimism exuded every page of *Our India*, *We Indians* was a confession of failure and a plea to the young to avoid the mistakes of his generation. In the concluding chapter in *We Indians* he wrote:

"We of my generation have made such a mess of our country's affairs that, in my opinion, we have no right to preach to young folks..."

He was indeed the quintessential dissenter.

His publications include: *Our India*, *Socialism Reconsidered*, *Your Food*, *Picture of a Plan*, *Plea for a Mixed Economy*, *Our Growing Human Family*, *Cooperative Farming*, *the Great Debate*, *The Communist Party of India - A Short History*, *Too Much Politics Too Little Citizenship*, *Liberalism*, *Is JP the Answer?*, *JP's Mission Partly Accomplished*, *Bliss was it in that Dawn... and Against the Tide* (A two-volume autobiography), *We Indians*.



At the Preparatory Convention of the Swatantra party in Bombay, August 1959. Seen in the picture: L to R: N. G. Ranga, C. Rajagopalachari, Minoo Masani, Homi Mody, V. P. Menon, Bhailalbhai Patel

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

Tributes to a Lover of Freedom & Individual Liberty

A number of speakers paid rich tributes to Mr. Minoo Masani at a condolence meeting held in Mumbai on June 12, 1998. Dr. Usha Mehta the well-known freedom fighter and Gandhian chaired the meeting.

The participating organisations were: Adult Education Institute, Arun Mangal Seva Vikas Yojana, Avagahana (Guntur), Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay Sarvodaya Mandal, Citizens for Democracy, Forum of Free Enterprise, *Freedom First*, Hindustani Andolan, Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, Leslie Sawhny Programme, Mumbai Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, *New Quest*, People's Union for Civil Liberties, Project for Economic Education, Rajaji Foundation, *The Secularist*, Society for the Right to Die with Dignity, Swatantra Bharat, Trusteeship Foundation, Yusuf Meherally Centre.

The following is a condensed version of the proceedings.

Arvind Deshpande

I worked with Mr. Masani for thirty years and I can say without hesitation that apart from Mahatma Gandhi and Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan, I cannot think of any leader, who after withdrawal from active politics, involved himself so completely and so thoroughly in constructive activities as Mr. Masani did.

There are scores of letters that we have received from all over India and abroad. These include messages from Mr. Fritz Bolkestein, the President of the Liberal International; former finance minister Manmohan Singh; retired civil servant Mr. B. K. Nehru; retired Justice H. R. Khanna; former member of parliament Mr. P. G. Mavalankar; and economist and business executive and Dr. Freddie Mehta.

(Mr. Deshpande then went on to read extracts from these letters).

It is a strange coincidence that both Mr. Nehru and Mr. Masani died on May 27.

With these words I pay my tribute to this great son of India with whom I had the privilege to work.

N. A. Palkhivala

In the passing away of Minoo Masani, India has lost one of its noblest sons. He was one of the members of the Constituent Assembly of India.

Minoo launched his public career as a socialist but was soon disillusioned. He was humble enough to realize how mistaken he was about the notions of socialism which he had believed in. Later in his life he saw the practical wisdom of the policies of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and acknowledged how wrong he was in believing that Jawaharlal Nehru's socialism could serve as a panacea for India's poverty.

In the last decade of his life, Minoo devoted his enormous energy to free the Indian economy from the shackles of bureaucratic control. He became a great



Nani Palkhivala addressing the condolence meeting on June 12. Seen in the picture: L to R: Arvind Deshpande, Y. Sivaji, D. N. Patodia, Zareer Masani, Usha Mehta, Nani Palkhivala, Sharad Joshi, M. R. Pai, M. A. Rane

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

champion of deregulation and economic liberalization. Luckily, in his own lifetime, he witnessed the biggest metamorphosis in the economic climate which came with the enunciation of the New Industrial Policy in July 1991, when the world's fifth largest democracy reached a turning point in its history and for the first time behave like a tiger instead of a tortoise. Nothing pleased Minoo more than to welcome the day when the arthritic economy behaved like an athletic economy.

Minoo had great faith in the future of India. He believed that India has a great future because of its reservoir of talented and skilled labour and abundance of capital for new projects. He share the view of Sir William Ryrie, the former Vice President of the International Finance Corporation, who said that India has some of "the most creative entrepreneurs ... the most dynamic business leaders .. and the sharpest financial brains in the world". At the same time, Minoo was realist enough to realize that while India ranked very high in innate intelligence, it ranked abysmally low in wisdom - the lowest in what the ancient *rishis* called *buddhi*.

Minoo had an unsurpassed reputation as a man of total integrity in public life. And this quality by itself was sufficient to disqualify him from being a successful politician - a profession in which success is measured in terms of ministerial positions and the advantages that accompany such positions even at great cost to the larger interests of the country and its teeming millions steeped in poverty.

Minoo firmly believed that this was both the cause and the effect of our total indifference towards value-based education; the criminalisation of politics and deplorably low moral tone of our public life were the direct consequences of the failure to impart value-based education; and that if Indians were better educated, they would know how to behave better as workers and discharge with greater responsibility their duties as citizens.

Minoo was happiest in the company of young people, and felt sad that the country had let down the youth who, if given the right lead, would be able to unleash their true potential and give of their best to the country which gave them birth. He wrote books for the young in the hope that they would be able to draw some inspiration from his writings. In one of his books "We Indians" he wrote about the failure of the government's faulty policies and exhorted the young to avoid the mistakes of his generation. His poignant words in that book come to mind -

"We, of my generation, have made such a mess of our country's affairs that, in my opinion, we have no right to preach to young folk....".

Minoo will be sorely missed, and fondly remembered, by all who came in contact with him and learned to know him as an Indian at heart and a humane human being.

Zareer Masani

I have come here from London to pay tribute to my father but he would not have expected a eulogy. He would have approved if I begin by mentioning some of his faults. Some of them he inherited from his father Sir Rustom Masani whom he admired greatly and whom I did too; some I have inherited from both of them.

The most important I could mention is impatience. He was an extremely impatient person like my grandfather. I see it in myself too. His wife Sheela once gave him a plaque saying 'God give me patience but hurry up about it.' That summed up his impatience. He didn't suffer fools easily. He was to some extent intolerant. He was a highly intelligent man and didn't allow for the fact that some people's brains worked more slowly. He also was infuriated by the proverbial inefficiency and indiscipline that is endemic in our country. He felt we could learn a lot from the British, whom he had fought politically, in terms of improving our own efficiency. He was a stickler for punctuality. But where this impacted on his political life was that it did make him intolerant of compromise. He was not prepared to compromise his principles on anything. The result was he never held high political office. He was always greatly respected. He had great influence on those in office but he never held office himself or when he did, he resigned for reasons of principle.

There is one important aspect of his legacy which I think we can all learn from at this time of India's history. He totally rejected populism whether of the socialistic sort or of the nationalistic sort. And the things that alarmed him most, along with the state socialist aspect of Indian independence, was chauvinism and what he saw as the imperialism of Indian governments wanting to dominate their neighbours; wanting to suppress sub-nationalities within India. He prided himself on being a dissenting voice. The title of his autobiography was *Against the Tide* and he felt it was a pre-condition of democracy that individuals with unpopular views should stand up and express them.

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

I think the best tribute we can pay to him is to remember what he might have said today about our relationship with Pakistan. I know he was strongly opposed to the partition of India but he blamed not the Muslim League and Jinnah for it. He blamed the Congress and Nehru for it because he, from his own personal knowledge and relationship with Mahatma Gandhi, knew that had the Cabinet Mission Plan been allowed to succeed, had Nehru agreed to share power with Jinnah in a coalition government in a united India with a loose confederation such as the one the Cabinet Mission proposed, there would have been no partition. And he said that Gandhi wept when he heard that Nehru had made a speech rejecting the Plan. My father also, along with people like Jayaprakash Narayan, felt it was a major blunder and that a united India in a loose federal set up could have been preserved.

Consistent with that he stood for self-determination for Kashmir. He firmly believed that India had made a solemn promise internationally to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir and had gone back on this promise later but which should be honoured. He campaigned for the release of Sheikh Abdullah when Nehru locked him up in the 1950s. Jayaprakash Narayan and he eventually were

successful in getting Sheikh Abdullah released. I remember going with him to Kashmir. He met many of the dissident leaders. It was before what we have today, a virtual civil war. He anticipated that if India did not concede self-determination to Kashmir we would have the situation that we have today. He was strongly in favour of either some form of independence for Kashmir or some kind of confederation with Kashmir, India and Pakistan as equal partners.

Equally he felt it was India's duty to be generous to Pakistan. We were the strong dominant power in the sub-continent; we could afford to give guarantees and reassurance and not insist on parity. So he would have totally disapproved today's nuclear arms race. He would have wanted India to unilaterally disown its nuclear protection *vis a vis* Pakistan and reassure Pakistan that it faced no threat from India. He strongly believed that any part of India including areas like Kashmir or Nagaland which felt separate from India, should be freely allowed to secede. There should be the right of secession in the Constitution and that no country should be diminished by it. Because a country is only enriched or strengthened by voluntary association and the right of secession and self determination is a fundamental human right which should be honoured in India as elsewhere.

Minoo Masani was highly respected in the world Liberal movement. He was a constant reminder to all of us that liberty and pluralism are universal values which are not monopolised by one culture or another. As the embodiment of Liberalism in India, he did not conform to the fashions of the day. He gave his views, not with a view to attaining personal popularity but always as an express of his principles. This led to successes and disappointments but never to a loss of credibility. He may not have witnessed the day that a Liberal government rules India; but if this ever happens it will in large measure be due to him.

He has also opened the eyes of Liberals abroad to the realities of politics in India. To us, Minoo Masani showed that although the odds may be against us, there will always be hope for a Liberal future for India and for Asia. He also created a greater understanding abroad for Indian politics and with his knowledge of different cultures he was in an excellent position to do so.

When I interviewed him in 1979, among the many memorable things he said was: "I personally believe that discontent is divine and that people should improve their lot." This characteristic phrase shows Minoo Masani as the man who was at the same time a true follower of Gandhi and a committed Liberal.

We are proud that he was a patron of the Liberal International. The ideas and the spirit of Minoo Masani live on.

Fritz Bolkestein, President of the Liberal International

(Mr. Fritz Bolkestein is 'Floor Leader' of the Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) in the Lower House of the Dutch Parliament.)

Finally, I would like to say that although he had strong views and believed he was right, he respected people who stood up to him and argued with him. I can say this from my relationship with him. I rebelled against him as a teenager. I became a socialist when he had strongly rejected socialism. He used to say to me if you are not a socialist at 20 you have no heart if you are still a socialist when you are over 40 you have no head. I always used to reply that that was a cliché. But, believe it or not, by the time I had turned 40 I was no longer a socialist and realised that free markets and

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

liberal politics and economics are the only way forward. I wish India had realised this 30 years before she did and when the Swatantra Party first campaigned for such policies. We would have saved ourselves thirty years of catching up which is now on the way.

One thing I learned from him. When I was in college here at Elphinstone College in 1965 the Indo-Pakistan war broke out. My father totally dissociated himself from the kind of jingoism and hysteria that we had in Bombay at that time. And I remember having an argument with someone in my college which eventually developed into my being almost lynched with a whole crowd of people collecting and saying 'you eat our salt, you eat our food yet you stand up for Pakistan' and I had the confidence, I was only 16 at that time, to say I don't give a damn I am entitled to the salt I eat here, I am entitled to stand up for the rights of the country we are at war with. It doesn't mean that if we are at war with another country all rights and wrongs get forgotten and we have to take a nationalistic position. Pakistan has a case on Kashmir. Kashmiris have a case on Kashmir and this war is by no means a war in which all justice is on India's side. I had the confidence to do this because my father had given me that confidence. And I hope, through my life I always will have the confidence of standing up for things I believe in, even if I am only a minority of one.

Sharad Joshi

Minoo Masani was not one colossus but several colossi combined in one. He had no use for outlandish apparel, jarring mannerisms nor shrieking slogans. He did not claim any special spiritual or moral authority from higher powers. He was an activist philosopher of reason, freedom and internationalism. He was a nationalist during the independence movement, a disciple of the Mahatma inspired by the Mahatma. For fighting against the empire even socialism was good enough. Many of us in the liberal group today were inspired in those days by *Our India* and turned socialist thanks to Minoo Masani. Came the fall of the empire and Masani very clearly stated that there was no more justification for nationalistic jingoism in a country after independence. He signaled the need to reconsider socialism when his was almost a lone voice but he was fortified by the

"Minoo Masani belonged to that band of incredibly fearless warriors of the intellect who would suffer any penalties rather than bow to the prevailing wind of populism. Nothing could have been easier for him than to have applauded in the mid-1950s the Nehru-Mahalanobis Model of Economic Growth. Yet prophetically he foresaw that the priorities and policies of this Model would leave the people of India in 1990 as poor as they were in the 1980.

By the time his prophecies came true, he was not the Minoo Masani of yesteryears. He was the forgotten hero among the classes; but today as we stand to salute his memory, let us recall his intellectual brilliance, his fearless advocacy, and above all, his dedication to the liberal values of life. Yes, he was a titan in an age of titans; so few remain today; all the more reason why we should recall his memory with both a greater fondness and a greater sadness."

Dr. Fredie A. Mehta, a Director of Tatas and associated with Mr. Masani in the field of economic education.

conviction that he was in step with the times and with history.

D. N. Patodia

I had the privilege of working with Minoo Masani in the fourth Lok Sabha. He was a great leader, a man of tremendous discipline and a profound parliamentarian.

I will briefly narrate a few events in my experience to support these qualities of Minoo Masani.

It was the first day of the fourth Lok Sabha. A no-confidence motion on Rajasthan was admitted for immediate discussion. Masani wanted me to speak because I came from Rajasthan. I was a new member and had never spoken in parliament before. I was not a politician and on the opening day of the fourth Lok Sabha speak on a no-confidence motion? I was nervous. But he sent my name to the Speaker against my wishes, took me to the library and for half an hour he taught me like a teacher what to speak, how to speak, how to respect parliament. My turn came. I spoke for 12 minutes. My speech was applauded by the House. The Home Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan complimented me in the corridor. That was the teaching of Masani.

He was a man of discipline. In parliament every party and every member is allotted time to speak depending upon the size of his party and upon the time allotted for every subject. There is a tendency for people to go on speaking in excess of the allotted time and the Speaker goes on pressing the bell to restrain the member concerned. Once Sanjeeva Reddy was in the Chair and

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

Masani was speaking on a resolution. Sanjeeva Reddy with his old habit of pressed the bell before Masani's time was over. And Masani abruptly, without even finishing the sentence, stopped speaking and sat down. Sanjeeva Reddy was taken aback. He pleaded with Masani to continue. Masani declined.

He was a profound parliamentarian. One of the most important speeches in parliament is the speech on the Union Budget. The finance minister would present the Budget and, after a gap of a few weeks, Minoo Masani being the leader of the largest opposition party would initiate the budget debate in parliament. He would never give his immediate reaction to the Budget unless he had studied it thoroughly. He would move around the country meet economists, businessmen, bureaucrats, professionals, lawyers, consumers, seek their views and then prepare his speech. His speech when initiating the debate was as popular as the finance minister's presentation of the Budget. People would listen with rapt attention and he would present what amounted to an alternate budget for the country.

I salute this great son of India who transformed the thinking of the youth of the country; who contributed so much to shaping the democracy of this country and for freedom from fear, freedom from oppression, and freedom for all.

Y. Sivaji

Masani was a perfectionist. He wanted perfection in whatever he did whether in politics or in his profession and wanted everybody to be perfect in the discharge of their duties. Masani and Rajaji were ahead of their time when they called for liberation from the permit licence-quota raj and pleaded for a liberal economy. Unfortunately, the liberalisation and the market economy initiated by Dr. Manmohan Singh and Mr. Narasimha Rao were not in the true spirit of Mr. Masani's ideal of liberali-

"Minoo Masani fought many a battle for the cause of individual liberty. He dedicated himself to selfless public service, and stood valiantly for several lost causes! He was a model of probity and honesty in civic and political life. He was an eminent parliamentarian. He spoke with conviction and courage always expressing his studied and critical opinions without fear or favour."

Professor P. G. Mavalankar,
former member of parliament and
founder of the Laski Institute of Politics

sation. And therefore he embarked on a project of economic education to educate people on the meaning and need for a really free economy.

I hope that the government will be wise enough to honour Mr. Masani by awarding him Bharat Ratna posthumously.

M. R. Pai

It was Confucius who said 'when I was young I judged people by what they said but when I grew old I judged people by what they did.' In the case of Masani there was no difference between what he said and what he did. There was no dichotomy in his personality.

Forty two years ago, I first met Mr. Masani in Bombay House in the room next to that of Mr. J. R. D. Tata. I was writing letters and articles in the newspapers criticising socialism and everyone said I was doing a foolish thing. But Mr. Masani said I was doing the right thing and encouraged me to do more of such things. Because, as one of his bitter critics once said, he could smell a dead rat 15 years ahead of anybody else.

Mr. Masani's great quality was his integrity. He would never compromise with his basic ideas. Had he done so he could have been India's foreign minister. It was not only his intellectual integrity I am talking about but his financial integrity as well.

Some years ago, he asked me to help arrange his finances for his old age. And when I saw his assets I was surprised that they were so meagre. It was an indication of what has been said that for a person who has been honest in public life he must be committed to voluntary poverty. Had he concentrated on his profession which was management consultancy, he would have been a rich person. He gave his time and talent for the cause of the country.

I pay my tribute to a great human being whom I would call a 24-carat human being.

M. A. Rane

Minoo Masani was a great inspirer particularly of young people. I came into close contact with him during the emergency and those were very difficult days. It was Minoo Masani, Chief Justice Chagla, Chief Justice J. C. Shah, Justice Nathwani and Justice Tarkunde who inspired us to fight the evil regime.

Masani was an original thinker, a voracious reader, a prolific writer, a critical student of political philosophy,

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

an economist never afraid of changing his ideas in the light of experience, a powerful speaker and an accomplished parliamentarian, a man of action and an inspiring leader, a lover of freedom and all good things in life, a person of conviction and integrity, a builder of innumerable institutions, a great liberal and last but not the least an eminent statesman - but he was not a politician.

Navroz Seervai

Masani was a man of outstanding integrity. He was a man who did not hanker after office or honours. I remember once in 1977, I asked him why he didn't accept a candidature to parliament? And he said 'I am old, I am 72 and this country is for young people.' I thought to myself my god we have just got a prime minister who is 81 and here is a man of 72 fit, active and sprightly and he refuses a ticket to parliament and to what would definitely have been a ministership. He was absolutely fearless in the face of unpopular causes. If I may say at a personal level this among certain other characteristics was what made him very close to my father because my father, like him, also did not mind being in a minority of one. He was absolutely rigid about punctuality. I am told on one occasion he even started a meeting without the chief guest who was late!

He was very close to Yusuf Mehrally and my father tells me that they were so close that in Elphinstone College if by chance they drew lots for debating on opposite sides either he or Yusuf Meherally would drop

out. They would even refuse to debate against each other!

I would like to end with this quote from the beautiful words of Samuel Butler:

*"Yet meet we shall and part and meet again
where dead men meet - on the lips of living men."*

Naozer Aga

At the 80th birthday celebration of Minoo Masani, I distinctly remember Mr. J. R. D. Tata, saying that Minoo for India was way ahead of his time and perhaps it would have been more opportune if he had been born in a mature democracy rather than in an evolving and emerging democracy. Be that as it may the other countries' loss was India's gain. I am certain that the footprints left by Minoo in the sands of time will go deeper as India matures democratically and people understand what liberalism and democracy truly mean.

Yogesh Kamdar

Three attributes we as a people lack he possessed which endeared him to many young people. He was a stickler for time, discipline and efficiency, which we lack so sorely in our society. He was outspoken to the extent of being blunt though never rude nor unparliamentary. He held very strong opinions about men and matters and he expressed them very strongly even at the cost of being very unpopular. The third was his intellectual honesty. In our society and country we don't admit

we are wrong. He did it a number of times in his life. His book *Our India* was a text book in schools and it was a primer for all social activists. Yet a few years later, in *Socialism Reconsidered* he admitted he was mistaken and repudiated many of the things he had said in *Our India*.

S. V. Raju

Indeed, as Mr. Patodia mentioned, Masani was a great teacher. If he taught Mr. Patodia in parliament, he taught me how to run an office. He taught me how to speak correct English. If, for example, I said 'the concerned man came to see me.' He would ask me with a smile on his face 'was he worried?' He would then go on to correct me and say you mean 'the man concerned' came to see you. If I sounded irrational on occasion I said, he would



Observing a minute's silence in Mr. Masani's memory.

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

say 'Raju I think you better go and come back a little later. You don't sound alright.'

Masani has been criticised for being a purist. A criticism that was very common during the Swatantra Party days. His colleagues would say 'Masani has the tendency to make everything a matter of principle.' This was because in Masani's book of colours there was no grey. A thing is either good or it is bad, he would say. Either white or black. It can't be, he would tell me a 'little good' or 'somewhat bad'. It is either good or bad. And add: 'Raju the trouble with you is that you think like a Hindu. I suppose you can't help it. But I am sure you can try.' Because, according to Minoo Masani, the Hindu is a great one for producing the grey. And he would say 'this is the problem with our country'.

Freedom was indeed always his priority. The primacy of the individual was a passion with him. He abhorred the collective. He would tell me time and again judge issues on merit. What is popular need not necessarily be right and what is right need not necessarily be popular. In 1974 as editor of *Freedom First*, he wrote a stinging editorial attacking the Pokhran blast. He called it the 'Big Bang' which would create hell for the people.

Freedom First, the journal he founded in 1952 will seek to keep alive the philosophy of its founder. In *Minoo Masani 90*, a volume presented to him on his 90th birthday, we promised him that as long as *Freedom First* is in publication, it will uphold the Liberal tradition and values that Masani cherished and which he sought so tirelessly to promote among the Indian people. We intend to keep that promise. For me personally, the loss is grievous. Though I saw him dying slowly, I am still unable to reconcile myself to the fact that he is no more. I considered him my intellectual *guru*. Had he been alive, he would have reprimanded me, because he did not believe in *gurus*. *Gurus*, he said are the bane of this country. You treat me as a friend, accept what I say or reject what I say but don't call me a *guru*. I will miss him.

Dr. Usha Mehta

I would like to pay tribute to Masani on behalf of the Bombay Freedom Fighters Association, the Bombay Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and the Mani Bhavan Gandhi Museum. I had the privilege of working under him and therefore I would also pay tribute to him on behalf of the erstwhile socialists. He was one of the founders of the Congress Socialist Party. To talk to Masani was to get educated. His was a multi-faceted personality. He

was a politician and an academician. A rare combination. A powerful orator and a prolific writer. In him we saw a rare combination of the best qualities of the cultures of both the east and the west. Once there was a controversy going on between the Congress Socialists and the Communists. And there were very many critics of Masani. One of them P.C. Joshi was once asked as to why he always opposed the Socialists. He said 'they are all Hindus in the Socialist party. When someone pointed out that Masani one of the founders was not a Hindu, Mr. Joshi's reaction was 'but he is an *angrez*' (an Englishman)!

In the area of social life, he advocated many reforms but the one that strikes me most is the movement he launched for the right to die with dignity. In the field of business it was he who pioneered the theory of the social responsibilities of business and innovated the concept of social audit and it was at his instance that Tatas accepted this concept.

He was a man of independent judgement. I will cite just one example. There was once a talk about Masani being offered a ministership in the union government. And someone asked him as to whether he would like to side with Pandit Nehru or with Sardar Patel once he became a minister. Masani knew very well that whatever reply he gave, it would certainly be conveyed to both these leaders. His reply was 'I won't side with either of them. I will wait to see who agrees with the proposals I would be putting forward as a minister from my department. So this was the independence of judgement that he had.

He was influenced by Mahatma Gandhi very much, and according to him, some of the important traits which he took from Mahatma Gandhi were: Always being consistent and practising whatever he preached. Secondly he said that we must always be prepared to stand by what we say and we should remember what we are fighting is the system and not the Britisher. He always said that ends and means should be consistent with each other and therefore never to resort to wrong means to achieve right ends.

He spoke of the need for fearlessness; that our MPs should do their homework. He deplored the fact that there was too much of politics and too little of citizenship.

Our real tribute to him would be to try and emulate his example of working for freedom and functioning as sentinels of democracy and as protectors of human rights.

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

This tribute to the founder of Freedom First will be incomplete without reprinting three very relevant articles – one being a testament of his beliefs, another on the Pokhran blast of 1974, and the third, an essay on Liberalism - Editor.

I Believe

M. R. Masani

I believe in the Brotherhood of Man. There are many who think that the Brotherhood of Man is meaningless without the Fatherhood of God. To me there does not appear to be any such essential interdependence. The Brotherhood of Man involves human solidarity based on the fact that human nature is essentially the same everywhere, that people react fundamentally in the same way to the same incentives and the same pressures. Certain modifications, of course have to be made to allow for variations in social heritage, religion, climate, and such factors, but basically we are all brothers under the skin.

Because of this belief, which I find corroborated by concrete experience, I am not inclined to accept the plea that the economic and social policies that produce certain results, shall we say, in Japan or Germany or the United States would not produce similar results in India. Human nature being what it is, people everywhere respond to the same incentives and to the same stimuli. I find nothing unique about the people of our country or the situation in which it finds itself. I believe that, thanks to the conquest of space the crashing of the sound barrier and the development of telecommunications, the world is now one organism. Chauvinism and xenophobia are today, therefore, forces that are as reactionary as racism.

A Question of Balance

The belief in Humanism leads to an acceptance of Ethics. I believe there is such a thing as good and evil. Of course, the idea of what is good or evil, what is moral or immoral, is a subjective one. My own belief is that what makes for human happiness is moral, what makes for misery is immoral. One man's food, of course, can

be another man's poison, and one man's pursuit of happiness may easily cause unhappiness to another. The test of action, therefore, should be the overall balance of happiness and unhappiness it produces.

It is obvious that such an approach to the problems of morality has little to do with traditional or conventional codes of morality. Would such liberty as this approach of mine given to each individual be exercised with maturity and restraint? I don't know. I only know that no other concept of morality appears to me to make any sense.

The philosophy that appeals to me is the Stoic philosophy. From my youth, I have responded to the logic of the *Meditations* of the Roman emperor, Marcus Aurelius. For instance, it is only what we ourselves do that can hurt us, nothing that anyone else does, however beastly, can possibly diminish one's dignity or make one shrink. I find that this philosophy helps in making it possible to tell the truth even when it is unpalatable and builds resistance to smears and lampooning as also a relative indifference to popularity, the pursuit of which is the bane of our national leadership.



With wife Sheela

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

From youth onwards, I have responded to Tagore's invitation "*Ekla chalo re*" and the sentiment of James Russell Lowell in his *Stanzas on Freedom*:

*They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.*

My mother tells me that, even as a little boy, I was always on the side of the underdog - the servant about to be dismissed or the woman selling fruit who was being beaten down by some member of the family inclined to bargain too hard. On such occasions I was always on the other side of the social barricades. I should like to think that this craving for justice and sympathy for the underdog is still a major element in my beliefs. It no doubt accounted for my early acceptance of socialism as a result of being an avid reader of H.G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw.

The Gandhian Path

To this instinct for social justice my contact with Gandhiji and my arguments with him over the years helped to add an awareness that ends and means are interlinked and that the end does not justify the means even if the end is, in Lenin's words, "a society of the free and equal". Hence my book, "*Socialism Reconsidered*" (1944) and my renunciation of State Socialism and the acceptance of the Gandhian path to a better world.

Since 1954, I have been, at the instance of my good

friend, Jayaprakash Narayan, Sampattidani No. 29 on the roll of the All India Sarva Seva Sangh, giving a small part of my income every year to enable the landless to be given a plough or a pair of cattle or some seed to cultivate the land made available as a result of Bhoodan. This modest attempt at "Trusteeship" gives me considerable personal satisfaction, even though it also creates a certain amount of financial strain and embarrassment.

I believe in the essential goodness of people. Recently, in the course of a talk with Rajaji, I must have displayed a certain measure of faith in the bona fides and assurances of a certain group of hard-faced politicians. "You seem to believe in God," observed Rajaji dryly. In answer to my puzzled and inquiring look, he added: "You behave as if you do. Perhaps you call it providence or righteousness."

Of all the values, I put freedom first. I believe with Lord Acton that liberty is the highest good and that other values, like peace, for example, must yield when freedom is involved. Here again, I reject, as Gandhiji did, the "peace of the graveyard". While war is bad, I believe that appeasement and submission to tyranny are even worse.

Heretics - Salt of the Earth

I have little love for the *status quo*. The world needs change. I believe the nonconformist conscience is one of our country's saddest shortages and that heretics are the salt of the earth. To those timid spirits who are afraid of radical change, I commend the words of G.B. Shaw in his play *Major Barbara*: "What do we do when we spend years of work and thought and thousand of pounds of solid cash on a new gun or an aerial battleship that turns out just a hair's breath wrong after all? Scrap it. Scrap it without wasting another hour or another pound on it. Well, you have made yourself something that you call a morality or a religion or what not. It doesn't fit the facts. Well, scrap it. Scrap it and get one that fits. That is what is wrong with the world at present. It scraps its obsolete steam engines and dynamos; but it won't scrap its old prejudices and its old moralities and its old religions and its old political constitutions."

(First published in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, November 16, 1969)



At a Swatantra Party meeting in Bombay, 1961. Seen in the picture: L to R: Murarji Vaidya, Minoo Masani, N. Dandekar, A. D. Shroff, B. K. Mistry.

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

Gandhiji and Masani In A Dialogue on Socialism

An interesting discussion between Gandhiji and Mr. Masani took place during Gandhiji's walking tour of Orissa in 1934. Mr. Masani had attended the A.I.C.C. meeting at Patna. The printed copy of the Socialist programme was in his hands. But Gandhiji could find no time to read it. But, nevertheless if Mr. Masani was at all keen about a discussion, then he could join the Orissa party, choose the time and have a talk on the way. Mr. Masani got a chance and took it. It was Friday; the 25th of May 1934, and we had to walk 5 miles in the morning from Sisua to Patpur (Orissa). Gandhiji called Masani to talk, for his turn had come. I would not miss the treat. So Gandhiji walked, barefooted, with a cloth on his head, the right hand on Masani's shoulder, the left on mine – his words instructing us, his hands now soothing and now restraining us. We both joined in the talk as chance or impulse carried us. This talk stands to the credit of both Masani and Malkani indifferently, except where Mr. Masani refuses to share the joint and several responsibility.

Prof. K. R. Malkani

M.: Is your main difference as to method or do you suspect that Socialism is based on violence?

G.: It is not a matter of suspicion but of fact. Violence need not be physical. Your Socialistic system is based on coercion.

M.: But coercion is used not as an end but for the good of the many.

G.: Violence is impatience and non-violence is patience. Great reforms cannot be introduced without great patience. In violence lies the germ of future failure. For instance, take 100 persons – 5 armed and powerful, who could chop off the heads of the helpless 95 if they would oppose them. That would be complete failure for the five. But suppose that someone of the 95 kills these five and

acquires power, without the desire of the remaining 94, you cannot say that the new rule will be good for all. It may only mean one bad rule followed by another bad rule.

M.: But one could not snatch power without the desire and active co-operation of the 94.

G.: We have assumed absence of desire.

M.: But with us the desire exists. The Socialistic programme can be understood and accepted by all.

G.: Talk to the peasant in Orissa about monopoly of trade and socialization of the industry and he will not know what you are talking about.

M.: But the Gujarati or Deccani peasant can understand the nationalisation of land.

G.: Well I have known Gujarati peasants defending and approving the institution of the *Bania* in villages. They say the *Bania* is their benefactor in distress and so forth. These people have to be awakened. It is no use having an over-ambitious programme. I am a practical man. I would cut down your programme to what I actually do.

M.: The peasant tendency is towards decentralisation in agriculture. Intensive agriculture can only be on a small scale. But the tendency in industry is towards large-scale production and later large-scale control. In such cases, there is bound to be conflict between labour and capital. There are some industries which always will tend to be on a large scale.

G.: Industries like transport, insurance, exchange must



Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

be State-owned. But I would not insist that all large industries should be taken over by the State. Suppose there is an intelligent and expert individual who volunteers to run and direct industry, without much remuneration and only for the good of society, I would keep the system elastic enough to allow such an individual to organise that industry.

M.: I too have no objection to such elasticity provided all private profit is eliminated. If any individual promises to work for society, he should be permitted to do so. But I would like to make sure that the industries are represented on a functional basis in the State. Each trade to have its own representation.

G.: That would be superfluous in a State which was based on adult franchise. India is mostly agricultural and adult franchise would, therefore, give preponderance to agriculture.

M.: In Russia, they have a slightly different system. The urban worker's vote is weighted – 4 agricultural votes are equal to 1 urban vote. For the rest, the system of election is indirect, like our Congress election.

G.: Well, I would not give the preference to the urban vote. In the R.T.C. (Round Table Conference), I urged the adoption of adult franchise and voting by the village community. The proposal was rejected because the R.T.C. was not representative.

In his autobiography, Bliss Was It In That Dawn, Mr. Masani refers to his Orissa walk with Gandhiji:

At the end of the tour, I took leave of Gandhiji to return to Bombay. Before doing so, I left with him some questions to answer in the course of which I invited his comments on the draft resolution of the Congress Socialist Party and its programme.

I felt our talks had gone well and I perhaps had managed to soften Gandhiji's objections to socialism. Little did I know of the mailed fist under the velvet glove! Gandhiji's ideas about socialism and nationalisation, for instance, were very different from mine. He did not believe in government ownership or control. He said that a factory should be run by those who worked it on the basis of "Trusteeship" for the community. He called this socialism. I remember thinking to myself how illiterate Gandhiji was about political terminology! The pay-off came when I was in Yugoslavia studying "workers'

M.: But the conference which has representatives of landlords and capitalists will reject adult franchise. They will say one thing but will do the other.

G.: Then they have to be persuaded and converted to our views. I do not believe in the so-called class conflict.

M.: But we can convert individuals, never a system. For instance, take the Champaran planters. To the last, they were not converted. But for the pressure brought on them by the Governor, nothing would have been done.

G.: I am not sure. Some planters were "converted". What part the Government and the planters played in the matter, I do not know. But I do know that the Government could have done nothing, if the planters had not stood by them.

M.: But if the Governor had been hostile, the planters would have resisted to the last.

G.: That is shifting the ground. I simply say that some planters were converted. In India, Europeans are of 4 classes – businessmen, soldiers, civilians and ecclesiastics. Surely you do not suggest that individuals from these cannot be converted. You must eliminate violence. And when you do, you will find that there is not much difference between you and me. Both of us desire the welfare of the starving millions.

COURTESY: *Ramblings and Reminiscences of Gandhiji* by Professor N. R. Malkani, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

control" in 1955, and was told by Yugoslav communists that the management and the workers running an enterprise as trustees for the community was their idea of communism. I told them ruefully that I had heard of it first in 1934 from that old "reactionary" Mahatma Gandhi.

A few days after my arrival in Bombay, I received Gandhiji's replies to my questions. His covering letter of May 29, 1934, was short and to the point:

My dear Masani,

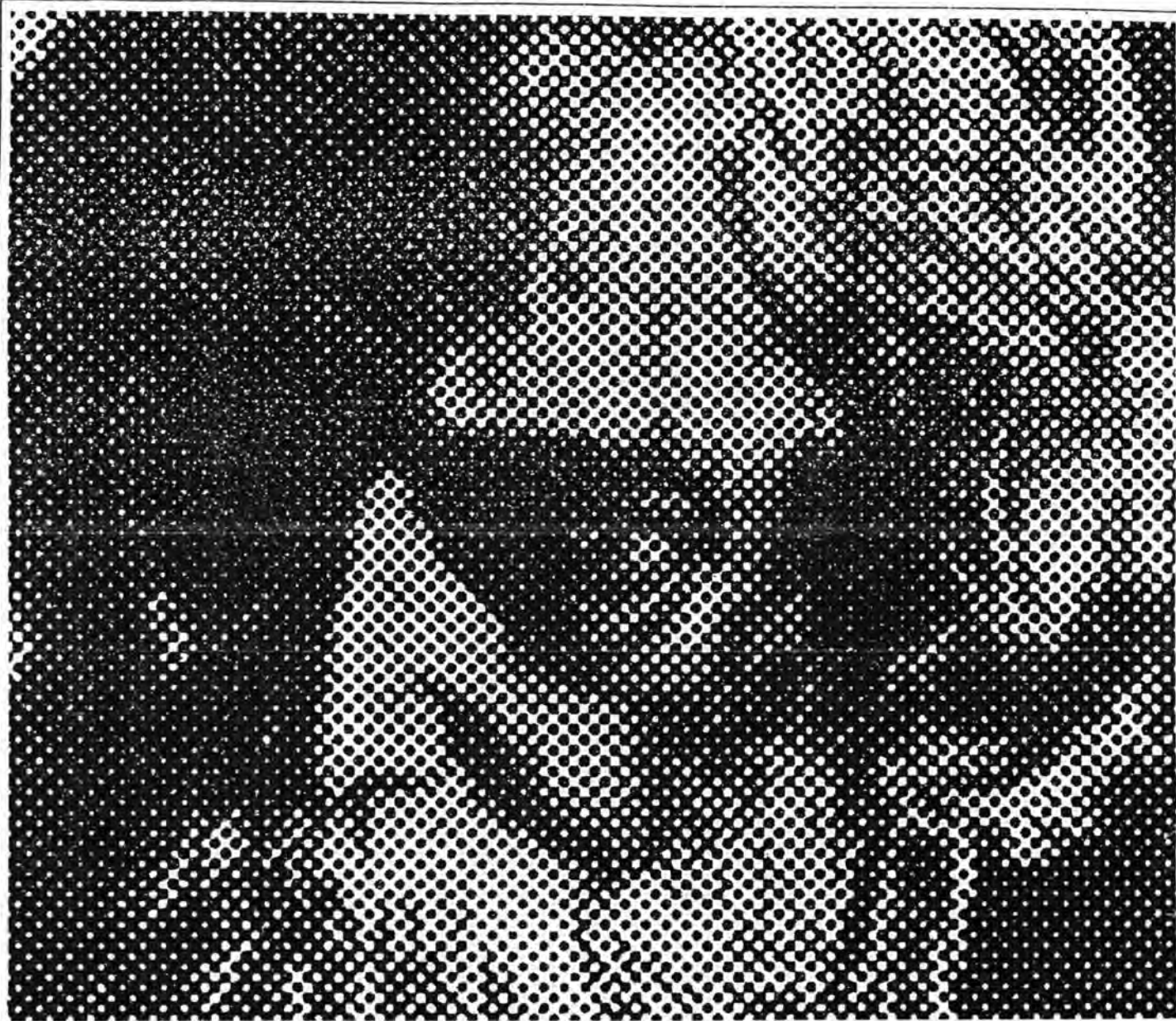
"Here is my answer to the questions you left with me. With reference to the resolutions adopted at the First All India Congress Socialist Conference, I would have very little to say against them if your programme was sound which for the reasons I have

The Man who wants to
work more
only wants
more freedom



LAKSHMI
MILLS LIMITED

1100, AVANASHI ROAD, COIMBATORE - 641 037.



*If there is anything that could overshadow
the close association we had with the great thinkers
of our time, it could only be the close association
they had with us.*



Why settle for anything less?

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

given does not appear to me to be so. The resolution is perhaps bombastic; it is certainly prolix. Do not hesitate to write to me again when necessary."

Attached to the letter were two typed pages of answers to my questions. The first item that Gandhiji dealt with was "the abolition of the rule of Indian princes" which he described as "an arrogation of power which does not belong to the Party or which belongs as much as the power to abolish the Portuguese and French authority in what is called Portuguese and French India would. It may be unfortunate; but the dismemberment of India is a fact which may not be ignored. It is surely enough to concentrate upon what is called British India. It is large enough territory for any party to operate in, and its successful operation in British India cannot but have its effect upon the other parts in India. On principle too, I am not for the abolition of the rule of the princes; but I believe in its reformation and modification in consonance with the true spirit of democracy".

Another item he dealt with was "the progressive nationalisation of all the instruments of production,

distribution and exchange" which he described as "too sweeping to be admissible". "Rabindranath Tagore", he said, "is an instrument of marvellous production. I do not know that he will submit to be nationalised".

Regarding the "state monopoly of foreign trade", Gandhiji asked a counter question: "Should not the State be satisfied with all the powers it will possess? Must it also exercise all the powers in one swoop, whether such an exercise is necessary or not?"

"The elimination of landlordism", he said, "clearly means usurpation of the *Zamindari* and *Talukdari* tracts. I am not for elimination but for just regulation of the relation between landlords and tenants".

To me, Gandhiji's comments now appear to be extremely reasonable and practical. Indeed, my own views later came very much in line with what he had to say, but at that time, his answers shocked me. I found them "reactionary" and did not feel that they reflected the reasonable spirit in which Gandhiji had talked to me throughout.

CONDOLENCE RESOLUTION

This citizens' meeting expresses its profound sorrow and grief at the passing away of Mr. Minoo Masani in Mumbai on May 27, 1998.

We join his numerous friends and admirers in the country and abroad in mourning his demise. Minoo Masani's life was a continuous struggle to establish the right of a human being to his freedom and liberty. He also sought, by personal behaviour and action, to set, norms of ethical public behaviour. Considerably influenced by Mahatma Gandhi, Minoo Masani till the very end underlined the importance of resorting to the right means to achieve desired ends. He had tremendous courage of conviction and was never afraid of expressing what he felt was in the country's interests, even if he was in a hopeless minority. He belonged to that rare breed of politicians, who after withdrawal from active politics, immersed himself completely in diverse and meaningful constructive work and public service.

A fighter for the country's independence, a Liberal par excellence, a patriot with an international outlook, a brilliant parliamentarian in the tradition of great liberals like Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a diplomat, a prolific writer and a rare combination of a thinker and a man of action, Mr. Minoo Masani, was a man who strove constantly to educate himself. He never hesitated to revise his views and men and matters in the light of fresh facts. He was indeed very 'modern' and intellectually relevant. His friends, admirers and countrymen will remain ever grateful to him for his services to the nation and his dedication to the cause of freedom, human dignity and the concept of 'the universal brotherhood of man.'

This meeting records his passing away with grief and believes that the best tribute that can be paid to the memory of Minoo Masani is to imbibe his spirit of constructive dissent, active citizenship and courage to speak out what needs to be said for the public good.

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

The Big Bang

The Pokhran blast is a disgraceful violation of proper priorities by people who talk of socialism.

As usual, correspondents of the American liberal press are at it again – living up to their record of misleading their readers about popular attitudes in India. Writing on May 19 (1974) from New Delhi, Lewis M. Simons informed the *Washington Post* that it was ‘almost impossible to find an Indian who did not take enormous pride in the government’s achievement’ over the big blast in the Rajasthan desert.

Stuff and nonsense. There are thousands of Indians who feel embarrassed and distressed, if not angry, at the Government’s policy on this point and the Editor happens to be one of them. But by no means the only. Thus, the *Statesman*, in its issue of May 19 immediately after the blast was quite early to denounce what it described in the title of its editorial as “Total irresponsibility”. Looking for reasons for this development and failing to find one, the *Statesman* came to the conclusion that it could be nothing other than “plain conceit”. “India”, it wrote, “can make it, therefore let it be made. And to hell with the obvious potential consequences to the peace of the world and every international conference at which India bleats idealism and minds other people’s business”.

Nor is this critical reaction confined to a particular line of thought or ideology. *The Economic and Political Weekly* of May 25, definitely a “leftist” journal, entitled its editorial “Cultivating our Egos with Delight and Terror”. In the same issue, its correspondent from Calcutta wrote contemptuously: “As for the supposedly peaceful uses to follow the blast, one’s first impulse is to break out in a Nixonian expletive: an administration which over a number of years has been unable to set right the troubles bedevilling the nuclear power plant at Tarapur should have the decency to stay away from the theme of how, henceforth, the atom was going to be deployed for peaceful purposes”. The writer’s own understanding of the blast was: “A lifebuoy, an attempt to refurbish the government’s sagging image, a *deus ex machina* to drown the tale of inflation and the crippling railway strike in the cacophony of manufactured raptures a successful blast

could be expected to give rise to”.

Even the communist K. A. Abbas, on the last page of *Blitz*, asks the question: “Bread – or Bombs?” and dryly comments: “It is good to read the headlines in the morning newspaper, “INDIA JOINS NUCLEAR CLUB” – but only after a satisfying breakfast!”

Wrong Priorities

The world as a whole, of course, has condemned the Indian government’s policy as being utterly lacking in a proper sense of priorities and has rejected its pretensions about the peaceful uses of the bomb. *The Chicago Tribune* observed: “They aren’t thinking about the peaceful uses of nuclear power; they are thinking about military power and national prestige”. At the Geneva Disarmament Conference, the Japanese representative stressed: “There is no distinction between a test for peaceful purposes and a nuclear weapons test”.

These suspicions are by no means dispelled by an announcement made in Moscow in *Socialist Industry* that India was undertaking an intensive programme in building the first satellite with Russia’s aid and that India’s first satellite would be launched by a Soviet-built rocket.

The acting High Commissioner for Canada in New Delhi, after a call at the Ministry of External Affairs, announced that in the view of the Canadian government, “there is no such thing as a peaceful explosion”.

When the Correspondent of the *Indian Express* in Hong Kong drew attention at a diplomatic party to the statement that the blast was nothing but an earth-moving device, a Chinese close to Peking quipped: “Whose earth do you want to move?”

The Horse’s Mouth

In case any one thinks that these foreign comments are uncharitable, we have the truth from the horse’s mouth, Dr. K. Subramanyam of the Institute of Defence Studies in New Delhi observed immediately after the

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

explosion: "What the government today described as a peaceful nuclear explosion experiment is the same as the explosion of an atom bomb".

The gravamen of the charge against New Delhi is, of course, its cynical indifference to the lack of food and water for a large part of the people of India shown in blowing up a tremendous amount of money on this noisy gadget.

According to Mr. P. N. Haksar, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, speaking in London, the total allocation of funds on research and development of Atomic Energy was Rs.176 crores for five years. On his own admission then, it was no less than Rs.880 crores that India spent in the last twenty-five years. That, of course, is a gross understatement. The Indian Embassy in Washington sought to reassure American public opinion by saying that "since 1951 India has spent less than one billion dollars on nuclear energy".

According to official figures published in the *Statesman* of June 11, the Fifth Plan proposes an investment of Rs.497 crores on Atomic Energy. The non-plan amount being Rs.236 crores over a five-year period, there is thus an outlay of Rs.733 crores or nearly \$1 billion on Atomic Energy between the years 1974-75 and 1978-79; A "good round sum", as Shylock would have put it.

Mr. Kuldip Nayar of the *Statesman* points out that the Atomic Energy Commission has a budget of Rs.80 crores a year which, over a period of twenty-five years, amounts to Rs.2,000 crores. Mr. Sharp, the Canadian Foreign Minister, however thinks that India has "devoted tens or hundreds of millions of dollars to the creation of a nuclear device".

An Example

The Egyptian and Israeli action in accepting US nuclear aid and reactors for peaceful uses shows the correct path that a country like ours could have followed with advantage and without imposing an additional budget on our people.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, taking exception to international criticism, has said that "this same argument was advanced when we established our steel mill and machine building plants". Precisely. These plants have proved to be White Elephants eating up our substance while our peasants starve for water and fertilisers and when the country is denied the roads it so badly needs, when half the people of India do not even have clean



"You wouldn't let down a fellow club member, would you?"

drinking water.

The money wasted on nuclear developments is one more example of the misguided policies launched by Prime Minister Nehru which sacrificed the real interest of the country for the sake of gigantic and prestigious projects.

Who, with a sense of humour, can quarrel with Herblock's cartoon in the *Washington Post*?

Quite apart from the actual amount of resources consumed by our efforts in the nuclear field, there is the further loss for this country to be faced in the diminution in economic aid. It is a "crisis of faith", wrote *The Times of India* correspondent from London, "since most of the donor countries are sceptical about New Delhi's protestations". The point is repeatedly made in all parts of the world whether they should aid a poor nation's government involving itself in a "symbolic prestige project" of this nature. Americans have asked why they should help India if their help only serves to buy India a nuclear bomb.

Finally there is the cost to this country of a major setback to the *détente* between Indian and Pakistan which would have brought to an end the ruinous arms race in which these two nations with destitute people are indulging.

Addressing the Rotary Club of Bombay on May 21, I had described this development as a "disgraceful violation of proper priorities by people who talk of socialism", I had asked how many wells could have been dug and how many villages would have got clean drinking water which they do not at present get, and how many million tons of foodgrains could have been produced by minor irrigation projects for which a large part of this country is thirsting. That question has not yet been answered. The people of this country have a right to an answer.

Freedom First, July 1974.

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

Liberalism

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

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

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

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

Pragmatism

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

would be desirable in a particular context.

Pluralism

The Liberal is of necessity a pluralist, that is, he does not accept the predominance of any one line of thought or dogma or even one class of society. In the Liberal's mansion, there are many chambers and there is room for everything. The Liberal, therefore, believes in a pluralistic society where there are checks and balances between different organs of government, such as the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. In a federal form of government, there have also to be checks and balances between the federal government on the one side and the state government on the other. In the case of countries with multi-religious, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual groups, such as India, the Liberal believes in the protection of the rights of the Minorities. In the conflict between the individual and the State, there should be Fundamental Rights for the citizens with an appeal to the Courts of Law. There should be a separation of political and economic power. In other words, the Liberal believes in limited government. 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's'. God, in this case, is the conscience of the individual.

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

Justice and Modernity

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

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

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

In the conflict between modernism on the one side and obscurantism, whether that of the nation, the caste or religion on the other, the Liberal is on the side of modernism and change. The Liberal is not against tradition. On the contrary, the Liberal respects what is good in the tradition of people and seeks to build and change on the basis of the tradition. In that sense, the Liberal is not an incendiary or disrupter but a constructive element of change.

"Bread or Freedom?"

The Liberal rejects the false antithesis between freedom and bread which the communists and the fascists always pose. They ask: "Do you want bread or freedom?"

As if we have to choose the one or the other! As if, when you have freedom, you don't have bread or, to have bread, you must give up your freedom! Now this is a huge hoax. Because actually you don't get bread except through freedom. There is no known instance in human history where a country of slaves get bread. Now, by bread, we don't mean only bread. By bread we mean the good things of life – the material values of life, consumer goods, as we call them. There is no known example in human history till this day where, by denying people freedom, you give them a prosperous life. On the contrary, the Affluent Society comes only where there is maximum freedom.

Which are the countries where you have the most bread, to put it like that, that is the best time? Obviously, the U.S.A. leads, Canada, Australia and New Zealand come very close, then come the Scandinavian countries of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, then comes Switzerland, then you get West Germany, France, Italy, Japan and so on. Right down at the bottom along with us, you get the Soviet Union ahead of us, and China below us. In other words, when you do deny people freedom, you take away their bread also. That is natural. Why should

slaves be well fed? Why should any government feed its slaves well? The Egyptians, who used slave labour to build up the Pyramids, did not treat them well. They flogged them until they built the Pyramids and died in the process. It is only the free man who has a right to ask for bread. Because he has the right, he has got the strength, he has the vote, what-



C. Rajagopalachari and Minoo Masani

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

ever you like to call it.

A Free Economy

A free economy therefore means that government has to play a rather limited and restricted part. Social control must be limited to a minimum. The whole idea of control is to interfere with people when something is going wrong. You stop a man from stealing, you stop a man from hitting somebody else, you stop a man from cheating somebody else, you stop an employer from cheating his worker – that is fair. But you don't stop a man from doing something which he should be doing. So controls are only police measures to stop somebody from doing something he should not. The Government should not be like the mother who told the nanny: "Mary, go and see what Johnny is doing and tell him not to"! Johnny should only be stopped when he is really doing something which he shouldn't.

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

Every time we go shopping, we cast a vote. As you buy a ticket to back a horse, so you go to a shop and say "I want Haman" or "I want Liril", or whatever it is. You cast a vote for that particular brand of soap against another brand, just as you vote for the Congress Party and not for me, or just as you back one horse and not another. Now, all these preferences for soaps and



Campaigning in the Rajkot by-election, 1963. Seen in the picture: L.to R. Minoo Masani, S. V. Raju, C. Rajagopalachari, Acharya J. B. Kripalani

perfumes, for bread and biscuits and cakes, and whatever else you like, are totalled up on the economic tote and, by looking at the economic tote, the business community and the industrialists decide what is popular, what is favoured. They shift their production according to the demand.

This is what "the consumer being king" means. It has led to the highest prosperity known in history, the highest standard of life and also of equality of opportunity and status. This is a paradox. The countries where there is greatest equality – there is nowhere perfect equality, nor can there be – but wherever there is equality of opportunity and of status, it is in the capitalist countries. Which is the country in the world where the worker calls his boss by his first name? The American worker never calls his boss Mr. So and so. He always says Tom or John. That is the United States. People in Europe are shocked at this kind of "vulgarity" or lack of good breeding because they are still class bound. So you get this strange phenomenon that you get not only the most prosperity but also the greatest measure of equality, which is supposed to belong to socialism, only in so called capitalist, or what I call liberal, countries.

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, the very intelligent Prime Minister of Singapore, who is a socialist came to Bombay to meet Indian socialists some years ago and he asked a question of them. He said: "It is pertinent to ask how is it that in Asia, countries like Japan, Hongkong, Formosa, Thailand and Malaysia, which are bustling free enter-

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

prise economies, have achieved success, while countries professing Socialism have failed to produce satisfactory results?" Prof. Kenneth Galbraith, who was American Ambassador in Delhi and who was an ardent socialist and planner in Mr. Nehru's time wrote a book called *The New Industrial State*. This is what he writes in this book:

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

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

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

The Old Liberalism

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

Nationalism

Even today, I am not against nationalism. I have been a very ardent nationalist in my time. But when we become free, we don't need nationalism any more. It is like the measles. When you grow up, you don't have children's diseases like chickenpox and measles. Na-

Minoo Masani - *Journey's End*

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

Ends and Means

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

This I learnt from Mahatma Gandhi with whom I used to argue as a young socialist. He kept on saying that by doubtful methods, you can't get a good end. Ends and means are meshed, interlinked. The end does not justify the means. We have seen from experience that we cannot get the good result of a free and equal society by injustice, by regimentation, by oppression, by lies.

The New Liberalism

So the new liberalism has come to India after the

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

What are these teachings that we graft on to liberalism or fuse with liberalism? First, that ends and means are interlinked; that if want a decent society, our methods must be decent. We cannot create a free and equal society by expropriation, liquidation, lying, as the communists claim they can. Secondly, as Gandhiji used to say repeatedly, "that Government is best which governs the least". Minimum Government. The essential thing is to leave the people free. Thirdly, Trusteeship, that those who have the good things of life, those who have wealth must use them for the good of the community. While we have a good time with what we have, we must not be devoid of a social conscience or a sense of social obligation. Gandhiji called it Trusteeship of the rich for the poor. He said: let every rich man use his wealth. Certainly, let him keep it. Nobody should take it away. But let him use it so that he can have a good conscience that he is doing what he can for those around who are not so fortunate.

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

(First published in *Freedom First*, April, 1985, this is an abridged version).

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi



Mahatma Gandhi has been assassinated three times in 50 years in independent India. The first was on January 30, 1948 when he was shot and killed by Nathuram Godse in New Delhi. The next two assassinations took place in Pokhran, Rajasthan - in May 1974 by the Congress Party led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and in 1998 by a BJP-dominated coalition led by Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee. In 1974 Mrs. Gandhi at least thought it necessary to cover her action with the fig-leaf of 'peaceful purposes'. The 1998 exploders did not find it necessary to so package their action. They proclaimed in loud and clear terms that India was now a 'de facto' member of the Nuclear

Club even as the other members of this 'club' of 'terminators' slammed the door on our face. The Indian people also earned the ignominy of being termed as citizens of a 'rogue State'.

Dr. Santosh Goindi a, staunch Gandhian and a trustee of the Indore Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Trust is reported in *The Hindu* (May 20) as saying 'considering the low self-esteem of Indians, the tests would certainly boost their morale.' Dr. Santosh Goindi also reminded the people about the Mahatma's saying that non-violence was for the brave and not cowards. She expressed the hope that India's nuclear

capability would not be put to violent use. Her brother, a doctor, associated with the local chapter of the Gandhi Smarak Bhavan, said the tests were on the lines of current thinking as to how the country was to be managed. Pointing out that the will of the people prevailed in a democracy, he said the demand of the people for nuclear tests had led the Union Government to conduct these tests. In Bombay, Dr. Usha Mehta is reported in the *'Mumbai Age'* as saying 'It is a good sign for the country. So far the world was thinking that we had only the capability but today's event demonstrated our strength once again.' I quote the Gandhians in the spirit of 'et tu Brute? Then let Caesar Die.

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi



Blood For Bombs: A BJP supporter affixes her signature in blood in support of the Pokhran nuclear explosions.
COURTESY: *Times of India*.

On the other hand Indian scientists from a number of institutions in India and abroad in a statement also published in *The Hindu* of May 19 expressed their "deep dismay and unhappiness at this action of the Indian Government.

"The Government of India has adopted the same cynical language as the nuclear weapon powers by claiming that these tests will contribute to disarmament. These nuclear tests have undone the consistent position that has been taken over the years on nuclear disarmament. While making it clear that we had the relevant technological capability, India had nevertheless not taken the step towards weaponisation in order not to initiate a nuclear arms race in the sub-continent. At the same time we had taken a firm stand against signing both the NPT and the CTBT because of their discriminatory nature...

"The country has been committed to an expensive weapons programme without a national debate. We do not see what immediate threats to national security forced this move, particularly when people's needs in terms of educa-

tion, health, infrastructure and industrial development are urgent..."

Immediately after the 'tests', we were witness to what one observer described as 'death dances' on the streets and the public distribution of sweets. Our kin across the border behaved similarly.

So, apart from the fact that it is nonsense to say that the large majority of the people of India have welcomed the tests the fact is that there are a large number of thinking, educated and qualified Indians who are far from convinced that these tests were needed even from a strategic points of view.

Dr. Santosh Goindi, quotes the Gandhian dictum that non-violence is for the brave and not for cowards. One is unable to understand what courage is needed to conduct these tests except the courage if one were to call it that to invite international odium. Real courage would have been to carry on our campaign for a total ban on nuclear testing and to commit India as a nation to lead a movement - a kind of international satyagraha - to

make the world a safer place to live in. Instead we have chosen to throw away the moral high ground we had occupied and join the joneses.

We, and that includes all peoples of this world, do not have the right to pollute the atmosphere in a manner as to make it an uninhabitable planet for our children. No arguments as those advanced by our friends in favour of the tests in the articles that follow can convince us otherwise. Courage is needed to oppose the increasing trend towards nuclearisation - and, ensure that there are no more Hiroshimas and Nagasakis.

As for the USA, its blandishments and 'sanctions' are hollow. It does not have the moral right to lecture to us, sitting as it does on a mountain of nuclear weapons. The USA has had a long history of backing dictatorships and taking democracies, even genuine ones like ours for granted. They can put any number of Tiananmens behind them for 30 pieces of silver. But protests by non-nuclear states need to be listened and responded. They have the right - not the USA nor communist China.



People distribute sweets after Pakistan PM Nawaz Sharif announced that Pakistan had conducted five nuclear tests.
COURTESY: *Times of India*.

To find out whether you're using
the best Powder Hair Dye,
place it next to ours.



Now take this simple test.

	Godrej Powder Hair Dye	Any other
* Is it shampoo based?	☒	☐
* Does it spread easily?	☒	☐
* Is it convenient, non-messy, easy to use?	☒	☐
* Are the shades natural? (i.e. no one can make out you're using a hair dye)	☒	☐
* Is it long lasting?	☒	☐
* Is it safe?	☒	☐
* Is it from a reputed company?	☒	☐
* Finally, what is the price?	Rs. 32/- for 10 gms.*	Rs. _____ for 6 gms.



Godrej Powder Hair Dye. So much more for so much less.

* Max. retail price as on 1st Jan. 1993 (inclusive of all taxes)

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

The Ethics of Nuclear Testing

E. D'Souza

The West does not seem to understand India's security perceptions. One must not forget that India views its security perceptions from New Delhi and not from Moscow, Beijing, Washington, Canberra or wherever.

Ever since India carried out a series of nuclear tests on June 11 and 13, 1998, followed soon by Pakistan's two nuclear tests about a fortnight later, there has been a raging debate questioning the justification of India's decision to do so, and the serious aftermath. Be that as it may, a majority of literate Indians in urban conglomerates believe that the decision by the ruling dispensation in New Delhi was the right one, given the security perceptions. Many, especially in the scientific community and some NGOs have voiced their 'disapproval' that India, the land of Buddha, Mahavir, Swami Vivekananda, Tagore, and Gandhi should have taken such an extreme step, and voiced their serious concern.

The Geopolitical Aspect

Geopolitics today governs, *inter alia*, a nation's security perspective in this shrinking world. India's very configuration is remarkable with its peninsular projection jutting out into the Indian Ocean bifurcating the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. Through the Indian Ocean to the south of peninsular India run the major east-west sea lanes accessing the Suez Canal or the Cape of Good Hope, for trade. All traffic in energy giving oil from the vast West Asian Oilfields to the east has to use this sea

lane. All raw material and finished products of countries astride the equator like tin, palm oil and rubber from Malaysia, tea, condiments, and spices from Sri Lanka, Indonesia and India, finished goods from Singapore, China and Japan, and trade with Australia and New Zealand are constrained to use this shorter sea lane with the industrialized west. The position of India with its major offshore islands of the Andamans and Nicobar are strategically placed to control such traffic.

India has a coast line stretching from the Rann of Kutch around Kanyakumari to the Sunderbans and of course our offshore islands. The eastern boundary of the Indian Ocean littoral is the west coast, important because of our relations with South Africa, Tanzania, Kenya, Somalia, Madagascar, and Mauritius. Also located in the Indian Ocean is Diego Gracia a British possession on which the Americans and British have established a nuclear presence. On the flip side, like Diego Gracia, there are



One of the two buildings which were not flattened out in Hiroshima, March 1945. Photo by the author (inset) Maj. Gen. E. D'Souza.

The Ethics of Nuclear Testing

islands like Coco which are linked to nearby Myanmar, Maldives *et al.*

The long land border stretches from the Rann of Kutch through the Thar Desert to riverine Punjab, the foothills of the Himalayas, through J & K to the Karokorams, then along the Great Himalayan Chain which cuts right across to NEFA, and the hilly rain forests on our eastern border to the Sunderbans. This area in the east is particularly sensitive because of the narrow neck-like corridor connecting West Bengal to North Bengal and NEFA. Should this corridor be cut off for any reason, say by a Chinese thrust through the Chumbi valley from Tibet, the whole of NEFA, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Assam and Meghalaya would be excised from India. Most of our tea is grown here. There is oil as well.

Along this land border lies Pakistan in the North, from Gujarat through Rajasthan, Punjab and J & K. To the north east we have physical borders with the Chinese legally, and illegally as in Aksai Chin which has been annexed from us. Towards the east we have the Hindu kingdom of Nepal, Bhutan, China, Myanmar and Bangladesh. And to the extreme south the emerald island of Sri Lanka with its sizable population of ethnic Tamils.

We have ethnic connections with Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Nepal is landlocked and so is Bhutan, which depend on a land corridor through India connecting them with the port of Calcutta. But this situation has changed somewhat with the construction of a road corridor by the Chinese between Nepal and China.

The Chinese have also developed a road through the Kunjerab Pass linking the Chinese mainland with Pakistan. The road constructed between Lhasa and Natsu La through the Chumbi Valley is significant. And in NEFA the Chinese have a road from Lhasa to Bumla leading eventually via Tawang and Bomdila



to the foothills and plains of NEFA. We tend to forget the existence of the World War II Burma Road which was constructed to connect India with Burma. This road is linked via Myanmar to Chungking. Thus China has strategic road links into India to areas which she claims as her own.

Bordering UP and Sikkim (not forgetting Bhutan and Nepal), is Tibet over which China has claimed suzerainty since the early fifties when the Indian military presence at Yatung and Gyantse was withdrawn. Tibet has been gradually developed into a military base including the construction of a runway capable of handling nuclear bombers. It is also known to have a nuclear missile presence there. These geopolitical considerations cannot be wished away and in reality pose serious

national security problems.

China - 'The Middle Kingdom'

Based on these geopolitical projections, it is obvious that the two main security considerations are China and Pakistan.

There can be little doubt that China poses the major security perception by virtue of its geographical proximity especially in Tibet, its size, its population of over a billion, its military capability with a large standing Army, its arms industry,

its established nuclear capability, the clout it exercises in the Security Council as one of the five permanent members, and ethnic Chinese populations in most of the States in South Asia. It has physical borders with Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar, and in a manner with Bangladesh. It has always considered itself to be The Middle Kingdom with aspirations to impose Chinese hegemony in South Asia (to offset India). The writer recalls a conversation he had with the late General Bipin Joshi, Chief of the Army Staff, on his return from a visit to China. General Joshi said that although the Chinese Dragon was, at that point of time, maintaining a low military profile while it built itself up economically, China would bare its nuclear fangs after the year 2000 to claim all territories which it believes are

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

traditionally Chinese, like Sikkim, Bhutan and the disputed areas along the MacMohan Line. It is unlikely that it would ever part with Aksai Chin through which runs a strategic road connecting Tibet and Sinkiang.

China claims today that India was responsible for the 1962 war. In the 1965 war with Pakistan, China moved her troops to the Sikkim Watershed in a taunting manner to help beleaguered Pakistan in the west by forcing India not to move her formations from east to west. The writer faced this Chinese threat when commanding a Mountain Brigade at Natu La and other passes. Could this be construed as a friendly gesture? It is well known and confirmed by agencies like the CIA of overt and covert assistance by China to Pakistan in the form of the supply of HATF and M 11 missiles capable of being nuclear tipped, missile technology (Ghauri), and assistance to the Pak nuclear programme through the supply of blue prints, plans, scientific assistance, fissionable material *et al.* Can this be termed a friendly act?

China has never come forward to back India for a permanent seat in the proposed enlarged Security Council. Why? Because India will pose a threat in an important area. Let us not forget that China intervened when the Security Council wanted to pass strictures against Pakistan after its nuclear tests. And China has nearly 3000 nuclear war heads including missiles which can reach Los Angeles. It is being said that China helped Pakistan substantively in setting up the recent nuclear tests. We now learn that China has decided

to carry out more nuclear tests to meet the nuclear challenge by India in South Asia. Surely the upgrading of her nuclear arsenal could only be against India. So who is our main security concern?

Therefore, our Defence Minister George Fernandes was right on target in describing China as our main threat perception. Let us not forget that he had the "guts" to say openly what needed to have been said earlier, because he is a realist and was privy to classified information in the Defence Ministry.

Pakistan

Ever since the partition of the sub-continent, Pakistan has viewed India with suspicion. This feeling was enhanced after Kashmir was invaded by Pakistan in 1947 after that State officially acceded to India; this is a historical fact. The latest from the United States of America is that Marion Albright and her cohorts in the State Department consider Kashmir as disputed territory. Pakistan has seized this excuse ever since to make the J & K problem the *raison d'être* against any hopes of Indo-Pak rapprochement. Kashmir is central to Indo-Pak relations (and a convenient whipping horse to stir up emotions or divert public attention from other pressing problems). We seem to forget the fact that it was India that went to the UN and not Pakistan, to settle the issue. Today it is inconceivable that Pakistan would ever think of observing Clause 2 of the UN Resolution that it should first withdraw its forces from Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. It is well known that Pakistan, is a theocratic Islamic

State where the Military has always called the shots, even in the decision to carry out its recent tests.

Pakistan has never forgiven India for the crushing defeat inflicted on its Armed Forces in the 1971 War where 96,000 Pakistan prisoners were in our custody. Their younger officers of 1971, who have since risen in rank, have never stomached this defeat and have been itching to launch a *jihad*. Pakistan realizes that it can never hope to get the better of India, try as she will, in a conventional war. This has been admitted in so many words by General Beg. When it developed its nuclear capability covertly in 1988, it felt bold enough to engage India in a proxy war in J & K which continues today albeit on a much lower scale. It has always been looked upon as a reliable ally by the US from the CENTO days and because it provided an excellent base for supplying the Afghans with weapons which, unfortunately, are now being used by foreign militants in the proxy war. Reliable US observers blame the US for encouraging Pakistan to develop its nuclear capability when they looked the other way at China's help.

One needs to ponder over an important fact that Pakistan in terms of population, land area, infrastructure and Armed Forces is way behind India which makes one come to the conclusion that it can afford to carry out a proxy war because of the backing of China to develop its nuclear and missile capability, the availability of Arab petro dollars and to some extent by the support of the strong pro-Pakistan lobby in the USA.

The Ethics of Nuclear Testing

Other Threat Perceptions

In Diego Garcia we have a known US/UK nuclear presence. Now that the cold war has ended is there a need for its continued presence? And what about Israel, Iran(?), and Uzbekistan? In addition, the Gulf War Allies have a formidable nuclear presence in the Persian Gulf. Whereas the West has turned a blind eye to Israel's nuclear capability ostensibly because she is surrounded by hostile Arab neighbours and her presence provides the desired security to the vast oil deposits in this area, the West does not seem to understand India's security perceptions. One must not forget that India views its security perceptions from New Delhi and not from Moscow, Beijing, Washington, Canberra or wherever. We need to stress this point in International Councils.

The other threat to secular India is the green crescent which stretches from Morocco through Algeria, Libya, Egypt/Sudan, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Mongolia, Malaysia, and on to Indonesia. India's 127 million Muslims notwithstanding, we need to face this reality.

The Ethical Consideration

Having observed what a relatively small 12 kiloton atomic bomb could wreak on hapless Hiroshima, (till today there are 400,000 Hibakusha-Japanese suffering from residual radiation), and the fact that it took a mere 15 seconds to snuff out 120,000 lives of innocent Japanese children, women and men, there is no moral justification for India to take the next logical step

of weaponization after the successful nuclear tests. We appear to have forgotten the sufferings of humankind after the Chernobyl disaster and the one on Three Mile Island in the United States. What would have happened if the terrorists used a nuclear device to bomb the American World Trade Centre? Why was it necessary to drop a second fiendish atomic bomb on Nagasaki? And in doing so wipe out another 100,000 lives? Relate these statistics to what will happen to Mumbai if a nuclear warhead of small megaton dimensions was dropped on it? In a matter of a few seconds all those living in inflammable and flimsy slums will be snuffed out and that means half of Mumbai's population. I am therefore firmly of the opinion that weaponisation by India should be forsaken, as the purpose of the five tests has been achieved in that it has conveyed a clear message to our detractors and the international community that the world's largest functioning democracy cannot and will not be taken for granted. Let us learn from history.

The Fall-out

The western world led by the USA has been quick to impose sanctions smug in the knowledge that their possession of large nuclear arsenals are justified as they cannot be deemed rogue states. One would like to ask the 'Exclusive' Five what is their threat perception to hold such large nuclear arsenals? Who would want to attack them in as much as who would India want to attack, having no territorial ambitions? Is it not to wield the club on the 'have-nots'? This is a typical case of the "I'm alright you're alright" syndrome. The other reason

is that after a 'white' bomb and a 'yellow' bomb, how dare India show its proven capability of producing a 'brown' bomb without outside help? There is an element of racism in such reactions or why else would Japan, Australia and New Zealand be so brazen in their condemnation?

Economic sanctions which have yet to be announced in detail will surely hurt our stagnant economy but for a limited period only. All these so called objectors need to do trade with the largest middle class population in the world which is in India. We should certainly tighten our belts and learn to become more self reliant as we were forced to do in the case of the Super Computers denied to us by the USA and the Cryogenic Engines for our space technology from Russia. A nation which can contribute 35% of the scientific brains for NASA, can surely achieve the desired goals of near self sufficiency.

"Guts" or "Gaffe"?

Columnist Rajinder Puri has made some very pertinent observations in his article "After the Bomb: Let's learn the Power of Silence". Instead of the pathetic attempts of certain elements to gloat over the successful testing and to fulminate against Pakistan which is what the Big Five want us to do so that they can interfere in the satisfactory resolution of the Kashmir Issue, we should take up a position in which we state that despite becoming a nuclear weapons power, our commitment to total nuclear disarmament and a non-discriminatory CTBT remains undiluted.

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

Where Do We Go From Here?

A good question. Now that our dedicated scientists have proved their ability to carry out not only physical nuclear tests but have also developed the capability of computer simulated tests, we should stand by our decision to place a moratorium on all future nuclear testing and insist that this now be the international norm. We must make a firm resolve NOT to proceed with weaponisation as India will never ever resort to a nuclear first strike. This does not mean that we should not continue our research, just in case. We should continue through diplomacy to reassure our detractors that we have no intention of ever resorting to a nuclear first strike as we have no territorial ambitions but that our security interests will always be paramount.

We just cannot afford another war even over Kashmir. Noises are being made in certain circles that we should consider going into POK to destroy militant bases. To those of us who have served in such mountainous terrain through which two rivers flow, the Jhelum and the Neelum, we must realize that the cost in manpower would be as high, as armoured formations cannot operate in such terrain.

Instead of weaponization, our scientists should now apply their minds to developing anti missile technology on the lines of the 'Patriot' so that we can take counter action against a possible nuclear missile first strike. Even the Americans have said that if there is to be a first strike on the sub continent, it will be Pakistan who will take the initiative with the 'Ghauri'. So we should start now to take counter measures

by stepping up our surveillance, acquiring AWAC type aircraft, hone our anti missile measures now that we have developed our missile capability, and last but not least, create an awareness of what to expect in the aftermath of a nuclear attack - Passive Anti Nuclear Defence Measures. This will not only prove our credentials not to resort to a first strike, but should there be one against us where it hurts most, either Mumbai or Bangalore, our other targets are too near the border, we shall be prepared. The Maharashtra Government has set up a Disaster Relief Centre but does the mandate include anti-nuclear measures?

In conclusion, the writer does not believe that nuclear testing has to be followed by weaponization. The tests were intended to send a clear message to our detractors. Let me relate in this context a true war incident which will support my contention of condoning the tests but not weaponisation. Some of you may have heard of the Longewala incident in Thar Desert in the 1971 War. This large tactically located sand dune was occupied by a rifle company of a Punjabi Regiment. It was earlier occupied by the BSF but because of its importance the regular army assumed responsibility for its defence. When the BSF held it during peace time, a strand of barbed wire had been strung across the front of this dune to dry clothes. When the BSF handed over charge to the Punjabis, the strand of wire, for some obscure reason, continued to be where it was. After war was declared, the enemy decided to attack this dune and open the way for a further advance. Because of the suitability of the terrain, the task was given to a Pakistan

Armoured Regiment with very sophisticated tanks. When the attack was launched the leading tanks saw the wire strand and stopped. Though engaged by our troops they decided to stop until the suspected minefield was cleared and withdrew to the rear where they were caught out in the open and destroyed by our Air Force. Why did the Pakistan Armoured Formation call off the attack? Apart from the resistance of our troops, they felt that behind that strand of wire was a minefield. It would first have to be cleared. Why so? According to the Geneva Convention, every minefield had to be marked by a barbed wire fence on which are hung metal triangles warning of the presence of a minefield. So what is the moral of this story? That the single strand of barbed wire carried a message to the Pakistan Armoured Regiment which translated would have read thus: "Beware, there is a minefield behind this wire". Likewise, our nuclear tests carried a message which implied: "Beware, We Have A Nuclear Capability. Do Not Take Us For Granted".

MAJOR GENERAL (RETD.) E D'SOUZA, PVSM has campaigned against nuclear weapons ever since he was privy to the senseless devastation caused to the people of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. As a member of his Unit with the British Commonwealth Occupation Forces in Japan from 1946 to 1947, he happened to visit the devastated city in early March 1946. Since then he has resolutely opposed nuclear war and belongs to the World Consultative Association of Retired Generals, Admirals and Air Marshals which has as one of its objectives total nuclear disarmament. He also faced the Chinese on the Sikkim Watershed in the 1965 War and has been a keen student of India's security perceptions.

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

Why Buddha Smiled Again

A. K. R. Hemmady

Where was the need to occupy Japan 'yard by yard' and 'a man to man fight'? Unfortunately, economic sanctions was an unknown weapon at that time! Churchill also had certain geopolitical compulsions.

On May 14, *The Guardian* (London) admonished India because we had exploded the nuclear device "for muddled reasons to do with nationalism, the exigencies of internal politics, and international prestige". If that was not *suppressio veri* (our security concerns vis-à-vis belligerent Pakistan and China) and *suggesti falsi*, what else is?

To understand the extent to which our reasons were muddled, let's briefly recall what the compulsions were for the morally upright Anglo-Saxon democracies to give precedence to the making of the atomic bomb rather than to pursue the peaceful uses of atomic energy; and having developed the bomb, to drop not one, but two over Japan, which in any case at that time was on the verge of defeat. And may I remind Indian Leftists, that when the bombs were dropped, it was a leftist Labour government in the saddle in U.K. Attlee had replaced Churchill on 27th July, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were almost wiped out on August 6 and 9, 1945.

German Experiments ...

Three German scientists, while carrying out certain experiments, announced in 1939 that using neutron as bullets, they had bombarded uranium and split its atom almost in half. This team was headed

by Otto Hahn and included Strassman and Miss Lise Meitner. It was lucky for the Allies that Miss Meitner was a Jew, otherwise, perhaps Hitler would have got the bomb first. Incidentally, the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Chemistry in Berlin-Dahlem, where the experiments were conducted, was located only a few miles away from Hitler's Chancellery. Uranium was broken into Barium + Krypton (a rare gas) + Neutrons. Hahn's discovery of the transmutation of Uranium was so revolutionary that he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1944 although the Award was announced in 1945, when Hahn was in a British prison and his whereabouts kept secret.

... USA Benefits

However, more startling than this transmutation was the release of tremendous energy during the splitting of the Uranium atom. Fortunately, for the Allies, the significance of this tremendous release of energy did not attract much attention of these scientists in the beginning. That was because Otto Hahn was a chemist interested only in the chemical change that occurred. Actually the experiment of these German scientists was carried out earlier in 1934 by Enrico Fermi but he had missed the discovery. He was a Roman Catholic but married to a Jew, and soon anti-

semitic laws were imported from Germany into Italy. Fermi went to Sweden to receive the Nobel Prize and never returned to Italy. He went to America.

Meitner, being a physicist, concentrated on the release of energy and was convinced that tremendous energy trapped in the Uranium atom awaited uncorking and use by mankind. But very soon, despite her distinguished position as head of the physics department, she was marked by the Nazis for arrest and concentration camp. She escaped to Stockholm and conveyed her thoughts about energy release to Robert O. Frisch, another German Jew refugee scientist attached to the laboratory of the world famous scientist Neils Bohr. It was Meitner and Frisch who gave the name atomic fission to the phenomenon of split in the Uranium atom. These two sent all the details which they possessed to Bohr, who then was in the USA, and this new development was shared with Fermi.

In the meantime, the German Ministry of Munitions had assembled a team of scientists to develop the use of nuclear fission in warfare. The team included Otto Hahn and Geiger, inventor of the Geiger counter – an instrument to detect radioactive emissions. This alarmed the refugee scientists in the USA

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

and they induced Einstein to alert President Roosevelt. A research project was secretly launched under Dr. Fermi. On December 2, 1942, this project was successfully completed – a self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction. But the bomb was still away.

Germany Surrenders

The pursuit to weaponise the atomic fission was essentially to counter the threat from Germany, but on May 7th, 1945, the Germans surrendered unconditionally, and therefore, the Americans ought to have halted efforts to make the bomb. Western apologists may protest: "But Japan was still waging a terrible war". That appears to be a lame excuse because while addressing the US Congress on May 1943, Churchill had declared: "While the defeat of Japan would not mean defeat of Germany, the defeat of Germany would infallibly mean the ruin of Japan". By the time Germany surrendered, Japan's military might was considerably eroded, and yet the final touches were being given to the atom bomb – "the miracle of deliverance" according to Churchill.

On July 4, President Truman obtained Churchill's concurrence to dropping the bomb on Japan, even before the final tests were complete. On July 17, during the famous Potsdam Conference, the eagerly awaited coded message came to Truman "Babies Satisfactorily Born", which meant, that the atomic bomb test in the New Mexico desert was successful and the devastating atomic bomb was a reality. Some opponents of the nuclear explosion have taken exception to our using

the Buddha's name. However, considering that the babies delivered in the New Mexico desert led to the countless deaths of born and unborn babies, our Buddha is smiling at the folly of western powers who by encouraging Pakistan and China forced a peaceful India to go for the nuclear option. Undeterred by any compunction, the Americans dropped the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945.

Why Hiroshima & Nagasaki

Unlike Vajpayee's compulsions, Churchill's were far more lofty and statesmanlike in agreeing to drop the bombs over Japan:

"Up to this moment, we had shaped our ideas towards an assault upon the homeland of Japan by terrific air bombing and by invasion of very large armies. We had contemplated the desperate resistance of the Japanese fighting to the death with Samurai devotion, not only in pitched battles, but in every cave and dugout ... To quell the Japanese resistance, man by man and to conquer the country yard by yard might well require the loss of a million American lives and half that number of British ... This nightmare picture had now vanished. In its place was the vision – fair and bright it seemed – of the end of the whole war in one or two violent shocks. I thought immediately myself of how the Japanese people, whose courage I had always admired, might find in the apparition of this almost supernatural weapon an excuse which would save their honour and release them from the obligation of being killed to the last fighting man".

Where was the need to occupy Japan 'yard by yard' and 'a man to man fight'? Unfortunately, economic sanctions was an unknown weapon at that time! Churchill also had certain geopolitical compulsions:

"Moreover, we should not need the Russians. The end of the Japanese war no longer depended upon the pouring in of their armies for the final and perhaps protracted slaughter. We had no need to ask favours of them. The array of European problems could therefore be faced on their merits and according to the broad principles of the United Nations. We seemed suddenly to have become possessed of a merciful abridgement of the slaughter in the East and of a far happier prospect in Europe ... To avert a vast, indefinite butchery, to bring the war to an end, to give peace to the world, to lay healing hands upon its tortured peoples by a manifestation of overwhelming power at the cost of a few explosions, seemed, after all our toils and perils, a miracle of deliverance".

The Burning of "The Scientific American"

Most stupefying to the Western powers has been the detonation of a hydrogen bomb by India. Perhaps the tortoise pace of the Hindu rate of growth deceived the CIA! My mind goes back to the United Nations' International Conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy held in Geneva in August 1955. In the words of Bernard Jaffe, author of the book "Chemistry Creates A New World" (1964): "The most spectacular single announcement that came out of the Geneva

Why Buddha Smiled Again

meeting of atomic scientists was that of Professor Homi J. Bhabha, head of India's Atomic Energy Commission and president of the Conference. Bhabha was looking even further ahead than the nuclear fission of uranium. "When we learn how to liberate fusion energy in a controlled manner", he told fellow scientists, "the energy problems of the world will truly have been solved forever, for the fuel will be as plentiful as the heavy water in the oceans". Scientists from all over the world were startled. A limitless supply of energy for mankind was being predicted by a first rate nuclear physicist. Even men who could see undreamed-of developments in this

exploding field of nuclear energy—rubbed their eyes and searched for clues and shreds of information on which this almost unbelievable prediction was made".

The scientists attending the above Conference wouldn't have been startled or rubbed their eyes in disbelief at Bhabha's announcement if only the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission had not presided at the burning of 3,000 copies of the April 1950 issue of *'The Scientific American'* which carried the original un mutilated article on the Hydrogen Bomb by Hans Betha, a nuclear physicist. The article explained why the heavier isotope of

hydrogen would be employed in preference to the common lighter isotope of the element in the fueling of the H-bomb. The American Society of Newspaper Editors vehemently protested. What was most galling was that much of the data had already been published elsewhere and easily accessible and much of it by Beth himself. So much for the freedom of expression in the U.S.A. Was it likely that Bhabha had somehow managed secretly to obtain a copy of the banned April 1950 issue of *The Scientific American*?

MR. A. K. R. HEMMADY, a regular contributor to *Freedom First*, was Deputy Director General of the Geological Survey of India.

POWERING INDIA'S GROWTH FOR MORE THAN FIFTY YEARS

Thermal • Hydel • Nuclear • Diesel • Gas • Wind

A leading Engineering Company offering a wide range of products

- Medium & Large Pumps
- Hydro-Electric Generating Systems
- L.T. & H.T. Alternators and Motors
- Special Rotating Electrical Machines
- H.T. Switchgear & Switchboards
- Electronics Control Systems

And undertaking Turn-key Projects with a single - source responsibility



Jyoti Ltd.

P. O. Chemicals Industries
Vadodra-390 003 (India)
Fax : 0091- 265 - 381871

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

No One Dare Attack Us Now

S. S. Bankeshwar

Once we are in a position to respond with massive nuclear retaliation within five minutes, no country will dare to launch a nuclear attack on us.

I watched the Lok Sabha debate on our Nuclear tests carefully and with great interest.

The leaders of the opposition parties failed to offer a single credible suggestion or solution to meet the Chinese or Pakistani nuclear threat to our country. In fact, the burden of their arguments was that there was no threat to our security from either China or Pakistan and hence we can all go to sleep quietly, ignoring all the reports of the Defence Ministry prepared over the last five years! All the reports of our defence ministry, year after year, pointing out the nuclear threat to our country, were gathering dust all these years, till George Fernandes dusted them off and brought them out to the notice of our public.

One can very well see the difference in reaction in India and Pakistan to their respective government's decision to go nuclear.

In India, over 85% of our people, according to opinion polls, have hailed our decision to go nuclear, while all the opposition parties have condemned it! Our nation is not greatly divided on this issue, but our parliament is! This debate has isolated our opposition parties from public opinion in India.

In Pakistan, all people, including the opposition parties, have

rallied behind the government over its decision to go nuclear. Unlike in India, there is no voice of dissent there on this issue. Nobody in Pakistan has called the decision of its government to go nuclear as politically motivated.

In the situation created by Pakistani and Chinese nuclear blackmail, India has only three alternatives:

1. To do nothing and leave everything to God and our fate, which is the policy of our Gandhian moralists. If their logic is stretched to its logical conclusion, we can as well dispense with our Army, Navy, Air force, and police too. After all, did we not drive out the mighty British empire from India by our weapon of non-violence, which is mightier than any nuclear weapon? What a ludicrous argument indeed!
2. To ask for the nuclear umbrella from one of the nuclear powers. A nuclear protectorate will then soon degenerate itself into a political protectorate.
3. To make nuclear bombs ourselves and be self reliant to defend our country.

Making vague statements that we shall keep our nuclear options open will not deter China or Pakistan from launching a nuclear attack on us.

China is not likely to launch a nuclear attack on us, because even in conventional weapons, it has superiority over us. Pakistan is more likely to use nuclear weapons against us, because it can never hope to win a war against India with conventional weapons, because of our superiority in conventional weapons.

Once we are in a position to respond with massive nuclear retaliation within five minutes, no country will dare to launch a nuclear attack on us.

The United States would never have dropped nuclear bombs over Japan, had Japan been in a position to respond with massive nuclear retaliation within five minutes. It could afford to drop nuclear bombs over Japan, only because it had then a nuclear monopoly.

The United States now dare not use nuclear bombs against Russia and China, which are in a position to respond with massive nuclear retaliation within five minutes.

It is the balance of nuclear terror which has made America, Russia and China realise the need for *détente* and peaceful co-existence.

There is no defence against

No One Dare Attack Us Now

nuclear attack, except a massive counter nuclear attack within five minutes, the very fear of which prevents a nuclear attack.

One can well understand the opposition of genuine pacifists like Mahatma Gandhi, Rajaji and Sir Bertrand Russell who were opposed to the nuclear bombs *per se*, but not our communists who had never raised their objection, when the former Soviet Union or communist China emerged as nuclear powers. In fact, they had congratulated these countries for breaking the nuclear monopoly of the United States! These same communists are now objecting to our country going nuclear

and emerging as a nuclear weapons country to meet the nuclear threat from both China and Pakistan!

The double standards of our opposition parties in general and the communists in particular are unpardonable indeed. It is therefore not surprising that all our opposition parties are now totally isolated from public opinion in India.

It is only the nuclear powers armed to the teeth, which are keen on nuclear non-proliferation. They don't want any inroads into their nuclear monopoly.

As the late Shri Nath Pai had

rightly warned our country at a meeting of the Indian Council of World Affairs in Bombay in 1965, "In the final analysis, no price is too great for our country's defence and nations are not defended without tears. The burden of slavery under Pakistani or Chinese vassalage would be much more galling than the economic burden of manufacturing nuclear bombs".

All talks on NPT and CTBT are useless and an exercise in futility, as what is invented cannot be disinvented!

MR. S. S. BANKESHWAR is a member of the Advisory Board of *Freedom First* and a freelance writer.

Olympus Lifts Service and Technology



Bharat Bijlee Limited

501/502 Swastik Chambers, 5th floor,
Jn. of CST & Station Road, Chembur, Bombay 400 071,
Tel: 022-5228772 / 73 Tlx.: 011-61062 BEBE IN Fax: 022-5225870

OLYMPUS

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

The Only Option

Talking From A Position of Strength

Nitin G. Raut

To say that India's nuclear test has escalated tensions cannot be true. It is like saying that prior thereto, South Asia was free of tension and armed hostilities!

India's restraint since the 1974 Pokhran-I blast, partly out of fear of international reprisals and lack of political will were not only ignored by the U.S. but the active nuclear collaboration between Beijing and Islamabad was condoned. Significantly, after Pakistan's tests on 28th May 1998, Pakistan officially stated: "The long range Ghauri missile is already being capped with nuclear warheads to give a befitting reply to any misadventure by the enemy (*read India*)". Obviously, all this cannot be an overnight development for Pakistan, and nor was its testing consequent to India's. Pakistan's meticulous plans were well under way, planned and executed with the aid of China and North Korea with financial aid from Libya.

India's action was a geo-political response to the threat from the emerging Beijing-Islamabad axis. It was a signal of its assertion as a major Asian power, determined to play its independent role as demanded by geo-politics. It is a reply to China that its nuclear aid to Pakistan is not going to intimidate India. Silence or inaction would tantamount to acquiescing to the Beijing-Islamabad hegemony.

The U.S. sanctions reflect the failure of both India and the U.S.A. to understand the mutually benefi-

cial strategic importance to each other. India as a N-Power can restore the balance of power in Asia, which the Chinese Dragon is coveting as its undisputed domain. In the near future, it is China that will challenge the U.S. Once China becomes militarily on par with the U.S., the friction between the U.S. as a democracy and China as an essentially political totalitarian state is bound to escalate, thereby bringing about a clash of their respective global interests and spheres of influence.

Insensitive USA

In imposing sanctions, the U.S. is insensitive to India's security concerns. In fact, the U.S. has overlooked that it is primarily responsible for the arms race in South Asia by arming Pakistan and condoning its aggressive designs against India, and its terrorist activities. The U.S. sanctions are not only selective, but also vindictive, and President Clinton is clearly more influenced by short term gains. Otherwise, how can one explain the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status accorded to China by the U.S. year after year, in spite of the Tiananmen Square massacre, the holocaust in Tibet, the violation of human rights and the well known 'covert' nuclear collaboration between China and Pakistan in violation of the NPT and the CTBT.

India, with its well-entrenched parliamentary democracy, independent judiciary, rule of law, plural polity – is a safe economic investment, unlike China, which while trying to reconcile a political authoritarian power structure with free market economy, can be a dicey proposition. And a popular uprising like the one in Indonesia can upset the U.S. applecart in Asia any time.

Chinese Ambitions

The China factor, in the light of the Chinese aggression against India in 1962, and its claim to Arunachal Pradesh, can hardly be ignored. India is the only Asian nation that has the potential to challenge China. And naturally for China, Pakistan has become a useful pawn to undermine India. If Pakistan has allowed itself to be used by the U.S. in the Cold War era, today it has offered itself to China. Chinese nuclear aid to Pakistan has helped Pakistan to develop its 'Ghauri' missile and acquire M-11 missiles, all capable to striking targets deep in India. China, while encouraging Pakistan's belligerency towards India has cultivated the Myanmar, otherwise a natural backyard of India. China has built an all-weather road to Myanmar coast through the Arakan hills and has obtained a military base on the Coco Island off Myanmar coast.

Talking From A Position of Strength

This has given it access to the Indian Ocean which through the Pacific is otherwise a logistical nightmare. China is silently engaged in having India sequestered while trying to keep a pretence of constructive engagement. Defence Minister George Fernandes is right that China is India's No.1 enemy. But the fact that Pakistan is ready to do anything at Beijing's bidding and is consumed by anti-Indian designs makes it no less menacing to India.

It is only when a nation talks from a position of strength that its policy can have the necessary impact. India ought to judiciously combine aggressive diplomacy and its nuclear power to neutralise Pakistan. If Pakistan has its Kahuta nuclear complex just about 40 kms. from the Indian border, it is because Pakistan is reassured that India does not have the will to pre-empt Pakistan in any respect. Pakistan's

growing military ties with China and its Cold War ties with the U.S. have put India in a vulnerable position, both politically and militarily, in the event of an armed conflict. India's nuclear capability will provide an effective deterrence and serve as caution to its adversaries.

To say that India's nuclear test has escalated tensions cannot be true. It is like saying that prior thereto, South Asia was free of tension and armed hostilities! Contrary to the notion, nuclear weapons have brought about a positive and a sobering impact on the adversaries. The end of the Cold War was hastened primarily due to the realisation by both the U.S. and the erstwhile U.S.S.R. that in spite of near nuclear parity, both would be losers and none would be a victor in the event of a nuclear war. This led to the Strategic Arms

Limitations Talks between the U.S. and the then U.S.S.R. for limiting and reducing strategic nuclear weapons.

The threat of nuclear power also brought about a thaw in the relationship between the then USSR and China, leading to the resolution of border disputes. In 1979, both made a joint declaration not to target nuclear missiles against each other. Ironically, this also enabled China to deploy its nuclear missiles in Tibet against India.

The sanctions no doubt will adversely affect India to an extent. But did not India's economic policies prior to liberalisation amount to self imposed sanctions. Yet India today is the world's tenth industrial power, with a large market. After all, India is not Iraq.

MR. NITIN G. RAUT is an advocate and a member of the Advisory Board of *Freedom First*.

Ban All Nuclear Tests



If Dr. Linus Pauling's forecast in your columns is what it claims to be, viz. a scientific estimate, we have already the making of 20 million mentally and physically deformed babies; and if the US tests are taken up an equal number will be added. And then an equal Soviet output will be added. Thus we have a dreadful prospect which makes one prefer even an all-out nuclear war at once to this process of horror as a result of test explosions. An all-out nuclear war would end the sufferings of man – what Simon Peter prophesied would come to pass:

"This day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up." II Peter, 3:10

But this chain of tests will convert the earth into a hell worse than total extinction. I join in the prayers of millions that nuclear disarmament may be signed and all tests banned at once. The hour has struck for courageous trust.

C. Rajagopalachari in a letter to *The New York Times*, April 18, 1962

Issued by the Rajaji Foundation

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

The Nuclear Dilemma

Arvind A. Deshpande

The reaction of political parties in India is both amusing and amazing.

The communists did not ask why it was necessary for China to go nuclear in 1964 nor did Congressmen ask why it was necessary for Mrs.

Gandhi to go nuclear in 1974. That implosion did not guarantee her continuance as Prime Minister. The 1998 tests won't guarantee that to either Mr. Vajpayee or the BJP.

Mikhail Gorbachov, that rare Marxist, who helped dismantle the powerful communist empire, described the nuclear dilemma in one pithy sentence when he said: "A nuclear war cannot be won and must not be fought".

Why then do some countries go nuclear? Why do some of our leaders want Z Plus security, when they know that it does not guarantee escape from assassination? Just as there is no answer to this, there is no answer to the first question too. Fear, distrust, inevitability are the key words.

The reaction of political parties in India is both amusing and amazing. The communists did not ask why it was necessary for China to go nuclear in 1964 nor did Congressmen ask why it was necessary for Mrs. Gandhi to go nuclear in 1974. That implosion did not guarantee her continuance as Prime Minister. The 1998 tests won't guarantee that to either Mr. Vajpayee or the BJP.

The only arguments one can take seriously, are those put forward by leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Rajaji, Jayaprakash Narayan, Minoo Masani and Dr. Lohia. They rejected nuclear power on principle. Yet, none of them

headed the government of India to put into effect what they thought was right. Lesser leaders have neither that moral stature nor their courage.

When we face this nuclear dilemma, certain facts stare us in the face.

The original sin was committed in 1945. Sir (Capt.) R. H. Liddell Hart, one of the greatest war historians of all time, wrote in his *History of the Second World War*: Stalin's demand at Potsdam to share in the occupation of Japan was very embarrassing and the U.S. was anxious to avoid such a contingency. The atomic bomb might help to solve the problem. The other reason for its precipitate use, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was revealed by Admiral Leahy: The scientists and others wanted to make this test because of the vast sums that had been spent and could in no other way justify to people such expenditure".

A generation later, it became all too clear that the hasty dropping of the atomic bomb has not been a relief to the rest of mankind.

The frightful use of the atomic bomb merely hastened the moment of surrender. That surrender (by Japan) was already sure and there was no real need to use such a

weapon under whose dark shadow the world has lived in.

So, the U.S.A. after 1945 should have been the first to stop. It did not heed Gandhi or Rajaji. The U.S.S.R. followed. U.K. and France too did the same. What need did they have? China did it in 1964. It was of course never amenable to world opinion. Israel did it for sheer survival in a hostile world around it. Now India and Pakistan have done it. Inevitable price? Germany and Japan will desist till they are sure that the U.S.A. will guarantee their security. China did not believe in brother Communist U.S.S.R.'s guarantee.

The practical application of nuclear power had two objects: (a) to manufacture the most destructive weapon, (b) space research.

In its military application, the weapon was made so destructive that its employment in any war (Korea, Vietnam, Gulf, Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq) became inconceivable. Thus the nuclear bomb became a deterrent of war. It has ensured peace (though uneasy) for fifty years, a state of international relations never before seen in the history of over nearly five thousand years.

The nuclear bomb is itself its own enemy. Its possession has only

The Nuclear Dilemma

psychological value and a deliverance from fear of blackmail. In this case, small is indeed beautiful – no small country need ever worry about the nuclear dilemma.

Lastly, let us come to the threat perceptions. I would not like to comment on Pakistan, except to say that it is difficult to treat it as a State or a Country. In political and emotional terms, it is a schizophrenic and neurotic 'state of mind', and in social terms, 'a third carbon copy of Saudi Arabia. Bomb or no bomb, the obsession is incurable and Kashmir will not complete the 'unfinished agenda'.

The real fear and distrust relates to China, after what it did in Tibet, and to India in 1962.

The 21st century belongs to China. It would be the only super power in Asia. It is very clear in its objectives and goals. It grabbed Tibet, now controls Hongkong, Taiwan and Macao. It has cast a shadow over Mangolia, Ladakh, Arunachal Pradesh, Nepal, Sikkim and Burma and has emotional ties with the Chinese, wherever they may be in the world. These are their objectives and goals and they will be achieved, unless a Chinese Gorbachov emerges.

Americans describe the complexity of their foreign policy with a single word or phrase. From George Washington through the 19th century, it was "non entanglement". Under Woodrow Wilson, it was "make the world safe for democracy". In the 1930s, 'isolation' was in vogue, then the 'grand alliance' in 1940-45. During the Cold War, it was George Kennan's 'Containment of the Soviet Union'. Since the end of the Cold War, there has been

some confusion. George Bush's 'New World Order' had a short life. Clinton's 'enlargement of free market democracies' may never catch on. Francis Fukuyama's 'End of History', Robert Kaplans 'vision of anarchy', Samuel Huntington's 'clash of civilisations' are matters for debate. Today, the U.S.A. is functioning as 'the Reluctant Sheriff' dealing with a deregulated world in which the Sheriff and his posse control violent threats to international stability (Iraq, Kashmir, Tibet, Bosnia, Palestine).

Where does that leave this part of the world with the emerging

super power or domestic unrest due to economic collapse (Indonesia, where the main target are the Chinese)?

Anyway, now that India has done the 'inevitable', will it concentrate on 'economic development', come out of the obsession with Pakistan, be more civilised, liberal, because it is now self-assured?

One hopes and prays that it does and that Tibet will not be a lost cause.

MR. ARVIND DESHPANDE is the Honorary Secretary of the Leslie Sawhny Programme and a member of the Advisory Board of *Freedom First*.

Wisdom Via The Internet

We have taller buildings, but shorter tempers;
wider freeways, but narrower viewpoints;
we spend more, but have less;
we buy more, but enjoy it less.

We have bigger houses and smaller families;
More conveniences, but less time;
We have more degrees, but less sense;
More knowledge, but less judgement;
More experts, but more problems;
More medicine, but less good health.

We drink too much,
Smoke too much,
Spend too recklessly,
Laugh too little,
Drive too fast,
Get too angry too quickly,
Stay up too late,
Get up too tired,
Read too seldom,
Watch TV too much,
And pray too seldom.

We have multiplied our possessions, but reduced our values
We have too much, love too seldom and lie too often.
We've learned how to make a living, but not a life;
We've added years to life, not life to years.

We've been all the way to the moon and back,
But have trouble crossing the street to meet the new neighbour.

We've conquered outer space, but not inner space;
We've done larger things, but not better things;
We've cleaned up the air, but polluted the soul;
We've split the atom, but not our prejudice,

We write more, but learn less;
Plan more, but accomplish less.

We've learned to rush, but not to wait;
We have higher incomes, but lower morals;
More food but less appeasement;
More acquaintances, but fewer friends;
More effort, but less success.

We build more computers to hold more information,
To produce more copies than ever, but have less communication;
We've become long on quantity, but short on quality.

These are the times of fast foods and slow digestion;
Tall men, and short character;
Steep profits, and shallow relationships.

These are the times of world peace, but domestic warfare;
More leisure and less fun;
More kinds of food, but less nutrition.

These are days of two incomes, but more divorce;
Of fancier houses, but broken homes.

These are days of quick trips,
Disposable diapers;
Throwaway morality,
One-night stands,
Overweight bodies,
And pills that do everything from cheer,
To quiet, to kill.

It is a time when there is much in the show window
And nothing in the stockroom.

(Contributed by Kashmira Rao)

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

An Open Letter to President Narayanan

J. B. D'Souza

I doubt you will remember that in the late seventies or early eighties, we met over dinner in Delhi at the home of Mr. S. Y. Ranade, who was Social Welfare Secretary. You were then in the Foreign Service.

It is not on the strength of that single casual encounter that I presume to address you today. What prompts this letter is the anguish that our government's disastrous acquisition of nuclear arms has caused me. I write as an ordinary citizen of India, filled with horror at what our governments are doing to the people of this sub-continent.

Of the devastation and misery that these arms can cause, you are undoubtedly aware. Can we contemplate inflicting on Pakistan's people, another Hiroshima, even if we thought their military were unable to retaliate effectively?

**We have triggered an arms race,
which neither nation can afford.**

Our decision was bound to push Pakistan into a similar programme, and it has, perhaps sooner than our Government expected. We have triggered an arms race, which neither nation can afford.

Ironically, our initiative has "reduced", not enhanced our security. As long as both countries relied on conventional arms, we had a clear military advantage over Pakistan. We have thrown that advantage away, because even if we can afford to stay ahead of Pakistan in nuclear arms, the prospect of a single bomb on one of our cities is enough to make nonsense of the protective shield we imagine we have acquired. To make our nuclear arsenal useless, Pakistan needs just a single atomic bomb successfully concealed from our intelligence services by constant mobility, if by no other means. She also needs a government as irresponsible as ours, and it looks as if she has one.

Precautionary and maintenance systems in our country are notoriously inefficient. This is as true in the operation of our nuclear reactors as it is in the railways or the airlines. A retired senior official of the Atomic Energy Establishment told us so only a few months ago, when he recounted the numerous safety lapses that have occurred, but have been carefully concealed. Pakistan's systems must be equally incompetent. (Even in the US, which has fifty years of experience of nuclear weaponry and its handling, there have been many accidents – false warnings, near launches, other unanticipated breakdowns – some of which were

contained only by chance, as a 1993 study by Scott S. Sagan of Stanford, reported). A single act of neglect or carelessness on either side can therefore trigger off a nuclear exchange, with catastrophic consequences.

Worst of all, neither of the two nations can afford to spend more on arms, whether nuclear or conventional. Like all his predecessors, our Finance Minister bravely declared when presenting his budget and raising defence appropriations, that "there would be no compromise on the nation's security". His ponderous statement won thunderous cheers from his MP colleagues; they cheer such declarations every year. And who would demur? Who would be ready to compromise our security? Much rather would we cheerfully compromise the survival and well-being of the 400 million of us, who huddle in misery below the poverty line. Much rather would we leave 500 million illiterate and unaware of how our Government is wasting their money to buy insecurity.

The new policy on nuclear arms has won acclaim from large numbers of our people in the privileged classes. What about the rest, the deprived, the illiterate, the starving? Is there no one to speak for them?

There is one – one powerful voice that can still reverse our government's calamitous policy. That voice is yours. Our Constitution has given you no power to overrule the Ministry, but you can still bring them to sanity by resigning the Presidency. It has never been done, but think of the enormous pressure it will bring on the government. For most Presidents, resignation would mean an unacceptable loss of position, status and perquisites. For you, that loss will matter very little if you can reverse our government's readiness to sacrifice the welfare of India's starving millions.

Silently, they look to you for help.

Sincerely yours,

J. B. D'Souza

P.S. Possibly you will regard this cry of anguish from an ordinary citizen as an impertinence. If you do, so be it. Perhaps then you will excuse me for being presumptuous.

MR. J. B. D'SOUZA is a retired civil servant who held several positions.

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

Why This Nuclear Frenzy?

Anjali & Satish Kirtane

How come that we are proud to be a nuclear state but not ashamed to have the largest number of illiterates in the world?

On 11th May 1998, the world was taken aback by our Prime Minister's announcement that India had successfully conducted nuclear tests at Pokhran, in Rajasthan. The spectrum of instant reactions in India ranged from thrills of joy to the jingoistic "junoon". In this politically unstable, economically backward and socially restless country, where the manifestation of national strength had become a rare experience, this new found sense of achievement threw them off-balance. People were delighted that at last the world took notice of India. Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) hailed the nuclear tests, viewing the nuclear tests as an expression of India's courage. But the wild excitement has cooled down and people have begun questioning the wisdom of the tests.

Were The Tests Necessary?

Were the nuclear tests really necessary to safeguard India's security? Has our national security situation improved or worsened as a consequence? The radioactivity may have been contained, but can the economic repercussions be halted? How come that we are proud to be a nuclear state but not ashamed to have the largest number of illiterates in the world? Should not a country like India, which has to wrestle with enemies like unemployment, poverty, population growth, have a sense of priority?

Has the government considered the economic costs of going nuclear? Standard and Poor's credit rating of India has gone down. Our agricultural production is down as is industrial output. Our exports are at a low ebb. Stock markets have responded with pessimism. Is not the concept of security linked with enrichment of lives? Isn't it disgraceful that on the human development index, India ranks 135 among 174 nations?

Man has always sought to increase the destructive power of weapons. In the last days of World War II, the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, by the U.S.A. with an explosive force of 20,000 TNT. Though it is the only incident of a nuclear weapon being used, it was sufficient to prove the overwhelming destructive potential of this weapon. In addition to shock waves, the intense neutron and gamma radiations which were released were extremely damaging to living tissues. The neighbourhood became contaminated with radioactive fission products, some of which were borne into the upper atmosphere in the form of dust or gas. The nuclear bomb has proved to be the most horrendous method of mass destruction. The explosion in Japan made it clear that since this weapon can wipe out human civilisation, nuclear wars cannot be

won and should not be fought.

Rajaji's Crusade

And yet, big nations like America, Russia, England, France and China have not refrained from developing nuclear weapons. Just a few decades back, America and Russia were in a race to decide who would be more dangerous and more destructive. In that situation, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari (Rajaji), the truly great statesman of India, opened a battle against the atom bomb or the "new monster" of the 20th century, as he called it, when America and Russia, were as irrational as today's India and Pakistan. Though peace-loving India was not a party to the nuclear crime, we had no strength to oppose the big powers, as we were economically dependent on them. In 1954, Rajaji wrote a letter to the *New York Times*: "Let either America or Russia begin ... We speak the truth, irrespective of others not doing it ... Let each not wait for the other, but unilaterally let us throw all the atom bombs in the deep Antarctic and begin a new world free from fear".

Despite his old age, Rajaji carried on his campaign against the atom bomb with tremendous enthusiasm. He lectured, wrote letters, gave interviews, met leaders like Kennedy and Krushchev, who really mattered and earnestly tried to change their attitude towards

The Third Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

nuclear weapons.

In 1961, Russia conducted a mighty nuclear test and America immediately scheduled retaliatory blasts in the Pacific Zone. Bertrand Russell urged Jawaharlal Nehru to send a warship to the area, to register India's protest. Rajaji went a step further and told Nehru that he (Rajaji) would go with the ship to the testing area. But Nehru was reluctant. He felt that it could be considered a hostile act by America, which might stop aid to India. Rajaji wrote: "Will America stop her aid? I do not think she will. But even if that should happen, may we not say to ourselves and to posterity that we preferred losing assistance from America to losing the chance of helping the world against an evil consequence that was certain". Today, it is the USA that has reacted strongly against our nuclear tests and has stopped aid.

In spite of being a peace-loving country, India did not speak up, since she was dependent on American assistance. Is it not sad that even after 50 years of independence, we still need foreign aid?

The truth is we were stronger before the nuclear tests. Before the tests, India's commitment to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons within a specified framework of time, was more meaningful. Now we have lost that high moral position from where we could declare, "We do not wish to make nuclear weapons, though we can". Today, we are as hypocritical as America or China.

If in India, it was the government's decision to conduct

nuclear tests, in Pakistan, the people demanded the bomb. "*Ghas ki roti khayenge, magar anubomb banayenge*", was their slogan. And what is the consequence? They have lost their freedom and their civil rights. Pakistan declared an emergency and suspended fundamental rights.

Though we Indians have not lost our freedom and rights, we must remember what happens to citizens under an emergency. We too tasted the bitter fruits of dictatorship, during an emergency declared by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Wars, weapons and dictators go hand in hand. The root cause of their existence goes deep down into the philosophy of statism, which advocates the subjugation of the individual to a group. It holds that man's life and work belongs to the state – to society, to the group or gang or race or nation, and that the State may dispose of him in any way it pleases. This time, in Paki-

stan, it is for the sake of national security that citizens have lost their rights. Next time, it can be on account of something else.

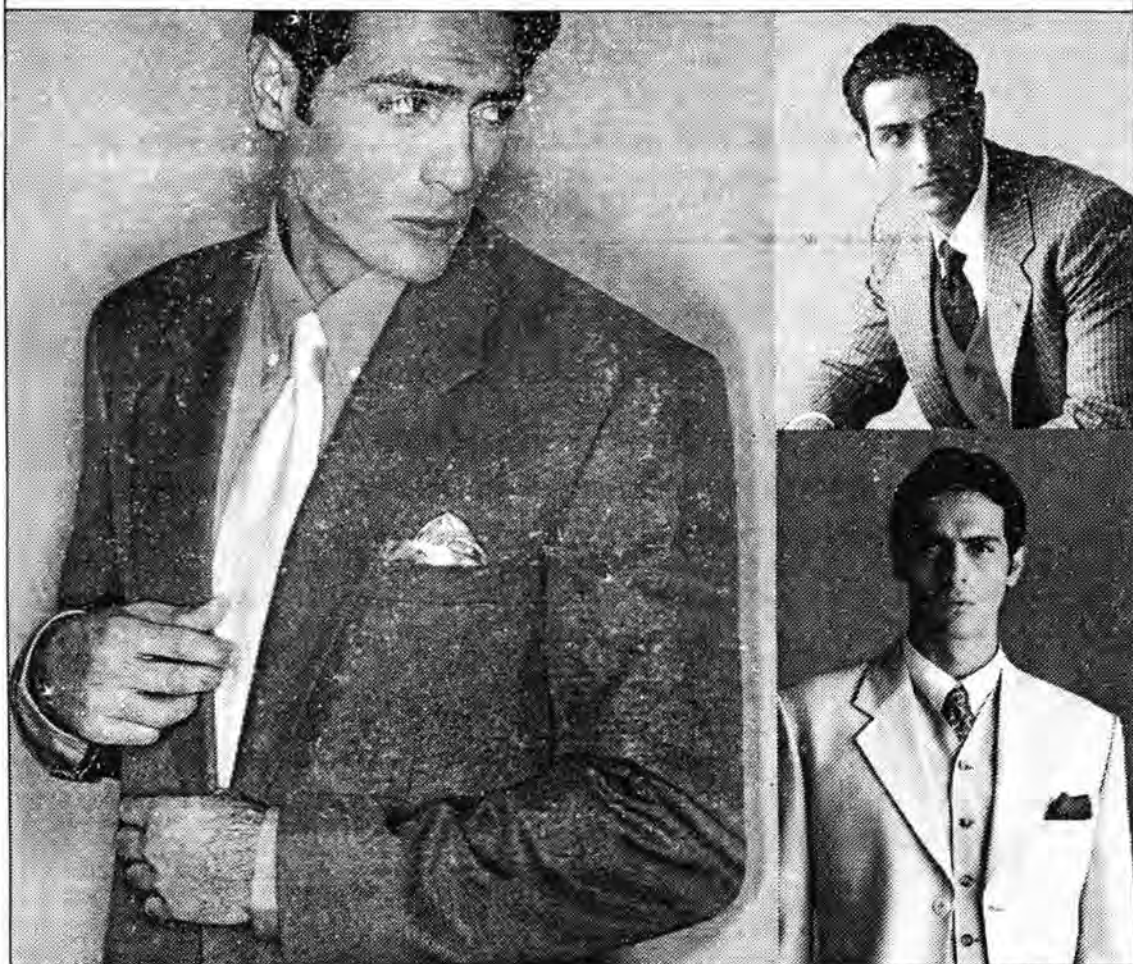
Let us, therefore, not get carried away by nuclear tests. If citizens are not aware of their rights and don't value freedom, they are sure to lose it. Let us not forget that even in a democratic country like India, we are the victims of a "permit-livelihood-quota raj" which has effectively deprived us of our economic freedom. Even after 50 years of independence, we have still a long way to go to achieve economic freedom. Government intervention and controls continue to be obstacles in the path of our economic progress. Therefore, instead of cherishing false dreams of nuclear greatness, we must strive to achieve economic greatness, through more and more internal freedom.

ANJALI KIRTANE is a writer and producer of documentary films. SATISH KIRTANE is a business executive.



COURTESY : INDIA TODAY.

IT'S GREAT TO HAVE CHOICE.



*R*aymond presents its stunning range of fabrics, in a wide variety of blends, colours and designs. All wool, woolrich, poly-wool blends and more. Whatever you're looking for, you're sure to find it with Raymond.



Raymond
SINCE 1925

ARMAYESH

The Finest Hand Embroidery - Forever

ARMAYESH, world leading Manufacturer-Exporters of the finest quality of exquisite Hand Embroidered designs and products supplied around the world, also guarantees the same international quality and timely delivery FOR THE INDIAN MARKET.

You can select from many existing international designs or order any design of your choice for your Sarees (Parsi Garas are our Speciality), Dupattas, Ghagras, Cholis, Jackets, Vests, Handbags, Cushion covers and other products which will be exclusively hand embroidered for you.

Please telephone

Mrs. Sheila N. Aga or Mr. Armand N. Aga

on 308 42 83 / 307 23 30

to finalise the date and time of your visit to our
DESIGN STUDIO AND SHOWROOM.



ARMAYESH FASHIONS PVT. LTD.

Design Studio & Showroom
513, Veena Killedar Estate
Pais Street, Byculla (West)
Mumbai 400 011.

Fax : (91-22) 3072301

E-mail : Armayesh@bom3.vsnl.net.in

BOOK REVIEWS

THE COLOURS OF VIOLENCE by Sudhir Kakar; Viking Press; New Delhi; 1997; pp.274; Rs.200.



Reviewed by
P. C. Chatterji

The Colours of Violence is an important book. It seeks to lay bare the causes of the communal violence which has repeatedly occurred since the partition in 1947. Sudhir Kakar, is well known internationally as a psychoanalyst who has explored aspects of Indian culture in several books.

The focal point in this book is Hyderabad and the riot which occurred in 1990. He gives us a profile of Hyderabad since it was founded by Quli Khan in the seventeenth century. When Hyderabad was integrated with the Indian Union in 1948, the Muslims constituted 70% of the population which has now fallen to 55%. Kakar is specially concerned with the part played by the musclemen or toughs as you might like to call them. But these are toughs with a difference. They are *pehalwans*, or wrestlers. The *pehalwans*, Hindu and Muslim, are brought up in a strict discipline. Religion finds an important place in their training. Time is set aside for prayer and contemplation. Continence, cleanliness, both

external and internal, honesty and simplicity are enjoined. In these respects, the *pehalwan* shares attitudes with the *sanyasi*. Continence is basic because both sets believe that all strength lies in the semen. If you fritter it away in loose sexuality, you will achieve nothing. Gandhi and Wittgenstein were at one on this point. These are some of the facts which emerge from interviews with Majid Khan, a prominent Muslim wrestler who was attacked immediately after the 1990 riot in Hyderabad started and his Hindu counterpart, Mangal Singh. Kakar also interviewed a sample of Muslim and Hindu men and women in Hyderabad to ascertain their moral attitudes towards the opposite community in normal times and in riot periods. These interviews touched on such issues as renting houses to the other community, eating in each other's homes, adolescent boys and girls going together to the cinema, eloping, desecration of religious places, rape, etc.

The background to the study is provided by the riots of the partition. Sudhir was a boy then and his father was the Assistant District Magistrate in Rohtak, where refugees came pouring in from Lahore, Sargoda and Lyallpur. He heard this story from his elder brother. A relative of theirs, Sohan Lal had been recently married to a pretty young woman. When the Muslim rioters broke into their home, Sohan Lal and one other hid behind some old boxes. There Sohan Lal watched while his wife was dragged out naked, raped by several and finally knifed in the abdomen! Sohan Lal threw himself in front of a train and was killed on the way to India. This story and others recounted by Sudhir Kakar show that he was deeply affected by riot violence and this personal experience adds greatly to the authenticity of his book.

Mr. Kakar discusses the characteristics of communal riots in Independent India. The first question is: Why has communal violence continued after partition? Some secularists believe that communal hatred resulted from the British policy of divide and rule. With the removal of the British from the scene Hindus and Muslims would live peacefully together. Kakar argues that there is such a thing as "cultural memory." Stories of partition riots have been retold hundreds of times and that is how they have been passed down from generation to generation. "Cultural memory," write Kakar, "is the imaginative basis for the sense of cultural identity. For is not imagination a memory of vital moments of life freed from their historical context?.... it is as much imagination as the actual events that go into its construction." He goes on: "This is the primary channel through which historical memory is transmitted from one generation to the next." Thus the Hindu-Muslim divide continued after Independence. Hence the memory of the humiliation the Hindus suffered at the hands of Mahmud of Ghazni at Somnath and the doings of Aurangzeb and Tipu.

In his description of Hindu-Muslim riots, Kakar makes the following points:

- (a) A riot is both expected and yet comes as a surprise. It is expected because tension between communities has been building up over some issue and both sides are known to be laying in stores of weapons, kerosene, etc. But the actual event which triggers it comes as a surprise. According to Kakar what set off the Ahmedabad riot of 1969 was the beating of a cow which ate up some vegetables from a cart of a Muslim vendor.

The Justice Jagannath Reddy Report cites the knocking down of a copy of the *Ramayana* by a Muslim Police Sub-Inspector which set it off. However, we agree, as Kakar notes that it is often the brutality towards a cow, real or imagined which sets off a communal riot. In the case of the Moradabad riots in 1980, as I recall, it was a pig which strolled into the street as the *namazis* were coming out of a mosque.

(b) Riots often take place when a congregation is coming out of a place of worship or when there is a procession. A congregation or a procession is what Kakar calls a physical group. A physical group emerges because of the pressure of other bodies and the simultaneous experience of visual sensations, and those of touch and smell. The individual is wrapped up in the crowd and a sort of body transference takes place. Here Kakar takes issue with Freud and Jung who have contended that in a crowd the individual regresses to a more primitive state where violent tendencies are unleashed. Against them, Kakar argues: "A riot is often experienced as a ... disturbing fantasy and (*sic*) of complex emotions such as both disgust and overwhelming attraction for a member of the enemy community. ... riot violence can be used for vicarious satisfaction of sadistic impulses for fulfilment of our urge to utterly subjugate another human being, to reduce him or her to a reactivity of flesh alone..." Freud or Kakar, take which you prefer, because as Popper has pointed out, there is no such thing as falsification in psychoanalysis.

(c) Kakar draws attention to the importance of rumours in spreading violence. The spread of ru-

mours depends on personal anxiety, general uncertainty, topical importance and credulity." Moreover rumours are the conversational food which helps in the creation of a collective Hindu (or Muslim) body."

(d) Communal riots rarely remain confined to one location. They spread. Let me pause here for comment. It seems to me that the discussion of the *pehalwans* to which Kakar has given considerable space is really marginal to communal riots in the country in the last fifty years. He has nowhere shown that wrestlers have been responsible for causing riots. Even in Hyderabad in 1990 the riot started when two Hindus killed a rickshaw puller. None of them was a wrestler. Majid came into the picture later. Did the *pehalwans* control or guide the rioters after the holocaust started? Kakar provides no evidence either way. What then is the significance of telling us that the wrestlers were against rape? On the other hand it is clearly evident from the passage reproduced earlier that sexual violence was the order of the day in communal conflicts, hence the rape, the cutting off of women's breasts and the display of penises on archways. Fifty pages on the culture of *pehalwans* seems extravagant in a book of two hundred, considering that they were at best marginal to the basic theme. On the other hand the hard data on the riot is thin. We are told that "the riot lasted ten weeks, it was to claim three hundred lives and thousands of wounded." That is it. We are not told the extent of the loss in property, Hindu and Muslim. We do not know how many cases of rape were registered. The last is important considering the space Kakar gives to rape.

Take Kakar's contention that Hindu-Muslim riots have the tendency to spread. This assertion has meaning if it is shown that other kinds of riots, caste or ethnic, do not spread. What is meant by spread? Does it mean spread to many parts of the state or beyond? How quickly must spreading take place to count. My contention is that if you study the judicial reports of the Ranchi riots (1967), Ahmedabad (1969), Bhiwandi (1970) and the Gujarat riots (1985), you will not find support for this thesis. The Dave Commission Report on the last mentioned riot sums it up thus: "The riots were mainly confined to Ahmedabad city which registered 743 clashes, followed by Baroda with 328. There were 78 incidents in the rural areas of Ahmedabad district. The rest of Gujarat remained peaceful. (Justice Dave Report Vol.2 - page 40).

Caste riots have been spreading since the 'seventies, through the states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. (Remember Tsundur, Guntur District, 1991). Delhi in 1990 set up a new high of brutality. These riots were not confined to Delhi. And what about Assam in 1982? This was mainly an ethnic riot though Muslims were involved. My point is that Kakar's statement "Hindu-Muslim riots spread" is much too vague to function as a distinguishing characteristic of Hindu-Muslim riots.

Many lessons can be drawn from Mr. Kakar's enlightening study. I will refer only to one which I have been trying to push for the last ten years. That is the role of religious processions in igniting communal riots. The legal position is clear. Any person or group of persons, is entitled to use a thoroughfare provided they do not obstruct others from using it. Most so-called religious processions are barely one hundred years

old. For instance, the Jagannath procession in Ahmedabad which has ignited so many terrible riots, was according to the Dave Commission Report, first taken out in 1892. Moreover, a procession is a socio-political activity associated with religion under Article 25 (A) and is not protected under the Constitutional guarantee of religious freedom.

Kakar bases his hopes for the future on feelings of empathy between people of different faiths. If the desecration of our temples hurts us so also will the susceptibilities of Muslims be hurt if mosques are violated. The growth of respect for each other will stem the tide of hatred and help to bring Hindus and Muslims together.

MR. P. C. CHATTERJI is a writer. He retired as Director General of All India Radio.

Why Freedom FIRST

What is the significance of the phrase *Freedom First*? We selected this title for our Bulletin because we consider Liberty, with the great historian Lord Acton, to be the supreme good. We do give priority to freedom - not in point of time, but in point of fundamental importance. The fight for bread and freedom has of course to be waged simultaneously. We want both for our people - we want bread *through* freedom because that is the only way to get it.

Minoo Masani
Freedom First, December 1952

NUCLEAR WEAPONS - DO WE NEED THEM? A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF CTBT AND OTHER ISSUES IN COMMON MAN'S LANGUAGE, by N. Kunju; Reliance Publishing House, 3026/7, Ranjit Nagar, New Delhi 110008; pp.60; Rs.80.



Reviewed by
Maj.Gen. (Retd.) E. D'Souza

The blurb describes this small book as "a comprehensive analysis of CTBT and other issues (presumably nuclear) in common man's language". It is the author's sense of optimism that in just under 32 pages he is able to cover such a complex canvas on nuclear problems to enable the man in the street to understand what nuclear warfare, NPT, CTBT *et al* is all about.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the CTBT issue in so far as India is concerned is a very live one and was raised by former Prime Minister Inder Gujral during his visit to New York to attend the UN Summit, with Thomas Pickering, the US Under Secretary of State and at other international forums. He must doubtlessly have discussed India's unwavering position on the CTBT with Madeline Albright when she visited India. The Indian Government's decision to permit international inspection of the Khakrapahar Nuclear Power Project adds piquancy to this issue.

The writer appears to have approached his goal with a definite

bias. Kunju brushes off with disdain the views of Air Commodore Jasjit Singh, currently Director of IDSA, acclaimed and quoted as a pragmatic and knowledgeable defence analyst, with a definite position on nuclear weapons.

As in all our projections, we labour under the delusion that our sole worry in the nuclear scenario is our immediate neighbour Pakistan, a mind set we find most difficult to shake off. Let alone Bal Thackeray and Murli Manohar Joshi, even the otherwise reliable ex-Foreign Secretary, J. N. Dixit considers Pakistan our main threat. The author of this book is no different when he states in his conclusion that it is "vital to destroy Pakistan's nuclear capability - not physically - but by campaigning for a nuclear free South Asia".

How myopic can we be? We have within striking distance the sleeping Chinese Dragon biding its time, looming menacingly large on the nuclear horizon with its 3000 nuclear warheads with missile launching capability. In his recent visit to America, President Jiang has made it transparently clear China's global intentions to be the power in Asia. In any case, no other Asian power is known to have a nuclear capability, nor is any on the nuclear threshold. If at all, it would have been more realistic to declare the whole of Asia as a nuclear free zone! When and where for instance has Kundu been able to substantiate his view that our people have vociferously demanded that we go nuclear, except perhaps the BJP with its single minded anti-Pakistan slant? The author comments on India's signing of the Chemicals Weapons Treaty (Appendix AO) and attack against nuclear installations (presumably for peaceful purposes). He questions India's reluctance to declare a nuclear free zone in South Asia as proposed by Pakistan? Kunju tries to shore up his stance by suggesting that India refrain from going nuclear by repro-

ducing in the many appendices the reasons why. None of his views are based on personal assessments but merely quotes from the media's well established positions.

In his introductory remarks, he has the humility to admit that he does not have *the usual credentials or access to the 'specialists' and that his main source of material is the media.* But he strays out of bounds when he says that his reasoning is based on commonsense! What he does not say is that commonsense without in-depth knowledge on such a serious subject, debated in world forums, is a cardinal necessity to crystallize opinion. He even admits to obfuscation on editorials and articles on nuclear proliferation. Yet, he has the nerve to record his views in a commonsense manner for the common man! This surely is a contradiction.

One can agree with him that in order to arrive at a national policy on nuclear weapons, public opinion should be broad based. There is a growing groundswell of opinion on our nuclear options, in the print and electronic media as manifest in one of Vir Sanghvi's talk shows on whether India should go nuclear, the participants in the audience were certainly knowledgeable and the panelists included K. Subramanyam and General Sundarji representing the 'hawks' and one lone representative who felt that it was pointless India going nuclear. The audience however was quite clear that India should go nuclear though there were voices who asked against whom? He quotes Sundarji as saying that we should go in for 150 warheads at a total cost of Rs.600 crores plus Rs.350 crores for 15 usable Prithvi missiles for five Pakistani cities, and for 10 Chinese cities we would need 30 Agni systems to survive the first strike which would cost our exchequer a further Rs.1,800 crores. Thus the overall cost of going nuclear would be Rs.2,700 crores or 10% of the Defence budget or 0.03% of our GDP. Very persuasive

arguments indeed. The only valid factor here is that Sundarji acknowledges the Chinese nuclear threat. Kunju attempts to explain what a China focus is. Based on the 1962 debacle, Kunju feels that India is likely to adopt a first strike stance and that therefore nuclear proliferation is an Indo-Pak issue. Surely, this is wishful thinking judging China's blatant non observance of nuclear testing, and saber rattling against Taipei. Kunju spells out various postures that India could take; for instance, he states that only power recognizes and respects power. For the first time ever, has one heard, according to the author, that certain officers of the three Services want a piece of the nuclear cake. The possession and use of a nuclear weapon is a political one.

In commenting on the political response, he makes bold to say that our prime motive in not signing the CTBT is defiance and not defence, forgetting that our stance has not changed from the day Pandit Nehru advocated a total ban on all nuclear weapons! He then adds that *"with our nuclear explosion experiment in 1974, India practically shed the fig leaf of the exclusiveness of our nuclear programme for peaceful purposes, till today, no nuclear blast has been used for civilian construction work"*. Yet, responsible proponents of India going nuclear like an ex Foreign Secretary are advocating strongly that we undertake a second nuclear test with a warhead! He has misread India's reluctance to sign the CTBT and in his opinion, India has not done so because it needed testing its nuclear weapons to face the threats from Pakistan and China. Is he therefore advocating that we sign this lop sided treaty when the Nuclear Weapons States continue to retain such weapons? In an editorial, 'Unilaterally Yours', in a national daily, a recommendation has been made that India should

MAJ.GEN. (Retd.) E. D'SOUZA, PVSM, is a regular contributor to *Freedom First*.

ACC

cement

**FOR
RELIABILITY
STRENGTH
AND
QUALITY**

ACC

**THE ASSOCIATED
CEMENT COMPANIES
LIMITED**

ONE NAME THAT ECHOES
FAR BEYOND THE HILLS OF
KODAGU, HASSAN AND CHIKMAGALLUR

CONSOLIDATED COFFEE

*India's largest
Coffee Growers and Curers*

That is right. Consolidated Coffee, the country's premier Coffee Plantation Company, has a sterling reputation brewed from over 50 years of consolidated experience in India's Coffee World.

The Company's plantations comprise over 13,000 acres of Coffee (interplanted with Pepper, Cardamom and Oranges) and Tea,

all availing of the best cultivation methods. Consolidated Coffee are also the largest curers in the country, handling more than 15% of the country's Coffee production.

In Consolidated Coffee, you have a Company that's been rapidly scaling the peaks of Indian Coffee care and cultivation, and whose name now echoes even beyond.

*Consolidated Coffee
The echo spreads, day by day.*

CONSOLIDATED COFFEE LIMITED

Pollibetta 571 215, Kodagu

India's
largest selling
and most
exported fan

Ab PSPO kaun nahi jaanta?

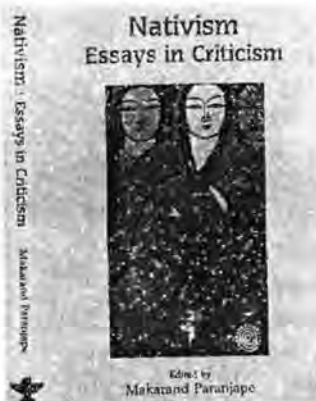


ORIENT
PSPO

The measure which the whole world treasures

Mudra : OF - 111

NATIVISM : ESSAYS IN CRITICISM, edited by Makarand Paranjape; Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi; 1997; pp.256; Rs.100.



**Reviewed by
Professor E. V. Ramakrishnan**

The present book grew out of a seminar on 'Desivad in Indian literature' held at Kanpur in 1995. The fifteen contributions are arranged under four heads - introduction, backgrounds, debates and practice. The appendix reproduces the translation of Bhalachandra Nemade's Marathi essay on nativism in literature. The term 'nativism' is explained and its conceptual implications debated from several points of view in the course of these essays. As a project for decolonising our minds and ways of seeing nativism is concerned with the creation of a cultural space of resistance to mindless westernisation. In his 1983 essay Nemade wrote "Even theoretically, internationalism without nativism as its basis is impossible, because nativism is a multi-centred, descriptive and real concept, whereas internationalism is an artificial and parasitic concept". Nemade's well-articulated cultural position was further supplemented and elaborated into a 'theory' by G. N. Devy in his widely acclaimed book, *After Amnesia* (1992). While the contributors to the volume feel the need to develop an alternative lexicon of criticism with

its roots in Indian experience, most of them are not comfortable with the essential view of culture implied by 'nativism'. As R.B. Patankar demonstrates, it may not be even desirable to have solely indigenous criteria to evaluate all forms of literature produced in Indian languages. While the Bhakti poetry of medieval saint-poets needs to be evaluated with reference to native Indian criteria as it is a uniquely Indian phenomenon, modern fiction or drama written in Indian languages cannot be judged by standards set by them alone.

The fact of the matter is that even at the local level our cultures are hopelessly plural. To isolate a core or a code that is inhabited by the essential elements of an imagined community would naturally end up in constructing the other which is non-nativistic. The trajectory of the Negritude movement in Africa is instructive because it has been engaged in a similar project of cultural retrieval. In his insightful comments on Negritude, Wole Sayinka shows how "Negritude stayed within a present system of Eurocentric intellectual analysis both of man and society and tried to redefine the African and his society in those externalised terms" (*Myth, Literature and the African World*, Canto edition, p.136). Negritude was a self-conscious celebration of blackness as an ideology which inspired the isolation of themes and styles believed to be characteristically African. In the case of nativism in Marathi or other Indian languages no such culture-specific or language-specific creative or critical explorations have been undertaken. Nemade's essay on the Marathi novel which dates back to 1980 and which is largely an account of the basic trends in the Marathi novel from its origins to the 1970s, remains the only major piece of criticism exemplifying this trend.

Nemade's essay on nativism needs to be carefully deconstructed in the context of his practice as a novelist in Marathi. He belongs to a group of writers who made their presence felt in the late fifties and sixties by challenging the Marathi literary establishment. Nemade's innovative narrative techniques owe much to the breakthroughs associated with modernism. But he was careful to distance himself from the ideological burden of modernism which celebrated the irresponsible individualism of an urban, consumerist culture. Nativism was an attempt to retrieve and retain the strong sense of community which sustains an ethnic culture. A careful reading of Nemade would reveal that he is not opposed to universalism or cosmopolitanism. He is deeply aware of the dangers of reverting to a ghetto culture. Nativism for Nemade is an attempt to confront the contradictions within the modernist tradition in Marathi. Devy has not paid attention to this aspect of Nemade's theory.

However, as a critical practice nativism leaves too much to be desired. None of the contributors has been able to define its applicability to specific texts. The three essays in the section 'Practice' have very little in common and have very little to offer by way of a coherent method. Jaidev's analysis of Krishna Baldev Vaid's fiction is a ruthless exposure of its uncritical deployment of Western codes of culture. The word '*pastiche*' as employed by Jaidev's denotes the act of mimicking the West which ends up endorsing its superior status. A careful reading of Jaidev's book from which this part is taken will reveal that he liberally deploys Western critical concepts such as intertextuality, realism and *pastiche*. His plea for cultural care is not the same as nativism.

Anand Patil makes a

comparative study of four Indian novels, *Kanthapura* (English), *Garambicha Bapu* (Marathi), *Adha Gaon* (Hindi) and *Acchev* (Konkani), and concludes that "the novel in India as a cultural form is not, and soon cannot be, purely nativistic". As a highly hybridized form the novel naturally would resist any attempt to monologise it into the hegemonic hold of a single ideology.

Ajit Thakor's essay on post modern Gujarati short story fails to provide any further clarification on the concept of nativism as he views everything that is non-modernist as nativist. Here we become aware of a deeply disquieting process of 'othering' in the project of nativism. Whether Nemade or Devy intends it or not, at the core of nativism is an attempt to mystify man's innate relationship with locality that will exclude several others from that cultural zone. In the contested realm of identity politics, nativism will always look backward in time and not inward into oneself.

G. N. Devy's keynote address to the seminar evades all the complex problems such as a regressive project can create in a multi-religious, multi-cultural country. With disarming innocence he quotes Krishna's advice to Arjuna: look within to perceive the reality of life. This is the kind of scholarly advice critics in Indian languages can do very well without. But the nativists tend to be more prescriptive than descriptive.

The crisis at the core of criticism in Indian languages is real and it has to be negotiated intellectually and not emotionally. Sachidanandan recognizes this fact in his essay titled "Defining the Premises: Nativism and Its Ambivalences", where he brings out the essential polyphony of Indian literatures. He observes: "The

Nativist task of deconstructing the Indian tradition must be part of a greater secular and egalitarian project of constructing unity at a higher and more realistic conceptual level, of heteroglossia, cultural plurality within the nation's boundaries and intertextuality within culture." Literary criticism as we understand it today is a product of the print journalism and the public sphere in a democratic society. It has more to do with making several options of identity available than reducing the options to the minimum. Western theory and Sanskrit poetics can be selectively assimilated and deployed in the process of explicating literary texts written in Indian languages without subscribing to their world-views. Gurbhagat Singh's view that counter-hegemonic theories of small but sovereign cultures and narratives like those of Lyotard, Geertz, Deleuze and Clifford can be helpful to Indian critics appears to me a theoretically sound position.

Does nativism articulate the nation or does it exclude it altogether? Wagish Shukla's "Denial and Affirmation: A Proposal for the Language of Marga-Desi Discourse", M. Srimanarayana Murti's "Cultural Discourse: *Desi* and *Marga*" and Sudhirkumar's "Nation versus Nativism" variously interpret the dynamics of cultural relations that inform the apparently conflicting notions of nationalism and nativism. Murti concludes that *marga* and *desi* cannot be distinguished like hot and cold or light and darkness. What is *desi* yesterday becomes *margi* today. *Marga* tends to be conventional, assigned and formal while *desi* is natural, unassigned and informal. Wagish Shukla comes to the same conclusion when he says that these two are 'dualistic' but not 'duel-listic' concepts. Their interactive nature is what sustained the larger pan-Indian narratives side by side with the local

micro-narratives. This dialogism also engenders (the pun may add to my argument here) the cultural space of nationhood.

Both nationalism and nativism are self-conscious forms of collectivities and they serve different political and cultural functions at different times. Sudhir Kumar fails to note that during the nationalist phase in Indian literature, nationalism as an ideology was anti-colonial and it could successfully contain the nativistic. With the emergence of the modern Indian nation-state, this oppositional content in nationalism is lost as it becomes an ideology of the bureaucratic state. Perhaps the search for greater autonomy of various states and the growing recognition of the ethnic element in the constitution of one's identity point to a phase in Indian history where sub-nationalities are emerging into the open. Nativism as a political ideology may be a reminder of the essential centrifugal element in the subnational identities which feel threatened by the onslaught of globalisation as well as the centralised authority of an aggressive nation-state. The political dimensions of nativism have not been debated in the present volume. Perhaps a few political thinkers and sociologists should have joined the debate. The inability of nativism to fully incorporate the Dalit and feminist discourses signifies a major failure which has to be explained in sociological and political terms.

Notwithstanding the inability of this book to present a coherent critical method, it is a useful addition to the current debates on the politics of culture.

PROFESSOR E. V. RAMAKRISHNAN is Professor of English, South Gujarat University, Surat.

OUR MISSION

Freedom First speaks for the silent majority - the majority that wants to be left in peace to pursue its goal of improving its quality of life, but has been suffering in silence, the indignities heaped on it by insensitive governments who have abrogated to themselves the right to decide what is good for the people. In the process, the whole country has been turned into a cesspool of corruption. Public morality and character have reached an all-time low.

Freedom First affirms that much of the unrest and ferment in our society is a direct result of excessive State intervention in the day-to-day lives of our people. While the people's initiative has been stifled the economy is in shambles. The Journal believes that while India needs a strong government that ensures the rule of law what India does not need is a meddlesome government - the system so far that has led to impoverishment, insecurity and instability.

Freedom First therefore stands for minimum government and maximum freedom, tempered by a sense of individual responsibility, in which the people's genius has a fair opportunity to develop and grow.

Freedom First rejects any ideology, movement or policy that sets one group of citizens against another, be it based on class, caste, religion or envy.

**Freedom
First**

3rd Floor, Army & Navy Building, 148, M. G. Road, Mumbai 400 001.

I wish to enter a subscription and enclose my cheque* in favour of *Freedom First*.
(Please type or write in block letters)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

PIN _____

*Subscriptions can also be sent by MO/DD. No Postal orders please. For outstation cheques (within India), please add Rs.10 for bank charges.

For Subscribers in India

- ☐ Life Subscription : Rs.500
- ☐ 3 Years' Subscription : Rs.125
- ☐ 2 Years' Subscription : Rs.90
- ☐ Annual Subscription : Rs.50
- Single Copy : Rs.15

For Overseas Subscribers (By Second Class Airmail)

- | | |
|--------|--------|
| Annual | Life |
| \$ 10 | \$ 100 |
| £ 7 | £ 70 |

Do A Favour

to your friends
send them
a sample copy of
Freedom First
with your compliments.

Freedom First

3rd Floor, Army & Navy Building,
148, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Mumbai 400 001.

Please send a sample copy of **Freedom First** to the following, with my compliments.

Name _____

Address _____

Pin _____

Name _____

Address _____

Pin _____

Name _____

Address _____

Pin _____

Name _____

Address _____

Pin _____

Name _____

Address _____

Pin _____

(Sender's Name & Address)

Name _____

Address _____

Pin _____

Whatever.

Whenever.

Wherever.

At AFL, we move anything and everything to anywhere.
Now tell us when, where and what.

AFL
AIRFREIGHT LIMITED

Where movement is a science



• AFL FREIGHT SYSTEMS • AFL LOGISTICS • AFL INDTRAVELS • AFL SHIPPING • AFL INFOTECH