

A QUARTERLY OF LIBERAL IDEAS

Freedom First

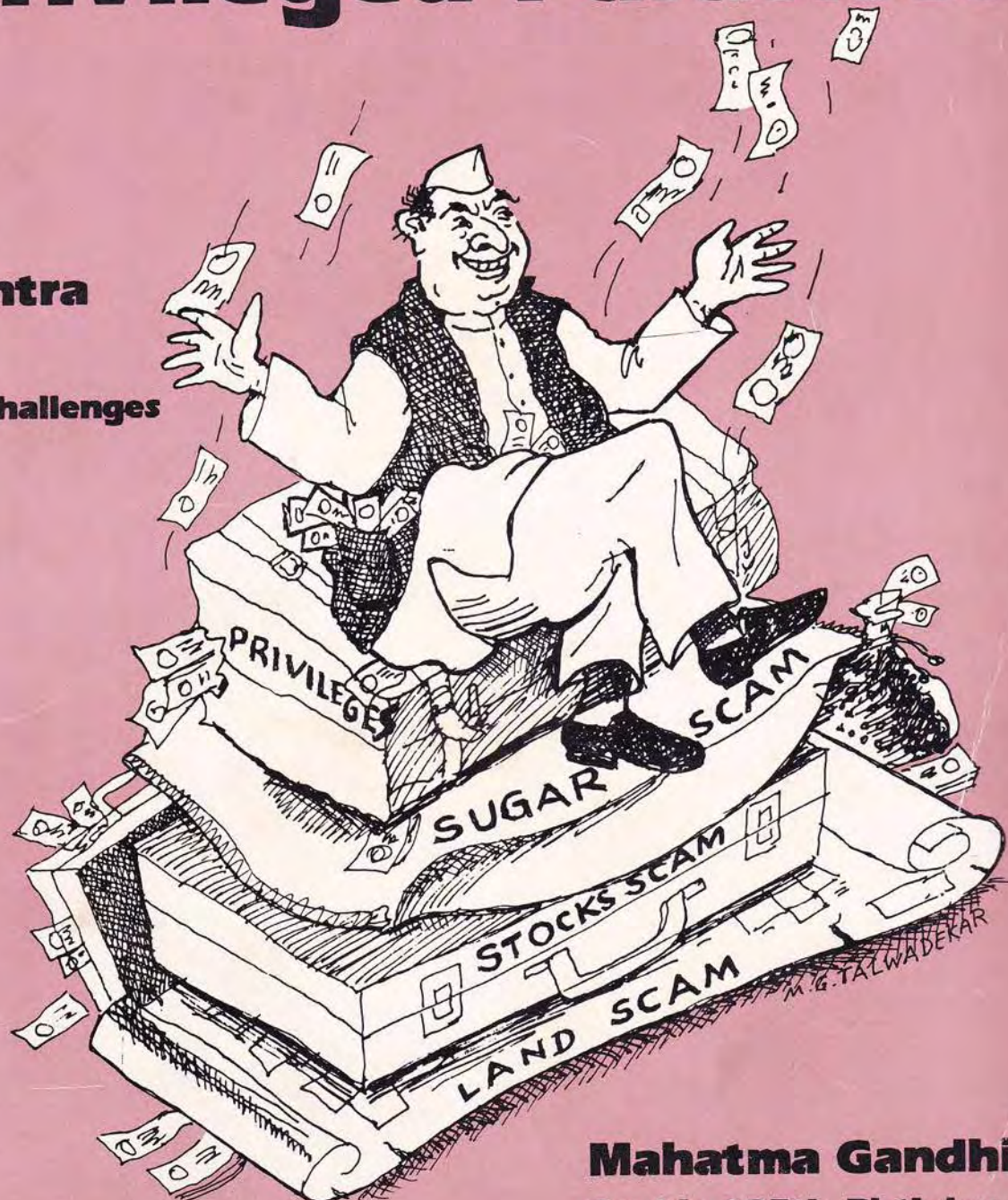
October-
December 1994
No. 423
Rupees Fifteen

42ND YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Privileged Parasites

The Swatantra Economy

• Obstacles & Challenges



Mahatma Gandhi
On his 125th Birthday

SHRI RAMKRISHNA BAJAJ



RAMKRISHNA BAJAJ
22.9.1923 - 21.9.1994

Born in Wardha Shri Ramkrishna Bajaj, the son of noted Gandhian and prominent leader of the pre-independence Indian National Congress, Shri Jamnalal Bajaj, was brought up under the personal guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and Vinobha Bhave.

In 1941 at the age of 17 Ramkrishnaji plunged into the freedom struggle when he obtained Gandhiji's special permission to participate in Individual Satyagraha (the Civil Disobedience movement launched by Gandhiji). Gandhiji himself wrote to the Deputy Commissioner Wardha that Ramkrishna would offer Satyagraha on 15th April 1941 and also drafted the statement to be read out by Ramkrishna during his trial in court.

Ramkrishnaji was arrested four times between April and August 1941 and imprisoned for 9 months. Thereafter he participated in the Quit India Movement in August 1942 and was imprisoned for 3 years.

On the eve of independence, Ramkrishnaji was actively involved in the students' movement. He was a founding member of the All India Students Congress (1946) and later the National Union of Students (1948).

Thereafter till 1961, he was actively associated with Indian National Congress' youth activities.

In 1961, Ramkrishnaji resigned from the Congress in protest over the nomination of Mr. Krishna Menon as Congress party candidate to the Lok Sabha. This marked Ramkrishnaji's exit from party politics. Thereafter, he devoted his energies as a social activist in the fields of education, social service, rural development and consumer welfare.

At the time of passing away, he was Chairman of the Shiksha Mandal at Wardha founded by his father Jamnalalji; the Jamnalal Bajaj Foundation which gives three annual awards for outstanding contributions in the fields of rural development and uplift for women and children, and a fourth award for outstanding contribution in promoting Gandhian values by foreign nationals; the Gita Pratisthan which propagates the message of the Gita, especially among school children; and the Jamnalal Bajaj Seva Trust which runs Vishwanedam, a centre for International Sarvodaya Movement at Bangalore.

Other activities indicative of his wide interest included his active association with the Council for Fair Business Practices, the National Centre for Quality Management and the Hunger Project in India.

Though Head of the Bajaj Group of Companies - a name to be reckoned when one talks of Indian Industry, Ramkrishnaji chose to devote his life to serve the community. An entry in his diary of 30th April 1938 reads:

"I had detailed discussions with Kakaji about my future plans. He

asked me whether I would like to get into business or enter into social service. Kakaji said he would arrange my education accordingly. My mind has been from the beginning inclined towards social service and I told Kakaji so. He appreciated my views. I feel I should manage my expenses from the interest earned on whatever amount that may have accumulated in my account, and should devote myself to the service of my country. This alone would bring me peace of mind and promote the enrichment of my soul."

And this is what Ramkrishnaji did right to the very end - placing himself at the service of the people.

I came to know Ramkrishnaji somewhat closely during a brief encounter when he agreed to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee of a Festival of Tibet we had organised in 1990. The memories of the few months that this festival enabled me to work with him are warm. Extremely understanding of organisational problems he very generously placed whatever infrastructural facilities that were available to him at our disposal. I know for a fact that the Dalai Lama was deeply impressed by Ramkrishnaji's transparent sincerity and humility.

We salute an honest man who like many honest men of pre-independence vintage found themselves increasingly uncomfortable in the kind of value-less atmosphere that has become the hallmark of post-independent India. His departure depletes an already emptying basket of upright individuals who were indeed the pride of our people.

S. V. Raju

Freedom First

A Quarterly of Liberal Ideas

Founder
Minoo Masani

Editors
S. V. Raju
R. Srinivasan

Associate Editor
Jehangir Patel

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

**Cover, Illustrations
and Layout**
M. G. Talwadekar

Publishers
Democratic Research Service
4th Floor, Maneckji Wadia Bldg.
127, Mahatma Gandhi Road
Bombay 400 023.
Tel: 27 39 14

Published by J. R. Patel for the
Democratic Research Service and
printed by him at Parsiana Publications
Pvt. Ltd., 300 Perin Nariman Street,
Bombay 400 001.

Typeset at **Page Graphics**
59, Dr. V. B. Gandhi Marg,
Fort, Bombay 400 001.
Tel: 204 60 18 - 284 26 19

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

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

Cheques to be drawn in favour of
Freedom First and mailed to publishers
at address listed above

BETWEEN OURSELVES ...

This is election time and therefore promise-time. Andhra has reverted to Rs.2/- kg rice provider NTR and Karnataka to JD who rode to success on the heads of the quarreling cats in the state Congress (I), promising to end corruption and ensure stability. Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bihar are due to poll in February and one can expect many more promises from contesting parties. We thought it a good time to remind readers of the games our elected legislators play once elections are over. Generally speaking, for our elected legislators, promises are not to keep. By a coincidence, *Mainstream* carried an article by Mr. Madhu Limaye on a similar topic which he was kind enough to share with Mr. Masani who, in turn, suggested we carry it alongside our lead story with Mr. Limaye's permission.

Readers will be interested to read how two observers, separated by almost 50 years of age, view Gandhiji's autobiography.

And here is an announcement which readers please kindly note:

Effective January 1, 1995, Freedom First will be published by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom from the following address:

Freedom First,
The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom,
3rd floor, Army & Navy Building,
148, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay 400 001
Phone: 284 34 16.

We shall share with readers the reasons for this change in the next issue.

S. V. Raju, R. Srinivasan

Contents

October-December, 1994
No.423

<i>Many Voices</i>		2
<i>Of Cabbages & Kings</i>		3
Privileged Parasites	J. B. D'Souza	5
The Enemy Within	Madhu Limaye	7
Making Democracy Work	Y. D. Altekar	11
Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi		
Two Inter-Generational Assessments		
One Step Towards Gandhi	Renuka Sinha	13
Gandhi - His Trials and Triumphs	Nagindas Sanghavi	14
Gandhi's Place in Today's Politics	Adi H. Doctor	17
The Swatantra Economy		
- Obstacles and Challenges	Gangadhar Gadgil	19
Why Socialism Failed	Mark J. Perry	21
Are there Indians in India?	Bhamy V. Shenoy	25
Secularism - The Debate Continues		
Plato Knew his Onions	Sheryar Ookerjee	27
States are Secular - Not Societies	P. R. Dubhashi	27
Which Fundamentalism ?	Ian Tickle	31
Lord Acton	G. N. Sarma	33
Vinda Karandikar		
Poet, Critic, Translator	Jatin Wagle	37
<i>Book Reviews</i>		39

WITH MANY VOICES

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

Modern day parliamentarians have brought to life the apocalyptic oracle made by Plato that "the time is not far when the Government shall be the recourse of men lewd in character and midget of trust in conduct."

Abu Saqib in a letter to
The Pioneer, June 6, 1993

Until recently the very sight of a VIP used to make the bile rise.

Ranjit Lal, *The Pioneer*,
July 1, 1993

If there is ever a joint parliamentary committee into the assets of our MPs, its report would be an instant bestseller.

Tavleen Singh, *Indian Express*,
July 2, 1994

When a politician decides to live in a hut to demonstrate that he is one with the masses, it can turn out to be a pretty costly affair for the Government.

Comment in the *Indian Express*,
June 5, 1994

Indian ministers, whose frequent jaunts abroad could stretch for weeks are the envy of their counterparts in other world capitals.

Comment in *The Times of India*,
November 1, 1992

What a shame that I have to live in a country where ex-prime ministers have not paid the Indian Air Force over Rs.8.5 crores for the use of its aircraft for non-official journeys.

Dr. Jayant S. Apte in a letter to
the *Indian Express*, May 15, 1993.

...One is constrained to ask aloud why never once in free India has a big-time politician been made to pay for his crimes under law.

Mr. Virendra Kapoor, *Indian Express*,
May 4, 1993

Today's politicians, even as they admonish one and all for not propagating Hindi and Hindutva, happily send their own pampered progeny to English medium schools.

Comment in the *Indian Express*,
February 2, 1993

Politicians and VVIPs should be debarred from visiting hospitals as they make life difficult for the patients undergoing treatment as well as for the doctors attending to their duties.

Mr. S. N. Kabra, in a letter to
the *Indian Express*, February 2, 1993.

Parliamentary privileges are intended to safeguard the rights and freedoms of the people by allowing their servants freedom of speech and other privileges. These privileges lose their legitimacy when perceived as making members a privileged class over the rest of the people.

Former Secretary of the Lok Sabha,
Mr. Subhash C. Kashyap, *The Times of India*, May
20, 1994

"I have myself felt and expressed on several occasions my concern about public inconvenience caused by over-elaborate police and security arrangements. I think that the thing is overdone in most cases.

"If no such arrangements are made, all that will be required is to give a few minutes more for my transit from one place to another; this loss of a few minutes of my time has to be set off against many more minutes of thousands and thousands of people of the country.

"As for security, I am afraid what is done in its name only exposes me more as a target to anyone determined upon mischief without in any way making me more secure against such mischief"

Extracted from a letter written by
India's first President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad
to Mr. Jawaharhal Nehru then Prime Minister,
published in *Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence
and select documents* - Volume 18.

OF CABBAGES AND KINGS

Of Plagues and Politicians

The plague or whatever it was that hit Surat and then spread to various parts of the country had fewer fatalities than is suggested by the hue and cry raised overseas. But for the average Indian it was particularly humiliating to be told that he was not permitted to enter this or that country as he could well be the carrier of the disease. Foreign nationals intending to visit India as tourists or on business were advised by their respective governments to postpone or cancel their visit.

For a brief while in 1994 we were treated as international lepers. Even the current lovers of Swadeshi could not have thought of a better strategem to isolate India from the rest of the world.

If we were treated thus let us not blame the foreigners. Nor was there any "foreign hand" at work. The blame rests squarely with the kind of people who have captured positions of power without the slightest intention of carrying out their legitimate duties.

Surat the 'diamond capital' of India could (if visuals seen on the BBC and 'Zee' TV's weekly programme 'Insight' are to be believed and there is no reason why one should not believe them) easily be described as the 'filth capital' of India. Even Dharavi which has the dubious distinction of being the largest slum in Asia looks cleaner!

Is it suggested that the people of Surat could not have been served with a decent public health and hygiene regime. Of course they could

have been and the prosperous people of Surat might even have paid a little more for a better public health system if they could have been assured of cleaner living conditions. But here is the rub. Anything paid to the state or to a publicly elected body goes down the drain and (as most will agree) the drains in this case are the kurta pockets of the privileged parasites.

What happened in Surat is typical of almost all of urban India captured by politicians of various hues who got there not by promises of doing their public duty be it in health or primary education, or the provision of critical infrastructure but by appeals to caste and religion, not to speak of the massive criminalisation of politics since 1947.

Who put them there? We did. As voters we get easily influenced not by basic issues which bother us in our day to day lives but by non-issues like caste reservations, whether some centuries ago there stood a temple where there stands (or stood until recently) a masjid. And we cast our votes to champions of such issues. We chose the casteists, the fundamentalists and the criminals. They are busy with their favourite pastime. Any wonder then such silly issues as public health and hygiene are just not considered important enough to deserve their attention.

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

- lewis carroll



The plague or whatever it was, will continue to visit us periodically till such time as we decide that we have had enough of non-issues which do not add a paisa to our personal, not to speak of the national, income and that what we need are people who dedicate their tenure in public offices doing the job for which they have been elected.

SVR

Coke, the Good Old Democratic Drink

The Economist (June 9, 1990) quoted a Coke executive as stating that the drink "has entered the lives of more people ... than any other product or ideology, including the Christian religion." Even as Christian *padris* occasionally would not mind using material goodies for adopting their religion, manufacturers of the good old democratic drink bought over the Minister of Industrial Development under the Janata regime in 1977 for 5 lakhs of Rupees (See Madhu Limaye, *Hindu*, October 5, 1994). When the PM knew of this, the Minister was transferred and George Fernandes was put in charge of the Industrial Development Ministry. George, of course, booted Coke out of the country which

made many (including the writer) happy.

But this was a temporary set back. Coke soon penetrated more countries than it did earlier. One of the fall out effects of Perestroika was the entry of Coke into the USSR - thus ending the Pepsi monopoly on the land of the *nomenklatura*. The Moscow Olympics was a triumph for Coke for it got "exclusive rights" in return for 10 million dollars. China soon followed as have Vietnam. The PR men of Coke worked their way to Rajiv Gandhi and opening the economy now includes the right to slake one's thirst on this drink that cheers.

The West Bengal Government of course has welcomed the drink with a massive full page colour advertisement in the CPI(M)'s newspaper, *Ganashakti*. Not only the CPI(M) but the BJP too is eager for its saffron brigade to sip this near saffron coloured drink for both Yeshwant Sinha and Jaswant Singh have declared that they would not "lose their sleep" over the return of Coca Cola!

Will Coca Cola help the PM in non fizzy realms too? Let us look at the American experience. In 1970, when Jimmy Carter was aspiring to become President, the company "... openly contributed to his campaign chest. Coca Cola offered him the company's plane. It ran a limousine service for him to and from airports. Mr. Carter described the Coca Cola company as his unofficial State Department - his eyes and ears." Those who had done commercials for Coca Cola were hired by the President. Pepsi was exiled in the White House and everyone used the vending machines of Coke. An aid of Carter declared to a Secretary drinking Pepsi "You know, Madam, our crowd here drinks a good old Democratic drink, Coke."

Will Mr. Seshan turn his Argus eyes to the new possible threat to fair and free elections?

RS

Doctored Text Books

That text-books can be an important agency in moulding the minds of would-be-citizens has been an ancient discovery. If Plato's contemporaries had schools, he would have devised text-books that would have moulded amiable, dull citizens - all that he could do was to exile the poets who might have been intellectually provocative.

Our British masters knew full well the value of these agencies of opinion formation. The bias of the famous collection of documents constituting the core of Muslim history in India (by Elliot and Dawson) was designed to paint Muslim rule in rather lurid colours. Vincent Smith's classic history tried to preach the message that the historical heritage of India naturally culminated in British rule. That voluminous and prolific historian-bureaucrat who doubled up as a compiler of gazetteers (of course of very great value) William Lee-Warner wrote a widely used text of civics called *The Citizen of India* which was adopted in all schools and earned an obscene quantum of moolah for its publishers, The Macmillan Company of India which along with Longman and Green among other things, spread the gospel of Western intellectual superiority. *The Citizen of India* used for decades, in schools, tried to train generations of Indian loyal citizens who sheepishly would look up to be fed.

With Independence of course, attempts were made to compile new types of text books and a new species known as "freedom fighter" largely figured in text-books. The leftist government in West Bengal tried to orient even arithmetic books with examples of Marxist economics and exploitation. Later, they tried to replace a well-worn series of text books written by Tagore and which was one of the joys of the Bengali language. The DMK government of course followed suit and was successful in these ventures. Thirty

years ago, a minor scandal of text books in Maharashtra was exposed, Dr. S. P. Aiyar who ridiculed these as 'mindless' rather than ideological. A few heads rolled and the revised Geography text book remained an excellent useful book. Since then, we have seen scores of textbooks with each state bringing its own characteristic version of Indian society, history and culture and it was only to be expected that some sort of regional drum beating would be engaged in. Within limits, the harm that these would do would not be immense.

But with the BJP governments in power, a more serious attempt has been made to doctor the text books. Heroes have been discarded, new ones found; emphasis on periods of Indian history paid no heed to historical veracity; claims were made for a golden Hindu age which were out of proportion to what has been regarded to be historically acceptable. "Vedic Mathematics" has been discovered and these emphasised.

The Bipin Chandra Committee found that the M.P. text book had "introduced communal notions ... in many cases ... this was due to the incompetence of the authors, their lack of awareness of major historical writings and their reliance on outdated texts and textbook materials". Text books from Andhra, Assam, Tamilnadu, Kerala and Madhya Pradesh appear to be vulnerable to this change. Casteist bias has also been discovered.

Something needs to be done, but the Committee's suggestion that no unauthorised text books should be allowed to be used in schools may not find acceptance. It might introduce serious problems in its wake.

RS

Privileged Parasites

J. B. D'souza

Are we going to pick a fresh gang of crooks, habitual defaulters on their dues to the public treasury, hooligans who misbehave in the House and outside, and other worthless ones who think nothing of trampling on the privileges of the people while they dream up higher allowances and new privileges for themselves?

How few of us have had the sense to choose a profession in which systematic loot is legal and institutionalised, one whose professors make it a regular habit to hike their own salaries and perks, at the expense of the ordinary citizen, to levels undreamt of when the profession was born many decades ago. You recognise, of course, the set of parasites we foolishly elect to represent us, in the hundreds of elected bodies all over India. And when I write of systematic loot I try not to think of the less systematic but far more lucrative exactions that so many of our representatives practise. I try not to remember how few of them end their careers in a financial condition resembling the condition in which they joined the profession.



I refer, of course, to the thousands of members of our local authorities - zilla parishads, municipalities, village panchayats - who, before they

help us or pretend to do so, help themselves so well to the spoils of office, filling their pockets while they empty ours. To refer in similar terms to legislators - MPs, MLAs, MLCs - might be pounced upon as *lese majeste* and invite reprisals of the kind that editor Nikhil Wagle suffered recently in Maharashtra, so I don't. Wagle had castigated the hypocrisy that had moved the Maharashtra legislature to mourn the death of a departed MLA, Vithal Chavan. Chavan was one whose criminal record should have kept him in jail, but today no one knows whether there are more crooks in jail than in our elected bodies.

Suppressing Truth

Chief Minister Pawar has recently been under fire for his alleged links with the underworld. Amnesty International has accused him of dodging issues in the protection of human rights. It was the same Sharad Pawar who moved the Assembly resolution to imprison Wagle for 4 days. One can, of course, see Pawar's point of view. If writers are allowed to tell the truth about our legislators and their moral condition, how will our MLAs and MPs command the respect they think we owe them?

Thou shall Publish ...

So one has to be careful. Doubly careful because you never can tell when they will jail you for eating into their privileges. I marvel at the *Metropolis*, which commented last year on Maharashtra legislators' arrogance and gross ignorance of the scope and purview of the House. They had raised a privilege issue over the "*Maharashtra Times* not writing anything



about Shivaji Jayanti. One can understand the House taking cognisance of newspaper reports, but does it, under any law or norm, have the power to dictate what an editor must publish?"

Extending Privileges at will

I believe the *Metropolis* was misinformed. Because the greatest privilege our legislators enjoy is the freedom to extend their privileges at will, notwithstanding what that 44-year old, forgotten, charter, the Constitution of India, says about the need for Parliament to define those privileges. How our police must envy legislators this all-encompassing freedom, which could expand the Indian Penal Code retrospectively at their

will, so that they could with a pretence of legitimacy lock you up for an act that wasn't an offence at all when you did it!

Their Pay & Perks

Another enviable freedom our legislators enjoy is the power to draw just such salaries and allowances as they allow themselves from time to time. Like their privileges, MPs can stretch their allowances at will. To cover 16 air or rail tickets each year. And 2 free telephones, from which our MP can make 50000 free calls - 135 every day! Talking of telephones, an MP can get phone connections for 15 of his friends, or clients, each year, breaking the queue, to say nothing of 48 gas connections - think how lucrative that can be!

MPs' salaries are not all that exciting: just Rs.1500 monthly. But (unless they have raised these levels again) there is a constituency allowance of Rs.3000, a secretariat expense allowance of Rs.1000, and Rs.200 for each day an MP puts in an appearance in Parliament or at a Parliamentary Committee. Plus a well-appointed free house to live in in Delhi, and ultimately a pension of at least Rs.1400 per month.

Their Families and Friends

And these are only the official perks. There is an amorphous set of perks that our legislators add on as it suits them. About a year ago a marriage party, led by a BJP MP, Virender Singh, was found travelling without tickets on the Delhi-Howrah Rajdhani Express. Mr. Singh generously gave the checking staff a letter suggesting that his ticketless friends' fares be paid by the Parliament department, which, of course, means that all of us will have the privilege of financing their travel, whether it is actually paid for or not.

From Huts to Havelis

Law makers enjoy other advantages as well. Tavleen Singh tells of three MPs she knew. In private life one of them had a single room for his whole family, with living and sleeping quarters divided by hanging clothes. He managed to get a Lok Sabha seat.

He "has barely been in Delhi 5 months when he asked if I could help him buy a flat worth Rs.50 lacs. (The other two MPs' stories were equally edifying.)... If there is ever a Joint Parliamentary Committee on the assets of our MPs its report would be an instant best seller. It could be called 'How to join Parliament and make a Killing'. There will never be such committee, however, because all our MPs seem to be able to think of is how the public exchequer (i.e., you and I) can continue to pay for them to be even comfortable while they are in the process of making their fortunes."

As I write this I wonder whether we should hold these little peccadilloes against our law makers. After all, they serve their tenure in the back-breaking service of the 423 million Indians who struggle in misery and absolute poverty, on yearly incomes below Rs.1300, and the less unremunerative service of the 439 million who can pay. Should it matter if that service turns out to be profitable?

Stay Now, Pay Later?

Should we grudge them the fine furnished, comfortable housing they occupy at our expense in Delhi? So comfortable that they are loth to leave

tion or nomination. And lots of them pile up an impressive legacy of debt in the form of rent arrears. Thirty five of these defaulters figured in a list of forgetful ministers the *Express* published last year. Notables were Dinesh Singh (Rs.8.4 lacs), Vasant Sathe (Rs.7.8 lacs), Bhajan Lal (Rs.1.8 lacs), Eduardo Faleiro (Rs.93,000). State Ministers are equally tardy. In December 1993, Maharashtra Ministers and former Ministers owed the public treasury Rs.78 lacs on house rent and telephone charge arrears. Reminders had brought impressive recoveries: Rs.6 lacs. Lesser legislators, who don't reach ministerial eminence, have equally respectable records in this respect. And why not? Three former Prime Ministers - Chandrashekhar, Rajiv Gandhi and V.P. Singh - owe the IAF Rs. 8.5 crores for non-official trips. The nation's leaders in ticketless travel!

Poor Chandrashekhar

But not all your MPs and Ministers can be tarred with the same brush. Determined to copy the poor people who voted him into power, Prime Minister Chandrashekhar vowed to live in a hut. So a hut duly came up in the compound of his MP bungalow, a hut with a bamboo roof but properly air-conditioned. Chandrashekhar lived in it, an example to his colleagues and the rest of India.

Coffee or Lassi?

Let's not spend too much time on parliamentarians' privileges, their extra-mural misconduct and their shyness about settling their dues. What about their visible working hours? Each minute Parliament works costs the nation Rs.2750, each hour Rs.1.54 lacs. Last year Parliament cost us nearly four times as much as the Rs.12.5 crores it cost a decade ago. And what do we get for our money? Hard physical work at times. Like the time Rajiv Gandhi drowned an opposition member's remarks by thumping his desk lustily, as any adolescent Dimp schoolboy would do. Most of the money we spend on our Parliament, writes Tavleen Singh, "pays for temper tantrums, walkouts, and hysterics. When real business is taking



it when their back-breaking service comes to an end. About a year ago the list of these over-stayers included big names like Vasant Sathe, M. F. Husain, Kidwai, Vyjayantimala, M.F. Husain, and V.N. Gadgil, some of them waiting for the happy day when their entitlement might revive by re-elec-

place - like the passing of finance bills and the making or reviewing of laws - the Lok Sabha is generally empty ... Finance bills require careful understanding and homework, which our MPs are not prepared to do ... Once a debate actually begins, Parliament empties out. Except for those who have chosen to speak, almost everyone disappears. They disappear to

gossip over coffee or lassi in the central hall."

We are now only a short way off from a new round of elections, to Parliament and to some State legislatures. Are we going to pick a fresh gang of crooks, habitual defaulters on their dues to the public treasury, hooligans who misbehave in the House

and outside, and other worthless ones who think nothing of trampling on the privileges of the people while they dream up higher allowances and new privileges for themselves?

MR. J.B.D'SOUZA is a retired Civil servant who after retirement has been actively associated with various voluntary activities, ranging from civil rights to public welfare.

The Enemy Within

Madhu Limaye

We have celebrated the 125th Birth Centenary of the Father of our Nation. Is it not appropriate to pause and reflect on the distance the country has travelled away from the ideals he had laid down for us since his death 46 years ago? He taught us the virtues of cleanliness and public hygiene. He tried to inculcate in us the much-needed civic sense. But we neglected his teaching. We allowed our villages, towns and cities to go to seed. Garbage heaps piled up everywhere, even in posh colonies. The slums became a veritable hell. Now the dreaded plague, which even for people of my generation was only a childhood memory, has overtaken us.

Mahatma Gandhi also laid the greatest stress on probity in public life. He insisted on accountability and had warned us about the incipient danger of corruption, when it was really no bigger than a barely visible speck. Now corruption has enveloped the entire national life and will have more fatal consequences than the new plague. The seizure of the Jain diaries should have created an unprecedented furore, because it uncovers a rot in the system more serious than that revealed by the Bofors exposure. But unfortunately we have become as used to this terrible scourge of corruption as the garbage heaps in our cities. I think it necessary to state the stark facts relevant to the issue.

On March 25, 1991 one Ashfaq Hussain Lone, alleged to be the Deputy Chief of Hizbul Mujahadeen Intelligence, was arrested at Jamat-e-Is-

lam at Chitli Kabar, Delhi. Bank drafts and cash were seized. The source of the money was one Dr. Mohammad Ayub in London. A JNU student, Shahabuddin Ghauri, and seven Hawala dealers were arrested in the next two or three months. The clues led to further raids. In the words of the CBI:

On 3.5.1991 searches were conducted simultaneously at 20 places including the business and residential premises of the said J.K. Jain. The business and residential premises as well as the farm house of one S.K. Jain, the employer of the said J.K. Jain, were also searched. The unaccounted cash in a sum of Rs.93,52,755, foreign exchange worth Rs.3,69,307, Indira Vikas Patra worth Rs.10,50,000 and gold bars weighing 4430 kgs were recovered from five different places during the said searches. Unaccounted cash in a sum of Rs.58,09,100, Indira Vikas Patra for Rs.10,50,100 and foreign exchange - namely, 593 US dollars, 300 UK pounds, 2700 Dutch marks, 50 Hong Kong dollars, 300 francs and 50 unknown currencies - were also recovered from the house of the said J.K. Jain. Some diaries and figures were also recovered from the house of the said J.K. Jain.

When the investigation into this was virtually closed and charge-sheets were framed against Lone and Ghauri, no reference was made to the seizure of May 3, 1991 and their significance. There was no question of taking action against the Jains. The CBI really intended to hush up the matter, which it thought was politically explosive.

The publication of the details of the material seized at the premises of the Jains revealed violation of the several laws of the land, and yet the CBI had failed to take effective and expeditious action in national interest. The CBI officer, O.P. Sharma, and Vijay K. Rama Rao, Direction of the CBI, should be obliged to explain why no thorough investigation has been carried out into activities of the Jains. From the notings of the CBI officers concerned it appeared that between April 1988 to March 1991 vast sums, received from sources abroad, were disbursed by the Hawala racketeers. The beneficiaries were Kashmiri terrorists, politicians, bureaucrats and others whose identity could be easily established through "custodial investigation to which any accused in the situation of the four Jains would normally be subjected". Every case of non-enforcement of law in matter of corruption is an act of "discrimination and arbitrariness" and violative of Article 14 of the Constitution.

The Jains were raided on May 3, 1991. Although more than three years have passed, the CBI has not been able to clinch the matter. Can anything be more damaging? Contrast the speedy and efficient manner of the CBI inquiry into the Allahabad High Court happenings under the "lash" of the Apex Court and we see the difference. The task of deciphering the entries and identifying the persons is not at all difficult. Even an inexperienced layman of average intelligence can do it. In fact the identity of the persons and the payment received have already been established. The highlights are as under:

Name of Person and Party	Period	Total Amount	Name of Person and Party	Period	Total Amount
Politicians¹			Business²		
Rajiv Gandhi (Congress)	March 1991	Rs.2 crores			
Bhajan Lal (Congress)	Feb. 1988 to June 1990	Rs.1 crore	Lalit Suri	1988 to 1991	Rs.10.5 crores
Balram Jakhar (Congress)	March 1988 to April 1991	Rs.61 lakhs	List of Politician Recipients (Amount less than Rs 20 lakhs)		
N.D. Tiwari (Congress)	April 1988 to April 1991	Rs.25.8 lakhs	P.Shiv Shankar (Congress)	July 1988 to December 1990	Rs.16.94 lakhs
Kalpanath Rai (Congress)	July 1988 to April 1991	Rs.54.7 lakhs	Jaffer Sharif (Congress)	November 1988 to August 1989	Rs.10 lakhs
V.C. Shukla (JD & JD-S/Congress)	July 1989 to April 1991	Rs.65.8 lakhs	L.P. Sahi (Congress)	July 1989 to August 1989	Rs.3.50 lakhs
R.K. Dhawan (PS to PM)	September 1989	Rs.50 lakhs	M.L. Fotedar (Congress)	September 1989	Rs.10 lakhs
Madhavrao Scindia (Congress)	January 1990 to April 1991	Rs.75 lakhs	Kamal Nath (Congress)	February 1990 to April 1991	Rs.17 lakhs
K.K. Tiwari (Congress)	April 1991	Rs.30 lakhs	Arjun Singh (Congress)	April 1988 to August 1990	Rs.10.50 lakhs
L.K. Advani (BJP)	April 1988 to April 1991	Rs.60 lakhs	Ranjit Singh (Son of Devi Lal) (JD-S/SJP)	November 1990	Rs.15 lakhs
S.R. Bommai (JD)	September 1990 to April 1991	Rs.52 lakhs	Sharad Yadav (JD)	April 1988 to March 1990	Rs.5 lakhs
Arif Mohammad Khan (JD/Ind.)	May 1988 to April 1991	Rs.7.5 crores	Moti Lal Vora (Congress)	April 1988 to March 1990	Rs.10 lakhs
Chimanbhai Patel (JD and Congress) President, JD-S/SJP.	December 1989 to January 1991	Rs.1.9 crores Rs.1 crore	Ms Krishna Sahi (Congress)	April 1988 to March 1990	Rs.2 lakhs
Yashwant Sinha (JD and JD-S/SJP)	March 1990 to April 1991	Rs.21 lakhs	Giani Zail Singh (Congress)	April 1989 to December 1989	Rs.5 lakhs
Devi Lal (JD)	April 1989 to March 1990	Rs.50 lakhs	Madan Lal Khurana (BJP)	April 1986 to March 1990	Rs.3 lakhs
Kalyan Singh Kalvi (JD-S/SJP)	December 1990 to April 1991	Rs.95 lakhs	Vijay Kumar Malhotra (BJP)	April 1988 to March 1990	Rs.1 lakh
Asoke Sen (JD-S/SJP)	December 1990 to January 1991	Rs.20 lakhs	Ms Tajdar Babbar (Congress)	April 1988 to March 1990	Rs.1 lakh
Bureaucrats²			Pranab Mukherjee (Congress)	April 1991	Rs.10 lakhs
P.S. Bami, Chairman, NTPC	March 1988 to April 1991	Rs.34.5 lakhs	Digvijay Singh (JD-S/SJP)	April 1991	Rs.10 lakhs
B.S. Ojha, Union Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture	April 1988 to March 1990	Rs.50 lakhs	Harmohan Dhawan (JD-S/SJP)	April 1991	Rs.10 lakhs
M.P. Narayanan, Chairman, Coal India	February 1990 to October 1990	Rs.25 lakhs	Jagannath Pahadia (Congress)	April 1991	Rs.5 lakhs
Vijay Karan, Commissioner of Police, Delhi, later Director, CBI.	April 1989 to December 1989	Rs.90 lakhs	Chandu Lal Chandrakar (Congress)	April 1991	Rs.5 lakhs
K. Padmanabhaiya, Addl. Secretary, Ministry of Power	March 1990 to October 19890	Rs.58 lakhs	Rajesh Pilot (Congress)	April 1991	Rs.10 lakhs
J.S. Bedi, Secretary, RAW	June 1991	Rs.20.0 lakhs	M.J. Akbar	April 1991	Rs.5 lakhs
			Buta Singh (Congress)	May 1989 to September 1989	Rs.7.50 lakhs

Footnotes

1. Round Figures. Only those who received Rs.20 lakhs or more are mentioned.

2. It is not without significance that the Jains, who apart from being Hawala racketeers, have been engaged in power and construction activities and so the then Power Minister and officials connected with the Central and Madhya Pradesh Power Departments have been the object of their special attention. Arif Mohammad Khan, close Jan Morcha colleague of V.P. Singh, who as the Prime Minister gave him two important portfolios, including Power, received the largest amount among the politicians, that is, Rs.7.5 crores. Arun Nehru, Madan Lal Khurana, Arjun Singh and others have not been listed above because their receipts were less than Rs.20 lakhs each.

3. Among the bureaucrats, there are in addition to those in the above list, a dozen officials of the Central and Madhya Pradesh Power Departments, National Thermal Development Corporation and Central Electricity Authority who have received money from the Jains, but their names have not been mentioned because the amounts received were less than Rs.20 lakhs.

Name of Person and Party	Period	Total Amount	Name of Person and Party	Period	Total Amount
List of Bureaucrat Recipients (Amount less than Rs.20 lakhs)			List of Bureaucrat Recipients (Amount less than Rs.20 lakhs)		
V.K. Khanna, Joint Secretary, Deptt. of Power, Union of India	September 1989	Rs.5 lakhs	H.K. Khan, Chief Secretary, Gujarat and also Secretary in the Union of India	March 1991	Rs.2,37,500
M.L. Malik, Director(Operations) in NTPC.	May 1990	Rs.1 lakh	P.N. Abbi, Chief Secretary in MP	May 1989 to June 1990	Rs.15 lakhs
V. Sunderrajan, Director (Projects) in NTPC	May 1990	Rs.1 lakh	R.K. Nair, Dy. General Manager, NTPC	April 1988	Rs.0.50 lakhs
C.N. Swamy, in NTPC	November 1988	Rs.3 lakhs	R.K. Narayanan, Central Electricity Authority	April 1988 to March 1990	Rs.5 lakhs
A. Baijal, General Manager in NTPC	September 1988	Rs.1 lakh	S. Berry, EIL	April 1991	Rs.2 lakhs
M.A. Hai, CMD, National Hydroelectric Power Corporation	February 1991	Rs.0.50 lakh	R.R. Shah, Joint Secretary, Deptt. of Power, Union of India	January 1991	Rs.5 lakhs

The CBI has had recourse to evasion, half-truths and prevarication in the face of certain irrefutable facts. It has admitted that S.K. Jain has "to some extent explained what the coded entries pertain to". But it says that corroboration of the identities of persons has not yet been obtained by "independent evidence". It has also stated that S.K. Jain had "taken the plea that the said payments were made from the proceeds of black money generated in his company". But there is no mention that the Income Tax and other agencies were brought in to expose this blatant lie. The diaries, notebooks, etc. contain other information, but the correctness of the already decoded names and the sums paid have not been contradicted by the CBI. How serious and efficient the CBI was is clear from its own admissions!

It says:

Efforts were made to interrogate S.K. Jain and J.K. Jain in early part of 1993 who avoided to appear before the CBI and also went abroad. Their presence could, however, be secured in the month of July 1993, for the purpose of investigation. When they further avoided joining investigation, a look out notice was issued against them in the month of September 1993, as a result of which their presence could be secured through the immigration authorities of Delhi for their interrogation in the middle of September 1993 onwards...

Verification of their statements was thereafter, it is claimed by the CBI, taken up "vigorously" which is still continuing. October-December 1994

The ramifications of the Hawala financiers from the Kashmiri terrorists to leading Indian politicians and bureaucrats make one freeze with amazement. The Executive of this country-its political arm (Ministers), bureaucracy (a serving Secretary is implicated), and its intelligence wing-the RAW Chief Bedi, who retired in 1993, and Vijay Karan, then boss of the CBI, were themselves involved-are devoid of all conscience and wallow in corruption. The President of the BJP, L.K. Advani, who loudly talks of an uncompromising fight against Kashmiri terrorism, himself accepts subversive funds. V.P. Singh had said on several occasions that members of his government were not involved in corruption. Apart from Devi Lal and Arif Mohammad Khan, who received vast sums, especially the latter, Arun Nehru and Sharad Yadav also have received tainted money. Yadav has at least admitted the fact. V.P. Singh, however, is dumb like a doll on this issue. Only the names of George Fernandes, Madhu Dandavate-Socialist Ministers-and the CPI and CPI-M leaders are not there in the Jain Diary.

It has become a common practice to blame Pakistan for our ills. Pakistan is without doubt doing everything in its power to destabilise the Indian state. But the Enemy Is Within. I therefore think that ruthless action against all those involved in these shady transactions will help cleanse the rot in the Indian political system and other departments of national life.

Courtesy: *Mainstream*, November 12.

THE WEALTH OF NATIONS

The lead phrase in the title of Adam Smith's most celebrated book, *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, is as compelling today as it was when it was first published in 1776. Millions of people on every continent are coming to realise that "the wealth of nations" is tied to their own ability to advance themselves economically without the shackles of state control and rigid ideology.

The lifting of the iron curtain in the 1980s is encouraging a renewal of political and economic freedom in all regions of the world. The genius of Adam Smith was rooted in his recognition that the creation of human wealth is not a function of government but an aspiration of the free individual - an insight as meaningful in our times as it was in Smith's.

Outstandings Due for Flats and Bungalows occupied by ex-members of parliament, former ministers etc.

Question by Rajya Sabha Member, Shri Mohammed Afzal Alias Neem Afzal

Will the Minister of Urban Development be pleased to state:

- (a) the number and details of flats and bungalows occupied by unauthorised persons, i.e. ex-Members of Parliament, former Ministers and others from Members of Parliament quota or from Government quota as on 30th June, 1992; and
- (b) the amount of rent/damages due from each of the unauthorised occupants mentioned above as on 30th June, 1992; and
- (c) the steps Government have so far taken to get the premises vacated from each of these unauthorised occupants?

Answer by the Minister of State for Urban Development, Shri M. Arunachalam

(a) & (b): A statement giving the details of MP's Pool accommodation in unauthorised occupation of ex-MPs in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha and position of outstanding dues upto 30.6.1992 is given in Annexure I. A statement giving the details of ex-MPs/ex-Ministers who are in unauthorised occupation of general pool accommodation and position of outstanding dues upto 30.6.1992 is given at Annexure II.

(c): Cancellation of allotment of accommodation in all the cases included in the statement has been done and necessary steps are being taken under Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorised Occupant) Act, 1971 to get the premises vacated.

ANNEXURE I

Statement showing the M.P's Pool accommodation in unauthorised occupation of ex. M.P's Lok/Rajya Sabha and position of outstanding dues upto 30.6.92

S. No.	Name of Ex. M.P. S/Shri	Residence No.	Amount due (Rs.)
1.	Jitendra Singh	19, Meena Bagh	90,341.00
2.	R.P. Gaekwad	7, Sardarjung Lane	7,334.00
3.	Chandan Sharma	4, Talkatora Road	5,996.00
4.	V.K. Malhotra	6, B.D. Marg	99,429.00
5.	Smt. Amarjit Kaur	23, Willingdon Crescent	4,627.00
6.	Khyoma Lotha	14-A, Ferozshah Road	2,890.00
7.	Late S.P. Mittal	33, Lodhi Estate	19,950.00
8.	Smt. Promilabai D. Chavan	CI/2, Humayun Road	1,153.00
9.	Late Sh. A.G. Kulkarni	AB-92, Shahjahan Road	1,153.00
10.	V.N. Gadgil	AB-95, Shahjahan Road	8,455.00
11.	R.S. Naik	74, North Avenue	Nil
12.	Talari Manohar	186, North Avenue	1,338.00
13.	K.C. Tyagi	187, North Avenue	26,805.00
		5, Western Court Hostel	6,108.00
14.	K.P. Pandey	2, North Avenue	18,200.00
15.	A. Sena Pathi Gounder	219, North Avenue	4,194.00
16.	Dhain Singh	107, South Avenue	6,745.00
17.	Bijoya Chakarvarty	53, South Avenue	2,848.00
18.	Prabhakar Rao Kalvala	63, South Avenue	3,696.00

ANNEXURE II

Statement showing the General Pool accommodation in unauthorised occupation of former Ministers/Ex. M.P's and position of outstanding dues upto 30.6.92

S. No.	Name S/Shri	Flat/Bungalow No.	Amount due (Rs.)
1.	Smt. Vyjayantimala Bali	76, Lodi Estate	8,34,872.00
2.	Late Sh. Darbar Singh	9, Krishna Menon Marg	7,40,182.00
3.	Pt. Ravi Shankar	95, Lodi Estate	7,778.00
4.	H.K.L. Bhagat	34, Prithvi Raj Road	6,81,207.00
5.	Dinesh Singh	1, Tyagraj Marg	6,47,586.00
6.	Vasant P. Sathe	2, Krishna Menon Marg	5,82,285.00
7.	Smt. R.K. Rajpai	6, Ashoka Road	4,21,473.00
8.	Harmohan Dhawan	11, Teen Murti Lane	56,951.00
9.	Thambi Durai	25, Tughlak Road	3,79,795.00

Making Democracy Work

Y. D. Altekar

In an earlier article the difficulties we experience with the parliamentary system were discussed and it was suggested the separation of the Executive from the Legislature would solve our difficulties to a great extent (*Freedom First*, No. 417, April-June 1993). Personal discussions of the topic with various people revealed many doubts. Some of the more important ones are given below along with the answers.

Any system we devise is bound to be subverted by self-seekers for their personal ends. Is it not better, therefore, that we should concentrate on improving the moral standards of the people?

Some time back there was a news item in the papers reporting that some scientists were trying to genetically alter the mosquito such that it will be incapable of harbouring the malarial parasite. The futility of this approach to malarial control should be apparent when we consider that out of some twenty odd species of the mosquito only one is capable of transmitting the disease. The genetically engineered mosquito will form just another harmless addition to the species and, unless all the anopheles are genetically transformed, will in no way reduce the danger. The wholesale destruction of the mosquito by insecticides has also not succeeded and the emphasis now is on developing a vaccine to contain the damage.

Any morality development programme is also similarly doomed as it is difficult to cover the entire population by any such programme. Practically all world religions have found over six millennia that it is impossible to cover the whole of the human race with morality building activity and governments become necessary to contain the bad element. Weeding out entirely the troublesome element is also not possible. Lord Parshuram made seven attempts to rid the world of Kshatriyas but achieved no lasting success!

Our attempts should, therefore, be on the lines of developing a vaccine i.e. devising a system which does not need holy men at the helm and which will reduce the damage the men in power can do. The proposed system attempts to achieve this by:

- a) taking away from the legislators the enormous bargaining power that they secure on winning an election, so that

getting elected will cease to be such a profitable business as it is today, thus making it less attractive to the self-seekers;

- b) getting the legislature to scrutinize and control the executive action - *real* 'checks and balances'.

If the separation of executive and legislative powers is expected to solve the problems of corruption, how is it that in municipalities where the executive and legislative functions are separate, we continue to face the same problems?

The key requirements are: the executive and the legislature must be separate and independent of each other. Although the Municipal Commissioner is not elected by the corporators and does not need to have majority support, he cannot be said to be free from pressures that the corporators, especially those belonging to the ruling party, can exert.

Despite the enormous popular backing he enjoyed, Commissioner Ajay Dua, was transferred out of Pune because the corporators opposed his attempts to streamline the municipal administration. The Commissioner is appointed by the state government and the state executive are members of the Legislature. Moreover, 'party' feeling is strong hence, the corporators belonging to the ruling party can always pressurize the Commissioner through their party affiliation at the state level. The Commissioner is thus, not quite independent of the corporators. Hence the difficulty.

The changes proposed can be brought about only by MPs and MLAs who will clearly not be interested in them. How do we go about getting the changes implemented?

This, indeed, is a very valid point. Whatever changes we need in the system have to be introduced by our MPs and MLAs. And they are bound to resist the changes.

However, we have not yet reached a point where we have to think about the ways and means of getting the changes introduced. We have yet to agree on what changes we need. These need to be discussed widely, and a consensus evolved, first on the need for a change and then what exactly these changes ought be. Once we get a majority public opinion in favour

of these proposals, it will be difficult for MPs and MLAs to resist them. After all, it will be recalled that the British Parliament curtailed the powers of the House of Lords, with the concurrence of the House of Lords.

Is Our Democratic Mechanism Breaking Down?

The tragic incident of mass deaths in Nagpur, deaths in police firing on agitating students in Kerala and similar incidents in other parts of the country seem to have become common occurrence. These are not mere incidents of increasing confrontation between the rulers and various groups among the ruled, but also symptomatic of a basic failure in the polity, viz., the democratic mechanism for resolving public claims and grievances have broken down. Debates and discussion across the table and speedy decision making have become rare. As a cynic observed, the efficiency of the Governments is to be found only in the disbursement of staff salaries.

While morchas, rasta roko, dharna and other extra-constitutional methods have become ineffective in focussing attention of the authorities on public grievances, the response of parties in the opposition in calling for bands and paralysing public life is equally futile. Our national work ethics is already weak, and citizens going about their normal activities, including travel and functions planned weeks in advance, are caught unawares. Worse, lakhs who depend on daily toll for their bread are left high and dry.

Though most politicians and bureaucrats are corrupt, have a proven record of incompetence in handling economic resources for public welfare, and are in default in the discharge of their enjoined duties, in a democracy we need them. All said and done, we should be grateful to our politicians who have kept the democratic process going on for 47 years, and at least during election time show symptoms of accountability!

It is high time that political parties and associations of bureaucrats reviewed the situation, in their own interest. As Cicero observed, authority rests in the minds of men. The general public is becoming aware that many politicians and bureaucrats have not only feet of clay but also heads of mush. Once the vestige of respect for them disappears from public mind, then it is inevitable that even extra-constitutional methods like morchas and bandhs will be discarded and direct physical attacks on politicians and bureaucrats will begin. Cats of all colours in the world cannot save them from public anger. It will be a sad day, both for the rulers and the ruled.

M. R. Pai,
Bombay.

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



Now take this simple test.

- * 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?

Godrej
Powder Hair Dye

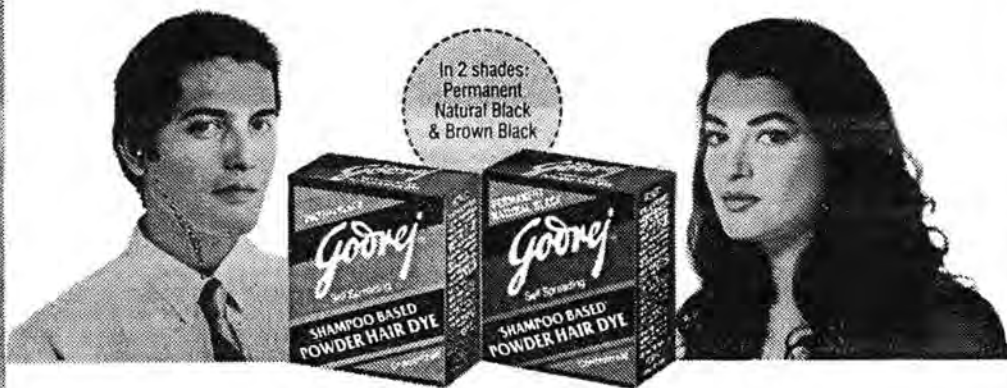


Rs. 32/-
for 10 gms.*

Any other



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)

Mudra GS 1458

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

Two Inter-Generational Assessments of the Mahatma

On the occasion of the 125th Birth Centenary of Mahatma Gandhi, *Freedom First* invited two readers, separated by a half century in age, to record their impressions of his autobiography, which remains one of the most important books written by an Indian in the present century.

One Step Towards Gandhi

Renuka Sinha

When I first approached Gandhi, there was no doubt in my mind about one thing - he did not look simply like a wise old man, but a very glamorous old man. The first thing that attracted me towards Gandhi was his unique theatre. This man of fashion could stand out in any crowd.

His autobiography* lay before me. The autobiography of the Father of the Nation and what not ... When I opened the book, I met a little boy, who in many ways, was just like me. He wanted to understand his life and to change whatever that didn't fit.

How can I describe him? Let's see ... A very independent soul. I don't remember him needing any person, position or property. Not even any intellectual aura of any sort around him. Well, he didn't seem to have any time for all that, did he?

Did his Own Thing

The most interesting thing is that he tried to do away with 'old' conditioning without replacing it with 'new' conditioning. Now, you'd like me to prove what I said. For that I would say that you should read the autobiography for yourself. I'm not trying to be tongue in cheek. To answer this question, I would have to talk about his entire life which was nothing but an experiment in saying goodbye to old, new or any kind of conditioning. And we all know how difficult this is. If we get out of feminism, we

are tempted to get into environmentalism - if we get out of jeans, we are tempted to get into shorts.

I don't know any other person who has discovered his own haircut to go with his unique designer wear. His own unique gourmet, his own fitness regime with fasts and naturopathy, his environmentalist approach of not using any fuelled vehicle for transport, his punky lifestyle of living on the bare minimum, cleaning his own toilets, his experiments in architecture and interior decoration starting with mud houses. What else? Farming, animal husbandry and yes, I shouldn't forget - his experiments in writing, his newspapers and journals. Did I miss anything? Oh yes, his own cottage industry - Khadi. Then, there are also his experiments with religion and politics. And can you imagine an individualist like him - with friends all over the world. What amazes me is that he wrote to all of them regularly.

Courage of his Convictions

And if your reaction to all this is - "so what"? Then I'll have to say that you are neither young nor a sport. I myself will never say so, because I know how difficult it is to live up to one's ideas. I know how much I hate the pollution in this city, but still I don't have the courage to go and live in a village. I know, I believe in feminism, but I still can-

not do away with cosmetics. I don't believe in today's educational system, but still I continue to bag in degrees, and the idea of holding a so called prestigious post in a so called prestigious whatever still attracts me. And with all these contradictions, however smartly I may dress up or however 'good' a time I have with films, parties and the rest, deep down, I know I am not satisfied with myself. And that is what life is all about, isn't it? Your being satisfied with yourself.

Whatever our opinions about him, I don't think he cares. He will continue to experiment. It was interesting meeting him - I hope, we become friends.

I hope this has at least aroused your curiosity by now. You see, it is really difficult to write about Gandhi, because if you try to be honest with yourself (which he compels you to be), you have to write about him, keeping in mind your own limitations. And such an honest reaction could be misunderstood to be simplistic and childish. But to understand Gandhi's spirit, one has to evoke the child's pure and unadulterated conscience within one self.

While analysing any individual, "adults" are often tempted to criticize rather than to appreciate.

In his autobiography, Gandhi has never talked with disrespect about any individual that he came across. Therefore, after reading Gandhi, somehow, my usual critical, cynical

*An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth, by M. K. Gandhi, (translated from the original in Gujarati, by Mahadev Desai), Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, first published 1927.

self didn't emerge.

Some Questions - and Answers

My initial reaction was that of paying tribute to a man who lived life with full zest and absolute sincerity. But still, the temptation to bring him down from the pedestal (which he may not have asked for) was there. And so the cynical me began asking the following questions and somehow, because of the influence of his compassionate writing, the generous me kept on answering.

Question: Like a typical male chauvinist, didn't he too bully his wife?

Answer: But hasn't he regretted that deeply and tried to correct himself.

Question: Did he consult his wife before taking the vow of *brahmacharya*?

Answer: Unlike Buddha, he took full responsibility of his marriage and his family. And, unlike many politicians of the time, he encouraged his wife to participate fully in his social and political life. He did not confine her to the kitchen. He was a hard core feminist who went ahead to say that a man should never be the ultimate goal of a woman's life.

Question: Was he a strong personality who imposed his ideas on others around him?

Answer: Yes, he was a strong personality, but no, he did not impose his ideas on others. In fact, he resented people calling him Mahatma. He had friends who opposed him.

Question: Wasn't he a religious fanatic?

Answer: No, he wasn't. He did not form any sect, he did not encourage any kind of blind faith. He did not say: God is truth, but he did assert Truth is God. In fact, he went on to say that, that which is not rational and that which is not practical, is also not spiritual. For him, non-violence and self-sufficiency were two very practical essentials for the survival of the universe.

His philosophy is a practical philosophy and so he cannot be called a religious fanatic.

Question: Was Gandhi a political person?

Answer: Yes. So long as what is personal is political, Gandhi was a political person. The discriminating law of South Africa did affect his individual dignity. Yes, the British Raj did impose their law on him. As a 'Hindu', he was affected by the violence which he did not consider a part of his religion. He had extended his self to the community and to the nation. His interest in racial and political events was never personal in the sense of petty personal gains but personal in that he was part of the group.

Question: Didn't he state values too high for the common man to follow?

Let me answer this in his own words: "To see the universal and all-pervading spirit of Truth, face to face, one must be able to love the meanest of creations as oneself and a man who aspires after that cannot afford to keep out of any field of life."

Understanding Gandhi is as difficult as it is easy to react to him. But today, it seems that it is necessary for us to take a close look at what he had to say. Today, we see that modernity has flopped, the gigantic machinery and systems that we created have acquired an uncontrollable momentum of their own. The individual has become insignificant. All institutions have lost their meaning. Money has bought them all.

The world is spending more money on destructive weapons than on health. And the irony is that the universe will not wait for a nuclear war to destroy it. The ecological imbalance is sufficient. Today's political systems including democratic states are election centred, party dominated, power-aimed, centralised complicated mechanisms. Concentration of authority marks almost all present political systems which have become top heavy, be they capitalist, socialist or communist systems.

Gandhi's idea of village swaraj can be the answer to today's problems. A stateless democracy in a small self-regulated village, free from giant systems and technology can lead man to peaceful and natural living.

Today, Gandhi still lives in many a great thinker all over the world who like him believes that "small is beautiful".

MS. RENUKA SINHA, a graduate in English Literature, is currently doing her post-graduation in the German Language at the Bombay University.

Gandhi - His Trials and Triumphs

For those who seek to know the life and achievements of Gandhi, this autobiography is quite inadequate, nay even a misleading volume. This is not an autobiography in the usual sense of the word, because Gandhi deliberately and scrupulously avoids the limelight being focused on himself, and one would not find here the material expected out of such volumes.

In fact, the book needs a sustained effort to delineate and measure the person called Gandhi out of the oblique shadows cast by events and personalities mentioned rather casually by the author with the briefest possible details. No one can ever hope to know the most interesting and most significant events in Gandhi's life from this volume. There are only

passing references to his epoch making satyagraha in South Africa which resounded all over India. He omits all information about his enormous sacrifices - both financial and physical, which earned him the grudging admiration of his stunned enemies and perplexed friends. He nowhere refers to his seminal contribution to public life in India, though after his

Nagindas Sanghavi

return, Gandhi galvanised whomsoever and whatsoever he touched. Very few non-Gujaratis are aware that he revolutionised Gujarati prose and with his writings ends the Pandit era of literary style in the Gujarati language.

A Clinical Record

But such omissions are not at all surprising. In fact, such an approach fits exactly with the basic objective, mentioned in the preface, which goaded him to write these chapters - one every week, without any notes or any comprehensive plan. If we grasp this underlying motive, several disjointed references and trivial incidents fall into a significant pattern. This volume was to become a record not of his activities, but of his inner growth, and Gandhi, therefore, is interested, not so much in what happens to him or around him, but in what happens within him. The autobiography is not a story of his life or activities, but a clinical record of his experiences and experiments, his inchoate concepts and reflections, which over a period of time matured into an inter-related collectivity, which, for want of a better term is known as Gandhism. It is not the person but *idees fixe* of a remarkable mind. Gandhi himself firmly resisted all efforts to reduce them to a system and always declined to be called a Gandhian.

The volume, viewed thus, becomes a fascinating and coherent story of the trials and triumphs of Gandhi, who by stages, reached the dizzy heights of spiritual eminence. The story was written rather early and is incomplete. Gandhi lived and continued to grow for two more decades and his most glorious hours - his sexual experiments with his grand niece in Noakhali and his crucifixion were still far away.

Gandhi laboured hard and long for self development, but, as he repeatedly points out, his was the struggle of a tree sprouting from the seeds long embedded within. He has carefully pointed out such embryonic traces - his instinctive devotion

to truth, his courage to confess his failings and his observant eye which hardly ever misses anything important.

Gandhi's early youth in India was a period of almost zero growth. It was in England when Gandhi was thrown entirely on his own, that he broke out of his shell and strutted around as a fledgeling. He mentions the vast range of books, both academic and general, that he read; his efforts to live within his means; his conscious striving to imbibe the best in English society without forsaking his roots and his deep interest in religion. All this enabled him to absorb the cultural ethos around him and made him a life-long adherent of English culture.

Gandhi was not made in India. It was England and European dominated South Africa which so made him that he was more like an Englishman and much less of an Indian in several of his approaches and attitudes. There is very little of India in his insistence on punctuality, his disciplined behaviour and his strict adherence to the rule of law even when he chose to violate a few of them. He boldly asserts his deeply implanted loyalty to the British regime in India, till the Jallianwala tragedy rooted it out. His pugnacity to fight for justice and his insistence on fair treatment to even his opponents are typically British. All such traits combine to make Gandhi an Englishman among Indians.

Influence of Christianity

Gandhi's public life started in England and could be traced to his stomach. His frantic search for vegetarian diet almost forced him to reach out for establishments and associations more congenial to his beliefs and launched him on his career of writing and public speaking. Gandhi is nothing if not a staunch Hindu, but he discovered his religion in England and arrived at its door after prolonged wanderings among Christian tracts and discussions. The deep impression made by Christianity on his psyche made him a better

Hindu suffused with its humaneness. Gandhi's innate love and selfless service for the sick, the poor and the deprived were intensified by this experience, but so also his tremendous sense of guilt about sex is a Christian rather than a Hindu attitude which is much more healthy and much more sane.

Even Gandhi's Ashrams are more akin to Christian monasteries than to Hindu hermitages though there is another and more patent influence which also he must have imbibed from the West. His Ashrams - Phoenix, Tolstoy, Sabarmati and even Wardha were replicas of the communes advocated by the utopian socialists of France and Germany. Gandhi's philosophy of Sarvodaya, his strong attachment to the self-sufficient village economy centred around labour and handicrafts, can also be traced to the same source, though he never specifically refers to such books or thinkers except Ruskin's *"Unto This Last"*.

The Chink in his Armour

A reader with critical empathy would feel the tensions palpably building up in the family as Gandhi began to grow out of his husk. His domestic relations are the chink in his armour. His brothers were naturally upset when he decided to repudiate his responsibility as a member of the joint family and divert all his surplus income towards public activities. Gandhi refers to the incident without mentioning that it was an evasion of a moral duty. It was the family which sent him to England, maintained his wife and children even under straitened circumstances.

The incidents mentioned by Gandhi go to show that Gandhi was never a good husband and always took his wife for granted for everything he wanted from her. Kasturba's feelings, needs and expectations were hardly ever consulted and never respected. But there is nothing new or surprising about this attitude because this was a prevalent tradition. But the episode which Gandhi has

blown out of proportion is clearly an afterthought. There is hardly any impropriety in his sexual approach to his wife while his father was sick. He had been ill for months and there was no sign that he was about to collapse. The young couple had every right to intimacy at all times.

But there is far less justification for the risk which Gandhi took with the lives of his wife and son. Gandhi ruined the future prospects of his children by keeping them away from formal education and even a Gandhi has no right to do so. His specious argument that such intellectual equipment is not so indispensable for an ethically well cultivated mind would hardly hold water. A doctor, an engineer, a lawyer and even a teacher are sought after for technical competence rather than for moral qualities. Nobody would ever dispute the importance of ethical standards, but that is not the only thing, or even the most important thing needed for professional performance. There is little to distinguish between human and animal labour but education makes all the difference.

Autobiographies hardly ever outlive their authors by a decade, but this has survived nearly three generations and is still in demand, more abroad than in India.

Attenborough's "Gandhi" has boosted its sale and circulation. This probably is due more to the grandeur of Gandhi than to any intrinsic merit of its own. Gandhi rode like a colossus over India for more than a generation and his "Last Phase" was his finest hour. This "One Man Army" as Mountbatten glorified him, was the strongest voice of reason and charity during the holocaust which preceded and accompanied Independence, and it greatly helped in preserving the secular characteristics of Indian society. His death was probably his greatest service to India, because the brutal sacrilege shocked the communal forces into silence for a decade during which Indian polity got consolidated.

Gandhi is often quoted, sometimes even correctly. His life style has become the touchstone by which the Republic evaluates itself. But

Gandhi is no longer an exclusively Indian phenomenon. The Western discovery of Gandhi has grown into a major interest and his methods for redressal of grievances were studied and widely applied when dealing with racial issues in the U.S. and South Africa. Gandhi was an improvement on the Christian response to evil. Christ advocated peaceful submission to Evil, trusting in God for eventual justice. Gandhi synthesised Hindu and Christian attitudes and called for peaceful resistance and non-submission to Evil and left the Divine agency out of such conflicts.

Nobody, not even his ardent admirers, support Gandhi's quaint insistence on pre-industrial technology or his bizarre views on food and sex. But Gandhian methodology has proved to be more effective and far more popular than Gandhian philosophy as embedded in his Autobiography.

PROF. NAGINDAS SANGHAVI is a retired Professor of Politics in colleges affiliated to the Bombay University and is a widely read political commentator in Gujarati.

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

Gandhi's Place in Today's Politics

Adi H. Doctor

Our present age is one of doubts, anxieties and transition. It is the ripe time to take a closer look of Gandhi's ideas and ideals. Gandhi may not have discovered the whole truth. But then who ever does? Rather than lightly dismiss Gandhian thought as irrelevant to our times we should take serious note of it and integrate it with our own ideas of the future.

Gandhi's 125th Birth Anniversary should be an appropriate occasion for us to revisit Gandhian thought, to see what in the Mahatma's writings is relevant for us today. Surprisingly, such an exercise reveals that there is much in Gandhian thought that we would be ill advised, to dismiss lightly. I would, briefly like to enumerate the various Gandhian ideas, which according to me constitute significant, relevant insights for contemporary India.

Not by GNP alone

First is the idea that human development is more important than growth measured in terms of increasing Gross National Product (GNP). It has been a long standing practice with the World Bank to rank countries according to their per capita GNP and to measure their growth in terms of increase in GNP. Now Gandhi would consider this to be an extremely flawed argument for two reasons. Firstly, he would say that the GNP may give us an idea of the increase in the country's total produce, but it tells us nothing about the country's produce which is actual distributed. In other words, a rising GNP does not necessarily imply equitable distribution which alone promotes well-being of the masses. A rise in GNP may be at the expense of the masses, by making the few rich, richer.

Secondly, Gandhi would argue that development, measured in terms of mere increase in GNP, if brought about with the help of technology and machinery that displaced labour, could only increase human misery and not human welfare. Gandhi was not opposed to machines and technology as such. In fact, he welcomed such new machines and new technologies that reduce man's drudgery at work, but not his employment.

Another important concept in Gandhian thought is that of Balanced Growth. Gandhi was opposed to technologies that led to centralism, to the concentration of industries in fast growing urban areas, while the rest of the countryside decayed. Gandhi wanted decentralised growth that would not cause an exodus of rural people to urban centres, but instead help rural India to develop and prosper. To drive home the importance of the Gandhian idea of balanced growth, I would like to draw attention to a rapidly emerging new divide in our country between the rich

West comprising of the fast growing industrial states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab and the poor East made up of the rural and poor states of Bihar, Orissa, U.P. We can allow such a divide to develop only at the peril of the country's unity and future well-being.

For Sustainable Development

A third relevant concept we find in Gandhi's economic thinking pertains to sustainable development. Gandhi much before many modern economists, had warned that man's greed for more and more profits was leading mankind to unsustainable development by exhausting precious natural resources, and irreparably damaging the environment. Gandhi was truly the forerunner of those economists who are now urging us to adopt non-polluting technologies and rely on renewable sources of energy like wind and solar power than on such non-renewable sources like coal and oil.

A fourth relevant insight we find in Gandhi's thought relates to competition. Gandhi would have never approved of mindless competition in greed for amassing wealth. In his classic work *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi points out how with greed and competition as motive forces, even the noble professions of doctors and lawyers, whose prime duty is to serve, have been corrupted. Gandhi believed in regarding work as a duty, that must be sincerely, dedicatedly and efficiently performed. Today while we sing the praise of competition, let us remember Gandhi and the dark side of competition, namely the waste, inefficiency and destruction of spiritual values that heartless and cut-throat competition may generate.

A fifth concept in Gandhian thought, I find meaningful for us today, is his concept of Trusteeship. What Gandhi wanted to drive home by emphasising Trusteeship was the revolutionary idea that ownership is not a matter of law and legal rights alone, but a matter of spirit. The Gandhian message relevant to our times is that the wealthy and the captains of industry must not squander their surplus wealth on absurd, limitless luxuries, but, instead, must productively re-employ it to promote communal welfare.

Empowering People

Yet another idea in Gandhi which I find appealing and relevant to our times is the notion of empowering the people rather than

empowering government. Gandhi has generally been condemned as a *laissez-faire* philosopher who wanted a government that governed least. Now, while this is broadly true, what is being overlooked is that Gandhi wanted less government so that the people could be free to do more things for themselves through voluntary effort. Gandhi was not opposed to the state *per se*, but to the growing tendency to look to the State to do things for the people. Gandhi was extremely cautious in his approach to the State because he feared that a powerful State would do the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality and creativity which lie at the root of all human progress. In fact the Gandhian message of empowering the people rather than government is an idea that can be used to provide the motive force for our present program of economic liberalism which aims at taking the State or government out of the realm of economic activity.

Finally, a word on the Gandhian doctrine of Ahimsa and its place in today's politics. The important point regarding Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence is not whether it is an absolute creed which must be practised by all under all circumstances, rather the key point that Gandhi is making is that no permanent social, political or economic change can be brought about by violent means. Vested interests that oppose social change, Gandhi argued, must be convinced, changed and won over. To forcibly subdue them would only make them go underground or temporarily pretend submission; and at some future date, when the State power weakens, again raise their ugly heads. Gandhi wanted us to realize that a permanent and abiding solution to any human problem can only be based on winning hearts, changing convictions and creating a new moral consensus.

Our present age is one of doubts, anxieties and transition. It is the ripe time to take a closer look of Gandhi's ideas and ideals. Gandhi may not have discovered the whole truth. But then who ever does? Rather than lightly dismiss Gandhian thought as irrelevant to our times we should take serious note of it and integrate it with our own ideas of the future.

PROF. ADI DOCTOR is Head of the Department of Politics, Goa University.

Voters have a CHOICE.

(Mandal, Masjid, Mandir,
Communalists, mafia,
smugglers, landgrabbers ...)

What they
desperately
want is an
ALTERNATIVE.

Will
you be
that
alternative?

We wish to offer
a clean candidate
to every assembly constituency
in Maharashtra and Gujarat.
We invite people of integrity
who share our concerns
to seriously consider standing
for elections as candidates of
SWATANTRA BHARAT PARTY.

Everybody says that politics has become a filthy business.
We agree. Therefore, they say, keep out of it. We disagree.

The time is overdue, for clean and decent Indians, men and women with a record of integrity in their personal, professional and social lives, to get in where it matters and help to clean up the mess.

And the nicest part of it is, you don't have to be a politician to do it.

If you care, if you dare . . . a new era could dawn in less than three months:

- Restoration of Law and Order
- Total abolition of Licence-Permit-Quota Raj that breeds corruption

WILL YOU LET THINGS GO ON THE SAME WAY. OR SHOULD YOU FIGHT TO REVERSE THE TREND?

SWATANTRA BHARAT PARTY HAS A PLAN. YOU CAN BE A PART OF IT.

- 1: We have identified the major issues -the urgent and the important. Fill in and mail the coupon for a free copy of our plan.
- 2: We urge you to start to speak up and arouse the conscience of every Indian you meet.
- 3: Give the frustrated voter a clean alternative to dirty politics.

Every Indian voter deserves a clean alternative to dirty politics.

SWATANTRA BHARAT PARTY

Straight Thinking, Straight Talking.

To,
Mr. Sharad Joshi
President,
Swatantra Bharat Party,
Sasoon Bldg., 143 M G Road, Bombay 400 001.
Tel : 270 610 / 271 578 / 274 453

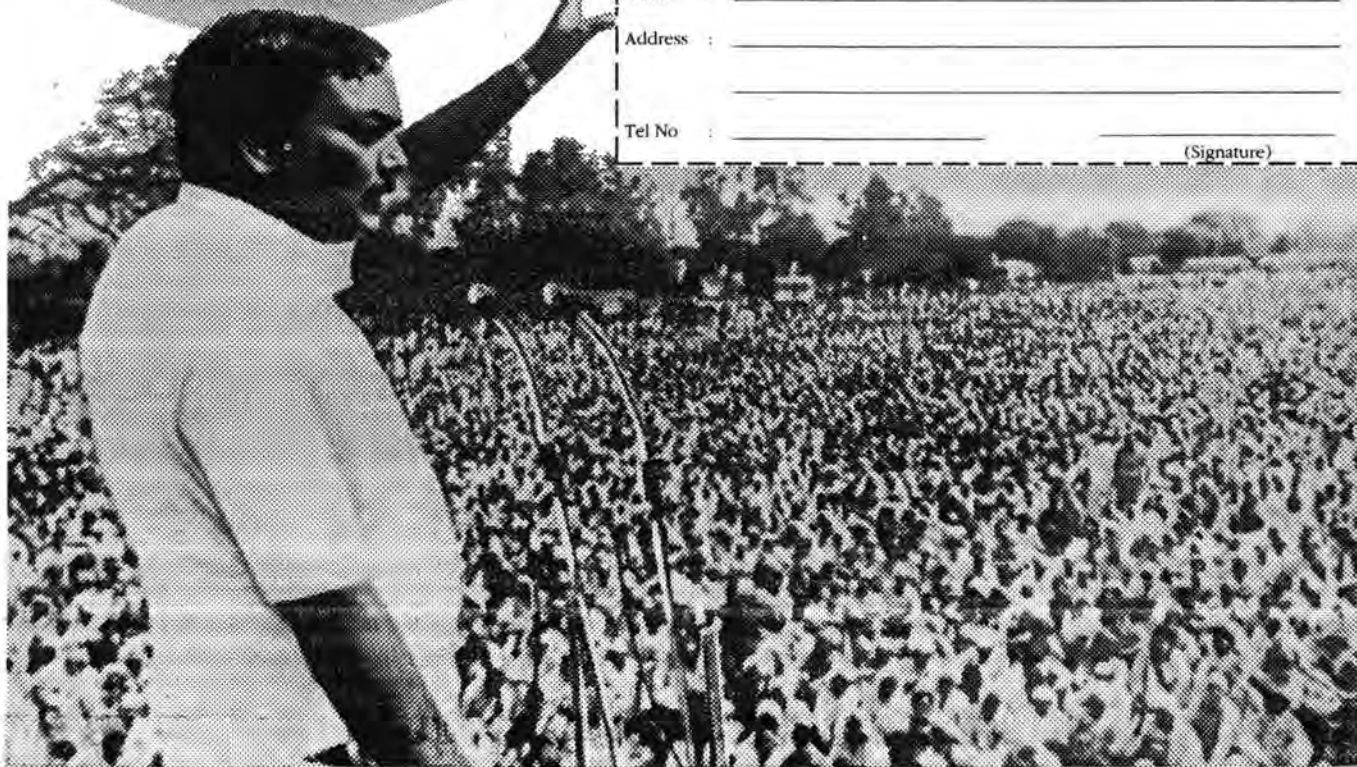
Yes, I am deeply concerned at the deteriorating situation in all aspects of Indian life. Please send me material that will explain your concerns, and offer a well-reasoned alternative. I understand that I am under no obligation to share your views. I am not connected to any political party.

Name : _____

Address : _____

Tel No : _____

(Signature)



The Swatantra Economy

Obstacles and Challenges

Gangadhar Gadgil

The Rajaji Foundation's Rajaji Birthday Lecture, 1994, was delivered by distinguished Marathi Litterateur and Economist, Prof. Gangadhar Gadgil



Prof. Gangadhar Gadgil delivered this year's Rajaji Birthday Lecture. The subject: "The Swatantra Economy - Obstacles and Challenges".

Referring to the new economic policy, Prof. Gadgil observed: "Even five years ago, it seemed impossible that such far-reaching changes in our economic policy and system would take place so soon and on such a scale. But the seemingly impossible appears to be taking place. Rajaji and those like Minoo Masani who shared his views stand vindicated. A Swatantra economy is emerging and is taking shape."

Is the process of liberalization irreversible or will it continue by its own momentum and even gather strength, asked the speaker and answered that the process was

unlikely to reverse itself for the simple reason that "socialist centrally planned and highly regulated economies do not work. They are not only inefficient, they are also unsustainable." However, warned Prof. Gadgil: "A realistic assessment of the situation does not indicate that the liberalization process will be unhampered and smooth."

According to Prof. Gadgil factors favouring liberalisation were:

- Economic power in the world was now in the hands of free economies who also control international institutions like the World Bank and the IMF. The rulers of these countries are convinced that "the economic lame ducks in the world can be set on their feet only through liberalization".
- In Europe, in North America and in the Asia Pacific region, large free trade areas are being established.
- Even diehard dictatorships in countries like Burma, Vietnam are liberalizing their economies for survival and growth.
- To obtain essential imports we have either to export or obtain capital from abroad. This necessitates our attracting foreign private investment which will only come if our economy is free and open in large measure.

While these factors indicate that liberalization is by and large irreversible, there are threats, as is evidenced from the problems in Russia where the process could end in failure and reversal.

Dealing with the conditions that could defeat the liberalization process in India, Prof. Gangadhar Gadgil pointed out the crucial importance of law and order and price stability. "If life and property are not secure, if criminals can interfere with and impose arbitrary burdens on business and commerce, if there is an unholy marriage of crime and politics and inflation runs wild the liberalization process would be arrested and throttled," warned Prof. Gadgil.

Evidence of a breakdown of law and order are already available not only in North East India and Kashmir but has reached serious proportions also in states like UP and Bihar. In Bombay criminal elements engaged in smuggling, drug trade and real estate development virtually brought commercial activity to a standstill twice in the recent past.

Another factor obstructing the liberalisation process is the activities of trade unions engaged in large scale intimidation. By opposing the closure of inefficient, loss-making units, the break-up of public sector monopolies and privatisation of public sector enterprises, these unions were actually throttling growth. What is worse is that they make use of criminal

elements in doing so and some of them have been taken over by criminals.

Among other dangers to the liberalization process were:

- Fiscal indiscipline, frauds in the financial sector and uncontrolled monetary expansion;
- the reluctance of public sector monopolies to relinquish their monopoly control with ministers in charge of these monopolies themselves resisting the process of liberalisation and insisting on giving approvals on 'a case by case' basis or as some wags put it on 'a suitcase by suitcase' basis;
- the fact that despite the declared intention of giving up licencing, controls and subsidies, entrepreneurs are continuously subjected to various regulations by politicians and bureaucrats.

The politicians and bureaucrats who obstruct the liberalisation process for their own narrow selfish ends have unfortunately the support of large classes of people like employees in the public sector, farmers, small manufacturers and others who benefit from the controls, regulations and subsidies in our present economy. In reality the losses they suffer because of the present economic system, are far more than the gains they secure from it. It is however, a very difficult task to bring it home to them.

Perhaps the biggest obstacle to liberalization is the emasculation of the people and the development of the habit of total dependence on the state for the solution of their problems.

"When a population loses its character and ability to be sturdily self-reliant, it is unlikely to support the dismantling of the socialist welfare state. On the contrary, the people

are likely to support continuation of the socialist welfare state because it protects them from demands that a free market economy makes on them," observed Prof. Gadgil.

Emphasising the importance of voluntary organisations and voluntary effort in social life, Prof. Gadgil expressed the view that this would help reduce the social and political malaise from which the country is suffering. Unfortunately the country had "a large army of pseudo voluntary social workers, who are exploiting society for their own benefit. Instead of being the defenders of individual liberty and independent voluntary effort, they are becoming instruments of corruption. These voluntary workers and the politicians generate cynicism in society and give rise to extremist movements, which are committed to wholesale destruction of the existing order."

Pointing out the need for "voluntary workers who steadily build

independent social organisations which are committed to steady, constructive effort and which firmly resist encroachments on individual liberty by the Government", Prof. Gadgil said that fortunately there were, even today a few such organisations in India. He pointed out to men like Anna Hazare and Pandurangshastri Athavale who have built such organisations.

Concluding the 1994 Rajaji Birthday Lecture, Prof. Gangadhar Gadgil underlined the crucial need for the policy of liberalisation to succeed. He said:

"Liberalisation might cause pain in the short run but it will bring immense benefits in the long run. It has been done in so many Asian countries, which until recently were as poor and undeveloped as we are. We must learn from their experience and find ways of minimizing economic distress as we progress along the path of liberalisation."

Why a Swatantra Economy is the Best

The free and profit-motivated economy that Swatantra stands for has not only been demonstrated in the world's past and current history as the best method of creating wealth through human labour, intelligence and capital; it is also the most effective minimizer of concentration of power.

Controlled economy is control of the people and as a necessary consequence, an extinguisher of human incentives. The socialist philosophy of controlled economy is based on the two false assumptions of the omniscience of government and the stupidity of the people. But it is the intelligence and interest of the people that ultimately must produce all the wealth we seek to produce.

C. Rajagopalachari,
Swarajya, October 31, 1964.

Why Socialism Failed

Mark J. Perry

Socialism cannot and will not work in the long run because it is not consistent with fundamental principles of human behaviour.

Socialism is the Big Lie of the twentieth century. While it promised prosperity, equality and security, socialism delivered poverty, misery and tyranny. Equality was achieved only in the sense that everyone was equal in his or her misery. Socialism is now a bankrupt, discredited, and flawed nineteenth century theory that has failed miserably in countries around the world.

In the same way that a Ponzi scheme or chain letter initially succeeds but eventually collapses, socialism may show early signs of success. However, as we have seen recently, any initial success of collectivism quickly fades as the fundamental deficiencies of central planning emerge. It is the initial illusion of success that gives government intervention its pernicious, seductive appeal. In the long run, socialism has always proven to be a formula for tyranny and misery.

Incentives the Key

A chain letter or Ponzi scheme is unsustainable in the long run because it is based on faulty principles. Likewise, collectivism is unsustainable in the long run because it is a flawed theory. Socialism cannot and will not work in the long run because it is not consistent with fundamental principles of human behaviour. The collapse of socialism can be traced to one critical defect that guarantees that it will always fail - it is a system that ignores incentives.

In a capitalist economy, incentives are of the utmost importance. Market prices, the profit-and-loss

system of accounting and private property rights provide an efficient, interrelated system of incentives to guide and direct economic behaviour. Capitalism is based on the theory that *incentives matter!*

Under socialism, incentives play a minimal role or are ignored totally. A centrally planned economy without market prices or profits, where property is owned by the state, is a system without an effective incentive mechanism to direct economic activity. By failing to emphasize incentives, socialism is a theory inconsistent with human nature and is therefore doomed to fail. Socialism is based on the theory that *incentives don't matter.*

In a radio debate several months ago with a Marxist professor from the University of Minnesota, I pointed out the obvious failures of socialism around the world in Cuba, Eastern Europe and China. At the time of our debate, Haitian refugees were risking their lives trying to get to Florida in homemade boats. Why was it, I asked him, that people were fleeing Haiti and travelling almost 500 miles by ocean to get to the "evil capitalist empire" when they were only 50 miles from the "workers' paradise" of Cuba?

The Marxist admitted that many "socialist" countries around the world were failing. However, according to him, the reason for failure is not that socialism is deficient, but that the socialist economies are not practicing "pure" socialism. The perfect vision of socialism would work; it is just the imperfect socialism that doesn't work. Marxists like to compare a theoretically perfect version of socialism with

practical, imperfect capitalism which allows them to claim that socialism is superior to capitalism.

If perfection really were an available option, the choice of economic and political systems would be irrelevant. In a world with perfect beings and infinite abundance, any economic or political system would work perfectly - socialism, capitalism, fascism, communism or any other system would work perfectly.

However, the choice of economic and political institutions is crucially relevant in an imperfect universe such as ours with imperfect beings and limited resources. Only in a world of scarcity is it essential for an economic system to be based on a clear incentive structure to promote economic efficiency. The real choice we face is between imperfect capitalism and imperfect socialism. Given that choice, the evidence of history overwhelmingly favours capitalism as the greatest wealth-producing economic system available.

The strength of capitalism can be attributed to a very clear incentive structure based upon the three Ps: (1) *prices* determined by market forces, (2) a *profit-and-loss system* of accounting, and (3) *private property rights*. The failure of socialism can be traced to its neglect of these three incentive-enhancing components.

The Role of Pricing

In a market economy, the price system coordinates and guides economic activity so flawlessly that most people don't appreciate the important role that market prices play. Market prices transmit information

about relative scarcity and then efficiently coordinate economic activity. The economic content of prices provides incentives which promote economic efficiency.

For example, when the OPEC cartel restricted the supply of oil in the 1970s, oil prices rose dramatically. The higher price for oil and gasoline transmitted valuable information to both buyers and sellers. Consumers received a strong, clear message about the scarcity of oil by the higher prices at the pump and were forced to change their behaviour dramatically. People reacted to the scarcity by driving less, carpooling more, taking public transportation, buying smaller cars, etc. Producers reacted to the higher price by increasing their efforts at exploration for more oil. In addition, higher oil prices gave producers an incentive to explore and develop alternative fuel and energy sources.

The information transmitted by higher oil prices provided the appropriate incentive structure to both buyers and sellers. Buyers increased their effort to conserve a now more precious resource and sellers increased their effort to find more of this now scarcer resource.

Price Controls

The only alternative to a market price is a controlled or fixed price which always transmits misleading information about relative scarcity. Inappropriate behaviour results from a controlled price because false information has been transmitted by an artificial, non-market price.

Look at what happened during the 1970s when gas prices were controlled in the United States. Long lines developed at gas stations all over the country because the controlled price for gasoline was artificially low, which therefore transmitted misleading information about scarcity. The full impact of the true scarcity was not accurately transmitted because the controlled price was kept artificially low by government fiat. As Milton Friedman pointed

out at the time, we could have eliminated the lines at the pump in one day by allowing the price to rise to clear the market.

From our experience with price controls on gasoline and the long lines at the pump and general inconvenience, we get an insight into what happens under socialism where every price in the economy is controlled. The collapse of socialism is due in part to the chaos and inefficiency that result from artificial prices. The information content of a controlled price is always distorted, which then distorts the incentives mechanism of prices under socialism. Administered prices are always either too high or too low, which then creates constant shortages and surpluses. Market prices are the only way to transmit information that will create the right incentives to ensure economic efficiency.

Profit & Loss System

Socialism also collapsed because of its failure to operate under a competitive, profit-and-loss system of accounting. A profit system is a very effective monitoring mechanism which continually evaluates the economic performance of every business enterprise. The firms that are the most efficient and successful at serving the public. A competitive profit system ensures a constant reoptimization of resources and moves the economy toward greater levels of efficiency. Unsuccessful firms cannot escape the strong discipline of the marketplace under a profit/loss system. A competitive, market-based system forces companies to serve the public interest or suffer the consequences.

Under central planning, there is no profit-and-loss system of accounting to accurately measure the success or failure of various programs. Without profits, there is no way to discipline firms that fail to serve the public interest and no way to reward firms that do. There is no efficient way to determine which programs should be expanded and which ones should be contracted or terminated.

Without competition, centrally planned economies do not have an effective incentive structure to coordinate economic activity. Without incentives the results are an spiralling cycle of poverty and misery. Instead of continually reallocating resources towards greater efficiency, socialism falls into a vortex of inefficiency and failure.

Property Rights

A third fatal defect of socialism is its blatant disregard for the role that private property rights play in creating incentives that foster economic growth and development. The failure of socialism around the world is a "tragedy of the commons" on a global scale.

The "tragedy of the commons" refers to the British experience of the 16th century when certain grazing lands were communally owned by villages and were made available for public use. The land was quickly overgrazed and eventually became worthless as villagers exploited the communally owned resource.

The tragedy of publicly owned assets is that there are no incentives in place to encourage wise stewardship. Whereas private property creates incentives for conservation and the responsible use of property, public property encourages property to be used irresponsibly and wastefully. If everyone owns an asset, people act as if no one owns it, no one really takes care of it. Public ownership encourages neglect and mismanagement.

Since socialism, by definition, is a system marked by the "common ownership of the means of production", the failure of socialism is a "tragedy of the commons" on a national scale. Much of the economic stagnation of socialism can be traced to the failure to establish and promote private property rights.

As Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto remarked, you can travel in rural communities around the world and you will hear dogs barking, because even dogs understand prop-

erty rights. It is only statist governments that have failed to understand property rights. Socialist countries are just now starting to recognise the importance of private property as they privatise assets and property in Eastern Europe.

Therefore, without the incentives of market prices, profit-and-loss accounting and well-defined property rights, socialist economies stagnate and wither. The economic atrophy that occurs under socialism is a direct consequence of its neglect of economic incentives.

No amount of natural resources is ever enough to compensate a country for its lack of an efficient system of incentives. Russia, for example, is one of the world's wealthiest countries in terms of natural resources; it has some of the world's largest reserves of oil, natural gas, diamonds and gold. It also has valuable farm land, lakes, rivers and streams across a land area that encompasses 11 time zones and yet it is on the verge of becoming a third world country. Natural resources are helpful, but the ultimate resources of any country are the unlimited resources of its

peoples - human resources.

Socialism's 'Big Lie'

By their failure to foster, promote and nurture the human potential of their people through incentive enhancing institutions, centrally planned economies deprive the human spirit of full development. Socialism fails because it kills and destroys the human spirit - just ask the people leaving Cuba in home-made rafts and boats.

The temptress of socialism is constantly luring us with the offer: "Give up a little of your freedom and I will give you a little more security". As the experience of this century has demonstrated, the bargain is tempting but never pays off. We end up losing both our freedom and our security.

Programs like socialized medicine, welfare, social security and minimum wage laws will continue to entice us because on the surface they appear to be expedient and beneficial. Those programs like all socialist programs, will fail in the long run regardless of initial appearances. These programs are part of the Big

Lie of socialism because they ignore the important role of incentives. Socialism will remain a constant temptation. We need to be vigilant in our fight against socialism ...

The global failure of socialism has begun a worldwide renaissance of freedom and liberty. For the first time in the history of the world, the day is coming very soon when a majority of the people in the world will live in free societies or societies rapidly moving towards freedom.

Capitalism will play a major role in the global revival of liberty and prosperity, because it nurtures the human spirit, inspires human creativity and promotes the spirit of enterprise. By providing a powerful system of incentives that promotes thrift, hard work and efficiency, capitalism creates wealth.

The main difference between capitalism and socialism is this: capitalism works.

DR. MARK J. PERRY is an assistant Professor of Economics and Finance at Jacksonville University, USA.

Courtesy: WORLD CAPITALISM REVIEW.

Talk about quality...
we'll define it
in two words.

Bharat Bijlee

Quality. It's something we don't have to talk about much. At Bharat Bijlee our products speak eloquently for us. And so do our customers. Because for forty years now the Bharat Bijlee name has spelt quality. Be it in transformers, motors or lifts.

Let's talk about transformers. Our range is one that's won wide approval from some very demanding customers. And we're always looking for innovative ways to enhance the range. Bharat Bijlee motors too have made their mark. As is amply borne out by the

fact that 60,000 motors leave our factory every year.

In lifts, we've moved up rather fast. And with our technical collaboration with Schindler of Switzerland we're all set to move even higher.

We have recently ventured into a new field — turnkey electrification projects. Here too it's our commitment to quality that's earning us a name in the field.

Our activities are diverse. Yet they all have one thing in common. Quality. Of an uncommon kind.



Bharat Bijlee Ltd.

Electric Mansion,
Appasaheb Marathe Marg,
Prabhadevi, Bombay 400 025.

**Transformers • Motors •
Lifts • Projects •**

Godrej®

ELECTRONIC TYPEWRITER

The right choice
for your office.



STARWRITER

VERY, VERY TALENTED

Are there Indians in India ?

Bhamy V. Shenoy

The British policy of 'divide and rule' helped them keep India for 200 years. Our politicians and rulers have the same policy to keep Indians divided into myriad fragments. This has denied economic freedom to millions of poor Indians who are not in a position to enjoy their political freedom.

When there are more than nine hundred million Indians in India the title of this article will be perceived by at least a few to be provocative enough to reflect and act on the thoughts I have expressed. It is inevitable that some may consider the title to be naive and stupid. A few may even consider it as mischievous and controversial. It will indeed be sad and tragic if the readers are indifferent and ignore totally the message conveyed by the title.

It was a fund raising meeting organized by Indians in Houston, Texas (USA). The master of ceremonies was announcing that the *Reddys* had contributed, the *Kammas* had contributed and where are the *Brahmins* to donate? It was largely a crowd of Andhraites. Even though they were thousands of miles away from their motherland, Indians needed the support of caste to motivate their people to donate funds to a good cause. Why?

Divide and Rule

If one meets an Indian in any part of India and asks about his identity, the latter is likely to start with what language or dialect he speaks followed by his sub-caste, the village and perhaps the district he hails from and, in an unlikely situation even the state of his origin. Our political leaders have been making sure that all their voters do know their sub-caste, dialect and the religion to which they belong etc. In other words all the possible factors which can divide and sub-divide Indian society into infinitesimally small groups.

In our country we have organizations to represent the interests of every conceivable subgroup at every possible place be it the university, a government office, and the factory at the micro level and at macro level, streets, villages, blocks, talukas, districts, and states and only then the country. But there are very few all India level organizations representing the interest of all Indians. Even national level political parties though supposedly national and claiming to represent Indians from all strata of society irrespective of religion, caste, language, region etc. are mostly influenced by narrow and divisive issues.

The recent examples of the Mandal and Ayodhya crises and the despicable manner in which all political parties exploited the fluid situation for their electoral advantage, clearly show how bankrupt we are as a country. Political leaders have been using one community against the other or one caste against the other.

(Mis)Using Caste and Religion

If the BJP won the UP election in 1990 mainly using the *Hindutva* card, the victory of the SJP of Mulayam Singh and the Bahujan Samaj Party of Kanshi Ram in 1993 was equally on caste and communal lines. It is not that other parties upheld high moral principles. They also tried to appease one group or another using divisive factors. In the beginning, the Congress succeeded in creating vote banks of brahmins, SC, ST and muslims. Every party perhaps with

the exception of communists use caste factors to the maximum to win elections.

National Perspective Missing

No political party today is capable of analyzing any problem taking an overall perspective of the country. Take the recently signed GATT treaty for instance. Though many if not most do not even know what the GATT treaty is all about and what it will do for India, all opposition parties have put it high on the political agenda to divert attention from the main problems on hand. It is not that the ruling Congress(I) members know GATT and appreciate what it will do for India. If they were in the opposition they too would have opposed it to derive political mileage. Undoubtedly some sections of Indian society will indeed suffer (drug manufacturers but not farmers) as a result of GATT. But overall, India will potentially gain much. But today we as a society are totally incapable of seeing anything from the overall point of view of the nation.

It is easy to blame politicians for all the ills of the society. But the citizens both educated and uneducated, rich and poor, urban and rural, informed and uninformed are equally to blame in a democracy. The educated have greater responsibility. But they are the ones who have betrayed India.

Lack of Education not the Reason

Often we attribute many of our problems to lack of education. Let us see how our highly educated and affluent Indians in the USA are performing.

Even as it is not possible to find a true Indian in India, the same is true in the case of the USA despite the fact there are more than one million Indians in that country. In every major American city there are myriad associations representing immigrants from India based on religion, region, language and even caste. True there are also associations representing all Indians. But they are usually small and have the least assets.

As a result of this disunity of Indians and, despite all their affluence and professional expertise, they are unable to influence US government's policy on India. Their recent policy initiatives regarding Kashmir can have a far-reaching impact on India. Because of a lack of proper organization, Indians in the USA are unable to carry out their responsibility.

The British policy of 'divide and rule' helped them keep India for 200 years. Our politicians and rulers have the same policy to keep Indians divided into myriad fragments. This has denied economic freedom to millions of poor Indians who are not in a position to enjoy their political freedom.

It is not the western countries which are keeping us poor. It is not OPEC that is preventing us from developing by not selling oil at low prices. It is not the World Bank or IMF or GATT that is putting hurdles on our path to development. The enemy is within us. Our political system has succeeded in pitting one caste against another, one religious community against the other and so on.

Reservations

The Constitution allowed positive discrimination in favour of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes for a limited time with the hope that society would succeed in bringing them onto a level playing field. This strategy has only partially succeeded in alleviating their problem. But it has created far more problems in

that people have started to clamour for more reservations. Everybody would like to be considered as belonging to some backward class. Merit and hardwork have, in the process, become casualties. Reservations have become ends in themselves and not a means to the end as was planned by the framers of the Constitution of India. Instead of coming up with better strategies to solve the problems of the downtrodden our political system has extended the reservation to more groups. This has further deteriorated the relationship between groups of Indians and social tensions have reached breaking point.

A society which rewards its members on the basis of caste cannot advance much. If earlier, Brahmins succeeded in exploiting society, now it has become the prerogative of the so-called backward castes. If indeed they are backward and society has mistreated them, why do so many (even those belonging to 'forward castes', try so hard to belong to that group?

We have, indeed begun the process of liberalization. But we have a long way to go before we succeed in reducing the interference of our politicians in the running of economic institutions. Our political and social systems based on reservations have turned out to be even bigger failures. Instead of revamping the whole system, we are expanding the scope of reservation to divide society into even smaller groups based on caste and communal factors.

The Crab Mentality

It is often mentioned as a joke that we do not need a cover to pack Indian crabs lest they jump out of the basket. This pretty much describes Indian society today. We are jealous of one another. Brahmins are jealous of Dalits and Dalits of Brahmins. Every group thinks from its own narrow point of view and could not care less for the national interest.

It is not because of rampant corruption or the failure of central planning or the ideology of socialism

or the exploding population (which can be argued as the result rather than the cause of underdevelopment) or some such reason that India is unable to develop and make a dent in the problem of poverty. It is because of the unfortunate baggage of thousand years of history which has unleashed centripetal forces causing the disintegration of Indian society into thousands of warring subcastes. Our political leaders have succeeded in injecting the crab mentality into the Indian gene. Unless we manage to overcome the devastating forces of caste and communal forces by educating the youth and also their teachers (which should be carried out first) we may not even remain as a country.

DR. BHAMY V. SHENOY an engineer worked in a American oil company for over 20 years. After returning to India, he is actively involved in consumer movement, environmental protection, education and energy studies.

The Indian subcontinent has already suffered enough at the hands of those who for political reasons have sought to create new forms of polarisation. The worst such body blow was dealt by Partition, especially to Bengal, Punjab and the NWFP. Pakistan's experience shows, however, that attempting to supplant ethnicity with, in their case, religion as the base of nationalism was not a conspicuous success.

The antidote of this process is not the BJP's hyper-nationalism, or the VHP's religious chauvinism, for that only deepens the fracture in ethnic identities and compounds the danger to the integrity of the country. It lies in strengthening ethnic identity, in consciously fostering pride in one's language, culture, and religion even while learning to respect the richness of the other ethnic cultures of this wonderfully variegated country.

Unfortunately ethnic loyalty has been treated with a barely concealed mistrust by the elite in India. Every step towards cultural homogenisation, whether through mega serials like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, or through MTV is welcome. Bangalore, Muzaffarnagar and Dehra Dun are warnings that something infinitely more dangerous may lie down this road.

Prem Shankar Jha,
Business Standard,
October 21.

Secularism : The Debate Continues

Plato knew his Onions

Sheryar Ookerjee

I agree entirely with the contents of Sharad Bailur's article, "Secularism Indian *Ishtyle*" "except for the first two sentences of paragraph 5 (*Freedom First*, No.423, July-Sept.1994). In paragraph 2, Bailur clearly sums up the principle of secularism in the Indian Constitution. The "freedom to profess, practise and propagate any religion" merely prevents the state from "forcing any particular religious belief" and, one may add, practice, upon its citizens. Bailur also draws a subtle but important distinction between "the inviolability of the right to hold a belief" and respect for that belief itself.

I also agree that all religions are based on faith and not on reason and evidence. I would further add that it is the very essence of a religion to claim exclusive truth for itself. All talk about the different religions being doors leading to the same room (Radhakrishnan) or rivers flowing into the same sea (Anandamayi) are just thoughtless and inapplicable metaphors.

However, I cannot agree with Bailur that, because of all this, all religions are "by definition, intolerant" and with the implications he draws from this. Holding a belief, whether on evidence or on faith, and holding it with strong conviction, need not, still, make one intolerant.

Tolerance of another person's views is an ethical, social and civic duty. It is the very essence of civilised life. A civilised person can hold a belief, religious or any other, very firmly and without a shadow of doubt regarding its truth, and yet may not only tolerate a contrary belief but even grant (on the principle of fallibility) that, that belief may be true and his own false. Of course, until one's own belief is seen or shown to be false, one does not have to, indeed one cannot, give it up. Hence, tolerance of other beliefs has nothing to do with the manner in which they have been acquired. As a sensible, decent and law-abiding person, I do not break your head because you hold a different belief. It all depends on whether one is a sensible, decent and law-abiding person.

I turn to another very important point brought out by Bailur. This refers to the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. To the average and even many educated Hindus, these epics are not just great literature but are highly charged with emotive power. Therefore, they should be treated with extreme caution. In this context, it is instructive to recall what Plato had to say.

More than two thousand years ago, giving his blueprint for an ideal republic in *The Republic*, Plato said

that epic poets like Homer and Hesiod should not be allowed in such a republic. His reason was that epic poetry as the Greeks of his time knew it and on which the young were brought up were full of morally dubious stories about gods and goddesses and that, though these were poetic fictions, they had a harmful moral effect on young or immature minds. Influenced by these stories, they would then act in ways that would endanger public welfare and the stability and unity of the state.

Plato's critics have scoffed at these ideas, declaring that we can enjoy the epics without taking the gods and goddesses at all seriously and without being morally depraved by reading about their activities.

But those who talk like that have not appreciated the power of literature, and particularly of poetry, of which Plato was well aware. While we and our Hindu brothers do not believe that the Greek epics depict the truth, the average Hindu does take his epics very seriously and believes that what is written therein has historical truth. If so, they have enormous emotional potentiality and the capacity to influence thought and action. In expelling the poets from his republic, Plato knew his onions.

Prof. Sheryar Ookerjee, is a retired Professor of Philosophy.

States are Secular - Not Societies

P. R. Dubhashi

In the wake of the demolition of the disputed structure at Ayodhya and the subsequent two waves of turmoil in the premier city of Bombay and cities in Gujarat like Ahmedabad, Surat and elsewhere, the concept of secularism has once again become the focal point of national debate and discussion.

The votaries of secularism are talking in terms of strengthening the secular forces and establishment of a secular society. They do not seem to realise that secularism is an attribute of the State and not the description of the society.

The Indian Constitution set up a secular state by enjoining that (a)

the state shall not discriminate on grounds of religion and (b) all citizens would be free to pursue their own religion and carry out their religious practices without let or hindrance.

The basic idea behind these provisions is that the Indian Constitution is based on the concept of

citizenship and not on the concept of religions denomination. In other words, the state established by the Constitution is a secular state and not a theocratic state.

Consistent with this basic concept of the Indian Constitution, the Representation of People's Act lays down that appeal to religious sentiments at the time of election would be deemed to be a corrupt practice. It is because of this express provision that the Bombay High Court in recent judgements set aside the elections of several Shiv Sena candidates.

If during the last 44 years the State had scrupulously adhered to the concept of secularism as envisaged in the Constitution, the concept would have by now taken deep roots. Unfortunately this has not happened and hence Indians instead of thinking themselves as equal citizens of the Indian Republic have started thinking themselves as members of castes, communities and religions.

The Constitution does not talk of a secular society. Instead it recognizes the existence of various religions and the freedom of Indian Citizens to pursue their religions. It is one of the fundamental freedoms granted by the Indian Constitution. In other words even if the society is religious, the State could be secular.

Unfortunately the co-existence of a secular State and a religious society has not been a successful experience. We should analyse why.

That the Indian society is deeply religious is a fact to be recognised. Not only the masses of people but even the elite and the well to do are no exception, save some agnostics. This is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that on assumption of office, the first act of the people at the highest level is to rush to religious places and seek the blessings of the deity. The same behaviour is displayed in times of trouble to secure divine blessings for continuance in power. For such people to give sermons on creating a secular society is the height of hypocrisy. That is why their appeals

to create a secular society have become meaningless and carry no conviction with the people.

What is worse, religion which was hitherto confined to the private lives of people has made powerful inroads into secular aspects of our polity. religious vote banks being the central consideration in our elections to democratic institutions, Choice of candidates by all parties have been on the "non-secular" considerations of caste and religion. On the conclusion of elections, the composition of the council of Ministers is based on caste and religious composition. This intrusion of religion in politics has greatly strengthened the hold of religion, weakened the concept of equal citizenship and made a mockery of our secular Constitution.

What is worse, it has vitiated the social atmosphere which appears to be much worse then it was before the advent of our secular Constitution. Traditionally Indian society has gone on, on the basis of the principle of 'live and let live'. Aware of the existence of different religions and caste groups, traditional Indian society expected them to observe their own religious practices and organise their festivals in which members of other castes or religions could also be invited to participate which, in the face-to-face communities of villages and even in towns and cities they often did with great gusto. In the day to day business of life, different castes and religious communities cooperated with each other on the basis of their complementary traditional skills and functions. A general spirit of harmony prevailed without incantation of the term "secularism" in season and out of season. In several areas of life members of different castes and religions collaborated. For example Hindustani music is truly a great tradition jointly nurtured by Hindus and Muslims alike from the days of Amir Khusro, Swami Haridas and Miyan Tansen.

Unfortunately, politics has upset the apple cart of this traditional

ACC

cement

**FOR
RELIABILITY
STRENGTH
AND
QUALITY**

ACC

**THE ASSOCIATED
CEMENT COMPANIES
LIMITED**

coexistence and corporation. As a result, the general ethos of harmonious living has all but vanished. Witness the barbarous events in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Surat and many other places. At the same time, it should not go unnoticed that in many trouble prone places like Pune, Bhiwandi and Belgaum, peace prevailed and even in Bombay, examples of humanity in the midst of communal conflagration have been reported. This shows that while the brutalisation of the psyche of Indians has taken place on a large scale, all is not lost and the tradition of tolerance and mutual cooperation can still be revived.

But that cannot be done by invoking a secular society. Such a thing does not exist and is more self deception. After 70 years of communism, the orthodox church has come back to Russia. And in Poland, the catholic church provided the inspiration for driving out communism. That only shows that deeply rooted traditional institutions like religion and caste cannot be wished away, however hoarse may be the cry of socialists and secularists.

That does not mean that we should not try to bring in a mood of rational behaviour worthy of a mature society. A people prone to be upset over Mandir and Masjid cannot be considered to be mature. Peace is bound to be brittle in a society where the mood is not rational and the society not mature.

But those in authority should themselves first review their conduct. If they talk of secularism but keep their eye on vote banks and go to shrines, gurus and babas to solicit divine support for their perpetuation in power and these events are shown on T.V. and widely reported in the press, they lose all moral authority and their appeals fall on deaf ears. This is what happened in Bombay. There was no "one man army" of Mahatma Gandhi to quench the fires.

A secular society, is likely to

prove to be a will-of-the-wisp. Instead of pursuing it, let those in authority scrupulously adhere to the requirement of a secular state which the Constitution lays down. Some of these may be enumerated as follows:

1. All Indians are treated as citizens - there are no Hindu, Muslim or Christian Indians.
2. All citizens are governed by the same law - constitutional, criminal and civil.
3. Development programmes are for all citizens - there are no special "minority programmes".
4. There are no special minority commissions - all needy citizens get state assistance on the basis of general stipulations.
5. Those in authority do not make public visits to shrines or participate in religious ceremonies at public cost. Such visits would be treated as strictly private.

There need be no attempt to set up a secular society because secularism is not a new religion nor a substitute for religion. On the other hand, traditional values of tolerance and broadmindedness should be nurtured. Much intolerance and narrow mindedness stems from ignorance which permeates on a much large scale than usually believed. Education is the best way of dispelling ignorance.

Indian unity can be preserved if it is not subjected to the strains of dubious concepts and breaches between practice and pronouncement. A more straightforward and honest approach to promote a secular state and a tolerant and mature society can still heal the wounds of India from which she is tragically bleeding today.

DR. P. R. DUBASHI is the Vice Chancellor of Goa University.

DO A FAVOUR

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

Freedom First
4th floor
127, Mahatma Gandhi Rd
Bombay 400023

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 _____

★

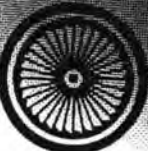
Your Name _____

Address _____

Pin _____

Finally The Battle For Air Supremacy Is Over.



Presenting
PSPO 

(The latest weapon in the air war)

Orient introduces **PSPO** – the latest Air Supply Technology – which explodes the Air Tunnel concept and provides "Peak Speed Performance Output". **PSPO** is breakthrough engineering design which delivers maximum air over the largest area. At the least electricity cost.

ORIENT PSPO. The ultimate breakthrough in Air Supply Technology.

PSPO ADVANTAGE

**R₈ DESIGN • DTA BLADE • MAXI-TORQUE
AUTO-SPEED RETENTION • THE PSPO FACTOR**

ORIENT
PSPO 

More air everywhere

ORIENT PSPO fans are available from
PSPO 400 to PSPO 520

Which Fundamentalism?

Ian Tickle

Fundamentalism is a big word. It embraces a lot. It is difficult to refrain from applying it to Vatican policies, where the end justifies the means to the extent of establishing an alliance with number one public enemies.

What are we to make of the strange - I would not like to say unholy - alliance between the Vatican and a number of Islamic countries not best known for their strong moral stance in politics? Is it not a remarkable thing to see emissaries of the Pope visiting representatives of anti-Western and anti-Christian dictatorships, such as Iran and Libya?

A conference on population, such as that which has just been held in Cairo, is bound to turn on family planning. If we are fighting for a better world for our children and our children's children, the problem of population has to be addressed. For otherwise the time will surely come, long after all of us are dead, when life itself will be threatened by its own proliferation. Progress so far has concentrated on bettering the human lot, but this betterment has brought with it the seeds of its own death. A foresight of this can be seen in the misery caused by overpopulation in many parts of the world. Participants in the conference did not have to look farther afield than some parts of Cairo itself, where hundreds of thousands of people have been forced to make their homes in rubbish dumps. The same is true of many other urban centres throughout the third world.

To most people, family planning means artificial contraception used for birth control, mainly based on physical devices or medicaments. Roman Catholic theology considers this to be evil in itself, and the present pope is determined that there shall be no change in this doctrine. No one doubts that the vast majority of people in the world, including (I dare to say

it) most Roman Catholics, disagree with this.

Before the vast propaganda barrage which accompanied the Cairo Conference on Population, family planning did not include abortion. It is true that this is an issue which has always been on the feminist agenda, but it is a matter of women's rights and not of family planning. Abortion may be a way of preventing individual births, but by definition it is not contraception. So how did the two things come to be identified so closely during the pre-conference publicity?

The answer is as clear as it is regrettable. Vatican diplomacy has always been astute: it is now aware that it cannot create a genuine constituency in public opinion against contraception. But there is already one against abortion. By linking contraception to abortion, it can bring it into disrepute. For the Vatican both are equally immoral. But for many millions across the world who agree that abortion is immoral, contraception is not.

The Vatican's opposition to the aims of the Cairo Conference was perhaps predictable, but the strength of it or the duplicity of it was not. Perhaps the fundamentalist connection may have been appreciated by historians of the papacy, who know well enough that the great values of the universal church have often been overshadowed by the means used to reach the Vatican's current ends. Such historians are well aware that there have been many times in history when Rome has allied itself with Islam against fellow-Christians. The

time of the Crusades is full of such examples. That was an age in which the hatred between Rome and Byzantium was often greater than that between Catholic Jerusalem and Umayyad Damascus.

The Crusades are useful in the present debate for another reason too. In an article in these pages some time ago ("Islam misused by Islamic militants" - *Swiss Press Review*, 17/94), the following sentence appeared: "The Muslim religion is being used by Islamic militants for political ends". The author might have been shocked to imagine that a similar sentence about Christianity might be true so soon, e.g. "The Christian religion is being used by the Vatican for political ends". Yet it is not so surprising in historical terms. Islam spread from the Arabian peninsula eastward to China and westward to Spain, but it was always by the sword - sometimes allied to diplomacy. The time of the Crusades is one of many episodes in history in which the Christian religion (both Protestant and Catholic) was also spread by the sword. We may also think of the early colonisation of Latin America.

No one doubts the strength of Pope John Paul's conviction that contraception is wrong. And there should be less surprise about the fact that he regards any allies as useful against it. It is also understandable that Islamic fundamentalists are glad to find a prestigious ally at the very heart of western civilisation. Their objections to family planning - perhaps also to abortion - are much less passionate than they appear. There is certainly no forcible prohibition on contraception in the Koran. It is only

when it is allied to conventional immorality that the trouble starts.

Egypt - where the conference was held - is a perfect example of the dilemma. It is one of the most densely populated countries in the world, mainly because most of its land is desert. Although some progress has been made in making the desert green, it is as nothing to the improvement in public health - leading to an increase in population so unbridled that the country is already faced with the catastrophic situation which the rest of the world may be faced with in a century or so. For millennia, the population of the Nile Valley was limited by the fact that there was a rough balance between life and death. Progress has changed that.

Successive Egyptian governments - Muslim but not fundamentalist - have been well aware of the importance of family planning. In the last decades, they have been relatively successful in curbing population growth by means of

contraception. This success should be measured against the enormous difficulty in the way of changing social habits in a traditional society. For a rural Egyptian family, the aim of family planning has always been more children not less. The greatest misfortune for a man was to have a barren wife - in a day when only women could be barren! The main reason for this was precisely the fact that many children died before adulthood - but habits of thought do not change easily. The fact that the improvement in public health serves the same purpose as having many children, but in another way, has not yet struck a chord in the average Egyptian village.

Fundamentalists have a good name amongst the Cairo poor because of their good works. Their support is based on charitable activity. A starving man who is given a good meal is not bothered by the fact that his benefactor may be a murderer in another part of his life. The government is unpopular because it

is perceived as doing too little for the poor. If there is some truth in this line of argument at the micro level, there is none at all at the macro level. Egypt as a whole has become more prosperous over the last two decades. This is partly because of the trickling down process of an ongoing economic boom and partly because of the government's success in curbing population growth. This must go on.

Of course this is not a boon to the fundamentalists. It is poverty itself not the end of it that serves their purpose. Only by alienating Egypt's poor - the overwhelming majority of Egyptians - from the government can they ever hope to win power. And then where will the poor be? Fundamentalism is a big word. It embraces a lot. It is difficult to refrain from applying it to Vatican policies, where the end justifies the means to the extent of establishing an alliance with number one public enemies.

Courtesy: *Swiss Press Review*.

Why did you bother to point out the Great Bear in the sky?

Why did you worry if I played in the rain too long?

Why did you love my poems, my awful poems?

Why did you take me for long walks?

Why did you tell me not to run after money?

Why did my successes make you proud?

Why did you teach me to gamble on myself, and not on cards?

When I become a father, maybe I'll know why.

And I hope I'll be a father like you.

Papa, pal, the complete man.



Raymond
SINCE 1924

NEXUS EQUITY 1550 J

Lord Acton

G. N. Sarma

Majoritarianism can be inimical to freedom as disunited and warring groups within the body politic. They may use religion, language, culture or communalism to stir up discord and antagonism. Had he witnessed the recent alarming growth of religious fundamentalism and violent religious and ethnic strife as in Bosnia and elsewhere, Lord Acton may have placed equal emphasis on the need to ensure basic secular agreement among the pluralistic elements in the polity.



Lord Acton's life spanned nearly three quarters of the 19th century. It was a period crowded with events of historic and far reaching significance. The unification of Italy (1861) was soon followed by the unification of Germany (1871) under the Iron Chancellor Bismarck. With this, as Acton remarked, the day of Machiavelli had arrived.

A notable event in the New World was the victory of the Federal forces in the civil war (1865) and the earlier emancipation of slaves by Abraham Lincoln. This was the second American revolution according to Acton.

Contemporary Events

Acton was in France during the blood stained days of the commune of Paris (1871) and knew revolution for what it was. The picture was different in England. The prosperity and optimism of the industrialised and imperial island was symbolised by the Great Exhibition of 1851. The Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884 were landmarks in the progress of democracy. J.S. Mill's *On Liberty* (1859) and *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861) were critical reflections on these political developments. The publication of

Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and the *Descent of Man* (1871) rudely disturbed religious orthodoxy and had the effect of questioning the very foundations of the church and the authority of revelation. Catholic society was in a state of ferment following the Oxford movement.

Religious Influence Contained

The Liberal government of Gladstone abolished University Religious tests in 1871 and Acton who had been, as a Catholic, denied admission in the University of Cambridge, was appointed Regius Professor in 1895. The decrees of the Vatican Council (1870) proclaiming the infallibility of the Pope and the preeminence of the church roused alarm not only in religious but also in political quarters. Bismarck outdid the Pope by his Kulturkampf and posed a danger to religion as well as to society.

Dr. Dollinger and Acton raised their voices against the Vatican decrees and Dollinger who was especially vehement in his protest was excommunicated. Acton continued to hold liberal views but remained within the church. He described himself as "A man who started in life..... a sincere Catholic and a sincere liberal; who therefore renounced everything in Catholicism which was not compatible with liberty, and everything in politics that was not compatible with Catholicity." He was critical of the Papacy and the church but unprepared to renounce them altogether. In Acton's thought, liberalism was the secular face of religion; and liberalism enriched one another. It is

remarkable how he, a believer and catholic, supported Bradlaugh's admission into Parliament on Bradlaugh's own terms though Bradlaugh was a rationalist. Liberty of conscience was, for Acton, the soul of Liberalism and Catholicism as well.

The British Genius for Constitutionalism

In politics as in religion Acton was faced with the tension between the spirit of Revolution and the conservative temper. Burke was, to him, the last word in political wisdom and the English settlement of 1689 the model of Revolution, notwithstanding its serious defects. The British genius for constitutionalism remedied these defects, avoided the bloodshed and anarchy which marred the French Revolution and the Paris Commune. Acton viewed the first American Revolution also in the same light. The American Settlement, like the British Settlement, had its shortcomings. "Weighed in the scales of Liberalism the instrument, as it stood, was a monstrous fraud." But the federal principle, as it developed in the U.S., remedied the defects and enabled the growth of a free and liberal society.

Suspicious of Revolutions

Acton was deeply suspicious of ideological revolutionary movements. There was a basis of ideology and principle behind the American Revolution but it was restrained from licentiousness by the inherited spirit of British tradition. The French Revolution, in contrast, broke loose from all restraint in the assertion of abstract principle and turned against

the whole unburied past." Wholesale revolution, revolution in the name of ideology, could have only one end - revolutionary dictatorship, revolutionary justice, "Justice with vengeance". The French Revolution had proclaimed liberty as its end but the passion for egalitarianism led to its total eclipse.

Acton & Burke

Ideas are the reality of history but ideology is its undoing. In this respect, too, Acton bears comparison with Burke. Burke defended the American Revolution because it was in line with British tradition and detested the French Revolution on account of its root and branch character and its overpowering thirst for blood. As it progressed, it turned into a fearful spectre and nightmare and unbalanced him. Acton was as vehement as Burke in his condemnation of the excesses of the revolutionaries but suggests that they need to be judged by the common law of human nature rather than as exceptions to the rule.

"The Revolution will never be intelligently known to us until we discover its conformity to the common law, and recognise that it is not utterly singular and exceptional, that other scenes have been as horrible as these, and many men as bad."

The Primacy of Ideas

In principle, however, Revolution cannot be justified. At any rate it cannot be regarded as the sole agent of history. He was only too well aware of the various forces shaping history but accorded the primary place to ideas. He said in an Inaugural lecture, "If the supreme conquests of society, are won more often by violence than by lenient arts, if the trend and drift of things is towards convulsions and catastrophes, if the world owes religious liberty to the Dutch Revolution, constitutional government to the English, federal republicanism to the American, political equality to the French and its successors, what is to become of us, docile and attentive students of the absorbing past? The triumph of

the Revolutionist annuls the historian." History, that is to say, is construction and Revolution is undoing. It would seem, from Acton's view, that the benefits of Revolution, if any, are unintended and undesigned and the result of the unseen working of the law of Progress. Revolution, like absolute monarchy, was the worst enemy of civil liberty and a violent interruption of the steady course of Progress. If this is so, one might ask, is the law of progress so restricted that it cannot take revolution within its fold? Does history exclude revolution altogether?

Liberty Within the Law

Acton's view of human nature was not entirely consistent with liberal philosophy and the Victorian faith in Progress - freedom broadening from precedent to precedent. Human nature would, no doubt, be degraded under revolutionary excitement but even otherwise it is not angelic. "By all means we should think well until forced to think ill of people. But we must be prepared for that compulsion; and the experience of history teaches us that the uncounted majority of those who get a place in its pages are bad." The masses, in his view, were "ignorant, vulgar and greedy." The basic reality of human nature is revealed under the temptation of power. The holder of office must be judged by his official conduct alone. The dying statements of tyrants are always moving and pathetic but cannot extenuate their crimes. Power does corrupt, it is true, but we cannot deny that a few, at least, are incorruptible. Liberalism would demand, in consideration of political reality, the taming of power rather than its total moral condemnation. Contradictory, as it may seem, Acton supported Gladstone's action in suspending *habeas corpus* in Ireland when Gladstone himself was apologetic. The liberty for which he stood was, in truth, within and not outside the framework of law and morality.

Tyranny of the Majority

Reference has already been made

to the broadening of suffrage in the 19th century. Was the progress of democratic reform consistent with the spirit of liberalism? It was, at best, doubtful. Liberalism needed to be safeguarded from democracy and the dictatorship of numbers. Tocqueville and Mill were already pointing to the dangers of the tyranny of the majority in democratic societies. The progress of democracy could by no means be halted but timely precautions against its dangers were an urgent need. "A true liberal, as distinguished from a Democrat," wrote Acton, "keeps this peril always before him".

He justified the existence of the House of Lords, in spite of its defects, as a force for stability. Further extensions of suffrage were inevitable but he entertained reservations regarding equal voting rights for women. He considered girls and widows as "Tories and channels for clerical influence" and his objections against voting wives were "overwhelming". The sanctity of private property and freedom of contract are central elements of the liberal creed. Adam Smith did emphasise the dominant role of labour in production but the Revolutionists and Socialists stretched his doctrine too far, denying justice to the other factors. Their enthusiasm for equality annulled the claims of liberty and subjected the free will of the individual to the unbridled power of the State. Justice required, said Acton, that property should not abdicate, but share its political supremacy. It is not just a single class that is unfit to govern, but every class is equally unfit to do so.

Upholding the Moral Law

Acton's sole concern was to uphold the privacy of conscience and the moral law and to prescribe guarantees for freedom in the modern state. He would not countenance relativity in morals; the moral law was not "ambulatory" and actions could not be justified by intentions. Nor is it enough to be legally correct in one's actions; what is more important is that they should be ethically

valid. As a statement of principle this is unexceptionable. But in the realm of politics where power, legality and ethical right incessantly jostle with each other, how are we to decide the character of historical personalities and actions? Judgement cannot be final and is subject to reconsideration with the passage of the time and the discovery of fresh evidence. Acton's assessment of historical characters like Strafford, Laud, Charles I and Marie Antoinette illustrates the difficulty.

Ensuring Freedom

There could be only two ways of ensuring freedom in the modern political context - one, the federal state and other the pluralistic polity. The answer to the problem of the centralised state was provided by American federalism which reconciled state autonomy and central power. Misuse of authority was prevented by the erection of numerous constitutional checks and balances. Acton supported the first American Revolution which, with all its limitations, created a federal polity. He was sympathetic to the southern states in the civil war which in his view, was an assertion, albeit unsuc-

cessful, of state rights against aggressive federal power.

The Role of Nationalism

It was in his assessment of the contemporary phenomenon of Nationalism that Acton was far ahead of his time. "Free institutions," wrote J. S. Mill, "are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities." and insisted that the boundaries of governments and nationalities ought to coincide. It may be noted that Woodrow Wilson, too prescribed in 1918, natural self determination as the basis of a new world order. Acton did acknowledge the historic role of Nationalism; in its positive phase it saved the world from two of the worst enemies of civil freedom - absolute monarchy and revolution. But later, when it allied itself with democracy and majority rule, it turned into an enemy of freedom. Developments since Mill and Acton have proved both of them right. Majoritarianism can be inimical to freedom as disunited and warring groups within the body politic. They may use religion, language, culture or communalism to stir up discord and antagonism. Acton might have, had he witnessed the recent alarming growth of religious funda-

mentalism and violent religious and ethnic strife as in Bosnia and elsewhere, restated his formula and added equal emphasis on the need to ensure basic secular agreement among the pluralistic elements in the polity. In this respect Mill and Acton may find common ground. Variety is the very stuff of society but political irreconcilables can only tear it apart and prepare the ground for tyranny and the demise of freedom.

Apparent Contradictions

Acton's thought has to be judged not just by the criterion of consistency. The analyst can point to ambivalences and apparent contradictions in his ideas and attitudes and the lack of the steady light of reason and measured statement that distinguishes the writings of Mill. But there is ample compensation in his brilliant flashes of insight, and in the majesty and stateliness of his utterances. What stands above all is his passion for the sovereignty of the moral law, the indefeasible right of conscience and the freedom of the individual.

PROF. G. N. SARMA is a retired Professor of Political Science, Marathwada University, Aurangabad.

Some Memorable Quotes from Lord Acton

"[Liberty] ... that great political idea, sanctifying freedom and consecrating it to God, teaching men to treasure the liberties of others as their own, and to defend them for the love of justice and charity more than as a claim of right, has been the soul of what is great and good..."



"There is not a more perilous or immoral habit of mind than the sanctifying of success. Great men are almost always bad men. The great question is to discover, not what governments prescribe, but what they ought to prescribe; for no prescription is valid against the conscience of mankind."



"Liberty is not a means to a higher political end. It is itself the highest political end. Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely."



"Whenever a single definite object is made the supreme end of the state, be it the advantage of a class, the safety or the power of the country, the greatest happiness of the greatest number, or the support of any speculative idea, the state becomes for the time inevitably absolute."

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

- Rajaji's Speech



THE LAKSHMI MILLS COMPANY LIMITED

COIMBATORE - 641 037.

Vinda Karandikar :

Poet, Critic, Translator

Jatin Wagle

His is a complex literary achievement encompassing poetry, translation and literary criticism. He seems to invest these spheres with the temperament of an intense unquiet inventor.

One apprehends an aging litterateur and his productive past, the way one would an imposing yet time-ravaged rock at the sea-bed, with humility and with disbelief. The way one tries to grasp the forgotten rhythms of the sea by gazing onto the ravaged physiognomy of the rock, one attempts a recreation of the literary history by examining the personality of the aging litterateur : one's critical eye remains cautious yet nostalgic, painfully aware of the limited vision of the present that cannot really illuminate all the lost moments of the past. Vinda Karandikar, with a literary career spanning more than five prolific decades, poses such a challenge to the critical eye. His is a complex literary achievement encompassing poetry, translation and literary criticism. He seems to invest these spheres with the temperament of an intense unquiet inventor. Thus his output, displaying signs of rigorous experimentation, defies any attempts at convenient compartmentalization.

Early influences

Born in 1918 in a village in Konkan, Govind V. Karandikar, retains the remembrance of an impoverished childhood; the early revelation that his stepmother had killed a kinsman's child, still appears to haunt his memories. Having come very close to abandoning his schooling, he was rescued by a cook, who made higher education possible for him. After having gone

through four months of rigorous imprisonment in the early 1940's, the tumultuous times of the freedom movement, Karandikar completed his post-graduation in English Literature in 1946. But even before this period, he had started writing poetry and had already got interested in the personal essay. Madhav Julian, a foremost Marathi poet of the period influenced Karandikar in these formative years. He sustained Karandikar's faith in the creative act of writing poetry as also in the relationship of poetry with scholarship. He also convinced him of the need for empowering Marathi as a language of literary endeavour. Karandikar's study of English Literature in these years exposed him to the poetry of Browning, Hopkins and Eliot. This was also the period when he got interested in Jnaneshwar's *Amritanubhava*, though it was only after a span of thirty years that he translated this medieval metaphysical poem into contemporary Marathi.

Having been an admirer of the RSS and V. D. Savarkar at an early age, Karandikar came under the influence of Gandhism at the beginning of the 1940's. But it was only around 1943 that Vinda turned towards a serious study of Marxism, which culminated in an intellectual crisis. Marxism can be seen to have radicalized his socio-political perspective. This influence, liberating as well as critical, appears to have lent a certain humanistic gaze to his poetry

of this period.

'This road is inescapable :
look not
at these shivering creatures
living without food, without
clothes,
without knowledge, without
honour
- stitch up your eyes !

Look not
at these empty lives;
you will see phantoms
in the dead of night,
your breath will get stuck in
your breast.
Forget them, stifle your whim-
per:
be stone, my mind.'

(*'Be Stone, My Mind'*, trans. Vilas Sarang, *The Bombay Literary Review*, 1989, No.1, p.155)

In a collection of poems titled '*Swedaganga*', brought out in 1949, one notices a reflection of this emotional as well as intellectual turmoil. In the title-poem one witnesses a rich synthesis of the humanistic influence of Marxism and a symbolism rooted in the Indian psyche. While a poem such as '*Keertan*' deals with the contradictions of contemporary society using a certain colloquial idiom, a poem titled '*Raktasamadhi*' is a portrayal of the sexual experience in an unabashedly sensuous tone. The publication of this anthology emphasized a novel direction after B. S. Mardhekar in

the Modernist Marathi poetry.

'Make love that arises out of blood;
Make love that's pure, like animal drives;
Reach the major beast of blood
With all the force of a hundred lives.
Make love that's dumb, without a name;
Be grass before you love and kiss;
Make love like this; but... there's a 'but',
Make love before you know all this.'

('On Making Love', 'Some More Poems of Vinda', trans. Vinda Karandikar, pg.61)

After the uncertain 1940s Karandikar secured his reputation as a Modernist poet with the publication of *Mridagandha* in 1954, an anthology of poems in Marathi, followed by another collection titled *Dhripad*. These poems show a continued poetic engagement with contemporary issues. But the concern with the poetic form is seen to have resulted in a conscious experimentation with stylistic techniques. The idiosyncratic alternative to free verse in the earlier collection is seen to have matured into a rhythmical modulation.

'The sky is shaped
like a woman's breast
...
Breast-shaped are our hearts,
Breast-shaped the fears
Breast-shaped the pyres.
The funeral flame is breast-shaped,
breast-shaped
the globe itself.
Shaped like breastmilk
is Brahman.'

('Breastmilk Sukta', trans. Vilas Sarang, *The Bombay Literary Review*, 1989, No.1, p.155)

One of the visible aspects of Karandikar's poetic career is the development of the style of versification and a treatment of myriad

issues, coupled with an obvious and incessant experimentation. Though this might appear to be a superfluous game of vocabulary in some cases, his belief in 'an open view of poetry' is the true rationale supporting this strategy of experimentation. As the poet states in an interview with Sadanand Rege ('Ten Minutes With The Poet', Poems of Vinda): "An open view of poetry believes in the possibility, the usefulness and the aesthetic significance of many kinds of moods, many kinds of forms and many kinds of styles. It doesn't equate 'purity' with certain states of emotions, 'sincerity' with self-centered consistency, or 'beauty' with particular attributes of form. It doesn't belittle traditional forms and modes in its enthusiasm for experiments or dub normal moods and attitudes as essentially non-poetic. It admits ugliness, dirt, and vulgarity, but refuses to worship them as new deities. As a result it includes a wider variety of experiences and a greater range of techniques."

It was by the end of the sixties that Karandikar developed a serious yet eclectic literary, critical viewpoint. In a volume published in 1967 titled *Parampara Ani Navata* (Tradition And Modernity), he attempted a renewed critique of the age-old criteria of literary judgement such as spontaneity, sincerity and purity, supplemented with an examination of the subjective and the objective in literature. In this context, he clarifies: "A work of literary art can never be looked upon as a static entity ... It is not objective in the sense in which a work of science can be objective. It does not achieve its objectivity through the denial of the emotional elements in the subjective field, but through a chain of reference to the total emotional experience of humanity." (From *Realism as Literary Value*)

Much before these developments in his career as a poet and as a literary theorist, Karandikar had gained a reputation as a translator of serious texts. He translated

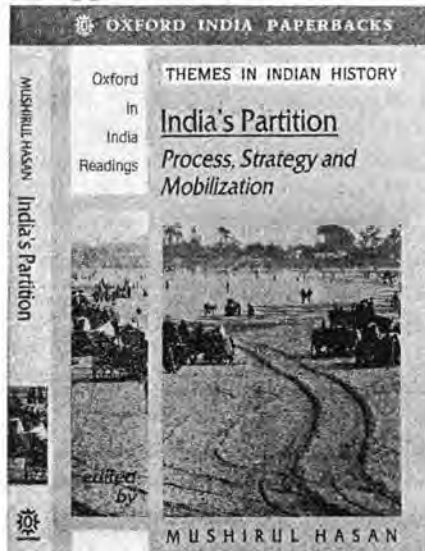
Aristotle's *Poetics* into Marathi as *Aristotleche Kavyashastra* in 1957. This authoritative translation includes critical commentaries and a comprehensive introduction. The first part of Goethe's *Faust* was translated by him in 1965. The most famous of his translations, that of Shakespeare's *King Lear* was brought out as *Raja Lear* in 1974. This play was recently performed by an experimental theatre group from Kolhapur to great critical applause. Apart from the translations into Marathi of these Western classics, Karandikar has also translated his own poetry into English. In 1967-68 on a Senior Fulbright Scholarship at Chicago University, he shared an enriching literary relationship with A. K. Ramanujan, the poet, linguist and folklorist. It was through a critical engagement with Ramanujan's successful experience as a translator that Karandikar came to believe in the possibility of a worthwhile translation of poetry. The result of this realisation is the three volumes of English translations of his own Marathi poems. Though he derived inspiration from Ramanujan, Karandikar retained his own perspective towards the activity of translation. He insists on being faithful to the text and advocates a conscious retranslation of the translated text into the source-language. A successful translation, according to him, should come as close to the original as possible.

This illustrious career with a varied and prolific output as poet, critic, translator and writer of children's verse has widely been recognized as a significant moment in the history of Indian letters. Karandikar has till now been the recipient of more than twenty awards for literary excellence. The greatest of these, the 'Kabir Sanman', awarded to him in 1991 can be seen as a fruitful culmination of a rich and eventful life.

MR. JATIN WAGLE teaches English Literature at the SNDT College, SNDT University, Bombay.

BOOK REVIEWS

INDIA'S PARTITION: PROCESS, STRATEGY AND MOBILIZATION; edited by Mushirul Hasan; Oxford University Press; Bombay; 1993; pp.426; Rs.390.



Reviewed by
Nagindas Sanghavi

Fifty years have failed to heal the trauma of the Partition and all the carnage and dislocation resulting from violently tearing apart what geography, culture and a century of British rule had welded into a seamless texture. In a way, the Partition negated the greatest achievements of British rule in India - unification and orderliness.

But the Partition was not a natural catastrophe nor a bolt from the blue. Like every major event in human history, it had a long gestation period and was a confluence of several multi-dimensional forces moving forward on a collision course in their own separate orbits. Prof. Mushirul Hasan has collected and edited a number of essays, articles and extracts from speeches as well as books, seeking to examine and to analyse the processes and the strategy which made Pakistan, the one and the only alternative available for all the participants in this epic tragedy. He has even included a short story from that master craftsman,

Sadat Hasan Manto, (certainly not his best or the most poignant) "Open".

Partition is not only a tragedy but also a triumph of forces unleashed by the currents of modernisation which sought to transform an age-old culture and which superimposed half-baked Western ideals on an Eastern and unawakened societal landscape. The phenomenon abounds in several inexplicable enigmas and paradoxes. Prof. Hasan has concentrated his attention on only of them: the role of Mr. Jinnah and the cataclysmic outburst of separatist tendencies which reached their fruition within less than a decade. Asim Roy's lengthy and laudatory review of Ayesha Jalal's *The sole Spokesman, Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* presents the astounding thesis that Jinnah never wanted partition, that Pakistan was only a bargaining chip and was imposed on Jinnah who was hoisted on his own petard. Despite all the academic paraphernalia, the thesis flatly contradicts both the course of events and the personal traits of Jinnah.

Prof. Moore's Essay "Jinnah and the Pakistan Demand", is in a way a convincing refutation of Ayesha Jalal's thesis. Prof. Moore presents enough evidence of the vagueness surrounding the demand for Pakistan. If the Indian leadership had only listened to the wise advice of Rajaji who wanted to expose the hollowness of the demand by accepting it in principle, it would have forced Jinnah to lay his cards on the table and all the horrifying implications would have been exposed and probably repudiated by the Muslim leadership. Whatever may be said about Jinnah's approach, none can underrate his great leadership in transforming the Muslim League, a mere shadow in 1935 into a vibrant and militant champion of Muslim interests within a short period of five years.

The demand for Pakistan and

the widespread enthusiasm it generated all over India presents a most baffling puzzle for political sociologists. This demand as also the Muslim League which sponsored it, had absolutely no leg to stand on in any of the Muslim majority provinces - Punjab, Bengal, Sind, North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and even Assam. Right up to the end of the road, these areas were ruled by non-League Ministries and, in the last two of them, under the Congress party. Several scholars - David Gilmartin, Ian A. Talbot, Partha Chatterjee and Leonard Gordon have here sought to explain and account for this rather curious state of affairs in the Punjab and Bengal. Gilmartin's effort to emphasise the impact of the Piri-Muridi relationship of Sufi Khangas raises more doubts than solves them. Non-Indians get greatly excited by such trivial factors precisely because they are so exotic and wayward. The impact of Indian religious organisations on their followers is tremendous, but not so much on public life and opinion. No religion in India is an organised church and Sufism though widely prevalent and popular is frowned upon by the orthodox Sunni Muslims.

The efforts to explain the tremendous and sudden upsurge in the strength and popularity of the Muslim League is mainly due to a factor which has been completely overlooked by almost all the contributors. Had Rajaji prevailed over Gandhi, the Muslim League probably would not have secured a chance to grow. First by resigning power in 1939 and then by its foolhardy adventurism in 1942, the Congress party created a political vacuum which was filled by the then only available alternative - the Muslim League.

In a very studied and perspicacious essay Lance Brennan addresses the most complex paradox of the partition period: The tremendous enthusiasm displayed by

Muslims in U.P. for Pakistan that cannot easily be explained by any rational argument. They did not have the remotest chance of being included in the new state, yet they cheerfully sacrificed their interests and their security for a wider cause. The *Hindutva* fury was almost sure to exact a terrible revenge on their heads and ever since partition Muslims in India are openly or covertly taunted, not only as fanatics but also as potential fifth columnists. Several other, and more important, paradoxes have been left out of purview. Probably the landscape is too vast and too variegated to be painted on a single canvass, however broad one makes it. After all, the Himalayas can hardly be presented in a single snapshot. The annotated bibliography, very appropriately, ends with a haunting Urdu couplet which proclaims eternal search and striving, though one may not even hope to ever reach the shore.

It would be futile to look for a uniformity of views or approaches in such a distinguished company of academics and political activists. But the editor of this volume has focussed his lens wide to include several angles from which the phenomenon can be observed. Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru, Azad, the Raja of Mahmudabad and Mohammad Mujeeb present the scenario as it appeared to the contemporaries.

The volume gains enhanced importance because of the under-current of sympathy with which the Muslim psyche is projected. It is time Hindus wake up from nationalist rhetoric and attempt to feel what the other side had felt all along. But sometimes the point is over-emphasised. Prof. Hasan for example blames the Hindu communalists for the failure of the mass-contact-of-Muslims programme undertaken by the Congress on the insistence of Nehru. But the glaring and unpalatable fact remains that except for short periods and specific causes, Muslims have always remained aloof from the Congress Party. To trace the emergence of the demand for Pakistan to the refusal of the Congress Party to share

power with the Muslim League in 1937 or on account of the unbearable persecution imposed on them by the Congress Ministries (1937-39) is to pick up political propaganda and convert it into an academic verity. Ian Coupland's essay on Hyderabad overdoes the job in his crude and hostile treatment of the 1938-39 movement in a state which never was reputed as a safe haven for either justice or democracy.

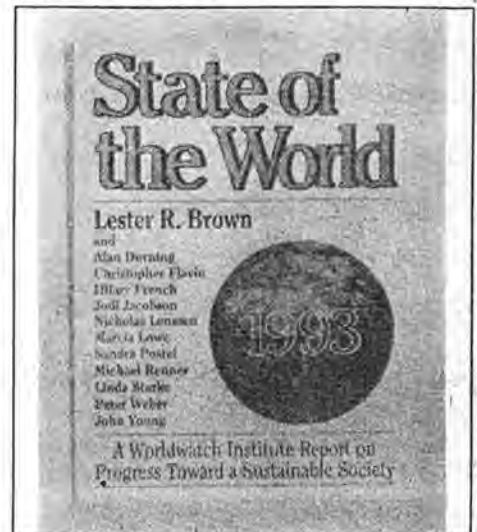
It is our good fortune that almost all the contributors to this volume had to transgress the very restricted time frame (Pre-partition decade 1938-47) prescribed by the editor of this volume. After all, the persons and issues have been actively at work for several years and even decades prior to the finale. Even though one may agree that Pakistan was born before it was properly conceived, the concept of Pakistan took a fairly long period to manifest itself. Indeed, some may even argue that the quake which shook the seismograph in 1947 was only an outward expression of the "deep" faults in the geological structure of a society trying to modernise itself in a hurry and attempting a political, economic and social revolution simultaneously - something which Europe experienced separately over a period of two centuries.

PROF. NAGINDAS SANGHAVI is a retired Professor of Political Science and a well-known commentator on Indian politics.

"Notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact, nationalities, which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation, merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British parliamentary statute."

M. A. Jinnah quoted in
India as a Secular State
by Donald Eugene Smith.

STATE OF THE THE WORLD (Tenth Edition) by Lester Brown, Christopher Flavin and Sandra Postel; Horizon India Books, PB No. 3224, New Delhi, 110013 in arrangement with Worldwatch Institute (India). Worldwatch Institute Washington DC; 1993; pp.284; Rs.300.



Reviewed by
E. D'souza

Readers interested in the environmental state of Planet Earth need no introduction to the *raison d'être* of yet another well documented and timely report by the experienced and tested team of Lester R Brown, Project Director and President, and Christopher Flavin and Sandra Postel, Associate Project Directors and Vice Presidents, Research, all of an Institute, which, over the last decade, has established its credentials as a discerning watchdog of the Blue Planet's environmental health, and more importantly, what needs to be done to preserve it, as we are about to enter the 21st century. The UN World Population Congress recently concluded in Cairo focuses attention, *inter alia*, on the problems of population, water scarcity, and closing the gender gap, all covered in this State of the World Report 1993.

It is a matter of concern, and some regret, that the subcontinent is represented on the Board of Directors, by just one individual from the developing or two-thirds World,

and there lies the rub. The North or First World tend to look down on the two-thirds World as third class. What is equally significant is that on the Institute's staff there is just one Asian, V. K. Akula, more likely than not an NRI!

Be that as it may, this report is a useful publication as it serves the purpose of conscientizing us of the major environmental hazards we are facing and will continue to face as we enter the 21st century if remedial measures are not instituted now.

The ten major issues covered chapter wise are:

Lester Brown's "A New World Unfolds";

Sandra Postel's "Facing Water Scarcity". Surprisingly the author has failed to mention the mega Narmada Project responsible for so much debate;

Peter Weber's "Reviving Coral Reefs". We in India have been degrading our reefs extracting coral reefs for cement;

"Closing the Gender Gap in Development" by Jodi Jacobson, a hot topic in India;

"Supporting Indigenous People" by Alan Thein Downing;

"Providing Energy in Developing Countries" by Nicholas Lemisen;

Marcia Lowe's "Rediscovering Rail Travel";

Micheal Rimmer's "Preparing for Peace", of interest to India with its UN peacekeeping commitments and expenditure on arms acquisition;

Hilary French's "Reconciling Trade and the Environment"; and

Christopher Flavin and John Young's "Shaping the Next Industrial Revolution".

Significantly all the contributing writers are researchers in Worldwatch. Perhaps it would add to the importance of this publication if some papers written by 'outside' researchers are also included to give fresh perspective and new insights.

Not all the chapters are of immediate interest to readers in India;

for instance those on Reviving Coral Reefs. Facing Water Scarcity which is covered in an earlier review of Sandra Postel's "The Last Oasis" (see next review). But as India opens up its economy which will result in multi dimensional developmental activities, our planners would do well to read with particular interest the chapters on "Energy", "Reconciling Trade and the Environment", and "Shaping the Next Industrial Revolution". For those responsible for Population Control, the chapter on "Closing the Gender Gap" which was discussed and adopted at Cairo will give some important inputs on involving the women of India in the development process. We have a large tribal population in the north east and the south - our adivasis in Bihar/Orissa/Maharashtra. Their problems and rights are covered in much detail in the chapter on "Indigenous People", a warning to protect their culture and innate skills being lost in the race for development. Their tribal lore holds many secrets for instance in the field of medicine.

Lester Brown's lead article on a "New World Order" gives in a nutshell the major problems we are facing as we stand at the threshold of the 21st century; these are covered in some detail in the other chapters. Equally important is the chapter on "Energy" as we enter into MOUs with foreign multinationals in improving our energy output to keep the wheels of development moving, but have not addressed ourselves to the need to exploit renewable sources of energy especially solar and wind which we possess in abundance. It is encouraging to know that there are environmentally conscious planners who are addressing themselves to this problem and are not taking the easy way out by depending mainly on easily available non-renewable sources like coal, oil and firewood, or for that matter on nuclear power with its hazards including disposal of nuclear waste. It is said that our Thar Desert, given the right technological inputs, can produce enough solar energy for India. Perhaps this report will help stimu-

late interest in exploiting alternate sources through scientific research.

This is perhaps the first time that this reviewer has read about how environmentally friendly railways can be. We in India know only too well how dependent we are on our well established and extensive rail network. Yet, Marcia Lowe's chapter on "Rediscovering Rail" is based on the US, Japanese and European Rail systems, ignoring India and China. For instance she has failed to mention the wooden sleepers replacement programme instituted by the Indian Railways using reinforced cement concrete sleepers with a life from 15 to 20 years thereby saving our forest wealth.

The comprehensive notes indicate the depth of research carried out in the preparation of these papers.

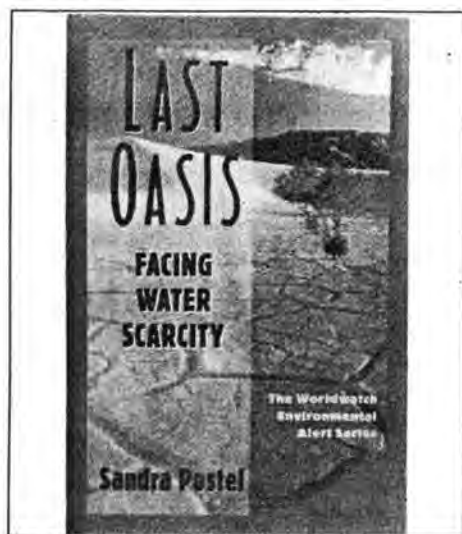
Tables and charts are used in almost all chapters and are not only informative but easy to refer.

There can be little doubt that this "Report of the State of the World 1993" is a must for all those of us who are interested in leaving a sustainable environmental heritage for our children and grand children by being more discriminating in using nature's resources. As Lester Brown advocates, some of our taxes could well be replaced by an environmental tax to preserve what we have, or else depletion of forest and marine resources, economic losses from global warming and the doubling of greenhouse gases, the slowing down of food output, may overwhelm us to the point of no return.

Though it is an easy to read well-structured report this need not be done in one sitting. One can savour each chapter at leisure without disturbing one's train of thought. A must for all environmentalists and those involved in developmental planning.

As in all Worldwatch Publications the printing and production meet the best standards expected of such an internationally renowned organisation.

LAST OASIS (FACING WATER SCARCITY) by Sandra Postel, Vice President Research, Worldwatch; The Worldwatch Environmental Alert Series; Published by arrangement with Worldwatch Institute (India) by Horizon India Books; 1992; pp.240; Rs.250/-.



Reviewed by
E. D'souza

"Water, water, everywhere but not a drop to drink" is a common refrain in many parts of the world including our sub-continent.

Sandra Postel who has been associated with Worldwatch for over 9 years studying global environmental trends, and was earlier working as a consultant on water conservation and ground water issues with a private firm in California, is eminently suited to write this neat, easily readable book on the urgent need for sound water management "in the context of the emerging threat of worldwide water scarcity" to quote from the very appropriate blue tinged dust jacket. In 1991 Sandra Postel was the recipient of the Distinguished Alumni Award of the School of Forestry and Environmental Studies.

Last Oasis is of special relevance to India with its perennial droughts and floods causing untold misery to humans and cattle. Kutch is a classical example of drought when it

becomes necessary for large herds of cattle to migrate to regions with fodder and water when there is a drought in the Bani grasslands, causing untold environmental damage along the trail. In the Thar Desert the reviewer has seen women trudge from 10 to 15 kms for a head load of precious water.

Urban Indian planners would do well to read this well documented and well presented little book, easy on the eye and to read, and free of technical jargon. Having read it, it is inconceivable that urban conglomerates like Bombay, with its high density rainfall, has to ration water, especially to the less privileged. Equally important is the fact she has highlighted that lack or improper sharing of water resources, can lead to tensions and conflicts. This is a major reason why Israel is so reluctant to give up the Golan Heights which oversee the flow of the Jordan River into water starved Israel, critical to her economy; or why the sharing of the river water systems in the east has been a constant irritant between India and Bangladesh. For us on the sub-continent, water and not bread is the staff of life. Then we have our own Kaveri water problem between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka.

The author stresses that effects of a resource which should not be scarce has been compounded by population growth, especially in urban India, industrialisation, and environmental mismanagement. These factors have led to drought, poverty, and famine of a magnitude unthinkable in this high-tech world.

Postel has studied this urgent problem not only in the Third World but in her own native America. She exemplifies that problem by comparing Lodwar in Kenya with Phoenix in Arizona. Both these towns receive a meagre 16 to 18 cms annual rainfall. Yet, because of poor water management, Lodwar experiences severe scarcity of water.

The problems of water which is acknowledged as a global problem is logically presented, supported by a

water map of the world, appropriate charts and statistics and exhaustive notes, an indication of detailed research. She debunks the illusion of plenty in a most convincing manner.

Sandra Postel's concluding remarks sum up the problem very tellingly: "Falling freely from the skies, water has deluded us into believing it is abundant, inexhaustible, and immune to harm. The challenge now is to put as much human ingenuity to live in balance with water ... The last oasis of conservation efficiency and reuse is large enough to get us through ... Consumption, (especially in urban conglomerates) and population growth need to be brought down to sustainable levels".

An eminently readable and valuable book, a 'must' for Governments, NGOs and lay persons, if we are not to go thirsty or starve.

MAJ. GEN. E. D'SOUZA PVSM (Retired) is Associate Editor and Representative Western Region, of *Defence Today*.

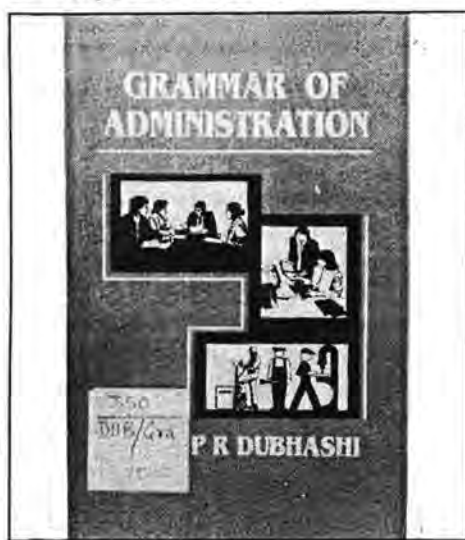
THE ECOLOGICAL CRISIS

"... where environmental rights are severely violated, where the integrity of natural systems are seriously disrupted, there is no hope of redemption within the timescale we can understand. Orchards around Chernobyl will remain untended for a long time. Sahel cannot be greened in a few generations time. A dammed and diverted river will be dead downstream for ever. A drained reclaimed coastal wetland will only be a bit dead unhealthy ground shorn of all its past riches and varied potentials. And along with all the dead orchards, fields, forests, rivers, mountains, swamps and all other natural facets of the biosphere, countless lives and the varied spectrum of healthy cultures will perish for ever.

A scorched earth policy may have been attempted repeatedly in enemy territory during the retreat of vanquished armies. But only in the modern world can we see a total scorched earth policy practised by everyone towards the whole terrestrial territory. So in a sense we consider ourselves aliens and enemies of the land and all else in it, vanquished and already in full retreat, wrecking vengeance. With such a heavy load of aggression and guilt in our consciousness, it is difficult for us to concede human rights. This is the poignancy of the ecological crisis which is essentially an inner human crisis.

N. D. Jaya,
'Ecology and Human Rights'

GRAMMAR OF ADMINISTRATION by Dr. P. R. Dubhashi; Vikas Publications, New Delhi; 1994; pp.142.; Rs.150.



**Reviewed by
Adi H. Doctor**

Dr. P. R. Dubhashi, a noted educationist, Vice-Chancellor of Goa University and a seasoned administrator has written an extremely readable and lucid Grammar of Administration. The book has many plus points, when compared to the innumerable run-of-the-mill text books on public administration that are periodically published.

In the first place, Dr. Dubhashi provides the student with a proper political context in which to understand public administration. Dr. Dubhashi is no believer in the dictum that that state is best which governs the least. Capitalism or the Free Market System, based on this dictum, has many drawbacks, says the author, and he emphasises two in particular. The first is the tendency of a free market to encourage the emergence of an exploitative monopoly and the second is the free market's natural proclivity to take into account only private costs and private benefits ignoring social costs and social benefits. Dr. Dubhashi correctly feels that if these drawbacks have to be overcome, we need to establish an interventionist state; a state that will not hesitate to regulate the market, control and check

monopoly, ensure that social costs (especially in terms of environmental pollution and degradation) are not very high; and which would assure to all citizens a fair distribution of income and goods. Dr. Dubhashi is not pleading for the establishment of a socialist state which takes direct responsibility for production in all vital sectors of the economy. What he is pleading for is a state which, while accommodating the new era of liberalization, still remains basically a welfare state, committed to the eradication of poverty, misery, squalor and illiteracy. In short, a state in which there is considerable scope for regulatory and development administration.

A marked feature of the book is the welfare and moral concern of the author which stands out prominently in almost every chapter. Thus in the chapter seeking to explain public administration as a profession, Dr. Dubhashi expresses dissatisfaction with such narrow and technical definitions of public administrators as people who take decisions or get things done. He instead prefers to define public administrators as professionals concerned primarily with the task of translating the hopes and aspirations of the people into plans, policies and programmes. In another chapter exclusively devoted to discussing ethics in public administration, Dr. Dubhashi tells us that good administrators are those who help politicians or the elected representatives to realize the popular mandate, without themselves becoming "accommodators" or "collaborators" in the wrong-doings of politician.

Another plus point of the book is its attempt to bring leadership to the centre-stage of good administration. Generally most text-books on administration ignore leadership. They discuss the traditional four components of administration viz. organisation, meetings methods & procedures, personnel and finance, paying scant, if any attention to leadership. However ignoring leadership in administration can prove

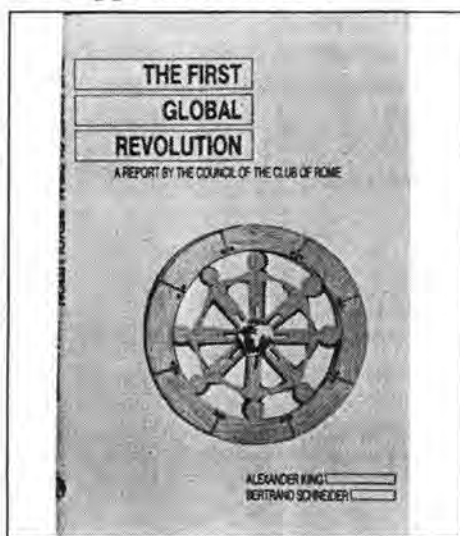
fatal, for as Dr. Dubhashi correctly observes where leadership is neglected, organization may not function, personnel will not work and procedures and finance would become unproductive.

Perhaps the chapter most relevant to contemporary India is the one wherein Dr. Dubhashi discusses productivity in administration. Dr. Dubhashi makes some very pertinent and insightful observations here. For instance, he tells us that although it may not be the exclusive goal of public enterprises to maximize profits (since they may have other social obligations) it does not follow that they can merrily go on mounting losses. This is because a bankrupt government can never be in a position to meet social obligations. Dr. Dubhashi would like every ministry to adopt clear-cut productivity norms, which would help us judge its performance. For example, the performance of the Agriculture Ministry could be judged in terms of its ability to help the nation achieve higher targets of food production; the performance of the Education Ministry could be judged in terms of its ability to eradicate illiteracy; and the performance of the Energy Ministry could be judged in terms of its ability to cut down electricity losses and generate more power. Dr. Dubhashi effectively drives home the message that the need of the hour is a productivity oriented administration, an administration based on performance budgeting and performance appraisal of bureaucrats.

The book should prove most useful to students and administrators alike. The two chapters particularly useful to administrators are chapters eleven and twelve: chapter eleven discusses the various techniques of administration such as Project Management, Management By Objectives and Management Information Systems; while chapter twelve discusses the need to introduce the new Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in our administrative system.

ADI H. DOCTOR, Head of the Department of Political Science, Goa University, Goa.

KING ALEXANDER, SCHNEIDER BERTRAND : THE FIRST GLOBAL REVOLUTION: A Report by the Council of the Club of Rome. Orient Longman, Hyderabad; 1991; pp. 187; Rs. 120.



**Reviewed by
Parvathi Vasudevan**

This publication is yet another report by the prestigious Club of Rome whose first book 'The Limit to Growth' (1972) stimulated intense debate on sensitive issues centering around global growth. Adopting the expression 'World problematique' as its trade mark as early as 1968 the Club has constantly warned the world's general public of the dangers of pursuing growth for growth's sake. The Club castigates the strategies subscribed to by the developed and industrialized nations that has nearly depleted the world's resource base, has almost damaged the environment and has been mainly instrumental in the emergence of a highly materialistic society. The Club has to its credit over a dozen published reports most of which centre around allied themes.

The tumultuous events of 1989-1990 characterized by the implosion of the communist ideology, the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the crumble of the regimes in Eastern Europe, the German unification and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait *est le chapeau* of King and Schneider's writing titled 'The First Global Revolution (GR)'. Coining a partner term, the 'world

resolutique' the authors attempt appropriate solutions and effective strategies to deal with the predicament in which humanity finds itself.

The continued coexistence of flagrant inequalities and extreme poverty with enormous wealth leading to widespread tension and conflict forms the basis of the GR: King and Schneider maintain that the GR has no ideological basis and is shaped by "an unprecedented mixture of geostrategic upheaval by social, economic, technological, cultural and ethical factors". What is needed to contain the GR is a global response on the basis of knowledge and skills to shape the world for a better tomorrow. Citing the French philosopher Gaston Berger, the authors warn us that we "must no longer wait for tomorrow, it has to be invented now". The argument is also advanced that despite the momentous changes and the growing inter-dependence of nations the most serious challenge is posed by the concept of sovereignty - a sentiment best expressed by Arnold Toynbee's prophetic words "The cult of sovereignty has become mankind's major religion - Its God demands human sacrifices". The awakening of the minorities and the resurgence of nationalism in many quarters of the world are appropriate examples of that sentiment.

The growing disparities across the board is also aggravated by the self centred development agenda of nations. This, to an extent is unavoidable and is also due to obvious reasons according to the authors. These range from hunger, malnutrition, disease and poverty aggravated very often by the international mismanagement of the world economy to population explosion, drought, local wars, environmental degradation and mind-boggling defence outlays by every sovereign nation. To add to this already dismal scenario are the new 'plagues' in the guise of escalating unemployment, violent crimes, drug trafficking and the pandemic spread of Aids.

As solutions to the crises ridden

situations, King and Schneider advocate an integrated and holistic attack based on Jay Forrester's First Law viz., "in any complex system, attack however apparently intelligent on a single element or system generally leads to deterioration of the system as a whole". The call is therefore for a contemporaneous and drastic reduction in defence spending, the creation of a friendly healthy environment and a re-orientation of development strategies that emphasise local initiatives, good governance, institutional solidarity and a universal commitment to a sustained and equitable growth models. Impossible, idealistic and tall as these commandments might appear especially in the context of shrinking national cakes and intense budget constraints, the authors yet again recall Toynbee to reinforce their viewpoint that "mankind may eventually have to choose between two extreme alternatives of committing genocide or learn to live as one single family."

King and Schneider drive home the central concerns of the Club of Rome very succinctly. Many of the messages of this slim book have been through the mill for the last two decades, if not more. The big difference this time is the lucid presentation which makes the reader feel an impending catastrophe, unless, all of humanity acts on a here and now basis. Any procrastination, they convincingly argue, is not merely an expensive alternative but disastrous to the very survival of mankind itself.

PARVATHI VASUDEVAN is associated with the Centre for African Studies, University of Bombay, Bombay.

An 'acceptable level of unemployment' simply means that the government economist to whom its acceptable still has a job.

- Los Angeles Times Syndicate

The growing strengths of Empire Industries

Empire in Glass:



The Vitrum Glass division, in collaboration with Owens Illinois Glass Inc, USA, is the largest manufacturer of amber glass containers for the pharmaceutical industry in India.

Empire in Cranes:

The Garlick Engineering division, in collaboration with Noel GmbH, W. Germany, is the largest manufacturer of cranes in the country with a wide range of applications.

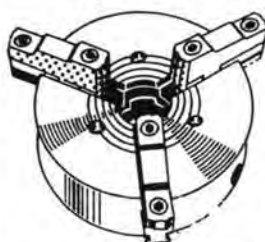


Empire in Finance:



The Empire Finance Co. Ltd., fully backed by Empire Industries, is a leading finance company with hire purchase, leasing, bills discounting, merchant banking and financial advisory services as its core activities.

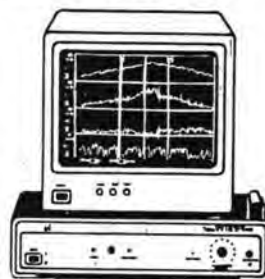
Empire in Machine Tools:



The Empire Machine Tools division is an acknowledged leader in the marketing and servicing of sophisticated machine tools manufactured in W. Germany, Switzerland, Japan and the USA.

Empire in Instrumentation:

The Empire Instrumentation division brings to India medical, defence, pollution-monitoring, analytical, test and measuring, clinical and process control instruments from international leaders in Europe, Japan and the USA.



Empire in Speciality Fabrics:

The Empire Speciality Fabrics division manufactures high tech fabrics for use in tyre, conveyor belt, jacketing, abrasive, footwear and defence industries.



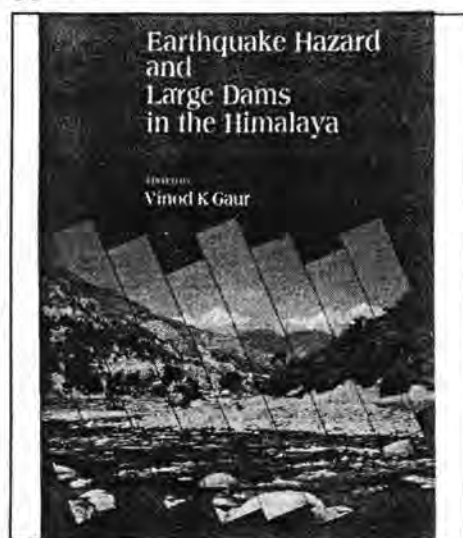
EMPIRE INDUSTRIES

414, Senapati Bapat Marg,
Bombay 400 013.
Phone: 4920003.
Telex: 11 71800 EMT IN



Glass • Cranes • Machine Tools
Instrumentation
Speciality fabrics
Financial services

EARTHQUAKE HAZARD AND LARGE DAMS IN THE HIMALAYAS, edited by Vinod K. Gaur; Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), Bhartiya, Nizamuddin, New Delhi-110013; 1993; pp.152.



**Reviewed by
A. K. R. Hemmady**

This book is a collection of nine papers by experts in the field of geology, seismology and dam engineering, presented during a symposium held in New Delhi on 15th and 16th Jan '93. The symposium was organised by INTACH and co-sponsored by the Wadia Institute of Himalayan Geology, Dehradun, the Frederick Naumann Foundation, and the Development Alternative, New Delhi. Our Human Resource and Development Ministry, appears to have missed this important event.

The deliberations were on how to design a large dam in areas prone to high intensity earthquakes with particular reference to Tehri Dam, Uttar Pradesh. Tehri Dam, proposed to be one of the highest rock-fill dams in the world, was conceived in '49. Reversing the digits we get '94 and we are still discussing it and the dam is yet not complete; reason enough to decide not to build large dams in future if only because one single dam's gestation period is more than half a century.

Tehri Dam is located across the Bhagirathi river about 1.5 km downstream of its confluence of Bhilganga tributary. Its spread of water will occupy an area of about 42 sq kms, extend upstream along Bhagirathi for 44 kms and along Bhilganga for 25 kms and impound about 2.87 million acre feet of water. Tehri town and 92 villages will be submerged. The dimensions are : Length 573m, Height 250.5m, Base width 1128m and Top width 20m.

Here the geotechnical investigations began in 1961, the project report was prepared in 1969 and the Planning Commission's clearance for investment was obtained in 1972.

In the Preface, Mr. N. D. Jayal says that in 1969 when the project report was prepared no seismological data were available. Perhaps he is right. For Koyna Dam the yardstick of the United States Bureau of Reclamation (USBR) was adopted by incorporating 'Earthquake Coefficient' of 0.05g in the design. It goes to the credit of the engineers who built Koyna Dam that the dams survived an 'Earthquake Coefficient' of 0.05g, ten times than provided for.

The concept of 'Earthquake Coefficient' is important to our discussion. According to a reference book 'Design of Small Dams' brought out by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation: "Earthquakes impart accelerations to the dam which may increase the water and slit pressures on the dam and stresses within the dam. Some allowance for earthquake loads must be made in the design of the dam to be constructed in seismic zones...."

Work on the diversion tunnels began in 1978 and completed in 1986. Since 1980, in response to public alarm, the seismic design has undergone many reviews. An expert working group in 1980 came to the conclusion that data to fine tune the seismic hazard were lacking and recommended detailed studies. It is alleged that no such studies were carried out. In early 1986, another working group of the Ministry of Environment recommended scrapping

of the project despite Rs. 236 crores spent already. But a carrot of Soviet assistance later in the same year promoted another review headed by the Chairman of the Central Water Commission which accepted 0.25g on the recommendation of the Department of Earthquake Engineering, Roorkee. In 1990, yet one more Committee, a High Level one this time, scaled the seismic coefficient down to 0.22g. There it rests.

Some participants feel that the coefficient should be as much as 1.0g but its adoption will require broadening the width of the Dam a physical impossibility because that will interfere with the outlet of the tunnels which have been completed. "Financially, of course, the dam would be totally unviable" says Mr. Jayal. The problem is safety *vs* economy. A fractional increase in the value of 'g' would increase the cost by geometrical progression. So then, the optimum safe and economical earthquake coefficient for Tehri Dam is the crux of the debate.

We should not be alarmed at differing views. Prof. W.D. Liam Finn, Professor of Civil Engineering, University of British Columbia, Canada rightly observes that difference in the opinions about intensity is the norm for important projects such as the Tehri Dam which have to be accommodated or resolved. According to him the estimate range from 0.5 to well over 1.0g but he feels that 0.5g would be adequate.

Another important observation of Prof. Finn is: "It should be made clear immediately that writer's experience is based on North American practice. This is a highly regulated environment with formal legally sanctioned intervention by the public into the process for getting approval to construct a large dam. Very detailed documentation of all aspects of the design must be made to support this process. This kind of documentation is not available for the Tehri Dam. Therefore the writer does not attempt to reach any independent conclusions about the adequacy of the seismic

design of the Tehri Dam."

Prof. K. S. Waldia's (Kumaon University) geological overview of Himalayan tectonics establishes that the terrain is a severe seismic belt, rent by numerous faults as evidenced by uplifted river terraces during the past 10,000 years. Despite so much of work done, Prof. of Seismology at the University of California, Bruce A Bolt points out to the lack of decisive field evidence of fault slip (actual distance of movement along the rupture plane) and of correlation between the occurrence of small earthquakes and that of large slip along major thrust fault.

Seismologist K. N. Khatri former Professor of Geophysics at the University of Roorkee and Prof. V. K. Gaur, former Director of the National Geophysical Research Institute and Secretary to Govt of India, Department of Ocean Development, have recognised three major segments within a 2400 km long seismic belt of Himalayas which have been ominously quiet for several hundred

years. Such quiet gaps within an active seismic belt are called 'seismic gaps' where the chances of future earthquakes are much more than elsewhere within the belt which has already been struck. The Tehri Dam is located on the longest (300 kms long from Haridwar to Tanakpur) of these gaps.

The Seismic gap theory was developed by Soviet Scientist S.A. Fedotov in mid '60's. By plotting earthquakes of northern Japan which occurred between 1904 and 1963, he found each earthquake segment abutted the next without over lapping. It looked as though each crack deep down below had been halted by a barrier at the end of a fracture zone. Some gaps remained which were not struck and he predicted that these gaps will be struck in future and that happened.

A brief reference to theory of Plate Tectonics (please see my article "All about Earthquakes", *Freedom First*, Jan-March '94) will be relevant to understand the different setting and why the experience gained

elsewhere may not necessarily apply to Himalayas.

This book is for specialists dealing with 'a number of obscure scientific and technical issues which have beclouded our attempts to get a credible evaluation of the seismic safety of dams in the country' (Justice Ranganathan Mishra in the Foreword). As such it is too much to hope that this book by itself will 'lead to a better understanding and respect among the public and policy makers' (Mr. N. D. Jayal in the Preface). Bharat Dogra has remarked elsewhere: "What is happening at present is that hurried studies are being conducted to somehow fit it with the decisions already taken. This may benefit a handful of selfish consultants. Honest, unbiased, well researched decisions were never needed more badly than in the case of mega-projects with their capacity to influence the lives of a very large number of people and future generations." (*Hindustan Times*, 17.1.94)

Even if this book is not for generalists, it is sure to secure a place in the shelf of all the libraries, particularly of those Institutions which deal with Geology, Seismology and construction of River Valley Projects. It contains excellent lists of reference, by itself reason enough for these libraries to have it. The book is bound to generate healthy debate among scientists. The book is literally priceless, the price is not mentioned and why copyright if knowledge is to be disseminated? None of the publications of the United States Geological Survey have a copyright.

MR. A. K. R. HEMMADY, was former Deputy Director General Geological Survey of India.

The economy depends about as much on economists as the weather does on weather forecasters.

- Jean-Paul Kauffmann

Freedom First

4th Floor, Maneckji Wadia Building, 127, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 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. On outstation cheques 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

**AND YOU THINK AIDS AFFECTS
ONLY PROSTITUTES, HOMOSEXUALS
AND THE PROMISCUOUS!**



To date Aids has claimed the very people you'd least expect to be afflicted. And however straight a life you lead, you are in no way immune. Play safe. Insist on sterilized, disposable needles for all medical purposes. Ensure that your barber does not shave you with a recycled blade. And insist on a condom when you're not sure. Most of all, don't ever think 'Aids can't get me'. Rather ensure that Aids doesn't get you.

AIDS
YOU COULD BE NEXT

COURTESY: Everest Advertising / GENTLEMAN Public Service Award

Sponsored by: AIRFREIGHT LIMITED.

What Readers Say about *Freedom First*

Freedom First is really food for thought. It contains hardly any article which does not attract the reader. Its ever increasing number of subscribers makes one optimistic that the number of Indians with liberal ideas is not negligible.

G. Y. Dharap
Jalgaon

I love your magazine, but not your tardiness and incompleteness. Please pardon me for the candour. Please rest assured, my interest in *Freedom First* will not wane.

Y. H. Mahabal
Nanded

Freedom First is a good periodical but it should be more frequent and more widely read.

V. I. Chacko
Bangalore

I really love *Freedom First* and Minoo Masani's commonsense. Please permit me to send you herewith a small cheque to help the Journal keep alive real Freedom. I am not rich in wealth, but I would soon become poor in digestion if I did not share or help in time.

Prof. P. N. Driver
Pune

I just received a copy of *Freedom First*. I found it fascinating - fearless and a beacon for freedom. Congratulations to the Founder.

Ladislav Rice
London

Life Subscribers

We Welcome

Anand N. Amin
B. K. Banker
Alka Bhatia
Rebon Banerjee
Southern Gujarat Chamber of Commerce (Surat)
Dilip Chandulal
K. M. Cherian
Uday Chikle
S. G. Deokule
Godrej N. Dotivala
M. D. Kini
M. J. Kotwal
P. C. Kulkarni
E. J. Kuruvilla
B. B. Kalapesi
A. Kaul
Geeta Luktuke
Madhu Mehta
Hina Manerikar
Jayant J. Mehta
S. N. Mehta
Manisha Mitra
J. V. Naik
Nehru Centre, Bombay
A. R. Nizamuddin
H. A. B. Parpia
N. G. Paranjape
K. J. Patel
K. K. Pathak
Mehul G. Pathak
S. Prabhala
Kannamma Raman
Siddhartha Roy
S. M. Sachdeva
J. C. Sawhney
G. N. Sharma
Bhupendra K. Shroff
S. E. Songadwala
K. K. Thakkar
Central Tibetan Administration, Dharamshala
D. D. Udeshi
Chirayush Vakil
Mammen Varghese
S. Venkatram & Co.
Feroze Vevania

Subscribe Today!

I wish to subscribe to *Freedom First*

☐ Annual: Rs.50 ☐ Life Subscription: Rs.500.00

☐ Cheque ☐ Demand Draft ☐ Money Order

*for outstation cheques, please add Rs.10

(Please type or fill in block letters)

Name: _____

Address: _____

Pin _____

We Invite You to:

- Advertise in the pages of *Freedom First*. Reach your message to an enlightened readership. In the process you help promote the cause of a free economy. Write to us for details.
- Donate to the Freedom First Foundation - a non-partisan, educational charitable trust established to promote the acceptance of the values of freedom and the dignity of the individual. Donations to the Freedom First Foundation are exempt from tax under Section 80G(I).

Write or Mail to:

Freedom First

4th Floor, Maneckji Wadia Building,
127, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 400 001
or Call us at 27 39 14