

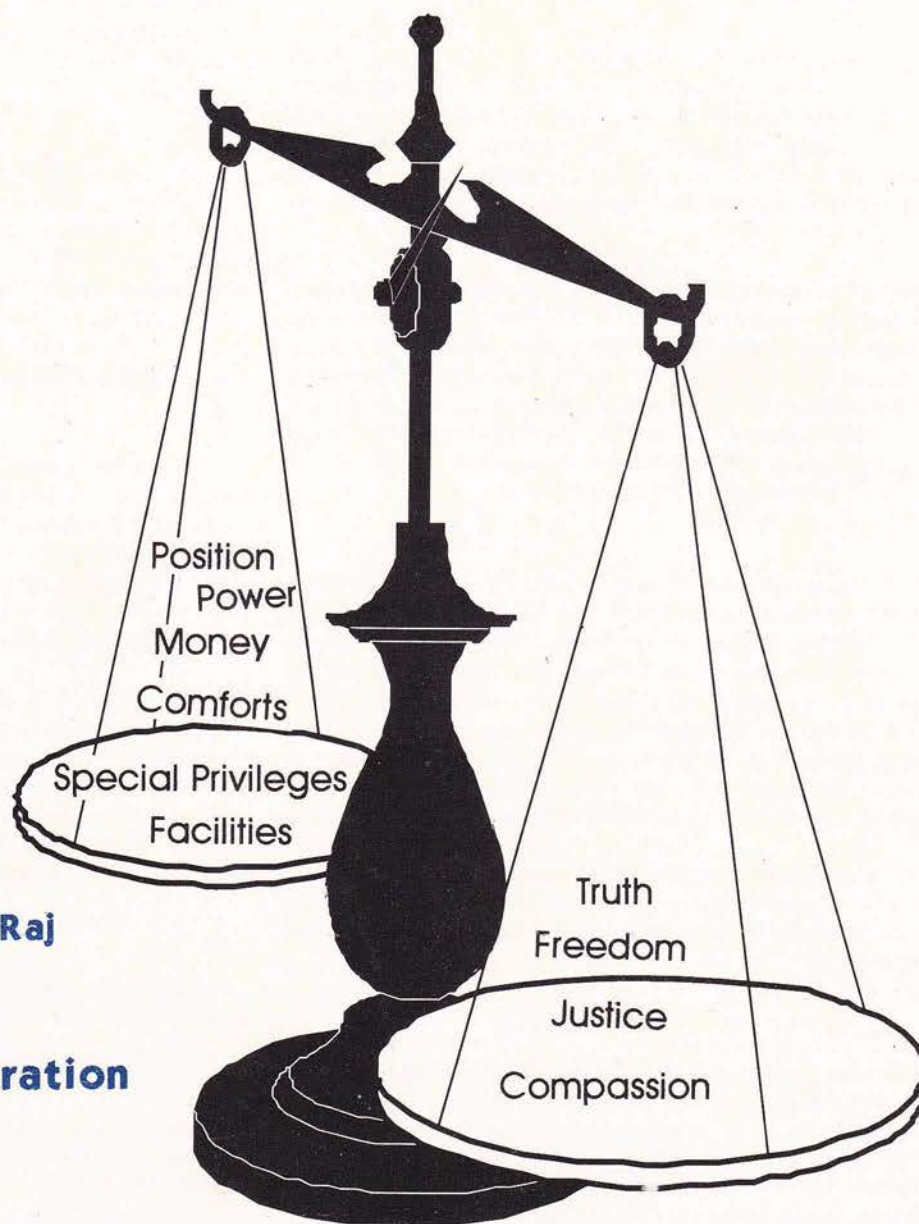
A QUARTERLY OF LIBERAL IDEAS

Freedom First

October-
December 1997
No.435
Rupees Fifteen

45TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

A Question of Values

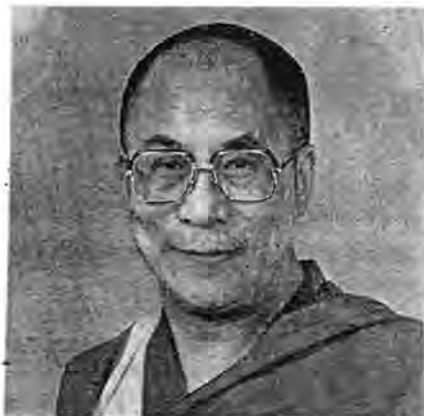


**The Communal Problem
- A Legacy of the British Raj**

Liberalisation to Liberation

Acharya P.K.Atre

The 38th Anniversary of the Tibetan Resistance



The Dalai Lama

no longer be solved by itself. Without a sense of universal responsibility, our very future is in danger.

A new way of thinking has become the necessary condition for responsible living and acting. If we maintain obsolete values and beliefs, a fragmented consciousness and self-centered spirit, we will continue to hold on to outdated goals and behaviours. Such an attitude by a large number of people would block the entire transition to an interdependent yet peaceful and cooperative global society.

We must draw lessons from the experience we gained. If we look back at the development in the 20th century, the most devastating cause of human suffering, of deprivation of human dignity, freedom and peace, has been the culture of violence in resolving differences and conflicts. In some ways, our century could be called the century of war and bloodshed. The challenge before us, therefore, is to make the next century a century of dialogue and non-violent conflict resolution.

With these convictions, I have led the Tibetan freedom struggle on a path of non-violence and have sought a mutually agreeable solution to the Tibetan issue through negotiations in a spirit of reconciliation and compromise. Inspired by the Buddha's message of non-violence and compassion, we have sought to respect every form of life and abandoned war as an instrument of national policy. For us Tibetans, the path of non-violence is a matter of principle. And I am convinced that this approach is the most beneficial and practical course in the long run.

As we commemorate this anniversary, we look back at yet another year of escalating repression in Tibet where the Chinese authorities continue to commit widespread and grave human rights abuses.

Last year, China dropped all pretense of respecting the ancient religious and cultural heritage of Tibet by launching a large-scale reform of its religious policy. The new policy states that "Buddhism must conform to socialism and not socialism to Buddhism". Under the pretext that religion would have a negative influence on Tibet's economic development, the new policy aims

to systematically undermine and destroy the distinct cultural and national identity of the Tibetan people.

Tibetans have reacted to all this repression largely peacefully and I believe all people have the right to peacefully protest injustice. However, recent reports of isolated incidents of bomb explosions in Tibet are a cause of deep concern to me. I will continue to counsel non-violence, but unless the Chinese authorities forsake the brutal methods it employs, it will be difficult to prevent the situation in Tibet from deteriorating further.

Being a Tibetan, I have been giving particular importance to reaching out to the Chinese people, whether they are in China or elsewhere. It is in the interest of both the Tibetan people and the Chinese that there be a deeper level of understanding between ourselves. It has always been my belief that the cultivation of human relationship is of great importance in the creation of an atmosphere conducive to human understanding, mutual respect and peace.

The recent passing away of Mr. Deng Xiaoping is a great loss to China. I have known him personally. Mr. Deng Xiaoping took the initiative to establish direct contact with us to start a dialogue to solve the Tibetan problem. Unfortunately, serious negotiations could not take place during his lifetime. It is my sincere hope that the succeeding Chinese leadership will find the courage, wisdom and vision for new openings to solve the Tibetan issue through negotiations.

The growing international support for Tibet reflects the inherent human empathy for and solidarity with human suffering and universal appreciation for truth and justice. To portray the support for Tibet as a plot of Western anti-Chinese forces is to evade the truth for political convenience. This is unfortunate, because such kind of mental bamboo-walling will continue to prevent a constructive approach to solving the problem.

Ultimately, it is for the Tibetan and the Chinese peoples to find a mutually acceptable solution to the Tibetan issue. Bearing in mind this reality, we have consistently pursued a course of dialogue with the leadership in Beijing. However, Beijing's refusal to listen to and recognise the genuine grievances of our people left us with no other choice but to present our legitimate and just cause to the international community.

With my homage to and prayers for the brave men and women who have died for the cause of Tibetan freedom.

The Dalai Lama

Extract from a statement by His Holiness The Dalai Lama on the 38th Anniversary of Tibetan National Uprising Day, March 10, 1997.

Freedom First

A Quarterly of Liberal Ideas

Founder
Mino Masani

Editor
S. V. Raju

Associate Editor
R. Srinivasan

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

Cover & Layout
M. G. Talwadekar

Publishers
Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom*
3rd Floor, Army & Navy Building,
148, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Mumbai 400 001.
Phone: +91 (22) 284 34 16.
E-mail: freedom@bom3.vsnl.net.in

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

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

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

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

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

BETWEEN OURSELVES ...

Why a discussion on 'values' now when there are so many more pressing and critical issues facing the country such as the dislodging of the United Front government, the political uncertainties adversely affecting economic growth; a marked deterioration in the law and order situation, etc which need to be discussed?

The dismal public scene is an indication of a sharp decline in character. And character takes a beating when basic decencies and values are considered to be of little consequence in this competitive world, be it in politics, business or personal relationships. And when we came across a draft entitled a "Declaration of Human Values" which the author of the draft had prepared on the premise that human rights will only prevail if people subscribe to basic values, we were convinced that we need to take time off from the specific issues facing us to an enquiry as to why things were going wrong. We hope readers will find the cover feature worth their attention. We shall of course be delighted to publish your comments on this question of values.

We offer you a mixed fare in this issue - from a study of the communal problem by Sharad Joshi to an assessment of the United Nations by Prof. Adi Doctor. Acharya Atre was a colourful multi-faceted personality. He revelled in controversies and to say he was unorthodox is to put it mildly. He left his mark on whatever he did and we are happy to have had the opportunity of paying our tribute to him on the occasion of his birth centenary. An excellent speech by the Chairman of Hindustan Lever at his company's annual meeting deserves the attention of *Freedom First* readers. So it finds place in this issue.

The next issue, January-March 1998, will deal with the current political situation and the elections scheduled for March next year. There has been much chest-beating about the cost of the elections and whether the nation can afford it. There is also the interesting spectacle of 'first term MPs' opposing the dissolution of the Lok Sabha as if there was some kind of a contract between the voter and the voted guaranteeing a five year term! We invite you to send in your views and comments on these and other aspects of the situation as you see it.

Editor

Contents

October-December, 1997
No.435

<i>Many Voices</i>		2
<i>Of Cabbages & Kings</i>		3
<i>A Question of Values</i>		5
A Draft Universal Declaration of Human Values	A. Solomon	5
The Discussion		8
Ethics as Business Strategy	V. C. Viswanathan	17
The Communal Problem - A Legacy of the British Raj	Sharad Joshi	19
Liberalisation to Liberation	K. B. Dadiseth	23
Acharya P. K. Atre	Y. C. Phadke	29
Four Score & Seven Days in the USA	Arvind A. Deshpande	31
A Tribute to the United Nations	Adi Doctor	33
A Visit to Pakistan	S. V. Raju	35
<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

History can be dangerously misused.

Kesavan Veluthat, *The Secularist*, May-June 1997.

If you stay long enough in China you will get slitty eyes

Prince Philip cited by Soli Sorabjee in
The Times of India, October 23.

A government that takes on the public sector unions will gain on the popularity charts. These unions are the last power bases for angry old men like George Fernandes.

Editorial in *BUSINESSWORLD*, October 7.

ASEAN countries have spent 40 years trying to build up their economies, and a moron like Soros comes along with a lot of money

Malaysian prime minister Mahathir Mohammad.
Outlook, October 6

Mahathir is a menace to his own country

George Soros, *Outlook*, October 6

Today's terrorist could well become tomorrow's chief minister. Mahanta himself belongs to a party once considered a semi-terrorist organisation.

Tavleen Singh, *India Today*, October 20

If Tata Tea is charged with treason for buying security from rebels in Assam, then all our MPs and MLAs should also be similarly charged.

A. Ranganathan in a letter to *India Today*, October 27

I don't know why both countries (India and Pakistan) maintain this elaborate myth that they are actually playing cricket. Plain bunkum.

Pamela Philipose, *The Indian Express*, October 5

One reason I try to persuade lawyers to leave the law is to save their souls. Another is to save the rest of us from the harm they do as lawyers

Charles Peters, *THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY*, October 1997

Smoking does not kill, the cancer it causes does, and cancer and smoking are compatible. To quote a popular cigarette advertisement in India, they are 'made for each other'.

Editorial in *Down To Earth*, September 30.

For a fringe group essentially limited to three states, the Indian Left is extraordinarily self-important.

India Today, October 27

You were a Cinderella at the Ball and now you are a Sleeping Beauty

Inscription on a ballet shoe tied to the railing outside Kensington Palace, *Time*, September 15.

I consider it a sacrilege that a committee called for the sacred purpose of celebrating the golden jubilee of the country's independence should contain names of persons facing charges of corruption before law courts.

Nikhil Chakravarty, *The Asian Age*, December 15, 1996.

India has been long on rhetoric and short on performance, both in domestic and foreign affairs.

Professor Lionel Fernandes, *The Indian Express*, August 15.

It is important to realise that death is good medical treatment. Sometimes it achieves what medicine cannot - it stops suffering.

Dr. Christian Bernard, *The Times of India*, September 28

When Mikhail Gorbachev was the president of the Soviet Union, it was said that he was more popular in the United States than in his own country. Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral is in an identical situation.

Rajat Sharma, *The Express Magazine*, October 19

We are going through a process of churning, which is absolutely necessary. But we can be a great nation if educated people become courageous and join politics. I can guide them if they join the Janata Party.

Dr. Subramanian Swamy, *Afternoon Despatch & Courier*, August 23

OF CABBAGES AND KINGS

The VIP Nuisance

A report in *The Times of India* (October 12) bemoans the fact that "politicians are no longer to be found only in the private wards of the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS in Delhi). They have moved further - into its guest house."

The report points out that though the guest house is strictly meant for visiting scientists and members of the administrative bodies of AIIMS it has had to accommodate 'distinguished' personae, among others, former union minister Mr. Sanjay Singh's relatives (length of stay - around three months), AICC general secretary Tariq Anwar (length of stay - around two months)

For an air-conditioned room with an attached bathroom, the AIIMS guest house charges Rs.100/- a pittance really. Even an 'nth star' hotel in Delhi would charge very much more. The low charge was meant only for visiting AIIMS scientists and faculty.

Faculty members are of the view that the AIIMS was being dominated by politicians and had lost its autonomy. Already, selections for posts in the faculty had been influenced by political pressure.

What the administration of the AIIMS ought to do, is to send a bill at prevailing commercial rates to all those other than faculty or scientists (but including those faculty members on whose names outsiders used the guest house) who have used the guest house and if they refuse to pay to send them legal notices. At the same time, isn't this a fit case for a public interest litigation?

Lest we be accused of targetting only politicians, here is a snippet about one Mr. Anil Bhandari who 'finally' stepped down as chairman-cum-managing director of the Indian Tourism Development Corporation (ITDC), who, says columnist Coomi

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



Kapoor in the *Indian Express* of October 5, "did little to improve the sloppily run government run ITDC hotels). Mr. Bhandari had six luxury suites of the Samrat Hotel in Delhi as his residence at a cost of Rs.58,000 per month. His entitlement - Rs.6,500. How did he manage the trick? Simple. He kept his tourism ministers happy i.e. Srikant Jena, Jagdish Tytler, Sukhvinder Kaur, Madhavrao Seindia, Ghulam Nabi Azad, and of course Mr. C. M. Ibrahim. The report also says he obliged 'powerful politicians' with free passes for hotel health clubs and swimming pools, tickets to musical functions, freebies and special discounts to party workers.

Ashok Yatri Niwas lost Rs.80 lakhs because of cut rate charges offered to 4,800 poultry farmers invited by Deve Gowda, 126 Janata Dal supporters from Jena's constituency and 300 members to the Janata Dal convention.

All these facts came to light when the Hind Mazdoor Sabha filed a public interest petition which forced Bhandari to descend from his cozy perch.

All for the Cause

'A healthy mind in a healthy body' runs a latin proverb. By the same logic, could we say that healthy legislators make better legislators? An experiment in Karnataka is worth watching. According to a report in *The Times of India* (October 10), a health club for the exclusive use of

legislators and their families (and 'friends' perhaps?) called Legislators' Home (LH) has come into being at Bangalore. It reportedly contains the latest fitness equipment purchased at a cost of Rs.14 lakhs. We are assured that the finest quality Australian wood, luxurious prime-grade vinyl for seats and Italian (!) tiles for the whirlpool jacuzzi have been used. And, says the report, while "the legislators sweat it out, they will have piped music for company. Massage and sauna services are in the offing and once these services are operational, women legislators will have exclusive lady masseuses to cater to them.

We are also informed that legislators will have to pay for the sauna, jacuzzi and massage, but this need not unduly worry them - the charges will be nominal - just enough to "enable the club to run on a no-profit-no-loss basis."

And how does having healthy MLAs (and MLCs) benefit the people? According to an MLC, "In the past, there were complaints of legislatures indulging in undesirable activities. At least now, let us hope, they put their time to good use."! The report does not spell out the nature of "undesirable activities" the MLC had in mind. If it will save the furniture, microphones and various other costly equipment in the legislature from being used as missiles,

and strenuous physicals sublimate the energy of angry MLAs into constructive channels, then perhaps we, the taxpayers may not grudge the expensive health clubs for our law-makers

Prophetic 'Cho'

Cho Ramaswamy's play *Mohammed Bin Tuglak* has a scene in which the hero, in a bid to preserve his prime ministership, makes every member of parliament a minister (they have defected to his party on the promise of ministerships). When he is asked where he proposes to hold cabinet meetings, he says 'in the Red Fort Maidan'. This scene from the play, which I had watched in the 'sixties, came to mind in the context of the manoeuvres of UP chief minister Kalyan Singh, a scion of that highly principled and disciplined party the BJP. His 93 member cabinet has all 22 defectors from the Congress, all 12 defectors of the BSP plus miscellaneous defectors. All those who had been ministers of state either in the Congress or in the Mayawati government have been made cabinet ministers. So much for this "party with a difference" - a phrase incidentally, pinched from the Swatantra Party's statement of policy "To Prosperity Through Freedom" which was adopted in March 1960.

As many as 16 ministers (7 cabinet and 9 ministers of state) are history sheeters i.e. those against whom cases are pending, which include murder, dacoity, kidnapping, rioting and robbery, in this government led by the principled and disciplined party with a difference. The point that is sought to be made is that the BJP is no better and no worse than other parties in the field. They are a run of the mill ordinary party whose primary and only aim is power anyhow, whether it be through breaking the Babri masjid, or harking to a medieval past with its 'rath yatras' or encouraging defections by offering attractive incentives.

SVR.

Dadabhai Naoroji's Vision

Nani Palkhivala

Mr. Palkhivala's acceptance speech at the Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial Prize Award Function - Bombay, August 12, 1997.

Dadabhai Naoroji's vision of a free India was the vision of an enlightened and well-educated society. Dadabhai was an ardent advocate of free education and of the principle that every child should have the opportunity of receiving all the education it is capable of assimilating. His own words were, "I realize that I had been educated at the expense of the poor, to whom I myself belonged... The thought developed itself in my mind, that as my education and all the benefits arising therefrom came from the people, I must return to them the best I had in me. I must devote myself to the service of the people."

Dadabhai was a great pioneer in the promotion of female education. He used to tell his grandchildren some stories of his early days - how as a college student he would go from house to house with a friend, persuading parents and guardians to allow him and his friend to sit on their verandahs and to teach the three R's to their girls; how some of them took advantage of the offer but some irate fathers threatened to throw them down the steps for making such a preposterous proposal! His biographer Sir R. P. Masani, said that to capture a pupil was sometimes as difficult a task as to conquer a city: against them were arrayed the forces of stern orthodoxy and with it the misgivings of the ignorant regarding the consequences of such a movement on the social life of the people.

Dadabhai realized that the two finest characteristics of the British were that they had a sense of justice and, further, they had a sense of fairness. An instance of the average

Englishman's sense of justice and fairness is supplied by Dadabhai's own election by Englishmen to the House of Commons. Unfortunately,

Indians lack both these characteristics. We, Indians, need Article 17 of our Constitution to tell us that untouchability shall be abolished and its practice in any form shall be forbidden.

I have no doubt that if Dadabhai had lived long enough to take part in the framing of the Constitution of India, he would

have embodied similar fundamental rights as have been given by our Constitution. In other words, I believe that if Dadabhai had to frame a constitution for free India, he would have envisaged the same type of secular constitution and any minorities, whether based on religion or language, would have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. Dadabhai believed that India's salvation lay in the equality of all religions and equal reverence for all religions.

Dadabhai, in his wildest nightmare, would have never thought that India would reach such a low level of degradation and corruption as it has reached today fifty years after attaining independence, - the lowest level of degradation in its entire history of 5,000 years.

Dadabhai, the greatest Indian of his time, was a Zoroastrian by birth and by conviction, and he lived the religion of Prophet Zarathushtra - good thoughts, good words, good deeds. A regenerated secular India would have been the greatest monument to his memory.

I can only say that just as we do not deserve our sublime Constitution, just as we do not deserve to have had a great leader like Mahatma Gandhi, we did not deserve Dadabhai Naoroji.



Dadabhai Naoroji

A Question of Values

Freedom First is a journal of liberal ideas. So we were interested when the German Liberal foundation, the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung held a three-day Convention in Delhi in January last year to discuss "Liberal Values". A report of this Convention was the subject of a *Freedom First* cover feature last year (*Freedom First*, No.429, April-June, 1996). The subjects discussed at that Convention included Liberalism, Democracy and Human Rights; Economic Development and Liberalism. A statement reaffirming Liberal Values issued by the Convention stressed, among other things, 'that each individual has an inherent human dignity, from which inalienable rights called human rights follow. Human rights are a universal birthright.'

Some months ago, our attention was drawn to a draft of a "Universal Declaration of Human Values" proposed by Mr. A. Solomon, (President of the Indian Secular Society and a member of *Freedom First's* advisory board) for consideration by the International Humanist and Ethical Union (IHEU). Mr. Solomon takes the position that it is only when people are committed intellectually and emotionally to the basic human values of freedom, truth, reason and compassion that one can hope for a free and just society.

It cannot be denied that values in our society have descended to an all time low. No aspect of activity is exempt. The more one talks of values, the less they are practised. This is as true of the politician as it is of the businessman.

In association with the Project for Economic Education, *Freedom First* held a half-day discussion on October 18, in Mumbai on the question of values. What follows is the text of the draft Declaration and a summary of the discussions - *Editor*.

Universal Declaration of Human Values

Abe Solomon

Introduction

The adoption of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948, was an historic event. It was the successful culmination of the efforts of H. G. Wells in the 1940s for the diffusion worldwide of a declaration of "The Rights of Man" for the world citizen. The "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" is the most important and far-reaching of all U.N. declarations and a source of inspiration for national and international efforts to promote and to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The basic philosophy and concept of humankind on which the Declaration is based is stated succinctly in Article 1 of the Declaration, which reads: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."

Unfortunately, the human rights that this Declaration spells out are largely violated by governments and people all over the world. There are, no doubt, many and complex reasons - social, political, economic - for this state of affairs. But the failure to uphold and implement these human rights is mainly because the basic human values on which these rights are founded have

not been clarified and universally accepted and internalized by the people. Besides, in many countries, the traditional values, social relationships, and modes of thinking, which are a part of the ethos of these countries, are in conflict with the values that form the basis of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights". In these countries there is a need for social and cultural change, which is the task of the human rights and liberal movements in those countries to bring about.

It is evident that the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" is founded on secular humanist values. It is only when a majority of the people all over the world intellectually and emotionally accept these values that the human rights mentioned in the Declaration can become a reality. It is, therefore, necessary to have a Declaration stating the basic human values on which the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" is founded.

The development of human, moral and ethical values is the criterion of social and cultural progress. It is only when a majority of the people in the world become committed intellectually and emotionally to the basic human values of freedom, truth, reason, and compassion that we can hope for a free, just and peaceful world.

DRAFT DECLARATION

PREAMBLE

Whereas, the realization in practice of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights depends on the intellectual and emotional acceptance by the people of the universal human values on which these rights are founded,

Whereas, disregard and contempt for human values have resulted in barbarous acts that have outraged the conscience of humanity,

Whereas, it is essential to promote the development and acceptance of basic human values by the peoples of all nations to usher in a world order based on freedom, truth, reason and compassion,

Whereas, the people of the United Nations have in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights affirmed their faith in the dignity and worth of the human person and have determined to promote social and cultural progress in peace and harmony, and

Whereas, the common understanding and acceptance of these universal human values is of the greatest importance for the realization of this pledge,

Now therefore the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Values as a common ideal of attainment for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every section of society, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these values and make all efforts, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition among the peoples of the world:

ARTICLES

Article 1 :

Source of Values: Dignity of the human person as an autonomous agent endowed with reason is the ultimate source of all values.

Article 2 :

Reason: Reason is an essential human faculty in promoting the progress of humankind enabling human beings to have a worldview that motivates their thoughts and actions. Cultivation of rational thinking is, therefore, an intrinsic human value.

Article 3 :

Critical Intelligence: The essential nature of human beings is to question, examine, and understand. It is necessary to subject all beliefs to the scrutiny of reason and critical intelligence, in order to eliminate error. An unexamined belief is not worth having.

Article 4 :

Truth: The aim of all rational thought is the discovery of truth. Truth consists of beliefs about reality resulting from rational thinking and experience. Quest for truth is, therefore, a supreme human value.

Article 5 :

Tolerance: Tolerance of differing ideas and viewpoints is essential for the discovery of truth. Absence of tolerance leads to denial of freedom and the suppression of creativity. Tolerance is, therefore, a basic human value.

Article 6 :

Creativity: All social progress is the result of human creativity. Rooted in the individuality of a human being, creativity can flourish only in an atmosphere of freedom.

Article 7 :

Freedom: Respect for the dignity of the human person demands that the freedom of every human being ought to be ensured in all spheres of life, consistent with the freedom of all.

Article 8 :

Equality: Respect for the human person implies that all human beings shall be treated as equal in dignity and rights irrespective of race, nationality, belief or non-belief, colour, gender, age or sexual orientation.

Article 9 :

Justice: The principle of justice which dictates equal consideration for the well-being of every individual shall inform all social institutions and relations between individuals.

Article 10 :

Humankind and Nature: Man being a part of nature necessitates his living in harmony with it. Concern for all life and the quality of the environment ought to guide all human activities.

Article 11 :

Universal Culture: It should be the aim of all human endeavour to evolve a universal culture based on freedom, truth, reason, and compassion.

THE DISCUSSION

Article 3 of the Draft Declaration of Human Values says "The essential nature of a human being is to question, examine and understand". As a human being I would question the statement that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ought to be based on a Universal Declaration of Human Values. That is to say human rights follow from human values

Recognition of Mutual Rights

Many philosophers hold that there are fundamental human rights with which all men are born and this is a basic moral perception that we have. And forms of individual and social moral life have been based on this notion of human rights. That is to say the essence of morality would consist in respecting the fundamental rights of others in all contexts of behaviour and the claim that one can make for oneself is that one has the fundamental right to pursue one's self interest consistent with the self interest of others. This recognition of mutual rights provides a framework in which all persons can pursue their interests consistently.

We have a Universal Declaration of Human Rights; we hope to have a Universal Declaration of Human Values and both are necessary. We respect and adopt both of them without making the claim that

one is more basic than the other.

It seems to me that the basic value here is human dignity, the recognition of the dignity of every human person to live as an autonomous agent. I do not want 'self-interest' to be conceived in very narrow terms. Anything in which he finds fulfilment would be a part of his self-interest. It is from this basic moral perception of others and oneself as an autonomous moral agent, that specific rights follow. While, for other human values we have to turn to other aspects of human nature. Like for instance artistic creativity. Or even the pursuit of truth. (MPR)

At the time of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a seminar discussed the question of values. The report of that seminar was published and edited by Jacques Maritain. (AS)

Jacques Maritain argued that the basic value underlying human rights is the fact that they belong to each human being by virtue of the fact that he is a human being. (VKS)

Human Rights are those rights which inhere in a man by virtue of his being a human being. Those Rights cannot be taken away nor be bartered away by the individual himself. That is the definition in law which has been accepted by commentators

on this subject. (RAJ)

But the law recognises the right to barter away one's own freedom to become a slave. One can sell oneself. That is also in the Hindu tradition. Many times people were enslaved. When the notion of Human Rights came up, the whole institution of slavery was automatically condemned. (MPR)

A Declaration of Faith not of Fact

The Declaration of Human Values is a declaration of faith and not a statement of fact or of reality anywhere in the world particularly in India. The late Mr. Philip Spratt, a perceptive thinker, in his book *'Hindu Culture & Personality'* described Indians as a narcissistic people. This means what matters to us Indians is the person and what he believes in, not the values not the laws.

We find that we are a government of men, not of laws. Laws in India mostly turn out to be the will of the ruler. In such a context how will the common people really take to any kind of values or have faith in them. This, in my view, is the main problem why human values don't go beyond a certain point in India.

God's Mercy

The other day I was travelling

Participants at the Seminar on "A Question of Values", October 18, Mumbai

DR. B. N. COLABAWALLA (BNC), President, Society for the Right to Die with Dignity; MR. ARVIND A. DESHPANDE (AD) Honorary Secretary, Leslie Sawhny Programme; MR. NISSIM EZEKIEL (NE) Poet; MS. SUJATA HALDIPUR (SH), Housewife; MR. A. K. R. HEMMADY (AKR), Author and freelance journalist; MR. R. A. JAHAGIRDHAR (RAJ), Founder Trustee, Rationalist Foundation; MR. YOGESH KAMDAR (YK), Vice President, People's Union for Civil Liberties; MS. SHEELA MASANI (SM), Director of Seminars and Publications, Leslie Sawhny Programme; MR. SHYAMSUNDER R. PAI (SP), Chartered Accountant; DR. INDUMATI PARIKH (IP), President, Centre for the Study of Social Change; MR. S. V. RAJU (SVR), Editor, *Freedom First*; MS. KASHMIRA RAO (KR), Programmes Executive, Project for Economic Education; PROF. M. P. REGE (MPR), Editor, *New Quest*; DR. (SISTER) L. RODRIGUES (LR), former Principal, Sophia College, Mumbai; MR. L. R. SAMPAT (LRS), Secretary, Swatantra Party, Maharashtra; MR. KUNWAR SINHA (KS), Producer of documentaries and educational and corporate films; PROF. V. K. SINHA (VKS), Editor, *The Secularist*; MR. A. SOLOMON (AS), President, Indian Secular Society; PROF. R. SRINIVASAN (RS), Professor of Politics (retired); MR. K. M. SUNDARAM (KMS), Transport Economist.

A Question of Values

from Pune and there was an engineer sitting next to me. I asked him what time the train would reach Dadar. He replied 'That depends on god's mercy'. He was an engineer and not an illiterate. What he was trying to say was that whatever you may be or believe in, the fact remains that it is in the hands of some unknown agent, call it god or whatever. Such a temper does not contribute to rationality. In such a situation to expect ordinary people to think of human values, to think rationally is almost an impossibility.

The question arises: How do we create conditions for rational thinking. In the West one knows how the other will behave under a particular law or rule. He knows what to expect. But in the Indian context where everything is so uncertain to talk of human values is merely a declaration of faith not a statement of fact. (AD)

Our Conception of Man

Our conception of values depends on our conception of man. And our conception of man I would presume is based on modern scientific knowledge. The very first article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act

towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." Do we accept this proposition? This is the conception of man based on present scientific knowledge - that man is part of nature and subject to its laws. Now this is questioned by those who believe that man is supposed to be the creation of god. He has no fundamental rights. Everything is in the hands of god. There is no acceptance of the fact that man is a free agent endowed with reason and conscience. (AS)

The Evolution of Human Rights The first document of rights for citizens of this world was the well known Magna Carta in the year 1215. It was not a declaration of human rights. It was a document on which King John put the royal seal conceding certain demands made by the barons because he was in need of



King John affixes the royal seal on the Magna Carta

money. The two substantial rights which he conceded through the Magna Carta were: There would be no taxation without the consent of the governed and there would be jury trial for all the king's subjects.

In 1688 came the Bill of Rights. Drafted basically by John Locke it was a bloodless revolution because no blood was shed when this bill was accepted by parliament. It was essentially a middle class document where fundamental rights such as the right to vote, right to equality etc. were not included but there were

other rights including tolerance (though tolerance for atheists was not one of them).

Then came the American Constitution in 1776 with its Chapter on Fundamental Rights.

The next stage in the evolution of human rights was in 1789 the year of the French Constitution which is based on the Declaration of Human Rights - the rights of the citizens.

There is thus a long history behind the acceptance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Over a period of time these rights expanded - as they say freedom expands from precedent to precedent. During the time of the Second World War it was realised that all previous international documents, covenants, pacts and treaties had ignored the

rights of the citizens of the states. All those treaties were based upon the rights and duties of the nations *inter se*. International Law did not take into account the human rights of the citizens of these states. That is why the United Nations Charter itself mentioned that hereinafter steps should be taken for the formulation of covenants on rights.

On 10th December 1948

the Declaration of Human Rights (drafted by a committee presided over by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt) was adopted. As the Declaration itself says it is a *Declaration* of Human Rights. It is neither a covenant nor a treaty. Therefore it is not enforceable in the sense in which an international covenant could be enforced. It is basically a norm, a beacon light on the basis of which the conduct of nations would be judged.

Thereafter certain committees were appointed and two important documents - The International Cov-

Man's specific tool for adaptation and survival is, in my view, the evolution of values. That which works in helping us survive becomes a "value". Values gradually are integrated into complex adaptations we call value systems. Value systems develop momentum of their own and then enhance or impair our ability to adapt to new conditions.

Roderic Gorney,
in *The Human Agenda*.

enant on Social and Economic Rights and The International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights were adopted. In 1977 India acceded to both these covenants. Incidentally the United States, whose politicians go on preaching to the world on the human rights record of other countries, did not accede to either of these treaties till 1992.

'We'll Make a Salman Rushdie of You'

This brings us to the question of enforceability. Let me give you an example of a state that has signed these documents but finds it impossible to abide by these documents. In Sudan there was an outcry against the Sudanese treatment of its citizens whose human rights were being largely abused. Because of this, international aid was suspended. The Sudanese government asked the UN to appoint an enquiry commission. A Hungarian jurist went into the question and listed scores of violations of human rights particularly in respect of women and children. When he submitted his report to the United Nations the Sudanese government protested on the ground that all Sudanese laws were consistent with the Koran which, they said, was the supreme law. One fundamentalist Sudanese even threatened the Hungarian jurist saying 'We'll make a Salman Rushdie of you'. Therefore enforceability depends on the force of public opinion, international pressure and the need of the governments to comply with the rights so that they will be benefited by complying with it. Essentially, in international law, it is the self interest of the nations that really comes into reckoning. (RAJ)

If you look at the long record of human history what strikes you is that this assertion of human rights is a flash in the pan. In a recorded history of nearly 6,000 years it is only about 250 to 300 years ago that people began talking of individual rights. Earlier to it people always

talked of the community being the most important principle of organisation. The community being a value in itself. As far as I can recollect, one assertion of individuality or of individual conscience in the ancient world was the great dialogue - the Apology of Socrates where he talks of his having the right to express his point of view, his conscience, irrespective of what the community believed in. If we were to accept this, by and large the entire thrust of human thinking was on community rights. Therefore the individual gets his rights as a member of the community not as an individual. It was the protestant reformation that made the individual the source of all values. This is very new in human history.



Socrates

What is also very interesting is the fact that people who are exceptionally well endowed intellectually have not subscribed to this assertion of human rights. Take for instance the Zionist movement in the nineteenth century beginning from the 1860s. The Zionist movement which comprises some of the finest intellectuals in the Western world talked of a homeland for the Jews as Jews. Not for Jews based on human rights or for people embodying certain rights accruing to them as persons but as members belonging to the Jewish community. And Weizmann who was a champion of this movement was one of the greatest scientists of the nineteenth century.

This was followed by a number of movements in the late nineteenth century as well as in the present century for asserting the rights of the community as a community and not as individuals. So let us also accept

the fact that individual human rights are on the retreat. They are in retreat in France, in Germany and also in England where considerable sections of the population talk of rights derived from belonging to a community and not as members of the human race in general.

This can also be seen in our country. The movement for Khalistan or movements based on community rights. So the community becomes more important not the individual. Therefore it is quite likely that the individual may have to be sacrificed on the altar of the community. The question of an autonomous agent endowed with reason as an ultimate source of values is being denied today. And this is gaining more strength, getting more emotional, irrespective of what you or I may want. And we may have to face this as a basic thrust of modern history. (RS)

Evaluating Human Values

Insofar as the question: 'Do we regard values as basic concepts which evolved human rights.' I think it is partly yes and partly no. Because I think human values are intrinsic in themselves rather than human rights. To involve human values with human rights in all its manifestations, will lead to further chaos. Therefore we need to evaluate human values; how they become applicable under various circumstances in various parts of the world rather than this ill-defined concept of human rights which is not being implemented perhaps anywhere in the world today.

Regarding self-interest I think it is incumbent on every individual to have some self-interest to carry forward his own views as long as they do not conflict with the rights of others. What one calls enlightened self-interest.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights says: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with

A Question of Values

reason and conscience and act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." We all vow by the precept that in our dealings with other human beings we do so with certain morality and humanism. But look at the world. Look at what is happening in our country - the wide gap between precept and practice. And man's inhumanity to man is much more evident today than it has been over the centuries of civilization. I therefore feel that one has to be very careful in using words and statements.

The Meaning of Secularism

We have talked of secularism. I have asked numerous people to define secularism and get answers which confuse me more than clarify. There is the story of the famous physicist Enrico Fermi who was sitting



Enrico Fermi

one day at the end of the bottom row of a lecture of highly philosophical nature being delivered by one of his students. At

the end of it he was asked as to what he thought of the concept. He said "I was always confused about these concepts and now I am confounded." And this is what is happening to me when we talk of secularism. If I may define what is secularism, it is the individual's right for a corporate worship of his religion but as a citizen he has only those rights endowed by the laws of the land. That, to my mind is secularism. That a man is free to practice his religion within the corporate limit of his religious beliefs but when it comes to him as a citizen, the fact has to be accepted that I as Parsi or he as a Hindu or a Muslim will be treated in the same category. (BNC)

Uniform Culture?

Article 11 of the draft Declaration says that it should be the aim of all human endeavour to evolve a universal culture based on freedom, truth, reason and compassion. This was more or less the project of the Enlightenment viz., the universal human culture - that man is essentially a rational animal; there is some human essence which all men share and human culture then would be their common creation and inheritance. But there is another way of looking at the human species as consisting of many historical, cultural communities; their members accustomed to live in a distinctive manner. What happens then. Do we all have to live as Americans? I am a Hindu. What happens to the whole Hindu legacy? Do I merge it in the universal human legacy? But you will find that the Greco-Roman culture has a certain unfair dominance. What happens to the Chinese legacy? If we are historically conditioned then we cannot imagine that we are the first generation of rational human beings trying to live as human beings sharing a universal culture. No. The past will cling to us, mould us.

The claim has been made that there is a certain concept of human nature which is validated by scientific knowledge that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights; that they are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. (This is the first article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). We are told that this concept of human nature is a scientifically validated concept; that is, natural sciences tell us that this is what human beings are. Then I suppose all of us in some of the things we do and some people perhaps in all the things they do, violate this fundamental law of nature. (MPR)

Universal, Not Uniform

Our endeavour is to create a

universal culture, not a uniform culture. The universal culture to which all streams of culture contribute based on human values. We are concerned with the question of values in practice. What is the situation in our own country, be it in day to day life, in politics, in other aspects of life. And what can we do to remedy the situation. (AS)

Different Moral Universes



Sir Isaiah Berlin

On the other hand Sir Isaiah Berlin pointed out that there are different moral universes. One he called the Greco-Roman whose values are courage,

bravery, attitude and things like that. As against that he says there is the moral universe of Christ which talks basically of compassion and charity. There is a continuous conflict between these two. To give you an example: There is one moral universe in India to which Sardar Patel, Nehru and Ambedkar belong. To the other moral universe belong people like Gandhi and JP. Both these are supposed to be important values and yet one finds they are in continuous conflict. On top of these the so-called State that we have created has its own values which have nothing to do with either. In such a situation it is necessary first to be very clear what can be a total or universal value-system. It is in my view a combination of the Greco-Roman, the post-Christian and this state morality that we have. (AD)

India's Traditional Values

A lesson I learnt from the *Yakshaprasna* in the Mahabharata which I felt many political scientists have not paid due attention to is

what was described as the Hindu concept of duties. If a husband discharges his duties correctly and fully he protects the rights of the wife. Similarly if a master discharges his rights he protects the duties of his assistants or labourers. This concept has been elaborated in the introduction to a book published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan which is well worth reading. We are educated in the western system and we feel civilizations started and ended with a few cultures. I agree that the distinctive nature of different cultures need to be protected. Hence our tribes enjoy a lot of freedom to preserve their cultures. Because we not only feel every human being is worthwhile but distinctive cultures have some value in them.

The crisis enveloping Indian polity is due not to the failure of the common man or the misbehaviour of illiterate people but to the failure of people who wield power, the elite class, which instead of asserting its rights prefer to be courtiers.

I found Gandhi a very lucid and perceptive thinker. All of us know the values he has suggested - truth, *ahimsa* and trusteeship. These values which Gandhi suggested were part of the Hindu tradition. I came across a Sanskrit verse which describes ten aspects of *Dharma* which everyone must adopt and which I find being followed even today by elders in our villages. The ten aspects are: An unwavering mind, tolerance, self-control, not desiring others' wealth, cleanliness of the mind and body, control of the senses, knowledge about the shastras, real spiritual knowledge, truthfulness, not getting angry. These in my view can constitute

the bases for values which must inform behaviour of people who wield some power or the other. (KMS)

The *sloka* is from the *Manusmriti*. Actually this occurs in a chapter in which the Dharma of a Brahmin are laid down. But *Manusmriti* also talks of *Chaturvarnya*. So we can't follow *Manusmriti* obviously. There are elements in the Hindu tradition which are really forms of universal values. And there are also elements which are contrary to such values. What then is this universality? An amalgam of all cultures? (MPR)

I referred to a 'Universal culture and not a 'Uniform culture'. I have selected four basic values: Freedom, truth, reason and compassion. And I link them together. I consider freedom as an intrinsic value; without freedom no organism can exist. Freedom is life itself. And we want freedom to seek the truth. And, as someone said, truth is the content of reality. And we seek the truth with the instrumentality of reason, but tempered by compassion. (AS)

Fundamental Rights

If we look into the development of rights in our country after independence there are serious concerns as to how or why things have changed or are changing. For example how even the so called elite (intellectuals, journalists and the like) have reacted to the continuous amendments to the chapter on fundamental rights. A free society we presume would be one which would go on enlarging freedoms. Whereas what we have been witnessing for the last fifty years is a continuing narrowing down of our freedoms. One of the earliest fundamental rights to

be amended was the right to freedom of speech and expression itself which was further narrowed down to lay down more restrictions on what could be written and spoken. One fundamental right which was eliminated in its entirety was the fundamental right to property on the spurious ground that this right was anti-socialist. Or take the imposition of the 'emergency'. It was welcomed by many industrialists because it ensured discipline in the industrial field.

So the question which I ask is: Do we really have the kind of concern for rights a commitment to protecting and safeguarding them.

Take the latest phenomenon - economic liberalisation. Why is the liberalisation of the economy not linked to the enlargement of human liberties. Is it because one can admire China's economic growth without being critical of the Chinese violation of human rights. When we talk about liberalisation in our country why aren't we also talking about liberalisation in the social, political and cultural areas.

Getting the Message Across

My last concern is: How do you get this message of human values across, for instance at the level of schools and colleges. Or is it that in a poor country human values make no sense, and as Gandhi said, for a poor person freedom can only be in the form of a loaf of bread. (VKS)

Does our system of formal education give any scope given for absorption by students of any moral or ethical values. None whatsoever. It is oriented entirely towards a proposition which is different from social needs. Therefore it will have to be inculcated through informal education or non-formal education. (BNC)

We talk of the need for moral education as though it is an imperative today. It has always been an



Pandit Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi

A Question of Values

imperative. In the 1920s Michael Sadler authored two reports on the need for moral instruction in schools. The first volume related to England, Scotland and Wales and the second to the Colonies. So people have been concerned about the need for educating children in the right moral values in schools for nearly sixty or seventy years. It is not a new problem. It is a problem hitting us on the face very strongly today, so we feel the need for it.

Not a New Problem

It may be worthwhile looking into how they went about inculcating moral values in the children even while keeping in mind the fact that the family has ceased to be the centre for moral values which it was until recently. Children are exposed to many more things than the stories their grandmothers used to tell them. Grandmothers have disappeared from most homes and the mothers don't have time for inculcating values through oral tales. The TV has become the great baby-sitter. So the family has ceased to be the educator for moral values both by example and by precept. The emphasis has moved to schools. At the beginning of the twentieth century a number of attempts were made to write books inculcating moral values for use in schools. One such person was a man by name F. J. Gold, a rationalist. He published books for children to this end. These were also printed in India and used in schools even before many of us went to school. We could use some of these or re-write some of these to be used by children not as texts but in addition to whatever they read.

Examples are not wanting in our history and culture of people who have held fast to great moral truths from Rammohun Roy to Vidyasagar and several others. We could have extracts from their lives, their precepts, their examples. These could be published in small booklets and



Raja Rammohun Roy

reading about other things.

We could consider introducing in the journals we publish a small column called Space for Values or Valued Space where stories relating to values are published. Values could be reiterated with examples. (RS)

Need for a Social Revolution

In a society which is completely hierarchical, mentally and socially, is it possible to cross that border of caste. We have not crossed it. We can talk of high values but in practice hierarchies and *varnas* are the obstacles. That is why values are different for different *varnas* in our society.

All religions contain some basic good human values. To my mind, I believe when someone started a religion it must have been a necessity at that time. There must have been a need for some kind of social revolution at that time. We need a social revolution because we need to change some of the prevailing values because the existing values are not congenial to progress. If we wish to have really good human beings in this country then we have to change their values and their attitudes. And these changes have to take place irrespective of caste, creed or any such considerations.

To my mind freedom is the human value which will lead to all other values. Because if I am free to think and act and behave only then will I be able to practice other values. Each one of us has to accept values, practice them ourselves before we teach or preach to others. Unless

distributed in schools so that children could pick up moral values incidentally while

we do so no Declarations however lofty they may be will help us. Maybe we had some values in the past. We talk about them. But we *had* them and we *don't have* them now. (IP)

The caste system has been under constant criticism during the last one hundred and fifty years. In Maharashtra it has been consistently under attack by intellectuals. But caste is as strong as it was fifty years ago if not stronger. This shows that good intentions by themselves are not enough. We must be able to go and talk to people in a language they understand; look at things from their point of view; and this most educated Indians are incapable of doing. And that I think is an important part of our problem. What is their attitude to caste now. They say pious things about human equality and brotherhood from public platforms but if you go to any village you'll find that community life is based on the institution of caste. This has not changed. The egalitarian democracy that was established in 1947 has not made any dent. So how do we go about it? This question has not been squarely faced. (MPR)

Why are Morals Declining?

I would like to pose one question. We seem to agree that today our values, our ideals, our morals, our ethics are going down. I think it would be worthwhile for us to consider why that is happening. And this would form the basis to establish where the values need to be raised. We need to analyse why standards of morality and ethics are falling. (BNC)

Why has there been a decline in moral values? Here are some reasons:

If we look at history, the leadership has always come from the educated elite, who also had the economic means of their own. This class, alas, has let the country down.

Some of them have become too cynical, others too selfish. So we have a situation where bright young men and women, after completing their University or IIT education, either want to join multinationals or opt for greener pastures abroad (a Green-card), instead of joining, say the IAS.

The consumerist society has also had its share of the toll. In our childhood, we were brought up to look up to people as our role models, who were in the 'noble' professions such as teachers, journalists, artistes, lawyers and so on. Money, for its own sake, was frowned upon. Today, one's success and achievements are measured primarily in terms of money. (KS)

This collapse of moral values is not a contemporary phenomenon that has been seen in the last few years. This is not so. When in the early part of this century Lloyd George was orating in parliament someone from the back benches squeaked 'Marconi'. And Lloyd George collapsed. Because Lloyd George was responsible for the scam involving Marconi shares. When we read Greek politics what we learn is that it is full of corruption. A man as great as Pericles used to buy support. So corruption has always been with us all through recorded and unrecorded history. (RS)

It appears to us there is enormous corruption enveloping us and that our predecessors were happier in this respect. One reason for thinking so is that it is present corruption. Past corruption doesn't affect us. It affected those who had to live with it. Also, I think opportunities for corruption, rather the appetite for wealth, have increased.

Perhaps as some solace to Indians the sentence is always added that elsewhere also there is a decline. But I don't think that the kind of decline that we experience in India has occurred, say, in UK or other West European countries with a

protestant tradition. And that I think is important. If we are more corrupt now, that is Indians of our times, it is because opportunities for corruption have increased.

Is Corruption Getting Worse?

Has there been a decline in character so far as the public sphere is concerned. I don't think so. For example the PWD was always known to be corrupt. It came as a shock to me to be told (I had just passed my MA and had joined as a lecturer in an Ahmedabad college) by the person who ran the canteen, himself a former excise contractor, that among the beneficiaries of the corruption that was then practiced was the Excise Commissioner who was an Englishman. I was taught to believe that Englishmen would not be corrupt at least in India. So I really don't know how bad things were then. So far as the lower offices were concerned they were corrupt.

This was common knowledge acceptable to anyone. It was not as if families of these officers were ostracized. People didn't say well we won't give our daughter in marriage to this family because he is corrupt. Now of course the common query is how much irregular income do you have and how much regular income. Then they hinted at such things. Now they say it explicitly. I really believe that things are not getting worse. Perhaps we are now more concerned with these things and talk about them. (MPR)

Situations Leading to Corruption

When dealing with corruption it would be proper to look at the prevailing conditions which generate corruption. For example the size of the pie is very important. When we were children, getting admission to schools was not a problem because there were many schools and many seats were available and one could get in easily. Today the size of the pie has remained almost the same

but the people who wish to admit their children to schools has increased. This is one reason why it has led to corruption in the matter of admission to schools. Just a decade back a visit by a telephone mechanic to a telephone subscriber's house was dreaded. We would have to bribe him with a *bakshish* of Rs.10 or Rs.50 because we had moved the telephone instrument from one corner of the room to another which was against the rules at that time. Today that problem is not there because these kinds of restrictions have been removed. The same applies to ration cards. During my childhood half my waking hours went in ration queues. Now that things have become available that kind of corruption has gone. So prevailing economic and social conditions are equally important when we talk of corruption.

The other point is accountability in the system. The less accountability there is the more it tends to be corrupt. Transparency of the system – a person's right to know, to have access to information will lead to a reduction in corruption. (YK)

Catch Them Young

On the question of promoting human values or moral values, to my mind moral values and human values can be promoted only if we inculcate them in the young. It is said that up to the age of eight is the only time that we can inculcate in them values or ideas. Some people object saying that this amounts to conditioning children. But aren't children already being conditioned one way or the other in society, through their friends, in schools. How do we do it? Not merely by preaching to children 'you must tell the truth' or 'you must be honest' and so on. We all know of the joke about the father telling his son very firmly that he must always speak the truth; there is a knock on the door and standing there is a bill collector. The same father

A Question of Values

tells the son 'go and tell him I am not at home'. (AS)

Growing Sense of Insecurity

There is a total feeling of insecurity of life today. Be it in politics, one's job, in our day to day life, when travelling there is this feeling of insecurity. This kind of a situation leaves little time for the consideration of values. Which means you are so puzzled that you don't even have the time for the consideration of values. Another reason for the sense of insecurity is the pace of change. Things that didn't change for a thousand years are now changing in a matter of two or three years. For instance fifteen years ago it would have been difficult to see even ten people at the Siddhivinayak temple. Today serpentine queues are a common sight on Tuesdays and most of them are young people. When I tried to find out what had changed I discovered this feeling of insecurity and uncertainty about the future. (AD)

Science and Technology

Today's science and technology are so explosive in nature that it has left the common man and his thinking far behind. There is always a time-lag between an invention's acceptability and its application. The present explosion in science and technology does not provide for this time-lag. Consequently it has produced confusion and uncertainty simply because we do not know what is happening. It has also led to a decline in ethics and morality. Take medical science for example. We are using technology without analysing the consequences of the use of such technology. As a result medical ethics are changing. We do not consider it unnecessary today to do something about which we would have thought twice ten years ago. Hence science and technology are contributing to lowering our moral and ethical standards. I think it was Thomas Alva Edison who said: "What man's mind



Thomas Edison

the other hand it is not possible to stop the pace of change. Like most things science and technology are double-edged weapons. There are people who say that it is really a sin to know how to write and read because that can create all kinds of problems for ourselves which is not in our hands to stop. The question is how do we cope with it. (AD)

Our society has indeed, not been able to keep pace with the progress in science and technology. For example, we have this strange phenomenon of thousands of households in Mumbai having television sets, each with over 50 channels beaming from all parts of the globe, yet they don't have proper toilets or running water in their homes.

TV is potentially the most powerful tool of social change, particularly in a vast and varied country like ours. But, alas, it has been hijacked by commercial forces, and consequently, it is doing more harm than good. Take for example, a young farmer in his village, who until the other day, would get up in the morning, go to his courtyard, pluck a neem twig (absolutely free and with enormous medicinal properties) to clean his teeth. He has now been brainwashed by TV to use 'X' brand of toothpaste, because he has been made to believe that that is the surest way to win the beautiful young woman of his ultimate fantasy. (KS)

We have accepted science and technology but we have not accepted the thought behind them. That

conceives, man's character should be able to control." That is the point at issue. (BNC)

explains the gap between the two. When we accept a certain technological concept we accept it mechanically. We accept the technical part without accepting the thought that has gone behind it. And this gap between the two is widening. (IP)

Scientific Temper Promoting

It is true that the explosion in science and technology has led to these problems. If the scientific temper rather than scientific techniques were encouraged we would not be in a situation where people take rigid stands that theirs' is the final word. Coupled with science is reason and rationality. Probably that would have led to far less strident positions than what is being observed in the social sphere today. Another thing that creates difficulties is we have many a time considered individuals more important than the idea. It is only in science that the individual does not become important. If Newton is proved wrong insofar as the theory of subatomic particle is concerned we reject Newton and accept the new principle.



Sir Isaac Newton

This is something that cannot be done easily in any other sphere of human activity. (YK)

Cultivating the Atman

We have spoken about inequalities, about corruption, the decline of morals. I would like to reiterate that these are age old. Whether it belongs to us and not to the West remains a question. Andre Beteille described it as a part of human nature. We get rid of one set of inequalities and replace them with others. So the human condition remains a challenge.

As the human condition remains

a challenge what is the approach we take. I would like to underline the importance of education. Education for values – ethical, religious education. Whatever religion I follow – if I am a better Hindu, if I am a better Christian, a better Muslim I will be a better human person. I am not speaking now about institutionalised religion, I am speaking of religion in its deepest sense. We have emphasised a great deal the rational approach. We say we need freedom to search for the truth; that truth shall set you free. And while we have emphasised rationality and its seat in the mind of man, feelings and their seat in the emotions of man, there is another dimension to man, the spirit. This is where education for awareness is important.

The education for awareness goes beyond rationality and thinking. It belongs to that area which we sometimes call intuition. Its seat perhaps, in Indian terms could be the *atman*. And as we grow in that awareness probably we will look and if look on God as our father we will look on the other as our brother. And if there is a flight from individual rights to small community rights and their expression in a cultural form that is according to the genius of each community.

Maharashtra GR

Recently the Maharashtra government included a values education period and made it compulsory in all schools. This period is supposed to be first thing in the morning. Either the whole school will come together for an assembly at which they would read from the scriptures or whatever. This may seem a small thing but it is quite a large thing if a whole set of children of a certain age are being exposed to something that is part of *satyam, shivam, sundaram*. (LR)

When I was a student in a missionary school, as a non-catholic I

had to attend a moral science class. The moral science text book we had consisted of a series of questions and answers which began by asking 'Who made Man?' and answering 'God made Man' and so on for the next 80 to 100 pages. We had to learn it by rote. Moral Science was one of the subjects in which we had to appear for examination. The passing mark in Moral Science was 80%. If we didn't get 80 marks we failed. And if we failed in Moral Science things could get rather difficult in school. And this Moral Science class was the first session in the morning and was for 45 minutes and not 30 minutes. We considered it a big bore as we had to memorise and reproduce the answers in an examination. I am not trying to belittle what my school was trying to do. But my point is that the moment you make this kind of value education compulsory and add on rewards to it then the whole purpose gets defeated. It becomes one more subject which one studies and then forgets. Most of us studied Sanskrit as a second language I wonder how many of us understand spoken Sanskrit let alone speak or read in that language. (SVR)

The Maharashtra GR on values education is more or less like the one introduced by the BJP government in Madhya Pradesh. Those are not universal values at all. (RAJ)

The Government Resolution (GR) issued by the department of education of the government of Maharashtra is a bureaucratic and play-safe kind of a document. Introduction of moral education or what they call education in values. In this GR reference is made to having it as a compulsory subject for each class for 30 minutes from standards 1 to 9 or 10. This GR mentions by way of illustration that they could have recitations from Tukaram, Dynan-eswari etc. That 'etc.' meant that you could probably have recitations from other scriptures and other books.

The second part of the GR says this is not mandatory on minority-run institutions. There are two implications to this. One: Maybe because the Constitution says that minority institutions have certain rights which cannot be interfered with by the government; and secondly, that values education is largely based on the Hindu religion like the one attempted by the BJP in MP and therefore to avoid any conflict they exempt minority institutions from the GR.

The Muslim Satyashodak Mandal which is a progressive Muslim organisation in Maharashtra is planning to send a delegation to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra saying that though the government has said it is not mandatory on minority run institutions the GR, is in effect, discriminating between institutions; the GR is, in effect creating more divisions between the majority and the minorities. One of the values mentioned is national integration. This kind of values education is going to further isolate minorities from the majority. One of the things we have been trying to do through the Muslim Satya-shodak Mandal is to persuade Muslims in Maharashtra to get their children to join Marathi medium schools as joining Urdu medium schools in Maharashtra is pointless. If Marathi medium schools are going to have this kind of value education the *moulvi* can then say to his Muslim flock 'why are you going to that Hindu school'. The GR has in effect made a Marathi school a Hindu school. So are we sure that what the government of Maharashtra is planning to do is going to be a blessing in terms of imparting values education? (VKS).

I am not saying that the government of Maharashtra has provided a solution. We can look upon this as an opportunity or as an obstacle. We can interpret that 'etc.' as something to expand our spectrum. And they say it is not mandatory. We can look

A Question of Values

on the fact that it is not mandatory as an attempt to avoid conflict or giving us the freedom to go ahead and take what is good and beautiful in all religions and use this as an instrument for transformation. We talked of a social revolution. You cannot bring about change unless you utilise whatever opportunities are available for change besides taking the initiative to create change. (LR)

Moral values are older than religion. They are a product of interpersonal relations. Human beings had to cooperate in order to survive. Other values like honesty, concern for others are intrinsic values and stand by themselves. When you introduce the question of rewards and punishment you are actually distorting the values. You tell a child that you must speak the truth otherwise god will punish you. You must tell the truth because truth is a value. All values are secular values. In religion you can do wrong and the priest can forgive you. A wrong is a wrong, values do not need any supernatural help or reward or punishment. As one philosopher said: 'I am good because it pleases me' (AS)

Princess Diana and Mother Teresa

Recently I was in the UK and I have never seen the kind of emotion that was exhibited by the deaths

of Princess Diana and Mother Teresa. It is not easy to understand crores of young people being moved so deeply by the death of these two persons. I could see one common point between Princess Diana and Mother Teresa viz. compassion, charity, humanity etc. But what exactly were the other values which these two personalities exhibited to have moved the younger generation as few have done. (AD)



Mother Teresa and Princess Diana

Would there have been the huge crowds that were present at the burial of both Princess Diana and Mother Teresa had there been no TV or the explosion in the media. People like Albert Schweitzer gave up everything they had and served the blacks in Africa for 25 years and more. Thousands of Christian missionaries died in several parts of the globe in the same compassionate spirit. Let's also not forget that Diana's acts of charity were well publicised by the media. She cultivated the media very well indeed. A man like Gadge Maharaj

also did a great deal. But he had little or no coverage. To a thanks to the media emotions are created. (RS)



Gadge Maharaj

Perhaps the thousands of people who placed bouquets outside Buckingham Palace did so not because it was being televised. They were genuinely touched. Everyone is now used to a public figure doing something for something. Nobody does something for nothing. But here was Mother Teresa. She was a Christian and her public service was motivated by her calling which was to save souls. But she exemplified the spirit of selfless public service without asking for anything in return. When people from outside India offered her money she didn't take it but asked them to spend it on similar causes in their countries. She was viewed as a selfless public worker in an age when everyone wanted a *quid pro quo*.

Insofar as Diana is concerned she had a very charming and alluring personality; secondly she exemplified the daughter-in-law being poorly treated by the mother-in-law. And millions of youngsters identified with her. Princess Diana spoke a language which they understood and identified with. Finally she did not preach. She demonstrated by her own actions how much she cared for people be they children affected by AIDS or crippled by land mines. We are familiar with leading public figures addressing large crowds from behind bullet-proof glasses. Neither Princess Diana nor Mother Teresa needed bullet proof glass nor black cats. These perhaps explain the tremendous outpouring of sympathy. (SVR)

All traditional ideological/religious systems are, at present, in acute conflict, if not in collapse. We need a system of agreed values that rises above all these wrangles and can be agreed as a moral blueprint for mankind... An International Declaration of Human Values should be prepared by the United Nations as a necessary partner to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Dr. James Hemming, at the Golden Jubilee Conference of the Progressive League, London. Reported in *The Freethinker*, London, May 1983.

Ethics as Business Strategy

V. C. Viswanathan

A moment's reflection should make it clear that without an ethical foundation no business can succeed in the long run. Yet, the popular notion is quite contrary. While lecturing to post-graduate students of business management at one of Delhi's prestigious institutions recently, I happened to emphasise the importance of ethics in marketing.

At the end, during the question-answer session, a student got up to say, quite bluntly, "Sir, marketing, and ethics just can't go together." What surprised me more was that this statement received loud approval from the other students in the class.

While choosing a brand or product, don't customers ask if it is reliable and of good value? And after buying, if the customer finds his expectations belied, is he very likely to buy that product or trust that brand again?

What is a 'brand' if not a promise and a covenant between the seller and the buyer regarding the brand's value?

In today's crowded market-place, where the customers are free to choose from a multiplicity of brands, can any business hope to survive for long without building long term relationship with customers? Can such relationship be built except on the basis of integrity and trust?

Can a company attract and retain talented people unless it is a good place to work? Can good human relationship prevail devoid of good ethical behavior?

Can a high degree of motivation, morale, teamwork, creativity, productivity and innovation exist in an organisation without a high level of commitment to ethics and values by all concerned?

Don't vendors and suppliers want to know if a company is good to do business with? Is not the same question uppermost in the minds of dealers, distributors and agents who stock and sell the company's products? Wouldn't they want to know if the company would honour its commitments and be fair in its dealings?

What about potential investors and shareholders? They too will want to know if the company is managed by people who

are upright and competent before they choose to invest in it.

Would a bank lend money to a company if the company's management is known to be dishonest? In other words, can any institution build a relationship with any of its stakeholders without ethical behaviour?

One Indian company that has made commitment to values the core of its business strategy and has achieved success, growth and profitability is Alacrity Foundations Pvt. Ltd., founded and led by Amol Karnad, a visionary businessman in Tamil Nadu.

Engaged in the real estate business of building homes for people, Alacrity has earned the goodwill of its clients and public by maintaining outstanding standards of quality and service.

It enjoys a high reputation for its fair practices, incorruptibility and service to the local community.

The corporate mission of the company has a clearly stated social mission: "To try and prove that organised business when deeply committed to values is the best equipped to lead society to a better quality of life."

Alacrity's corporate philosophy consists of some strongly held beliefs:

The quality of life of an individual is truly enhanced only when the quality of life of the society in which the individual lives is improved.

Professional fulfilment for any institution is attainable only when it accepts public accountability for its contribution to social/national causes.

A business mission can be worthwhile and enduring only if it is in line with national goals and priorities.

In the conduct of business, integrity - 'not knowingly to do harm' - is the only moral touchstone, and excellence the only performance touchstone.

Business development can be integrated with social/national development only if there is uncompromising respect for laws and regulations and faithful compliance therewith.

Within a decade of starting its operation, Alacrity emerged as the single largest builder of residential flats in Madras, all without 'black' money or paying a single penny bribe.

Another remarkable case of a company that made ethics the core of its business strategy and achieved phenomenal success is Body Shop, founded by Anita Roddick.

Started about 25 years ago as a one-woman shop in a small town in England to make and market 'ethical' cosmetic products, it has grown into a global network of companies operating in over 80 countries in the world.

Its business code declares:

The Body Shop's goals and values are as important as our products and our profits. Our policies and our products are geared to meet the needs of real people both inside and outside the company.

Honesty, integrity and caring form the foundations of the company and should flow through everything we do.

We care about each other as individuals. We will continue to endeavour to bring meaning and pleasure to the workplace.

We care about our customers and will continue to bring humanity into the marketplace.

We care about humanising the business community. We will continue to show that success and profits can go hand-in-hand with ideals and values.

According to Peter Drucker, an outstanding management thinker, "Management always lives, works and practices in and for an institution, which is a human community held together by the bond that, next to the tie of the family, is the most powerful human bond - the work bond. Indeed, since management deals with people and not with things, management without values, commitment and convictions can only do harm."

COURTESY: *The Pioneer*.

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

The Communal Problem

Continuing Legacy of 'The Raj'

Sharad Joshi

The Constituent Assembly of independent India continued with the folly of territorial constituencies. One of its distinguished members Minoo Masani had submitted a detailed proposal for the introduction of proportional representation. It was brushed aside.

We set out to be a Democratic Republic and we certainly carry all outward attributes of a working democracy. In the special session of the Lok Sabha and in discussions elsewhere, there has been general consensus on this. Whatever our failures on the economic and socio-cultural fronts, we have succeeded unlike in most parts of the third world, in keeping democratic institutions alive. Elections continue to be held and the incidence of corruption and violence are probably no worse than in much older and richer democracies. The attempts to throttle the democratic process during the emergency were quickly overcome, thanks to the political acumen of the common citizen. Dynastic trends have been pushed into the background - at least temporarily. An effective opposition to the Congress has sprung up and democratic institutions have demonstrated sufficient vitality to take on even the experiment of coalition governments.

This is about all the good that can be said on the political front. As against this, political corruption has become rampant, politics has been criminalised and crime has been politicised. There is a plethora of political parties built around this or that charismatic leader with no clear principles or positions. Worst of all, communalists and castists are advancing aggressively and economic movements, both of the right and the left are in retreat.

Corruption and criminalisation have been the inevitable consequences of the intense concentration of power

in the State. The massive resurgence of communalist and casteist forces is more difficult to explain. Even the leaders of the BJP, Shiv Sena and the BSP do not maintain too vehemently that their politics are spiritual or religious movements. Castes and creeds are only so many ploys for seizing power.

Separate Electorates

When Independence came, what was called the 'communal problem' during the 'Raj' days was far from being resolved. Partition had suppressed only one part of it - that relating to the muslim population. The part relating to the backward classes seemed to have been sidetracked after the Yeravada Pact - renunciation of separate electorates by Ambedkar and his piloting of the Constitution Bill providing for territorial constituencies for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In fact the issue remained smouldering underneath and flared up no sooner it became clear that socialist planning was unlikely to bring about any real improvement in the lot of the poor, most of whom are SCs and STs.

Divide and Rule

Most of us tend to forget that the freedom movement was far from being unified and homogeneous.

There were various positions, interests, attitudes and programmes. Muslims were an integral part of the freedom movement, and were actually in the forefront in 1857. But the British policy of "Divide and rule" succeeded eminently in the case of this community and it advanced from reserved seats to a separate electorate and from there onwards to 'parity in power' and further to the formation of a sovereign state of Pakistan. We shall, therefore, exclude the muslim community from the discussion that follows, particularly because immediately following upon the partition the leaders of the muslim community gave up any claim to reservation in elected seats or jobs and in spite of the fact that the question of reservation of seats for muslims appears to be raising its head once again.

Apart from muslims there were at least three other groups/communities that had widely divergent approaches and attitudes to India's freedom and the political structures after independence.

The Upper-Castes

Firstly, we had the militant group which consisted mostly of the leaders from upper castes who felt particularly deprived with the establishment of the Raj and who hoped to wield the power in independent India provided the British could be made to leave soonest possible. The brave young men of the bomb cult and militant leaders like Tilak, Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai belong to this stream. They were devoutly religious men at home but were temperamentally capable of



Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

entering into understandings and pacts with leaders of other communities like Jinnah. This group was largely disheartened after the imprisonment of Tilak for six years at Madalay. The faithfuls of this group remained skeptical till the end about Gandhiji's principles and found themselves pushed into propinquity with forces of hindu nationalism. Most of the successors of this stream are associated with the present-day BJP and parties that have an axis with it.

The Western Educated Community

Then we had the largely metropolitan western educated community which was doing well in trade and industry thanks to the opening up of the country and the 'law and order' introduced by the 'Raj'. Some of its members occupied respectable positions in the administration and the judiciary. This set constituted the 'moderates' who favoured increasing empowerment of Indians under the British umbrella. These were the people who founded the National Congress and held annual sessions during Christmas vacations to pass resolutions of supplications and assurances of loyalty to the 'Raj'. Gandhiji made this lacklustre assembly a potent instrument of the freedom struggle by introducing a unique mix of moralism, metaphysics, social reform and above all intrepid courage.

The Backward Communities

There was still a third force of backward communities - scheduled castes, scheduled tribes etc.. They were not particularly pressing for the attainment of independence. They felt protected under the Raj and had greater hopes of opportunities for educational, social and cultural advancement under the Raj than under a hegemony of upper castes in an independent India. Most of the leaders of this community joined the Congress and Gandhi's movement with the exception of the Ambedkarites. These latter continued to seek guarantees of protection and advancement through political empowerment.

India is a nation with large diversity where people often conflict fiercely amongst themselves. The Britishers naturally saw the advantage in playing one community against another but quite a few of them shared the apprehensions that the backward communities will not receive a fair deal under the upper castes. In genuine sympathy, they tried to provide special reservations to such communities, more or less on the same lines as muslims.

Representation in Legislatures

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, out of 150 general seats in the council of states, 128 were to be directly elected by territorial communal constituencies and 22 were set apart for smaller minorities including women and depressed classes. In the provinces also the territorial constituencies elected their representatives through separate communal electorates. A substantial portion of general seats was assigned to the scheduled castes. The same pattern continued in the composition of the Constituent Assembly in 1946.

The "First Past the Post" System

The British electoral system is based on territorial constituencies and that was considered to be the only possible method of democratic elections. No other method appears to have been proposed or considered. The system of territorial constituencies is far from appropriate for a nation of India's diversity and fragmentation, under which, the only manner in which the minorities can be protected is by giving them separate electorates or reserved seats.

The muslims walked away with a separate electorate in 1930 and that quickly produced partition. Mahatma Gandhi resisted separate electorates for the backward communities but accepted reservation of seats even though he had very serious misgivings about the advantages of reservation of seats. Gandhi's indefinite fast against separate electorates and Ambedkar's signing the Yerawada pact to renounce a separate electorate in favour of reserved constitu-

encies is history. Ambedkar wanted backward community candidates to be short-listed in a primary ballot where only the backward communities could vote. But this proviso was quickly side-tracked and forgotten.

A Matter for Astonishment

It is astonishing that neither Gandhi nor Ambedkar appeared ever to have examined an alternative electoral system that could do justice to minorities without encouraging separatism. Ambedkar's fears were genuine. In most territorial constituencies caste hindus predominated with the result that 15% of the low castes could not hope to win even a single seat in the absence of the system of reservations. Even in reserved constituencies only those backward community candidates who had the blessings of the upper castes could hope to win. Reserved seats would help the stooges and hirelings of the suppressers rather than the genuine representatives of the suppressed. The fact that Ambedkar and his party were routed in elections speaks volumes for the inappropriateness of the system of elections and of statutory reservations. This could have been easily taken care of by a system based on proportional representation which would have obviated the need for separate electorates/reserved seats. It would be interesting to speculate if the idea of Pakistan would not have been nipped in the bud if somebody had proposed a system of proportional representation.

Unfortunately, independent India continued with the system of territorial constituencies and reserved seats. Gandhiji is on record as have been said: "I have not a shadow of a doubt that (statutory reservation) will prevent the natural growth of the suppressed classes and will remove the incentive for honourable amends from the suppressers. If I get the opportunity I certainly will try to create public opinion amongst the suppressed against statutory reservations."

The Constituent Assembly of

independent India continued with the folly of territorial constituencies. One of its distinguished members Minoo Masani had submitted a detailed proposal for the introduction of proportional representation. It was brushed aside.

Proportional Representation

The system of proportional representation permits significant minorities, on any issue or of any community, to be appropriately represented in spite of the fact that they are geographically dispersed and, consequently, not in a position to dominate any territorial constituency. It has the further advantage of discouraging schisms and fragmentation.

To compound the serious lapse the People's Representation Act retained the system of 'first past the post' under which a candidate obtaining the highest number of votes is declared elected, no matter how insignificant his majority. By contrast, in France a candidate has to secure an absolute majority; if in any

constituency the leading candidate falls short of the absolute majority a second ballot is held within a week in that constituency.

The continuation of territorial constituencies and "first past the post" has certainly facilitated political domination by dominating communities or alliances. This has resulted in political parties undertaking exercises in political arithmetic of combining certain castes and communities in order to win the election. The suppressed classes feel frustrated at going largely unrepresented.

A very remarkable thing is that in all the debates that are taking place on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of independence this terrible lapse has not even been mentioned. Great minds work on the question of India's constitution since at least 1925. All of them attempted to overcome the problem of what was called the communal question. Not one of them proposed that the system of proportional representation could reconcile conflicting interests and

possibly even partition.

Gandhi Marginalised

Independent India proceeded immediately to marginalise Gandhi and to establish a hegemony of the upper-castes under the banner of socialism. On the political forum the suppressed were denied any effective representation under the highly contrived electoral system. The same bias can be seen in all policies in all fields - educational and socio-cultural. Independent India has turned out to be a hegemony and monopoly of the erstwhile upper-castes with the caste frontiers blurred here and there for the purpose of obfuscation.

MR. SHARAD JOSHI is an economist, a leader of the liberal movement in India, and founder of the Shetkari Sanghatana.

Without Censorship, Things
can get terribly confused in the
public mind.

General William Westmoreland.

Olympus Lifts Service and Technology



Bharat Bijlee Limited

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

OLYMPUS

Gandhiji's Last Wish Being Fulfilled

S. S. Bankeshwar

Mr. Sitaram Kesri indulges in a miscalculated daydream that his 'revitalised' and 'rejuvenated' Congress, the major beneficiary of corruption for all for 45 of the 50 years of Free India, would be able to capture power - his option in deciding to withdraw support, thinking the Congress would replace the UF with support from elements from the UF has proved to be a gross misjudgement.

The Congress is suffering from a terminal disease called the cancer of corruption. Kesri's promise to rout out corruption becomes a big joke of the year indeed, when his party, even now, is openly supporting the most corrupt politician, Laloo, now popularly known as the Fodder of the Nation. 'Rightly has it been said that birds of the same feather flock together. It is hardly surprising that Mr. Laloo Prasad's party is an alliance partner of the Congress.

Kesri's copious tears for our masses below the poverty line, who are not even getting pure drinking water, are nothing but crocodile tears. Who is responsible for this pathetic state of affairs? The BJP, which was in power for only 13 days? Janata rule under Morarji Desai or Charan Singh? the National Front rule under V. P. Singh? or the present United Front? supported by his own party (altogether about 5 years of non-Congress rule)? Who is he trying to fool?

The Congress can never come back to power again, Kesri's bravado notwithstanding! The least that the Congress can hope for is to retain its present status as a 'political concubine', with whom the UF-LF is prepared to sleep, but reluctant to hold her hand in public! A concubine deserted by the UF and the LF, and rejected by the people in the next mid-term elections will not be accept-

able to the BJP front, unless the Congress splits into pro- and anti-BJP factions.

If everything was wrong with the UF government, why did the Congress support it? Kesri has no answer! Kesri has no imagination, no single new idea, no new thought, no new vision, no new policy or programme, let alone any strategy to win the voters in the next mid-term elections! Kesri, an old man in a hurry, cannot revitalise or rejuvenate the Congress suffering from the terminal disease of corruption.

Kesri knows that he is not an orator, a crowd puller or a vote-catcher, and hence his abject dependence on Sonia Gandhi. Rajiv Gandhi died long ago and Sonia cannot create a sympathy wave for the Congress now. No cheque can be encashed twice, not even a sympathy cheque. In fact, Sonia's links with Quattrocchi, involved in Bofors, could well be a liability for the Congress in the forthcoming elections.

That the Congress has to depend on Sonia to lead the party and become our Prime Minister exposes the bankruptcy of leadership in the Congress. The argument that 'if Annie Besant, a foreigner, could become the President of the Congress, why not Sonia become its President' is ridiculous indeed. Annie Besant, although a foreigner, fought selflessly for India's freedom.

Kesri, undoubtedly, a true Gandhian, and a Dalit, who has the dubious distinction of having failed in the S.S.C. ten times, will have the rare privilege, in this Golden Jubilee year of our Independence, of fulfilling the last wish of Gandhiji that the Congress be liquidated after Independence!

MR. S. S. BANKESHWAR is editor of the Research Feature News Service and a member of Freedom First's Advisory Board.

The Need for Pro-active Citizenship

The country is in for another bout of inflation, with state government and public sector employees realising now that politicians are unable to protect public interests after the sloppy way the Central government employees' demands were settled by a negotiating team, and endorsed by the Government of India.

1. The common man goes to a government office only when unavoidable. Indifference, lack of courtesy or rudeness at the behavioural norms in government offices. Was there any insistence by the government team to protect the public against such behaviour, by evolving a mechanism for punishment including dismissal?
2. Punctuality and speed of disposal are unknown factors. Did the negotiating team discuss these matters of vital concern to the public?
3. Although every file belongs to the citizen whose case is being handled, missing files is a common occurrence. Was any effort made to solve this problem?
4. As Swami Agnivesh pointed out in his campaign against holidays, a central government employee enjoys literally nearly 196 days of holidays (taking advantage of every conceivable type of leave). Productivity is near zero with such a weak work ethic. Negotiations on this issue were vital in public interest, before conceding any demands.

Citizens will have to work out a strategy of protecting their own interests in the light of demonstrated incompetence of the government in protecting public interests.

Mumbai

M. R. Pai

Liberalisation To Liberation

K. B. Dadiseth

Liberalisation has benefited only a fraction of India, the organised economy and urban Indians. It has yet to reach the largest part of our population, 600 million rural Indians and India's poor. However, should not all Indians get liberation - the opportunity to live in conditions of dignity, with real freedom from want?

This breakthrough from liberalisation to liberation will only be achieved when we realise this vision for the masses.

Why should this concern us at Hindustan Lever?* It concerns us because the future of Hindustan Lever is closely linked to the future of India and all its people.

Our depth and width of consumer understanding gives us an unmatched insight into the aspirations of all sections of society. The company uses this knowledge, combined with a wide range of economic and demographic data, to construct scenarios of the India that will emerge five, ten and twenty years from now. These scenarios guide the company's strategies, but beyond this, they have the power to capture the imagination and provide a vision that can inspire and motivate us all.

A Vision of Prosperity

I would like to share one of these scenarios with you. This scenario is both exciting and realistic; it takes into account the political and economic realities of India and importantly is one that we believe is achievable.

Let us imagine what everyday life could be for an Indian in 2010. The great majority will be literate and have a job, income will have increased for every citizen. In urban India, two out of three families will

earn close to Rs.10,000 a month; a huge advance considering that in 1994 only one in 16 families earned this much. Discretionary spending will rise sharply, since basic needs will have been ensured. Education and employment will raise aspiration levels and consumers will demand the right to choose from several alternatives, in every aspect of their lives. This is especially marked in the younger generation, born in liberalised India and exposed by media, especially television, to very different influences from their parents. In urban India, one in two families will have a washing machine, every family a pressure cooker and almost every family a refrigerator. Families will be able to afford not just labour-saving appliances but also entertainment; three out of four families will now watch their favourite programme on their own colour TV.

Education and health care will be more accessible, resulting in a female literacy rate above 70 per cent, compared to 46 per cent today, and there will be healthier mothers and babies. The rural Indian will also be better off. Girls will no longer be forced to stay at home to care for siblings and do housework - enrolment in primary schools for both boys and girls will be almost universal. Rural incomes will have risen; one in three families will earn about Rs. 5,000 a month, whereas in 1994 only one in eight families did. Refrigerators will make an appearance in some rural homes, with around one in ten families owning one. One in three rural families will own a pressure cooker and one in five a colour television.

The seeds for the revival of Indian agriculture, sown in the final years of this century, will have now sent up healthy shoots. Agricultural productivity will increase, providing more on-farm jobs in sowing, transplanting, weeding, irrigation, application of fertilisers and pesticides. Agri businesses in food processing, dairy farming, job options for rural dwellers. Retailing will make inroads into rural India - shops selling a wide range of consumer goods will become a fairly common sight in most villages.

Rural and urban India will be better connected through roads, transport and telecommunications. India will have begun to think that the India-Bharat divide can actually disappear.

From Vision to Reality

Is this just utopia? At first sight yes; but it isn't and shouldn't be.

All this can be achieved by sustaining a growth rate of 8 per cent every year till 2010. The income and consumption figures outlined have actually been based on projections by the National Council for Applied Economic Research using an 8 per cent growth rate. Normally, 8 per cent growth in itself is not engaging to the common man. Articulating its impact as a scenario makes it not only engaging but also exciting. What makes it even more exciting is that we are already sustaining growth rates of 6 per cent for the last three years - the rewards of getting to 8 per cent must inspire us to make this albeit difficult leap a practical possibility.

Based on a speech delivered by Mr. K. B. Dadiseth, Chairman, Hindustan Lever Limited at the Company's Annual General Meeting held on June 24, 1997.

What is needed is political will, pragmatic policies and a determined mind-set that says we can. In this, we must not underestimate the positive role of government and political leadership. Furthermore, economic growth alone will not be sufficient; government will need to initiate positive interventions to bring about a fundamental shift in perspective and priorities in some critical areas.

Across the broad canvas of economic development, there will inevitably be many things that need to be done. Many of these areas, such as infrastructure and exports, are widely discussed. However, I would like to focus on just three areas which I believe do not get adequate attention but which will make great impact and where we need significant changes in approach - these are in social development, in how we view agriculture and in making efficient use of available capital.

From Privilege to Equality

To compete in the global economy, India will have to invest heavily in enhancing the capabilities of its people. To understand why this is necessary, we only need to look at our neighbours, the high performing Asian economies. A large part of their success is based on their emphasis on building human capital.

At the 1995 Social Summit in Copenhagen, the Managing Director of the World Bank, Sven Sandstrom, said, "Social investment is not only good for human well-being. It is good economics." How is this? The human capital model in growth theories shows that a rise in the level of education brings a rise in the efficiency of all factors of production. Educated people use capital more efficiently, so it becomes more productive. They are more likely to think up new and better forms of production. Co-workers learn from the skills and innovation of educated people, thus also becoming more productive. Education is thus critical to building a modern, market based economy and

raising living standards. To enhance its human capabilities, India must provide its people with, at the very least, adequate nutrition, better health care, and more and better schooling for children.

Much of this can be achieved by targeting existing spending on education and health to the areas which achieve the highest return: Primary Education and Basic Health Services.

Education

India has been doing the reverse. We have always stressed higher education at the cost of basic education and vocational training. Between 1950 and 1994, the number of primary schools has trebled while the number of universities grew sevenfold. This overemphasis on higher education and degrees has created disdain for vocational training. Not surprisingly, India has a small section of high skilled professionals and technicians and a vast unskilled workforce. The many intervening layers of skilled and semi-skilled professionals and workers to be found in developed countries are missing.

The Indonesian Experience

The fierce competition for resources in India means that education is likely to remain constrained by limited resources. We must therefore use what we have well. To see what this can achieve, let's look at the example of Indonesia, a large, rural Asian country that has made great progress in literacy and reducing the gender gap.

When it started its educational reforms in the early 70s, Indonesia had a GDP of \$610 per head, a predominantly rural population, a high level of illiteracy and little education for girls. It spent 2.3 per cent of its GDP on education. However, it devoted 90 per cent of this to primary education. Indonesia embarked on a school building drive, abolished school fees and by 1987

had enrolled 91 per cent of its children in school. Today it has 84 per cent literacy and the gender gap has vanished. Indonesia is a prime example of limited resources used well.

Another good example to follow can be found right here in India, in Kerala. Unlike other states, Kerala has focused its spending on primary education and adult literacy. As a result, it has almost doubled its enrolment in primary schools and halved its dropout rates in both primary and middle schools. At 90 per cent, Kerala's literacy rate is the highest among all Indian states.

The Kerala Achievement

India spends around 4.4 per cent of its GDP on education, a higher proportion than Indonesia. However, unlike Indonesia, only around 45 per cent of this amount is allocated to primary education. The shortages and problems in the Indian education system that we are all aware of could be significantly corrected through a greater priority on primary education.

In health too, India has overinvested in the tertiary sector at the cost of basic services. As a result, the poor and rural do not have access to basic health care. To correct this situation, we need to reorient our health spending - from specialised care towards basic and outpatient health care and towards public, occupational and environmental health services. Preventive health care needs to be emphasised over curative services, thus reducing India's massive disease burden. Health education and preventive services for women and babies are essential to improve their overall health and help their families avoid unnecessary medical expenditure. Above all, the health care system must be made responsive to people's needs.

Much of this can be achieved by targeting spending to basic health care and introducing market mechanisms to prevent health subsidies going to the urban rich (who benefit

from the large public hospitals in India's big cities) rather than the rural poor.

Agricultural Growth

The second major shift must occur in our approach to agriculture. Unlike industry, which has established organisations to argue its case, the voice of agriculture is fragmented. Currently, agriculture is often seen as an inefficient, problem-ridden producer of food and not as a positive driver of economic growth. This must change. Only when agriculture becomes an equal partner with industry in the growth crusade, will real development take place.

Agriculture a driver of growth? Let's take a fresh look at the potential of India's agriculture. India is the world's second largest food producer and has a degree of competitive advantage in food production that it has in few other areas. Our unsurpassed natural advantage - a rich diversity of climates and topography and a huge land area - have made us a leading producer of many foods in the world: sugar, tea, milk, fruit and vegetables. Agricultural production and food processing account for 30 per cent of India's GDP and employ more than 70 per cent of its workforce. Developments in this sector have a far reaching impact throughout the economy and are vital if we are to provide higher incomes and liberation for the millions of Indians who work in agriculture.

Low Yields

Indian agriculture today is shackled by many problems. First, it suffers from low yields. Our yields are currently 40 per cent of the world's best even in produce like milk, fruit and vegetables where we are the world's largest producer. The consequence of low yields can be clearly seen by comparing India with China - India has 60 per cent more arable land but produces 40 per cent less output. Second, India wastes more food than it can afford to or needs to - more fruits and vegetables

are lost in India than are consumed in the UK; around 40 per cent of the total production of fruit and vegetables is wasted. Finally, it has more intermediaries between the farmer and the consumer than any other country in the world - India has six to seven, compared to two or three in the USA. This leads to price mark-ups of as much as 30-50 per cent.

The combined impact of these problems is to hold back investment and development in agriculture. India's challenge is to transform agriculture into a virtuous cycle of high efficiency, high investment and high yield. This can be done only through an approach very different from the one we have taken till now: an integrated approach to agriculture, procurement and food processing. This approach was highlighted in a March 1997 McKinsey study for the Confederation of Indian Industry titled Food & Agriculture Integrated Development Action (FAIDA).

FAIDA

The development of an integrated food chain will require investment by large players, often working with government. These players will invest in the upstream elements of the food chain: agriculture and procurement. They will give Indian farmers access to high yielding seeds and plant breeds. In addition they will provide fertilisers, pesticides and other inputs to raise yields. They will help storage and transport infrastructure, ensuring that farm produce is stored properly and transported to the markets and customers in good time. They will add value to farm produce by processing the surplus. This will ensure that the farmer's increased yields find a market.

It goes without saying that achieving all this will require heavy investment. The FAIDA study showed that, over the next ten years, agriculture will need investment of the order of Rs.1,40,000 crore. The government has in the past set up several development financial insti-

tutions (such as for exports and infrastructure). The time may well be opportune to consider a Food Chain Development Bank, which could then obtain concessional funding from international financial bodies. The effort in mobilising and deploying the required investment is immense. However, within the context of India it has got to be an effort worth taking. Success will transform all of rural India.

Efficient Use of Capital

Whether it is building human capital or unshackling agriculture, capital is the enabler - everything hinges on finding the right amount of capital and importantly, using this capital efficiently.

To grow by 8 per cent till 2010, we need an investment rate of 33 per cent every year, a sharp increase from our current rate of 27 per cent. Some of this gap can be bridged by foreign investment, the balance will have to be met by an increase in our domestic savings rate. There is much debate on how much foreign investment our country can and should attract and how to increase savings.

I would like to make a different point: we need to focus as much on putting our capital to more productive use as on increasing our investment rate. Here we can learn a lesson from the USA. It has higher capital productivity than any other country, leading to higher financial returns which have compensated for its lower savings and investment rates by generating more capital income.

Merit, Not Patronage

How do we improve capital productivity? By rewarding performance - by allocating capital on the basis of merit and productivity, not patronage. We will need to set up systems to ensure that this becomes a part of the way in which we use capital. Successful economies have consciously built these systems. Japan and Korea, for instance, de-

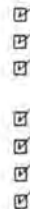
To find out whether you're using
the best Powder Hair Dye,
place it next to ours.



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



Any other



Rs. 32/-
for 10 gms.*

Rs. _____
for 6 gms.



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

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

veloped strong institutional capability for project design, appraisal and monitoring. This allowed them to ensure that available credit went to projects that were creditworthy and viable. Funds were then efficiently utilised for the purpose for which they were allocated.

In India, capital has not always been allocated on the basis of performance but on political and non-economic considerations. This is beginning to change, but must go on further. When capital is allocated on the basis of performance, companies and national and state governments will compete by enhancing their performance. They will direct their spending to the area in which it will do the most good, whether this is primary education, providing farmers with quality inputs or building steel plants. Indeed, if we can significantly improve our capital productivity, this would also have the consequence of bringing down the 33 per cent investment rate required to achieve the 8 per cent economic growth target.

Technology will play an important role in ensuring the highest possible levels of capital productivity. The drive for improving capital productivity will also require solutions which are tailor-made for India. In Hindustan Lever, by developing innovative business systems and technologies relevant to Indian conditions, we have achieved levels of capital productivity which give us competitive advantage when benchmarked both nationally and globally.

Business and Government

Today there is a welcome consensus amongst most political parties on the need for economic development and even the means for achieving it. This consensus is sometimes misinterpreted as meaning that government has little role to play in the process. I strongly believe that nothing could be further from truth - government and political leadership have a critical role and can

positively impact the pace of growth. Recent work by Jeffrey Sachs at the Harvard Institute for International Development (Emerging Asia 1997) has demonstrated that open economic policies and government institutional quality determine and strongly influence economic growth. Government institutional quality includes factors such as efficient public administration and good laws of contract and property. It can be derived from this work, based on an analysis across a wide range of countries, that open economic policies and high institutional quality have a positive impact of as much as 3 per cent on GDP growth. Increases in government saving can contribute to growth even above this. While government itself has a major role to play in the process of economic growth, there is much advantage to be gained in many areas by government and business working together.

A Partnership for Growth

There are many business organisations in the country which have in their own operations, developed expertise and ideal business systems. There are several areas where Hindustan Lever has tried to develop models of best practice. Some examples of these are in our tea and tomato businesses. In tea, our 'bush-to-brand' strategy integrates consumer preferences, R&D, plant breeding and processing so that we can deliver the ideal cup of tea, consistently and at the lowest possible cost. In tomato, we have at Zahura in Punjab developed an integrated farmer-friendly supply chain which has increased yields per acre from 8 MT in 1991 to 20 MT, while acreage under tomato has gone up from 250 acres in 1991 to 3,000 acres now. However, as long as these models remain within the operations of one company, their overall impact on a national scale is limited. What is required is for business to come together and work with government in identifying areas of best practice and in spreading these widely across the country.

Another way in which business

and government could work together would be on large projects for raising resources, ensuring implementation and effective operation. For example, a group of companies led with competence and capability and with government support could approach the World Bank for funding of a private sector programme to build the necessary infrastructure for an agricultural cold-chain. This would benefit the companies involved, farmers and intermediaries and the country as a whole.

New Mind-set, New Priorities

On the basis of what India has achieved till today and its future potential, we can aspire for and attain a target of 8 per cent economic growth. By sustaining this level of growth, it is possible to translate into reality a scenario where, within a time span of about 15 years, the quality of life for all Indians including the rural and the poor can be dramatically improved. In order to make this happen, a new mind-set and priorities are necessary in certain key areas - in social development towards primary education and basic health care, in agriculture towards the concept of an integrated food supply chain and in seeing that we use all available capital resources with the greatest productivity. The positive role that government can play in impacting the rate of growth and the value of business and government working together must be exploited to full advantage.

Indeed, enlightened self-interest on the part of both business and large and government can be the basis of a strong, sustainable and mutually rewarding partnership. Through this partnership, business and government can bring together the skills and resources necessary to deliver a better quality of life for all Indians - achieving the breakthrough from liberalisation for some to liberation for all.



Complete joy.



THE COMPLETE MAN

Raymond
SINCE 1925

The Many-Sided Atre

V. C. Phadke

Maharashtra is celebrating the Birth Centenary of teacher, author, journalist, playwright, film-maker, politician and agitator for public causes, Acharya P. K. Atre.

The Centenary Year was inaugurated on August 13, 1997 with a programme at Acharya Atre's statue (which was actually unveiled on August 13, 1996 by the Shiv Sena leader, Balasaheb Thackeray) at Worli in Mumbai. The Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Mr. Manohar Joshi garlanded the statue and spoke about Acharya Atre and his many-splendoured personality. A collection of his articles were released by his publisher, Mr. Parchure at a function, also held on August 13. Programmes are being held in all cities of Maharashtra to celebrate the occasion. The state government sponsored a programme at Saswad, Acharya Atre's birthplace. A festival of drama, featuring plays written by him and a festival of films produced and directed by Acharya Atre are also part of the celebrations. All India Radio broadcast readings from his writings, between June and September this year.

Freedom First is honoured to carry the following tribute to a many-sided and colourful personality, and in doing so, associate itself with the Birth Centenary of an indomitable Indian - Acharya P. K. Atre. - Editor.

Acharya Pralhad Keshav Atre whose birth centenary year is being celebrated in Maharashtra was a colossus crowned with breathtaking achievements in different walks of life. He was the uncrowned king of Maharashtra for he virtually ruled over the minds of millions of Maharashtrians continuously for three decades. He was like a *bahurupi* who in his lifetime performed different roles with ease and competence. As if endowed with a magic touch he achieved glorious success in every field: education, literature, films, journalism and politics. Gifted with a robust physique and jovial nature, Atre was a devoted teacher, innovative educationist, genius poet, witty parodist, humorous dramatist, ardent politician, stormy propagandist and indomitable journalist.

Teacher

Acharya P. K. Atre was born on 13th August 1898 at Saswad, a small town near Pune to a middle class family of modest means. When he was hardly 19, he lost his father, but despite severe privations, he managed to complete his college education. After obtaining his B.A. degree in 1919 from Pune's Fergusson college, he secured a first class first in the Bachelor of Training degree from the Bombay University in 1925 and a Teacher's Diploma in London in 1928. He became principal of a High School

conducted by the Camp Education Society, Pune. This society, founded by Mahatma Phule in 1889, catered to the needs of backward students.



Acharya P. K. Atre

An enthusiastic and liberal Atre found no difficulty in cultivating a live interest in studies among the students from the backward classes. He prepared a series of text-books (known as *Navyuva Vachanmala*) for primary students in simple and attractive Marathi. His text-books became so popular that for over twenty years, they were prescribed texts for schools in Maharashtra. The revolutionary Savarkar bestowed the title of 'Acharya' on Atre in appreciation of his contribution to the cause of education.

Dramatist

The last two decades of 19th century Maharashtra had witnessed the evolution of a great tradition of stage-craft, but in the 1930s it was on the verge of extinction, mainly due to the onslaught of the talkies in India. Atre revived the declining stage by writing scripts for 25 plays and directing some of them. He translated some foreign plays written by Moliere, Ibsen and Brandon Thomas. His serious social plays portrayed brave young women struggling for emancipation. His political plays exposed hypocrisy, immorality and the corrupt practices of politicians. His evergreen farcical plays like '*Moruchi Mavshi*' based on '*Charley's Aunt*' and '*Lagnachi Bedi*' still attract large audiences.

Film Producer & Director

A popular dramatist rarely succeeds as an accomplished script writer for films. But Atre proved to be exceptionally talented in this field too. He not only scripted over 25 films but also produced and directed some unique movies. Atre shifted from Pune to Mumbai in 1940, purchased a studio and established his own company called 'Atre Pictures'. However, he had to sell the studio to meet the huge debts when his most lavishly produced film '*Vasantsena*' flopped. Undaunted, he

went on to produce some good films in Marathi and Hindi. His classic film was Sane Guruji's immortal novel 'Shyamchi Aai' which won him the President's first gold medal in 1953. This was followed by a silver medal for 'Mahatma Phule' in 1955.

Politician

Drama and politics being two favourite hobbies of Maharashtrians, Atre could not resist the temptation of joining the Indian National Congress in 1938. He took active part in the civic elections, became Chairman of the standing committee of the Poona Municipality and carried out many reforms. His hurricane tours and fiery speeches during election campaigns in 1945 helped the Congress obtain a thumping majority. But he soon left the Congress as a protest against its acceptance of the partition of India and joined the newly formed Socialist Party. He became a member of the Mumbai Municipal Corporation in 1949 but failed to secure a seat in the State assembly in the 1952 general elections.

Agitator

However, the most brilliant phase of his political career was to be in the fifties when the agitation

for the creation of a Maharashtra State was in full swing. The opposition parties in Maharashtra established an organisation called the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti as a protest against the decision of the Union Government to create a bigger bilingual state of Bombay. It was headed by political stalwarts like S. A. Dange, S. M. Joshi and Acharya Atre. Riding on the wave of unparalleled popularity, Atre went on stormy tours of Maharashtra, arousing the feelings of millions, wrote provocative articles in his own daily 'Maratha' and suffered imprisonment under the Preventive Detention Act for a while. Ultimately, the agitation was successful with the formation of the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat.

Journalist

Acharya Atre began his career in journalism by starting his own weekly 'Navyug' in Marathi in 1940. This weekly which survived 22 years came into the limelight due to the debates between Atre and other accomplished writers like S. M. Mate, N. S. Phadke, and P. B. Bhavé. His daily 'Maratha' which was the mouthpiece of the Samyukta

Maharashtra Samiti had the biggest circulation among language papers of Maharashtra. As a journalist, Atre was an enigma perhaps due to the fact that he tended to be more passionate and sentimental than reasoned and logical. He had strong (but not permanent) likes and dislikes. He poured venom on persons he disliked. Even great heroes like Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru, Savarkar and Vinoba Bhavé became targets of his scathing criticism. But on other occasions he did not lag behind in profusely praising and even worshipping them when their noble deeds touched his heart. The memorable obituaries penned by him on the deaths of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru are examples of the finest Marathi prose.

Although Atre's colourful and stormy life was full of ups and downs, paradoxes and inconsistencies, grand successes and miserable failures, none could challenge his honesty and transparency. This great son of Maharashtra who breathed his last on 13th June 1969 will never be forgotten by Marathi speaking people.

PROFESSOR V. C. PHADKE retired as Professor of Political Science from the B. N. N. College, Bhiwandi.



THE SACREDNESS OF PROPERTY

Any polity based on fulfilment of duty is dharmic polity. What is based on greed and envy, what develops covetous eyes on others' possessions is satanic polity. Nature has laid the duty of work on man. It has laid the obligation to respect every honest acquisition of property as something not to be laid hands upon or looked upon with envy. This is the basis of civilization. Without the recognition of the sacredness of property, there can be no ordered society, no freedom, no incentive to work, no progress, no civilization. Therefore, was guaranteed in the Constitution the right to work, to acquire and to hold, and freedom from expropriation.

Rajaji in his article 'Primaries of Civilization',
Swarajya, December 16, 1961.

Issued by the Rajaji Foundation, Sassoon Building, 1st floor, 143, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Mumbai 400 001.

Four Score and Seven Days in the U.S.A.

Some stray impressions and questions!

Arvind Deshpande

The lack of interest in India is due to minimal interaction between Indians and others in the USA



I was in Abraham Lincoln's land from June 1 to August end '97 to spend happy days with my architect daughter

in West Orange, New Jersey. My main preoccupations were baby sitting (new born grandson), assisting my wife in the kitchen, reading and meeting all kinds of people, in that order. Even so I could take 10 to 15 days off to visit New York, Baltimore, Orlando, Washington and a few other places.

India Does Not Matter

The first impression that struck (and hurt) me was that India does not matter much to newspapers in the U.S. I read, for almost three months *The New York Times* regularly. Except for a few lines occasionally and the editorial/articles on August 14, to formally greet us on our completing 50 years of independence, India hardly figured. As against this, there were pages devoted regularly to Japan, China, Europe and even Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines. Why? I was told *The Washington Post* is a little more generous in its coverage of news on India.

The only news we got was through small papers brought out by Indians there and the weekly Indian programme on T.V. Even there, out of four hours, news and views were given 30 minutes and 210 minutes to Hindi film songs.

All this in a country where there are over 11 lakh Indians - highly qualified professionals and most of them in the upper income bracket

with assets over 1.25 lakh crore rupees.

Poor Public Relations

It appears that this lack of interest in India is due to minimal interaction between Indians and others in the U.S. and poor public relations.

I visited the U.N. headquarters in New York. In the main building there, there are gifts (statues, paintings, etc.) from Japan, China, Thailand, etc. but not for India. Why?

Again, I visited Orlando to see Disney World. At the Epcot Centre, there is a lake around which different countries have put up beautiful pavilions depicting their history, culture and prestige products. Apart from U.K., Canada, France, Germany, Italy, China, Japan, even Mexico and Morocco have their pavilions. But not India. Why?

Lakhs of people visit the Disney World and they come from all over the world. I wonder why our government can't put up a pavilion to introduce our culture, history, achievements, products, (carpets, jewellery, whatever) to the world?

Hindi Films Dominate

I was invited to join the main function in New York to mark the golden jubilee celebrations, parade, funfair, dinner, discussion, etc. The chief guest was Mr. Amitabh Bachchan. Now, Mr. Amitabh Bachchan is a splendid film star. But why couldn't they have got a veteran freedom fighter or a distinguished ex-ambassador like Mr. B. K. Nehru or Mr. Nani Palkhivala on such a solemn occasion. That 50,000 people came to see the parade because of Mr. Bachchan is creditable to him but

is it difficult to attract people even on such occasions without star value and glamour?

There is much of interest in our classical music, dance, etc. among the knowledgeable but on the whole, it is Hindi films, films all the way in which common Americans are hardly interested.

Surprisingly, at the Smithsonian complex (the Castle) in Washington, the Director who knew me, showed me a special gallery where there were Moghul paintings and different types of 'pujas' shown. They are also now producing for the planetarium a 24 hour film to introduce ragas (*Raag mala*).

The people at large were aware of three names from our country - Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi and Mother Teresa. The U.S. film channel showed Shyam Benegal's 'The Making of the Mahatma' after seeing which, one of our neighbours (an African-American - the new name for "Blacks") took more literature of Gandhi from me. Lakhs had already seen Attenborough's 'Gandhi' including a drug addict I met in a local train.

There are hundreds of people and many organisations working on Gandhian concepts - non-violence, peace, trusteeship, etc. My most rewarding discussions were with the Presidents of the Trusteeship Institution and E. F. Schumacher Society.

Among Indians from the Hindi heartland, Gujarat, Maharashtra, etc. there is a notable influence of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. There is a general assertiveness on religion but there is pessimism on what is hap-

pening here. Many would like to do something for their country (India) but ...? At the people to people level Indians and Pakistanis are not only friendly but even employ them in their businesses. While our diamond, jewellery shops, restaurants were 'posh', our Indian stores (selling masala, vegetables, grocery, etc.) were 'shabby'. The restaurants too seemed to be after quick returns rather than long term gains like the Chinese, Thai, Mexican joints. A housewife even complained of adulterated in rice sold at some shops. This is indeed sad.

American society today is more peaceful and moving towards meaningful integration and is much less discriminatory to lakhs of people coming from all over - China, Japan, India, Vietnam, Korea, Latin America, etc.. My own son-in-law's consultancy firm had over 70 persons and it looked like a mini-U.N.O. - American whites, Indians, Africans, Japanese, Chinese and British.

I lived in a colony of lovely bungalows but the interaction among the neighbours is minimal. The only time people came out to greet and show interest was when you were taking out your child (my grandson) in a stroller. Everyone goes ga-ga over a child - neighbours, people in malls, shops, everywhere. At the hospital where my daughter delivered, there was another lady who gave birth to four babies, each weighing two pounds, all doing well. At a toy shop, she wanted something for the children. The shop charged only for one child and gave things free for the other three children.

All in all, I thought that India and Indians need to do much more to deserve better recognition and respect.

MR. ARVIND A. DESHPANDE is the Honorary Secretary of the Leslie Sawhoy Programme.

Without Censorship, Things can get terribly confused in the public mind.

General William Westmoreland.

India, Mon Amour

When I was young in India ...

Often, when I give myself time to think about my life, the words pronounce themselves to me. Sometimes they startle me, the times when I hear them when I thought I had been thinking about other things and other places. Until a few months ago, I believed the words had to do only with the four years I spent as *The New York Times* correspondent in India, in the second half of the 1950s.

But in March, on one of many journeys back, I understood that what the words said to me was that I had felt young not just in the 50's but always since, whenever I returned to India, I realised that every return was like starting fresh - the same excitement and zest, the same sense that not just a country but a whole world of infinite variety was spread out before me and that I had the delicious chance to learn about it, just by going forward to meet it.

All year, as India approached the 50th anniversary of its independence on August 15, 1947, it has been getting unsparing analysis and criticism. I contributed a share.

But not today, and I hope never will I send her one of those black bordered cards she's been getting for decades. They arrive with every birthday or crisis from Indians and foreigners. Americans and Indian professionals share a particular delight in kicking their country around.

By now, you may have guessed I am seized by India. It could be said I love, India, so I say it.

I love India for personal reasons. It gave me decades of discovery, learning and friendships - and lots and lots of stories to write. All I had to do was go out and scoop them up; for reporters, a golden land.

I love India because when almost all newly independent countries became Communist or Fascist, or militaristic tyrannies that the world prettified by calling authoritarian, and through all the decades when the West poured its treasure into dictatorships and contempt into India, the Indians stuck with democracy. That is the most personal reason of all for a foreigner who knows he himself could not thrive, and might not live, without it.

Some birthday mourners say yes,

India has elections but elections themselves do not a political democracy make. No, but they certainly do when they are as free and regular as India's and when India adds freedom of press, worship, courts, speech, assembly and politics - and a usually vote-smart public.

In the 50 years since 1947, Indians created a single nation where none existed before, out of 500 princely states. They built it despite religions at war with each other for centuries, and the death of a million people in the war of partition. They fashioned a steadily industrialising state, which produced a huge middle class. Its scientists, doctors and computer wizards bolster not only India but America and other Western countries.

Indians have not solved the old evils that still threaten their future - poverty, illiteracy, the birth rate, violence between Hindu castes and among Hindu, Muslim and Sikh. And newer evils are eating into the national marrow: epidemic corruption and business regulation that Indian politicians keep promising to end but don't.

However, consider the West's record in the 50 years before 1947:

Two world wars. One Holocaust. Fascism and Communism. Unknowable millions slaughtered by Germany. Policies that helped Japan defeat China and then helped the Communists take over China. Nuclear bombs, two used (thousands still available). World depressions. Famines in Western colonies - like India

And now for a few world highlights since 1947, during India's half-century of self-rule:

Corruption Italy and Russia. Religious and communal warfare: Bosnia. Racial tensions: France and Germany. Appeasement of dictators: Western arms and technology to Iraq, Communist China, etc. Famines: Mao bringing death by starvation to unknowable millions. Disease: AIDS and tobacco-cancer. Drugs, crime and cynicism: see everywhere. Exception: the U.S., which knows no poverty, disease, corruption or racial tensions.

After examining the above two paragraphs, could we please wait before sending more black-bordered cards on India's birthdays - wait say 50 more years?

A. M. Rosenthal,
Courtesy: *The New York Times*, August 15.

A Tribute to the UNO on its 52nd Anniversary

Adi H. Doctor

We should have little hesitation in paying homage to the UN on its 52nd anniversary, and even the most die-hard pessimist would agree that thanks to the UN, the world today is certainly not worse than it has been and in all probability, it is better.

I am one of those who believe that the UN has amply justified its existence and has many praiseworthy achievements to its credit on the political, military as well as economic fronts.

On the political-military front, the achievement can be summed up in one single sentence - we have been spared a third world war. No doubt, there are many on-going conflicts, like the Arab-Israeli and our own Kashmir dispute; but, if these have not yet been resolved, they have at least been successfully contained.

On the political-military front, I would consider the UN to have played a significant role in the case of collapsed states. Let me explain this term: collapsed state. A normal state is one that can successfully maintain law and order within its borders and protect the life, liberty and property of all its citizens. When, for various reasons, like secessionist warfare or separatist movements, or natural calamities like prolonged drought leading to famine, etc. a state is unable to do this, we call it a collapsed state or an inadequate state. The 1990s, in particular, have seen the emergence of many such collapsed or inadequate states like Angola, Rwanda, Somalia, Afghanistan and Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which the central governments have proved incapable of maintaining law and order and protecting the life, liberty and property of their own citizens.

In Angola, incessant infighting coupled with severe drought caused

the worst ever famines in human history. Hundreds and thousands of people were dying daily. The world community, acting through the UNO, decided to step in and offer food and other assistance on a massive scale. Plan loads of food and medicines were daily flown into the country. But no sooner would the planes land, armed gangs and tribal warlords would attack the landed supplies, plunder



the godowns, and carry away bag loads of food and medicines. This fact soon compelled the UNO to undertake to supply and distribute the donated food and medicines under UN military escort and supervision.

The second example of a successful UN humanitarian intervention is Rwanda. Here, intense fighting between the Hutu and Tutsi tribes had brought about the conditions of a collapsed state. Regular newspaper readers and TV news viewers would be familiar with the gory details of daily massacres, the horrible genocide and the terrible human rights

abuses that were taking place in Rwanda. Here, once again, the UN stepped in, and did great humanitarian work by way of ensuring regular supply of food and medicines to millions of refugees, huddled in various refugee camps. This was, of course, in addition to trying to negotiate peace between the warring tribes.

While talking of Rwanda, the case of erstwhile Yugoslavia and the bloody, fratricidal conflicts between the Serbs, Croats and the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina also come to mind. In the case of erstwhile Yugoslavia, especially Bosnia-Herzegovina, the UN achievement has been two-fold. Firstly, the UN has played no mean role in trying to reduce massacres by way of negotiating ceasefires, almost on a daily basis. Secondly, the UN mounted one of the most difficult humanitarian relief programs in human history. Under the most trying and difficult situations, with civil war raging all round them, UN troops succeeded in supplying food, medicines and warm clothes to helpless civilians trapped in besieged, war-devastated and isolated pockets.

However, despite Angola, Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina, it can be safely said that the world is becoming a more peaceful place. The Cold War had stirred up many hot proxy wars, during the period 1950 to 1970, such as the wars in Korea, Vietnam, Mozambique, etc. Those days are gone now. According to the Stockholm Peace Research Foundation, the number of wars or open

violent conflicts has been steadily coming down over the years. The year 1987 witnessed 36 wars or open violent conflicts. The number came down to 33 in 1988 and kept steadily declining thereafter to 32 in 1989, 31 in 1990, and 30 in 1991. While for the years 1992, 1993 and 1994, the number of wars or open violent conflicts stayed steady at a record low of 27.

Turning from the political-military front to the economic front, we once again find that the UN has achieved much. In little less than a generation, thanks to UN endeavours, remarkable progress has been achieved, and an equally remarkable change has been brought about in mankind's attitude towards poverty, economic development, human habitat, women and children. In little less than a generation, thanks to UN endeavours, real incomes in the third world have more than doubled, child death rates have more than halved, malnutrition rates have fallen by more than thirty per cent, life expectancy has increased by about one-third, the proportion of children enrolled in primary schools has risen from about 50 per cent to 75 per cent, and the percentage of families with access to safe drinking water has risen from 10 per cent to 60 per cent.

The UN family planning campaign and family planning assistance has also begun to show beneficial effects. According to a UN publication, "Vision of Hope", published recently to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the UNO, the proportion of couples using modern contraceptives has risen from almost nothing to more than fifty per cent and the average family size is falling in almost every country.

The two major issues of concern before the UN today are environmental protection and sustainable development and perhaps the single greatest achievement of the UN in recent years has been its ability to raise the level of world consciousness in these two domains, thanks mainly

to such programs as the One Earth Agency, the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP, in short), and its landmark conferences like the Conference of Human Development in Stockholm in 1972 and the famous Earth Summit in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro. Again, in these two domains of Environmental Protection and Sustainable Development, despite severe financial constraints, the UN has been in the forefront of curbing acid rain, containing nuclear accidents, protecting oceans, preventing over-fishing, reducing traffic in illegal waste and safeguarding endangered species.

Finally, this brief enumeration of UN achievements cited here to commemorate its fifty second anniversary, would be incomplete without a quick reference to the yeoman work the UN has been doing in the field of protecting human rights. It is to this Commission that the UN's General Secretary refers the thousands of complaints received regarding human rights violations from individuals and Non-Government Organizations (NGO), from all over the world. Since 1970, the UN has begun the laudable practice of publishing its annual reports, the complaints received, alleging violations of human rights, along with the replies received, if any, from the accused governments. Thanks to these reports, many governments have been put on the defensive, and forced to improve their human rights record, in order to avoid adverse global publicity.

All said and done, we should have little hesitation in paying homage to the UN on its 52nd anniversary, and even the most die-hard pessimist would agree that thanks to the UN, the world today is certainly not worse than it has been and in all probability, it is better.

MR. ADI H. DOCTOR is a Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, Goa University.

ACC

cement

**FOR
RELIABILITY
STRENGTH
AND
QUALITY**

ACC

**THE ASSOCIATED
CEMENT COMPANIES
LIMITED**

A Visit to Pakistan

Some First Impressions

S. V. Raju

The state of mistrust is so intense that after we had had our baggage checked by Indian security and customs at Sahar, we found three Pakistani security personnel (two men and a woman) who had accompanied the PIA plane from Karachi, waiting on the aero-bridge outside the entrance to the plane, doing a double check of our bags!

My first 'contact' with a Pakistani was neither in India nor Pakistan. It was in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia where I took up employment in 1980. I

found him to be 'human' after all - not a gun-toting fierce looking fellow terrorising the people of 'Srinagar' or an Idol-breaker on the rampage! He was surprisingly human - like you and me, like any average VOI (Very Ordinary Indian)! We got along famously and,

try as I might, I could not find anything different about this Pakistani colleague of mine. Physically, we were equipped similarly; our emotional responses to external stimuli were similar. The only differences - he had a passport with a green cover and I with a blue one. His had Pakistan inscribed on it and I had India inscribed on mine. He prayed to Allah, and I was not sure who to pray to, being an agnostic. I respected him and his beliefs and he respected me and my beliefs.

But my friendship for Hameed Niazi, for that is his name, did make me want to visit Pakistan. Seventeen years later, I found myself in Karachi

from Delhi) almost did not make it to Karachi because, after the invitation was faxed to us, came some cross border shootings. If we found

ourselves at Karachi airport, it was thanks to the efforts of the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung and the fact that the principal organiser of the seminar was a well-known and influential Newspaper group..

Valid for Karachi Only

My visa was, however, a severely restricted one. It said: "Valid for Karachi only." "Visa not valid for Cantt. Areas".

Mercifully, the visa also said: "Exempted from Police Reporting"! I suppose the Indian government too has such restrictions on Pakistanis travelling to India. The state of mistrust is so intense that after we had had our baggage checked by Indian security and customs at Sahar, we found three Pakistani security personnel (two men and a woman) who had accompanied the PIA plane from Karachi, waiting on the aero-bridge outside the entrance to the



- thanks to an invitation from the Jang Group of Newspapers and the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung to participate in a seminar with the ponderous title "Civil Society in India and Pakistan: Peace - Conflict Resolution - Democracy" - to presenting papers on "The Present State of Civil Society in India - A Personal Interpretation" and the "Softening of the Political Frontiers in the Wake of the Communications Revolution".

We (there were seven of us from India - three from Mumbai and four

The measure which the whole world treasures

"At the time of marriage, Shani should be in the fifth house and, PSPO in the groom's house."



PSPO; the one and only true measure to choose a fan. With the most advanced technology like, special ribbed blades, maxi-torque motor and an aerodynamic design, to give:



More Air



Over
More Area



Less Electricity
Consumption



**ORIENT
PSPO**

plane, doing a double check of our bags! Wonder if Indian Airlines returns the 'favour' for Pakistanis travelling to India?

Warm Welcome

I would rate Karachi airport as being better than any we have in India - the Indira Gandhi International airport included. Hence when we landed at Karachi airport, I truly felt I was in a foreign land. We were received with much warmth by our hosts from the Jang group, who were on hand to receive us and we were spared the rigours of immigration and customs.

Once out of the airport and during the drive into the city, that feeling of being in a foreign land soon disappeared. The people did not look different. The accents were similar - construction activity everywhere with debris strewn around; men fertilising walls; their drivers having as much regard for traffic lights as our drivers. It was like being in one of our northern cities. And they have their yuppies too. A drive, later that day, through areas like Clifton towards the beach, on the other hand, reminded me of Riyadh - bungalows behind high walls. Their newly constructed shopping malls are patterned on the lines of the Zuk in Saudi Arabia. Karachi, at least the elite areas, seemed to want to copy Riyadh with its rich and the very rich.

Fathers of the Two Nations

We had arrived on 11th September which was the 49th death anniversary of Jinnah. The papers were full of comments and estimates of his contribution in the creation of Pakistan (The Pakistanis refer to Jinnah their 'father of the nation' as '*Quaid-e-Azam*' a title reportedly confirmed on him by Mahatma Gandhi and refer to India's 'father of the nation' as Mr. M. K. Gandhi who we refer to as Mahatma Gandhi and to Pakistan's 'father of the nation' as Mr. M. A. Jinnah!). Pakistani newspapers were full of tributes to their founder, speculation on whether Partition was inevitable and to wondering if Pakistan's post-founding years would

have been different had Jinnah lived a few more years instead of dying a year after he founded Pakistan. It was refreshing to read 'the other side'.

The Seminar

Half-page advertisements of the seminar had obviously attracted the attention of the English-reading public of Karachi because the seminar turned out to be an impressive affair with over a 100 participants. It was more a symposium with presentations followed by questions and answers. The participants consisted of representatives of voluntary organisations, a generous sprinkling of retired persons from the armed forces and the bureaucracy, businessmen, persons from the world of letters and academics.

The theme was divided into four sessions:

- (1) The Present State of Civil Society
- (2) Civil Society and Political/Institutional Change
- (3) Information Dissemination and Popular Culture
- (4) Civil Society and Conflict Resolution.

Civil Society & Freedom

They participants were quite articulate and, evidently they enjoyed the freedom to talk without having to look over their shoulder. In fact the Pakistanis have an additional reason to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of Pakistan - the restoration of civil society. It must be remembered that over thirty of the last fifty years have been under military rule. Yet more than one person I spoke to was not willing to bet that the armed forces had returned permanently to the barracks. And everywhere there was sneaking and sometimes open admiration for Indian democracy, and despite the many defects, its vibrancy.

The Kashmir Issue

The firing across the border appeared to have had little impact, at least on the participants at the seminar, for there were few references to it. On the other hand, there were many questions on Kashmir. Barring one or two who made shrill

noises, not at all in keeping with the general mood of the participants, there was little jingoism. Repeatedly, the point was made that as the bigger brother India had not only to be more generous but more understanding. India they pointed had failed to keep her promise of letting the people of Kashmir decide their own future. When I recalled that the liberal Swatantra Party, (which, alas, was currently fighting in the Bombay High Court for its right to be registered without having to swear loyalty to socialism) had in the 'sixties taken the stand that the promise of plebiscite should be honoured; that if the Kashmiris decided to be independent, then its independence should be guaranteed by both India and Pakistan and that the two countries should form a confederation, there were several nods of approval from the participants.

Nods of Approval

If the responses of the participants reflected the opinion of the educated class of Karachi, then mood is not so much anger with India as disappointment that being a democracy and not in the grip of the military, we could have shown far more maturity and magnanimity than those who ruled Pakistan by fiat. Kashmir issue be kept aside while we get on with cooperation in other areas such as trade and cultural exchange. Again there were many in the audience who nodded in approval. So was it when we suggested that wanted visas be abolished.

Another issue that appeared to concern them considerably was the demolition of the Babri Masjid.

Babri Masjid

Almost everyone present had a brother or a cousin or a grandfather or a sister or some relative in some part of India generally, at least insofar as the group at this seminar was concerned, in Uttar Pradesh. So there were many questions about the Babri Masjid. While they were not surprised with the attitude of the Bharatiya Janata Party, they were surprised that the Congress Party which was then in power allowed it to happen.

Empowerment of the Civil Society

Civil Society in Pakistan, stunted by years of army rule, is trying to find its feet. The secular content of the public dialogue is encouraging. There were oblique references to the Mohajir Quami Movement which had resulted in considerable violence in Karachi. For instance, one speaker from Pakistan observed that the state in Pakistan remained all pervasive and civil society could not grow because of that. "The Pakistani state did not encourage pluralism because that would have altered the power

equations. Pressure is building in Pakistan to cut the role of the state and empower civil society. Effective local participation is the key."

Another speaker, a philosophy teacher said that if a state is founded on the basis of an ideology, it would necessarily become coercive.

Growing Civil Society

On the other hand, he found reason to be optimistic about the growth of civil society in Pakistan. "The demographic structure is changing very rapidly. A population shift has made it possible to talk about

issues relating to civil society. Labour is no longer bonded. And the number of voluntary groups is amazing. Moreover, judicial activism is a very positive sign. The hold of the feudals is also dissipating."

This initiative of the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung and the Jang Group is a good beginning. If the people, not only of the two countries but also others in the subcontinent, continue to keep talking to each other, it will not be long before politicians get the message and follow suit.

Citizen's Pledge on the 50th Anniversary of India's Independence

Your July-September issue - Fifty Years After ... was, perhaps the best issue I have read for a long time.

No right thinking person would deny that our most important objectives are freedom from abject poverty, hunger, illiteracy, ill health due to preventable diseases, poor sanitation, corruption and nepotism, socio-economic and religious/ethnic inequalities, unemployment and under-employment. Needless to say, all political parties should unhesitatingly support the eradication of these ills facing our country. Let every citizen, therefore, regardless of his/her cultural, political, economic, religious or ethnic points of view, take a pledge and vow to implement the following 12 commandments of a Minimum Needs Programme. The younger generation and women in particular should take this up as a crusade so that we as Indians can hold our heads high rather than bury them in shame!

12 Commandments of a Minimum Needs Programme

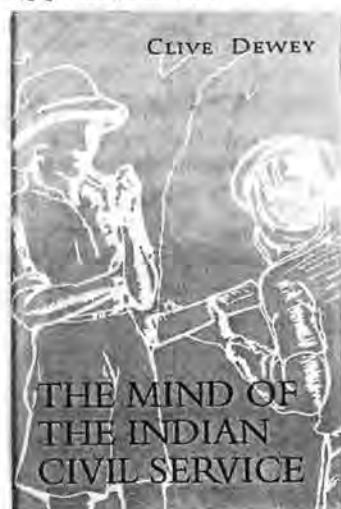
- (1) Let each one of us, teach one or more to read, write, understand and think for themselves. Simultaneously, we should spread an awareness of cleanliness, sanitation, and the knowledge that prevention is better than cure.
- (2) Corruption starts with us. People are prepared to pay, so as to take the easy way out. If we do not succumb to this habit, but rather expose and fight malpractices of all kinds, corruption is bound to decrease. Let us support and honour those who believe and practise the old axiom, "honesty is the best policy".
- (3) Do not exploit the poor and illiterate. Teach and encourage them to learn a trade, so that they have an opportunity to earn their living honestly and with dignity.
- (4) Create an awareness and encourage those who want to limit the size of their family. Show them the advantages of a small family not only for themselves, but also for the country. Today, the uncontrolled increase in population is placing a strain on our resources and nullifying the economic and social progress we have made.
- (5) Encourage and practise equality amongst sexes, in all spheres of day to day life. Expose and fight discrimination against women.
- (6) All religions profess love and respect for mankind. Expose and fight against those who plant seeds of discord and create hatred amongst people of different faiths and beliefs.
- (7) Do not discriminate against the handicapped or consider them inferior for no fault of their own - encourage them to be useful and dignified citizens.
- (8) Respect, help and cooperate with neighbouring countries - after all, their hopes and aspirations are more or less the same as ours. Let us live in peace and harmony.
- (9) Development can and should take place without pollution, and the destruction of our environment. We must learn to live in harmony with Nature.
- (10) The resources of our planet are limited. We should suppress our greed and limit our needs to only essential physical and material possessions. Let us not live for today, but ensure the legacy of a better and sustainable world for our children.
- (11) Democracy can only survive if the average citizen takes an active interest in politics. Citizens must utilise their votes for an honest and upright candidate. An awareness should also be created against corrupt, dishonest and hpower hungry candidates, so that they are not elected. Unfortunately, money gets more votes today, and with this knowledge, the intellectuals and middle class do not care to exercise their vote or take an interest in politics. This apathy should be forsaken and votes should be made to count. Help the local administration to improve the quality of life in cities, towns and villages, and make democracy work for all.
- (12) Although our warehouses are bulging with grain, a large amount is destroyed by rodents and rots, due to improper storage, while millions of unfortunate citizens go hungry. A proper food distribution system should be implemented so that good quality grains at affordable prices are available to those who need it most, in all corners of our country. These hungry people would be willing to work to earn their quota of daily bread.

On this, the golden anniversary of our Independence, let every citizen accept the challenge of working towards a better tomorrow. Actions speak louder than words. If every individual takes a small step in the right direction, united we can face the next millenium with confidence and pride.

Sam Dalal, Pune

BOOK REVIEWS

THE MIND OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE by Clive Dewey; First Indian Edition, Oxford University Press, New Delhi; 1996; pp.305; Rs. 495.



Reviewed by
Professor S. V. Kogekar

The Indian Civil Service (ICS) was regarded as the steel frame of the structure of government under British rule in India from 1858 to 1947. Long distance from home and the bewildering variety of geographical conditions as well as languages and cultures in an immense sub-continent put to test the character and capacities of this elite cadre of civilian officers. This indeed was what used to be described as Britain's civilian army of occupation in India. Its members ensured the continuance of British rule for almost a century. Though ultimately responsible to the British Parliament, as the "men on the spot" they exercised tremendous authority and freedom in decision-making and in action. In course of time they formulated their own methods of dealing with alien subjects.

On the basis of their norms and practices a whole Anglo-Indian way of life was evolved for maintaining distance from the natives which some liked, others adopted and yet others

fiercely resented. There are several volumes published in the form of memoirs, personal interpretations of policies and their consequences etc. written by gifted members of this all powerful service after retirement.

The book under review, however, falls in a different category. It does not set out to piece together a history of what the ICS did or did not do. It is rather an exploration of the ideas which guided their policies and actions and the sources from which those ideas were derived; these latter included parents, family, teachers, university professors, philosophers and thinkers who determined the prevailing climate of opinion in which the civilians were brought up.

Over a long period of patient search for the source material for this work, the author could lay his hands on as complete a set of documents as he could hope for, in respect of two distinguished members of the civil service. According to the author, a historian himself, his empirical study of the voluminous material collected by him about the two civilians, whether representative of the whole service or not, shows the close connection there is between ideas (acquired at the age of 25 and rarely revised thereafter) and actions, consciously or unconsciously undertaken.

In order to express the scope and content of the book aptly, its title needs to be qualified in at least three respects. In the first place, the book does not really speak of the Indian Civil Service as a whole. On the eve of our Independence, this Service comprising a thousand odd members had within its ranks about fifty percent Indians who are excluded from its purview except for a few marginal comments on the pace and progress of Indianisation. It deals only with the British component of that Service.

Secondly, the book deals with

the social background, education and attitudes of only those members who joined the Service before the First World War when "Empire" evoked a sense of duty and loyalty to a national ideal. After the First World War ideas of democracy and racial equality took possession of the minds of the younger generation in Britain. The new generation did not show the old fervour for empire-building and was not much interested in joining the ICS.

Thirdly, the mind of the Indian Civil Service is sought to be laid bare on the basis of a study of the attitudes and achievements of two members of the Service who, according to the author, represent two extreme views of India and Indians. The rest of their fellow civilians fall somewhere between these extremes, some inclined to follow the one or the other in little bits here and there, while others not showing much interest, beyond the formal call of duty, in the larger issues of human relationships. Indeed quite a few were simply bored by the forlorn life which they had to lead in alien surroundings but somehow adjusted themselves to the boredom till the day of deliverance. That day came on completion of 25 years of service permitting one to retire voluntarily on full pension and go back to civilisation and a more congenial way of life!

The two civilians selected for detailed study are Frank Lugard Brayne (1882-1952) and Malcolm Darling (1880-1969). The main reason why these two were so selected seems to be the existence of a large volume of writings, letters, notes, memoranda, diaries, etc. written by them to their wives, friends and relatives recording various aspects of their lives in India - left behind by them and which could be made available to the author. This, in addition to their published writings, provided a mine of authentic information on their thoughts, actions, experiences, observations and reflections.

Spiritual is not an anti-thesis
of material advance; it only
negatives the materialistic outcome
which is the end of existence.

- Sri K. M. Munshi.



LAKSHMI
MILLS LIMITED

1100, AVANASHI ROAD, COIMBATORE - 641 037.

Though they represent two extreme schools of thought viz., 'Gospect of Uplift' (Brayne) and the 'Cult of Friendship' (Darling), there is surprisingly much similarity between their family and educational backgrounds. Both came from successful professional families in the upper middle class steeped in the Victorian belief in the continuity of British prosperity and the underlying acceptance of "Empire". Both had a good public school education followed by graduation from well-known colleges of the University of Cambridge where they won merit scholarships. Both joined the ICS in the early years of the present century and retired from the Punjab cadre after 36 years of service. Brayne's evangelical upbringing gave him his sense of mission; his approach to work being a blend of paternalism and self-help. He was keenly conscious of the moral superiority of the British rulers who, he thought, must bring about the uplift of a fallen, stupid, lethargic people. He wished to set up a model for the rest of the officials in terms of his own efforts for the uplift of the Indian peasantry. No doubt

ever assailed his mind as to the appropriateness and efficacy of those efforts as in the much publicised Gurgaon experiment. In social life he easily fell in line with the Anglo-Indian way of life and kept aloof from his Indian subjects.

Darling on the other hand, was a humanist. He disliked his fellow countrymen who assumed superior airs against Indians. He was generally more friendly with Indians and did not hesitate to socially mix with Indians - even those in urban areas, much to the chagrin of his brother officers. Official posting brought him in close contact with the Maratha ruler of Dewas (Sr.) who was under his tutelage for some time and they became great friends. Darling believed that friendship would enable Indians and Britishers to work together in partnership thereby making - "Empire" tolerable and progressive. His friend E. M. Forster, the writer, could not fail to observe how most other civilians were opposed to cultivating such friendship.

As the Gurgaon experiment based entirely on official action proved

a complete failure, so did Darling's cult of friendship which meant different things to Indians and Englishmen. To Indians true friends were total partisans, providing total support whether it was right or wrong; to Englishmen it was primarily a matter limited to common interests and personal rapport. According to the copious documentary evidence presented and interpreted by the author, which of these two views (Brayne's and Darling's) prevailed depended on the support they derived from the predominant form of social thought at home. Each generation of civilians, he concludes, took the intellectual fashions of their youth out to the East and spent the rest of their lives putting them into practice Q.E.D.

PROF. S. V. KOGEKAR is a professor of political science. He retired as Principal of Fergusson College, Pune.

About the Author

CLIVE DEWEY teaches history at the University of Lancaster, U.K. He has published widely on the economic and cultural history of modern India.

POWERING INDIA'S GROWTH FOR MORE THAN FIFTY YEARS

Thermal • Hydel • Nuclear • Diesel • Gas • Wind

A leading Engineering Company offering a wide range of products

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

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



Jyoti Ltd.

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

ARMAYESH

The Finest Hand Embroidery - Forever

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

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

Please telephone

Mr. Arun Palkhiwale or Mrs. Sheila N. Aga

on 308 42 83 / 307 23 30

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

Armayesh

ARMAYESH FASHIONS PVT. LTD.

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

TIBET: A REALITY, M. G. Chitkara, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi;1996;pp.179; Rs.250.

M.G. CHITKARA

TIBET: A Reality

M.G. CHITKARA

Introduction by
H.H. TENZIN GYATSO
The Fourteenth Dalai Lama

TIBET: A Reality



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

M. G. Chitkara, an ex-Advocate General of Himachal Pradesh, being a legal luminary, takes up causes. His work, *Corruption 'N' Cure* was reviewed earlier in *Freedom First*. He now turns to the injustices perpetrated on Tibet by China. As in his previous work, he has delved deeply into this problem of considerable importance to India; this is evident from the number of references at the end of each of the ten Chapters and the Select Bibliography of the 69 books and articles he has consulted. And the net has been cast wide.

As Chitkara himself says in the Epilogue: "I have tried to collect and exhibit the realities concerning the land and the people. The facts speak for themselves. The purpose of my studies has been craving for seeking the truth in the present context. China has its own great historical record and image. The events which took place in Tibet and China since time immemorial are a testimony to the fact that if there is peace in this region, the world would be happier. If the material made available in the present volume helps in restoring peace, goodwill, mutual understand-

ing and co-operation in this region, I shall consider my labour amply rewarded. *The facts incorporated in the book are more the contribution and finding of the great authorities on the subject who have been quoted invariably and for whom I have great reverence*". There can be no dispute on what Chitkara says and the importance of this region is borne out by the furore created in mainland China when the Dalai Lama visited Taiwan and Hong Kong.

This handily little publication gives one, in a nutshell, the history of Tibet, from 2000 years ago until today. As Justice Vyom Prakash Gupta says in his foreword: "The moment Tibet is free and independent country, it will be a zone of peace, and India shall then be in a position to gradually utilize more budget for its development (sic) ..." One wonders whether this is so. China has always considered itself the 'Middle Kingdom'; it is unlikely therefore it will ever give up its claim to Tibet, or for that matter, to other areas along our borders, which it considers its own. This was implied by the Chinese Consul General in Mumbai, when he was posed the question of claims of Chinese suzerainty along the MacMohan Line. Thus, the issue is a very live one and we, in India, cannot afford to be complacent about it.

In an unusual departure from tradition, this volume carries, in addition to a Foreword and Acknowledgement, what the author terms as 'The Contribution' by Bansi Ram Sharma, Ph.D., former Secretary, Himachal Academy of Arts, Culture and Languages. In a short backgrounder on Tibet, past and present, Bansi Ram Sharma hopes that this book will motivate the reader and policy makers to delve deeply into this vexing problem, so as to have a more balanced approach 'towards the suffering masses of this region'.

There is also a preview by Vijay Kranti of New Delhi, who commends Chitkara for creating fresh interest in this strategically important region

to India. He rightly says that we have tended to become complacent as a result of the Sino-American detente, a position which we cannot afford to take, as the occupation of Tibet has brought 'direct and permanent pressures on India - her security and her national economy'. This writer had occasion to face the Chinese Red Army during the 1965 war when China moved troops to the Sikkim watershed border in a threatening posture to relieve pressure on Yahya Khan's hard pressed troops on the Western front. Let us be clear in our mind that no pious hopes of Hindi Chini *bhai-bhai* should ever lull us into complacency. And this book is a timely reminder that we should not.

His Holiness The Dalai Lama, in the brief introduction in Chapter 1, makes it abundantly clear in his impassioned appeal that 'the Tibetan people yearn to be free once more, to develop culturally, intellectually, economically and spiritually'. In the present scenario, this is a mirage, a dream. But pressure could be brought on the Chinese for Tibetan autonomy. His Holiness sees Tibet as a sanctuary of peace in the heart of Asia. The Dalai Lama describes Chitkara's book as a 'fitting example of not only friendly concern, but also support for the rights and principles we all require'.

The basic and underlying theme of this book is the open display of repression of a people and their age old culture of non violence, and the blatant transgression of human rights. The rest of the world pays lip sympathy for the people of Tibet, for China is a major market for the West. Chitkara exposes the reader to the contentment of the Tibetans, based on their religious beliefs, the succession of Dalai Lamas, a glimpse into the mysteries of the religious beliefs, the traditional Indo-Tibetan cultural affinity based on Gautama Buddha, and the concept of democracy as viewed by Tibetans in exile in India. But that is not all. Chitkara traces Chinese perfidy over the years, and spells out the Chinese determi-

For the last 55 years we've been making products.

Irons ✦ Water Filters
 ✦ Room Heaters ✦ Storage Water Heaters ✦ Toasters ✦
 Immersion Heaters ✦ Round Ovens ✦ Domestic Ovens ✦
 Mixers ✦ Gas Appliances ✦ Bulbs ✦ Fluorescent Tubes
 Fluorescent Tubes ✦ Miniature Lamps ✦
 ✦ Mercury Vapour Lamps ✦ Sodium Vapour Lamps ✦
 Vapour Lamps ✦ Metal Halide Lamps ✦
 Commercial Fittings ✦ Industrial Fittings ✦
 Fittings ✦ Decorative Fittings ✦ Street
 Street and Public Lighting Fittings ✦
 High Mast and Mobile Mast Lighting System. ✦
 Total Turnkey Lighting Project Services ✦ Ceiling
 and Table Fans ✦ Ventilation Equipments ✦ 2500
 dealers and 20 branches ✦ 4 Regional Offices and
 100 service centres reaching out to over 10 million Indian
 households. ✦ ✦ ✦ *history... and sense.*



bajaj electricals limited
 WE DELIVER WHAT WE PROMISE

nation to impose its hegemonistic rule over Tibet, and destroy all vestiges of Tibetan culture. And the *raison d'être*? The uranium deposits necessary for China's nuclear programme, and a strategic base for nuclear missiles and nuclear bombers. He correctly comes to the conclusion that this desolate and remote land of peace will be used as a dumping ground for nuclear waste.

The author has given us an insight into the tradition of the Dalai Lamas, from the first Gedun Truppa in 1391 to the present Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, enthroned in 1935. In doing so, the methodology of the Tibetan Calendar is explained. Why Tibet is an ancient land is evident from the chronology, which begins in 127 BC when the Yarlung Dynasty was established, until 1962 when China attacked India. A first hand account of the infamous Agreement between the Central People's Government of China and the Local Government of Tibet signed in Beijing

on May 23, 1952, is reproduced as an Appendix *sans* the Preamble.

To a China and Tibet watcher, this handy little book is well worth the investment, though the editing and proof reading are wanting.

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

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

M. G. CHITKARA was born in 1932 at Bannu NWFP, now in Pakistan. He obtained his LL.B. degree from Punjab University, Chandigarh, and enrolled himself at the Himachal Bar in 1959. He was appointed Advocate General, Himachal Pradesh in 1977 and remained in that position for about two years. He was appointed Member (Judicial), Himachal Pradesh Administrative Tribunal and in March 1992 he was appointed Acting Chairman.

His books include: *The Law and the Poor - A Socio Legal Study*; *Lok Adalat and the Poor*; *Bureaucracy and Social Change*.



J.R.D. Tata

J. R. D. Tata's Guiding Principles

I do not consider myself to be an 'illustrious personality' but only an ordinary business man and citizen who has tried to make the best of his opportunities to advance the cause of India's industrial and economic development. Any such guiding principles I might unconsciously have

had in my life can be summarised as follows:

That nothing worthwhile is ever achieved without deep thought and hard work;

That one must think for oneself and never accept at their face value slogans and catch phrases to which, unfortunately, our people are too easily susceptible;

That one must forever strive for excellence, or even perfection, in any task however small, and never be satisfied with the second best;

That no success or achievement in material terms is worthwhile unless it serves the needs or interests of the country and its people and is achieved by fair and honest means;

That good human relations not only bring great personal rewards but are essential to the success of any enterprise.

- J.R.D. Tata, 1965.

Do A Favour

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

Freedom First

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

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

Name: _____

Address: _____

Pin _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

Pin _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

Pin _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

Pin _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

Pin _____

(Sender's Name & Address)

Name: _____

Address: _____

Pin _____

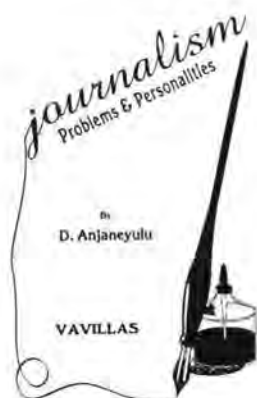


If there is anything that could overshadow
the close association we had with the great thinkers
of our time, it could only be the close association
they had with us.



Why settle for anything less?

JOURNALISM, PROBLEMS AND PERSONALITIES by D. Anjaneyulu; Vavilla Ramaswamy Sasturulu and Sons, 26, Ramanuja Iyer Street, Chennai 21; 1997; pp. 164; Rs.80.



AUTHOR AS ARTIST

ESSAYS IN APPRECIATION

D. ANJANEYULU

EMERALD PUBLISHERS

Reviewed by
Dr. R. Srinivasan

The house of Vavilla should be congratulated for entering into publishing once again. Once a formidable name in publishing books in Telugu, Sanskrit and Tamil they had set high standards for publishing and popularising the classics and keeping in print titles which were not profitable. After practically ceasing publishing, they have once again resumed their useful activities and have done well in printing Anjaneyulu's book on Journalism.

One of the seniors in the profession, his book should be of immense benefit to students entering courses on journalism, the average reader as well to practising journalists. This book is essentially a recapitulation of the craft of journalism, its values, of the people who contributed to it with a sense of religious fervour at a time when the newspaper ruled supreme with the TV or the Video yet to be invented and the wireless still was only for the well-to-do. He recapitulates days when journalism was a perilous profession and many just managed to jog on with totally inadequate emoluments. He recalls the names

AUTHOR AS ARTIST, D. Anjaneyulu, Emerald Publishers, 135, Anna Salai, Chennai 2; 1997; pp.96; Rs.50.

of many who were titans in the field.

The first section looks into some of the issues relating to journalism and reiterates insights that can never be stressed too often but which are increasingly being flouted in our country. The second section narrates the lives and careers of the great names in Indian and Western journalism. As a committed liberal journalist it is only to be expected that the author should have a chapter each on A. G. Gardiner and Walter Lippmann. Lippmann's name is imperishable.

It is quite likely that Gardiner, beloved of educated Indians of an earlier decade is forgotten in the land of birth itself, in spite of Lord Robbins (his son-in-law) being once an eminent figure in the LSE. One wishes that the author had similar studies on both H. W. Massingham and on Nevinnson, the two great lights of English Liberalism, Journalists of a calibre far superior to Gardiner. Along with C.P. Scott, these two remained steadfast in their commitment to liberal values and to the independence of subject nations. Their battle was continued by H. N. Brailsford in a

later decade and by Basil Davidson today.

The author has a number of valuable chapters on the great names of Indian journalism (C. Y. Chintamani, Kasturi Srinivasan, N. Raghunathan, S. Rangaswamy, K. Rama Rao, M.C. etc.) They were not only journalists with high professional standards but were ardent nationalists too and each played an important role in raising standards of probity in public life. It is commendable that the author has recapitulated for the benefit of readers, the yeoman service rendered by people in language journalism. Both Mutnuri Krishna Rao and Narla were innovators in Telugu journalism and they were responsible for educating whole generations of readers in values, generations which would have remained ignorant but for their pioneering service to the cause. The book is dedicated to K. Iswara Dutt whose centenary falls this year and whose memory needs to be kept fresh.

Author as Artist is a book of enthusiasm. It is a collection of essays celebrating a number of writers as varied as Isaac Bashevis Singer and Manjori S. Iswaran. Some of the names commemorated are hardly known to the present generation and in writing on the services of people like N. Raghunathan and Frank Moraes the author has done a signal service to the world of letters. If public memory is short then it is the duty of the well informed to remind others of some of the eminences in the world of letters. In this, Anjaneyulu succeeds admirably.

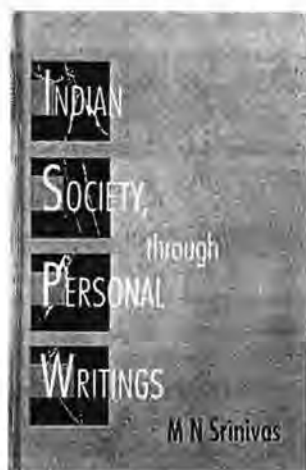
DR. R. SRINIVASAN is professor of politics (retd.) and Associate Editor of *Freedom First*.

About the Author

D. ANJANEYULU is author, journalist and critic. His published works include: *Window to The West* (a travelogue on Soviet Russia and Europe). He saw service with *The Indian Express* and *The Hindu*; was Information Officer with the Press Information Bureau.

Dr. Anjaneyulu was Associate Editor of *TRIVENI Quarterly*.

INDIAN SOCIETY THROUGH
PERSONAL WRITINGS, by M. N.
Srinivas; Oxford University
Press; Delhi; pp.256; Rs.395.



**Reviewed by
Dr. Dharendra Narain**

This book is a collection of essays by the famous Indian sociologist and social anthropologist, Professor M. N. Srinivas. The book very appropriately begins with an autobiographical essay, "Itineraries of an Indian Anthropologist". Srinivas describes his decision to move to Bombay from Mysore, to study under the famous sociologist, the late Professor G. S. Ghurye, University of Bombay. After obtaining M.A. (by dissertation) and Ph.D. degrees, working under the guidance of Ghurye, Srinivas decided to go to Oxford, to do another Ph.D. there. He worked under the late Professor A. R. Radcliff-Brown, a world famous anthropologist. Srinivas gives a very interesting account of his student life in Bombay and in England, of his troublesome relationship with Ghurye and of the intellectual atmosphere at Oxford. An alumnus of the same institution as Srinivas (Bombay School of Economics and Sociology), and a doctoral student of the same teacher as his (G. S. Ghurye), I would have gladly devoured many more pages on this subject. One is grateful to Srinivas for giving us such a frank picture of his adult student days.

Srinivas's decision to give up a career at Oxford and move to M. S. University, Baroda, to start a new department of Sociology, must be described as heroic. It certainly was a most courageous deci-

sion. I wonder how many will make such a move even today, leave alone in 1951, when Srinivas did. We must publicly record our gratitude to Srinivas for deciding to return to India. It has undoubtedly enriched our intellectual life and I dare say, it has done good to Srinivas. He later moved to Delhi University in 1959 and succeeded in establishing the more prestigious department of Sociology in the country, appropriately named, the Advanced Centre in Sociology by the U.G.C., the only advanced Centre in Sociology in India. Srinivas moved to the Institute of Economic and Social Change, Bangalore, in 1972, as its joint director. The institute was established by the late Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, after his political career came to an end. Rao invited Srinivas to Bangalore. Rao had earlier visited him to Delhi when he was the Vice-Chancellor there. Having known both Ghurye and Rao, I am struck by the similarities in their personalities. It is curious that both Ghurye and Rao should have affected Srinivas's career so decisively though he came to grief with both men. As far as Ghurye is concerned, Srinivas had no real choice. He had to choose Ghurye, for Ghurye was peerless. But he let himself be 'seduced' twice by Rao. Why? Any regrets? Srinivas has his fourth job in the new institute at Bangalore. Clearly, a full length autobiography is in place.

After an interesting essay on Bangalore, there are two lengthy essays on disputes in Rampura, the village in South India that Srinivas has extensively studied and on which he has published a full-length book, *The Remembered Village*. The book won the first G. S. Ghurye Award as the best book of the year in Sociology/Anthropology. Together, the two essays run into 64 pages. The accounts are much too long and much too detailed to interest a general reader. Students of Anthropology and of village life in India may find them interesting. Though not in the category of the general reader, I found it difficult to go through them. Frankly, I had to skip here and there to reach the end of the essays. Sadly, there is no general statement on the role of conflict in social life, something one has a right to expect from a scholar of Srinivas's stature. He remains trapped in the particularities of Rampura. Occasionally, Srinivas permits himself a general statement.

Writing on friendship in the interesting essay, "The Quality of Social Relations", he adds, on page 179, "... friendship connoted intimacy in England while in Rampura (*as in rural India everywhere*), brotherhood conveyed intimacy". (author's parenthesis; *italis mine*). Again, "a sense of humour was an integral part of Indian village life even though anthropological studies show no evidence of it. (p.186). Before discussing details of folk-level religion in Rampura, Srinivas devotes a few paragraphs to religion, in general. The last piece in the book, "Farewell", (it is too brief to be called an essay) is most interesting, giving us many glimpses of the close and personal relationships Srinivas had developed with the villagers - rich and poor, high and low, old and young. It is moving to see so much of honest emotion for the author on display, not for the sake of anything, but just for the joy of showing their feelings.

Finally, a word about the title of the book. An author has the right to choose an attractive title. In the present case, I humbly suggest that the title is a vast exaggeration. No-where has Indian society, in its bigness and totality, in its pan-Indian diversity and complexity, in its continuities and discontinuities been explored. It is not fair to criticise an author for his omissions - no author can escape criticism. But when acts of commission, as the title here, invite criticism for omission, the author must accept it. Need we tell Prof. Srinivas that Rampura is not India, nor is an Indian village India writ large?

DR. DHIRENDRA NARAIN is retired Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology, University of Bombay.

About the Author

M. N. SRINIVAS, FBA is Chairman, Institute of Social and Economic Change, Bangalore. He was formerly the Head of the Department of Sociology, University of Delhi and J.R.D. Tata Visiting Professor at the National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS). He is the author of *The Remembered Village*, *The Dominant Caste and Other Essays*, *On Living in a Revolution and Other Essays*.

OUR MISSION

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

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

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

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

Subscribe Today

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

I wish to enter a Subscription and enclose my cheque*
in favour of **Freedom First**.

(Please type or write in block letters)

NAME : _____

ADDRESS : _____

PIN : _____

*Subscriptions can also be sent by MO/DD. No Postal Orders please. 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

For Overseas Subscribers

(By Second Class Airmail)

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

Single Copy : Rs.15

AIRFREIGHT LIMITED

**Meets All Your Transportation Needs
From Door to Door Across the World**

An enterprise with over 80 offices in India.

DHL

EXPRESS DIVISION OF
AIRFREIGHT LIMITED

ACE

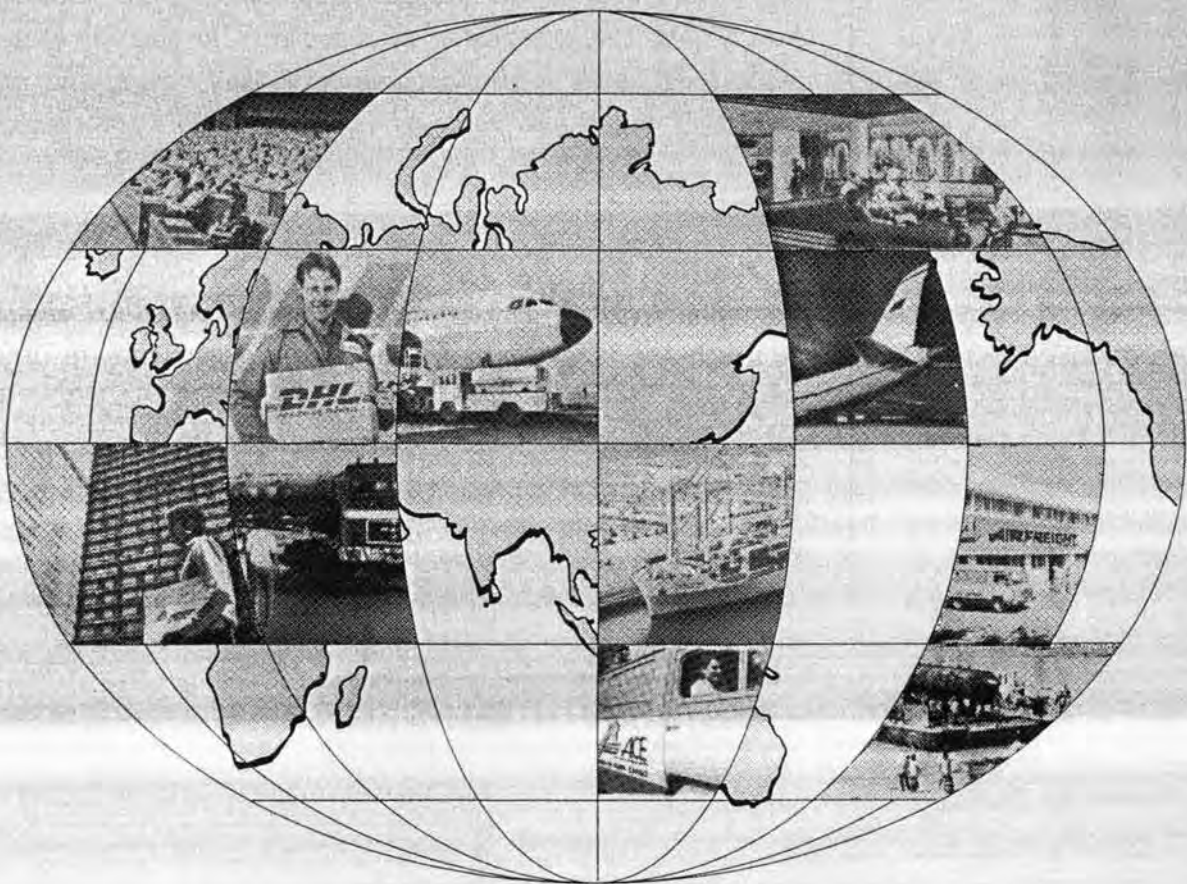
DOMESTIC EXPRESS
CARGO

INDTRAVELS

TRAVEL & TOURS

CARGO

AIR & OCEAN
FORWARDING



Regd. Office: Neville House, Currimbhoy Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay 400038.

To contact us, please refer to your local Telephone/Yellow Pages Directory.