

Freedom

No: 467, October - December 2005

Rs. 25/- only

First

A Liberal Quarterly

Increasing Intolerance & Suppression of Dissent

Plus

Terrorism
Business in Society

D. B. KARNIK

The Pilgrimage of an Optimist



(1908-2005)

On 14th October 2005 Dwarkanath Bhagwant Karnik, popularly known as DB or Bhausaheb Karnik decided to call it a day. A life replete with ideas, constructive action and laudable achievements graciously glided into the stream of history. He was 96.

To meet Bhausaheb was to be inspired to think freely and act instantly, justly and fearlessly. He was outspokenly frank, a trait which often adversely affected him because he would not tolerate unprincipled compromises. DB was a lively conversationalist with an inexhaustible reservoir of unforgettable anecdotes which graphically portrayed personalities like Prime Minister Nehru, M. N. Roy, Dr. Ambedkar, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, N. V. Gadgil, Y. B. Chavan, Nath Pai, right up to Collector P. K. Kharkar who was his brother-in-law.

Journalism was DB's life mission; his devotion to that profession was as unflinching as was his devotion to M. N. Roy. DB wrote in sparkling lucid style. His articles were informative, analytical and spiced with a refreshing sprinkle of humour. Like his illustrious elder brother and mentor V. B. Karnik, Bhausaheb was a humanist but his rationalism was blended with emotionalism. He was an artist at heart and few must have known that he was a talented flautist who, sadly, did not pursue this art for long.

The day for Bhausaheb dawned when most people were fast asleep. DB was early to rise and early to retire after the day was well utilized to meet people, fulfil promises to help them. Never did he hesitate to put in a word for a deserving person or cause. He had no conceits and not the least of expectations either for his own self or his family. His personal requirements were frugal, living simple and unassuming. He regularly travelled by bus. Bhausaheb firmly believed that his sound health and longevity were the rewards of swimming and other physical exercises along with the habit of regular walking. And often politely declined offer for a lift in a car. Unfailing regularity in reading and writing was his addiction, which continued almost until the end.

Bhausaheb's writings contain the essence of his message for those who would care to read. He said "Seek contentment in noble thought and action let not challenges and adversities stifle them. Remember that ceaseless efforts in the right direction to serve a good cause are a reward in itself. Success need not lead to complacency or failure to depression. Life is full of splendour and beauty. Inhale the fragrance and joy around you, but with artistry and moderation. Forget not that life is an eternal stream. You cannot wish away the impurities in it unless you use your resourcefulness with dynamism. Life is too valuable to be wasted in sorrow and vengeance. It is to be wisely and joyfully lived."

A considerable amount of his life during the last 10-15 years was devoted to the service of the institution for the physically handicapped at Vikhroli. Many a time it was physically and financially exacting, but he derived immense happiness through his service to those needy souls. Bhausaheb tried to give the inmates – 'many of them blind', self confidence, sense of self reliance and thus a ray of hope in life. The inmates, he said should not be given any allowance or alms but salary for the work that they are trained to do. A few years ago Bhausaheb came to our house in the evening of Diwali day. He was beaming with joy. We greeted him and asked what special news he had for us. Bhausaheb said "I do not have words to express my joy today, because until this morning we had no funds to pay the salaries of the inmates and distribute sweets. As luck would have it, I approached a very wealthy and resourceful friend of mine and told him about the problem I was facing. By noon the money arrived. When pay packets were disbursed the atmosphere brightened, with the smiling faces of our poor boys and girls. I then felt I could happily close my eyes for ever".

Despite his long innings DB was a man in a hurry. Availability of time fell short of the demand for it. His only regret in life was that nature had snatched his mother away from him when he was a child, barely a year and a half old. His wife Nirmalabai tried to fill the void in his life by playing the dual role, a loving wife as well as his affectionate spiritual mother. But for her, it would have been difficult for Bhausaheb to have been as illustrious, enthusiastic and dedicated to the numerous praise-worthy causes he served.

Vilas B. Patankar

Freedom First

A Liberal Quarterly – 53rd Year of Publication
No.467 October-December 2005

Contents

Many Voices	2
Of Cabbages and Kings	3
Cover Feature Increasing Intolerance and Suppression of Dissent	
Soli Sorabjee	5
Women on the Top: Intolerance as a Political Weapon	
Geeta Doctor	9
Terrorism	
V. Balachandran	11
Gandhi, Hind Swaraj and the City of Madras	
R. Srinivasan	15
Business in Society	
Shukla Bose	17
The Origins of the Secular State	
R. Srinivasan	21
Liberal Budget 2006-07 : Right Choices Tough Decisions	23
Tightening the State's Stranglehold - Robbing the Indian Medical Council of its Autonomy	25
The Corruption We Don't See or Feel	
N. B. Grant	27
Nostalgia A Visit to India (In 1963)	
Peter Coleman	29
The Communist Party of China	
Aspi Mistry	33
Madhu Dandavate	35
A Case for Privatisation	
Muralidhar Rao	36
"We Live in Interesting Times"	
Ravindra Kumar	37
Antony Samy. V of Puliangudi	
Eknaath Nagarkar	38
Book Reviews	39

BETWEEN OURSELVES

Yet again this issue of *Freedom First* for the fourth quarter of 2005 has been delayed. Also, the cover feature on the rapprochement with Pakistan has had to be postponed. The earthquake on both sides of the LOC, though far heavier on the Pakistan side diverted attention and energies, rightly so, to humanitarian work. At the same time mutual suspicions surfaced with Pakistan's initial hesitation when India's extended its helping hand. This perhaps is not the best of times to discuss political matters important as they are.

Meanwhile, the pre-Deepavali terrorist strike in Delhi and the increasing intolerance being shown by our very own politicians, in or out of office, on all manner of things from Bar-girls to the way our college boys and girls dress or ought to dress, or the *vigilantes* type reaction to the frank expression of views on such matters as pre-marital sex, need discussion. These are the subjects of our cover feature this time.

On terrorism we could not have had better person than Mr. V. Balachandran former special secretary to the Union Cabinet, to write a comprehensive paper on Terrorism. While the paper itself is being published by the Indian Liberal Group, we carry an extensive summary.

Minoo Masani would have approved the subject of the talk by Mr. Soli Sorabjee "Increasing Intolerance and Suppression of Dissent" as part of the series of the Minoo Masani Birth Centenary Lectures

So would Masani have welcomed Shukla Bose's "Business and Society". Jayaprakash Narayan and Masani convened an international seminar in March 1965 at the India International Centre in New Delhi. The Seminar adopted a Declaration on the Social Responsibilities of Business.

The theme for the next cover feature is **Prospects for the Party System in India.** We discuss the Congress (I) and the BJP and the fronts or coalitions they lead. We ask whether either of these parties and their partners can lead India in the direction of a two-party system to strengthen parliamentary democracy. If yes, then how and if not, why not. You can send your contributions by email at freedom@vsnl.com. You can also mail or fax us a typed copy. Deadline: February 15, 2006.

Greetings of the season and wishing you a Happy New Year!

Editor

Founder: Minoo Masani • Editor: S. V. Raju • Associate Editor: R. Srinivasan • Cover: Vivek Raju
Publishers: Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom (ICCF), 3rd Floor, Army & Navy Building, 148, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Mumbai 400 001
Phone: +91 (22) 2284 3416 • E-mail: freedom@vsnl.com
Published by J. R. Patel for the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom (ICCF) and printed by him at Kaiser-E-Hind Private Ltd., Plot No A-191, Road No.16A, MIDC, Wagle Industrial Estate, Thane (W) - 400 604. Phone: 2580 4162
Typeset at Shubham Print & Web 59, Dr. V. B. Gandhi Marg, 1st Floor, Fort, Mumbai 400 001. Phone: 2284 2619 • Mobile: 98929 21277
Single Copy: Rs 25 • Annual: Rs 100 (Add Rs 30 for outstation cheques) • Overseas (1st Class Air Mail) Annual: \$10 or £7
Cheques to be drawn in favour of ICCF and mailed to the publishers at the above address.

WITH MANY VOICES

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

Most of what goes by the term MBA in India is a racket. It is time we admitted that.

Subroto Bagchi, CEO, Mindtree Consulting,
The Times of India, December 9

The Mutiny (of 1857) is like the Mahabharata. It means what you make of it.

Ashok Malik, *The Indian Express*, August 25

There are a few truisms in technology – Microsoft is a monopoly; open source is a quiet revolution; Apple is an innovation factory.

Sachin Kalbag, *DNA*, October 14

It has been one of the least guarded secrets that MPs take money for asking questions in Parliament.

Neerja Choudhury, *The Indian Express*, December 14

While most girls have become aware of their rights because of education, I'll be hesitant to allow them to wear what they like as most of these girls come from rural areas.

Mr. Dinesh Kumar, Principal, SD College
(Muzzafarnagar, UP), *The Indian Express*, October 9

I'll leave Muzzafarnagar. It's better to leave this place to chase success than try in vain to change the way people here think.

Shristy Vats, *The Indian Express*, October 9

A spectre is haunting Russia – the spectre of Lenin's embalmed body lying in Moscow's Red Square.

Nick Paton Walsh, *Guardian*, published in
Hindustan Times, October 11

Strike is a powerful weapon in the hands of workers when their cause is just. It must never be used just as a muscle-flexing exercise for arm twisting authorities.

Khushwant Singh, *Hindustan Times*, October 15

It's God's responsibility to forgive terrorist organisations like Jaish and Lashkar. But it's our

responsibility to arrange the meeting between them and God – Indian Armed Forces

Contributed by Vipin Bucksey and published in
Khushwant Singh's column, *Hindustan Times*, October 15

Western leaders keep saying after every terrorist attack, 'This is not about Islam.' Sorry, but this is all about Islam. It is about a war within Islam.

Thomas L. Friedman, *The Indian Express*, October 13

I will never again become a coach. I cannot bend over backwards for the cricket administrators. The rules and the standards are different for 'goras' and different for me.

Kapil Dev, former captain of the Indian Cricket Team,
DNA, October 19

If you want to see how the political culture of this country has changed, just watch television footage of our MPs arriving at Parliament. Sleek limo after swanky people-carrier sweeps into the hallowed portals of our democracy.

Seema Goswami, 'Indulge' *Hindustan Times Magazine*,
October 30

The fate of the new Right to Information Act, 2005, may turn out to be much like that of many a girl child in India – damned at birth.

Maja Daruwala, *The Indian Express*, October 1

Historically, the Indian government has impeded the Internet with a combination of studied indifference and myopic government monopoly policies.

Sabeer Bhatia, co-founder of Hotmail, *The Week*,
August 21

Mumbaikars have stopped expecting anything from politicians. So when the city turned into a dangerous waterworld they helped each other. It was business as usual in a way.

Anjali Krishnan, *Reader's Digest*, September 2005

Any country claiming to be a modern democracy must secularise and unify its legal system.

Salman Rushdie on the Imrana case in an article in the
New York Times, cited in *Outlook*, July 25

OF CABBAGES AND KINGS

The Hypocritical and Populist 104th Amendment to the Indian Constitution

The Indian Parliament (I use the larger context because not only the Government of India but all political parties are accessories after the fact) is bent on destroying the quality of education in India. Evidence is the very ill advised 104th amendment to the Constitution, (adopted in haste by both Houses of parliament before adjourning after the winter session to nullify a Supreme Court decision to the contrary) imposing reservation quotas on *private unaided* educational institutions, minority institutions of course exempted. This whole exercise is an exhibition in populism with the Vote in forthcoming elections the obvious objective. There is neither sincerity nor concern for the poor students even less for the classes for whom the reservation quotas are ostensibly meant.

Here are two examples of the State's total lack of concern involving two respected and state-owned educational institutions in Mumbai.

"Students of Sir JJ School of Art were scheduled to begin their exams from next Monday (October 17). On Friday (October 14), they called an *indefinite strike* to protest the lack of infrastructure and good teaching faculty.

Kushal Mahant, a third year student and general secretary of the students union, said "Ours is one of the most respected educational institutions in Mumbai but there is no evidence to support the so-called international standards that it claims to maintain. There is no canteen, no furniture, no teachers for many subjects, and no live models for us to do our projects of painting from life." (For details read *HT Metro*, *Hindustan Times*, October 15 and the *Sunday Indian Express* of September 4)).

Here's another, concerning the Law Department of the University of Mumbai: "During the day, Room No.140 at the University of Mumbai's Churchgate campus is used by lady sweepers, who come here to unwind. But after 4 p.m. this 'Ladies Common Room' transforms into a classroom for Master of Laws (LLM) students.

"Over two years, said a harried student, they have been studying with brooms around them, classes without lights, as they 'run all around' to locate their classrooms.

On July 18, the law department dashed off a letter to the registrar complaining that 'in spite of repeated requests to university authorities there are no basic facilities'.

Vice-Chancellor Vijay Khole said he had received no complaints. Told about the letter he said: 'The registrar has been busy with the elections for various university bodies.' (For

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



details read *The Indian Express*, *Mumbai Newslite*, September 28).

These two cases can be multiplied hundred times over to understand the state's 'concern' for the education of students irrespective of the caste-class or religion they belong to.

Jayaprakash Narayan Forgotten



As a report in *The Indian Express* points out, Amitabh Bachchan's birthday on 11th October was celebrated by millions of his fans throughout the country while Jayaprakash Narayan's birthday which also falls on 11th October was largely forgotten. This is hardly surprising. The opening up of the visual media and the consumerist culture it has spawned has led to the conversion of a number of newspapers into fashion and gossip sheets (with some space grudgingly devoted to 'News'). This is sad but understandable up to a point. Like a person who has not had a meal for many days, gobbles up food and ends with indigestion, the Indian public, denied choice in the marketplace for 40 long years thanks to the 'socialist pattern of society' which was the ruling philosophy in the era of one party dominance, is running amuck. Hopefully our people will settle down when Malls and supermarkets are no longer a novelty. Hopefully, then, the birthdays of Jayaprakash Narayan will be remembered. Meanwhile, lest I be misunderstood, Amitabh Bachchan fully deserves his popularity. He is indeed *the* Entertainer par excellence, and deserves all the accolades showered on him by his fans. I am one of them.

The President's Suggestion to Contain the VIP Nuisance

Talking of birthdays, President APJ Kalam turned 74 on October 15. He was in Hyderabad on that day. We have this bit of information from *The Times of India's Mumbai Mirror*. He was delivering a lecture to IPS probationers and senior officials at the National Police Academy. Naturally he made several references to policing in India including one in which he pointed to 49 recommendations made by various Police Commissions and asked for their implementation considering the fact that the functioning of the police is still governed by an Act of 1861!

One other suggestion, he made will be received with scepticism by Mumbaikars and other city-dwellers. He said that police should not hold up traffic during VIP movements. Instead they should use a team of motor cyclists *in real time* as is done in other countries. Well meant Mr. President, but it will not only not solve the problem but make things worse. When traffic lights are switched off in any part of the city, we Mumbaikars know that some VIP is prowling around so that no red light dare stop the VIP from speeding through. The motor cycle outriders will not only lengthen the VIP procession but cops on the motor cycles will with profanity and dirty looks intimidate other users of the road as if the public had no business to be there when a VIP was using the road space during real time.

On the other hand maybe the authorities and the security personnel guarding our VIPs might consider developing helipads on top of the many government buildings that dot our cities so that our 'precious' VIPs can be flown between the airport and downtown without disturbing the peace of the citizens!

The Judiciary to the Rescue

We the people long deprived of good governance, find the judiciary a godsend in doing miscellaneous executive jobs.

For instance:

- The Bombay High Court told the Meteorological Department to quickly identify a suitable site to install the state-of-the-art Doppler Radar. This 15-ton radar is required to detect and give early warning of changing weather patterns particularly cyclonic storms, and severe disturbances such as Tsunami and the one that led to the downpour that turned half of Mumbai into a lake on July 26. The problem is that they were unable to find a site in the city with at least 5 km of 'unobstructed' view in the city. Hence a PIL seeking the Court's help!
- Following the rape of a 20-year old woman in a Mumbai-bound train, a city lawyer has filed a PIL asking the Bombay High Court to direct the railways to beef up security and stop ticketless travellers from boarding trains.
- Bombay's former police commissioner Julio Ribeiro wrote

a letter to the acting chief justice of the Bombay High Court objecting to the reinstatement of a tainted police officer (after a departmental enquiry had found him guilty of extortion, forgery and underworld links) by a minister of state of the government of Maharashtra. The acting chief justice converted the letter into a *suo moto* public interest litigation. The two judges who will hear the matter have asked the minister to file his reply by January 18.

- The Bombay High Court has intervened in a squabble between the state government, the central government and the Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC) over a piece of land that the BMC wants for a public purpose and which is owned by the Central government. The Court has ordered the central government to hand over the land measuring 141.77 hectares to the State government and ordered the state government to hand it over in turn to the BMC who wish to use the land as a dumping ground. It has asked the officers of all three authorities to be present and see that the transfer of land takes place.
- On October 18 the Bombay High Court directed the BMC and the MMRDA to fill up all potholes in the city's roads by November 15 and to complete repair works of roads damaged after 26/7. These directions were passed by a Division Bench in a *suo moto* petition based on a letter written by a city cardiologist in which he had highlighted accidents caused due to the pathetic conditions of roads in the city. The court was informed that 8,143 potholes had been filled up.

Kudos to the Mumbai Police

Mumbai Police Commissioner A. N. Roy and his force deserve to be complimented for the manner in which they handled an unruly situation at Mumbai's domestic airport. A religious Sadhu was not allowed to carry his staff (bamboo stick) into the aircraft by officials at Lucknow airport. He was on his way to Mumbai. His followers who gathered at the Mumbai airport heard of this, turned violent damaged public property and abused the police. Because of this some 3000 passengers were trapped inside the airport for over 90 minutes. When reasoning failed the police resorted to a lathi charge to disperse the mob and control the situation. Control they did. Expectedly there will be enquiries both at Lucknow and at Mumbai. The fact is the police did their duty, which was to ensure law and order and for which they deserve the people's thanks.

Here's a quote from Mr. Daljit Singh Bal, President of the Sikh Association which says it all:

"Rules should be the same for all. Even we are not allowed to carry *kirpans* (daggers) on board despite it being a religious necessity. I don't think religious leaders should have special rules. Religious sentiments should be followed but the adherence should be to laws first. (*The Times of India* December 8)

SVR

Increasing Intolerance and Suppression of Dissent

Soli Sorabjee

The need of the hour, if you ask me, is tolerance. It must be realized that there is an essential linkage between tolerance, human rights, democracy and peace. On the other hand if there is unchecked intolerance, the inevitable consequence will be violence and that would ultimately endanger peace.

One criterion to determine whether a country or society is truly democratic as it professes to be, is the extent of dissent permitted. The right to dissent and tolerance of dissent are the *sine qua non* of a liberal democratic society. It is not sufficient to grant freedom to those who differ from us in respect of minor matters, matters that do not touch the heart of the existing order. We must learn to accord freedom for the thought we hate and to accord a fair field and an honest race to all sections of society. That is the real credo of a liberal.

In other words, radicals, reactionaries, industrialists, workmen, the religious and the free thinkers; capitalists, communists and all the infinite variety of platforms, fanatics and self-appointed saviours of mankind must have the freedom to express their own voice, subject, of course, to one very important qualification – that there is no incitement, to violence, no incitement to racial hatred. In a Liberal democracy all groups in the country accept the fact that in a free country one can have different opinions and should have the equal right in voicing them. Disagreement with the beliefs and ideologies of others is no reason for suppression, because tolerance recognizes that there can be more than one path for the attainment of truth and for securing salvation.

Assumption of Infallibility

On the other hand, intolerance stems from an invincible assumption of the infallibility one's system, the dogmatic conviction of the rightness of one's tenets and beliefs and their superiority over others. When intolerance reigns, reason takes a back seat. Intolerance is based on prejudices, irrational beliefs and stereotypes. It fosters feelings of ill will, enmity between different classes and communities. Intolerance ultimately leads to the forcible imposition of one's ideology and dogma on others. Religious persecution, as we know, is a result of intolerance and is once again rearing its head in the name of Almighty God.

Suppression of dissent emanates from intolerance. An intolerant regime does not brook dissent. An authoritarian regime cannot tolerate the expression of ideas which challenges its doctrine and ideology in the form of writings, or plays, or drama or music or painting. Why do people in power want to suppress dissent? One reason is, again, the

unshakeable conviction of the regime about the rightness of its ideologies and the policies it is following. And that makes it necessary to suppress unconventional and heterodox thoughts and theories, which will endanger its cherished beliefs. That is indeed the prime motivation for censorship. Besides, the objective of the authoritarian regime is to popularise its policies and practices among its people in order to gain their support. This it does in two ways. First by massive propaganda through State-owned and controlled media for praising the regime's so-called successes on account of its current policies. Another way is by imposing strict censorship with a view to suppress any criticism or questioning of its policies. This suppression of dissent by censorship is an indispensable instrument for a totalitarian regime. An intolerant authoritarian regime and censorship are indeed natural allies.

In his excellent work, *The Tolerant Society*, Lee C. Bollinger suggests that it is perhaps less the certainty of one's conviction that prompts one into intolerance than the uncertainty. In other words, it is fear about the stability of the current regime, apprehension about its security, which impels intolerance and the consequent suppression of dissent to ensure the popularity and continuance of the regime. In other words anyone who is sure of one's position and is not uncertain about it can take criticism in his stride and counter it.

Two Prerequisites of a Democracy

Whenever I go abroad and they ask me to lecture on democracy, I tell them I am not a social scientist, but I know one thing. Whenever someone says, my country is a democracy, I say, 'do me a favour, just send me two or three of your newspapers and just send me the law reports. I will go through the newspapers and law reports and tomorrow I will tell you whether you are a democracy or not'. Because the two indispensable prerequisites of a democracy are a free press and an independent judiciary which, thank God, we have in our country.

Today, the rise of intolerance in our country is really alarming. About three years ago, a friend of mine, Jairus Banaji, made some critical remarks at a function about Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi. Before he could complete what he got up to say, Modi's strongmen came in and threw

him out of the hall. This happened here, in India, in Ahmedabad. Any criticism of Madam Sonia Gandhi's style of functioning by any Congress person is visited with unpleasant consequences. No one dare criticize Bal Thackeray without incurring the wrath of the Shiv Sainiks. And you know what that wrath means. The consequence of all this intolerance is that dissent dries up and vigorous debate is no longer possible. When vigorous debate is no longer possible and people cannot engage in healthy discussion, then democracy comes under siege. What are the reasons? Why this intolerance? Again arrogance and insecurity of one's position. A party which is sure of its position and standing will take criticism in its stride and confront it.

Fascist Tendencies

Let me give you another example which was one of the worst which I have come across. A U.S. scholar, James Laine, by name, wrote a biography of Shivaji in which he cast some doubt upon the paternity of Shivaji. Naturally you may not agree with it, you may condemn him. But what happened? Not only was his book burnt, but there was a demand for his prosecution. One even went to the absurd length of saying that he should be extradited. But the worst part was that a fine institute in Pune called the Bhandarkar Institute, with its archives and valuable documents was vandalized. Why? Because Laine wrote his book sitting there, making use of this Institute's archival material. Now this is fascism at its worst. I only remember these things happening in Nazi Germany. You vandalize an institute which has such valuable documents because Laine wrote something which some people found very unpleasant. In the West, people sometimes suggest that Christ had some elements of homosexuality. People do get upset. They criticize it, they ban it, but they don't indulge in this kind of violence. This trend we have to arrest. This is not the India that we know. Not the India where people can freely discuss. The sad thing is that this intolerance has acquired a global spread.

You know of course what happens in Pakistan. If there is any criticism in which any religious overtones are discovered, or discerned, the Blasphemy Law is invoked and terrible consequences follow. In Bangladesh, the novel written by Taslima Nasreen, '*Lajja*' (Shame) was banned. Thanks to the Bangladesh High Court, the ban was struck down. Malaysia is no different. Any foreign journal criticizing Mahathir at one stage used to be taken off the stands and burnt or confiscated. Singapore is no different. And UK, the oldest democracy is also not immune from this virus. At a recent Labour Party conference when Prime Minister Tony Blair was defending his country's action in the Iraq war, an old and respected Labourite who disagreed with Tony Blair said 'nonsense'. Immediately a hurly burly Labourite manhandled him and threw him out. The only saving grace in this case was that the Prime Minister gave a public apology for the disgraceful incident.

Now we need not follow what is happening in other countries. We must preserve our tradition of tolerance which

we have had. If anyone asks me to write a biography of a religious leader, I would say first, I want an insurance policy for my safety! But one bright spot is that our courts have consistently and steadfastly upheld the right of dissent and emphasized the necessity for tolerance. Let me give you a very interesting case that the Bombay High Court decided in 1968. The 1962 emergency was still continuing and we had the 1965 war with Pakistan. In a case involving critical references to Gandhiji the High Court of Bombay held thus: "Everyone ought to have the privilege of expressing opinions which are unpopular or distasteful. The right to dissent is the very essence of democracy. Conformity with accepted norms and beliefs has always been the enemy of freedom of thought."

Jehovah's Witnesses

The high watermark of judicial endorsement of tolerance, is the Supreme Court judgement in the case of V. J. Emmanuel *versus* the State of Kerala. Jehovah's Witnesses is a religious denomination and it is part of their religious belief that no one should sing the prayers of any country. Only God, no other country. Now, I am not concerned whether this belief is right or wrong. It is a belief, which is conscientiously held by adherents of Jehovah's Witnesses faith. Now when the National Anthem was sung, two students of Jehovah's Witnesses stood up in silence but did not sing. The authorities expelled them. The Kerala High Court upheld their expulsion. The matter came to the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court reversed the order of expulsion saying: 'it is not that they did not sing the National Anthem of India, it is their religious belief which prevented them from singing. We cannot go into its rights or wrongs because it is a religious belief genuinely held that they must not sing the national anthem of any country. And therefore, if they remain silent, the right to remain silent is as much a part of the fundamental right of speech and expression. Compelling these students and expelling them for exercising their right to remain silent is unconstitutional. The Supreme Court concluded its judgement with a ringing note and I want that ringing note to be in your minds and hearts all the time:

"Our tradition teaches tolerance, our philosophy preaches tolerance, our Constitution practises tolerance, let us not dilute it".

And this judgement has put to shame some other judgements in other countries where they took a little different view about Jehovah's Witnesses.

Ore Oru Gramathil

Let me give you another example. There was a Tamil movie titled '*Ore Oru Gramathil*' (In One Village). The theme of that movie was that the reservation policy is being abused, people make false claims of being scheduled caste or backward class and then they get into positions. It was just a movie. In principle, what it tried to portray was good. We must have preferential treatment, we must have special

preferences for people who are handicapped and who have suffered discrimination over the centuries. The Board of Censors passed it. It even got an award. But the Madras High Court somehow banned it. The matter came up to the Supreme Court. And the Supreme Court reversed the judgement. Justice Jagannath Shetty gave the leading judgment of the Court and this is what he said:

"Freedom of expression protects not merely ideas that are accepted but those that offend, shock or disturb the state or any section of the population. Such are the demands of pluralism, tolerance and broad mindedness without which there is no democratic society". If the film is unobjectionable and cannot constitutionally be restricted under the constitution, freedom of expression cannot be suppressed on account of threats of demonstrations and processions or threats of violence. "(Because there was a threat people had threatened to burn down the theatre, release snakes and so on). If you yield to such threats, that would tantamount to negation of the rule of law and surrender to blackmail and intimidation. Freedom of expression which is legitimate and is constitutionally protected cannot be held to ransom by an intolerant group of people.

Suppress Bigotry Not Freedom

When I was the Attorney General, they used to tell me 'Sir, if we don't ban this book, there will be violence.' I would reply 'first of all you go on the merits, is there anything intrinsically wrong with the book? Does it offend any provision of law? Is it obscene, is it sacrilegious?' Are we going to judge and ban books because some hypersensitive people who have very different notions of what should be published or not, are going to give you threats? If there are threats, suppress the people who give the threats. Don't suppress the book. Don't suppress freedom of expression. Otherwise you are being completely held hostage by very bigoted, intolerant sets of people.

Fostering a Culture of Tolerance

The need of the hour, if you ask me, is tolerance. It must be realized that there is an essential linkage between tolerance, human rights, democracy and peace. On the other hand if there is unchecked intolerance, the inevitable consequence will be violence and that would ultimately endanger peace. The preamble to the Charter of the United Nations proclaims, that to achieve the goals of the Charter, we need to "practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". You see in history everywhere what has happened because of intolerance. But tolerance cannot be legislated. You cannot pass a law that you will be tolerant any more than you can pass a law that you will not have more than two pegs of whiskey. You cannot legislate prohibition, you cannot legislate tolerance. These are virtues that are to be instilled. So what is necessary is, we must develop a capacity for tolerance by fostering an environment of tolerance, a culture of tolerance.

And education has to play a vital role in this connection. Pseudotypes, prejudices about certain classes and communities must be eliminated. The Press too has an important role to play. I would make a special appeal to the members of the Press that they should ensure that prejudices and pseudo types about certain communities or classes are not perpetuated and the Press should speak out against those trends which you find in the country. The Press should be insistent and eloquent in preaching the message that no group or body has the monopoly of truth and wisdom and we must respect the point of view of the other-minded. If we desire to convert the others to our point of view, it should be done by persuasion and constructive debate without forcible imposition of one's views.

So, friends, as Minoo Masani would say, let us promote tolerance in our multi-religious, multi-cultural nation and thereby strengthen our pluralist democracy and ensure freedom of speech and expression so that the right to dissent will always be a living reality and not a casualty. I think if we do that, if we strive in that direction, that is the best tribute that we can pay to one of the finest liberals and democrats we have had, Minoo Masani.

Excerpted from a Lecture delivered Mr. Soli Sorabjee on October 14, 2005 in Hyderabad as part of the Minoo Masani Birth Centenary programme. The full text will be published soon in a booklet.

MR. SOLI SORABJEE is a distinguished lawyer and until recently India's Advocate General

Silencing Unconventional Voices

"Unpopular ideas can be silenced and inconvenient facts kept dark, without the need for any official ban", wrote George Orwell. Though he was referring to what he regarded as the voluntary literary censorship in Britain of that time, it could as well apply to the efforts of intolerant groups protesting against the remarks of the actor Kushboo and of Suhasini Mani Ratnam who came to her defence. The episode underlines the reality that not just the state but powerful organised groups could also pose a threat to freedom of expression.

"What the Kushboo episode is not about is perhaps as important as what it is about. In the first place, it is not about agreeing with the comments she made on sexual morality in the modern age (on the basis of an opinion survey) that have been attacked as encouraging permissiveness and as insulting to Tamil women. Indeed it is the fear of being seen as endorsing permissiveness that has probably kept many public figures and political parties from coming to her defence. Yet even if one were to disagree strongly with her or feel that the remarks were ill timed or that she was not sending the right message to the youth, her right to express her opinion has to be conceded. 'If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind', said John Stuart Mill in *On Liberty*, arguing that truth and error must be allowed to contend freely."

N. Ravi, Editor, *The Hindu*, November 26, 2005

Women on the Top: Intolerance as a Political Weapon

Geeta Doctor

When there is no place for a dialogue because there is no space for rational thought, we can only expect to see more instances where intolerance will become a weapon for political change.

The episode from the Mahabharata, known as "the disrobing of Draupadi" has a peculiar attraction for the audience of street plays in Tamil Nadu. It does not matter that all the actors are male in the majority of the street plays, or "Koothu" groups, or that eventually 'she' manages to triumph over Dushassana, with her modesty intact. The interest is in watching the humiliation of Draupadi. Her piteous wails and cries for help take on a semi-comic manner as her male tormentor initiates all the crude gestures and aggression suggestive of an imminent rape. Even the unravelling of miles and miles of nylon fabric, sarees that have been tied end to end and slowly unwound from behind the scene, take on the character of a tug-of-war between the sexes. What makes it even more ambiguous is that no one around Draupadi at the "Royal" court is prepared to take her side. They watch her struggle, just as the audience watches the scene with varying degrees of intensity.

Kushboo's Right to Her Views

L'Affaire Kushboo in Tamil Nadu has played to audiences with the same kind of snide attempts at titillation. It no longer matters that her remarks about the chastity or otherwise of young women were made in the context of the spread of Aids and that she had never made a reference to the women of Tamil Nadu in her interview with *India Today*. The fact that she is a well known, and indeed till this episode, a well-loved figure, that she has always been endowed with the lusciously perceived good looks that the Tamil public favours in the worship of gods and goddesses in popular mythology, or on-screen and the wealth that goes with it, made her a soft target. When a fellow actress, Suhasini Mani Rathnam did the decent thing and tried to put things into perspective, defending Kushboo's right to freedom of speech on matters relating to a health problem that is already causing grave concern in Tamil Nadu, she too became almost instantly another target. The reasons were almost exactly the same.

Of Tamil Pride and Tamil Culture

Within days, two political parties, the Patali Makkal Katchi (PMK) and the Dalit Panthers of India (DPI) who were till then fighting for the cause of the downtrodden shifted their stand to the more emotive, and nebulous cause of 'Tamil Pride'. This is a tried and tested formula that the Dravidian

movement had played to the maximum effect in getting rid of various class enemies. At a time, when there are not many dramatic issues that might galvanize a near comatose public, who have learnt to vote one party out, with every season and just collect the handouts, Kushboo provided just the right kind of rally. The fact that she could weep so piteously for the television cameras, ask forgiveness for a crime that she had not committed, and generally attract the kind of attention that, had she been a nonentity with few media skills, might have got her just a small mention in one of the local papers, obviously added to her value as an enemy of the people. What is even more absurd is that because she's a figure that the national press could recognize and empathize with, it's allowed her detractors to label her even more vociferously as being anti-Tamil. "She is spoiling the good name of all Tamil people," is what they now claim.

There have been two other instances when this so called 'Tamil Pride' has been threatened recently. Both of these also appear to be so trivial at first, that it seems ridiculous that they could be seen as threats to any kind of society. One of them is the issue of a dress code that has been prescribed for engineering college students at the Madras University. Various guidelines have been suggested by the Vice-Chancellor to protect the modesty of the students, both male and female. In the debate that followed in the Press, opinion was divided, most of the letter writers felt that it was a good thing that students should be made to dress, cut their hair and trim their beards in a manner prescribed by the University. Only one student attempted a mild form of protest by wearing a black T-shirt and jeans to class and he was instantly ticked off. Since then, there has been completely silence from the student community. "If the young people of Chennai can't stand up for their rights, who else can tell them what to do. You can't force freedom of expression on people," said the well-known adman Piyush Pandey when he came to the City on a visit.

'The Park' Punished

In the other case the issue was one of what is permissible as 'decent' behaviour at a public place, such as a hotel. The hotel in question is the high-profile hotel known as The Park that is perceived in the normally conservative City as a "hep and happening" place. From the very beginning The Park has projected itself as a place for the

young cosmopolitan Chennai person with global aspirations in food and entertainment and many of the events sponsored by the hotel have tried to foster this image. The Bar, the central lobby that has always been part of its philosophy to create a kind of an in-house plaza, where people can meet and interact socially, are just some of the features that have made The Park different. It could be that this 'difference' is what led to it's being targeted as a hot spot where good old 'Tamil Pride' was under attack. Whether it was a deliberate attempt on the part of the newspaper that published photographs of people enjoying themselves at a private party at the hotel, that showed a completely innocuous couple dancing cheek to cheek (they were later found to be husband and wife) to create trouble, or whether the Police Commissioner decided to take action based on what he saw as morally offensive behaviour is something that has been endlessly debated. What was certainly shocking was that two young employees of the Park Hotel, who were in charge of the Lobby, were taken into custody and put in jail as if they were the criminals. In various interviews the Police Commissioner, who sounds like a reasonable man, first explained that he had no idea of what was meant by 'moral policing' and that he had many more pressing law and order issues to handle, then went on to add that the hotel had broken the norms of what he described as 'good behaviour for middle class Tamil values'.

A Citizens Forum that was hastily convened to talk about these three issues came to a halt almost at once as the audience bridled at the attempt by the national press, meaning the English speaking media to denigrate "Tamil Culture" by making a mockery of Tamil sentiments. That is to say, the audience immediately became polarized into those who felt that right or wrong, they had to support a Tamil point of view and those who were seen as part of the English speaking media who are out to get the Tamils.

"Why is the national media always targeting Tamil Nadu by making us look so foolish, they have a vested interest in doing so, whether it is in attacking the way that our political leaders behave or in giving too much importance to these side issues," claimed a section of the crowd.

Shrinking Public Space ...

Equally, there were demands on who should or should not define what is Tamil Culture. "Are the television serials and dance sequences made in Kollywood not a part of Tamil Culture? Isn't there more than enough vulgarity in them to put any behaviour at the Park between consenting adults who were at a private party to shame?" asked different voices.

... for Rational Thought

Some people complained about how courting couples are routinely targeted by the Police when they are found on the popular beaches of the City. "There should be a group of vigilantes who stand up for these innocent young people

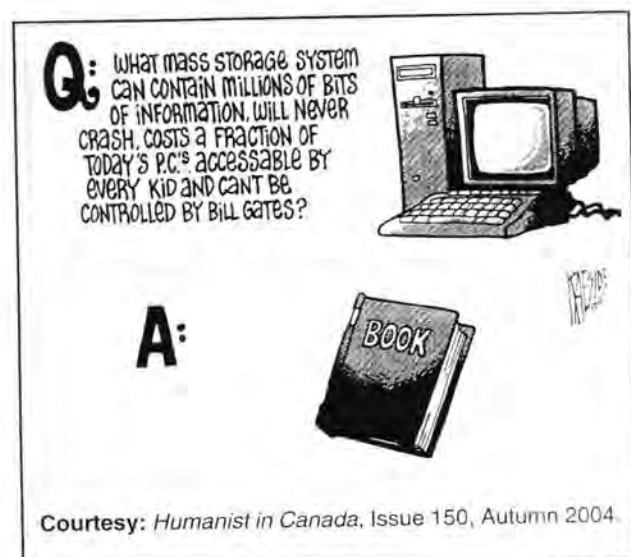
when the Police harass them only to get money from them," said one group of the audience. Others blamed it squarely on the various political parties who had become so bankrupt of ideas that would fire the public, they were happy to dig out the original issues raised by the old Dravidian movement and rally the public once more around them. Others recommended that people should go back and read what E.V.Ramaswamy Periyar had to say about the rights of women to see just how ahead he was of the times.

... for Dialogue

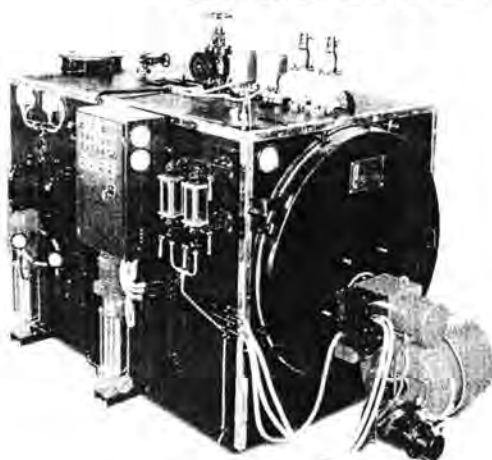
Even in the relatively neutral space of a forum of concerned citizens it was difficult to start a dialogue, let alone find a consensus on what could constitute fundamental rights. In some strange way, The Park had come to represent the "Other" that could be a global Indian, a multinational Indian, a privileged Indian, who just by being able to enter such a space seemed to leave the common citizen of the City out in the cold, (or more exactly in the heat.) This is a dilemma that has been played out in different forms in other cities as attacks on Valentine's Day, Kentucky Chicken, the use of the local language, desecrating the image of a particular political figure, or a cricket idol, dress codes for women and so forth.

When there is no place for a dialogue because there is no space for rational thought, we can only expect to see more instances where intolerance will become a weapon for political change. What makes the trend disturbing is that this attitude is most often projected on the image of the woman, who is once more at the centre, a symbol that offers multiple meanings to a fractured and disenfranchised patriarchy.

MS. GEETA DOCTOR, a former editor of *Freedom First*, is a freelance journalist.



We make Steam.



Every other company sells boilers. Not us

We sell total steam solutions. With a full range of Spirax steam energy conservation products, microprocessor based control instrumentation to ensure optimal energy usage and services to help you better harness steam, air and water.

Our Energy Audit service helps optimise your energy costs, our Consultancy service provides with detailed engineering of all process utilities, and our Steam Engineering Centre provides education and training on efficient utilisation of steam. The result is lower energy consumption, improved product quality and better control of your process.

And yes, we make boilers, too. The best in the business. Our fully packaged boilers with efficiency monitors and automatic blowdown controls give maximum fuel efficiency, so you don't waste heat.

So the next time you want a big metal box in which to burn up your fuel budget, call someone else. And the next time you want to conserve energy and save money, try a total steam solution.

Forbes Marshall

Mumbai-Pune Road, Kasarwadi, Pune 411 034, India.

•Tel: 91(0)20 - 7145595 •Fax: 91(0)20 - 7147413 •E - mail: bizdev@forbesmarshall.com •www.forbesmarshall.com

Terrorism

V. Balachandran

The best way to tackle terrorism is to treat it as a crime and not as a political problem. This is because history has amply proved that terrorism has nothing to do with oppression.

No other expression poignantly illustrates the essence of terrorism as the famous IRA message to British Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher after a failed attempt: "Today we were unlucky. But remember, we have only to be lucky once. You have to be lucky always." The terrorist is always at an advantage since he captures the adversary by surprise, choosing his own time. On the other hand it is difficult for the security or intelligence services to be alert all the time. This also explains why it appears to the common man that the terrorist always has an upper hand. A terrorist has also to be innovative. Till 9/11 one would never have thought that a terrorist would use an ordinary commercial airliner as a deadly weapon.

It was only in the mid 1990s that the subject of terrorism started engaging the attention of a majority of governments although the menace of terror had started manifesting much earlier. However the strident Cold War polemics and the resultant polarization of the world on ideological considerations prevented any meaningful steps by the international community to tackle the menace in a concerted way. Acts of terrorism were described as legitimate struggle for national aspirations depending on which side of the spectrum the affected persons or governments were in. The differences between freedom fighters, guerillas and terrorists got blurred on ideological considerations.

The feeble attempts by the United Nations since 1963 to bring in some sort of international cooperation

to tackle various acts of terrorism met with limited success on account of the Cold War considerations except in certain areas like aviation security. It took more than 34 years for an international consensus to emerge on the vital ingredients of tackling terrorism by way of passing of the 1997 and 1999 Conventions on Terrorist Bombings and Terrorist Financing which were reinforced by UN Resolution No 1373(2001) passed after 9/11. However even those governments taking meaningful steps to detect and control terrorism are motivated by considerations on how far they are affected by such acts of terrorism and not how humanity in general is suffering. Pakistan, which was criticized for supporting Kashmiri militants and the Taliban, earned high marks for its cooperation with the US to "enhance security for US facilities and personnel".

Terrorism - Causes?

Polemics on the cause of modern day terrorism are never ending. Caleb Carr, a noted military historian says that the Jews had brought 'organized, paramilitary terror' into the Palestinian region before the partition of Palestine. He says: "The ease with which the Jewish terrorists turned to murder and mayhem was perhaps understandable, given what was happening in Europe." He feels that modern day terrorism is the carry forward of the old military theme on the "destructive war" philosophy in which civilians were deliberately targeted to undermine their support for the policies of their political leaders. Mahmood Mamdani, author of a highly acclaimed book "Good Muslims, Bad Muslims. America, The Cold War and The Roots of Terror" has said that 9/11 was the remnant of the Cold War.

However in the present context any intellectual dialectics or cause-effect analysis on the origins or causes of terrorism will not lead us anywhere. Most of the UN debates on terrorism are unfortunately marked by such polemics.

Definition of Terrorism

Any analysis of terrorism should begin with a definition of terrorism. It is said that there are over one hundred definitions. The most acceptable definition which captures the essence of terrorism without partisan interpretation is by the U.S Department of Defense: "Unlawful use of force or violence against individual or property to coerce and intimidate governments or societies, often to achieve political, religious or ideological objectives". However the State Department of the US government gives another definition, based on US Code title 22, Section 2656(F): "The term 'terrorism' means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents usually intended to influence an audience. The term 'international terrorism' means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country." This raises uncomfortable questions. According to this definition, armed attacks by Pak supported Kashmiri terrorists on the Indian Army or BSF posts will not be terrorism! There are however indications now that this definition by the State Department is likely to be changed. On the other hand Caleb Carr says: "Terrorism, in other words, is simply the contemporary name given to and the modern permutation of, warfare deliberately waged against civilians with the purpose of destroying their will to support either leaders or policies that

* This excerpt is from a comprehensive paper on *Terrorism* to be published soon by the Indian Liberal Group.

the agents of such violence find objectionable."

Terrorists, Guerillas, Insurgents and Freedom Fighters

We now come to certain expressions like "terrorists", "guerillas", "insurgents", "freedom fighters" etc. The dictionary meaning of "terrorism" is coercive intimidation for political ends or a system that seeks to rule by instilling fear through terror. "Guerilla" is defined as irregular band of partisan soldiers while an "insurgent" aims to organize an uprising against an existing government. "Urban Guerillas" of the 1960s, who evoked sympathy owing to their leftist leanings, were also called "terrorists". In the 60s/80s the difference between guerillas, insurgents and terrorists blurred as terrorists also claimed to be "freedom fighters" to gain sympathy. Irrespective of any definition, the term "terrorism" denotes attempts to overthrow an established system or government through force.

In the classical parlance insurgency thrives on local support like the 1946 Telengana Uprising which later became the "Peoples' War Group" (PWG). One could add the insurgency in Nagaland, Manipur also in this group since it started immediately after Indian Independence, as a sizable section of locals did not accept the merger with the Indian Union. Bad governance in some areas gave fillip to separatist movement like the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) which gave birth to the terrorist group United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA). Unchecked migration from Bangla Desh triggered insurgency in Tripura, Assam, and Meghalaya. However several of these so called insurgency movements undertake terrorist attacks to divide and provoke people when they start losing public support as we have seen in the case of ULFA. Insurgents also use armed pressure to keep the civil population under control to create an artificial impression that they have popular support as we have seen in the case of the LTTE and Kashmiri terrorists.

Common Characteristics

Irrespective of any affiliation, all

terrorist groups exhibit certain common characteristics: First, terrorism is big business and self-sustaining. No terrorist group complains of lack of funds. Some terrorist groups like the LTTE have well-established business networks, which gives them steady income. The LTTE has several commercial vessels and they have a monopoly in the sale and distribution of Tamil video films in Europe & North America. Every Jaffna Tamil based abroad has to compulsorily contribute one tenth of his income to the LTTE. They supplement this by abduction for ransom.

Our North East "Rebels" collect regular instalments from government contractors and even from government servants. The Peoples' War Groups who claim to be motivated by ideological considerations also collect funds from industrialists through extortion. We know by now how Osama bin Laden was able to fund his activities.

Second, all terrorist groups are able to get recruits, including teenagers either on the basis of ideology, financial gains or threats. The LTTE's "Baby Brigades" are well known. All major groups recruit teenagers - Jaish-e-Mohammad, Lashkar, Hizbul besides the LTTE. There were reports that the latter was using the cease-fire with the Sri Lankan government to do the recruitment.

Finally, all terrorist groups are able to recalibrate grounds towards new targets as convenient. For Osama it was the Soviet Union first and now it is America. After initially targeting Sri Lanka, the LTTE targeted India by joining hands with Prime Minister Premadasa, only to blow him up at an opportune moment.

Brief History of Terrorist Movements

The major orientation of terrorism was nationalist-separatist in the 19th Century, extreme right in 1920s, left wing in the 1970s and right wing/ fundamentalist since the 1990s. Mention must be made of the Israeli Groups (1930-40) like rightist "Irgun" of Menachem Begin and "Stern Gang" (sometimes rightist and at times leftist) of Yitzhak Shamir. Both became

Prime Ministers later. The Algerian FLN fought for independence (1954-1962) while the French OAS countered it, both using terrorist methods. The German "Baader-Meinhof" gang (1968 onwards) was led by a drug addict Baader and his girl friend Meinhof who had brain damage. Italian Red Brigade or Brigade Rosse's (1970-80s) organized more than 14,000 attacks and also killed many. Around the same time the Japanese Red Army collaborated with the mercenary Carlos in various terrorists acts. The Basque separatists mounted regular attacks in Europe and the rightist "Weathermen" (whites) and the leftist "Black Panthers" (blacks) dominated the scene in the US.

Modern day terrorism reared its head in 1968 with the hijacking of an EL Al plane from Rome by PLO (PFLP of George Habbash). This phase was the direct result of the spectacular Israeli victory after the 6-day war, which saw the occupation of Palestinian territories. The 1972 Munich Olympics hostage taking was yet another landmark. A big Hezbollah car bomb attack in Beirut in 1983 killing several US marines and French Paratroopers led to a decisive turn in the local dynamics resulting in the withdrawal of US troops. That was the beginning of modern day suicide terrorism. A similar suicide attack in 1987 by the LTTE blowing up the Jaffna garrison saw a decisive halt in the Srilankan advance. Meanwhile the Sikh guards had assassinated Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1984, a culmination of the process of Pak inspired Sikh terrorism, which had started in the early 1980s. The Pakistani inspired Kashmiri terrorism exploded in 1989. Rajiv Gandhi was killed by the LTTE in 1991 in a suicide attack. In 1993 the New York World Trade Center Towers was attacked killing 6 persons, which was a dress rehearsal for a worse tragedy to follow in 2001.

The Babri Masjid demolition on December 6, 1992 led to the Bombay communal riots and later to the serial bomb blasts in March 1993, almost like the 1993 WTC bombing. In 1995 Timothy McWeigh bombed the Oklahoma building resulting in 168 deaths. American military and embassy targets were

attacked in Khobar (1996), Nairobi, Dar-es-Salaam (1998) and Aden (2000-USS Cole), all suspected acts of Osama bin Laden. The 2001 September 11 attack on WTC Towers and Pentagon, killing over 5000 was the culmination of the death dance of the one time US-Saudi protégé Osama. Kashmiri terrorists attacked the J&K Assembly on October 1 and the Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001. The American led war on Iraq since March 20, 2003 served as a catalyst for further terrorist attacks on pro-American targets. Bombings in Bali killed 202 in 2002 and 20 in 2005. *Al Qaeda* bombed Madrid Rail on March 11, 2004 killing 198 persons, exactly 911 days after 9/11. In what was described as the second deadliest terrorist attack in England since the Lockerbie Pan Am attack on December 21, 1988, the city of London saw a repetition of 9/11 on July 7, 2005 (called 7/7) killing over 50 through serial bus and underground rail bombing. This coincided with the UK hosting of the 31st summit of G4 Nations. A second explosion on July 21 did not result in any injuries. A pre-Diwali serial blast in New Delhi on October 29, 2005 killed at least 65.

Islamic Fundamentalism and Terror

Samuel Huntington's 1993 theory on the "clash of civilizations" is being analyzed now more than ever to study the growing threat of terrorism emanating from Islamic groups. The question is why are the Islamic nations or groups more prone to violence than others? Walter Laqueur, a known US authority on terrorism analyzed this issue in his book *The New Terrorism*. A 1998 'Freedom House' survey listed 51 States as "Unfree", 45 of them were wholly or partly Muslim. Of the 20 armed conflicts then in the world, Islam was involved in 16. Of the 13 UN Peace-keeping missions, 9 were concerning Muslim countries and interests. He thus concludes that fundamentalist Islam generates violence. A similar analysis by Barbara Crossette in *The New York Times* (December 24, 2001) quoted the report of 'Freedom House' (2001-02) mentioning that only 23 % of the 47 Muslim nations were "free". Other writers however disagree. Islamic nations are subjected to the worst form of exploitation and injustice.

Modern day terrorism started with the Israeli annexation of Palestinian territories in 1967. The US led adventurism in the 1980s to checkmate the USSR acted as a catalyst, creating and consolidating the Islamic fundamentalist revival, which is now targeting American interests. The disadvantaged or those at the bottom of the heap have discovered comfort and security in a crude form of Islamism". The Iraq War (2003-?) and the continuing American support to Israel have strengthened terrorist networks and boomeranged against American and Jewish targets.

Osama bin Laden and *Al-Qaeda*

Osama came under the influence of Dr. Abdullah Azzam, a Palestinian-Jordanian of the "Muslim Brotherhood" while he was a student of the Jeddah University. Azzam later inspired the Palestinian "Hamas". Osama became the chief financier under the patronage of the then Saudi Intelligence Chief who funded and equipped the Mujahideen along with the CIA and ISI. Meanwhile Osama also came under the influence of Dr. Ayman Zawahiri, who was an accused in the 1981 Sadat killing. Differences cropped up later between Osama and Azzam over the Afghan strategy.

After the 1989 Soviet withdrawal Osama returned to Saudi Arabia where he started creating problems for the regime. He was deported from the Kingdom in 1992 for his prejudicial activities, including criticizing the presence of US troops on Saudi soil. Between 1992 and 1996 Al Turabi gave him refuge in Sudan. In 1994 he met Ramzi Ahmed Yusuf, accused in the 1993 WTC bombing and conceived a plan to crash a plane on the Pentagon. Meanwhile he plotted to kill Hosni Mubarak in 1995 and also conceived a plan to blow up a dozen US planes simultaneously. US/ Saudi pressure on Sudan made him shift to Afghanistan in 1996. He organized the US Embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in 1998 killing 225 and injuring 4000. In 2000 he attacked USS Cole, killing 17 sailors. In 2001 the Taliban appointed Osama as the head of the Taliban Militia. Finally his outfit crashed 3 planes

(AA11, UA 175 and AA77) on the WTC twin towers and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 marking a new phase in international terrorism.

Unlike other terrorist groups like the LTTE, Hamas or Hezbollah, Osama's al Qaeda does not have a monolithic structure but is a conglomerate of several groups. Its cadre is drawn from Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ), Al Gammaya al Islamia (Islamic Group of Egypt) GIA (Armed Islamic Group of Algeria), IPT (Islamic Party of Turkistan-Uzbekistan), Jaish-e-Mohammed (Kashmir-Pak), ASG (Abu Sayyaf-Philippines) etc. The American led war and occupation of Iraq has given a new lease of life to al-Qaeda. The Iraqi insurgency is led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, a Jordanian with a reward of \$ 25 million for his capture who had taken active part in Afghan insurgency between 1989 and 1992.

Pakistan as Haven

Even Americans say that Pakistan is a haven for terrorists as all the major terrorists run to Pakistan for refuge once things become hot elsewhere. Pakistan counters it saying that the US-led Coalition had initiated the process using their territory in their Cold War Game against the Soviet Union. Thus Pakistani national Ramzi Ahmed Yusuf, the brain behind the WTC Tower bombing in 1993 escaped to that country in 1995 from the Philippines, where he was arrested. Mir Aimal Kanzi, another Pak national involved in the CIA killing in 1993 was arrested in Pakistan in 1997. Mohammad Sadiq Howaida, Palestinian involved in the Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam bombings of 1998 was apprehended in Pakistan. His two Arab accomplices were also arrested in Pakistan in the same year. Khalil-al-Deek, Jordanian who targeted US interests was caught in Pakistan in 1999. In 2003 Khalid Shaikh Mohammad, the mastermind behind 9/11 was apprehended in Pakistan. Till early 2003 Pakistan had handed over nearly 500 terrorists to the US without any legal proceedings for extradition. That Pakistan is able to exploit these arrests to exhibit their "commitment" to eradicate terrorism is a success story of their diplomacy. In the wake of 7/7 Pakistan and UK

crossed swords on the responsibility of the flow of Pakistani terrorists with the former accusing that the lax laws in UK had helped terrorism.

The Terrorist 'Mind'

Case studies of well-known terrorists indicate that they are normal but determined individuals committed to do a certain job due to various reasons. Raed Abdul Hamid Misk, a Palestinian suicide terrorist who triggered a serious bomb blast on August 19, 2003 was an ordinary family man. Wafa Idris, the first Palestinian female suicide bomber in January 2002 was a 28-year-old Paramedic. Similarly Dhiren Barot, a Kenyan Gujarathi Hindu who became a key al-Qaeda operative in UK after converting as Abu Musa al-Hindi was a normal student interested in fashion and music in Kingsbury, Middlesex. Why do they become terrorists? Ismail Abu Shanab, Hamas leader killed by Israel on Aug 21, 2003 had said: "Suicide bombing needs only a moment of courage". According to him it was "cheap & cost effective". Jessica Stern from Harvard who interviewed Shanab in 1999 says that suicide bombers are economically viable for terrorist organizations faced with a mighty army like that of Israel.

UN Role in tackling Terrorism

It is not that international agreements are lacking for tackling terrorism. There are at least 19 global conventions or regional treaties against terrorism. However all these cannot be implemented unless ratified by member countries. After the September 11 (2001) attacks, the Security Council adopted Resolution No 1368 legitimizing unilateral military strikes against another country on grounds of terrorism. Resolution No.1373, passed on

September 28, 2001 ordered member states to take all measures against international terrorism.

However UN Resolution No.1373 (2001) also voiced "profound concern at the multiplication of policies, legislation and practices increasingly being adopted by many countries in the name of the fight against terrorism which affect negatively the enjoyment of virtually all human rights - civil, cultural, economic, political and social". UN Commission of Human Rights Resolution 2003/68 said: "States must ensure that any measure taken to combat terrorism complies with their obligations under international law, in particular human rights, refugee and humanitarian law".

Terrorism in India

Pakistan now accepts that it started using terrorism against India since the 1980s as a low intensity non-active warfare by first funding, training and aiding the Khalistani rebels. Along with this it also started doing similar operations in J&K, which burst into the open in 1989. The human toll of Pak sponsored terrorism in J&K has been devastating. Till Dec 2002 the death toll was 94,000 with 36,000 in jails, 20,000 widowed and 40,000 orphaned. Property damaged till 1998 were Rs.2,000 crores while 2.78 lakh population was displaced. Government spent 18, 500 crores in relief and rehabilitation. The expenditure on security forces was Rs.46,500 crores.

What is the Future?

Can we see a world without terrorism? The answer is "NO" as history has amply proved. Could the authorities put down terrorism by brutal suppression? There are some who

believe that the strong-arm methods adopted by the Punjab Police in the 1980s were responsible for the end of terrorism in that State. They also quote the Israeli experience. A recent book *The Next Attack: The Failure of the War on Terror and a Strategy for Getting it Right* by Daniel Benjamin & Steve Simon is worth quoting: "We are losing. Four years and two wars after the attacks of September 11, 2001, America is heading for a repeat of the events of that day, or perhaps something worse". Even President Bush made a candid admission on August 31, 2004 while addressing the Republican Convention in New York that the war on terror "could not be won." How do we tackle this?

This writer believes that all nations must accept terrorism as a threat against mankind in general. One cannot accept a situation in which terrorism against an adversary country is tolerated by a particular nation. All of us had felt that the end of the Cold War would also result in lessening of tensions between nations and among sub national groups. This did not happen. New tensions have appeared and more and more fringe groups and non-State actors are resorting to terrorism. The best way to tackle terrorism is to treat it as a crime and not as a political problem. This is because history has amply proved that terrorism has nothing to do with oppression. It is only a matter of perception. The tendency to give a value judgment on terrorism on narrow ideological, political or national interests is a dangerous pastime as we have seen in Afghanistan and for that matter in Sri Lanka.

MR. V. BALACHANDRAN is Former Special Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India.



The Value of Traditional Values

The civilisation and culture from which we derive whatever happiness we get in life is one knitted fabric. And what a sorry state a knitting is reduced to, when the yarn that runs through and holds all the loops comes out in one of the corners; to that same state will our civilisation and culture be reduced and disappear if our traditional values are discarded by the mass of our people.

C. Rajagopalachari
Swarajya, January 2, 1965

Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj* and the City of Madras

R. Srinivasan

Madras was the only city simultaneously having three publishers publishing this important book. A Tamil version of the book by N. Balaram Iyer was published by Ganesh and Co. Anticipating the visit of Gandhi to Madras, Ganesh and Co. published 10,000 copies of his life in Tamil, Telugu and English and distributed copies *gratis* to the public

Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* was published in 1909. By next year (1910 March), the colonial government seized the book in Bombay and a copy sent to the Gujarati interpreter of the Madras High Court for his opinion. He opined that the author did not advocate revolt or the use of physical force against the government. But what he put forward was passive resistance against the British government and non-cooperation. "If this idea takes hold of the mind of young inexperienced men, it might lead to systematic strikes among government servants of various classes, as well as public works such as Railways, Post, Telegraphs etc. Surely a dangerous thought to the safety of the government. The sooner it is suppressed the better". The governments of India, Bombay, Madras and Bengal banned the book.

The ban appears to have been on the Gujarati book. Gandhi brought out an English version. A one time student activist, Harisarvottama Rao persuaded Ganesh and Co. of Madras to publish the "proscribed" book. This was done on a treadle press and a thousand copies printed. The entire stock was sold out. The government was never able to trace the printers!

The ban on the book (perhaps on the Gujarati version) was withdrawn only on 21st December 1938. But editions in English continued to be printed. In 1919, the first Indian edition with a new foreword by Gandhi and a note by C. Rajagopalachari was published by Ganesh and Co. By 1922, the next edition omitted both the foreword and the June 6, 1919 note. Two Madras publishers, G. A. Natesan and Tagore and Co. brought out reprints of the 1919 edition. Madras was the only city simultaneously having three publishers publishing this important book. A Tamil version of the book by N. Balaram Iyer was published

by Ganesh and Co. Anticipating the visit of Gandhi to Madras, Ganesh and Co. published 10,000 copies of his life in Tamil, Telugu and English and distributed copies *gratis* to the public.

Madras, even earlier, has had a long association with Gandhi. When G. Subramania Iyer (the founder of *The Hindu*) started a Tamil bi-weekly and later daily, the *Swadesamitran*, he regularly reported on developments in the provinces of South Africa and on the struggle of the Indians for their legitimate rights. Editorials, digest of news and letters from South Africa were regular features. For instance, between 1892 and 1914, 195 letters were written on South African happenings. Of these, 117 were written by Jnanasambandhan, a pseudonym of Vriddhachalam Pillai, a school master, an enthusiastic participant for the cause and editor of newspapers. Other Tamils too took an important part in the struggle.

Tamil liberal leaders were aware and supportive of the Herculean task that Gandhi and his followers were engaging themselves in. In 1915, in response to the fulsome felicitations

showered on him and his wife in Madras, he said in a public meeting:

"If one-tenth of the language that has been used in this address is deserved by us, what language do you propose to use for those who have lost their lives and therefore finished their work, on behalf of your suffering countrymen in South Africa? What language do you propose to use for Nagappan, Narayanaswamy, lads of seventeen or eighteen years, who braved in simple faith all the trials, all the sufferings, all the indignities for the sake of the motherland. What language do you propose to use with reference to Valliamma a sweet girl of sixteen years who was discharged from Maritzburg prison, skin and bone, suffering from fever, to which she succumbed after a month's time? ...

Mention has been made of C. Rajagopalachari's Note which was never reprinted later. It is reproduced below in the belief that readers of *Freedom First* will be interested in this historic document.

DR. R. SRINIVASAN is retired professor of Political Science, and Associate Editor, *Freedom First*.

Rajaji's Note in the *Hind Swaraj*, June 6, 1919 Edition

The doctrine of violence is more widely believed in than is generally realised. The votaries of violence can be divided into two classes. Some, a small and dwindling class, believe in it and are prepared to act according to their faith. Others, a very large class always, and now, after bitter experiences of the failure of constitutional agitation, larger than ever, believe in violence, but that belief does not lead them to action. It disables them from work on any basis other than force. The belief in violence serves to dissuade them from all other kinds of work or sacrifice. In both cases, the evil is great.

There can be no reconstruction or hope for this land of ours, unless we eradicate the worship of force in all its forms, and establish work on a basis other than violence. A refutation of the doctrine of violence is, in the present situation of the affairs of our country, more necessary than ever.

To this end, nothing better can be conceived than the publication and wide distribution of Mr. Gandhi's famous book.

It was extremely patriotic of Messrs. Ganesh and Company to have readily agreed to undertake the work when they were approached with the request.

Satyagrah Sabha,
Madras, 6-6-1919

C. Rajagopalachari

RESEARCH SHOWS
THAT MORE PEOPLE
IN WEST BENGAL ARE
STILL UNASHAMEDLY
INCLINED TOWARDS
THE TRUTH.



AND THAT'S THE TRUTH.

*Source IRS

The Statesman has 6,50,000* readers in West Bengal as compared to the 6,37,000 of its nearest competitor. In this state, truth still pays.

The Statesman
Why settle for less?

Business in Society

Shukla Bose

Good business can sustain an energetic society. Without society, business cannot exist. As J. Krishnamurthi pointed out: "You are society. Society is you".

Can business be divorced from society? While this question may be apparently rather naïve, it is a question that leads to many other questions that exist in today's society. Can there be a thriving economy without a thriving society? Can business succeed in a society that fails? I suppose some answers to this question have led many segments of industry to review the true valuation of organisations. Is it just profitability that establishes the brand value of organisations?

Business started many centuries before the dawn of history, but business, as we know it, is new. New, in its broadening scope. New, in its social significance. And new, in its responsibilities. This shift is taking place because we are getting to be a more knowledge-based economy.

Working for Society

For many years, community development goals were just philanthropic activities that were seen separate from business objectives, not fundamental to them. Doing well and doing good were seen as separate pursuits. In very recent years there seems to be a shift in that thinking. There is a slow (unfortunately sometimes very slow) realisation that working for society is not just a nice thing to do but also something one has to do. What I want to debate here is how much of this new approach is sincere, genuine and even mature. Or is it fast becoming a fashion statement like many other business idioms have become?

Impact on Society

While the interests of shareholders and actions of managers of any business enterprise have to be governed by the law of economics, requiring an adequate financial return

on investments made, in reality the operations of society need to be driven by a much larger set of objectives – *Impact on Society*. Today companies are graduating from a narrow outlook of profits, to giving importance to a broader perspective of creating value for all stakeholders and that includes its customers, employees and even communities in which they operate. The broad rationale for this new set of ethics for corporate decision-making emerges from the fact that a business enterprise has to provide returns to society as well. Stakeholders are as important, if not more important than the shareholders of the company.

Making Profits

With the number of seminars on Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) increasing under the aegis of CII or FICCI or other such business councils, we get to hear a lot of jargon on the importance of CSR in companies. But I am afraid that many such statements are rather meaningless and just cosmetic. When I was the convenor of the Corporate Citizenship panel in one CII chapter, I know how difficult it was to get senior managers to even attend regular meetings. In India most CEOs and senior managers operate from the mindset "I know all". Sadly, it was those managers who found it difficult to commit on issues and action plans, who would be the ones spouting, "The very purpose of our existence is to serve society" and "profit maximisation is not the goal of good organisations, it is the consequence". It is about time that we stopped fooling ourselves even for public display. An organisation's prime objective is to sustain itself, which is through profits. A loss-making organisation is of no value to society at all, rather, a liability. And yet in the business process of achieving profitabil-

ity, the inherent truth is that a robust community can actually drive profits. And here is the vital question – is the community determined only by its spending power? How can any economy and therefore any organisation, survive in the long term, in an environment of severe inequalities? I believe that an organisation's responsibility does not cease with the creation of a CSR cell within its activities. The spirit of being responsible to and for society has to be institutionalised within the organisation. And the leaders of the organisation alone can drive this.

Employees' Commitment

Parikrma Humanity Foundation, a not for profit organisation that I work for, has initiated a program called "Change Your World in Half a Day" which connects with all employees of organisations and appeals to them to participate in the development of society by just giving half a day of their entire year's salary. This was our way of telling a large cross section of employees or corporates that they have the power to change the world irrespective of who they were in the organisation hierarchy, or how much they earned. This exercise has given us the opportunity to really understand the cultural ethos of some organisations. We have found that there is a plenty of long term, involved, selfless CSR activity in organisations where the CEO is genuine about being a part of society and therefore responsible for it. In a number of organisations CSR is well structured, planned and even budgeted for, but it is also seen as just a job and therefore bureaucracy creeps in. The CSR individual then becomes just an administrator rather than a passionate advocate for change.

To be genuinely involved in the

process of development, an organisation needs to ask itself certain questions. The answers to these questions need to be internalised and filtered down to all levels of employees. It needs to be led by an inspired CEO who then creates a team of passionate young employees who ensure there is

enthusiasm, commitment and accountability for every job done. The organisation must never spread itself thin in trying to help many diverse activities. They should choose an activity to support that has synergy with their business activity, an activity that is possible for them to maintain with

sustained enthusiasm. And above all, they should choose an activity that they really believe would change the world in the long term. They should follow this through and not get distracted even in emergencies that can hit any company or country.

Here are some questions that organisations need to debate before they start any social initiative.

Question: *Businesses are owned by shareholders and the role of individuals in an organisation is to drive profits for them. Why waste time trying to do something that is not a part of business requirement*

Response: Here the assumption is that through CSR, corporations simply get to "give away" money, which rightfully belongs to other people. If instead, CSR is seen as a process by which the business manages its relationships with a variety of influential stakeholders who can have a real influence on its license to operate, then the business relevance becomes immediately apparent. CSR is about building relationships with customers, about attracting and retaining talented staff, about managing risk, and about assuring reputation. Many forward thinking HR personnel have told me that sending employees to work in a school, in a slum or a village, has been the best team building exercise that they could think of. Working outside the office and beyond balance sheets, can actually build a mature, energetic and balanced organisation that has direct impact on profits anyway.

The market capitalisation of a company often far exceeds the property value of the company. For example, as much as 96% of Coca-Cola is made up of "intangibles" a major part of which rests on the reputation of the company. No one then would run risks with a company's reputation when it is so large a part of what the shares represent. And the reputation of an organisation is built by the quality of product and service, marketing strategies, leadership profiles, ethical standards and the cultural ethos that exists. This is where participating in the community starts playing such a vital role. In a recent employee survey, to assess pride in the workplace, it was found that young job entrants wanted to work in organisations where there was a lot of community activity.

Question: *The recent "Most respected companies" survey by the Financial Times highlight Jack Welch of GE and Bill Gates of Microsoft as the most admired business leaders of recent times. Neither has achieved this status by playing nice. Welch is still remembered for the brutal downsizing he led his business through and for the environmental pollution incidents and prosecutions. Bill Gates has had the highest profile cases of bullying to get market dominance in recent times.*

Response: There is no denying the force of this argument.

We do not live in a Disney world where virtue is always seen to be rewarded. Nevertheless the picture is not as simple as the above argument makes out. In the first instance very few businesses operate in a black or white framework. There are many aspects in the way Jack Welch restructured GE which would play to the kind of agenda recognisable to advocates of social responsibility...in particular that of employee empowerment. Welch has gone on record as saying that he believes the time has passed when making profits and paying taxes was all the company had to worry about. And we all know what the Gates Foundation is doing to create awareness of AIDS. Companies like BP under the stewardship of Sir John Browne, and the pharmaceutical major Johnson & Johnson have become some of the most respected companies in the world and survived potential crises precisely because they took a swift and principled approach when it mattered most. What needs to be recorded is that there was no attrition of manpower during their period of crisis because the employees thought their organisations were doing the honourable thing.

Question: *It is easy for big companies with lots of resources to talk. Our company is too busy surviving hard times to think of CSR. We can't take our eyes off the ball.... we have to focus on core business. We can't go spending money on unnecessary frills when we are laying off people and the morale is rock bottom.*

Response: Managing social responsibility is like any other aspect of managing your business. If the process of managing social responsibility leads you to lose focus then the problem is not that you are doing it at all...it is just that you are doing it badly. Well managed CSR supports the business objective of the company, builds relationship with the key stakeholders whose opinion will be most valuable when times are hard, and help reduce business costs and maximise its effectiveness.

Question: *It is the responsibility of the politicians and the government to do this work. It is not our role to get involved. As responsible citizens we shall pay taxes and let the government take care of the rest.*

Response: There is logic in this kind of questioning, for after all, was not the government voted to power to do this kind of work? And yet the reality is that clearly, in country after country, the government has shown itself not capable

of being depended upon. The capitalist governments have made a few unequally rich and the communist governments have made everybody poor. Power is slowly shifting from the hands of faceless politicians to corporations that hold the purse strings in the economy. It is the global players that are getting more powerful in shifting demands and mindsets.... the multinational corporations and the non-governmental organisations. The institutions that are losing power and influence are the ones tied to the jurisdiction of the nation state ... the public sector organisations with reduced profits and huge manpower as a liability. It is tempting therefore to look at multinationals that take a lead in solving global problems where the governments seem incapable of achieving cooperative solutions. Here the interest and influence of Unilever in sustainable fisheries comes to mind. Unfortunately it is also true that many companies actually spend considerable amounts of money seeking to influence public policy to serve vested interests.

Question: *We have no time for this. I've got to get out and sell more to make profits.*

Response: Frankly I have the least patience for this. Take the case of the environment: Study after study has shown that just about any business that you can think of, if it un-

dertakes waste minimisation for the first time, it can shift 1% of its overall turnover straight on to it's bottom line. That is not an insignificant figure. And yet, getting out and selling more products somehow remains more attractive to business managers than making more profit through wasting less.

Each and every objection that has been raised is a valid one. The solutions to these common problems will be commonsense solutions or they won't be solutions at all. It is absolutely important to give careful scrutiny to those that wield most power. But it is also important to recognise CSR as being an integral part of a business framework, which enables the common endeavour of wealth creation because people and environment matter.

Good business can sustain an energetic society. Without society business cannot exist. As J. Krishnamurthi pointed out: "You are society. Society is you".

MS. SHUKLA BOSE gave up a highly paid Chief Executive job in the hospitality industry to work among orphaned and abandoned children in Bangalore. She is the founder of Parikrma Humanity Foundation which runs four schools and offers quality education in the English medium to over 600 children.

A SUITABLE NAME IN THE SUSTAINABLE ENERGY

UGAR POWER GENERATION & CONSULTANCY SERVICES LTD.

(Associate of The Ugar Sugar Work)

P.O. Ugarkhurd, Dist. Belgaum (Karnataka) Ph. : 08339-272230 (5 Lines) Fax : 2272232
E-mail : uswcogen@sify.com

ONE-STOP SOLUTION FOR

- BAGASSE BASE CO-GENERATION
- CAPTIVE POWER AND INDUSTRIAL CO-GENERATION
- SUGAR PLANT
- NON-CONVENTIONAL AND DE-CENTRALISED POWER PLANTS
- ETHANOL (ANHYDROUS ALCOHOL) PROJECTS
- ENERGY AUDIT/PROCESS RE-ENGINEERING

Karnataka Govt. Has reduced Excise recently.
Kindly enjoy our following :

✦ OLD CASTLE PREMIUM ✦ GOKAK FALLS
✦ H S SERIES ✦ MILAN ✦ HAWK ✦ GAGARIN

The Ugar Sugar Work Ltd.

P.O. Ugarkhurd, Dist. Belgaum (Karnataka)
Ph.: 088339-272230 (5 Lines) Fax : 2272232
E-mail : uswcogen@sify.com

**“MANY TAKE THE FREEDOM
AS A POWER TO BOSS OVER OTHERS”**



ESTD - 1910

**THE LAKSHMI MILLS COMPANY LIMITED
COIMBATORE**

The Origins of the Secular State

R. Srinivasan

Was the French decision to separate politics from religion an old outdated piece of history? Does it have any relevance to a century which has witnessed a European Union?

Exactly a hundred years ago, in France the home of radical as well as liberal values, legislation was passed (9th December 1905) separating the Church from the State. This is regarded as a triumph for Liberalism which in a sense it is. Both Portugal and Spain followed suit in 1911 and 1924 respectively and almost the entire European continent witnessed secularization of political institutions and an ending of religious control over public institutions.

The End of Tyranny

This ended a social and political tyranny that began in 1523 when protestants were publicly burnt. The subsequent centuries of cruelty have been a blot on European society and history where unmitigated cruelty, and persecution were visited upon dissenters and the number of victims tortured and put to the stake ran in hundreds and in some countries even more. Worse, these perpetrations, the *autos-de fe* (ritual of public penance of the condemned) were publicly held and a community inured to suffering watched these (as if it were a TV show) even as they were to watch guillotining and public hangings later. It degraded psychologically and morally whole sections of the people – in this earlier period, it was under the appellation of religion, later in the name of revolution and public order. Elaborate justifications were made for these, that they were against God and His decrees; later that they were against the principles of the revolution and for a perpetration of the aristocratic order.

Experiments in Controlling the Church

From the time of Louis XIV, sedulous attempts were made in France to subordinate the Church. It succeeded for a while but soon the State had to

face the Pope's resistance. With the French Revolution, Godlessness triumphed and a reign of Reason was proclaimed, tearing down a thousand years of Christianity and its institutions. This was to be a flash in the pan; the Revolution gave way to Napoleon who saw the impossibility of rooting out Catholicism. He restored it but allowed it to flourish under the State's supervision. This he attempted by coming to an understanding with the Pope in what is known as the Concordat (1801). According to this, the priests were to be appointed by the State and they were dependent upon the subvention of the State for their very survival. A pervasive attempt at socializing the citizens in Catholic values and unquestioned political subordination was systematically followed.

However, the ideas of the Enlightenment had too deeply penetrated the land and they could not be plucked out. The restoration of the Monarchy in France simultaneously witnessed a shift from the absolutism of Napoleon but subscribed to the Catholic Church and its doctrines. France was not declared to be a Catholic State but a country where the Catholics were in a majority. Monarchy, Catholicism and a rejection of the Revolution had many adherents; the old aristocratic families and the military strongly supported this nostalgic mood. This section of the French society was to be influential. It had support from some of the most creative minds of the country.

The Persistence of Enlightenment Ideas

If royalty and Catholicism had widespread support, equally pervasive in France from the 1850s was an opposing cluster of attitudes which were republican anti-monarchist, pro-minority and above all anti-clerical. It

reasserted the values of the Enlightenment, Universalism and had numerous adherents from the colleges, the press and writers. Naturally it had a strong Jewish component. Throughout the troubled decades of the later nineteenth century, through all the political and social unsettlements, the two sections of the community were always in conflict and could never come into any reconciliation. The Monarchy (which lasted till 1830), the July Monarchy, the Second Republic, the Second Empire (1852-60), the Liberal Empire (1866-70) all were witnesses to the conflict between these two sections; the troubled decades of the III Republic only saw these differences developing sharply.

Dreyfus

However, it was the Dreyfus Affair (1894-1906) that was to divide France violently, cleaving even families. Captain Dreyfus, a Jew and of the General Staff was arrested on charge of treason. He was alleged to have parted with military secrets. A court martial held *in camera* sentenced him to the Devil's Island. Later it was discovered that the documents were forged, for the Army Headquarters was intensively royalist, catholic and anti-semitic. Emile Zola the novelist wrote one of the most celebrated articles, *J'accuse* naming those who had been associated with the hounding of Dreyfus and addressed it to the President. Violent newspaper campaigns, street clashes resulted and all socialists worked in concert for the Republican cause. After a protracted judicial battle, Dreyfus was declared innocent in 1899.

It was this that led to the separation of the Church and the State, for the clergy was identified with the monarchy and the Army. In 1901, a law was

introduced in the legislature but the final sundering took place in December 1905. The State had nothing to do with the Church anymore. The appointment of bishops, the payment of their salaries were all in the hands of the Church. The property of the Church was to be taken over by a private corporation, specially created for this purpose. Total liberty of conscience was assured to the citizens.

However, there was serious opposition to the measure. Royalism and religion were to have still very wise support; now the argument was for the need for a strong nation headed by a monarchy which would restore French prestige internationally.

Outside Europe

Both Turkey and Iran in the 20th century witnessed attempts at secularism. Initially in Turkey, Islam was declared to be the religion of the State but a constitutional amendment in 1928 removed this and by 1939, the State was declared to be secular. Religion was neutralised in national life, religious instruction done away with in private and public schools.

Similarly in Iran, Reza Shah deemphasized religion so much so that dervishes were forbidden to be seen on the streets. Veils were outlawed in 1935; religious property was confiscated and income from them diverted to the support of schools and hospitals.

It should be remembered that both in Iran and in Turkey, the decisions to secularise were arbitrary in contrast to France where an open discussion violent disagreements preceded the final decision to separate the Church and the State. In Turkey as well as in Iran, the sudden violent decisions were traumatic and even now, religion has not been wiped out in Turkey; an Islamic political party is a dominant influence. In Iran, the rise of Ayatollah Khomeini not only reversed the secular trend but made the State a veritable tyranny of religion.

Mention has been made as to how in 1724, Spain separated the Church from the State. Immediately a

new secular religion arose in Italy in 1722 (Fascism) and soon spread to Austria and Germany and later to Spain itself. A century earlier, the Spanish painter Goya had in a number of his paintings prophesied these; his "Saturn swallowing his sons" is a prophetic



recapitulation of the terrible future happenings. Kafka the gifted novelist too was to prophesy the terrible days that would engulf Europe, thanks to secular political religions.

An unforeseen engine of tyranny was

rolling over many parts of Europe. After nearly three centuries, a new Inquisition forced people to confess crimes not committed, book burning, incarceration of citizens once again unleashed a new savagery. Politics combined with an atheistic secular ideology saw a new barbarism spreading over Europe. Molochs swallowed their children and populations were decimated in new types of totalitarian tyranny. The vocabulary of politics was "enriched" by new phrases – the Aryan Race, Pogroms, Anti-semiticism, The Final Solution, Gulag, Enemies of the People. In Europe the lights were put out one after another, and for decades the continent was in "darkness at noon".

"... old, unhappy, far-off things
And battles long ago."

Was the French decision to separate politics from religion an old outdated piece of history? Does it have any relevance to a century which has witnessed a European Union?

The last decade of the 20th century has demonstrated how relevant the division is for a post-modernist Europe. Le Pen and his National Front, the descendants of the Action Francaise (which opposed separation in the first decade of the 20th century) looms large in contemporary French politics. This school continues to view nostalgically the glory of monarchical France and

views cosmopolitanism as a neo-racist movement for, according to it, "anti-racism itself is a form of racism", which seeks to snuff out French France for the supposed blessings of a "cosmopolitan" new society. Free immigration of the Africans into France and the resulting three million French unemployed implies three million immigrants too many. Le Pen says that he loves North Africans "but their place is in the Maghreb. I am not a racist but a nationalist. ... For a nation to be harmonious, it must have a certain ethnic or spiritual homogeneity ...". He says that it is "necessary to resolve for France's benefit immigration problems by the peaceful, organised return of immigrants".

The National Front has opposed the building of mosques in France and seeks the reduction of Islamic cultural centres. Muslim immigrant children should not be given the automatic free education that is available to French children. The French Parliament passed in 1993 strict immigration laws which allowed people to be stopped in public places and frisked – all on the basis of race. Citizenship for those born in France is no longer automatic and the hopeful have to apply for it. It should be recalled that Madam Mitterand signed a widely circulated petition supporting a proposed ban on French Arab children in public schools wearing an Islamic headwear.

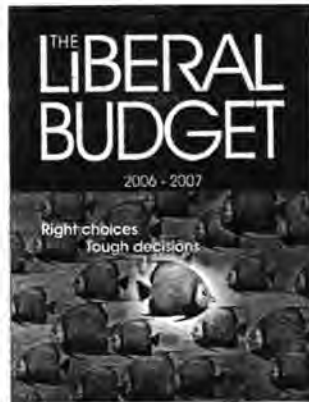
DR. R. SRINIVASAN is Associate Editor, *Freedom First*, and retired professor of Political Science, Mumbai University.

Banana Seller or Film Star?

A roadside banana seller who shows exemplary courage and grit in walking miles every day to buy her wares at the wholesale market, and eke out a living to keep her three fatherless children fed, does not qualify as 'newsworthy'. Especially when compared to, and competing for media space and time, with a filmstar who is reported to be getting a divorce. Instead of asking, "which report is socially more important?" the media seems to ask "Which item will sell the paper (or channel) better?"

Sankuntala Narasimhan in her article
"Debasement of News" in
Vidura, July-September 2005.

Liberal Budget 2006-07 : Right Choices Tough Decisions



Entitled "Right Choices Tough Decisions", the Liberal Budget 2006-07 was released on November 18, 2005 at a press conference in Mumbai. A joint effort of the Indian Liberal Group and the Project for Economic Education, this is the third such budget in as many years.

The five chapter-40 page document or LB3, as its sponsors call it, provides an assessment of economic reforms in the last fifteen years; a retrospect on the Central Budget 2005-06; the strategy of LB3; an analysis

of the Central Government's expenditure; and the need for reforms in Tax Policy and Tax Administration.

Assessment of Economic Reforms

LB3 describes the outcome of the economic reforms so far as "a mixed bag". While the economy has become "drought proofed", the farm sector has been largely by-passed leading to iniquitous growth. This is neither sustainable nor acceptable in the Indian context. On the other hand, there is the maturing of the Indian manufacturing sector, reflected in its global competitiveness and manufacturing standards.

LB3 draws attention to the extremely weak position of Central Government finances and weaker state government finances; growing regional imbalances - the prosperous South-West *vis a vis* the poor North-Central-East, resulting in an adverse impact on economic growth; the phenomenon of 'jobless-growth' that is threatening to become a socio-economic time-bomb.

Among the key areas crying out for reforms are: agricultural reforms; legal reforms; labour reforms; financial sector reforms; reforms in key infrastructure areas - power and transport; ports, airports, water and roads; and fiscal reforms.

LB3 is highly critical of the role played by 'Left' parties. It says: "The greatest danger today is the 'Left' parties strong resistance to any significant policy reform. It is ironic that while countries swearing by the communist ideology have prospered in recent years by abandoning the basic economic principles of their ideology, the Indian communist parties are bent upon stalling the ongoing economic policy reforms and thereby hampering India's progress towards economic prosperity." The Liberal document is equally critical of the UPA government for caving in to communist blandishments. "It is squarely the UPA government's responsibility to call the bluff of the Left, and forge ahead relentlessly on the path of reforms."

Retrospect of the Central Budget 2005-06

While broadly agreeing with the Government Economic Survey's diagnosis of the country's economic and fiscal health, the LB3 document expresses its disappointment with the fact that "neither the Economic Survey's prescriptions, nor the frequent declarations by the Prime Minister and his Finance Minister, are really reflected in the strategic framework of the Central Budget 2005-06." It expresses concern over the estimated huge size of the revenue deficit of Rs.95,312 crores and the fact that "out of every Rs.100 of day-to-day spending, as much as Rs.22 comes from borrowings. Surely, this is a continuation of the deplorable practice over the past many years of an inefficient unsustainable management of the budget."

While welcoming some new initiatives particularly for rural development in the Union Budget, LB3 observes "What is missing in the Central Budget is the strategy of implementation of the many existing and new initiatives. The compulsions of coalition politics is taking its toll on the pace and quality of economic reforms and distorting the philosophy and rationale of economic liberalisation." Summing up the Liberal assessment of the Central Budget 2005-06, the LB3 document says: "The Central Budget 2005-06 is good in some respects as it converges with economic perspectives that take forward the process of opening up the economy, but it is retrograde when it departs from the path of economic liberalisation. Surely, it has failed in becoming a 'watershed budget' in the true spirit of the Liberal Budget."

Central Government Expenditure

LB3 draws pointed attention to some alarming facts about the expenditure of the Central Government:

- The percentage of Revenue Expenditure to Total Expenditure is at an alarming level and needs to be curtailed if India's public finances are to be restored to health.
- The problems with revenue expenditures also manifest themselves in the burgeoning and debilitating revenue deficits.
- The major cause of India's fiscal problems is the inability

to control revenue deficits. These deficits have to be hammered down to zero.

- Revenue deficits have been funded for the last couple of decades by generating surpluses on the capital account. India has been borrowing to pay for the annual cost of running the government: The "grocery bill" is being paid for by borrowing ever more.
- The most significant drag on the finances of the government is interest payments and subsidies.
- The current position of public finances has so constrained central and state government that they are unable to meet their social obligations. Ideally, the Liberal position would advocate a reorientation of subsidies from the undeserving to the deserving.

The two solutions to deal with the problem recommended by LB3 are: One: an increase in the efficiency of government expenditures directed towards the social sector so that the country 'gets more bang for its bucks'. And two: there should be aggressive privatisation so that the revenues so generated could be deployed for welfare improvements.

Reforms in Tax Policy and Tax Administration

In the area of tax reforms LB3 has made general and specific recommendations. Among the general recommendations are:

- Tax laws should be amended bearing in mind the convenience of the large number of tax payers (and not with a view to punish a few defaulters).
- There should stability in tax rates for a period of least five years. Therefore frequent changes in tax rates should be avoided
- For purposes of raising tax revenues, it is necessary to widen the tax base rather than increase the tax burden on existing taxpayers. For this purposes some permanent statutory provisions should be made whereby small assesseees can be asked to pay a fixed amount of tax in absolute terms up to a certain level of income with the assurance that their declaration of income will be accepted at face value
- No retrospective amendment should be made in the tax laws. All amendments to the tax laws should be made prospective
- Genuine reforms in tax administration are paramount to provide humane, fair, efficient transparent tax administration with accountability.
- With the Right to Information Act having become operative appropriate steps should be taken to see that the tax administration strictly complies with the provisions of the Act.

The Focus of Liberal Budgets

The role of the Indian State which has jettisoned State Capitalism of the communist variety and embraced Market Economics is, on the one hand, to create an enabling environment for growth by unshackling the remaining vestiges of control, eliminating regulations that stifle development and do away with the 'inspector raj', and on the other, to build the confidence of the nation in the rule of law and in the legislative and legal systems.

The main focus of a liberal budget (apart from defence, law and order, and creating public institutions and public works, will be on issues concerning human development or human capital formation – health, education and a social safety net for those who are not capable of looking after themselves.

We have kept these in mind when preparing this Liberal Budget.

Liberal Budget's Recommended Strategy for Growth

Finally, since Liberal Budgets are not only critiques but also meant to provide solutions, LB3 provides a seven point 'Strategy for Growth'. These are:

- First: Setting up an 'Economic Reforms Implementation Authority' (ERIA) for facilitating cohesive, participative and speedy implementation of critical economic reforms in a time bound manner.
- Second: Accelerating investments in infrastructure, core manufacturing and agriculture sectors.
- Third: Widening considerably public-private partnership in key sectors through the mechanism of Special Purpose Vehicles (SPVs)
- Fourth: Further rationalisation of the tax structure with a focussed thrust on a radical reform of indirect taxation.
- Fifth: Significant streamlining and simplification of the tax administration
- Sixth: Substantive shift in expenditure management with a view to freezing the growth of revenue expenditure and releasing more resources for employment generating social sector spending; and
- Seventh: Aggressive disinvestment and privatization, and the use of funds so generated for social sector investments.

Tightening the State's Stranglehold

– Robbing the Indian Medical Council of its Autonomy

When Government considers it politically expedient, it may direct the Council to open 10 new colleges in a city without following the prescribed norms.

Are we guiding medical education or allocating petrol pumps?

Medical doctors are an integral part of our lives. We cannot conceive of any society of human beings without medical practitioners. So when they get angry with government's attempts to control the Indian Medical Council (the IMC), then it is time to sit up and take notice and help the IMC retain its independence and freedom of action.

Dr. Subash M. Athle, M.S. (General Surgery) of Kolhapur has drawn Freedom First's attention to an editorial in the Journal of the Indian Medical Association critical of the Government of India's Indian Medical Council Amendment Bill 2005 which would do much harm to the practice of Medicine in India. He writes: "The editorial states how the freedom of the IMC will be curtailed by the Indian Medical Council Amendment Bill, 2005. The said Bill was approved by the Cabinet, and awaits to be tabled in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha."

We publish excerpts from this editorial, even a casual perusal of which ought to cause concern not only to those in the medical profession but their patients as well, perhaps more so. Editor.

When the British "General Medical Council" (GMC) withdrew recognition of Indian Medical degrees, it became imperative to form the Indian Medical Council way back in 1930 at a meeting of provincial representatives and members of University Medical Faculties held in July 1930 at Simla. The proposal to appoint a representative of the General Medical Council to supervise medical education in this country was rejected due to strong protests from the medical fraternity because it looked derogatory and autocratic. The necessity of an Indian Medical Council was found primarily in the need for controlling and co-ordinating medical education in India. Even at that time an official bill was circulated by the Government for public

opinion. Indian Medical Association, after deliberating on the bill, had expressed its concern about the attempt to saddle the medical profession with excessive Government control.

It was expected that when in 1956 the Indian Medical Council Bill was proposed to replace the old one, it would be more democratic and an autonomous council would emerge. Unfortunately, it was also shaped in the old bureaucratic style and more attention was directed towards strengthening government control of the IMC's diverse functions.

The Indian Medical Council Amendment Bill, 2005, is yet another and more preposterous attempt to put the Council under absolute government control. It has never been circulated for public opinion and the professional organizations have been totally ignored. One recently read about the cabinet approval of the bill – awaiting to be tabled in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.

A glance at the proposed amendments brings one to the conclusion that all amendments are aimed at destroying the autonomy of the Medical Council by the Government. Not a single progressive step has been proposed in the bill. It has been repeatedly suggested by the IMA that there should be only one schedule of qualification and there must not be any discrimination among members once registered in the Indian Medical Register. Furthermore, one of the most pertinent aspects, which should have been incorporated, was making provisions for mandatory Continuing Medical Education (CME)

for doctors and re-certification (re-registration) based on CME hours. While both, the Union Health Ministry and the Indian Medical Association have supported this move, its non-inclusion in the proposed amendment bill makes one suspicious and confused about the intentions of the Government.

If we examine the proposed composition of the Council, it is evident that if passed, it will be dominated by government officials. One member from each State to be nominated by the Central Government in consultation with the State Government. One member from each State or Union Territory to be elected from the medical faculty of the universities providing medical education. We are not sure whether the opinion of these universities has been taken, because all the universities will not be represented, only one representative will represent all the universities in the State. To elect such a person will be a stupendous task (one representative from each State Medical Council). Eight members will be nominated by the Central Government. The Director General of Health Services, Director General Armed Forces Medical Services, Director, All India Institute of Medical Sciences and President, National Board of Examination – all government servants, will be ex-officio members of the Council. Why has the National President of the IMA not been included? When the responsibility of the Indian Medical Council has been broadened from regulating medical education in the country and reciprocating recognition of medical council of other countries, to register medical graduates and take disciplinary action in case of violation of medical ethics,

representation of private practitioners in the Council in proportionate manner is very important.

In sub-section 2 of section 3 of the proposed amendment a stricture has been attached that "No person shall hold office in any capacity whether as the President or the Vice-President for more than two terms". This is nothing but curtailment of individual rights. Would the Government venture making a similar provision for CMs and the PM?

A section 3A has been proposed to be added which provides that "on and from the date of commencement of the Indian Medical Council (Amendment) Act, 2005, the existing Council shall stand dissolved and all the members of the Council shall vacate their office". This is in blatant and total violation of section 34 of the IMC Act, 1956.

Further, section 3A provides that "the Central Government shall appoint a Board of Administration consisting of not more than five members headed by a Chief Administrator which shall exercise the powers and perform the functions of the Council"

In the year 1930 the British General Medical Council had made a similar proposal – to appoint an Administrator in India – which was strongly opposed by the medical fraternity and public and the GMC had to withdraw their proposal. Why have a façade of autonomous, independent body when the Central Government can appoint "Administrators" to look after the functions of the Indian Medical Council?

A sub-section has been added in the sub-section 1 of section 4 which says "(1A) If the authority is unable to conduct the elections referred to in sub-section (1), within a period of three months from the date of occurrence of the vacancy the Central Government shall fill the vacancy"

That completes the total list. All the members of the proposed Council will be either Government employees or nominated by the Government. This is a rarest of rare example of an

"Independent Autonomous Body", the type of which even dictators will shy to appoint. In this Council there may not be a single elected member, because the "Authority" which is again the "Government" will always fail to complete the election within three months and would be pleased to appoint all the members of the Council.

Section 7B provides that "if the Central Government considers it expedient in the public interest it may, by order, remove such member from the Council". The scope and meaning of "Public Interest" would be decided by the Government. Politicisation and government control of this magnitude is unheard of in a democratic set-up. This clause totally removes the mask of "Independence" and "Autonomy" of the Indian Medical Council.

Section 30A(1) provides that, "In the discharge of its functions, the Council shall be guided by directions, as may be given by the Central Government. If the Council has to be directed by the Central Government at the cost of doing away with its desired autonomy, then why have a Council at all?

Section 33a(1) provides that, "Where the Central Government considers it expedient, it may direct the Council to make, amend or revoke any regulation within a specified period". When Government considers it politically expedient, it may direct the Council to open 10 new colleges in a city without following the prescribed norms. Are we guiding medical education or allocating petrol pumps?

Section 33A(2) provides that, "If the Council fails to comply with orders of the Government, the Central Government may itself make the regulations or amend or revoke the regulations made by the Council". Where is the independence? Where is the autonomy? Where is the UPA election manifesto: "we will not only ensure independence of the autonomous institutions/expert bodies, we will strengthen their freedom to achieve their specific purposes and goals"? All of them stand badly mauled and brutally outraged.

The growth in the setting up of more and more institutions should be in such a manner that the country does not earn any negative and prejudicial perception in the developed economies seeking a consistent supply of well-qualified medical professionals.

The IMA wants the Bill to be broad-based and popular in principle, addressing all the concerned issues. It should fulfill the genuine obligations of a democratic government towards the people and the medical profession. Tightening government controls, as has been intended in the proposed bill, is only a retrograde measure and opposed to all progressive ideas. The government's failure to recognize the opinion of the Indian Medical Association is a defiance of the valued opinion of the experienced members of the medical profession of the country. The Bill, if passed in its present form, is likely to convert the Indian Medical Council into a demi-government body.

Dr. Sanjiv Malik
National President-Elect, IMA

Dr. R. D. Dubey
Hon. Editor, JIMA

Excerpted from the editorial in the Journal of the Indian Medical Association, Vol.103, No.9, September 2005.

Gales and Gals

Hurricane Katrina has left a secondary storm in its wake, that of gender discrimination. A number of women in the US called Katrina have felt constrained to change their names, or shorten it to 'Kat', so as to disassociate themselves from the hurricane. This raises the question as to why hurricanes are predominantly tagged with women's names. The standard reply to this – that these names are alphabetically computer-selected – begs the question. Computers make their selection based on the data banks fed into them by programmers. So why do programmers – many of whom, presumably are women – choose to feed in women's names, in preference to men's? Occasionally, there will be hurricane called Hugo or Mitch. But, by and large, gales are named after gals (a word which itself is a disparaging shortening of 'girls'). Is there a conscious, or unconscious, gender bias at work here?

COURTESY: Jug Saraiya and the *Times of India*, 15th September 2005.

The Corruption We Don't See or Feel

Brig. N. B. Grant

Whenever we talk of corruption, we only envisage big financial deals like those of Harshad Mehta or Rajan Pillay. However we seldom feel, or even bother to see the hidden type of corruption which pervades our daily life, and like hypertension the silent killer, corrodes the very fibre of our moral fabric.

If Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were to give his tryst with destiny speech today, he would have said, "50 years ago, we made a tryst with dishonesty, and now the time has come when we shall redeem that pledge. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will wake up to a life of corruption". What Churchill had said 50 years ago that, "after the British leave, power will go into the hands of rascals, rogues and scammers – all men of straw" has come 100% correct today. Why did this happen? It is because, with the flood gates of independence suddenly opened, without regulating the moral obligation that flow through it, our society lost its bearings.

Whenever we talk of corruption, we only envisage big financial deals like those of Harshad Mehta or Rajan Pillay, the kickbacks involved in the purchase of Bofors, submarines and helicopters, and the recent names mentioned in the stamp and Tehelka scams. All these are visible, and splashed over the tabloid papers and electronic media, they stir up our conscience. However we seldom feel, or even bother to see the hidden type of corruption which pervades our daily life and like hypertension the silent killer, corrodes the very fibre of our moral fabric.

Culpable Homicide

Let us illustrate this from some examples in every day life. One does not realise that, in most of our towns, 30% of everything we eat and drink, and 35% of all the drugs we consume, are either adulterated, spurious or sub-standard, but we don't see this as corruption. At our food laboratories

they show you two tables, one displaying the food and drinks which we should consume, and the other what is sold in the market, which bears out what has been just stated. In any Western country, this would amount to culpable homicide not amounting to murder.

It is rare, if any petty shop-keeper, or for that matter, a petrol pump, will give a bill unless asked for. If one asks for a bill, he will have to pay more in the way of sales tax, and if he does not ask for one, he pays less. Little does he realise that, each time he does not insist on a bill, he is encouraging black marketing, which today within the country itself, excluding that stacked in foreign banks abroad, is in the region of Rs.100,000 crores. But then not asking for a bill is not considered as abetting corruption, but saving of time.

"For Export Only"

We are the only country in the world that labels our products as 'for exports only', thereby implying that, we produce superior products for the foreign market, but inferior ones for the native Indian. However, we do not consider this as corruption, but treat it as market strategy. Today, advertisement in any form for liquor is prohibited, and yet, we see numerous bill boards advertising this in various devious ways. For example, the inscription on the whiskey Royal Challenge reads "the real club soda", on Seagram it is "for your listening pleasure of CDs and cassettes", and on Haywards, it is, "Best fans in the world." But then this is not considered as corruption, but as advertisement refinements.

Coming now to Services, as far as government servants are concerned, they all feel that, whenever they carry out their normal duty to the public, they are doing them a big obligation. This can be seen in all public utility services, such as installing a new phone, or giving a new electric connection, or an NOC for a building, they feel that being bribed to do this is not corruption, but compensation for services rendered, like giving a tip to a waiter in a restaurant.

"Lying at Will"

Another example is that of keeping a man's word. With us, a man's word has no meaning, and we lie at the drop of a hat, which we do not regard as corruption. It will be recalled that, some years ago, Mr. Profumo, the then British Defence Minister who was caught sleeping with a London prostitute Christine Keeler, had to resign, not because he had an extra marital affair, so common in western culture, but because he lied in Parliament. Similarly Bill Clinton the former US President, went through an impeachment procedure, not because he had an affair with Monica Lewinsky, but he lied to Congress. In the Western democracies, lying is considered a more corrupt act than the crime which it is covering up. I remember, Mr. Chandrachud, the ex-Chief Justice of India, telling me that, in the 40 years that he was on the judicial bench, he was not able to convict a single case for perjury, which is a crime, even though every one had lied all the time.

Corruption in India is Different?

A question is often asked, as Indira Gandhi used to put it that, if

corruption is a global phenomenon as such why should we be so much perturbed with it? On the face of it, she was correct. Take the US as an example, where corruption is as much, or possibly even more in quantitative terms than in India, but with three major differences. Firstly, corruption in that country is confined to the higher echelons of corporate sectors, like GM, Lockheed, IBM and ENRON, who can afford it, which we can't.

However there is little corruption there at the common man's working level, for buying a cinema ticket, or for getting a seat in a train, or for getting admission in a school, or for buying a gas cylinder, or bribing a policeman for overshooting a red light.

Secondly, whereas in the US, one pays a bribe for wanting a thing done which is illegal or unauthorised, ours is one of the very few countries, where one has to pay to get any work done, even if it is perfectly legal and authorised. One cannot even get an income tax refund without paying speed money, but then that is not considered a corrupt act.

Lastly, whereas although a high degree of corruption does exist in a lot of places in the US, US society has not accepted corruption as a way of life, as we have done. What is disturbing in our

country is not that corruption exists, but that it has ceased to arouse either contempt or anger. Over the ages, the chemistry of our blood has become so diluted that, it now refuses to boil at any moral temperature.

What is then the answer? No amount of legislation will make any difference, as we have far too many laws already. If our national standard of ethics is high, it would be impossible for corruption to penetrate into our everyday life. These values can only be inculcated and nourished in the home environment of the family, and the influence of the school teacher and college professor. It is here where we have miserably failed. But then, who can be trusted with this task in our educational institutions, which have reached such a pass that, only three years ago, one of the oldest and prestigious universities of the country, had the distinction, wherein cheating and lying were not just resorted to by the students (who now regard this as their birth right), but it was the privilege to do so by the teachers, professors, registrar, the Vice-Chancellor, the State Chief Minister, and even the Governor.

Thus, the question to be answered is, not whether corruption can be eliminated or even checked, but whether we are prepared to equate and take cognisance of small everyday acts

of dishonesty, as we do towards large financial scams, and nip the former in the bud in our homes, educational institutions, and in every other normal work of life, as that is where the germ of all corruption is sowed.

Redefining Corruption!

However, let me conclude this paper on a happy note. Let us for a moment analyse what exactly is meant by the term 'corruption'. As per any good dictionary, it is defined as 'impairment of moral principle or a departure from what is pure or correct'. In other words, it implies a deviation or conflict with the norms, morals and ethics accepted and prevalent in a particular society. The question therefore is, if certain acts of corruption or dishonesty are accepted by our society as something normal, and has now become second nature with us, why are we all so perturbed about it? The specific question to be answered is, that as long as one operates within the society's norms, no matter how bad they may be, can he be termed corrupt by the same society? One may not agree with the society's sense of values, but then that is quite a different matter. Under this definition, the happy tidings is that, no Indian can be termed corrupt!

BRIG. N. B. GRANT is a retired defence personnel and a freelance writer.

Shama Futehally



Reader Khairu Mecklai sent us this letter by Shama Futehally which appeared in "When Bombay Burned", an anthology on reportage and comments of the post Babri Masjid Demolition edited by Dileep Padgaonker and published by UBS Publishers' Distributors Ltd. The letter first appeared in *The Times of India* of January 7, 1993:

Despairing Moment

"I feel impelled to write this upon reading the beautiful piece by Ms. Naheed Ashraf. She says: "No Indian Muslim is going to leave his country." To that I would add that living in India as Indians, is the only life we know or understand; for us, living in a fundamentalist Islamic state would be as bad as living in a fundamentalist Hindu one; and that, as the Babri Masjid was demolished (the most despairing moment of my life), I knew that no Pakistani, Iranian, Turkish or African Muslim could share in my anguish as did Indians of all communities.

"The first time it struck me I might not be considered "Indian" enough was during the Indo-Pak war, when I was 13. A schoolmate whose family supported the erstwhile Jan Sangh, told me that I should go and fight for Pakistan. He has since gone to live in America like many other ultra-nationalists, but the wound he inflicted still remains on my psyche. Now, when my eight-year-old son sobs his heart out every time we lose a match to Pakistan, I can only pray that neither an Islamic nor a Hindu fanatic will ever tell him that he should feel elation instead."

Shama Futehally, New Delhi

Nostalgia

A Visit to India (In 1963)

Peter Coleman

How did India look to a visitor some 42 years ago? What was India like in 1963 a year after the "Bhai Bhai" Communist Chinese invaded India. Here are some impressions and observations by Mr. Peter Coleman a distinguished Australian journalist after a visit to India around October/November 1963. The piece-de-resistance was his meeting with Rajaji in Chennai then known as Madras.

I have in front of me an invitation card to the 127th Birth Anniversary Celebrations of Rajaji. Three Congressmen and a DMK leader comprise the speakers. On the reverse of the card are four tastefully printed photos: Rajaji with Gandhiji, Rajaji with Nehru, Rajaji with Kamaraj and Rajaji with Karunanidhi! None of them giving any indication that around the time of Peter Coleman's visit, Rajaji at 84 was locked in a serious political confrontation with Pandit Nehru to rid India of statism and socialism – both distinguishing trademarks of the Indian National Congress. Editor.

Many people come away from a first visit to India with the strongest impression of – what? – the stench of Bombay harbour; the countless people sleeping in the streets (officially estimated at over 62,000 in Bombay alone, not to mention another 77,000 who live in cattle-sheds or under staircases); the horrible diseases; people's irritating obsequiousness to the superiors in the hierarchy. I don't think I am particularly callous, but these terrible sights, smells and the rest did not make me want to leave the country in disgust – as seems to be the reaction of many foreigners. (Though, no doubt with a warped sense of values, I can't forget the 5 a.m. ride to Bombay airport in a taxi smelling of incense – stuck on the dashboard to get the day off to a sacred start.

In fact the strongest impressions Indians made on me, despite their awareness of their colossal problems, was of their unrestrained pleasure in talk – whether it be a Harijan room-boy, a politician, a lawyer, a journalist, a film man. They are a nation of uninhibited talkers – free-wheeling, critical, witty, curious. It may seem a frivolous impression to bring back from such a troubled country, but at least on the inevitable question of the prospect of Communism in India, one finds it hard to imagine such a free and outspoken people ever putting up with it – unless a catastrophe happens first.

Unity in Crisis

But the effect of the Emergency^{*} runs down to more provincial details. One can, for example, throw away most of the old books on India which stress the impending break-up of India as the various linguistic and racial States secede from the Union. The Emergency did it in a few days what all the portentous committees on National Integration and Emotional Integration had failed to do; it showed the real unity of the country. Faced with a common threat the old separatist slogans of various regions were quickly dropped, secession is now a dead issue, and some of the latest books already out of date.

This was particularly clear in Madras, in the south-east of India, which was my first stop and which has been the centre of one of the main secessionist parties, little known outside India but notorious inside – the DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) which has 25 per cent of the seats in the State Legislature and controls Madras city. According to its propaganda, confirmed with angry passion by a young DMK politician whom I met in an office decorated with paintings of Indian heroes and Mrs. Annie Besant, the southerners are a different race and civilization from the northerners. "We are Tamil-speaking Dravidians. We were conquered by northern Hindi-speaking Aryans who put the Brahmin caste in charge here as their gauleiters". The DMK has therefore been anti-Brahmin, anti-North,

anti-Hindi, and has demanded an independent Republic of South India within the British Commonwealth. (Some of them are also against religion in general and go around smashing Hindu statues and organizing non-Hindu secular marriages, but when I asked about this the DMK representative said they now left this largely to one of their former leaders with whom they had split when he, in his 70s and against all their principles, married a lady very very young.

Eccentric as it may seem, it draws its strength from the emerging lower castes and "untouchables" and is largely financed by the Tamil film industry (which also puts its heroes and heroines on election platforms). Its leader, C. N. Annadurai – known as Anna, which means "Big Brother" – has to be seen and heard to be believed.

But in the week I arrived in Madras, the DMK officially abandoned the secessionist plank in its platform which it had already suspended for the duration of the Emergency. The congratulations it received from all over India are one indication of the sigh of relief many northerners felt that secession is no longer an issue.

In future, the DMK will confine itself to attacking the Brahmins, the Northerners, and the proposal to make Hindi a national language. Each week from now on, one of its leaders will publicly burn that chapter of the Indian constitution and then be arrested as a martyr of the Tamil-speaking lower castes victimized by the stooges of the

^{*} The reference is to the Emergency declared following Communist China's invasion of India in November 1962.

Aryans from the North. Absurd as this may sound, the rage with which one DMK officer flung on to the table an official post-card from Delhi written in Hindi, "when I wrote to them in English, not Tamil", was a private indication of the passion the issue can arouse.

*

Rajagopalachari

In Madras the DMK has, on this language issue, the unexpected support of one of the elder statesmen of India – the last Governor-General and a former Chief Minister of Madras and founder of the anti-Congress Swatantra (Freedom) Party – C. Rajagopalachari ("Rajaji" as he is known and even listed in the phone book). "Why all this talk of making Hindi a national language in the name of unity", he asks, "when its most obvious effect is to provoke violent disunity? In any case English is established on the soil of India, it is an international language, and by having two official languages in New Delhi, each office will be divided with two linguistic factions".

Now 84 – in better health than 10 years ago – he meets visitors in his Party office after 6 p.m. I was taken to meet him by his friend and biographer, the English writer Monica Felton who has settled in Madras. Witty, far more mentally alert than most of his visitors, boasting of being a man of the nineteenth century, still a messianic figure, he is now the most powerful voice for conservative liberalism in India.

Thriving on controversy, whether joining in Gandhi's non-cooperation movement before the war, or supporting the British when all Congress opposed them, or attacking Nehru when all Indians seemed to adore him, he reminded me of a mixture of the late Dr. D. Mannix and the later Professor J. Anderson – with the additional element of the practical politician. (One of his books is a translation of Plato's "Trial of Socrates" into Tamil).

In an unending stream of articles in his weekly, "*Svarajya*", he describes the Indian people as demoralized by Congress Party corruption, the civil service reduced to spineless flatterers,

traditional Indian values undermined by the State. There is too much emphasis on quick industrialization ("Occidentomania leads our dictator and the fawning crowd around him eggs him on"), too much emphasis on national unification, too much central planning, too many controls. He stands for commercial freedom, traditional Indian values, and is one of the few to support the right of minorities – whether Muslims, Christians or castes – to organise. "Must the Hindus be free to use their majority strength in India and call Muslim self-defence communal, while their own communal activities go by the grand name of secular democracy? When Communists can walk, heads erect, to the polling booth in a democracy, must a Muslim or Catholic or Brahmin or Sikh be prevented because he believes in his scriptures?"

Some of his critics, having no answer to his questions, mock this old friend of Gandhi's as "too logical" or as an "ex-patriot" (ex-patriate). But although his Swatantra Party only won 18 out of 494 seats in the last election, he has succeeded in emphatically reviving liberal ideas in Indian politics.

*

The Castes

I got the Brahmin view from a professor in Presidency College. "There is," he said, "persecution of the Brahmins now. They are becoming the Harijans (untouchables) of India. Perhaps one can understand why, but the price of it all is declining standards wherever you look. Take the universities, for example. It is Government policy, in the name of justice and equality, that a quota of the lower castes must be admitted to the university. All right. But the education level of many of the castes is low and many of them can barely understand English which is the medium of instruction.

"Then Government policy goes further still. A quota of these lower caste must also 'pass' the examinations, whatever the marks. For them the 50 per cent mark, which all Brahmins must get and which a few of the others will get anyhow, is reduced to 33 per cent, or lower. They go out as doctors or engineers when they are not qualified for

anything. Also by Government policy a quota of them has to be admitted to the civil service. So naturally standards are declining in every possible field. The worst of them become schoolteachers, who are shockingly paid in India. Barely able to speak English, they teach it to others who in time come here to study in English to get their degrees. Of course many of them get no jobs at all and are easy material for Hindu nationalists, Tamil nationalists or Communists to work on".

*

The Plan

I was in Delhi at the time of the mid-term analysis of the Third Five-Year Plan (and coincidentally of the dedication of one of the world's great dams, the Bhakra, which promises prosperity to the Punjab and adjoining regions). The three plans to date claim many successes: between 1951 and 1961, national income went up 42 per cent, agricultural production up 41 per cent, industrial production 94 per cent, there were 4,000 new hospitals built, four million acres of waste-land reclaimed and colonized, and so on.

But the Press and public opinion generally is critical of the Plans. Business attacks the planners' control of commercial decisions, landowners attack the upheavals caused by ineffective land reforms (as once in NSW, landowners break up their properties by "selling" to dummies), and the ordinary peasant, whose standard of living in most parts of India has not risen since Independence, remains indifferent.

A controversial book has recently appeared – "*Blossoms in the Dust*", by Kusum Nair – which attacks the basic assumptions of the Plans. One of these is that all peasants (82 per cent of the population in India's 550,000 villages) are undergoing the world-wide revolution of rising expectations. Show them, the Plan assumes on a pilot farm, how to increase production and how to make more money, and they will rush to follow suit. Kusum Nair, who began touring India for the Government but resigned to make an independent study, visited hundreds of villages and concluded that the problem with the peasants is *not* rising expectations, but

no expectations. You can show them how to increase production, but they do not want to. You can point to a sick or hungry family and ask, "But don't you need more money", and the answer will be, "God will provide".

There is almost universal criticism now of the Government's emphasis, particularly during the Second Plan, possibly under Peking influence, on speedy industrialization. The ideal that torments Indian planners is the economic takeoff. It would have been better, and would still be better, one hears repeatedly across India, to concentrate more on increasing the production of consumer goods so that Indians would feel their standards of living rising and gradually become more prepared for "basic" productivity, and less on costly heavy industry that may not pay off for many years. If the planners argue that India has no choice but to strengthen itself industrially as quick as possible in view of China's strength, the answer is that in any case India will not be industrially powerful for some generations yet and must depend on the West in a crisis. So why make the people suffer unnecessarily in the meantime?

One answer of course is that the Left-wing of the Congress Government simply believes in planning – inspired in many cases by Russia and formerly by China, and blessed by Mr. Nehru whose ideas were formed in the 1920s, and 1930s.

The Muslims

"For the first time in my life", a Muslim writer told me, "I've been made to feel a Muslim. This is only in the last year or so. It's so ridiculous. I'm an Indian. Hell, who would want to live in Pakistan? Ask the Kashmiris".

Almost every Hindu – outside the fanatical sects – tells you at first that there is no problem. "This is a secular State, unlike Pakistan. We are all Indians". But every now and then someone will refer to fears that Pakistan would never settle just for Kashmir, even if it would get it' it wants Delhi. "They remember the Moghul conquest and want

to reconquer us". Whether or not you take that seriously, its being said at all is alarming.

I asked the Vice-President of India, Dr. Zakir Hussain, a Muslim and a distinguished scholar, about it. Without conceding there was a real problem, he blamed Pakistan for whatever there was. "If the Pakistanis once recognized and admitted that Muslims are not persecuted in India, they would lose their whole *raison d'être*. They exist to protect Muslims – who do not need protection. So they have to whip up issues all the time. Radio Pakistan will not leave Indian Muslims alone, and Pakistan's flirtation with China, when she is occupying our territory does not help".

I asked him about the usual panacea, a confederation of the two countries. "Not in my life time, but ultimately, yes. We share the same culture, the same languages, and will have the same enemies. Time, will heal the wounds".

As for Kashmir, it is insoluble. India has invested heavily in Kashmir and the Muslims on the Indian side are better off than on the Pakistani side. But if there were a plebiscite, Muslim revivalists would come down from Pakistan and offer the choice: "Hindu gold on the one hand, God and his poor Prophet on the other". The Kashmiris would vote for Pakistan, and all Muslims in India would immediately become suspect; there would be communal riots and mass killings. India will never run that risk.

The Communists

One of the most extraordinary things in India today is the speed with which the Communist Party of India has re-established itself as a patriotic party. At the time of the Chinese invasion, the party seemed in ruins. Its offices were wrecked, its leaders arrested, its great Government patron, Krishna Menon, dismissed from Cabinet. Since then it has officially adopted a strong pro-Soviet line, its great pro-Peking leaders such as A. K. Gopalan, MP, have been censured by the dominant faction.

Some of this new respectability may be attributed to the influence of Mr. Nehru. The Communist leader, S. A. Dange, has been his emissary to Moscow, and at the time of his Parliamentary censure motion, Mr. Nehru greeted the Communist crowd that demonstrated in his support outside his office. He may be disillusioned with China but still sees Russia through the eyes of a 1920s and 1930s Left intellectual. More important, Russia by not supporting China and giving some small aid to India has improved its image, and its agents now have new and subtler opportunities for subversion and for influence on the Government.

In fact the Communists of India seem actually to have profited from the Chinese invasion.

What seems to be happening now is an increasingly emphatic division between liberal pro-Western Indians and committed pro-Communists. The Leftists have the advantage of fifteen years of Government propaganda in favour of State Socialism and in defence of Communist goodwill: they know what they want to do and have an ideology prepared for them. The liberals are more confused and are uncertain how to translate their best asset – traditional Indian ideals – into modern progressive language. But whether or not the common prediction is true that after Nehru the Congress Party will split into separate Right and Left wing parties, it seems clear that Indians themselves are bound to become more divided – with the lifting of the fog of fifteen years of "Socialism" in a country less planned than Australia or even America, and of non-alignment in a dream world without power politics.

It will sound an absurd thing to say of a country so ancient and civilized as India, but Indians often seemed in the past to have lacked a sense of history and real politics. The Chinese invasion brought them into reality.

MR. PETER COLEMAN is a well-known Australian journalist. This article first appeared in the Australian journal, *The Bulletin* of November 16, 1962.

Self-reliance : the keynote of our independence

Long before we won our freedom, self-reliance was the goal of those of our people who could think for themselves and shed the shackles of dependence: men of foresight and determination, like Ardeshir and Pirojsha Godrej, who had confidence in the country's capabilities and shared the same ideals with Tilak, Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru who practised self-reliance.

In Godrej, self-reliance has been considered indispensable to progress, the aim being not just self-sufficiency for the or-

ganisation but for the whole country. Progress can only be achieved in a milieu of progress.

Based on our country's needs, and exploiting the country's own resources, Godrej have diversified.

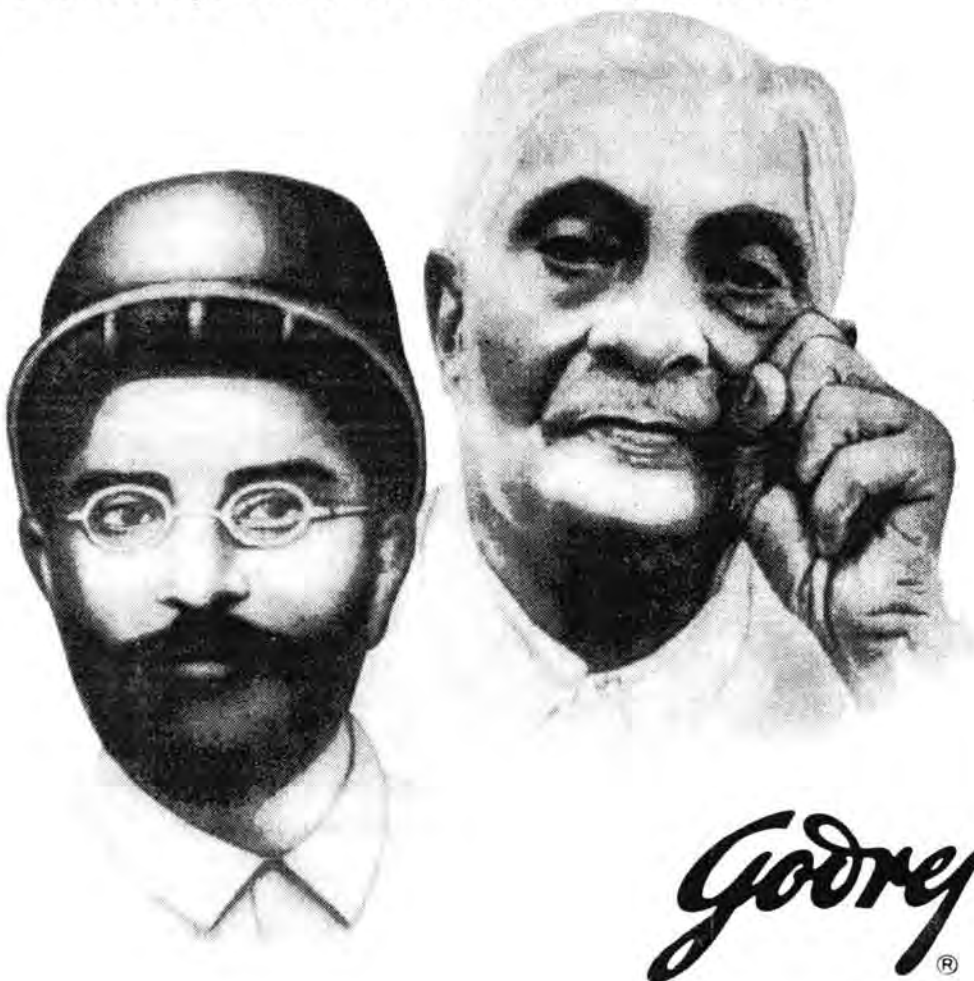
Made to international standards and backed by continuous technical innovation, their products range from locks and security equipment, machine tools, forklift trucks, architecture and steel castings to furniture, typewriters, refrigerators, computers and elec-

tronic business systems as well as soaps, detergents, toiletries, chemicals, animal feeds, agro-products and edible oils.

The Godrej industrial garden township at Vikhroli-Pirojshanagar is an example of self-reliance and progress. For their workers Godrej have provided—in a unique environment—many social benefits: extensive housing, schools and adult education, recreation, medical and family-planning benefits...

Self-reliance is both a means and an end.

For Godrej it is the essence of independence.



The Communist Party of China

Eating Human Beings - Literally!

Aspi Mistry

Cannibalism has a long and dishonourable history, humans being eaten as an act of triumph in war, and in times of famine, such as in the Soviet Union in the early 1920s. The difference in China in the mid-1960s is that people were eaten to prove a revolutionary point, with the superior organs – the liver for instance – being reserved for senior Party officials.

In the last few days we have been witness to a series of events that have been particularly disturbing, connected with the issue of Tibet and Human Rights. Today being Human Rights Day, I think it would be particularly appropriate if we reflect a little on what has been happening in India and around the world.*

First we had that juvenile outburst from Ms. Maneka Gandhi offering her solution to the problem of tiger poaching – deport all Tibetans as each one of them is a poacher and a smuggler!

Then a violent attack on a meeting of the India-Tibet Friendship Society, Mysore Chapter during their first anniversary celebration on December 4, 2005 at the Vivekananda Hall, Mysore by a so-called Bhagat Singh Organisation.

I especially mention these two events as many of us tend to dismiss them as insignificant and the work of lunatic fringes. On the contrary, we need to examine whether the lack of a sense of outrage, either in the media or in the public at large, reflects in any way our failure to mould public opinion on the issue of Tibet.

On the world stage we have two even more significant events connected with China and Tibet. A high-level United Nations investigator condemned the “widespread” use of torture in Chinese law enforcement and said Beijing must overhaul its criminal laws, grant more power to judges and abolish labour camps.

Mr. Manfred Nowak said that “obtaining confessions” and fighting “deviant behavior” continued to be central goals of China’s criminal justice system. The police and prison guards are pushed to extract admissions of guilt and are rarely punished for using electric shock, sleep deprivation and submersion in water or sewage, among other techniques the Commission on Human Rights considers torture, to obtain concessions from them, he said.

While this year’s Nobel Peace Prize has gone to a UN agency and its head, the Nobel for literature has been won by Harold Pinter. In his acceptance speech he asks, “What has happened

to our moral sensibility? Do they refer to a term very rarely employed these days – conscience? A conscience, to do not only with our own acts, but to do with our shared responsibility in the acts of others? Is all this dead?”

The other incident in Tibet is probably even better known to you. The “patriotic re-education” in the monasteries of Tibet and the recent crackdown on the peaceful mass protest in Drepung Monastery on 25 November 2005 violates Articles 18, 19 and 20 of the United Nation’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

Five monks were arrested during this “patriotic re-education” session on 23 November 2005 in Drepung Monastery in Lhasa, Tibet.

Following their expulsion from the monastery the monks were handed over to the Public Security Bureau (PSB) of their native village. The monks stood up against the “work team” officials who were forcing the monks of the monastery to sign a document denouncing the Dalai Lama and approving China’s claim over Tibet.

So now that we are in the season of re-education, I propose that today we spend the next few minutes in a re-education programme especially aimed at the conscience, as Harold Pinter would have it, of those still abiding in cuckoo-land.

I would like to read a couple of longish passages from two authors, in an attempt to understand from where this practice of torture comes and how it traces back to that great lineage holder of the school of murder and torture – the Great helmsman – Mao Ze Dong.

The first is an eye-witness account by Jung Chang, author of “Wild Swans – Three Daughters of China”. Please remember this was in 1966, a mere 39 years ago:

“Mao encouraged the Red Guards to pick on a wider range of victims in order to increase the terror. Prominent writers, artists, scholars, and most other top professionals...”

“Up till the beginning of the Cultural Revolution torture, as distinct from torment, had been forbidden. Now Xie (Fuzhi) the police chief, one of Mao’s own liegemen, ordered policemen “not to be bound by the old rules, no matter if they had been set by the police authorities or by the state.”

* Talk delivered to Tibetans in Mumbai, on the occasion of ‘Human Rights’ Day, December 10, 2005.

After saying "I'm not in favour of beating people to death," he continued: "But if some (Red Guards) hate the class enemies so much that they want to kill them, you don't have to force them to stop."

"A wave of beating and torture swept the country, mainly during house raids. Almost invariably, the families would be ordered to kneel on the floor and kowtow to the Red Guards; they were then beaten with the brass knuckles of the Guards' leather belts..."

"It was worst in Peking, where the Cultural Revolution Authority was on hand to incite the young people. In the city center some theatres and cinemas were turned into torture chambers. Victims were dragged in from all over Peking. Pedestrians avoided the spots because the streets around echoed with the screams of the victims."

I shall conclude with this passage from Patrick French, author of "Tibet, Tibet: A Personal History of a Lost Land": But before that a statutory warning: This extract may contain passages disturbing to some listeners, especially those with weak stomachs and hearts. The intention in reading it is not to shock or revolt. But we need to understand that this is the environment, 40 years ago, in which the greatest criminal gang of our times was nurtured. The gang we call The Communist Party of China.

"Cannibalism has a long and dishonourable history, humans being eaten as an act of triumph in war, and in times of famine, such as in the Soviet Union in the early 1920s. The difference in China in the mid-1960s is that people were eaten

to prove a revolutionary point, with the superior organs – the liver for instance – being reserved for senior Party officials.

"In nearby Shanglin county, a gang of Party members armed with kerosene lamps would go off at night in search of targets. Finding one, they would hold the victim's arms and legs tightly, and one of the men would slit open the stomach with a five-inch knife. The liver generally popped out with the aid of 'a little squeeze or kick', and would then be cut out, leaving the victim to bleed to death. It was boiled, ceremonially, with garlic and rice wine, before being sliced up and eaten with chopsticks.

"In Wuxuan, the commander of the Small Faction, Zhou Weian, was chopped into pieces, and his widow Wei Shulan, eight months pregnant, was made to kneel beneath his suspended head and leg in the heat of the day and denounce him. Zheng Yi's most gruesome description is of a gang of old men who liked to feast on that soft, cherished, clever part of the body – the brain. Each man had a metal pipe sharpened to a point at one end.

Once the crowd had finished cutting away the victim's flesh, they would then slowly advance towards the victim (at that point they had no competitors). After they had pierced the victim's skull with their steel pipes, they would kneel on the ground and suck the brain through the pipe, rather resembling a small group of people in the act of sharing a jar of yoghurt with straws."

MR. ASPI MISTRY is Honorary Secretary of the ICCE and an activist in the Tibetan movement for freedom.

POWERING INDIA'S GROWTH for MORE THAN FIFTY YEARS

Thermal • Hydel • Nuclear • Diesel • Gas • Wind

A leading ISO 9001-2000 Engineering Company

Products & Services offered :

- 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
- Jyoti assumes single-source responsibility for implementing Turn-key Projects.
- Jyoti Pro/ENGINEER Design Service Centre offers CAD/CAM/CAE solutions to improve engineering processes.



Jyoti Ltd.

Nanubhai Amin Marg, Industrial Area, P.O. Chemical Industries, Vadodara - 390 003 (India).

Phones : (0265) 2280633, 2280627 Fax : (0265) 2280671, 2281871

E.mail : cmd.jyoti@sril.net Website : <http://www.jyoti.com>

Madhu Dandavate



1924-2005

He was a man with whom we as Liberals have had disagreement on the road to development and the country's well being. As a Democratic Socialist he believed in a key role for the State. But his concept of democratic socialism was something we could live with. It made for a good two party system as between the British Labour Party and the Conservative Party. But the commonality of values transcended differences arising from economic engineering. We are one where the liberty and dignity of the individual, social equity and a secular society are concerned. Above all Madhu Dandavate was an honest man, an honest politician and a democrat to the core. His passing away is as much a loss to us as to the socialists. Indeed his passing away is yet another irreplaceable loss to the Indian people. We pay our humble tribute to his memory. We are grateful to the Janata weekly for permission to reproduce the following passages from their issues of November 20 and December 18, 2005.
Editor

"In the past few years of his life, Madhu Dandavate became an ardent advocate of Gandhian thinking," writes Janata editor Surendra Mohan in an article entitled 'Guiding Spirit Departs'. "He missed no opportunity to speak about him and collected all the material on Gandhiji he could lay his hands on. He joined in this with many socialists like M. L. Dantwala, Rohit Dave, and of course, JP. They all came to realize in due course, despite their early Marxist commitment, that for the poor and the downtrodden, socialism tinged with

Gandhiji's thinking was the panacea and for a sustainable change in values of society and to build a just and equal society, Gandhiji's methods, his emphasis on ethics in politics and his identification with the poor and the deprived could not be bettered".

In his essay on Liberalism, Minoo Masani, himself a one-time socialist, described the Liberalism he believed in as the Liberalism which is a fusion of western Liberalism and Gandhi.

Well known journalist S. Viswam describes Madhu Dandavate the parliamentarian: "Madhu belonged to that distinguished fraternity of MPs, now alas shrinking in number, who came to Parliament well prepared for battle. I remember an occasion when called upon to address the House by the Speaker, Madhu opted to speak later since he said he was expecting some information from the Parliament Library which had yet to reach him and he preferred to wait so that he could share it with the members. He was punctilious about facts..."

"... he believed in doing his home work. You will not find many MPs committed to that belief nowadays ... I must say that not many present-day MPs bother to even read the agenda papers ... Dandavate was one of the very few in his own party who prepared notes for a speech, although he was never at a loss for words..."

Madhu Dandavate's son Uday in a memoriam to his father writes: "I realised that Nana inspired in me the skill to empathize with other people especially with those who are less privileged than I am. I realized that my mother taught me to stand up for justice ... From Nana I learned the need to maintain balance; from mother I learned that while it is natural to be angry, it is important to be able to direct anger into positive and constructive channels..."

"I remember many events that have left an indelible mark in my mind. I was inspired by the courage they demonstrated while facing adverse situations. I was very afraid at times, especially after the murder of the communist leader, Krishna Desai, when my father was identified as the next target. This did not bother him...I was proud of my mother when she went around performing her duties as a Municipal Councillor despite threats by Shiv Sainiks..."

Madhu Dandavate was indeed the man that every Indian could be proud of.

"With hindsight, as I cast a glance at the evolution of my life from its formative stages to the present turbulent times, I realise that there is an imperative need to inculcate in our personal and social life, human values like freedom, equality, social justice, religious tolerance, secularism, environment friendliness, dignity and empowerment of women; and above all a scientific temper for ensuring social and economic reconstruction. However, the scientific temper has to be harnessed not merely for the creamy layers of society. It has to be harmonized with the needs of the poor and the deprived who dwell in 7,00,000 villages of India, many of them living below the poverty line. If they are made to suffer in silence for long, that silence may one day explode with all its fury and destroy the gains of the technological revolution sweeping across our country today. Gandhiji gave this warning to the nation in his lifetime, a warning that we can overlook only at our own peril.

Madhu Dandavate
 from the Preface to his book
Dialogue with Life

New Delhi,
 1 July 2005

A Case for Privatisation

Muralidhar Rao

A debate in one of the e-groups, of which Mr. Muralidhar Rao a Bangalore businessman is a member, led him to suggest that Freedom First readers would be interested in what he has to say. Judging by the contents I am sure they would. If you think differently, share with us your views.

Arvind Kejriwal (of Parivartan, New Delhi), Vandana Shiva (needs no introduction), are names that command great respect, and therefore, when they caution against privatisation of water supply, it definitely needs to be taken note of.

Now, if I may venture to add – I don't think they are against privatisation *per se*. What they are against is the present model that has been worked out between the Delhi Jal Board and the World Bank. From what one reads about it, the model definitely appears flawed.

In fact, what has been happening is that the Babus view privatisation as a great opportunity to make money, like they view everything else also. And, this being the very last opportunity, they go for the kill. So much so, the Dabhol deal between Enron and the Maharashtra SEB was so terrible that, had not Enron collapsed on account of the other misdeeds of its head *hunchos*, the Dabhol Power Company would have caused the sell out of not just the state of Maharashtra, but the entire country, because of the guarantees – counter, sovereign, etc., provided. There are many such examples, and these are what have collectively caused the phobia about privatisation.

At the same time, we are all witness to the improvements in the quality of our lives because of the spate of 'privatisations' in the recent past, whether it be in telephony, airlines services, courier services, banking and insurance, automobiles, etc. While, admittedly, the bigger beneficiaries have been the upper and middle classes, it is not as if the benefits have not trickled down to the poorer sections of society

as well, even if this may have come about through various spin-offs. There is however absolutely no gainsaying the fact that more needs to be done to pass on a bigger slice of the cake to them (It is not without reason that the BJP's 'India Shining' campaign failed dismally). But, this can come about only through more and more reforms, which could include privatisation, essentially to reap the benefits of the efficiencies attendant to it.

As for the water problems of cities like Delhi, the solution possibly lies in the offer made by the engineers and management experts drawn from the IIT and IIM respectively.

Overall, the arguments listed against the private sector appear to be:

1. *That they are exploitative* – This can be very easily and effectively addressed by amendments to the Industrial Relations Act, which, in its present form, only helps to perpetuate the vested interests of the 'labour aristocracy'. If amended allowing for 'hire & fire', direct employment levels will shoot up straightaway, increasing the lower end wage levels simultaneously. A few lazy and recalcitrant lot may get sacked. But, even they will be compensated fairly. But, the rest will gain considerably, along with the resulting speedy growth in the economy.
2. *That they are profit-oriented* – Profit-making is no longer a dirty word; 'profiteering' is. The answer is effective competition, where required, monitored through proper regulation.
3. *That industry becomes too powerful*

and tends to subvert democracy – Admittedly, this is a serious threat. I would, like to believe that, however powerful they become, humanity will throw up even more powerful Arvind Kejriwals and Vandana Shivas to counter and contain them. Even in the Mecca of capitalism, the US, we are witness to the containment of Microsoft, Enron, and even the industry patron-in-chief, George Bush.

Finally, privatisation is certainly no panacea against all evils. But, as the late Sri C. Subramaniam once stated, "It is a new monster that we will have to battle". But, atleast, the battle will be a new one compared to the one we have been waging unsuccessfully over the past half a century.

MURALIDHAR RAO can be contacted on murali772@touchtelindia.net



"We Live in Interesting Times"

Ravindra Kumar



By today's standards – when newspapers brazenly sell news space and rejoice in the earnings – Mr. Irani was an anachronism.

His spirited opposition to the Emergency is the stuff of legends, but what is not so well known is that he was possibly the only dissenter who sought nothing from Indira Gandhi's successors, and ensured that this newspaper was as critical of their foibles as it had been of hers.

Over the quarter of a century that I worked closely with him, he remained a man who would not compromise on his principles, whatever the cost might have been. It was possibly for this reason that those who came into contact with him either loved him, or hated him; few could remain indifferent to him.

Statesman House, Delhi, a redevelopment project that was aimed at shoring up the fortunes of this newspaper, could have been completed long before 2001 had Mr. Irani succumbed to the pressures Rajiv Gandhi's lieutenants tried to put on him to soften criticism. *The Statesman* chose to take the battle to court, and its position was vindicated, but at huge cost. And a building that ought to have been ready in the mid 1980s was inaugurated in August 2001.

He had neither time nor patience for fools and humbugs, and could use acerbic wit to put them in their place. At an annual general meeting of the Indian Newspaper Society some years ago in Bangalore, the head of a leading newspaper decided to either propose or suggest every candidate for membership of the executive committee as some two dozen names came up for re-election. After this had happened a few times, Mr. Irani sought the chair's permission to intervene on a point of order and said, "If Mr. ... will tell us who he does not wish to propose or second, we may be able to get this over faster".

To the end, Mr. Irani remained a liberal, perhaps a classical liberal, and hoped that his right to dissent would be respected even by those he opposed. The discovery that this was not true, and that politicians of the post-Nehruvian era preferred individuals and institutions to always take sides, saddened him, especially in the context of contemporary Bengal and India.

Mr. Irani was in equal parts my mentor and my editor. But as he taught me his values, he also became the man I learnt to admire more than anyone else. As unsparing as he was of those he disapproved, he could be generous to those he loved. A man who hated smoking, he tried for 25 years to get me to give up the habit. But a few years ago, he presented me with a silver ST Dupont lighter, and when I burst out laughing at his choice of gift, remarked wryly: "I know you won't give up that obnoxious habit. But at least your heart is in the right place".

When a few years ago he told me of his desire that I succeed him, I had reservations and told him about these quite frankly. Adding managerial responsibilities to those I had as a senior journalist on the staff, I said, would keep me away from the journalism I loved. He said to me: "I think you will realise that creating an environment that allows you to practise the kind of journalism you love is just as important, if not more".

"We live in interesting times," he would often say. At 4.15 p.m. today, the lives of those who knew him and those who loved him became, all of a sudden, less interesting.

MR. RAVINDRA KUMAR is the Editor of *The Statesman*.

"Our boss is a mad man," the then advertisement manager of *The Statesman* in Bombay said about C. R. Irani, as I arrived in his office one day 23 years ago. I was then a reporter for *The Statesman* at Delhi, and a part of the Insight team of investigative journalists. I was in Bombay for a continuing investigation about corruption in one of India's largest public sector corporations. And from his perspective, my colleague, who had revenue targets to meet, was right.

The public sector corporation had blacklisted *The Statesman* for advertisements released after the first of the reports appeared, and this had already cost the newspaper a crore of rupees in lost revenue. I told my colleague to take it up with Mr. Irani if he had a problem. In despair, he retorted: "I already have, and do you want to know what he said when I told him about the loss of revenue? He said: 'Good, good'."

By today's standards – when newspapers brazenly sell news space and rejoice in the earnings – Mr. Irani was an anachronism. Commercial interests never could, and never did influence journalistic decisions in *The Statesman* he led. And they will not, in *The Statesman* he leaves behind. But even in an earlier era, when he held positions of authority in the Indian newspaper industry, he was an iconoclast.

Antonysamy. V Of Puliangudi - South India

Some 20 years ago, like other farmers he too depended much on fertilizers and ended up incurring huge financial losses. The losses incurred forced him to sell part of his property also but he remained undeterred.

He resumed farming after a gap of one year. But then that one-year gap proved crucial! Like any other farmer in his circumstances he too felt frustrated. But then he felt, "I deserve this because I am guilty of poisoning the soil by profusely using chemicals." Day in and day out he was seized with the problem 'what is the remedy and how to find it.' The right answer occurred to him intuitively. Thenceforward any matter emanating from a chemical laboratory became taboo on his farm. He started tapping solar energy that was possible only by resorting to spacing between plants. The blank space was dug deep and he planted therein a kind of weed called *denge* in Tamil. After a week or so when he pulled up the weeds together with roots, the same was found to carry small bulb like structures. The whole thing he dumped over the sugarcane plants. According to Agricultural Professors visiting the farm these bulb-like structures happen to be naturally evolved nitrates - good for plants. He devised his own method of drip-irrigation that is working successfully to this

day. He employed students as part-time workers to collect leaves required for compost he started producing on the farm. And the results were fantastic!

Tapping solar energy to improve farm output by resorting to spacing between plants, drip-irrigation, rejuvenating soil through natural means like earthworm/micro organism etc., were unheard of in his area 20 years ago. And so he gets full credit for his pioneering efforts in this regard.

Israel is known to have the right technique for growing sugar cane with productivity as high as 78 MT per acre. What is most surprising is this maverick farmer with little or no education at all has surpassed this level having reached 80 MT/acre already and is confident of touching 90 MT next year.

Recipient of a Merit Certificate from the President of India this year for his outstanding contribution in agriculture, Antonysamy.V of Puliangudi is certain to be looked upon as a role model by millions of farmers not only in India but also elsewhere. His nomination may therefore be considered under the category "no boundaries."

S. S. Bankeshwar's Search for New Postulates

This book is brought out on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Shri Bankeshwar's freelance journalism. It consists of his leading selected articles published in our national dailies and periodicals on varied topics like domestic and foreign policies, Kashmir problem, public, civic and consumer issues, interviews with VIPs and astrological predictions.

Shri Bankeshwar has lambasted, lampooned and pilloried professional politicians of all hues who live off politics and if not in it are incapable of earning an honest rupee.

One can't fail to agree with Miss Usha Mehta, a great Gandhian and freedom fighter of 1942 fame who said "Shri Bankeshwar's article 'Corruption Syndrome' is outstanding and a masterpiece."

Shri Bankeshwar's style of writing is simple convincing and limpid, full of humour and sarcasm. All his articles are based on facts, backed by sound reasoning and logic. Even if you don't agree with him, he forces you to unlearn, learn and re-learn. His articles go straight to your heart, if not your head.

According to Shri Bankeshwar, BRIBE now is a *passé*. It has graduated itself to 'service charge', 'speed money' and 'kickbacks'!

Whither India? In Search of New Postulates by S. S. Bankeshwar. Price Rs.250. (Phone 022 56981965)

Eknaath Nagarkar

Eknaath Nagarkar is a freelance writer.

Rajaji on Political Language

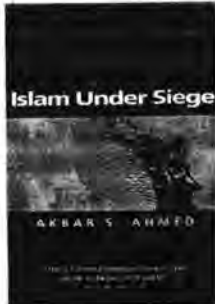
Addressing a meeting of the Students' Union of the Government Law College in Bangalore, in the early 1950s, Rajaji said:

"When a minister says that the matter is under consideration, it means that the file concerned is somewhere in the ministry. When he says that the matter is under serious consideration, he means that nobody knows where the file is. When he says that a decision would be taken immediately, he means that the file is lost forever! If the files are placed one above the other, the files will reach the sky. If all the files are destroyed in an accident, nobody will feel their absence"

When a student asked whether he was himself not a politician, Rajaji replied: "Yes, but not a professional politician who lives off politics, who is incapable of earning Rs.100/- per month if he quits politics, and who is incapable of getting 35% marks if he appears for a written test for a clerical post!"

(Contributed by S. S. Bankeshwar)

BOOK REVIEWS



ISLAM UNDER SIEGE

By

Akbar S. Ahmed

Publishers

Vistaar Publications (A Division of Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd.),
B-42, Panchsheel Enclave, New Delhi 110 017.

Year of Publication: 2003 No. of Pages: 213 Price: Rs.380

Reviewed by:

Sharad Bailur, a freelance writer and consultant in Communications

The day after the second series of bomb blasts in London on July 21st General Musharraf, in a televised address to his captive nation said, in the part directly addressed to Mr. Tony Blair that, while he unequivocally condemned "terrorism" in all its forms, Britain should look after its own home grown terrorists and not point fingers at Pakistan. This sort of mealy-mouthed "defence" has had a patent applied for by Musharraf. But he added something that I wholeheartedly agree with. The word "*Ilm*" (meaning knowledge) is the second most frequently found word in the Quran after "Allah". If Islam is to become a religious force in this modern world it should concentrate on "*Ilm*" and modernise itself to meet the demands of today's world. This is precisely the point that is also made by Mr. Akbar S. Ahmed in his extremely readable book, *Islam Under Siege*.

First some facts: Mr. Ahmed is a former High Commissioner of Pakistan in London and currently holds the Ibn Khaldun Chair of Islamic Studies at the American University, Washington DC. Ibn Khaldun was one of the greatest liberals in the history of Islam, which speaks a lot for Mr. Ahmed himself. He is a former Pakistan Superior Civil Service Officer who won his spurs in an open competitive examination – the Pakistani equivalent of the India Foreign Service and a former Iqbal Fellow at Cambridge. These, I think, are qualifications formidable enough not to be easily challenged as far as the book is concerned, to establish his credentials

Mr. Ahmed assumes that Islam is a religion that preaches "peace and

goodwill towards all men". It is here that I have a bone to pick with him. But first a small aside: Mr. Ahmed approvingly quotes the speech in favour of a secular Pakistan made by Mr. Jinnah in the Constituent Assembly, latterly made controversial by a reference to it by Mr. Advani during his recent visit to Pakistan. The BJP's theatrics were unnecessary because all Mr. Advani was telling the Pakistanis was that the founder of their nation was secular and so should they be. They of course politely ignored him, at least publicly.

The fact however was, like Mr. Advani, Mr. Jinnah was a political opportunist with an eye on the main chance. He found it when some undergraduate at an English university coined the term "Pakistan", and decided that he would go for a separate homeland for the Muslims of India, more to perpetuate his own greatness than, in fact, to do anything for Islam. The Muslims of Pakistan realise this, though openly stating it would be considered "blasphemous", much as criticism of Mahatma Gandhi is today in India. (We on the subcontinent love our idols, the Pakistanis just as much as us; hence the *Quaid*'s likeness on every Pakistani currency note which goes against Islamic injunctions). Luckily for him, like Gandhi, he died early enough for his greatness to be safely mummified for perpetual veneration. Advani, likewise found his main chance in Ayodhya. He is now looking for chances to perpetuate his own greatness. Whether it will do the Hindus any good here or hereafter is a matter of doubt. Whether it will afford the same greatness for Mr. Advani is a matter of much greater

doubt because of the secular traditions of the society he lives in.

It is much better to quote Mr. Ahmed quoting the Quran to make something out of what that says. The reason for this is that for every amenable platitude that the Quran decrees, it almost always also decrees diametrically opposite injunctions to its followers. Mr. Ahmed himself stresses this at the beginning of the book:

"The answer is that both Muslims and non-Muslims use the Quran selectively. The Quranic verses revealed earlier for example, Surah 2: Verses 190-4 emphasise peace and reconciliation in comparison to the latter ones like Surah 9: Verse 5. Some activists have argued that this means an abrogation of the earlier verses and therefore advocate aggressive militancy. In fact the verses have to be understood in the social and political context in which they were formed. They must be read both for the particular situation in which they were revealed and the general principle which they embody." He goes on to add, "What is important for Muslims is to stand up for their rights whoever the aggressor: 'Fight against those who fight against you, but begin not hostilities', the Quran tells Muslims (Surah 2: Verse 190)."

What does an impartial reader make of this when Mr. Ahmed also says the following: "The first warrior to make a name for and in South Asian Islam was the young commander Mohammad bin Qasim. He landed on the coast of what is now Karachi and conquered what is now the Pakistan

province of Sind for Islam in the early years of the 8th century. He was defamed by his enemies and without a proper trial he was sent back to Baghdad, the seat of the Islamic kingdom. He suffocated to death... It was not the accusation of sexual harassment by the Indian princesses, which they later recanted, but the arbitrary manner of the punishment."

Mentioning Mahmud of Ghazni on page 147 he says this: "For most Muslims he is one of the greatest heroes of Islam, bringing their faith to the region and carrying it with the power of the sword....Smashing idols is thus a powerful symbol of faith for those who believe their monotheistic God is jealous of any images that distract from His worship. *Even today Muslims thorough out South Asia – not only in Afghanistan – quote Iqbal's popular verse, proudly declaring that a true Muslim is an idol breaker not an idol seller.*" (emphasis mine).

The Quran contains fairly liberal and conciliatory statements made during the Prophet's early years during which he received revelations in Mecca. After his flight to Medina the revelations gradually started to become less tolerant as I quote below from Akbar Ahmed's book and from other sources:

1. Recite O Unbelievers, I worship not what you worship and you do not worship what I worship. I shall never worship what you worship. Neither will you worship what I worship. To you your religion, to me my religion. Surah 109).
2. There is no compulsion in religion. (Surah 2.256)
3. We well know what the infidels say: but you are not to compel them (Surah 50.45)
4. Killing a single innocent person is like killing all of humanity, warns the Quran (Surah 5: Verse 32) (Ahmed)
5. Forgive and be indulgent (to the people of the book, Jews and Christians (Surahs 2 and 109) (Ahmed). Apparently this does not apply to that third of humanity that does not

subscribe to these three religions.

Against this:

6. Slay the idolators wherever you find them. (Surah 9.5).
7. Kill those who join other gods with God wherever you may find them. (Surah 9.5-6)
8. I will instil terror into the hearts of the Infidels, strike off their heads then, and strike off from them every fingertip. (Surah 8.12).
9. Say to the Infidels: If they desist from their unbelief, what is now past shall be forgiven them; but if they return to it, they have already before them the doom of the ancients! Fight then against them till strife be at an end, and the religion be all of it God's. (Surah 8.39-42).

Akbar Ahmed attributes the feeling of "Islam under siege" to "hyper-assabiya" which he defines as exaggerated tribal and religious loyalties and to the impression gathered by the Islamic world that it has entered a "post-honour" world – a situation that must be set right. This clearly applies as much to other white and non-white populations irrespective of their different religious convictions, but they do not feel that they are under siege. That a "siege mentality" exists, is felt most keenly by orthodox Muslims, that it is being encouraged and attempts are made to persuade/force the non-Muslim world to "lift the siege", there is no doubt. But a careful analysis shows that it has nothing to do with post-honour or hyper-assabiya.

The fact is that the communications revolution has become the greatest and most insidious enemy of all forms of absolutist thought. It was primarily responsible for the destruction and fall of communism all over the world. This revolution is seen in Muslim countries and by Islamic authority in general as having originated in the degraded (read post-honour) West. The communications revolution is quintessentially anti-Islamic because it encourages free thought and critical enquiry by the mere fact of encouraging curiosity. It thereby "attacks" the

very essence at the core of Islam – that it is the last and final word of God.

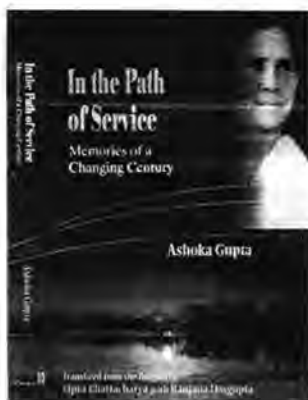
But the feeling of siege cannot be attributed to the communications revolution publicly, since that would amount to acknowledging the illiberality of orthodox Islam. A roundabout way has to be found to explain the siege mentality. Hence hyper-assabiya and the post-honour world. (Tell me, how does it concern orthodox Muslims in say, Saudi Arabia, what Bill Clinton does with Monica Lewinsky in the privacy of a room in Washington – something about which Akbar Ahmed expresses unctuous outrage?).

Throughout his book Mr. Ahmed's humanism shines right through. He comes across as a broad minded, liberal author who has understood and empathises with the problem of Islam faced the world over. The task of showing how Islam is under siege therefore is not easy. But he does make a valiant attempt. Unfortunately for him, the more humane, moderate, modern, broad-minded and "inclusivist" (his own word) Mr. Ahmed sounds, the less Islamic he sounds. It is a warning to signs of liberalism within Islam. As a result, condemning the fate of liberal authors, Mr. Ahmed writes from the safe confines of Washington.

The Real Threat

Perhaps the greatest threat to free trade during the long war, however, is not from the terrorists or our (US) incapacity to assist the developing world but from our ability to hurt ourselves. Adopting anti-free trade measures in the quest for greater security is little more than declaring victory for the terrorists. In particular we must be wary of protectionist barriers and other non-tariff restrictions thrown up in the name of security that do little to enhance safety but could do much to threaten the global economy.

From James Jay Carafano's essay on 'Global Terrorism and the Global Economy: Unpeaceful Coexistence', Chapter 2 of the '2005 Index of Economic Freedom' published by the Heritage Foundation and *The Wall Street Journal*



IN THE PATH OF SERVICE Memories of a Changing Century

By

Ashoka Gupta

Translated from the Bengali

by

Sipra Bhattacharya with Ranjana Dasgupta

Publishers

STREE, An imprint of Bhatkal and Sen

16, Southern Avenue, Kolkata 700 026.

Year of Publication: 2005 No. of Pages: 267 Price: Rs.250

Reviewed by

HUMERA AHMED, a writer of short stories. She is currently
PMG, General Post Office in Mumbai.

"I bear witness to nine remarkable decades: nine decades full of change and movement ..." writes Ashoka Gupta in the Prologue to her Memoir – "In the Path of Service : Memories of A Changing Century". The movement and change that Ashoka witnessed included some of the momentous events in history: the tumultuous freedom movement, the euphoric independence and the agonising partition.

The third child of the distinguished writer Jyotirmoy Devi and Keshav Chander Sen, a lawyer, Ashoka was born in 1912 at Bankipur. The unexpected death of her father when she was only six forced the family to shift to Jaipur where her maternal grandfather Avinash Chandra Sen was a cabinet minister and possessed huge *jagirs*.

From then onwards, there was continuous shifting – first to Delhi and then to Calcutta where she finished High School and was enrolled in Bethune College. In Jaipur she was exposed to the protected Haveli life. In Delhi and Calcutta to politics which was an integral part of life in the 'twenties and 'thirties. This expose and her upbringing in a socially conscious and enlightened family sensitised Ashoka to the political, social and economic problems of the country. Intelligent, studious, keen witted and independent minded, Ashoka was particularly concerned about the social condition of women and agitated by the loss of freedom experienced by married women. She considered it a paradox of

a woman's life that marriage and motherhood imprisoned her and she had no life of her own. She dreaded such a life – a life without freedom, without a separate identity.

But Ashoka did not have to chafe under the constraints of domesticity and motherhood. She was fortunate in getting married to a man as remarkable as Saibal Kumar Gupta, an ICS officer, a scholar and a staunch Gandhian – who appreciated her ability to think independently and express her views articulately and not say things to please others. Their first meeting is described in Chapter VII titled New Beginnings and the subsequent Chapters delineate their married life which commenced in picturesque East Bengal, to which her husband's family belonged, the birth of their children, interspersed with the political events of the time, such as the traumatic partition and the Naokhali riots. At Gandhiji's behest, she lived and worked among the stricken villagers and during the Bengal famine, she helped co-ordinate relief arrangements. Her account of the grief and trauma of partition, the humiliation and torture of women and the misery of the refugees from East Bengal merged with her own anguish in being exiled from that land of beauty and bounty, is eloquent and elegiac.

The memoir, which is dedicated to the memory of her husband who had helped her to find the path of service and shared the journey with her, is also a saga of "the great movement of women who worked to liberate themselves". Asoka's life and work

therefore embodies the spirit of those early pioneering women who took to education and service to the nation. She writes, "the country needed our service and we gave ourselves unstintingly".

Translated from the Bengali by Sipra Bhattacharya and Ranjana Das Gupta, the book is written in simple but engaging, anecdotal style laced with humour, with minute details recreating events and personalities – personal and public in the writer's life. But the real impact of the book is the personality and the mindset of the writer as it emerges: idealistic, resolute, committed, charming, and caring, who believed in the motto: "you cannot have fulfillment without sacrifice". She was able to find fulfillment both in her personal and public life and when at the end of the book she exclaims: "What a unique life I have led!", one cannot but agree.



We make the things
that make India proud



LARSEN & TOUBRO LIMITED

www.larsentoubro.com



When given an opportunity, women have not been left behind men in putting their views in writing – and this has been in all climates and continents.

One of the earliest of women's writing has been the seventy-odd verses or psalms to be found in the fifth *nikaya* of the *Sutta Nipata*, and seventy one different authors from varying social strata wrote these. Since then in different parts of our country women spread over a wide social strata have authored pieces which have found a place in the "great tradition"; folk literature has even a larger corpus of these.

It is good to remember that the earliest novel was written by a Japanese court lady in the 10th century (before the time of Ramanujacharya) which in translation was to astound the western world in the 1930s. However, men have condescended at these writings. When an astonished group of highly educated Americans in the 18th century certified to the authenticity of the poems written by a negro female slave, Phillis Wheatley (1753-1784), *Poems on Various Subjects*, 1773, philosophers as reasonable as David Hume and Kant questioned the capabilities of negroes ever being able to write all. In fact Hume called it as being likely the mechanical parroting of works written by someone else.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, women in India have been writing extensively in the different languages. The book under review is a valuable collection of writings from nineteenth century Bengal.

Though almost all of them re-

flect upon the contemporary status of women, yet they are not uncritical to conclude naively that education would automatically elevate women. Krishnabhabhini Das who spent fourteen years in England and was to be struck by the progress made by western women, yet reminded that the older generation of women in India who had no education still had a sense of independence that the educated generation did not seem to have. The modern woman may be educated and yet be subjected in the family. In contrast to the Bengali women, her Parsi sister enjoys rights and has an honoured place at home, and is respected by men. She also reminds that women from Kashmir, Bhutan and Sikkim with not an iota of education lead not only dignified lives but also one that is courageous, lively and active. Practical knowledge and social experience besides literacy make for a life that would be cultivated, bold and brave. She reminds that the Brahmo families offer the best opportunities for a similar development. And the book itself illustrates this, for several of the writers came from a Brahmo background. The earliest of the extracts by Bama Sundari Devi sees in Brahmoism a way of elevating the status of women. Unlike Bengal where Brahmo families encouraged their women to venture into publishing there is no parallel either in Madras or Bombay. Here the women in Brahmo families seem to have been as cloistered as their Hindu sisters or at best adjuncts to their active male relatives.

The extract from Kailashbasini Devi on the degraded state of the Hindu woman (1863) was a beacon lighting up the awakening of feminine conscious-

ness and its comments and analysis along with the brief letter to the editor of the *Somprakash* (1872) are still searing, when read after more than a century. That there should be no distinction between the type of education given to the sexes is the theme of the extract from Girindramohini Devi; the male dominated world would like to keep women cocooned and pampered.

"If men need freedom and self-reliance ... to enter a profession and a trade for security of life why do women not need the same? Are they not creatures of the world? Have women been created only to suckle a child and to be a slave to men?" Written in 1894, she flouts the familiar argument that women should study "belles lettres, music and painting because that is appropriate for them. There is fear that the soft core of their hearts may get dry and hard through analysis of hard philosophy and science." Yet when the great experiment in women's education at Higne was started by Maharishi Karve, this attitude prevailed and made V. S. Srinivasa Sastri to decline the offer of a Vice Chancellorship of a discriminating University, testifying to the persistence of condescension with regard to women's education and in considering them not quite the equals of men.

Besides immediate problems on the status of their sex, women writers were also concerned about larger issues taking their own stand on the partition of Bengal and questioning the boycott of foreign goods (Kumudini Mehta). In an interesting piece, Rokeya Hossain critically scrutinizes the "laudable" tradition of honouring women among the Hindus, for they are worshipped as

TALKING OF POWER Early Writings of Bangali Women

By

Malini Bhattacharya and Abhijit Sen

Publishers

Stree, An imprint of Bhatkal and Sen,
16, Southern Avenue, Kolkata 700 026

Year of Publication: 2003 No. of Pages: 168. Price: Rs.450

Reviewed by

Dr. R. Srinivasan, Professor of Political Science (retired),
Mumbai University and Associate Editor, *Freedom First*.

revered deities. They report on associations promoted to further women's crafts to enable them to raise funds for supplementing their family's income (Hiranmoyee Devi). Swarnakumari Devi, elder sister of Rabindranath Tagore, herself a novelist of stature has a fascinating account of life as it was for women in an enlightened aristocratic

family in days gone by. This is one of the three or four selections from the women members of the Tagore family.

Our understanding of our immediate past has been broadened and deepened by the recorded narratives and experiences of both the dalits and

women. The older complacent, partial view of Indian social structure, has been buried for good, thanks to the rediscovery of these nearly submerged accounts. Similar editorial ventures cry for other regions. Surely Maharashtra women's writings need a similar treatment and a translation?



Who makes foreign policy in the United States? The President on his own? The President in consultation with his cabinet? The President in consultation with his Secretary of State? The U.S. State Department is equivalent to, say, the Ministry of External Affairs in India. In India foreign policy would be made by the Prime Minister presumably in consultation with the External Affairs Minister or vice versa. The situation in the United States is wholly different. Yes, the President has his Cabinet. Yes, there is the State Department. But there is also what is known as the National Security Council (NSC), which is the deliberate creation of Congress. How did the NSC function? And in what way was it different from the cabinet?

President John F. Kennedy seldom used his cabinet as a collective advisory body on foreign policy on the theory "that the Post Master General or the Secretary of Interior have nothing to contribute to foreign Policy decisions" and can use their time "more profitably in improving mail services or beautifying national parks". That may be a somewhat pompous way of looking at things but Kennedy had his own way of doing things. For that matter so had his successor Lyndon Johnson. But once Richard Nixon became President structural changes came to be introduced in the formulation of foreign

policy. Into prominence came the National Security Advisor (NSA). That, inevitably, was to lead to conflict between him and the Secretary of State.

What Prof. Kamath has done in this perceptive work is to go into greater detail over how the formulation of foreign policy underwent remarkable changes from the time of Harry Truman and Eisenhower to the present times. Primarily, attention is focused on the conflicting relations between the Secretaries of State and National Security advisers under Nixon, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan.

Those not familiar with foreign policy making in the United States would probably be intrigued to know that during these three administrations (that of Gerald R. Ford was a short one) three Secretaries of State, William Rogers, Cyrus Vance and Alexander M. Haig JR chose to resign rather than be humiliated by an over powering National Security Adviser. Rogers couldn't stand Henry Kissinger, 'the perfect monster'; Vance came in conflict with Zbigniew Brzezinski and Haig with Richard Allen. Of the three NSAs, Kissinger was the most power-hungry and his feud with Rogers was to become the talk of the town.

How come that a mere National Security Adviser could browbeat a Sec-

retary of State? As Prof. Kamath puts it: "Are the kinds of conflicts we see in the U.S. security policy-making unique to the system of government?" The answer, plainly, is yes. It may be argued that in any democracy, whether of presidential or parliamentary construct the head of the government will be under constant pressure while formulating any policy, let alone one dealing with security. In a parliamentary form of democracy it is the cabinet decision that ultimately attains the official stamp. Not so, under a presidential form of government and not so especially in the United States which has a unique advisory structure, to the point that President Carter could say: "There have been Presidents in the past, may be not too distant past, that let their Secretaries of State make foreign policy. I don't".

Carter had decided on an active presidency in foreign affairs. As Prof. Kamath states: "Basic foreign policy decisions were to be made in the Oval Office and not in the State Department". That being the case it was inevitable that Carter should go looking for one he could depend upon to follow his own basic line of thinking. But then the question might well be asked: why can't the president choose a similar man to be his Secretary of State? The answer probably is that it is one thing to have a Secretary of State approved by Con-

US NATIONAL SECURITY : STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY IN POLICY MAKING 1969-1989

By
P. M. Kamath

Publishers

Shipra Publications, Delhi.

Year of Publication: 2004. No. of Pages: 222. Price: Rs.550

Reviewed by

Mr. M. V. Kamath, well-known journalist and author.

gress and an Adviser who is one's own appointee. A president can get out of that situation by having a National Security Adviser who is a think alike and who can be pitted against a Secretary of State. As Brzezinski once said: "The Security Adviser is so much an extension of the President that the way he functions is very much determined by the President's political style and the role he chooses for himself in the area of foreign policy." To be National Security Adviser, one had to have a good personal chemistry established with the President. Not that Nixon and Kissinger had a good personal equation. Nixon was suspicious of everyone around him. But Kissinger had one quality that Nixon was happy with. He protected the president from his errors. As Prof. Kamath says: "Kissinger not only well-protected the President from public fears on threats to national security, but also attended to the actual crisis by acting as 'de facto' President of the United States'. As one commentator was to write: Kissinger was in effect "protecting the country and the world from

Nixon's excesses and worst instincts". Not that National Security Advisers turned out to be infallible.

During the Bangladesh War, both Nixon and Kissinger erred greatly while the State Department showed itself levelheaded and objective to the point of being tarred with the pro India brush. During the Carter administration, the president either on his own or under the advice of this Adviser Brzezinski took a particular course in handling Iran that was to prove disastrous. Many have laid the blame on Carter for his over-reliance on just one man, Brzezinski, enough to make one observer to say that "it was difficult to know from afar why and how the President placed so much value on Brzezinski, a second rate thinker in a field infested with poseurs and careerists". Whether the fault lies with the Congress or with the President, one suspects that the institution of a National Security Adviser is best done away with.

There never should be two persons advising the President on foreign policy. After all, the State Department is staffed by experts in their fields and by men and women who have given lifetime service abroad. But then we are dealing with the United States with its own peculiar system of functioning. It is this system with all its strengths and shortcomings that has come under professional microscope of Prof. Kamath who examines it in great detail case by case.

What is amazing is that the office of the National Security Adviser, which is not even established by law, should be able to exercise so much power as to inveigle a President to take wrong decisions. Which is why, in the ultimate analysis India is better off under a parliamentary form of democracy than a Presidential one. Prof. Kamath has done indeed signal service in portraying for his Indian readers the foreign policy making structure of the sole super power on earth. To be informed is to be forewarned.



VIRAT INDUSTRIES LIMITED

**A Leading Manufacturer & Exporter of
Excellent Quality SOCKS.**

Our Export Markets include UK and Switzerland.

Our socks are available in Reputed Chainstores such as John Lewis, New Look, TK Maxx, NEXT, Top Shop in the United Kingdom and Migros in Switzerland.

Also supply socks to Levis & Dockers in India.

For Any Enquiries / Further Information, please contact us
on number 3094 4131 / 3094 4217.

VIRAT INDUSTRIES LTD.

Head Office:

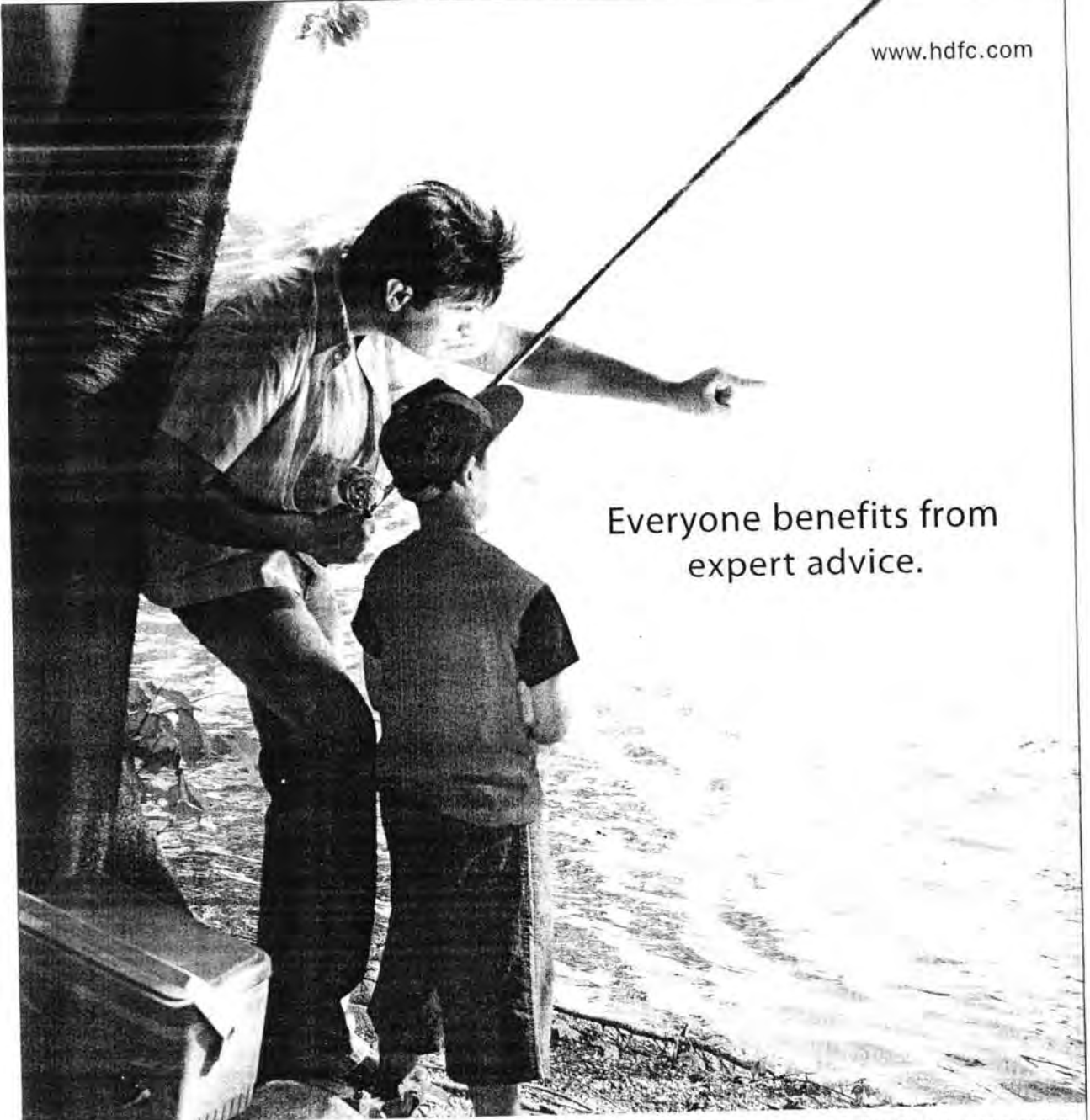
605, Veena Killedar Indl. Estate
10/14, Pais Street
Byculla (West)
Mumbai 400 011 (India)
Tel : (022) 3094 4131 / 3094 4217
Fax : (022) 2307 0486
Email : viratbby@vsnl.com

Registered Office:

A-1/2, GIDC Industrial Estate
Kabilpore, Navsari 396 424
Gujarat (India)

Tel : (02637) 242011 / 242022
Fax : (02637) 251009
Email: viratnvs@sify.com

www.hdfc.com



Everyone benefits from
expert advice.

**Personalised
Loan Counselling
from HDFC**

Buying a home is the single-largest investment for you. You need the advice from someone you can trust. Someone from HDFC. After all, we have over 27 years experience. And our expert counsellors offer you free guidance on all your Home Loan issues.

Counselling on

- Properly-related queries & documentation
- EMI structuring for tax benefits
- Small/Large EMIs for initial years
- Large loan entitlements
- Moving to a larger home

HDFC
HOME LOANS

Talk to us today. **Call HDFC Home Line 5663 6000** WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

MUMBAI/NAVI MUMBAI • HDFC Home Line 5663 6000. Branches at: • **MUMBAI:** Ambarnath (E)*, Andheri (E)*, Andheri (W), Andheri-Kurla Road, Borivli*, Chembur*, Churchgate**, Dombivli*, Kalyan*, Malad*, Mulund* (W), Parel**, Virar (Tue to Sat; 12.30 pm to 8.30 pm). • **NAVI MUMBAI:** Belapur (Tue to Sat; 11 a.m. to 7 p.m.), Koparkhairane (Tue to Sat; 11 a.m. to 7 p.m.), Nerul*, New Panvel*, Pen (Tue to Sat; 10 am to 6 pm), Vashi**. • **THANE:** Gokhale Road*, Vikas Complex (Mon & Wed to Sat; 12.30 p.m. to 8.30 p.m.).
Working days & Hours: (Mon to Fri; 9.30 a.m. to 5.15 p.m.), * Working Days & Hours: (Tue to Sat; 12 noon to 8 p.m.), ** (Tue-Sat, 12noon-8 p.m.)

FIN/HDFC02-05



HEALTH AND HEALING A MANUAL OF PRIMARY HEALTH CARE

By
Shyam Ashtekar

Publishers
Orient Longman Ltd., 160 Anna Salai, Chennai 600 002
First Published: 2001 No. of Pages: 626. Price: Rs.325

Reviewed by
Professor R. V. Chari, retired professor of Commerce and Management
and a freelance writer

This book, which consists of eight parts, and divided into 46 chapters, runs into 626 pages. The human body with the flame of life within, is properly protected and regulated by various systems like the circulatory, respiratory, nervous, excretory, digestive, etc. If proper care and caution are not taken, it becomes vulnerable to various diseases.

Part I comprises six chapters, discussing the most elementary aspects of health, viz. food, water, sanitation, and the like. To drive home his views, the author resorts to statistical tables and figures which provide a fund of information on food substances, vitamins and pulses. Exercises, both individual as well as community are also ably dealt with in a very simple style. Amongst the various exercises, he emphasises the importance and value of *Suryanamaskar*, as also walking, jogging, swimming, cycling, running, and fast games like football. Besides, *asanas*, *mudras*, *bandhas* and *pranayamas* are also discussed. At the end of chapter IV, the significance and benefits of some of the *asanas* are explained.

Community health is about managing the illnesses of the community, especially the prevention as well as the promotion of health. Some of the examples are *anganwadis*, mid-day meals schemes in schools, immunisation campaigns like polio eradication, control of infectious diseases, ensuring safe drinking water, and food hygiene. The author feels that by improving living conditions many of the infectious diseases could be controlled. While treating an illness is curative medicine, takings steps in advance is preventive medicine.

Part II consists of eight chapters and deals with human anatomy, symptoms of diseases, diagnostic tests,

modern allopathic medicines, ayurveda, homeopathy and accupressure. The human body is made up of cells, the basic units of all living organisms. Tissues are cell groups with common functions, e.g. bone tissue, muscle tissue, fibrous connective tissue, etc. Blood is also a tissue though its cells move about in fluid plasma through blood vessels. Tissues perform specific tasks, as for example, muscle tissue contracting and relaxing, causing movement of the muscle, glandular tissue secreting biochemicals like hormones, enzymes, nerve tissue generating and passing signals etc. Several tissues form an organ. The biceps muscle, contains muscle, nerves and blood vessels.

Because of the presence of chromosomes and genes, we bear the semblance of our forebears. There are 46 chromosomes in 23 pairs, of which 33 pairs are somatic (body) while one pair is of sex chromosomes. Females have two X chromosomes, while males have a Y chromosome instead of a second X chromosome. Sometimes, some of these chromosomes may be defective, leading to illness.

Part III discusses in detail the digestive, respiratory, circulatory systems and also about eyes, ears, mouth, etc.

The digestive system essentially consists of esophagus, the small and large intestines, liver and pancreas. The food consumed by human beings is converted to nourishment with the help of the various juices secreted in the body. When the food is not properly or completely digested, due to a defective system, the possibility of diseases may arise. Several of the diseases, viz. constipation, purging, indigestion, cholera, hepatitis, etc. are ably discussed by the author.

The respiratory system comprises the nose, the sinuses, throat, larynx or voice box, the epiglottis, the trachea or windpipe, bronchi and bronchioles, the pleura, i.e. the two thin layers covering the lungs. The author mentions various diseases affecting the respiratory system and the remedies for them – allopathic, ayurvedic and homeopathic. Amongst them the important ones are sinusitis, nose-bleeds, sore-throat, tonsillitis, laryngitis, bronchitis, TB and pneumonia.

Carrying nourishment to the various cells with the help of blood vessels is done by the circulatory system. Blood is the fluid medium, the blood vessels form the avenues and the heart acts as the pump. Even the remote cell gets its oxygen and nutrients. Blood circulation is the life line of the body with the heart pumping 10,000 litres of blood without shutting down even for a day. The main substance of the blood is the haemoglobin filled red cells which give it the colour of red. Where the contents of the haemoglobin are reduced, the person suffers anemia. The white corpuscles in the blood act as the defence mechanism, warding off attacks from germs and bacteria. Blood carries gases, food, wastes and immune cells.

The nervous system comprises the brain, the spinal cord and the nerves. The brain, evolved through the ages, receives information, analyses them and passes on necessary instructions, through millions of nerve cells. Communication between the brain and the nerves is through electrical signals as well as bio-chemicals. The spinal cord is the passage, through which signals are transmitted by the brain to the various parts of the body. The disorders of the nervous system are (1) numbness, loss of sensation, etc.; (2) muscle weakness, paralysis; (3) rigidity

of the muscles; (4) "Wasting" of an organ; (5) convulsions, (6) disturbed balance; (7) loss of mental functions; (8) disturbance of special senses.

Parts V to VIII deal with other important topics like the reproductive system, mental health, cancer, addictions, etc.

One of the commendable aspects of the book is the provision of innumerable tables, charts, and illustrations to explain the author's views in as simple and lucid style as possible. The book, priced moderately at Rs.325/- has very well dealt with human anatomy, the various types of diseases affecting human beings and

their treatment – allopathic, ayurvedic, homeopathic and acupressure – in a very effective way. In order to have a wider coverage, it becomes essential to undertake the translation of this excellent book in all Indian languages so that the village and block development officers can have easy access to a very useful book.



CONFLICT AND COMMUNITY IN CONTEMPORARY SRI LANKA

Edited by

Siri Gamage and I.B. Watson

Publishers

Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., M32, Market,
Greater Kailash I, New Delhi 110 048

Year of Publication: 1999 No. of Pages: 355. Price: Rs.495

Reviewed by

Brigadier S. C. Sharma (retd.), an adviser in the Telecom industry,
a freelance writer and a regular contributor to *Freedom First*.

The collection of essays in the book are set out to give a better understanding of the conflicts in Sri Lanka and a possible solution. Part One deals with the political and economic background. Bernard Swan traces the origin of the conflict to the attempt by Bandarnaike to exploit religion and ethnic agenda to gain power. The Tamils already having grievances of economic neglect responded with violence and the boys became tigers. Peace is not merely absence of violence and Swan makes a plea for social justice, cultural tolerance and pursuit of moral principles. Nihal Perera describes how the Tamil demand for reasonable representation in the Legislative Council in 1910 changed to parity in 1931 and to an independent separate state in 1990. We in India are familiar with this demand for parity by the minority. This demand was fuelled by the denial of citizenship to the Tamils. The conflict has produced five-fold changes – rise of the youth as a significant political force, cultural issues becoming more important than the economic question, negotiations being replaced by military confrontation, importance of rural areas and threat to the integrity of Sri Lanka.

The British had imported cheap labour from India. After independence, the Sri Lankan elite decided in favour of plantation based development and not industrialisation. Nithyanandam has

pointed out that the elites tried to win support from the masses through largesse causing economic hardship. The economic plight and ethnic agenda drove the Tamils to rebellion. There was rebellion by Sri Lankan JVP too. India's reactions have lacked consistency, support to the LTTE and a turn around to a war against them. The Indian Army was sent to Sri Lanka to disarm the LTTE and were recalled without achieving any gain for peace.

There is an undue emphasis on the economic issues and Fernandes points out that the real problem is the political structure of the state and a solution is possible only through education.

The migration of a large number of Tamils to Europe drew the attention of the international media but the response of the international community has been mild. Only recently has the USA declared the LTTE to be a terrorist organisation. The deprivation of citizenship of the Tamils evoked sympathy in India and the LTTE got financial support, arms supply, training facilities and safe bases in India. The LTTE could not have achieved the success that they did without such help.

Part Two is a narration of oppression by the Security Forces and the resultant poor economic conditions

in the LTTE-held areas. The oppression by the Army has brought more support to the LTTE who have drawn inspiration from the heritage of the Chola Empire. Prabhakaran enjoys total loyalty. The LTTE has kept religion out of the agenda but there has been a resurgence of the local Hindu goddesses – a natural phenomenon in adversity. In order to dilute the support to the Tamils, the government showed special favour to the Muslims. The LTTE reacted with the massacre of one hundred Muslims in Kattankudy which shattered the communal peace.

Part Three enumerates the costs of the insurgency – sixty thousand casualties and economic stagnation. In Part Four, Sullivan elaborates the Sinhala views and criticises the NGOs for their censure of the acts of the Security Forces and the Sinhala community who have a tradition of tolerance. In India, we have experienced similar unjustified criticism by the NGOs. Material differences do not create conflicts. They are combined with political and ideological reasons to create violence. The conflict becomes bitter when ethnic or religious agenda is added.

The book gives views of both the sides. No solution is in sight and the only recommendation is for tolerance and education. Facilitation by a third party may help.

Freedom First

OUR MISSION

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

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

We invite you to subscribe to *Freedom First*. Kindly complete the form below and return it to us with your subscription to

Freedom First

3rd floor, Army & Navy Building, 148, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Mumbai 400 001
Phone: (022) 284 1340 • email freedom@vsnl.com

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

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

PIN: _____

* Subscriptions can also be sent by MO/DD. No postal orders please. For outstation cheques (within India), please add Rs.30 for bank charges.

For Subscribers in India

- | | |
|--|--------|
| ☐ 3 Years' Subscription | Rs.250 |
| ☐ 2 Years' Subscription | Rs.180 |
| ☐ Annual Subscription | Rs.100 |
| ☐ Single Copy | Rs.25 |

For Overseas Subscribers (By Second Class Airmail)

- | |
|--------|
| Annual |
| \$10 |
| £7 |

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: _____



GLOBAL

LOGISTICS SERVICES

As your business expands in an increasingly complex global market, efficient movement of your cargo becomes critical and sometimes, the only strategy to keep you competitive in the market place.

AFL is India's pioneer in offering the entire range of cargo services under one roof. From Global Freight Management and Inbound and Outbound Logistics to Warehousing and Distribution, AFL's competent team and widespread & robust network is there to support your ever-changing business needs.

With six decades of experience, dedicated partners in over 65 countries, and a national network of offices, we put it all together to help you integrate and extract the maximum value out of your cargo shipments.

To get your cargo move smoothly and increase your competitiveness, call our Global Logistics team by sending an email at mail@afl.co.in



Global Air & Sea Network

Customs Clearance

Warehousing & Distribution

Air & Surface Express

Bonded Trucking

www.afl.co.in