

Freedom First

The Liberal Magazine

The Kashmir Conundrum



Keep with the times. Keep it simple.

Union Bank's technology banking solutions.



Why rush to pay taxes?

**Simply pay taxes online
using Union Bank's Internet Banking.**

The age of time-consuming procedures is long gone. So is queuing up and filing sheets of papers. Get everything on your desktop through Union Bank's fast and easy Internet Banking solutions.

- Fund Transfers to other accounts within bank • Online NEFT, Online RTGS
- Bill Payments • Tax Payments • Ticket Bookings • Account Statement and many more

Phone Banking | Mobile Banking
Internet Banking | ATM | Branch Banking

यूनियन बैंक
ऑफ इंडिया
अच्छे लोग, अच्छा बैंक



Union Bank
of India
Good people to bank with

www.unionbankofindia.co.in | Toll free no. 1800 22 2244

Conditions apply

Freedom First

The Liberal Magazine – 58th Year of Publication
No.520 October 2010

Contents

<i>Between Ourselves</i>	1
In Memoriam	2
<i>From Our Readers</i>	4
<i>Cover Feature</i>	
The Kashmir Conundrum	5
The Troubled North East Revisited	
Eustace D'Souza	15
Ram Narayanan Draws the Attention of <i>Freedom First</i> Readers to ..	
Ram Narayanan	18
<i>Point Counter Point</i>	
Ashok Karnik	19
<i>The Rural Perspective</i>	
Neglect of Agriculture	
Sharad Joshi	21
<i>Come on Liberals: Let's Change India!</i>	
Reservations – Incompatible with Freedom and Justice	
Sanjeev Sabhlok	23
The PM and the Judiciary	
Nitin Raut	25
<i>Freedom First:</i>	
This Month in October 1953	27
<i>Cornucopia</i>	
Firoze Hirjickaka	28
Jamia Milia Islamia	
K. Vikram Rao	30
Politics of Heritage: A Tourism Concern	
Jyoti Marwah	33
Do We Want 'Leaders'	
Sheriyar Ookerjee	35
<i>Book Reviews</i>	37

Between Ourselves...

The editor's attention has been drawn to an error in the September issue. Mr. Sadanand Kumta's article titled "Governance Through Institutions" has a sub-title "Karnataka – A *Caste* Study". It should have read: "Karnataka – A *Case* Study." A typical *case* of a 'printer's devil'! I am a fast typist who uses the touch system. This is an advantage and, at the same times a risky one. When the fingers fly on the keyboard sometimes letters get interchanged – e.g. ask becomes aks or and becomes adn. Some times what a typist is thinking gets reflected through his fingers short circuiting the brain! Whatever the reason, my apologies to the author and readers. You will admit that there have been far fewer errors in the September issue!

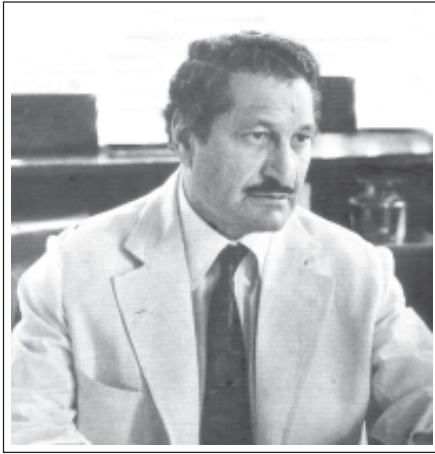
In a box on page 20 we share with you the feelings of Peregrine Worsthorne a well-known journalist now in his eighties who wonders whether old age is a time for enjoyment or mourning? For the greater part of this year *Freedom First* has been mourning the departure of outstanding personalities, persons of intrinsic merit who contributed to widening horizons and enriching thought and values. Not surprisingly their passing was barely noticed, if at all, by a sensation-hungry media wallowing in 'paid news'. We are glad we are still around, (thanks to you readers who responded so generously to our pleas for help) to remember the deserving dead. So in this issue we honour Mr. Jamshed Guzder and Professor Aloo Dastur outstanding in their fields of work who passed away this August and September.

Kashmir is back in the news, and as usual for the wrong reasons. The agitators' weapon this time is the humble stone. Old time readers might detect a change in position that *Freedom First* has been taking in the past. Actually this is not so. As a journal committed to Liberal values we continue to be committed to the position we have taken all along – that the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir must be ascertained, as promised. As Liberals we are also committed to the rule of law which implies that Law and Order is a *sine qua non*. Therefore terrorism has to be firmly put down, the violence has to be stopped before we can begin the next steps for a referendum. This was the central theme of the seminar held on September 4. We share with readers a nine-page report of this seminar. Naturally we look forward to your comments.

Editor

Founder: Minoo Masani ● **Editor:** S. V. Raju ● **Associate Editor:** R. Srinivasan ● **Advisory Board:** Sharad Bailur, A. V. Gopalakrishnan, Firoze Hirjickaka, Ashok Karnik, Farrokh Mehta, Jehangir Patel, Nitin Raut, Brig. (Retd.) S. C. Sharma, Kunwar Sinha, Sameer Wagle
Publishers: Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom (ICCF), 3rd Floor, Army & Navy Building, 148, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Mumbai 400 001.
Phone: +91 (22) 2284 34 16 ● E-mail: freedom@vsnl.com
Published by J. R. Patel for the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom (ICCF) and printed by him at Union Press, 13 Homji Street, Fort, Mumbai 400 001. Phone: 22660357, 22665526.
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.20 ● Annual: Rs.200 (Add Rs.50 for outstation cheques) ● Overseas (Intl Class Air Mail) Annual: \$20 or £10
Cheques to be drawn in favour of **ICCF** and mailed to the publishers at the above address.

Jamshed N. Guzder, RIP



(05-02-1917 – 20-08-2010)

Jamshed Nusserwanji Guzder or Jimmy as he was popularly known was a man of great compassion, a philanthropist, a visionary who genuinely cared for the poor and the needy.

Despite the great success he enjoyed in his business life, which included heading some of the country's largest business Organisations and serving on the boards of numerous Companies, he remained to the end a simple, courteous and humble person. In particular, as the Head of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat for many years, he worked selflessly for the benefit of the community.

He was extraordinarily generous in helping the poor and institutions connected with women, children, education and health, from the various charities he set up. He was approachable, affable and fond of people.

These are the sentiments expressed by the staff of Airfreight Limited the company he founded and now known as AFL Private Limited in a memorial published in the press. He was all this and more. I was also a member of the staff of this company for a decade from the mid-eighties to the mid-nineties. There were many other facets of Jimmy Guzder's personality that stood out. Actually around that time he had started withdrawing from active management of the company to devote more time not only to his community but to society at large. He saw the contours of doing business undergoing a change and the increasing role played by technology. He very gracefully accepted the changing milieu. As he once wrote: "Social mores have changed. The way we do things has undergone radical transformations. Multimedia is in. When we refer to a virus often we are referring not to a human being infected as much as a machine called the computer."

Born with a silver spoon his sincere concern for the "*aam admi*" he attributed to his mother to whom he was deeply attached. It was she, he once told us at one of our annual gatherings, who insisted on his foregoing some of the comforts taken for granted by the rich, to experience the travails of daily life.

He was a living embodiment of the concept of the social responsibility of business. A part of the incomes from his companies were contributed to the Trusts he set up to provide support for those seeking financial assistance be it medical expenses or education or some other. It was not unusual to see a dozen or more people waiting outside his room seeking his assistance of one kind or another. He was often generous to fault but I was told that no one who sought his help returned disappointed.

He was deeply concerned with the falling number of members of the Zoroastrian community and was constantly devising various schemes to persuade the married to have more children for the survival. At the same time he was also drawn into the Government-sponsored Family Planning Association of India to promote schemes to slow down population growth. He did not see any contradiction as both were worthwhile objectives!

Freedom First salutes an outstanding human being and offers its deepest condolences to the Guzder family on their bereavement.

S. V. Raju

Professor Aloo J. Dastur, R.I.P

Fiercely secular to the core, she could not sympathise with any expression of communal or regional loyalty.



(19.06.1904 – 03.09.2010)

The career of Professor Aloo Dastur almost coincided with the development of political science as a distinct discipline and almost all her colleagues in the Department of Politics and also with the Universities shared a similar experience. New areas of study in political science had developed and many

of them learnt of the nuances of the discipline even as they were teaching it. Beginning her teaching career in the Sophia College in Bombay, she went to the newly formed University, at Vallabh Vidyanagar in Anand and served for a few momentous years and returned to Bombay University as Reader in Politics. After serving for more than a score of years, she retired as Pherozeshah Mehta Professor of Politics. She was known in political science circles throughout the country as a senior professor in the subject. Political science as a distinct separate discipline was rather a novelty then in the Bombay Presidency. New fields like International Politics were of great promise (with India emerging as an Asian power) and Dr. Dastur began teaching it along with the Commonwealth. Indian politics as a subject of study was just emerging into its own but it still was centred around analytical enquiries of the Constitution and later of governments and their processes. Professors Venkatarangaiya and K. P. Mukherjee had initiated new approaches and the later generation of whom Dr. Dastur was one, played no small part in organising new courses, syllabuses etc. which remained dominant for quite a few years.

Professor Dastur was involved in the Congress Socialist Party and was exposed to the heat and dust of politics, though she kept far from them. She knew many members of the Party. Interestingly, systematic study of voting and electoral behaviour began in the early fifties and she was a pioneer studying and analysing these, wrote many monographs on it. Almost every election was studied and analysed by the Department.

Besides this, she was part of an all India team which visited Yugoslavia in the 1960s to study the emerging pattern of decentralisation that the State had initiated. It was Jayaprakash Narayan who had initiated the idea of the study team and sent the delegation to study and report upon it.

Her hour of glory was during the Emergency when along with public intellectuals of the city, she expressed her opposition by resigning from all government-supported bodies. She took the lead in writing to the President of India opposing the imposition of the Emergency and the entire Department of Civics and Politics supported this gesture by signing this memorandum, but in the University there were not many who dared to do this. Political Science faculty members of Pune University too followed suit. One learnt later that she was closely watched by the police, obviously the order must have come from above. She could justifiably say, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith" ... of democracy and liberalism. (Timothy, 2.4.7).

Professor Dastur was a member of the UGC, the premier decision making body of Higher Education. Later she was associated with the U.P.S.C. as a member. Her career was crowned by her becoming a member of the first Minorities Commission which was founded by the Janata Party after it formed the government at the Centre. In a sense, it was a finale to her public career and no greater honour could have been bestowed on her, for she remained a champion of minority rights and tirelessly advocated their joining the mainstream. Fiercely secular to the core, she could not sympathise with any expression of communal or regional loyalty.

Those of us who were close to her wished to honour her by a *festschrift*, but this remained mainly a wish. For all of us knew she would have stopped us in our tracks. She had no greater aspiration than to be a citizen of India, like any other. This was reminiscent of Cincinnatus, the famed Roman General who after conquering over the Volsci who threatened the very survival of Rome, laid down his office and went back to farming.

Meeting and interacting with her was a tonic, for one left her chamber reassured that he or she was cared for – a word of encouragement, a word of appreciation, sharing of one's exultation in one's success, all these spread cheer particularly to those who had struggled hard at their studies and were nearly despondent.

Her fine aesthetic sensibilities were reflected in the elegant Khadi that she wore with becoming grace.

R. Srinivasan

From Our Readers

On *Freedom First*

I am a Life Member of *Freedom First* and enclose a cheque for Rs.5000/- as my contribution towards *Freedom First*, with a deep sense of gratitude.

Dr. B. K. Banker, Mysore

It is indeed a privilege to receive and also subscribe to *Freedom First*. I am enjoying and enlightened by reading *Freedom First*. I also congratulate the ICCF for continuing this great magazine.

L. S. N. Prasad, Guntur

*

XIX Commonwealth Games

It is not possible to agree with Mr. Ashok Karnik in his article on the XIX Commonwealth Games (*Freedom First*, September 2010), that because "India has to prove that it is amongst the best in organising international events". "Little men's petty egos have no place when a nation's prestige is on the line" and therefore, no allegations of scams should be made at all.

Let us try to first understand that our nation's prestige would be best considered if we can bring down the number of poor and illiterate which is the highest in the world. That has to be the priority and not organising a big show called Commonwealth Games. Mani Shanker Aiyer is absolutely right that the priorities have been totally skewed and thousands of crores of rupees are diverted from the badly need funds for the poor.

Secondly, there seems to be no reason to organise Commonwealth Games. When the Asian Games were held in 1982 in New Delhi, it was claimed that it would give a boost to sports and gymnastics in the country. Seven Olympic Games took place thereafter but our tally of medals has hardly changed.

Thirdly, even if they were to be held, why should they have been held in Delhi at all. It is pointed out that substantial expenditure is to be used in augmenting the infrastructure of Delhi. India is not a city state like Singapore. It has many cities and all cities require funds for improving their infrastructure. The games could have been organised in any other city instead of giving one more boost to Delhi alone. Mumbai itself is bursting at its seams and is unable to get even a paltry sum of Rs.1,000 crores that it seeks.

In a democracy, nothing can be put under the carpet. If there are scams, they must be brought out. Those who claim that they are innocent should prove otherwise. Prestige is lost because the scams take place not because they are brought out in the open. It is time that we get

out of the foolish notions of what prestige is and rearrange our priorities.

R. N. Vepari, Surat
vepari@youtele.com

*

Dr. Dhiren Narain

I was saddened to hear of the death of Dr. Dhiren Narain. When I came from England to Bombay as a young visiting scholar in 1973, I soon acquired two gurus, A B Shah and Dhiren Narain. It was from them that I gained my first knowledge of and affection for India that was to be the basis of much of my sociology teaching at the University of Reading for the next thirty years. It was my good fortune to enjoy the guidance, kindness and friendship of these two leading Indian scholars. I always looked forward to meeting them again whenever I visited Mumbai both for the pleasure of their company and to continue our intellectual discussions.

Dr. Narain's book *Hindu Character* is a masterpiece and it was a joy to be able to discuss it with the author. It was to become a central text for my own teaching, so that his theses were in turn conveyed to British and indeed our international students from societies as diverse as Germany, Singapore and Sri Lanka. It was a privilege to be the transmitter of the ideas of such a distinguished Indian scholar.

Christie Davies,
Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of
Reading, United Kingdom.
j.c.h.davies@reading.ac.uk

*

When General Thimayya Cried

A cousin of mine then a student (1961-63) of geology at Manasa Gangotri, Mysore University narrated this moving incident. It appears General K. S. Thimayya came to address the students of the University some time in 1961. During his speech he recalled that he never shed a tear when he was a witness to a lot of deaths of his fighters and of the enemy in the battlefields for it was war. However, when in another two hours he would have driven away the hordes of marauders supported by Pakistan army regulars from the whole of Kashmir, he received an urgent message from Jawaharlal Nehru to cease action and return to what is now the present Kashmir. It was then, he said, he broke down and cried. Now the whole country is crying for Nehru's blunder of referring the Kashmir 'dispute' to the UN Security Council to conduct a plebiscite.

H. R. Bapu Satyanarayana, Mysore.
what_option@yahoo.co.in

*

The Kashmir Conundrum

Freedom First's position on the Kashmir issue has been clearly in favour of the Kashmiri people's demand for self determination. We reviewed our stance soon after the 1965 war with Pakistan. We took the position that Pakistan by its military action, no longer deserved to be a part of the dispute. The choice before the Kashmiris was between being a sovereign state or ratifying the State's accession to India. If the former then India should be prepared to guarantee its national security. Successive governments in Delhi missed the opportunity to ascertain the wishes of the Kashmiris at a time when religion was not a major issue. Since then the situation has grown murkier, more violent with Islamist terrorists getting into the act. This has had serious repercussions in various parts of the country. The 26/11 tragedy is one such. In the light of the renewal of violence in Kashmir what should be the Liberal Position?

The discussions at the seminar organized by Freedom First in Mumbai on September 4 turned out to be frank with no holds barred. The discussion were also

focused. Do we, as Liberals continue to honour the commitment made in 1953 to hold a plebiscite or a referendum in the light of the present situation? Do we continue to be on the defensive as the present Government appears to be in wanting to placate organizations and groups bent upon creating disorder. How much of the present violence is the work of terrorist groups aided and abetted from across the border? Is the state of Jammu and Kashmir, already enjoying a special status under article 371, worth retaining in the Indian Union or should we let the Valley go because in a plebiscite or referendum Ladakh and Jammu would want to be with India. What would the consequences be if this was to happen. Space prevents us from publishing the discussions, the many questions ranging from the role of Indian Army and the CRPF to the situation on the other side of the Line of Control described as Pakistan Occupied Kashmir or PoK. How much support does the agitation enjoy among the people of J & K. For a three-hour discussion a lot of ground was covered. We shall endeavour to report on the discussions in the November issue. Ed.

Kashmir in Turmoil – Again

This paper was authored by Ashok Karnik and formed the basis for discussion at the seminar.

The Kashmir problem refuses to go away despite 63 years of turmoil. Its intensity ebbs and flows but it does not disappear. It is exasperating for the genuine peace lovers that violence continues to be the theme of the Kashmir debate. July 2010 saw a serious flare up of people's anger against police 'brutalities' and the army had to be called back on the streets of Srinagar. The Prime Minister responded to the crisis belatedly but urged that peace be given a chance. He announced economic measures to help the youth. He avoided blaming anybody for the burgeoning violence and was willing to consider autonomy for Kashmir within the constitution. Unfortunately, his conciliatory gesture got hostile response.

Rejection of Peace

The People's Democratic Party, the main opposition

party, dubbed the offer as a facade and asked for 'self rule' (only Foreign Affairs, Defence and Finance to remain with the Centre). It is known to run with the hares and hunt with the hounds. The All Party Hurriyat Conference, which has two factions: the Syed Ali Geelani faction (hardliners) asking for Plebiscite and the Mirwaiz Umar Farooq faction (moderates) declaring that autonomy was not the solution. The two factions have come closer on this issue. All these demands challenge India's sovereignty and are steps towards secession. This may be an oversimplification of their positions but in a nutshell describe the price to be paid for peace in Kashmir.

The Centre appears willing to go a long distance in meeting the aspirations of the youth of Kashmir. These gestures may come to naught as the real demand of the agitators is 'Azaadi'. The Centre must keep this in mind while giving one concession after another. The demands

would escalate as nothing would stop the secessionists from starting the agitation all over again.

The political process in Kashmir has received a serious set back. Paradoxically, Omar Abdullah, Chief Minister of J&K, who was demanding dilution of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), was the one who had to turn to the Army to establish order in the streets of Srinagar. He was candid enough to concede that it was a political and personal setback for him. Wish more politicians were as truthful! Omar Abdullah fights a difficult battle for India while his political opponents demand his resignation for having lost credibility. It may be convenient to make him a scapegoat for what is happening in Kashmir but it must be realised that he is a victim of history. He is being blamed for remaining aloof; wasting his goodwill and so on. It is easy to blame somebody for problems one cannot solve. Nothing can be gained by jettisoning him to placate the agitators except to embolden them to demand more pounds of flesh.

Protests as Strategy

It would be interesting to study the developments in Kashmir as a matter of separatist strategy. Despite its troubled history, J&K has been brought into the mainstream through regular Assembly elections – or so it appeared. Each election is a success story of the triumph of peace over violence. However, democracy becomes a license to stage protests. Protests have moved from the Gandhian concept of ‘satyagraha’ to a diabolical art form to foment trouble. Protests are accompanied by stone pelting. Stone pelting is fine tuned to make the police the specific target. This automatically leads to use of force by the police. The next, one hears is of the number of victims of police brutalities and martyrs to the cause. The brains behind the protests are the secessionists; the issues pursued may be genuine but to the agitators issues are unimportant; violence is the aim.

The Foreign Hand

A mature nation cannot surrender to momentary setbacks. Kashmir is constantly pulled in opposite directions. Some groups demand total ‘Azaadi’ while some others demand autonomy. The extremists in Kashmir are backed fully by Pakistan which has never hidden its support for a breakaway Kashmir. The Pak ISI with the help of its progeny like the Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohd and Hizbul Mujahideen leave no stone unturned to foment trouble in Kashmir. There is no single leader who commands

respect. Hurriyat Conference leaders have rejected the PM’s initiative by declaring that development of Kashmir or unemployment are not the urgent issues but political resolution of the State’s destiny is the real problem (which means ‘Azaadi’ to them). This would put paid to all the talk of winning the hearts of the people. If the demand is secession, it is unacceptable.

What Next?

The State Government and the Centre must appear to be in control first to attract popular support. On the other side, Pakistan would never stop supporting the secessionists as it is the cheapest form of war that it is fighting. There is an inescapable conclusion that the agitators want to create martyrs to further their agitation. Telephone intercepts have shown leaders asking for a few more deaths. The people are used as cannon fodder so that the agitation spreads as more and more martyrs are added to the list. This devious game is set to continue till the Centre is embarrassed enough to grant concessions. The strategy is simple enough: raise an issue and organise a demonstration, pelt stones, burn police stations and invite police action; demonstrators get injured and another cause is generated to demonstrate again; if somebody is killed, it is a bonus as more violent demonstrations can be held demanding action against the police and compensation to the victims. There are shades of the Palestinian ‘intefada’ in what is happening in Kashmir.

There is no escape from the fact that Kashmiris feel alienated from the rest of the country. Pakistan’s active interest in cutting off Kashmir from India is a given. However, foreign hand cannot become an excuse for India’s strategic failures. This country has to succeed in spite of the foreign hand. Most critics of the Government suggest that hearts of Kashmiris must be won, without saying how. Advice is cheap and does not come with guarantees. The Centre has offered dialogue at every level, including talks with the separatists but such offers are taken as a sign of weakness and attempts are made to escalate tension. Demands keep piling up. It is necessary to separate the militants from the peace loving Kashmiris. The PM’s hand of friendship is extended to the latter. Those who reject it must be left out of the loop as nothing except secession would satisfy them. Some would prefer to throw in the towel and argue in favour of the moralistic ‘mantra’ of right to self-determination. It is forgotten that this right does not entail break up of existing political entities. They do not seem to account for the likely domino effect in the North East or the communal holocaust that secession

of Kashmir would engender in the country. The two nation theory would come to haunt the country again, with the talks of transfer of population. These dangers need to be factored in.

There are no easy or ready-made solutions for the Kashmir problem. Search for quick solutions is itself a problem. The test of a statesman is the capacity to hold firm in the face of adversity. When no immediate solution is in sight, it is often wiser to establish control and sit it out. Those seeking instant solutions would not agree to this strategy but once the agitators realise that their gambit has not worked, they may return to the negotiating table. The Centre must accept that the situation is bad but this is not the time to panic and act in haste. Wait them out should be the strategy.

Opening the discussion Ashok Karnik said he would deal with the problem as an administrator and not as an idealist. An administrator, he said “tries to evolve a solution” whereas an idealist “seeks a solution.” Starting with the eruption of the agitation in June this year he revealed that “it was known in intelligence circles that violence in the rest of the country had abated but Kashmir would continue to boil.”

“There are two reasons for this”, said Ashok Karnik: “One is that the Pakistanis or the ISI or the Lashker-e-Toiba or the Jaish-e-Mohammed were stopped by the Americans from acting in parts of India. There was pressure on the organizations in Pakistan not to explode any more bombs in India. Pune was perhaps the last. It was decided to concentrate on Kashmir because violence in Kashmir is tolerated by the international community. Because it is considered a disputed area, the Americans will not intervene!

The Intefada

“It was planned that an *intefada* would be started in Kashmir. An *intefada* is what the Palestinians started by way of revolt against the Israelis. This involved continuing protest marches, constant attacks on security forces and creating more and more opportunities for civil protests. The Israelis dealt with the *intefada* in Palestine in a way which is not possible for us to follow. The Israelis imposed a kind of martial law on Palestine – stamped down and closed down everything that was happening in Palestine – bringing the people down to their knees, economically. So the *intefada* agitators had to negotiate with the Israelis to arrive at some kind of a solution. The

Israelis promised self rule to the Palestinians if the latter accepted the existence of Israel and promised not to attack Israeli territory. Ours is happening in an altogether different atmosphere. The *intefada* was started in June 2010 in the Kashmir valley and the international community has not tried to stop the violence. Therefore it is up to India to keep the agitation under control without any outside help.

Escalating Demands

“Our security forces are the basic targets. When they are attacked, the forces fire back, some people die, generally women and children, who are put in the forefront of the protest marches, and are therefore the victims. This leads to further protests. Then, as we know now, there is demand first for the withdrawal of the armed forces and the withdrawal of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act. If the Army is not operative in the field in Kashmir, as is the position today, it is the CRPF or the local police who are accused of excessive violence; for the rape of women; attack on children and so on. Their next demand is “control your armed forces and the police”. Unfortunately, the charge that the police are uncontrollable has some truth because the police do act sometimes in haste, sometimes in anger and that gives rise to further agitation.

“The next demand, as I have mentioned in my paper, is for the removal of Omar Abdullah as Chief Minister. He is being blamed for everything that is going wrong in Kashmir today. Last year, he was a hero, because he won the elections with more than 60% voting and he changed the picture of J&K so to say. Today he is the villain; that he doesn’t mix with the people; he does not have his hand on the pulse of the people, etc. So he should be removed and the problem will be solved. Will it be solved? I don’t think so. Remove him, and even with a new chief minister the problem would still be there; and the demands will keep increasing. Every time you give a concession, a new demand arises. Today there is talk of autonomy which even the Government of India has agreed to *consider*. So, now there is demand for self rule. Self rule implies that foreign affairs, defence, economy and currency would remain with India; the rest of the powers will remain with J&K.

The Real Demand is Azaadi

“The Hurriyat Conference chief, Mr. Gilani has been frank enough to say that these are not their demands. He wants *azaadi*. So *azaadi* is the real aim of the entire agitation and unless that demand is met, this agitation will continue. This is the truth of the matter. Can we

countenance this demand; give in because of weakness or fatigue in dealing with Kashmir? The Indian people get fatigued very easily because it is something happening in a distant land. Why spend so much of money, let's get rid of this problem, the fatigued mind prompts.

"There is constant talk of winning the hearts and minds of the people of J&K. How do you win the hearts of an alienated people? There is no doubt that there is alienation built up over the years. By giving them more money? According to the Planning Commission figures, for 1% of the population, we are giving 10% aid from the country's resources. The Centre gives 10% to Kashmir alone. Give some more? Maybe, that money is not going to the common Kashmiri. I think corruption is imbibed in the Indian mind. It is everywhere. You pour more money. It again goes to the politicians or to the bureaucrats. It will not reach the people. This is so not only in Kashmir but is true of the whole country.

"In the real world, there are solutions which are harsh, solutions which are not acceptable generally to idealists for whom the world is rosy where the best ideas flourish. Perhaps in the earlier seminars on Kashmir reports of which were published in *Freedom First*¹ in the last twenty years, it was felt that it was best to let the Kashmiris have the right of self determination; to let them decide for themselves. The Plebiscite offer was made in 1953. It was then thought that self-determination ought to be our policy. Now the idea of self-determination has been given up all over the world even by established democracies. Self-determination was meant for colonial countries even as colonialism was preparing to leave their colonies. Then the demand for self-determination was logical. Today it is not so."

In this context Ashok Karnik referred to an editorial in the Education World by its Editor Dilip Thakore suggesting a fresh look at the Kashmir problem. "Plebiscite", said Ashok Karnik "cannot be held in J&K because part of it is occupied by Pakistan which cannot be vacated for purposes of the plebiscite, and another part of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir has been ceded by the Pakistanis to the Chinese and I don't think they would vacate what is under their occupation for the purposes of Plebiscite. The other solution is secession. The thinking is, Kashmir is a cancer, so let's get rid of it. If we allow Kashmir self-determination or plebiscite or secession, why would the seven states in India's North East want to stay with India? They were agitating along with the Kashmiris

for independence. Nagaland was brought under control through army rule. The same thing happened in Mizoram and even in Manipur, and Assam which is an oil-rich state and can be on its own. If the idea is accepted in principle, by the Indian State there is no limit to the break-up of our country.

"Wait it Out"

"My personal feeling as an administrator is that we should "wait it out". Don't get into a panic situation where you want a solution tomorrow. Our weakness is the human weakness of wanting a solution in our own lifetime. But countries live on for centuries. Look at China. They have many territorial demands over many areas. Take the example of Tibet. The Chinese waited for a thousand years to annex Tibet. They are now waiting for Formosa (Taiwan). Today they cannot capture it because of the American military might. But they are not giving up their demand. They are also not giving up their demand on Arunachal Pradesh. They are not pursuing it militarily, but they will keep it going till the opportunity is ripe.

On the contrary, India is in a state of "let's get rid of all the problems, we don't want anything, let's have peace". This is a sign of weakness. There will be agitations, let's face it. Let us talk with the Kashmiris but terms like self-rule, *azaadi* are not acceptable. Don't expect that the agitators will accept the offer and come to the negotiating table tomorrow. You may have to wait it out for 20 years, perhaps 50 years or even 100 years. But we stay put. The resilience in our own culture, our own civilization will provide solutions. The British waited out the Northern Ireland problem for nearly 50 to 60 years before it was resolved. The Kashmiri people want peace, will get tired of curfews, their economy would get shattered; that is when they may persuade the Hurriyat Conference or whosoever it is, to come to terms, to accept some kind of proposal where they join the Indian mainstream. Today Hizbul Mujahideen in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) has already declared that "the victory is near, Kashmir is ours." We have to counter that kind of mentality, with the riposte that we will not give up Kashmir. Imposing curfew, enforcing law and order which might impoverish the people, leading to shortages of essential commodities are very harsh measures. I don't think there is an easy solution to this problem."

The Education World (August 2010) editorial took a more conciliatory position which Ashok Karnik felt would lead to the break up of the Indian State. This is

what Dilip Thakore had to say in his editorial:

“Time to Review Set Positions On Kashmir

The Kashmir Valley’s long hot summer marked by the desperate stone-pelting war declared by youth following the collapse of governance in the state of Jammu & Kashmir necessitates deep analysis of India’s 63-year-old Kashmir problem, and radical out-of-the-box solutions to cauterise this long-festering wound of the body politic which is bleeding India dry.

“Regrettably, resolution of the Kashmir problem necessitates revisiting the painful history of the partition of India 63 years ago and accession of pre-independence India’s 500-plus nominally autonomous kingdoms, princedoms and principalities to the Indian Union in the immediate aftermath of independence. Since the religious identity of the ‘Muslim nation’ within the subcontinent was the rationale of the partition, when the Hindu maharajah of Muslim-majority Kashmir dithered on the issue of accession to independent Pakistan, it was invaded by the Pakistan Army. After the beleaguered maharajah hastily signed an instrument of accession with India, the Indian Army was flown into the Kashmir valley to save Srinagar and drive back Pakistani irregulars and the army into Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

“At the time when Sheikh Abdullah’s National Conference threw its weight behind India, promises were made that the state of Jammu & Kashmir would be conferred special status within the Indian Union, with maximum autonomy under its own prime minister. It’s also important to recall that after a ceasefire was called by the United Nations in 1948, newly independent India’s prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru promised a plebiscite in the Valley which was never held. On the contrary the special status of J&K was steadily diluted with New Delhi ruling out third party intervention in the Indo-Pak Kashmir dispute.

“Since then despite severe resource constraints which hampered its national development effort, New Delhi has invested an estimated Rs.1,000 thousand crore by way of

subsidies and development funds into J&K, besides maintaining a massive military presence to safeguard its international borders, to little effect. Lumbered by irredeemably corrupt politicians and bureaucrats, J&K has remained one of the most socio-economically backward states of the Indian Union; and the most rebellious and unstable, hardly worth fighting a nuclear war over.

“Against this backdrop of six decades of civil strife and low-intensity warfare in J&K, it’s quite clearly time to review set positions to break the impasse of the Indo-Pak Kashmir dispute. For a start, India needs to had offer to restore the pre-1953 *status quo ante*, and jointly with Pakistan, redeem the plebiscite promise. And, in the likely event of the people of the Kashmir Valley opting for independence, Jammu and Ladakh districts can be hived off, with Kashmir’s independence jointly guaranteed by India and Pakistan. It’s time to invest some novelty and hope in the Indo-Pak dialogue to prevent the spread of religious fundamentalism and terrorism in the volatile Indian subcontinent.”

In an article he wrote after participating in the September 4 discussions Freedom First columnist Firoze Hirjikaka found merit in the suggestion that India should let Kashmir Valley go. In this article he has expanded on his brief intervention at the seminar.

A Bold New Initiative is the Need of the Hour

“If there is one topic our political pundits love to shoot their mouths of on, it’s Kashmir. The views range from bleeding heart to blatantly belligerent. It’s another matter that after more than 20 years of pontificating, the “experts” are no closer to finding a solution to the Kashmir “problem” than when they started.

“Whenever there is an impasse, the obvious impulse is to cover up one’s incompetence by looking for a scapegoat. In the case of Kashmir, Pakistan is an obvious candidate. No one doubts that Pakistan has gone out of its way to foment trouble in Kashmir. However, the vacillating response of successive Indian governments has certainly not helped matters. When will we learn that appeasing a bully only makes him more aggressive and scornful?

“There is a general perception that India is being subtly coerced by the US to be nice to Pakistan. This is

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 furniture, typewriters, refrigerators, computers and electronic 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.



probably true, but if India thinks giving in to America's wishes is going to tilt the superpower to its side in its dealings with Pakistan, we are deluding ourselves. The only reason the US wants calm along the Line of Control (LoC) is that it can then try to persuade Pakistan to divert more of its armed forces to its Western border to fight the Taliban and Al Qaeda. If India is serious about bringing Pakistan to the peace talks table, it should make a lot of noise, including a fair bit of sabre rattling along the LoC. This would compel Pakistan to pull out forces from the fight against the militants; and rattle America so much that it would put immense pressure on Pakistan to stop needling India and make peace.

"The latest buzz word in the Kashmir valley is *azaadi*. By opposing this idea so vehemently, the Indian government is actually playing into the hands of the separatists and their brainwashed followers. India's strong opposition makes it easy for Geelani and company to convince their followers that it is a cause worth agitating for. If at all the separatists have thought through the implications of total independence, they are not revealing much to their followers. Think about it. First of all, a fully independent Kashmir would lose Jammu and Ladakh, since it is highly improbable that those regions would want to separate from India. Moreover, an independent Kashmir restricted to the Valley is simply not viable. It would be completely land locked, with dicey communications during the winter months; it has no heavy industry to speak of; and without the hundreds of crores of Rupees that India pumps into the state every year, it would be virtually bankrupt within a year.

"So what if India was to wash its hands off the Kashmir Valley and let the inhabitants stew in their own juice? My presumption is that it would not take the Kashmiris long to face the painful reality that an *azad* Kashmir is not the paradise they were promised. Once the economy collapses and chronic unemployment turns into an epidemic, they would probably plead for a reversion to the *status quo ante*; army or no army India could then negotiate re-accession from a position of strength.

"The counter argument to this scenario, of course, is that, once the Indian armed forces withdraw, Pakistan would quickly move in and occupy the Valley. Even if that were to happen, the implication for India would be that the *de-facto* LoC would shift from its present position to the boundaries of the Valley. It would not make India any more vulnerable. Moreover, although conventional wisdom

dictates a swift Pakistan takeover, I am not convinced that this is inevitable. My reasoning is this. Once India vacates the Kashmir Valley, there would no longer be any cause for conflict between the two neighbours; and I don't think peace is in the scheme of things of the Pakistan army and the ISI. These two institutions thrive; nay survive, on fomenting and sustaining hatred of India. It is what makes the people of Pakistan so amenable to frequent military dictatorship. Remove the threat and the Pakistani population could seriously consider the benefits of a functioning democracy. No, a lasting peace would not suit the military at all.

"I have also heard the argument that granting *azadi*, or even full autonomy to Kashmir, would encourage similar demands from India's North-Eastern states, where the ethnicity of the local population is apparently closer to the Chinese than Indian. However, the situation is somewhat different here. True, some elements in Bangladesh are instigating trouble in these regions, but it is nowhere as intense or widespread as along India's Western border. Besides, Bangladesh is too feeble – economically and militarily – to pose any real threat to India.

I am aware these suggestions will be deemed too radical by many; and there is no guarantee that they would work. Well, conventional wisdom hasn't got us very far after 20 years of trying. So maybe a bold new initiative is the need of the hour."

The seminar chairman V .Balachandran had to contend with these two points of view which Ashok Karnik had neatly divided into Administrative and Idealistic points of view!

"There are two sides to the problem" said V. Balachandran, making his remarks on the . discussions so far. "One is the traditional aspect and the other a law and order one. One is the externally sponsored armed insurgency in J&K. The other is the law & order problem arising out of domestic reasons. Of course, you can't say that the internal disturbances bordering on insurgency are not supported by Pakistan. But I disagree with Home Minister Mr. Chidambaram's diagnosis that it is wholly externally inspired; that the Lashker-e-Toiba cadres are visible and so on. If that is so, the present pattern of disturbances will not fit in.

"We saw serious riots taking place during the 2008 Amarnath Yatra in which about 200 people were killed.

Thereafter, the State had very peaceful elections in which about 64% of the electorate participated. Everything was so calm. These are not signs of an externally inspired insurgency. After the elections Omar Abdullah was welcomed as the new hero. Suddenly he has been dumped. A 2008 analysis by certain people who had studied the situation in the Valley for years revealed that it was actually a fight between two family-organized political parties, i.e. the Abdullah clan's National Conference (NC) and Mufti Mohammed's Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). In 2008, the PDP was in power and the National Conference wanted to condemn them; there was clear evidence that in certain areas where the Islamists had no support, NC cadres had organized serious disturbances in order to see that the PDP was embarrassed. Now the roles have reversed. At first Omar Abdullah blamed only an unidentified national party for inciting violence. Later he came out openly blaming the PDP..

Extent of Public Support for the Agitation

"We really do not know the real extent of public support for the agitation. Many observers have said that the current agitation has no public support; that it is confined only to a small area, and the electronic and print media has exaggerated it. A reputed electronic journal *The Eurasia Review* which claims it provides an independent view of world affairs, especially on events in Asia, Africa and Europe by presenting a non-American viewpoint stated, *inter alia* in its issue of 23 August 2010: 'The widespread impression that the present disturbances represent a popular uprising or that things are worse than they were in the early 1990s is utterly misconceived. The troubles have largely been orchestrated within a miniscule segment of the population in small areas of the Valley and the disruption caused is principally a measure of the incompetence of administrative response rather than any irresistible upsurge of popular sentiment'. In an article I wrote for the *Sunday Guardian*, I have pointed out that this grossly exaggerated picture is because of media overexposure. You will find that the Valley is the most exposed territory in the world, barring the Israel-Palestinian conflict. Global attention comes up once in a while and then goes away.

What about Azad Kashmir also referred to as PoK

"As early as 1972, Srinagar was one of the three cities where the Government of India introduced Television. The others were Bombay and New Delhi. And then, as early as 1984, there were 220 newspapers in the Valley.

On the other hand what is the condition across the border? In the so-called "Azad Kashmir", also referred to as PoK, heavily controlled by the Pakistan Army there was only one newspaper before the big earthquake. There are some very serious incidents happening in PoK which are not in public view². On our side of the border the moment a stone is thrown, Barkha Dutt flies to the Valley, and then holds court. I am sorry for being personal, but unfortunately this is what is happening. There is too much of media attention and when you get it day in and day out you feel that there is something terribly wrong.

Media Frenzy over Kashmir

"It is my view that the people in the Valley cannot expect to have more rights than citizens of other states of the Indian Union. Let me give you an example of another state - Manipur in India's North East. Manipur has a population of 21 lakh while J&K has 77 lakh. The per capita income in Manipur is Rs.17,770 while in Kashmir it is 21,561. Manipur is heavily dependent on outside help, as we saw recently when there was a 64-day Naga Students' blockade leading to great misery. The petrol price went up to Rs.140/- a litre. None of us even bothered, none of our mainstream media, except in passing, made any comment. None rushed there for 24 x7 coverage. Whenever there is a shortage in Kashmir it is reported in the mainstream electronic media, the mainstream press and even in the international press. Did the Government of India ever bother about those poor Manipuri people who were literally starved of medicines, petrol and other necessities of life for over two months? Nobody bothered. On the other hand the Government of India is shedding tears over unemployment in the Valley. What are the facts? In Manipur, there are four lakh educated unemployed. In Kashmir, five lakh are registered as educated unemployed. But they keep on saying that the Valley people don't have jobs. In the Valley, 2,95,000 people are unemployed while in Jammu 2,72,000 people are unemployed. Nobody talks about Jammu. Very serious human rights violations are taking place in Manipur. None of our mainstream media has any time for covering that. If you see the statistics of deaths of so-called terrorists in Manipur, you will find that it is the highest in the country. Actually many of them are not terrorists. I am criticizing the police, being a former police officer myself, because that is a big problem; but nobody is bothered about it. Whereas the moment there is one death in the Valley, there is agitation.

"So my conclusions would also be somewhat similar to that suggested by Ashok Karnik. Let us give less

attention to the Valley's problems. Let us leave it to the law and order authorities. The very idea of autonomy propagated by the Prime Minister and others is dangerous. What is the type of autonomy that is denied to the state of Jammu and Kashmir which other states in the Indian Union enjoy? All states in the Indian Union have autonomy to manage their own affairs. What is it that the Maharashtra government does not have? They have full powers over the money, development, irrigation, roads, almost everything else. Kashmir also has it. What more do they want? Do they want to conduct their own foreign relations, send their own ambassador to some other countries? Some states wanted to open Business Missions and Liaison Offices and so on. The Government of India said that such Missions and Offices have to be a part of our Trade Promotion Council. That's because the states of the Indian Union are not sovereign. Unlike in the USA where the states are sovereign, in India, there is only one sovereign authority - the Government of India. So what is the autonomy that the Hurriyat and some others are talking about? They keep talking about the political process. Didn't they have a fairly good election process? 64% turn out, violence free and that too, acclaimed internationally as one of the cleanest elections? Then what political process are they talking about? There is talk of devolution of power. What exactly does devolving power mean? The same structure that we have in Maharashtra exists in Kashmir as well. There are village panchayats, there are other local administrative structures. What then is the autonomy they are talking about.

Some Uncomfortable Historical Facts

"Someone protested about the Chinese media depicting Pakistani Northern areas as "Northern Pakistan" since they are part of undivided Kashmir and should belong to India. Sometimes things are not that simple. It is true that international law stipulates that duly constituted nations should not be broken up.³ Of course there have been breaches, like the one sponsored by the West in Timor, for instance. We cannot break up a duly constituted nation. However this may not be strictly applicable to Kashmir which according to the UN is disputed. We may say that that we had moved the UN only to vacate Pakistani aggression. But the UN considers it a dispute. Security Council Resolution No: 47(1948) of 21 April 1948 says that *a free and fair plebiscite under UN auspices will be held to enable the people to determine whether they want to join India or Pakistan after Pakistan vacates its troops*. Would we be ready to hold a plebiscite in our part Kashmir if, for arguments' sake, Pakistan places Azad

Kashmir and Northern areas under UN rule temporarily? Here the Government of India's traditional stand is ambivalent. If we say that the whole of Kashmir including those areas occupied by Pakistan belong to India in view of the Maharaja's accession dated 26 October 1947 and Kashmir State's Constituent Assembly's Resolution of 15 February 1954 on the subject, then the question is why are we continuing with our complaint with the UN which speaks of self-determination?

"Another question is how do we say that the entire Kashmir should belong to us especially when certain parts of old Kashmir were not under the Maharaja's *de facto* rule? For example Gilgit Agency was directly ruled by the British since 1935 after getting a lease from the Maharajah for 60 years. It is true that it was "retroceded" to the Maharaja by the British just prior to 1947 but the Gilgit Scouts which were not under the Maharaja's control revolted and hoisted the Pakistani flag before the Maharaja's representative could formally take over administration. The Maharaja's governor who was sent there to formally take over the administration was kept as a prisoner by the locals. Hence the whole of Kashmir might have been *de jure* with Maharaja but not *de facto*. This position could apply even to areas being claimed by the Chinese in old Kashmir. All these make things very difficult on the ground although applying the Principle of *Uti possidetis juris* may validate our claims. Meanwhile how will the Chinese or other foreign governments describe that area? Should they call it "Pakistan- owned" or 'Pakistan-administered' Northern Areas, like how our Kashmir is called Indian-administered Kashmir by international media which we have started accepting? So we have to take a decision once and for all and if it is part of our country, we should withdraw that complaint from the United Nations. We cannot have it both ways."

Participants

Mr. V. Balachandran ● Maj. Gen. (Retd.) Eustace D'Souza ● Dr. Navasikha Duara ● Mr. A. V. Gopalakrishnan ● Mr. Firoze Hirjikaka ● Mr. C. A. Kallianpur ● Mr. Ashok Karnik ● Mr. S. V. Raju ● Mr. S. Ramachandran ● Ms. Kashmira Rao ● Mr. Ravindranath ● Brig. (Retd.) Suresh C. Sharma ● Mr. Rohit Singh ● Mr. Kunwar Sinha ● Brig. (Retd.) A. Thyagarajan

The Discussion

The discussions that followed were lively and covered considerable ground. Due to space constraints we shall cover the discussions in two parts. This is the first. The second and final part will be continued in the November issue

The Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) and the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA)

Question: Brig. (Retd.) A.Thyagarajan: Is the CRPF covered by in the Armed Forces Special Powers Act?

Answer: It would appear that the CRPF is not covered. The CRPF has to technically work under the local magistrate or the police. They don't have independent powers of opening fire except in self defence. In 872 stone pelting incidents since June this year 1266 security forces, mostly CRPF personnel were injured.

Question: How is it that the police are able to do what they want and are not criticized. Only the Army comes in for criticism. The Army is not in Srinagar, but the CRPF.

Answer: Under the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC), the Police by virtue of being policemen, have certain powers to maintain law and order. The Army does not have that power. So the Army has to be specially equipped to deal with law and order, internally. During war, they have those powers. That is why the Armed Forces Special Powers Act is needed for the Army to operate in a civilian area, whereas the police inherently have those powers under Acts such as the Bombay Police Act or the Delhi Police Act. Under these, restrictions and guidance are given to the police. But inherent powers are there once you wear a police uniform, which the Army does not have.

Comment: In that case, it is ironical that they are talking of the AFSPC, when the Army's presence is not there in Srinagar town. It is the para military forces who are operating.

Response: That is why, whether the AFSPA is there or not, it does not matter in Kashmir because the Army is not operating. The Army had only a flag march for a few days in Srinagar, but they did not do anything else. So this demand is for the sake of demand. You know it appeals to the people in general. The Army has tremendous powers and they are available for the Army's use when required and ordered, therefore the demand by agitators that the power should be withdrawn is meaningless. Of course,

the powers can be withdrawn in the sense , that in the future, should the Army operate in Srinagar for instance if the situation goes out of control, the CRPF may be ineffective, and the Army may be called in therefore they should not have these powers at all, is the cry. As of now, the army has not been deployed, and so there is no question of the AFSPA at present.

Under the the CrPC, the officer in charge of the police station can face a situation where he can order a lathi charge or tear gas, depending on the gravity of the situation to disperse an unlawful assembly. But the actual powers are with the Magistrate. When there is nobody available, the officer in charge could even be the head constable, who as officer in charge of the police station can also order the use of force. But it should be preferably under the order of the Magistrate.

What happens is that in all the cases of paramilitary organizations, whether it is the BSF or the CRPF, they are requisitioned by state governments. On their own they cannot operate as for example when they were ordered to by the Maharashtra government during the riots in Mumbai.

The CRPF is on standby during the Ganapati festival. They can't go and resort to force. That is what happened in Ghatkopar, a Mumbai suburb. A sub-inspector of police was convicted, because he was from the special armed police. Although it is different from the Maharashtra Police, they wear the Maharashtra Police uniform, and because the situation was so bad, he opened fire and one person was killed. He was charged with murder and convicted because he had no power to open fire.

¹ July 14, 1990 – "The Kashmir Problem – Time for a People's Initiative"; July 15, 1995 – "Kashmir: A Question of People of Real Estate"; March 18, 2000 – The Kashmir Question: "Many Options, Few Takers"

² "CRPF is not the problem" by V. Balachandran, *Sunday Guardian*, New Delhi 11 July 11.to10)

³ Principle of *Uti possidetis juris* which means that newly formed sovereign states should have the same borders as they had before independence.

(To be continued)

The Troubled North East Revisited

Eustace D'Souza

Freedom First readers may recall an earlier article on this writer's visit to NEFA in June 2009. The raison d'être for this visit was an article that appeared in a contemporary magazine, which on its front cover proclaimed: "The Mess in the Army. Second hand clothes, shortage of officers, outdated equipment, a strategic vacuum. The Indian Army is a time bomb that is clicking".

Agreed that there are certainly some problems as there will be in any Army in the world but certainly not what this banner headline implies. And this was evident to this writer when he revisited NEFA. This time he also went to Itanagar (NEFA), Assam and Manipur (Imphal) for 12 days in August, on the premise that seeing is believing. This was not in any way an officially sponsored trip but undertaken at his own instance to meet troops of his Regiment – all four units visited had some connection with him while in service. The trip included a two-night visit to Raj Bhavan to catch up with the incumbent Governor, General J. J. Singh (Retd.) who belongs to the writer's Regiment and is its Honorary Colonel.

The writer proceeded by road to Itanagar – a drive of just over 8 hours from Guwahati via Tezpur. The monsoons notwithstanding, the road was in fairly good condition. It was heartening to see the number of children in their distinctive school uniforms on the road cheerfully waving out to us. This is a healthy sign in an ULFA infested area. Right up to the entrance to Itanagar, vast paddy fields on either side of the highway were being readied for planting as there was no dearth of water thanks to nature's bounty. At the entrance to Itanagar where the ascent starts, a police check post ensures that only bonafide visitors enter. Even though we explained that we were proceeding to Raj Bhavan, the border police insisted on our establishing our bonafides. The road now runs through a narrow, forested valley alongside a river, winding up to Itanagar. To an environmentalist, it was heartening to see the lush foliage on the green hillsides. This is visible testimony to the fact that preserving the tree cover minimises landslides. Itanagar, the capital of the state of Arunachal Pradesh (AP), is not much of a State Capital town, spread as it is over the hill sides, with no distinctive buildings.

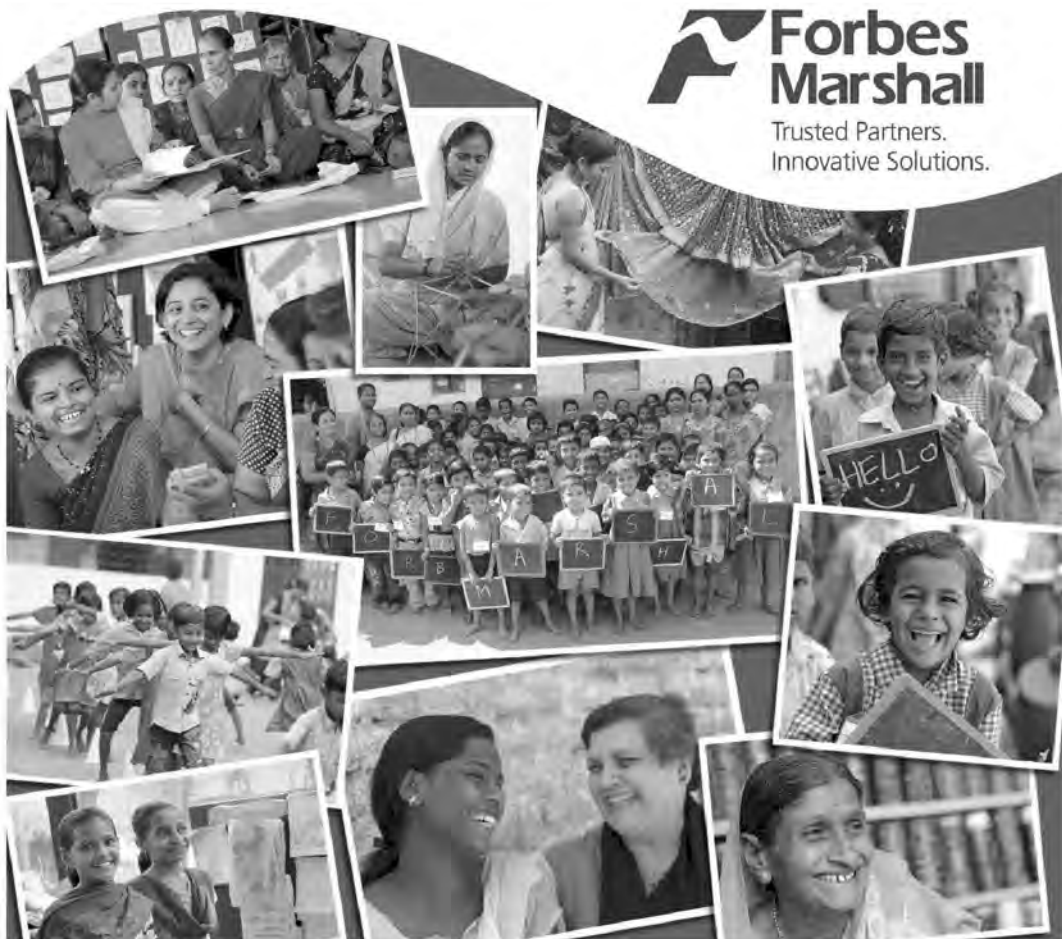
After being escorted to a very comfortable guest room, General J. J. Singh the Governor walked the writer round the estate and in particular pointed out the steps taken to greening it with a remarkable dash of colourful flowering plants. To the existing tennis court the Governor has developed on a no cost basis a 9 holes golf course

within the Raj Bhavan estate, without disturbing the landscape. He is an accomplished golfer himself. He has instituted one day in the week as Open Day for citizens to meet him for which, a Darbar Hall is under construction. The Raj Bhavan Guard is drawn up from the CRPF. The only Army presence in Itanagar is the Chief Engineer, Border Roads. The Governor has set himself the target of environmental protection, economic use of forest wealth, communal harmony, and improvement of internal communications, especially roads. There is a meter gauge railway line and helicopter services are now being expanded in the State connecting important towns. The mountainous terrain presents many challenges especially bridging, frequent landslides and rainy weather. To meet all such emergencies, earth moving equipment are located at various places and ensure smooth movement of traffic.

Education throughout the state is in English. This writer visited Don Bosco's School just outside Itanagar. He had an opportunity to speak to a group of boys and girls and was impressed with their alertness and confidence. He met the Principal, a young Salesian Priest, from faraway Kerala and a young nun. He noticed that the School had boarding facilities and playing fields and above all, the children were happy. It was the Governor who suggested the visit. He also arranged a visit to Poma Village about an hour's drive from Itanagar, where he has established a training center for local villagers to learn handicrafts using local material like bamboo. The Governor hopes to extend similar programmes to other parts of the State.

When he moves around the State, the Governor does so by road so that he can see and is able to meet people and listen to their problems. At a dinner hosted by him the writer met some of his staff including an Arunachalese Lady whose son is a commissioned officer in the Army and it was encouraging to learn that the Governor plans to get more young people to join the Armed Forces.

The next stop was Tenga/Rupa via Tezpur. A few kilometers off the Tezpur-Tawang Road hidden in the



**Forbes
Marshall**

Trusted Partners.
Innovative Solutions.

If we can measure steam, gas, chemicals and water, then why not smiles?

A philosophy that drives Forbes Marshall's extensive social commitment program.

At Forbes Marshall, we firmly believe that an organization should actively contribute to the community that it operates in.

Our initiatives focus on community development, empowerment of women, education and healthcare for the underprivileged.

We also undertake extensive programmes on HIV awareness and literacy, besides enabling underprivileged youth with sustainable skills to earn a stable livelihood.

Over 140 of our self-help groups empower and equip women with special skills and train them to become self sufficient entrepreneurs.

Similarly, the Shehernaz Medicare Centre at our Kasarwadi campus provides all-round medical aid while handling sensitive issues like de-addiction and substance abuse in the community.

Our commitment to society is as unwavering as it is inclusive. In every initiative that we undertake, we aim to act as a facilitator for the betterment of lives.

To know more and get involved, email us at
socini@forbesmarshall.com

Energy Conservation | Environment | Process Efficiency

www.forbesmarshall.com

A-34/35, MIDC Estate, 'H' Block, Pimpri, Pune 411 018, India. Tel.: +91 20 27442020, 39851100, Fax.: +91 20 27442040
P.B # 29, Mumbai Pune Road, Kasarwadi, Pune 411 034, India. Tel.: +91 20 27145595, 39858555, Fax.: +91 20 27147413

Forbes Marshall | Forbes Marshall Arca | Forbes Marshall Codel | J N Marshall | Krohne Marshall | Spirax Marshall | Forbes Vyncke

DRAFTFCB - ULKA 980935

jungles, is a well appointed tented camp for environmentalists interested in the myriads of butterflies, and the rich flora and fauna of the area. Surprisingly, it is known to foreigners and yet, this writer, an ex-WWF India Secretary General and Regional Council Member of IUCN, was unaware of its existence. The location and infrastructure are exemplary. The river running nearby is full of aquatic life and is an added attraction to visitors.

Now to respond to the melodramatic headlines in the magazine mentioned at the start of this article. The writer could not discern any signs of second-hand clothing, lack of physical fitness, non-availability of critical weapons or low morale. It was encouraging to see our men in such splendid physical condition, well turned out and armed. In fact the writer was shown infantry weapons he had never seen in his service which the men handled with confidence. This unit has successfully carried out both roles – safeguarding the high altitude border and with equal confidence, CI duties in the plans. Not a single officer, Junior Commissioned Officer and other ranks this writer met, during the three days he was there, voiced any complaints regarding clothing, equipment, weapons or food; and this was so not only at Unit level but at higher HQ as well. As this writer once said when serving in high altitudes in East Sikkim - high altitude soldiering is 90% administration and 10% tactics. Given suitable clothing, good and palatable rations, and easy movement by any agency, the men will respond. The new barracks at Rupa are yet another pointer of how our troops are looked after. Medical cover is at hand and the needs of all religious denominations are met – Mandir, Mosque, Gurudwara, Buddhist Vihara and Church are conveniently located along the main road easily accessible to troops and their families. There is even an Army School within the station.

The next stop was with another battalion on the Tezpur-Rangiya road mentioned earlier. The HQ of the Unit deployed in CI Operations is in a mix of acquired accommodation and tents – no families. This Unit fought with distinction under this writer in the 1971 War in the Valley. Though basically Marathas, there were also troops from Karnataka including Muslims and Christians. The integration has to be seen to be believed; at an evening *arti* in the Unit Mandir it was heartening to see the other two communities involved. The CO of this Unit happens to be a Christian! Again high morale and no complaints. A company location along the main road some distance from the Unit was visited. The sub unit is located in some acquired civil buildings. There is a school next door and it was so encouraging to see the rapport established with the local children who depend on this Unit for games.

The last two stops in this narrative were to Imphal,

the State Capital of Manipur, just 50 minutes by air from Guwahati. The Unit visited unofficially here also belongs to the writer's Regiment and has the distinction of serving in Siachen and then on a UN assignment in Eritrea, with a large number of awards earned in CI Ops in the Imphal area. The CI problem is compounded by the fact that the State has borders with Bangladesh and Myanmar and within, with Nagaland. The agitation by the Naga Students Union in blocking the main highway created many problems for the state. Bangladeshi incursions are the rule rather than the exception with the long porous border. News had just come through that the Assam Rifles lost one rifleman and another injured in an encounter with militants. It is commonly known that ULFA and other such agencies receive arms and training from across the border with Myanmar. With the Loktak Lake on one flank and forested hills on the other, CI operations pose a major problem compounded by the officer situation being what it is. There was just one Major present in the Unit and the important posts of Adjutant and Quarter Master are being constantly changed where continuity is the key. It is truly remarkable how the CO has handled the situation so efficiently and effectively. In fact in two of the company posts visited, the Company Commanders were from other Arms and Services on a two-year attachment to make up the shortfall of infantry officers. Yet, under positive leadership the Battalion ticks and speaks volumes for the morale of officers. What is equally heartening was the fact that one did not hear any complaints. Even here, at the Company that the writer visited, a shack had been erected outside the Unit where local children gather for games and other forms of recreation provided and supervised by the Company, thereby building goodwill with the locals.

The writer was fortunate to avail the opportunity of visiting yet another Unit from his Regiment at an adjacent location 30 minutes away. This Unit had served under him in 1969/70 in the Valley as part of his operational division. After facing the Pakistanis it was now involved in CI duties and has given a good account of itself. Interacting with a cross section of All Ranks, once again the turnout was impeccable, the keenness and alertness readily discernible and there was no griping about lack of necessities. The Unit arranged for my visit to Morang and the Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose memorial and the spot where the Tricolour was first raised.

The writer flew back to Mumbai mission accomplished and in a position to dismiss the banner headlines as unjustified.

MAJOR GENERAL (RETD) E. D'SOUZA, PVSM, Polish Army Gold Medal. geneustace@yahoo.com

Ram Narayanan Draws the Attention of *Freedom First* Readers to:

An exchange of e-mails between Mahendra Dave and Irfan Hussein a columnist for the daily DAWN published from Karachi

Jinnah's Secularism

Mahendra Dave:

With reference to your last Article. Re: Jinnah - One cannot begin to mould the nation towards secularism at the age of 73 just about the time of death. Secularism is a matter of life long belief in its philosophy, educating members of the organization one leads and preparing and training its leaders. After leading the movement for religious separation and employing scare tactics about the imaginary threats from the majority community, Jinnah got his Pakistan. In pre-partition India, Hindus were a sobering influence on Muslims. There was no shia-sunni violent confrontation as existed historically in countries surrounding birth of Islam. In a secular India no legislation has ever been passed affecting the religious freedom of any minority, while in Pakistani laws of Blasphemy prevail. Pakistan is based upon falsehood and continues till to day to be so in all aspects. Pakistan's slide downhill will continue till it comes to terms with its existence and realizes that India is not an enemy and a Hindu state but a secular one where religion plays no part in the methods of governance.

People of India know the danger of a religious state and are not inclined to turn India into a Hindu state. Therefore India cannot part with an inch of its territory (including Kashmir) on religious ground. India does not wish the violent history of the partition repeated. Intellectuals of Pakistan wake up!

M. H. Dave. mhdavecpa@hotmail.com

Irfan Hussain's replied

I don't think a comparison between India and Pakistan is valid. The latter has obviously slipped into a quagmire of religion-fuelled confusion, and is teetering on the brink of chaos.

Irfan Hussain, irfan.hussain@gmail.com

*

A Conference to be held in the USA

A two-day Conference on **Mitigating Rural Poverty in India** organized by India Development Coalition of America (IDCA) and India Studies Program (Coinciding with the 8th Annual Conference of India Development Coalition of America) is being held on **October 23 (Saturday) and 24 (Sunday), 2010 at Indiana State University Campus, Terre Haute, IN**

Well known speakers from India and the US will present their experiences in poverty mitigation, microfinance, and education.

Dr. Hanumappa Sudarshan from Bangalore, recipient of "Padmashree", Government of India and "Right Livelihood Award", Sweden; Mr. Bharat Krishna, Chennai, a reformer of the education system in Tamil Nadu; Ms. Erin Soto, the Chief of USAID-India Program; Prof. Rebecca Manring, Indiana University, Bloomington; Professor Rajagopal Rangaswamy, Univ. of Iowa; Dr. Nila Vora, IDS-US, Illinois; Prof. Madhu Viswanathan, Univ. of Illinois; Prof. Ron Fernandez, DePaul University, Chicago, and others.

Registration at http://www.idc-america.org/Eighth_Int_Conf_Registration.pdf

For further details re.registration etc.email ramn_wins@roadrunner.com

*

An article by Afghanistan's National Security Adviser (and former Foreign Minister) hits the nail straight on the head. But the question remains (to mix metaphors): Will America call a spade a spade and do what must be done?

Excerpts:

******The international terrorist presence in the region is not entrenched solely because of Afghan corruption. Britain, Spain, Turkey, China, Germany and India have all been victims not of Afghan corruption but of international terrorism – emanating from the region.

******No domestic measure will fully address the threat of international terrorism, its global totalitarian ideology or its regional support networks. Dismantling the terrorist infrastructure is a central component of our anti-terror strategy, and this requires confronting the state that still sees terrorism as a strategic asset and foreign policy tool.

******Global efforts to counter terrorism will not succeed until and unless there is clarity on who our friends and foes are.

******The Afghan people are rightly frustrated and exhausted by a war in which the line between friends and foes is blurred. Global opinion has also turned against us. Yet surely it is understandable that we have failed to mobilize people for a cause where the fighting is in one place and the enemy is in another. How can we persuade Afghans, or the parents of young soldiers from coalition countries, to support a war where our "partners" are involved in killing their sons and daughters? While we are losing dozens of men and women to terrorist attacks every day, the terrorists' main mentor continues to receive billions of dollars in aid and assistance. How is this fundamental contradiction justified?

******The Afghan people are no longer ready to pay

Cont'd. on page 20

Point Counter Point

Ashok Karnik

Every issue has at least two sides. A wise man examines all sides before coming to a conclusion. This is an attempt to present various sides of an issue so that a considered opinion can be formed.

Mamata's Rally

1. Mamata Bannerji is a controversial person to say the least but her rally in Lalgarh (Aug 9) verged on brinkmanship. The rally was supported by the PCPA (People's Committee against Police Atrocities). Supported is a wrong description as it was mainly PCPA's rally. PCPA is a front of the Maoists and if there was any doubt, it was removed when Kishanji (Koteshwar Rao, Maoist Politburo member), the most wanted Maoist leader, appealed for the success of the rally. Wanted PCPA leaders in the Gyaneshwari train blast case were freely going about in the rally. Mamata's single point agenda was to secure people's support (Maoist support) against the CPM for the next Assembly election. Seeking this goal, she went to the extent of dubbing the death of the Maoist leader Azad (Charakuri Rajkumar, another Politburo member) as murder, forgetting that the Government in which she is a Minister asserts that Azad was killed in a police encounter and that it was a great success in the anti-Naxalite operation. She asserted later that she stood by what she said about Azad. Is there anything like joint Cabinet responsibility?

1. The Trinamul Congress justified Mamata's misadventure by claiming that Mamata was always opposed to violence of any kind and there was no question of her supporting the Naxalites. She was only building bridges with the estranged people of the area. She was thus engaged in a very noble endeavour needed to engage the people affected by atrocities, neglect and bureaucratic corruption. She was prepared to be the middleperson in a dialogue with the Maoists. Perhaps we should all be grateful to Mamata. The next step would be to try the police officers involved in Azad's encounter for murder! The Congress was on the defensive as it cannot afford to alienate an ally like the Trinamul Congress. P. Chidambaram, Home Minister, briefly told Parliament that nobody should back the Maoists. That is coalition 'dharma' for you!

BMC'S Rs.8-CRORE PLAN TO STOP DOCTORS GETTING THRASHED.

500 security guards hired to protect from angry patients at Municipal Hospitals.

(Headline in *Mumbai Mirror* September 21)

Salaries of Members of Parliament

2. The Members of Parliament are unhappy that they are grossly underpaid and wanted a five-fold increase in their salaries. The three-fold increase suggested by the Government (from Rs. 16000 to 50000) was vigorously opposed by staunch supporters of the 'aam admi' like Mulayam Singh Yadav and Lalu Prasad Yadav. Both spout socialistic slogans and cannot be accused of an elitist approach. The compromise reached with the Government would enable them to a packet of only Rs. 1.40 lakh a month, which does not include a number of perks like housing worth lakhs per month. The poor MPs work so hard and 'serve' the people all the time and the ungrateful people frown on their meager income! Apart from the salary, they are given free air tickets and rail passes to reach their constituents and tourist locations so that they are not too exhausted from their onerous duties. The MPs forgot that their voters were being crushed under the burden of inflation.

2. The MPs' argument is that they are superior to the senior-most babu and should get at least a rupee more than the IAS Secretary i.e. Rs. 80001/- There is really no need to compare their earnings as in the protocol list an MP precedes the babu at least in his own constituency. The income cannot be compared as the babu serves eight or more hours a day and is not allowed to hold any other job. An MP serves on many boards or runs his own industry, business or practice and has a huge income apart from his salary as MP. Most of the MPs are crorepatitis according to their own pre-election disclosures. They are hardly dependent on their salaries. It would be interesting to examine how many are really so dependent. A few MPs do lose out on their income as they could have earned more as lawyers and professionals but their number is miniscule. It was found that our MPs' salaries are the second highest in the world as compared to the per capita GDP (next only to Kenya). It is 104 times more here while in the US it is 35 times more and in UK it is nine times more. The irony is that the MPs are empowered to raise their own salaries unlike any other employee.

Bookies' Delight

3. The game of cricket has suffered a credibility crisis after yet another expose of match fixing. Bookies have ingeniously created a methodology called 'spot fixing'. Match fixing requires cooperation of several players which is not impossible but a little dicey. 'Spot fixing' can be set up with a single player over the most insignificant events like a wide ball or no ball and does not attract attention like a batsman getting out deliberately. India, being a country of a billion cricket crazies, is fertile ground for cricket bookies. Whichever team is involved in 'fixing' a game, the bookie is traced to India. Three Pak players were caught in the act, so to say, in a sting operation, accepting money from a bookie in London during the Lord's test (August 26-29, 2010). Their lawyers were clever enough to argue that they had received the money in the belief that it was part of their contractual payment. Unless the Pakistan Cricket Board (PCB) wants to root out 'fixing', excuses and explanations could always be found to defend the indefensible.

Let's accept it, match fixing, spread betting or spot fixing has existed over the last few decades. Let's not debate it any more.

Dr. Ali Bacher, South African Cricket Association

Tailpiece

The PM asked the Supreme Court not to interfere in policy matters, in the context of its dictat that instead of allowing the food to rot, it should be distributed free to the poor. For once somebody drew a line between judicial function and executive policy! For the counter point see page 25!

Readers are invited to send their points of view on serious issues of the day to ashokkarnik2001@yahoo.co.in

Old Age – Time for Enjoyment of Mourning?

Given my views on old age, I can't help disapproving of the nonagenarian writer Diana Athill, who goes on so much in print and TV – to great public applause – about how much she is enjoying hers. In my own octogenarian experience, not a month goes by without the loss of a dear friend. I dread opening the newspaper for fear of reading another obituary. In other words, advanced old age, except for those with very thick skins, is a time of mourning, disguised by day but inescapably present at night... Enoch Powell used to say that he had never been able to forgive himself for surviving the second world war, in which so many of his friends had perished. That was characteristically overdoing it a little, but even in peace time outliving all your contemporaries can give rise to feelings of guilt.

**Peregrine Worsthorne, THE SPECTATOR,
14 August 2010**

3. The whole of Pakistan initially responded with anguish and anger, blaming the players for disgracing the country and called for life-long ban on them. The PCB then took a somersault and rose to defend the alleged wrong-doers. Pakistan has the habit of going into denial mode; we thought this affliction hit Pakistan only when terrorist incidents like the 26/11 Mumbai attack occurred and Pakistan's gyrations became noticeable. Some Pak diplomats found a conspiracy by India to bring Pakistan into disrepute. The point is not whether it was Pakistani players who were accused of wrong-doing but how to eradicate the evil of match fixing. The ICC for once took matters in its hands and suspended the three Pak players. The PCB could not be trusted to act. The earlier experience in India was not edifying as persons like Azaruddin were banned for life but were able to move about with their reputation intact. It was argued that no criminal charges could be framed against those who breached the trust of millions of cricket lovers. In law, they had cheated the bookmakers who were themselves in breach of Indian laws. The answer lies in making betting legal which would yield revenue to the Government and 'fixers' could then be charged with cheating the legalised bookmakers! At present, the world allows betting, makes money and India is held guilty of running the biggest betting market in the world.

Ram Narayanan ... (cont'd. from p.18)

the price for the international community's miscalculation and naivety. The aggressor understands only one language: that of force and determination. Afghanistan, along with the United States and many other nations, is a victim of terrorism. The international community must establish a clear alliance among such victims. We cannot mobilize the Afghan people with uncertainty, confusion or appeasement of those who sponsor terrorism.

Link to read the full text: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/22/AR2010082202272.html?referrer=emailarticle>

MR. RAM NARAYANAN is an American of Indian heritage who promotes US-India friendship and cooperation as a 100 per cent not-for-profit labour of love. <http://www.usindiafriendship.net/>

Neglect of Agriculture

Sharad Joshi

In the rural agricultural community, one of the reasons parents are reluctant to send their children to school is that school-going children become averse to the manual labour involved in agricultural operations.

On a citizen's scale of priorities as also expectations from the Government, security of life figures at the top followed by assurance of nourishment, right to employment, and then the right to education, in that order. The right to information would, probably, figure at the bottom of his scale of preferences.

The United Progressive Alliance's order of priorities is topsy-turvy. It went for a Right to Information first; then came the guarantee for manual employment followed by right to education and nourishment. The Food Security Bill brings out clearly a lacuna in the Right to Education Act. A right that is not actionable is a dubious promise. A right to education that does not spell out what kind of education, could be positively harmful.

In the rural agricultural community, one of the reasons parents are reluctant to send their children to school is that school-going children become averse to the manual labour involved in agricultural operations. If compulsory primary education is going to mean an addition to the number of people in the countryside unwilling to work on the field or on the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) projects, it is going to mean disaster. The apprehensions of the rural parents are confirmed by the fact that their children who later on go to institutions of higher education and even to agricultural colleges and universities, generally, do not return to the family fold and back-breaking work in the fields but prefer to find salaried employment in a milieu inimical to the farm society and interests.

Food security of some sort is possible only if society succeeds in creating a large mass of people trained in, and willing

to do, agricultural work. That is hardly conceivable in the present scenario where half the farming community is unwilling even to continue with cultivation.

In the field of agricultural education, again, the UPA's priorities are topsy-turvy and have very little foundation. There are 45 State Agricultural Universities, one Central Agriculture University, five deemed-to-be universities and four Central Universities with agricultural faculty. A large proportion of the products of these institutions of higher education in agriculture become job-seekers in the urban market rather than job providers in agriculture.

Lab-Farm Divide

The pupils of compulsory education schools would not only not know manual labour but would be averse even to the mental exercise involved in preparing for examinations, given that the Kapil Sibal system of education abhors examinations, competition and grading. The UPA, clearly, is guided by the 'Keep the farmer needy and ignorant if you want peace and prosperity' strategy. So much for the agricultural training of children from farm families, who are supposed to take over the agricultural



responsibilities. What about the Training within Industry (TWI) of operational farmers? The extension system to bridge the gap between the laboratory and the farm has failed.

Extension Work

A salaried scientist can never be the best of his kind; nor will a salaried extension worker care for what happens to the farmers and to the fields after his visit. An extension system based on qualified agricultural scientists undertaking work on payment of a minimal proportion of the incremental income in the first year of consultation is likely to change this scenario. But, that kind of radical reform would require the presence, in positions of power, of somebody who genuinely cares for agriculture. The normal channels of primary and secondary education do not care about agricultural education. The extension work does not keep the farmer informed about the latest developments in agricultural technology. It is

surprising that a country that considers itself basically an agricultural nation does not have an “all India” or a ‘Central’ Civil Service (Class I) for Agriculture. A proposal to that effect has been kept aside as being unviable.

If only agricultural graduates who find employment in banks and mainly do the work of coercive recovery from debt-ridden farmers, could become agricultural officers with the same rank and status as the District Collector or the District Superintendent of Police, a significant stride can be made towards improving the quality of agriculture operations, making agriculture more attractive not only to the children of the farmers but also to outsiders and lend agriculture some sort of prestige and status which it does not enjoy at present

MR. SHARAD JOSHI, former member of the Rajya Sabha is the founder of Shetkari Sanghatana. For more articles by him on rural India visit www.shetkari.in

Shetkari Sanghatana and the New Agrarianism

The Role of the Shetkari Sanghatana outlines three distinguishing features of the new agrarianism. First, the new agrarianism does not idolize pastoral lifestyle of a self-sufficient village as being particularly virtuous for its blissful simplicity and spiritual richness. Quite to the contrary, new agrarianism boasts of material foundations and material well-being and self-respect for farmers. It recognizes that capital formation for the new industry has to come out of surplus from agriculture. This is the real substance of the famous scissors debate in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union, Stalin resolved it by sending tanks against farmers. In India, the debate was resolved by socialist Nehru establishing a complex of economic systems which encouraged higher production but denied the farmer remunerative prices. Unlike peasants’ movements of the past, which pitched tenants against the landlords, the lower castes against the higher castes the Shetkari Sanghatana is not ‘divisive’ of the rural community. It draws a significant line of internal contradiction between “Bharat” and “India” rather than between the brick house and the thatched hut inside a village. The conflict between the town and the country has been emphasized by Mahatma Gandhi, as also by Marx. Sharad Joshi’s view does not make it a geographical division. As he states: “Bharat is that notional entity which continues to be exploited by the same policies as those of the Colonial Rulers’ even after the British left; while India is that notional entity which has obtained the inheritance of Colonial exploitation.” The misery in the village is not caused by the “slightly” better-off farmers in the neighbourhood but by an “outside exploiter” - urban India. “Transcontinental imperialism” represented by the British has been replaced by “internal colonialism.” Finally, surplus in agriculture expropriated through a policy of cheap raw materials and artificially depressed prices, it constitute the main technique used by the exploiters (the government). The agenda of the Shetkari Sanghatana is to bring in a one-point programme of “Remunerative Price”. The rationale for the remunerative price agenda is as follows:

Since farmers respond rationally to price movements, they will react to price incentives by increasing acreage and investment by adopting improved technology. Farmers’ response will increase demand for labour and, hence, bring in increase in wages much higher than that in agricultural prices. As a consequence of additional income so received, farmers will undertake non-agricultural activities, thus, creating employment and spend the incremental income to bolster secondary, tertiary and industrial growth. Thus, the overall philosophy of the Shetkari Sanghatana is that price incentives in agriculture and a “natural” process of capital accumulation driven by an agricultural revolution can benefit the entire economy and break the vicious circle of poverty. As opposed to this, an accumulation process driven by industrial revolution (before agricultural revolution takes place) is always premised upon a coercive expropriation of agricultural surplus.

Excerpted from the “Role of the Shetkari Sanghatana” For the full text visit www.shetkari.com.

Come On, Liberals: Let's Change India!

Reservations – Incompatible with Freedom and Justice

Sanjeev Sabhlok

Let us work towards the day when governments in India will see us as Indians (and only as Indians), and enable the best man or woman win in every field. No longer should we encourage the shameful desire by some Indians to be called 'backward'! Let's all go forward, not backward.

Equal freedom is the foundational principle of liberalism. It refers to equal political status which includes equality under the law. In addition, associated with this idea is a (lower order) claim to the social minimum which ensures reasonable equality of opportunity.

Institutional Discrimination by Indian Socialists

Flowing not from the ideas of freedom and justice but from the confused socialist thinking with concepts such as social justice and 'justice of yesterday', the Indian socialists instituted a reservations policy initially meant for ten years but which now shows no signs of ever going away. This policy tries to ensure a level playing field for tribes and lower caste Hindus through reverse discrimination!

Yes, Hinduism has had a long-standing practice of caste discrimination. This was one of my reasons to reject Hinduism. (That I reject all religions – not God! – is another story.) But the reservations policy has dealt with caste discrimination in the *wrong manner* and worsened things for everyone in India.

India thus has a self-contradictory Constitution. On the one hand, Article 15(1) states: 'The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them'. But on the other, the Constitution asks the state to discriminate! Schizophrenic! Part XVI splits Indians into the scheduled castes and tribes, and the rest. Each category is then treated differently. Article 335 enables the 'relaxation in qualifying marks in any examination or lowering the standards of evaluation' for various classes of citizens.

India's deeply confused socialist thinking has gone so far down the drain that recently the Rajya Sabha passed the *Women's Reservations Bill* as a first step towards the 108th Constitutional Amendment. The Bill aims to reserve thirty three per cent Lok Sabha and state legislative assemblies seats for women! Socialism is going great guns!

India has achieved a state of mind where reason no longer works.

Reservations Reject Equal Freedom and Justice

Why are reservations wrong? First, by violating the Constitutional mandate (and the minimum expectation of a free society) for a non-discriminatory state, reservations deny equal political status. While sociologists and anthropologists may well survey and research tribal and caste issues, the Indian government should recognize only *one* category of citizen: the *Indian*.

Second, reservations violate justice (note that I always refer to *individual* justice, there being no meaningful conception of 'social' justice). By constitutionally denying the primacy of merit in the public sphere, the reservations policy perpetrates grave injustice on those who had nothing *personally* to do with caste discrimination. If anyone discriminates, by all means have a law to investigate and *individually* punish the person, but it is totally improper to blacklist everyone who is not a 'scheduled' caste or tribe or (now) female.

It is morally obnoxious and intolerable for a government to *harm innocents* in order to (allegedly) 'set right' the wrongs that some people long dead might have committed. Two wrongs *never* make a right.

This immoral socialist policy has so deeply harmed our psyche that people today clamour to be called "backward"! There is no better sign of the moral depravation of this policy than this: that an erstwhile proud people now want to be known as *backward*!

Indeed, by recognizing castes and tribes in the Constitution, we have *increased* caste-based discrimination, and made it much harder for Hindu social reformers to address this social evil. As a result, today our voters know their politicians not though policies but through caste.

In a free society all social issues must be addressed

by the relevant social group (in this case the Hindus). Thus Ambedkar, the brilliant low caste Hindu scholar, addressed discrimination by rejecting Hinduism and joining Buddhism. Such mass exodus could prompt reform, but now no lower caste person has any incentive to leave, such juicy positions are on offer if you remain backward!

Personally, I would suggest an exodus to reason, but whatever strategy social reformers choose, a government has clearly no business to get involved.

Similarly, better representation of women in parliaments should be advanced by political parties, not by governments. Sweden doesn't reserve seats for women but its political parties have a norm by which 50 per cent of their candidates are women. As a result, women now constitute 45 per cent of Swedish parliamentarians. It is clear that the solution is for India's political parties (particularly those hankering for this reservations bill!) to inner party reform, not for the government to enact this grossly inappropriate Bill.

Governments Should Ensure Equal Freedom

A government should focus on ensuring reasonable equal opportunity for all *without reducing* equal political status or violating individual justice. It is quite likely that in playing a neutral role (detailed below) focussed solely on freedom and justice, a government will also indirectly achieve social reform.

a) Prohibit discrimination in public office

The government should set minimum standards of behaviour and punish those who violate these standards in relation to public positions. Thus, an Equal Opportunity Act can 'enforce everyone's right to equality of opportunity,' by eliminating, 'as far as possible, discrimination against people by prohibiting discrimination on the basis of various attributes'¹ in relation to public office. This law would clarify and enforce Articles 15 and 16 of the Constitution.

b) Enforce the rule of law

The government should enforce the rule of law equally, without fear or favour. Apart from ensuring that all government decisions are made on merit, this will also mean that a government can *never* ask us questions about our religion or caste. These are private matters.

c) Ensure reasonable equality of opportunity

Finally, the government should ensure that poverty is eliminated and *all* children receive high quality education to age 18 or twelfth standard, whichever comes first. This

will involve a total reform of the school education system on the lines I had proposed in the July 2009 issue of *Freedom First*. I expect these reforms will take three years to take effect (details in *Breaking Free of Nehru* <http://bfn.sabhlोकcity.com/>).

Transitional Arrangements

Taking things from the current state to the new state will need transitional arrangements, particularly given our socialist frameworks and virtually non-existent equality of opportunity. The current reservation system should therefore continue as is until the government ensures high quality education for all children and eliminates poverty. Such reforms, once the people's mandate is received, will take three years. After that is done, all reservations must go.

Let us work towards the day when governments in India will see us as *Indians* (and *only* as Indians), and enable the best man or woman win in every field. No longer should we encourage the shameful desire by some Indians to be called 'backward'! Let's all go forward, not backward.

Freedom Team of India

The Freedom Team of India (FTI) (<http://freedomteam.in/>) is looking for leaders to bring freedom and good governance to India. Each month through my article I invite my readers to either join FTI or to support it (for instance, as Freedom Partners, and financially). There is a lot of angst building up in India. Let us not delay any longer the political movement for freedom that India desperately needs.

MR. SANJEEV SABHLOK can be contacted at sabhlोक@yahoo.com.

"So far as employment in the government departments is concerned, I think it will be fatal to any good government, if we introduce there the communal spirit. For administration to be efficient, it must always be in the hands of the fittest. There should be certainly no favouritism. If we want five engineers we must not take one from each community, but we must take the fittest five even if they were all Muslims or Parsis. The lowest posts, must, if need be, be filled by examination by an impartial board consisting of men belonging to different communities. But distribution of posts should never be according to the proportion of the numbers of each community. The educationally backward communities will have a right to receive favoured treatment in the matter of education at the hands of the national government. This can be secured in an effective manner. But those who aspire to occupy responsible posts in the government of the country can only do so if they pass the required test."

– Mahatma Gandhi

¹ This is a paraphrase of the objective's of the Victorian Government's *Equal Opportunity Act*.

The PM and the Judiciary

Nitin Raut

The Supreme Court had in mind Article 47 of the Directive Principles of State Policy.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's public statement that the "Supreme Court should not get into the realm of policy formation" was in response to or perhaps a sequel to the Supreme Court's Order to the Agriculture Minister Sharad Pawar to distribute food stocks lying open in FCI godowns to the poor instead of allowing it to rot. Sharad Pawar very uncharitably dismissed it as not possible and that it is not an 'order' provoked a rebuke from the Supreme Court which bluntly said it is an 'order', thus triggering a debate whether the Prime Minister's statement was political activism of sorts or a confrontation with the judiciary.

The Constitution clearly demarcates the legislative, executive and judicial function each having its own turf. It is the function of the legislature to make laws, of the executive to enforce them and for the judiciary to determine their legal validity or enforceability.

The Supreme Court while ordering the distribution of foodgrain to the poor instead of allowing it to rot obviously had in mind Article 47 of the Directive Principles of State Policy in Constitution which, *inter alia*, reads as under:

"Duty of the State to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health - The State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties..."

Propriety demanded that the Prime Minister ought to have avoided a public statement when the matter was *sub judice* and in the realm of the judiciary's pending decision. To comment on a pending case in a manner to advise the judiciary or express resentment or displeasure is not only crossing the proverbial *Lakshman Rekha* but can also be interpreted as contempt of Court as it amounts to interfering or trivialising with the administration of justice if not trying to intimidate or influence it. It is no gainsaying that: "The Prime Minister's observation that Courts should stay away from the policy making domain of the executive is an argument made in the Courts regularly by governments" as innocuously sought to be put by a Congress spokesman. It is an evasive political argument. The real question is what happens if the State abdicates

its constitutional and governance responsibilities.

The "argument" referred to did not take place at a press conference or at a public rally or at a function. Judicial propriety warrants that if anything is to be conveyed to the Courts it is through the lawyers representing the party or through the party appearing in Court in person and that too on oath by way of affidavits. The Prime Minister is certainly guilty of setting a bad precedent by going public in his 'advise' to the judiciary. It is a crass and shocking display of disrespect towards the judiciary. Advising the judiciary through a public statement is unheard of in a democratic society. It is not the function of any elected representative to advise or even seen to be advising the judiciary, and the Prime Minister's statement is a serious breach of public conduct, to put it mildly.

The track record of the Congress Party's respect for an independent judiciary is such as not to inspire confidence in the public mind. The Prime Minister's statement is obviously an expression of political annoyance. One recalls the days when the Congress tried to browbeat the judiciary by appointing Justice A. N. Ray as Chief Justice of the SC in 1974 by superseding three senior judges whom the Congress did not consider favourably disposed towards that Party.

The Congress Party in the 1970's also propagated the need for a 'committed judiciary' to justify its so-called socialist policies thereby seeking the subservience of the judiciary to its political masters.

The imposition of the Emergency by the Congress, following the unseating of Indira Gandhi by the judgement of the Allahabad High Court for electoral malpractices, when the judiciary, the press and other democratic and Constitutional bodies were sought to be gagged, should raise legitimate fears especially when the Prime Minister is known not to be holding the office in his own right, but on sufferance of the ruling party's subservience to the dynasty.

MR. NITIN G. RAUT is an advocate and a member of the Editorial Board of *Freedom First*. nitingraut@gmail.com

Quality **Redefined**
Quality **Reassured**

'Jyoti' Medium Voltage Switchgear

now Type-tested at

PEHLA

testing laboratory at Ratingen Germany



**3.6 kV TO 12 kV INDOOR
CIRCUIT BREAKER PANEL**

Ratings : 12 kV up to 3150A, 40 kA



Vacuum Circuit Breaker (Front View)

Vacuum Circuit Breaker (Rear View)

**Type Tests conducted as per
IEC-62271-100/200**

1. Basic Duties T 100s to T 10 at 40 kA.
2. Single Phase Test at 40 kA.
3. STC Test at 40 kA for 3 sec.
4. H.V. & Lightning Impulse Voltage withstand test.
5. Temp. Rise Test

**Type Tests conducted as per
IEC-62271-100/200**

1. Basic Duties T 100s to T 10 at 26.4 kA.
2. Single Phase Test at 26.4 kA.
3. STC Test at 26.4 kA for 3 sec.
4. H.V. & Lightning Impulse Voltage withstand test.
5. Temp. Rise Test.
6. Cable Charging current Switching Test at 25 Amp.
7. Single Capacitor Bank Switching Test at 400 Amp.



Jyoti Ltd.

Water • Power • Progress

SWITCHGEAR DIVISION

J/44-59, B.I.D.C., Gorwa, Vadodra-390 016 (India).

Phone : 2280770 (5 lines), Fax : +91-265-2280153

E-Mail : switchgear@jyoti.com

Website : <http://www.jyoti.com>

- Offering a complete range of Indoor / Outdoor Switchgear
- Ratings : 3.6 to 36 kV, 400 to 3150 Amps and 12.5 kA to 44 kA
- Refurbishing of MOCBs with VCBs in all ratings (3.6 kV to 36 kV)
- Spares for MOCBs and VCBs

65 YEARS OF ENGINEERING EXCELLENCE

Second Annual Conference

The Annual Conference of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, which was held in Madras on 12th and 13th September, was marked by two remarkable speeches – one by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, that defined “freedom” as restraint developed from within, that was one of the governing aspects of Indian culture; and the other by Dr. Sampurnanand, which analysed the neurosis of the Indian intellectual resulting from frustration and spiritual vacuity. These speeches of the inaugurator and the President not only defined the nature and scope of the values that form the basis of cultural freedom, but also provided a framework of spirit for the future activities of the Committee.

*

True Freedom

Culture is not just art or literature or dancing or music or painting as it prevails among a people. It is the pattern of behaviour generally accepted by a people. Culture is very far from freedom. No man of culture feels free. He imposes on himself all sorts of restraints. So then, the culture of a people is the pattern of restraints which that people have as a whole, after trial and error through generations, settled down to accept, in the interest of social order and happiness. There is joy and pride in the acceptance of such restraints and no resentment or pain. In that sense there is freedom in culture as an essential part. It is this which distinguishes culture from State-regulation. ‘State regulation’ began as a protest against the anarchy created by indiscriminate individual freedom and the greed and competition that resulted from it. The practice of State-regulation has resulted in the discovery of several evils in the remedy worse than the disease. In the cycle of human progress the slogan of ‘freedom’ has therefore been raised as a counter to excessive State-regulation.

- C. Rajagopalachari

*

The Neuroses of the Indian Intelligentsia

The intelligentsia do not constitute a caste or even an economic class. It may not, therefore, be easy to define the term, but surely one characteristic feature of every member of the fraternity should be the capacity to take a rational view of things. A rational view of things implies the acceptance of reasoning as a valid source of knowledge. It is quite another matter than in certain cases people may not find themselves in agreement about the premises: it is also a fact that, in certain matters, those pertaining to religion, for example, even some of the most rational of men may not be prepared to accept reason as the final touchstone of truth. Nonetheless, the intelligentsia, as a class, is distinguished by its logical approach to the problems of life: it is willing to weigh evidence and to revise its opinion, if need be.

Dr. Sampurnanand

*

Resolutions

Bhoodan

The Indian Committee for Culture Freedom offers its tribute to the Bhoodan Yagna movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave which is achieving significant success both in its concrete results and the climate created.

Forced Labour

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom welcomes the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour appointed by the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation which, after two years of exhaustive enquiries, fully justifies the anxiety over the subject expressed in a resolution adopted by the Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom in March 1951.

A New Threat to Freedom in Asia

The achievement of national independence by most of the peoples of Asia has reached its culmination. The urges that have resulted in this happy consummation and that now strive to find fulfilment are the desires of these peoples to live their own way of life, develop their own culture, realise the dignity and freedom of the individual and achieve economic and social justice through democratic processes.

Cultural Freedom for Adivasis

While it is obvious that there can be no question of keeping the aboriginal and tribal population in a kind of museum either for the delectation of scientists or as a picturesque embroidery to Indian life, the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom recognises that these peoples have the same rights as others to their own manners, customs and religion; that their own social organisation and leadership and their economic systems have for them a real authority; that they should be free to eat and drink whatever is sanctioned by tradition; that their way of dress and personal decoration, their art, their dances, their mythology and poetry have often a genuine beauty and are worth preserving in themselves since they are an important contribution to the endless variety of the Indian scene; that, in short, their culture is not a ‘savage’ or ‘backward’ thing, but is logical, complete and well-adopted to its economic and geographical environment.

New Executive Committee:

Mr. R. Benipuri, Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Mr. K. Chandrasekharan, Mr. Eric de Costa, Mr. P. Y. Deshpande, Mr. Jaipal Singh, M.P., Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. Asoka Mehta, Mr. Ram Singh, Dr. Sampurnanand.

Hon. Secretaries: Mr. Philip Spratt, Mr. Ka. Naa. Subramaniam, Mr. J. B. H. Wadia

*



Cornucopia

Firoze Hirjikaka

Cry Rape

I do believe it is rash on the part of the police to take the victim's accusations as gospel

Almost every single day, in India, there is a news report about one or more males being arrested for rape. It is ironical that a police force that is normally so reluctant to file a First Information Report (FIR), is always prompt to register a sexual offence – often before any meaningful attestation of the facts can be made. It makes me wonder if, sometimes in the process, an indelible social stigma is being imprinted on some individuals who may later turn out to be innocent.

I am particularly leery of instances where an alleged victim complains of being repeatedly raped, over several days, before she registers a complaint. There was the incident, for example, where the owner of a coaching class in Mumbai was arrested for allegedly raping one of his female students over a period of ten months – apparently in return for a promise to grant her grace marks and allowing her to pass her exams. She apparently accompanied the teacher to his apartment several times; and the molestations took place there – without her raising a ruckus. In a second incident, a slum dweller is said to have repeatedly raped his niece several times, over a month, by taking her to a public toilet in the neighbourhood.

In both cases, it is possible that the first assault may have come as a shock and surprise to the girls involved. But how can one explain the repeat visits to the ‘scene of the crime’? Even a girl with very limited intelligence would have known what lay in store for her. It is not as if she was bound and gagged before being taken there. The usual explanation offered is that the ‘victim’ was threatened with dire consequences if she squealed. But I don’t quite buy that. My guess is that these young girls, usually from a background where intimate interaction with the opposite sex is frowned upon, are not averse to a small sexual adventure. It is the old maxim of the forbidden fruit tasting extra sweet. It is only when things get out of hand – or there is a danger of imminent discovery – that the girls suddenly muster the courage to report their tormenters. Since the girls’ ‘reputations’ are of paramount importance, in the context of future marriage prospects, it would be very convenient to portray themselves as victims.

fact, it may well be the exception to the rule. But I do believe it is rash on the part of the police to take the victim’s accusations as gospel and rush to summary judgment. Supposing it later turns out that the ‘rapist’ was innocent after all, will that make everything all right? Women are not the only ones who have to worry about their reputations. In India’s conservative society, appearances count for everything – and family honour is of vital importance. The acquitted man will always be viewed with suspicion by his neighbours; and shunned by their wives and daughters. Does he deserve that? The situation can even become lethal in some backward villages, where the man is sometimes lynched by the villagers, based solely on the ‘assaulted’ girl’s hysterical accusations.

It seems to me that in their zeal to ensure that female victims of rape and assault get justice, the police sometimes overstep their bounds and do injustice to the men who are party to the dispute. There is a recent case where a Jet Airways airhostess accused a co-pilot in the same airline of rape; and this despite the fact that the couple had been living together for months. She also claimed that he beat her regularly. One has sympathy for the lady if it is indeed true that the co-pilot she was cohabiting with used to frequently cause her bodily harm. But to allege rape is patently absurd. The woman was in a voluntary live-in relationship with the pilot. Her argument that she was initially reluctant to sleep with him, but later relented, definitely does not constitute a felony. If the man promised marriage and later reneged, it is, at most, grounds for breach of promise - not rape. Of course, if the assault charges are proved, he deserves to be prosecuted.

One has noticed a disturbing trend on the part of the police, whereby they are prompt to arrest the man in such cases, merely on the allegation of the “victim”. Seldom is there any attempt at even a preliminary investigation to ascertain the facts before the man is taken into custody. Even if the charges against him later prove to be baseless, he has to endure the ignominy of spending time in a police lock-up – not to mention the damage to his reputation.

*

I am not implying that this is always the case. In

Is South Bombay Dying?

The day is not far off when South Bombay is relegated to the status of a "historic district".

A recent newspaper article mentioned how the MMRDA has ambitious plans to set up new monorail corridors in various parts of Mumbai.

I could not help observing that all the proposed monorails are to come up in what were once regarded as Mumbai's far flung suburbs. So are most of the flyovers, rapid transit corridors and so on. And it's not just the infrastructure projects. An overwhelming majority of new malls and multiplexes are in the suburbs too. Furthermore, read any newspaper review of a new restaurant or pub; and it is very likely located in Bandra and points further North.

This leads me to the conclusion that the once elite township of South Bombay is slowly dying. For sure, Mumbaikars still come to my part of town to work and do business, but after work hours, the suburbs are where all the action is. This is where they congregate to relax, to shop and for entertainment. And thanks to the city's

horrendous traffic situation, even the affluent elite of Pali Hill and Lokhandwala rarely bother to travel to the South for fine dining and entertainment. In fact, in the evening and night hours, South Bombay seems to be largely populated by tourists and the inevitable hawkers they attract.

The CCI and Willingdon crowd continue to maintain a facade of snooty superiority, but I think they too have begun to see the writing on the wall. And the restaurants at the Taj and Oberoi nowadays survive on the clientele of senior executives entertaining their foreign clients. As has happened with many world cities, I think the day is not far off when South Bombay is relegated to the status of a "historic district", where we show off our "heritage" to visitors. As a living, breathing metropolis, however, I am afraid the *grande dame's* days are numbered.

MR. FIROZE HIRJIKAKA can be contacted at Leonardo_99@yahoo.com



VIRAT INDUSTRIES LIMITED

A Leading Manufacturer & Exporter of Excellent Quality SOCKS.

Our Export Markets include UK and Switzerland.

Our socks are available in Reputed Chain stores 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 numbers 32944131/ 32944217

VIRAT INDUSTRIES LTD.

Head Office:
605 Veena Kiledar Indl. Estate
10/14 Pais Street,
Byculla (West),
Mumbai 400 011 (India)

Tel: (022) 32944131/ 32944217
Fax: (022) 23070486
Email: viratbby@vsnl.com

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

Tel: (02637) 265011/ 265022
Fax: (02637) 265712
Email: viratnvs@sify.com

Jamia Milia Islamia

Are its Secular Credentials in Peril?

K. Vikram Rao

If he has his way Salman Khurshid will reduce the secular Gandhian academy of excellence into any other Islamic centre. This union minister for minorities has proposed and planned to make the historic Jamia Milia Islamia into a minority institution and wants a parliamentary enactment.

This will be a challenge to India's traditional spirit of tolerance. It threatens pluralistic Indian society as well. Vote-catchers are twisting facts and in the process the splendidly secular Jamia Millia Islamia will suffer. Patriotic concern for secular Jamia Millia must make the Muslim extremists realise that this Gandhian institution is not for sale or conversion. Jamia's founders had unshaken obedience to the Holy Scriptures which stipulates: Love for your nation.

For 90 long years the Jamia Millia Islamia has played a nationalist innings. But now its current scene has evoked debate. In its annals the Jamia had faced many crises, worse than the present one. It survived all, thanks to the Gandhian values it had imbibed.

For the uninformed Hindu the Jamia looks like any other madarsa, preaching Islam. A communal Muslim discerns profanity in it. Such unsound attack on Jamia Millia Islamia should pain every Indian who believes in a pluralist society, of which the Jamia has been an inseparable part. Now, when the Indian mind is again getting split into the Hindu-Muslim divide, let us remember that the Jamia was an answer to the Muslim University of Aligarh which was then deepening religious fissures and promoting Muslim separatism. The Jamia countered both.

Those who learnt about Gandhiji and swaraj through books on the subjects, should note that the Jamia was a product of the Gandhian revolution, national liberation struggle and anti-colonial *nai-taleem* scheme, spreading liberal and nationalist education. It fought relentlessly the creation of Islamic Pakistan and the irrational two-nation theory. It championed *Akhand Bharat* (undivided India). Ironically India gave birth to two Mohammad Alis. One was Jinnah who called the Muslims a nation and partitioned India; the other was Jauhar who battled against the Muslim League, presided over the Indian National Congress session and incarcerated in British-Indian jails (I hold a return ticket, he would say on his release).

Mohammad Ali Jauhar founded the Jamia Millia Islamia and was its first vice-chancellor. The Jamia is not a madarasa. It never was. It is not a minority institution either. It has no denomination, religious or otherwise. It offers no preference or reservation to Muslims. In recent years it had organised seven well-attended conferences to debate Islamic terrorism. Its student rolls include many from the deep South who live and eat with north Indians and Muslims.

To understand the philosophy of the Jamia let us go back into its history which a Chestertonian axiom puts thus: "History is a hill from which alone men can see the town in which they live or the age in which they are living." The birth of Jamia Millia Islamia was one of the first educational events of the Gandhian era. It soon became the lustre child of Gandhiji's non-cooperation movement for national liberation in 1920. This Muslim institution was born at Krishna Ashram building in Aligarh. An eye-witness account starts thus: "31 October 1920, two days after the Jamia had been founded, was a Friday, a day when the faithful congregate in mosques for their afternoon prayers. That day, shortly after *Fajr* or morning prayer, a boy held a green flag reciting the *Kalima-i Tayabba* (the profession or affirmation of faith) while a small, bedraggled procession marched out of the Muslim Aligarh University (MAU). Hakim Ajmal Khan holding his head high, the Ali brothers, and Hasrat Mohani, who had already suffered the rigours of prison life, headed it. They and a motley group of teachers and students set up a camp at makeshift homes in Krishna Ashram, a building owned by Kishori Lal."

In sharp contrast to the founder of AMU Sayed Ahmed Khan, who was knighted by the British, Jamia Millia Islamia was founded by freedom-fighter Maulana Mahmud Hasan. Fresh from the British Malta jail, Mahmud Hasan imparted lustre and dignity to this first national Muslim university. The foundation committee had many tried and tested freedom fighters like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari,

Maulana Abdul Bari Farangmahali and Maulana Husain Ahmed Madni.

Since its inception, Gandhi was part of the Jamia experiment, like the Gujarat and Kashi *Vidyapeeths*, which came after his call for national education, boycotting the Macaulay-inspired Anglo-India system. To head the Jamia the Mahatma invited poet Allama Mohammad Iqbal. But Iqbal refused because he “had reservation about khilafat and non-cooperation with British rule.” Then came Hakim Ajmal Khan, later Congress president and freedom-fighter, who became Amir-e-Jamia, its vice-chancellor. Jamanalal Bajaj, Mahadev Desai and Devdas Gandhi were associated with Jamia. Gandhiji’s grandson Rasiklal studied here.

Soon the Jamia became an arsenal for Gandhiji’s satyagraha movement. Its scholars participated in Sardar Patal’s Bardoli kisan struggle. Maulvi Saad Ansari and student leader Hussain Hasan as satyagrahis suffered incarceration in 1931. Shafiqur Rehman Kidwai, who wore khadi and Gandhi cap, was again arrested, having earlier been jailed in the first satyagraha in 1920. He was described as a noble soul by C. Rajagopalachari. When Gandhiji visited the new Jamia campus at Okhla (2 November 1927) students had lined up with spinning *takli* and wearing khadi. “I fell at home when I come here,” said Bapu at Jamia. At that moment of Jamia’s history, the institution suffered grave financial crisis and faced imminent closure. Its faculty members Zakir Hussain and Mohammed Mujeeb went to the Sabarmati Ashram (Ahmedabad) to seek the Mahatma’s help. “I will go round with a begging bowl for the Jamia,” said Gandhiji. His disciples, including G. D. Birla, donated liberally to the Jamia fund. To reaffirm Jamia’s gloriously national character, a student’s name is worth mentioning here. He was Rana Jang Bahadur who became a journalist and editor of *The Times of India* in Delhi. The Rana said about students in his alma mater: “*Hindustan ki pyasi jawani ka Jamia ki panghat pe mela lag gaya tha* (the thirsty youth of Hindustan flocked to the fount of Jamia). They came from all over India. When freedom came the Jamia improved its finances. For the first time after three decades it received state aid and was helped by the Indian government after independence.

Jamia was one of the first victims of Muslim terrorism when its vice-chancellor Prof. Mushirul Haq was abducted and murdered by Kashmir’s Muslim fundamentalists. In 1992 its history teacher (now vice-chancellor) Prof. Mushirul Hasan was attacked by Muslim extremists when he said that a ban on any book would only boost its sales. The Jamia campus turned violent

and the teacher was forced to go on leave. His comment was misconstrued in the context of Salman Rushdie’s *Satanic Verses*. This event marked the beginning of communalisation of the campus. But the sane voice of Anwar Jamal Kidwai was heard. “What message are we conveying to our secular allies by our own storm in Jamia?” he asked. ‘We are afraid,’ he continued, ‘that the message is that while the Muslim community claims and needs the right of dissent and protest to organise itself against Hindu fundamentalism, it is not prepared to concede the right of dissent to any intellectual in its own ranks. This will further reinforce the stereotype in communal minds about Islam and Indian Muslims.’

But the virus of Muslim fundamentalism had already infected it at the turn of the century. To aggravate the situation Muslim-dominated slum settlements nearby, called Jamia Nagar, painted Jamia Millia red, rather green. The incident, in Jamia’s proximity when Delhi police inspector M. C. Sharma was killed, magnified its crisis of credibility.

Instead of demanding a judicial probe into the shoot-out at Jamia Nagar, the self-styled Hindu secularists should have inquired why Muslim fundamentalists chose the secular Jamia area for their operation. They attacked the very foundation of the secular Indian nation-state which Jamia has been building. The Manmohan Singh government owes a duty to the nation to find out whether the Student Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) penetrated the secular Jamia to tarnish its Gandhian record of non-violence and secularism. The university administration also must account for such a laxity in admissions of students, having non-academic motives. After all it is a government aided institution now, run with taxpayers’ money.

What is at greater stake is what Mohammad Marmaduke Pickethall, a London-born son of an Anglican clergy who embraced Islam, told a convocation at Jamia on 9 March 1924: “*Be Muslims, not in the sense of championing the Mohammedan community right or wrong, for that is contrary to Islam, but in seeking to restore and purify the true Islamic brotherhood ... True Islam will help your patriotism ... and your patriotism will help Islam ... The revival of Islam is not an enemy but a friend to Indian nationalism—the nationalism of Mahatma Gandhi, which seeks to build a nation out of all communities not on a political but a religious basis*”.

MR. K. VIKRAM RAO is a veteran journalist who worked for *The Times of India* for many years. He is president of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists. k.vikramrao@gmail.com

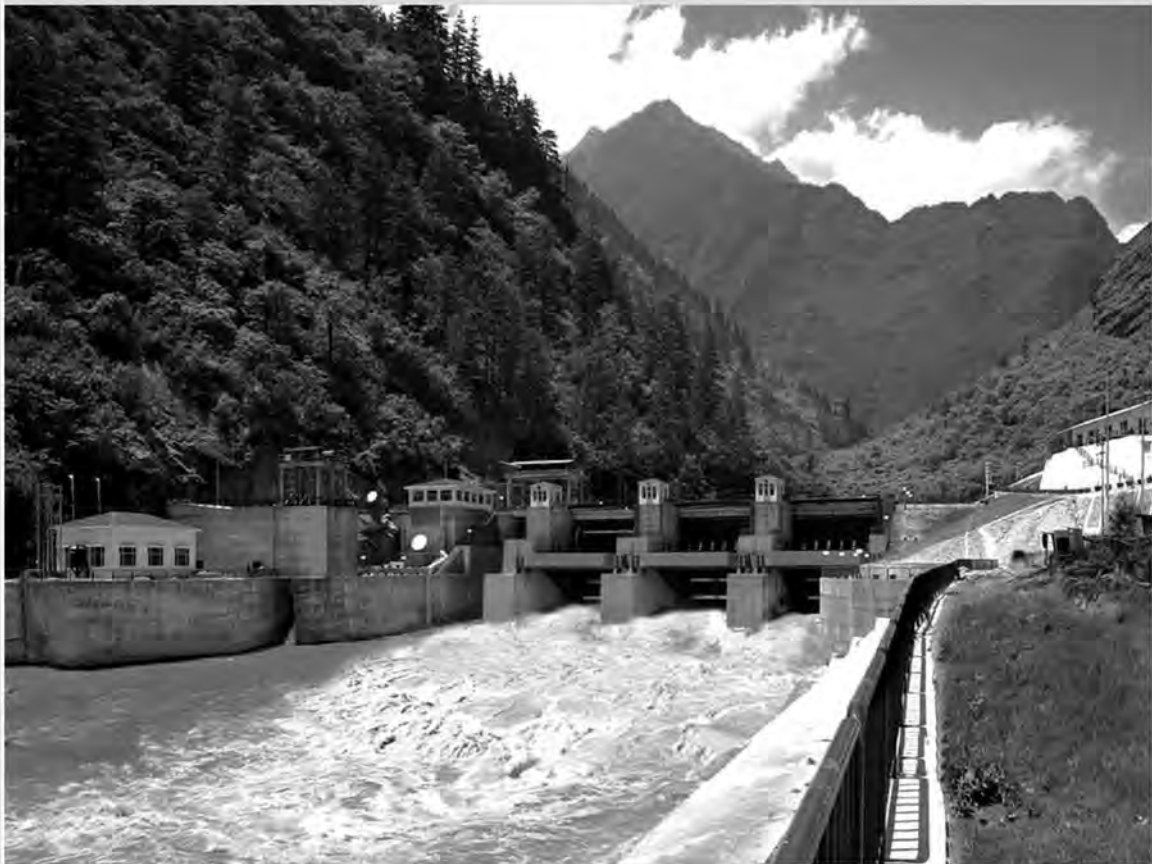
A COMMITMENT TO BUILD A BETTER LIFE

A globally recognized leader in construction of large scale river valley and other hydro power projects.

The Jaypee Group has been turning convention inside out. With youthful enthusiasm and courage, we've gone where few have ventured. We have explored possibilities where none existed. And while doing so, we have established benchmarks for others to follow.

No wonder then, you will find shining examples of our resilience not just in hydropower, but in Engineering & Construction, Cement Manufacturing and Real Estate.

It is our dream of a brighter India that gives us the courage to brave the odds, and to emerge successful. It's no small dream. But then, it's not too big either.



400 MW VISHNU PRAYAG H.E. PROJECT

HIGHLIGHTS

- Largest producer of hydro power in India in private sector
- Built Asia's highest rock fill dam
- Largest single location cement producing facility
- Largest operating hydropower station in private sector (400 MW Vishnu Prayag)



Construction
Power
Cement
Hospitality
Real Estate

— NO DREAM TOO BIG —

www.jalindia.com

Politics of Heritage: A Tourism Concern

Jyoti Marwah

An international seminar on “Heritage Tourism: Prospects and Challenges” discussed issues of concern with UNWTO declaring 2010 as the “International Year of Ecological Tourism.” The seminar was organised by the Department of History of ICLES’ M. J. College in academic collaboration with Freedom First and Mani Bhavan.

The Department of History ICLES’ M. J. College organized a two day International Seminar on “Heritage Tourism: Prospects & Challenges” at Vashi in Navi Mumbai on September 1 and 2, 2010. Since 1980 the United Nations World Tourism Organization has designated 27th September as World Tourism Day. Over the last 30 years themes have moved from “Free Movement of Tourists Creates One World” and “Communication, Information and Education: Power lines of Tourism Development,” to “Tourism’s contribution to the Preservation of Cultural Heritage and to Peace and Mutual Understanding”. The theme chosen by the Vashi college was therefore in keeping with UNWTO 2010 World Tourism Day theme of “Tourism: Celebrating Diversity” with the motto “Ecological Tourism: a key to Sustainable Development.” Dismantling a heritage site directly impacts the environment and ecology which over the centuries has preserved its ambiance for posterity if maintained carefully.

It is widely believed that Culture, Heritage and Tourism can create sustainable economies which blend amicably with the natural environment of any given region. Thus linking tourism with heritage and culture can do more for local economies than promoting them separately. The core idea in cultural heritage tourism is to “Save the heritage and culture so as to share it with visitors and reap the economic benefits of tourism”.

The seminar was aptly scheduled at a time when India hosts the Commonwealth Games and the tourist inflow to the country will mount phenomenally. Principal Dr. Jayshree Daoo believes that providing such platforms to the faculty and students is a necessary pre-requisite for building a healthy academic atmosphere and awareness. This helps to promote intelligent and fruitful solutions to issue of concern. The seminar witnessed valuable contributions by an array of eminent experts specialising in various areas of heritage.

A major concern was about the ‘Politics of Heritage’ endangering Heritage Tourism. It was felt that in the current context Heritage is less about upholding truth and authenticity and more about achieving political objectives. Events ranging from the formation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission by the Government of South Africa, destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan, the Vedanta Mines encroaching on the dwelling sites of the Dongaria Kondh and Kutia Kondh tribes of Orissa, the Navi Mumbai Airport endangering local ecology have much to do with the the politics of heritage. The worst affected being the Taj Mahal in Agra, with the ghost of the Taj Corridor still looming large over the 23,000 villages in UP along the e 165km long Yamuna Expressway. Close on its heels will follow the Ganga Expressway uprooting even more. Some of these villages are in the most fertile parts of the state and will be sacrificed in the name of development by a megalomaniac politician. Rural India is the real India – a reflection of India’s Heritage; but for how long?

The Keynote Address by the City’s highly reputed Art Historian Dr. Tasneem Zakaria Mehta, Vice Chairman,



Release of the “Book of Abstracts”. (L to R) Arun Bongiwari, Gopal Kamal, Ahmad Javed, Bharati Dayal

INTACH and a cultural activist of national and international fame was invigorating. Despite the fact that Parliament recently amended the Ancient Monuments and Archeological Sites and Remains Act, she expressed her serious concern and why she felt “conservation needs more teeth”. She was impressive as she meticulously detailed the courageous and vigorous campaign against the local hoodlums and the *sarpanch* whose political control of Elephanta had stymied its restoration. As UNESCO threatened to remove Elephanta from the list of world heritage sites, INTACH worked with ASI to battle the locals who wanted a Disneyland entertainment park. Strongly opposing this, INTACH recommended Village Tourism as Elephanta’s three villages are a charming world of their own ‘cocooned by the waters’ says Dr. Mehta.

The problem highlighted by the Elephanta ‘struggle’ is how a piece of national property of sacred and cultural value to the country’s people as well as for visitors, becomes an object of contention and possession by individuals and the State. Multinational corporations, secretly in league with them have become a growing threat to a nation’s heritage sites as nation-states find that they can no longer maintain cultural properties in a globalizing economy.

Dr. Gopal Kamal Commissioner of Income Tax and an outstanding exponent of Indian Philosophy, has a unique flair for history and heritage. He briefed the delegates on his work on maritime history and the importance of India’s coastline which has been the entry point for aggressors/tourists and traders alike in the past and even in the present.

Shri Javed Ahmad, Commissioner of Police Navi

Mumbai a passionate student of history rightly stressed how “heritage has become an omnipresent and defining feature of modern societies”. It has been institutionalized by UNESCO. He underlined the fact that linking tourism with heritage and culture is an incremental process as it creates jobs and provides new business opportunities, strengthening local economies in the process.

Professor P. B. S. Rana of the Banaras Hindu University with his wide experience of work on UNESCO sites and activism in protecting the heritage of the pilgrim city Varanasi, provided deep insight into issues of linking heritage and tourism.

Shri Shakti Shukla’s presentation on heritage and tourism of Kannauj was a novel and unique insight into a very exotic aspect of Indian culture – the Aromatic Culture. Unfortunately, this aspect of culture has been sadly neglected. India has the potential to capitalize on it at par with France and Egypt. The ancient city of Kannauj lies abandoned and with the growing impact of urban heritage it will not be long before the art of *Attar*-making will be lost forever. *Mitti ka Attar*, *Shamama hina* and *jasmine* scented sesame oil have been our heritage but we are steadily we are losing them all.

Smt. Bharti Dayal an internationally acclaimed artist of Madhubani paintings who has received awards for her incredible art form demonstrated the growing popularity of this eco-friendly and treasure of Indian Heritage. She spoke of the beautiful blending of natural colours to create masterpieces. Exhibitions of these paintings attract tourists who are ready to spend phenomenal amounts on a unique purchase. She highlighted how eight artists have been nominated for the Commonwealth Games, she being one, to promote this traditional art form to foreign travellers.

Shri Arun Bongiwar IAS (Retd.) former Chief Secretary of Government. of Maharashtra outlined the efforts made by the State Government to promote tourism in Maharashtra. He lamented that 70% of the tourists entering Mumbai are ignorant of the the tourism delights of Maharashtra but use the city only as a gateway to othe parts of the country.

The seminar attracted resources from all over the world *Dr. Amitabh Upadhyay* Director & Dean Academics Skyline



Principal Jayshree Daoo felicitating Tasneem Zakaria Mehta. Seated: Bakhtavar Mahajan, Jyoti Marwah

(Cont'd. on page 36)

Do We Want ‘Leaders’?

Sheryar Ookerjee

The world does not need ‘leaders’ – Hitlers, Mussolinis or Maos. What we want in all spheres of life and particularly at the top are people competent at their jobs, well educated and, most importantly, good and honest. The rest will follow.

A ‘dismal state of affairs’, as a leading newspaper says, prevails and has long prevailed in our country and in the world. To set things right, it has been reported, two young men from the Chanakya Institute of Public Leadership in collaboration with the Department of Philosophy of the University of Mumbai are starting a ‘unique’ programme whose ambitious aim is to groom youngsters to ‘become future leaders of the country’. The programme is to be called the ‘Kautilya Arthasastra’.

It has not been explicitly so stated, but it seems natural to suppose that Kautilya’s *Arthasastra* will constitute the basis of the project. Kautilya, who flourished about 2,400 years ago, wrote this treatise on the science and art of statecraft. An excellent model it will create for our future saviour-leaders! Kautilya has been compared to the Italian Machiavelli who recommended to the Prince to practice guile, intrigue, double-dealing of all kinds, and treachery, but Machiavelli could have learnt many a lesson from Kautilya.

The *Arthasastra* upholds monarchy and by and large identifies the State with the absolute monarch. One important consequence is that no sharp distinction is made between the State treasury and the king’s own pocket. To fill it, Kautilya recommends the secret robbing of the wealth of temples and monasteries, plundering passing caravans and ships, and relieving rich widows of their monetary worries by annexing their possessions.

The basic presumption among most arthasastra writers is the inherent and universal wickedness of human beings. Hence, one of the king’s duties is to ‘wield the rod’ – the use of punishment for preserving the peace of the realm against ‘the reign of the fishes’ and restraining one ‘fish’ from eating another. Here again no clear line is drawn between due process of law and the secret elimination of the king’s personal foes by ‘silent punishment’.

Throughout the *Arthasastra*, short-sighted and crass expediency is substituted for morality. Indeed,

morality, or a show of morality, like everything else, is used in the service of expediency. Genuine morality is despised by Kautilya as a device invented by the weak to protect themselves against the naturally strong (this is a doctrine also preached by Callicles in Plato’s *Gorgias*). The king is called ‘the protector of the people’ but first and foremost he protects himself from being overthrown (his constant worry), expelled from the country, or even killed. Towards this end, Kautilya has worked out a comprehensive network of spies. Suitable persons are to be enrolled in the royal service – cooks, barbers, shampooers, musicians, army generals, seemingly physically and mentally challenged persons, and even judges and innocent-looking nuns.

Ingenuous methods of spying are devised. For example, two of the king’s agents would go to some public place, one of them would extol the king’s goodness and honesty, the other would dispute this, and so they would discover who is for the king and who against. Another example: the king would personally incite one brother to kill his brother and then sentence the former to death as a murderer.

Everybody is suspect: The king’s wives and sons, the army chiefs, the ministers. But Kautilya also advises the prime minister, if the chance arises, to dethrone the king and take his place. Every ‘fish’ wants to devour every other and, as such, this is a perfectly decent thing to do. However, one of the duties of the king is to protect the people from destroying each other. He ‘wields the rod’ of punishment. But since there is no clear distinction between the laws of the state and the king’s desires, the ‘shepherd’ now and again turns wolf.

Two of the other duties of the king are the aggrandizement of neighbouring territory and the preservation of the divinely ordained castes. As one would expect, though Kautilya is no believer in religion, he thinks it an excellent tool for letting the ‘sheep’ believe and so to keep them under control. Similarly, they are made to believe in the king’s divinity. He stresses the king’s divinity or humanness as required.

One finds in the *Arthashastra* no large radical measures for the eradication of the 'dismal state of affairs' which obtained in Kautilya's own day, leave alone for a long time to come: no schemes of educational reform, or for the removal of poverty, for the upliftment of the downtrodden or for the improvement of the legal system. All you find is what Karl Popper would call 'piecemeal engineering' about things like the standardization of weights and measures, or the superintendence of horses and elephants.

Kautilya gives a long, in places ludicrous, list of the wonderful qualities a king must possess and the things he should do, but at bottom he is to have a good time according to his lights, enjoy pleasures, even sensual ones, so long as they are consistent with his 'spiritual good and material wellbeing'.

In short, he should be very good, except when he finds it necessary to be very bad.

Such is Kautilya's philosophy of statecraft. The State and the citizens may carry on as they have been blundering along for generations, pursuing their, often wicked, aims. Kautilya only seems to say, 'You can do what you like: I will teach you how to do it more quickly, more efficiently – and more ruthlessly'.

Some forty years ago, the principal of a Mumbai college tried to start an institution for 'Training for Leadership'. It fizzled out before it started, fortunately, for the world does not need 'leaders' – Hitlers, Mussolinis or Maos. What we want in all spheres of life and particularly at the top are people competent at their jobs, well educated and, most importantly, good and honest. The rest will follow.

PROFESSOR SHERYAR OOKERJEE is retired Head of the Department of Philosophy, Wilson College, Mumbai.

Politics of Heritage: A Tourism Concern (Cont'd. from page 36)

University Sharjah; Dr. Manoj Dixit Director Tourism Studies Lucknow University; Dr. Aisha Sultana Bio-Diversity specialist Aravali Biodiversity Park New Delhi; and Dr. Ranjana Mishra SNDT University assessed the prospects and challenges related to Heritage Tourism. Literature and Culture were the thrust of Dr. Kalpana R. J. a management consultant from San Francisco and Dr. Sastriyani, Head of the French Department from Majda Gazda University in Yogyakarta Indonesia.

As Convenor and coordinator of this seminar, I reported that as a result of our efforts the Board of Studies (History) of the University of Mumbai had introduced a new paper for third year BA on Heritage Tourism and many colleges were planning to introduce this subject. This seminar therefore provided academic strength to the University programme to explore its potential through substantive discussions and deliberations.

The seminar received overwhelming response with 54 research papers from the teaching faculty and researchers from India and abroad and 65 research papers from students of various colleges.

Award for the teaching faculty and the students were bagged by:

- Mrs. Kusum Vanjana : Teachers Best Paper Trophy, Nanavati Womens College (SNDT University)

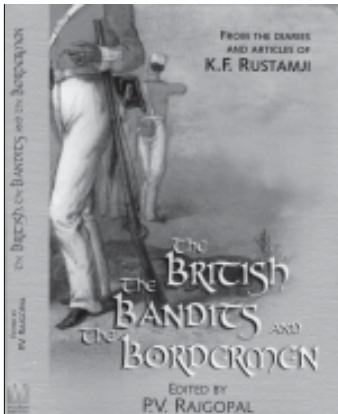
- Miss Suja Johny and : Jaicos Young Heritage
Prabhavati Konar Manager
- Mr. Ajay S. Mishra : Young Environmentalist
T.Y.B.Com, ICLES' Trophy
M. J. College
- Best Paper by : Deepthi Varghese
History Student of T.Y.B.A., ICLES'
M. J. College (History)

Prof. (Dr.) Rana P. B. S. highlighted the seminar proceedings in the Panel discussions and Dr. Sastriyani from Indonesia summarized the deliberations. The Cultural programme for the delegates was conceived and prepared by delegate students of Arts and Mass Media. Exemplary performance was displayed by Prasad, Nikita, Christabelle, Kalpesh, James, Gurpreet, Bhagyashree, Sheetal, Vineet, Vihang and Tehzeen.

The seminar concluded gracefully on a successful note with valuable inputs from the organizing committee consisting of Dr. Jyoti Marwah Dr. Kamal Rajiv Dr. Anita Jadhav Prof. Usha Anil Kumar and Ms. Moon Moon Jetley. All were unanimous on the need to protect, conserve and respect our Heritage without political interference.

DR. JYOTI MARWAH is Head of the Department of History, Member, Board of Studies (History) and Member, Faculty of Arts, University of Mumbai.

BOOK REVIEWS



THE BRITISH, THE BANDITS AND THE BORDERMEN. FROM THE DIARIES AND ARTICLES OF K. F. RUSTAMJI edited by P. V. Rajgopal ● Published by Wisdom Tree, 4779/23, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj, New Delhi 110002 ● www.wisdomtreeindia.com ● 2009 ● pp 388 ● Rs.495

Reviewed by Mr. B. K. Karanjia, well-known journalist. Editor of *Filmfare* for eighteen years, of *Screen* for 10 years and author of twelve books.

"I often pride myself on one thing and that is that whatever event occurs in India, somehow or the other gets me involved in it."

of printed and typed material. More fortunately still, P.V. Rajgopal, friend, admirer and himself an IPS officer and former director of the National Police Academy, delved through both the diaries and other relevant articles to write the book which he titled *The British, the Bandits and the Bordermen*, which is the subject of this review.

– K. F. Rustamji

It is ironic that in a country like India where the police control the common man's life more than of any other democratic country, an unsympathetic police leadership adversely affects us more than any other form of government activities. V. Balachandran, a former Special Secretary in the Cabinet Secretariat stated in the July issue of this magazine that against this background, the police and the media welcomed the two recent appointments of D. Sivanandan, who had restored public confidence in Mumbai after the wrenching 26/11, as Director General of Police, and Sanjeev Dayal, a capable and low profile officer who was chosen as Commissioner of Police in Sivanandan's place.

This was history repeating itself. Way back in 1958, K. F. Rustamji in his capacity as the Deputy Director of the Intelligence Bureau probed the scam relating to the nationalisation in 1956 of 243 insurance companies to form the Life Insurance Corporation of India. On the basis of Rustamji's report, 172 cases were registered and the Intelligence Bureau had to investigate the matter as the Central Bureau of Investigation had not yet come into existence.

Rustamji shot into prominence when two articles written by him and published in the *Indian Express* proved to be the catalyst and formed the basis for the first Public Interest Litigation (PIL) filed in India in 1979 and was responsible for the phenomenon of judicial actions in India. Small wonder then that in the course of time Rustamji became the most headlined policeman in the country. Fortunately for history, he recorded his experiences in a 3,500-word diary on a regular basis from November 1930 to December 1970 and in about 7,000 pages

Wisely written in the form of an autobiography, the book does make fascinating reading. With his acute sense of timing, on Prime Minister Nehru's 70th birthday, Rustamji gave him a unique present — the news of the killing of the notorious nose-chopping bandit known as Gabra, who once carried a reward of Rs. 50,000 for his capture and who inspired the character of Gabbar Singh in the film *Sholay*.

In the early 1970s, Rustamji and his bordermen were able to scuttle Pakistani terrorists' plans to hijack an Indian Airlines plane piloted by Rajiv Gandhi. However, another plane was hijacked to Lahore. The crew and passengers were let off safely, but the aircraft was set ablaze. Rajiv's mother, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, gratefully handed over a blank cheque to Rustamji which he filled up, handing the amount over to Bangladeshi freedom fighters. The end result was the creation of the independent state of Bangladesh in 1971.

In his introduction to the book, Rajgopal admits that he had to make hardly any corrections in Rustamji's handwritten diaries which were often peppered with poetic quotations and also gave an idea of his wide range of reading, his vast knowledge and his uncanny Nostradamus-like ability to anticipate the future course of events. Giving Rajgopal full rights to his writing, Rustamji expressed the desire that they should be edited and made available for reading by the general public. Rajgopal sums up the man Rustamji and his many achievements by quoting from Sri Aurobindo's monumental epic *Savitri*:

"As a star, unaccompanied, moves in heaven

Unastonished by the immensities of space,

Travelling infinity by its own light,
The great are strongest when they stand alone.”

But if truth be told, Rustamji was never really alone. His wife Naju Kiash of Bombay, whom he married on March 7, 1948, when he was SP of Khandwa district, stood by him through thick and thin.

K. F. Rustamji was a born leader of men. Six feet tall, ruggedly handsome, totally fearless, he had the knack of winning over not only the trust, but also the hearts of those who worked under him. He strongly opposed the saintly Vinobha Bhave who felt that bandits should be won over by love, instead of being hunted and killed. At the same time, Rustamji was man of great humanity who visited jails in Patna, Muzaffarabad, Karnataka and Maharashtra to see for himself how the wheel of justice whirled and how on occasion they ground exceeding small. “The visit to the jails in Bihar made me froth with indignation at what man could do to man, woman and child.” Desperately he worked for a solution, only to feel more frustrated: “There were thousands of people caught in a cruel system, not knowing what to do, how to get out of the clutches of the law.” He added: “I felt that the best course was to expose what was happening, build up media support, and finally the genius of the people of India would do the rest.”

Some hope, that! “I came to the conclusion that

the majority of people in our jails ought not to be there and the majority who ought to be there were outside living as free men!” He was deeply touched by the police of Bombay inviting him to their functions long after he had retired. “I was very often invited to give lectures at prestigious functions and flattering compliments were paid to me.” But among his regrets was that though some of his plays had been performed on stage, his short stories and articles were not accepted for publication.

It was a stroke of genius that led Rajgopal to invite Rustamji’s daughter Kerman to write the epilogue to the book. She closes the book with a beautiful touch. Her father had accompanied Prime Minister Nehru on an official visit to China and had on a new suit that he had stitched for the occasion. When he put his hand in his pocket, he was surprised to find a piece of paper in it. On it was written “Wherever you are, my dear, always remember there is someone waiting for you with love and faith. – Naju”

In view of his services to the country, the government conferred on Rustamji the Padma Vibhushan award. One wonders which, as an officer and a gentleman, had brought him greater joy – the award by a grateful nation or the scrap of paper showing his wife’s life-long devotion? This reviewer cannot find an answer to this question. Perhaps a reader can?

Freedom First

3rd floor, Army & Navy Building, 148, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Mumbai 400 001.
Phone: (022) 2284 3416 • email: freedom@vsnl.com

SUBSCRIPTION FORM (In Block Letters Please)

NAME : _____

ADDRESS : _____

_____ PIN

PHONE / MOBILE NUMBER :

EMAIL : _____

SUBSCRIPTIONS PAYABLE BY CHEQUE / DD DRAWN IN FAVOUR OF ICCF AND PAYABLE AT PAR IN MUMBAI. IF THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE THEN PLEASE ADD BANK CHARGES RS.50 FOR OUTSTATION CHEQUES WITHIN INDIA. SUBSCRIPTIONS CAN ALSO BE PAID BY MONEY ORDER

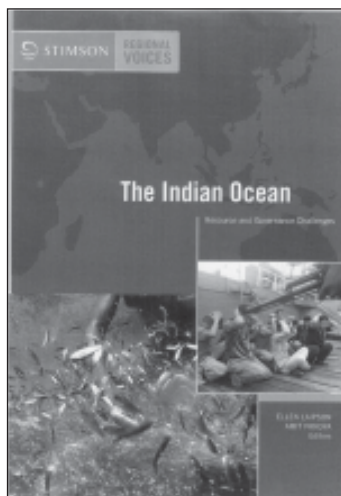
Subscription

Within India & SAARC countries

- ☐ 1 Year : Rs.200
☐ 2 Years : Rs.350
☐ 3 Years : Rs.500

Overseas

(By Second Class Airmail)
Annual: \$20 / £ 10



THE INDIAN OCEAN - RESOURCES AND GOVERNANCE edited by Ellen Laipson and Amit Pandya ● Published by Henry L Stimson Center, 1111, 19th Street, NW, 12th Floor, Washington DC 20036 ● www.stimson.org ● 2009 ● pp.: 120 ● Price not stated.

Reviewed by Brig. S. C. Sharma (retd.), adviser to the telecom industry and a freelance writer. Email: brigsc@gmail.com.

The papers in this edited volume explore the challenges to security and resources management in the Indian Ocean region. Messrs Kimani, Okemwa and Kazungu highlight current trends

in the fishing industry in Eastern Africa. Illegal fishing and lack of coordination to regulate and monitor international fishing companies and local fishermen has resulted in over-exploitation of fishing stocks. Further increase in fish production is subject to improved technology and exploitation of species previously ignored. In a visit to Seychelles in the 90s, I was surprised to note that they did not eat fresh water fish. The authors recommend a comprehensive approach to manage exclusive economic zones and international water resources.

Mak Joon Num focuses on security in Malaysian waters. He considers maritime security in a wider sense to include security of individuals, communities and sustainable use of maritime resources. The main users of Malayasian waters are the fishing trawlers of Malayasian West Coast, Sumatra-based pirates and the barter traders of the Southern islands of the Philippines. The pirates were based in Aceh and were using ransom money to buy arms in their struggle against Indonesia. After the peace agreement, piracy has declined only to be replaced by extortion by Indonesian enforcement agencies.

The Gulf region accounts for more than 30% of the world's oil supplies, the bulk of which is transported by sea. Mustafa Almi makes a plea for a multi-nation architecture for maritime security. The presence of US troops has aggravated the sense of distrust amongst the Gulf States. Iran wants all US troops to withdraw as a precondition for any agreement. The security should initially include the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] and later be extended to East African States. The three levels of cooperation recommended by him are environment, control of criminal activities and strategic security. The paper does not elaborate of how the distrust among the States in the region can be overcome.

Geethangani de Silva, a former diplomat of Sri Lanka,

addresses the maritime challenges in South Asia. Maritime issues are linked to developments in the heartland. Major Powers are trying to strengthen their foothold in the Indian Ocean. Their concerns are maritime terrorism, transportation of arms, drugs and humans by militant groups. Cooperation should be evolved at bilateral, regional and ultimately at global levels. A good example is the bilateral understanding between India and Sri Lanka on the Palk Straits. The policing of Malacca Straits by the combined Navies of India, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia has reduced piracy in that region. She rightly points out the imperative need for political will.

Amit Pandya discusses whether the states can find solutions to the diverse challenges. A high proportion of the trade across the Indian Ocean originates or is destined for countries outside the region. It is critical for global trade, food and strategic interests of all global and regional powers. International laws which are relied upon for use of international transactions are undergoing rapid change. The rule of law is undermined by lack of an enforcement mechanism. Maritime boundaries are invisible which compounds the problems of compliance. National economic and strategic interests take precedence over bilateral or regional arrangements. The agreements between China, Japan and Vietnam for exploitation of mineral and hydro-carbon resources in the Pacific have been violated by all the parties concerned. The success of pirates off the Somali coast brings out the complexity of enforcing the rule of law. The authority to act against piracy is limited to the high seas or to any place outside the jurisdiction of a state. Littoral states have to look after their respective coastal defence and can only expect intelligence from other countries. The terrorist attack in Mumbai was entirely a national failure and not due to lack of international cooperation.

Stimson Center President Ellen Laipson examines the will and capacity of states and regional organizations to manage their maritime agenda. The nation state has to deal with the competitive interests of environment, economy and security. A balance between these often conflicting requirements is a daunting task. It is estimated that 15 million people make their living from the sea. They are the poorest among the poor. Environmental degradation and fishing by technologically advanced states affect their

livelihood. Countries with long coastlines have not given due attention to maritime policy. She quotes an Indian expert that the policy for maritime India has been made by “landlubbers”.

The civilian leadership of India suffers from lack of knowledge and interest in the maritime role of India. It is a valid comment. Even the military leadership has not always grasped the importance of maritime power. In the 1971 war, the Indian Navy destroyed the oil tanks in Karachi port and was poised to block the port. We learn from the Nixon papers, now declassified, that at that stage Pakistan could not have continued the war for more than four weeks. We failed to appreciate this fact which could have been turned to our advantage in negotiations. We did show a better understanding of naval power in the Kargil war. The offensive threat posed by the Navy helped in

Pakistan’s defeat. We have developed resources for denial of the sea to hostile powers by fielding submarine and appropriate surface and air arms but there has been absence of a force to project naval power. India has yet to possess a blue water navy consistent with its long shoreline. Like other authors, she too recommends regional cooperation. This is not easy since each nation state has its own priority. For Sri Lanka, struggle with LTTE had a naval dimension. For India and Pakistan, maritime disputes are part of a long standing rivalry. Malaysia is concerned with drug and human trafficking while for Singapore it is simply a matter of trade.

The book which is meant for the general reader to understand the maritime policy issues in the Indian Ocean region is able to achieve its purpose.

Arming Without Aiming?

M. D. Kini

India Abroad, a news weekly published from New York had a report on a book, *Arming Without Aiming: India’s Military Modernization* by Stephen P. Cohen and Sunil Dasgupta. For a copy of the report visit <http://www.indiaabroad-digital.com/indiaabroad/20100917/?pg=7&pm=1&u1=friend>. The following is my response.

Aziz Hanifa’s report on the book, *Arming Without Aiming: India’s Military Modernization* by Stephen B. Cohen and Sunil Dasgupta, (*India Abroad*, September 17) does not summarize the arguments of the authors to support the title of the book. The aim of India’s arming is just to keep the intruders away from its borders and to safeguard its legitimate interests around its borders.

India is modernizing its armed forces mainly because of the belligerence of its two neighbours who want to prevent the rise of India as an important power shaping the 21st century. It is true as pointed out by the authors of the book that India’s “preferred stance has been military restraint” due to the fact that non-violence and non-aggression have been part of the ethos of the people of India for the last five thousand years.

Though China attacked India in 1962 and exploded an atomic device in 1964, India did just a technology demonstration in 1974. This immediately invited sanctions from the Western powers. It exploded a nuclear device only in 1998 after it was known all over the world that China was assisting Pakistan to become a nuclear power.

However the authors of the book have to be commended for highlighting “the defense acquisition process, which is amazingly convoluted” or as Ashley Tellis puts it, “internal sclerosis in India’s internal defense thinking”. One of the reasons for this is the commission or corruption involved in military procurement which runs

into thousands of crores of rupees (Swedish gun (Bofors), French & German submarines, Israeli missiles (Barack). Besides, in defense purchases, the consumer is not the king: restrictive clauses on the purchase of warships (USA) and escalation in the price of aircraft carrier (Russia).

Unlike China which produces most of its defense requirements, India still depends on imported armaments as defense R&D is still inadequate. The Indian private sector is still kept out of manufacturing military equipment as the state is afraid of the emergence of military-industrial complex in the country. Then there is the fear of a strong military in view of the Pakistani experience.

Indian politicians have let down India and the Indian Army in many ways. Kashmir is the problem created by the politicians and the Army was not given a free hand. The Chinese invasion was due to the Politicians’ romantic view of the Chinese Communists. The report of Lt. Gen. Henderson Brooks and Brig. P. S. Bhagat’s 1962 War is still a state secret, 48 years after, as it is supposed to be an indictment of politicians.

India has to formulate a vision of its future among the comity of nations – of a strong but peaceful nation which uses its power not just to secure its borders but helps others, especially in Asia, to defend themselves. Its sphere of influence should not merely extend from Singapore to Aden but also include the Middle East, South East Asia and other parts of Asia. India should have a strong defence industry. Once the vision is clear, strategy will evolve to suit the vision.

M. D. Kini,
kinis68@gmail.com

To make your 'Own Car' dream come true

Super Fast Car Loan



- Attractive rates of Interest • Convenient repayment options
- Repayment period up to 84 months

*Overseas only

"Get Free Accessories worth Rs.5000/- on Passenger Vehicles of Tata Motors except Tata Nano. Offer is valid till 31st October 2010 only through our Bank."



**Saraswat
Bank**

The Saraswat Co-operative Bank Ltd. (A Scheduled Bank)

Customer Service Centre: 022-26464013/26464019/26464022

Website: www.saraswatbank.com

email: customerservicecentre@saraswatbank.com



INTEGRATED LOGISTICS SERVICES

AFL is India's pioneer in offering the entire range of Supply Chain 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 value added services such as Track and Trace, Warehouse Management Systems, Door to Door Pick Up and Delivery, Consolidation and Break Bulk, Postponement Logistics including Kitting and Bundling, Picking and Packing, Reverse Logistics including Refurbishing, Strategic Parts Management and Risk Management, we put it all together to help you integrate and extract the maximum value out of your supply chain.

To integrate your supply chain and increase your competitiveness, call our Supply Chain Specialist 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