

Freedom First

The Liberal Magazine



Verghese Kurien
(1921 - 2012)

RIGHT PLACE

RIGHT TIME

RIGHT MAN

Freedom First believes in an open society based on minimum government and maximum freedom tempered by a sense of individual responsibility, in which the people's genius has a fair opportunity to develop and grow; we reject any ideology, movement or policy that sets one group of citizens against another be it based on class, caste, religion or envy.

Tomorrows are
bright, when
Education ^{Loan} is
right.

Union Bank's Education Loan is a dream come true for every Indian student looking for a brighter future through education - be it in India or abroad.

- 'Special Scheme' for studies at Premier B-schools and reputed institutions
- Privileges for needy students for basic education
- Discounts for female students
- Sanction within 48 hrs
- Fixed rate of interest
- Avail of our online application facility



Freedom First

The Liberal Magazine

Number 544 – October 2012

Advisory Board:

Mr. Sharad Bailur
Mr. A. V. Gopalakrishnan
Mr. Firoze Hirjikaka
Mr. Ashok Karnik
Mr. Farrokh Mehta
Mr. Jehangir Patel
Mr. Nitin G. Raut
Brig. S. C. Sharma (retd.)
Mr. Kunwar Sinha
Mr. Sameer Wagle

Editor:

S. V. Raju

Associate Editor:

Prof. R. Srinivasan

Editorial Team:

Dr. Rca Godbole
Ms. Hina Manerikar
Dr. Jyoti Marwah
Mr. Nitin Raut

Cover Design:

Vivek Raju

Administration, Accounts,

Subscription, Circulation:

Ms. Kashmira Rao

Contact:

Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom
3rd floor, Army & Navy Building
148, Mahatma Gandhi Road
Mumbai 400001
Telefax. 022 22843416 /6639635
Editor's Cell: 9820016392

Subscription:

Annual: Rs.200: Two years Rs.350

Three years: Rs.500

Overseas: Annual only US\$20 / £10.

Cheques/DDs in favour of ICCF

Email: freedomfirst1952@gmail.com

Web: www.freedomfirst.in

Between Ourselves

Freedom First will not join the cacophony opposing the determination with which the PM has stood by his decision to resume the economic reforms process. Also, the decision to hike the price of diesel is a partial acceptance of the fact that subsidies across the board will destroy everyone include the much touted (and excuse for all reasons) the *aam admi*. We have been demanding the freeing of the economy and when the opportunity arose, on the floor of parliament as well. It took forty years and bankruptcy staring the country in the face for a minority Congress government to take a U turn away from statist policies and in the direction of a market driven one. The scene is being replayed now and like the then PM in 1991, the present PM too must not budge.

When the reforms stalled and came to rest on a boulder called “coalition dharma” the PM should have taken a firm stand as he has done now to continue with the reforms. But it is known that he was on a tight leash held by the family that equated the well being of the country with its own well being and, above all underlining its resolve that retention of power was not negotiable what ever the cost. Be that as it may, now that the PM has taken a tough position and has reiterated that there will not be a rollback whatever the consequences, including the loss of power, it is incumbent on all those like us liberals to support his action.

This does not mean that we can look the other side regarding the numerous cases of corruption and gigantic scams that are pouring out of the politician/bureaucrat closets. These have to be followed up rigorously for the Courts to prosecute and punish the culprits irrespective of who they are.

Editor

In this Issue

From Our Readers		2
<i>In Memoriam:</i>		
Untold Tales of Verghese Kurian	Sharad Bailur	3
Jagdish Ajmera, R.I.P.		5
Coalgate : Bungling by Both Sides	Firoze Hirjikaka	6
The State of the Economy	Sunil Bhandare	7
The Mumbai Riots of August 11, 2012	Nitin G. Raut	10
<i>Column: A Brush with Nature</i>		
Of Books on Birds and Their Survival	Ashish Chandola	11
<i>Column: Point Counter Point</i>	Ashok Karnik	13
<i>Column: Cornucopia</i>	Firoze Hirjikaka	15
<i>Column: Foreign Relations in the 21st Century</i>		
Expansionist China: A Threat to Peace and Stability in Asia-Pacific	B. Ramesh Babu	19
The September 1965 War with Pakistan	Suresh C. Sharma	21
Allan Octavian Hume	Prabha Ravi Shankar	24
<i>Column: Book Review</i>		
Zealous Reformers Deadly Laws by Madhu Purnima Kishwar. Reviewed by	Prof. Nilanjana Biswas	27
Adult Education Institute sponsored feature: <i>Educating Adults</i>		
Students Beyond the Classroom - led by	Jyoti Marwah	29
Contributions from: R. K. Cheema		
● Rita P. Bhambi ● Dr. Lakshmi K. ● Sujata Dhopte		
● Sheela Philip ● Vani Achari Ummadisingu		
● Rahul P. Deshmukh ● Mamta Gupta ● Alam		
● Armugharaj Nadar ● Rishi Khanna		
<i>Column: Nostalgia</i>		
<i>Freedom First</i> This month in October 1955		cover page 3

Published by J. R. Patel for the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom and printed by him at Union Press, 13 Homji Street, Fort, Mumbai 400001. Tel. 22660357, 22665526. Typeset at Shubham Print & Web, 59, Dr. V. B. Gandhi Marg, 1st floor, Fort, Mumbai 400001. Tel. 22842619. Mobile: 9892921277.

From Our Readers

Professor S. Radhakrishnan R.I.P

I am late in expressing my sorrow on the death of Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, of the Indian Liberal Group, as I was struck dumb after reading the news in *Freedom First*. I remember when Prof.SRK came to Ooty for an ILG programme in September 2002, he took time off to visit my residence and bless my grand-daughter born a few days earlier.

Great people never die. SRK is one of them.

Raman Dharmalingam, ILG-Nilgiris,
Lovedale, Tamil Nadu.

*

Indian Social Wisdom and Proverbs

I would like to add one more to the proverbs mentioned in the article 'Indian Social Wisdom and Proverbs' (*Freedom First*, August 2012) : Tobacco unfurled and a woman seen laughing lose their essence.

K. Vaithinathasamy, Kumbakonam, Tamil Nadu

*

The Absolute Power of Hype

Apropos Mr. Vepari's letter in the August 2012 issue of *Freedom First*, the gentleman's adoration of Mr. Modi more or less proves my point. It was also enlightening to see my article described as a "diatribe". Thanks to the effectiveness of Narendra Modi's master manipulation of his target audience, his supporters are among the most vehement I have encountered. If Gujarat is indeed a land of milk and honey, why is it that, ten years after Godhra, the Muslims still harbour undiminished animosity towards him? As the Chinese Communists have shown, if you keep your people in sufficient prosperity, they will tolerate, even support, any regime, no matter how intolerant and autocratic. Why then do the Muslims of Gujarat find themselves unable to move on, even after a decade?

Narendra Modi has been putting on a polished performance ever since he came to power in Gujarat, with the *sadbhavas* being the latest act. In my opinion, the real Modi – which we caught a brief glimpse of in the immediate aftermath of Godhra - will emerge only if and when he becomes Prime Minister of India - and that is what scares me. Modi is bone-chillingly clinical. He neither loves nor hates anybody, not even himself. Every action is coldly calculated for maximum effect, devoid of emotion or genuine feeling. India's flawed democracy may be

bumbling and corrupt, but it is still preferable to autocratic rule. As Indira Gandhi's Emergency demonstrated, good roads and efficient administration are a steep price to pay for curtailment of personal freedoms

Firoze Hirjikaka. leonardo8_99@yahoo.com

*

Personal Integrity in Public Life

The article "Success Sans Ethics" (August, 2012) by Mr. S. Gurumurthy was an eye-opener, more particularly with reference therein to Lal Bahadur Shastri.

As the author says, Shastriji was "... born poor, (and) he lived and died as one, despite being Union Home Minister and Prime Minister. For, Shastriji's honesty and integrity were always beyond doubt. But his clean image was confirmed more firmly only after his premature death at Tashkent when, while paying him glowing tributes, the obituaries mentioned a small detail about a step that Shastriji had taken just prior to leaving for Tashkent. The Indian Prime Minister had pledged his life insurance policy for a personal loan of Rs.10,000 - Yes, just Rs.10,000. Indeed, he was unique even in those less corruption-polluted days. Now that the tribe itself is vanishing, there will be none like him ever!

The tragedy is Shastriji's passing away resulted in imparting the most unfortunate twist to India's history and destiny. But that's another story.

Kashinath A. Divecha Mumbai

*

Rat Gives Wakeup Call to Tamil Nadu Government

It needs a rat to bite and kill a newly born baby at the Government hospital in Triplicane in Chennai to make the Tamil Nadu government realize the horrible, unhygienic and deplorable conditions in the government hospitals in Tamil Nadu. When it got the wakeup call from the rat, the Tamil Nadu government discussed the matter and gave directions to drive away the rats, cats and dogs from government hospital premises.

As a matter of routine, the minister and secretary visited the hospital, spoke cosmetically about the importance of maintaining healthy conditions, gave advice and instructions, suspended a few people at the lower

(Cont'd. on page 8)

In Memoriam

Untold Tales of Verghese Kurien

Sharad Bailur



(1921-2012)

Dr. Verghese Kurien, my boss at the National Dairy Development Board, was not a modest man. He had much to be immodest about. A great raconteur, his stories of how it all happened were leavened with a faint self-deprecation that came across as though he was pulling the listener's leg. Only later it would turn out that he was all the time telling the whole truth and nothing but the truth. I found this, to my cost, when three events occurred. First, the visit of the Chairman of the Pakistan Dairy Board, second that of the Agriculture Minister of Kyrgyzstan and lastly of Mr. H. D. Deve Gowda in his capacity as Prime Minister. Kurien talked about his friendship with the royal family of the Netherlands and with Queen Beatrix, who had presented him with a chess set made of ebony and ivory, with authority and affection. He was not name-dropping. That was just how it had been. From Jawaharlal Nehru down through the pages of history, both Indian and foreign, the world leaders whom he had met, or more importantly who had come to Anand to meet him, was legion.

When Kurien finished his Engineering from Madras he was picked up by Tata Steel as a Probationary Officer. Word soon leaked out that a Director on the Board of the Tatas, John Mathai (later to be Finance Minister of India), was Kurien's uncle. Kurien had won his way to the job strictly on merit, but this new development made things awkward for him because overnight he was being treated with deference. He talked with his uncle who tried to dissuade him from resigning. But resign he did.

"There are always opportunities floating by. Grab them – all of them. You can drop them later if they don't turn out well."

– Kurien

Beginning of AMUL

Around the same time the Government of India announced scholarships for students wishing to take up courses in Dairy Engineering in the United States. Kurien applied for the scholarship on the strength of his engineering background and got it. When he landed in the US, he realised he had an opportunity in a loophole that the Government of India had missed. The loophole was that the Government of India had no control over what he actually studied. They had given the money to the University that had offered him a seat. He could do what he wanted with it – so long as he returned to India armed with his new education. Kurien, who had applied to the University of Pittsburgh, asked to have his subjects changed from Dairy Engineering to Metallurgy and Nuclear Science. His ambition was to become India's first atomic bomb maker. He got his degree in both Metallurgy and Nuclear Science and returned to India. At that point, if he had asked to meet Jawaharlal Nehru, (who was quietly mulling over making atom bombs for India in any case, and was in touch with Homi Bhabha), he would have been there far ahead of Anil Kakodkar or R. Chidambaram.

In the event, it turned out Kurien had signed a bond to serve at any facility named by the Government on his return from the US. The bond was enforced and Kurien was sent to work at the Government Creamery in Anand, where he sat cooling his heels doing virtually nothing except watching the cobwebs grow on the ancient machinery that was lying in its godown. Across the road he observed the controlled chaos of a dairy co-operative, headed by a gentleman called Tribhuvandas Patel, which had a battle on its hands with the then big dairy in Anand – Polsons.

Polsons was an invented, appropriately "imported" name, acquired by a Parsi gentleman who ran a milk products unit in Anand. They had a tinning facility and turned out butter in tins. I recall poking my head between my father's arms as he opened a tin of Polsons only to have it squirt right into my eye.

Polsons had a deal with the Milk Commissioner of

Bombay that he would supply milk to Bombay – and that it would be a monopoly. Kurien would go across and talk to the Cooperative officials and it turned out they had a tough time selling their milk in Bombay because of the restriction by the Milk Commissioner which compelled them to sell the milk to Polsons who would then sell it in Bombay. Worse, nobody at the Cooperative knew English. Would Kurien please go to Bombay on their behalf and talk to the Commissioner? Kurien obliged and got the monopoly clause rescinded on the condition that he could demonstrate that the milk sent by the Cooperative would not spoil on the journey from Anand to Mumbai by train. So two cans packed in ice blocks and gunny-sacked were transported to Bombay by the 11.30 pm Gujarat Mail from Anand to be presented to the Commissioner. The train reaches Bombay at 5.30 am (even today) and the cans were shown and tested before the Commissioner's august presence at 6 am at his office at Goregaon. Challenge surmounted, the flow of milk to Bombay started.

Obstacles Faced by AMUL

But then cows and buffaloes are not always obliging animals. The flow of milk ebbs in summer and picks up once the rains start and stays through the winter to taper off toward the onset of the next summer. And there lay a problem that the Polsons decided they could exploit. Polsons who had a New Zealander for their Manager went to Bombay to tell the Commissioner that he should only accept a fixed total quantity of milk throughout the year – after all people don't drink more milk in winter and less in summer! That meant that the milk from the cooperative that ebbed and flowed would be faced with a problem it could not control. Its milk would go waste in winter and be inadequate in summer. No reasoning would move the Commissioner. The Cooperative, and their representative Kurien, came back disappointed. What Kurien did on his journey back is not known but by the time he was back in Anand, he had a plan.

He opened up the godown of the Government Creamery and pulled out the old butter churner and milk powdering equipment. It had seen better days, much better days – during the First World War in Mesopotamia! It needed very careful handling and repairing. By the time he had finished with it, it was in working condition, even if haltingly. He offered it to the Cooperative provided they could get the permission of the Government of India to use the old machinery. Kurien was sent to Delhi to persuade the people in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. Some persuading later, he returned armed with the permission. Butter making started and for the first time butter from the Kaira District Milk Producers' Cooperative Limited (KDMPL) was sold in Bombay. Not too many

people touched it, even with a bargepole sterilised or otherwise; they were still enamoured by the "imported" Polson name, as was my own father. But at least the overflow of milk problem had been dealt with – for the time being.

Unfortunately success often leads to bigger problems and the Cooperative was getting the first taste of growing pains. Since members sold milk to their Cooperative at a price no less than the market price, the output started to pick up. The Milk Commissioner remonstrated. Kurien said, "We cannot put stoppers on the udders of my cows!" and the problem continued. That was when Tribhubandas had a new idea. Why not import an entire new dairy from Holland? Question: Who would set it up? Of course there was Kurien. But he was no dairy engineer! So what next? Kurien had a tentative possibility that would require him to go to Bombay. There he bumped into an old friend from his Pittsburgh days: H. M. Dalaya. Dalaya was at a loose end in India having lost all his lands and property to the throes of Partition. And he was a qualified Dairy Engineer from Pittsburgh. Would he be willing to come to Anand to have a look? The machinery had arrived. Dalaya agreed.

Between Dalaya and Kurien and a bit of local turner/fitter help they erected the dairy that would thenceforth turn out butter. The Cooperative decided it would have to have a new name. Between Dalaya and Kurien they came up with AMUL meaning Anand Milk Union Limited. It also stood for "Priceless". And it was from these rather disparate threads that the true story of the success of Amul, and of Dr. Kurien started. Polsons withered away and died a natural death. A bust of its owner still adorns the library of the National Dairy Development Board presented to it by his son.

When Kurien started to work for Amul, the total output of milk per year for the whole of India was estimated at a woeful 7 million tonnes; woeful, because, as it turns out, India is the only non-white milk-drinking nation in the world. We drink an enormous amount of milk and use it in other products. The demand was enormous. The supply was microscopic by comparison. There lay the problem and there lay the opportunity.

Amul then decided to make baby food. Who were the experts? Ask them. Nestle. So Kurien was sent out to Switzerland to meet with Nestle to seek a collaboration to make baby milk powder. He was brusquely turned away with the remark: "The air in India is so badly contaminated with microbes; it is not possible to make baby food in India." When he returned empty handed, he was asked if he and his colleagues could make baby food without

collaboration. They decided to give it a try. And they succeeded. AMUL baby food rapidly gained a foothold in the market place. It was then that Nestle took notice and their Chairman came over to visit Amul. He was shown around the dairy with elaborate courtesy and then offered lunch. It was then that he apologised. He then sought Amul's help in marketing Nestle products. Amul turned down the request after consideration. They wanted to make their own.

As late as 1969/70 baby food was to be had in Bombay only if you were prepared to commit murder for it. That soon changed because in 1964 Lal Bahadur Shastri took a hand. He visited Anand and stayed the night with a local farmer discussing the problems of the farmers of Gujarat with them. Next morning he told Kurien he wanted him to replicate the AMUL and later the GCMMF pattern on an all India basis. Saying is one thing doing is another. For six months nothing happened because there was no money forthcoming from the Government of India. But Dr. Kurien and his colleagues read the papers and magazines. They were watching with care the mountain of butter and

milk powder that was growing uncontrolled in the European Union. They went to the Government to seek permission to persuade the EU to gift the milk and powder to India since they, in any case, had no where to sell it. The EU obliged and the saga of the National Dairy Development Board and Operation Flood that eventually was responsible for increasing the output of milk from a bare 7 million tonnes per annum to 140 million tonnes plus today, started. That makes India the world's biggest producer of milk with the US being the next biggest, producing around 75 million tonnes.

One of Dr Kurien's off the cuff remarks continues to resound in my memory: "There are always opportunities floating by. Grab them – all of them. You can drop them later if they don't turn out well." Yes, Sir! And you will live in our memory and in the memory of all those who had the great good fortune to work under you.

MR. SHARAD BAILUR author, freelance journalist and a member of the Advisory Board of *Freedom First* was Senior General Manager, National Dairy Development Board . Email: sharad.bailur@gmail.com

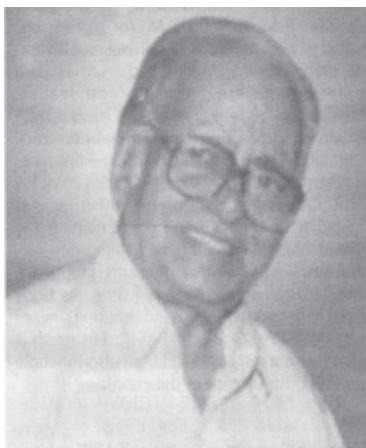
Jagdish Ajmera R.I.P.

A good friend, a long time subscriber to *Freedom First* and a comrade in arms of the late V. B. Karnik in the trade union movement, Jagdish Ajmera passed away in Mumbai on July 1, 2012. He was 95.

A native of Bhavnagar, Saurashtra, he moved to Bombay in 1940 when he was 23, joined the Congress Socialist Party and was soon involved in the freedom struggle and the 1942 Quit India agitation. He was arrested but escaped his captors and went underground. A year later he was re-arrested and spent the next 9 months in prison.

Soft spoken and often deprecatory Jagdish was modest to a fault never seeking the limelight. An intellectual, he turned to trade unionism and in 1949 was elected Secretary of the Western Railway Employees Union (WREU) which office he held for the next 28 years. He was president of the Union from 1980 to 2000.

The WREU is a genuine trade union not attached to any political party unlike most other unions in India then and now. This was mainly due to the fact that the WREU had such legendary figures like Maniben Kara and V. B. Karnik who steered the union in its growing up years. The Royists (so called because they were largely influenced by another legendary figure M. N. Roy) also



known as humanists and Rationalists they were not part of any political alignment. They ensured that the Union was independent of political parties and eschewed partisan political alignments. Jagdish Ajmera was fortunate to come under their influence. Another unique character of the WREU under the leadership of Jagdish Ajmera was the fact that it was not concerned only with bread and butter issues but keenly interested in the welfare and education of its members and which became an integral part of this union's activities. This is what led to my being involved,

all too marginally, with Ajmera's interest in workers' education.

In a tribute to him the *Railway Sentinel* wrote "Com. Ajmera devoted his whole life for the benefit of the working class in general and the railwaymen in particular." His body was kept in the Jagdish Ajmera Sabagrih (a meeting hall constructed by the WREU and named after him during his lifetime in recognition of his services to railwaymen) to enable large numbers of railwaymen and women to pay their tribute.

We salute his memory and believe that a few more Jagdish Ajmeras would have done the free trade union movement proud. His passing away is not only a loss to the railwaymen but to genuine trade unionism itself.

Coalgate : Bungling by Both Sides

Firoze Hirjikaka

The dilemma of all political parties in India today is that they are increasingly getting caught with their pants down by an aggressive and inquisitive media. The weapon of plausible deniability that they employed so effectively in the past is being ripped away by the media laying their hands on incriminating documents with increasing frequency.

In the Coalgate mess, the Congress party has been hoist with its own petard. That the report on coal block allocation by the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) would be adversarial and explosive was generally anticipated weeks ahead. In fact, the Coal Ministry had warned the government months ago about irregularities in coal block allocations. Yet the Congress adopted the posture of a deer frozen in the headlights of a rapidly approaching vehicle. Even when it had favourable cards to play, it kept them close to its chest. It has now emerged that the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) had asked the Coal Ministry as early as April to identify favoured companies whose coal block allocations could be cancelled. If this had been made public before the CAG report came out, much of the public outrage against the Congress would have been defused; and the visceral attack by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) would have been somewhat blunted. It did not happen because of the traditional lethargy of India's bureaucracy. Even worse, after the scam was exposed, Congress bigwigs tied themselves up in knots trying to justify the indefensible; and ended up looking like total idiots.

Predictably, the BJP seized the opportunity and came out swinging – and it landed some big punches. The problem was that the BJP did not know when to stop. The public loves a good fight and initially they cheered the party on. However, they do not like to see the defeated being repeatedly kicked when he is already on the mat. The BJP's single point agenda of dislodging the PM became monotonous and then irritating. In press conference after press conference, BJP leaders trotted out the same litany of the Congress' calumny *ad nauseum*. They soon began to sound like a broken record and even their supporters tuned off. How long can you go on flogging a dead horse before you look pathetic? Even worse, the BJP refused to allow Parliament to function and this left a bad taste in the mouth of most Indians.

The BJP's insistence that the resignation of the PM is a deal breaker is ill thought of and likely to boomerang on them. Already this far-fetched strategy has found no support among the other political parties and I suspect that even some within the BJP itself are not too enthusiastic about the idea. Think about it? The BJP's

reasoning is that the PM was also the Coal Minister during the tenure of Coalgate and therefore needs to own up moral responsibility and quit. This would set a horrible precedent as far as our politicians are concerned. They have a lot of skeletons in their cupboards as it is; and if they were to be held accountable for acts of commission and omission in previous postings, the halls of Parliament would soon echo in eerie silence.

Hope for Positive Fallout?

A brief aside here about the illustrious CAG's Vinod Rai. Like the former Chief Election Commissioner, T N Seshan before him, here is a gentleman who clearly revels in basking in the spotlight. Also like Seshan, Rai believes himself to be a modern day Lancelot selflessly tilting his lance at the corrupt establishment. He has played this role so convincingly that every single section of the media that has gone ballistic about the perceived corruption in Coalgate, has accepted *in toto* the veracity of his report. While reams of newsprint and hours of debate have been expended in alleging that coal blocks have been allotted to private players who have little or no mining experience, for example, no one has pointed out – according to Tavleen Singh's recent column – that since Indira Gandhi nationalized coal way back in the 1970s, there were few opportunities for private sector companies to gain significant mining experience in the first place? To this date, almost two-thirds of India's coal mines are owned by public sector Coal India and their record of exploiting India's coal deposits over the past 40 years has been anything but exemplary. I am not aware if these facts find mention in the CAG report, but if so, they have been completely ignored by the media.

The BJP's holier-than-thou attitude is also starting to grate on the nerves. Contrary to Goebbels' assertion, repeating a series of half-truths *ad infinitum* does not make them gospel. For one thing, the main reason the Congress has reaped the larger windfall from Coalgate is that it happened to be in power at the time and was therefore in a position to dole out favours. If it had happened during the BJP's tenure, I doubt if the outcome would have been much different. Moreover, while it may be undeniable that

(Cont'd. on page 9)

The State of the Economy

A Gloomy Tale from Official Reports

Sunil Bhandare

Nothing seems to be going well with our economy. Many would perhaps perceive even this description as an understatement of the true dimensions of the challenges currently besieging the Indian economy.

There are several credible non-official institutions, which have sharply lowered their earlier forecast of India's economic growth to around 5.5% in 2012-13, with a prediction that such slow down would endure till the general elections of 2014. A sense of despondency is becoming more widespread. This is the common refrain in most serious discussions on the state of the economy, especially in corporate corridors and in chambers of commerce and industry.

Huge concerns are also being expressed about the impending downgrade by international credit rating agencies. It may be recalled that sometime in April 2012 Standard and Poor's (S & P's) downgraded India's outlook from stable to negative; and also put its current BBB - investment-grade rating on a watch. One of its spokespersons then was sharply critical of the state of the economy. He suggested that "the outlook revision reflects our view of at least a one-in-three likelihood of a downgrade if the *external position* continues to deteriorate, *growth prospects* diminish, or progress on *fiscal reforms* remains slow in a weakened political setting". In substance, the Government of India was served with "a wake-up call"!

Where is the economy heading since then?

Growth Prospects

To begin with, let us consider each of these three key parameters of the economic scenario in the context of some recently released official documents. It is evident that the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council (EAC) as well as the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) have sizeably scaled down their growth forecast for the current year. While EAC in its 'Economic Outlook 2012-13' report projects real GDP growth at 6.7%, the RBI predicts it just a shade lower at 6.5% in its latest 'Annual Report for 2011-12'. Official reports are normally expected to be more solicitous of their assessment of economic prospects than non-official forecasts.

Multiple causative factors – both global and domestic – are responsible for the continued loss of growth momentum for the second consecutive year. The EAC mainly highlights

- (a) likely adverse impact of a shortfall in Southwest monsoon on agricultural growth;
- (b) prospect of only a moderate recovery in manufacturing and mining sectors after a sharp setback in 2011-12;
- (c) slowing down of export growth in the wake of slower growth in the US and EU; and
- (d) deceleration of investment rate, especially the drag on private investment due to acute "crowding out" impact of expanding fiscal imbalances of the government.

While remaining silent about the widely perceived "policy paralysis", the EAC has set out many important and meaningful policy suggestions in its report.

The RBI is somewhat more critical about the economic outlook, as is evident from its observation that "on the domestic front, macro-economic conditions are unlikely to improve in the near term as a *spell of policy stasis*, structural and cyclical problems have combined to slow down the economy. Growth is slowing down, while inflation remains sticky at above-comfort levels". It, however, pins its hopes on the Government, which, in August 2012 "promised to take several steps to address the macro-economic weaknesses. These would include, return to the path of fiscal consolidation, bringing in a clear and stable tax regime, encourage savings and investment, including foreign investments and work towards generating supply-side responses to lower inflation". Of course, all such policy initiatives are yet to see the light of the day!

But even more striking and alarming news emanates from the reported *Agenda Note of the Planning Commission* (PC). Not so long ago, in October 2011, the PC in its Approach to the Twelfth Plan document had acclaimed the features of "strong macro-economic fundamentals" of the economy as well as of a "dynamic private sector". It also argued that these could support its high aspiration of an annual 9 to 9.5% real GDP growth target during the Twelfth Plan period (2012-17).

But lo and behold, its latest agenda note (perhaps based on its final draft of the plan document) has sliced

its annual real GDP growth targets under three different scenarios to 8.2% (described as “Strong Inclusive Growth” – Scenario I); 6 to 6.5% (“Insufficient Action” - Scenario II); and 5% (“*Policy Logjam*” – Scenario III). The core of the PC’s agenda note is that *high 8.2% growth is not a “foregone conclusion”* and if there is failure to reverse the current slow down and also remove other key constraints through “appropriate policy decision”, the economy would slump to low growth and also could spin into a vicious circle of as low a growth as 5% “with a great loss of inclusiveness”.

External Sector Vulnerability

The second critical parameter relates to managing the viability of the external sector of the economy. The EAC makes a comprehensive assessment of India’s external sector for 2012-13. Given the current global trade scenario, it envisages a sharp slowing down of both exports and imports in the current year. Already, the country had recorded perhaps its all-time high deficits both in its trade (the gap between imports and exports of goods and services) and current accounts during 2011-12.

There is further deterioration on the external front in the current financial year so far. A prospect of a huge current account deficit/GDP ratio of over 4% is, once again, staring us in the face; exports growth is contracting in the wake of a global trade slowdown; imports have their own inflexibility thanks to our heavy dependency on oil, gold and capital goods imports; forex reserves have plummeted over the year by about US\$30 bn to US\$290 bn by end-August 2012; and there is disconcerting volatility in the exchange rate, with the rupee depreciating sharply – now hovering around US\$ = Rs.55.60 to Rs.55.80.

The RBI has **very limited** “*buffer strength*” in its armoury to deal with such a challenging situation through active market intervention and avert further depreciation of the rupee in the event of a sizeable capital flight from the country. Several experts apprehend that the external

value of the rupee would be under further pressure due to (a) huge repayment obligations of the maturing corporate external debts in the next six months; and (b) the possibility of drying up of external commercial borrowings in case S & P’s downgrades India to a “junk” status.

From the global perspective, the EAC refers to “a dark mood in the advanced economies, especially in Europe”. It, indeed, cautions that it may take several years for the Eurozone economy to return to health. The economic recovery in the USA continues to be weak and fragile. The erstwhile fast growing Emerging Market Economies (including China) are slowing down sharply. Consequently, the scenario for world trade growth and capital flows remains uncertain. The RBI also warns of global economic and financial uncertainties, and calls for appropriate macro-economic policies to combat external vulnerability of the economy and create a policy and business environment conducive from the point of view of investors, including foreign investors. In substance, all stakeholders are awaiting the Government’s policy action with baited breath!

Combating Fiscal Imbalances

Turning to the most crucial parameter of the economic health, one deciphers a common thread running through all these official documents/papers on challenges of combating fiscal imbalances in the economy. That also happens to be a sore point in the economic assessment of our country by every single international credit rating agency. But what is the policy response so far: the *ad nauseam* repetition by the Finance Minister/s that we are committed to fiscal reforms and fiscal consolidation. In the meantime, the fiscal drift continues. The latest budgetary data for the current year so far tends to suggest that the ratio of fiscal deficit to GDP would surge to well over 6% in 2012-13 as against the budgetary commitment of bringing it down to 5.1 per cent.

As a consequence, the RBI is hamstrung in it

From Our Readers (Cont’d. from page 2)

level (not at top level), as if they have no direct responsibility in the matter.

One wonders as to why senior officials have not been taken to task and the minister has not been asked to pay for such conditions in the hospitals under his ministry, while the government moved fast in recent times to arrest the heads of educational institutions or private enterprises when such accidents take place in their premises.

It is reported that those who are being appointed

to clear the rats demand a fee of Rs. 100 per rat which they would catch. Of course, the government liberally would sanction several lakhs of rupees of tax payers’ money for this purpose, unmindful of the fact that its poor administration is primarily responsible for such a state of affairs. As usual, the tax payers pay and in all probability, the rats and dogs will return sooner or later, likely sooner than later.

N. S. Venkataraman, Chennai,
nsvenkatchennai@gmail.com

*

monetary policy initiatives. In the wake of alarming fiscal imbalances, it cannot respond to the demands of business and industry and a whole set of other borrowers to reduce interest rates. Its most nightmarish policy issue is: How and when to reduce key policy interest rates in the midst of stubbornly high inflation as well as high fiscal deficits? It has persistently been critical about the government's failure to resolve the fiscal problems.

Thus, the RBI report points out that "restraining deficits is important as the budget mathematics still leaves fiscal marksmanship difficult. The focus of the rule-based consolidation critically depends on revenue augmentation through widening and rationalisation of indirect tax structure. While the Government has announced its intent to cap the expenditure on subsidies to below 2 per cent of GDP in 2012-13, credible policy action without any further delay would be necessary to achieve this." It also warns that consequent subsidy burden "could crowd-out public investment at a time when reviving investment, both public and private, is a critical imperative".

To cap it all, we now have the recommendations of the Kelkar Committee report exclusively on the issues of fiscal consolidation. It has strongly made a case for reduction in fiscal deficit to GDP ratio to less than 5% in 2013-14 and is reported to have suggested a combination of measures including (a) disinvestment of state-owned companies; (b) pruning of petroleum product subsidies by raising prices of diesel and LPG; (c) implementation of the Goods and Services Tax; and (d) administrative reforms including strengthening of IT infrastructure.

To sum up, there is a surfeit of policy recommendations and of policy agenda from both official and credible non-official institutions as well as expert committees. But unfortunately, there is a pathological scarcity of political will as well as of governance capability. The UPA II government promises to go down in the post-reforms history for what it always promised to achieve,

but consistently failed to deliver – its endemic failure to resolve harsh policy dilemmas - reminds one of Charles Dickens' introductory paragraph in his famous novel 'A Tale of Two Cities':

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us..."

POSTSCRIPT:

As this edition of Freedom First was going to the press comes some good news about the government's new policy initiatives. In a flurry of action the Union Cabinet has (a) raised diesel price by Rs.5 per litre; (b) reduced excise duty on petrol; (c) rationalized the allocation of subsidized LPG; (d) liberalized FDI in multi-brand retail, airlines, power trading exchanges and broadcasting sector; and (e) approved marginal disinvestments in four selected PSUs. Though surprised like the rest of the country, we welcome these long-overdue policy reforms. Nevertheless we can't help observing that two crucial years have been lost at the altar of coalition politics and that this could have been made up even better with more decisive action. For instance government could have deregulated diesel pricing completely.

Clearly only when it was pushed to the wall, did the government decide to fight a last ditch battle! Witness the PM's statement: "We have to bite the bullet. If we have to go down, let us go down fighting". Let us hope that this process is carried forward through more action, especially in the area of land acquisition policy; environmental clearances; regulatory reforms in pricing and allocation of scarce natural resources like coal and minerals. The next few weeks will really prove this government's leadership mettle. We intend to evaluate the new policy initiatives in the next issue in the fervent hope that there will be no retreat.SB

SUNIL BHANDARE is a Consulting Economist based in Mumbai. Email: sunil.bhandare@gmail.com

Coalgate : Bungling by Both Sides (Cont'd. from page 6)

many private companies (and their political benefactors) have gained financially from the Congress's largesse in terms of enhanced share value and so on; there is as yet no clinching evidence that the national exchequer suffered a loss of the magnitude claimed by the CAG. It is time the BJP got off its high horse before it becomes a subject of ridicule.

The dilemma of all political parties in India today is that they are increasingly getting caught with their pants down by an aggressive and inquisitive media. The weapon of plausible deniability that they employed so effectively in the past is being ripped away by the media laying their

hands on incriminating documents with increasing frequency. How they are able to do so is a mystery yet to be resolved, but it means that the wrongdoers can no longer get away with feeble excuses. The public is being increasingly aware and the politicians are beginning to realize that their golden age is coming to an end. One positive fallout of this new-found activism is that crooks and charlatans may come to the conclusion that politics is no longer a lucrative proposition and look for other avenues. One can only live in hope.

FIROZE HIRJIKAKA is a retired civil engineer, a blogger and a freelance writer. His is a member of the Advisory Board of Freedom First. Email: leonardo8_99@yahoo.com

The Mumbai Riots of August 11, 2012

– A Riot with Hidden Reasons?

Nitin G. Raut

*Such is the rot in the system that the culprits are protected; the political will is nonexistent.
If there is “action” it is to promote the politics of convenience.*

Every riot is an outcome of misguided and ignorant minds to justify their display of power and be noticed which is obligingly made possible by the electronic media whose “Inspirational” themes seldom do any social good. On the contrary it glorifies and romanticizes violence in the name of social justice.

Indians of North East have bonafide apprehensions of being swamped by mass illegal Bangladeshi immigrants who are indiscriminately occupying tribal lands, forests and threatening the locals’ means of employment and pastoral life style. What is more the Bangladeshis by obtaining ration cards claim citizenship when no such provision exists in the citizenship Act.

If the Kokrajhar tremors hit Mumbai, it was as if the battlements were drawn on communal lines in what is essentially a serious national problem of illegal Bangladeshi immigrants, and has nothing to do with religion and certainly no reason for arson and destruction throughout India.

The 11/8 riots are a damning indictment of the pathetic quality of leadership; a paralysis of police administration was clearly evident with helpless spectators restrained by fear that an insensitive political leadership beholden to vote banks would not stand by them.

The TV footage of two Parliamentarians (5/9/2012) wrestling, shoving and grappling on the floor of the House instead of debating the issue (that’s what parliament is there for incidentally) is a sad reflection on the character and calibre of our elected representatives.

The pictures of the Mumbai Police Chief on 11/8 being a mute a spectator on the dais while inflammatory speeches spewed venom is a shocking picture of demoralization of police. Fearing a noose around their neck for allegations of “excesses” or a threat of judicial inquiry if the rioting goes out of control, the police are politically intimidated in the discharge of their duty. On the contrary, police inaction is touted as good for communal harmony and any protest against the arsonists or illegal Bangladeshi immigrants is sought to be suppressed as anti-minority.

It is the double standards and intellectual dishonesty that often obfuscates the core issue. To say that the Assam and Myanmar killings instigated Mumbai riots is to adopt the same argument that the Godhra’s Sabarmati train carnage triggered Gujarat riots or that killing of Indira Gandhi by her Sikh body guards unleashed anti-Sikh butchery. When even one killing arising from hate politics, ought to be condemnable, it is politicized and bogged down in comparative figures and statistics of body count. In the process open vandalism, desecration of martyrs memorial, burning of public property, molestation of women cannot be condemned without facing the charge of political partisanship.

The please-all policies of our politicians reflects the strange oddities of our public life. . By failing to act decisively or calling a spade a spade, frankenstein monsters of various political hues are created.

The media will not examine the genesis or the origin of conflict but will beat round the bush when it is known who the culprits are. Because for them certain labels are socially accepted which confirm to the politically correct jargon propounded by some motivated NGOs enjoying disproportionate space in the media.

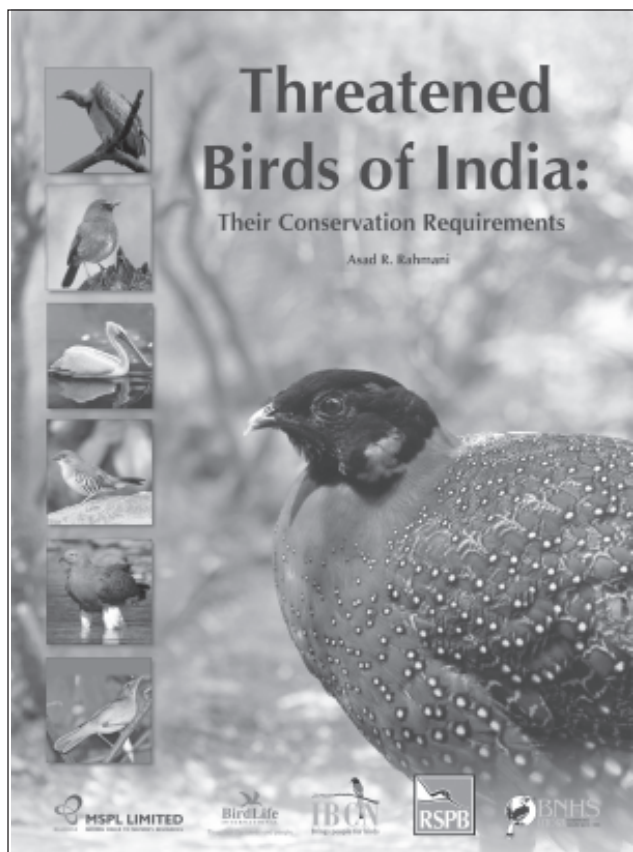
In the aftermath of the Mumbai violence, the Police stung by public criticism effected arrests of over fifty, rioters. One such vandal who desecrated the Martyr’s Memorial ‘Amar Jawan Jyoti’ on 11.8.2012 was arrested in Bihar by the Mumbai Police, prompting a protest by Chief Secretary of Bihar for not taking the local police in confidence which at best can be a procedural lapse. The Mumbai Police were threatened with charges of kidnapping for arresting the vandal in Bihar without informing the local police! Are not Bihar and Maharashtra both part of India? But this is happening only in India not by inadvertence but by design.

In the game of political upmanship, Raj Thackeray threatened to brand all Biharis in Maharashtra as “infiltrators”. The uproar over “infiltrators” was predictable

(Cont’d. on page 12)

Of Books on Birds and Their Survival

Ashish Chandola



Asad Rahmani's latest '*Threatened Birds of India: Their Conservation Requirements*' should have been shipped along with a famed strong lunged Sherpa from the Everest region to help us lug this volume around!

Anyway, my point is what Asad and his team have achieved – they have achieved a number of volumes of distinguished publications – not just of facts and figures and vital information but of true 'clout'. I deliberately use the word 'clout' as I know of no other organization like the Bombay Natural History Society that has dedicated itself to the conservation of nature and birds. By these publications, Asad Rahmani and his team have only added to the tradition in a big way which has had distinguished heads, directors and secretaries of immense merit.

Threatened Birds

They have collected data and correlated it in the

The Heavens forbid but were I asked to write an epitaph for Asad Rahmani, it would read "O Earth Lie Heavy on Him as He lay Many a Very Heavy Volume on you"! A dear and long-standing friend that Rahmani Sahib is, he will surely laugh at this remark!

best possible manner. And not just in this tome but in an earlier one on the '*Important Bird Areas in India*.' These are distinguished works and could only have been put together by distinguished and dedicated people. Kudos to them kudos to their dedication!

The book has been funded by a mining company. Naturally I will protest, but most reluctantly agree that for once a mining company has spent its wealth well!

Amongst many of the facts and figures that this book presents, is the slaughter of birds by various communities for food. The stark perspective is that birds – any birds – are shot, trapped, and wired for trade or for consumption. Yet in the same breath I must quote Rahmani, "At the same time, many of us allow them to live peacefully amongst us, sometimes in teeming Indian cities."

How very true! I have seen pheasant-tailed Jacana nesting in the middle of Mumbai. I have also seen them nesting in a park near the famed Jamia Milia Islamiain Delhi! With the male bird incubating and protecting the three chocolate coloured eggs with every sincerity!

Of course the so called "Jatinga" bird mystery, where the birds came and 'sacrificed' themselves by burning in the flames covered much newsprint a little over a decade ago. Theories were spread of 'why' they did this. I remember 'magnetic' and other fancy answers being provided, but when I visited the site with the late S. Deb Roy it was very obvious – fires lit in fog filled valleys completely disorientated the birds: and the birds attracted to the light created by these fires were just knocked down using long bamboo poles! Yes! Most of them are cooked and eaten and provide protein to the local communities, but there is no "Jatinga mystery" beyond that!

We have nearly lost the Green Munia due to trapping for the bird trade, parakeet hatchlings are taken from their

nest and still sold in the open markets of Jama Masjid – we are unable to stop this in spite of the fact that we have a Forest Department that is not all India. This is due primarily due to two factors – an understaffed Forest Department and poor law enforcement.

Hornbills are killed for their casques which are worn with pride as headgear by certain of our communities in the North East. Yes! Efforts are being made by conservationists like Aparajitha Dutta and her team to involve local communities to protect hornbills and their nests rather than hunt them. I for one wish her every success. Pheasants are killed for their plumage - we are unable to stop this. Even the Sarus Crane, one of our most handsome birds, is threatened not by poaching, but by the sheer destruction of its wetland habitat. Here is a bird that is under tremendous pressure from “human use, drainage and conversion to agriculture, housing colonies and even construction of highways” to quote Rahmani: And this not all.

The Great Indian Bustard is opportunistically shot by poachers waiting for sandgrouse near waterholes as it comes to drink water. It is also killed when poachers go for Houbara hunting in winter. Although hunting Houbara is difficult as it is a shy bird and hides itself, killing the large Great Indian Bustard is very easy as it is not afraid of vehicles, which the poachers generally use to roam its desert habitat. It is indeed tragic, but the fact is that wherever the four-wheel drive vehicle can be taken, the Great Indian Bustard becomes an easy target.

The Narcondum Hornbill has been in the news recently. A tiny population of around 350 birds, the

Narcondum Hornbill is endemic and confined to an island of about 650 hectares and is the world’s only population of this hornbill species. The island is uninhabited except for a small police outpost and is a notified Wildlife Sanctuary. A proposal from the Indian Coast Guard to build a radar station and a diesel power-generating source was put to the National Board for Wildlife in June 2012. This would have sounded the death knell of this critical endemic population. However, thanks to widespread protests and concentrated lobbying from researchers and conservationists, the Ministry of Environment & Forests currently headed by Ms. Jayanthi Natarajan has rejected the proposal.

Balance Between our Needs and Bird Habitats

Yes! The security concerns of the country *must* be addressed – but can we do this in such a way that we do not lose the natural *wealth* that our country possesses? Aircraft carriers are built tough and why turn INS Vikrant into a museum when you could easily anchor it off the coast of Narcondum if Burmese poachers or encroachment by the Chinese into our territorial waters is such a concern. How can we call ourselves a great superpower if we are unable to do some out of the box thinking to protect and preserve our natural wealth??

These are not books for the general reader but of immense value to ornithologists and those seriously interested in the status of birds in our country.

ASHISH CHANDOLA is a well known wildlife photographer and a director/cameraman with several highly regarded wildlife documentaries to his credit. He lives in Bangalore and can be contacted at chandola.ashish@gmail.com.

The Mumbai Riots of August 11, 2012 (Cont’d. from page 10)

with politicians and even the press demanding action. Article 19d of the Constitution guarantees freedom of movement to all Indians and no one can restrict such movements. But the issue is not what is said but rather who says what. The issue is not of any principles but of how many votes will be in or out of the electoral kitty. The issue is not of law but how to circumvent it by political subterfuge. The issue is not of upholding law but how to undermine it.

After 11/8 violence, even the otherwise selective press openly stated how certain religious zealots threatened Indians from the Northeast to leave or face dire-consequences. Such was the gravity of the threat that it triggered an exodus of Northeast Indians with lakhs having fled, Mumbai, Pune, Hyderabad, and Bengaluru.

The fear of law is *passé*: Administrative inaction and political interference have encouraged mobsters to break the law with impunity. It has trivialized the Rule of Law. Citizens’ reaction is either of indifference or of virulent hate. Those who can play a positive role are passive. They have no space in the media and are without any political lobby.

Such is the rot in the system that the culprits are protected; the political will is nonexistent. If there is “action” it is to promote the politics of convenience. Let the law take its own course is the *ad-nauseum* refrain. But if the administration sits like a jellyfish how can the wheels of justice move?

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

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.

BJP's Disruptive Tactics

1. BJP's disruption of Parliamentary proceedings in the Monsoon session went beyond normal protest. It was not a demand for debate, adjournment motion, or referral to a JPC but absolute insistence on the Prime Minister's resignation on the issue of 'Coalgate'. CAG's observation that the coal mine allocation policy since 2005-06 had caused heavy losses to the Government led to public furore. The estimated losses were Rs.1.86 lakh crore but all the Government could do was to question CAG's authority to comment on Government policy and his calculations. As in the 2-G spectrum scam, the Government claimed that it was a zero loss or only a notional loss miscalculated by the CAG. As usual, the UPA pointed an accusing finger at the NDA and the states ruled by it. This added fuel to the fire and the BJP decided to fan the fire by not allowing Parliament to function. UPA's tactics of pointing a finger at the NDA for all its misadventures are no longer working.

1. The disruption of Parliament amounted to rejection of the democratic protocol of deliberation, debate, consensus and vote, if required. The BJP was asked why it did not move a 'No Confidence' motion if it was convinced that the PM himself was responsible for the scam as he was the Coal Minister during the relevant period. Knowing that it did not have majority support in Parliament, the BJP refused to take that route. It was convinced that the Government would get off the hook by giving diversionary answers as in the earlier scam debates. The BJP argued that the normal practice of debate, scrutiny in the PAC or JPC, or even a CBI investigation have become meaningless. Hence the extreme step against the tyranny of the majority. BJP's argument is that a majority is not a license to loot. BJP's real hope lies in preponement of the 2014 General Election when the UPA could find itself in a difficult position. The electoral battle has already begun. However, the ghost of Parliamentary dysfunction could revisit the BJP too, if it comes to power

Who is Clean?

2. These days, it is common to make wild allegations against anybody and everybody in power. With scam after scam being exposed, the people are ready to believe the worst. The higher the functionary, the greater is the belief in his culpability. Ultimately, no leader in the country would remain untarnished. While Anna's demand for a Lokpal is justified, the erstwhile Team Anna has to stop the 'hanging' spree. If they have evidence of corruption and the police are not prepared to act, they should register a complaint with a court and seek redress there. In the present climate, somebody makes an allegation and the adversary makes a counter allegation; thus both sides end up covered in dirt. Team Anna should know this as they were the victims of a similar spate of allegations from the Government side. All CAG reports are being taken as the final findings on corruption. It is not so; CAG reports are pointers – and nothing more – towards what might have gone wrong and a starting point for further check. It is necessary to observe restraint in jumping to conclusions on the basis of CAG findings. On the other hand, CAG findings are too important to be brushed aside as the UPA is trying to do. CAG is an aid to improve Governance not an adversary of the Government.

2. It is easy to assume that most politicians and bureaucrats are corrupt. People believe that Jan Lokpal is the answer. It may be an instrument to check rampant corruption but it does not necessarily solve the problem. We may come to the same bottlenecks of court delays, police lapses, corruption in the prosecuting agencies and inadequacies of evidence. Look at the politicians under investigation; how much time has elapsed since Lalu Prasad Yadav, Mayawati, Jayalalitha and Mulayam Singh were charged with corruption or the CWG and 2G scams that hit the headlines? Has anybody been convicted in what looked like open and shut cases? The system is no doubt infected but amputating limb after limb will only make us lame, not healthy. Caution is called for in making allegations. Blanket allegations would only weaken the anti-corruption movement as people find that the spate of allegations mean nothing in the end. On the other hand, the Government adopts adversarial position vis a vis everybody i.e. the CAG, the Courts, civil society and the public at large. There is no common cause – only continuous discord. UPA's attack on the CAG amounts to constitutional impropriety and administrative dishonesty. The people are losing faith in all institutions, wondering if any honest public servant is left to look after their interests.

Raj Thackeray's One-upmanship

3. Raj Thackeray (MNS) is known to indulge in histrionics, which appeal to the masses. He, like his uncle Balasaheb Thackeray, has the knack of picking up issues that are close to the people's heart. They do not care if their statements cause resentment outside Maharashtra, Their constituency is the 'Marathi mannos' and they understand why that group's heart bleeds. They have no solutions to the problems they raise. Raj's *morcha* on August 21, which was a great success, was against what the Raza Academy *morcha* did on August 11 at CST, Mumbai. The pre-planned and unchecked vandalism on August 11 had upset Mumbaikars. Even the police force was resentful that the rioters were allowed to go scot free. The Mumbai Police Commissioner had to go. Raj emerged as the hero of the enraged Mumbaikars. Having raised the pitch, Raj is not the one to let go. His threat to throw out Biharis from Mumbai fits in with his tactics. He seized another controversial issue by opposing a TV programme featuring Pak singers and got the producers to apologize. Such victories keep him going.

3. Raj's threats are not necessarily serious but it is the reaction that matters to him. The demand for action against him is what he wants as he can then wear the mantle of a martyr and become even more acceptable to the 'Marathi mannos'. Serious thinkers may frown at the intemperate and unachievable declarations of Raj Thackeray. Even if he were in Government, his wishes could not have been fulfilled. He knows it but such emotive movements feed on the 'we' and 'they' syndrome. It is the gesture that matters and does not require an acceptable logical solution. This is the weakness of all such emotion-based protests. The protesters have no solutions to the issues they raise but being out of power, they can always put the Government on the spot. They have no ideological underpinnings that might lead to a solution of intractable problems – just resounding rhetoric that rouses the crowd. The dithering State Government has no answer to who patronizes the Raza Academy or how the MNS/Shiv Sena react to such provocations. Government's helplessness adds to the aura of leaders like Raj Thackeray.

"Seditious" Cartoons

4. Aseem Trivedi, a little known cartoonist from Kanpur, shot to fame as he was charged with sedition for drawing cartoons showing the Constitution and the National emblem in 'bad light'. He showed the Constitution being defiled and the national emblem lions being turned into wolves. He was obviously protesting against this being done by the corrupt and not justifying the act. The vigilantes in our society felt hurt by such use of the national symbols. The cartoons could have been drawn in a different form to depict the same message. One may not like the cartoons and the taste of the cartoonist but to call him a seditionist defies logic. The police were caught between the outraged complainants and the defiant cartoonist and chose the wrong option as usual. They used all available sections of the law against the cartoonist, including Section 124A IPC. A Magistrate's Court acted on the complaint and sent Trivedi to jail. After a public furore, the High Court gave him bail without his applying for it. There is still saving grace somewhere!

4. Section 124A IPC declares, "whosoever, by words...brings into hatred or contempt...or excites disaffection...towards the Government established by law" can be penalised. The section was introduced by the British to curb the anti-colonial movement. In free India, it is meant to stop those who aim to destabilise the Government. Trivedi's cartoons attack those indulging in corruption and not the Government *per se*. The police are unable to distinguish between the two, an attack on the State and that on the Rulers and apply Section 124A to anybody protesting against a Government policy. That the Section is still needed in view of the situation in J&K and the North East is a great tragedy but its indiscriminate use against all agitators is a worse tragedy. Did Trivedi intend to attack the Indian State? Did he urge violence? Did he talk of destabilising any state institution? He was merely pointing out - rather crudely - that the corrupt were damaging the country. The overenthusiastic police threw the rulebook at him and placed themselves in a ridiculous position. To paraphrase a saying, 'those the Gods wish to destroy are deprived of humour first'.

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

Readers who do not have the facility of a computer can also post (mail) their points of view on serious issues of the day to "Point Counter Point", c/o Freedom First , 3rd floor, Army & Navy Building , 148, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Mumbai 400001.



Cornucopia

Firoze Hirjika

The Azad Maidan Soap Opera

For some inexplicable reason, the main focus of the 11th August episode became not the actual violence....The most vehement outrage was reserved for the Amar Jawan Jyoti, a memorial to two sepoys martyred during the 1857 uprising...

Mumbai's historic Azad Maidan witnessed a different kind of freedom on 11th August: freedom to incite, freedom to bully and freedom to vandalize. The incidents that took place that afternoon are too well known to bear repeating, so I'll stick to the bare bones. Some Muslim organizations decided to hold a public meeting at Azad Maidan to protest against attacks on their co-religionists by the indigenous population in Assam. Police permission was given for a gathering of 15000, but things got out of hand. The rally was infiltrated by rowdy elements and a riot erupted, necessitating a *lathi* charge and police firing.

Recriminations and accusations started almost immediately. The rally organizers self-righteously condemned the violence while, naturally, absolving themselves of all responsibility. The State Government, notorious for rushing to judgement (usually misplaced), ordered an inquiry into the police firing. By this action, the Home Minister was of course following the time honoured policy of appeasement and playing right into the hands of the perpetrators. His action is unwarranted and misplaced. The Mumbai police can be faulted for not acting promptly on the intelligence provided and for not anticipating the scale of violence. They have also been justly criticized for being too tolerant of the rally participants because they were Muslims, although that could have been on the instructions of their political masters. However, once the rioting started, they showed remarkable acumen and restraint in bringing a potentially lethal situation under control. As for the firing which has come under criticism, let me assure you that had a similar situation arisen in America, the cops would have started shooting under far less provocation. If the aim of the instigators was to ignite a communal conflagration, it was successfully thwarted. To no one's surprise, in a Pavlovian response, the BJP asked for the resignation of the Police Commissioner. The Mumbai police have many faults, but in this case they deserve commendation. Condemning them for an adequate job under very difficult circumstances will only lead to demoralization of the force, with potentially dangerous consequences for the city. When will our self serving politicians ever put the country first instead of furthering their own petty agendas?

The drama did not end there, however. 11th August

was just the first edition of the engrossing soap opera. A week later, Raj Thackeray, boss of the Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS) announced his plan to hold a mass rally at the same venue. The Shiv Sena, belatedly realizing that their *bête-noir* had stolen a march on them, hurriedly organized a visit by their boss, Udhav Thackeray, to the Amar Jawan memorial at Azad Maidan. That however turned out to be a damp squib, providing nothing more than a photo-op. Heaven preserve our city from opportunistic politicians who put their self interests first and Mumbai last, for nothing else will.

At a time when Mumbai was beginning to return to some semblance of normality after the horrific incidents at Azad Maidan, Raj Thackeray was determined to incite public passions again. Why was he doing this? As in all such occasions, the ostensible reason of demanding the resignation of the Home Minister and Police Commissioner was just a smokescreen. The main reason was to put Raj Thackeray in the limelight. The "rally" was carefully planned and orchestrated to achieve this objective – and to his credit, he achieved it brilliantly. It is unfortunate that our public crusaders who make such a song and dance about corruption are completely silent about these frequent "shows of strength" that serve no purpose other than the self-aggrandizement of political leaders. As for the common people, until they take a determined stand that they will no longer allow their daily lives to be hijacked by these charlatans, they only have themselves to blame.

Raj Thackeray's Mumbai rally and massive show of support should dispel once and for all any doubt that the mantle of Bal Thackeray has passed on to his nephew and not his son. In his wildest dreams, Udhav Thackeray could not hope to mobilize the kind of crowds we witnessed on 21st August. Let's face it; Raj is the one with the charisma, not Udhav. In choosing Udhav as his heir, the Shiv Sena supremo has allowed paternal sentiment to cloud his better judgement; and he and his party may well live to regret it. Both the Sena and the MNS share the same political ideology and it is in their self interest – and those of the Marathi *manos* they profess to champion – to join forces. They would thereby pose a formidable challenge to the ruling combine. That is unlikely to happen, however, because of the egos

involved. If the two parties were to merge, neither cousin would be prepared to acknowledge the leadership of the other. Well, at least the Congress has reason to smile.

What is described above are just the main episodes. What is a good soap opera without side plots? And this was no exception. For some inexplicable reason, the main focus of the 11th August episode became not the actual violence, not the fact that two people died, or that policemen and policewomen were assaulted and vehicles torched. The most vehement outrage was reserved for the Amar Jawan Jyoti, a memorial to two sepoys martyred during the 1857 uprising, being damaged by two miscreants who were caught on camera. The valiant BMC assured Mumbai that the memorial would be restored to its original glory by Independence Day. The original rifle model was replaced by a crude fibre glass replica worthy of no more than a school project – but it's the thought that counts. An independent MLA named Rajeev Chandreshkar heroically offered a reward of Rs. 5 lakh for information leading to the capture of the two youths. Of course, he did not clarify if the money would come out of his own pocket or the MPLADS fund – I strongly suspect the latter. A few days earlier, some “patriotic” BJP members fulminated that the perpetrators should be hanged in public. Some others equated the perpetrators with Ajmal Qasab. Honestly, even Ekta Kapoor could not have dreamed up a more entertaining plot.

And of course, the whole thing needed a mandatory scapegoat. The BJP, Shiv Sena and MNS, ever ready to make political capital out of a tragic event, have demanded the resignation of Maharashtra's Home Minister, R. R. Patil, and Police Commissioner Arup Patnaik.

To expect the ruling dispensation to stand firm and protect their own would be asking too much. They always adopt the easy way out, which in this case, would be to offer up one of the two as a sacrificial lamb. That way, the Opposition can claim a partial victory, the government can breathe a sigh of relief; and all parties can get back to the main business of looting the public. As to which goat they picked, that was a no-brainer. Ministers are sacrosanct; public officers are dispensable. In this case, Patil is clearly the more culpable. One only has to look at his bemused and bewildered expression after every such incident to know that he is clueless and totally unfit for the position he holds. Even his own party chief has hinted as much. Patnaik, on the other hand, has done a fairly commendable job as Police Commissioner. He has instilled a modicum of discipline into the notoriously lax Mumbai Police; he has curbed petty corruption to an appreciable extent and he has made senior officers accountable to him for their actions. Of course, none of these considerations will weigh for an instant with our politicians. In fact these are the very attributes that our *netas* find inconvenient. Their tribe must be protected at all costs. I'm sure even the Opposition does not really expect Patil to go. It would set a dangerous precedent if ministers were made to resign due to non-performance. So the charade will be played out and Patnaik will be shunted out. This, after all, is India. *(It is possible that by the time this article appears in print, Patil will be shunted out too, but that will be because of political realignments, certainly not because of his ineffectiveness)*

I have a feeling the drama is not played out yet. Stay tuned for further episodes.

To Hang or Not To Hang

It is refreshing to know that our country is so free of major problems that a non-issue like removing a judge's portrait from the courtroom becomes the subject of a PIL.

Some publicity-seeking social activist has filed a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) demanding that the portrait of Justice Dinshaw Daver, one of the most eminent jurists to grace the chambers of the Bombay High Court, be removed from the Great Hall of the court premises. His crime? He rendered an adverse judgement on some inflammatory articles against the British written by Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

It is refreshing to know that our country is so free of major problems that a non-issue like removing a judge's portrait from the courtroom becomes the subject of a PIL. It is even more ridiculous that the Maharashtra government is seriously considering this outrageous demand.

Justice Daver was considered a legal luminary of his age, not only in India, but even by our British rulers. His judgements on important societal issues have stood the test of time. At a time when an increasing number of bad apples are being discovered among our judiciary, his wisdom, incorruptibility and legal acumen deserve to be applauded, not reviled. As for the Tilak controversy, I doubt that the petitioner has even read the articles deemed to be seditious. Justice Daver was delivering his judgement on the merits of the articles themselves. It had nothing to do with his patriotism or political leanings. In short, he was doing his job, without fear or favour. He was exhibiting the highest principles of his calling, a concept that few among our present lot would understand or

appreciate.

It is quite likely that the government, notorious for pandering to public “sentiment” will succumb and the

portrait will be removed, as proof of its sham patriotism. If so, it will be a blow to the very principles of freedom and fair play that our forefathers fought for.

Rahul Gandhi : The Reluctant King

I am afraid those who are eagerly anticipating a Modi-Gandhi contest are going to be disappointed.

These days, there is intense speculation about the imminent anointment of Rahul Gandhi as king of the Congress and, by inference, of India. Congress sycophants, doing what they do best, have been loudly proclaiming that Rahul’s ascension to the throne is inevitable and that he will usher in a new golden era. They have also inferred that this happy event will magically pull the grand old party out of the morass it finds itself in.

I do not believe that the rest of the country shares their opinion. In fact, I do not think Rahul believes it himself. You must remember that the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty has dominated politics in this country for five decades mainly due to the aura of near infallibility and invincibility it takes great pains to project. The family has drilled into the consciousness of its subjects that the Gandhi’s are above the hurly burly of politics and no matter how big a mess the Congress Party lands itself in, they will pull their irons out of the fire.

This time, however, the rot has set in too deep and both Sonia Gandhi and the heir apparent know it. Victory in the next general election is a lost cause. They

have already decided to throw their appointed Prime Minister to the wolves and I don’t think Rahul is eager to take his place. He will not want to go down in history as the man who led the Congress to defeat. That would be disastrous for the family’s carefully cultivated image. I am afraid those who are eagerly anticipating a Modi-Gandhi contest are going to be disappointed. As it is, recent events have shown that Rahul has often flattered to deceive. The Congress debacle in the recent Uttar Pradesh election has proved that. It is far more likely that the Congress will nominate a figurehead who can be made a convenient scapegoat for its inevitable defeat and be safely discarded later.

No, Rahul Gandhi is not likely to stoop to conquer in the foreseeable future. He will continue to “energize” the party from the shadows, making sure no blame attaches to him for present and future debacles. He will not emerge into the limelight until a Congress victory is virtually guaranteed. He may be in for a long wait.

FIROZE HIRJIKAKA is a retired civil engineer, a blogger and a freelance writer. His is a member of the Advisory Board of Freedom First. Email: leonardo8_99@yahoo.com

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

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.



Expansionist China : A Threat to Peace and Stability in Asia-Pacific

B. Ramesh Babu

Anything and everything that ever came under the Chinese flag in her long history rightfully belongs to her forever, China asserts. It is China's policy to regain all the territories and islands it 'lost' ever since!

In response to the transformational changes sweeping the globe since the 1990s, as noted earlier, all the major powers of the world have been re-formulating their foreign policies and re-aligning their bilateral relations with one another. This is a continuing phenomenon, which gets accelerated whenever one or more of them seek to alter the realities on the ground. Since last month (July 2012) an upheaval or two are brewing in the Asia-Pacific region. China has embarked on a policy of aggressive assertion of its “sovereignty” over the South and East China Seas. The Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) is planning to build a garrison in the disputed Sansha Islands in the South China Sea. China, Vietnam, and Philippines have conflicting and overlapping claims over different parts of these islands.

In August 2012, another set of conflicting maritime claims erupted into the open in the East China Sea. Japan and China have been feuding for decades over the island chain known as Senkaku in Japan and Diaoyu in China. Japan detained fourteen Chinese activists for “illegal entry” into these islands. The hitherto uninhabited archipelago was under American jurisdiction after the Second World War. China accuses Japan of tricking the Americans in securing jurisdiction over the islands, which were “originally” hers! China warned Japan of serious consequences if her citizens were harmed in any way. Within four days of this event about 100 Japanese right wing nationalists sailed to these islands, ten of them swam ashore and waved their flag. It was reported that three coast guard vessels of Japan stood nearby. In the meanwhile, the South Korean President Lee Myung Bak made an unprecedented visit to the disputed islands. Japan suggested taking the dispute to the International Court of Justice, which President Bak rejected unceremoniously. He asserted that everybody knows that the archipelago belongs to South Korea. It is important to add that these islands are located near potentially huge under-water gas fields! Every nation is energy hungry and would do all it could and a lot more to grab such vital areas by hook or by crook.

An Explosive Dispute in the South China Sea

It is entirely possible that in such situations all the nations involved may see reason and retreat from the brink and let the potentially explosive disputes remain at their simmering state for the present. But, all indications are to the contrary. China, which is growing rapidly economically and militarily, is determined to alter the *status quo* in her favour by force if necessary. In fact, the ASEAN countries are keenly aware of the imminent threat from China and tried their best to hem in China into an international code of some sort. Of all nations, Cambodia, which usually toes the Chinese line on all matters, brought the issue into the open. At the ASEAN Conference of July 2011 at Bali, the Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen urged the need for unity in dealing with what he called the most pressing security issue – the growing stridency and assertiveness of China on its territorial claims in South China Sea. China vehemently objected to any reference to the differences in the South China Sea at the Conference, which almost broke down. However, wiser counsels prevailed and the situation was somehow saved at the last minute.

In the end, the ASEAN-China Ministerial Meeting and the following ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the ten member states and China agreed upon new guidelines for peaceful resolution of disputes in the South China Sea in tune with the long standing Declaration of Code of Conduct (DOC). The then foreign minister of Japan, Takekai Matsumoto, welcomed the development as “a step forward.” The US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton praised it as an “important step” and urged the ASEAN and China to move quickly to the next step of establishing legally binding code of conduct to prevent conflicts. “Every claimant must make their claim publicly and specifically so that we know where there is any dispute,” she added. However, it was clear that the uneasy calm was not to last too long.

In less than two weeks after the Bali Declaration,

People's Daily, the official newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party, accused Philippines of violating Chinese sovereignty by building a military shelter on one of the disputed Spratly Islands and issued a stern warning saying: "Those who make serious strategic misjudgements on this issue will pay the appropriate price." It is no coincidence that China announced its plans to build a military garrison in the disputed Sansha Islands in the same month. Obviously, China is not interested in abiding by any code of conduct and is determined to aggressively assert its maritime claims in the region.

China's Claims to twenty countries

In fact, China's territorial disputes are not limited to her extraordinary and ever expanding maritime claims against almost all the ASEAN nations, Japan and South Korea, China is not only not anxious to settle her border dispute with India, but actually keeps intensifying it every now and then to keep us in check. It is pertinent at this juncture to bring into focus the revealing report entitled "China has territorial claims to 20 countries" published in the *Pravda* of 17 July 2012. The analysis in the official newspaper of Russia points out that these claims are based on the over arching reach of the Qing Empire at its zenith. Anything and everything that ever came under the Chinese flag in her long history rightfully belongs to her forever, China asserts. It is China's policy to regain all the territories and islands it "lost" ever since! This is indeed preposterous! If all nations make claims on the same basis, endless wars will become the order of the day and there will be no peace on earth. The extent of these claims is larger than the size of modern China!, Ilona Raskolnikova points out and goes on to warn that if China succeeds in grabbing even one of these so called "lost" territories, "the Chinese machine will be unstoppable." The perceptive analysis goes on to observe: "Naturally, the US dreams of becoming a mediator in resolving disputes in the region. But, it seems that Beijing absolutely does not care about their opinion."

Since the end of the Second World War the US has been the undisputed guarantor of security and stability in the Pacific and Indian Ocean regions stretching from America's west coast to the east coast of India. The American Navy has been keeping the high seas open and the vital shipping routes secure. American supremacy is now confronted with the aggressive assertion of Chinese sovereignty over the South and East China Seas and its bid to cow down all her unequal neighbours in the region by dealing with each one of them separately. The ASEAN countries are caught in the trap of "dual dependency." All of them are highly dependent on China for aid, trade, and economic development. At the same time they are

equally critically dependent on the US for their maritime and strategic security against the aggressive and increasingly expansionist designs of China. They are worried that America's primacy may whittle down into some sort of sharing power with the rising China. This is not an unlikely prospect because America is on the retreat in global affairs. Moreover, the American and Chinese economies are interdependent and intertwined into a sort of mutual hostage relationship. It must, however, be added that the glib generalizations about the decline of America as a global Super Power are misplaced and highly exaggerated. It is to counter such misperceptions that President Obama announced his new defence strategy and reiterated America's determination to remain as the supreme power in Asia-Pacific. Accordingly, the US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta, as noted in the earlier article (*Freedom First*, July 2012), announced that 60 per cent of his nation's maritime capabilities would be shifted to Asia-Pacific, the new centre of gravity in world politics

China uses a U-shaped dotted curve along the coast line and the island chains in the South China Sea as the basis for her claims to sovereignty in the region. China also defines and redefines her so called "core interests" in an ever expanding mode. The expansionism of China and the conflicting claims of jurisdiction and sovereignty among and between the countries over the chains of islands in Asia-Pacific pose a serious and imminent threat to peace and stability in the region and beyond. Naturally, the whole world is concerned and anxious over the hegemonic ambitions of China to become a global Super Power and her aggressive assertions of sovereignty in the South and East China Seas. To contain China and to harness her enormous clout and growing economic and military power for re-balancing the global strategic architecture are the most crucial challenges confronting the world today. That calls for another essay!

DR. B. RAMESH BABU is a specialist in International Relations and American Politics and Foreign Policy. He is currently associated with the Foundation for Democratic Reforms led by Dr. Jayaprakash Narayan. Dr. Babu was formerly the Sir Pherozeshah Mehta Professor of Civics & Politics at the University of Bombay.

First I was dying to finish my high school and start college. And then I was dying to finish college and start working. Then I was dying to marry and have children. And then I was dying for my children to grow old so I could go back to work. But then I was dying to retire. But now I am dying. And suddenly I realized I forgot to live. Please don't let this happen to you.

Appreciate your current situation. And enjoy each day

From the Net. Contributed by Reader Lakshmana Bhandarkar.

The September 1965 War with Pakistan

A View from the Other Side of the Fence

Suresh C. Sharma

In this article Brig. Sharma tells us the story of the 1965 war from the other side of the fence i.e. Pakistan. Readers will recall a similar story also by him of the Kargil conflict "from the other side of the Hill" Freedom First No.539, May 2012. Also read the footnote regarding the slogan Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan'. -Ed

Lt. General Mahmoud, former Intelligence Chief of the Pakistan Army, was assigned the task of writing the history of the 1965 War. He did a great job of exposing the intellectual dishonesty prevailing in Pakistan and exploded the myth of Pakistan's victory in the 1965 War. However, the Army in Pakistan bought most of the copies of the book to deny its access to the public.

Clashes between India and Pakistan occurred in Kutch from January 1965 onwards. Pakistan wrongly blamed India for attacking Pakistani posts. As the escalation increased, Air Marshal Asghar Khan, C-in-C Pakistan Air Force (PAF), telephoned Air Chief Marshal Arjun Singh, India's Chief of Air Staff (CAS), and suggested that he should advise his political leadership not to deploy the Indian Air Force (IAF) in Kutch otherwise PAF would extend the conflict to other areas. Arjun Singh got the approval of the Defence Minister due to a wrong presumption that Pakistan had a good radar base in that sector. Actually, the PAF had no base at Nawanshah. Asghar Khan's reasons for keeping the Indian Air Force out of the conflict were that the IAF base was close by while the PAF base at Mauripur was far away and Indian defences were well dug in. General Musa, C-in-C, Pakistan Army, considered Asghar Khan's decision not to employ PAF to be an act of cowardice. IAF did take photographs of Pakistani tanks but did not engage them. India had decided not to escalate the conflict in Kutch and the recommendation of the CAS conformed to that policy. Consequently, India took a defensive posture there and

Pakistan took it to be a victory for them. The conflict was called off due to intervention by the Prime Minister of UK in July 1965.

Operation Gibraltar

Drawing wrong conclusions from the Kutch incident, Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto urged action to liberate Kashmir. He put forth the view that US aid to India after 1962 was tilting the balance in favour of India. He was certain of Chinese support. A cell for Kashmir was created in the Foreign Ministry. Infiltration by 8,000 militants was planned for April-May 1965 but was shelved since Ayub and Musa were not confident of engaging in an all out war. During the Kutch conflict Prime Minister Shastri had declared that India would fight in a place of its own choice. Musa declined to release arms for the militants. He opined that there was no point in fighting for people who were not reliable. Arms to the militants were released after intervention by Ayub and the task was entrusted to Major General Malik GOC of Pakistan's 12th Infantry Division.

The offensive was carried out in two phases. First, the infiltration by militants, called Operation Gibraltar, a brain child of Bhutto, was launched on 8th August to coincide with the anniversary of Hazratbal. The Pakistan Air Force [PAF] was not taken into confidence and the militants were supplied with army helicopters. Air Marshal Nur Khan who took over as PAF Chief in July 1965 heard rumours about the impending conflict and called on General Musa to check the veracity of the rumours. Under searching questions, Musa admitted plans were on to induct 8,000 militants and advised Nur Khan to meet Major General Malik who assured him that a war was unlikely as the infiltrators would succeed in liberating Kashmir with the help of the local population. There was therefore no need for the PAF to get into a war mode as the Indians would not be able to retaliate. Nur Khan was shocked to

¹ "Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan" slogan was given by the former Prime Minister of India, late Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1965. It means hail the soldier and hail the farmer. Soon after Shastri took over as the Prime Minister of India after Nehru's death, India was attacked by Pakistan. At the same time there was scarcity of food grains in the country. Shastri gave the slogan "Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan" to enthuse the soldiers to defend India and simultaneously cheering farmers to do their best to increase the production of food grains to reduce dependence on import. It became a very popular slogan.

For more visit:

http://wiki.answers.com/Q/When_and_where_'Jai_Jawan_Jai_Kisan'_slogan_was_given_and_who_gave_it#ixzz26bWR1L6p

learn that only a few top generals knew about Gibraltar. Even the Lahore garrison commander and the Governor of Punjab had not been informed.

India rushed additional troops and crossed the Cease Fire Line [CFL] at Kishanganga bulge on the night of 23rd August. Haji Pir pass on the Uri- Rajouri track was captured on 27th August in order to check infiltration in that sector. Pakistan's hope of support by locals was belied and by the end of August, infiltration had been contained. The militants were observed going back to Pakistan.

Operation Grand Slam

Then on 1st September, Pakistan launched Grand Slam, a major attack in the Akhnur sector to isolate the garrisons in Rajouri, Naushera and Poonch. It is generally believed in Indian circles that the attack in Akhnur was a reaction to the crossing of CFL by the Indian Army. Pakistan sources give a different picture. Operation Grand Slam, a blitzkrieg offensive in Akhnur sector, had been planned irrespective of India's reaction. Malik wanted to commence the attack on Akhnur on 23rd August. He thought that the Indian Army had used up all its reserves by then. General Musa did not approve the proposal. Director Military Operations, Pakistan Army, passed Malik's request to Ayub who was holidaying in Swat,

resulting in delay. Malik made rapid progress for the Indians were not expecting a major attack. Surprisingly, after the capture of Jaurian, Malik was replaced by Yahya Khan. Pakistan was not able to sustain the momentum due to change in plans by Yahya. The reasons for change in command have not been explained by either Ayub or Musa. Malik thought that it was done to let Yahya take the credit for the success of the operation and he begged that he be allowed to continue as subordinate of Yahya. His request was denied. Further delay occurred due to tactical mistakes by Pakistan commanders. India rushed troops and the situation stabilized. There is a belief amongst some military officers in Pakistan that Yahya was brought in with orders not to take Akhnur. Musa enjoying his second tenure as C-in-C was not keen to precipitate a major war.

India's Retaliation

On 6th September, India attacked in the Samba and Lahore sectors. Text books in Pakistan have blamed India for unprovoked aggression. Actually, it was an unexpected retaliation by India. Pakistan's major attack in Khemkaran sector was blunted and Asal Uttar became the graveyard of Pakistani tanks. The two countries agreed to a UN sponsored cease fire on 23rd September. Ambassadors of Western countries are reported to have warned Pakistan not to escalate the conflict as it might broaden the war



VIRAT INDUSTRIES LTD.

(An ISO 9001:2008 Company)

**A Leading Manufacturer & Exporter of
EXCELLENT QUALITY SOCKS**

Our Export Markets include UK, Switzerland and U.A.E.

Our main customers are John Lewis, Ted Baker and
Jaeger in the UK, Migros in Switzerland and Shoemart in UAE.

We produce Mens, Ladies and Childrens Dress and Sports Socks.

We also produce speciality Football and Rugby Socks.

For more information, you may visit our website: www.viratindustries.com

Corporate Head Office:

605, Veena Killedar Industrial Estate
10/14 Pais Street, Byculla (West)
Mumbai 400 011 (India)
Tel: (022) 3294 4131 or 3294 4217 /
Fax: (022) 2306 0486
Email: sales@viratindustries.com

Regd. Office & Factory:

A-1/2, GIDC Industrial Estate
Kabilpore
Navsari 396 424
Tel: (91-2637) 265 011 or 22 / 325805
Email: factory@viratindustries.com

involving other countries. The two sides went back to the pre-conflict status according to the Tashkent Declaration facilitated by the USSR. The people in Pakistan believed fabricated official reports of victory and were severely critical of the Tashkent Declaration.

They took it to be a surrender of military gains and led to students' riots. On 19th September, Ayub and Bhutto flew to Beijing for a secret meeting. China promised all help but advised them to fight a guerrilla war from the hills. Sandhurst-trained Ayub and Berkeley-trained Bhutto had no time for such a war. They had no option as the balance was tilting against them. According to Russell Brines, China could not have intervened as US Ambassador Cabot had conveyed on 14th September to the Chinese representative in Poland not to meddle in the Indo-Pakistan conflict. Retaliatory action by USA and other UN members was implied in case this warning was ignored. Independent sources have refuted Pakistan's claims of victory. Comments by the Federal Research Division of USA convey the correct picture.

"The war was militarily inconclusive. Losses were relatively heavy – on the Pakistani side, twenty aircraft, 200 tanks, and 3,800 troops. Pakistan's army had been able to withstand Indian pressure, but a continuation of the fighting would only have led to further losses and ultimate defeat for Pakistan. Most Pakistanis, schooled in the belief of their own martial prowess, refused to accept the possibility of their country's military defeat by "Hindu India" and were, instead, quick to blame their failure to attain their military aims on what they considered to be the ineptitude of Ayub Khan and his government."

Nur Khan comments, "They had planned 'Operation Gibraltar' for self-glory rather than in the national interest. It was a wrong war. And they misled the nation with a big lie that India rather than Pakistan had provoked the war and that we were the victims of Indian aggression."

Intellectual Dishonesty Exposed

Truth is the first casualty in a war. Post war reports have invariably revealed the exaggerated claims of tank and air casualties. It is not surprising that Pakistan claimed the 1965 War to be their victory. An attempt at truth was made when Lt. General Mahmoud, former Intelligence Chief of Pakistan Army, was assigned the task of writing the history of the 1965 War. The project was sponsored by Pakistan's General Headquarters and had earlier been approved for distribution by the Army Book Club. He had done a great job of exposing the intellectual dishonesty

prevailing in Pakistan and had exploded the myth of victory in the 1965 War. The Army bought most of the books to deny access to the public. The book had to be buried in the best tradition of burying the truth. One passage from the book is a pointer to show why it had to disappear.

"The situation in Ravi-Beas corridor presented an opportunity of classic envelopment which should have been realized by any great captain of war. The Pakistan Army, alas, had none in authority." We do not find records of the conversation between the two Air Chiefs in our books. The infiltration operation was not communicated to the PAF and the Pakistan Navy. Even within the Army, only a few top generals knew about it. The same conditions existed in the Kargil operation. A common feature about 1965 and Kargil was the absence of the Head of the Government after commencement of war. Ayub was holidaying in Swat and Yahya was said to be enjoying drinks and feminine company when critical decisions were required.

Consequences of the War

Two far reaching consequences of the war were the wide-scale economic slowdown and alienation of East Pakistan. Pakistan was surprised by the lack of support from the United States, an ally with whom the country had signed an Agreement of Cooperation. USA declared its neutrality in the war by cutting off military supplies to both sides, leading Islamabad to believe that they were "betrayed" by the United States. After the war, Pakistan increasingly looked towards China as a major source of military hardware and political support.

"Since the 1965 war was based on a big lie and was presented to the nation as great victory, the Pakistan Army came to believe its own fiction and has continued to fight unwanted wars – the 1971 war and the Kargil fiasco in 1999. In each of the subsequent wars we have committed the same mistakes that we committed in 1965. And after every war that we began we ended up taking dictation from the enemy – at Tashkent, at Simla and lastly at Washington." Air Marshal Nur Khan in his blog

References:

Flight of the Falcon by Air Commodore Haider of the PAF
From a review of the book *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism* by Hassan Abbas

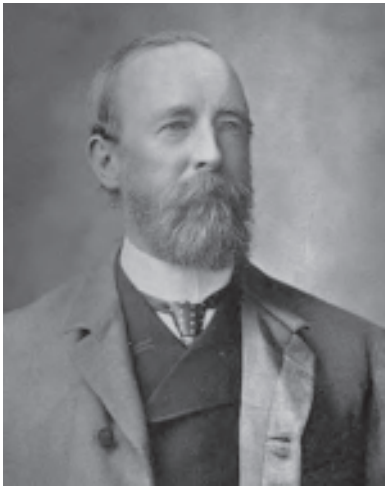
From a review of the book *Myth of 1965 Victory* by Lt. Gen. Mahmoud

BRIG. SURESH C. SHARMA (Retd.) is adviser to the telecom industry, freelance writer, and member of the Advisory Board of *Freedom First*. Email: brigscs@gmail.com.

Allan Octavian Hume

Founder of the Indian National Congress

Prabha Ravi Shankar



(1829-1912)

Mahatma Gandhi wrote ‘Hume worked side by side with the leaders of the people, encouraging them with his kindly sympathy and urging them on to higher and nobler things’. . Both the Moderates and Extremists including Lokmanya Tilak and Lajpat Rai, paid tribute to Hume for his single-minded devotion to the welfare of India.

31 July 2012 was the hundredth death anniversary of Allan Octavian Hume, well-known in modern Indian history as the chief architect of the Indian National Congress, which carried on a

successful struggle against the mighty British. He was a Scotsman born in 1829. He was the son of Joseph Hume who worked in India as a political officer from 1797 to 1807. Joseph Hume returned to England after making a fortune and became the founding leader of the Radical Party and a member of the British House of Commons from 1812 until his death in 1855. Allan Hume inherited his father’s radical bent of politics and fearlessness in fighting for a just cause. He studied medicine and served the British Navy for some time. He arrived in India in 1849 when he was just twenty as a member of the Bengal civil service and received administrative training at Calcutta.

Civil Servant

Hume was posted to various districts in the North-Western Provinces as a *tahsildar* and then as a sub-judge and received further training. In early 1856 he was appointed Collector and Magistrate of Etawah where he served till 1867. During this period, he showed remarkable sympathy and understanding for the Indian aspirations earning much praise for his services at Etawah where he built schools, hospitals, libraries and roads, and encouraged cotton cultivation. He founded separate schools for juvenile delinquents instead of throwing them into prisons. He started a newspaper called *The People’s Friend* which was published in English, Hindi and Urdu.

It was during this period that the Sepoy Mutiny

began in May 1857 and joined by the discontented sections it soon became a rebellion engulfing the whole of north and central India. Hume dealt with the situation with courage and determination and was helped by his Indian friends both in fighting the rebels and in escaping death at their hands by getting away safely to Agra. He was awarded the Commander of Bath for his bravery. Hume became determined that there would be no more bloody rebellion in India and that the Indians should secure self-government without violence. Even after escaping death narrowly, Hume did not entertain any bitterness towards India or its people.

In 1867 Hume was posted as the Commissioner of Customs, North-Western Provinces, Central Provinces and Punjab with headquarters at Agra, a position that required constant travelling. This brought him into closer contact with the people. In April 1871 he was appointed by Lord Mayo as the Secretary of the newly-created Department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce. He displayed zeal, courage and devotion. He had much sympathy for the peasants and believed that Indian agriculture should develop and use the latest inventions for improvement in production. He wrote a pamphlet *Agricultural Reform in India*. Hume’s suggestions remained merely on paper due to lack of support from the Government.

Retires from Civil Service

Meanwhile Lord Lytton had succeeded Lord Mayo in the Indian administration. Hume felt that the Viceroy had no sympathy for the welfare of the Indian people and denounced his policies such as the Afghan war and other measures. In July 1879, Lord Lytton abolished the department as well as the post of secretary, demoting Hume to a junior position in the revenue department. Obviously, Hume’s sympathetic support for the Indians, his concern for a good and clean government and his liberalism was disliked by the authorities. Hume felt humiliated and did not join the junior position. In 1882

he retired from the Indian civil service and settled in Rothney Castle, his home at Shimla where he devoted his time to his passionate interests – Botany, Theosophy and Ornithology – and continued his interaction with his Indian friends.

Founder of the Indian National Congress

When Lord Ripon succeeded Lord Lytton and began his liberal administration of India by way of introduction of local self-government and Ilbert Bill meant to remove the barrier for Indian magistrates to try Europeans, Hume began to entertain some hope for the welfare of India and threw himself into the political arena. Watching the Indian political consciousness crystallize into political associations in different parts of the country, Hume was convinced that India would need a single political organization representing the whole of India if it aimed to achieve political progress. He was in touch with the educated leaders and was preparing his 'Linking-up' plan and communicated it to leaders all over India. He played an active part in arranging a send-off to Lord Ripon who had become very popular in India. Hume travelled continuously for six months from November 1884 to April 1885. He then communicated to Lord Dufferin, the successor of Lord Ripon, that he and the educated Indians planned to hold a meeting at Poona and that they desired to invite Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay. It was Dufferin who advised Hume not to involve officials as it may cause them embarrassment.

Hume called for a meeting of the Indian National Congress (INC) to be held at Poona in the end of December 1885 with the following aims and objectives: (a) to enable the leading delegates to know each other personally; (b) to enable earnest labourers to work for the cause of national progress; and (c) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year. He also wrote that indirectly the conference would form the germ of a native Parliament.

INC's First Session

After making preparations for the first meeting of the Indian National Congress to be held at Poona, Hume went to England to secure the support of Liberal leaders and to create an Indian party in Parliament. Hume returned to India in September 1885. However, the first session of the Congress had to be shifted to Bombay due to an outbreak of a cholera epidemic in Poona. The historic meeting held in Bombay in December 1885 at the Tejpal Sanskrit College was presided over by his friend W. C. Bonnerjee. The first session of the INC was attended by seventy-two delegates from all over India. The idea of an all-India organization was not new. However, it was

Hume's energy, capacity and organizing ability that made possible a seemingly impossible task.

For a long time Hume was the only full-time worker of the Congress. He planned the subsequent meeting of the Congress, the agenda to be discussed, the venue of the meeting, corresponded with delegates and even planned the choice of Presidents of the Congress. It was Hume who played an important role in preparing the report of the meeting. It will not be incorrect to say that he dominated the Congress from 1885 to 1890 in a manner which Ananda Charlu described as a 'loving and lovable despotism'. The Congress recognized his role and his organizing abilities and appointed him formally as its general secretary (since its very inception). It is remarkable that the Congress continued to designate him as general-secretary until 1906

Hume also defended the Congress through his many pamphlets, speeches and writings to the press both in India and England. In his famous controversy with Lord Auckland, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Hume described the Congress as 'a safety valve for the escape of great and growing forces generated by our own action'. This phrase has led to much misinterpretation. It is true that Hume did not want to see another mutiny in India. It is also true that Hume firmly believed in constitutional method of agitation and wanted new Indian aspirations for India 'not to ravage and destroy but to fertilize and regenerate'.

On 1 March 1883 he addressed a circular to the graduates of the Calcutta University asking them to 'scorn personal ease and make a resolute struggle to secure greater freedom for themselves and their country'. His letters addressed to several Indian leaders reveal that he considered the Congress a national party and an instrument of a national movement intended to unite India and secure the goal of self-government. A stanza from one of his poems is quoted to show his actual intention:

Sons of Ind, why sit ye idle?
Wait ye for some Deva's aid?
Buckle to, be up and doing!
Nations by themselves are made!

British Committee of the INC

In all his pamphlets such as *The Old Man's Hope*, *The Star in the East* and many other writings, we see that Hume not only favoured mass mobilization but was also a genuine friend of India, concerned with the peasants and poor masses. At times, the Congress leaders disagreed with Hume because they thought he was too radical! For example in 1892 he circulated a letter to the

members of the Congress in which he talked about the growing poverty and violent discontent in India threatening to break into rebellion. The government considered this as 'seditious' and many Englishmen wanted him to be deported to England. He was not bothered by such reaction and defended himself by saying that after over forty years stay in India, he knew the conditions of India very well. The nationalists strongly disagreed with Hume when he advised suspension of the Congress sessions in India for some time so that they could concentrate on propaganda in England. In spite of some disagreements, Hume was idolized and lionized by the Congress. Hume was practical and believed that no reform was possible without an active organization in England. For this reason, he and the early nationalists had formed in 1889 the 'British Committee of the Indian National Congress', which lasted till 1921. Sir William Wedderburn, a younger colleague of Hume and another friend of India, was its chairman right from its inception and until his death in 1918.

Hume's Departure from India

Hume left the country in March 1894 but not before making a moving speech at a well-attended farewell function in Bombay. He advised Congressmen to present a united front and work selflessly and actively for India's political, social and economic regeneration. He wanted India to promote female education and female emancipation. He also made a prophetic remark that Europe would soon be engulfed in a big war and if that were to happen, it would be better for India to support Britain. *Hume, it is notable, never accepted the office of the President of the Congress.* He advised the Congressmen to use all funds for national regeneration. Even after his retirement to England, Hume dedicated

himself to work for Indian progress as an active member of the British Committee. In 1903 when the Congress was somewhat moribund, he wrote a pamphlet called "Call to Arms" in which he denounced the slackness, indifference and petty quarrels among Congressmen and reminded them that the goal of self-government can only be attained through self-reliance and self-sacrifice.

Hume's love for nature

Not many are aware that Hume, a Botanist and a keen horticulturist had built beautiful gardens in Etawah as well as at his house in Shimla. Hume was also an Ornithologist. He wrote much on the subject in a journal called *The Ibis*, the leading British journal of Ornithology. He also founded and edited *Stray Feathers, A Journal of Ornithology for India and its Dependencies*. Along with H. T. Marshall, another enthusiast, Hume wrote the book *Game Birds of India, Burma, and Ceylon*.

Tributes to Hume

On 31 July 1912 he died at his home in Norwood at the age of 83. The Indian National Congress mourned his death and several newspapers carried obituaries extolling his service to India. Mahatma Gandhi wrote 'Hume worked side by side with the leaders of the people, encouraging them with his kindly sympathy and urging them on to higher and nobler things'. The first volume of his speeches and writings has been published by the Oxford University Press. Both the Moderates and Extremists including Lokmanya Tilak and Lajpat Rai, paid tribute to Hume for his single-minded devotion to the welfare of India. It is high time that Hume is given a fitting place in modern Indian history as a genuine friend of India.

DR. PRABHA RAVI SHANKAR is Associate Professor of History, S.N.D.T. Women's University, Mumbai. Email: prabharavishankar@yahoo.com

Ela Bhatt's Message Accepting the M. R. Pai Award

This year's M. R. Pai Award instituted by the All India Bank Depositor's Association (Mumbai) in recognition of a Consumer Activist or journalist who has made life easier for the Bank depositors or consumers was awarded to the "Self Employed Women's Association" better known as "SEWA".

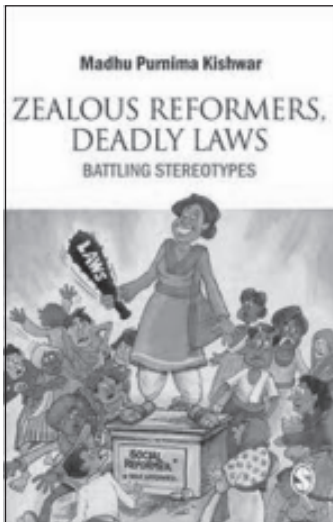
In a message accepting the award on behalf of SEWA Ela R. Bhatt its founder who was unable to be personally present at the function held on September 4, wrote: "It is seen that the fruits of free enterprise have not reached the millions of smallest free enterprise in India. Neither the entry to the market is free for them, nor the existence in the market is fair. Why? Imagine if we found a way to really allow these millions of smallest enterprises to blossom! The GDP will shoot higher and

the economic slow down will stop. The fruits of growth will be shared by all.

"During our journey of SEWA, we have found that savings and insurance services are an integral part of financial services because risk plays a large role in their lives. SEWA Cooperative Bank's deposit-linked Group Insurance, widowhood, accident, hospitalisation, loss of life, and exigencies like flood, fire and riots has enabled the poor self-employed to withstand the risks to a considerable extent.

"I write this to express the resonance between the Bank Depositors' Association and our SEWA Bank. And that is why we much appreciate the Award in recognition of SEWA's work."

BOOK REVIEW



ZEALOUS REFORMERS DEADLY LAWS: Battling Stereotypes, by Madhu Purnima Kishwar, Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd. B/1-11 Mohan Cooperative Industrial Area, Mathura, Road, New Delhi 110044, 2008, www.sagepublications.com, Rs. 550, Pages 419

Reviewed by Prof. Nilanjana Biswas, retired Associate Professor in Sociology. She as Head of the Department of Sociology in Maharashtra College, Mumbai. Email: nilanjanab480@gmail.com

Madhu Purnima Kishwar's volume is a historical journey of her active involvement with issues related to women's problems. The book is a compilation of several of her articles

that appeared in '*Manushi*' over the years. '*Zealous Reformers, Deadly Laws*', is a very exhaustive work and provides useful insights into social issues. It will benefit a wide readership including students, lawyers, journalists, the general reader and scholars of gender studies. The volume consists of nineteen articles divided into four parts. Each part deals with one set of issues in the broader context of women's problems, their rights, laws, social reforms, and the role of different agencies of change.

The first part includes seven articles which challenge the many stereotypes used to explain the status of women in India: that *Manusmriti* is the reason for all of Hindu women's woes; that 'Anglo-shastric law'¹ is the answer to women's empowerment, when customary law is what plays a pivotal role in the daily lives of communities. The author also challenges the modern interpretation of '*sati*' as a forced custom sanctified by Hindu religious texts. This, she says was a result of the colonial mindset which has remained with post-independence reformers and thus the Anti-Sati law of 1987, a result of pressure from women's organizations and progressive activists, needs to be repealed.

Particularly interesting is the article harshly criticizing Deepa Mehta's stereotyping of Indian women only as "long suffering *Sitas*" and also derides the new icon of the 'westernized, liberal educated modern' woman. Instead Kishwar endorses the use of symbols of religious female deities to advocate women's strength. Indian society continues to worship '*shakti*', the feminine energy. She cites examples of Mahatma Gandhi and Sharad Joshi who used such symbols in their efforts to empower

women. These efforts did send a message of women's strength but failed to empower women in the long run. Such symbols are used in daily life even today. The chapter on 'Learning to take People Seriously' deserves special mention. Studying women is a sensitive issue. The researcher needs to take into account the lived experiences of women, their different perceptions and the problems they face in sharing their experiences. This section also includes an article on rethinking on dowry. It explains how dowry is deeply ingrained in our society, the compulsions of giving and taking dowry and how the mere imposition of stringent, ineffective laws has failed to combat the problem.

The second part titled 'Battling Domestic Violence', comprises five chapters. These bring out the role of women's organizations, legislation, police and families in dealing with domestic violence. One of the arguments here is that women's organizations have only been successful in spreading awareness about domestic violence but have not been able to eliminate it. Overzealous feminists are unable to provide permanent support to victims of violence. Family and community need to change their attitude and educate daughters to make them financially independent and thus more equipped to resist violence from their male relations. Much of the violence faced by women is a result of marriage. The active support of parents becomes necessary to give security to victims of domestic violence. Despite stringent laws against domestic violence the problem is still widespread. The role of the police is also circumspect. The book reviews the Domestic Violence Act in detail analysing its positive and negative aspects while the Anti-Dowry legislation is shown as totally flawed.

The two articles in part three deal with inheritance rights of women. The first article is based on a field study of the Ho tribe in a village of Singbhum district in Jharkhand. The study provides a detailed description of how land rights are denied to tribal women. The Hos continue to be governed by customary inheritance law. Women are not allowed to inherit property but daughters and widows

have a right to derive maintenance from it. A wife can only claim right to land through her son. This is so even though women's labour sustains the economy. Thus unequal land rights have a direct impact on women's status.

The second article examines the Hindu Code Bill in great detail and criticizes it for not giving equal inheritance rights to women. Inheritance rights favouring sons over daughters still prevail. The legal rights to property among Parsis, Muslims and Christians are also discussed. All communities allow its members the freedom to bequeath their property to whomsoever he/she wishes by making a will. Since the trend even in making wills is in favour of sons, it is suggested that any will which disinherits daughters be treated as a legally invalid document. This could be one way of setting right the imbalance in inheritance rights which leave women powerless. The State should consider changing laws governing inheritance to remove these inequalities.

The last part on 'Challenges of Politics and Organization' has five chapters describing women's participation in the political process. The seventies saw mobilization of rural women in large numbers. These, however, cannot be considered as independent women's movements since they had been initiated and led by men. Women's active role is illustrated through movements in different parts of the country.

The last four chapters in this section discuss issues

such as the Women's Reservation Bill. It is argued that the Bill is fraught with serious drawbacks. The constituencies for women are randomly selected and in most cases women candidates are mere proxies for their male relatives thus furthering male agenda. Kishwar suggests alternatives to make women's reservation in political institutions more meaningful. The concluding articles make a plea for gender solidarity in Indian politics. The rise of women like Sonia Gandhi, Jayalalitha, Mayawati, and Mamata Banerjee has failed to empower women as their issues have been ignored. Women politicians have also not received due support from women's organizations essential for the success of women in politics.

A running thread through most chapters is that legislation as it has been enacted has proved ineffective in dealing with the problems of women. The author advocates social change at the grassroots level, from within the community. What makes this volume especially noteworthy is the numerous suggestions provided at the end of the chapters delineating measures to overcome obstacles in the path of women's empowerment. It is a must read for all concerned with gender issues.

(Footnotes)

- ¹ Madhu Kishwar uses the term 'Anglo-Shastric' law to explain the British codification of Hindu laws based on the Hindu *shastras* such as *Manusmriti* and other *Dharmashastras*. Prior to British rule there was no single law governing all Hindus who identified themselves on the basis of region, *jati* and language.

An Open Letter to Syed Ali Shah Geelani

Madhu Purnima Kishwar

I would like to begin by assuring you that there are plenty of people in India who share your concern for the environmental damage being caused to the eco-sensitive zone due to the massive increase in the number of Yatris that have begun visiting the Amarnath shrine in Kashmir. I have personally seen how much garbage and filth the Yatra generates and how the extension of the Yatra to two months has caused enormous damage to the delicate ecology of the area. The extension is particularly puzzling considering that the Shivaling in the Amarnath cave is made of natural ice and appears only for 15 days. If the purpose is to have darshan of the Shivaling, it is altogether meaningless to have the Yatra go on for two months. There have been times when due to heavy rush, the Shivaling has melted sooner than its time and the Amarnath Shrine Board has had to airlift ice slabs to construct an artificial Shivaling in order to keep the illusion alive. This makes a mockery of the whole Yatra.

As someone involved in the Save Ganga and Save Himalayas campaign, I fully endorse your demand that just as 154 km area from Gomukh to Devprayag has been notified as an eco-sensitive zone by the Government of India, so also the area around the Amarnath shrine needs to be declared as an eco-sensitive zone. The enormous rush is causing glaciers to recede. All those who value the Amarnath Shrine as a sacred site, need to join hands with their Kashmiri brothers in preserving the pristine purity of the area.

However, I hope your concern will also extend to the pathetic plight of rivers, lakes and the fast depleting forest cover in Kashmir. The land that was once celebrated as a virtual paradise on earth has become an ecological disaster

For the full text of this letter please visit: <http://www.manushi.in/articles.php?articleId=1623>.

Educating Adults

Students Beyond the Classroom

Extension Services for Community Development

Jyoti Marwah

Gandhiji was a social reformer and a harbinger of progress who presaged community welfare not as charity but as a responsibility.

There are lives that we do not know about for they struggle to survive in an isolated disconnect. We do not hear their sordid tales of misery or see their tears of helplessness nor do we see through their eyes all that they want to say for their voices are muzzled. In our comfort zones we fail to realize that the world is so much more than what we know it to be. However, we cannot deny that there is tremendous dynamism in human nature as we see the changes in our surroundings through our revolutionized social environs and unconventional approaches that move beyond the obvious. History records movements which familiarize the youth with unfamiliar truths to break down myths and begin to engage them in logic and reason by assimilating contributions of such movements. These have helped to transcend all barriers and add value to human society. Renaissance began this transformation seven centuries ago as education fired Man's imagination and logical thinking. For now Man became the centre of all activity. Industrial Revolution made life faster but continued to compromise in quality of life for the masses. Progressive movements in the USA fought for this quality. Today, we still continue to strive to bring dignity to the lives of many in the post globalization era.

Mahatma Gandhi's Vision

Education for Mahatma Gandhi was a process of transformation linking children in cities and village alike to all that is of lasting value. It strengthens the body and mind keeping the child grounded with a vision of the future. He believed that the prevailing methods of education

emphasised on giving information but failed to inculcate ethical and nationalist values in the minds of the young. True education must have sustainable goals by being skill-oriented, self-sustaining and knowledge generating for only then it becomes the driving force for capacity building and community development. Also development must maintain the distinction between economics and ethics.

If India lives in its villages, rural areas must have the same quality of life as those living in sub-urban or urban areas as both are dependent on each other. Poverty, neglect and inadequate infrastructure in the rural area will handicap the urban centres. Hence economics of growth, social justice, upliftment of the rural people through adequate social service and community development schemes become essential. If, at the age of 25, Gandhi stood steadfast with his compatriots in South Africa on issues of social concerns, he was confident that the youth could affect changes by rural service. This deep rooted belief was the result of his conviction that individual happiness lies in the happiness of society and vice versa. He was convinced that happiness of the community lies in its moral, physical and economic well-being and, therefore, he proposed rural service by the youth from the urban areas during their vacations. This would help make villages self-sufficient and prevent migration of the rural folk to the over-crowded cities, seeking employment to earn their daily bread. Gandhiji was a socialist reformer and a harbinger of progress who presaged community welfare not as charity but as responsibility. He proposed



A Feature Sponsored by

Adult Education Institute,

Registered under the Public Trusts Act N.E-4282

Contact: Email: freedomfirst1952@gmail.com

concerted action for making society healthy through progressive agriculture and promotion of small scale cottage industries.

As we discuss community service we wonder what Gandhi would have felt about the prevalence of farmers' suicides; of orphaned children adding to the number of school dropouts so they can help with the family earnings. A predicament that we have not been able to emerge from!

Efforts to keep the youth aware and involved in service to the community have continued through innumerable projects by which they move beyond their

classrooms and build the required sensitivity towards the needs of the society. NCC, NSS, Life Long Learning Programme, the Youth Program of the Chinmaya Mission, Vivekanand Kendra and the zeal among enlightened teachers continues to keep the youth involved in extension services keeping them grounded and rooted to the nationalist cause.

Dr. Jyoti Marwah,
I/C Principal and HOD, History,
ICLES M J College, Vashi, Navi Mumbai,
Member, Board of Studies, History,
University of Mumbai

Act of Selflessness: National Service Scheme

R. K. Cheema

"There is no higher religion than human service. To work for the common good is the greatest creed."

- Woodrow T. Wilson

The National Service Scheme, popularly known as N.S.S., was formed in September, 1969 under the aegis of the Ministry of Youth Affairs & Sports, Government of India. It is an extension of the higher education system to familiarize the youth with community service, a powerful instrument for national integration and more significantly a means of introducing urban students to rural life. The foremost duty of students should be dedication to the development of the nation through their activities. Such an aim for the students was possible only by introducing social service, both, as a measure of educational reform and as a means to improve the quality of educated manpower.

NSS is the world's largest social service organisation that inculcates values of selflessness in students. It is a voluntary and an extra-curricular activity for spreading awareness and working for the uplift of the weaker sections of the society. Mahatma Gandhi sowed the seeds of involving students by stressing time and again the task of nation building is their social responsibility. NSS works for the health and welfare of the society such as blood donation drives, AIDS awareness programmes, working in slum areas, women's empowerment, programmes for destitutes and orphanages and many more; the list is endless.

NSS exposes the students to the realities of life

and a better understanding and appreciation of the problems of the people. It is a constructive attempt to make the campus relevant to the needs of the community. Through their excellent work and exemplary conduct the NSS units have earned the respect and confidence of the people. The special camping programmes organised under the themes of 'Youth Against Famine', 'Youth Against Dirt & Disease', 'Youth for Eco-Development' and "Youth for Rural Reconstruction" 'Youth for National Development and Youth for Literacy', 'Youth for National Integration and Communal Harmony' have benefitted the community as well as the students. The NSS Motto is: **"Not Me but You"**. Today NSS comprises more than 3.2 million volunteers from all over India.

NSS for Self Enhancement

They develop tolerance, leadership qualities, positive attitude and self-confidence. It improves their communication skills, allows them to work with the underprivileged section of the society, makes them aware of their rights and duties and imparts skills in mobilizing community participation. This experience, training, knowledge and skills gained by working as NSS volunteers help them in making their career in the field of social service, non-government organisation, corporate sector, education sector and many such areas. Extension education helps explore and develop the student's capacity to transform.

They develop themselves into an organised human resource, motivated and ever available in the service of the society and the nation.

The economist and educator, Mary Barnett Gilson very rightly stated:

“... education fails in so far as it does not stir in

students a sharp awareness of their obligations to society and furnish at least a few guideposts pointing toward the implementation of these obligations.”

Dr. (Mrs.) R. K. Cheema
Department of History,
G. N. K. C, Mumbai
c.ravinder5767@gmail.com

NCC : A True Activity for Youth Development

Rita P. Bhambi

The discipline which an NCC cadet undergoes may play a large role in shaping his values, deciding his career and also in his attitude to life.

NCC (The National Cadet Corps) is the Indian military cadet corps with its headquarters in New Delhi. It is a voluntary organization which recruits cadets from high schools, colleges and universities all over India. It is the world's largest uniformed youth organization that imparts military training such as Physical Fitness, Leadership, Discipline, Integration, Adventure, Military, and Community Development training. NCC installs values of “Unity and Discipline” – the Motto of the NCC. It is emerging as a major source of recruitment of officers for the armed forces. In fact 25% of the cadets currently training to be officers at the Officers Training Academy, the IMA and the NDA are from the NCC. This figure is even higher for women cadets.

The Aim of the NCC

The NCC came into existence on 16 July 1948, under the NCC Act of 1948, based on the recommendation of the Pandit H. N. Kunzru Committee. Initially, NCC was confined mainly to the urban areas. Today it has spread to every corner of the country, having more than 13 lakhs cadets. With India's population of over a billion, at least 50% are below the age of 35. The basic aim of the NCC, which has both boys and girls cadets, is to instill character in the youth to make them good citizens and worthy leaders of the future in every walk of life.

Those who join the NCC are subject to discipline. In fact, the discipline which an NCC cadet undergoes may play a large role in shaping his values, deciding his career and also in his attitude to life. It develops qualities like social service, team spirit, leadership, discipline and self

confidence. Rabindranath Tagore said that whenever a child is born, it shows that God has not lost faith in mankind. NCC inculcates in youth a sense of nationalism and secular outlook that contributes towards the building of the nation.

The NCC has undergone many changes from a military oriented organization to a true youth development organization spread all over India. In the year 2000, the Central Advisory Committee modified the aims of NCC to develop qualities of Character, Courage, Comradeship, Discipline, Secular Outlook, Spirit of Adventure, Sportsmanship and the ideals of Selfless Service to make them useful citizens; to create a human resource of organized, trained and motivated youth; to provide leadership in all walks of life including the Armed Forces; and to create a suitable environment to motivate them to take up a career in the Armed Forces.

Today, the NCC offers a wide spectrum of activities classified into five main areas. Institutional Training is paramount amongst these and it includes annual training camps, weapon training, flying, sea training and familiarization training with various services institutes like Indian Military Academy at Dehradun and Officers Training School at Chennai. Community Development is another area in which cadets have set an example by involving themselves in various activities viz. adult literacy, drug abuse, leprosy eradication, planting trees, blood donation, visit to old age homes, AIDS Awareness Rally etc. Of late, the scope of adventure and sports activity has been enlarged to bring in its ambit events such as mountaineering, para-sailing, scuba-diving, car and

motorcycle rallies and expeditions designed to explore the national heritage of India.

NCC cadets can get jobs more easily as compared to others. Private and public sector employers give preference to the holders of 'A', 'B' & 'C' certificates. Many reputed companies like Reliance Group, Ambuja Group, Tata, Birla, Infosys and various MNCs prefer to recruit NCC cadets. Thus NCC improves the status of the cadets

in the job market and helps them in achieving the aim of their life. One can easily identify the NCC cadets in a job because an NCC cadet looks confident, disciplined, and helpful and easily accepts additional responsibilities.

Dr. Rita P. Bhambi,
Associate Prof. & Head, Department of History,
G. N. Khalsa College, Matunga, Mumbai – 19.
rita_bhambi@yahoo.co.in

Lifelong Learning and Extension (LLP)

Community Development through Youth Development Programme

Dr. Lakshmi K.

The LLP is one of the important instruments to bring about social change. It builds a link between the University and the community through its several Field Outreach Programmes.

Teaching and Research have been the two dimensions of Universities functioning in India. In the year 1978 'Extension' was added as the third dimension to the system by UGC, by recommending that all Universities create a separate department of Extension Education, with the agenda of creating opportunities for skill development for the less privileged sections of the society. In the year 2009, the Department was renamed Department of Lifelong Learning and Extension (LLP) as per UGC guidelines.

The LLP is one of the important instruments to bring about social change. It builds a link between the University and the community through its several Field Outreach Programmes. A well designed mechanism has been created for this purpose whereby Undergraduate and Post Graduate students of affiliated colleges become the link between the University and the community to disseminate knowledge and skills necessary to improve the quality of life of the weaker sections of the society. At the beginning of each academic year, students are encouraged to register for the LLP programmes. Those interested are imparted training to carry out projects of their choice. Several options are offered, such as vocational career oriented projects, entrepreneur skills development, women empowerment, etc. Extension education curriculum is flexible and practical. It enables students to find solutions to real life problems. It meets the training requirements of the students to face the technology driven, competition driven challenges of modern economy and to sensitize the students to pressing social problems. These students, in turn, transfer their knowledge of these projects to the

local community for bringing about social change. Youth development, leadership development and community development are the three levels at which transformation is expected.

To illustrate this principle, an Extension student can serve as a 'volunteer educator' to spread financial literacy, such as 'how to invest funds wisely' and 'how to raise funds for becoming a micro entrepreneur'. The students are first given the necessary inputs and training on these topics. Besides volunteer extension, students also attend training programs on personality development, self analysis, leadership, event management etc. This strengthens their confidence and communication skills and enables them to train the weaker sections of the community as a part of their field outreach activities.

To keep these volunteer students motivated, the work done by them is given academic credits as an incentive and a certificate on successful completion of the projects. ICLES MJ College has registered its students for this Extension programme since 2010-11 and currently the third batch is undergoing training in various projects. It is observed that students are learning independent thinking, developing constructive outlook, becoming efficient and inculcating a sense of social responsibility. Lifelong learning truly gives students a platform to 'Lead in *deed*'.

Dr. Lakshmi K. Varanasi
HOD Commerce, ICLES' M J College
& Coordinator LLP

Development at the Intersection of Extension & University Education

Sujata Dhopte

The output of the extension activities are in the form of Three Cs: i.e. students are Connected, Contributing and with Character.

The students' extension activity of the Department of Lifelong Learning and Extension (DLLE), University of Mumbai is a journey that empowers youth through youth sensitization training programmes. The Extension training is a motivational process that has many dynamics. The young have dreams, passion and hopes. Their bubbling enthusiasm has to be channelled and utilized. We shouldn't let their youthful energy go waste. Proper guidance and direction can bring them in the forefront of national development. The motto is to engage the youth in constructive and gainful work. Hence the nature of Students' extension activity is in the form of 'Training Youth for Social Change'.

We must honour the wisdom and vision of Director Dr. Dilip Patil and his team that made efforts in specific direction through various skill-based activities to identify potential, empower people and stimulate knowledge of self and society. There are manifest approaches for fostering healthy & positive youth development. The DLLE Department has identified 13 course modules containing 29 Certificate Courses under its Continuing Education Programme. The students also have an option to choose multiple courses which leads to major Certification in 13

different high end Certificate Courses of Career Orientation.

The output of the extension activities are in the form of Three Cs: i.e. students are Connected, Contributing and with Character:

- Connected youth have mutual beneficial relationships with people and organizations that provide them with a sense of belonging
- Contributing youth have both the ability and desire to make a difference in their personal development and in their communities
- Youth with character exhibit that they are grounded in basic values and guided by a sense of responsibility and honesty

The participation of these confident, competent and trained youth in the community has brought a change among the other youth & helped in transforming the society.

Dr. Sujata Dhopte
DLLE Field Coordinator,
University of Mumbai

Teaching Life-long Positive Learning to the Youth

Sheela Philip

The youth coming of age today see a general unhealthy drift in the country. After a few years of "shining", the economic growth is now slowing; inflation is at a consistent high again; population growth continues, with India set to become the most populous country in the world in a few decades; the disparity between rich and poor, urban and rural is still wide; suicides by farmers deep in debt in parts of Maharashtra alone have crossed a startling 9000 over the past ten years, and nobody seems to care; parochialism and communalism are tearing communities apart; corruption in public life is on a much larger scales and has taken on an in-your-face arrogance; and there is a leadership vacuum. It's so easy to lose hope

in such a situation; worse still, it's so easy for youth to join the detrimental trend of ganging up with the 'bad guys' for easy returns.

What can we do to confront this situation? In one word, education. In addition to the standard curriculum, youth have the onerous task of fighting the despairing tide of negativity. Besides setting examples in day-to-day life, teaching-learning situations have to gently but firmly drive home positive messages through contrived experiences, be they personal, social, communal, or environmental. Gently, because the atmosphere is so charged that it is easy to offend narrow-interest groups

and reprisals can be swift and extreme. Firmly, because teaching-learning remains one of our last hopes, and generations to come will not forgive us if we fail now. Above all, we need to focus on instilling in our youth the value of life-long learning and community outreach,

so that they in turn will be qualified to pass down these values to ensuing generations.

Dr. Sheela Philip
Assistant Professor,
St. Teresa's Institute of Education,
Santa Cruz (W), Mumbai

Why Youth Participation in Extension Work is Important

Vani Achari Ummadisingu

India has the largest youth population below the age of 35 years: 550 million. Youth in India constitute a sizable, vibrant and resourceful segment of our society whose participation in extension work is important because they are the strong forces in social movements. They are our future and hope for tomorrow. This pool of youth population needs to be engaged in extension work to contribute to the development of India; understand their role in nation building; develop sensitivity towards socio-cultural realities; realise their social responsibilities; address social issues and find ways to solve them effectively.

The Department of Lifelong Learning and Extension Unit of the University of Mumbai has designed projects such as vocational career oriented projects, industry orientation, and community oriented projects such as population education club, status of women in society, national institute of open schooling etc., to involve students of affiliated colleges in Community Development. Nearly 160 colleges with more than 10,000 students of

Mumbai University are participating in these projects in this current academic year 2012-13. This activity is expected to lead to skill enhancement, confidence building, and inculcate a sense of social responsibility towards the nation. Students thus come together and work for a common cause to uplift the underprivileged, social justice and equality.

Thus we can dream of building a happy nation and be counted among the most developed nations in all respects with youth as lifelong participants developing a sense of ownership in development efforts, who are sensitive citizens, skilled and literate, who will address the problems confidently and find solutions to lead our nation towards 21st century in all fronts

Ms. Vani Achari Ummadisingu
Pillai College of Education and Research,
Chembur, Mumbai

LLP - A Rewarding Experience

Rahul P. Deshmukh

I would like to share my wonderful experience and the drastic changes within me after working as a Student Manager in Lifelong Learning and Extension Unit of my college (*called LLP Unit in our College*). Initially I was quite a shy being an introvert kind of a person, stayed far away from any public platform. But ever since I joined LLP, I got innumerable opportunities to face an audience and speak spontaneously. I anchored the entire function to felicitate teachers on Teacher's Day on 5th September 2012. I found myself speaking confidently and fearlessly in front of all my teachers.

I completely lost my old inhibitions and have seen myself being transformed into a confident individual. I have

emerged a practical knowledge gainer rather than a bookish learner. I was given responsibility to work as a leader for a group of sixty students, guide and motivate them to complete their projects. This helped me to learn in practical terms the qualities required to work as an effective leader. It was a challenging exercise to get work done from batch-mates and juniors. I had to balance between being authoritative and friendly. I can now confidently and with pride go to any of corner of the world and interact with anybody. LLP has played a very crucial role in my life. **Kudos to LLP and hope for a brighter future for all LLP members.**

Rahul P. Deshmukh,
SY.B.Com ICLES' M J College, Vashi

LLP Helped Me Discover Myself

Mamta Gupta

A few months ago I would have described myself as a shy introvert afraid of speaking in public. In a short period of time I got an opportunity to learn many things while participating in the activities of the Lifelong Learning and Extension Unit. I had to work as a part of a team. Not only did I discover that I had good planning and organizing skills but also the fact that I was a natural leader. I learnt how to work in a team and maintain it as a cohesive group. The Extension Unit organised 'Teachers Day'

programme. I acquired Event-Management skills. I found myself coming up with many ideas which were accepted. It helped me to discover myself. In short I learnt many things I came to know what I am now and what I can do in the future. Today I can describe myself as confident, intelligent and capable of handling things independently.

Mamta Gupta
ICLES' M J College, Vashi, Navi Mumbai

An Enriching Experience

Alam

Membership in Lifelong Learning has been an enriching experience for me. As a student I was focussing only on curriculum and avoided all competitions and public forums due to lack of confidence. Then something interesting happened in my life when one of our college teachers convinced me to join Lifelong Learning. I was exposed to a new world of activities and opportunities. I opted for ICT project under the Unit. I got the opportunity to go to the University Department to undergo training. This exercise made me feel proud and different from other

fellow classmates who are not a part of Lifelong Learning and Extension Unit. I also guided my colleagues who enrolled for ICT project. On several occasions I got a chance to address a class of 50 to 100 students. Though initially I was nervous, soon I overcame this problem. Today my fellow classmates willingly listen to me.

Alam
ICLES" M J College, Vashi

LLP Helped Me Know My Own Potential

Armugharaj Nadar

LLP has touched my life in more than one ways. When I enrolled to be a part of LLP little did I know that the way I look at myself would change my world. I played the role of a social worker at the annual Inter Collegiate skit competition on social issues titled 'UDAAN Festival' (Flight of Extension) - organised by the Extension Department of the University . It was the best experience I ever had. I got an opportunity to showcase my talent in front of students and teachers of many colleges. I gained self confidence. I realised that it is important to grab

opportunities to speak in public to overcome stage fear. LLP made this possible. I improved my communication skills and using this experience, I made power point presentations in my class on topics related to my curriculum. I got appreciation from my teachers and fellow class mates. LLP is like an 'In House Training Centre'. Thank you LLP, I got a chance to know my own potential!!!

Armugharaj Nadar
TY.B.Com. ICLES MJ College, Vashi

Have you visited our website
www.freedomfirst.in

LLP Changed My Personality

Rishi Khanna

Joining LLP was a great opportunity for me. The Unit organises many seminars by inviting professionals to guide and educate students about right values and to motivate them to take responsibility of self and the community around. During the meetings and group discussions of student members we get exposed to each other's strengths and learn from each other. I found a lot of synergy in group thinking and group working. The programmes organised by the Unit are also a medium for showcasing students' talents.

The Career projects of LLP are a sure way to plan our goals in life. The ICT project changed forever the feeling of some students who felt technically handicapped and inferior when they saw their friends at ease with computers. They now handle computers and internet for multiple

purposes. The best thing that happened to me was joining LLP. It changed my personality. As a group we got an identity in our college as 'resourceful and different'. I am proud to be a member of LLP.

After successfully completing LLP program, the students unanimously agreed that it was their responsibility to extend the knowledge they gained to fellow students in general and in particular the less privileged sections of the society. These students also said that only then would they be proud participants and beneficiaries of Lifelong Learning.

Rishi Khanna
ICLES' MJ College, Vashi

Bill Gates on What Students Don't and Will Not Learn in Schools

Bill Gates recently gave a speech at a High School about eleven things they did not and will not learn in school. He talked about how feel-good, politically correct teachings created a generation of kids with no concept of reality and how this concept set them up for failure in the real world.

Rule 1: Life is not fair - get used to it.

Rule 2: The world doesn't care about your self-esteem. The world will expect you to accomplish something before you feel good about yourself.

Rule 3: You will not make \$60,000 a year right out of high school. You won't be a vice-president with a car phone until you earn both.

Rule 4: If you think your teacher is tough, wait till you get a boss.

Rule 5: Flipping burgers is not beneath your dignity. Your grandparents had a different word for burger flipping. They called it opportunity.

Rule 6: If you mess up, it's not your parents' fault, so don't whine about your mistakes, learn from them.

Rule 7: Before you were born, your parents weren't as boring as they are now. They got that way from paying

your bills, cleaning your clothes and listening to you talk about how cool you thought you were. So before you save the rain forest from the parasites of your parent's generation, try delousing the closet in your own room.

Rule 8: Your school may have done away with winners and losers, but life has not. In some schools, they have abolished failing grades and they'll give you as many times as you want to get the right answer. **This doesn't bear the slightest resemblance to anything in real life.

Rule 9: Life is not divided into semesters. You don't get summers off and very few employers are interested in helping you find yourself. * *Do that on your own time.

Rule 10: Television is NOT real life. In real life people actually have to leave the coffee shop and go to jobs.

Rule 11: Be nice to nerds. Chances are you'll end up working for one.

From The Net contributed by Bhal Patankar, Mumbai

Good Government is no substitute for self-government

A. D. Gorwala

Many of the powers that hold colonies contend they do so only for the good of the people living in them, that without their presence political education and economic development would be impossible, that, in brief, life for the people would be short, dark and brutish. They and their friends hold that the people should be grateful for their efforts to give them a better life. The people make clear by their attitudes, and when possible, by their words and actions, that in their view, government by others, even if good, is no substitute for self-government. The time for gratefulness may be later, when foreign domination has ended and the good that it did, lives after it. Then, as has happened in some countries that have risen to freedom since the war, people may say "see what an excellent system of justice our past rulers have left behind. How independent are the judges they trained!" To expect gratitude from people who feel they are oppressed by foreign rule is against the order of nature. The proper remedy for colonialism is, undoubtedly, to transfer responsibilities which, according to the colonial powers are of no special benefit to them, to say, the United Nations, in those instances at least where the people themselves have no objection to, or are for, such an arrangement.

(Excerpted from Mr. Gorwala's article "The Strategy of Freedom")

N O T E S

Problem of Goa

Now that passions have cooled down a bit it is possible to discuss the problem of Goa in calmer atmosphere. The main credit for creating this calmer atmosphere must go to the Congress and the Government. The forthright resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee and the bold stand adopted by the Government are mainly responsible for arresting the hysteria that was developing in the country and persuading the people to think in more rational terms.

The people's anxiety for the liberation of Goa and their rage against the atrocities perpetrated by the Portuguese are understandable. But that anxiety and that rage cannot be the sole determinants of the nation's policy

on the issue of Goa.

It is necessary to remember in the first place that the liberation of Goa is not an issue of domestic politics. It is an issue of international politics, involving as it does relations between two sovereign independent nations. Goa is geographically a part of India and the people of Goa are racially and culturally the kith and kin of the people of India. But legally and politically Goa is foreign territory, a fact which cannot be unsettled merely by wishful thinking or specious reasoning.

While advising other nations to seek a peaceful solution of their international problems, India could not obviously take recourse to violence to solve her own small international problem of Goa. That would have destroyed India's utility as a force for peace and undone all the good work that she has done so far in the international field. The Government deserves to be complimented, therefore, for categorically turning down the popular demand for police action for the liberation of Goa.

The Government have taken a number of other steps. They are already having some effect on Portugal. There are other factors which are also working against that country's continued possession of tiny parts of India and her efforts to deny them freedom and the day may not be far off when as a result of all these pressures Portugal will be compelled to quit Goa and her other possessions in India. After the Portuguese quit, the people of Goa and of Diu and Daman must have the right of deciding for themselves about their future. India will have no case in any international forum unless she guarantees that right to those people. The Prime Minister has in some of his recent speeches accepted that position. He declared that India did not want to impose herself on the people of Goa and that they would have the right of deciding for themselves about their future. This position must be broadcast to the people of Goa and also made clear to the statesmen of the world.

The question in issue therefore is the liberation of the people of Goa from the tyrannical and antiquated rule of the Portuguese and securing for them the freedom to live their own life in their own way without any external interference. Once the issue is posed in that fashion it will secure wider international support. It will also create a new urge and enthusiasm amongst the people of Goa and draw them more actively into the struggle for liberation.

THE LAST WORD

“A Party with a Difference” – What it Really Means.

The political party in most parts of the world, though not total like the Communist Party, is in danger of becoming all-pervasive, of trying to dictate to a member his thinking on every aspect of life. This phenomenon was referred to by the well known Italian novelist some of you must have read, Ignazio Silone, who has been in the past a member of the Italian Socialist Party. He pointed out that the party system in Italy was also tending in the direction of dominating the minds and lives of people too much. He made the plea that the party should be kept to its proper place. Just as, much earlier, somebody had said: "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's", so too since the party reflects the attempt to capture the State, a point comes where we must tell the party to keep its hands off certain spheres of life which should really belong to the individual conscience and the individual personality.

When we formed the Swatantra Party in this country in 1959, under Rajaji's inspired leadership, thanks to his guidance we tried to assert this principle of a limited government and a limited party. Our Party was "a party with a difference." In our Statement of Policy we said that the "Swatantra Party believes that the present trend followed in India and elsewhere by which political parties dominate more and more the thoughts, activities and lives of their members is one that needs to be reversed. The Party holds that democracy is best served if every political party allows freedom of expression to its members on all matters falling outside the fundamental principles of the Party. The Party therefore gives its members, whether in parliament or elsewhere, the fullest liberty on all questions not falling within the scope of its principles and Statement of Policy."

This might explain something that confuses and puzzles many people as to how in the Swatantra Party leading members are found to be at variance on matters that the Party does not consider to be of the first importance but which to individuals might seem to be somewhat important such as language, or regional boundaries, or the banning of the nuclear bomb on which my great leader Rajaji and I hold very different views and freely express them in public. We believe that this should be so and that it is not on every public issue that members of the Party should conform to our view.

Excerpted from a seminal lecture on "Party Politics in India", delivered by Minoo Masani in 1962 to the Harold Laski Institute of Political Science, Ahmedabad.