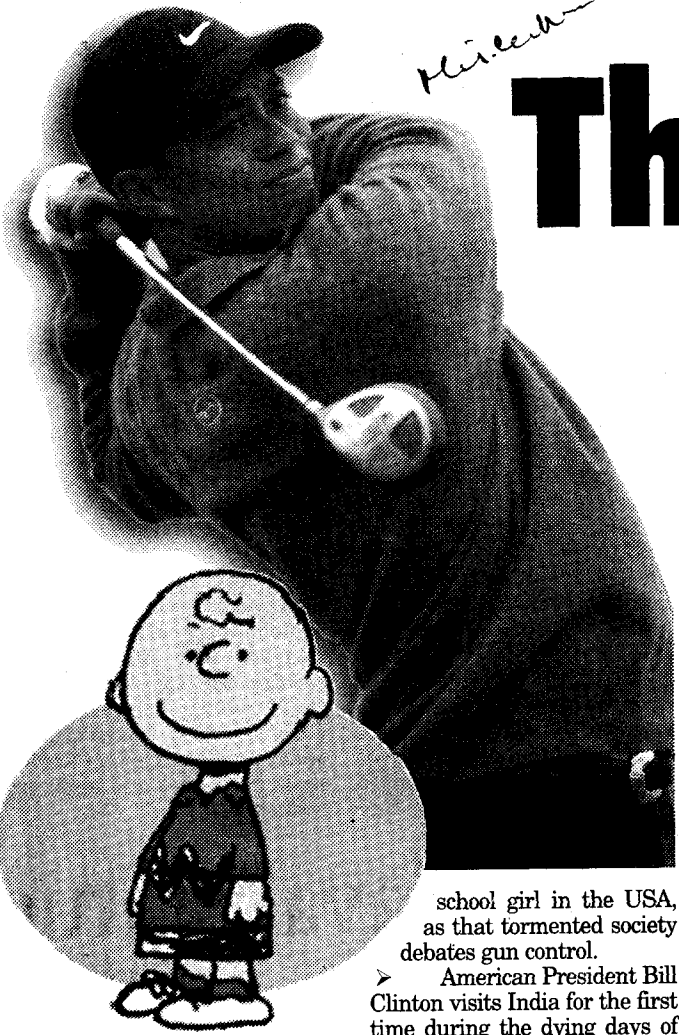
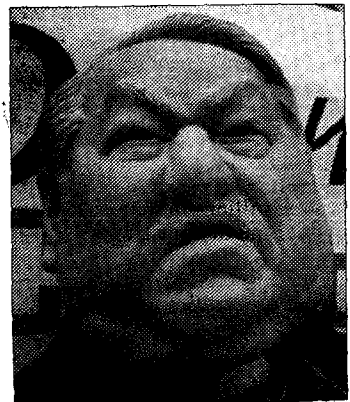


The rainbow year



THE First Quarter, when a visiting American President spreads more good cheer than goodies and Charlie Brown walked into the sunset.

The world celebrates in an unprecedented global party, greeting the new millennium and the once in a thousand year chance to write 00 in the dateline. After five decades, cartoon strip *Peanuts*, perhaps the most beloved and successful ever, draws the final curtain. Creator Charles Schultz retires to fight a lost battle against cancer. Joseph Keller, author of the phenomenal *Catch-22* novel dies at age 76. A much-used expression for a no-win situation enters the English language. Russia's ailing, alcoholic President Boris Yeltsin resigns and nominates former KGB head honcho acting President.

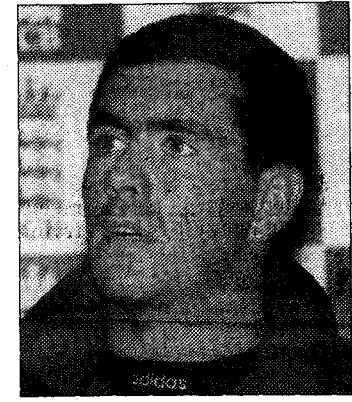


Internet giant America Online Time Warner in a \$350-billion deal, the biggest ever in business history. Tennis legend Don Budge dies at age 84, the first winner of the Tennis Grand Slam in 1938. Bihar lives up to its reputation with over 40 people killed in Assembly election-related violence. English football legend Sir Stanley Matthews dies at age 85. Credit for his place in Hall of Fame includes never being booked once during a career stretching over three decades. 400 die in sectarian violence in Nigeria, continuing the trend of Africa being the most troubled continent on earth. A six-year-old school boy shoots dead a six-year-old

school girl in the USA, as that tormented society debates gun control. American President Bill Clinton visits India for the first time during the dying days of his eight-year term, in a trip that provided more media fodder than concrete political or economic benefits for his hosts.

THE Second Quarter, when a Prime Minister is declared a terrorist and a so-called clean gentleman's game is sent to the laundry.

Yoshiro Mori appointed Japan's new Prime Minister after his predecessor, Keizo Obuchi, goes into a coma following a heart attack. Sy Wientraub, producer of *Tarzan* movies, dies at age 76. Nawaz Sharif, ousted Pakistani Prime Minister, sentenced to two life terms, after being found guilty of hijacking and terrorism. By the year end, Sharif and family are exiled to Saudi Arabia in what appears a murky deal with Pakistani military ruler General Pervez Musharraf. South African cricket captain



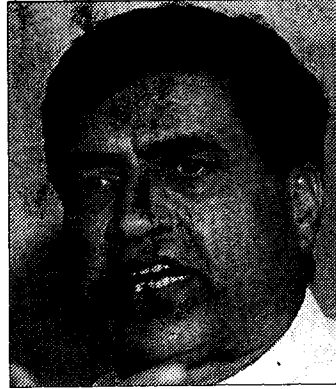
Hansie Cronje makes a 3.00 a.m. confession call to cricket administrator Ali Bacher that sets off a chain of events unprecedented in sporting history. Cronje's admission to taking money from bookies results in him being kicked out of the team, and later kicked out of the game forever. Cricket comes under close scrutiny, with the nexus between bookies, corrupt players and officials becoming clearer. Cronje's fate later befalls former Indian captain Azharuddin. US federal agents seize Cuban boy Elian Gonsalvez from Miami relatives' house and reunites him with father, as climax to a months-long melodrama that captured the world's attention. Armed rebels from separatist Abu Sayyaf terrorist group in Philippines take 21 tourists hostage in Sipadan island off



Malaysia. The Love bug virus paralyzes e-mail systems around the globe, setting off serious concerns about vulnerability of the Internet. Trial begins of two suspects accused of being behind the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. Five of the world's largest pharmaceutical companies have offered to slash the prices they charge for AIDS drugs in the developing world. Jim Courier, American tennis hero, retires at age 29, with claim to long-term fame being having spent 58 weeks as the world's No.1 tennis player. Seven men brandishing AK-47s storm Fiji's parliament and take Prime Minister Mahendra Chaudhury hostage. The drama ends months later, with the former Prime Minister being released, and the terrorists leader George Speight being arrested and



charged with treason. Barbara Cartland, 98, empress of the mush novel, dies in Hatfield, England, leaving behind a multi-million-pound fortune made from writing her 650 novels since 1925. Hafeez Assad, dictator of Syria since 1970, dies. The former air force pilot was at the centre of the most turbulent events in West Asia since he usurped power after a coup. Leaders of North and South Korea sign an historic agreement to reduce tension.



Rajesh Pilot (55) one of the more promising amongst the younger generation of Indian leaders, dies in a car crash in Rajasthan.

THE Third Quarter when genetic scientists declare unlocking the ultimate code to secrets of the human body, and an aging forest brigand mocks at the world's largest democracy. Scientists declare the successful completion of the Human Genome Project, the globally co-ordinated effort to map every gene in the human body. The success promises many health benefits and ethical dilemmas. Tiger Woods enters the plane of legends, winning the US Open golf championships by 15 strokes. The village of Mandi, Uttar Pradesh, discovers a priceless 4,000-year old Harappan treasure trove of over 500 kg in gold and jewels. Most of the treasure was grabbed by rampaging villagers. The Jammu and Kashmir Assembly passes a resolution demanding autonomy for the state. Walter Mathau, the sour-faced Hollywood comedy icon, dies at age 79. 12 Royal Bengal tigers die in Nadankanan Zoo in Bhubaneswar, Orissa, the worst tragedy of its kind in tiger conservation history. 13,000 people fall victims of food poisoning, after drinking contaminated milk in Japan. Hollywood stars Catherine Zeta-Jones and Michael Douglas enter into a strange marriage pact, with the bride entitled to \$3 million for every year as Mrs Douglas, in case the marriage fails. Air France Flight 4590 crashes outside Paris, killing all on board, the first Concorde crash since the world's first passenger supersonic planes took wing 30 years ago. Portuguese footballer Luis Figo becomes the most expensive player in the games history after a \$56-million club transfer deal. Terrorists kill more than 100 pilgrims near Pahalgam town in Jammu and Kashmir. Forest brigand Veerappa kidnaps Kannada matinee super star Raj Kumar, and releases him months later, after the Central government chose to maintain a shocking silence, and the state governments of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka danced to the bandits tunes. Ali Sardar Jafri, reckoned to be India's greatest ever Urdu poet, dies at age 86. 118 die in Russian submarine *Kursk*, after the nuclear vessel mysteriously sinks. Rangarajan Kumaramangalam,

Peace pacts blotted with blood, a weird presidential election, sporting idols drowned in shame, but hope survived writes RAJA M, putting the year 2000 in perspective

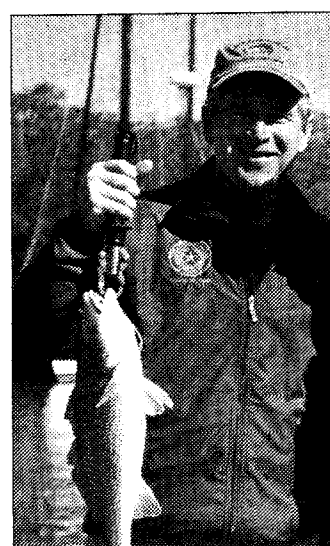
iam, Cabinet minister, and another promising youngster in Indian politics, dies at age 48. The 27th Olympics begin in Sydney, with 10,000 athletes from over 200 nations participating in a record 300 events. India's officials-bloated delegation returns with a humiliating solitary bronze medal. Cricketer Roy Fredericks, dashing former West Indies opening batsman, dies at age 54. Kapil Dev, former cricket captain and alleged traitor, resigns as coach of the Indian team. The USA threatens Japan with economic sanctions for illegal whale hunting. A small missile hits the head quarters of the British Intelligence agency MI6, causing more sensation than damage.

THE Fourth Quarter, when the US presidential elections turn nearly into a surreal comedy, and hope flutters as ceasefire calls resound through the world's major conflict zones. Bill Gates and Microsoft win a court order staying the proposed break-up of the software colossus. Former Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao convicted of criminal conspiracy. JK Rawlings, author of the phenomenal *Harry Potter* series, becomes the Enid Blyton of the Internet generation



children. Scientists declare killer hole in the ozone layer above the earth to be expanding. It now spreads over 29.5 million sq km. Sirimavo Bandaranayike, former Sri Lankan Prime

Minister, and the world's first woman Prime Minister, dies at age 84. The United States goes

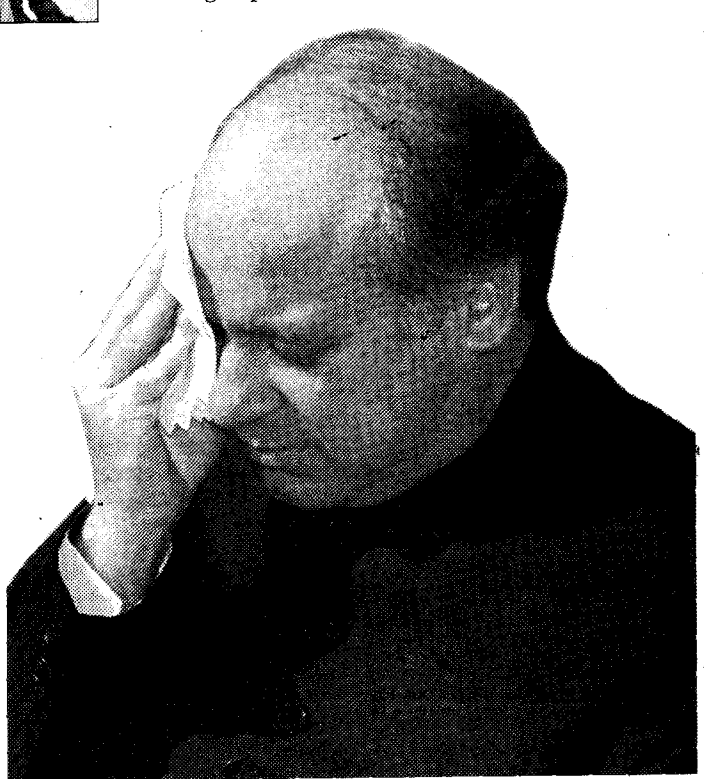


through its weirdest presidential elections, with contradictory court orders adding to the chaos, until Al Gore, winner of the popular vote by a huge margin, finally concedes defeat to George Bush Jr, after over a month of

discomfiture to Americans and delight to the rest of the world. Singapore Airlines Flight 006 crashes outside Taipei's Chiang Kai-shek airport, the first ever aircrash the airline suffers in its history. CBI's official report on match fixing in cricket condemns leading international cricketers including former captains Azharuddin, Brian Lara, Alec Stewart and Arjuna Ranatunga. Terrorists strike in Red Fort, at the heart of the nation's capital, but peace largely holds in Jammu and Kashmir during the festive season. Prime Minister Vajpayee declares ceasefire in Jammu & Kashmir during the month of Ramzan. Peace offer accepted by most terrorist groups. Post-

cancellation of India's cricket tour to Pakistan (worth millions of dollars to Pakistan), the military government too makes less truculent noises. Steve Waugh's all conquering Aussies lay claim to perhaps being the best ever team in cricket's history, whipping the doomed West Indies and making it to victory in 13 consecutive test matches in an unprecedented run.

(The author is a freelance writer.)



Virus alert

INDIA HAS achieved the rare, and unenviable, distinction of having the second largest population of people infected with the human immunodeficiency virus and acquired immune deficiency syndrome. The annual update of the United Nations programme for AIDS shows that the global epidemic continues unabated. The report estimates 5.3 million people contracted the virus this year while another three million died from the disease.

The India-specific report of the National AIDS Control Organisation has also come out. Its figures for 1999 put India's HIV-infected population at 3.7 million. In absolute figures, it is a number second only to South Africa, home to the world's largest HIV/AIDS population. A number of non-governmental organisations have contested NACO's surveillance systems and argue the number of infected Indians is closer to five million. What is clear from both reports is the virus' growth potential in South Asia is great while UNAIDS says that Africa's AIDS growth seems to have stabilised. Further increases can be expected. Some 89 per cent of India's infected population is sexually active and infection rates in urban areas are climbing.

There is still considerable complacency in India about AIDS. Some of this is based on the view that if only seven out of a 1,000 Indians are infected, the country's huge population will act as a buffer until a cure is discovered. This is folly, even assuming an affordable cure is ever discovered. AIDS wipes out the most economically active segments of the population. In Africa, the disease has left wide swathes of area where the population consists largely of old people and children. The economic impact is starting to mount. It is estimated that the epidemic shaves off 0.3 to 0.4 per cent of South Africa's economic growth rate every year. Botswana, another hot zone, will have a GDP two-thirds the size it could have been without AIDS by 2010. India already has a surfeit of poverty and suffering. It can do without more of both. However, the only South Asian country whose AIDS prevention programme received praise from the UN was Bangladesh.

THE HINDU

1 DEC 2000

Data shows jump in HIV cases among Mumbai housewives

By Kalpana Jain

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: Ten years ago, a commercial sex worker was 'rescued' by the police from a brothel on the outskirts of Mumbai. She was promised a job and reunion with her family. She was then put on a train to Tamil Nadu with 824 others.

In Tamil Nadu, she was detained and tested for HIV. She tested positive. The state government did not release her from the rescue home and pushed for legislation to legitimise the detention. A month later, she committed suicide.

That was back then. Today, experts have a more horrifying tale to tell—about the changing pattern of

the spread of HIV itself.

Evidence based on data gathered in hospitals shows how fast the virus is spreading to the general population. For instance, data collected from the J.J. Hospital, Mumbai, shows that 380 women tested positive two years ago. Of these, 350 were housewives. There are already a large number of HIV positive children and orphans of positive parents.

The numbers of such cases are still on the upswing and attitudes towards AIDS have not changed much. What has changed is the invasion of the virus into homes, studies show.

The numbers seem to have risen alarmingly—from just one reported case in 1986 to 3.7 million today. NGOs and those infected with HIV still recount horrifying stories of people being burnt to death, forced to commit suicide, or thrown out of their jobs or their homes after be-

ing found positive.

President of the Indian Network of Positive People, Ashok Pillai, perhaps the only one to have come out openly to divulge his positive status, was asked to leave the house he had rented in Chennai. Awareness-raising slogans, such as 'Can you spot the rotten egg in the basket?' have not helped either.

India, like several other countries, has taken its time before moving actively to check the spread of the disease. The political commitment needed to handle such an emergency has been missing so far. While the Prime Minister did make an attempt to address the issue, few MPs turned up at the meeting held some time ago. Union minister for health and family welfare C.P. Thakur, a doctor by profession, has promised to turn things around, saying that this time, chief ministers are being addressed by the PM

through individual letters.

However, the health minister's statement on Wednesday that the spread of the virus appears to be slowing down does not have many supporters. There are still no figures to buttress the claim. National research professor V. Ramalingaswami says the epidemic is showing no signs of regression. The situation, he says, is serious and there is a disaster waiting.

What is worrying is that 89 per cent of the cases reported are in the sexually active and economically productive age group of 18 to 40 years. Over 40 per cent of the new infections are occurring among those below 25 years. The southern states are the ones which are the worst-affected. Infection rates in Mumbai alone have crossed one per cent—a figure which is considered to be very high. An increase in HIV cases is also being reported from the coastal areas of several states.



THE TIMES OF INDIA

1 DEC 2000

DEPENDENCY THEORY-I

516 2/11 History's Verdict Against It

IN the immediate aftermath of World War II, as a consequence of decolonisation, many new nations emerged and became full-fledged sovereign members of the world community. Their utmost consideration was economic development, eradicating poverty and raising the standards of living of their people. They understood that political independence alone was not enough unless they could achieve economic power and self-reliance. They carved out a distinct place in the world and styled themselves as the Third World with a definitive ideology that provided a radical critique of existing world order, one marked by sharp inequities and disparities. They questioned the rationale for their poverty and backwardness, which was in sharp contrast to the affluence of Europe, North America and Japan. Their emphasis was on the role of governments and controlling markets to bring about accelerated national economic growth.

To find a solution to this problem many intellectuals began to question the proposition of classical economists like Adam Smith and Ricardo that growth in free world trading would abolish poverty and backwardness. There were two basic objections to this proposition. First that poverty was not inevitable and second, world market in itself was not adequate to tackle it. Governments in the developed countries played a central role by regularly intervening and regulating the market.

NEOCOLONIALISM

Raul Prebisch understood that the 19th century paradigm of free trade was inoperative and disadvantageous to these new raw materials exporting nations in the middle of 20th century. He stressed a solution that had both national and international ramifications. Internationally the centre ought to help the peripheries through foreign aid and technical assistance. It ought to give special treatment to raw materials exporting countries and aid the third world governments trying to reform domestic industry till a point when the nation consumed its own locally produced manufactured goods irrespective of the costs. Such an effort at import substitution would lessen dependence on imports and reduce the need to export simultaneously increasing domestic employment and income. This would result in an expanded domestic market accelerating the process of industrialisation. The dependency theory was Marxist in orientation but intellectually drew its sustenance from the non-Marxist analysis of Prebisch. It originated among the radical social scientists of Latin America. Using the Latin American experiences they developed their formulations. By giving a twist in the neo-Marxist direction to Prebisch's formulations dependency theory became a critique of the modernisation theory. Modernisation theory combining economic, psychological and sociological factors understood modernity to include value systems, individual motivation and capital accumulation. It emphasised considerably the role values, norms and belief-structures played in the transformation of a traditional society into a modern one.

Dependency theorists rejected the modernisation theories both with regard to analysis

By **SUSHILA RAMASWAMY**

and prediction. They associated under-development to the linkage under-developed countries had with the developed countries. Unlike Prebisch who suggested remedies both national and international, the dependency theorists analysed the problem of under-development within the framework of international structures and process. They followed the Leninist legacy of Marxism and connect the continued impoverishment and under-development of the periphery to the sustained unequal exchange with the developed West. While Lenin regarded imperialism as the last stage of capitalism the dependency theorists gloomily



considered imperialism as the basis of perpetuating inequality and dependency.

Unlike the development theorist for whom domestic factors were crucial to explaining poverty and backwardness the dependency theorists attributed the poverty of the poor countries to the affluence of and exploitation by the rich ones. They pointed to historical antecedents when the colonial powers deliberately thwarted the indigenous development of their colonies. For most of the newly independent countries political freedom remained meaningless since advanced countries through multinational corporations, foreign aid and technological and cultural dependence economically dominated them. This was established and perpetuated through a policy of collaboration between foreign and local capital with the help of the support base of a new class.

GRAND NARRATIVE

Andre Gunder Frank developed dependency theory into a grand one by emphasising the intrinsic link between under development and dependency with globalisation of capitalism. The dependency theorists contended that the distinction between un-development and underdevelopment was due to the mercantilist and capitalist expansion of the European powers. What followed was a unity of interests among the developed countries while the under-developed regions remained disunited. Since then the unequal relationship between the developed and under-developed regions continued with calamitous consequences for the latter.

The dependency theorists located the problem of under-development in the very nature of contemporary capitalism and recommended the erstwhile Soviet model of industrialisation, in which the state rather than the consumer decided priorities as the only way out of the limitations of bourgeois reforms. A leap towards socialism would guarantee both a balanced growth and total national control over production and allocation of its resultant surplus. However they ignored one important histori-

cal fact that the socialist countries in the developing world suffered as much from the phenomenon of dependency as their own non-socialist counterparts. A good example was Cuba whose economy was paralysed and dependent on subsidy from the former Soviet Union to the tune of four billion dollars a year, half of Cuba's national income. Both Ethiopia and Vietnam in the early 80's faced virtual famines and had to be helped by the West to tide over the crisis. The Communist nations in the developing world were as much dependent on the developed socialist countries, as were the non-communist ones on advanced capitalist countries.

The crux of the argument of the dependency theorists was that countries with a high degree of dependency would have very low rates of economic growth. The growth rate in the satellites would be highest when their link with the centre is at the weakest. For instance Frank cited the examples of the two World Wars and the period of the Great Depression when the Latin American economies did very well. Another caveat of the argument was that within the dual economy an augmented foreign investment led to greater inequality in incomes and attenuated foreign indebtedness. Dependency theorists dismissed the argument of the conventional economists that foreign trade and capital could be beneficial. However they did not satisfactorily deal with the problem of isolationism.

GROSS FALLACIES

The erstwhile socialist society pursued an isolationist economic policy with aims of self-sufficiency and independent development as demonstrated by the fact that they produced little less than 25 per cent of World GNP yet their share of world exports were merely 14 per cent. This also meant that they were out of the prevailing trend towards internationalisation of the production process and membership of financial institutions. The exclusiveness meant that the three important components of modern business organisation, increased efficiency, product quality and consumer choice did not become a part of their economic processes. In not dealing with these important issues the dependency theory ignored some of the very key issues of modern organisational structure and the role of scientific and technological innovations and in that sense is pre-modern.

In course of testing the hypothesis of the dependency theory in the context of Latin America Kaufman, Cheronosky and Geller took into account the relationship between the dependency economies and economic growth. They incorporated variables like degree of trade partner concentration, degree of concentration of commodities and flow of foreign capital and investment and found gross fallacies in the dependency theory. The majority of indicators pointed to the fact that the more dependent countries grew faster rather than slowly as contended by the dependency theorists. This was important for it falsified one of their core assumptions about dependency and economic growth. Furthermore, Kaufman, Cheronosky and Geller also established the fact that though dependency produced income inequality yet there was a strong negative link between dependency and land inequality, disproving another major contention of the dependency theorists.

(To be concluded)

The author is Reader, Department of Political Science, Jesus and Mary College, New Delhi.

DEPENDENCY THEORY-II

The Miracle Of NICs

THE Newly Industrialised Countries of East and Southeast Asia have negated the basic assumptions of the dependency theory. By achieving a high standard of living and coming out of the dependency syndrome they have integrated with the developed nations. With the exception of Thailand all the new states in this region were colonies. Taiwan (Formosa) and Korea were Japanese colonies from 1895 and 1910 respectively till 1945. Malaya became independent in 1957, then expanded as Malaysia to include Singapore (for two years only) in 1963. Indonesia, Sabah and Sarawak were Dutch colonies till 1949. Hong-Kong was a British Colony till 1997 when it was handed over to China.

At independence they faced the same problems as the new states of Black Africa and South Asia. Yet by 1970's they became the most dynamic economies in the world originating the concept of East Asian miracle. They challenged the assumption that it was impossible for the ex-colonies to join the ranks of affluent industrialised countries. Since their success was based due to manufactured goods exports it proved that it was possible for countries with predominantly agricultural economies to discover their comparative advantage in manufacturing and exploit it. Within these countries there are two groups. The first, HongKong, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore became pioneers in rapid manufacturing growth and exports. The others followed in and after 1970's. Of these four, Singapore and HongKong are city-states but in spite of the limitations of geography, they have become successful exporting countries.

INTERVENTION

The reasons for East Asian miracle as summed up by the World Bank are high rates of investment, averaging 20 per cent of GDP between 1960 and 1990, and rising endowment of human capital due to universal primary and secondary education. The governments in these countries were interventionists yet market oriented. They pursued sound open market macroeconomic policies but were prepared to intervene when the market appeared to fail. Intervention took many forms. Except for HongKong the others in the early post war years followed a highly protectionist policy aiming at import substitution. This was common in almost all the Third World countries. But what made the East Asian tigers, except HongKong, exceptional was they combined protectionism with export promotion. In that way they were able to gradually move from highly protectionist import-substitution industrialisation to moderately open competitive economies thereby maintaining the momentum of industrialisation. Furthermore the state maintained close ties with the business and technological elite. Their governments were competent with a bureaucracy that was exceptionally efficient at economic management. This enabled them to judiciously combine interventionist with free market strategies. They were also open to foreign technology, which they welcomed via licensing, training and import of capital goods. Taiwan and South Korea restricted their foreign direct investment, mainly because they were able to raise capital at home or by foreign borrowing, and because they rapidly acquired the necessary know-how and operational skills. With the exception of HongKong all the others shifted from import substi-

By **SUSHILA RAMASWAMY**

tuting industrialisation to export orienting industrialisation and slowly opened their domestic markets to foreign competition.

Private enterprises grew very well but state intervention helped where it was cautious and above all flexible, recognising when strategies failed and altering them. The most important was the adoption of export-push strategies. The most distinguishing feature between the successful ones from the others was the quality of governments and wisdom of their economic and social policies. The less successful were "soft" states, weak in their ability to govern and devise complex development policies. Their planning was unrealistic and its execution unproductive. The state was able to impose and decide the



type of economic activity with varying degree of competence. Furthermore the Gang of Four, a creation of the world economy became trailblazers for others to emulate. This however was unimportant for given the structural changes in the world economy, one or the other would have led the way. The changes in world economy made the governments in the NICs achieve the spectacular development.

It is difficult to prove that the Third World was made poorer, backward and under-developed by the creation of a single world economy and market though there might have been unattractive consequences, particularly in cultures and lifestyles. The notion of "dependence" has little explanatory power and that all countries are dependent on one another for exports and sources of imports. "The concept of a 'self generating' economy is a myth", according to Harris, "except for the most backward countries at a very low and vulnerable levels of income. On the contrary, the more advanced an economy, the less self-reliant it became. If 'dependency' indicated the economic relationship between a country and the world, the more developed the country, the more dependent it was, that is, the more domestic activity was determined by external relationships".

STAGNATION

Trade is a necessary condition for sustained growth or development. This depended on how well a particular society took advantage of the gains of trade. In practice this meant ploughing back profits from trade to transform the society as a whole. To quote Harris again "The domestic consumer would benefit by having access to goods, whether produced at home or imported, at the lowest prices in the world system".

The development economists rightly argued that commodity production and export would lead to industrialisation since these alone would counter the Malthusian prediction of limited land and the hurdle of fragile and unanticipated world commodity market. The first step towards industrialisation

is through import-substitution. But this does lead to an economic dead-end, for highly protected markets will soon have to contend with limited domestic markets. If competition is limited by excluding imports it would not only lead to monopoly pricing and poor quality of the local output but stagnation in local technology.

In the longer run industrialisation will lead to sustained growth only if substantial part of the manufacturing industries become internationally competitive. Exporting is as crucial for manufacturers as for commodities. Trade, specialisation and comparative advantage as the classical economists visualised would always lead to growth and not to under-development and misery. This would depend on the ability of a society to augment and invest the benefits of trade with each stage of specialised production and lead to higher technical levels and to the ability to compete globally.

A basic assumption of the dependency theory, that the periphery will always remain raw materials exporting has been negated even before the collapse of communism. By the end of 1970's the "less developed countries" exported more manufactured goods than raw materials. By 1980, the more developed countries exported 36 per cent primary commodities than the less developed countries. From the perceptions of the 1950's it is a world turned upside down. The exports of the NIC's, forerunners of a new manufacturing world order, are not assets of intruders, but a complete part of the emerging new structure, the global industrial system.

UNSURE

Added to this is the impressive performance in some Latin American countries like Chile and Mexico, the steady growth rate in China hovering around 8 per cent and a much better growth rate in India of 5.8 per cent since 1991 when the liberalisation programme began. All these suggest that more integration with the world market helps and in this context the dependency theory is not only inadequate to the understanding of the NIC's but other post colonial societies as well which has the will to change its own fortunes.

Even Wallerstein is not sure if a radical change of the present world economic system which he calls geo-culture could change by anti-systemic forces like environmentalism, feminism, political movements of the indigenous people and new kinds of organised labour or student activism. He admits that the core and the periphery are not a static structure and one can move from the core to the periphery and vice-versa. The South Korean success is the example of the movement to the core and Wallerstein cites the example of Argentina for the core becoming a periphery. This makes the present world system not only unsailable but also just in the sense that there is an in-built mechanism of just reward with the possibilities of upward or downward movement. Amongst the available models till date the present system seem the best possible invented by humankind so far for rapid economic growth, alleviation of poverty and enjoyment of human rights. "Modernisation theory predicted" according to Pye, "that such developments as economic growth, the spread of science and technology, the acceleration and spread of communications and the establishment of educational systems would all contribute to political change". History has vindicated this optimism rejecting the pessimism of the Dependency theory.

(Concluded)

India lacks long-term threat assessment perspective: Expert

Pune, July 19

A NOTED defence expert has lamented that India lacked a long-term threat assessment perspective and stressed the need to re-examine the age-old concepts on national security.

Delivering the sixth S L Kirloskar Memorial Lecture, organised under the aegis of the Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies (CASS), here last evening, National Security Advisory Board convenor K Subrahmanyam pointed out that the country had so far been engaged in five wars. But, barring the 1971 war, where the country had eight months to prepare, the remaining four were fought on a "ready response" basis.

Mr Subrahmanyam also underscored the necessity to involve the private sector in defence production.

Speaking on the topic Self-reliance in defence: the challenges ahead, Mr Subrahmanyam opined

that there should be joint ventures between the private sector and the defence in the production of new equipment with the latter slowly disengaging itself leaving the task entirely to the former.

Seeking to highlight the difference between self-reliance and self-sufficiency, he pointed out that only the United States, Russia and France could claim to be self-sufficient in defence production while the other countries could, at best, be self-reliant by obtaining their requirements from outside through outright imports.

The expert noted that it would be difficult for India to become self-sufficient and the country should aim for self-reliance, but should choose her suppliers with care.

Mr Subrahmanyam even suggested that the country should enter into collaborative arrangements with other nations in the field of defence production. He was critical of the private sector's apathy to national security concerns. (UNI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

20 JUL 2000

NOT INFORMED IT WOULD BE PUT TO VOTE

Autonomy resolution within Constitution: PM

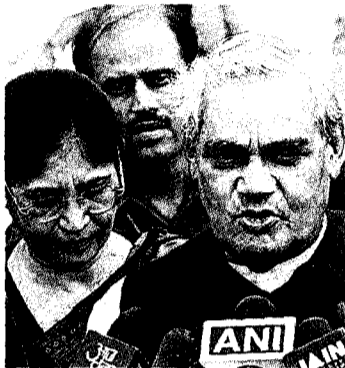
By Alok Mukherjee

NEW DELHI, JUNE 30. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, today said the resolution passed by the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly on the autonomy issue was within the framework of the Constitution and that the issue would be discussed by the Union Cabinet and further action on it would follow thereafter.

Addressing a press conference on board the aircraft during the return trip from Portugal, Mr. Vajpayee said he had only read about the resolution in newspapers. "I will go back and consult my colleagues on this matter. Any further action would follow then."

Asked about the likely nature of the "action," the Prime Minister said a State Assembly had passed a resolution and sent it to the Centre. "There are procedures to deal with such resolutions and these will be followed in this case too." He replied in the negative when asked whether the passage of the resolution was a "breach of trust" on the part of the Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, but admitted that the latter had given the impression to him that the resolution would merely be placed in the House and debated. "We were not informed that it would be put to vote and passed," he said.

Mr. Vajpayee did not think the passage of the resolution would have an adverse effect on other States saying Indian democracy was strong enough to take care of such demands. Pointing out that the passage of the resolution did



The Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, addressing the media in New Delhi on Friday, on arrival from his foreign tour.

— Photo: Anu Pushkarna

not amount to secession, he said. "Don't be under any illusion that Jammu and Kashmir wants to secede from India." The Prime Minister confirmed that the ongoing talks with various sections of the Kashmiri political spectrum, including the All-Party Hurriyat Conference, would continue.

Security Council seat

On the question of support to India's claim for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council, he said there were indications that this issue would feature prominently at the millennium summit of the U.N. General Assembly in September.

During his discussions in Italy and Portugal, he had made it clear that India was not in favour of any "quick-fix" solution or any attempt to place the developing countries at a disadvantage. "As you know, Portugal has support-

ed out candidature for permanent membership of the Council," he said. On the CTBT, the Prime Minister reiterated that efforts were on to achieve a national consensus. No time limit had been set for this, he said.

On Pakistan, Mr. Vajpayee reiterated India's position that a favourable climate has to be created by Pakistan before any such dialogue can take place. "We have made this point clear before many other countries that there is no point in talking to Pakistan unless the proper environment is created. Pakistan has not even honoured some of the agreements reached in the past. The new military Government has not said anything about the previous agreements. On the contrary they accept the Lahore Declaration but don't want to follow the Shimla Agreement. This practice of accepting one agreement and rejecting another is something we don't understand. It is just a public relations exercise," the Prime Minister said.

On economic issues, Mr. Vajpayee said the views of the developing countries on the World Trade Organisation agreement had been forcefully placed before the developed world and there was some endorsement of this position.

Asked about differences in the Cabinet on disinvestment in the public sector, Mr. Vajpayee said various viewpoints were discussed during all Cabinet meetings after which a collective decision was taken and implemented.

Promoting science & technology — II

By Ashok Parthasarathi

HOW CAN we design a Strategy and Action Plan for making India a knowledge superpower on such an appalling foundation in terms of the key raw material needed — a healthy and educated population? Tackling the challenges will call for a multi-faceted strategy, but S&T is likely to play a major role in that. However, how can S&T play that role when the annual budget on R&D relating to health, communicable disease-control, nutrition and family welfare all put together is only around Rs. 150 crores when we are spending Rs. 2500 crores on defence R&D and Rs. 800 crores on atomic energy R&D. The R&D investment being made on me-teorology, an area of such crucial importance to our agriculture, water resources and natural calamity mitigation, is only about Rs. 130 crores a year. The finances for the Botanical and Zoological Surveys which are the lynchpins of the inventorisation and utilisation of our biodiversity, are even less.

The 21st century will be the century not only of information technology (IT) but also equally of biotechnology, particularly genomics. It is the recognition of this reality that led the U.S. President and the British Prime Minister to take the unprecedented step of personally going on worldwide TV to highlight the significance of the mapping of the human genome. A country like ours with such tremendous biodiversity and such huge stakes in the future must not be any less committed to use the new knowledge for developing not only new drugs, but also vaccines against the return of virulent strains of malaria and tuberculosis and much more. The potential for genetically-designing new plant varieties that are pest-resistant require very small quantities of water and can grow even in saline lands is now within our grasp. Only the use of such breakthroughs can enable us to feed the around 1300 million people that will constitute our population by 2030.

There are in addition, a number of areas involving serious institutional anomalies. For instance, the R&D

laboratories of the Ministry of Health and Welfare are irrationally split — seven under the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) and 11 under the Director-General of Health Services. The DG, ICMR must be made a Secretary to Government, either in the Health Ministry or of a new Department of Medical Research and Education, exactly as the DG, ICAR is also Secretary in a separate Department, the Department of Agricultural Research and Education (DARE). These organisational changes must be combined with the DG, ICMR, being given full administrative, financial and personnel-related powers as the DG, ICAR, has had since 1975. The Government must also commit itself to seeing that a substantial share of the increase of the

could not even operate, let alone use effectively for weather modelling, the Cray supercomputer that we brought from the U.S. under the Rajiv Gandhi-Ronald Reagan entente. The new DoM should like all other major scientific departments be exempted from the purview of the UPSC, the DGS&D and the CPWD, because of its highly specialised technical goals and character.

The whole process of preparing the annual S&T Budget needs a major overhaul. At no level in the Planning Commission is an integrated view of all sectors/agencies of the Central S&T Budget taken, nor does the Commission feel it should look at inter-sectoral and inter-agency priorities in terms of financial outlays before a composite S&T Plan is sent to the Finance

been made. Should such a field be one in which we should be putting huge scarce resources (by our standards) rather than put those resources in new and more effective vaccines against our many communicable diseases on which there is no R&D under way in the developed countries and none can be expected to be undertaken by them as it is a Third World and not a First World problem. Should we not use another part of that Rs. 800 crores to promote renewable or non-conventional energies much more intensively than we are doing today, given that we have 40,000 MW of wind energy potential (only 1200 MW of wind turbines operational so far), and we have huge potential for biomass combustion power, both of which are already fully competitive with thermal power.

The need for the Planning Commission, at the level of Member (S&T) if not the Deputy Chairman himself, to identify and address such major issues in priority-setting, policy-making and finally resource-allocation across the board — i.e. across S&T efforts in all sectors and between basic, applied and developmental research — is urgent.

But to achieve all this, we must work on a massive scale. The scientific community, I know, would join me in my appeal to the Prime Minister to step up the size of the S&T Budget, right from the Revised Estimates of this year onwards and set the pioneering pathway to investment (not expenditure!) on S&T to constitute 2 per cent of our GDP by the end of the Tenth Plan i.e. 2006-07. But equally important, all the increase should go to R&D organisations addressing the neglected priority areas of national development indicated earlier and not to atomic energy, space and defence, as these three agencies are already consuming 65 per cent of the nation's R&D Budget.

Food, energy and ecological security are as important as military security and can be achieved only by such, admittedly, steep increases in the national S&T budget, combined with the organisational and managerial reform of several of our key S&T agencies.

(Concluded)

A crucial problem of S&T policy-making has been the declining standards of teaching and research in the universities.

Ministry for incorporation in the Union Budget for the year concerned.

An instance of the kind of deleterious effects this can have is illustrated by the case of huge Rs. 800-crore project on building a super conducting Thermonuclear Fusion Power Reactor at the Institute of Plasma Research (IPR) at Gandhinagar.

The IPR was originally one of the research institutes of the DST. However, to enable this highly capital-intensive fusion reactor with a Rs. 800-crore budget to be set up, the IPR was shifted to the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE). More seriously, when this project was proposed as part of 9th Five Year Plan programmes, no one in the Planning Commission nor the SACC raised the question of sectoral or inter-se priorities.

The attempt to produce controlled nuclear fusion reactions as a source of electric power has been undertaken by the developed countries for over 30 years now at R&D budget levels of billions of U.S. dollars and little, if any, progress has

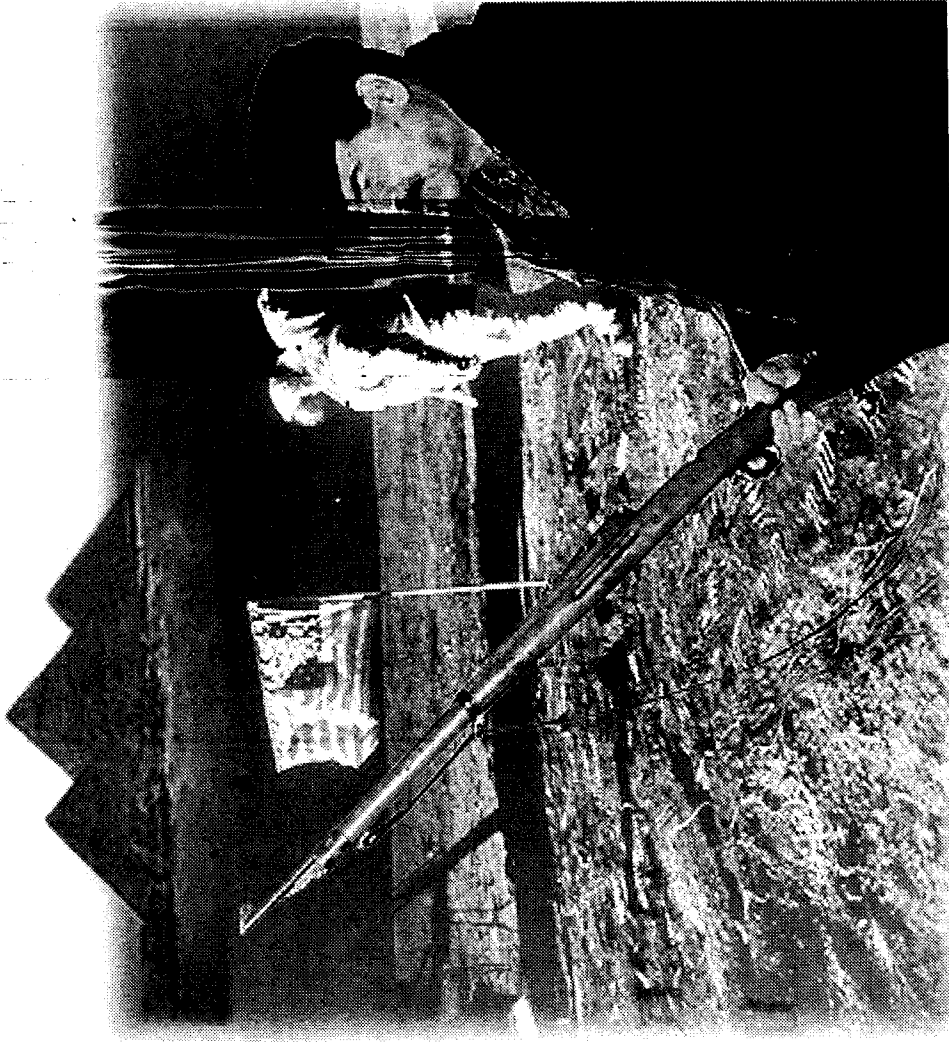
R&D to GDP ratio from the 0.7 per cent today to one per cent by 2001-02.

A similar institutional restructuring and stepup in level of funding is needed for the Indian Meteorological Department (IMD). This crucial department is today an "Attached Office" of the Department of S&T despite having 8500 scientists and technicians spread all over the country. There is urgent need to make the IMD an independent Department of Meteorology to the Ministry of S&T and Ocean Development, to again make the DG, IMD, Secretary of the new department and upgrade the weak apex body — the Council for Atmospheric and Meteorological Sciences — into a Meteorological Commission, like the Atomic Energy and the Space Commissions.

Equally important is the integration into the new DoM of the National Centre for Medium Range Weather Forecasting (NCMRWF) which was created separately under the DST in 1987 for purely idiosyncratic reasons associated with the fallacious argument that IMD personnel

Intellectual tanks in motion

The discoveries of new archaeology may fragment it nation states or alternately demonstrate the human synthesis that links America to Asia, and Europe to Africa. Tales of science must be heard. What archaeology proposes, politics must dispose, writes SIMON JENKINS



EDGE OF KNOWABILITY: The politics of chauvinistic science is no longer just a matter of being first into space or first at cracking the genome code. It's just about being first. Saddam Hussein may be in the market for Scud missiles. He is also in the market for the rebuilding of Babylon. Egypt collected £65,000 for the live television rights to the opening of tombs.

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 UDDENLY the world's most fashionable millennium is the 6th BC. An 8,000-year-old hazelnut has been discovered off the coast of the Isle of Wight, off southern England. A determined lobster has unearthed an early Stone Age settlement in the Solent.

What may be the oldest human habitation in Britain awaits excavation under 40 ft of water. This is far older than Stonehenge or the huts of Skara Brae on the Orkneys. It is among the earliest tales of mankind, told literally in a nutshell.

Nothing stirs an archaeologist like competition. Not to be outdone, the Syrians have unearthed what they claim is the world's oldest city, also from the 6th millennium BC. This is older than the Sumerian civilisations, older than Ur of the Chaldees, and even has its own Stone Age air-conditioning.

Meanwhile, the world's oldest known mummies have coincidentally been exhumed from the desert on the Chile-Peru border. They reveal a civilisation, that of the Chinchorro Indians, which goes back equally far, and is thus older than the mummies of the Nile valley. Ingenious pathologists have disclosed that these early South Americans ate sea lions and dived for shellfish.

In this race back through the life and times of *homo sapiens*, we have yet to hear from the Russians and the Chinese, who surely harbour sites of no less significance. And what secrets lurk off the coast of Sri Lanka or are buried in the forests of Laos?

The politics of chauvinistic science is no longer just a matter of being first into space or first at cracking the genome code. It lies, quite simply, in being first. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein may be in the market for Scud missiles. He is also in the market for the rebuilding of Babylon.

Egypt collected £65,000 from Fox Television for the live rights to the opening of mummies' tombs. It needs the tourism. Archaeology, like anthropology, may yet overtake other humanities as the

It is presumably conceivable that traces of European DNA from the ancient Viking settlers of Vinland may emerge in modern Canada.

Traces of the extinct Tasman peoples are being revealed in the aboriginal (and even white?) inhabitants of Australia.

What might all this do to land claim litigation? American scientists have already taken DNA samples from 40 locations on the African continent.

For \$300 a test, they claim to be able to tell African Americans from which part of that continent they derive. But 30 per cent of African-Americans are also said to be descended from white slave owners.

The records of the Daughters of the American Revolution may yet have to be rewritten. There is no stopping this.

Just as adopted children long to know their real parentage and will one day be legally entitled to it so migrants to a new land will want to know their derivation.

The American television series based on Alex Haley's *Roots* played on that longing. It was no different from the thousands of Americans who flock to English parish churches each year, to seek out the graves of their namesakes. I would do the same.

This atavism may seem endearing, even quaint. But as every resident of a divided society knows, its implications can be less comforting. We do not need a George Orwell to envisage the possible abuses of genetic mapping.

The melting pot ceases to melt. The ingredients begin to separate. Give any nervous society the capacity to issue DNA "passports" and it may seize the chance. The Mormons once had to research family trees in Somerset House and elsewhere to declare themselves chosen of God.

Geographical variants in mitochondrial DNA now offer an easier path to tribal

exclusivity. Mechanisms for distinguishing one citizen from another will fuel ethnic division, and invite governments to confer territorial, commercial and fiscal privileges on minority (or majority) groups.

A Harvard academic engaged in the African-American research, Richard Newman, recently said: "If I can pinpoint a culture, a religion and a language, then it can strengthen my sense of identity and relationship with Africa."

The rulers of African states might be content with that. But would the same be true of the immigration authorities of turbulent West Asia?

Like all challenges thrown by science into the path of politics, this one cannot be resolved by censorship.

American historian Arthur Schlesinger grappled 10 years ago with the new McCarthyism of ethnic political correctness, by hoping that America's celebrated melting pot would not give way to a new Tower of Babel and that democracy would be the antidote to ethnic bullying.

He wrote that American diversity had to stay bonded with "the great unifying Western ideas of individual freedom, political democracy and human rights".

He wrote before diversity was given the adrenaline of genetic authenticity. The discoveries of the new archaeology could one day trigger a fragmentation of nation states.

This week's news from West Asia and Northern Ireland is a grim reminder of what morbid tribalism can do to a country. But knowledge cannot be suppressed.

The Solent mud, the Chilean sand and the Syrian desert may reveal enth-ralling tales of how human beings colonised the globe. These tales may upheave communities.

Equally they should demonstrate the human symbiosis that links America to Asia, and Europe to Africa. The tales told by science must be heard, not obliterated.

What archaeology proposes, politics must dispose.

— *The Times, London.*

Mumbai tense over Govt, Sena face-off

HT Correspondent
Mumbai, July 19

IN A day of fast-paced developments, Rapid Action Force (RAF) and SRPF teams were deployed in Mumbai today to prevent untoward incidents that might occur with the possible arrest of Shiv Sena chief Bal Thackeray.

As rumours circulated in Mumbai that the police were likely to arrest Thackeray on Wednesday midnight, there was palpable tension in the entire city.

Reacting to the deployment of RAF and CRPF in Mumbai as well as redeployment of police forces, Sena leader Raj Thackeray (nephew of Bal Thackeray) told *The Hindustan Times* that the State Government was "digging its own grave".

"Let them (State Government) do what they want to. We will do what we want," he said ominously. Asked whether that meant another round of violence or mayhem in Mumbai, he said, "We will not be responsible for what happens."

Meanwhile, an extraordinary meeting of Shiv Sena shaka pramukhs (local chiefs) and vibhag pramukhs (branch heads) has been convened at Sena Bhavan in Dadar area of Central Mumbai. Mr Thackeray is scheduled to address the meeting. All senior Sena leaders, MPs, MLAs, councillors, vibhag pramukhs and shaka pramukhs are expected to attend the meeting.

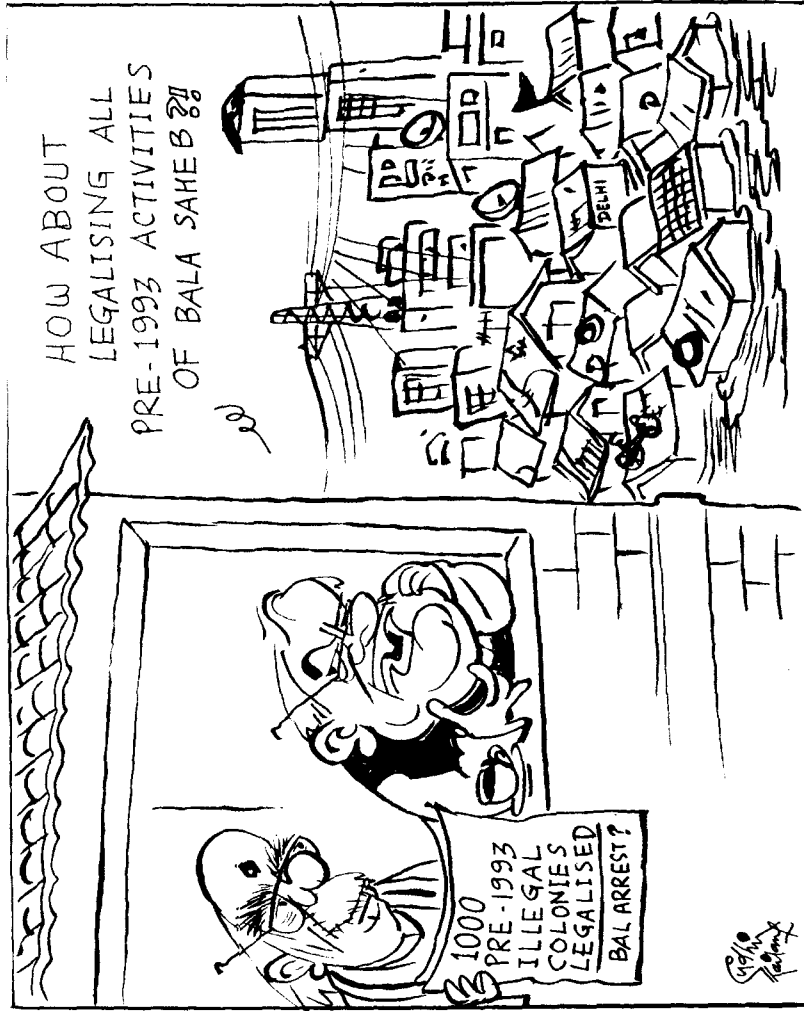
The Shiv Sena has also convened a similar meeting of the trade unions affiliated to the party.

"Should I stock some *rashan-paani* (foodgrains and stuff)," asked Sandeep Roy, an advertising executive. The Mumbai Police in the meantime have geared up to face any eventuality. Senior Mumbai Police officials met in Mumbai on Tuesday night to chalk out a strategy to keep the law and order situation under control in the event of Thackeray's arrest.

City Police Commissioner M N Singh and other top-ranking officers attended the meeting that ended late Tuesday night. They discussed various security measures to be adopted in case of the Sena chief's arrest for his alleged inflammatory editorial in Sena mouthpiece Saamna in 1993. "The meeting had been called to chalk out an action plan to contain any fall-out if Thackeray is arrested. We had discussions on police deployment in Mumbai especially in sensitive areas" a top officer said.

About 20 platoons of the RAF and State Reserve Police Force have been requisitioned as a precautionary measure. Security has also been tightened at all sensitive points in the city in the wake of Sena workers' threat to take to the streets if Thackeray was arrested.

Deputy Chief Minister Chhagan Bhujbal had sanctioned Thackeray's prosecution last Saturday. He had ordered for the withdrawal of security provided to middle-rung Sena leaders and shakha pramukhs. Bhujbal said he needed the police for protection of Mumbai citizens.



Uddhav Thackeray, son of Bal Thackeray, also held an emergency meeting with senior Sena leaders at home today to chalk out the plan of action in the event of Thackeray's arrest.

Even as tension gripped Mumbai once again on Wednesday, our mills were working overtime about Thackeray's imminent arrest. Many people in the central Mumbai business area of Masjid Bunder and other areas closed their shops.

"Is Thackeray being arrested tonight? Many people are being forced to down their shutters.

Should we go home?" asked a concerned Sudhirbhai Nakhwa, an oilseed merchant in Masjid Bunder.

There were reports of stone pelting and violence in the Thane, Mulund areas. As the evening progressed, scores of persons left their offices early to rush home.