





# Window to humanistic philosophy

## RISE, LET US BE ON OUR WAY:

John Paul II; Jonathan Cape, London. Distributed by Rupa & Co., 7/16, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002. £ 6.60.

PEOPLE WHO are accustomed to the rather heavy and involved official documents of the present Pope will breathe a sigh of relief reading these pages of this book, marked by enchanting simplicity and candour.

In the book we are able to understand the Pope as he is, a vibrant personality in spite of his advanced age and his experiences as a bishop during the many years of his service in his native Poland and later as Pope in Rome. The book is a sequel to his earlier autobiographical volume, *Gift and Mystery* narrating his experiences of his early years and his life as a priest. In this volume, the focus is on his service as a bishop.

### Reflections

It blends captivating autobiographical narrations with pertinent reflections inspired by the Christian scriptures. The Pope begins by recounting his own vocation as a bishop, signified in the various symbols and insignia used in the ordination ritual such as mitre, crozier and the episcopal ring. He continues the narration on such themes as the leadership of the bishop, his intellectual and pastoral re-

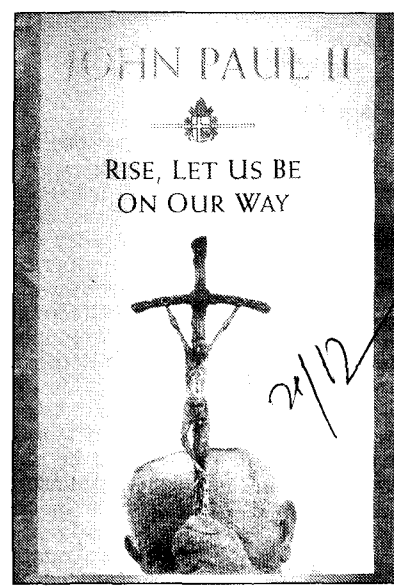
sponsibilities, his spiritual fatherhood to the people to whom he is called to serve, the collaboration he needs to foster with other bishops, priests, clergy and the people as a whole, and finally on the courage a bishop needs to demonstrate.

All these questions are dealt with through personalised narrations relating to the concrete way he discharged his episcopal service. In the course of treating these questions, he recalls many persons with whom he has been associated with at various levels and times.

### On Mother Teresa

He does not fail to mention Cardinal Ratzinger, known for his many controversial theological views, whom he refers to as "a trusted friend" and Cardinal Martini, former Archbishop of Milan who was considered till recently in the world-press as one of the prospective candidates for papacy to take over the mantle of the present Pope. Mother Teresa and her heroic involvement for the sake of the poorest of the poor find a pride of place in the papal narration.

The book allows us to have an inkling into the struggles the Pope went through as the archbishop of Krakow under the socialist regime of Poland. No wonder that later as the Pope of the Roman Catholic Church with such a



large worldwide following, he has been credited as one of the main protagonists in dismantling the communist regimes of the Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

### Moral leadership

The courage which the Pope calls for in the exercise of episcopal leadership amidst suffering and opposition is nothing but a reflection of his own personal experiences. Tested by fire, he

has become one of the sane voices in the world today giving moral leadership which was evident in his unambiguous condemnation of the war on Iraq.

The title, *Rise, Let Us Be On Our Way* is a direct quote from the New Testament and it refers to the words of Jesus addressed to his disciples in deep slumber on the eve of his impending violent death.

They are words of courage to stand up to the adversities and oppositions in doing one's duty. Are we not reminded of the words of Lord Krishna to Arjuna in the Gita?

Popes in the past have relied heavily on the support of religious orders in the Roman Catholic Church. For example, the order of the Jesuits founded by the Spaniard Saint Ignatius of Loyola, was a shot in the arm for the popes in the years following the crisis of Reformation spearheaded by Luther.

### Church movements

The present Pope does not make any mention of this order, but seems to see his support in the various movements in the Church such as Neo-catechumenate, Communion and Liberation, Focolare movement, and not the least Opus Dei, which the Pope endowed with special privileges. It is interesting to note that some of these movements, which he refers to appreciatively, are

known for their conservative stand and restorative trends and have been surrounded by controversies.

The book is a window to the deep humanistic philosophy of the pontiff which has been characterised as "personalism" with its roots in the thought of the medieval Christian thinker Thomas Aquinas.

It found revival in the neo-scholasticism of the 19th and 20th Centuries. The life of Pope John Paul II is informed by his deeper general philosophy that "no vocation should be wasted because all are valuable and necessary."

This philosophical anthropology of human beings viewed as those who are called to fulfil a certain mission in life — differing according to the various existential situation — is the bedrock of Pope's understanding of his own call as a bishop.

The personal narration about the discharge of his duty as a bishop shows the remarkable degree of his fidelity to his vocation, which he also exhorts to everyone, especially to the bishops.

Though an autobiographical narration and centred on bishops, the scope of the book is much larger and could be read profitably by anyone interested in entering into spiritual maturation through the dutiful performance of one's Dharma.

FELIX WILFRED

## Perennial wisdom

**THE MESSAGE OF MAHABHARATA — The Nation's Magnum Opus:** Justice P. Kothandaramayya; Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Kulapati K. M. Munshi Marg Mumbai-400007. Rs. 300.

LIKE THE soulful sounds of Krishna's flute that has kept us captivated for ages in realms spiritual, the message of Dharma in the Mahabharata has been a lip for keeping the Indian society as a civilised role model for the entire world.

### Enduring appeal

As Sri Aurobindo pointed out, the work of Vyasa is "the epic of the soul and religious and ethical mind and social and political ideals and culture and life of India." No wonder our political diction is embroidered with the epic's ethos and underlines the enduring effect of those ancient legends and teachings on the national mind. Justice P. Kothandaramayya is immersed in the epic; understandably so, for the epic is a great help to deliver judgments in cases riddled with moral dilemma.

The judges have to remind themselves repeatedly that the ways of Dharma are inscrutable, yet man must with his partially dark mind, seek a way out and give a just solution and also remain like Caesar's wife in his career.

### Legends and cosmogony

There is a structural jaggedness about the

book. It has been divided into three parts, a brilliant tangle of legends, explanations, glossaries and cosmogony.

You can open any page and walk straight into a world that is astounding. Here is a list of rivers, there Yudhishtira is answering the Yaksha and elsewhere Sage Jabali allows birds to build a nest and raise their offspring on his head. Not a line is adipose tissue in the book.

The epic's value is enhanced by a detailed, educative introduction. The author's anguish that "having given fundamental rights to the minority community, we have reached a state that we cannot make a prayer in Parliament" deserves serious hearing. Would this be the reason why the Parliament is becoming increasingly dysfunctional?

The answer can come only from Indians who must take up a deep study of the epic. "A comparative study of concepts of Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha embodied in the epic, with the concepts of courage, wisdom, self-control and justice conceived by Socrates as foundation for democracy will equip every citizen of this country to understand the difference between the East and the West and also enable him to sacrifice in some degree his self-interest that makes the country glorious, prosperous and ideal."

PREMA NANDAKUMAR

## Dictionaries for the hearing impaired

**INDIAN SIGN LANGUAGE DICTIONARY & INDIAN TECHNICAL SIGN LANGUAGE DICTIONARY:** Copies can be had from The Secretary, Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, Coimbatore-641020. Rs. 600.

THE DEVELOPMENT of Indian Sign Language (ISL) dictionary (2001) is an earnest effort to endorse the Salamanaca statement of 1994 which indicated that the hearing impaired should have access to the communication they need and that sign language is the right of the hearing impaired.

The dictionary under review brings at one-place varieties of Indian sign languages which are used in various parts of India, by compiling and unifying the facts gathered.

Communication among such people all over India can be made effective through the use of this book. Indeed there is great depth and logic in the presentation, as the signs have been

gathered through still photography, video filming, field visits, interviews and collections of drawings from various existing sources.

### Well-illustrated

It has 2500 line drawing-illustrations of the various signs with their meanings. The value of the book is enhanced because the work has been endorsed by many associations for the hearing impaired in India.

This dictionary will serve as a resource material and a communication tool for those persons interested in the welfare and empowerment of persons with deafness. This ISL dictionary offers a vocabulary base and could lead to further research in the area.

The Indian Technical Sign Language dictionary provides signs related to job oriented technical vocational courses. It is in conformity with the views of the Rehabilitation Council of India (RCI) to equip the voca-

tional instructors of hearing impaired students, both in integrated and segregated set up, in enhancing their communication skills.

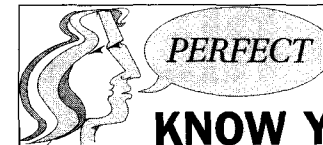
### Details of components

The book also discusses the components of Indian sign language — signs, gestures, finger spelling, facial expressions, body language, mime, lip reading — in detail as each of these components play a vital role in ISL.

Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, Coimbatore and the project team deserve praise for their painstaking efforts in the production of this valuable dictionary. Its use as a manual for instructors could have been emphasised.

These books have been published at a very opportune time when India has moved into the new millennium with its emphasis on the rights of persons with disabilities.

LATHA RAJENDRAN



## KNOW YOUR ENGLISH

**How is the word "raucous" pronounced?** (J. Radha, Bangalore)

The first syllable is pronounced like the word "raw". The "c" is like the "k" in "king" and the following "ou" is like the "a" in "china". The main stress is on the first syllable. When you refer to a sound as being "raucous" what you mean is that it is loud and harsh. It is very unpleasant to listen to.

\*The raucous cry of the birds woke him up early in the morning.

**What is the meaning of "buttonhole" someone?** (P. Bharathi, Madurai)

When we are in a hurry to go somewhere, people sometimes stop us and compel us listen to their problems. They just refuse to let us go. What they are doing is buttonholing us. It is as if they have a finger in one of the buttonholes and are forcing us to listen.

\*The people buttonholed the candidate and explained their problems.

The original expression was "to button hold someone". The person forced you to listen by holding on to your button. As the years went by, "button hold" became "buttonhole".

**Is it OK to say "All the students didn't turn in their assignment"?** (R. Nirmal, Chennai)

Careful users of the language avoid such sentences. Although the sentence is acceptable, its meaning is ambiguous. The sentence could mean that "none" of the students handed in their assignment, or it could mean that "not all" the students handed it in. To make the meaning clear you need to say.

\*Not all the students handed in their assignment. (Some did.)

\*None of the students handed in their assignment.

(No one did.)

Avoid using "all" and "both" with negatives. Remember, it is wrong to say, "Both the sisters aren't beautiful". You will have to say, "Neither sister is beautiful." Similarly, instead of saying, "Both the bowlers aren't bowling well," you need to say, "Neither bowler is bowling well."

**What is the difference between a "banquet" and "dinner"?** (G. Ashwin, Warrangal)

All of us have dinner every day; it is the main meal of the day. Some people have their dinner in the afternoon, while others have it in the evening. Dinner can be a formal or an informal affair. The dinner we have every day is usually something simple, eaten along with the members of the family. A dinner can also be formal. You can be invited by your client to discuss something. Since the situation is formal, you will go neatly dressed for the occasion. When a President from another country comes to India, our President usually invites him for dinner. The invitees come elegantly dressed. There are a number of dishes on offer — it is almost like a feast.

A "banquet" unlike "dinner" is always a formal affair given in honour of an individual or an event. The two syllables of this word are pronounced like the words "bank" and "wit" respectively; the main stress is on the first syllable. A banquet is something that is given on special occasions. During a banquet, people give speeches. For example, during a wedding banquet, the best man and a few other people give speeches. A dinner may or may not have speeches.

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# "There are limits to American power"

HE WAS born in the year the Bolshevik revolution shook the world. At 87, Eric Hobsbawm still displays all the analytical skill and prowess that led him to be counted as one of the most important historians ever. "Hitler came to power when Eric Hobsbawm was on his way home from school in Berlin, and the Soviet Union fell while he was giving a seminar in New York. He translated for Che Guevara in Havana, had Christmas dinner with a Soviet spymaster in Budapest and an evening at home with Mahalia Jackson in Chicago," the cover of his recent autobiography, *Interesting Times*, says about the man.

In addition to *The Age of Revolution*, *The Age of Capital*, *The Age of Empire* and *The Age of Extremes*, Prof. Hobsbawm, who taught until retirement at Birkbeck College, London, has also authored *Primitive Rebels*, *Labouring Men*, *Industry and Empire*, and *Bandits*.

The Professor has written extensively about power relations in the world, focussing on the world after the demise of the Soviet Union.

Referring to the rise of the U.S. as the only superpower, Prof. Hobsbawm writes in his autobiography, "The problem is that its situation has no historical precedent ... and that almost certainly the world is too large and complicated to be dominated for any length of time by any single superpower, however great its military and economic resources."

He is the painter of the big picture, locating events in time and space with ease. Rising above the specific and the current, Professor Hobsbawm has demonstrated in his writings the ability to put complex ideas in simple language, making his books accessible to non-specialists as well. In this exclusive conversation with Amit Baruah for The Hindu, Prof. Hobsbawm, a one-time jazz critic of the New Statesman, speaks of the implications of 9/11, the situation in Iraq, the rise of China and India, and the challenge posed by religious fundamentalism of different hues:

**Question:** Soon after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Cuban President, Fidel Castro, said that the world was entering a very dangerous phase. Would you agree with such a view?

**Prof. Hobsbawm:** Yes, and I am afraid what has been happening in the Middle East [West Asia] rather supports this view. My view at the time was that a group of neo-conservative Americans took this opportunity to, in effect, put forward their claim for world hegemony, world domination. They are engaged in pursuing this aim now — limited, at present, only by the fact that it proved much more difficult than they had anticipated. And, that their actual analysis of the facts of the situation was, clearly, very defective.

**We see daily reports of violence coming out of Iraq — in this post-invasion phase. Do you feel that the invasion of Iraq demonstrates the limits to American power or do we see this as a demonstration of American power?**

About 10 years ago, when I wrote my history of the 20th Century, the situation was such that the developed countries of the North could win any battle they wanted. Translate that into specific terms, the Americans could win any battle that they wanted. The major problem was that of maintaining control on the ground afterwards — largely because the basic stabilising force of empire had become dissipated — namely, the willingness of subjects to accept any effective rule as legitimate rule — which means that even to maintain basic control is much more difficult than it used to be.

A very good example which I then quoted; this was before Iraq, but after the [1991] Gulf war that demonstrated any battle can be won; but not necessarily the peace after that. Compare the situation of Somalia in the imperial period when it produced relatively little problems for the two imperial powers — Great Britain and Italy — you know there were guerrillas, there were people the Brits called mad Mullahs — but, effectively, these were perfectly well-administered colonies largely because the great bulk of the population assumed, if somebody comes in, full of effective power, that's it. But look at Somalia now.

I think that to this extent it demonstrates the limits to American power. That's to say the limits of American capacity to remake the world — not limits to win wars or to create chaos, anarchy, disturbance.

**There are different theories about those behind the resistance in Iraq — Al-Qaeda, nationalists, Saddam Hussein's supporters. Would you say that there's a basic force of nationalism at work here?**

I don't know. It's perfectly

clear that if there's one thing that would probably unite all Iraqis, however they differ among themselves, it is that they don't like to be occupied. To that extent, you might say there is a sort of nationalism, but the thing is that the people that are actually waging an active insurgency, or active resistance, are undoubtedly only a particular part of Iraqis, probably very largely Sunnis in some of the big cities. That doesn't mean that the remainder are in favour of foreign occupation.

**In your remarks at the India International Centre, you made some reference to the media. We have the emergence of Al-Jazeera as an alternative means of information, but we also have the embedding of journalists during the Iraq war. One view of the war was provided by the vast majority of the American media — we saw newscasters wearing the American flag on their lapels. Are we largely going to get this one view?**

I would say probably not. For one thing, the Internet is relatively uncontrollable. So, to this extent, the ability of people to discover other kinds of views is immeasurably greater than before. You may say that in many parts of the world, the number of people who have access to the Internet is relatively limited although in some countries it is very large. Nevertheless, in fact, the word gets around, and to this extent, modern technology has made it possible to do this. For instance, it was possible in the last days of the Soviet Union for people in Moscow to know

**"It's perfectly clear that if there's one thing that would probably unite all Iraqis it is that they don't like to be occupied."**

what was happening in Moscow simply because people would telephone them, e-mail them from abroad. And, this information could get around ... I think this is a new situation.

It is probably not so easy to have a genuine, wide-distribution, mass media institution like Al-Jazeera. Al-Jazeera relies effectively on the protection of Al-Qatar and, if it didn't have that protection it couldn't exist. To that extent, the existence of what you might call mini-states, produces an element of independence, a basis for independent news distribution which [was] previously not so common. But, I don't believe that official governments or even class consensus, the elite consensus of particular societies, can completely dominate a situation today.

The most they can do, I think, is to exclude, but the degree of that is something which we'll have to test, for instance, with what happens in China in the next few years because here

is a regime which would try to exclude free news.

**You have been reading newspapers, I imagine, at least for 60 years if not more.**

Yes. But, of course, newspapers are no longer the central medium.

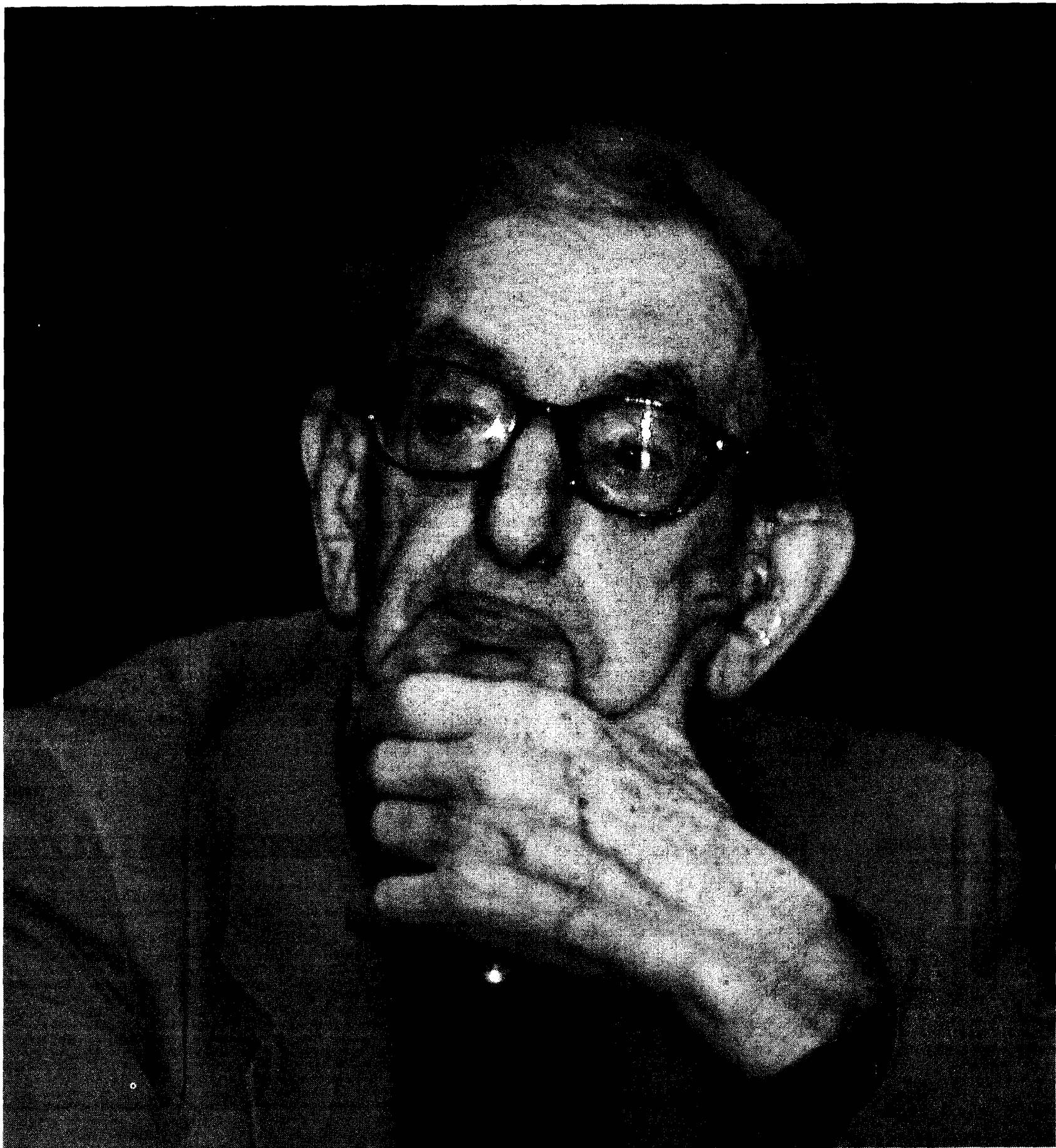
**You think newspapers are in decline?**

Oh, yes, at least in the West, they have declined, relatively speaking. As far as the masses are concerned in Western Europe, television is the main news [medium]. That's where the danger lies and, of course, the relative advantage, of having a thing like Al-Jazeera. Dangerous governments say, like, [Silvio Berlusconi in Italy don't mind having a free press so long as the television isn't free. That's where the real danger is. Nevertheless, it doesn't mean that news is completely eliminated in the way in which, for instance, it used to be eliminated in old-fashioned authoritarian or totalitarian governments, where you simply could not read anything or hear anything, which was not officially, as it were, permitted.

**We have the phenomenon of Islamist terrorism in today's world. Is the threat going to define the next 50 years?**

That's what the Americans want. Now that you no longer have the real enemy, you do need an enemy, as it were, in order to be able to mobilise, against whom to mobilise. That was the theory of Huntington, wasn't it? It's going to be a cultural battle till the death of cultures.

I don't believe it. In the first



Eric Hobsbawm ... a clearheaded analysis. — Photo: Anu Pushkarna

that can be said about the Islamic phenomenon and that Islam is probably one of the few religions which has continued to expand — and, to expand effectively, without the support of either missionaries or states. Islam happens to be, in some ways, a very simple religion to adopt and, in some ways, a very formidable religion because there's very little you need to do if you convert to Islam ...

The element within Islam of, as it were, the feeling that you are no longer subaltern by being a Muslim, that is an element in the situation which has, perhaps, been underestimated.

**Do you see Europe emerging as a power that will challenge the United States?**

No. In the first place, Europe isn't a military power. It's got a good English and French Army, which are both quite small. In the second place, at the moment, a military counterweight to the United States is not thinkable in terms of tech.

The most that is thinkable is for somebody to control some of the global communications systems on which the Americans rely and even that, while it is conceivable that the Chinese might be able to do it, at the moment, I don't think anybody is very anxious, in the short run, to confront the United States.

**China is a massive and growing economy with a political system that the United States doesn't like. Is there potential for conflict here or do you see them living and working together?**

In theory, one could see, so to speak, living together — peaceful co-existence, as the phrase used to be. In practice, it's not very clear. It depends very largely on American policy I think.

**People who live in non-European, Third World countries find it increasingly difficult to travel to the West. If you are in the field of information technology, some country might invite you. In a world, which says it is increasingly globalised, do you see people connected by modern means of communication but otherwise boxed in?**

It's difficult to know. Europe has very largely been constructed to keep people out or control the influx. Never-

theless, there has been a substantial influx. There are not very many European countries that do not have, for instance, anything up to nine-per cent of the population as immigrant. Once you have that, it is not very easy to completely shut the door ...

The other thing is simply the sheer pressure of people from poor countries trying to get to ... rich countries. It's very marked, for instance, from places like Africa or even parts of Latin America to Europe and, certainly, from Latin America to the United States. I

**"India has a great future; a much greater future in the 21st Century even than, I think, most Indians would have dreamed of in the first 30-40 years of independence."**

think for political or ideological reasons the United States is making it more difficult to travel.

At the same time, the enormous advantage that the United States and one or two other countries, Canada and Australia have had by opening the doors is such that, if you like, there's a conflict here between the ideological and political interests of the regime and even the economic interests of the corporations and economy ...

I think that for political reasons the cross-border flow of immigrants will be far less than the cross-border flow of other things. Nevertheless, I find it difficult to believe that it can be actually governed back.

**We've also seen, for instance, refugees in Australia sewing up their lips after being put in detention centres. You had people actually jumping off ships. We've seen all that as well.**

The incentive to migrate is enormous. I haven't seen figures, for instance, of how much agencies for the illegal transport of immigrants can charge, but it's very high because the potential reward of getting jobs in these rich countries is very large.

I think we may have a distinction here between what you might say, the class of the educated with specialised functions and the ordinary bulk of non-qualified immigrants, essentially for labour seeking. There's no doubt that

even up to the present, globalisation has been slowed down enormously in this one respect and will continue undoubtedly to be much more slow because the resistance to it is very great, not least the mass resistance in receiving countries — rightly or wrongly. But I cannot see that it can be stopped.

**You have referred to globalisation beginning in the 16th Century. Would you say that the transport of Indian indentured labour to countries as far away as Fiji was part of this globalising trend?**

The New Century, you refer to India as a regional power and that you didn't see it emerging as world power for the next 50 years ...

It's difficult to tell because, clearly, since that time [the book was published in 1999], India, in terms of economic growth, has done much better. Here again, as a historian, I am in no position to speculate about this. I would have thought, actually, neither India nor China would aim to be world powers in the sense of which the United Kingdom was a world power in the days of the empire and the Americans are now.

I would say that even the Chinese have a long tradition of being, as it were, a leading power in the world. I do not think in terms of world domination in the way in which they may well consider that one of these days it will be the greatest economy in the world ... and that will have a spin-off on the political ...

As for the future of India, it obviously has a great future; a much greater future in the 21st Century even than, I think, most Indians would have dreamed of in the first 30-40 years of independence. That seems to be clear. But, exactly, what the political shape or political implications of this rise of India as an economic, a cultural, and for that matter, simply as the largest state, demographically speaking, is going to be.

**As we move ahead in many areas, we've also seen the phenomenon of communalism. Do you see the rise of communal forces in India as a threat to its syncretic tradition and its nationhood?**

Yes. I think, obviously, the rise of identity groups of one kind or another, is at odds with the development of big, territorial states, which, after all, until recently, were the basic unit of government, of administration, of practically everything ... there are countries in which these, clearly, have threatened the existence of states — firstly, of course, in weak states, which are going to be.

**In your conversations with Antonio Polito, published as**

But, not only there. At one time, one could honestly say are we absolutely certain, that in 50 years time, there will be single United Kingdom or a single Spain? I don't know. I think the most dangerous issue at the moment isn't so much the revival of nationalism ... but the revival of communalism in the religious sense.

That, I think, is dangerous and it is not confined to any one religion. The extent to which revival of religion is a mass phenomenon is not so clear. In a way, fundamentalists, in a literal sense, are minorities, quite large minorities; but I don't quite think they've actually been majorities.

But fundamentalists have been extremely good at seizing power. And once they've seized power, then a great many things follow. That's where the danger is. Nevertheless, this is a thing that, on the whole, I don't think many of us, or any of us, really predicted, and it's a very worrying phenomenon.

I notice this even in things like Buddhism — in places like Sri Lanka it developed a kind of nationalist, militant edge, which, really, very few people would have thought of.

It was believed that with material progress, religious differences would get reduced. That doesn't seem to have happened.

It's clear that we [historians] underestimated the continued role of religiosity or the belief in rituals and all the rest of it.

One of the reasons why we underestimated it was because we didn't pay enough attention to gender history. Everybody knew, for instance, that women were more pious than men, at least in Europe and continue to be, but because people didn't take this seriously enough ... we didn't really inquire into the role of this kind of motivations not only among particular groups, but generally. Very difficult to overlook it now.





# US goes hunting for nuke supercop's scalp

DAFNA LINZER

Washington, Dec. 12: The Bush administration has dozens of intercepts of Mohamed ElBaradei's phone calls with Iranian diplomats and is scrutinising them in search of ammunition to oust him as director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, according to three US government officials.

But the diplomatic offensive will not be easy. The administration has failed to come up with a candidate willing to op-

pose ElBaradei, who has run the agency since 1997, and there is disagreement among some senior officials over how hard to push for his removal, and what the diplomatic costs of a public campaign against him could be.

Although eavesdropping, even on allies, is considered a well-worn tool of national security and diplomacy, the efforts against ElBaradei demonstrate the lengths some within the administration are willing to go to replace a top international diplomat who questioned

US intelligence on Iraq and is now taking a cautious approach on Iran.

The intercepted calls have not produced any evidence of nefarious conduct by ElBaradei, according to three officials who have read them. But some within the administration believe they show ElBaradei lacks impartiality because he tried to help Iran navigate a diplomatic crisis over its nuclear programmes. Others argue the transcripts demonstrate nothing more than stand-

dart telephone diplomacy.

"Some people think he sounds way too soft on the Iranians, but that's about it," said one official with access to the intercepts.

In Vienna, where the IAEA is headquartered, officials said they were not surprised about the eavesdropping. "We've always assumed that this kind of thing goes on," said IAEA spokesperson Mark Gwozdecky. "We wish it were otherwise, but we know the reality." The IAEA, often called the UN's nuclear watchdog agency, coordinates nuclear safety

around the world and monitors materials that could be diverted for weapons use. It has played a pivotal, investigative role in four major crises in recent years: Iran, Iraq, North Korea and the nuclear black market run by one of Pakistan's top scientists.

Each issue has produced some tension between the agency and the White House, and this is not the first time that ElBaradei or other UN officials have been targets of a spy campaign. Three weeks before the invasion of Iraq in March

2003, Britain's *Observer* newspaper published a secret directive from the National Security Agency ordering increased eavesdropping on UN diplomats.

Earlier this year, Clare Short, who served in British Prime Minister Tony Blair's Cabinet, said British spies had eavesdropped on UN secretary general Kofi Annan's calls during that period and that she had read transcripts of the intercepts.

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, WASHINGTON POST NEWS SERVICE



Mohamed ElBaradei



# SAALT aims to become voice of S Asians in US

By Rupal Shah

Within the past decade, South Asian Americans have not only grown as a community, but they have also begun to make waves within civic and political sections across the US.

South Asian American Leaders of Tomorrow (SAALT), a national non-profit organisation working to increase political participation and visibility for South Asian Americans, aims to take full advantage of the "vacuum of leadership in our communities," according to Deepa Iyer, executive director of SAALT.

Based in New York, SAALT opened a full-time office there in September of this year. India-West caught up with Iyer and Nicholas Rathod, SAALT's board chair, while they were in the San Francisco Bay Area to reach out to the South Asian American community here and spread the word about their long-term goals.

SAALT's plans include initiating programmes addressing issues that affect the South Asian communities, as well as opportunities for leadership development, volunteerism and civic engagement. Launched in 2000 SAALT's main objectives deal with providing a policy voice for South Asian Americans on issues pertaining to the community.

"We as a community have a lot of voice concerning foreign policy issues, but really nothing related to people living in America," Iyer said. "We especially need a voice pertaining to immigration and civil rights," she added.

September 11, 2001, Iyer says, was a defining

moment for the organisation. SAALT took the reins and began to address the issues surrounding the backlash, whether it was at a policy table or within the South Asian community.

SAALT published the first report archiving incidences of bias and hate crimes against South Asians after Sept 11, 2001. The report found that in the seven days after the attacks, South Asians reported 645 incidents of bias. Three months later, the organisation released a documentary on hate crimes affecting the community, which was shown at colleges and places of worship across the country.

The reactions to the documentary were quite amazing, SAALT's board chair Nicholas Rathod said, adding that people from all over the country wanted to see it.

"People's responses to the documentary and to our presence highlights the need for an organisation like this to exist," said Iyer. "More and more South Asians are feeling like they are an invisible segment or that the class divides that exist within this community are really making certain parts of it more invisible," she added.

Iyer and SAALT's board of directors are hoping that they can galvanise people who want to get involved and create a forum to begin a dialogue about what the government and policy-makers — both local and national — as well as other communities of colour really need to do to address the concerns and interests of the South Asian American community. India-West

04 DEC 2004

THE TIMES OF INDIA

# 5.1 million AIDS cases in India

## Agencies

New Delhi, December 1

WOMEN'S RIGHTS groups, NGOs, religious leaders and children today marched through the streets, drew paintings and put up cultural programmes to mark World AIDS Day with the message of awareness about the spread of the dreaded disease.

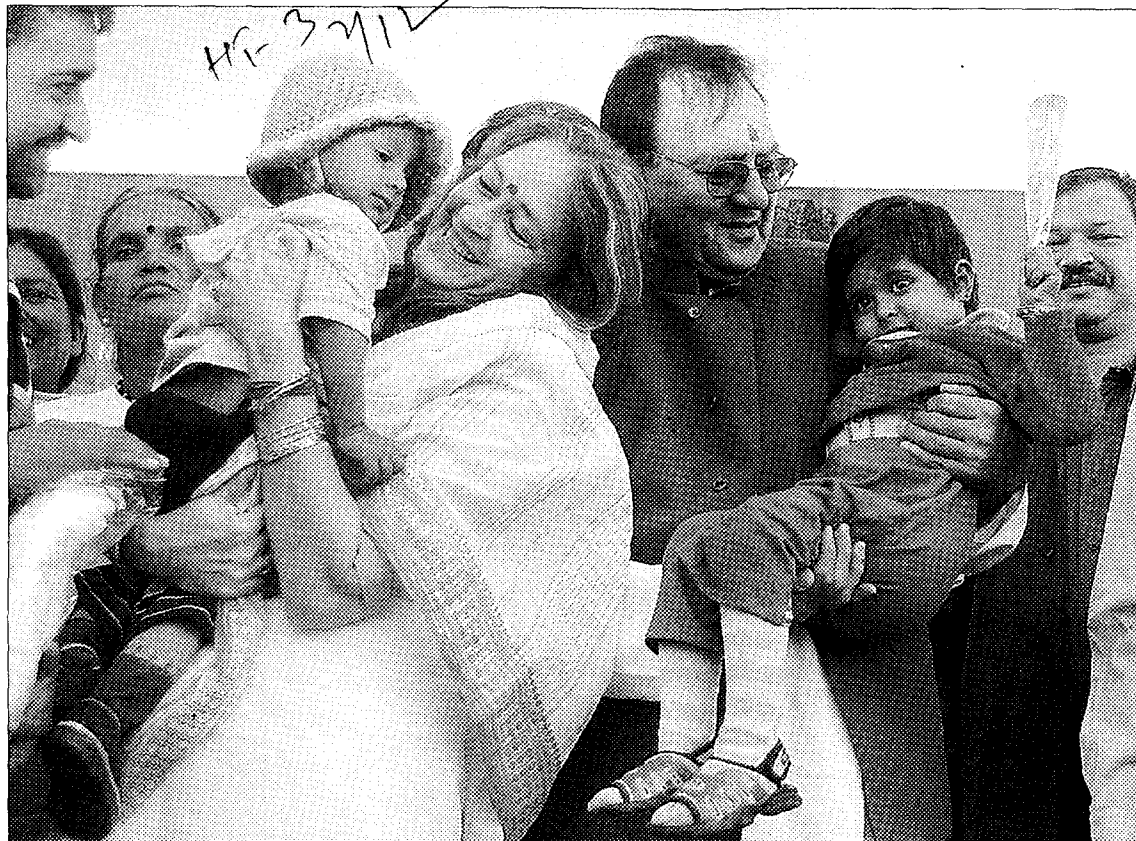
With India having the world's second-largest number of 5.1 million cases of HIV/AIDS, the Centre announced it would go to the international market to procure anti-AIDS drugs to guard against supply interruption and the West Bengal government said it would include the topic of AIDS in the school curriculum from Class VI from next academic session.

Considering that the awareness level is still low, the Centre also announced a national awareness programme was being conducted, especially targeting youth between 15 and 25 years of age.

Health Minister Anbumani Ramadoss said 1.5 billion condoms would be distributed nationwide in a year's time. In another initiative, the National AIDS Control Organisation (Naco) announced it would start airing a daily soap on Doordarshan from January 2005 and run special trains across the country to spread awareness about the disease.

The trains - with four coaches each - would run across the country for six months. Exhibitions and youth artists in the trains would help spread awareness among the rural population, Naco project director S.Y. Quraishi said.

He said the current stock of anti-AIDS drugs would last till March.



S. BURMAULA/HT

**DESTINY'S CHILDREN** Social activist Nafisa Ali and Union Sports Minister Sunil Dutt with HIV positive children during a run to mark World AIDS Day in New Delhi on Wednesday.

## Mandela chooses Big B for campaign

### Agencies

Panaji, December 1

AMITABH BACHCHAN was today appointed special ambassador for an anti-AIDS campaign headed by former South African President Nelson Mandela.

"I'm honoured, since AIDS as a subject deals with an issue like sex and is often spoken of with reservation. We'll

have to follow a pattern and design while making people aware of it", Bachchan - who is the first Asian to be appointed as the ambassador for '46664', the name lent to the Foundation by Nelson Mandela - said.

On the occasion, the superstar was presented a 'Red Shirt' with '46664' inscribed on it by John Samuels, the CEO of the Nelson Mandela Foun-

ation. The 46664 campaign - named after Mandela's prison number - aims at raising the awareness of the global community about HIV/AIDS, as well as funds for the foundation.

The organisation supports programmes for the prevention, testing, care and support of those infected with the deadly virus.

02 DEC 2004

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES



# Festival light on F-16 sale, Bush visit

K.P. NAYAR

Washington, Nov. 11: The White House was lit up yesterday for Diwali, but the nearly 100 Indian Americans invited for the event used the occasion to get the Bush administration to throw light, instead, on its South Asia policy in the President's second term.

It was not the kind of Diwali celebration the White House had bargained for.

Unlike last year when the Indian Treaty Room at the White House echoed to chants of *Asato ma sadgamaya, Tamaso ma jyotirgamaya* (Lead us from untruth to truth, lead us from darkness to light) and the function tamely ended with distribution of Indian sweets, this year Indian Americans threw anxious questions at the White House about its India policy.

It was left to Robert Blackwill, President George W. Bush's coordinator for strategic planning in the National Security Council, to pacify them with an assurance that no decision had been taken at the "lowest or highest level" within the US government on supplying F-16 fighters to Pakistan's air force.

Blackwill was constrained to clarify the issue when Sampat Shivangi, vice-president of the influential Association of American Physicians of Indian Origin, raised the issue as soon as an Indian American White House staffer finished welcoming the invitees.

The staffer, R. Venkaiah, threw the ball at Neil Patel, a senior aide to Vice-President Dick Cheney, but Patel found the question too sensitive for his call.



Blackwill lights a lamp to celebrate Diwali in the White House. (PTI)

There was all-round anxiety about the F-16s and then Blackwill stepped in to clarify the issue. He said General Pervez Musharraf was cooperating with the US in fighting terrorism, especially now, on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border.

But he denied rumours about the sale of F-16s, which have been swirling here ever since defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld was coy about the issue with a Track-II delegation from India which met him recently.

As a familiar sop to the agitated Indian Americans assembled in the Executive Office Auditorium of the Eisenhower Building, a part of the White House complex, Blackwill told them to require applause that Bush

would visit India next year.

As a sweetener, Blackwill added that the US was not opposed to India's permanent membership of the UN Security Council and assured the group that India had the potential to be a world power.

Blackwill, who told the group that it was his last day at the White House and the Diwali celebration was his last public event in the administration, however, used the occasion to urge India to import more US goods to offset the bilateral balance of trade now in India's favour.

Blackwill said he had begun his tenure in the Bush administration in India and was ending it at an Indian American function.

Blackwill and Shivangi together lit the lamp and typically Indian sweets and coins with images of Indian goddesses, Laxmi and Saraswati, were distributed.

Indian American Republicans campaigning among their community during the recent US elections had often highlighted Bush's decision last year to celebrate Diwali at the White House for the first time as evidence of his interest in and commitment to India.

Last year's celebration, attended by Karl Rove, the "architect" of Bush's election win, was the result of a meeting between the President and six Indian Americans led by Shivangi in Jackson, Mississippi, on September 12 last year.

A one-page memorandum handed to Bush by the delegation pointed out, among other things, that while Judeo-Christian and — lately — Islamic festivals were celebrated in the White House, Hindu festivals were ignored.

Bush told Rove on the spot to correct this shortcoming and within a fortnight Shivangi was notified of the first ever Festival of Lights at the presidential abode last year.

12 NOV 2004

THE TELEGRAPH

India should be happy with the Bush presidency at the moment

# India and the US polls

T-18  
8/11  
**COMMENTARAO**

S.L. RAO

The American voters have decided and decisively. President Bush will have a second term. They, and especially middle America, have decided that they like Bush's clarity, simplicity, single-mindedness and lack of intellectual depth and sophistication. They preferred the certainties of his convictions to the complex uncertainties of Kerry.

Many voted against Bush, not because they thought Kerry was right but because they preferred anyone to Bush. This divided American electorate will not quietly revert to ordinary daily lives. They resented the verdict last time. This time they may keep erupting into protest on many divisive presidential decisions.

With Republicans in control over both Congress and Senate, the many millions who voted against Bush can express opposition in two ways: take to the streets in protest, and through the media, many of which were against Bush. Every major presidential decision will receive opposition. A country in which people accept election verdicts and get on with their work might, for the first time, witness polarization on almost every issue. (This is not unfamiliar to us but our political parties, lacking ideological convictions, are always polarized. But they reverse their poles depending on whether they are in or out of office.)

Despite an uncertain mandate in his first term, Bush acted as if he had a clear mandate, not one given to him by a supreme court verdict. Many actions and consequences of the Bush administration decisions drew wide protest. The invasion of Iraq, its poor planning, the deaths of over a thousand American soldiers, the easy dismissal of the need to build cooperation with the rest of the world through the United Nations and the consequent loss of goodwill, the pro-big business and pro-rich policies in relation to the environment, tax rate reductions for the rich, rising deficits as a consequence of tax rate reductions and exploding expenditures, rising unemployment and increasing numbers falling out of health insurance, the loss of personal liberties, the racial and communal profiling — the first Bush administration was feared and disliked by many Americans for many reasons.

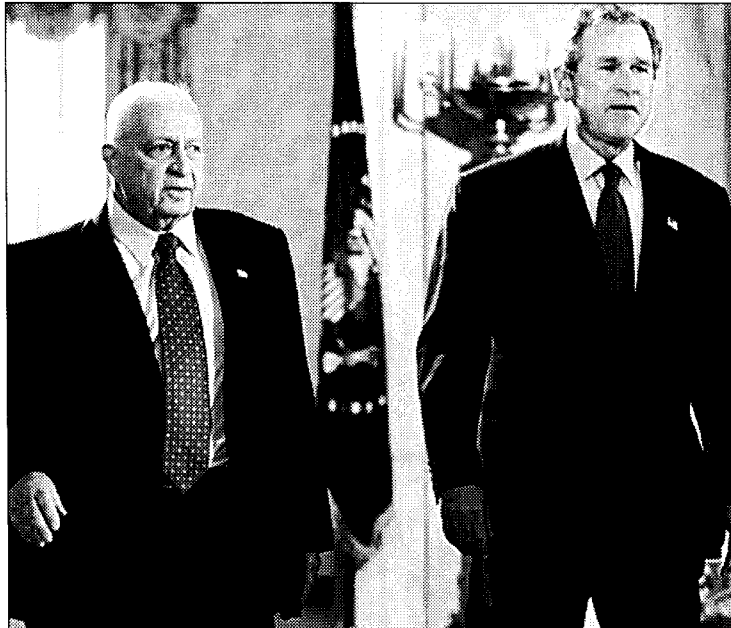
2004  
He is almost certain to pursue the same course on issues like support to Ariel Sharon against Palestinian interests, sanctions, boycott and perhaps military action against Iran and North

Korea, reducing the status and role of the UN, reducing social expenditures, further increasing defence expenditures. His actions will lead to continuing high oil prices and a weak American economy with high deficits, a declining dollar, unemployment and rising interest rates. Does any of this matter to India?

Some change on Palestine policy can be expected. The root cause of violent and *jihadi* Islamic fundamentalism is Israeli actions to make a unified Palestine state impossible. The US might now push (especially with Arafat's going) for a settlement

in Pakistan and economic growth.

Bush will now control both Congress and Senate. He will soon have to appoint a new chief justice of the supreme court and other judges. He can influence American policy through these appointments for over twenty more years. If he picks obvious conservatives he will polarize the country further. He may also not get the appointments through because he does not have the requisite Senate majority. The chances are therefore that he will pick people who are nearer the ideological middle. Similarly the second Bush



**‘ Bush has to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict which embitters Muslims everywhere ’**

on the lines of the Clinton negotiated deal with Barak. He has to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict which embitters Muslims everywhere. If not, the terrorist attacks on Israel will increase. They will extend to other areas as the Islamic diaspora reacts against all perceived exploiters of their co-religionists.

Pakistan will continue getting American financial and military aid. The pressure on President Musharraf will simultaneously increase. Bush will want more pro-active effort to stop terrorism and catch terrorists. As Musharraf tries to comply, conflict within Pakistan with elements in the army and Islamic fundamentalist groups will increase. His position is very vulnerable and the Americans also recognize it. If he loses his position, similar pressure can be exerted on his successor. But they would prefer to deal with him than with a new president. His survival is important for India as well because he seems to have understood that a settlement with India is the only way for the pacification of the warring groups

administration will perforce have to build bridges with its European allies who are now mostly hostile. Other divisive issues are getting resolved. Many American states have implemented measures similar to the Kyoto protocol. Stem cell research has been approved of by the Republican-led California. Gay marriage is not a wildly popular issue. On the role of the UN there might be a rethink. While he might continue his opposition to the world criminal court, there might be some face-saving formula on world population control policies that he has opposed in his first administration. He will push for UN restructuring and support a seat for India in the security council.

Iran is the next major Islamic

country that Bush might attack in order to disarm its nuclear capability. It might be more an economic attack. Bush may not want an Iranian war so soon. Iran's Islamic ideologues could put their weight behind a global anti-American movement using every possible economic (oil) and military (support to terrorist movements) weapon. Unrest in another major oil-producing country and more unrest in the Islamic world is not in India's interest.

Bush will use every means to improve the US's control over the major oil-producing regions. This is important for American energy security. The invasion of Iraq was a way to gain control over the second largest oil reserves in the world. The effect of this strategy to gain control over major reserves might well be more stable oil and gas supplies and prices. India can only gain from this strategy. If Islamic terrorism is contained by American action, it will also be to our benefit. But the danger is that the short-term consequences of American action to increase control over global energy supplies will be the opposite: increased instability in these countries, most of which are dictatorships. India could also face the wrath of fundamentalist groups, within and from outside, hitting out at any major non-Islamic country.

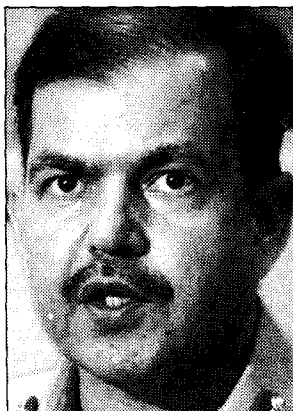
Bush in a second term will have to act in reducing the deficit. He might do so by reducing expenditures on social security and health, another cause for increasing disaffection in the US. He will encourage the dollar to fall in value. This may be good for India since the economy is now in the investment mode and will need massive imports. We can also expect massive foreign investment. At the lower rupee cost, it will help the Indian consumer because of lower capital costs and hence lower tariffs. The US economy might begin to show growth and increased employment because of the increased government defence expenditures. He is unlikely to be protectionist and India's BPO exports will be unaffected. The American economy will be weaker in the long term. But strong American imports will benefit the world economy. Policies in China and Europe to sustain growth will be the key to India's place in the global economy.

Bush is likely to leave India alone on nuclearization. He will see it as a counterforce to China, a bastion beyond the Arab world and a check on the Pakistani generals.

India should be happy with a Bush presidency for four more years. These are critical years for India's economy and his policies will help us. We must be much more on our guard against terrorism. But the economy and peace with Pakistan must be our focus.

The author is former director-general, National Council for Applied Economic Research

China engineer freed, all abductors killed



Major General Shaukat Sultan in Rawalpindi. (Reuters)

## Beijing grieves over death

Beijing, Oct. 14 (Reuters): China voiced grief at the death of a Chinese engineer killed today when Pakistani forces stormed a mud hut where he and a colleague were being held hostage by al Qaida-linked militants.

Beijing condemned the kidnapping as terrorist acts.

"We express our deep sympathy and grief over the unfortunate death of a kidnapped Chinese and express our deep condolence with his family," foreign ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue said in a statement on the ministry website ([www.fmprc.gov.cn](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn)).

"The Chinese government strongly condemns this terrorist act of kidnapping Chinese citizens."

Chinese engineers Wang Ende and Wang Peng were working on a dam project in Pakistan for the state-run Chinese firm Sino Hydro Corp. when they were kidnapped in the South Waziristan tribal region on Saturday.

Surveyor Wang Peng had died in the rescue operation, Pakistani security sources said.

(r) 3

15/10

# Hostage killed in rescue bid

Islamabad, Oct. 14 (Reuters): A Chinese engineer held hostage by al Qaida-linked militants in Pakistan was killed today but his colleague rescued in a commando assault that killed their five kidnappers, officials said.

Chinese engineers Wang Ende and Wang Peng were heading to work on a dam project in the remote South Waziristan tribal region when they were kidnapped on Saturday by Uzbek and Pakistani militants led by a former Guantanamo Bay detainee.

Wang Peng, who had worked as a surveyor on the project, was critically hurt by gunfire from the kidnappers and later died, said Pakistani military spokesperson Major-General Shaukat Sultan. Wang Ende was unharmed. Both men worked for state-run Chinese firm Sino Hydro Corp.

The assault was carried out by commandos disguised as a tribal delegation, one of whom was seriously wounded, Pakistani security sources said. It was launched after a shot was heard from the compound where the hostages were held, Sultan said.

"The security forces heard firing from within the compound, which created a fear that the abductors had used violence against the Chinese engineers," he said. "Then immediately the security forces stormed the compound and killed all the five abductors."

Two Pakistanis held with the engineers were freed unharmed, Sultan said.

Pakistani foreign minister Khursheed Mehmood Kasuri said Pakistan shared China's grief and the kidnappers had tried to drive a wedge between



Rescued Chinese engineer Wang Ende in Peshawar. (AFP)

Pakistan and its "closest friend".

China's official Xinhua news agency said Kasuri told ambassador Zhang Chunxiang he felt sorry for the failure of the operation, but Zhang said Pakistan had tried its best. "I want to tell you this will have no effect on our relations."

A traditional ally of Pakistan, supplying it with arms and hundreds of millions of dollars in development finance, Beijing had urged Islamabad to do its utmost to rescue the engineers.

It was the second time this year Chinese workers have come to harm at the hands of militants opposed to Pakistan's role in the US-led war on terror. In May, three technicians working on a port project were killed and nine wounded in a bomb attack in the southern Pakistani city of Gawadar.

The kidnappers were three Uzbeks and two militants from South Waziristan's Mehsud tribe, a Pakistani security source said. They had been holed up with explosives strapped to their bodies in a mud house surrounded by security forces and their tribal allies in the Chagmalai area of South Waziristan.

Officials said the kidnappers had threatened to blow up themselves and their hostages if a rescue attempt was made.

## Musharraf powers

Pakistan's lower house of parliament passed a Bill today to allow President Pervez Musharraf to stay on as army chief despite his pledge to give up the job by the end of the year. The Bill called for the President to be allowed to hold two offices to enable the incumbent to continue the fight against terrorism.

# Jacques Derrida, 1930-2004

By Vaiju Naravane

*One of the most widely published and discussed philosophers of our time, Derrida, best known for his theory of deconstruction, was adulated and denigrated in equal measure.*

*miscellaneous*  
#10 - 10  
14/10

JACQUES DERRIDA, who died in Paris on Saturday at the age of 74, was the last in a line of dazzling 1960s philosophers in France that included giants such as Louis Althusser, Jacques Lacan, Jean-Paul Sartre, Roland Barthes, Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. France's intellectual community has been orphaned by his passing.

Although Derrida was suffering from pancreatic cancer and had been admitted to a Parisian hospital three weeks ago awaiting an intestinal operation, sources close to the philosopher said the immediate cause of death was cerebral haemorrhage.

Derrida was one of the most widely published and discussed philosophers of our time, adulated and denigrated in equal measure. His work has been the subject of about a thousand books and dissertations. In the areas of philosophy and literary criticism alone, he has been cited over 14,000 times in academic journals in the past 15 years.

While Derrida authored over 80 works of a high philosophical order, he was best known for his theory of deconstruction — the re-reading or breaking down of a text to show the multiple meanings at work within language. Focussing mainly on language, he contends that the traditional or metaphysical reading of a text makes a number of false assumptions — that language is capable of expressing constant and unchanging ideas, that the author of a text is the only source of its meaning and that in the hierarchy of language, writing is secondary to speech.

"His death is indeed a very great, an almost irreparable loss. Derrida was one of the most brilliant minds of the 20th century who made a substantial contribution to classical philosophical thought. But he was also a bridge between the often impenetrable and abstruse world of classical philosophy and the more immediate concerns of humanity, of humankind," said Olivier Betourne, his publisher at Fayard.

In "*De quoi demain ...*" (roughly translated as *And What Tomorrow ...*) co-authored with psychoanalyst Elizabeth Roudinesco, he addressed questions of such burning immediacy as the death penalty, the relations between humans, animals and nature, new forms of anti-Semitism, and, with the advent of technologically-assisted procreation, the evolution of the institution of the family.

The cornerstone of Derrida's work, however, continued to be the theory

of deconstruction through which he attempted to show that language is constantly shifting and that a text has multiple legitimate interpretations. There could therefore be no absolutes in terms of truth, meaning or permanence. His concept found wide acceptance, particularly in the United States, and was applied to a broad range of subjects, including literary theory, linguistics, anthropology, art, music, architecture and political science. This led to a re-reading of texts by Shakespeare or the Greek philosophers, which unravelled hidden biases and contradictions. As a result, Derrida was adulated by feminists, gay activists and other marginalised groups which applied his theories to show up discrimination and racial and sexist biases in accepted texts and ideas.

Derrida himself refused to give a pat definition of deconstruction, saying it had to be arrived at through a deconstructive re-reading of texts. "Deconstruction is to take an idea, an institution or a set of values, and to understand its mechanisms by removing the cement that constitutes it," was one critic's definition.

Derrida's lectures drew overflowing crowds of enthusiastic students and academic colleagues. Always well dressed, with a deeply tanned, handsome face topped by a shock of prematurely white hair, his was a charismatic, even magnetic presence. His lectures were peppered with puns, rhymes and enigmatic statements.

But his writing, deeply influenced by the work of German philosophers Martin Heidegger and Edmund Husserl, as well as by Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud among others, was described by several critics as negative, abstruse, incoherent, nihilistic and destructive. "Many unmalicious people have been hoping for deconstruction's demise — if only to relieve themselves of the burden of trying to understand it," one of his critics wrote in *The New York Times Magazine*. And when the Cambridge University decided to award him an honorary doctorate, protests by a sizeable number of dons led to a vote that Derrida won 336-204.

Born in Algeria in 1930 to Leftist Jewish parents, Derrida attended

France's most prestigious intellectual institution, the Ecole Normale Supérieure, and then went on to teach at the Harvard University in America and the Sorbonne in Paris. He continued to teach in France and the U.S. throughout his life, becoming a professor at the EHESS or School of Advanced Studies in Social Sciences in Paris.

Although Derrida was a serious classical thinker, he remained firmly rooted in the French tradition of philosophy combined with political activism, following in the footsteps of Jean-Paul Sartre who inspired the student revolt of May 1968 or Pierre Bourdieu, one of the torchbearers of the anti-globalisation movement. His political commitment was resolutely Leftist although he steered clear of party politics. In the 1970s, he became known for taking a public stand against apartheid and the muzzling of intellectual freedom under communism (he was detained by the Czech Government for supporting the Charter of 77).

In the 1980s, he came out in support of voting rights for immigrants, and more recently offered a blistering and corrosive critique of the neo-conservative ideologies emanating from Washington. In his book, *The Concept of September 11*, Derrida deconstructs the neo-conservative doctrine, Project for a New American Century, expounded in 2000 by hegemonists such as Paul Wolfowitz, Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld and which led directly to the war in Iraq, coming to the conclusion that a philosopher must examine the transitions in global and political institutions and act thereupon. "Philosophy today or the duty of philosophy is to think this in action, by doing something," he said.

Derrida believed that one of the ways forward was through "messianicity without messianism," a coming together of the weak forces of this world without the input of organised religion. He harboured a certain utopian ideal of the weak inheriting the earth through just strife and struggle.

"One of the incarnations of this messianism without religion may be found in the alter-globalisation movements," he said in a recent interview. "Movements that are still

heterogeneous, still somewhat unformed, full of contradictions, but that gather together the weak of the earth, all those who feel crushed by the economic hegemonies, by the liberal market, by sovereignism. I believe it is these weak who will prove to be the strongest in the end and who represent the future."

Once divested of their contradictions these "alter-globalisation" movements will march against the hegemonic organisations of the world, Derrida predicted. "Not just the United States, but also the IMF, the G-8, all those organised hegemonies of the rich countries, the strong and powerful countries of which Europe is a part. It is these movements that offer one of the best figures of what I would call messianicity without messianism ... in the shape of peace and justice, a promise independent of religion, a faith without religion in some sort..."

Derrida's prestige in the U.S. was damaged through a scandal at Yale University in 1987 when it was revealed that Professor Paul de Man, a leading defender of deconstruction analysis who had died four years earlier, had in fact contributed over 150 articles of an anti-Semitic nature in the 1940s to a pro-Nazi newspaper in his native Belgium. Derrida was criticised for standing by his friendship with de Man although he admitted that the late professor's positions during the war smacked of anti-Semitism. Equally damaging was the discovery, also in 1987, that one of his intellectual heroes, German philosopher Martin Heidegger, was a card-carrying member of the Nazi party from 1933 to 1945. Again, Derrida condemned Heidegger's Nazi past but maintained that it in no way reflected upon the validity of his philosophical work.

Derrida's French friends and colleagues bristle at Anglo-Saxon criticism, saying the fascist beliefs of two people he was closely linked with in no way detract from the quality and value of Derrida's own work. Alexander Adler, a well-known French commentator who was at university with Derrida described him "as one of the truly good people I have known."

Says Mr. Betourne: "Derrida gave a fig for the snobbishness and worldliness that marks Paris intellectual life. He continued to live in a suburban detached house in [the] totally unfashionable area of Ris Orangis. Friendship, hospitality, generosity were the tenets by which he lived. Which is why our loss is so great, for he was not just a great thinker, he was an exceptional human being."







# Norwegian, American win Nobel prize for economics

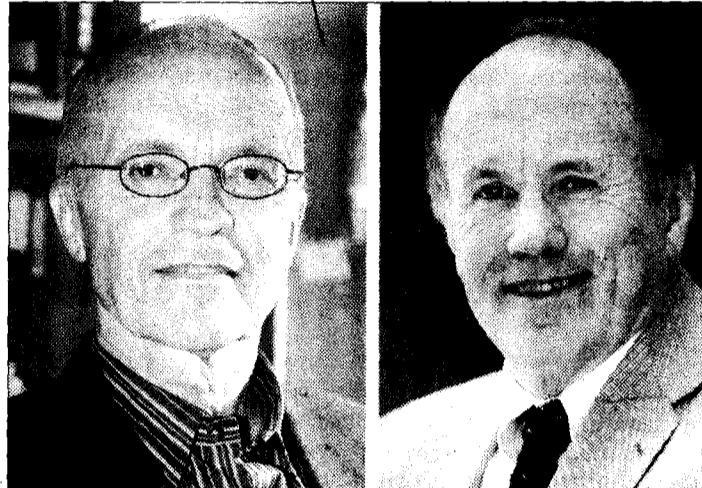
JAN STRUPCZEWSKI &  
STEPHEN BROWN  
STOCKHOLM, OCTOBER 11

**F**INN Kydland of Norway and Edward Prescott of the United States won the Nobel economics prize on Monday for research that laid the groundwork for more independent central banks and explained business cycles.

"Their work has not only transformed economic research, but has also profoundly influenced the practice of economic policy in general, and monetary policy in particular," the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences said in its citation.

"It is the greatest possible accolade. There is no doubt about that," Kydland, who teaches at Carnegie Mellon University and the University of California, told NTB news agency in Norway, where he is lecturing. Kydland, 60, shares the 10 million Swedish crown (\$1.36 million) prize with Prescott, 63, who works at Arizona State University and the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the two men transformed analysis which, with its focus on changes in demand like investment and household consumption, had been unable to explain the widespread phenomenon of "stagflation" — the combination of high inflation with no growth and high unemployment. Their 1977 article on the "Time Consistency Problem" showed that policy makers tend to



**Finn Kydland of Norway (left) and Edward Prescott of the US have won the prize for research that laid the groundwork for more independent central banks and explained business cycles. Reuters**

abandon longer-term aims to milk shorter-term benefits — for example, setting out to keep prices stable, but then fomenting inflation to reduce debt.

This helped shift the focus of policy-making to independent and credible institutions, laying the groundwork for the creation of the European Central Bank, said John Hassler at Stockholm University.

"We have seen a move toward more independent central banks with various forms of inflation targets. This reform movement we think is a direct implication of the kind of research in Kydland and Prescott's first article," said Prof. Torsten Persson, chairman of the prize committee.

In 1982 the pair created a model

showing that supply-side shocks — such as technological advances — are a driving force behind the business cycle rather than variations in demand alone.

"Whereas earlier research had emphasized macroeconomic shocks on the demand side of the economy, Kydland and Prescott demonstrated that shocks on the supply side may have far-reaching effects," said the Academy.

The economics award was not among the original prizes — for chemistry, physics, literature, medicine and peace — founded by Alfred Nobel, inventor of dynamite, in his will in 1895. It was instituted by Sweden's central bank in 1968 and first awarded the following year.

—Reuters

INDIAN EXPRESS 12 OCT 2004

# Deconstructing Derrida after death

French Philosopher's Theory Became Code Word For Discourse

By Jonathan Kandell

Jacques Derrida, the Algerian-born, French intellectual who died on Friday, was known as the father of deconstruction, the method of inquiry that asserted that all writing was full of confusion and contradiction, and that the author's intent could not overcome the inherent contradictions of language itself, robbing texts—whether literature, history or philosophy—of truthfulness, absolute meaning and permanence. The concept was applied to the whole gamut of arts and social sciences, including linguistics, anthropology, political science, even architecture.

While he had a huge following—larger in the United States than in Europe—he was the target of as much anger as admiration. For many Americans, in particular, he was the personification of a French school of thinking they felt was undermining many of the traditional standards of classical education, and one they often associated with divisive political causes.



Derridaspeak: "Thinking is what we already know that we have not yet begun"

Literary critics broke texts into isolated passages and phrases to find hidden meanings. Advocates of feminism, gay rights, and Third-World causes embraced the method as an instrument to reveal the prejudices and inconsistencies of Plato, Aristotle, Shakespeare, Freud and other "dead white male" icons of Western culture. Architects and designers could claim

to take a "deconstructionist" approach to buildings by abandoning traditional symmetry and creating zigzaggy, sometimes disquieting spaces. The filmmaker Woody Allen titled one of his movies "Deconstructing Harry", to suggest that his protagonist could best be understood by breaking down and analysing his neurotic contradictions.

Toward the end of the 20th century, deconstruction became a code word of intellectual discourse, much as existentialism and structuralism—two other fashionable, slippery philosophies that also emerged from France after World War II—had been before it. Derrida and his followers were unwilling—some say unable—to define deconstruction with any precision, so it has remained misunderstood, or interpreted in endlessly contradictory ways.

Derrida peppered his lectures with puns, rhymes and enigmatic pronouncements, like, "Thinking is what we already know that we have not yet begun". NYT News Service

THE TIMES OF INDIA

10 OCT 2004

MONDAY, OCTOBER 11, 2004

## TRADING IN TROPHIES

miscellaneous  
HD-10  
11/10

TO PROMOTE THE hunting of wildlife for trophies might appear to be reactionary in an era of enlightened conservation but two African nations have successfully proposed to do just that. This happened, of all places, at the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) meeting that is on in Bangkok. South Africa and Namibia persuaded the convention to lift the ban on hunting the black rhinoceros and allow sale of the trophies under a quota system. The two countries permit the hunting of leopards and have sought higher export quotas for this big cat. These proposals and a request from Namibia to sell ivory are among 50 items on the agenda at this year's CITES conclave. While Japan's attempt to get the ban on trade in Minke whales lifted has been criticised by naturalists, measures to protect African lions fully and to regulate trade in the great white sharks, the Irrawady dolphins, and Ramin timber trees have received widespread support.

The CITES framework, which is implemented by 166 countries and signatory parties, works in tandem with other global agreements on conservation. It prohibits commercial trade in endangered animals and plants listed in Appendix I, allowing their transfer only under very special circumstances, and protects flora and fauna listed in other appendices. Progressive conservation decisions in the past led to the restoration of highly endangered species such as the black rhino and countries like Namibia now seek a relaxation of trade restrictions contending that there are sufficient numbers to resume hunting for trophies. It is a paradox that countries seeking permission to export hunting trophies try to justify it as an economic measure to raise funds for local communities who would then have a stake in survival of wildlife. But there is a real danger that any move to relax curbs on commercial trade in endangered species will give a fresh impetus to poaching; it can create new demand for animal products such

as rhino horn. Controlling people-animal conflicts and enabling the economic uplift of deprived sections of the population are genuine concerns of policymakers. However, poor enforcement of laws has meant unchecked deforestation, poaching, and illegal trade in several countries. Given such a background, it is no surprise that the debate on the proposals for trophy exports is sharply polarised. Conservation activists think the logic is deeply flawed: local communities do not benefit much from trade in game, and trophy hunting turns the clock back on decades of effort committed to protecting biodiversity.

Tough as they may seem, laws and conventions to regulate trade in wildlife depend on the competence and willingness of countries to enforce them. The CITES management authorities in India have, on several occasions, been found to be less than equipped to certify genuine programmes for captive breeding of Appendix I species. Advances in science such as DNA testing make it possible to track the import and export of specimens in Appendix I and attest captive breeding. The objectives of CITES are implemented in the country by an institutional mechanism that is involved in managing domestic wildlife. Yet the various wings have often been unable to decide on requests for certification and exchange of farmed specimens, including non-native species, because they lack access and, in some cases, exposure to modern assessment methods. The CITES deliberations and the IUCN-World Conservation Union Conference, which will be held in November, provide an opportunity for India to take stock of its performance in these areas and institute forward-looking measures. A stronger inter-governmental enforcement regime in Asia is among the goals of CITES. India, which is rich in biological diversity, needs to get better prepared to play its part.

THE HINDU

10 OCT 2004

# Derrida, exponent of enigmatic thought

By Jonathan Kandell

**PARIS, OCT. 10.** Jacques Derrida, the Algerian-born French intellectual who died on Friday, was one of the most celebrated and notoriously difficult philosophers of the late 20th century.

Derrida was known as the father of deconstruction, the method of inquiry that asserted that all writing was full of confusion and contradiction, and that the author's intent could not overcome the inherent contradictions of language itself, robbing texts — whether literature, history or philosophy — of truthfulness, absolute meaning and permanence.

The concept was eventually applied to the whole gamut of arts and social sciences, including linguistics, anthropology, political science, even architecture.

While he had a huge following — larger in the United States than in Europe — he was the target of as much anger as admiration. For many Americans, in particular, he was the personification of a French school of thinking they felt was undermining many of the traditional standards of classical education, and one they often associated with divisive political causes.

Literary critics broke texts into isolated passages and phrases to find hidden meanings.

Advocates of feminism, gay rights and Third World causes embraced the method as an instrument to reveal the prejudices and inconsistencies of Plato, Aristotle, Shakespeare, Freud and other “dead white male” icons of Western culture. Architects and design-



**The French philosopher, Jacques Derrida, at his home in Ris-Orangis, south of Paris in this January 6, 2004, file picture. — AFP**

ers could claim to take a “deconstructionist” approach to buildings by abandoning traditional symmetry and creating amor- phously shaped spaces. The filmmaker Woody Allen titled one of his movies “Deconstructing Harry,” to suggest that his protagonist could best be understood by breaking down and analysing his neurotic contradictions.

## A code word for discourse

Toward the end of the 20th century, deconstruction became a code word of intellectual discourse, much as existentialism and structuralism — two other fashionable, slippery philosophies that also emerged from France after World

Derrida's credibility was also damaged by a 1987 scandal involving Paul de Man, a Yale University

professor who was the most acclaimed exponent of deconstruction in the United States.

Four years after de Man's death, it was revealed that he had contributed numerous pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic articles to a newspaper in Belgium, where he was born, while it was under German occupation during World War II. In defending his dead colleague, Derrida, a Jew, was understood by some to be condoning de Man's anti-Semitism.

## A devoted following

Nonetheless, during the 1970s and 1980s, Derrida's writings and lectures gained him a huge following in major American universities — in the end, he proved far more influential in the United States than in France. Derrida also became far more accessible to the media.

He sat still for photos and gave interviews that stripped away his formerly mysterious aura to reveal the mundane details of his personal life. Late in his career, Derrida was asked, as he had been so often, what deconstruction was. “Why don't you ask a physicist or a mathematician about difficulty?” he replied, frostily, to Dinitia Smith, a *Times* reporter, in 1998.

“Deconstruction requires work. If deconstruction is so obscure, why are the audiences in my lectures in the thousands? They feel they understand enough to understand more.” Asked later in the same interview to at least define deconstruction, Derrida said: “It is impossible to respond. I can only do something which will leave me unsatisfied.” — *New York Times News Service*

## Jacques Derrida passes away <sup>5/1</sup>



PARIS, Oct. 9. — One of the best-known philosophers, Jacques Derrida, revered as the founder of the deconstructionist school, has died at the age of 74, his entourage said today.

Derrida, who had been diagnosed with pancreatic cancer in 2003,

died in a Paris hospital last night. His prolific writings, criticised by some as obscure and nihilist, argue that there are multiple meanings in literature — and also in fields such as art, music, architecture — not necessarily intended or even understood by the creator of the work. “To ‘deconstruct’ is to take an idea, institution or value and understand its mechanisms by removing the cement that makes it up,” one critic has said.

Born in Algeria in 1930, Derrida went to France’s celebrated Ecole Normale Supérieur in 1952, then became an assistant professor at Harvard in the USA and the Sorbonne in Paris.

Throughout his life he taught in both countries. Among the influences on his thought was the German philosopher Martin Heidegger and the psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud. He was not always appreciated by fellow academics. When Britain’s Cambridge University planned to award him an honorary degree in 1992, many staff protested and his writings were denounced as “absurd doctrines that deny the distinction between reality and fiction”. In the end his degree was approved by 336 votes to 204. — AFP

THE STATESMAN

10 OCT 2004

# Kenyan green activist gets Nobel Peace Prize

ALISTER DOYLE  
OSLO, OCTOBER 8

*Miscell* *86-7 9/10*

KENYAN environmentalist Wangari Maathai became the first African woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize on Friday for aiding the continent's poor with a campaign to plant millions of trees to slow down deforestation.

"Peace on Earth depends on our ability to secure our living environment," the head of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Ole Danbolt Mjoes, said in announcing the winner. Mjoes praised her "contribution to sustainable development, democracy and peace."

"Maathai stands at the front of the fight to promote ecologically viable social, economic and cultural development in Kenya and in Africa," Mjoes said.

Maathai won the prize, worth 10 million Swedish



Wangari Maathai is the 12th woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize. The first woman peace laureate was Austrian Bertha Sophie Felicita von Suttner, Honorary President of the Permanent International Peace Bureau, in 1905

crowns, from a record field of 194 candidates. Maathai is founder of the Kenya-based Green Belt Movement, comprised mainly of women, which says it has planted about 30 million trees across

Africa. Born in 1940, Maathai says that tree plantings slow desertification, preserve forest habitats for wildlife and provide a source of fuel, building materials and food for future generations to help combat poverty.

"I am absolutely overwhelmed," she told Norway's NRK television after confirmation of the award. "This is the biggest surprise in my entire life. When we plant new trees we plant the seeds of peace."

Maathai is the first African woman to win the peace prize and the 12th woman peace laureate since the first award was made in 1901. The 2003 prize also went to a woman, Iranian human rights lawyer Shirin Ebadi.

The prize was a surprise. The United Nation's International Atomic Energy Agency and its head, Mohamed El-Baradei, had been widely tipped to win. —Reuters

INDIAN EXPRESS

9 OCT 2004



## সাহিত্যে নোবেলজয়ী এলফ্রিডে য়েলিনেক

স্টকহোলম, ৭ অক্টোবর: সাহিত্যে এ বছরের নোবেল পেলেন অস্ট্রিয়া-বিতর্কিত লেখিকা এলফ্রিডে য়েলিনেক। ১৯৬৭ সালে একা কবিতা সংকলন দিয়ে সাহিত্যে জগতে পা রেখেছিলেন এলফ্রিডে তার পরে অসংখ্য নাটক ও উপন্যাসে গত তিন দশকে তিনি তাঁর স্বাভাবিক প্রমাণ করেছেন। কিন্তু সাফল্যে সন্দেহ দানা বেঁধেছে বিতর্ক যুদ্ধবিধ্বস্ত ইউরোপে ১৯৪৬ সালে জন্ম হয়েছিল এলফ্রিডের। নাৎসি জমানার উত্তরপর্বে জন্মালে এলফ্রিডের শৈশবে তার রেশ খেতে গিয়েছিল। তাঁর লেখার উপজীব বেশির ভাগই রাজনৈতিক। নিগ্রহে আবহে উঠে এসেছে নারীর যৌনত তার যন্ত্রণার কথাও। আর সমাজে এই আপাতবিরোধিতা ও অবদম নিয়ে বাদ-প্রতিবাদেই ঝড় হয়ে উঠে তার লেখনী। সুইডিশ অ্যাকাডেমি উল্লেখ করেছে সে কথাই।

১৮ টি ভাষায় অনূদিত হয়েছে এলফ্রিডের লেখা। 'উইমেন অ্যা লাভার্স' দিয়ে উপন্যাসের জগতে 'রেখেছিলেন এলফ্রিডে। ১৯৭৫ সালে প্রকাশিত এই উপন্যাস ইংরেজিতে অনূদিত হয়েছিল ১৯৯০ সালে ২০০১ সালে মাইকেল হ্যানের এলফ্রিডের আত্মজীবনীমূলক উপন্যাস 'দ্য পিয়ানো টিচার' (১৯৮৮, মূল সংস্করণ ১৯৮৩) নিয়ে ছবি করেছিলেন। খুব স্বাভাবিক ভাবেই ছবি খুশি করতে পারেনি গোড় সমালোচকদের। 'পার্নোগ্রাফি'র তকম পেয়েছিল ছবিটি। যেমন সমালোচনা হয়েছে তাঁর উপন্যাস 'লাস' (১৯৮৯)। কারণ, যৌনতার কোন দিকই এলফ্রিডে প্রচ্ছন্ন রাখেননি উপন্যাসে। তাঁর উপন্যাস 'ওয়ান্ডারফুল, ওয়ান্ডারফুল টাইমস' (১৯৯৪, মূল সংস্করণ ১৯৮০) ছি নাৎসি জমানার উত্তরকথন। ও নিয়েও জলঘোলা হয়েছিল বিস্তর।

গত আট বছরে য়েলিনেকই সাহিত্যে নোবেলজয়ী প্রথম মহিলা। আর সাহিত্যের ইতিহাসে নোবেলজয়ী মহিলাদের মধ্যে তিনি দশম। প্রথম মহিলা হিসেবে ফ্রানৎস কাফকা পুরস্কারও শীঘ্রই পাচ্ছেন তিনি। এ মাসের ২৮ তারিখ আগে তিনি ওই পুরস্কার নেবেন। ১০ ডিসেম্বর স্টকহোলমে সুইডেনের রাজার হাত থেকে নেবেন সাহিত্যে সর্বকালের শ্রেষ্ঠ পুরস্কার। মানপত্র, স্বর্ণপদক এবং দশ লক্ষ ডলার। — রয়টার্স

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8 OCT 2004



# Scent of a Nobel

Stockholm, Oct. 4 (Reuters): US scientists Richard Axel and Linda Buck won the 2004 Nobel prize for medicine or physiology today for work on genes that control the sense of smell — explaining how we recall months later the scent of a lilac.

The two found a gene pool which contains the blueprint for receptors or sensors in the nose that identify odours. They published their fundamental study in 1991.

"The sense of smell long remained the most enigmatic of our senses. The basic principles for recognising and remembering about 10,000 different odours were not understood," said the Nobel Assembly of Stockholm's Karolinska university hospital, in its citation for the 10 million crown (\$1.38 million) award. "Until Axel and Buck's studies the sense of smell was a mystery," said Prof. Sten Grillner of the Karolinska's panel.

The two described a large family of 1,000 different genes,



Linda Buck

three per cent of the total in the human body, that give rise to an equivalent number of sensors in the nose that identify smells, known as "olfactory receptor types".

These sensors sit on cells in the back part of the nose and are responsible for identifying smells. Each receptor cell has only one type of odorant receptor, which can detect a limited number of types of smell.

The receptor cells then send signals back to the parts of the brain responsible for smell. "Therefore, we can consciously experience the smell of a lilac flower in the spring and recall this olfactory memory at other times," the citation added.

The award said Columbia University professor Axel, 58, and 57-year-old Buck, of the Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Centre in Seattle, had clarified the olfactory system from the molecular level to the organisation of the cells.

The award, given since 1901, is formally called the prize for medicine or physiology — the study of living organisms. Hans Jornvall, secretary of the Nobel Committee at the Karolinska, said that in this sense the award was a "true physiology prize for humanity, something we use every day".

Fellow Karolinska expert Prof. Tomas Olsson said their discoveries had led to no medical breakthroughs.





The US concept of global terrorism is everybody's staple diet

5-18  
1/10

# A terror in every bush

## CUTTING CORNERS

ASHOK MITRA

Thus spake the army chief of staff: as if the Armed Services (Special Powers) Act applies not just to Kashmir or Manipur, but to the entire country, including its judicial process. A judicial commission is investigating the circumstances leading to the death of Thangjam Manorama Devi; the army itself has instituted its own court of inquiry into the matter. Such facts are apparently of no consideration for the general lording over our army's affairs: how dare anybody cast a slur on his men posted in Manipur? They are the salt of the earth; ergo, they are above the country's laws.

Going by his pronouncement, the chief of staff is totally insensitive to the situation that the forces under his overall command have created in Manipur. The populace of that particular tract of our country has risen unitedly in revolt against a Centre whose army, they firmly believe, is soaked in the notion that bestial torture is the sole instrument of policy at the disposal of a practising democracy. Enough evidence has already been collected to pour doubt on the army's version of the Manorama Devi episode. In view of the turmoil currently on in the north-eastern state, the least one would have expected of the army chief is a temporary suspension of bluff and bluster. He is, alas, incapable of exercising such a restraint. This attitude on his part is perhaps influenced by an honest belief that everything is fair and square in the war against terrorism. He having said what he has said, his continuance as the country's principal army officer may well be reckoned as a further affront by the people of Manipur. Even otherwise, an individual with such open contempt for the nation's judicial system is ill-suited to fill in the most sensitive position he is occupying.

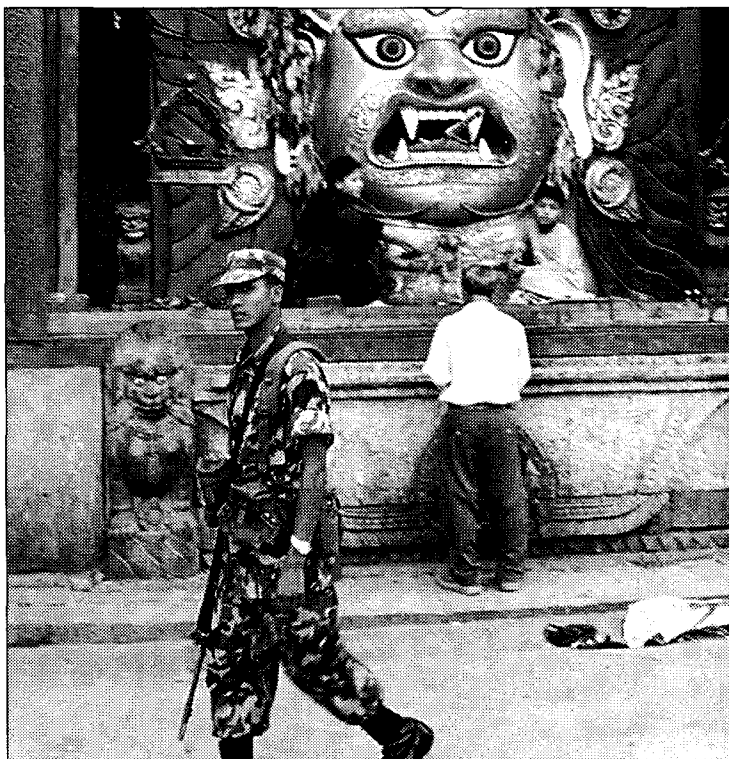
It is, moreover, not a simple issue of manners alone. The army is supposed to be the protector of the country's defence and integrity. But the happenings in Manipur — and, there should be no qualms in adding, those in Kashmir over the past decades — bear testimony to a rather unpalatable truth: in certain circumstances, the army can actually be a threat to the nation's integrity. The alienation of the civilian mind, in Kashmir as well as in the north-eastern states, is a cold, harsh reality. The impact of this reality is however yet to affect the decision-makers in the nation's capital. They go about as if Manipur, for instance, is a speck of dust which can be flicked away by a shuffle of one's little finger. Their underlings, including army and police personnel, follow their lead and behave in the way the army chief of staff has

exemplified. Call it callousness, call it the meanderings of an absent-minded administration, but its implications for the nation's future can be ominous.

The pattern is, by now, fairly predictable. Discontent brews in this or that outlying state; the administration leaves the problem to be tackled by army and security forces. The latter commit *faux pas* after *faux pas*, thereby aggravating the situa-

tion. They must arrange a brief photo session with President Putin too. The issue of inducting the assistance of foreign money and foreign advisers in chartering the country's development design hogs the headlines. Nobody bothers to address even a mild letter or reprimand to the army chief of staff; he has a free hand to counter terrorism, whether domestic or international.

The overwhelming concern is



A Nepalese soldier walks past the idol of Akash Bhairav in Kathmandu

tion. While resentment of the people grows, official policy remains unchanged. Army and security advisers are given their head: they proceed to suppress, with ruthlessness, discontent of all manifestations, including open or clandestine acts of rebellion. Budgetary allocations are jacked up for army and security forces. The consequence is predictable. At one end, the degree of oppression intensifies; at the other end, funds for development purposes, including health and education, come under increasingly greater strain.

Meanwhile, ruling politicians are busy with their preoccupations. They have to address the annual session of the United Nations general assembly. They have to talk Kashmir with Pakistan's head of state, and promise more abstract strides towards the restoration of peace in the valley. They have to seek a tea-and-sympathy get-together with the president of the United States of America. For appearance's sake,

the containment of terrorism. Consider the matter of official Indian assistance to Nepal, again to fight terrorism. The Maoists by now control two-thirds of Nepal's countryside. Their urban constituency is hardly negligible either. That landlocked country continues to flaunt an absolute monarchy whose horrendously repressive role has assumed legendary status. The monarchy is further boosted by the oligarchy of the Ranas, who have legal claim over most of the country's arable land. They also exercise control over the handful of industries that exist. Agriculture is still severely exploitative, the industries are mostly in the nature of assembling or processing activities, generating very little income and employment for the Nepalese people. Along with the Ranas, the co-beneficiaries of this exploitative system are a select group of Indian traders and industrialists. The Maoists have put to excellent use the collective resentment of Nepal's masses

against the monarchy, the Ranas and the carpet-baggers from India; they are waging, in effect, a three-in-one war of national liberation.

But never say die. With the American concept of global terrorism now everybody's staple diet, the Nepalese establishment looks forward to tackle domestic upheavals with recourse to international support. The Americans have already arrived in Kathmandu to open another, albeit minor, front against global terror, of which the Maoists are taken to be an integral constituent. Now the regime in New Delhi, led by the Indian National Congress, is also seemingly itching to join the crusade: it has agreed to supply Nepal's monarch a substantial cache of arms and other logistical support to put down Maoist terror. And this, when India's minister for home affairs is addressing chief ministers of states afflicted by disturbances fomented by Maoists, suggesting that domestic discontent of this kind is often the product of social and economic inequalities, and therefore beyond the ken of mere law and order stratagems. There is a total disjunction between the country's domestic and external policies. Or is the home minister dissembling?

Conceivably, many of those now at the helm of the nation's affairs have not even heard such names as those of Bhagat Singh, Surya Sen, Binoy Bose and Rajguru. The contributions of such individuals were part of the total effort, which ushered in the country's freedom. The British however persisted to describe these national heroes as terrorists — and worse, anarchists. Descriptions are the prerogative of whoever presides over description-allotting ceremonies. The US administration will be more than happy to find the government of India as its comrade-in-arms in the war against global terror in Nepal, where a Maoist putsch is threatening to overrun the ruling tyranny. At the next stage, American advisers may bear down hard on New Delhi: what is sauce for the Nepalese goose should be equally sauce for the Indian gander; wait a while, US army and security personnel will be only too glad to fly in to put down successfully such local species of international terrorists as a massive strike by bank employees in Calcutta or by port employees in Mumbai; all that will be needed is a certain flexibility in the definition of global terror.

As Bertolt Brecht once said, the truth unites: those reluctant to tick off an erring army chief of staff for a gross act of indiscretion are the same people who dole out arms to Nepal's monarch to suppress the uprising of land-hungry and employment-seeking multitudes. *No pasaran!* to global terror.

# Ahead of debate, a blast from the past



FROM DENVER POST

**KAREN E CRUMMY**  
DENVER, SEPTEMBER 30

**T**HE White House and Air Force Reserve officials in Denver were scrambling on Wednesday to explain the sudden appearance of a record written and signed by President Bush resigning from the US Air Reserve in 1974 because he had "inadequate time" to fulfill his duty obligations.

The document surfaced on Wednesday afternoon and was publicly released on Wednesday night after the White House was asked about it by *The Denver Post*.

A White House spokesman said the Department of Defence apparently had the record since it was filed in November 1974, but it had somehow failed to provide it in February when the

President ordered that all of his service records be released.

"We've continually asked DoD to make the President's records available, and obviously, it would've been preferable if this had been released at the same time as the others," said White House spokesman Jim Morrell. Earlier in the day, Defence officials had denied knowledge of the records' existence. It was later confirmed by a spokesman at Denver's Air Reserve Personnel Center, then by the White House.

The emergence of the new document raises questions about what else might surface in the five weeks before the November 2 election. In February, Bush said that all his records were released to the public.

Morrell downplayed the significance of the document, pointing out that it was signed

on November 8, 1974, a year after Bush notified the Texas National Guard that he was relocating from Houston to Cambridge, Mass., to attend Harvard Business School.

As reported previously by *The Boston Globe*, Bush had promised in 1973 to find a Guard unit in Massachusetts to complete his six-year commitment or face immediate call-up to active duty. Instead, he was officially transferred by May 1974 to an inactive assignment as an executive support officer at Denver's Air Reserve Center, records show.

Bush apparently never reported to Denver, then wrote the discovered "Tender of Resignation" in November 1974, in which he says he wants out because he has "inadequate time to fulfill possible future commitments." He was discharged from the Reserve two weeks later. —NYT

## Networks to defy camera rules

**LOS ANGELES:** The US television networks planning live coverage of the presidential debates said on Wednesday they would disregard ground rules set by the two campaigns to control camera shots of the candidates. And the nonpartisan Commission on Presidential Debates said it could not be expected to enforce strictures on network coverage of the four debates, the first of which starts 6 am ist on Friday. At issue are rules that bar the networks from airing "cut-



away" shots of either president Bush or John Kerry while they are waiting their turn to speak. The first debate, in the University of Miami Campus, will focus on foreign policy. —Reuters

INDIAN EXPRESS

1 OCT 2004  
1 OCT 2004

# Nepal-bound plane with U.S. arms in Indian airport

By Amit Baruah

**NEW DELHI, SEPT. 28.** An aircraft operated by Vega Airlines, a private Bulgarian cargo company, carrying explosives and ammunition to "combat" the Maoists in Nepal, has been sitting at an Indian airport since Saturday, awaiting permission to fly out to Kathmandu.

This newspaper has been reliably told that the United States Government engaged Vega Airlines, which mostly has Russian-made AN-12 aircraft (see the Airlines' website [www.vegaair.com](http://www.vegaair.com)) in its fleet, to ferry the explosives and am-

munition to Kathmandu for an "anti-terrorist" training facility in Nepal.

Sources in the Ministry of External Affairs claimed that the aircraft had not been "detained" while officials in the Directorate-General of Civil Aviation (DGCA) told *The Hindu* that "as of 9.30 am this morning" the aircraft was at an Indian airport.

In Ahmedabad airport?

At least two sources confirmed that the aircraft was sitting at the Ahmedabad airport, but N.S. Jaldhari, Ahmedabad airport director, was reluctant

to give away any information. He initially said he had no information, but later denied that any aircraft had been "detained."

A source in the Indian security establishment said that the "ghosts of Purulia," the sensational arms drop in Purulia district of West Bengal in December 1995, had not been forgotten in New Delhi. The fact that the Purulia arms drop was by an AN-26 aircraft, operated by a five-member Latvian crew, is a parallel that few would ignore.

The source also said that detailed procedures had been

put in place at Indian airports following the Purulia arms drop, which even entitled aviation authorities to ask any aircraft overflying Indian airspace to land and match its cargo with its manifest.

Clearance not received

The DGCA, at least, is not taking any chances with the Vega Airlines' aircraft. "As of 9.30 am this morning, we have not received clearance from the Ministry of External Affairs to let this aircraft go," the DGCA officials told this correspondent.

When it was pointed out

that the aircraft had been sitting in Ahmedabad since the weekend, the officials responded, "Let it sit." The officials said clearance from a "number of agencies" had to be obtained in such cases.

Clearly, the Vega Airlines case signals that the United States Government, while discussing the Nepal situation with India, is also acting on its own as far as building up an anti-terrorist capability in the Himalayan kingdom is concerned.

In the past, India has not hidden its irritation as far as foreign involvement in Nepal

is concerned.

The fact that arms supplied by the United States are making their way to Nepal does not, however, surprise officials in the External Affairs Ministry.

However, it appears that the establishment is not so sure in the case of the Vega Airlines aircraft.

Denial

When this correspondent contacted Angel Petrov, Vega Airlines' Commercial Director in Sofia, Bulgaria, by telephone, Mr. Petrov first denied that any Vega aircraft was at

an Indian airport.

When pressed, Mr. Petrov said he would see "what information could be shared about the aircraft and asked this correspondent to send him an e-mail.

Since the e-mails kept bouncing back, this correspondent again telephoned the Vega Airlines office only to be told that Mr. Petrov was in "meeting."

A detailed message providing this writer's contact numbers was left at the Vega Airlines office, but no further response was forthcoming at the time of writing.



# Ramanna & the nuclear programme

By M.R. Srinivasan

RAJA RAMANNA and I met for the first time in early 1956, when I returned to India, after joining the Department of Atomic Energy in September 1955, in London. By a coincidence we lived in the same block of apartments in Colaba, close to the Gateway of India. We both belonged to a small sub-group of the Mysore Iyengar community speaking a highly Kannadaised Tamil. We were among a small group of young scientists and engineers selected by Homi Bhabha. We worked on building the Apsara reactor, India's first nuclear research reactor. Ramanna went on to build a strong research group in nuclear physics while I embarked on the construction of India's first nuclear power station at Tarapur.

After Homi Bhabha's untimely death in an air crash in January 1966, Vikram Sarabhai was appointed Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission. It coincided with the time when the United States and the United Kingdom were pressuring other countries to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Sarabhai was new to the intricacies of nuclear policy and L.K. Jha, Secretary to Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and later Adviser to Indira Gandhi, appeared to be weighing India's gains and losses from joining the NPT.

At that crucial time, Homi Sethna and Ramanna worked closely with P.N. Haksar, who had become the Prime Minister's Secretary and G. Parthasarathy. So the policy decision

taken by Indira Gandhi emerged that India would not join the NPT, no matter what the blandishments were.

While the avowed policy of India was to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, the Chinese nuclear weapon test of 1964 posed a major security dilemma for India. The situation was greatly compounded given the reverses suffered by India in the border war with China in 1962. A

engaged his attention, especially after his stint as Scientific Adviser to the Defence Minister (1977 to 1980). An impediment to going nuclear was the feeling in Delhi that the economic sanctions the West would impose on India might become unbearable. In the mean time evidence from Pakistan, increasing day by day, indicated that it was making rapid progress in the enrichment of uranium and that China was extending

## *The legacy of Raja Ramanna is that he helped build up a large pool of scientists and technologists to address the country's needs of energy and national security.*

substantial support to Pakistan going nuclear. By the end of the 1980s it became evident that Pakistan had a few nuclear weapons in its basement. India's response was to continue the policy of ambivalence but with a high degree of preparedness. While Ramanna retired from the AEC early in 1987, he had made sure that his principal associates had moved ahead substantially on the weaponisation programme.

Given the progress made on nuclear weapons by Pakistan, India had to respond beyond routinely telling the country that its security would be ensured under all circumstances. By the mid-1990s, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao reportedly gave clearance to carry out a weapons test and prep-

arations began. However, the U.S. pressure on Mr. Rao resulted in his countermmanding the earlier approval. It is to the credit of Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee that he took the firm decision to go ahead with the Pokhran-II tests of May 1998. The Indian economy had in the meantime grown robust enough to withstand the economic sanction that the U.S. and its allies imposed on India.

Contrary to the fears in some sections of Indian opinion, relations with the U.S. actually improved after India became overtly nuclear. Also nuclear weaponisation in India followed Pakistan acquiring nuclear weapon capability. India, with a nuclear arsenal, even if limited, is better able to support universal nuclear disarmament, which continues to be India's goal.

The legacy of Ramanna is that over a half century of his association with the atomic energy programme, he helped build up a large pool of scientists and technologists who could taken on new and challenging problems in nuclear science and technology to address the country's needs of energy and national security. Homi Bhabha had foreseen in 1944 that when the time came for applying nuclear science and technology for national progress, it would find the experts needed for the purpose in India. Raja Ramanna exemplifies in full measure the realisation of that dream.

(The writer is a former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.)







# Thinking of you, Lilly Samarine

**W**e recognize the dreadful moments now, even as they happen. None of us who ever saw the photograph of the young girl running naked down the rice-paddy road in Vietnam, grief burnt into her face, will ever forget it.

None of us can ever drive past a road sign pointing to "Dunblane" without thinking of the sorrow it enshrines. No September 11 can be the same again. Srebrenica is no longer the name of some charming medieval town in eastern Bosnia. It, too, has become a label attached to suffering. The modern world is crowded with Gethsemanes.

Now there is another. What was Beslan until a couple of days ago? It was, quite literally, to us, nothing. And if you look at the television pictures of the catastrophe there, you can see the outlines of "nothing" lurking in the background: the usual Russian mess, the slightly ramshackle, jerry-built sheds and offices, the cars parked here and there, the electricity lines across and along the potholy roads, the scurfy grass around them, the feeling, which Russia shares with America, that there is too much room in the vast continental spaces of the country for a great deal of care to be taken with the immediate details.

It was anywhere and nowhere, a normality, a fragment of the average.

Now, though, Beslan has taken its place in the list of cruelty and wrongness. Its name will be inseparable from the suffering of children and their parents, from the most terrible irruption of wickedness into innocent lives.

**P**recisely a year ago, just at the beginning of the school year, I was in Russia, in St Petersburg and, with her mother, I took a little girl, half-Russian, half-English, to her first day at school. Juliana Ivanovna Samarine, who is called Lilly by those who know and love her, took with her, as every other child did, a bunch of flowers for her teacher.

From 8 am, the pavements of St Petersburg, the embankments along the canals, with the sunshine glittering up onto the palace façades beside them, were filled with rivers of children walking to school for the first

day of term, each one with an enormous bunch of flowers in her hand. The little girls held them up above their heads like flags. At the school doors, the teachers stood receiving the tributes from their pupils, the headmistresses drowning in the biggest bunches, gardenfuls of flowers clustered to the bosom.

It was, as of course it was meant to be, a picture of innocence and affection...a small opening sign of encouragement, gratitude and optimism about the coming year. All over Russia this week, in Beslan as everywhere else, those rivers of flowers would have flowed along the streets, the whole continent of the country running with streams and cataracts of the dahlias, gladioli and chrysanthemums the Russians had picked

from their allotment and dacha gardens, the private gestures of a traumatized country whose century-long sufferings are still, it seems, far from over.

Why does the sight of wounded and bleeding children hurt so much? Because they summon all sorts of archetypal memories. In their thinness and nakedness, the children look like vulnerability itself.

The small bodies slumped in men's arms, hanging there as loosely folded as a length of heavy cloth, are each of them a *Pietà*, the archetype of pity. Each is a Cordelia carried on at the end of Act V, the cruellest moment in any play ever written.

Each carried body is a bitter parody of a sleeping child cared for in the arms of its father, in which every line

is the same as it should be, but the meaning of every line is the opposite of what you hope it might be. The death and wounding of children — by women terrorists, for goodness sake — shown like this, when the wounded parents must do the carrying, and carry on doing the carrying after the crisis is over, is the denial of everything that matters most in life: the chance that the future might be better than the past; and the hope, which is in each child's face, that the world will be good to them.

**I**t is a reminder that pitilessness lies near the heart of the universe. You only have to read the ancient texts to understand that. Psalm 77, written in the Iron Age, more than 2,500 years ago, stares straight at the dreadfulness of things. It is a lament in the face of unapproachable sorrow.

"Will the Lord cast off for ever?" the Psalmist asks. "And will he be favourable no more? Is his mercy clean gone for ever? Doth his promise fail for ever more? Hath God forgotten to be gracious? Hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies? And I said, this is my infirmity."

There is no consolation in that. It simply states the cruelty of things and, when faced with the painful and distressing events that happen every week in the world, it seems clear to me that an understanding of that kind goes further than any form of sugared, consoling religion, or any creed that implies somehow that god is good and capable and has organized a good and kind universe.

**F**aced with Beslan, with the blood-soaked children lying on the stretchers, with the grief-shattered faces of the waiting parents, with the knowledge that the pain you see is only the beginning of the pain to come, I don't understand how anyone could maintain that this is a good world.

I think of Lilly Samarine, and of what I would be feeling now if it had been her school to which this had happened, if it had been her little body burnt and wounded on the stretcher. Would I ever trust again that this is the best of all possible worlds?



The cruellest moment

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

THE TELEGRAPH

11 SEP 2004

# The Chechens' American friends

By John Laughland

**A**N ENORMOUS head of steam has built up behind the view that Russian President Vladimir Putin is somehow the main culprit in the grisly events in North Ossetia. Soundbites and headlines such as "Grief turns to anger," "Harsh words for government," and "Criticism mounting against Putin" have abounded, while TV and radio correspondents in Beslan have been pressed on air to say that the people there blame Moscow as much as the terrorists. There have been numerous editorials encouraging us to understand — to quote the *Sunday Times* — the "underlying causes" of Chechen terrorism (usually Russian authoritarianism), while the widespread use of the word "rebels" to describe people who shoot children shows a surprising indulgence in the face of extreme brutality.

On closer inspection, it turns out that this so-called "mounting criticism" is in fact being driven by a specific group in the Russian political spectrum — and by its American supporters. The leading Russian critics of Mr. Putin's handling of the Beslan crisis are the pro-United States politicians Boris Nemtsov and Vladimir Ryzhkov — men associated with the extreme neo-liberal market reforms, which so devastated the Russian economy under the West's beloved Boris Yeltsin — and the Carnegie Endowment's Moscow Centre. Funded by its New York head office, this influential think-tank — which operates in tandem with the military-political Rand Corporation, for instance in producing policy papers on

Russia's role in helping the U.S. restructure the "Greater Middle East" — has been quoted repeatedly in recent days blaming Mr. Putin for the Chechen atrocities. The centre has also been assiduous over recent months in arguing against Moscow's claims that there is a link between the Chechens and the Al-Qaeda.

These people peddle essentially the same line as that expressed by Chechen leaders themselves, such as Ahmed Zakaev, the London exile

far better information and images from Beslan than their Western commentators. This harshness towards Mr. Putin is perhaps explained by the fact that, in the U.S., the leading group that pleads the Chechen cause is the American Committee for Peace in Chechnya (ACPC). The list of the self-styled "distinguished Americans" who are its members is a rollcall of the most prominent neoconservative who so enthusiastically support the "war on terror."

## *The Washington neocons' commitment to the war on terror evaporates in Chechnya, whose cause they have made their own.*

The ACPC heavily promotes the idea that the Chechen rebellion shows the undemocratic nature of Mr. Putin's Russia, and cultivates support for the Chechen cause by emphasising the seriousness of human rights violations in the tiny Caucasian republic. It compares the Chechen crisis to those other fashionable "Muslim" causes, Bosnia and Kosovo — implying that only international intervention in the Caucasus can stabilise the situation there. In August, the ACPC welcomed the award of political asylum in the U.S. and a U.S. Government-funded grant, to Ilyas Akhmadov, foreign minister in the opposition Chechen Government, and a man Moscow describes as a terrorist. Coming from both political parties, the ACPC members represent the backbone of the U.S. foreign policy establishment, and their views are indeed

who wrote in the *Guardian* on September 7. Other prominent figures who use the Chechen rebellion as a stick with which to beat Mr. Putin include Boris Berезovsky, the Russian oligarch who, like Mr. Zakaev, was granted political asylum in the U.K., although the Russian authorities want him on numerous charges. Moscow has often accused Mr. Berезovsky of funding Chechen rebels in the past.

By the same token, the BBC and other media sources are putting it about that Russian TV played down the Beslan crisis, while only Western channels reported live, the implication being that Mr. Putin's Russia remains a highly controlled police state. But this view of the Russian media is precisely the opposite of the impression I gained while watching both CNN and Russian TV over the past week: the Russian channels had

those of the U.S. administration. Although the White House issued a condemnation of the Beslan hostage-takers, its official view remains that the Chechen conflict must be solved politically. According to ACPC member Charles Fairbanks of Johns Hopkins University, U.S. pressure will now increase on Moscow to achieve a political, rather than military, solution — in other words to negotiate with terrorists, a policy the U.S. resolutely rejects elsewhere.

Allegations are even being made in Russia that the West itself is somehow behind the Chechen rebellion, and that the purpose of such support is to weaken Russia and to drive her out of the Caucasus. The fact that the Chechens are believed to use as a base the Pankisi gorge in neighbouring Georgia, a country which aspires to join NATO, has an extremely pro-American government, and where the U.S. already has a significant military presence — only encourages such speculation. Mr. Putin himself even seemed to lend credence to the idea in his interview with foreign journalists on Monday.

Proof of any such Western involvement would be difficult to obtain, but is it any wonder Russians are asking themselves such questions when the same people in Washington who demand the deployment of overwhelming military force against the U.S.'s so-called terrorist enemies also insist that Russia capitulate to hers? — ©*Guardian Newspapers Limited* 2004

*John Laughland is a trustee of the British Helsinki Human Rights Group ([www.oscewatch.org](http://www.oscewatch.org))*

10 SEP 2004







# Window to Indian architecture

**THE GUIDE TO THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT:** Takeo Kamiya; Translated by Geetha Parameswaran; Annabel Lopez, Bevinla Collaco — Editors; Pub. by Architecture Autonomous, No. 674, Near Nisha's Play School, Torda, Salvador do Mundo, Bardez, Goa-403101. Rs. 1200.

TRAVELLERS AND historians have excavated architecture literally and metaphorically to understand and construct the past and the present. From early Greek travellers, Huan Tsang, Domingos Paes through to Fergusson many have travelled the length and breadth of the country and have been awed by its variety and the culture that produced it. The variety is not limited to typology and scale. The variety is about landscape, multiple views it embodies and the craft skills it celebrates.

From the 18th Century onwards travellers and historians have attempted to produce a grand explanation built on race and other misplaced theories and grossly misrepresented Indian architecture. This is by now a familiar story and has been excellently documented in Partha Mitter's work.

The variety in Indian architecture has been so bewildering that it has consistently challenged any attempts to build a limited notion of nation and national style. This includes recent attempts by contemporary architects and archaeologists to

build a limited representation of national architecture.

## Labour of love

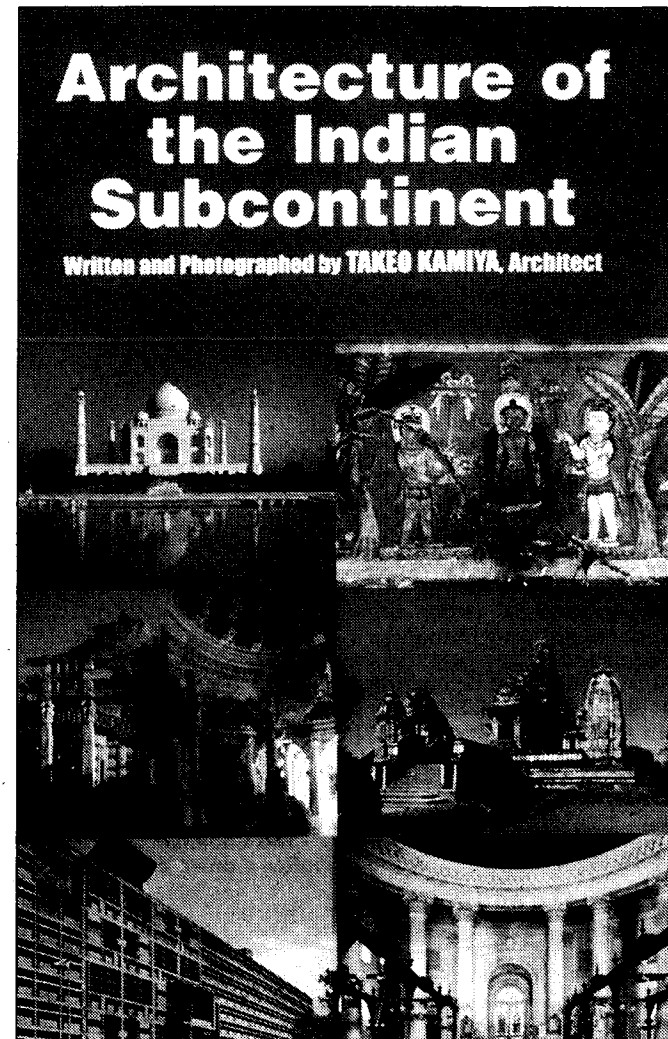
Takeo Kamiya's guidebook under review reiterates the variety that characterises Indian architecture and is a welcome reminder. The book is a labour of love. Kamiya has been visiting and studying Indian monuments for almost 20 years. He has compiled the many well-known and not so well-known sites totalling about 612 and meticulously organised it for the convenience of the discerning traveller. The author himself has photographed all the sites.

The book contains beautiful drawings from different sources and they are included for appreciating the monuments better. It is oriented to travellers who are interested in heritage tourism, especially the architectural heritage. This explains the useful travel information it carries.

Kamiya has wisely arranged monuments according to zones and states without attempting any stylistic categories. Indian architecture has never yielded to classifications based on styles as in European history. He also avoids the pitfalls of race, religious and other orientalist categories, which even the India Festival exhibitions unwisely mimic.

## Firsthand account

*Penguin Guide to Monuments* edited by Mitchell and Davies has served as an important ref-



erence for this book. Unlike the *Penguin Guide*, Kamiya has not

relied on second-hand accounts, but as the postscript

makes it clear, he has visited all the sites and inhabited the space and buildings and recorded them. Where the *Penguin* and *Blue Bell Guides* score over this book is at the level of historical information they convey.

The author is not a professional historian but an architect who has a feel for the buildings and space, and understands them. Be it a small temple at Srinivasanallur or a large metropolitan complex like the Fatehpur Sikri, the text expresses these qualities. They are simple but useful architectural explanations. This leaves the reader with the choice to seek other sources for more detailed historical information.

## Comments

It is indeed a difficult task to make a compilation of Indian architecture in a single volume. This is bound to provoke debates about inclusion, exclusion and representation. However, a fair if not exhaustive representation of colonial and contemporary architecture of India would be useful and be consistent with the book's desire to include a wide variety of architectural representation and not limit itself to the ancient.

tend and include Pakistan and pave the way for a larger volume of the subcontinent.

For many who are used to the descriptions of the British travel writers and historians, a guide book by an Asian and in particular by a Japanese architect opens new anticipations. This anticipation is neither met in the introduction nor in the body of the text nor in the postscript. Much to our disappointment, the book hangs on to the contestable ideas of Fergusson like that of his views on the architecture of sentiment and architecture of reason.

In the promotional lectures that accompanied the book release, Kamiya insightfully brought out the similarities and differences between Japan and Indian architecture. His views about how Japanese traditional architecture is inhabited by paintings and that of Indian by sculptures were insightful. Even a brief mention of such views would have added value to this otherwise good compilation of Indian monuments.

What this book leaves after a sumptuous presentation is the question why architectural guides continue to focus on the spectacular. Why should the past be only understood and the culture represented through the monumental and religious buildings? The architecture of everyday life and the rural continue to be overlooked. This good work too is not an exception.

A. SRIVATHSAN

# For the Raj aficionado

**THE GWALIOR OF SCINDIA'S:** J.W.D. Johnstone; Spring Books, Gurgaon. Copies available from Shubhi Publications, 15, A.K.D. Towers, Sec-14, Gurgaon. Rs. 795.

THIS IS a quaint book redolent of the Raj. One cannot quite fathom why the book has been republished for there is nothing much here for the common reader. But for Raj aficionados and those interested in history and the princely states, the book provides an amusing skim through.

It is an account of the visit of the Prince and the Princess of Wales to Gwalior in 1905. The then Maharaja, Madho Rao Scindia II played host and did the honours as only the princes could in pre-Independence In-

dia. He wished the event be recorded and entrusted the task to J.W.D. Johnstone.

The writer took his job too literally it appears because even the minute details are provided. So we have to wade through trivia like the names of the officers nominated for special duty such as the unloading of the luggage and the distribution of carriage passes.

## Royal pastime

Shocking in these days of environmental awareness and the realisation of the need to conserve wildlife are the details about the hunting of the tiger. The description of the "shikar" is the most repellent part of the book for it tells you in gory detail how the majestic animal is

trapped and the whole shikar laid out as a feat for the guest. The arrogance is appalling, "Hopes run high that My lord Tiger would be obliging and make his appearance where and when he was required," says Johnstone.

The diabolic planning and execution has 800 men (beaters) to rouse the animal and bring it to the required spot. This is followed by the shooting and the inevitable photograph of the cowardly hunters and the brave hunted. The Prince of Wales, it is stated proudly, shot three tigers during this visit and six more within the next six months.

## Rise to power

The book carries a brief histo-

ry of Gwalior and traces the Scindias' rise to power. The Maratha Peshwa Bajji Rao obtained Malwa and shared his newly acquired territory between his trusted officers Malhar Holkar and Ranoji Scindia. The Scindias began to rule Gwalior from the 18th Century. Madho Rao Scindia I was a courageous and noteworthy king.

The Scindias' initial clashes with the British gave place to a policy of compromise and appeasement which later turned to a feudatory attitude. The Princes received sops in the form of contrived titles. The Gwalior princes were the recipients of the Knight Grand Cross of the Hessian Order of Philip the Magnanimous!

A chapter is devoted to the

ancient Gwalior fortress, which from the time of its capture by Qutb-ud-din in 1196 A.D. until 1858 A.D. was continually "the scene of war and tumult." The tomb of singer Tansen and the mausoleum of Mohammed Ghaus, a spiritual leader during Akbar's time are described.

When the writer talks of the state banquet in the magnificent Jai Vilas Palace, he mentions the much written about miniature silver train of the Scindias "consisting of an engine and six cut glasses for passing wine and cigarettes around the table."

## A Raj diary

This is a typical Raj diary that reads like a gazette. (And why is there an apostrophe in the Scin-

dias in the title?) The author has tried to wax eloquent wherever he can.

But how much scope can there be for that in a document that is obviously sycophantic and seeks to reiterate the Scindias' loyalty to the Crown and the greatness of the rulers who felt the Sun would forever remain at noon.

Much water has flown under the Gwalior bridge. With the royal family immersed in present day politics, one would think the book would be somewhat of an embarrassment for them in a free democratic India. But then this is history and like quite a few royals they might be willing to face accounts of the past chin up.

KAUSALYA SANTHANAM



## KNOW YOUR ENGLISH

**What is the meaning and origin of "face the music"?** (P. V. Srinivasan, Chennai)

When you decide to do something on your own and everything goes completely wrong, how do people react? Usually they criticise you; sometimes, they even punish you. When you "face the music", you accept the criticism or punishment that is in store for you. In other words, you take responsibility for your mistakes.

\*The partners ran away and poor Venu was left to face the music.

\*Listen Meera, sooner or later you will have to face the music.

There are several explanations as to the origin of this idiom. According to some scholars, it comes from a practice that was common in the British military. When an officer was court-martialed, the charges against him were read out for all to hear. The man was made to stand in front of the military band and while the charges were being read out, drummers used to tap their drums. Since the prisoner was facing the band and the drums were being played, he was literally "facing the music". This practice of tapping the drums while the charges were read out gave rise to another expression as well — "drummed up charges".

Is it okay to say, "The convict would be hung tomorrow"? (A. Umar, Kadayannallur)

No, it isn't. Careful users of the language would prefer the use of "hanged" rather than "hung". The word "hung" is usually used with objects and not with human beings. Here are a few examples.

\*Sarita hung her new coat on the doorknob.

\*The outlaw who had killed 12 people was hanged at noon.

Secondly, in your example, you should say, "will be hanged" rather than "would be hanged". The use of "would" suggests that the event may not take place. For example, if you say, "I would help you", it implies that you want to help me, but for some reason you are not in a posi-

tion to. "I would help you if I could. But I can't". The use of "would" suggests a condition. "I would marry you," for example, implies that you would consider marrying the person if certain other conditions were met — perhaps if he/she had more money, or had been more handsome/beautiful! These conditions are not going to be met; therefore, you are not going to marry the person! Your sentence should be "The convict will be hanged tomorrow."

**How is the word "suite" pronounced?** (P. K. Varadurajan, Hyderabad)

It is pronounced like the word "sweet". When you reserve a suite in a hotel, you get a set of rooms — a bedroom, a sitting room and a bathroom. Many big hotels have a "Honeymoon suite". The word "suite" can also be used with reference to furniture. It refers to matching pieces of furniture.

**What is the difference between "dispute" and "argument"?** (M. Naresh, Madurai)

An argument is usually a verbal disagreement between two people; it may or may not be something serious. The word is always used as a noun.

\*The couple got into an argument over which movie to see.

\*The argument got pretty serious. I could hear the Manager shouting.

A dispute, unlike an argument, is something which can last for a very long time and is frequently marked by heated exchanges. It is something serious, and takes place between two parties — they can be two organisations, countries and individuals. The word can be used as a noun and a verb.

\*The dispute between the two countries has been going on for several decades.

When you dispute something, you are raising serious objections. You are stating very strongly that you are objecting to it.

\*I dispute the claim that we have the best cricket team in the world.

\*\*\*\*\*

"She has as much originality as a Xerox machine."

— Laurence J. Peter  
S. UPENDRAN





## My only crime is greed, says Lakhani

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
LONDON, AUGUST 22

BRITISH businessman of Indian origin Hemant Lakhani, who was arrested on charges of trying to smuggle a shoulder-launched surface-to-air missile into the US, has expressed doubts about the legitimacy of the "informant" who led to his arrest and said his only crime was greed. After a year in custody, Lakhani, 69, broke his silence about his arrest on terrorist offences, the FBI sting that exposed his alleged arms dealing, and his doubts about the legitimacy of the informant who led the secret services of America, Russia and Britain to his door.

"They say I am a terrorist who wanted to shoot down a passenger plane. But there was never any missiles," Lakhani was quoted as saying by the *Daily Telegraph*. Lakhani, who will appear in court on November 3, faces upto 25 years in jail.

Painting himself not as a threat, but as a greedy businessman unable to say no to the one man he thought could help seal his refinery deal, Lakhani says it was only weeks after the 9/11 that he unwittingly spoke to an FBI informant.

# The dirty war for Colombian oil

By Isabel Hilton

IF PEACE ever comes to Colombia after decades of civil war, it will come too late for three citizens of the oil-rich north-east region of Arauca, on the border with Venezuela. They were murdered by the army on August 5. The men were all trade unionists, and their killings brought to 30 the number of unionists killed in Arauca so far this year.

I met the men on a recent visit to Saravena, a town in Arauca at the epicentre of the Government's security policies. Armed soldiers stood on every street corner. At a packed meeting, they and other trade unionists described the conditions they had struggled with after the President, Alvaro Uribe, designated their area a special security zone. Armoured cars cruised past the building, as though warning those inside that we were all being watched.

The stories they told were of mass arrests, kidnappings, intimidation and murder. On one occasion, in November 2002, more than 2,000 people were rounded up at gunpoint and taken to the sports stadium where they were interrogated, photographed and marked with indelible ink. Hooded informers pointed out individuals, who were then arrested. The codename for this mass abuse of civil rights was Heroic Operation.

Heroic Operation was an army undertaking but civilian authorities cooperated: officials from the attorney general's office issued arrest warrants on the spot, on the word of the informers rather than any judicial investigation. Of the 2,000 rounded up, 85 were arrested. They were taken to detention, during which some were told they would be released if they agreed to become informers. Months later, 35 had been released for lack of evidence. When they final-

ly returned home, many faced death threats from paramilitary groups. About 40 of the 50 who remained in detention were trade unionists.

The returnees talked of the harassment they endured and the alarming death rate among civilians in Arauca who assumed any position of leadership. Teachers, health workers and union activists were being killed in appalling numbers. The latest three victims were prominent local union officials. The Government claims they were guerrillas, but two had

low. The reality of the security zones poses the question of whose security they are designed to enhance.

There are seven municipalities in the department of Arauca, but the special security zone was only imposed in the three northern municipalities where the oil pipeline runs. The four municipalities to the south are dominated by illegal far-right paramilitary groups, notorious for their abuses of the civilian population — but they were excluded. The supreme court ruled the security zones

tal Petroleum, which operates in Arauca, has funded the army's controversial 18th Brigade, the main army force in the department. The United States Government also funded the 18th Brigade, apparently unconcerned that it has been accused of abuses against civilians and of cooperation with paramilitaries.

Last year, the U.S. gave Colombia \$99m to protect the pipeline, to be split between the 18th Brigade and a new mobile unit. President Bush also sent 60 U.S. special forces personnel to Arauca to train the brigade. Given this involvement of the oil companies and the U.S. Government in the brigade's activities, perhaps they can explain something the Colombian Government does not care to: how does it enhance the security of the people of Arauca when the army, directly or through its collaboration with paramilitary groups, targets health workers, trades unionists, teachers, journalists and human rights defenders and forcibly displaces indigenous and peasant communities who lived near the pipeline?

A year ago, in a meeting in London, Colombia's Vice-President signed a commitment to implement a long list of recommendations from the U.N. Human Rights Commission. Twelve months on, the U.N. reports that there has been almost no progress on most of the recommendations, and on others Colombia has moved backwards.

The Colombian Government claims that the Vice-President's signature did not commit the country to anything — an approach to commitments that Colombia's partners might care to bear in mind in future dealings with the Uribe Government. — ©Guardian Newspapers Limited 2004

## Trade unionists are the prime target of the U.S.-funded 18th Brigade as Colombia's oil pipeline is paid for in blood and dollars.

been under the special protection of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

Why has Arauca been singled out for "enhanced" security? One answer is oil. It is home to the Cano Limon oilfield, which accounts for 30 per cent of Colombia's oil production. The oil is pumped to the Caribbean through a pipeline that has been a major target for guerrilla forces. Now a complex mosaic of armed groups — rightwing paramilitaries and the army, often working closely together, and leftwing guerrillas — struggle for control of the lucrative pipeline and cocaine routes.

The civil war is decades old but has grown more complex in recent years. Mr. Uribe was elected on a promise of security. The civilians of Arauca — farmers, oil workers, health workers and their families — bear the brunt of the conflict and need peace more than anybody, but for them Mr. Uribe's promises have proved hol-

unconstitutional because of the extraordinary powers they gave to the security forces, but that did little to change the facts on the ground. Now they are designated rehabilitation and consolidation zones — little more than a change in name.

These are tough times in Colombia and the Government argues that tough measures are necessary. But key officials who look at whether these measures work point out that they are counterproductive. The Colombian human rights ombudsman and the procurator general reported that not only did human rights abuses increase, but the security situation in Arauca deteriorated after the special security zone was set up. There was a documented increase in abuses by the army and paramilitary groups, with no decrease in the danger to civilians posed by the guerrillas.

It may be a different matter, of course, for an oil company. Occiden-

# Why was the terror intelligence withheld?

By Praveen Swami

**NEW DELHI, AUG. 19.** Indian intelligence officials have voiced concern over the withholding of terrorism-related information by the United States — information New Delhi believes could be key to saving lives.

India's worries about counter-terrorism cooperation centres around events following the July 13 arrest of Muhammad Khan, a top Al-Qaeda operative who was 'turned' — or made to work as a double agent — by Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence.

Mr. Khan led the ISI and the United States' Federal Bureau of Investigation to several key Al-Qaeda figures worldwide, in-

cluding Ahmad Khalfan Gailani, a Tanzanian national wanted since 1998 for his role in bombing the United States Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam.

He is also understood to have provided a mass of evidence on Al-Qaeda's current operational plans.

### No material available

No material has been made available to India on what Mr. Khan has told the ISI and the FBI, but elements of the case have generated interest in both the Intelligence Bureau and the Research and Analysis Wing.

Western media reports have asserted that Mr. Khan's handlers made him send e-mail to Al-Qaeda cadre worldwide.

Aside from the United States itself, Mr. Khan is reported to have established contact with operatives in Indonesia, Malaysia, Bangladesh — and India.

However, Indian intelligence officials are yet to learn who these Indian contacts were or what Mr. Khan may know about Al-Qaeda activity in this country — or, in the alternative, that the reports about e-mail to Indian contacts were incorrect.

Mr. Khan's revelations, coupled with a string of other arrests in recent weeks, have led to a mass of evidence that Al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and Pakistan-based terrorist groups operating in India may be sharing infrastructure.

Several of the 13 men arrested

in the United Kingdom on the basis of Mr. Khan's disclosures are suspected of having links to Jammu and Kashmir-focused terror groups in Pakistan.

Mohammad Suhail, a Taliban cadre of Pakistani origin arrested in Afghanistan last month, is known to have been trained in a camp run to prepare personnel for the  *jihad*  in Jammu and Kashmir.

### Terror networks

Top  *jihad*  leaders, Maulana Fazl-ur-Rahman Khalil and Qari Saifullah Akhtar, who were arrested earlier this month on charges of aiding the Taliban, also ran extensive terror networks in India.

As in the case of Mr. Khan, Indian intelligence organisations have been offered nothing about what has been learnt from these arrests at the regular liaison meetings held in New Delhi with counter-terror agents from the United Kingdom and United States, Mr. Akhtar's case is instructive.

Western intelligence agencies pushed India hard for information on the terrorist leader after the kidnapping of five hostages by his former organisation, the Harkat-ul-Ansar, in 1995.

Now, although U.S. agents have questioned Mr. Akhtar, nothing has come back.

"The bottom line," says a senior Intelligence Bureau official, "is that we are being denied in-

formation about very real threats to the lives of Indian citizens."

One explanation for the silence is that the U.S., which runs a massive technical and human intelligence apparatus in Pakistan with official sanction, may be reluctant to incur the political costs of passing on information to India.

"The United States' technical assets in Pakistan," the official said, "will each day be picking up enormous volumes of communications intelligence on the activities of  *jihad*  groups operating in Jammu and Kashmir.

The fact is that not one single piece of this intelligence has ever been passed on to us. By contrast, we're regularly mined for

whatever we know about these groups." India's intelligence establishment is deeply angered by the defection of RAW official Rabinder Singh to the U.S. earlier this year, an event that added to disquiet over what some see as Washington's unwillingness to facilitate ongoing Central Bureau of Investigations inquiries into the 1999 hijacking of Indian Airlines flight IC 814.

### 'No operational use'

Although counter-terrorism cooperation has expanded greatly in recent years, the senior intelligence source told  *The Hindu*  that much of what was passed on was "vague in the extreme and almost never of operational use."



## Suspending civil rights has become the norm in fighting terror

# Uncivil wrongs

BIBEK DEBROY 9-18

**D**o we want the rice-milling industry to be regulated? Do we want rent control in Delhi or elsewhere? Do we want the rates of wages of working journalists to be fixed by an external agency? Most, but not all, people will argue we no longer need such laws. Times change and in each of the examples I have mentioned, we had an appropriate law in 1958. What was appropriate in 1958 is not necessarily appropriate in 2004. And we have yet another law enacted in 1958 that is now the matter of some controversy. I am referring to the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act of 1958 which is "An Act to enable certain special powers to be conferred upon members of the armed forces in disturbed areas in the State of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura". In 1958, the statute covered Assam and Manipur. The other states were added in 1972. It is fair to state that there is a great deal of ignorance about the North-east in mainstream India. And there is also a tendency to lump all the North-east states together, as if it is a homogeneous entity, which it isn't.

The average mainstream Indian may not even be aware what this 1958 statute does. For a start, under Section 3, some areas can be declared disturbed areas. "If, in relation to any State or Union Territory to which this Act extends, the Governor of that State or the Administrator of that Union Territory or the Central Government, in either case, is of the opinion that the whole or any part of such State or Union Territory, as the case may be, is in such a disturbed or dangerous condition that the use of armed forces in aid of the civil power is necessary, the Governor of that State or the Administrator of that Union Territory or the Central Government, as the case may be, may, by notification in the Official Gazette, declare the whole or such part of such State or Union Territory to be a disturbed area."

There is bound to be subjectivity in determining what is disturbed. For instance, fairly objectively, one can argue that some parts of Bihar or even West Bengal should be declared disturbed. Indeed, in a court case that challenged this statute, it was stated, "The term defies any definition. A disturbed area has to be adjudged according to location, situation and circumstances of a particular case as the term implies only such area as disturbed area where there is absence

of peace and tranquility."

Once a state or part of a state is declared disturbed, civil rights, as we understand it, cease to exist, because fundamental rights are overtaken by the deliciously vague objectives of maintaining public order and ensuring public interest. Accordingly, under Section 4 of the 1958 statute, the armed forces have special powers. "Any commissioned officer, warrant officer, non-commissioned officer or any other person of equivalent rank in the armed

cognizable offence and may use such force as may be necessary to effect the arrest; (d) enter and search without warrant any premises to make any such arrest as aforesaid or to recover any person believed to be wrongfully restrained or confined or any property reasonably suspected to be stolen property or any arms, ammunition or explosive substances believed to be unlawfully kept in such premises, and may for that purpose use such force as may be necessary."



forces may, in a disturbed area — (a) if he is of the opinion that it is necessary to do so for the maintenance of public order, after giving such due warning as he may consider necessary fire upon or otherwise use force, even to the causing of death, against any person who is acting in contravention of any law or order for the time being in force in the disturbed area prohibiting the assembly of five or more persons or the carrying of weapons or of things capable of being used as weapons or of fire-arms, ammunition or explosive substances; (b) if he is of the opinion that it is necessary to do so, destroy any army dump, prepared or fortified position or shelter from which armed attacks are made or are likely to be made, or any structure used as training camp for armed volunteers or utilized as hide-out by armed gangs or absconders wanted for any offence; (c) arrest, without warrant, any person who has committed a cognizable offence or against whom a reasonable suspicion exists that he has committed or is about to commit a

**‘ Suing Assam Rifles for compensation becomes difficult if, like Thangjam Manorama Devi, you happen to be dead ’**

Notice the clauses about suspicion and search and arrests without warrants. Even firing and causing death. And in such cases, under Section 6 of the statute, no prosecutions can be instituted against the offending officer without the permission of the Central government. Even if Assam Rifles happens to kill some civilians, as it is alleged to have done in Malom in 2000. Admittedly, there is an apparent safeguard in Section 5. "Any person arrested and taken into custody under this Act shall be made over to the officer in charge of the nearest police station with the least possible delay, together with a report of the circumstances occasioning the arrest." But

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this has been flouted in the past and in an actual case, Assam Rifles has also been asked to pay compensation for violation of Section 5. But in how many cases is it actually possible to sue Assam Rifles for compensation? And that becomes even more difficult if, like Thangjam Manorama Devi, you happen to be dead.

**D**id we solve the Punjab problem through such statutes, and will we ever solve the Kashmir problem with such laws? I doubt it. Indeed, there is a 1983 Armed Forces (Punjab and Chandigarh) Special Powers Act that mirrors the north-eastern one, except that it has some additional sections. For instance, officers can "stop, search and seize any vehicle or vessel reasonably suspected to be carrying any person who is a proclaimed offender, or any person who has committed a non-cognizable offence, or against whom a reasonable suspicion exists that he has committed or is about to commit a non-cognizable offence, or any person who is carrying any arms, ammunition or explosive substance believed to be unlawfully held by him, and may, for that purpose, use such force as may be necessary to effect such stoppage, search or seizure, as the case may be."

In addition, "Every person making a search under this Act shall have the power to break open the lock of any door, almirah, safe, box, cupboard, drawer, package or other thing, if the key thereof is withheld." These provisions are missing in the north-eastern statute and should we argue that the north-eastern problem persists, but the Punjab one has been resolved, because Assam Rifles lacks sufficient teeth?

Unfortunately, everything goes in the name of fighting terrorism and violence, and the suspension of human rights has become the accepted norm. Not just in India, but also in developed countries like the United States of America. People get agitated and talk about the rights of the victims of terrorism and violence.

**T**he problem is the dividing line is sometimes thin and there are completely different instances where one happens to transgress into territory that is the wrong side of the law, for no fault of one's own. When that happens and civil rights cease to exist, not everyone is powerful enough to fight the system, institute *habeas corpus* petitions or write books after the episode is over. The poor suffer the most and in the last resort, terrorism and violence are about poverty, under-development and marginalization. That's where we need to fight the battle. Not with laws.

The author is director, Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies, New Delhi

# SC ruling a boost for doctors

Our Legal Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Aug. 5. — In what will come as a big relief for the medical fraternity, the Supreme Court (coram, Sabharwal, Dharmadhikari, JJ) has held that doctors cannot be made criminally liable for every careless act of theirs. However, this could create civil liability, the court ruled.

"Where a person's death results merely from error of judgment or an accident, no criminal liability should be attached to it. Mere inadvertence or some degree of want of adequate care and caution might create civil liability but would not suffice to hold him criminally liable," the court observed.

The court said for fixing criminal liability on a doctor or surgeon, the standard of negligence required to be proved should be so high as can be described as "gross negligence" or "recklessness".

"For conviction of a doctor for alleged criminal offence, the standard should be proof of recklessness and deliberate wrong-doing i.e. a higher degree of morally blameworthy conduct... It is not merely lack of necessary care, attention and skill," the court noted.

Quashing criminal charges against a plastic surgeon, charged for negligently causing a patient's death, under Section 304A, IPC, the court said that for every mishap or death during medical treatment, the medical men can-

not be proceeded against for punishment.

"Criminal prosecution of doctors without adequate medical opinion pointing to their guilt would be doing great disservice to the community at large because if the courts were to impose criminal liability on hospitals and doctors for everything that goes wrong, the doctors would be more worried about their own safety than giving the best treatment to their patients. This would lead to shaking the mutual confidence between the doctor and the patient," the court stated.

The patient, a 34-year-old man with no history of any heart ailment, died the same day. Dr Suresh Gupta, who ran a clinic in

Delhi, operated on him for a minor nasal deformity. The post-mortem report had revealed that the patient had died of asphyxia caused by seepage of blood into the respiratory passage. The incident happened on 21 April, 1994.

Both the trial court and the High Court had convicted the doctor for criminal liability holding that he was guilty of gross negligence in making an incision at the wrong place and not taking the necessary precautions in the course of surgical operation to prevent such seepage of blood into the respiratory tract, but the Supreme Court today quashed it.

However, the doctor was liable under the law of tort, the court added.









# BOOK REVIEW

## Battle against hunger

**TOWARDS A FOOD SECURE INDIA**  
— Issues and Policies: S. Mahendra Dev, K.P. Kannan and Nira Ramachandran — Editors; Institute for Human Development, Old IAMR Building, IIPA Campus, I.P. Estate, Mahatma Gandhi Marg, New Delhi-110002, and Centre for Economic and Social Change, Hyderabad. Rs. 750.

IN RECENT years, the deepening paradox of "hunger amidst plenty" has not only been the cause for wide public concern but also a theme for serious academic debate. The book, which is a product of a national seminar, contains 21 contributions and is divided into five parts.

But, for the purpose of this review, the papers could be seen spanning two themes, one essentially dealing with the macro-dimensions of policy, problems and prospects of availability of food and the other with the issue of household level physical and economic access.

The brief preface and a very comprehensive introduction by the editors set out the issues and provide a succinct overview of the papers. Though there is no unanimity on the estimates of future demand for and supply of foodgrains in the country, there is agreement on the ability of the country to domestically produce adequate quantity in the future. By taking into consideration the alternative scenarios of productivity, Ku-

mar and Mittal's paper on supply of foodgrains, estimates production possibility ranging from 248 to 289 million tonnes by 2020.

The future demand for foodgrains by taking into consideration the changing trends in the household consumption basket (Bansil) is estimated at 241 million tonnes which is lower than even the lower end estimates of supply. The future production scenario invariably draws attention to the changing global context and the policy strategy to face it.

The paper discussing the impact of the Agreement on Agriculture as a part of the WTO (Dev) implies that the threat posed by emerging low cost technologies are likely to be much more challenging than the problem of reduced subsidies and hence the need for a strategy of agricultural development that includes increase in public investment, reduction in costs, increase in productivity and removal of restriction on trade within the country. These and related aspects of policy receive reflective and nuanced attention in a paper by Vyas that cautions against the immediate exposure of food economy of India to the vagaries of international trade.

It is argued that in a large country with poor producers and consumers there should be no compromise on the policy of food self-sufficiency at least until the workforce dependent on agriculture is reduced to less than

text of more vulnerable groups and regions. Examining food security in drought affected regions of Karnataka, it is suggested that it should be built as a part of the strategy of agricultural development of such regions by more resource allocation (Rao and Deshpande).

The hunger hotspot, Kalahandi shows that hardly one-fifth of the poor have access to the so-called revamped PDS (Sarap and Mahamalik). The answer to effective food security here lies in large scale employment generating activities. Whether it is the tribal belt of West Bengal (Mukherjee) or remote villages of Garhwal (Mira), the seasonality and women's vulnerability become important issues. Off-season employment becomes important in both the regions. But protection and access to common property resources as sources of food security, plays a more important role in the former.

The two papers in the last part of the book with special focus on the PDS read justifiably like the impeachment of the Targeted PDS (TPDS) that was introduced in the late 1990s as a part of the reforms. The papers in the earlier part of the book on Kerala, Rajasthan and Kalahandi do indicate the gathering winds against the TPDS. But these winds turn into a thunder in two papers.

Jha and Srinivasan, in their com-

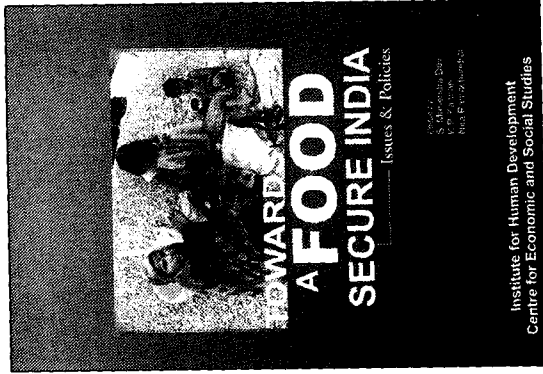
prehensive analysis, conclude that the TPDS has succeeded neither in reducing food subsidy bill nor in providing food security to a greater portion of the poor. They suggest geographical targeting, which echoes the suggestion in the context of drought prone Karnataka.

In the other article the indictment of the TPDS is categorical. "The Targeted PDS was an ill-conceived measure and the introduction of targeting was, as the changes in the budget for 2000-01 confirm, the first step in the dismantling of the PDS in India."

Additional strength to the arguments against the TPDS comes from yet another paper which focusses on nutrition security (Suryanarayana). He points out that "the average level of calorie intake is so low and the incidence of calorie deficiency is so high across the States that there is little scope for eradicating the incidence of calorie deficiency by pursuing a targeted policy uniformly across the regions."

The last paper closes on a hopeful note that a solution to the paradox of mounting food stocks and growing hunger would come from political mobilisation (Dreze). It is a difficult book for an ordinary reader but it is a must reading for everyone who would like to have a say in public policy on such critical area like food security.

**D. NARASIMHA REDDY**



50 per cent; until a stage when large number of households spend substantially less proportion of their incomes on daily requirements of food; until the economy overcomes the foreign exchange constraint; and until multinationals in food trade adhere to the "rules of the game".

The next 14 papers, though they refer to the diverse regional and grassroots experiences, are essentially on the physical and economic access to food, with a sharp focus on the Public Distribution System (PDS). The micro experiences draw attention to food security in the con-

SATURDAY, JULY 10, 2004

## CONFRONTING AIDS

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THE ACQUIRED IMMUNE Deficiency Syndrome, or AIDS as it is better known, is already being called "the Black Death of our time." During 2003, almost five million people became newly infected with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) that causes AIDS, "the greatest number in any one year since the beginning of the epidemic," points out the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) in its latest report on the global epidemic. Nearly three million died of AIDS during 2003; over 20 million have died since the first cases of AIDS were identified in 1981. HIV/AIDS is the leading cause of death worldwide among people in their most productive years (15 to 59 years), notes *The Lancet Infectious Diseases*. The scourge has devastated countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the worst affected region in the world, leaving many on the brink of economic collapse. In India, HIV infection was first confirmed among sex workers in Tamil Nadu in 1986 and by 1994 there were 1.75 million infected people. The number rose to 5.1 million by the end of 2003; only South Africa has more infected people. Although the prevalence of HIV/AIDS is still low in India, no part of the country is free from the disease. In 1994, only Maharashtra reported that more than one per cent of the women coming to ante-natal clinics during their pregnancy were HIV-positive, a danger sign that the disease had spread from high-risk groups to the general population. Now, five more States — Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Manipur, Nagaland, and Tamil Nadu — are in that category.

Towards the end of 2003, the Union Government announced that it would start supplying antiretroviral drugs free of cost to 100,000 people in the six high-prevalence States. It is estimated that one-fifth of all those infected could

require such therapy, which means drugs might need to be provided to over a million sufferers in India. Indian companies are producing generic combination drugs whose efficacy has now been demonstrated, and the cost of these medicines has dropped. As a result, first-line drug combinations now cost about Rs.1,000 a month while second-line combinations cost six to seven times as much. In providing free drug therapy to all who need it, finding the money is only part of the problem. According to experts, patients who fail to take the medicines regularly can, in a matter of months, develop forms of HIV that are resistant to the first-line drug combinations. Therefore, a large-scale antiretroviral programme must minimise the risks of drug resistance through proper training of physicians so that they strictly follow treatment guidelines; and by finding ways to foster patient compliance.

Antiretroviral drugs do not cure the disease; they only reduce the viral load in the body so that the person can lead a normal life. The spread of HIV/AIDS can be stopped only through prevention strategies that help people avoid contracting the infection. As sexual contact is the primary route for infection in India, prevention programmes must encourage people to adopt safer sex practices (such as by using condoms). Increasingly it is women within marriage who are being infected with HIV, showing that effective prevention strategies that help married couples are badly needed. Senior officials of the World Bank have pointed out that South Asian countries should avoid "the trap of inaction and denial" and must scale up their anti-HIV/AIDS activities exponentially. India needs a comprehensive national effort to stop the spread of HIV and to offer hope to the afflicted.

THE HINDU

10 JUL 2004

# Guantanamo, Gaza and India

By Rajeev Dhavan

*The Guantanamo Bay majority judgments effectively authorise American forces to detain anyone — innocent or otherwise — in the war zone, leaving them to challenge not the basis but broadly the conditions and length of detention.*

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THE AMERICAN Supreme Court's decisions of June 28, 2004, on the Guantanamo Bay detenus merit far greater scrutiny than the generally euphoric applause that has greeted them. Guantanamo Bay is a modern day Star Chamber and medieval Tower of London — all rolled into one. No autocrat could have asked for more. It is an illegal black hole where absolute powers can be exercised absolutely. It is America's Gulag — only recently upstaged by American atrocities in Abu Ghraib and other prisons in Iraq.

In the Guantanamo cases, the lead judgment of Justice Sandra Day O'Connor is full of the good phrases that everyone wanted to hear, including sentences like "a state of war is not a blank check for the President" or "essential liberties remain vibrant even in times of security concerns" or the detenus "unquestionably have the right to counsel." These phrases have given the judgment a media *tour de force*. But while the judgment exposes the arbitrariness of Guantanamo, it goes no further. The majority judgment takes many wrong turns which surface for recognition in the minority judgments.

The Court was concerned with three cases. Adopting the evasive approach invented by the American Supreme Court years ago in *Marbury vs Madison* (1804), the Court denied relief in the Guantanamo cases to remand the matter to the appropriate forum. Two of the cases — Yaser Esam Hamdi and Jose Padilla — concerned 'foreign origin' U.S. citizens who had been taken out of Guantanamo to be placed in naval custody on the mainland. The third case was a pure Guantanamo case. In Hamdi's case, the 6:3 majority provided the right to counsel permitting a limited future challenge to the legality of the detention in an appropriate forum. By contrast, the minority judgments of Justices David H. Souter, Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Scalia would have released Hamdi immediately. This courage failed the majority.

In Padilla's case, a 5:4 majority held that it was the immediate Commander holding Padilla in detention and not the Secretary of Defence, Donald Rumsfeld, who could be arraigned as responsible. By contrast, Justice Souter's judgment for the minority approved the District Court's finding on Secretary Rumsfeld's "familiarity... and personal involvement in the handling of the Padilla case." The majority seemed to absolve higher-ups in favour of those who put the handcuffs on. So, Padilla has to start afresh after dropping the person truly responsible, Mr. Rumsfeld, from the case.

The core question before the Court was whether the U.S. administration had the power to detain what it called 'enemy combatants' — a phrase which, according to the Court, eluded exact description. Unable to find a source for such a magnum power of detention, the Court traced the power of detention in the Afghan situation to the Authorisation for use of Military Force (AUMF) Resolution of 2001. But even the AUMF does not authorise 'detention' but merely gives a broad power to use "all necessary and appropriate force" against "nations, organisations and persons" associated with the September 11, 2001 attacks.

Dissenting Justices Souter, Ginsburg and Scalia rightly point to the Constitution and Congress' statutes to underline the most simple of propositions known to every law student that no detention is valid unless it is backed by a clear legal authorisation. Ergo, no law, no authorisation, no detention. The minority would have released Hamdi. The majority condemned him to another round of litigation before the appropriate court to challenge only aspects of the legality of, but not the power of, detention.

The idea that an administration can detain people without clear provisions authorising detention is wholly subversive of the rule of law. The Guantanamo Bay majority judgments effectively authorise American forces to detain anyone — innocent or otherwise — in the war zone, declare them to be 'enemy combatants' and interrogate them, leaving them to challenge not the basis but broadly the conditions and length of detention. This effectively confirms the near absolutist imperial military power of America to preserve the lawfulness of the legal black hole while allowing some fragments of legality to penetrate its density. Detentions in Guantanamo Bay are lawful. Limited challenges to the legality of time, place and conduct may be permissible.

Normally, courts are very reluctant to interfere with what the military does. But recent judgments show how courts can become the conscience keepers of the army. Even though most of the Israeli Army's military strategies are harsh, Chief

Justice Aharon Barak of the Israeli Supreme Court led the way in putting humanitarian restraints on the Army's manoeuvres. In the Physicians for Human Rights judgment (May 30, 2004), the Court refused to go into military strategy questions of Israel's presence in the Gaza Strip, but directed the provision of water, electricity, evacuation of the wounded, investigations into firing and medical support in the area. On July 1, 2004, in the Boundary Fence cases, the Israeli Supreme Court decreed

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that 20 miles of security fence through Palestinian land would have to be routed even if it compromised Israeli security because the old route 'severely' violated the freedom of movement and livelihood leaving villages in 'chokehold'.

There are several thresholds of judicial intervention. At the lowest level is the American Guantanamo Bay judgment, which condones and legitimates the unlawfulness of America's military actions while affording a minimal due process. At the next level, come a large number of judgments requiring a humanitarian due process from the army. In 1980, the Indian Supreme Court awarded compensation to chastise the army in 'disappearance' cases. India's NHRC (National Human Rights Commission) continues to investigate the Punjab 'disappearance' and canal murder cases. But at a slightly higher level of scrutiny, Indian courts faltered in the Naga Peoples' Movement case (1998) to permit 'shoot to kill' powers to the army. Not wanting to upset the applecart on court-martials, in 1990 the Indian Supreme Court refused to require recorded reasons for 'reviews' by army brass in court-martial cases. The second Israeli Boundary Fence judgment takes us to a more exacting level of scrutiny by protecting human rights even where military strategy is involved.

India can learn from the canvass of these decisions. There are grave allegations against the army's brutal violation of human rights. About five years ago, the NHRC called a meeting of the army staff and others. The Chief of Staff and many generals pleaded that the Indian Army does not want the reputation of a transgressor of human rights. Years of discussions between the Indian Army

and the NHRC have yielded dividends. Under the Act of 1993, which constitutes the NHRC, the NHRC cannot investigate the army but has to be content with post-office justifications in writing. In the celebrated Bijbehara massacres (as unjust as Gujarat's Best Bakery case), the NHRC was abruptly denied documents to court-martial proceedings, which acquitted everyone allegedly involved. However on May 27, 2004, the NHRC reported a greater awareness of human rights violations as the Army punished 131 personnel (including officers) for human rights violations including two given life imprisonment, 59 rigorous imprisonment, 11 dismissals, and various other punishments. These are encouraging indications that India's military actions fall under the canopy of human rights and due process.

Let us return to Guantanamo Bay. If 'terrorism' is invasive of human rights, the power to deal with terrorism can subvert the very human rights that counterterrorism measures claim to protect. Apart from national legislation to curb civil freedoms, America has declared itself the most capable imperial military to launch attacks on every state on the basis of over-broad doctrines of anticipatory self-defence and humanitarian intervention anywhere and every where. In this process, it created the black hole of Guantanamo Bay. People from the 'war zones' could be randomly picked up as 'enemy combatants' and thrown indefinitely into the black hole.

The American Supreme Court had an excellent opportunity to effectively prevent such military detentions. But the majority judges in the Guantanamo cases blew it. After the Guantanamo judgments, America can randomly pick up supposed 'enemy combatants' to detain and interrogate them. To the extent, that American courts have jurisdiction to consider limited aspects of any detention the judgment deserves some applause. But the applause cannot be full throated. An imperial judiciary has permitted an imperial America to act imperially — subject to myopic scrutiny through long-drawn legal processes. The Guantanamo decisions have different meanings for different people. For liberal Americans, some light is shed on a legal black hole. For all of us, America's military powers are enhanced with a thin coat of sugar. For the cause of American civil liberties, these judgments are a step forward. For the rest of us, they leap backwards to legalise the patently unlawful. American justice simply does not offer enough on Guantanamo.





# BOOK REVIEW

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## Contemporary developments in Asia

**ASIA ANNUAL, 2003:** Mahavir Singh — Editor; Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata, and Shipra Publications, 115 A, Vikas Marg, Shakarpur, Delhi-100092. Rs. 550.

THIS VOLUME is the fourth issue of the multi-disciplinary annual publication of the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata. The current issue is relatively richer in content both in terms of the areas covered and the regions from which the contributors are drawn.

In addition to well-known Indian specialists in international relations, contributors include scholars from China, Japan, the U.S., Mauritius and Indian scholars based in Australia and Russia. The 19 articles cover a wide range of subjects — cultural, economic, political, educational and security issues.

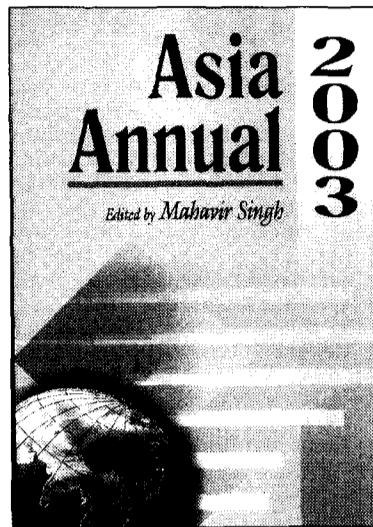
The focus of the annual is mainly on the contemporary developments in neighbouring Asian countries. Analytical articles dealing with the role of the Pakistani army by scholar-diplomat G. Parthasarathy; Indo-Pakistan relations in the changing strategic scenario by Jayanta Kumar Ray; turbulent domestic developments in Nepal by N.K. Jha and the significance of India's "Look East Policy" by S.D. Muni are important highlights of the issue. As usual Central

Asia and Eurasia are dealt with exhaustively and there are good contributions by Devendra Kaushik, Poonam Mann, Suchananda Chatterjee and Anita Sen Gupta.

Special mention should be made of two articles devoted to culture; "The Gita in Urdu" by Rafiq Zakaria and "The One and the Many — Dialogue among Cultures" by well-known German scholar, Helga Zeppe-LaRouche. Readers familiar with the problems of Indian communities settled abroad would find the contributions of Sarva Daman Singh, Satteanund Peerthum and Satyendra Peerthum interesting.

The annual is also enriched by two other good articles, one on India's development as a knowledge society by K. Venkatasubramaniam and the second Bush War and the aftermath by well known specialist in international law V.S. Mani.

In a brief review, it will not be possible to discuss all articles, but three of them will be of great interest. In the present context of India-Pakistan rift and growing Hindu-Muslim differences, Rafiq Zakaria's article comes as a whiff of fresh air. One of the accusations made against the Indian Muslims is that they live in isolation like frogs in the well; they neither make efforts nor have they shown any interest to understand



and absorb the rich cultural and religious traditions of the Hindus.

In a pointed reference to the Muslim community, the former Deputy Prime Minister, L.K. Advani once asked whether there is any good work on the Gita in Urdu language. There was no reply from the audience. But Zakaria has exploded this myth. With facts and figures, he has described the contributions of Muslim scholars, through the ages, in this fascinating area.

Translations are to be found both

in prose and poetry. In a national seminar on the Gita organised by the Department of Urdu in Bombay University, references were made to the contributions made by Urdu scholars. The beauty and grace of the sacred text comes out vividly in the poem written by Hasrat Mohani, "Every note of Krishna's flute, is, indeed, a message of eternal life."

Former High Commissioner to Pakistan, G. Parthasarathy has provided an analytical account of the role of the armed forces in the domestic politics and foreign policy of Pakistan. He quotes General Pervez Musharraf, who soon after the Lahore Summit, rubbished the Summit as nothing but "hot air". Musharraf pointed out that India will remain a "hegemonistic" power and "low intensity conflict" with India would continue even if the Kashmir issue were resolved.

Following the ouster of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the subsequent disintegration of the Soviet Union, General Musharraf and the Pakistani army believed that jihad and appeal to militant Islam are essential tools in the pursuit of strategic objectives. It is no surprise, therefore, that in Kashmir the ISI has sought to attain its objective of "bleeding India with a thousand cuts" through violence in the garb of

jihad by extremist Wahabi oriented groups like the Jaish-e-Mohammed, the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen and the Lashkar-e-Taiba.

Parthasarathy has described the perquisites and privileges the armed forces enjoy during their service career as well as in their retired lives. The result is, as he has written, "while most armies exist for the security of the State, it would not be incorrect to assert that in Pakistan the State exists for the security of the army."

S.D. Muni has analysed the challenges and opportunities of India's "Look East Policy". Geographical proximity, India's abiding cultural contributions to the region, shared historical heritage and strategic and economic convergence have brought the two regions closer.

It is also interesting to note that India's Look East Policy gathered momentum at a time when South-east Asian countries were looking for multiple options in their foreign policy. While India has made commendable progress in its Look East Policy, it must be stated that there is a long way to go and lot of potentials remain untapped. *Asia Annual 2003* is a good reference tool for all students of Asian affairs.

V. SURYANARAYAN

## The informal sector

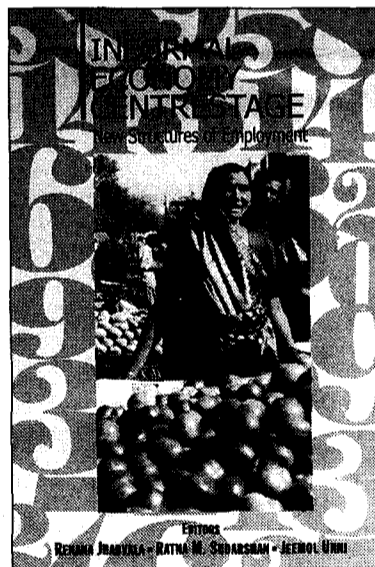
**INFORMAL ECONOMY CENTRESTAGE — New Structures of Employment:** Renana Jhabvala, Ratna M. Sudarshan, Jeemol Unni — Editors; Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., B-42, Panchsheel Enclave, New Delhi-110017. Rs. 495.

THE INFORMAL sector holds an important position in the economy of several countries, especially the less developed ones. Though it has been in existence for a very long time, its visibility occurred as late as 1970 when Keith Hard did a study of the labour market in Accra, Ghana for the ILO and the term "informal sector" was coined. It appeared as a residue of the formal sector, which is regarded as the mainstay of the economy.

It was then believed that as these countries develop, their formal sectors would expand and the informal sector would be absorbed in it. In other words, street vendors would be replaced by departmental stores and casual labour would be absorbed as permanent labour. This was mere optimism. It so happens that the informal sector has continued to grow even in the developed countries and there are no signs of its abatement.

In India 93 per cent of the working population is engaged in the informal sector and only recently has the government shown some interest in tackling the problems of the workers in this sector. This book is an important contribution to understanding the dynamics of this sector.

The case for a better understanding of this sector can be focussed in many ways. One can impress upon its vast numbers, and how it is important for providing employment to a large section of the working pop-



ulation. One can also build up a case on the basis of poverty and helplessness of the workers involved, the need for government intervention to protect them. The purpose of this book is different.

The contributors do talk of numbers and the problems of measuring this economy, but they do not advocate sympathy for these low paid workers just because they are poor. Instead, the book forcefully puts forth the argument that this sector is a major contributor to the country's development and it should be recognised as such.

In the opening chapter, Sudarshan and Unni state that the informal economy "creates productive work, self and wage employment; creates value added through production of goods and services; creates savings and investment which is eventually

converted to capital formation; and provides revenues to the government through taxes." Therefore this is not merely a sector of poor people who deserve our sympathy. It is a dynamic sector that contributes to the growth of the economy in several ways.

In fact Renana Jhabvala argues in the concluding chapter that protection and security to the informal sector workers is a matter of their right borne out of their contribution to the economy and not a sign of charity to the poor.

The book contains eight chapters dealing with different aspects of the informal sector. The first chapter explores the dimensions of the informal economy and the problems faced in measuring it.

The other chapters deal with income, employment, gender and poverty, volume of manufacture, savings generated from this sector and insurance schemes for the workers.

After going through the book one gets a holistic view of the informal economy. Each chapter is well researched and the methodology is explained clearly. It is evident that the editors have taken great pain in ensuring the quality of the articles included.

The book is undoubtedly an important contribution to the study of the informal sector. Its methodology will be useful for researchers intending to do further research on the topics covered.

It also contains a lot of valuable quantitative data that the authors have sifted from different surveys and the census. It will be of interest not only to academics and planners but also to NGOs and trade unions.

SHARIT K. BOWMIK

## Essentials of Hinduism

**HINDUISM REDISCOVERED:** Anbil Ramaswamy; copies can be had from the author, 25 (22), 2nd East Park Street, Prithvipakkam, Ambattur, Chennai-600053. Also at Sri Nrisimha Priya, 30, Venkatesa Agraharam, Mylapore, Chennai-600004. Rs. 480.

THIS BOOK, a collection of articles contributed earlier by the author, presents the evolution of Hinduism and more particularly Vaishnavism.

Starting with a description of the Vedas and the Upanishads, the author goes on to the Smritis dealing with the code of conduct for daily life and the Puranas; and explains the three philosophical categories: sentient, non-sentient and Isvara. After elaborating on Para Brahman, Lord Narayana, his characteristics, his five forms and so on he delineates the Karma theory and the goals of life including moksha, summum bonum, liberation.

Next come an analysis of duties, obligations and ways of good living of a man and the four stages of life. Karma, Jnana, Bhakti Yogas and Prapatti (Self-surrender) are then discussed and the process, a chapter-wise gist of the contents of the Rahasyatraya Sara, the magnum opus of Vedant Desika, all aspects of Prapatti and the mystic and abstruse meanings of the three secret mantras of Vaishnavism, are given.

This is followed by a brief sketch of the Azhvars and their works and Acharyas like Nathamuni, Alavandar, Ramanuja and Vedanta Desika, and their contribution to Vaishnavism. The differences between the three major systems of philosophy, Advaita, Visishtadvaita and Dvaita, are next dealt with and the book concludes with a description of the evolution and devolution of matter and space.

Extensive quotations from western scholars and scientists, given at appropriate places throughout are

very apt and lively. The esoteric significance of idol worship, performance of rituals and Karma theory, the specialities of Hinduism, which attract frequent criticisms from other religionists, have been well explained by the author.

The real-life situations and incidents narrated every now and then, to supplement the topic presented, add spice and help a clearer understanding. The book also serves as a practical guide for good living and high thinking and will be useful in the present-day world of fast life, full of tensions.

A few factual mistakes have crept into the life history of Ramanuja. Peria Nambi and not Tirukkachi Nambi took Ramanuja to Srirangam to meet Alavandar. Ramanuja, to fulfil the wishes of Andal, offered sweet rice to the Lord at Tirumalirum Cholai (Azhagar Koil) and not at Srivilliputtur. Alavandar's son Chottai Nambi was not Ramanuja's disciple, but Nambi's grandson was.

While mentioning about Nadadur Azhwan, the biographical data of his grandson Nadadur Ammal have got mixed up. Referring to Vedanta Desika, the honorific "Kavitarkika Simham" was proffered by Desika's contemporary scholars and not Appayya Dikshita, who came three centuries later.

The explanations for "Pancha Mahayajna" and the three stages of Bhakti like "Para Bhakti" are not quite correct. There are quite a few mistakes throughout, while transliterating Sanskrit words into English like "Chandokya" for "Chandogya".

This comprehensive and fairly extensive volume is a noble attempt to present the essentials of Hinduism and Vaishnavism and the author has to be congratulated for succeeding in his mission.

V.N. GOPALA DESIKACHARIAR





# BOOK REVIEW

## Advocacy of human rights

**THE WAGES OF IMPUNITY — Power, Justice and Human Rights:** K.G. Kannabiran; Orient Longman Pvt. Ltd., 3-6-752, Himayat Nagar, Hyderabad-500029. Rs. 550.

IN THE human rights movement in post-Independence India, Kannabiran, the lawyer and social activist, has a special place. In his native State of Andhra Pradesh people identify him as a champion of revolutionary groups. Over the years he has projected himself as a political thinker seeking to find a constitutional balance between power, politics, dissent and violence. "If violence in society is perceived as a breach of the law, the law itself is equally violent..." writes the author.

To him abuse of power is synonymous with violence. Arbitrary exercise of power by state is violence with impunity. He finds even rule of law as an instrument that facilitates the deployment of violence for governance! Human rights protection is fundamental to rule of law if the interplay of violence and power has to be kept within limits. In the very first chapter he expounds this philosophy in relation to Indian political developments and the use or abuse of law in response to them.

Citing instances from the Emergency period he argues the case of revolutionary movements and condemns repressive force by the state which according to him, is treating "politics as crime". The anti-establishment slant of the author reveals itself in every subsequent chapter of the book.

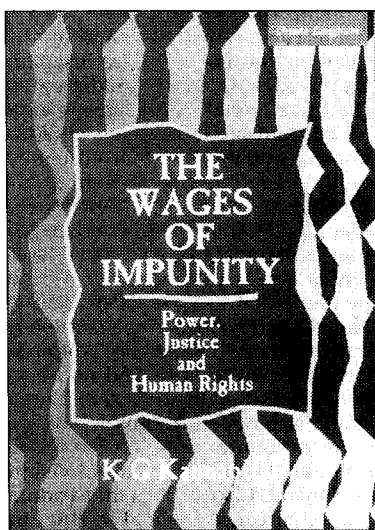
The author finds the colonial tradition of governance being practised by the rulers in India even today. Draconian laws, indiscriminate exer-

cise of contempt power, interpreting constitutional provisions in terms of colonial practices under the pre-Independence Government of India Acts are all indicative of a "colonial baggage being carried by the representatives of the people and even by the judges. And we blame the Constitution for our own sins and inadequacies."

In a series of articles attacking the tendency of the state to suppress dissent, the author laments the progressive decay of democratic institutions and projects the "state as terrorist". He finds the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act more repressive than the infamous Rowlatt Act and cites instances to support his conclusion. He wants issues giving rise to political turbulence to be addressed instead of crushing it by what he calls "law-and-order methods". The author ridicules the setting up of the Human Rights Commission as a cover-up operation of the government.

Kannabiran writes strongly against "anti-secular" parties' right to govern. According to him these parties should not be allowed even to participate in the politics of the country after the Supreme Court judgment in S.R. Bommai's case (AIR 1994 SC 1918) declaring secularism as a basic feature of the Constitution. While arguing for tolerance vis-a-vis militant outfits in politics the author himself tends to be intolerant towards political parties.

He speaks not as a lawyer but as a political activist when he characterises the democratically elected Government of Gujarat as "Narendra Modi's Hindutva laboratory". He finds fault with the Supreme Court



for the rise of "theocratic politics" by its decision of "equating Hinduism to Hindutva and giving legitimacy to the bigotry of Bal Thackeray."

In half a dozen articles on lawyers and judges, he presents his perspectives on the functioning of the judiciary. In a serious indictment of the leaders of the bar he writes; "Professional leaders did not lift their gaze beyond the business values of the day. The aggressive competition within the profession never permitted practitioners to pay attention to the larger values propounded by the Constitution, which, to the practitioners, is merely a money-spinning document. This attitude has led to total indifference to the quality of justice. Neither professional bodies nor the high courts have seemed alive to the fact that the courts are public institutions which are socially accountable."

He sees a crisis within the system. He distinguishes between legitimate judicial activism and judicial "aggrandisement" and attributes the appropriation of power in the matter of appointing judges as an illustration of the latter. Finding fault with the manner in which the Supreme Court dealt with the Justice V. Ramaswamy impeachment matter, the author argues that "the rule of law is incompatible with absolutism in the judiciary... The power of judicial review of the stage before impeachment, and potentially to annul the impeachment, subverts the constitutional scheme itself," according to the author.

In two incisive, well-researched pieces on liberty and freedom, the author gives expression to his appreciation of the liberal interpretation of two of the most cherished democratic rights enshrined in the Constitution. He would have liked the courts to be more liberal and responsive to the lessons of the freedom struggle. While in the beginning courts employed colonial interpretative techniques to define the scope of personal liberty and property, it changed in the post-Emergency period to the advantage of civil liberties. Analysing the way law and courts dealt with workers' struggles, the author historically traces the evolution of associational freedom and freedom of speech and suggests the path ahead if democracy were to take roots.

In a concluding piece titled "In the First person", the author narrates a series of experiences he has had in defending unpopular causes in the civil liberties movement in Andhra Pradesh. He admits that doing politi-

cal cases made a big difference in his life and he adopted the strategy of "participate politically and operate insurgently." His advice to human rights lawyers and activists; "the first struggle is to establish credibility; not to become a pawn of radical or militant groups and be in a position to maintain your independence always. This is not possible if you are linked to a party."

The book is interesting reading on the professional life of a well-known human rights lawyer who identified himself with many Leftist, militant and revolutionary struggles and tried to use legal instruments to defend them. In the process he discovers the limits of law and the constraints of democratic institutions in directing change according to predetermined norms and standards. However, on his own admission he is not for compromise when it comes to human rights. This is where the book leaves the reader confused.

There are no rights without restrictions and, in a democratic society, the law will set the restrictions the reasonableness of which the courts will decide. It is only within these rules that the balance between power and violence can be achieved. In the process, compromise is inevitable and one's understanding of human rights therefore has to be dynamic. The reviewer hopes that Kannabiran's next book will take the debate forward to give politics a moral base which law can develop incrementally. All students of political science, history, law and social work and those in public life will find the book rewarding reading.

**N. R. MADHAVA MENON**

## Festschrift volume

**PARAMPARA — Essays in Honour of R. Balasubramanian:** Srinivasa Rao, Godabarisha Mishra — Editors; Indian Council of Philosophical Research, Darshan Bhavan, No. 36, Tuglakabad, Institutional Area, New Delhi-110062. Rs. 450.

THIS VOLUME is a collection of essays in honour of Professor R. Balasubramanian. It contains 18 contributions by erudite scholars, besides a profile of him by the editor Srinivasa Rao. He has made varied and valuable contributions to the enrichment of Indian philosophy in general and Advaita in particular. Hailing from a cultured family, he has risen to eminence through merit, ability and industry.

Justifying the title of the book "Parampara" meaning tradition, the editor writes that for him, the tradition of Advaita is essentially one of attempting to make sense of the "Srutiparampara" and that he believes tradition is a more reliable guide to truth than historical reasoning.

Srinivasa Rao, has impressively brought out his notion of Parampara in the Indian context where there is scope for discovering the true import of our early "Sutra granthas" followed by the commentary tradition. Sankara himself says that he who does not know tradition must be ignored.

Out of the 18 essays nine bear witness to the admiration which these authors have for his writings. They are either in the form of

elaboration or critical analysis. The two essays by Kar and Veezhinathan directly relate to some issues in the English translations of the Taittiriya Varttika and the Naishkarmya Siddhi of Suresvara — the two major and monumental works of R. Balasubramanian. While Kar provides a new analysis of "Bhavarupa avidya", Veezhinathan offers a critique of some Advaita concepts in the Naishkarmya Siddhi.

G.C. Nayak highlights the salient features of Balasubramanian's typical essay "Philosophy for liberation". The author expresses his admiration for him for providing a definite direction for understanding the philosophical tradition in the right perspective without any distortion. His insight into such Western philosophical concepts is brought out by G. Vedaparayana who presents a critical exposition of his critique of Sartre's phenomenological ontology of consciousness.

R.C. Pradhan equally excels in portraying his contention that the nature of the Self and the transcendental Reality could be traced out in Wittgenstein's *Tractatus*. Ramakant Sinari's essay "The mystery of subjectivity" effectively discloses his exposure to existentialism and Eastern phenomenology. Ramakrishna Puligandla highlights his view that Indian philosophy and Advaita Vedanta in particular are grounded

on phenomenology.

The author seems to be in full agreement with Balasubramanian's explanation of Sartre's theory of the intentionality of consciousness. Panneerselvam's essay "Philosophy to hermeneutical pragmatics" establishes his viewpoint that being trained in both Western and Indian philosophical trends he tries to apply Western tools to interpret the Indian philosophical problems. The influence of the West on the Eastern scholars is indeed of great significance and its results are contemporary and tremendous. Mishra's article relates to his philosophical pilgrimage.

The remaining essays are mostly by scholars from abroad. Of these, two are devoted to Sankara's Vivekachudamani and Upadesahasri. Two essays deal with Sankara's views on Buddhism.

Other essays include linguaphobic epistemology, predetermination and freewill in the teachings of Ramana Maharishi, the problem of "Jnanakarmasamucchaya", "Ananda — A perspective" and "The object of perception: A debate in Advaita and Vishistadvaita".

The editors deserve praise for the task of carefully choosing the contributors who could ably interpret Balasubramanian's writings. The printing and get-up are excellent as in the case of the other ICPR publications.

**S. REVATHY**

## Case studies on work attitude and behaviour

**ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR:** N. Ramaswami; T.R.Publications Pvt. Ltd., PMG Complex, First Floor, T. Nagar, Chennai-600017. Rs. 250.

THIS BOOK is a compilation of case studies on attitudes and behaviour from the Indian perspective.

According to the author, "Attitudes are generally thought to influence behaviour. Behaviour is often dependent on situational factors that may override the influence of the individual's preferences. Behaviour is what an individual actually does in a given environment or situation."

After an executive has been recruited, he must be trained and developed to meet the requirements of his job. The essence of executive responsibility is making decisions.

Decision-making skills can be improved by the use and application of many techniques, among which, the case study method has become increasingly popular over the last few decades.

There are three types of case studies — those asking the trainee to diagnose a particular problem; those which identify the problem, but require the trainee to recommend methods of redressal; and those which provide both the problem and the solution, but ask

the trainee to explain the rationale for the solution as well as the probable implications of that solution.

Case studies provide a unique opportunity to analyse complex and emotive problems in a detached environment, which facilitates learning to take place without the concern for the implications of an incorrect decision in real life.

The book is structured in two parts. Part one deals with attitudes, while part 2 deals with behaviour. Each part again comprises two sections viz., organisational behaviour, and industrial relations. In all, 64 case studies have been presented.

In the introductory chapter, the author elucidates the concepts of the terms as well as the origin of the case study method.

The author has published a companion volume on the same subject. The pertinent point is that in the Indian industrial training climate, this book responds to the dearth and dire need of case studies with an indigenous flavour.

Written in simple and lucid language, and creating every case study with a convincing and realistic ploy, the author has made a significant contribution to this branch of training literature.

**R. DEVARAJAN**

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## BOOK REVIEW

CHENNAI

# Iconography of Varahi

**IMAGES OF VARAHI — An Iconographic Study:** Hari Priya Rangarajan, Sharada Publishing House, 40, Anand Nagar, Inderlok, Delhi-110035. Rs. 1750.

**THE INFLUENCE** of the boar-headed Goddess Varahi on the minds of the people may be gauged from the presence of this deity as a part of the group of seven Mothers — the Saptamatas — in every village in Tamil Nadu. In ancient India every village had temples dedicated to different deities located in appropriate directions, as prescribed in Vastu texts.

A temple for the Saptamatas is a must for every village. Literally thousands of such temples exist from the seventh Century A.D. dedicated to Saptamatas, often called as temple of "Pidari" or "Grama devata".

Hari Priya Rangarajan analyses in this fascinating book to show that the Varahi images are nothing but the Goddess of Speech (Vak devi) extolled in the Upanishadic, Puranic and other literatures.

The value of the book lies in the meticulous documentation of all concepts and references to this Goddess from various sources and a crit-

ence of Varahi as "Vakdevi" on the snout of Varaha, the author shows that this Vak is the power of speech of Vishnu in His manifestation as "Yajna Varaha". The Saivaites, Vaishnavites, Saktas, and the Buddhists worship Her.

It is clear, remarks the author, that "Varaha and His Sakti are inseparable. Varaha is the embodiment of Brahman and His attributes is Varahi. Without speech nothing would be known, neither truth nor falsehood, neither good nor bad, neither the pleasant nor the unpleasant."

Though Varahi appears as a part of the Saptamata group in most cases, She is also worshipped as an independent deity — Pradhana devata. She is portrayed seated, standing or dancing, and wielding different weapons, like plough and noose, or Sankha and Cakra, or fish and a drinking bowl, and so on.

As a counterpart of Vishnu She holds all the four emblems of Vishnu — Sankha, Cakra, Gada and Padma. She often carries a child in Her arm and has Sesha naga, Garuda, "Mahishana" or a lion as Her vehicle. She dances with Siva in the Saptamata

group and is also identified with Rudrani.

Hari Priya also draws our attention to Varahi appearing as the consort of Vishnu in His incarnations as Varaha, Rama and Krishna. She is worshipped in a highly secretive way by the Saktas in Vama marga.

This tradition can be seen in the Kalaratri temple on the banks of the Ganges where worship is offered to Her only during the night and the temple remains closed throughout the day.

She is also identified with the Yoganidra of Vishnu and holds in Her womb all the creations and hence is shown pot-bellied. Further according to Sakta tradition Lalita Tripurasundari manifested as Varahi and yet in another context She is said to be the commander-in-chief of Goddess Lalita and goes by the name "Dandanayika" or "Dandanatha".

Above all She is adored as Para Vidya of the Sri Vidya tradition. In the Buddhist context Varahi appears in three forms; first as Vajra Varahi, the progenitor of the Moha family and secondly as the consort of Heruka

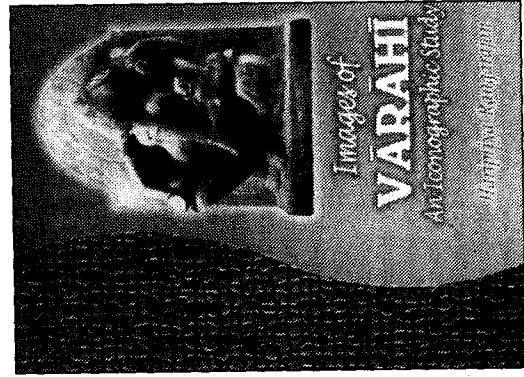
and thirdly as Marichi in a chariot drawn by seven pigs.

The author has divided the whole book into a well-structured treatise, beginning from the prehistoric origin of the Mother Goddess worship to the Vedic and other literary traditions, iconographic details of Varahi, sculptural representation, Mantras and Yantras relating to Her worship followed by 99 illustrations.

She points out that the Mantras and the Yantras are for the emancipation of the devotees and also for attainment of miraculous powers. The book is certainly a fine model of comprehensive research. It shows how what was considered an insignificant Goddess turns out to be an all-encompassing primordial Goddess.

The author has taken great care in collecting rare and representative illustrations from which it may be seen that some of the Varahi sculptures are superlative specimens of art. It will remain an excellent reference work on the subject for all times.

**R. NAGASWAMY**



ical evaluation of them. The extensive citations from the Rig Veda show that the faculty of speech of men is personified as Sakti, the feminine power which is responsible for human evolution. Vak is also identified with Goddess Saraswathi very early in Indian civilisation.

Drawing our attention to the pres-

# Case for ecosocialism

**THE ENEMY OF NATURE — The End of Capitalism or the End of the World?:** Joel Kovel; Tulika Books, 35, A/1 Shahpur Jat, New Delhi-110049. Rs. 475.

THE AIM of the book is to provide an explanation not for ecosystemic crises such as toxic cloud or forest loss but for the ecological crisis at the holistic level to account for why these things are happening at such a rate, and how they are related to the whole society.

It is divided into three parts, "The Culprit", "The Domination of Nature", and "Towards Ecosocialism". The first part discusses what capital is and how it afflicts ecosystems intensively by degrading the conditions of production through ruthless expansion.

Based on a case study of the 1984 Bhopal disaster, which resulted in the release of 46.3 metric tonnes of methyl isocyanate (MIC) from the Union Carbide factory, he concludes that the efficient cause of this accident lies in the capitalist system imposing upon the firm "the never-ending pressure to cut costs or, from the other side, to make profits." He argues that the culture of advanced capital aims to turn society into addicts of commodity consumption, a state good for business but bad for ecologies. His thesis is that capital is both eco-destructive and unreformable.

In the second part, the argument is deeply in the philosophy of nature and human nature. He talks in terms of human ecosystems and

in the human fitted-ness for ecosystems. According to him capital is "a spectral apparatus that integrates earlier modes of domination, especially that by gender, and generates a gigantic force field of profit-seeking that polarises all human activity and sucks it into itself."

Part three deals with the question of what is to be done. In order to overcome capital he suggests two minimal conditions, namely, basic changes in ownership of productive resources and self-determination of productive power by people. He surveys existing ecopolitics including green economics, ecophilosophy, deep ecology, ecofeminism and social ecology and finds the strategies wanting.

He advocates ecosocialism as an alternative to capitalism. Ecosocialism refers to a society that is socialist in that the producers have been reunited with the means of production and also ecological in the sense that the limits to growth are finally respected.

The author is an activist. He was a Green candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1998 and a candidate for Green Party Presidential nomination in the U.S. in 2002. He admits that his views are at a great distance from "so called mainstream opinion." He underestimates the recuperative powers of capitalism.

The Keynesian Revolution of the 1930s demonstrated how the adverse effects of business cycles in a capitalist society could be minimised by assigning greater role



for government in macroeconomic stabilisation. Similarly, recent transboundary environmental concerns such as global warming, ozone depleting substances and biodiversity loss necessitated collective action at the international level in the form of multilateral environmental agreements.

Agenda 21 of the Rio Conference stresses the need for internalisation of environmental externalities in economic decision-making at all levels. Since pollution is a negative externality, it causes market failure. Government intervention in the form of regulation or/and use of economic instruments is necessary to correct the market failure.

However, institutional myopia and sectoral self-interest act as barriers to internalisation of the negative externalities.

The book does not address developmental issues such as the right to development and the role of developed countries in poverty eradication and in finding solutions to environmental problems. The developed countries are largely responsible for major environmental problems such as global warming, ozone depleting substances and biodiversity loss because of their unsustainable production and consumption patterns.

They have the resources and the technologies to solve the problems. Thus the Rio principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" is highly relevant. But the responses of some developed countries to Official Development Assistance, ratification of the Kyoto Protocol and transfer of eco-friendly technologies on concessional terms to developing countries are far from satisfactory.

The book is well organised reflecting the author's deep understanding of Marxism, capitalism, ecology and ecopolitics. The presentation is lucid. Some readers would question the thesis that capital is unreformable but most readers would accept the reasoning that the ecological crisis is real and that continued inaction would only aggravate the crisis and make economic growth unsustainable.

U. SANKAR

## Desika's hymn

**SRI PADUKA SAHASRAM OF SRI NIGAMANTA MAHADESIKA — An Introduction (Tamil):** Translated by A. Lakshminarasimhan; Published by Rasibham Trust, 104/2, Sivaswami Salai, Mylapore, Chennai-600004. Rs. 100.

THE PADUKA SAHASRAM is one of the most beautiful creations of the ripe intellectual grandeur and the poetic genius of Vedanta Desika. It is also, at the same time, an amazing monument of the unflinching devotion of the poet towards Lord Ranganatha in Srirangam.

Desika is said to have composed this poem of 1008 verses in one night and silenced a rival. In one of the verses he says that if the grace of the Paduka is there, he could compose even a hundred thousand verses. This hymn has some of the most beautiful verses in Sanskrit literature. It is in the list of sacred works which orthodox Srivaishnavas chant everyday.

There are of course, many translations of this hymn in several languages such as Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and English including word-to-word meanings, summaries and detailed interpretations.

The present one is aimed at presenting the meaning of the original work in simple Tamil for those who are unfamiliar with Sanskrit. Hence it is called an introduction. It contains the original verses in Tamil script followed by an easy and fluent translation in Tamil. It also contains beautiful colour photographs of some deities. It carries a benediction of Srirangam Srimad Andavan Swamikal.

This book will be of great help to those who cannot understand the original poem in Sanskrit. The translator is to be congratulated for his labour of love.

M. NARASIMHACHARY

## FROM THE BLURB

● **Journeys — Heroes, Pilgrims, Explorers:** Geeti Sen and Molly Kaushal — Editors; Pub. by India International Centre and Viking, Penguin Books India (P) Ltd., 11, Community Centre, Panchsheel Park, New Delhi-110017. Rs. 495.

This volume of 22 essays, photo essays and critical texts brings together accounts of epic heroes, saints, pilgrims, trekkers, journalists, photographers, historians and folklorists — travellers who chart their course across vast seas and countries other than their own in search of the unknown and the exotic. While their narratives may be deeply personal, they are, ultimately, voyages that are universal; at times these are private confessions that transcend details of geography and conquest to express the solitude of the traveller. These journeys are voyages of discovery, infinitely enriching explorations of the self and of the universe



that can take one to the Himalayas, across oceans, into the wilderness of forests and to the farthest corners of the Earth and the human mind — journeys which show the will to break free from the mundane and the familiar.

● **Consolation of Mind:** H. K. Suhas; Pub. by iUniverse, Inc., 2021, Pine Lake Road, Suite 100, Lincoln, NE 68512. USA. \$ 6.

Study of the Indian society in the context of globalisation which has resulted in shrinking of the world and vanishing boundaries. The author highlights the urgent need to enforce a minimum level of meaningful governance, which must address education, secularism or freedom of worship, nationalism and community living as these happen to be the critical elements of a happy, prosperous and contented society that will be at peace with itself and others.

● **Why Ethnic Parties Succeed** — Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India: Kanchan Chandra; Cambridge University Press, The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK. Available from Foundations Books, 4764/2A, 23, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002. Rs. 350.

Drawing on a study of variation in the performance of ethnic parties in India, this book builds a theory of ethnic party performance in "patronage-democracies". The author shows why voters in such democracies choose between parties by conducting ethnic head

counts rather than by comparing policy platforms or ideological positions. Building on these individual micro-foundations she argues that an ethnic party is likely to succeed when it has competitive rules for intra-party advancement and when the size of the group it seeks to mobilise exceeds the threshold of winning or leverage imposed by the electoral system.

● **Governing Power — A New Institution of Governance** — the Experience with Independent Regulation of Electricity: S. L. Rao; Pub. by Teri Press, Darbari Seth Block, Habitat Place, Lodhi Road, New Delhi-110003. Rs. 580.

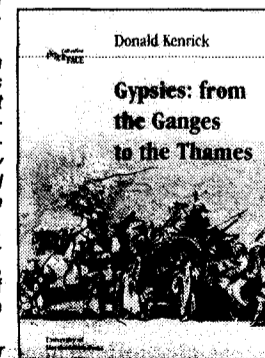
A pioneering attempt at examining the experience with independent regulation of electricity in India to assess its efficacy as an alternative form of governance. It compares the electricity experience with that of independent regulation in other countries, independent regulatory bodies in India and old-style regulation by government departments. It evaluates the Indian model in the context of its replication over other sectors of the economy.

● **Gypsies — From the Ganges to the Thames:** Donald Kenrick; University of Hertfordshire Press, Learning and Information Services, University of Hertfordshire, College Lane, Hatfield, Hertfordshire AL10 9AB. £ 9.99

In this sequel to his earlier book on Gypsies, the author

considers many of the controversial and conflicting theories about the origin of the Gypsies. Updating his earlier account of their journey from India to Constantinople, he follows their route to the Balkans during the Ottoman period and their journey into central and western Europe where for a brief golden age they passed themselves off as pilgrims and penitents and were welcomed as skilled musicians, acrobats and metalworkers who brought an exotic element into a

feudal society. In conclusion he looks at the Gypsies' distant relatives who stayed in India or stopped off on the way west and who still carry on a nomadic life in Iran and neighbouring countries and explains how links were forged between Europe's last nomads and modern India, rounding off this unique history of the first immigrants from the Indian subcontinent.





# Looming threat to water security

**BLUE GOLD — The Fight to Stop the Corporate Theft of the World's Water:** Maude Barlow and Tony Clarke; LeftWorld Books, 12, Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi-110001. Rs. 195.

THE TITLE of the book gives the misleading impression that it is a pamphlet produced for a campaign, but it is much more than that. It deals fairly elaborately with the theme of the impending water crisis, and the still larger theme of "endangered planet", before turning to the stated subject of "corporate theft".

It gives a detailed account of the threat to the world's water resources because of the rapacious and unsustainable drafts on rivers, lakes, glaciers and aquifers, and because of the extensive pollution and contamination of those resources. There are numerous examples drawn from many countries. The review cannot give an idea of the richness of the book, but a few random examples can be mentioned.

The very large Ogallala aquifer in the American mid-west is under severe stress. The Great Lakes, the largest repository of freshwater in the world, are losing water and have suffered considerable pollution and contamination. Mexico, once rich in water, has become dry because of

the destruction of old systems, and is sinking because of extensive groundwater-extraction.

In Jordan, the famous Oasis of Azraq has become a dusty garbage dump, an open sore of deep fissures. Wetlands are being lost all over the world. The greatest of all such man-made disasters is of course the death of the Aral Sea.

Moving on to the corporate threat, industries with large requirements of water are said to be buying up water rights or acquiring vast areas of land essentially for the water under the land.

Big corporations, sensing profits in the emerging water scarcity, are moving in (Suez, Vivendi, RWE-Thames, Bechtel, the soft-drinks giants Coca Cola and Pepsi Cola, and so on), and are trying to obtain control over the world's water resources. The growth of the global water lords and the emergence of water cartels make frightening reading.

These tendencies are reinforced by the prescription of privatisation of water supply and sanitation services by the World Bank, IMF and the ADB, as conditions of loans or essential elements in the Structural Adjustment Programmes.

Any powers that governments in the poorer countries might have had of exercising control over the corpo-

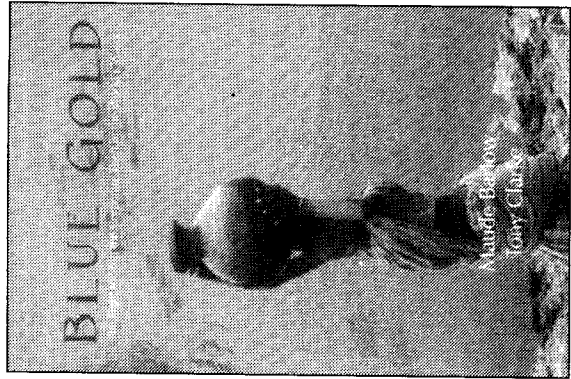
cessful fights against these processes. Some of those stories are told; in particular, the well-known Cochabamba (Bolivia) case is narrated.

India's own Narmada case is mentioned with understandable admiration, but the fact that the outcome of the two big fights in India, namely, Narmada and Tehri, has in the end been disheartening, was perhaps not known to the authors at the time of writing.

All this leads to the development of a standpoint against these trends, and 10 principles are set forth, such as "water belongs to the Earth and all species", "water should be left where it is whenever possible", and "water must be conserved for all time".

In the final chapter, the way forward is outlined, and 10 steps to water security are outlined: water lifeline constitutions, water governance councils, national water protection Acts, opposing the commercial trade in water, challenging the lords of water, promoting the "Water Commons Treaty Initiative", supporting a Global Water Convention, and so on. "The Treaty Initiative to Share and Protect the Global Water Commons" is in fact put right at the beginning of the book.

Given the scope and sweep of the book, some errors were perhaps inevitable. For instance, this reviewer



edly the Indian answer to Diacritics). In the Indian academic scene, stalwarts like CDN and P.S. Sastri have spearheaded long initiatives and movements for the establishment of Indian teleology that would help assimilating a large body of literatures in English which are alien to the Indian sensibility.

If this is not done, Indian scholarship will remain basely derivative rather than interactive with the best minds outside our country. It is most gratifying that latter-day scholars like Profulla have extended the domains by continued and collaborative efforts; this festschrift itself is a sure pointer.

Makarand Paranjpe — if one leaves out his personal references and philosophic disquisitions as out of the mark — makes a three-fold proposal. Indian writing in English came into prominence when there was a need to decolonise English studies in India. With the spread of postcolonial studies, this has lost its "local habitation and a name" getting subsumed into a wider umbrella.

The crying need now is to include vernacular literature into the curri-

culum of Indian literature. This involves foregrounding a vernacular text in the teaching schedule. Encourage multicultural and multilinguality that would seriously challenge English monolingualism and monoculturality; institutionalise Women's studies forcing the Western audience to take note of what happens here and now. Reread our epistemologists and be on the look out for the riches available with us. Translation and comparatism are the only ways by which these can be promoted.

Venkata Rao argues for the use of digital technology which would be the only way to help us "move across the verbally dominant literary studies and non-verbal semiotic cultural practices in the Indian context." The major challenge to the humanities today is in exploring the radical or associating the human articulations. It is indeed this relating or connecting that will underwrite what it is to be human in the coming years.

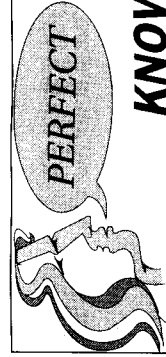
Mohan Ramanan regrets that the Indian academic scene is wholly dominated by the upper class male

patricians who have "perpetrated an elitism wholly unacceptable."

If English departments should play a significant cultural role, the Indian academics should inherit our hoary intellectual tradition — the tradition of Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Aurobindo and Jawaharlal Nehru — which was at once inclusive and holistic in its broad sweep.

John Oliver Perry in his meta-criticism puts forward a two-fold recommendation for those who practise criticism in India — one should be on one's guard when making judgements and in choosing critical approaches (reminding us of Arundhati personal heresy), one should develop sensitivity to verbally presented nuances by intensive practice with specific texts (reminding us of Leavisian close-reading and local analysis) rather than lean on clichés and abstraction drawn from Western theory (school of resentment in the words of Harold Bloom).

The concluding essay by Martin Jay is an exquisite rumination that plays on gardening as a metaphor. Gardens which we normally associ-



## KNOW YOUR ENGLISH

**How is the word "Lieutenant" pronounced?** (A. J. Venkatasubramanian, Bangalore)

The Americans and the British pronounce this word differently. The English pronounce the "lieut" like the word "left". The "e" that follows is pronounced like the "e" in "ten", "pen" and "hen", and the final "a" sounds like the "a" in "china". The main stress is on the second syllable. The Americans, on the other hand, pronounce the "ieu" in the first syllable like the "oo" in "pool", "cool", and "school". They pronounce the remaining two syllables like the British. The main stress once again remains on the second syllable. Indians tend to follow the British pronunciation.

**What is the meaning and origin of "hangdog expression"? (Athiya Fathima, Chennai)**

Sometimes we do things we know that we are not supposed to do. As kids, our parents kept telling us, "Don't do this" and "Don't do that". But did we listen? No way! We went ahead and did what we wanted to because we thought we knew better. There were times when we got caught doing the wrong thing, and when this happened what was the expression on our face? It was one of guilt. The term "hangdog" is normally used to refer to one's expression; an expression that suggests that one is ashamed of what one has done. Here are a few examples.

\*When Kanthi was arrested, she had a hangdog expression about her.

\*The hangdog air suggested that she had done something seriously wrong.

During medieval times, it was common practice among Europeans to put not only human beings on trial, but also animals. Whenever an animal did something wrong, it was put on trial and if found guilty it was sentenced to die by "hanging". For example, if a dog bit a man and he died of rabies, the dog was put on trial for murder. In 1487 in France, beetles were formally charged for destroying a vineyard! The expression "hangdog" was initially used to describe the look on someone's face who was considered fit to be hanged, like a dog, for his crimes. Nowadays, the word is being used to mean "shamefaced".

**Is it O.K. to ask someone, "Would you like a cool drink?" (S. Revathi, Chennai)**

Remember the debate over the high levels of pesticide residue in

colas manufactured by some multinational? In India, when we want to know if our guest wants to have a pesticide-laced drink (a cola), we might ask them if they would like to have a "cool drink". Native speakers of English do not refer to a cola as a "cool drink". Instead they use "soft drink", "soda" and "soda pop". They would normally ask, "Would you like a soft drink?" or "Would you like a soda?" So is it wrong to ask someone if he wants a "cool drink"? Not in the Indian context. In India everyone would understand what you mean.

**What is the difference between "I had a bad day" and "I have had a bad day"? (Vijaya, New Delhi)**

When you say that you "had a bad day", what you are implying is that the events that made it a "bad day" are already over. They happened in the past, and are not continuing up to the present. Perhaps you had a bad day at the office yesterday. Maybe you had a bad day at the office today. But right now, you are no longer at the office, so chances are the "bad day" will no longer continue. It is over. When you say that you "have had a bad day", what you are implying is that the bad day is not over as yet. It may still continue. You are saying that you have had a bad day "so far" and chances are the rest of the day will be bad as well. The bad day isn't over as yet! The events that have made it a bad day began in the past and are continuing up to the present moment and with the kind of luck you have been having, they may even continue into the future.

Here are a couple of more examples. "I had the car for twenty years" and "I have had the car for twenty years". The first sentence implies that you had the car with you no longer own the car, perhaps you have sold it. The second sentence, "I have had the car for twenty years" suggests that you bought the car twenty years ago and you still have it. You still continue to be the owner of the car. The "action" (as our grammar books would put it) of owning the car began twenty years ago and it still continues.

\*Janani had a headache (yesterday/this morning). (She no longer has one now)

\*I have had a girlfriend for two years. (I still have a girlfriend)

\*\*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*\*

**Memory is what tells a man that his wife's birthday was yesterday.**

— **Mario Rocco**

**S. UPENDRAN**

**M. S. NAGARAJAN**







# China faces fresh SARS attack

Millions

Press Trust of India

BEIJING, April 25. — China today reported four new suspected SARS cases in Beijing — two days after the government confirmed two cases linked to a local virus.

With this, China has two confirmed cases of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome and six suspected cases nation-wide. Interestingly, every new case reported has been traced to a single patient, the ministry said. The ministry said the four suspected SARS patients were in close contact with a patient Ms Li, a nurse who was diagnosed with SARS. The people who have been diagnosed with the disease are Ms Li's parents, aunt and a female patient who once lived in the same ward with her. So far no patients who were in contact with the four have complained of fever, the ministry said.

Ms Li's condition is stable, while 31-year-old suspected SARS patient Ms Yang is also stable, the ministry said adding, so far 337 people who were in contact with the afore-mentioned cases have been put under medical observation in Beijing.

In Anhui province Ms Song, a patient diagnosed with the disease is recovering and none of the 133 people in close contact with her showed abnormal symptoms, according to

## Taiwan says researcher doesn't have SARS

TAIPEI, April 25. — A Taiwanese researcher who was quarantined after developing a fever upon his return from China doesn't have SARS, a health official said today. An airport scanner in Taiwan showed that the 40-year-old researcher had a fever, a key symptom of severe acute respiratory syndrome. He was immediately quarantined at a nearby hospital last night. But tests have cleared the man of SARS, Chou Chih-hou, deputy director of the Center for Disease Control said. — AP

the ministry. Her mother died on 19 April, apparently due to SARS.

The reporting of these four cases has sent a chill down the spine of residents of Beijing who vividly remember the panic the deadly respiratory disease had created last April. SARS first broke out in the Southern Chinese province of Guangdong in November 2002. It set off a global health crisis, killing 774 people around the world and infecting more than 8,000. China was the worst hit country with at least 349 deaths.

The World Health Organisation plans to send a team of experts in laboratory bio-safety issues to join a Chinese health ministry team to investigate possible links between

Institute of Virology in Beijing and the confirmed and suspected SARS patients. The laboratory had already been sealed off on Friday.

China attracted a lot of criticism for the way it handled public information about SARS. The latest cases come a week before Labour Day when tens of millions of Chinese are expected to travel. Last year, the Chinese government was forced to cut the week-long labour holiday short. Health officials are closely monitoring the situation before determining if such measures will be necessary again.

**Anti-SARS quarantine:** At least 78 people who had close contacts with Ms Song have been kept under "medical observation" in Anhui to prevent the disease from spreading further. Quarantine on another 33 have been lifted. Nobody was found to have fever, a provincial health department official said.

## SARS warning

The province has launched a SARS early warning and prevention system, Xinhua news agency reported. Tourism departments are required to be alert round-the-clock and keep channels open for information. Any fever cases must be reported immediately and the administration will deal with emergencies, the report said.



A water delivery man wears a mask as he goes on his rounds delivering bottles of distilled water in Beijing on Sunday. — AFP

# Mujib, Tagore, Bose among 'greatest Bengalis of all time'

By Haroon Habib

*minulla*

**DHAKA, APRIL 16:** Bangladesh's founding leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, has been voted "the greatest Bengali of all time" in a survey conducted by the BBC. The BBC (Bangla service) conducted the sur-



Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

*19/07/04*

vey among its listeners covering Bangladesh, some parts of India (mostly West Bengal, Tripura and Assam) and overseas.

The Nobel Laureate, Rabindranath Tagore, secured the second place in the list of 20 greatest personalities.

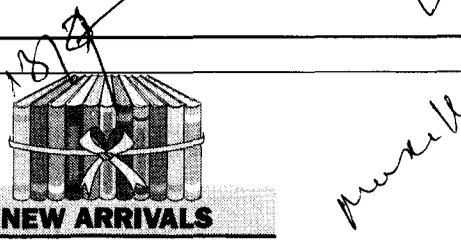
The highly regarded poet, Kazi Nazrul Islam, the Sher-E-Bangla A.K. Fazlul Haq, who was the Prime Minister of the undivided Bengal, and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose secured the third, fourth and fifth positions.

The BBC broadcast noted that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman secured independence for Bangladesh in 1971 through a war of liberation against Pakistan. Sabir Mustafa, BBC Bangla Service chief, told a private TV network that the 'Bangabandhu' had scored almost double the points than Tagore. He said they had nothing to do with the survey except compiling the opinion sent through e-mail and post.

BOOK REVIEW

Governance — an insider's view

- NEW ARRIVALS**
- Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics** — The Emergence of Hindu Nationalism in India: The Saffron Wave: Oxford University Press, Y.M.C.A. Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi-110001. Rs. 695.
  - Suraa** — J.J. Some Jottings: A. R. Venkatachalapathy; Katha, A3, Sarvoda Enclave, Sri Aurubindo Marg, New Delhi-110017. Rs. 250.
  - The Politics of Culture Mobilization in India**: John Jayas, Andrew Wyatt, Vernon Hewitt — Editors, Oxford University Press, Y.M.C.A. Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi-110001. Rs. 495.
  - Man Forest and the State in Middle India**: Sachchidananda, Series Publications, 4 BSS Lane, Khyber Pass Market, Civil Lines, Delhi-110054. Rs. 700.
  - Silent Invaders** — Pesticides, Livelihoods and Women's Health: Miriam Jacobs, Barbara Dinham — Editors, Orient Longman Pvt. Ltd., 1/24, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi-110002. Rs. 350.
  - Journals**:
    - Pesticides**: Edited by Miriam Jacobs & Barbara Dinham. Issued by Clare Short.
    - Livelihoods**
    - Women's Health**
  - In Search of Reality** — A Layman's Journey Through Indian Philosophy: O.N. Krishnan; Motilal Banarsidass, 41 U.A. Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110007. Rs. 595.
  - Marine Mammals of India**: Kumar Sathasivam; Universities Press (India) Pvt. Ltd., 3-5-819, Hyderabad, Hyderabad-500029. Rs. 250.
  - The Enemy of Nature** — The End of Capitalism or the End of the World?: Joel Kovel; Tulika Books, 35A/1, Shahpur Jat, New Delhi-110049. Rs. 475.
  - Cognitive Humanistic Therapy** — Buddhism, Christianity and Being Fully Human: Richard Nelson-Jones; Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., B-42, Panchsheel Enclave, New Delhi-110017. Rs. 250.
  - Bonfire of Creeds** — The Essential Ashis Nandy: Ashis Nandy; Oxford University Press, Y.M.C.A. Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi-110001. Rs. 595.
  - Bandobust** — A Raj Experience: Capt. V.K. Malhotra; Humongroons, R-29, Greater Kailash-1, New Delhi-110048. Rs. 250.
  - 9 Secrets of Successful Meditation**: Samprasad Vinod; Rs. 195.
  - Hope For a Better World** — The Small Communities Solution: J. Donald Walters; Rs. 195.
  - Tantric Sex** — A Unique Guide to Love and Sexual Fulfillment: Diana Richardson; Rs. 250.
  - Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder** — The Victim's Guide to Healing and Recovery: Raymond B. Flennery; Rs. 225. The above four books pub. by Motilal Banarsidass, 120, Royapettah High Road, Mysapore, Chennai-600004.
  - In The Shadow of The Mahatma** — Diary of L. Shantaram: R.K. Bhargava — Editor; Hope India Publications, 85, Sector 23, Gurgaon-122017. Rs. 250.
  - New Insights on Writings Covered Call Options**: Richard Lehman, Lawrence G. McMillan; Vision Books Pvt. Ltd., 24, Feroze Gandhi Road, Lajpat Nagar III, New Delhi-110024. Rs. 395.
  - Unquiet Worlds** — Dalit Voices and Visions: Mukul Sharma — Editor; Heinrich Boll Foundation India, C-4/5, Safdarjung Development Area, New Delhi-110016.
  - The Crisis of Global Capitalism** — Open Society Endangered: George Soros; Viva Books Pvt. Ltd., 4262/3, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002. Rs. 295.
  - THE CRISIS of GLOBAL CAPITALISM**: Open Society Endangered
  - GEORGE SOROS**
  - Marketing Insurance** — How to Become a Super Successful Insurance Salesman: G.N. Bajpai; Global Business Press and Imprint of Hind Pocket Books Pvt. Ltd., J-40, Jorbah Lane, New Delhi-110003. Rs. 195.
  - From Gender to Nation**: Rada Ivekovic; Julie Mostov; Kubaan an associate of Kall for Women, Z-92, 1st Floor, Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi-110016. Rs. 350.
  - Getting Ahead** — Self-Check and Sharpen Your Competence: Rajiv Khurana; Vision Books Pvt. Ltd., 24, Feroze Gandhi Road, Lajpat Nagar III, New Delhi-110024. Rs. 125.
  - Kitchen Queries** — Parts I and II: Rakshitha — Editor; Vishu Vijay Pvt. Ltd., M-12, Connaught Circus, New Delhi-110001. Rs. 70.
  - Impact of Judicial Pronouncements on the Status of Women in India and U.S.A** — A Comparative Study: P. Parvatha Devi; Pub. by Indian Institute of Public Administration, Andhra Pradesh Regional Branch, Hyderabad. Rs. 100.
  - Goa and the Blue Mountains** — Or, Six Months of Sick Leave: Richard F. Burton; Penguin Books India (P) Ltd., 11, Community Centre, Panchsheel Park, New Delhi-110017. Rs. 250.
  - Does Class Matter?** — Colonial Capital and Workers Resistance in Bengal (1890-1937): Subho Basu; Oxford Uni-



**JOURNEYS THROUGH BABUDOM AND NETALAND** — Governance in India: T. S. R. Subramanian; Rupa & Co., 7/16, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002. Rs. 395.

THE DUST jacket illustrating the plight of the poor Indian citizen says it all: a public tap gone to rust because of having been constricted with a 4-level lock! And who are the villains who locked it and have thrown the key irretrievably away? The "netas" (politicians) and "babus" (bureaucrats) who, together, held defining sway over the destinies of India in the last 55 years — more particularly those who wielded power in the later decades.

This indictment is not from a "neta" who had been destined to perpetually sit in the opposition, nor from a "babu" with reasons to be disgruntled for not having been vouchsafed his just desserts within the system.

The author had an illustrious and successful career in the Uttar Pradesh cadre of Indian Administrative Service and served as cabinet secretary in the Central Government. In the course of his journeys through the "babudom" and "netaland" (phrases he uses tellingly in their fullest pejorative import), he had eventful stopovers such as district magistrate, secretary to the then Chief Minister N. D. Tiwari, staff officer to former Governor, Channa Reddy, secretary in Union Textiles Ministry, and chief secretary to U.P. Government. From out of acutely focussed

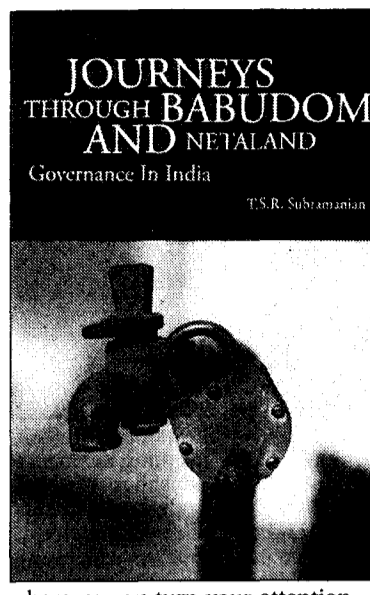
snapshots of persons and events which he had mentally recorded during all his stopovers, Subramanian assembles a meaningful collage of the evolution of governance in independent India, the central theme of which emerges as, "Might and self-interest (and not 'right' and 'public interest') will prevail."

His pen picture of the "babus" is, "They contribute very little, rarely perform any useful function, are arrogant and rude to the general public, and at the same time subservient and sycophantic to seniors and their political masters. A civil servant generally creates and lives in his own make-believe world unrelated to reality — that is why most of them have a faraway look when you see them — they will not meet you in the eye."

Such is his portrayal of the "netas", "In my four decades of public service, I have come across thousands of politicians, small and large, operating at the district or village or state or national level. I have worked closely with hundreds of them in one context or another. I am saddened to say that I have come across only a handful of honest politicians." And how does the "neta" himself view the "babu"? He quotes the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister, Mulayam Singh Yadav addressing a conclave of IAS officers, "Oh all have such excellent minds and education; some of you are scholars; some of you have Nobel Prize minds; you will all succeed in any walk of life, wherever you turn your attention to; you have good jobs; you can educate your children well; and you are all respected by society; — (and then, the clincher, raising his voice) — Why do you come and touch my feet? Why do you come and lick my shoes? Why do you come to me for personal favours? When you do, I will do as you desire and then extract my price from you."

Subramanian adds, "It was an amazing statement because it succinctly summed up the situation and pinpointed the reason for the collapse of the steel frame."

Among the personae whose feet of clay the author unveils is a



Judge of Allahabad High Court (circa 1963) who was piqued because the director of Indian Standards Institution, a "mere government official", would not yield a preferred suite in a private guesthouse in Ranikhet for His Lordship's stay. "You have the police under your charge; use them effectively. Check his car licence, find a reason to harass and to hound him, to teach him a lesson," was the exhortation to the young sub-divisional officer by this custodian of Indian Constitution and its enshrined civil liberties.

Very few officers even in the IAS get a ringside exposure to the wily ways of the U.S. Government's manipulations in order to subserve its own ends. Representing the trading interests of India during the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and pre-Uruguay Round negotiations, Subramanian had this dubious privilege.

His graphic description of how U.S. officials try to convert the vanity and gullibility of opinion-makers in the target countries into their own resources to achieve their goals makes gripping reading.

The book has a graphic account of the functioning of a high-powered review committee constituted under the chief secretary for the ostensible purpose of ensuring that cases of detention under MISA (the infamous precursor of POTA) were carefully reviewed once in six months as a safeguard against their unwarranted continuance.

The exercise consisted of this

presiding deity flipping page after page (each containing particulars of about 100 detenus) with a rhetorical question "any comments?" and interpreting the deafening silence of the other members as sanction for the continued incarceration of the unfortunate victims until a similar "careful review" six months hence, confirming that the only use of such draconian preventive detention law is its misuse.

But perish the thought that the narration must be cynical, grim, harsh, judgmental and full of bureaucratic jargon. Quite the contrary!

The presentation, in elegant and near-Wodehousian language, is predominantly anecdotal, and hilarious — subtle mostly and humorous on occasion — is the author's strong suit.

Not only those involved or interested in public affairs — politicians, civil servants, journalists and academicians — but even the general reader whose staple is enjoyable literature will find the book absorbing.

Granted that it contains reminiscences of but a single citizen's experiences, that too within a limited area in the vast politico-administrative jungle of this nation; it is nevertheless a valuable socio-political record of the nascent years of India's freedom by a perceptive participant, and is bound to have an enduring historical value.

**K. S. RAMAKRISHNAN**

'Love affair with words'

**CLASSICAL ARABIC POETICS** — An Introduction: M. Iqbal Husain; Centre for Arabic Studies, Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad-500007. Rs. 225.

"NO PEOPLE in the world manifest such enthusiastic admiration for literary expression and are so moved by the word, spoken or written, as the Arabs. Modern audiences in Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo can be stirred to the highest degree by the recital of poems. The rhythm, the rhyme, the music, produce on them the effect of what they call 'lawful magic'."

This excerpt from Philip K. Hitty, epitomises the influence on the Arabs, of poetry, classical or modern.

Arabic poetry is extremely beautiful. The classical Arabic poetry of the "Days of Ignorance" may not be highly regarded as good subject matter, but its use of language and diction, decorations, figures of speech and style is, to say the least, entralling. According to the author, it is marked by "self-pride, self-respect and self-dignity."

The Arabs' love of poetry was brilliantly characterised by Ghazali when he said: "The Arabs will not discard poetry, until the camel puts down longing and desire." No wonder, the terms "literature" and "criticism" were not known to

ancient Arabs in the sense in which they are known to the West today since their concept of literature almost entirely revolved round poetry.

Even classical writers and critics had only a vague notion of literature and criticism, and in their works there was no reference to emotion, imagination, thought, interpretation of life or interest in the world of reality.

Correct use of words was a passion with them, and their love affair was with words. Thus, their obsession with poetry induced them to the analysis of the poetic texts, which, in turn, led to their study of grammar, lexicography, stylistics and rhetoric; along with grammar, the new science of rhetoric also played a substantial role in the development of criticism.

Nevertheless, the notion of the Qur'an as literature and a doctrine of miraculous uniqueness and inimitability had a notable influence on the development of literary aesthetics in all its aspects.

As in Plato, in the Qur'an also there are certain observations that go against the poets: "As for the poets, it is the seduced who follows them. Observe thou that they who wander about every vale! And they say that which they do not do."

However, it is interesting to note

that the celebrated Arabic critic, Ibn Rashid encapsulates his defence of poetry with these words attributed to the Prophet: "Poetry is a speech compound (of various things); whatever is in agreement with truth is beautiful; whatever is not, lacks any goodness." One is reminded here of the famous Keatsian phrase: "truth is beauty, beauty truth."

As the author rightly points out, during the third century of the Hijra, the term "literature" was applied to pure literature, and during the fourth, criticism was included as a form of literature.

According to him, even though the Arabs were influenced by the ideas and logical methods of Aristotle, Aristotelian dominion over Arabic poetry and criticism was not powerful enough to change the extreme conservatism in Arabic literary theory.

As for the modern Arab writers and critics, they are so deeply inspired by various European and American literary movements that they cannot take a stand different from the west. This broadly sums up the author's view regarding Arabic poetics.

The author deserves to be commended for his concise description of the classical Arabic literary scene.

Titans of Carnatic music

**MUSINGS ON MUSIC AND MUSICIANS**: K. S. Mahadevan; Published by the author, 30, Krishnapuri, Chennai-600028. Price not indicated.

THE AUTHOR is a well-known and respected art critic and has many feathers to his professional cap. He had the opportunity to associate himself with leading titans of Carnatic music and enjoy the privilege of their friendship, which he brings to bear in this book.

He speaks about the greatness and genius of Ariyakudi Ramanuja Iyengar, a trendsetter, Maharajapuram Viswanatha Iyer, and Musiri Subramania Iyer's contributions to Carnatic music as a performer, guru and administrator are mentioned in detail, as also his spontaneous hospitality to friends and visitors.

The violin maestro Kumbakonam Rajamanickam Pillai is described as the perfect accompanist and Umayalpuram Kothandarama Iyer as a consummate laya vidwan, whose ghatam artistry received instant approbation and applause from the audience.

Mysore T. Chowdiah was one violinist in those days who readily agreed to accompany lady musicians and violinist Papa Venkatarani's style of playing delighted both the scholar and the layman.

Semmagudi Srinivasa Iyer outstanding career and his exceptiona-

service to Carnatic music, Palani Subramania Pillai and Palghat Mani Iyer, immortal geniuses of percussion, Alathur brothers, who blazed a new trail with their outstanding expertise in laya and colourful renditions of weighty kritis and light classical songs, G.N.Balasarayana, M.D Ramanathan, K.V. Narayanaswami one of the prime sishyas of Ariyakudi, who developed a remarkable "bani" of his own, Flute T.R. Mahalingam, a maverick musician who was in an orbit of his own and was the first flautist to introduce the gamaka, the life and soul of Carnatic music, Flute T. Viswanathan, a scion of the illustrious Dhanammal family, who carried Carnatic music to the U.S. and trained a number of students including John Higgins, and M. L. Vasantha Kumari referred to as the delicate nymph of music are the greats dealt with at length.

Calcutta K.S. Krishnamurthy who was a musician scholar and a guru par excellence, D.K Jayaraman's who was a musical researcher and Mahtu arajapuram Santanam perhaps the most popular male vocalist and two distinguished personalities, who were not musicians but true custodians of Carnatic music, T.T. Krishnamachari and T. Sadasiwam are included.

The author's effort would enable the youth of today to appreciate the greatness of the masters of yesterday.

**SULOCHANA PATTABHI RAMAN**

Women self-help groups • Astrological treatise • Versatile scholar • Social novel

**TAMIL**

**MAHALIR SUYAUDHAVI KUZHUKKALIN EZHUCHHIYUM THAARALAIYATHIN VEZHUCHHIYUM**: Bharathi Chinassamy; Ezhilmathi Padippagam, 5/176, Poonga Nagar North, Thoppampatti Post, Coimbatore-641017. Rs. 75.

TODAY'S WORLD is caught in a great economic crisis. Liberalisation has brought several multinational companies into developing countries. Due to this the local enterprises are unable to compete with the products that are better in quality as well as lower in prices. In this economic environment, the women self-help groups (SHGs) are building themselves up as a power to be reckoned with.

Currently there are more than one lakh women SHGs wherein 22.5 lakh women are functioning as members. Their total savings for capital investments is Rs. 320 crores.

Many political parties and women's organisations have failed to recognise the potential of this power. While the multinational companies have more money power, these groups have within them the extensive market potential of their own families and companies. When organised effectively, this could prove to be a true challenge to counter the influx and influence of multinational companies in India.

This book points out this irrefutable fact and puts before the SHGs the possibility of creating their market for their own products, as well as ensuring a healthy competition in the existing market by enhancing the quality of their products. When done as a joint effort of thousands of SHGs, this is a real possibility and not just a dream.

The author opines that when the SHGs create this possibility several spread-effects can be spawned. A few of these could be: the end of male domination, reducing the importance of cash by enabling group effort, when the group will automatically take care of the personal needs of the members and their families such as health care, education, employment and marriage.

The book is an eye-opener not only for women, those already organised as SHGs as well as those who are still watching from the side-lines, but also for banks, government and

non-governmental organisations. The book should reach the multitude of people in India who do not know English. Giving in a nutshell the macro vision for micro credit, the book is a boon to all those who are eager to create an impact on our economy.

**GEORGINA PETER**

**SIDDHAR JYOTHIDAM**: C. M. Somasundaram; Sittu Noolagam, 9, Bharathi Nagar First Street, T. Nagar, Chennai-600017. Rs. 25.

IF THE author's aim is meant to provide for the benefit of readers who are ignorant of the basics of astrology, the rudimentary details concerning some crucial aspects of the science, then the purpose of this book, is understandable to some extent.

Otherwise, the contents are not only scanty but they also lack an independent and in depth analysis of the topics chosen for elaboration. This shortcoming is striking in the way in which vital aspects like determining marital compatibility and Mars affliction have been dealt with.

Devoid of anything that could be considered as an attempt to shed some new thinking or reveal unknown facts, a serious reader is bound to get the impression that most of the contents of the book are the ones culled from popular series on the science of astrology and incorporated.

In a brief explanatory note on Mars affliction, the author does not refer to any classical works or any authoritative sources to back up his claim that the affliction (when Mars occupies 2, 4, 7, 8 and 12th House in a birth chart) would have to be reckoned with from the Ascendant (lagna) and not from Moon, Sun or Venus. He also suggests that Mars affliction in a chart need not be taken note of when a prospective bride and the groom are well past the age of 30 years.

Besides giving the periodicity of dasa and bhukti of the planets, the book provides a concise profile of people born under each of the 27 constellations, significance of the 12 Ascendants and their impact when the respective Ascendant Lords occupy different Zodiacal signs in a birth chart.

**KANNADA**

**SANGATI** — A Felicitations Volume Presented to Dr. G. Ramakrishna: K. Marulasiddappa, N. Gayathri, and Ramalinga T. Begur — Editors; Published by the felicitations committee, No. 334, 12th Cross (B), 4th A Main, West of Chord Road, Rajajinagar 2nd Stage, Bangalore-560088. Rs. 200.

THIS VOLUME is a gracious and respectful salute to G. Ramakrishna by his students and admirers who have considered it their duty to record his contribution to the community at large as an extraordinarily gifted and accomplished personality, an intellectual, thinker, teacher, scholar, and social activist besides being a forceful essayist and writer. It contains a large number of articles which focus on the versatility of G.R. as he is endearingly called.

Special mention has been made of his deep commitment to Leftist thought and his active role in the major progressive movements and the exposition of their rationale.

The innumerable forewords he wrote to notable publications, namely, a review of post-independence India and its career, are cited, in particular, for his deep and keen insight into contemporary Indian and world affairs. His writings on the various aspects of education policy in free India are considered critically stimulating.

The volume opens with a longish and interesting interview with him conducted by Raghunandan, Ramajana Darga and Vijaya, and throws light on the career of G.R. starting with his student days. There is a moving reference to his dependence on 'Bikshanna' a noble institution of the olden days to highlight the virtue of charity and compassion.

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**C. M. RAMACHANDRA MALAYALAM**

**VISHAYAVIVARAM** — Novel: P. Mohanan; Current Books, Round West, Thiruvananthapuram-696001. Rs. 110.

NOVELTY IS what every reader looks at in a novel. Every narrative is an original story and offers a fresh style in technique, craft, narration and characterisation. So is the case with the book under review, which traverses largely

on a hitherto unexplored path. It combines history, myth, rituals, black magic, fantasy and hallucinations and the different levels and machinations of man-woman relationships. But it is all condensed affecting easy readability. The locale of this novel is a police training camp in a typical village near Thrissur.

The main character finds parallels in the freedom movement in Ireland. The police training camp dates back to the pre-independent period and commandant John Connote is sympathetic to the cause of freedom, because it evokes the struggle his forefathers undertook in Ireland.

The couple have no children and are very sad about it but they are considerate and active about the welfare of the children of others through philanthropic activities and celebrate every occasion for children out of genuine love. But he is eccentric and discipline in a police camp is supreme. So Arthur Clerk Rej places him and John Connote and his wife Juliette settle down in a nearby old traditional house and figuratively name it Shamblies.

He has his old friend Brown to help. The camp has its hierarchies and they have their families, conspiracies and clandestine relations. One of the characters whose morals are threatening to the many in the camp at last haunts them after her gory death.

The novel is not simple in recounting as it is interwoven with myths, fancies and traditions. As typical of the times, it is also laced with superstitions and village deities and attendant fantasies. The narration has many dimensions and occasionally it has a lyrical charm. But at times it is disjointed and intricate and not integrated with the flow of the theme.

**K. KUNHIKRISHNAN**

**Announcement**

Authors and publishers are welcome to send copies of their books to The Hindu for review. While every effort will be made to acknowledge receipt of the books under "New Arrivals", the decision to review a book rests entirely with the newspaper. Receipt of individual books will not be acknowledged in response to enquiries.





# Vaccine for human bird flu almost ready, says WHO

Reuters  
Bangkok, February 26

SCIENTISTS ARE just weeks away from designing a human vaccine against the Asian bird flu that has killed 22 people and will take longer and more money to stamp out than previously thought, UN experts said on Thursday.

"Our laboratories are working actively on designing a new vaccine. We hope in a few weeks the design phase will have been completed," Bjorn Melgaard, WHO's Thailand representative, said.

Officials from 23 Asia-Pacific countries, UN bodies and donors kicked off a three-day emergency meeting on Thursday with urgent pleas to intensify the fight against the disease.

The virulent H5N1 avian influenza virus has hit seven Asian countries and killed 15 Vietnamese and seven Thais — fuelling fears it could acquire the ability

to easily infect humans, who have no immunity. That has not happened, but Melgaard told the meeting "the conditions in affected countries and elsewhere are ripe for the emergence of just such a pandemic strain of the influenza virus. A vaccine could be available shortly for vaccine manufacturers to begin small-scale production, so that safety and efficiency studies can be conducted." More than 100 million chickens have been culled across South East Asia and China in a bid to combat the disease.

It could be another three to six months before a commercial version of the vaccine is widely available.

The virus is proving difficult to stamp out, with new and recurring outbreaks among poultry despite the slaughter of 100 million birds. Japan and Cambodia are the latest countries investigating possible new cases.

"It is clear that the avian flu epidem-

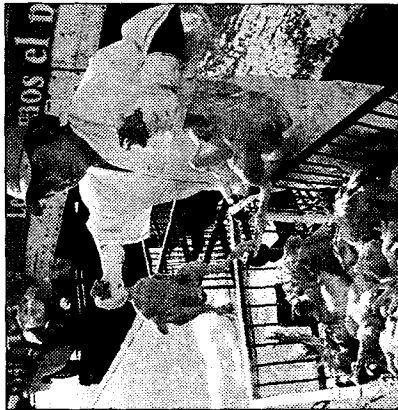
States two years to wipe out an outbreak in the 1990s. "The threat to human health will last as long as avian influenza persists in the environment," he said.

The Bangkok meeting will seek to expose weaknesses in the fight against bird flu, with experts already pointing to a lack of resources for animal disease surveillance in the region.

The world animal health body OIE called for a national network of farmers trained in diseases and supervised by veterinarians, saying they must play a bigger role in detection and reporting of the disease.

"The cost of this investment is insignificant compared to the enormous losses linked with" outbreaks, OIE regional representative Teruhide Fujita told the meeting.

Foreign donors at the meeting will come under pressure to help cash-strapped governments such as Vietnam, Laos



REUTERS  
A poultry vendor checks chickens at a Mexico City market on Thursday.

ic is not yet under control," Melgaard said, noting that it took the United

and Cambodia pay for culling operations and restocking thousands of small farms.

Experts say culling is by far the most effective way to combat the disease, but it can also worsen the plight of poor farmers unless they get help.

In Thailand, the world's fourth-largest chicken exporter, thousands of small farmers earning \$300 a month on average have fallen into massive debt because government compensation does not cover all lost income.

And once this emergency is over, nations will need financial and technical help to overhaul a way of farming that has not changed for centuries and is partly to blame for the crisis.

"This is a call to donors, realising that the fight against bird flu will take longer than we thought, and it will be enormously costly," said He Changchul, Assistant director-general of the Food and Agriculture Organisation.

# Bird flu detected in US

Worst ever for Asia, says Thai Prime Minister

Reuters  
Washington/Bangkok,  
February 7

THE FIRST case of bird flu appeared in the United States just as hard-hit Thailand said it hoped to clear the last outbreak of an epidemic that has killed 18 people and decimated poultry flocks across Asia.

More than 12,000 chickens have been quarantined in the US state of Delaware and are due to be destroyed after they were found to have a strain of the virus which differs from the one that has killed people in Thailand and Vietnam, the *Delaware State News* reported on its website.

Delaware Agriculture Secretary Michael Scuse said the strain found in the US chickens was



REUTERS  
Chickens marked for slaughter at a poultry market in Shanghai.

known as H7. The killer Asian strain was H5N1. "We are trying to act as quickly as possible," Scuse said. "We are trying to protect an industry here that is awfully valuable".

In addition to the destruction of the 12,000 chickens in Delaware's Kent County, all farms within two miles of the infected birds will be tested within the next

week, Scuse said.

South Korea, which is battling its own outbreak of the virus, reacted swiftly to reports of the discovery in Delaware, immediately halting imports of US poultry.

News of the US outbreak came on the same day the Prime Minister of Thailand — one of the 10 Asian countries hardest hit by the epidemic — said he expected the last outbreak of the virus to be contained within days.

"There is only one red zone, in Bangkok at Lat Krabang. We hope to clear that within one or two days," Thaksin Shinawatra said in his weekly radio address.

Thailand, the world's fourth biggest chicken exporter has slaughtered 26 million fowl and was confident the virus was

under control, he said.

Last week, Thailand had more than 140 of the "red zones", the five-km (three-mile) area around a confirmed outbreak within which the government orders the slaughter of all poultry.

Officials say they will go back over all the former red zones to make certain the virus, which has killed 18 persons across the continent, including 13 Vietnamese, has been eradicated.

In neighbouring Vietnam, authorities in capital Hanoi ordered the cull of all poultry in the city. "At present Hanoi is applying some forceful measures including destroying poultry to protect its environment and to stop it from spreading to other localities," the health director said.

# China culls 12 lakh poultry to arrest bird flu

Press Trust of India

BEIJING, Feb. 5. — While asserting that there has been no cases of human infection of H5N1 strain of bird flu so far, China today said that over 12 lakh poultry has been culled to prevent the further spread of the virus.

"There are no cases of human infections on the Chinese mainland due to the tight surveillance networks established after the outbreak of severe acute respiratory syndrome last year," vice minister of health, Wang Longde, told reporters.

At a press conference hosted by the ministries of agriculture and health in the wake of rapidly rising cases of bird flu in China, Wang said the government had worked out measures to prevent transmission of bird flu to human beings.

He said experts hold that there is a little possibility that human beings can be infected so long as the H5N1 strain of bird flu is not combined with other viruses of human beings.

In addition, the number of persons infected by bird flu is quite limited so far, he said.

Earlier, vice minister of agriculture, Liu Jian, said that China had reported five confirmed cases and 18 suspected cases of bird

flu by yesterday, since the first confirmed case was announced on 27 January.

By yesterday, some 56,417 poultry had been infected with bird flu and 49,236 died. The country had slaughtered 1,215,057 chickens, ducks and geese to prevent spread of the disease, Liu said.



A farmer uses a stick to slaughter chickens in Vietnam's Thanh Oai district. — AFP

**Taiwan:** Lawmakers munched on crispy fried chicken today as the premier assured consumers that Taiwanese poultry was free of the bird flu virus, adds AP from Taipei.

Although Taiwan has not reported any cases of the bird flu strain, a few farms have been infected with a milder strain of avian influenza.



# Bird flu claims fourth victim in Thailand

Agence France Presse

BANGKOK, Feb. 3. — A seven-year-old boy died from bird flu today, becoming Thailand's fourth confirmed fatality from the disease, a health official said.

"He died just minutes ago. He is the fourth confirmed case to have died," disease control department director Charal Trinvuthipong told AFP.

As well as the four confirmed deaths, there are 18 suspected cases of bird flu infections in Thailand, of which 11 have died.

To fight the disease, 26.9 million chickens have been culled nationwide, with slaughtering continuing in seven of Thailand's 76 provinces but completed in the other 29 provinces where the deadly H5N1 virus has been detected.

**China outbreak:** China today confirmed a previously suspected bird flu outbreak in Guangdong province and reported five new suspected outbreaks, including in two new provinces, Gansu and Shaanxi, a report from Beijing says.

"The ministry of agriculture on 3 February received the report from the National Bird Flu Reference Laboratory confirming a suspected case in Chao'an county, Guangdong province, as deadly H5N1 bird flu," the China Central Television station (CCTV) said.

The ministry today also received reports

of a total of five new outbreaks, two of them in separate provinces that had not previously been known to be affected — Gansu in the north-west and Shaanxi in the north.

The outbreaks were in Gansu's Lanzhou city and Shaanxi's Xi'an city, the CCTV report said. The other new outbreaks were in Anhui province's Fuyang city, Hunan province's Pingjiang county and Hubei province's Xiangfan city, CCTV news said. Those three provinces already had confirmed or suspected cases.

The report brings the total number of cases in China to 19 — four confirmed and 15 suspected.

**Germany:** The German health authorities today said that a woman suspected to be Europe's first case of bird flu did not in fact have the disease, a report from Hamburg says.

"We are nearly sure that this is human influenza virus," a spokeswoman for the Bernhard Nocht Institute for Tropical Medicine said. "It is not bird flu."

Further tests will be conducted at influenza research centres in Hanover and Berlin. The woman returned to Hamburg from Thailand on Saturday with symptoms similar to those produced by the disease that has killed a dozen people in Asia. Firefighters who transported the patient and a woman accompanying her to the Institute for Tropical Medicine wore protective clothing.



# Flu fears rise as toll climbs to 12

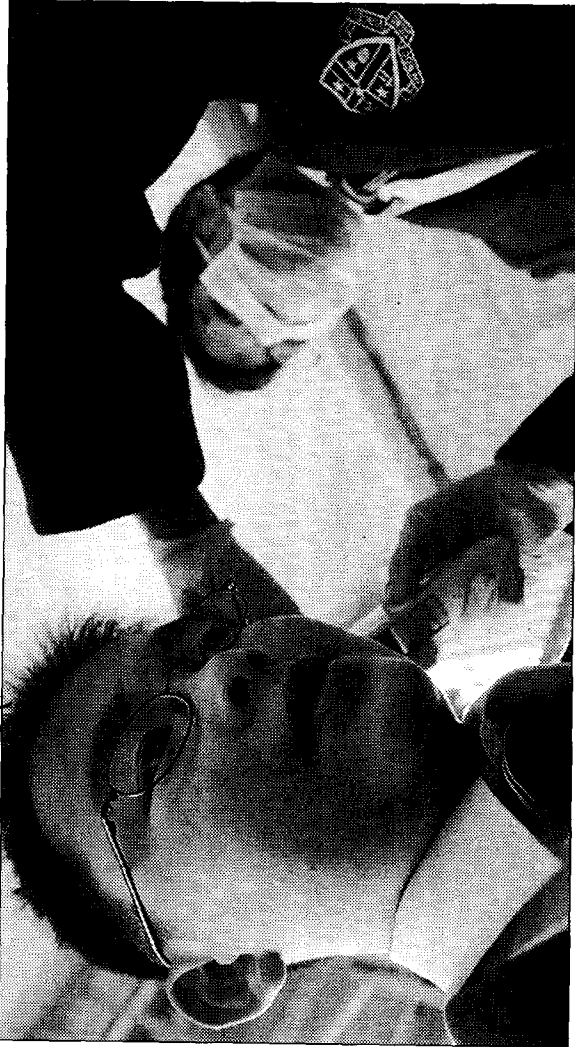
**Hanoi/Bangkok, Feb. 2**  
 (Reuters): Two more people have died after contracting bird flu, bringing to 12 the number of deaths in an epidemic that is sweeping Asia and which scientists fear may now be transmitted from person-to-person.

The deaths — a 58 year-old woman in Thailand and a teenage boy in Vietnam — come a day after the World Health Organisation said two sisters who died in Vietnam last month probably caught the virus from their brother — the first cases of human-to-human infection in the current epidemic.

The brother also died, but he was cremated before an autopsy could be performed and so it could not categorically be determined if he was the original source. His wife also contracted bird flu but has since recovered.

Stock markets fell in Hong Kong and Thailand as economists said the possibility of human transmission would have much more serious implications.

The Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome outbreak last year cost Asia an estimated \$60 billion and there are worries that bird flu could have a similar or even worse effect if it spreads



A student gets his temperature checked for bird flu symptoms in Hong Kong. (Reuters)

further. "At the moment the disease is largely restricted to where the chickens are," said Rob Subbaraman, regional economist at Lehman Brothers.

"But if we got strong evidence of transmission from human-to-human and there was a risk of it getting into crowded areas like shopping malls and

public transport, it would cause an economic disruption."

In China, home to the largest number of poultry in the world, bird flu was reported from a new area — Gansu province in the northwest, state radio said today.

Eleven provinces and regions, about one-third of the country, have been affected by

the virus and authorities there have culled tens of thousands of birds, including about 20,000 in Gansu.

Taiwan will launch temperature checks at its schools and increase patrols against illegal poultry smuggling to stave off the flu that has gripped the island's neighbours, officials said.

Hospital officials in Vietnam's southern city of Ho Chi Minh said the teenage boy who died today had caught the virus after eating meat from a chicken with avian influenza.

"The boy was admitted to the Hospital for Tropical Diseases in Ho Chi Minh City on January 29 and tested positive for the H5N1 virus on January 31," said a doctor. A hospital official added: "We know he ate chicken that died from the bird flu virus."

The latest Thai victim was a woman who raised chickens in Suphanburi province 100 km west of Bangkok.

More details of her death have yet to be released, but Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra — under fire for reacting slowly to the outbreak — lambasted the WHO for suggesting the flu could mutate and spread to pigs and then even more easily to humans.

"Ethically speaking, researchers should only discuss low possibilities of such cross-strain spreads in labs, not in public," Thaksin said.

WHO said another Thai died several days ago from bird flu, but health ministry officials said the toll remained at three.

# Human-to-human twist to flu

**Hanoi, Feb. 1** (Reuters): Two Vietnamese sisters have died from bird flu, possibly after contracting the deadly virus from their brother in the epidemic's first recorded human-to-human transmissions, the UN health agency said today.

The deaths brought to 10 the number of people known to have died after the virus, which has decimated poultry flocks across Asia, made the leap to humans.

Scientists believed, and health officials hoped, that the disease could only be contracted through exposure to infected birds or droppings, and not from person to person.

The World Health Organisation (WHO) said it could not be entirely sure of how the Vietnamese sisters contracted the disease, because their brother had died earlier of respiratory ailments before any tests could be conducted on him.

But it said it "considers that limited human-to-human transmission, from the brother to the sisters, is one possible explanation".



**A rooster puts his head out of a bag before being culled along with other poultry by health workers in China's Guangdong province on Sunday. (Reuters)**

With the disease taking a foothold in 10 Asian nations, China's state television relay reported five more areas with suspected cases of bird flu in the world's most populous country.

The Vietnamese sisters, aged 23 and 30, died on January 23, the WHO said. Hanoi's National Institute for Hygiene and Epidemi-

ology said last week it was certain bird flu was the cause of death. But the WHO waited for tests at a laboratory in Hong Kong to confirm the results. It said an investigation into the family's illness failed to uncover any contact with sick poultry or "an environmental source".

"At the same time, such exposures cannot be discounted, either," it said. Six other people have died from bird flu in Vietnam. The disease has killed two boys in Thailand, and two other Vietnamese have been confirmed as having the virus but have either recovered or are still in hospital.

The WHO said it saw no evidence of "efficient" transmission of the H5N1 strain of the bird flu virus between people "in Vietnam or elsewhere". Human transmission is not unprecedented. The WHO noted that in the 1997 Hong Kong outbreak, there were cases of "limited" human-to-human infection, but said it never "developed into a significant public health threat."

Vietnam has stepped up its fight against the disease, banning the transport of poultry nationwide. Others nations are also battling to contain the virus. Bird flu fears in Bangladesh eased today when the health ministry said US tests had identified a mysterious illness which killed 23 people last month as encephalitis.

# সতর্কতা চাই, সঙ্গে কাণ্ডজ্ঞান

মুর্গি-বাহিত 'ফ্লু' প্রতিরোধে কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার আগামী ছয় মাসের জন্য পোলট্রি-জাত খাদ্যসামগ্রীর আমদানি নিষিদ্ধ করিয়াছে। এই ব্যাধির জীবাণু যাহাতে ভারতে প্রবেশ করিতে না পারে, সে জন্য যাবতীয় সতর্কতামূলক ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণের সুপারিশও করিয়াছেন কেন্দ্রীয় কৃষি মন্ত্রী রাজনাথ সিংহ এবং স্বাস্থ্য মন্ত্রী সুসমা স্বরাজ। এই সতর্কতা সমরোচিত এবং যথাযথ, কেননা কিছু প্রতিবেশী দেশে ইতিমধ্যেই এই ফ্লু কালাস্তক আকার লইয়াছে। ইহা অতিশয় সংক্রামকও বটে। এবং এই ব্যাধিতে কেবল যে পোলট্রি-জাত মুর্গিরাই মারা পড়িতেছে, তাহা নয়, মৃত্যু হইতেছে মানুষেরও। ইতিমধ্যেই এই ব্যাধিতে ভিয়েতনাম ও তাইল্যান্ডে বেশ কিছু মানুষ মারা গিয়াছেন, রোগের প্রধান লক্ষণ তীব্র জ্বর ও সর্দিকাশি। আক্রান্ত হইয়াছেন আরও বহু মানুষ। রোগের জীবাণু পোলট্রি-জাত খাদ্য মারফত মানুষের শরীরে প্রবেশ করিয়া প্রাণহানি ঘটাইতেছে। বিশেষজ্ঞদের অভিমত, এই জীবাণু যদি মানবশরীরে অভিযোজিত ও বিবর্তিত হইয়া স্বতন্ত্র মানব-জীবাণুতে রূপান্তরিত হয়, তবে কেবল মুর্গির মাংস বা ডিম হইতেই নয়, তখন আক্রান্ত মানুষের সংস্পর্শই ইহাকে বিধ্বংসী মহামারির অনুঘটক করিয়া তুলিবে। বিশ্ব স্বাস্থ্য সংস্থা সহ বিভিন্ন চিকিৎসক ও বিজ্ঞানী সমিতি এ জন্যই এই ব্যাধির ব্যাপারে উদ্বেগ ও উৎকণ্ঠা ব্যক্ত করিয়াছেন।

উদ্বেগের কারণ একাধিক। এই রোগ বিশ্বের এমন সব দেশে দেখা দিয়াছে, যেগুলি তৃতীয় বিশ্বের দেশ বলিয়া গণ্য। এই দেশগুলি এক দিকে যেমন জনসাধারণের উপযুক্ত শস্তার প্রোটিনের জন্য একান্তভাবেই পোলট্রি-জাত প্রাণী-খাদ্যের উপর নির্ভরশীল, অন্য দিকে তেমনই আবার এই সব দেশে জরুরি জাতব্য তথ্য চাপা দিবার বন্দোবস্তও অত্যন্ত পাকা। ব্রিটেন বা আমেরিকার সরকার 'ম্যাড-কাউ ডিজিজ'-এর লক্ষণ প্রকাশ পাওয়া মাত্র বিশদে তাহার কথা মানুষকে জানাইয়া দেয়, সতর্কতা, নিষেধাজ্ঞা ইত্যাদি জারি করিয়া দেয়। পাশাপাশি ইতিমধ্যেই ব্যাধিগ্রস্ত কিংবা ব্যাধিগ্রস্ত হওয়ার আশঙ্কা আছে এমন যাবতীয় খাদ্য পত্রপাঠ ধ্বংস করিয়া ফেলে। মানুষের জীবনের দাম সেখানে কয়েকটি পশুপালক কোম্পানির ব্যবসায়িক লাভ-লোকসানের হিসাব অপেক্ষা অনেক বেশি। অথচ তৃতীয় বিশ্বে সর্বদাই অনুরূপ ক্ষেত্রে তথ্য চাপিয়া যাওয়ার মরিয়া প্রয়াস। প্রথমত এই সব

সরকার ঔদাসীন্য, শৈথিল্য ও দায়সারা মনোভাবের জন্য অপরাধী। তদুপরি ঔদাসীন্য পাছে ধরা পড়িয়া যায়, সে জন্য প্রাণপণে তথ্য গোপনে উদ্যোগী। কয়েক মাস আগে কালাস্তক 'সার্স'-এর প্রকোপ লইয়া চিনে অনুরূপ দুর্ভাগ্যজনক মনোভাব দেখা গিয়াছে। অথচ যথাসময়ে রোগের শনাক্তকরণ, তাহার সংক্রমণ রোধে যে যুদ্ধকালীন তৎপরতা ও সতর্কতা অবলম্বন একান্ত জরুরি, এ ক্ষেত্রেও ভিয়েতনাম ও তাইল্যান্ড সেই তৎপরতা দেখাইতে পারে নাই। ভারতের পক্ষে উদ্বেগজনক ঘটনা হইল, এই ফ্লুর জীবাণু পাকিস্তানে পৌঁছাইয়াছে। তা ছাড়া, দক্ষিণ-পূর্ব এশিয়ার যে অঞ্চলে ইহার প্রকোপ, সেখানে ভারতীয়দের যাতায়াত অবাধ। তাই বিমানযোগে কেবল পোলট্রি-জাত খাদ্যই সংক্রমণ বহন করিয়া আনিতে পারে এমন নয়, যাত্রীদের মাধ্যমেও ওই রোগ এ দেশে পৌঁছানো সম্ভব।

বিমানবন্দরগুলিতে সতর্কতা তাই দরকারি। ফ্লু-র লক্ষণাক্রান্ত প্রতিটি যাত্রীকে ভালভাবে পরীক্ষা করিবার জন্য যোগ্যতাসম্পন্ন চিকিৎসকদের দল মোতায়েন থাকা জরুরি। একই সঙ্গে যাত্রীদের অকারণ হেনস্থা বা হয়রানিও বাঞ্ছনীয় নহে। ভারতীয় আমলাতন্ত্রের সর্ব স্তরেই ধরিয়া আনিতে বলিলে বাঁধিয়া আনার যে অস্বাস্থ্যকর প্রবণতা বিদ্যমান, এ ক্ষেত্রে যেন তাহা সংযত থাকে। অন্যথায় কাজের তুলনায় অকাজই বাড়িতে পারে। দেশের ভিতরে শস্তার প্রোটিনের যে বিপুল প্রয়োজন গত কয়েক বছরে পোলট্রি-বিপ্লব ঘটাইয়া দিয়াছে, নজরদারি সেখানেও সমান জরুরি। রোগ-লক্ষণ প্রকাশ পাওয়া মাত্র আক্রান্ত মুর্গি ও তাহার স্পর্শদুষ্টিদের ধ্বংস করিয়া ফেলা দরকার। এ ব্যাপারে কোনও বুঁকি লওয়া অর্থহীন। মুর্গির খাদ্য হিসাবে যাহা ব্যবহৃত হইয়া থাকে, তাহার পরীক্ষাও জরুরি। মুর্গির মাংস এবং ডিমই ভারতের কোটি-কোটি মানুষকে প্রোটিন জোগাইয়া থাকে। পোলট্রি-জাত যাবতীয় প্রোটিন এক ধাক্কায় নিষিদ্ধ করিয়া দেশব্যাপী আতঙ্ক বা ত্রাস সৃষ্টির কোনও প্রয়োজন নাই। এ দেশে 'কাকে কান লইয়া গিয়াছে' বলিয়া রব তুলিয়া দিলে উড়ন্ত কাকের পিছনে-পিছনে ছুটিবার লোকের অভাব নাই। তাই সরকারি ও বেসরকারি গণমাধ্যমগুলিকে সতর্ক ও দায়িত্বশীল প্রচার চালাইতে হইবে। এক দিকে কঠোর সতর্কতা অবলম্বন, অন্য দিকে অনাবশ্যক আতঙ্ক ছড়াইতে না দেওয়া— এই দুইয়ের মধ্যে ভারতসাম্য রক্ষাই এই মুহূর্তের কৃত্য।

# Bird flu hits south Thailand

**Bangkok:** Thai officials on Friday reported four more suspected bird flu cases, including one death, and said the deadly virus had also been detected for the first time in the country's south.

"Officials have taken two suspected cases off the list and added four new suspected cases, including one 62-year-old man who has already died in Nakhon Sawan," deputy Prime Minister Somkid Jatusripitak told reporters. Thailand now has 12 suspected bird flu cases, seven of whom have died. Two Thai children have been confirmed as dying of bird flu and one other boy is battling an infection.

The first detection of the deadly H5N1 virus was also made in chickens in the country's south, with Phang Nga, nearly 800 km south of Bangkok, listed as the 32nd province out of Thailand's 76 to be hit.

"One more affected spot in Takua Pha district in Phang Nga has been listed, so there are now 124 spots, lowered from 147 on Thursday," Mr Somkid said, referring to the precise locations in the provinces that have been declared "hot zones".

Warnings that the virus is spread by wild birds has prompted a pigeon culling campaign in the capital. Authorities plan to scatter rice laced with whisky to drug the birds before they are collected and disposed of, the Thai news agency reported.

The city's numerous street food vendors have been warned to be cautious of birds on overhead cables from where their feces can land on carts. Bird feces is believed to be a main mode of transmission for the disease.

Meanwhile, Indonesia on Friday appeared to backtrack on a planned mass cull of chickens to curb the bird

flu outbreak, with officials saying they would only carry out a selective slaughter.

President Megawati Sukarnoputri had on Thursday ordered the immediate killing of all poultry infected with bird flu following pressure from the world health organisation.

"We have started culling. This is being conducted selectively on chickens that require immediate stamping-out," said agriculture ministry spokesman Hari Priyono.

The WHO recommends that all birds within a radius of three kilometers of any outbreak be killed but priyono said the government would not do

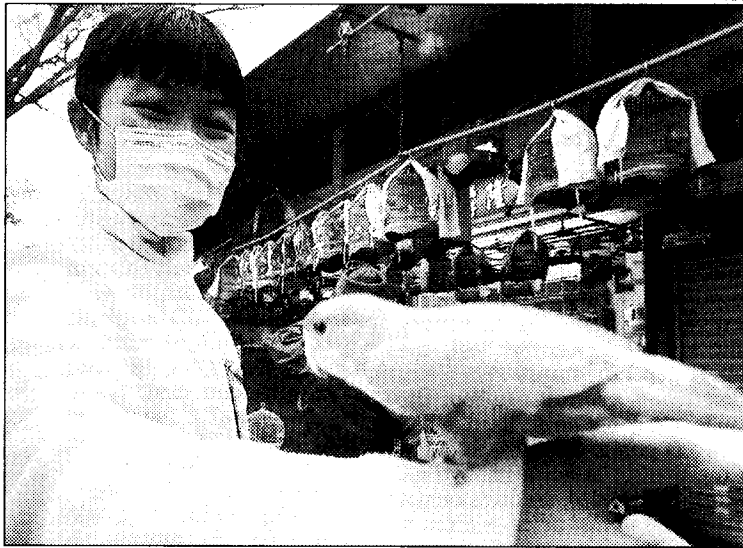
birds.

China's Shanghai port, the largest in the nation, has tightened examination and control of poultry products from countries stricken by the deadly bird flu virus.

Inspectors found Vietnamese chicken meat on a Russian ship and a Panamanian ship from Philippines entering Shanghai port on Wednesday and kept the load for further sterilisation and quarantine treatment.

As Asian countries such as Thailand, Vietnam and Japan were hit by the deadly H5N1 strain of bird flu virus, Shanghai immediately banned the entry of poultry products from

AFP



A girl plays with a bird at a market in Hong Kong on Friday

that.

In Hong Kong, public aviaries and a huge bird sanctuary have been closed fearing that visitors may catch bird flu from wild fowl, officials said.

The closures are part of a wide-ranging government effort to prevent the disease from entering Hong Kong after spreading fast across Asia, where it has caused at least 10 human deaths from outbreaks in 10 countries.

The move came after health officials said they believed the avian influenza was being transmitted across the region by migrating and wild

these regions besides seizing up to 140 kg of poultry meat.

Passengers are prohibited from carrying poultry products from these countries through Shanghai port and those touring avian flu-stricken regions and showing bird flu symptoms such as fever, coughing and muscle pain are required to report to hospital and quarantine departments as soon as possible.

Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao has asked local governments and departments to earnestly implement eight

major measures in an emergent effort to prevent and control the spread of the bird flu virus in the country.

The US government has also warned Americans over the rapid spread of bird flu in Asia, advising them to avoid live fowl and poultry markets.

The state department said in a fact sheet that the US Centers for Disease Control (CDC), in common with the World Health Organisation, was concerned about the disease mutating into a form which could be passed among humans. Agencies

# China denies *nick* bird flu source report

AP & PTI *5/2*  
*30/1/04*

BEIJING, Jan. 29. — China today rejected as “groundless” allegations that it was the source of the virulent bird flu outbreak that is wrecking havoc in neighbouring countries in the Asia-Pacific region and announced ban on import and export of poultry products from affected nations.

“We believe that such an allegation is totally inaccurate and groundless, and doesn’t respect science,” a Chinese foreign ministry spokeswoman said here.

Meanwhile, Asian countries free of bird flu were poised to crack down at the slightest sign of trouble today, with Hong Kong isolating a woman who returned from Vietnam with suspicious pneumonia symptoms and Singapore intensifying a campaign to cull crows.

Singapore said it would kill off all of its chicken stocks immediately if a single case is found there.

THE STATESMAN

30 JAN 2004

# Centre issues red alert on bird flu

30/1 HFI nicelline  
Quarantine at airport, vigil at markets

HT Correspondent & Agencies  
Kolkata, January 29

WHILE THE Centre on Thursday banned the import of livestock products from Pakistan and some South-East Asian countries and declared a red alert to keep out bird flu, an avian quarantine unit of the Dum Dum airport was activated to prevent import of diseased chickens.

Health officials at the airport said they are yet to screen passengers from infected countries as no such directive has been received from the Centre.

As part of the preventive measures, the Centre has decided to intensify vigil on passengers of Samjhauta Express. Health Minister Sushma Swaraj announced the measures after the first high-level coordination meeting of the ministries of health and agriculture.

The ban will be effective for six months. "More attention is being paid to border states like Rajasthan, Gujarat and Punjab, where a red alert has been declared," Swaraj told reporters.



REUTERS

A Thai farmer picks up a chicken for culling.

She said no case of bird flu has been reported in the country so far and state governments have been asked to report to the Centre any instance of mass death of chickens or poultry birds. "The situation is fully under control."

The Bengal government has formed a five-member committee to keep vigil on all state-run and

private poultry farms. The Union health secretary will arrive in Kolkata on February 9 to review the situation and spell out the measures to tackle any outbreak.

The Kolkata Municipal Corporation has also decided to keep a watch on the sale of chickens in the 23 markets in the city from Friday. Pradip Ghosh, KMC Mayor-in-Council member (Health), visited some of the chicken stalls at Hogg Market, and directed KMC officials to monitor the situation and report to the headquarters if diseased chickens are sold in any market.

The products banned include domestic and wild birds, turkey and other new hatched avian species, semen and fresh meat of domestic and wild birds.

**Bangladesh flu:** The death of two more persons on Thursday because of a mysterious flu-like disease took the toll to 20 in Bangladesh. But authorities insist it is not linked to bird flu. Fears have been fanned by news reports of the death of thousands of poultry at farms near Dhaka.



Miscellaneous

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# Pay 40 grand, get Prez behind bars

Syed Liaquat Ali  
New Delhi, January 28

INDIA HAS always been known as a country where the rich or powerful can easily evade justice, however serious their crime. Today, it was shown to be a country where an ordinary citizen might expect to get the President arrested — for no crime at all — by bribing a court.

A television journalist on Wednesday told a stunned Supreme Court how, as part of a sting operation, he had got a judicial magistrate in Gujarat to issue bailable warrants

HF-1 2811

against President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, Chief Justice of India V.N. Khare, SC judge Justice B.P. Singh and former SC Bar Association president R.K. Jain.

All the journalist had needed to do was pay Rs 40,000 to three lawyers who 'arranged' the deal — he wasn't required even to lodge a formal complaint against the four 'accused'.

The magistrate, who is from Meghani Nagar in Ahmedabad, ordered the foursome to appear before him on February 17 to explain the non-existent 'charges'.



**APJ Abdul Kalam**  
Warrant out

The journalist, who has filed a PIL with the apex court to expose abuse of the law in the country, al-

leged that businessmen in Gujarat often bribe courts to get even with their rivals. A shocked Chief Justice said: "If this is the state of affairs, God knows what will happen (to this country). By paying Rs 40,000, you can buy anything!"

The apex court asked the registrar-general of the Gujarat High Court to seize the files of the 'case' and submit them to it on Thursday. The PIL furnishes original and certified copies of the magistrate's order and a receipt showing the payment of court fee.

# Fowl practices

misile  
5-6 We are what we eat 28/11

**P**akistan having joined Southeast Asia in slaughtering chickens to save humans, the so-called avian flu is uncomfortably close to home, never mind the Indian agricultural ministry saying safety is guaranteed by a poultry sector that doesn't import birds for either breeding or retail sale. Additional comfort has been sought in the fact that the flu strain found in Pakistan seems to be of the non-species jumping variety. Even casual studies of epidemiological history will reveal that such official and popular assumptions have often been proved dangerously wrong, that a vector of a disease has often been wrongly predicted and that erring on the side of caution is not the most sensible option, but the only option in situations like these.

Therefore, the Indian government should recollect how it responded to the SARS threat and display similar controlled paranoia. A more serious research into past and current epidemiological events will reveal concerns larger and more alarming than ensuring tandoori chicken remains North India's munchy of choice in these pre-election months. Modern farming practices and the cost-cutting "innovations" of the meat industry have created, so to speak, a level playing field for pathogens. Rearing farm animals and poultry in dense clusters and giving them a diet that increases value for the production chain but is grotesquely unnatural — cattle are fed ground sheep carcass, for example — have allowed viruses to both transmute to deadlier versions and to transmit to humans.

That livestock and poultry are often raised close to or where a lot of people live, a typical Asian feature, has made the continent, especially the Southeast region, both the host of the recent viruses as well as the poster destination for those looking for pandemic thrills. But remember mad cow disease was and is a Western contribution and experts have identified some regions in Europe, in northern Italy, for example, equally vulnerable to eruptions of new and, at least initially, untreatable viruses. The meat industry, in any case, finds its "technological" apotheosis in the West. Epidemiologists not afraid to see ahead and talk straight have been saying for sometime that the industry could become, if it is not already in the process of becoming, a production line for public health challenges.

Will anything change before something truly dreadful happens? Unlikely. Cheap and plentiful meat is part of a social contract in most countries. While the industry can and should be blamed for its ingenious production process perversities, the fact remains the incentive came from the demand that exists for the product. There's absolutely no sign that any of the real scares that the new pathogens have created has dented demand, except temporarily and coinciding with media coverage, for cheap flesh or fowl.

Take the Chinese practice of eating and therefore rearing a whole variety of animals, for instance. There are more than good indications that these practices were behind the earlier and recent outbreak of SARS in the Guangdong province. But people don't change dietary habits and relishes quickly. We are what we eat to we are what we don't eat — that's a tough transformation.

# East by north-east

<sup>SR</sup> Kashmir remedies could work in other states <sup>28/1</sup>

India's north-eastern states are among the most neglected parts of the country and many of them are racked by insurgency and conflict, both factors feeding off each other. Delhi's knee-jerk response to most insurgencies is to shower the region in question with financial sops, whose net effect is to breed a corrupt elite which prospers and acquires a vested interest in troubled times continuing. Lately it has been able to think differently on Kashmir where, for example, initiating regular bus services between Muzaffarabad and Srinagar might facilitate the entry of terrorists into the state, but the positive benefits far outweigh the risks. Likewise, fresh thinking is needed to break the stagnant cycle of insurgency and lack of development in the northeast. By stating that the northeast should be India's bridgehead to Southeast Asia Prime Minister Vajpayee is on the right track, but it is time now to walk the walk instead of just talking the talk.

South-east Asia and eastern China are some of the world's greatest growth regions, and Delhi must start building links to these regions via Myanmar, integrating the development of the north-east with its "look East" policy. BIMSTEC, or economic cooperation between Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Thailand, is one such initiative in this regard, but it has remained on the cards for some time without really taking off. One of the problems is the refractory attitude of Dhaka, which remains paranoid about Delhi's intentions. Some form of transit through Bangladesh will be crucial to Delhi's attempts to integrate the north-east, and a strong diplomatic effort to calm Dhaka's fears about mutually beneficial trade and communication links with India is necessary. Such links will also help curb Dhaka's propensity for looking away from insurgent camps on its territory, thus improving the security situation in the north-east. Vajpayee also told a India-ASEAN business summit that the government is looking at constructing a railway line between New Delhi and Hanoi, but the Chinese have started work on a rail link between Singapore and Kuoming in southern China, with spur lines to most of the ASEAN region, which means ASEAN-China trade has a head start over ASEAN-India trade. Holding back India-ASEAN rail links are objections of the home ministry, which fears they could become a conduit for guns and drugs for insurgents in India. Objections similar to ones that were overruled in the case of the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad road link. It is time for comparably bold moves to be undertaken in the north-east.

THE STATESMAN

28 JAN 2004

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# WHO's global warning pinned

Agencies

HANOI, Jan. 27. — Millions of people around the world could die if the H5N1 strain of bird flu in Asia combines with another human influenza virus that is moving towards the region, the World Health Organisation said today.

Dr Shigeru Omi, director of the UN health agency's Western Pacific office, said there was a chance the two viruses could meet and mutate, triggering a global pandemic. "In my judgment it is possible and so that's why we have to work very hard today, not tomorrow, to contain this, to prevent that mutation at the molecular level happening." "There is always potential that this kind of outbreak will result in serious global pandemic which will involve not just hundreds, but will kill millions of people globally," he added.

The flu claimed Asia's eighth human victim today as the deadly virus continued to spread with Laos becoming the ninth government to report the infection which has led to the slaughter of millions of chickens in the continent.

Thailand's second human victim was Kenchai Nenjan (6) from the northern province of Sukothai. The first human to die of the virus in Bangkok on Sunday was also a six-year-old. According to reports, 10 people were infected with the virus in Thailand and five had died. It is not yet confirmed if all the dead had been infected with the avian flu virus and



Chicken being injected with anti-influenza vaccine in Karachi on Tuesday. — AFP

lab results are awaited. Most of the deaths in Vietnam and the two in Thailand have been of children infected with the virus. The bird flu has been detected in 13 of Thailand's 76 provinces.

Laboratory tests in Laos today confirmed that bird flu had spread to the country. The tests were conducted after hundreds of chickens died on farms.

Pakistan yesterday confirmed that the disease which killed upto four million chickens in Karachi since November was a strain of the bird flu.

Meanwhile, an international meet has

been called by Thailand tomorrow to deal with the fast spreading flu. Millions of chicken have been slaughtered or buried alive in Asia as the infection spread. "Almost all the chickens in the outbreak areas have been culled," Thai Prime Minister Mr Thaksin Shinawatra said. Soldiers, volunteers and prisoners have been culling chicken in the affected farms. South Korea has killed 24 million chickens and ducks since the outbreak surfaced in December.

Singapore is not taking any chances and has drawn up battle plans to tackle the virus. The *Straits Times* said the public would be banned from visiting any of Singapore's seven poultry farms and 14 slaughterhouses while the workers there would be given flu shots.

China today became the latest victim of the virulent H5n1 strain of bird flu when three separate cases of the disease were confirmed, triggering a nation-wide alert. The latest death of ducks in south China's Guangxi Zhuang autonomous region was caused by the bird flu virus, but no infections in human beings have been found so far, Xinhua reported.

**Fish to replace chicken at KFC**  
American fast-food chain KFC today said it will offer fish instead of fried chicken on its menu in Vietnam, where a bird flu outbreak has killed six people. Mr Pornchai Thuratum, general director of KFC Vietnam, said KFC's sales had dropped by some 30 per cent because of the flu scare.

**India's steps: page 4**

# Delhi feverish after Karachi flu

OUR BUREAU

New Delhi, Jan. 27: Even as a frisson of fear coursed through the capital on reports of a breakout of bird flu in Karachi's poultry farms, the government scrambled to slam the lid on the possibility of a chicken-vectored epidemic in the country.

The department of animal husbandry and dairying under the agriculture ministry has sent out letters to state governments suggesting a plan of action to head off an outbreak.

Until now, there has been no reported case of bird flu in the country. Officials in Pakistan confirmed two days ago that a virus strain had killed two million chickens in the Sindh province, where 10 to 25 per cent of the poultry stock has been affected.

The first step taken by the department of animal husbandry has been to try and insulate poultry farms along the border with Pakistan.

If an outbreak is suspected, the Indian Veterinary Research Institute and all regional laboratories have been asked to test the samples and send the morbid material to the high security Animal Disease Lab at Bhopal for confirmation.

## ALL ABOUT AVIAN AFFLICTION

### ● What is bird flu?

*It is an infectious disease of birds caused by type A strains of influenza virus*

### ● How do humans catch it?

*Found in the intestines of birds, the virus is excreted through faeces. Humans get the infection — a rare occurrence — by inhaling the virus from bird faeces or through the eyes. WHO has not found proof to suggest the virus' transmission through food*

### ● What are the symptoms in humans?

*High fever, cough, breathlessness and pneumonia*

### ● Is there no vaccine or cure?

*A vaccine is four to six months away. Antiviral drugs are effective against influenza A virus strains but have some limitations*

### ● What is the big fear?

*Some of the affected countries have shown the presence of the H5N1 strain of the virus, which can cross the species barrier into humans and kill them. The great fear is that the H5N1 virus might mate with human influenza and unleash a pandemic. So far, there is no evidence of it passing from human to human*

### ● What can you do?

**Cook thoroughly all poultry-based edibles, including eggs, as influenza viruses are destroyed by heat. Cook meat till it's no longer pink**

**Do not handle any animal or eat the meat of any animal that shows unusual behaviour**

All states have been sent guidelines for prevention and, in the event of an outbreak, for immediate action.

The guidelines include immediate halt to the entry of new birds in the flock from outside sources and strict regulation of

entry of personnel, material, visitors and vehicles to an area affected by the disease.

The guidelines state that culled birds and droppings should be buried deep or incinerated within the affected area.

No exchange of any material

and personnel between different farms in the affected area should be carried out. All farms should adopt a vigilance system for early detection and follow-up action.

If the vigilance team detects a suspected case, it should be reported to the farm authority and to the state veterinary department immediately.

In the event of detection of infection in the flock, the entire operation of the farm in terms of marketing of birds and eggs should be stopped completely till the disease is eradicated.

State officials have been asked to gear up the emergency response system by activating the entire machinery.

The state governments have also been asked to draw up a plan to monitor and regulate the movement of birds from one farm to another and inter-state movement.

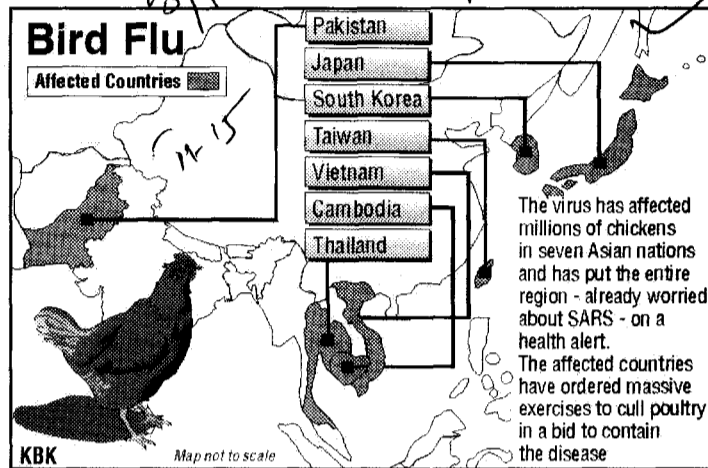
The government is also setting up an expert committee of officials from the department of health and the Institute of Communicable Diseases. It will take preventive measures and ensure surveillance. The committee will keep a watch on domesticated fowl to detect if there is a sudden increase in the number of deaths. (See Page 4)

# China confirms first case of bird flu

**Beijing:** China on Tuesday became the latest victim of the virulent H5N1 strain of bird flu that has wreaked havoc in the poultry industry in the Asia-Pacific region, when three separate cases of the disease were confirmed, triggering a nationwide alert. The latest death of ducks in south China's Guangxi Zhuang autonomous region was caused by the bird flu virus, but no infections in human beings have been found so far, the official Xinhua news agency reported.

Guangxi shares several hundred kilometres of border with Vietnam, where at least six people have died from the deadly H5N1 strain of bird flu. The report also mentioned two more cases of the bird flu in China—one at a chicken raising household in Wuxue city in central Hubei province and the other in a duck raising household in Wugang city in neighbouring Hunan province.

The World Health Organisation warned millions of people around the world could die if the H5N1 strain of bird flu in Asia combines with another human influenza virus that is moving towards the region, Dr Shigeru Omi, director



of the UN health agency's western Pacific office, said there was a chance the two viruses could meet and mutate, triggering a global pandemic.

In Thailand, avian flu claimed Asia's eighth human victim on Tuesday as the deadly virus continued to spread with Laos becoming the ninth government to report the infection which has led to the slaughter of millions of chickens in the continent. Thailand's

second human victim was six-year-old Kenchai Nenjan from the northern province of Sukothai. According to reports, ten people were infected with the virus in Thailand and five had died.

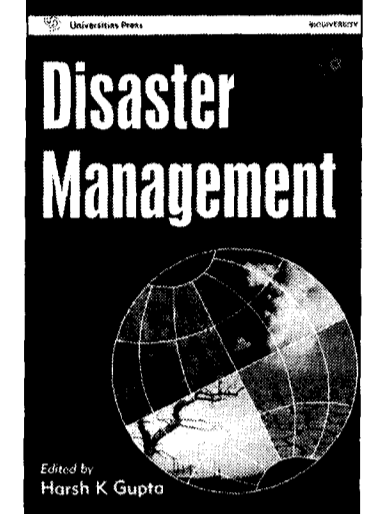
Meanwhile, an international meet has been called by Thailand on Wednesday to deal with the fast spreading flu. EU, US, China, countries hit by the virus and experts are expected to attend the meeting. Agencies

# BOOK REVIEW

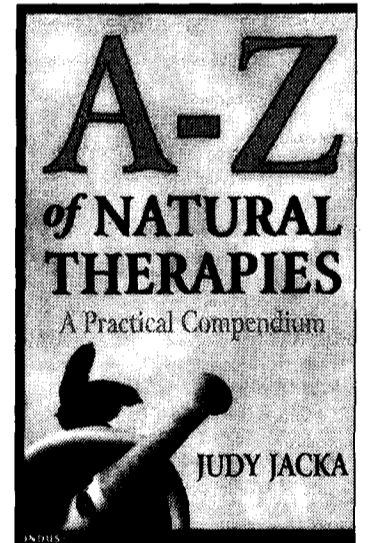
## India-Sri Lanka relations



- **Saraswati** — Volumes 1-7: S. Kalyanaraman; Baba Sahab (Umkantika Keshav) Apté Smtarak Samiti, Yadav Smti, 55, I Main Road, Seshadripuram, Bangalore-560020. Rs. 500 each.
- **Footloose Fragrance**: Ravinder Singh; Rs. 180.
- **Whispering Shadows**: D. Veeru Reddy; Rs. 120.
- **IGM's Shattered**: Divik Ramesh; Rs. 160.
- **40 Sonnets & A Song**: James Martin; Rs. 150.
- **Acid Rain**: Vrinda Nair; Rs. 100. The above five books pub. by Writers Workshop, 162/32, Lake Gardens, Kolkata-700045.
- **Disaster Management**: Harsh K. Gupta; Universities Press (India) Pvt. Ltd., 3-5-819, Hyderabad, Hyderabad-500029. Rs. 470.



- **Great Heights** — An Anthology of Poems: S. Padmapriya, D2, Gay View Apartments, Kalakshetra Colony, Basant Nagar, Chennai-600090. Rs. 50.
- **10 Steps to Become an Air Hostess**: Vijay Lukose; BPI (India) Pvt. Ltd., 3, Tara Bhawan, F-344/1, Old M.B. Road, Lado Sarai, New Delhi-110030. Rs. 125.
- **Guide to Criminal Law & Procedure** — Along with Ready Reckoner of Offences: N. K. Acharya; Rs. 360.
- **Text Book on Intellectual Property Rights** — 2nd Edition: N. K. Acharya; Rs. 250.
- **Code of Civil Procedure & Limitation Act**: S. R. Mysrin; Rs. 260.
- **Law of Negotiable Instruments & Dishonour of Cheques** — 4th Edition: Justice P. S. Narayana; Rs. 545. The above four books pub. by Asia Law House, Opp. High Court, Hyderabad-2.
- **A-Z of Natural Therapies** — A Practical Compendium: Judy Jacka; Indus Publishing Company, FS-5, Tagore Garden, New Delhi-110027. Rs. 200.



- **Twentieth Century Indian English Fiction**: M. K. Naik; Pencil International, B-1/41, Ashok Vihar II, Delhi-110052. Rs. 450.
- **A Cabinet Secretary Looks Back** — From Poona to the Prime Minister's Office: B.G. Deshmukh; HarperCollins Publishers India, 1A Hamilton House, Connaught Place, New Delhi-110001. Rs. 500.
- **Desert in Bloom** — Contemporary Indian Women's Fiction in English: Meenakshi Bharat; Editor, Pencil International, B-1/41, Ashok Vihar II, Delhi-110052. Rs. 450.
- **Social Work and Human Rights** — A Foundation for Policy and Practice: Elizabeth Reichert; Rawat Publications, Satyarnagar, Sector 3, Jawahar Nagar, Jaipur-302004. Rs. 650.
- **Guide to Economic Indicators** — Making Sense of Economics — Fifth Edition: The Economist in Association with Profile Books Ltd., Distributed by Viva Books Pvt. Ltd., 7, Azizul Mulk Seventh Street, Thousand Lights, Chennai-600008. Rs. 295.
- **The Concept of Social Service in the Philosophy of Sri Swami Narayana**: Sarojini Varadappan; 47-A, Bhaktha-

- vatsalam Road, Myslapore, Chennai-600004. Rs. 100.
- **Wikram Seth** — Anthology of Recent Criticism: G.J.V. Prasad — Editor; Pencil International, B-1/41, Ashok Vihar II, Delhi-110052. Rs. 400.
- **Health & Well-Being of Senior Citizens**: Susanna Starr; VMP Publishers & Distributors, 6, Princess Building, E. Road, Near J.J. Hospital Traffic Signal, Mumbai-400003. Rs. 70.
- **Annual Handbook of Human Resources Initiatives 2003**: Mahaveer Jain, Parth Sarthi — Editors; Mank Publications Pvt. Ltd., B-7, Saraswati Complex, Subhash Chowk, Laxmi Nagar, New Delhi-110092. Rs. 375.
- **Emotional Resonance Techniques**: Garry A Flint; VMP Publishers & Distributors, 6, Princess Building, E. Road, Near J.J. Hospital Traffic Signal, Mumbai-400003. Rs. 65.

- Tamil**
- **Tirumalaivassanam Year?** Su.Pa. Venkatarani; Rangarajaki, Pathippagam, Sundaram Building, 81/47, Arcot Road, Kodambakkam, Chennai-600024. Rs. 60.
- **Vadhampadum Devathalgal**: Bhagyan; Pengal Aaiu Meyyam, 39, Ramnagar, Dingidul-5. Rs. 40.
- **Sevivalar Mozhi Mudhal Sedhu Samuthirram Varal**: Dr. V. C. Kulandaiswamy; Rs. 100.
- **Jothida Santhaengalum Vilakkingalum**: Murugu Rajendran; Rs. 20.
- **Mana Amaladhyanam, Vazhikal Nilaiyam**: N. Pushparaj; Rs. 45.
- **Thiruvavur Ennum Thaen** — Selected Poems of Thiruvavurpa & Explanations: A. S. Vazhi Thunai; Rs. 50. The above four books pub. by Barathi Nilayam, 126/108, Usman Road, T. Nagar, Chennai-600017. Rs. 100.
- **Sabarinilai Punitha Payanam**: N. K. Mangala Murugesan; Arthi Kandan Pathippagam, 13/3, Peters Road Colony, Royapettah, Chennai-600014. Rs. 70.
- **Tamizhazhi Ariviyal Kalvi**: P. Jayakrishnan; Kavya, 14, First Cross Street, Truspuram, Kodambakkam, Chennai-600024. Rs. 150.
- **Nalambarka Nalla Kathigal**: Kasutha; SaiSurya Enterprises, Old No. 24, Krishna Street, T. Nagar, Chennai-600017. Rs. 50.
- **Neengalum Varaiyalam**: Meenam; New Century Book House (P) Ltd., 41-B, SIDCO Industrial Estate, Ambattur, Chennai-600098. Rs. 30.
- **Tholkapiyam**: Kalladar; Tamizhman Pathippagam, 2, Singaravelar Street, T. Nagar, Chennai-600017. Rs. 170.
- **Tholalkatchi Tamizh**: Munavar V. Nallathambi; The Parker, 293, Alambarku Valige, Alagam, II Floor, Royapettah High Road, Royapettah, Chennai-600014. Rs. 100.
- **Pathirikalyalar Balyew Sirukathigal**: Balyew; Jeeya Veelveedu, 6/352, Triplicane High Road, Chennai-600005. Rs. 65.
- **En Vazhikal Sarithram** — Part I: Rs. 100; Part II: Rs. 75; Part III: Rs. 100. K. Natarajan; Andri Pathippagam, 55(25) CNK Salai, Chepauk, Chennai-600005.
- **Pass Mark**: Bombay Balu; Baba Publications, Flat C, Plot No. 325, Kamrajaram, Vadai, Alwarthirunagar, Chennai-600087. Rs. 50.
- **Pulippani Jothidam**: K. S. Pathanjali Iyer; Rs. 80.
- **Alalya Pojai, Homa Kaala Muthralgal Vilakkingalum**: S. S. Ragavaacharyar; Rs. 45.
- **Arubathobu Vizhukkadu**: M. N. Ramasamy; Rs. 65. The above three books pub. by Narmadha Pathippagam, 10, Nana Street, T. Nagar, Chennai-600017.
- **V.O. Chidambaram Pillai's Pearls of Wisdom**: Ezhiammuthan; Rs. 25.
- **Ivalum Teresathan**: Dhanalakshmi Nagarathnam; Rs. 32.
- **Thural Kolungal**: P. Chiranjeevi; Rs. 32.
- **Innooru Por Vaal**: C. Vijayan; Rs. 35.
- **Tamil Kadavul Murugan Perumalgal**: Sami Subramanian; Rs. 40. The above five books pub. by Manimekhalai Prasuram, PB No. 1447, 7, Thanika-chalam Road, T. Nagar, Chennai-600017.

### Kannada

- **Kathavahini-2003**: Rachana Sai — Compiler; Vahini Book Trust, 1-9-286/3, Vidyannagar, Hyderabad-500044. Rs. 100.
- **Khuthala Bundadigalu in Urdu**: S. Abdul Gaffar; E.S. Sharfuddin — Tr. in Kannada; Shanti Prakashana, Hidayath Centre, Bibi Alabi Road, Mangalore-575001. Rs. 90.
- **Kumbara Jananga**: Basavayya Kunchuru; Shree Chakra Prakashana Kunchuru; Hanumanahalli Trust, Davangere, Rs. 200.
- **Sri Venkataraya Krti Rathnakara**: G.R. Krishnamachar; K.V. Achar Prakashana, 59-J, Ganesha Block, I Main Road, 2nd Cross, Seshadripuram, Bangalore-560020. Rs. 100.
- **Mooliga Vignana — Siddha Padadhiti**: P. S. Narasimhaswamy; Copies can be had from the author, 1495, K.M. Puram, Mysore-570004. Rs. 88.

### Voice against apathy

**KARUKUM MARUTHAANI** — Darkening Henna (Tamil): Kanimozi; Kalachuvadu Pathippagam, 669, K.P. Road, Nagercoil-629001. Rs. 40.

EMBALMING JOURNALISM within the covers of a book can be a rather self-defeating affair, but Kanimozi's work that appeared in the Tamil *India Today* as solicited essays from his editor does need a chance to go to the libraries in book form. Slender, produced with the eloquent symbol of a raised palm on the cover, this work speaks out against the smug imperatives of the Establishment.

The title essay is about the opposition from the Muslim fraternity voiced against H.G. Rasool's Mailanachi for raising questions against the patriarchal set-up in Islam. However, her argument wobbles when she compares Rasool's queries to M.F. Hussain's painting.

In a multi-communal land where passions are easily inflamed, the person with the pen or palette in his/her hand cannot afford to be insensitive to the feelings of others. Mailanachi

asks for equal status for women in the society; and that is the issue on hand, and not a painter's going out of the way to depict Indian women (the goddesses of the past, the actresses of the present) in unflattering/flattering terms.

Among the variety of issues dealt with in a very positive manner by the essays are the deplorable smoking habit, autism, child-abuse and political chicanery.

She has no patience with brahmin-baiting: "If U.V. Swaminatha Iyer had not struggled to retrieve the Sangham literature from oblivion, they would have been eaten away by the white ants. Must we throw away the Sangam literature into the ocean because he was a brahmin? Or, is it possible to find out clearly the caste of the Sangham poets?"

The consistent sympathy of Kanimozi for the poor and the marginalised is deeply moving. This book certainly reveals an alert thinker from the new generation raising the hopes of a better tomorrow for India.

**PREMA NANDAKUMAR**

**THE INDO-LANKANS** — Their 2000-Year Saga: S. Muthiah; Indian Heritage Foundation, Colombo. Distributed in India by EastWest Books (Madras) Pvt. Ltd., 571, Poona Malle High Road, Aminjikarai, Chennai-600029. Rs. 4750.

In 1927, Mahatma Gandhi visited Ceylon to popularise Khadi and promote prohibition. He was struck by the abiding and seminal influences of India on all aspects of Sri Lankan life.

Addressing a public meeting, Gandhiji referred to Ceylon as India's "daughter state". The geographical contiguity, coupled with constant movement of peoples, led to benign India-Sri Lanka interaction. As Ambassador, Gopal Krishna Gandhi, writes in his foreword to the book, "Few Sri Lankans are, therefore, without some Indian derivation, recent or remote."

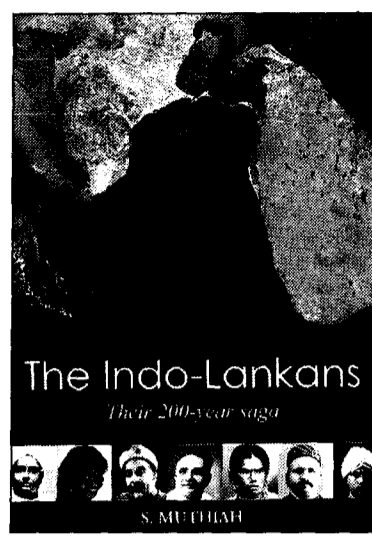
These facts of history have unfortunately been twisted to serve narrow political ends. The projection of Sinhalese and Tamils as two antagonistic entities, at war with one another for several centuries, by Sinhala/Tamil chauvinist writers is an illustration of the well-known axiom that truth and objectivity are the first casualties in times of conflict.

The distorted vision of India and Tamil Nadu in Sri Lankan minds can be summed up as follows: "While Sri Lanka continues to look upon North India as the cradle of its religion, it perceives its contacts with South India, particularly with Tamil Nadu, as having been by their very nature a source of perennial concern for its integrity as a nation state."

To look upon dynastic rivalries for territorial expansion as an expression of enmity between India and Sri Lanka or between the Sinhalese and the Tamils or the Hindus and the Buddhists and the Hindus will lead to falsification of history.

Few Sri Lankan scholars want to subscribe to the objective truth that Buddhism was a viable religion in South India and the spread of classical Buddhism during the Anuradhapura and Pollanurva periods had more to do with contacts with Buddhist centres of learning in South India than with the North.

As the author points out, in Sri Lanka faith often supersedes religion. The Gods of the Hindu pantheon are an integral part of the Buddhist religious life. The Gods venerated by Hindus and Buddhists alike are Sama-



(Vishnu), Vibhishana, Ayyanar, Kartikeya, Ganesha and Goddess Pattini.

The deity of Skanda at Kataragama continues to be one of the most popular places of worship for Hindus, Buddhists and Christians alike.

This pictorial book graphically illustrates the India-Sri Lanka interaction for the past 2000 years. The commentary is absorbing, while the pictures, some of them rare, are a delight to the eyes.

The whole panorama of India-Sri Lanka relations comes to life, starting with the early settlers; the labourers, who converted the malaria-infested forests into tea plantations and who laboured hard to construct the roads, the railways and the Colombo port; the early traders who rendered yeoman service by providing the essentials of life; the professionals who manned the civil service and the social services; the artists, who enriched the cultural life; the entrepreneurs who laid the solid foundations of the economy; the faithful who added lustre to the religious life and the politicians and the trade unionists who safeguarded the interests of the working class in moments of crisis and turbulence.

The author is eminently qualified to undertake the editor's job and he has acquitted himself creditably. Born in a family, which had strong Ceylon connections, he was an eyewitness to the tumultuous developments in the island after the Second World War.

Associated with some of the island's leading newspapers, he was a well-known commentator of men and matters. Unfortunately, like many people of Indian origin in the island he was also denied Sri

Lankan citizenship. But what was Sri Lanka's loss turned out to be India's gain. He continues to advocate, through his speeches and writings, the necessity to strengthen India-Sri Lanka relations. This book, in many ways, is an expression of his commitment to India-Sri Lanka friendship.

The book is based on meticulous research by a team of scholars under the author's leadership. However, I find a few significant omissions.

There is no mention of Frank Moraes, who was the Editor of the *Ceylon Times*; Prof. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, the pioneer in the field of Indo-Anglian literature, who started his professional career in a Jaffna college; P. Ramaswamy, the Chief of the Reuters in Colombo during the war years and who later became the New Delhi correspondent of the Lake House group of newspapers and "Ceylon" Narayana Iyer, the Assistant Government Agent in Kandy, who was adorned by the plantation workers for his commitment to the Indian Tamil cause.

These omissions apart, the book is a welcome addition to the increasing literature on India-Sri Lanka relations.

V. SURYANARAYAN

### Of obscurity and dishonour

**ON TO THE GREAT BEYOND** — A Novel by M. Veerappa Moily in Kannada; Sumatheendra Nadig — Tr. in English; published by Sapna Book House, Gandhinagar, Bangalore-560009. Rs. 195.

IN THIS dramatised anthropological study in the form of a novel, the author deals with the plight of the Koraga community, the tribal denizens of the forests of his native Karnataka.

The poignancy of the story is heightened by facts, as the author observes, that the Koraga community is the child of the soil and the Koragas were known to be the monarchs on the west coast line and a civilised princely tribe which lapsed into enslavement and was driven to forced obscurity and dishonour.

A virtual miracle takes shape and sunshine beams on the career of the Koragas with the advent of a forest officer on the scene, Mallaya, who proves to be a well-meaning and dogged reformist and an agent of change, who ignites in the community a sense of identity and urge for self-help and transformation towards a destiny of optimism and pride.

With him in the task force, as it were, are Sadasiva, a courageous journalist who loses his life in the fight against corruption and criminal greed in high places, Dheeraj, a young lawyer with marked organisational skill and a young Koraga girl turned activist. A cluster of characters thrown in eminently support and sustain the narration of the scenario of the Koragas on the move.

The novel should command a wide appeal, nationwide, in order that reformist activists are drawn into the mission of retrieving downtrodden communities.

C. M. RAMACHANDRA

**NOMADISM IN SOUTH ASIA**: Aparna Rao and Michael J. Casimir — Editors; Oxford University Press, SINGHA Library Building, First Floor, Jain Vihar Road, New Delhi-110001. Rs. 750.

**PUBLISHED UNDER** the auspices of the Oxford in India Readings in Sociology and Social Anthropology, the volume under review, the ninth in the series, is devoted to the customs and practices of nomadism in South Asia.

Edited by two well-known scholars with a long experience of working cross-culturally with nomadic communities, the book comprises 16 articles, divided into three sections, besides a rich and comprehensive introduction by the editors. That the future of nomadism is uncertain and contemporary nomadic societies will become sedentary in years to come is clear from the dedication the editors have made to the millions of South Asians "whose children may one day like to know more about the nomadic lifestyles of their ancestors."

Nomads are perpetually on the move in search of subsistence. Whilst peregrinating, they come into contact with a variety of people, from whom they acquire those traits that may be congruent with their cultures. They resort to various strategies (of submission, appeasement, threat and violence, retreating) at the same or different times to negotiate their ties with settled communities of peasants and townspeople.

Although nomads are traditionally, they exercise exemplary flexibility with respect to learning from peoples with whom they interact. They are far from being conservative, thus, depending upon the contexts, they bend rules, change strategies,

create niches for their existence, and if the situation demands, shift loyalties.

The nomads are fiercely independent. They cherish their political autonomy the most. By being constantly on the move, they are able to escape from the rule (often tyrannical) of the outsiders. They see sedentary existence as a vehement attack on their independence and autonomy.

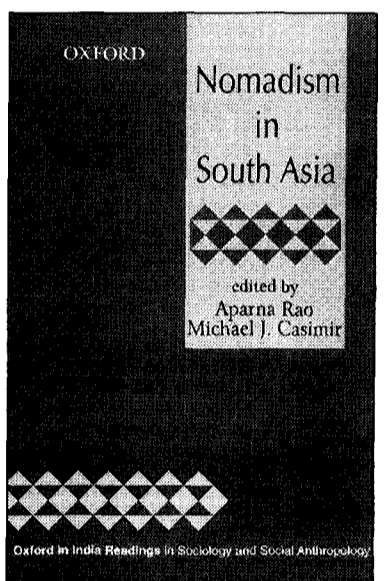
And, whenever they have voluntarily settled down, they have chosen to set up their habitations — of flimsy huts that can be dismantled easily — outside the village, so that they are able to enjoy some bits of untrammelled freedom. Thus, the presence of their abodes at the periphery of settled villages is not always an indication of their low and demeaning status.

The editors show in their introduction that settled communities of peasants and town-dwellers harbour an ambivalent attitude towards nomads. On the one hand, they are viewed as providers of services generally unavailable in their settlements. On the other, they are dismissed as a nuisance to be overcome quickly.

Pastoral nomads are welcomed in villages after the harvest, because their animals eat away whatever is available and deposit dung, which is used as manure.

In many parts of India, agriculturalists pay them for herding animals in their fields. But, with agricultural fields becoming double-cropped (and even, triple-cropped), and natural manure being replaced with artificial fertilisers, the lands are never fallow for use by pastoral nomads, nor are their animals needed for vac-

### People on the move



uum-cleaning the harvested fields and manure.

As a consequence, the synergistic relations between nomads and settled populations have gradually become hostile. Peasants want to chase the pastoral nomads out of their fields, which the latter mightly resist.

This culminates in confrontation, in which sometimes casualties occur. Some authors say that the media blow these conflicts out of proportion, but undoubtedly, antagonism simmers between nomads and sedentary peoples.

The essays show that some nomadic communities are politically active. The Barabris of Gujarat, for instance, want the government to provide boarding schools for their children. In a fieldwork with the Raikas, I came across one of their groups

demanding armed security during the period of their migration. Many nomadic groups have demanded mobile schools for their children and adults. A strong leadership is also making its appearance among some of them. This, however, is not true of a large number of nomads, whose condition has worsened with the passage of time.

Even those nomads, especially agro-pastoral, who are relatively better off, have started facing myriad problems in continuing with their traditional lifestyle. Unsurprisingly, they do not want to pursue this.

But, if they have no option, they certainly do not want their children to take it up, for they know that nomadism will soon become anachronistic in the modern world. Unfortunately, there is no policy of affirmative action that can help the nomads.

Thus, the sole option left for them is in the realm of education. The book forcefully argues that primary education must become a fundamental right, and compulsory. It must be made suitable to local needs so that the creativity of people flows.

To the best of my knowledge, this is the first volume of its kind that brings together different writings, from different cultural contexts, on nomads.

Planners and interventionists are urged upon to have a closer look at this volume because the people portrayed here urgently require culturally-rooted, holistic, and meaningful development, lest they depress into the ignominious ranks of abjectly poor and lumpen sections.

VINAY KUMAR SRIVASTAVA

## Thought-provoking novel • Philosophical work Anthology of short stories • Paradoxes of life

### TAMIL

**SRIMATHI** — by Sudha Murthy; Soudhamini Vasuki — Tr. in Tamil; Vanathi Pathippagam, 23, Deenadayalu Street, T. Nagar, Chennai-600017. Rs. 50.

IS THERE a price to be paid for success in the corporate world? Do achievers lose themselves in their single-minded pursuit of their goals? Does accomplishment in life mean only the making of a pile of money and the attainment of position, power and fame? Can persons at the top afford to ignore the steps of the ladder that took them there? These questions are addressed in this novel.

Srimathi and Srikanth are childhood friends who live in neighbouring houses. There is a friendly rivalry between them at college as each see-saws in getting the top ranks. They inevitably fall in love and proceed to marry, despite reservations expressed by elders in their families.

Srimathi helps her husband in his career and even quells her own aspirations as he steadily moves upwards. But there comes a time when some introspections are needed and a course-correction is to be made.

The beginning of the novel is none-to-impressive (after reading three-and-a-half pages one realises that it is not a first-person narrative), but there is enough substance to retain reader interest. It stresses Indian culture and values with interesting sidelights on history.

The translation is competent though one finds a couple of surprises in idiomatic expression. Variations in the spelling of "Dorothy" and "Louvre" could have been avoided.

C. G. RISHIKESH

### SANSKRIT-TAMIL

**BRAHMA SABDARTHA VICHARA** — Tiruppukuzhi Krishna Thatthachariar; Navalpakkam Varadachariar — Tr. in Tamil; Hayagriva Vidya Peetam, 22, Tiruvalluvar Street, Taramani, Chennai-600113. Rs. 40. THE BOOK under review is a commemorative volume published on the occasion of the 181st birthday celebrations of Tiruppukuzhi Krishna Thatthachariar Swami.

One of the illustrious and exalted savants of Vaishnavism, the Swami was a reputed poly-

math, spiritual guru, and author of several scholarly works, explaining abstruse points of philosophy.

In this book, the learned author, as the name itself indicates examines the meaning of the most frequently used word in the Vedas and the Upanishads, "Brahman" critically from all angles. He explains that Brahman etymologically connotes two things — one who is great and one who makes others great.

The former signifies one intrinsically being great and also great in qualities. In a wider sense it means one being greater than all others and all other things, in all respects. So this term includes the qualities which make one great like strength, valour, knowledge, splendour and lordship.

The latter means one who makes the Jivatmas also great by granting them salvation and infinite bliss. Again this includes the qualities in the Supreme that make others great by granting salvation, like compassion, mercy, magnanimity and benevolence. However, at times, we use the term Brahman, only out of respect, in relation to Jivatma, Prakriti (primordial matter) and others.

In the process of elucidating the implications of the term Brahman, the Swami penetratingly examines all possible objections and effectively answers them. He concludes by saying that Brahman denotes only the Supreme both etymologically and conventionally.

The text is in Devanagari, followed by Tamil transliteration. The Tamil version with further amplification as necessary has been provided by the eminent scholar, Navalpakkam Varadachariar.

The printing mistakes are too many both in Sanskrit and Tamil that could have been avoided by careful proof reading. Notwithstanding the general maxim that philosophy is a dry subject, for an interested student it is an invigorating and enlightening experience to study and analyse abstruse points of philosophy. This book does provide such an engrossing opportunity.

V. N. GOPALA DESIKACHARIAR  
**TELUGU**

**PULIKANTI KATHAVAHINI** — Short Stories: Pulikanti Krishnareddy; Viswambhara Publications, 467, Bandla Street, Tirupati-517501. Rs. 300.

THIS BOOK is a voluminous collection of seven short stories by Pulikanti Krishnareddy, one of the well-known short story writers in Telugu, whose pieces are often translated into other Indian languages.

He is readily remembered for introducing the Rayalaseema dialect — Mandalika usage — for the first time, though unaware of that feature. He did it successfully though many pieces remain in the usual style as he was accustomed to its usage. He is sensitive to his nativity. His experiences as a stage actor and a patron of Telugu drama stood him in good stead particularly in dialogue and description of the setting. The writer in him has enabled him to contribute his bit to the social needs of men and women who came into his contact.

His first story "Birds after their nest" (Goodu Kosam Guvvulu) depicts how a parrot, as also a grandson, get released from their captivity and dare to fly out to the areas of freedom and development. The grandfather's agony to drive the boy away, in the latter's interest, to the Boston school, in a planned manner reflects the levels of poverty, agraridism and aspiration.

"Rights of admission" describes how a person gained the blessing and inspiration from Sri Aurobindo. The human need for development is highlighted here. "Parama Guruvu" (The ultimate teacher) brings out the behavioural changes in the student community and opens new avenues. The author deals with a variety of themes, yet all are based on the rural, his native environ upholding human values and perspectives. His descriptions, though long and heavy, stand to make an everlasting impact.

He provides value judgments at times, within the narratives; and this disturbs the art-form of the piece. The publication will be a useful addition to the granary of Telugu short story.

N.C. RAMANUJACHARY  
**HINDI**

**PALAASHPUR KI PICNIC** — Short Stories in Bengali of Nabaneeta Devsen: Chandrakiran Rathi — Tr. in Hindi; Vagdevi Prakashan, Chandansagar, Bikaner-334001. Rs. 120.

THIS WORK is a collection of 13 short stories of Bengali writer Navnita Sen, wife of the Nobel laureate Amartya Sen. The stories display a sensitive observation of the paradoxes that confront one in life, the gulf between desire and fulfillment, age and childhood, and situations going contrary to expectations, evoking comic irony.

The title story is an account of a picnic of children on vacation at the country residence of their parents. We are given a lively description of the exploration of the jungle around the rock and the river flowing through it by the young ones who give them new names.

Suddenly they encounter a blind sadhu-like bearded man who lives on the flesh of the animals caught by his pet panther. Fearing him as a cannibal out to eat them, the children take to their heels. But he weeps piteously making them return. He then bares his heart that he is a convict in a bank looting case, who had escaped from prison. He has forgotten how many years he has spent in the jungle and the children offer to get him freedom after so many years, with the help of their lawyer uncle.

Other stories are moving vignettes of early childhood. The story of two Indian students at Cambridge attempting to scale the Alpine peak of Matter-horn and facing discomfort and disappointment without the required equipment and experience and another of a dullard at school prospering with his expertise in Bengali cookery in America show the vagaries of human situations.

The Hindi rendering is faithful to the original depicting life's curious twists and the charm of imaginative childhood before it is lost with the growing years.

J. PARTHASARATHI

### Announcement

Authors and publishers are welcome to send copies of their books to *The Hindu* for review. While every effort will be made to acknowledge receipt of the books under "New Arrivals", the decision to review a book rests entirely with the newspaper. Receipt of individual books will not be acknowledged in response to enquiries.

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# Bird flu leaps into humans in Thailand

**Bangkok, Jan. 23 (Reuters):** The bird flu eruption in Asia, which the WHO says could set off an epidemic worse than Sars, has leapt into humans in Thailand and appeared in Cambodia, officials said today.

A chicken butcher, one of six Thais being tested for the disease, died of pneumonia, said Charal Trinwuthipong, director-general of the department of disease control. After days of declaring the country free of the bird flu which killed five Vietnamese, the Thai government said two boys, aged six and seven and from different provinces west of Bangkok, were "critical but stable" with the disease.

Three more people are being tested and the Bangkok government issued an urgent warning to anyone suffering from fever and bronchitis after being around poultry to rush to the doctor.

"Those who have contacted chicken and have high fever and bronchitis should report themselves to doctors immediately," health minister Sudarat Keyuraphan said. Children appear most at risk. No one knows why,



**A worker collects chickens before they are slaughtered at a farm near Bangkok. (AFP)**

but four of the five killed in Vietnam were children.

The announcement that bird flu had struck threatened to devastate the Thai chicken industry, the world's fourth-largest. The EU, the second biggest buyer of chicken from a country which

earns more than \$1 billion a year from poultry exports, promptly joined Japan, Thailand's biggest customer, in banning imports of Thai chicken.

Thai Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra shrugged off the bans, saying they would have only a "trivial" impact on exports which he expects to help the economy to grow eight per cent this year. "GDP will be hit by only 0.1 per cent and exports will be hit by 0.4 per cent," he said. But the WHO was clearly alarmed.

It said in a statement the near simultaneous bird flu outbreaks in Japan, South Korea, Vietnam and now Thailand and Cambodia were "historically unprecedented" and it was worried a new, virulent strain of influenza could sweep around the world.

That could happen, it said, if someone got human and bird flu at the same time, allowing the viruses to exchange genes and form a new strain which could pass easily from person to person. So far, there is no evidence that has happened, with all the known cases being infected by direct contact with chickens.



# The editor's editor

## POLITICS AND PLAY RAMACHANDRA GUHA

For close to 25 years now, the item in the post I have most looked forward to is the *Economic and Political Weekly*. It comes in a faded wrapper, my subscriber's address printed in barely distinct ink. The journal's cover has black type upon a white background, with a red band on the top left hand corner, representing a pathetic attempt at colour. The text inside is in small print, a nine point-size in an unappealing font.

All told, the *Economic and Political Weekly*, or *EPW* as it is known, is an emphatic triumph of content over form. No Indian journal is uglier to look at; and yet, no Indian journal is more interesting to read. The *EPW* is little less than an index to the life of the nation. On subjects as varied (and important) as the economy, caste politics, religious violence and human rights, the *EPW* has consistently provided the most authoritative, insightful, and widely cited reports and analyses.

Founded in 1949 as the *Economic Weekly*, the *EPW* acquired its present name in 1966. In its 55 years, the journal has had only three editors. Of these, one, R.K. Hazari, only served for a couple of years. For the first 20 years of its existence, the journal was run by its founder, an expansive Bengali grandee named Sachin Chaudhuri. For the last 34 years, it has been run by Krishna Raj, a shy Malayali trained at the Delhi School of Economics.

Some weeks ago, the founder of the *EPW* was the subject of a sensitive tribute in these columns by Ashok Mitra. The occasion was the centenary of Sachin Chaudhuri's birth. Now, sooner than any of us would have wished, it is my melancholy duty to pay homage to Krishna Raj on his death. He passed away in Mumbai on January 13, aged 67. He died as he lived, with a minimum of fuss, the victim of a heart attack suffered in his sleep.

In some ways, I stand in relation to Krishna Raj as Ashok Mitra once did to Sachin Chaudhuri. In the Fifties, when Ashokbabu first started writing for the *EW*, Sachinda was the indulgent editor who allowed the young man to attack the then regnant "Nehruvian" consensus from the Left. However, by the time I came to read (and write for) the *EPW*, Marxism had become the hegemonic ideology of the Indian intellectual. True, it was not a party journal, yet its pages were dominated by Marxists of various kinds, whether CPI(M) types, Maoists, or Trotskyists.

The first essay I ever published in the

*EPW*, back in December 1982, was called "Ecological Crises and Ecological Movements: A Bourgeois Deviation?" As the title makes clear, the article was an attempt at persuading the Left that environmental problems fundamentally affected the lives of poor Indians; they were not, as the party faithful then supposed, a bourgeois deviation from the class struggle. Over the years, however, my interventions in the *EPW* were not so much a conversation with the Marxist Left as a kind of guerrilla warfare. I

the end I had to sue for peace. Life was impossible without it.

For its contributors, however, the *EPW* was much more than a vehicle for the articulation of their prejudices. It was equally a vehicle for the prejudices of others. Well before the internet invented the phrase, the *EPW* was a "virtual community" of thinking Indians. It was where one kept in touch with the work of one's intellectual friends as well as one's intellectual enemies. In its pages, and nowhere else, were to be

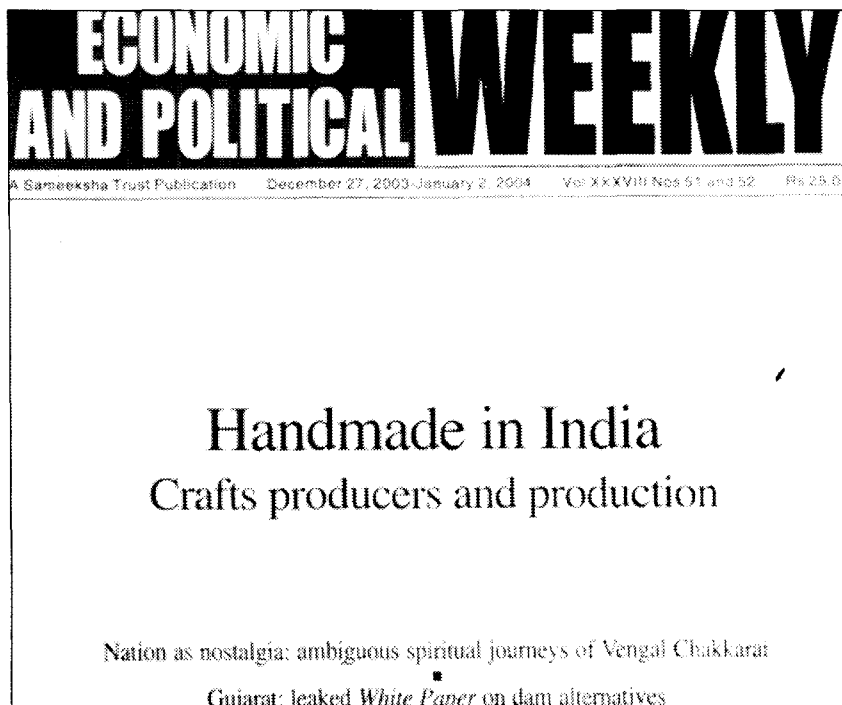
for his writers, for whom that sight of green in their mail box sent their hearts racing as nothing else in their lives.

The inland letter had printed on it the journal's address: "Hitkari House, 284 Frere Road, Bombay 400038". In time, the street, city and pin code all changed: to Shahid Bhagatsingh Marg, Mumbai, and 400001 respectively. But inside, the editor stayed the same. Going to see him in his office was a kind of secular pilgrimage. Hitkari House lay between Victoria Terminus and the Reserve Bank of India: in a part of Bombay dense with memory and history, and, above all, humanity. The two grand buildings were joined by a street choc-a-bloc with shops, the road overrun with cars and cycles and pedestrians.

It was with some relief that one turned away from the street into the building that housed the journal. A dingy lift took one up to the sixth floor. It opened out into the *EPW* office; this a mass of cubicles linked by a narrow passage. Right at the end lay the cubicle of the editor. It was like any other; six feet by four feet, with a humble desk and still more humble chairs. There was, of course, no question of air-conditioning; the only luxury was a window which on a good day allowed in elements of a breeze.

Over the years, I must have made perhaps a dozen trips to that office. On the editor's desk there was always a pile of papers two or three feet high: submissions to be considered or rejected. On a shelf was a row of books, one or two of which would be offered to the visitor for review. Krishna Raj always looked the same: an oval-faced, handsome, white-haired man, with inquiring eyes peering out from behind his spectacles. He was apparently ageless, but also tireless. From that dusty and crowded room, he ran what was unquestionably the most remarkable journal in the history of independent India.

Young and old met in the pages of Krishna Raj's *EPW*: so did left-wing and liberal, academic and activist. The journal was truly a broad church, as a single fact will testify. It was one of only two places where both Ashok Mitra (a deeply loyal communist) and the present writer (a professional communist-baiter) regularly contributed articles. But in the case of the *EPW*, Ashokbabu and I both wrote for free. Like countless others, now both of us shall miss Krishna Raj; miss his green letters, his gentle presence, his wise and sure hand. But I hope to be reading and writing for the *EPW* for a good many years yet. The life's work of Sachin Chaudhuri and Krishna Raj must go on: for our sake, and for India's.



A triumph of content over form

teased and provoked them: attacked them for their illiberalism and upbraided them for their hypocrisy. I cannot say if I had any impact, or indeed if the Marxists listened to me at all. But I was deeply grateful to Krishna Raj for giving me a voice. A more partisan editor would not have done so.

Twice I fought with the *EPW* and twice I made up with them. In this I was merely following the advice of a more esteemed contributor, the historian of education, Poromesh Acharya. Poromesh once told me about a sect of Gaudiya Vaishnavism where the devotee chastized the deity before merging himself in him. The *EPW* was like that to me: I could quarrel with it and scold it, but in

found the best of India's social scientists: across the disciplines, and across the political spectrum as well.

This community was forged and orchestrated by a conductor named Krishna Raj. Self-effacing to a fault, he did his work from a small office in the heart of Bombay. He communicated with his authors via mail: that is, snail-mail. Getting the journal every week was excitement enough. But more thrilling by far was to get a letter from the editor. These were immaculately typed, and sent in a specially printed inland-letter form, coloured pale green. In recent years, Krishna Raj had so far forgotten himself to take to email; no doubt a gain on the side of efficiency, but a matter of some regret

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Little is known about the cooperation extended to the Indian Legion by the German army, writes JK DUTT, arguing that this lesser known episode should be given its due place in the history of the Indian freedom movement

# The Springing Tigers

**N**ETAJI Subhas Bose first displayed his forte in organising a professional military force on reaching Germany after fleeing his Calcutta residence in 1941. He arrived in Berlin and went on to interact with the Wehrmacht. He earnestly conveyed to them that his ambition was to raise an army unit with the Wehrmacht's help for fighting the British. The German High Command was initially quizzical about it but later on agreed to his proposal, apparently farfetched, and prove willing to provide all possible help in this regard.

Netaji then collected the Indian prisoners of war who had been captured by the German army during the ongoing world war and drafted these ex soldiers as the manpower required for his force. He christened this force the "Indian Legion" using a springing tiger as its logo, superscribed with a German motto that translated to read "Free India." The Indian Legion was formally inaugurated on 25 December 1941 at Frankenburg Camp.

Netaji and the Berlin authorities drew up certain conditions in respect of the Legion. The German army was to undertake all aspects of training the legionnaires with the aim of producing a first rate infantry regiment capable of operating in inhospitable terrain. The Legion would not be mixed with German units and would be sent to Burma on completion of its training. It wouldn't be used for any operation in Europe. The legionnaires would enjoy the same privileges and remuneration during their stay in Germany as regular German soldiers other than special units.

Netaji found that his new recruits were ridden with severe psychological problems. They were mainly unhappy with the Spartan discipline and regimentation that they were obliged to undergo. Their existence was bedevilled by an alien environment, unfamiliar food habits, disagreeable weather and confusing political statements emanating from various sources. Most of all,

the budding legionnaires lacked a hallowed cause for being thrust into a new war against their erstwhile British-Indian comrades in arms.

Netaji realised that these sensitive issues had to be addressed very carefully if he had to wield an effective fighting force with men whose morale was undeniably low. His greatest dilemma was how to recondition a prisoner of war into a professional soldier all over again, a "twice born" person who would be ready to sacrifice for what was a nebulous objective as seen from distant

Germany — namely, freeing India from British rule. He began to deliver a series of lectures on man-management, military ethics, loyalty to the uniform and responsiveness in equal measure to the singularly helpful attitude of the Germans. The mixed class composition of the legionnaires was a hurdle at first but gradually and with enduring patience, Netaji was able to smoothen ruffled feathers and mould them into a composite body

imbued with a fresh martial spirit. He abolished caste, creed and religious differences, successfully overriding these with his evocative greeting, "Jai Hind." He particularly took great pains in creating a dedicated and motivated officer cadre who held their German counter-

ready for action by 1944. Netaji had, of course, left Germany for Japan by then and his able second in command, Claude Nambiar, continued with the programme so deliberately worked out by him and his supreme commander.

The Normandy campaign of June 1944 unfortunately turned the tide against Germany. It wasn't possible to dispatch the Indian Legion to Burma as Netaji had desired and instead this highly charged combat unit was deployed as part of the total covering force for the German

withdrawal from France.

The legionnaires were exemplary in their courage and devotion to duty as witnessed in the battles fought by them along the River Creuse, at Sancoins, and on the Beaune-Nuits St George line. Their bravery was acknowledged and appreciated by both the Germans as well as the advancing Allies.

These bravehearts were all set to join the German counter offensive through the Ardennes — commonly

known as the Battle of the Bulge — in December 1944 but were held back at the last minute. They were ordered to participate against the perceived Allied two-front attack on Berlin. Their "last man, last round" grit in the defence of Berlin so awed the overall garrison commander, General Gothard Heinrici, that he wanted to give them an Iron Cross as a unit gallantry award. Sadly, this could not materialise since Berlin fell to the Allies soon thereafter. The legionnaires were captured and deported to India. An Indian Legion officer from Kolkata, Captain Gora Chand Dey, still recounts the historic life span of the intrepid fighting force that he had proudly served.

A significant fact stands out. The cooperation and concern extended to the Indian Legion by the German army was far superior and more genuine than

what the Indian National Army received from the Japanese. This was plainly evident not only during the face-to-face fighting between the Allies and Netaji's two respective irregular units but more importantly when the Axis forces began to retreat. The Germans never left the legionnaires' side all the way from the Normandy front to Berlin while the withdrawing Japanese divisions simply dumped the INA when the Allies headed for Rangoon. This vast difference in attitude between the Germans and the Japanese military has remained inexplicable. Truly speaking, the Indian Legion's overall performance in the war excelled that of the INA.

The story of the Indian Legion must be compiled as a separate epic and disseminated at large. Our countrymen need to get familiar with this lesser known phenomenon that is very much connected with India's freedom movement. In the realm of epoch making, the Indian Legion more than matched the status secured by the INA.

(The author is a retired Lieutenant Colonel of the Indian Army.)



Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in Germany. — Internet photograph

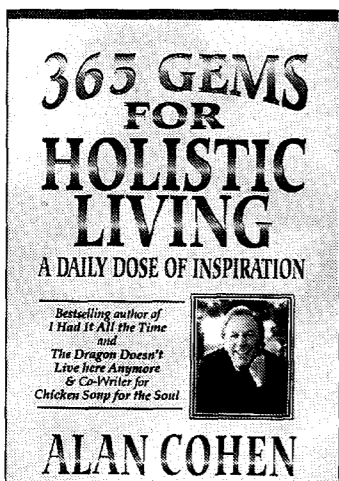
**The cooperation extended to the Indian Legion by the German army was far superior and more genuine than what the Indian National Army received from the Japanese**

# BOOK REVIEW

## Ireland: dynamics of war and peace

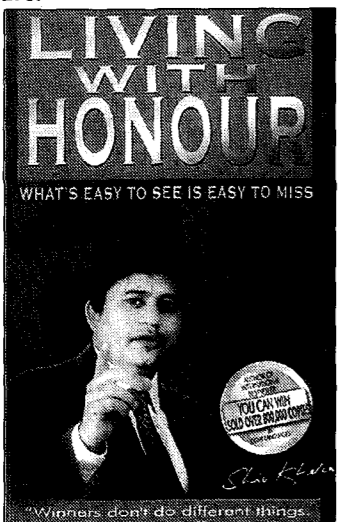


- **Brahma Vidya Rahasyam** — Two Volumes: A. S. Ramanathan — Editor; Rajasthan Patrika Kesargah, Jawahar Nehru Marg, Jaipur-302004. Rs. 990.
- **Rural Transformation & Peoples Entitlements**: G. Palanithurai; Concept Publishing Co., A/15-16, Commercial Block, Mohan Garden, New Delhi-110059. Rs. 250.
- **Yoga For Health**: S. Hema; Tara Yoga Publications, 25, 8th Street, Sowasthira Nagar, Choolaimedu, Chennai-600094. Rs. 100.
- **Vishnu Nama Sahasrakam with meanings in Sanskrit & English according to Tatvasara**: Copies can be had from K. Annapada Rao, Flat F0B, (IV Floor Flat B) 12, Jethanagar I Main Road, Raja Annapadapuram, Chennai-600028. Rs. 100.
- **Panchayati Raj Finances in Madhya Pradesh**: S. K. Singh; Concept Publishing Co., A/15-16, Commercial Block, Mohan Garden, New Delhi-110059. Rs. 300.
- **365 Gems for Holistic Living** — A Daily Dose of Inspiration; Alan Cohen; Pustak Mahal, 6886, Khari Baoli, New Delhi-110006. Rs. 195.



ALAN COHEN

- **Sri Krishna Charitam**: Pratibha Rastogi. Rs. 270.
- **With Malice Towards None** — An Autobiography: S. H. Belavadi; Rs. 160. The above two books pub. by Bharathi Vidya Bhavan, Kalpalati Murshli Marg, Mumbai-400007.
- **The Young Magician & Other Poems**: Arjiti Mukherji. Rs. 50.
- **Collected Poems of Syed Khawja Moinul Hassan**: Rs. 150.
- **Essays on Higher Education**: A. M. Ghose. Rs. 250.
- **Days of Life**: Rashmin Deshmukh; Rs. 150.
- **Three Times A Minority**: Subrata Dasgupta; Rs. 100. The above five books pub. by Writers Workshop 162/92, Lake Gardens, Kolkata-700045.
- **Legal Ethics, Accountancy for Lawyers Bench-Bar Relations**: J. P. S. Sirohi; Alahabad Law Agency, 16/2, Mathura Road, Plot No 33, Faridabad. Rs. 150.
- **The Yoga of Siddha Boganathar Vol. 1**: T.N. Ganapathy; Babaji's Kriya Yoga & Publications Inc., 196, Mount Road, PO Box 90, Eastman, Queens, Canada JOE 1P0. Rs. 280.
- **Periyar EV Ramasamy His Life and Mission**: J.K. Subramanian; Periyar EV Ramasamy-Nagammai Education and Research Trust, 19, Murugappa Street, Chepak, Chennai-600005. Rs. 50.
- **Living with Honour** — What's Easy to See is Easy to Miss; Shiv Khanna; Macmillan India Ltd., 2/10, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002. Rs. 275.



- **Public Interest Lawyering, Legal Aid and Para-Legal Services**: J.P.S. Sirohi; Anel Sirohi; Allahabad Law Agency, 16/2, Mathura Road, Plot No 33, Faridabad. Rs. 160.
- **Tamil**
- **Sevai Sastrumal Mangalassana Kramangal**: Navalpakkam Yagnavalkya Thathachari; Copies can be had from N. Vijaya Raghavan, B-11, Hindu Colony, Nanganallur, Chennai-600061, and also from N. S. Jagannathan, 13, Ganapathy Street, Triplicane, Chennai-600005. Rs. 50.
- **Naan Yen Piranthan Parts I & II**: M. G. Ramachandran; Rajarajan Pathippagam, 19, Kannadasan Salai, T. Nagar, Chennai-600017. Rs. 350 each.
- **Meelisai Mannar M.S.V.**: Ranimaindhan; Rajarajan Pathippagam, 19, Kannadasan Salai, T. Nagar, Chennai-600017. Rs. 125.
- **Elakkithal Manitha Urimigal**: Raja Muththirulandi; Kumaran Pathippagam, 3, Muthu Krishnan Street, Pongy Bazaar, T. Nagar, Chennai-600017. Rs. 60.
- **Thagaval Kuyilai**: S. Punithavalli; Nivethitha Pathippagam, 1, 3rd Floor, Pudhur 13th Street, Ashok Nagar, Chennai-600083. Rs. 32.
- **Neetheyinar Therottam**: S. Mohan; Kumaran Pathippagam, 3, Muthu Krishnan Street, Pongy Bazaar, T. Nagar, Chennai-600017. Rs. 60.
- **Angaththiroru Tamizhamban**: Maraimalai Elakuvanan; Manivasagar Pathippagam, 31, Singar Street, Parrys, Chennai-600108. Rs. 25.
- **Vilambara Pen**: D. Srinivasan; Pandyan Painthamizh Pathippagam, 22, Kandan Street, Madurai Meenakshi Nagar, Valasaravakkam, Chennai-600087. Rs. 32.
- **Kural Kanda Chozhayan**: S. A. Venirselvan; Sarathi Pathippagam, 7, D. Govindan Street, Chindandrapet, Chennai-600002. Rs. 100.
- **Aravanarin Anubavangal Pesukindram**: R. Aravanan; Copies can be had from Thayaram, 55/4, II Main Road, Kumaran Nagar, Tiruchi-620017. Rs. 125.

**PEACE IN IRELAND** — The War of Ideas: Richard Bourke; Pimlico, Random House, London. Distributed by Rupa & Co., 7/16, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002. £ 5.80.

IN ANY discussion on conflict resolution, Northern Ireland invariably crops up both as an example of a particularly complex conflict and as a model for resolving ethnic disputes.

The fact is that the sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland has few real parallels beyond the broad issue of self-determination which has turned it into a point of reference for many of the world's hot spots from Sri Lanka to Kashmir.

But Northern Ireland is not just about self-determination. It is also about British imperialism — the idea of a "direct rule" from London — and the historical Christian divide.

It is as misleading to portray the Northern Ireland crisis simply as any other ethnic problem as it is to suggest that the crisis ended with the signing of the "historic" Good Friday agreement in 1998 leading to a devolved administration at Stormont, run jointly by Protestants (Unionists) and Catholics (Republicans).

Indeed, this is the thrust of Richard Bourke's argument in this book, the latest addition to a growing body of work on the

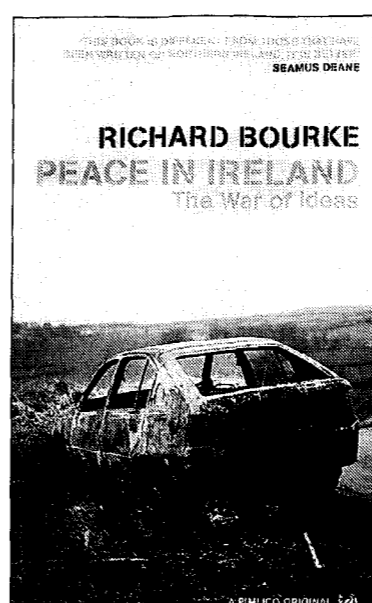
"Troubles" from both sides of the divide. He warns that for all the hype over the Good Friday accord and the cessation of active hostilities, Northern Ireland "faces a future that is far from certain."

It is not difficult to see where the author, an academic from the Irish Republic, comes from politically but there are aspects of his analysis which will be shared by many on the "other" side.

He takes the debilitating Protestant-Catholic tensions beyond the narrow confines of sectarianism and places them in the wider context of democracy — or what he calls the democratic "shortfall" which has bedevilled Northern Ireland where, he says, democracy has come to mean "majority rule at the expense of popular sovereignty."

It is the democratic deficit that, according to him, lies at the heart of the Republic "dissension" since 1920 when Northern Ireland was carved out of Ireland.

The case of Northern Ireland highlights the existence of a shortfall between our basic political aspirations and what in actual fact transpires in the world we have inherited," Bourke argues and its most blatant example, he points out, was the creation of a Unionist/Protestant Government in Northern Ireland in 1921 in the face of "bitter opposition from the Catholic side of the province's



population." It remained in power for some 50 years and ruled with an iron hand acquiring a "formidable array of emergency powers" under the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act 1922 aimed at suppressing any Catholic revolt.

The author says its powers were so sweeping and arbitrary that it became the "envy" of dictatorial regimes and in the 1960s the Justice Minister in South Africa's then apartheid regime, B. Johannes Vorster remarked that he would trade all coercive powers at his

disposal "for one clause of the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act."

The "excesses" committed under the Act exacerbated the tensions culminating in an almost full-scale civil war in that period. He makes the point that the "sectarian antagonism" against Catholics was institutionalised through emergency powers which "threatened and impaired" their sense of security.

In an interesting aside, the book underlines the radical nature of the Republican protest by linking the start of the Troubles in 1968 to the climate of rebellion then sweeping the world — from Vietnam and Cuba to French campuses. "...it seemed that Northern Ireland also was on the verge of some kind of reckoning," he remarks.

In the light of his theory, it is tempting to speculate about the course events in Northern Ireland might have taken if the international climate had been different.

In charting the rise of the armed Republican movement, Bourke suggests that it was inevitable given the widespread and growing sense of "injustice" among Catholics arising from "discrimination" in jobs and housing on the one hand, and state repression on the other.

"The pervasiveness of social and political inequality had steadily contributed to resentment among

the Catholic population of the North," he says, and this boiled over in the 1960s when peaceful protest was met with police repression. He concedes that things have moved on since then and the Good Friday agreement represents a significant and, hopefully, an irrevocable turn away from "war" but insists that it does not amount to a closure. Far from it.

At best, it is a roadmap to peace and "it would be overly simple to see the new arrangements as amounting to the final establishment of democratic normality."

For that to happen, he argues, the notion that the future of the province can be decided on the basis of a simple majority will have to give way to a more representative idea of democracy — something that will reflect the collective will of all sections of its population.

It is an ambitious argument and assumes an ideal world of equality and justice which does not exist. Meanwhile, both communities will have to make compromises however painful or unfair.

The current stand-off, which has plunged the province into a dangerous political vacuum, cannot continue without confirming Bourke's worst fears for the future of Northern Ireland.

HASAN SUROOR

### Temple disputes and law

**JUDICIAL SOLUTIONS FOR TEMPLE DISPUTES** — A Critical Analysis: T.S. Ramaswamy; 41, Car Street, Triplicane, Chennai-600005. Rs. 250.

THIS BOOK deals with a few landmark judgments pertaining to the Lord Varadarajaswami temple, Kancheepuram and tries to assess their relevance in the present day context and in view of a few recent Supreme Court decisions as mentioned by the author in the introduction which are very interesting and valuable.

In discussing the topic in detail, he rightly points out the difference between religion and religionism. True religion is spiritual, that which seeks to live in the Spirit. On the contrary, religionism entrenches itself in narrow pietistic sentiment.

In the Kancheepuram case, there is reference to one basic document — Attan Jeer's agreement. The facts relating to this agreement are in Telugu inscriptions and even today one can find these on the right side while entering the Thayar shrine.

Also discussed are the place of religion in the Constitution of India; the Supreme Court cases of A.S. Narayana Dikshithalu vs. The State of Andhra Pradesh, the case of Kasi Viswanatha temple, Varanasi vs. The State of Uttar Pradesh and others. It has been decided in these cases that the custom, usage and practice regarding rituals cannot be interfered with.

The learned judges however observed that "the State Act has entrusted to the Board only secular functions of the administration and management of the temple and they are not essential or integral part of religion."

The author concludes by saying that the Srivaishnavites of both sects should live in a spirit of unity.

K. K. A. VENKATACHARI

### State and civil society

**CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRACY** — A Reader: Carolyn M. Elliott — Editor; Oxford University Press, YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi-110001. Rs. 695.

THIS IS a compilation of 18 essays on the theme of civil society and democracy with an excellent overview by the editor. The selection includes papers presented at a conference on Voluntary Action and Civil Society convened by the Indo-American Centre for International Studies in Hyderabad.

The conference posed two questions: Firstly, whether a concept first articulated in the Western tradition of political philosophy had relevance to India? Secondly, what is the relationship between civil society and state in India?

Through the concept of civil society got popular attention only in the context of the Solidarity movement in Poland in the 1970s, it goes back as far as John Locke and Montesquieu, both of whom were looking for ways to combat absolutism in their respective countries.

Alexis de Tocqueville drew attention to the role of "intermediary associations" in curbing state power. Hegel who practically worshipped the state had a notion of civil society as egoist, selfish and fragmented. Marx and Gramsci reversed Hegel's celebration of the state.

Currently, civil society denotes the space between the family and the state where people associate themselves across ties of kinship, aside from the market, and independent of the state.

Thus, the FICCI is not part of civil society, but the Deccan Educational Society is. But, the definition given above is not that trouble-free. What

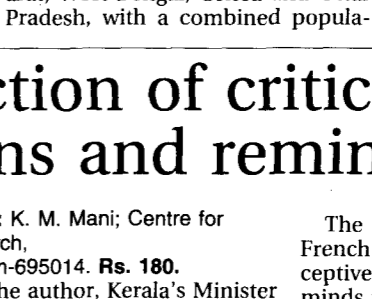
about a mafia organisation? It does cut across ties of kinship, and it is independent of the state. How about the RSS? It claims to be a cultural organisation, but everybody knows that its interests and intentions go much beyond culture.

Such questions have been discussed with sensitivity, though at times the scholar refrains from giving a definitive answer. The implication is that it is necessary to inject a certain ethical element into the definition of civil society associations.

In a brief review, it is not possible to do full justice to the richness of the volume and to refer to all the contributors. In the essay "The Coffee House and the Ashram", Susanne Hoerber Rundolph and Lloyd I. Rundolph remind us that 24 hours before he was assassinated Gandhiji had proposed to the Indian National Congress that it disband itself and form a social service organisation, Lok Sevak Sangh.

He was a talented and tireless creator of civil society. He spawned activist networks all his life, wherever he went. "His ashrams were the organising centres of social movements, sending out hundreds of volunteers who in turn generated micro-associations dedicated to social and economic reform at the village level."

State power, he believed, is fragile as it depends essentially on the cooperation of the people. The Rudolphs point out that Hannah Arendt who approached the same question from a non-Gandhian angle also comes to the same conclusion. "When we say of somebody that he is 'in power', we actually refer to his being empowered by a certain number of people to act in their



University of Uppsala, Sweden, tells us of the Agora Project, begun in 1995, as a collaboration between his university and three others, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and Utkal University, Bhubaneswar.

Under the project, they studied the five Indian States, Kerala, Gujarat, West Bengal, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh, with a combined popula-

tion of 390 million. The study concludes that Kerala and Gujarat are high in social capital whereas West Bengal, Orissa, and Uttar Pradesh are low. In terms of government responsiveness, Kerala comes on top with a score 52 followed by Gujarat and West Bengal at 47, Orissa (28) and Uttar Pradesh (23).

Ashutosh Varshney, Professor, University of Michigan in his contribution "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society" poses important questions: Does civic engagement between different ethnic communities also serve to contain ethnic conflict? Does intra-ethnic engagement differ from inter-ethnic engagement from the perspective of ethnic conflict?

He argues that there is an integral link between the structure of civil life in a multi-ethnic society, on the one hand, and the presence and absence of ethnic violence, on the other. He selects three ethnic-violence-prone cities and contrasts them with three other cities, less prone to such violence: Aligarh-Calicut, Hyderabad-Lucknow, and Ahmedabad-Surat. Each of the paired cities has a roughly similar ethnic demographic structure.

The question is: How to explain the fact that there have been more instances of violence in one city as compared to the other in the pair? His conclusion is that the greater civil society involvement across the ethnic divide in one set of cities provides the explanation.

This reviewer recommends this book to all those who are interested in knowing more about the role of civil society and its interface with democracy. As far as India is considered, the publication is timely.

K. P. FABIAN

### Basics of electronic mail • Collection of critical essays • Democratic socialism • Reflections on reminiscences

**TAMIL**

**MIN-ANCHAL**: M. Sivalingam; Palaniappan Brothers, 25, Peters Road, Chennai-600014. Rs. 50.

THE PERSONAL computer has become popular in every home. So it is necessary to use it to the maximum advantage. In this respect, the Internet provides a growing facility for fast communication. The user has to know how to send and receive messages at home; the book under review fulfills this need. To facilitate sending e-mail in Tamil, the user has to understand the intricacies of this new technology, so that he gains confidence to handle the system.

The first three chapters give an indepth treatment of this field of communication including the historical development of the technology. Leonard Kleinrock, then student of MIT, U.S. is considered to be the father of the Internet. Its advantages are compared with the traditional postal service, which the reviewer finds a bit exaggerated, in the context of the conditions actually obtaining at present.

Chapters four to seven and nine are well written in a racy style, easy to understand; they give instructions for sending e-mail and the next confines to the subject of sending message in Tamil. It is claimed that, next to English, Tamil is the most widely used language.

The addition of glossary of the terms (130 in number) translated from the corresponding English words is highly commended. The Tamil words convey the meaning in etymological sense also, except for the word "click" which occurs throughout the book in English translation.

This tiny volume running to 150 pages, will meet the expectations of students and will be a useful addition to school libraries. It carries a valuable foreword by the eminent educationist, M. Anandakrishnan.

**G. S. Kapse and G. M. Hegade** — Editors; Ankita Pustaka, Shamsingh Complex, Gandhi Nagar Main Road, Basavangudi, Bangalore-560004. Rs. 450.

THIS BULKY laudatory volume is a collection of critical essays on the writings of Chennaveera Kanavi, the foremost among the galaxy of Kannada poets like Bendre, Puttappa, Pu Thi Na and Madhura Chelha. Some 80 personalities through their essays have provided a critical evaluation of the quality of the works of the 75 year-old poet.

They include Bendre, Gokak, Amur, Keerthi-natha Kurtukoti, H. M. Naik, Shankara Mokashi Punekar, D. R. Nagaraj, L. S. Seshagiri Rao, Chandrasekhara Patil, Giraddi Govindaraja, Shantinatha Desai, Gowrish Kaikini, R. S. Mugali, G. S. Shivardruppa, M. Akbar Ali and M. Chidananda Murthy.

Dharwar nativity, the semi-urban and the surrounding rural setting had a great influence on the poet as seen in his poems which had a rural bias. He had a penchant for celebration of life, its triumphs and joys, frustrations and sorrows and adversities. His poetic consciousness was, primarily, anchored in the appreciation of beauty and nature and the whole gamut of Creation.

Among the host of attributes showered on the marked dimensions of Kanavi's craft is the contemporary relevance of a large number of his anthologies. Gandhiji and Lal Bahadur Shastri have meaning for him and he would not forget the Emergency, as some contributors have noted. Dignity characterised his works and the language and vocabulary, not excluding homespun expressions and even slang brought him close to his audience.

A lengthy interview of Kanavi by Ramtham Tarikere has made the poet dwell on a variety of issues and scenarios and his own motivations. His remarks on globalisation is noteworthy.

**PADANANGALUM**: K. M. Mani; Centre for Reform and Research, Thiruvananthapuram-695014. Rs. 180.

IN THIS book, the author, Kerala's Minister for Revenue and Law, expounds a "toiling class" theory, which, he claims, was formulated to correct the distortions in Marxism. It is presented as a means to achieve democratic socialism, avoiding the evils of capitalism and communism.

His definition of toiling class includes, besides industrial workers, a host of others like farmers, small traders, small industrialists, low-paid officials, persons serving in various sectors, the Dalits and the Adivasis.

Mani's theory provides an ideological vantage for his party, the Kerala Congress (Mani), a breakaway group of the Congress.

The 33-point programme that he outlines in the book reads like his party's election manifesto. It demands, among other things, regularisation of all encroachments on forests. This has to be viewed in the context of the big presence of encroachers into the party's largely sectarian base.

As the leader of a regional party, he makes out a strong case for reordering Centre-State relations providing for a measure of autonomy to the states and looks forward to the day when a federation of regional parties will wield power in New Delhi. He claims that impression of his class theory can be seen in all the eight budgets he has presented.

**B. R. P. BHASKAR HINDI**

**SAHITYA VICHAR AUR SMRITI**: Dharmavir Bharati; Essays collected and edited by Pushpa Bharati; Bharatiya Jnanpith, 18, Institutional Area, Lodi Road, New Delhi-110003. Rs. 150.

THIS VOLUME is a collection of the author's unpublished essays, lectures and addresses on a variety of topics.

They are divided into four groups — reflections on matters of cultural and public interest, literary essays, thoughts on language and journalism and reminiscences of autobiographical and other interest.

The author inclines to the opinion of a French artist who says that some unused perceptive capabilities get churned inside our minds with the cross-currents of the involvements of daily life and break out, conquering the usual disuse we have subjected them to; the creator has to seize the moment of the rise of the perceptions from the subconscious level and fashion their form as finished works of art.

So far as "ecapism" is concerned, it cannot be considered as escaping from all subjectivity, since all art demands an element of personality functioning for its very emergence.

It can only mean escaping from the truthfulness of inner experience, because of temptations of political pressure or popularity or financial gains.

Essays on literature and language include an excellent recapitulation of the course of modern khari boli (standard Hindi) writing promoted by the British from their Fort-William days through the periods of Bharatendu and Divyedi and later years associated with Chayavard, Pragativad and Prayogavad.

Appreciations of individual poets like Surdas and Maithilisharan Gupta, discussions on many currently debated questions of the development of Hindi in post-independent India and many well-turned-out short write-ups on issues attracting public attention during the years of the journalistic career of the author provoke thought and bring before us an alert, scholarly mind active in its wide-ranging reflections from time to time.

J. PARTHASARATHY

#### Announcement

Authors and publishers are welcome to send copies of their books to *The Hindu* for review. While every effort will be made to acknowledge receipt of the books under "New Arrivals", the decision to review a book rests entirely with the newspaper. Receipt of individual books will not be acknowledged in response to enquiries.

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# Vote banks

At least be clever in populism

2004

The social security scheme for unorganised sector that the cabinet cleared last Wednesday — its implementation does not require legislative sanction — is an example of potentially clever populism. No one can deny that employees in India's vast non-factory, non-white collar sector need a safety net. That the scheme requires contributions from employees, employers and the government distributes the burden and responsibility. That it excludes unorganised sector employees earning over Rs 6,500 a month recognises the reality of average Indian wages; earlier government schemes for low income groups used to have self-defeating low cut off points. But the social necessity of such a policy cannot be an excuse for not monitoring financial viability from the very beginning. Rich Western countries are now facing almost unsolvable problems about their social security schemes. India has a far narrower margin for well-meaning profligacy. If the BJP reckons that millions of unorganised sector employees will look at it favourably today because it has launched the scheme, it should remember the wrath that awaits it should the safety net develop holes quickly. Another hole-maker is the implementation authority. The Employees' Provident Fund Organisation (EPFO) has acquired well-deserved notoriety while executing its original remit. The usual sloth, inefficiency and petty corruption apart — ask any hapless citizen who has had to petition local PF authorities — these social security managers regularly do the bidding of state-level political dispensations.

Since EPFO will do the vital job of collecting data on eligibility and ensuring employers pay up their dues, and since employers in these sectors — shop owners, construction businesses — are more-than-average prone to manipulating rules, pessimism is a mild reaction while contemplating the scheme's future. Thankfully, the government will have a pilot scheme. Should the EPFO prove incapable, the government should consider data collecting agencies like the Central Statistical Organisation (CSO) or the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER). There's no reason CSO and NCAER, which have a reputation for professionalism, cannot handle disbursement as well. It's not rocket science. Reforming EPFO probably is.

And that should be one of the priorities of the next government. For not-so-clever, indeed stupid, populism, an easy candidate is the government's plan to reduce interest rates for loans to small-scale units. Given the gross lack of business sense behind this Nehruvian fantasy it is not surprising that many small-scale units are not credit-worthy and that banks do not want to lend to them. Interest rates chargeable to these units are already lower by fiat. Lowering them still further will simply make banks even more unwilling to lend to them, especially when zero-risk government securities, thanks to the Central fiscal deficit, are available.

That's the reason banks are not lending enough to even medium size industrial units. Changing bank behaviour is, of course, necessary. One suggestion is, assuming government deficit and therefore issuance of government securities will not reduce anytime soon, that the Centre asks for loans abroad. That will force banks to increase lending because the easy option of gilt-edging their balance sheets will no longer be there. To issue sovereign paper for overseas market will mean the country needs to have investment-grade status. With economic indicators as they are and generally upbeat assessments by foreign observers, that may come soon. But, worthy of consideration as this is, the primary motive should not be small-scale units. This industrial category needs to be abolished. Understandably, now is not the time the government can muster the courage. But it should have enough intelligence to know that a policy which promises but cannot deliver — small-scale units will not get more loans — can be a vote loser.

# China's third Sars case<sup>131</sup> confirmed<sup>1-3</sup>

Beijing, Jan. 12 (Reuters): China confirmed a possible third Sars case today, a 35-year-old man isolated in hospital after showing symptoms of the respiratory disease, and the World Health Organisation sought clarification on a possible fourth.

The man was labelled a suspected case today, Xinhua news agency quoted a health official in the southern province of Guangdong as saying. He had earlier been under observation as a possible case.

Last week, China confirmed its first case of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome since a world outbreak was declared over in July. He has since recovered.

A waitress is also in hospital suspected of having the deadly flu-like disease, which experts suspect has jumped from animals to humans. All three patients were in the Guangdong capital, Guangzhou, when they fell ill.

The 35-year-old man was described by a local official as a "self-employed investor" and Xinhua said he had apparently had no contact with Sars patients or animals that might carry the virus.

13 JAN 2004

THE TELEGRAPH

13 JAN 2004

# Sars suspect denies eating civet cat

Guangzhou (China), Jan. 7 (Reuters): The Chinese TV producer who contracted Sars had never eaten civet cat, state media reported today, as thousands of the animals were culled on fears they may carry a form of the virus that can jump to humans.

In the Philippines, authorities said a woman suspected of contracting Sars while working as a maid in Hong Kong had pneumonia and not the deadly flu-like virus, easing fears of regional contagion.

"This is not a case of Sars," health secretary Manuel Dayrit told a news conference after the government received the results of tests on the unidentified 42-year-old woman.

China's official Xinhua news agency said the only contact with wildlife the Sars patient could recall was with a mouse he threw out of a window.

The victim, surnamed Luo, was confirmed as having Sars this week and is due to be released tomorrow from hospital in the southern province of Guangdong, where the disease emerged in November 2002 and went on to kill 800 people around the world.

Only one of the 81 people who had contact with Luo remained in quarantine, the health ministry said. State television said that person would be released tomorrow as well.

Chinese health authorities said a gene sample from the 32-year-old man resembled that of a coronavirus found in civets, a local delicacy.

China has given a Saturday deadline for the slaughter of about 10,000 civets, a course of action that has worried the World Health Organisation which fears the cull could help spread the disease.

"Still unaware of the cause of his catching Sars, environmentalist Luo said he had never touched or eaten civet cats in his life and recalled only having thrown a baby mouse out of the window by hand," Xinhua said.

The *China Daily* said the civet extermination was being carried out by "braising and steaming" the animals and quoted experts as saying releasing them into the wild was not an option.

"During the whole process, there is no direct contact between the employees and the animals," it said.

Guangdong authorities have said the civets are being drowned in chemical disinfectant and then incinerated.

While China has openly reported on the case since it was first revealed, the newspaper that first broke the story — ahead of the health ministry's announcement — has come under scrutiny.

A leading Sars reporter at *Southern Metropolis Daily* had been taken off the beat and a Hong Kong-based rights group said today a top editor was detained by prosecutors for eight hours yesterday.

A newspaper official denied the report.

THE TELEGRAPH

8 JAN 2004

# Sleuths patrol nations for nuclear mischief

By William J. Broad

**Seibersdorf (Austria):** Amid rolling hills and tidy farms, the fences are topped with barbed wire and the guard at the gate carefully checks for identification before letting a visitor into the world's top laboratory for nuclear sleuths.

Here, atom by atom, scientists from many countries are addressing riddles like the source of Iran's highly enriched uranium, which inspectors recently found. The answer could expose a simple case of contamination on imported machinery or, more worrisome, a clandestine programme to build atomic bombs.

The dozens of experts and officials here at the Safeguards Analytical Laboratory are quiet and unassuming. But it is not far-fetched to think that their work has the power to tip the balance between

war and peace.

"We're very proud," Dr Werner Burkart, deputy director general at the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, said. "You can sample dust from a truck that has passed by a factory. You can see a single atom. It's really marvelous."

The laboratory, part of the atomic energy agency, is an arm of the United Nations that helps monitor the nuclear ambitions of 145 nations. Its mission is to analyse clues of chemistry and physics to verify that states are meeting their peaceful atomic pledges and not secretly making deadly weapons.

Skeptics note that Iran, Iraq and North Korea embarked on secret arms

programmes under the nose of the agency's teams. But agency supporters say that, of late, investigators have gained major powers. They can now examine whole states as well as tiny particles invisible to the eye.

It is a world of precision focused on wisps of evidence that in-

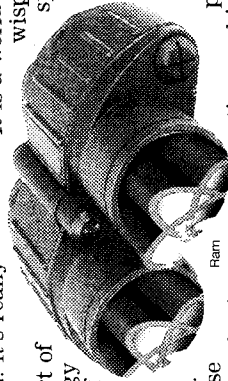
spectors have gathered from gear, nuclear sites, water, trees and even dust. The lab analyses up to 2,000 samples of nuclear materials and 500 environmental samples a year. Its ultrasensitive machines can tease vital information from particles one one-hundredth the width of a human hair.

Like crime scene detectives, the analysts are tight-lipped. "Safeguards is very secretive," Dr. Burkart said.

Just outside the village of Seibersdorf, about an hour southeast of Vienna, is a blue and white complex that includes a new large windowless building where the agency is intensifying its hunt for the most subtle kinds of evidence. It is known simply as the Clean Laboratory.

Its origins lie in crisis. After the Persian Gulf war of 1991, international inspectors were stunned to discover that Iraq had deceived them and that it was trying to learn how to make nuclear arms. In 1997, in response, the agency instituted what is known as the Additional Protocol to help ferret out clandestine work around the globe. The agency can now go anywhere in a cooperating nation, not just to places declared relevant.

"It fills in the gaps," said Dr. Jill Cooley, an American who directs Safeguards planning at the agency. NYT News Service



## Havel gets Gandhi Peace Prize

NEW DELHI, Jan. 5. — Mr Vaclav Havel, a renowned writer and former Czech President, was awarded the Gandhi Peace Prize at a special function organised at Rashtrapati Bhavan today.

The prestigious award, carrying an amount of Rs 1 crore, a plaque and a citation, was given to Mr Havel by the President, Dr APJ Abdul Kalam, for his outstanding contribution towards social, economic and political transformation through Gandhian means. Highlighting the dangers posed by the "unbridled course of contemporary civilization" to humanity, Mr Havel today expressed his anguish over "the fact that global civilization cannot seem to cope responsibly with its own products". — SNS