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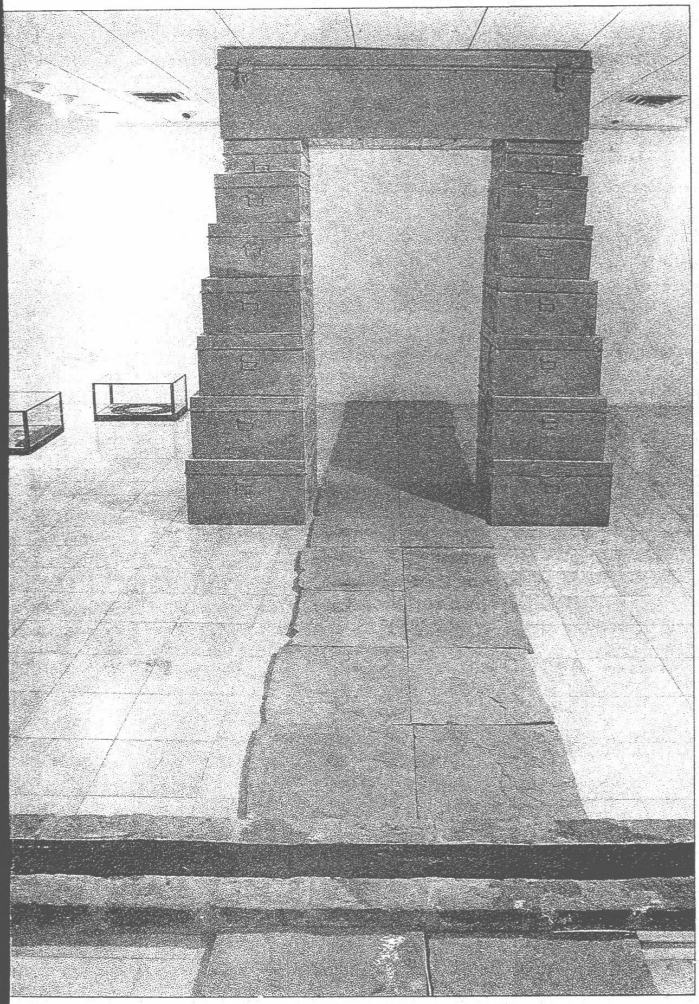

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Greetings, 1994

The Book Review wishes all its readers a very Happy New Year.

The year just gone by has been easily the most eventful one in the eighteen-odd years of the existence of *The Book Review*. We began 1993 by converting the journal into a monthly, it must be confessed, with not a little trepidation. Will we be able to get enough reviews to sustain it month after month? Will it affect the quality of the journal? These were very legitimate fears in the minds of the members of our editorial advisory board.

Happily for us, these fears have not been found to be justified. Books come pouring in, and so long as we keep on our toes getting them to the appropriate reviewers (and gently nudging them, now and then, to produce the reviews!) without delay, we find that even as a monthly we are constantly short of space to accommodate all the reviews. Our effort as always will be to review the books we receive as quickly as possible, so that they do not become irrelevant through delay. We must thank all our publishers for their cooperation in sending their books and giving us advertisement support as also for being patient about the appearance of reviews. The answer in the end may well be to publish *The Book Review* as a fortnightly, but given our slender resources and meagre infrastructure perhaps our readers and publishers would have to wait for at least another year for that to happen.

1993 was eventful in more ways than one for *The Book Review*. In the seminar organized by the Federation of Publishers and Booksellers Association in India (FBPA) on reviewing and the press in January, the role being played by review journals in marked contrast to the almost indifferent approach adopted by the national dailies was felicitously highlighted.

The Vice-President of India, Shri. K.R. Narayanan (who has kindly consented to continue on the advisory board of *The Book Review*) gave an informal tea-party to celebrate the successful launching of the journal as a monthly. Attended by a distinguished gathering of publishers, scholars and mediamen, the occasion displayed to a marvel the genuine goodwill that exists for *The Book Review* among book-lovers.

Our efforts to focus on contemporary literature in the Indian languages are continuing apace. 1993 saw two special issues—in Urdu and Gujarati. We thank our guest editors in all the languages we have covered so far. Gaps there are in the coverage of works but we are learning from our mistakes and hopefully the special issues will become more and more representative in the months to come. If we have not been able to bring out special issues in more than two languages in the whole year, it is only because of constraints of space, and the fact that two special issues on Children's books and Indian poetry, the former an annual feature and the latter brought out to coincide with Kavita '93, a festival of Indian poetry organized by the Poetry Society of India and the Department of Culture in December 1993, have made further inroads into that valuable commodity, space.

Last, and most emphatically not the least in terms of importance, among our achievements in 1993 has been the inclusion of a short story, unpublished in English, in each of our issues. The idea, casually mooted at a gathering of women writers in February last year to meet Bapsi Sidhwa from Pakistan, found an enthusiastic response. We hope to publish them in an anthology as soon as we have enough of them published in *The Book Review*.

It would take up too much space to discuss the other activities sponsored and undertaken by The Book Review Literary Trust, which publishes the journal. Therefore, I would merely mention that the proceedings of the two seminars held by us last year, one on "Big Dams, Displaced People" (January, 1993) and the second on "Women Writing in India" (August 1993) have not been published in *The Book Review* inspite of requests from our readers due to lack of space. We hope to rectify matters by and by and publish at least short excerpts of the second seminar. The proceedings of the earlier seminar are being put together in a monograph.

In the end, our heart-felt thanks are due to the members of *Tulika* for their wonderfully patient and caring concern for *The Book Review* and for their understanding that in the matter of deadlines, the editors may propose what they like, but reviewers are the gods who dispose. The excellence of printing displayed by *Paul's Press* has won us many kudos. A Happy New Year to all once again.

C.C.

The Crisis of Governance in South Asia

S.D. Muni

PAKISTAN: PROBLEMS OF GOVERNANCE

By Akmal Hussain and Mushahid Hussain

pp. 166, Rs. 175.00

BANGLADESH: PROBLEMS OF GOVERNANCE

By Rehman Sobhan

pp. 295, Rs. 300.00

NEPAL: PROBLEMS OF GOVERNANCE

By Lok Raj Baral

pp. 241, Rs. 250.00

SRI LANKA: PROBLEMS OF GOVERNANCE

Edited by K.M. de Silva

pp. 425, Rs. 400.00

Konark Publishers, Delhi, 1993, under the auspices of Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi.

The chaos and conflict ridden atmosphere that prevails in South Asia is, in a very important way, a symptom of the deepening crisis of governance in almost every country of the region. The degree and extent of this crisis may differ from country to country but there are remarkable similarities in the ways in which the State and the society are interacting with each other in these countries. At a broader level, the State in South Asia seems to be incapable of coping with all the varied and multiple pressures of growing popular expectations and aspirations at home and the rapid and unprecedented transformations taking place in the strategic, economic and ideological dimensions of international relations. More specifically, democratic upsurge and its consequent unleashing of ethnic, religious and sectarian extremities in the region, the process of institutional and ideological deconstruction and reconstruction, the dilemmas of defining and executing a developmental agenda, the recurring crises of survival confronting the ruling regimes and the serious erosion in the law enforcing machinaries have all combined to make South Asia look like a place overrun by unending turbulence.

It is both an intellectual and a policy challenge to understand this crisis of governance in one of the world's most populous regions, and to conceive the ways and means to respond to this crisis so as to resolve, or at least manage it. These volumes, supported by a Ford Foundation grant, make a bold and courageous attempt towards meeting this challenge. There are four different areas of governance that these volumes focus attention on, namely: political changes and their consequences for the institutions of governance; questions of economic growth and development; rise of ethnic, religious and sectarian identities and the resulting spectre of violence and insurgencies; and foreign policy.

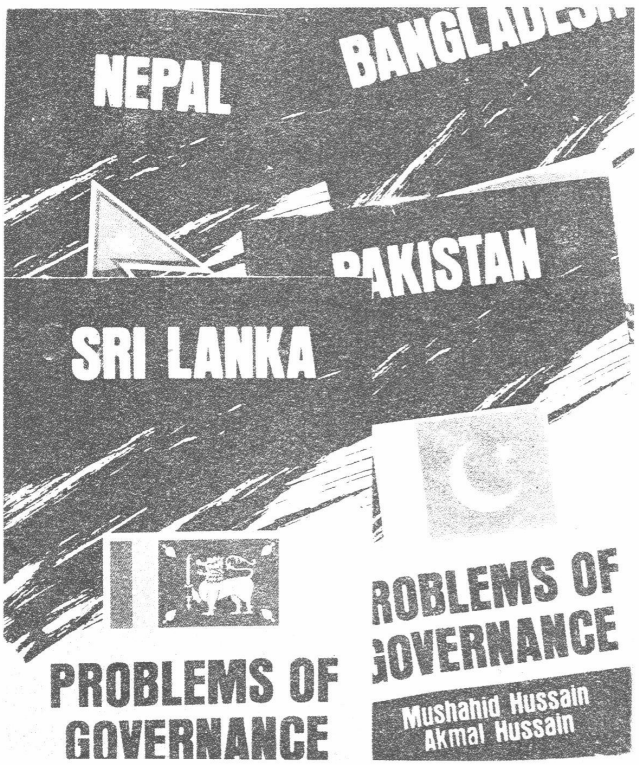
In the realm of political changes, the most significant recent development in South Asia has been the reemergence of democracy in Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan. Baral and Sobhan discuss transition to democracy respectively in Nepal and Bangladesh. Both of them clinically analyse the degeneration of previous systems and the rise of the forces of change which succeeded due to spontaneous mass movements and the appropriate international support in both the cases. In the internal dynamics of political changes in Nepal and Bangladesh, a critical role was played by the professional groups of the rising middle classes and the hitherto contenders and rivals in the struggle for power, the political parties. While the professional groups asserted a powerful influence for political change and mobilised the masses on their own, even without going through the party structures, the rival political parties, the Nepali Congress and the United Marxist Leninist in Nepal and the Awami League and the Bangladesh National Party in Bangladesh, joined hands on the single issue of throwing the discredited authoritarian political system out. Both Baral and Sobhan have taken note of these two factors which could be analysed in greater depth and details. Further, in case of Bangaldesh, it was indeed unique, as Sobhan mentions, that the army withdrew its support from the Ershad regime at the critical moment when political pressure had built up against him but we are not told as to why this happened. Did Ershad do anything to alienate the army, its most powerful constituency of support, or did the army find it prudent to stay away from the internal struggle for power, which was not the expected course? In Nepal's case, the King became panicky with the rise of revolt but emerged eventually as a better tactician and bargainer than Ershad in Bangladesh. How could that become possible? The King in Nepal was also caught in the rival pressures within the Royal Palace and the associated vested interests which Baral skips in his narrative.

A proper understanding of the party alliances and the nature of the collapse of the authoritarian regimes in Nepal and Bangladesh is necessary because these issues have become relevant once again, soon after the victory of the democratic struggle. The alliance between the mainstream parties forged during the final phase of the struggle for democracy has fallen apart in both the countries. In Nepal, the conflict between the opposition UML and the ruling Nepali Congress has sharpened so much as to embolden the protagonists of the discredited and overthrown panchayat system. As a result the monarchy as an institution and the King as a political force have gained a good deal of the lost ground, leading to the apprehensions that there may be an attempt on the King's part to stage a comeback. In Bangladesh, the army continues to wield quiet but powerful political influence and the real intentions of the army still remain unclear as to what political role it envisages for itself. The problem is that the political parties and individual leaders and aspirants, in their respective struggles for power, do not hesitate to seek the support of the discredited forces.

Akmal and Mushahid in their Pakistan volume do not present a systematic analysis of transition to democracy from military rule, maybe because a real transition has not yet taken place. The army continues to occupy the central position in the core of the power structure, which has democratised only to the extent that the army has allowed it to do so. The coming to power of the elected governments, first of Benazir and then of Nawaz Sharif were the examples of the co-option of the political parties into the power structure by the army. As such this co-option was on the terms dictated by the army and the parties remained in power only at the pleasure of the army. The authors of the Pakistan volume rightly underline this aspect of transition (p. 51, p. 69, p. 100, p. 102). However, the fact that Pakistan has also undergone a democratic upsurge cannot be denied. The popular enthusiasm kicked up by Benazir's return to Pakistan in 1987–88, and by the elections that followed General Zia's accidental death, which brought Benazir to power were very significant manifestations of change in Pakistan's political landscape. That is why the military dominated establishment had to accept Benazir even as a "temporary intruder into the corridors of power" (p. 96). During the recent changes, it is true that the army forced both the President and the Prime Minister to resign and installed a handpicked caretaker regime to see through the elections of October 93, ignoring completely the prevailing constitutional provisions, but one must not overlook that the army could not itself take over power as on earlier occasions. Democratic legitimacy of governance has been accepted by the army, perhaps forced on it, and that is a very big change in itself. It remains to be seen as to how the outcome of the October 1993 elections, being held under the patronage and watchful eyes of the military will redefine power equations between the army and the popular representatives. The authors, however, assert that the new realities will not permit total transfer of power to the civilian rule (p. 51).

The authors of the Pakistan volume have done well to devote considerable attention to the army which has ruled Pakistan directly for more than twenty-four years since its birth in 1947. They have ably analysed its corporate character, its strong American connection, its self-image as an indigenous Islamic force, its changing equations with the civil service, its meddling in party affairs to sustain itself in power and inhibit the growth of a healthy party system and its aspirations for a constitutional role *a la* the Turkish model. One wonders as to what stopped them from analysing the changing social bases of the officer core and the rank and file in the Pakistani military. It would have added to the comparative value of the volume if there was a similar insightful discussion of the army in Bangladesh which not only drew its legacy from the Pakistani heritage but also played a dominant and decisive role in ruling Bangladesh and setting the parameters of its future governance.

Among the institutions of governance, the CPR volumes provide a detailed and analytical discussion on political parties in all the four countries covered. There is a considerable and justified lament on the weak, eroded and ideologically disoriented party structures in South Asia. While in Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan, the parties were not allowed to grow naturally and build up their respective democratic traditions, in the case of Sri Lanka, Professor de Silva blames the fragmentation and degeneration of the party structure on the rise of the vernacular power elites that generated incompatibility with the Westminsterial and pluralist institutions and values. There is an undercurrent of harsher judgement against the Sri Lanka Free-



dom Party (SLFP) for this in the author's presentation, but one cannot spare the United National Party (UNP) which not only resorted to communal and ethnic mobilisation but also innovated authoritarian and undemocratic processes and institutions to perpetuate themselves in power. Radhika's restrained but insightful contributions (chapters 5 and 6) on the evolution and functioning of Sri Lankas's constitution bring this out clearly. Her balanced critique of the Executive Presidency and proportional representation system, both introduced by the UNP, which is shared by the editor of the volume, clearly underline how authoritarian the ruling executive and the party bosses in Sri Lanka have been (pp. 136–140). The constitutional system has not been dealt with in similar details in other volumes. Baral mentions the process of drafting of the new Constitution but a projection of how it will influence the evolution of democratic traditions in Nepal was also in order.

Other institutions of governance have generally been ignored in the CPR Volumes, with the exception of bureaucracy. While the Sri Lanka study devotes a full chapter to bureaucracy, Sobhan confines his observations to the developmental role of the bureaucracy, which he rightly thinks has been negative, and Akmal and Mushahid map out the changing power equations between the army and the bureaucracy wherein the latter had lost much of its influence and clout to the former after the initial few years of independence. Professor de Silva has highlighted the manner in which the British bureaucratic system inherited by Sri Lanka was distorted by the politicisation and shifting ethnic composition of the civil service. Bureaucratic recruitments and promotions became a prerogative of the politicians and the members of parliament who also increasingly intervened in the developmental decisions at the district and village levels that were to be handled otherwise by the civil servants. In turn the civil servants divided their loyalties between the contending political parties and the influential party bosses (pp. 88–94). The question of politicisation of bureaucracy is relevant in all other countries in South Asia and should have been dealt with in each of the volumes. Similarly, the role of judiciary and public opinion/media that find a brief mention in the Pakistan volume should also have been covered in case of other countries since these are important institutions in governance and democratic sustenance in modern societies.

In the field of development, the tragedy of the State in South Asia is that it has been privatized. The rulers (politicians, military generals and officers and the civil servants) have shamelessly used the state apparatus and their privileges and patronage to build personal and family fortunes. As a result, development of the society and the well-being of the common man have suffered in all the countries of the region. The major thrust of Sobhan's study of Bangladesh is on this aspect, and he has done so consciously, because for him, governance basically is a "reflection of the role of the state in giving direction to the development of the country. . ." (p.1). He very competently establishes that in Bangladesh, the massive State intervention in developmental activities did not allow the economy to grow naturally, led the poverty alleviaiton programmes to become the instruments in the hands of political and bureaucratic vested interests and enhanced the country's dependence externally. He also exposes the linkages between the donor bureaucracy and the Bangladeshi civil servants that have frustrated the course and direction of development. The authors of the Pakistan volume also follow this line of argument and analyse how the economic distortions have created regional disparities which in turn, have generated problems for national integration. The recently revealed facts on the non-repayments of Bank loans and non-payments of utilities (electricity, telephones etc.) bills by the privileged and powerful members of the establishment substantiate the high degree of privatisation that the Pakistani State has gone through.

In the Sri Lanka volume, the section on economic development has been contributed by Professor Peiris. While discussing the questions of agriculture, industrial development and social welfare in a chapter each, his conclusions also confirm Sobhan's thesis that State intervention in economic activity has been counterproductive. There is a strong criticism of the welfare economy by Peiris but then, the open and free economy introduced by the UNP regime in 1977 also did not do much to mitigate Sri Lanka's developmental problems. The author has done very well in exposing the linkages between the distorted economy and the problems of poverty, Sinhala insurgency and ethnic conflict (p. 268).

The Sinhala-Tamil ethnic conflict and the rise of Tamil insurgency (led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam—the LTTE) has been a major political and socio-economic destabiliser in Sri Lanka for the past decade. The Sri Lanka volume goes into the roots of this conflict. While economic and social discrimination against the Tamils that precipitated the conflict have been handled in an objective and scholarly manner, and India's positive as well as negative role in the conflict have been underlined in considerable detail, the volume is rather soft on the role of the Sinhala chauvinists that dominated both the mainstream political parties, the SLFP and the UNP. Some of President Jayawardena's cabinet ministers planned and executed Colombo riots of July 1983 and they went unpunished for a long time. President Premadasa fanned Tamil terrorism and provided arms to the LTTE to serve his very narrow political and psychological gains. It is this chauvinist lobby within the ruling party as well as in the opposition which is the main roadblock in steering a solution of the delicate and complex problem.

The question of ethnic and other sectarian extremities is vital in understanding the problems of governance in all the other South Asian countries. Baral underlines the problem of Newars and the Terai people and Akmal and Mushahid mention the Afghan problem and the rise of the Kalashnikov culture—of arms and drugs fanned terrorism. But this is not adequate. In Nepal the ethnic alienation of the hill tribes and the unwillingness of the state, even after the establishment of democracy, are creating a potential for future explosion. And in Pakistan, the regional and ethnic problem of the Frontier people, the Sindhis, the Saraikies, the Baluchies and the Mohajirs are too serious to be overlooked. The students of South Asian affairs must realise that all the

countries in the region, save India, have taken to a sectarian state and nation-building and that is a major curse in itself. India too is finding its secular polity coming increasingly under sectarian pressures and the disturbing implications are already being felt seriously.

In the countries like that of South Asia, there is no internal autonomy of governance. Regional and global economic, strategic, political and ideological forces not only impinge on the processes of governance but, at times, even generate and design them. Sobhan's analysis of Bangladesh's external dependence and Akmal and Mushahid's narration of the role of "American connection" in shaping the Pakistani State and political processes provide excellent evidence in support of this contention. Baral and de Silva's volume on the other hand underline the significance of regional dynamics and India's role in the issue of governance in smaller countries. It has been rightly hinted by them and also Sobhan that the countries neighbouring India need to have a more realistic assessment of their relationship with India than has been done so far. It would, however, be unfair to ignore the very vital role of global forces in the smaller countries as well. One of the major irritant in intra-South Asian relations has been the acrimony between India and Pakistan. Akmal and Mushahid were expected to go beyond the stereotype arguments and consider if there are unconventional ways to break fresh new ground in altering the unfortunate dynamics of interaction between South Asia's two major countries. Particularly so when they highlight the fact that the stability of the Pakistani State has been assured and it displays greater internal as well as external confidence than what was the case in the early decades of independence.

Though being of uneven quality and sweep, and written with divergent perspectives, the attractively brought out CPR volumes offer rich information and insight into the contemporary South Asian governance. The absence of India volume is felt seriously and one wishes there was yet another volume to draw a comparative regional perspective on the issues of governance based upon, and even going beyond, the data gathered in these volumes. There is an urgent need to identify forces and factors that are going to shape economic and political processes in the region in the coming years and decades. The CPR volumes fall short of doing that. They do make some general recommendations and mention in passing, some future directions of action but clearly hesitate from working out concrete policy prescriptions and alternatives that may help us deal with the challenges raging as well as in the offing.

Dr. S.D. Muni is Chairman, Centre for South, Central, South-East Asian and South-West Pacific Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

In The Socratic Mould

Ramashray Roy

DECOLONIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT: HIND SWARAJ REVISIONED

By Makarand Paranjape

Sage Publications, 1993, pp. 239, Rs. 225.00

Teacher: Yet, let me emphasize that an inefficient and confused government is preferable to a totalitarian one.

Student: How can this problem be solved?

Teacher: As if we can solve problems through such discussions! (p. 99)

One wonders, then, why 229 pages of discussions in *Decolonization and Development: Hind Swaraj Revisited* that Paranjape erroneously calls dialogue were written at all. Is he convinced that he knows something that others do not and that he must tell all those people wallowing in the sea of *avidya* what is wrong with this world and how to go about putting it on the right track? Perhaps every intellectual has within him an element of self-love and "holier than thou attitude." But the mode of its expression takes different forms: analysis and understanding or assertion and preaching. It is the latter that Paranjape has adopted in *Decolonization and Development*. To say that he deliberately adopts this mode of self-expression would be to do violence to his nature. Paranjape knows that discussions do not help, but he must go on talking. Talking is compulsive with him.

That his compulsion to talk takes the form of narcissistic assertion is indicated by the following:

a. Talking of Indian intellectuals, Paranjape speaks of their hypocrisy. In his view, they have a bit of the cheat and an idler in them (p. 64: as if to rush to a computer in the midst of a curfew and bang it to produce half-baked ideas is tantamount to silencing the cheat and the idler within! But more about it later). Again on p. 93, Paranjape avers that "Indian intellectuals always feel guilty about their place in society and confused about their mission." He then wonders: "Could it be because we have neither earned nor worked out our positions? We feel like interlopers in our own country, pretenders to the intellectual thrones that we occupy by default". What is interesting to note is that Paranjape feels that he himself sits on the tallest throne.

b. Sitting on that tallest throne, it will be self-denigrating for him to fix his sight at anything lower than the revisioning of *Hind Swaraj*, a Gandhian text, unsurpassable in its devastating simplicity and irresistible forthrightness. Paranjape finds the text of the *Hind Swaraj* inadequate, if not faulty, and proposes to update it in order to meet the requirements of the times. But it turns out that what Paranjape considers to be the requirement of the times is simply his own predilections, predilections which colour his understanding of Gandhi. Starting from a position (without the benefit of a serious and systematic analysis) that tradition and modernity must be blended and that one can escape the adverse consequences of maldevelopment not by turning the clock back but turning it fast forward (i.e. by adopting the sophisticated technology which prevents eco-degeneration (p. 145), Paranjape finds the text of *Hind Swaraj* inadequate (p. 222). That is why he sets out to revision it little realizing that in the process he pulverizes both Gandhi and his *Hind Swaraj*. Take the following examples:

i. We cannot have the technology that Paranjape talks of without developing our own economy to a much larger extent,. The goal that Paranjape sets for all societies to work for, that is, rural economy, alternative technology, etc. (p. 166) will be certainly defeated.
ii. If tradition and modernity have to be blended, what should be the criteria for doing so? When this question is raised, Paranjape has only cliches, inane generalities, and strong prejudices.
iii. He claims to be a serious student of Gandhi, and yet he has completely failed to understand what Gandhi stands for. Gandhi was certainly against capitalism but his opposition to it ran deeper; his point of departure was the nature of man that made capitalism possible. Unlike Marx, Gandhi believed that it was not possession, but possessiveness that was the key problem and capitalism is nothing other than the reflection of the tendency towards possessiveness. Paranjape misses this point completely. That is why he can make this misleading statement: "Today we can see us as fighting both ourselves and the West simultaneously. Gandhi saw the fight primarily as one between ourselves and western modernity" (p. 222). The clue to the understanding of Gandhi is *swaraj* in its double and interrelated sense: *swaraj* as self-rule (in the spiritual sense: as the necessary ground for winning and sustaining political *swaraj*.) In this sense, Gandhi's struggle was waged against his own countrymen as well as the alien rulers. Paranjape acknowledges that *swaraj* means more than political independence. But he cannot make any sense of what this "more" means.

That Paranjape's understanding of *Hind Swaraj* is superficial cannot be doubted. But so is his understanding of many other aspects of the question Paranjape sets out to explore. That is why his

In Paranjape's discussion of communalism he suggests that there are two kinds of communalism, one existing peacefully with other communities and the other which is aggressive, violent and constituting a threat to the idea of a secular Indian nation. Paranjape does not offer any explanation as to why one community becomes peaceful or another violent. Is it in the nature of some communities to be peaceful and others to be violent? Or does a community become violent because of a particular kind of experience? How does a community form politically when there are numerous internal factors that keep people apart, if not divide them? Paranjape does talk of communalism as a reaction to a perceived threat. But why should the reaction to a perceived threat take the form of violence?

discussion is full of contradictions, cliches and platitudes. Take the following examples:

a. Paranjape insists that the state should be minimal (p. 102), but earlier (p. 98) he argues, "it can play a vanguard role in preserving and promoting the best of our own traditions and institutions. . . ." If that is so, the state will have to acquire many other monopolies besides the one on the use of violence. As it is, even without granting the state the power to look after culture, it has acquired various monopolies. Paranjape is not willing to ask why.

Teacher: In India, our metaphysics has always been experiential. I must experience the nature of the ultimate reality before I can theorize about it.
Student: No wonder it is called mystical. Such a view seems to be beyond my grasp!
Teacher: It is beyond your 'grasp' because to understand it 'you' must cease to exist (p. 126).

In Paranjape's discussion of communalism he suggests that there are two kinds of communalism, one existing peacefully with other communities and the other which is aggressive, violent and constituting a threat to the idea of a secular Indian nation. Paranjape does not offer any explanation as to why one community becomes peaceful or another violent. Is it in the nature of some communities to be peaceful and others to be violent? Or does a community become violent because of a particular kind of experience? How does a community form politically when there are numerous internal factors that keep people apart, if not divide them? Paranjape does talk of communalism as a reaction to a perceived threat. But why should the reaction to a perceived threat take the form of violence? Paranjape's answer that it is the Indian state ruled by the Congress Party and its communalistic policy which is responsible is simplistic.

Paranjape is a master craftsman of platitudes. Platitudes have, of course, their uses. But they have no rightful place in a book that is supposed to remove our individual and collective *avidya*. A few samples should be enough:

a. If the West is very powerful, how can the Third World empower itself? Paranjape's answer is: change the definitions. . . Refuse to believe that economic or military power automatically confer ethical or cultural superiority (p. 93). If changing definitions would be enough to resolve existential problems, the world will wither away from a surfeit of change.
b. Paranjape is a great believer in pluralism. There is no doubt that pluralism has its merits. But is it in itself an instrument of coherence, cohesion and integration? If it is not, and an abundance of evidence testifies to it, what more is needed? Paranjape has no notion at all.
c. What does it signify to say that India is whatever you want it to be (p. 69)? Even if we accept it as a theoretical possibility, Paranjape has no idea at all of its pragmatic consequences. If we reject a master narrative embedded in any culture, following the suggestion of Paranjape, would not there be chaos? Paranjape fails to realize that every culture, even a modern culture which is supposed to be the subject of change and modification, has a constitutive principle, a master narrative. Take away that constitutive principle, the master narrative and culture loses its capacity to form individual and collective identity. Without it cultures would lose their specificity and become plasticene in the hands of Time.
d. To the question, how do we save our environment, Paranjape has a very simple answer: stop wasting paper, stop wasting fuel; recycle as much as you can; do not pollute the atmosphere; don't waste the resources of this earth (p. 166). In addition to the question of who bells the cat, there is also the question of what happens to education on which depends his utopia. But Paranjape is unmindful of the implications of his pronouncements and, like a true Indian intellectual, averse to work out the nitty-gritty of this approach or its viability.
e. Paranjape believes that answers to our problems can be obtained by radically questioning all givens (p. 57). But when asked as to where it would leave us, pat comes the answer: It leaves us free to act as nothing can.
f. Lastly, Paranjape lauds the dialogic mode of examining ideas and dwells on its metaphysical merits. However, keeping in mind the mental level of his interlocutor—his own creation, of course—what he passes off as dialogue is simply a monologue. This allows him to dilate on every conceivable topic under the sun without the least danger of being caught off guard. Dialogue in his hands becomes a convenient tool of mouthing inanities, half-baked truths and platitudes.

Take equal proportions of liberalism after plucking its leaves and twigs and Marxism after uprooting it from its soil, add a pinch of Hegelianism and a dash of post-modernism, pound them all in the undifferentiated *kharal* of "Hindu" sensitivity with a sledge-hammer of an activist's raw will-power and mix all with the water of hope and you have *Decolonization and Development*. Take one spoonful of this mixture everyday and the ghost of *Hind Swaraj* will fly away.

Ramashray Roy is a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies.

Characteristics Of A Human Phenomenon

Satish Kumar

MIGRATION AND REMITTANCES: INTER-URBAN AND RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES
By Jayasri Ray Chaudhuri
Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1993, pp. v+261, Rs. 325.00

This book on *Migration and Remittances: Inter-Urban and Rural-Urban Linkages* by Jayasri Ray Chaudhuri provides an important conceptual alternative to the existing plethora of studies conducted in the field of migration. Thematically, this topic is rich and innovative and has far-reaching implications for theory and empiricism.

The book has been divided into six chapters. The first chapter provides an overview of the models of migration and regional growth. The second chapter discusses the vexing issue of remittances and linkages. The third chapter identifies the regional differences in migration characteristics of large Indian towns. Thus, all of the above three chapters are based on the secondary sources of data. The primary data generated by the authors is then used to highlight the migration characteristics to Durgapur—one of the new industrial towns of India.

The industrial policy of the late fifties and early sixties saw the inception and growth of three public sector townships—Rourkela in Orissa, Bhilai in Madhya Pradesh and Durgapur in West Bengal (during the Second Five Year Plan period). Based on a two stage stratified sample survey, information pertaining to the monetary remittances from Durgapur was collected, documented and analysed. This provided an insight into the potential of urban units to absorb migrants and to throw light on the existing models and theories of migration. It highlighted the potential of industrial towns to absorb different types of migrants in different phases of the growth of towns. In this study, linkages have been defined in terms of migration and remittance hinterlands.

The main conclusions of this study suggest that development of remittance links is likely to be lower in the hinterlands of towns which are characterised by excess of female immigration. This study also suggests that while identifying the linkages from Durgapur, the potential of an industrial town to develop migration and remittance linkages with other rural and urban areas can be envisaged. The supporting linkages can be developed to meet the increased demand for commodities which the remittance linkages are expected to initiate. Particularly in towns like Durgapur, with a high labour absorption capacity remittances would trigger off an increase in demand in the rural hinterland. Thus the study was aimed at understanding the extent of redistribution of personal income of the migrant labour force from a new town, initiated by deliberate government investment and the associated growth of employment.

While the positive features of the work are quite comprehensive however, a few caveats need to be addressed in the larger academic interest of the subject at hand.

With regard to the first chapter on "Models of Migration and Regional Growth", the references are rather dated. In any discussion on migration, the issue of Liptonian 'Bias' and rural-urban continuum cannot be ignored. It is equally important that the author be upgraded with the current critique on terms of trade issue by Moore (1984). Any study of growth of towns cannot ignore the classics such as Castell's "Consumption question" (1977) or McGee's and Armstrong's emphasis on "circulation" (1985). Even nearer home, Breman's study borders much on this whole issue of migration from pauper to peasants (1985). The point about urban growth and regional stagnation is quite debatable and conclusive statements have not been provided by the 'dependencies' either (p. 18).

The summary on regional growth theories do not add to the recent overview provided by Gore (p. 18–19). On the issue of growth poles and spread effects and on the convergence-divergence debate, somehow the author appears to have overlooked the contribution of Williamson and Mathur (1983). Regarding models of migration, the whole volume of debates regarding surplus labour is en-

tirely underplayed. The paradigm shifts on labour market studies have not been considered while formulating the theoretical basis for the analysis of primary data. The literature review harps on the 60s and 70s information base and adds little to the analysis at hand (page 24). It is rather distressing to note that migrants in general are lumped together as homogenous categories. These migrants would essentially respond to market forces overlooking their behavioural signals.

In respect to the question of 'informal formal' sector dichotomy the author accedes to the 70s argument that they are generally 'unproductive'. There has been no attempt to update the information on this very significant sector which till date remains the bastion for providing employment opportunities to migrants. While Lipton's bias is an important issue, Byre's (1982) and Dasgupta's (1987) more significant contributions seem to have been overlooked. The author fails to take a position regarding the different strands which influence the issue of rural urban migration. She says, "Inspite of these criticisms the fact remains that remittances can be expected to initiate demand for commodities, though how this demand is met will depend upon other types of linkages. . . ." (p. 30). This conclusion remains inconclusive. In the subsection on Research Objectives, Collection of Empirical Information and Associated Problems (p. 47) one gets the impression that the author could have organised the sequence of discussion. For instance while going through pages 50–51, one wonders why in the discussions on sampling frame, the characteristic of the sample is not addressed in the initial stages and why there is no reference to any pilot survey conducted. Are the functions of the research assistants only confined to stapling of questionnaires? On page 49, the author asserts that "there is no question of errors". The humility of accepting human frailty and errors would go a long way in making any research socially relevant.

The author is rather emphatic in suggesting that within the qualitative variables, the chances of obtaining erroneous responses are negligible (p. 56). I wonder whether the researcher is aware of the self-imposed bias which surreptitiously enters the questions asked and the answers elicited. Books on survey methods are replete with such examples. Nowhere in this book do we get any inkling of how the qualitative data has been quantified. Indeed, a pointer is in order here that for any micro level study, unless the theoretical foundations are well researched, there is always the danger of running aground on the fallacies which finally end up making uniqueness the unit of analysis. This would not be an adequate representation of the reality that one attempts to capture. In this case even policy prescription becomes inadequate, founded, as it were, on shifting sands of thoughts and notions.

Chapter three provides a good overview. However there are sentences which are rather loosely-worded and do not reflect the intent of the author. The author has attempted to compare the 1961–71–81 Economic Census of India. As a matter of fact, studies by Kundu and Bhalla (1982) have clearly highlighted the inappropriateness of such analyses. One again wonders why in the selection of migration variables (p. 62), the author has ignored female migrations. Gender insensitivity at the macro level of analysis colours all perceptions even at the micro level. The argument that females have a lower propensity to remit is not adequately borne out by the data.

On page 69, the issue of north-south differences in India is presented as an important conclusion. However, it is not backed up by adequate references. Most researchers while analysing Census economic data tend to refer to the nine industrial category as occupations. Really speaking occupation is *what* people do whereas, industrial workers mean *where* they work. It is wrong to interchange and use it synonymously as a unit of analysis. The author introduces terms like non-basic services and domestic industry which have very specific connotations in developmental literature. Census does not provide any category as 'domestic' industry (p. 84); The correlation results discussed is rather sketchy. The arguments suggest that "while domestic industry has significant *negative relation with percentage migrants and migrant workers, services and transport have no significant relation*" (p. 85). This correlation is obviously not significant because correlation is between percentage migrant in industrial activities with migrant workers. The obvious is overstated which can be ignored in the analysis.

The table 3.11b on the column Transformed socio-economic variables presents items which do not generally adhere to the strict industrial classification of economic activities. In the case of the concluding remarks one is forced to question the validity of the statement that rural poverty causes the development of towns with higher level of rural migrants. Recent studies on poverty in India have shown a decline in poverty levels in the rural and urban areas (Minhas et al. 1991 and Mathur 1993). Besides, the poverty question is still not conclusive in terms of the measures for assessment.

The author's conclusions on "manipulating the rural-urban terms of trade" is not generally true particularly when we view the large market oriented state like India. International terms of trade will also have to reckon with the large size market of India. On page 92, one comes across a contentious statement that household industry is a product of urban poverty which is totally out of character. Such sweeping generalisations unfounded in theory do not augur well for scholarship. While quoting Chapman on p. 92 the author seems to have ignored the basic fact that assessment of trade and transport should also be made in terms of its contribution to the State Gross Domestic Product. The fallacy of this generalisation is very real.

The chapter on Migration to Durgapur does not provide any information regarding the skill composition of the migrant worker. Neither is the role of industrial stagnation of the mid-60's accounted for in this analysis of Durgapur. In the reference to "approximately 93 per cent of . . . Durgapur", the author could have substantiated her claims by referring to the Bureau of Industrial Costs and Pricing Reports on government investment in the manufacturing and service industries.

Contradictions in the analysis appears on page 134 under the subtheme occupations in Durgapur. The author concludes that trading activities have absorbed maximum migrants. Refer to p. 92 when the author asserts that "trade and transport are emphatically and negatively correlated with growth". She provides no theoretical justification for this variance.

The discussion on the tertiary sector is again faulty as there is no attempt to encapsulate the recent classification regarding the tertiary sector. Ray Chaudhuri again assumes the tertiary sector to be homogenous, which inevitably leads to fallacious conclusions. Even though she emphasizes the importance of definitions, in her analysis definitions are entirely overlooked. At the outset she discusses the decline of primary activities as indicative of sectoral transfer of labour force whereas towards the end, she draws conclusions from a subset of the labour force, the agricultural labourer to represent an increase in employment. The unit of analysis is at variance and therefore does not prove anything conclusively.

Again, in the last chapter, the author ignores the importance of definition and makes arbitrary assessment of service industries (p. 158). Services industries by no figment of imagination relates only to auto-repairs.

In conclusion, the primary survey focuses essentially on supply-led jobs in the lower circuit of the urban labour market. The formal and informal components have been lumped together and therefore provides a biased view of labour to be homogenous. The theoretical foundations are weak and outdated. It would be important to see through the implication of any of the theoretical underpinnings or the explanatory variables before submitting to an exercise in nominative prescriptions. Finally I may add, that the map on p. 68 questions the territorial integrity of India and it was not a good idea to have included it in this book. Alternatively a table from the same source would have been better.

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Development At The Grassroots

Gautam Navlakha

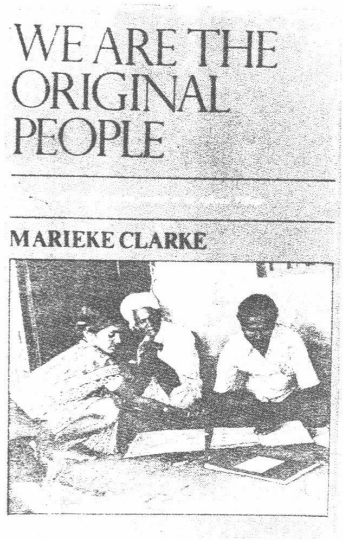
WE ARE THE ORIGINAL PEOPLE: THE STORY OF A DEVELOPMENT PROJECT IN AN ADIVASI VILLAGE IN SOUTH GUJARAT IN INDIA

By Marieke Clarke

Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 257, Rs. 295.00

This is a "story" which describes the experience of development work in a village in South Gujarat called "Madhopur". The book is not only a study of who controls the resources and the changing equations between the adivasis and the non-adivasi landlords but also between different groups of men and women as well as the problems faced by grassroot development workers. The author explains that the book is written "in a variety of styles, because the experience included research and domestic life, public meetings and the study of sociology" (p. ix). While the book covers four visits between 1976–86 it is the first two visits in 1976 and 1977–78 which form bulk of the material. However, the visits in 1980 and 86 showed important changes taking place in the lives of the adivasis with them gaining more control over their lives.

The population of Nougam village whose four hamlets made up Madhopur was 3638 in 1971 spread over 3528 acres. Out of them 88 per cent were adivasis, followed by caste Hindus 10 per cent and scheduled castes 2 per cent. There were four major adivasi groups at Nougam but the study is confined to the 180 Madhujan families living in Madhopur. Since 1924 a Gandhian ashram had been set up in the area "to educate and mobilise people of all local population groups about non-violent resistance to the British" (p. 53). But the ashram was not "primarily concerned with the oppression of adivasis by caste Hindus". For instance the adivasis lost their land to the "Clever people" during the drought of 1899–1908 but the development workers were unwilling to risk antagonising the landlords by taking up the land demand of the adivasis. However as a result of the ashram's development work a section of adivasis became the elite and adopted customs and habits of caste Hindus "in conflict with their own traditional society" (p. 54). Inspired by the work undertaken by the ashram a group of young people had



been working here since independence. The most significant contribution of the ashram was the setting up of Agricultural Producers Cooperative Society founded in 1948 whose task was to consolidate fragmented small plots, to provide agricultural inputs and market products etc. While this folded up by the fifties an adivasi resistance movement began as a result of which Gandhian activists began anew. But they tended to "respond to immediate needs without getting down to basic essentials... (or) long-lasting projects" (p. 59). By the time the "story-teller" arrived at the village in 1976 the various projects initiated by this group was being funded by foreign agencies which transformed "Vinod from a small project-holder to an entrepreneur with enormous sums of money at his disposal" (p. 77). And the writer and her husband were confronted with unfriendly "development workers" who felt that a far too critical look at some of the failures such as the poultry farm, consumer cooperative society and other village institutions may affect the flow of foreign funds.

The rest of the story deals with various experiences of living with adivasis; caring and being cared for when ill, problems and joys of living, travelling, meeting various people, the relative autonomy of the adivasi women compared to caste women, and information collected by them. However, being a narrative which reads at times like a diary and at times lapses into analysis and there is no single thread of argument which is sustained over any length. But adivasis emerge as real personalities for a change and pushed into background are others, primarily non-adivasis. For instance one adivasi called Kisan working with the couple had noticed that Suresh, the author's husband, always drove fast while driving through the landlord's hamlet. On one occasion he stopped Suresh:

"Why do you do that?"

"I really hate those people for what they've done to you all", replied Suresh.

"So do I", answered Kisan. "But what good will it do if you or I break a leg? Don't drive so fast" (p. 125).

Or the same Kisan was asked why he had been vasectomised? His reply is most interesting:

"We are fairly sure that our children will live", he replied. "This is a new thing in our generation. The children will survive because there is enough food to fill their bellies. My own generation was in some danger. . . . My father's generation was in considerable danger" (p. 31).

The author's observations, snippets of conversations, anecdotes told to the writer all combine to make the book very readable. Many of the couple's own experience helps bring out various facets of life with the adivasis. Her re-marriage with her husband in the adivasi way for instance provides a glimpse into the rituals and customs by someone who lived it first-hand! The appendices at the end, especially the notebook given in Appendix One, *Arjun's Notebook* which was a diary kept by an adivasi Arjun since 19 April 1915 to 17 January 1945 is immensely interesting and one gets a picture of adivasis losing their land and their way of life. Some of the entries in the notebook convey this:

10.11.1916 A landlord got land belonging to Arjun's brother, who was a minor.

9.9.1941 Arjun's son was threatened with death and he was thrown off the farm.

22.7.1943 Arjun sent a letter to Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel regarding the possession of land.

In more ways than one, to describe this work as a "story" does not do it justice. The account is real and even if one finds fault with her sympathetic bias prejudicing her towards everyone else the information provided more than smoothens the gaps or edges. However, where her subjectivity is discomforting is when she is talking about the differences with the development people. The reader has no way of knowing whether to accept her account or not in the absence of access to their side of the story. But it is an useful account of the many-sidedness of the grassroot development work.

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Priorities and Linkages

Amrita Dhillon

PLANNING IN INDIA: THE CHALLENGE FOR THE 90'S

By Arun Ghosh

Sage Publications, 1992, pp. 274, Rs. 275.00

Dr Arun Ghosh having been both an economist and a bureaucrat has a good vantage point from which to study the problem of planning in India. He draws heavily on his experience in the writing of the book.

Starting from the premise that planning is the only solution to the problems of this country (there is a brief discussion in the introduction), he goes on to prescribe broad policy guidelines for each major sector of the economy. The book is divided into several chapters each dealing with the big issues facing the country. Problems are diagnosed and solutions suggested, both pointwise. He uses official data and quotes individual research papers to support his arguments.

The book has a definite paradigm. Ghosh is for an egalitarian, employment oriented development of the economy. He is against the increasing surge of "globalisation" especially in the area of elitist consumer goods. He would prefer a selective opening up and a decentralised political ethos.

In respect of agricultural growth, he would like to find solutions which would help to make agricultural growth more broad-based, more generative of employment opportunities and more responsive to the specific needs of the weaker sections of the rural population, higher priority for small projects and "a correct focus to correct past errors, to set out proper procedures for examining all (irrigation) projects. . . " He advocates elementary education for the entire population as being "essential for long term development". He would like "existing libraries to be modernised and museums protected and preserved". Unfortunately all this makes for very trite reading. Certainly these objectives are very laudable, surely no one can doubt that these are necessary; but does not planning have to do with using scarce resources for only those things which have the highest benefit cost ratio? In the absence of convincing arguments about which are indeed the highest priority items and how the linkages between different segments of the economy operate, any book on planning is futile.

To the credit of the author, however, he does at least encourage a debate about the present trend towards "globalisation" of the Indian economy. As pointed out succinctly by him "we are prepared as a nation to freely permit foreign collaboration arrangements for the manufacture of cosmetics, junk foods and elitist consumer goods (such as VCR's) but we are not prepared to allow collaboration arrangements which will light up the homes of millions of rural poor at a ridiculously low cost." India, according to him, is not ready for this kind of globalisation, and a selective opening up of economy is warranted. He is also against a blind acceptance of the conditions imposed by the World Bank and the IMF. The chapter on energy includes a discussion of the merits of different sources of energy and argues in favour of oil as opposed to coal and for the development of renewable sources of energy. He warns against the use of energy for "conspicuous consumption" and encourages R&D in renewable sources. The chapter on population has some case-studies of Punjab and Kerala showing the importance of infant mortality and female literacy on the size of the family.

Finally, in the industrial sector, he recommends a move away from an energy and import intensive pattern of development. He discusses a number of important issues such as capital goods and key intermediaries, foreign collaborations, industrial licensing and de-regulation, the public sector and institutional lending. In brief he favours a more streamlined regulation of the economy rather than a complete de-regulation, in the direction of higher employment orientation. There is one chapter devoted to major industries like steel, fertiliser, non-ferrous minerals and metals, electronics etc., and one devoted to village and small-scale industries. The linking theme throughout the book is 'decentralisation' of the polity. This is reiterated in almost every chapter. Discussion is restricted to rather broad guidelines about what should be done; how it should be done is not within the purview of the book.

It rather detracts from the book that the style is verbose and bureaucratic rather than analytical. Most of the time, opinions are presented as though they were facts. In this age where there is an almost overwhelming pressure to globalise, and where the Indian economy has already opened up considerably, it seems like counterfactual analysis to ask for selectiveness. The author would like us to "have faith in democracy" and in decentralisation, but given the current political situation where a few parties dominate, it is not clear that this is going to help at all. One would prefer to see feasible and specific solutions to smaller problems rather than the utopian generic answers that Arun Ghosh gives.

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Mutiny or War Of Independence

Parshotam Mehra

CHRONICLES OF THE MUTINY AND OTHER HISTORICAL SKETCHES

By P.J.O. Taylor

Harper Collins, India, 1992, pp. 184, Rs. 70.00

A slender, unpretentious, paperback of a score and a half of short, crisply written articles including brief, but well-drawn and incisive sketches of important historical personalities, Taylor's book is connected for most part, albeit not entirely, with the 'Mutiny' of 1857.

The nationalist school persists in calling the 'Mutiny' our first war of independence and its principal actors, national heroes—not only brave men and women but those who blazed a trail. Taylor insists that the Bengal sepoys 'not only mutinied, but did their best, in most cases, to wipe out, with extreme savagery, every European man, woman or child, who fell in their hands.' They were joined by the Princes and petty rulers with grievances, real or imagined, against the British government. Those who led them 'for the most part, (were) puppet leaders.'

All the same, contemporary accounts of the 'mutiny'—diaries, explanations, apologia, reminiscences, personal accounts—are legion. There are fictional yarns too with the 'mutiny' as a backdrop. All these, written mostly by British men and women who, considering the trauma they had gone through, were admittedly far from objective.

On the other hand, there is so little 'genuine contemporary Indian material' that, to see things from the patriotic Indian's standpoint, calls for the exercise of a measure of 'an almost extinct British characteristic' fair play. This apart, only a sympathetic imagination, such oral history as folk songs and 'a willingness to listen to Indian intellectuals' puts one in the right frame of mind to appreciate the nationalist viewpoint.

Thumb nail sketches, shorn of frills and oft-repeated detail, of Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi, Nana Sahib and Tatya Topi make for interesting reading.

Of the Rani, a few observations may be of interest. To start with, as is well known, she 'was forced' into rebellion. Again, like St. Joan she herself 'fought in the front line of her troops; she did not lead them from behind'. Above all, she was innocent of all the base charges put against her. The murder of defenceless women and children was not in her nature for 'nothing in her career ever suggested such cold-bloodedness' (p. 29).

Of the Nana, three facets stand out. One, he had treated his mother-in-law and half sisters with 'tyranny, injustice and rapacity'; two, he was no soldier; three, he was a man with a grievance. Essentially, he was a weak, gullible character. And weak men in high places, if manipulated by puppets, are 'excessively uninteresting' (p. 53).

And finally, Tatya Topi who characteristically sought 'to underplay' his importance, insisting that he was but a subordinate of the Nana. And yet he succeeded where many another failed in keeping his men together and above all, in 'dodging innumerable columns of British troops sweating and toiling' on their 'apparently never-ending pursuit' (p. 84). Oddly though it was an erstwhile friend of his who betrayed him to the British.

Two significant misrepresentations are heavily underlined by Taylor. One relates to Babu Kunwar Singh: his personal bravery notwithstanding, he did *not* win the battle of Arrah against Vincent Eyre. And yet his bust in Arrah House today would make one think that he did. There is gross incongruity too in placing a bust of Tatya Topi in the memorial park at Kanpur. In actual fact, he had little to do there.

There is the story of the famous-infamous Black Hole of Calcutta when on a hot, sultry day—20 June 1756—Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah allegedly shut overnight 146 British men, women and children in a small room measuring 18ft by 14ft 10 inches to discover the following day, a bare 23 survivors. Taylor conclusively argues that the story, resting squarely on Holwell's unsupported account, was a pure invention. His version, he heavily underlines, contained 'numerous demonstrable errors' and totally lacked any contemporary collaboration.

In setting the historical record straight, Taylor makes an interesting point. How does it matter, he asks, as to how many men went into Holwell's 'Black Hole' and how many came out.

> What better means is there of refuting the charges repeatedly made of cruelty and inhumanity levelled at Siraj-ud-Daulah, and other Indian rulers, charges that were the British excuse for their "unwilling" conquests, made to rescue (it was claimed) the Indian peasant from "uncivilised" rulers? (p. 146)

The Delhi Durbar of 1911 comes alive too. Culled from the massive *Historical Record of the Imperial Visit to India, 1911* whose 457 pages are full of pointless statistics including a breakdown of the rations consumed by the Camp on the Ridge: '1,909,536,000 pounds of fodder, 550,000 pounds of milk, 60,000 pounds of butter and 12,000 pounds of cream.' Which cost the Indian taxpayer, a neat $ 998,000. While recording the figure, the chronicler notes that the taxpayer was not unhappy and thought the Durbar well worth it. Or, did he? 'I wonder', Taylor comments, 'who they asked?'

Part of the visit was the King Emperor's much-hyped shoot in Nepal which bagged '39 tigers, 18 rhinoceroses and 4 bears.' Which the reigning Queen's husband or her son would dub today as grossly offensive.

There are any number of interesting vignettes of men and events. The story of Sir Thomas Roe and his embassy to the Mughal emperor Jahangir, of "Doctor" Niccolai Manucci and his *Storia da Mogor*, of the Begum Sumroo of Sardana, of Queen Victoria's great confidant, Munshi Abdul Karim. A visit to the 'Khyber and Karakoram' evokes recent memories of the Raj. The above by no means exhaust the table of contents. All in all, here is a compulsive read with a text embellished by cartoons and some quite apt illustrations. Its modest price tag is an added incentive.

Though not a professional historian, Taylor's background, and *bona fides*, are beyond reproach. An Oxford graduate, he joined the Maratha Light Infantry during World War II and saw active service in India, Italy and Japan. More, he has been to the subcontinent time and again to indulge his absorbing passion—the story of the Great 'Mutiny' of 1857.

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Continuing A Fractured Debate

Chetan Singh

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE: THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA, PART I, VOLUME 5

By John F. Richards

Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. xvi+320, Rs. 350.00

John F. Richards' *The Mughal Empire* is one amongst the several independent volumes brought out as part of the *New Cambridge History of India* series. It is only proper that the volume should be viewed against the objectives that have been set out by the editors and the author. As a general editorial policy the volumes under this series "are intended to give a view of the subject as it now stands". Quite expectedly, therefore, the author has drawn considerably upon the specialized research of other scholars. The imprint of this basic reliance on the existing secondary literature is fairly obvious, even from the space allocated to different sections in the book. Though the work seeks to "write a concise, cohesive narrative history from 1526 to 1720" the division of contents is uneven. This also has partly to do with the manner in which research on this period has tended to progress. Babur, the first Mughal ruler in India, is dealt with in two pages while his successor, Humayun, has to make do with three. It is to the four 'great Mughals' that most of the book is devoted. Here, too, there is an imbalance. While Akbar and Aurangzeb are discussed in about eighty pages each, Jahangir and Shahjahan are allotted only twenty-four and thirty-one pages respectively. Not only is the imbalance in secondary literature thus reinforced, it appears that some of the untenable arguments especially with regard to Aurangzeb's 'Islamic' policies (pp. 171-8) have been revived.

Akbar emerges quite expectedly as the creator of the Mughal empire; a conqueror and administrator whose philosophical outlook enabled him to establish a vigorous 'autocratic centralism' (pp. 58-78) by reorganizing the administration

(*mansabdari* and land revenue system, pp. 79-93). The trends of the time were, however, on his side and to quote the author, "The overall cultural and religious climate of sixteenth century India was more open and tolerant of change. Mughal expansion occurred as Indian society and culture was experiencing a richly creative phase. Several centuries of dominant Indo-Muslim power had forced Hindu institutions to adapt to the reality by strengthening popular devotional expression. Generations of Muslim life in north India and the Deccan had gradually shaped accomodation and sympathy to Indian society and even to Hinduism" (p. 34).

Jahangir and Shahjahan appear to hold together and partially expand the Mughal empire in their own respective ways. The shift towards an 'Islamic political culture' (pp. 121-23), it has been suggested, begins during the reign of the latter and that, "under Shah Jahan, for the first time the results of an orthodox Muslim reaction to the policies of Akbar and Jahangir had an effect on official policy" (p. 121). Aurangzeb enters the volume as a ruthlessly invincible contestant in the war of succession. He marches through it as an orthodox autocrat carrying Islamic policies and Mughal expansionism to their inevitable conclusion and exits as an obstinate old man whose "obsession with the endless Deccan war strained imperial institutions and resources" (p. 252).

The chapter on "Imperial Decline and Collapse" (p. 253-81) once again depicts the squabbling successors of Aurangzeb and the faction-ridden Mughal nobility. In effect the history of the Mughal empire is still substantially the history of the Mughal emperors.

Some more details complete the picture. The *zamindars, khanazads* and *mansabdars* periodically rearrange themselves in coteries around princes and powerful nobles. The *ulema* engage in open politics or silent intrigues depending upon who occupies the throne. Princes of the blood rebel in each reign, momentarily distracting the emperor from larger imperial objectives. Painting and building activities flourish or decline in intimate accordance with the personality of the emperor. The entwined nature of "Economy, Societal Change and International Trade" (pp. 185-204) adds a dimension normally overlooked in books of this nature. An old story has once again been retold in a very readable manner. For all practical purposes J.F. Richards has been successful in his 'most important goal' which is "to offer a one-volume synthesis that will be comprehensible to the non-specialist".

But somewhat more in terms of new perspectives was expected from a scholar of the stature of J.F. Richards even in the writing of a textbook. Of these one gets only occasional flashes. The author begins with the oft repeated arguments that "Mughal centralised power was a reality and that its effect on Indian society was considerable" (p. xv). Even if the two assumptions are accepted, it does not follow that they are logically inseparable. The impact of forces of a diffused nature has often been far greater in Indian society that that of centralised authority. Despite the assertion with which he begins, Richards is compelled to admit that the "Timurid empire was both centralised and decentralised. Both bureaucratic and patrimonial in its structure and operation" (p. 78). His discussion of the 'internal frontier' (pp. 95-96), 127-30, 168-9) raises unresolved questions whose existence he half admits by concluding that "intermittent internal warfare was also characteristic of the Mughal empire" (p. 283).

Several issues currently attracting the attention of scholars (such as the diverse cultural and social structures in different regions of the empire; impact of world connections on the Indian economy and hence on society and the nature of the Mughal state; changes in rural Indian society and polity) are to be found scattered across this traditional political narrative. It is only in the conclusion, where the author briefly frees himself from the confines of the narrative that these issues are drawn closer together to provide a glimpse of some possible ways in which the history of the Mughal empire could be re-worked. A different history, even a narrative one, could possibly have emerged if the author had abandoned the traditional structure of regnal accounts that has for so long fractured our understanding of the Mughal empire.

While specialists would undoubtedly be able to indicate a few areas where the author has failed to take note of researches that are now well accepted, it can hardly be denied that 'secondary literature on the Mughals is thin despite its great importance in South-Asian and world history'. Though some scholars might hesitate to admit it, the book reflects in several ways both the strengths and weaknesses of existing research on the Mughal empire.

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A Pernicious System

Amrik Singh

CASTE, CLASS AND EDUCATION: POLITICS OF THE CAPITATION FEE PHENOMENON IN KARNATAKA

Edited by Rekha Kaul

Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 276, Rs. 275.00

It is seldom that a book is both perceptive and topical. The study by Rekha Kaul, undertaken several years ago, is detailed and incisive. Even though the book was written before the Supreme Court pronounced its final judgement in February 1993, that has not weakened the quality of the book in any way. The basic findings of the book may be stated in the following terms:

1) As in several other cases, educational institutions have often been used by various classes and social groups for strengthening their political and social base and for economic gains. The capitation fees phenomenon in some of the southern states is a telling manifestation of the interplay of caste, class and politics.

2) This particular book deals with Karnataka but the situation is not dissimilar in most other states, notably Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra.

3) The capitation fee phenomenon is no more and no less than a use of the caste as an instrument of power. To begin with, it was the Lingayats and the Vokkaligas in that state who sought to advance their own interests by setting up professional colleges. Subsequently other minority groups, the scheduled castes and Muslims, also entered the domain. The Christians also run an institution of this kind in Bangalore. But it is managed like a missionary institution and not like the rest as a money making machine.

4) More than anything else, it is the profit motive which is the dominant one. While the numerically preponderant caste groups certainly took the lead, and their example was followed by other groups, the profit motive was so decisive that, even in the best of them, not more than one-quarter of the candidates came from those castes. All others were admitted because they offered money. Even the institutions run by scheduled castes were not free from the infirmity.

5) In the late 70's, business entrepreneurs entered the field in a big way. They usually put on the garb of promoting the interest of this or that caste but their motive was unabashed profit. This becomes evident from another significant current development. Students are not being admitted today because these colleges no longer have the discretion to admit students on their own and thus make money. Around 200 of such colleges which exist in southern states have formed a kind of federation and taken the decision that, unless the fees are stepped up, they would not admit anyone.

The composition of the governing council in more than one case is closely analysed. What stands out is that members came from both political parties, the Congress and the Janata. Whichever party was in power, the managements always had a channel of access open to it. Secondly, while only some of them were politicians, the number of ex-bureaucrats and advocates was very large. The ex-bureaucrats had contacts within the government and could smoothen things over whereas the advocates could always bring their legal knowledge into play so as to raise disputes or deal with them; if nothing else, to delay decision making. Thirdly, some members were rich farmers with one foot in the political arena. The landlords had certain surplus funds to invest and this is how they did it.

As directed by the Supreme Court, the State governments appointed a committee. Those who were prepared to pay a higher fee could be accommodated upto 50 per cent of the strength though the management did not have the discretion to jump the queue in any case. The fees thus levied were to be calculated on the basis that the cost of education of those 50 per cent who may be admitted in the government quota should also be covered in this way. The committee that went into the question consisted of government and university officials and worked out certain calculations. According to the colleges, the fees were on the lower side and therefore they preferred not to admit anyone. Perhaps they have a point because when the fees in Karnataka are compared with those levied in Maharashtra through the same procedure, the latter are somewhat higher.

It is difficult to say which one of them is nearer the mark but one thing is clear. Unless the colleges can earn something, they are not interested in running the colleges. Their profit motive is so undisguised that they have simply refused to cooperate. They were running these colleges only because they generated a lot of unearned income and not because they were interested in promoting their caste interests or anything of that kind.

6. The role of the various State governments is presented in a highly unfavourable light. Whether it was Dev Raj Urs or R.K. Hedge, it did not make any difference; each one of them connived with the educational entrepreneurs in their unholy game. In its manifesto in January 1983, the Janata Party pledged the total abolition of the capitation fee. After having returned to power, it went back on that pledge and tried to compromise and gave it further legitimacy.

Every single statement made above is backed by a wealth of data, both statistical and analytical. When it comes to statistical information, the author has done field work as well as ensured access to various government reports, other similar publications and even the data put out by colleges in the form of prospectuses and otherwise. From that point of view, it can be regarded as a model study.

In addition to the evolution of this phenomenon in Karnataka and an analysis of the government policy, the author has also devoted a chapter each to the management process, the students and the faculty. Information about these three matters was hardly available anywhere. An important merit of the book is that this study has chosen to do so and come up with some revealing findings.

Whatever be the structure of the managing committee, crucial power is invariably vested only in a few individuals. Although the government orders specify clearly that not more than two persons who are close relations shall be nominated on the committee, this directive was violated in almost all cases. The admission process was so regulated that whatever be the external form, no one could be admitted unless the 'informal' demands were met.

The composition of the governing council in more than one case is closely analysed. What stands out is that members came from both political parties, the Congress and the Janata. Whichever party was in power, the managements always had a channel of access open to it. Secondly, while only some of them were politicians, the number of ex-bureaucrats and advocates was very large. The ex-bureaucrats had contacts within the government and could smoothen things over whereas the advocates could always bring their legal knowledge into play so as to raise disputes or deal with them; if nothing else, to delay decision making. Thirdly, some members were rich farmers with one foot in the political *arena*. The landlords had certain surplus funds to invest and this is how they did it.

In plain words, the intertwining of caste, class and politics in the sphere of professional education was unmistakable. Because of the combined strength of money power and caste or community backing as well as political support, they managed to survive as long as they did. Eventually it was the Supreme Court which put them out of business, so to speak.

The analysis of the student body showed that 68.47 per cent were from public schools; only 13.30 per cent were in the merit quota while 86.70 per cent had paid the capitation fees. The parents of 81.97 per cent students belonged to the middle and higher income groups. In a college set up to promote the interests of rural people, out of 20 asked, only three belonged to the rural background. Even they did not say that they intended to go back to their roots. In a particular institute of technology, out of 220 students, only 36 belonged to the relevant caste. In a college named after Ambedkar, which was supposed to cater to the needs of the scheduled castes, only 20 per cent of them came from that category. In other words, the whole thing was more or less a business operation and little more than that.

When the students were asked whether they justified the capitation system or opposed it, only 32.96 per cent justified it, the remaining 67.04 per cent opposed it. As one of them put it, this was a system which 'bred and regularised corruption'. That the quality of students is poor is evident from one fact. They were constantly demanding a carry-over system and postponement of examinations.

In the sample study, 29.3 per cent described the faculty as poor, 49.75 per cent said that they were average, and only 20.94 per cent expressed the view that some teachers were good. This was said about medical colleges. In the case of engineering colleges, the situation was equally unsatisfactory.

One way of making additional income

was to admit more students than there was room for and then get the list regularised. Out of 12 engineering colleges which were surveyed, the staff: student ratio varied between 1:15 and 1:35 as compared to government colleges where it did not exceed 1:10. These colleges did not want students to organize themselves and to protest against the shortfalls and worse. They invariably frowned upon any kind of student activity. As one senior official of the government puts it, these colleges were not 'need-based but vote-based'.

Those recruited in private professional colleges were barely qualified. The bulk of them had studied only upto the undergraduate level though the qualifications laid down by the government was the Master's Degree. In one particular institute, out of 62 teachers, 35 had a Bachelor in Engineering. Altogether, there were only 20 Ph.D. in all these colleges and hardly any one was involved in research. From this point of view, the government colleges were much better staffed. Interestingly, only 5.62 per cent of the former students were selected as teachers. About 50 per cent of the students failed and had to repeat. One of the teachers thought that they were poor in conceptual skills and the capacity to analyse and that was the reason why they failed to clear the examination.

Even amongst the teachers, only 27.5 per cent supported the system of capitation fee, whereas 63.75 per cent were opposed to it. The remaining 8.75 per cent did not choose to express any opinion. There are many more details of this kind which can be quoted. It is only a reading of the book which would show that a formidable case against the working of these colleges has been made out.

There is a related issue, however, which goes beyond the confines of this book. More than 1,00,000 students opt for this mode of education. Quite a number of them have both talent and ambition. These are assets which the country cannot afford to lose. The real issue therefore is what alternative plan is available for making use of this pool of talent. For obvious reasons, the book does not go into this issue. But anyone concerned with the development of the country has to address himself to it.

To put it more precisely, there has been no manpower planning of any kind or at any stage. What we are witnessing is what the author calls the 'vagaries of unplanned consumer demand'. According to her, this has strengthened duality in the system of education and made it more elitist in nature. Clearly the decision does not lie within the field of education but elsewhere. To be specific, it lies in the strategy of development which the country has followed all these years.

Dr Amrik Singh, an educationist, has been vice-chancellor of Punjabi University, and has written about his experiences in his book Asking For Trouble *(Vikas, 1984).*

A Messianic Credo for Education

S. Shukla

WHAT IS WORTH TEACHING ?

By Krishna Kumar

Orient Longman, Delhi, 1992, pp. 74, Rs. 45.00

In 1986–87, the University Grants Commission selected for its National Lecturer in Education, available for going round the country's universities, a man who was not yet a professor and barely into his later 30's who had something special to say on the subject. His raw but sensitive reactions had already, a few years earlier in the columns of the now extinct Hindi weekly *Dinman* attracted attention for the critique of schools, their regime, pedagogy and textbooks from the standpoint of the real contemporary child and popular culture. The four lectures in the present slim volume represent the evolution of many of the same basic positions in terms reflecting those few years of absorption and, possibly new creation of academic theory in education. In "What is Worth Teaching", "Textbooks and Educational Culture", "Implications of a Divisive System" and "Reading in Primary School" we find the statement of an educational position which, growing out of John Dewey's pedagogy takes a more, though for this reviewer's taste not adequately, hard-headed view of society and account of colonial heritage in education (which Dewey did not have to deal with).

We in this country deal also with a highly centralised educational structure paralleling the bureaucratic mode in which it has been and is continuing to be governed notwithstanding the arrival of democracy for the last half century. Centralised curricula, examinations and administration in a highly unequal society and divided (English/non-English, besides the more widely prevalent elite/folk) culture have as their educational consequence, the phenomenon of centralised reform in the direction of national and scientific technical orientations often abstracted from the inequities of society of the needs of giving popular symbols and modes an adequate place.

The author's reasoning is the following: As psychology and behavioural objectives of learning offer primarily some guidance on *how* to teach, exclusive emphases on these in post-Independence curricular reform has overlooked the socially more significant element or principle for curricular selection viz., the classes and social groups for whom knowledge, skills and experience conveyed by the curriculum is real or relevant for the kind of person education seeks to develop out of this curriculum. Krishna Kumar's position is that the contents are alien to the common child. They alienate her/him from the environment or from education itself. The former causes elitism, the latter vast wastages in education in the form of children dropping out. He sees in this also a continuation of the position that curriculum, teacher or the whole process of education itself had in the colonial period.

This basically plausible statement would require some amendment. He clearly underestimates the change from the colonial period when "the sun never set on the British Empire", loyalty to the King was even more the basic underlying lesson of schooling than the awareness of being a free citizen of the Republic is today—and even flora and fauna were often alien (daffodils etc). His justified stress on meaningfulness of the curriculum to the reality of the child is exaggerated when the lack of it is seen as virtually the exclusive reason for children dropping out from school and when he seeks to rule out any role for poverty in this phenomenon. If poverty is cited, as it often is, as causing poor motivation for parents to get their children to learn, it is rightly dismissed by him as a mere apologia for a bad educational system. But it is unrealistic not to accept that if 30 or 50 or 60 per cent people live below the starvation line a comparable proportion of children would be just too hungry to come and survive in school in any case. He cites the near 50 per cent drop out in the first grade as a refutation of the poverty hypothesis and a confirmation of the poor curriculum-pedagogy one. But there is a much simpler explanation for the "drop out" in part, of which he is not unaware. Nominal or fake registration of children in class I, as he notices himself.

These materialistic caveats do not impair the basic argument of the author which is on an elevated theoretical plane. To teach effectively, we should teach what can make sense to the child in terms of his/her real experience. The more important criteria for selection of materials curriculum lie in the social plane. Pedagogy today selects knowledge, skills as well as values which advantage the privileged classes. As the privileged classes also manage to develop separate schools for themselves, children of neither group gets to experience the entire range of experience from which wholesome learning can emerge. To enforce such an unreal curriculum, a teacher who is servile—not free to choose his/her learning materials, bound by textbooks and forced into uniformity by external examinations—is pressed into service and produces a process of teaching and learning which is unreal and alienating. The case of teaching reading, in which recognition of words and letters still doesn't flower into comprehension of meaning illustrates well the situation of an education a schooling where words do not appear to relate to real experience or meaning. This explicates the situation whereby split personalities whose learning of science doesn't spill into attitudes, behaviour or value emerge after a process of "education".

The foregoing somewhat simplified summary of Krishna Kumar's argument cannot bring out the richness and depth of the conception underlying the thought this book represents. It is a striking statement of an educational credo which stands for the child and for a good society. In its quietly messianic zeal, it can be held guilty of overlooking some equally idealistic though, one must grant, less academically erudite or tight statements such as in the Secondary Education Commission or the writings of K.G. Saiyidain. It can also be faulted for some naivete or misreading of the history or dynamic of educational development in modernising industrialising societies when, for instance, the pre-colonial teacher in India is seen to be as free and creative a professional as Krishna Kumar would want or when the role of textbooks and examinations as standardisers and controllers is seen as an exclusively British Indian colonial phenomenon and not a more universal one as large scale societies are being built. The only major difference is that the trauma of education in ex-colonial societies in the Third World is much severer than in the First.

With all this, *What Is Worth Teaching?* is a concise and comprehensive statement of a clean break from the backward pedagogy for a divided society in which we are caught today. It is also an important statement of how genuine educational change related to thorough-going progressive social change should be thought about. Though the irony of the Indian social situation is that it is the Western-oriented upper classes who would selectively use his ideas. His earlier, *Social Character of Learning* and later *Political Agenda of Education* should be read in order to fully appreciate the dimensions of the still evolving ambitious (but in the circumstances necessarily aborted) transformation he visualises. The present work is very readable and leaves one wanting to read more. Even those who might raise questions about the vision will find much practical insight.

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Constructive Approaches to the Cauvery Dispute

Eric Gonsalves

THE CAUVERY RIVER WATER DISPUTE: TOWARDS CONCILIATION
By S. Guhan
Frontline Publications, 1993, pp. 78, Rs. 50.00

Water is becoming an increasingly scarce resource. The utilisation of water from rivers which traverse different jurisdictions has consequently caused controversy around the world. A considerable body of law and practice in the resolution of conflicts over the sharing of waters of inter-state and international rivers has been developed over the last 100 years. Where such problems remain unsolved they can result in unwelcome repercussions in many unconnected fields especially at the hands of populist and chauvinistic leaders. *The Cauvery River Dispute* by S. Guhan is a timely effort to provide a detailed and objective background to one such problem. It contains precise suggestions which the policy makers would do well to consider seriously—not just in the context of this dispute but also in respect of similar issues elsewhere.

The central question is that the lower riparian state Tamil Nadu which was the first to develop its irrigation system wants to retain in perpetuity the current quantum of water on the basis of usage and the Agreement executed in 1924. The upper riparian Karnataka disputes this claim on the legal ground that the 1924 Agreement was valid only for 50 years and on other grounds especially that equity demands it should not be deprived of irrigation facilities just because their development was taken up later.

The river cannot provide enough water to satisfy all demands on the present basis. Hence the validity of the author's suggestion to consider sharing "on a dynamic rather than static zero sum perspective" using modernisation, conservation, efficiency, maximising the use of other water sources, and changes in the cropping pattern. Perhaps even more important is the allied proposition that the climate be first created for a compromise rather than by each party continuing to press for its maximum demand as is being done at present.

Issues of so vital a nature are never easily nor quickly resolved. As far back as 1913 when differences arose over the Cauvery between the then Governments of Madras and Mysore an arbitrator had to be called in. But as the author notes "the initial conflict was narrowed by arbitration and subsequently resolved in negotiation." The 1924 Agreement could not have been reached without the will to compromise. Nor can an agreement be reached today without similar attitudes. Further excessive delay makes the attaining of an amicable settlement more difficult and it also raises the cost of implementing subsequent projects.

Unfortunately some factors which could help in reaching a settlement are becoming less effective. The Government of India has progressively moved towards a more and more passive role rather than putting forward constructive proposals and pressuring the two sides towards an agreement. The engineers have tended towards becoming advocates rather than technical advisers with the result that even the reliability of data submitted becomes suspect. In stark contrast is the important role of the Chief Engineers in finding a *modus vivendi* in 1924. It is worth noting that in the most effective international water regulatory bodies, the opinion of the technical members is usually never questioned as they place the probity of their opinions higher than any narrow national interest. The constant tussle in India between technocrats and administrators for top bureaucratic posts perhaps contributes to the growing inadequacy of both.

Recourse to arbitration is often inevitable. The Inter States Water Disputes Act provides for a judicial tribunal. It has been rightly criticised as it requires a quantum jump from negotiation to compulsory legal arbitration without allowing for mediation and conciliation. It is also pointed out that there is no set of accepted guidelines in India for settling river disputes. The suggested use of the Helsinki Rules to fill this gap is a valuable idea. The leisurely process of any judicial machinery in India and the contributory delays in making a problem more difficult to resolve also need to be borne in mind. In the Cauvery case, Government of India itself dragged its feet on setting up the tribunal for political reasons.

The dangers of seeking immediate political advantage are clearly illustrated in the violent aftermath to the Interim Award of the Tribunal. The data provided establishes that neither government should have had much difficulty in accepting that award. Indeed nature has made the award redundant in subsequent years. But cynical political leaders found advantage for themselves in creating a situation where lives were lost, considerable property destroyed and an amicable solution made more difficult.

Guhan's suggestions have validity beyond the Cauvery dispute. They could be applied with some advantage to the problem of the Himalayan rivers between India and Bangladesh. There too there is need for a will to compromise. Perhaps as with the Indus Waters Treaty, a third party might help narrow differences. The thrust of the Helsinki Rules applied to the Ganga-Brahmaputra basin could help achieve a long term sharing agreement.

Anyone interested in the issue of sharing river waters would find this remarkably concise but complete monograph mandatory reading. Those responsible for resolving the Cauvery problem could not ask for a more convincing guide. Thanks to *Frontline Publications* the whole package is attractively presented.

Eric Gonsalves has been a secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs.

Third World Constraints

Brahma Chellaney

NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION DIPLOMACY: NUCLEAR POWER PROGRAMMES IN THE THIRD WORLD
By K.D. Kapur
Lancer Books, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 394, Rs. 380.00

The book, written by an associate professor of diplomacy at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, focuses on the constraints imposed on Third World nuclear power programmes through the international nonproliferation regime. It has separate chapters on the programmes of Argentina, Brazil, India and Pakistan and provides an overview of the nonproliferation controls on the civilian applications of nuclear energy.

The book has been published at a time when there is a growing debate on the 1970 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), particularly its articles that deal with the promotion of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and the movement towards nuclear disarmament. The NPT is the central pillar of the nonproliferation regime fashioned under the U.S. leadership. Washington is seeking to have the treaty indefinitely extended when the NPT comes up for review in 1995 at the end of its present 25-year term. However, the prospects of an indefinite extension of the NPT are not too good for the reasons that are the subject of Kapur's book.

While the Nuclear Suppliers' Club remains a club of white nations with the sole exception of Japan, the NPT's membership has swollen to more than 160, reflecting a widespread belief that a country's security would be better served through accession to the treaty. However, despite its broadened membership, the NPT continues to be plagued by problems. Several states with nuclear-weapons capabilities or nuclear arms—India, Israel, Ukraine, Brazil, Pakistan, Kazakhstan and Argentina—remain outside its fold. The current standoff with North Korea underscores the dangers to the NPT from within its own membership. Also, there is a growing feeling among the NPT adherents that the five nuclear-weapon states—the "Brahmins" of an avowedly casteist nonproliferation regime—have not lived up to their obligations under Article VI of the treaty. Many developing nations are demanding "an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear powers" and a conspicuous movement towards complete nuclear disarmament through universal measures, such as a Comprehensive Test Ban.

Kapur points out that major attraction of the NPT for the developing world was its pledge to protect the right of all parties to the treaty to harness the atom for economic development. The treaty calls for the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The technical assistance provided to the developing nations by the International Atomic Energy Agency—the monitoring and enforcement arm of the nonproliferation regime—has, however, been modest, and even this limited nuclear cooperation role has come under pressure in the past three years after revelations on the clandestine Iraqi nuclear programme. The non-proliferation regime has imposed sweeping new controls on dual-use technologies, severely constraining the ability of developing nations to pursue commercial nuclear power programmes and undermining the letter and spirit of the nuclear cooperation pledges enshrined in the NPT. Nothing can better illustrate this than the success of the United States in late 1991 in persuading India not to sell a tiny atomic research reactor to Iran under IAEA safeguards. According to the State Department, the United States had urged India to "avoid any form of nuclear cooperation with Iran, even under safeguards."

Kapur's book has a wealth of information. However, its main drawback is that it is poorly structured and lacks a central thesis. The author deals with both the civilian and military nuclear programmes in India, Pakistan, Brazil and Argentina. He even examines the South Asian proliferation landscape. But there is no explanation why the book contains no detailed analyses of the Israeli and Chinese nuclear programmes.

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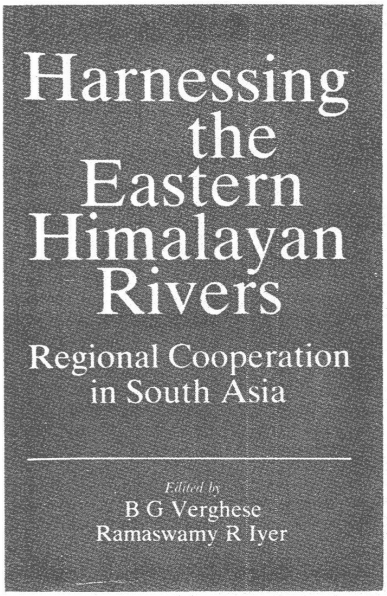
Managing Our Water Resources

Shekhar Singh

HARNESSING THE EASTERN HIMALAYAN RIVERS:
REGIONAL COOPERATION IN SOUTH ASIA

Edited by B.G. Verghese and Ramaswamy R. Iyer

Konark Publishers and Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, 1993,
pp. 286, Rs. 300.00



A recent interesting addition to the debate regarding the proper management of water resources is the publication *Harnessing the Eastern Himalayan Rivers: Regional Cooperation in South Asia*.

This collection brings together a galaxy of well known thinkers, each of whom address the issue of water resources management in general, and the socio-economic, technical and political issues involved with "harnessing the eastern Himalayan rivers", in particular.

The collection covers such diverse topics as agriculture, groundwater, irrigation, flood management, glaciers, energy, forests and environment, inland water transport, dams, displacement, and siesmicity, apart from giving a socio-economic profile of the region and discussing the politics of water-sharing within and between countries.

In terms of its coverage, and the sheer volume of information made available, this is truly a remarkable publication. It is also one of sadly few publications which attempt to develop a multi-disciplinary approach to an issue which had earlier been almost exclusively looked at from a single perspective.

However, perhaps because of the complexity of the task taken up, almost from the beginning one is handicapped by the lack of a well developed and coherent conceptual framework. The selection of topics, or areas, to be dealt with in the volume, at the exclusion of others, is not explained, nor is the relationship of each section with the others, or with the issue in hand, always clear.

For example, if Himalayan glaciers deserve a full chapter, as does inland water transport, then why is there no detailed section, if not a chapter each, on urban centres or industries (in fact neither is mentioned even in the index).

Again, though the objective of the study is stated to be "the inter-country cooperation essentially in the context of water resource development," much of what is written in various chapters has little to do with this. For example, the chapter on agriculture talks about every aspect of agriculture and only at the end makes a passing reference to the need for cooperation without giving any details or clarifying the linkage with managing the river waters.

Though the study purports to cover the whole region, in actuality there appears to be an India-bias. This is perhaps inevitable, considering all of the contributors are from India, though the issues being discussed cover all the countries associated with the rivers of Eastern Himalayas. Perhaps the study would have been richer if some experts from Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan were also associated.

Also, though the book is published in 1993, the data it contains are often outdated. In fact, different chapters have data corrected up to different years. For example, the chapter on forests and environment gives afforestation data in India upto 1987 and protected area data (without mentioning the years) which are correct only up to early 1980s. As all the data, in their latest form, are available it is not clear why they were not updated!

Though the introduction highlights the need for environmental sensitivity, environmental issues are not integrated into the various chapters, but only mentioned in the specific chapter dealing with them. Perhaps the study would have been far more valuable if fundamental concerns like those for the environment and for displacement were integrated into each of the chapters.

There is also poor sourcing of the data, which inhibits proper assessment. In many parts of the study there is a lack of debate and of serious consideration of the various options possible. In fact, the overall approach remains conservative with a preoccupation with dams and large river valley projects. There is no serious consideration of other approaches to the management of water resources.

Of specific concern are the chapters on Forests and Environment, and on Trauma of Displacement. The chapter on Forests and Environment deals with various general issues related to the forests and a few general issues related to the environment. However, barring the section on dams and hydropower, and a little bit on water pollution, much of this chapter is not directly relevant to the issue under consideration. What is even more surprising is that the section on dams and hydropower, in the chapter on forests and environment, covers almost nothing of the very many issues that are being debated regarding the environmental topic of direct relevance to the issues under consideration. The whole area of water conservation or, what is known in management terminology as demand side management, has not been touched at all.

The various issues regarding large projects have been again taken up for discussion in a separate chapter. The chapter starts off with a clear statement of some of the major objections against large projects. However, it does not go on to answer these objections but just explains away the whole debate by suggesting that the countries of the region are too poor to be concerned with such questions, and that such questions must be considered globally before they can be considered nationally. The authors go on to say that it "is not possible to go further into the fundamental debate here. This volume is governed by the parameters set by the kind of development that the countries in the Basin have embarked upon."

Perhaps this is the main problem with the volume, that it reinforces what is already happening, instead of questioning it and working towards better alternatives.

Another chapter that leaves much to be desired is the one on displacement. It starts off with a very optimistic, though inaccurate, statement: "It is . . . . now accepted that the process of compensation and rehabilitation should at the end of the exercise leave these persons better off than they were before the commencement of the project." However, the chapter goes on to reject the "argument" that "none may ever be moved from hearth and home for the benefit of others or for national development". The authors do not mention who has "argued" this. This understanding of the anti-displacement position is itself unfortunate because it confuses national development with the development of those segments of the society, the rich and powerful, who invariably benefit the most from dams and other such projects. It is also silent on the issue of moral right: the moral right of the State to displace the poor to benefit the rich, when it never displaces the rich to benefit the poor, even where the latter course might really be in the national interest.

All in all, this is an important publication, partly because of the varied information it brings together, and partly because of its innovative approach. It is also important as a point of departure for those who are pushing for alternate, sustainable, models of development, for it gives a strong defence of the conservative, currently followed models, especially of water resources development.

However, if this work is to reach its full potential, each section should be subjected to a focussed debate with those who think otherwise, and the outcome of such a series of debates should be organised into a more coherent conceptual framework and published.

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Ecological Damages to Biodiversity

P. D. Malgavkar

FISH CURRY AND RICE:
A CITIZENS' REPORT ON THE GOAN ENVIRONMENT

Ecoforum Publication, 1993, pp. 260, Rs. 200.00,
distributed by The Other India Bookstore, Goa.

The ecosystem has to be considered under four heads, namely, air, water, land and biodiversity. The Report under review gives instances of how each of these has been affected in recent years.

The Citizens' Report is concerned at the ecological damage to the biodiversity of the Western Ghat region, flats of the Midland region and the sand dunes, mangroves and khazans of the coastal area.

The Report is replete with examples of the struggle of Goans to preserve their ecology, be it the Dorwol Springs, khazan lands, five-star hotels, or the Konkan Railway. It lists the ecological damage from mining industry through deforestation, land degradation, destruction of ground-water resources, pollution of water sources, air pollution, proneness to flooding and soil erosion because of deforestation and increase in health hazards. At the same time it has given examples of mines that are attempting to overcome the ecological hazards. The struggle for the realignment of Konkan Railway is well documented.

It examines the five-star hotels and their impact on beaches, their appetite for water, generation of filth, garbage and sewerage, late-night parties, tapping of groundwater, prevention of public access to beaches, damage to sand dunes system and beaches. It remarks that with all its drawbacks, the Hippie tourism presents a healthy alternative to the five-star tourism as it is kinder to the local people and environment.

It refers to Zuari Agro Chemicals and Hindustan Ciba Geigy as potential time-bombs and questions the establishment of Du Pont and Thapar's Plant. It draws attention to the mid-70s disaster caused by Zuari Chemical plant and refers to the dangers of ammonia, tanker trucks and the globe-like pressurised storage tanks, the naphtha pumped from harbour to the plant through pipes and the possibility of DAP plant being forced to close down because of its unviable commercial prospects as a result of the import duty cuts in the 1993-94 budget. Dangers from other plants such as Hindustan Ciba Geigy, HPCL's LPG Plant, Shiroda Pelletisation Plant, Sanjivani Sugar Factory have also been highlighted.

The sensitivity of the Goan people prompted them to protest against the nuclear complex in the neighbouring state of Karnataka which led to the abandonment of the complex.

The Report refers to the possibilities of Goa being made a free port and fears that the creation of a free port would affect the availability of essentials like power and water to the common man; land prices and housing would go up; fierce competition would mean survival only of the fittest; and an on-rush of immigrant labour-force population reducing Goans to a minority status. It refers to the booklet *Cotigao* which lists medicinal plants and the use to which they have been traditionally put. It lists environment laws in Goa and has an inventory of Environment NGOs from which it is clear that almost every town has got a complement of environmental activists.

Fish Curry and Rice would have been much more meaningful if it had considered some of the projects from the Indian or Goanese angle. Its protest against electronic city by giving the example of the Silicon Valley is not pertinent to India, as in India the basic manufacturing of electronic chips and components which gives rise to pollution is not done. Electronic parks in India are for assembling hardware and for development of software. Electronic parks would help bring to Goa intellectual people to develop software, give employment opportunities to the educated Goans and take Goa into the information-age, the basic infrastructure for development and progress in the coming Information Society.

It refers to the huge requirement of water, the four tonnes per hectare of fertiliser and huge quantities of pesticides for golf courses in Japan. During the year 1992-93, a well-maintained 18-hole, 10 greens golf course in Pune used recycled water (drainage water recycled), 550 kg of fertiliser and 120 kg of BHC powder. How far the golf courses damage the ecology and forests has to be examined as they generally develop the landscape.

It refers to the oilpalm plantation and questions its usefulness at the cost of local crops without appreciating that the yield of oil from oilpalms per hectare is about four to five times than from coconuts and ignoring that palmoil is imported in the country from Malaysia to overcome the oil shortage in the country as it is a cheap edible oil. It refers nostalgically to Kumeri cultivation despite the fact that the zoom cultivation is being abandoned because of deforestation, soil erosion and poor crop returns.

The doctoral thesis of Maria Fatima da'Silva Gracias titled "Health and Hygiene in Goa (1510-1961)" [referred to in the Report] disturbs the romantic picture of Goa during the four centuries of Portuguese regime as she states that Goa then was an unhealthy place due to pollution caused by scarcity of water, lack of drainage system and toilets, no means to dispose of garbage and night-soil and the prevalence of malaria.

The Report gives a feeling that while Goans are very sensitive to ecology hazards they have a romantic vision of, and nostalgia for the past, as they are keen to maintain status ante or quo and would like to perpetuate Kumeri cultivation and Communidades.

Our human development record in life expectancy, infant mortality, maternal morality, status of women, literacy, years of schooling, etc., compares very poorly with the Developed World (leave aside the per capita income which is hardly one-fiftieth of the Developed World). The environmentalist group could utilise its spread, strength, expertise and commitment to bring out a supplementary report by leaving behind opposition to development *per se* (e.g. opposition to electronic city, lament at the disappearance of Kumeri cultivation, etc.) and focus on quality of life for human development which should be the rock-bed of the ecosystem.

The Report focuses on hazards that may come about from certain economic activities and the need to avoid them by evolving suitable development strategies and technologies.

Professor P.D. Malgavkar, a former member of the Indian Management Pool, is a Visiting Professor at the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi.

Vulnerability of the Urban Poor

Stephen Philip Cohen

POWER AND POISON: DISASTER AND RESPONSE IN AN INDIAN CITY

By James Manor

Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1993,
pp. 197, Rs. 220.00 (cloth)

In seven days in July 1981, over three hundred of the poorest residents of Bangalore died after consuming poisonous, illegal liquor ("hooch"). Hundreds more survived with severely impaired vision and other physical and psychological problems. Thousands were indirectly affected by the death or injury of family members and friends.

Different individuals and groups responded to this disaster in different ways. The poor mostly continued to suffer. The victims (and their surviving family members) never received the kind of national, let alone international attention lavished on the victims of the earlier Andhra Cyclone of 1977 or the subsequent industrial disaster at Bhopal. The perpetrators of the crime (for selling hooch, whether poisonous or not, was a crime), the liquor barons of Bangalore, entirely escaped punishment. The chief minister (Gundu Rao) and senior politicians of Bangalore and Karnataka were not directly affected: no one fell from office because of the death of a few hundred nobodies. The police—theoretically responsible for ensuring that such a disaster did not occur—were sidetracked. They had been coopted by Gundu Rao, and had lost their professional edge. The lawyers and the courts were nowhere to be seen: there were no lawsuits against the hooch barons (or the agencies responsible for public health), no one was found guilty of any crime at least ten years after the event.

Fortunately, the response of one scholar was to undertake a detailed study of the events surrounding this disaster, and to explore the political and social implications of such events. Writing in efficient prose (that sometimes does not conceal his anger) Professor James Manor argues that the Bangalore poisoning was a political as well as personal calamity. It revealed one of the great soft-spots of India: the vulnerability of the urban poor in rapidly growing cities such as Bangalore. They lack the administrative and bureaucratic support structure found in most settled rural areas, but the political parties have not yet unfurled a safety-net for them and, of course, the urban bu-

The deeper story behind the Bangalore deaths was not the incompetence of a few home-brew manufactures, but the breakdown of the regulatory and then the judicial functions of the state. Natural disasters do occur, and governments cannot always anticipate when and where they will strike, but there can be no such excuse for a purely man-made disaster, whose only vector was people. Here, the Bangalore killings were worse in some regards than the Bhopal gas disaster, a manmade event that was exacerbated by unusual weather conditions. "Nature" did not contribute in any way to the poisonings in Bangalore, the ultimate responsibility fell on the shoulders of a democratically elected government and professional career bureaucrats, civilian and police.

reaucratic system is totally inadequate, even when it is not subverted, as it was here, by a group of corrupt politicians.

A few heroes do emerge. The doctors who tended the sick and the dying were highly effective given their limited resources. The Bangalore press, judged to be "dismal" by James Cameron in 1972, responded to the story with vigour and skill. The *Express* led the way, but others soon developed investigative teams that uncovered most of the story. Unfortunately, according to Manor, this made little impact on the "monumentally insensitive" Karnataka government. The quality of government had deteriorated shockingly in Karnataka—and Bangalore—in the years after Gundu Rao's coming to power (1980).

The deeper story behind the Bangalore deaths was not the incompetence of a few home-brew manufactures, but the breakdown of the regulatory and then the judicial functions of the state. Natural disasters do occur, and governments cannot always anticipate when and where they will strike, but there can be no such excuse for a purely man-made disaster, whose only vector was people. Here, the Bangalore killings were worse in some regards than the Bhopal gas disaster, a manmade event that was exacerbated by unusual weather conditions. "Nature" did not contribute in any way to the poisonings in Bangalore, the ultimate responsibility fell on the shoulders of a democratically elected government and professional career bureaucrats, civilian and police.

The author, a political scientist, draws from these events a number of larger implications for the Indian state. Negatively, he is upset at the lack of "social consciousness" of India's middle class, who tended to blame the victim (they had, after all, purchased illegal liquor—'what could one expect from such people' was the refrain heard from many prosperous Bangaloreans). The expansion of state services has not kept up with urban demand (this is true of other countries, also, and Manor notes that similar pathologies can be found in the Unites States, also caused by the withdrawal of the middle class); the politicians and the bureaucrats had certainly lost their way, obsessed with patronage and perquisites, not public service.

Professor Manor does have views of his own on preventing a repeat of the Bangalore disaster, either in Bangalore or elsewhere. His chief suggestion is to introduce a Liquor Poisoning Code, modeled after the procedures in effect in many coastal states to mitigate the effects of cyclones. Liquor poisonings more closely resemble cyclones in that they strike suddenly with little warning; here they differ from famines, which can be seen building up over time. So, he suggests a variety of tactical warning measures (bells, street announcements) and the strengthening of medical and hospital facilities in areas where liquor poisoning is likely to occur. He also wants to empower government officials to cut through red tape in time of crisis, and provide rapid medical, police, and eventually legal services.

These are, as Professor Manor acknowledges, remedial recommendations. He recognizes the difficulty of remaking India's urban governments overnight, so that they will effectively prevent such disasters. India is growing too quickly, the resources available to state governments are shrinking, not expanding, and not enough politicians and bureaucrats are that worried about the welfare of the poor (their bribes come from the manufactures of the hooch, not the consumers). He hopes that the political voting power of the poor might make a difference, but in the long run it is India's middle class, the bedrock of democracy in any state, that will have to shed its cynicism about the power of government to do something useful, and become more involved in social and environmental issues that affect the entire society. A few small reforms, which produced positive results, might, according to Manor, reverse the process where failure followed failure, and "shake the many well-meaning members of the middle classes out of their numb inertia and feeling of impotence." This would not only be in the interest of the urban poor, but in the long run would benefit India's middle class as well.

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A Powerful Critique

Raju Ramachandran

ACCESS TO JUSTICE: A CASE FOR BASIC CHANGE
By V.R. Krishna Iyer
B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1993, pp. 163, Rs. 150.00

When lawyers bemoan the state of the judiciary, they are often told to put their own house in order first. They are also reminded that judges are drawn from their ranks. But when retired Judges and Chief Justices start speaking up you cannot ignore them. Especially if it is a judge like V.R. Krishna Iyer, whose bonafides and intellectual honesty have never been questioned by even the bitterest critics of his ideology.

The book under review contains the text of three lectures delivered by Krishna Iyer at the Osmania University in memory of Dr. Burgula Ramakrishna Rao, former Chief Minister of Hyderabad State and later Governor of Kerala and U.P. The titles of the chapters are self explanatory: "The Escalating Pathology of the Indian Judiciary—Some Reflections", "Judicial Justice: A Performance Probe", and "Judicial Processual Paralysis and Management Medievalese".

Always one to call a spade a spade, the author is at his polemical best here. In his inimitable style he makes a powerful plea for the demystification of the process of judicial appointments. "In India, like in England, the obsolescent protocol wraps the whole obscure process in suspicious mystery, political bargaining, canvassing and promoting patronage system . . . communal and political considerations, nepotism, regionalism, market-friendly approaches, bargaining between the Chief Justice and Chief Ministers and like operations at the Central level and other unhappy factors vitiate the selection process. Rumours of names, scramble for access to the Power tower, jet set tactics, protege-protegee clout and competitive improprieties for elevation are common gossip and 'victimology' of those at the bar who are too independent for Operation Jockey for Justice's office are now basic features of behind the scenes manoeuvres. The end product is polluted by the enigmatic process and judicial independence becomes, in some measure, a casualty in fact and a fiction on paper.

"The decline and fall of judicial culture is a reflection of the mores of political bosses and the jejune, morbid and undemocratic methodology sanctified as protocol which is a cover-up as corrupt as the ethos of the elite. . . The midgetry, puppetry, parrotry and pantominery beheld in the judiciary—rare but real—is a phenomenon for which the 'secret coterie' chemistry of selection is partly responsible. The boneless wonders, arrogant illiterates, tantrum-prone 'robed brethren' notwithstanding, the wonder is that a good proportion on the bench is still good". And if the reader thinks that the author is coming on too strong, he should read the powerful critique of the process of judicial appointments in Justice Ratnavel Pandian's recent judgement in the "second" Judges case.

He calls for a change to the "sunshine system" of appointment of judges. He makes reference to the American system of appointment of judges to the Supreme Court and points out that while the failure of Reagan to put Robert Bork on the Supreme Court reveals the absurd extremes of exposing a candidate to an inquisition, it also demonstrates the involvement of Americans in the public confirmation process. One was anxious to know the views of Krishna Iyer on a more recent American controversy viz. the accusations of Anita Hill against Justice Clarence Thomas before his confirmation. Should scrutiny of a Judge's conduct go that far? It was disappointing to find Krishna Iyer silent on this issue.

In this "performance probe" the author is devastating. "There are some who promote the interests of sons and daughters and closer bed-fellows or chum up with dubious characters or show manifest discrimination between advocates, club-mates, pub-mates, party-mates and others. . . . Communalism and familialism operate in many ways. Even godmen, gurus and gods themselves, guide their judicial devotees. These are days when free foreign trips with wives or pseudo-wives, jobs abroad for children and other subterranean blandishments can be used with canny subtlety to influence judges. Even CIA access to Indian justices may not be totally ruled out". He calls for greater accountability and quotes with approval Justice Sawant who once said, "The absolute and unlimited power of

the judiciary particularly at the highest level without public accountability may endanger democracy itself". It is difficult to resist giving another quotation: "Some judges rise in the middle of a session and go for a puff of smoke and may or may not return; yet others, very rare though, experiment with the potency of potions from the early hours of the day and by the time counsel begin serious submissions, the bench would be jocose, bellicose or comatose! Subtle communalism, clever familialism and nuances of nepotism are vices difficult to detect but believed to exist. Sharing drinks, frequently free, in questionable company reaching stages of *ne plus ultra* habits are imputed and believed about the higher echelons. When Chief Justices politely try to correct the puisne judge he sometimes resists. Factions and in-fighting are not infrequent. And some Chief Justices themselves are models of delinquency, defiant of public opinion; and do not attend court regularly. The 'robe' of unaccountability is an iron curtain of unquestionability! Strangest of all, some procrastinating brethren take years to deliver judgements after arguments or even retire from service without disposing of cases already heard in full, so much so the whole case has to be reheard at great social cost. The arts of 'bench-fixing', favourite counsel being engaged, independent advocates being dropped and like tactics tarnish the image of courts. Corruption, in its wider connotation, and sweeping semantics, incapacity, ignorance and preoccupation with extra-judicial adventures and free travels, absenting from court, are demoralising the public and making the institution discreditable. How can 'We, the people of India' allow judicial functionalism to betray them or play havoc and accept the hands-off doctrine?"

The first thing which strikes a lay observer of our court system is the total lack of time management in its procedures and the absence of modern technology in its administration. The author focuses attention on the need to bring about radical changes in court management techniques. Fortunately, a beginning has already been made with the introduction of computerisation and the setting up of a National Judicial Academy. As far as arrears in the courts are concerned, Krishna Iyer debunks the myth that appointing more judges will solve the problem. He also suggests that Parkinson's Law and the Peter Principle do not pass the judiciary by.

This reviewer would however suggest that the title be changed for the succeeding editions to which this important book ought to run: the title "Access to Justice" does not indicate that it is a commentary on the state of the judicial system; it gives the impression that it is a work on rationalisation of court fees and legal aid.

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Essentially Modern

T.C.A. Ranganathan

MR. TOMPKINS IN PAPERBACK

By George Gamow

Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 186, Rs. 195.00

Imagine a world where light travels not at the usual dizzy 300000 km/sec but, instead, at a more sedate, relaxed manner. Alternatively, consider a universe where dimensions are measured not in a mind-boggling number of millions of light years which develop over millions of years but only in, say, kilometers with a life measurement in hours.

Then, imagine.... no! This book is not a science fiction novel. It is about science. Physics, actually. Science and a universe pulsating every odd hour? Therein lies a tale—that of the developments of the past 90 odd years.

Physics till the late 19th century had been developing along orderly, rational and indeed satisfying lines. Laws of nature were being deciphered one by one and were found to be predictable and sensible. In 1845, Urban Leverrier while checking calculations of the motions of planets had noticed that all, barring Uranus, followed exactly predictable paths and unfailingly arrived at the specific point in the sky allotted to them. Only Uranus seemed to disobey Newtonian laws. Perhaps, Leverrier reasoned, there existed a planet beyond Uranus which was distorting its path? A problem could be formulated to locate such a planet based on how far Uranus wandered away from the path prescribed by the differential equations. Detailed calculations were necessary. They were made. An as yet unknown planet's path was charted out. A prediction was made about when and at which points of the sky it should be sought. In September 1846, Neptune was discovered at exactly the pre-specified slot!

The works of Clausius, Boltzman, Gibbs etc. in subsequent years demonstrated that applications of laws of mechanics and probability theory provided excellent descriptions of the behaviour of large assemblies of molecules—especially those of Gases. Michel Farraday enunciated the electro-magnetic field theory. The picture of the world was there: Newton had offered a good classification of forces, listing, in addition to Gravity, magnetic, electrical, optical, chemical and cohesive forces; bodies and particles moved according to the laws of Newton. The formulae of forces representing them in terms of properties of interacting bodies and the distances between them were known. All that was left was to substitute them into the differential equations and all the problems of physics would be solved. The description of the universe was complete. Lord Kelvin in his lectures was declaring that barring two small clouds, the skies of physics was clear ... there would be nothing left for the 20th century physicist! Max Planck's teacher had tried hard to dissuade him from taking up further studies in Physics, "everything has been done in Physics ... better take up something else"!

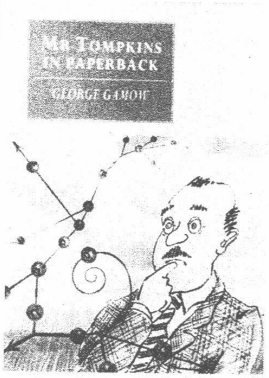
Now how does all this fit in with a work visualising a universe pulsating every odd hours?

The two small clouds mentioned by Lord Kelvin were:

a. The constancy of speed of light experimentally discovered by Michelson;
b. The shape of the curve showing dependence of radiant energy on wave length. Theory said that the curve should climb infinitely as wavelength decreased resulting in the so called 'ultra violet catastrophe' but experiments were giving a humped curve which after reaching a certain maximum, fell off as wavelength decreased.

The first cloud led to Einsteinian theory of relativity. The other cloud to the Quantum physics of Max Planck.

These developments have transformed the way scientists look at the universe. In the process "common sense" has became a casualty. Take for example, 'time'. Time is now recognised to be a 'relative' quantity. The duration of an event depends on the motion of an observer with respect of the measured event and this not an invariant fact which 'common sense' tells us it is. Take the 'atom'. In the 19th century, the structure of the atom was 'known'. It had a nucleus of protons and neutrons which was surrounded by a cloud of electrons. Each was well defined. Laws of chemistry had been developed with this knowledge and had proved to be experimentally correct by various eminent chemists. Now, however, experiments have shown that neutrons can split up into 'Protons and Electrons' and that in turn Protons can split up into 'Newtrons and Positrons' (Positrons are Electrons with a positive charge). Protons and Newtrons thus seem to subsist inside each other! Then again, there was the concept of motion—upto 1925, describing a particle's motion meant stating the path it followed and its speed at every point of that path. Now however physicists have said this is not possible. It is not



that it is not feasible but that it is not even possible. The very act of measurement distorts the motion. Experiments with 'firing' a stream of electrons with an instrument called an 'electron gun' on a screen with two slots reveals the strange behaviour of electrons; e.g. photographs with one slot closed showed one spot in the scene was always being hit but photographs with both slots opened showed that that place remained untouched though 'common sense' said that more electrons should have hit that spot since both slots were now open.

How does one make some sense of all these developments? George Gamov, in his now classic exposition of the major developments in modern science has tried to do this for the lay reader. He has used thought constructs to create worlds where, for example, the speed of light is such that concepts of Relativity theory can be understood in terms of what would then become a "normal day-to-day experiences" etc. in order to convey an 'intuitive' feel of the attainments and implications of 20th century physics. The hero of the story is Mr. C.G.H. Tompkins, a little clerk of a big city bank who has a tendency to fall asleep in most odd situations. His dreams and adventures lead him into the world of Einstienian relativity, Max Planck's mechanics, Hisenberg's uncertainity principle, Maxwell's demon, Bhor's quantom orbits, Pauli's exclusion principle, Atom smashers or cyclotrons and what have you.

Reading old classics is an unfailing source of pleasure. This work was first published in the 1940's and has undergone several reprints since then. The work was revised and updated in 1965. The work has now again been reissued in the Canto edition in 1993 and despite its age continues to be, as Roger Renrose in his foreword to the Canto edition puts it, 'essentially modern'.

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Modernism in Indian Fiction

Sujit Mukherji

BREAKTHROUGH: MODERN HINDI AND URDU SHORT STORIES

Selected and edited by Sukrita Paul Kumar

Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 1993, pp. 335, Rs. 300.00

I know and have admired Sukrita Paul Kumar for many years. Does that mean I cannot say what I truly feel about this volume that is her handiwork? Hopefully, this question will be answered by the time I conclude this review.

As an one-time 'guest ' fellow and a long time supporter of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, I feel sad that this volume has been published by them. My association with I I AS was at a time when not enough was being published by the organisation, when fellows spoke more than they wrote and heeded less than they were told, when the Institute was in danger of being closed down altogether by Morarji Desai's government. Have we, after a decent interval, swung to the other extreme when anything that a fellow writes, speaks or hears (even overhears!) gets published? Dr. Kumar's fellowship project has produced not one but three books so far.

I am not qualified nor am I required (by the wardens of this journal) to take into account the two earlier volumes. Let me just note in passing that both were accepted for distribution commercially by Allied Publishers, while the third is the Institute's sole responsibility. The first book, *Conversations on Modernism* (1990), does not, according to Dr. J. S. Grewal, then Director of IIAS, belong "to any of the series" being sponsored by the Institute, yet it carries that body's imprint. It was, we are told, a "by-product" of Dr. Kumar's main project at the Institute published later the same year under the title *The New Story* (1990) and its essence revealed by the sub-title "A Scrutiny of Modernity in Hindi and Urdu Short Fiction". In her preface Dr. Kumar expresses the hope that "those engaged in teaching and learning of English literature" in this country would benefit from this study. This is odd unless Dr. Kumar, herself an English teacher, is thinking of regions dominated by Hindi and Urdu literature. Otherwise I can imagine E.V. Krishna Rao in Surat or Sachidananda Mohanty in Hyderabad or Pashupati Jha in Jammu exhaling long sighs of exasperation at yet another homily from a Hindiwala (actually 'wali'). I wonder if Dr. Kumar would have been better advised to address herself to teachers of Hindi and Urdu literature rather than her more hapless brethren in English.

Three years after the first two volumes were published and Dr. Kumar's fellowship tenure was, presumably, over comes the third book described as "a companion volume to her other publications" from Shimla. A preliminary scrutiny of the volume reveals that the most obvious breakthrough is in the price. At three hundred rupees it is costlier than all comparable anthologies published so far in India.

There have been many such anthologies. On even my modest book-shelf, between two Jai Ratans, *Contemporary Hindi Short Stories* (Calcutta, Writers Workshop, 1962) and *Modern Hindi Short Stories* (New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1990), both selected and translated by that seniormost and most prolific of translators into English, I find half a dozen other Hindi anthologies of similar intention, but for some reason Dr. Kumar does not mention any. All were privately or commercially published. What then was *Breakthrough* hoping to achieve? Even the range of writers it offers is predictably the same or similar (e.g. Nirmal Varma and Bhisham Sahni, Rajendra Yadav and Mohan Rakesh and Kamleshwar, and so on) to the range presented in the other anthologies. Granted that some of the famous old stories have been translated anew (for example, Manto's undying "Toba Tek Singh" newly rendered into English by Harish Trivedi), the total effect is of confirming old impressions rather than of revealing new significances.

In her introduction to *The New Story* Dr. Kumar says "Modernism in Indian fiction acquires its own colour and shape". This must be her basic thesis, as applicable to Hindi and Urdu short fiction. (She stays away, without explanation, from the longer variety.) To prove it she has written six essays on *Naya Afsana* and *Nayi Kahani*, recorded eleven 'conversations' on modernism mainly with writers, then collected 23 stories by Indian as well as Pakistani writers translated into English. The books are respectively 124 pages, 157 pages and 335 pages long. Placed on top of each other in their order of appearance, they constitute an unnatural structure in which the superstructure outweighs the base. Or, to change the analogy, there is a sustained self-feeding circularity in this design which largely defeats her purpose. Had her conversations been held with some more persons other than those involved in the *Naya afsana/Nayi kahani* movement, it would have provided a wider meaning to her exposition of modernism. Even more pressingly, if her selection of writers had left out all the hardy perennials and replaced them with relatively less-known writers, that would have had a better chance of persuading even non-Hindi/Urdu writers that a 'new' story had indeed emerged under certain conditions in these languages and defined a *Nayi adhunikata* similar to but not borrowed from the West.

The volume opens rather unusually with an 'acknowledgement' page following the title-page, taking precedence over the Director's foreword and the editor's preface. Each of these items has a blank page behind it (i.e. the verso). A more economy-conscious publisher would have saved two or three pages here. From the way Dr. Kumar has expressed her gratitude to "the writers who gave me permission to publish the translation of their stories" as well as to "the entire team of translators some of whom helped me proof-read the manuscript", it is not clear whether all or only some of the stories have been translated specially for this volume. In her preface again, Dr. Kumar refers to "editing this collection of translations" but not to "editing the translations". Yet her introduction concludes with mention of her "participation in the actual process of their translation". I am baffled by my inability to find an unambiguous declaration about the age and status of the translations. Perhaps I should have gone about it the hard way and compared, where available, with earlier translations. Those reproduced here generally read well, excellently in five or six instances, weakly in two or three, wholly bad in none.

The editor's general introduction grants at least one paragraph to each of the stories by way of particular introduction. The authors are introduced separately, on the fly-leaf preceding each story—another wasteful device, when a more compressed head-note to each story would have sufficed. More commendably, the translator is named below each story heading, along with the original title of the story. What is missing is the date (and place) of first publication of each story. That information would have set each story in place as a 'new' story.

One more niggle and I am done. Are writers and critics in and of Hindi, even the older ones, more concerned with being modern than with being authentic? The modernism which is the subject of this three-book project is over thirty years old now but it continues to haunt the Hindi writer and critic.

Breakthrough is a handsome volume, even if far too lavish in its use of production resources. On one item, however, IIAS has economized. The painting on the cover is one of Sukrita Paul Kumar's own creations. Not many publishers are so fortunate.

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The Black Brave*

By K.S. Duggal

Kunjoo was returning home. With a sickle, the symbol of Kelang Nag in one hand and a crimson coloured silken handkerchief, the gift for Ratni in the other, he wondered if he had had once again too much to drink. He was staggering.

Then, Kunjoo thought, he always took too much liquor if Ratni was not around to see him dance. The rest of the tribeswomen had come, laden with ornaments, flaunting multi-coloured scarfs, but his Ratni was not there. Even Chanchlo who used to cry while washing clothes had come but not Ratni. When he did not see Ratni, he repeatedly quaffed from the liquor pot.

The effect of the liquor he had consumed all through the evening would suddenly surface in a flash after he had finished dancing. He would walk home with an unsteady gait. The more he hurried, the more he got late. And then Kunjoo began to sing.

What a woman Ratni was, she did not have a peer in the entire valley of Barmore. Chanchlo now looked worn out. She cried while washing clothes for Kunjoo who had gone away to distant lands. So many times he had said to Chanchlo—'Take me as your Kunjoo,' and every time with tears in her eyes she had replied—'No, you are Ratni's Kunjoo.' The entire valley called him Ratni's Kunjoo.

How beautiful the valley of Barmore was: red flowering bushes, the air charged with fragrance. It was a day like this when Kunjoo had met Ratni for the first time.

She was leaning against the trunk of a walnut tree, laden with silver ornaments. He had come from the other side, crossing Dhauladhar, a journey lasting four weeks.

And he felt that the previous six summer months she had been standing underneath that walnut tree waiting for him. Kunjoo's weariness suddenly vanished.

And Kunjoo put Ratni on a pedestal: she was his queen. He raised her to high heaven. Whether asleep or awake, he would keep on dreaming of her. No man had ever loved any woman so dearly as Kunjoo did Ratni.

And how Ratni laughed! Laughed her head off. How fond she was of glass bangles: she would always buy them at the fair, would request everyone to bring bangles for her from the *haat*. Her arms were covered with bangles right up to the elbows. Glass bangles and coloured silk scarves; a scarf covered her head, another wrapped around the neck, one scarf tucked on the left of the waist, one to the right: wherever she stretched out her hand, there would be a new scarf. And what sweet fragrance they had in them!

When love for Ratni overpowered him, Kunjoo did not know what to do. He would just stand and stare at her jingling bangles and flaunting her colourful scarves.

How lovely she looked after she came out of the stream after a dip the other day. Fair as though she had been washed ten times in milk, so unblemished that you feared that even a touch would soil her. He stood long gazing at her. That night he felt so snug; as snug as when he had slept once in a mountain cave with three sheep on top of him.

Ratni always used to tease him about Chanchlo. Kunjoo told her that Chanchlo's Kunjoo was someone else who had gone far far away. But Ratni did not believe a word. Chanchlo who lived on the other side of the hill was once heard singing:

I entreat you, O hill,
Sink a little
As I long to catch a glimpse of my lover's house.

Ratni had heard Chanchlo sing that song. She sang and her tears streamed down her face like a flood. Whenever he had one too many to drink, he would begin to think of Chanchlo. What was wrong with him? Kunjoo would sacrifice ten Chanchlos for Ratni. And then Kunjoo began to sing again.

Kunjoo thought that he had perhaps drunk far too much. Look how he had fallen down after stumbling on a small stone. He had fallen flat and collapsed.

Ratni's aquiline nose, bright eyes and face like a fairy began to whirl before his eyes. How full of laughter she was, brought up on fresh milk! She would always address him as Chhelua or Bhedua and Kunjoo's heart would start dancing and he would hear the haunting melody of flute in his ears as it were.

Today she had again cooked *kheer*. Whenever he had to go out in the evening, she would make *kheer* and keep a bowlful for him. She knew, he was fond of *kheer*.

But Ratni had changed so much ever since the Black Brave, the wild hero of the Simal tree, had started haunting her. The rascal had so many times taken a share of the *kheer* specifically cooked for him. The moment he thought of it, Kunjoo trembled from head to foot. Everyone was scared of the temper of the Black Brave. Narsingh and the Black Brave. Both were considered frightfully wicked. No sooner had the man of the house gone out than they would enter and start molesting the womenfolk. The fact that they would bolt the door from inside was very annoying to Kunjoo. He had cast a spell on his fairylike wife. His family priest did not know how to propitiate the Black Brave, who lived in the slope of a distant hill. His priest knew only how to please Betal, the god who lived in streams and rivers. And Kunjoo kept with him a sickle, the symbol of Kelang Nag. No harm could come to him on his account.

Kunjoo thought, some day he would chop the head of the Black Brave with his sickle, just as he slices the maize stock with a single stroke. And then his hands suddenly felt clammy. He trembled with fear. Who could kill the Black Brave? Kunjoo felt as if all the liquor he had drunk had vanished. He could see clearly the path leading to his house in the moonlight. Nobody could dare to look at the Black Brave. Both Narsingh and the Black Brave were wicked gods. They could assume a human form. But why did the Black Brave bolt the door from inside? It was believed that if at the time when the Black Brave had assumed the human form the husband came back, he would die as a result of the Black Brave's curse. When angry the Black Brave could smite anyone to death.

Thinking thus, Kunjoo's hands felt even more clammy. And he began to sweat. He could now espy his house in front of him. Whitewashed and plastered, his box-shaped house. How Ratni kept their house so tidy!

What! The door was shut. Could it be the Black Brave? Kunjoo rushed. Yes, the door was bolted from inside. It must be the Black Brave.

Standing outside, Kunjoo felt his legs going limp. It must be the Black Brave. The jingling sound of Ratni's bangles could be heard from inside. Again and again she seemed to be banging her arm against the charpoy and each time he could hear the jingle of her bangles.

Kunjoo was petrified. He sat down clasping his bead. How hard was Ratni banging her arm! Was it in agony? Or in ecstasy?

A wave of images began passing before Kunjoo's eyes.

The day of their wedding. Kunjoo's body had been anointed. Three strands of black woolen thread were wrapped around his wrist and he was covered with a red sheet. He was taken into the courtyard of the house. The woolen threads were removed and he was given a bath. Kunjoo knocked down with his foot a brazier full of glowing charcoals. The Pundit tied flowers around his wrist and he was given ghee and jaggery to eat. Then he was made to wear the robes of a yogi; earrings in his ears, *dhoti* round his waist and a bag hanging from his shoulders. The Pandit then washed his hands and feet, sprikled water on his face and then he had asked for alms from his relations. Some gave him some money on the spot, others promised to do so later. Then he was made to sit on a basket, his head was covered with hay, a knife put on top of it, after which his head was massaged with mustard oil from a big pot which his maternal uncle had brought with him. Kunjoo then shot an arrow at a goat which had been killed earlier, albeit Kunjoo did not miss his aim. He was made to eat ghee and jaggery again. He now tied a white turban and put on a white *kurta*; he was already holding a red sheet in his hands. His sister-in-law applied *kajal* to his eyes. A wedding veil was tied around his turban and a Brahman passed the sacred tray thrice over his head. His mother made an offering of three pieces of bread which she scattered in three different directions. After seating him in a *palki*, his mother gave him her breast to suckle. Four men lifted the *palki* and took it to a parrot made of wood which both Kunjoo and his mother worshipped. Kunjoo then put some copper coins in a pot with leaves and water in it and then the marriage procession started.

Ratni's mother welcomed them at the threshold. A tray carrying wick-lit tiny oil lamps was swayed around his head seven times and three pieces of bread thrown in three different directions in the courtyard. Then Ratni's father tied a scarf around his neck, his feet were washed and he was worshipped like a deity. The *purohit* gave Kunjoo a leaf containing rice and a walnut covered with flowers. Kunjoo was now seated beside Ratni in the front verandah. The Brahman brought their shoulders to touch each other thrice. Everytime Ratni's shoulder came in contact with his, he felt something happening to him. He would open his eyes and his eyelids would droop. Then they were asked to throw powdered gram at each other. Kunjoo could not strike her once, but Ratni did so several times. How full of mischief she was! Then Ratni gave him seven jasmine buds which he crushed under his foot. Ratni washed his feet and the *pooja* began. Kunjoo threw red colour on Ratni and the Pandit gave her four coins, walnuts, green grass and flowers. Kunjoo put his hands into hers and the purohit covered them with a piece of cloth. No sooner had the purohit placed the cloth than Ratni would pinch his hands. Kunjoo could not say anything, his hands were being pinched repeatedly. How naughty she was! Then they were taken inside a room. Seated in front of an idol of Kamdeva, Ratni's hair was combed, her mother and sister singing while they did the combing. How black and long her tresses were! A sweet smell emanated out of them; Kunjoo wished the purohit had covered their heads with cloth again. He could then pinch Ratni so hard that it would make her scream.

Now the end corners of his *chaddar* and Ratni's *dupatta* were tied together. her uncle lifted Ratni and seated her on the platform. A ritual was then gone through. Ratni's father washed their feet, and the four *Rishis* and the four Vedas were worshipped. Kunjoo made three mounds of gram, and Ratni's brother scattered them in various directions. Then they walked around the sacred fire. Every body sang. Chanchlo's voice was the loudest. The ceremony over, seating Ratni in a *palki*, Kunjoo brought her home.

Here his mother did *pooja* to bless the newly wed couple. Four times they walked around the earthen lamp lit in front of Kamdeva. The *purohit* then lifted Ratni's veil, and the thread tied around their wrists was loosened.

And the feasting that went on that night to the accompaniment of dancing and singing! How much liquor was consumed; Kunjoo kept on forcing it on his friends and his friends did so on him. In the end, they had all been lit up.

Lost in old memories, Kunjoo began to doze off. He had a long snooze. And then he suddenly woke up with a start. He felt as if the door had been unbolted, and in the darkness somebody had walked past him and into the lane. In the pale light of the moon, Kunjoo forced his eyes open to make out how dark the Black Brave was. But in the courtyard he only saw someone's footprints and nothing else. Whoever was there had vanished.

Kunjoo wondered if it was really the Black Brave, and if he would survive having seen him. He would die. Anyone having seen the Black Brave in human form had not lived thereafter.

But then, Kunjoo thought, he could not have actually seen the Black Brave. Thanks to the booze, he couldn't open his eyes much as he had tried. That day he had had more to drink than even on the night of his wedding.

Stumbling, he somehow managed to get in the house. He thought poor Ratni was all alone, and the night was far gone!

K.S. Duggal is a well-known writer in Punjabi.

** This is a Punjabi Short Story translated from the original by the author.*

In Search Of Glory

Lt. Gen. S. Mazumdar

VALOUR AND WISDOM: GENESIS AND GROWTH OF THE INDIAN MILITARY ACADEMY

By B.P.N. Sinha and Sunil Chandra

Oxford and IBH Publishing, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 340, price not stated.

Situated on the Dehradun-Chakrata Road, at Dehradun, the Indian Military Academy (IMA), celebrated its Diamond Jubilee on 10 December 1992. Comparatively the United States Academy at West Point is more than 200 years old and Sandhurst (United Kingdom), 300 years. Except for the belief that the University of Taxila had a military faculty, of which Chandra Gupta Maurya was an aluminas, there is no historical evidence to show the existence of any national military academy in our country over the last 2000 years. In this context, the Indian Military Academy, established in 1932 enjoys a unique position in India's martial history. The book under review has carefully highlighted why the Academy was established so late, and why it appeared at all, when it did, just before India's independence.

Interestingly, at no stage of the British military presence in India was it entirely or overwhelmingly British. Even at the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the ratio of sepoys to European soldiers was 2:1. The East India Company's armies had begun as bodies of armed groups of ill-disciplined Europeans and Corps of chowkidars. The officers of the East India Company in the initial stages did not come from any distinguished social background either; in 1753 one the Company's military officers had been a trumpeteer at a travelling circus in England while another was a barber. The policies of Robert Clive and Maj. Gen. Stringer Lawrence, who later became the C- in C- of the British forces in India, actually brought about the real growth of the Army between 1747 and 1753.

The Native Officers of the Company were initially called the 'Black Cammandants' and later after 1858, VCOs. In 1885, the term 'Native Officers' was replaced by 'Indian Officers'. When on 1 November 1858 Queen Victoria assumed direct government over India, the troops and officers of the Company became the troops and officers of the Crown, the composition remaining the same.

The inevitable reorganisation and reforms took place during the period 1850-1924. The Indian elements were not touched by the reform, expect in its ratio with the British. After their paramountcy in India was established, changes were effected in the composition of their Army, aimed at pushing the Indians down the ladder and gradually assuming direct command over Indian troops.

The leaders of the Indian renaissance were aware of the indispensable need to Indianise the Army by taking in Indian officers. The Indian National Congress only a year after it was framed, demanded in 1886, the formation of a native militia for the country which had been disarmed vide the Army Act of 1878.

To ensure the security and continuance of the Raj, until the end of World War I, they didn't allow native leadership in the Indian ranks and through a vigilant pursuit of their policy of Subsidiary Alliance, assumed the non-appearance of such a leadership in the Indian states.

Both the British and the Indians clearly understood the political dimension of the issue of establishing a military college in India, which would herald the beginning of the end of the Raj. The British always reasoned the lack of right qualities of military leadership among the Indians for starting a Military College in India. The first wind of change begun to blow, very slowly, with Lord Curzon's scheme of Commissions for Indians in His Majesty's National Indian Land Forces, proposed on 4 June 1900.

In 1905 a special form of King's Commission in His Majesty's Native Land Forces was instituted for Indians who had qualified through the Imperial Cadet Corps. This Commission however, only had the power of command over Indian troops and they could not rise beyond the appointment of squadron or Company officer.

During World War I, the Indians gave wholehearted support to the British war effort; its magnitude made a deep impression on the British. Even Mahatma Gandhi had gone from place to place, among other things, to promote recruitment in the Army. Unfortunately after the war, the scenario changed radically into an era of repression and opposition to that repression.

The Montague-Chelmsford Report had two important consequences—the India Act of 1919, an important line in the constitutional development of our polity and the offering of 10 vacancies at Sandhurst for the Indians.

In 1921, the Moderates and the Loyalists took up the cause of Indianisation vigorously in the Legislative Assembly. The debate on the Eisher Committee Report's recommendations led to the establishment of the Academy. The Prince of Wales Royal Indian Military College was opened in March 1892.

The efforts at Indianisation of the Indian Army by the Government of India during the following decades were not very successful. The next significant development was not until 1925 when the Sheen Committee, also called the Indian Sandhurst Committee, was formed. Sir Andrew Sheen veered close to the Indian point of view. His report recommended, among other things, the establishment of a military college on the Sandhurst model reserving twenty places for Indians at Sandhurst, and entrance to the College by open competition for both British and Indian boys desirous of joining the Indian Army.

All the major and minor recommendations were turned down except the one pertaining to increasing the vacancies at Sandhurst to 20; by way of concession, a few vacancies at Woolwich and Cranwell were given.

A very fierce debate followed in the Assembly, Motilal Nehru said he hated the word Indianisation because what the Indians wanted was to get rid of the Europeanization of the Army. Mr. Jinnah moved an adjournment motion to censure the government, which was carried.

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Lala Lajpat Rai was savage in his bluntness and said "No empire can be built upon such good intention; no empire can be maintained upon these intentions. I do not blame the other side for maintaining their position. They have not come to this country to go away, as long as they can help it."

The Simon Commission had recommended the formation of Dominion Army under the Central Government. Proposals made by the Simon Commission were rejected by the Indian leaders and as a consequence, the Civil Disobedience Movement was intensified. This development along with British desire to keep the Moderates away from the Congress led to the holding of the Round Table Conference; the first was held in London during November 1930-January 1931. The Defence Sub Committee of the Conference made the following points:

a. With the development of the new political structures in India, the Defence of India must, to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people and not the British Government alone.
b. In order to give practical effect:

(i) Immediate steps be taken to substantially increase the rate of Indianisation in the Indian Army, to make it commensurate with the main object in view, having regard to all relevant considerations such as the maintenance of the requisite state of efficiency (Mr Jinnah had dissented and had desired a clear indication of the pace of Indianisation)
(ii) A training College in India be established at the earliest possible moment, to train candidates for Commissions in of the Indian Defence Forces.
(iii) To avoid delay, the Government of India be instructed to set up a committee of experts, both British and Indian to work out the details of the establishment of such a college.

The Government of India with the approval of the Secretary of State appointed the Indian Military College Committee. The Report of the Committee was signed on 15 July 1931. Even before this, work had begun in Delhi on a possible programme of Indianisation as a signal to the Round Table.

An expert committee under Sir Philip Chetwode was established to work out the modalities of implementing the decision already taken to establish a Military College. Total intake was to be 80 cadets, 40 each semester. Indian States were to have 20 vacancies a year; of the remaining 30 were reserved for Army cadets, i.e., the cadets from the ranks of Indian Army. The committee finally narrowed down the choice of location to three places—Satara, Mhow and Dehradun. The most important consideration for Dehradun was the availability of eminently suitable buildings. The Railway Staff College, which was opened in Dehradun in 1930, next to the Forest Research Institute had closed down owing to financial crisis caused by the great depression. The College had been established at an approximate cost of Rs. 20 lakhs. The Army acquired the buildings and the campus of the Railway Staff College spread over an area of 155.53 acres for a price of Rs 21,17,597.00.

The first entrance examination was held in Delhi; of the 800 applicants only 360 were allowed to take the examination. The Academy was opened on 1 October 1932 but was inaugurated by Sir Philip Chetwode, C- in- C, on 10 December.

The curriculum did not attempt to turn out a cadet as a trained officer; the supposition was that he would learn the details of his profession and duties during service with his unit. While the formal training for 30 hrs a week was action packed, informal training went on at all times, even at the dining table. The seniors played a crucial and persuasive role in the life of the cadets, they supervised, controlled, regulated and taught the juniors to do things in the correct manner.

Fifty per cent of the vacancies were reserved for the Army cadets with the hope that they would be more trustworthy but ironically enough, it was an army cadet of the first course, Mohan Singh, who took a prominent part during December 1941, in raising the Indian National Army to fight the British.

Between October 1932 and May 1941, sixteen Regular courses passed on of the Academy. They were known as the pre-war regular commies. In all 693 entered, and only 535 were commissioned with an absolute wastage rate of 14.28 per cent. Between August 1941 and January 1946, 3887 cadets, Indian and British were commissioned from the Academy. From 1938 onwards, the length of the courses was shortened. During 1940-41, four special courses each lasting only five months were run.

The War forced changes in the policy and created the need for improvisation; the decision to train the British and the Indian Cadets separately was abandoned and Permanent Commission suspended during the War; the cadets had no longer to bear the expenses of their training, it was borne by the State.

The spirit of the War entered and permeated the life of the Academy in different ways. News of the War both sad and glad began to appear in the Academy Journal as early as the winter term of 1940—as the War progressed the Roll of Honour lengthened.

Preoccupation with the business of fighting and winning the War did not isolate the academy from the rest of mankind—during the winter term of 1943, when the worst ever famine was nagging in Bengal, the Academy raised Rs 7600/- for the relief.

As the War progressed towards Japanese surrender on 14 August 1945, Labour government came to power in England. The Simla conference, which ultimately led to independence with partition began on 29 July 1945. The last war course (108 cadets) passed out on January 1946. The first post-war regular course commenced on 25 February 1946; the cadets who opted for Pakistan left. The staff composition changed with the departure of the British officers and NCOs; some of them came back later and served the IMA for a few years on a contractual basis.

The Inter Services wing to impart preliminary training to cadets of all the three services was established in January 1949, which finally moved to its permanent location at Khadakvasla near Pune, during 1954.

The name of the Indian Military Academy has gone through several changes like the Armed Forces Academy, National Defence Academy, Military College to finally revert to its original name the Indian Military Academy.

The reverses suffered by the Army during 1962 tended to reflect upon the Academy but once the search for political will began to operate, the Academy was not found wanting. The Academy went through massive expansion from 720 in 1960 to 3200 at peak. The response of the young officers in particular during the 1971 operation with Pakistan that redeemed the honour and brought glory to the IMA. The strength of the Academy gradually stabilized to 500 cadets per term.

After 1947, all Indian citizens became eligible for admission if they satisfied the criteria of professional eligibility. Fifty per cent reservation for army cadets as a measure of reward for their services was also done away with; its basis changed solely to that of merit.

Over the years there has been an enlargement in the regional base and its social composition, compared to the pre-independence situation. The aristocracy has more or less disappeared from the scene and there has been a radical decline in the percentage of cadets whose parents were JCOs and OR. Interestingly the business community has not only maintained its share to around 5 per cent but there is a tendency to improve its strength.

In the Academy's ethos, "The Self" which is the mainspring of a profit motive necessarily is suppressed. This ethos however is threatened today not only on the ideological plane but from life's challenges at large. The Academy cannot insulate itself entirely from this influence.

The book is very well researched and contains many nuggets of interesting information.

Lt. Gen. S.Mazumdar is a former Adjutant General of the Indian Army.

A First Novel

Ayesha Heble

A CLEAN BREAST

By G.J.V. Prasad

Rupa & Co., Delhi, 1993, pp. 250, Rs. 195.00

Ah ha! you could say, here's another story about two generations of a family and their conflicting views on life. Or, on the other hand you could say, ah ha! here's another ethno-centred novel about the life and mores of one particular community—in this case, the Tamilian Brahmins, or Tam-Brahms as they like to call themselves. Or you could even say, here's a novel by someone who's been in the profession of analysing the language of literature for so long that he's decided to do a little experimenting of his own. Well, you would be right in any case, because *A Clean Breast*, a first novel by G.J.V. Prasad, is a little of all these things. His primary intention seems to have been to write an entertaining story, and certainly it is funny in parts, but unfortunately he is so self-conscious in this intention that it tends to fall flat most of the time. Humourous writing is generally not something we do very well, and the comic muse requires a lightness of touch which unfortunately is missing here. His attempts at verbal humour especially tend to be so hamhanded that one has to groan at them—as when he can't resist carrying the cricketing metaphor a little too far, or making really bad in-law-outlaw puns. The instances of situational humour are fortunately a little better and it is on these that the readability of the novel depends.

The narrative jumps back and forth between the central character, Mookku's early experiences of marriage, and the earlier experiences of his father as a young man in the 1940s, his career as a Government official in the Income Tax office and his raising of his family of five children. Into this double narrative, Prasad has tried to work in elements of magic, with Mookku's visionary ability to prophecy the manner of certain people's deaths, of social satire, of situational and verbal humour, and of course, insights into the idiosyncracies of the Tamilian community. There is probably also a strong autobiographical element, considering that Prasad is himself a second generation Tamilian living in New Delhi, and a college lecturer married to another college lecturer, and certainly the descriptions of their life in a barsati seem quite authentic. On the whole, his handling of the double narrative is quite competent, except that he has tried to work in too many incidents which seem quite extraneous to the central plot. The episodes about Rajan uncle and Radha aunty, for example, or the one about Bala-anna's naxalite activities, or Madhavi-akka's marriage with a Christian, should either have been treated a little more fully, or else need not have been brought in at all. Similarly, the totally unexpected twist right at the end of the novel is not really being fair to the reader as there has been nothing earlier leading up to it. All these elements tend to give the novel a slightly amateur quality.

Apart from the complex plot and the sociological interest, however, one suspects that what Prasad would like to be remembered for is his experimentation with the language. He has tried to create an authentic Indian English idiom, that incorporates three language into one—Tamil, English and Hindi, in this case—without the crutches of italicisation or a glossary. One agrees with the basic idea of not having to apologise for the Indian idiom—and this is something that we can thank writers like Salman Rushdie and Amitava Ghosh for—but in Prasad's case, I'm, afraid, he has overdone the Tamil bit a bit too much, to the extent of becoming irritating. It is irritating not to be able to understand whole chunks of conversation in Tamil, or, if he then tries to work in the translation into the narrative for the benefit of non-Tamil readers, the whole exercise seems to be rather pointless.

A word has to be said about the quality of the production, which I am afraid leaves much to be desired. One is grateful to Rupa for making available a whole lot of new literature at affordable prices, but it should not be at the expense of quality. The entire text is full of editing errors, even as basic as typographical ones. Is there an unconscious message being sent out here—that much of this recent plethora of Indian writing in English does not need to be taken seriously and will pass into oblivion before the year is out?

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Publishing Doth Not a Poet Make

Nilima Jha

LOVE POEMS

By Akhileshwar Jha

Chanakya Publications, Delhi, 1993, pp. 62, Rs. 80.00

Morbid. Obsessed. Dirty. Offensive. The poet of *Love Poems*, it seems, has written to elicit such, or even stronger reactions, as he presents his book "with a sense of trepidation". But your friends have misled you Mr. Poet, or perhaps they never imagined you would take their requests seriously and would go so far as to publish your poems. That too at such a high price. It is Rs. 80 for the hard-bound edition with sixty-two pages. Costlier than a rupee per page. It is also poor strategy to draw readers with cover sketches. Nudity doesn't sell everytime. Moreover for Indian readers the theme of the woman's body is not so unfamiliar. Vidyapati and Keshavadas and several other poets have explored this theme centuries ago and have produced good poetry simultaneously. But if the rasa of *Love Poems* is intentionally *jugupsa* and not *shringar*, it is useless to recall those poets. All that your poems have to say (pardon me, my extrapolation!) is, "I came (to the bedroom), I saw (a woman lying there) and I had sex". And you expect your readers to

"Dancing singing and kissing/And wholly merry making", "stormy sky" etc. His use of adjectives is a mark of conventional style. Sometimes there seem to be literal translations from Hindi like "feature touch softness". "Wandering to no destination" or "groaning ahs and oohs" can by no means be regarded as experimental use of language. Some expressions like "Rule today and vanish tomorrow" are catchy, but they do not compensate for the stylistic shoddiness throughout.

be startled and exclaim with mouth wide open, nostrils enlarged, eyes dilated, "Goodness, what a marvellous feat! How could you do it? We dared not even think of it. Certainly its not everybody's cup of tea. Well done, Bravo!" I'm afraid, it is not so.

All you need to have sex is a normal physique. But to write poems, let alone good poems, you need several qualifications, conventional and unconventional. A feel for the language which provides texture to the poem, a grip over experience, a worthwhile experience to communicate and some basic poetic skills like a sense of imagery, metaphor, irony etc. The detailed description of "walnut chinar leaf" fails to go higher than the level of a leaf in the literal sense used to decorate someone's drawing room. The opening stanza recalls a "Bandh in Srinagar" but Akhileshwar Jha is not bothered about finding solutions for political and social problems. The poet has no plans to "overthrow kingdoms/Nor blow up Rajdhani railway tracks/Nor gun down innocent lives in buses." (I am thankful to you"). This scarcely justifies his ever grinding "axe of love". Such detachment is cruel. It underlines the alienation of the intelligentsia in this country. Being a frequent contributor to reputed journals, the poet should have known better.

Jha's choice of phrases like "sovereign free territory, and you and I are its rulers alone" (This Blessed Love, 32), "That though two, we are one" (I said to her, 14) and his conscious effort to compare political and careeristic gain with love and then to rate love higher reminds the reader of Donne's *Love Sonnets*, but unfortunately to this poet's disadvantage. Since the poet is a student of English literature he should know that Donne's innovative quality consisted not only in the choice of themes but also in their presentation. Donne's use of language was highly unconventional. But Jha's love poems in this respect are closer to Elizabethan madrigals—"Dancing singing and kissing/And wholly merry making", "stormy sky" etc. His use of adjectives is a mark of conventional style. Sometimes there seem to be literal translations from Hindi like "feature touch softness" (24). "Wandering to no destination" or "groaning ahs and oohs" can by no means be regarded as experimental use of language. Some expressions like "Rule today and vanish tomorrow" are catchy, but they do not compensate for the stylistic shoddiness throughout.

Akhileshwar Jha's *Janpath Kiss* is a much talked about novel and this is his first book of poems. Perhaps his novel failed to bring in the readers so he tried to win over those readers of poetry who are "constantly on the wane". Well, your genuine altruism is appreciated. But if you have got something personal to say to someone personal (as many as seven titles out of twenty eight occur as reported speech, e.g., "Let me tell you", "I said to her", etc., and indicate that the speaker is addressing his beloved) do go ahead and tell her (or him? Make me a Woman, 22).

Nilima Jha is a Ph.D. scholar in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi. She is interested in English and Hindi poetry.

Harmonizing the Self

P. Ramanujam

THE EUPHONY OF A SUNDERED SELF

By Venugopal Yagalla

Chaya Poetry Enclave, Vijayawada, pp. 45, Rs. 20.00

Most of the poems in this collection were written when the poet was just 17 and a student of the Intermediate Course at Andhra Loyola College, Vijayawada. Six years have passed since and Venugopal is well away: he has become a poet in his own right and a volume of his poems has been published.

Most of the poems in *A View Within* deal with the attempts of the poetic self to effect a harmony with the conscious self or the outer man. There is a certain friction between these two aspects of the self and the poetic self tries to overcome the friction and harmonize the relationship between the two. Considered from this point of view, Venugopal's poetry is the outcome of the disharmony between the poetic self and the outer man and one hopes that this friction would continue, for as long as the friction lasts, Venugopal cannot help writing poetry.

The harmonizing efforts are interesting. The superficial self often runs away from the deeper, poetic self because

Your sight is fragmented,
You have other things on your mind

"Maybe, Maybe Not"

And the poetic self urges the superficial self, holds out promises to it, reasons with it, argues with it, and even tries to come to terms with it, and all this reminds one of the seventeenth century metaphysical poetry.

This metaphysical fuss starts in the very first poem where the poetic self bemoans their "lost" condition:

It's hard to make a start
When you're as lost as I'm

"Just a Look"

There is a momentary union, when the outer self stares into the depths of its soul and gains an understanding, but it is a fleeting union as the superficial self soon runs away leaving the poetic self to exclaim:

Did you have to leave just when
My hands meant to clasp yours?

Ibid

The hide-and-seek continues in "Maybe, Maybe Not" and the poetic self, which claims that it has "the power still to recognize the way you feel", promises the other self "God" and "true breeze", but what with the world urging "This way, this way" ("This Way, Please"), the superficial self cannot stay back; it leaves again closing the door behind it. Hence the lamentation in "For a Moment or Many":

. . . . . I tried to follow you, it ought
To be all right between the two of us,
But you closed the door behind you.

"For a Moment or Many" is, perhaps, the only poem in this collection which offers a complete experience. While all the other poems offer glimpses of experiences which with their disparate nature and deliberate mysticism bewilder the reader, "For a Moment or Many" offers an experience which is rather fully developed and aesthetically satisfying. Here the poetic self finds itself lonely after trying in vain to effect a reconciliation with the worldly self which has gone closing the door behind it. The feeling of loneliness leads to that of ennui and alienation when he thinks of the prospect of hearing the platitudinous remarks of the homilectic wiseacres and their simplistic solutions. The alienation becomes complete with the hearing of the ancestral voice: "Sorry, young man, I thought you were dead". The poetic self finds itself away from its own conscious self, from the world, and from its ancestral heritage.

An interesting aspect of the poetic technique here is the rather unemotional matter-of-fact tone that is adopted throughout the poem to convey the deeply disturbing experience of alienation. Venugopal, in fact, avoids ornamental language and exuberance of emotions and his poetry is "naked in its very bones". It is particularly true of this poem. The tone becomes more matter-of-fact as the poem progresses, acquires a tinge of irony when it deals with the elders' commonplace utterances, and becomes cold and dry in the laconic last line—"Sorry, young man, I thought you were dead". The last three lines deal with an essentially dramatic situation where something peculiar happens: one of the dead relatives in the portrait gazes and speaks!

The interplay of light and darkness in most of these poems serves to intensify the friction between the two selves. Darkness and light are therefore symbolic: as long as there is darkness, the two selves are in harmony with each other; things happen to the outer man; he experiences visions and is led to "consciousness and delight". But darkness cannot last long and light soon breaks in. The real world imposes itself upon him and "our hopes are lost/In the wilderness of light again" ("Their Torches Blazed"). In "In Between", "Their Torches Blazed", "No Way!", "Quips", and "Maybe, Maybe Not", darkness and light are the dominant images.

Poems such as "Unwind and Wind" and "A Thought in Silence" offer glimpses of experiences which are not fully developed; and the poetic voice sounds rather muffled, too. But it is just as well. As Tagore says in his *Reminiscences*, "Something felt within the heart tries to find shape as a poem . . . Like a tear or a smile a poem is but a picture of what is taking place within". In each of these poems Venugopal seems to have captured a fragment of experience that had come his way and presented it. And the poems justify their existence as poetry because they do awaken our sensibility.

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Variable Hues of The Human Mind

Aruna Srinivasan

INNER SPACES: NEW WRITING BY WOMEN FROM KERALA

Edited by K.M. George, Jancy James, Vasanthi Sankaranarayanan and Raj Kamini Mahadevan

Kali for Women, 1993, pp. 125, Rs. 70.00

Kerala has always been known for its high literacy rate. Its women are considered liberated too, compared to those in other regions of the country. Yet the liberation is not total. As you guess from the women portrayed in *Inner Spaces*. But what is singularly striking is that these women are not really oppressed although they appear to be so. You can actually feel the heat of their simmering revolt as each story unfolds a specific character. These women show an astute awareness and the fertility of their mind matches with that of the land which is adorned with coconut groves, lush green fields and waterways.

As in any literature, Malayalam literature too was male-dominated. But in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women treaded the field and with the phenomenon of periodicals hitting the reading masses, there has been a deluge of women writers. They have contributed a great deal to the growth of the Malayalam short story which celebrated its centenary last year. Writers like Lalithambika Antharjanam, K. Saraswathi Amma and Kamala Das (Madhavi Kutti) were much sought after and they carved a niche for themselves.

Understandably the subjects chosen by the women writers were women themselves; their place and problems in the society. The authors focus on the women's perspectives of values and codes of the society. They do not hesitate to lash out at outdated customs and rituals.

Inner Spaces gives you an insight into their minds. The compilation gives a sample of each specimen of human nature. The culture and customs of the land are distinctly unique and you can enjoy this flavour too in each story. Lalithambika Antharjanam was a Brahmin lady herself and invariably most of her stories are concerned with the problems faced by women from this community. She condemned the way Brahmin women were oppressed and confined to the inner precincts of the house. The widows particularly suffered unfathomable miseries.

Lalithambika Antharjanam's story, "The Admission of Guilt" (Kuttasammatam) leads the collection with its revolutionary theme of a pregnant Brahmin widow justifying her deed. The story told from the angle of the widow elaborates on the suppressed desires of a young girl who was widowed even before she reached the age of puberty. Her marriage was an exchange of women—"the thirty year old daughter of the elder Namboodiri to my house and me, eleven years and three months old to the old man of that house. An exchange devised so that the fathers of both the houses could get married again."

The woman goes on to describe how pious she was, following all customs and rituals ordained for widows. But as the woman in her grew she couldn't understand a lot of things happening around her. Immersed in bathing, prayer and worship she never thought of paying attention to herself. Till she saw her newly wed sister-in-law. The cruelty of fate dawns on her suddenly: "A widow is more scared of laughter than of tears. To watch someone else—however dear that person may be—enjoy the pleasures of life denied to oneself for ever. It is this fire of agony that burns inside the woman's quarters of Namboodiri houses. . . ."

The story starkly exposes the double standards of society—the moral codes being totally different for men.

The stories, "When Dreams turn Live," by Sarah Thomas and "Granny" by Shobha Warrier, are both woven around old ladies neglected by their offsprings. The characters represent the gap found between old and new thinking.

In B. Saraswathy's "The Fisherman", you find a warm wife in Kalyani who loves her drunkard husband in her own way. It depicts the comfort and solace an ordinary working class woman finds in the security of a lawful marriage despite the hardships she faces. K. Saraswathy Amma in her story "The Soil that Grows Diamonds" talks about the fate of poor girls forced into living as mistress" in order to provide financial assistance to the rest of the family. Saradakutty, who becomes a rich man's mistress narrates to an old friend of hers how circumstances have brought her to this state. "Only money is important. At last we too adopted the same policy. My mother's family pride subsumed by poverty and hunger. Mother perhaps felt that it was extremely fortunate that she had a fourteen year old daughter." Referring to her husband as an owner and not as husband Saradakutty asks, "Does it matter what he is? Isn't it enough if my affairs are managed without my having to toil, like someone who is public property?" The question is poignant particularly in an ambience where women are still considered a market commodity and the dowry menace shows no signs of receding.

K.B. Sreedevi's "The Stone Woman" is a modern interpretation of the mythological character Ahalya. She chooses to remain a stone woman instead of getting salvation from Rama who ill-treated his wife Sita by testing her chastity. And you have a refreshingly humorous vein in M.D. Retnamma's "The Cow". Kanakam is married to a rich landlord who also owns a number of cows. Her relatives find the "catch" a highly prized possession because the boy "had asked for nothing, neither gold, nor cash nor a share. He only wanted a nice modest quiet girl." But on reaching the husband's home, Kanakam finds that her husband is extremely fond of his cows, so much so that sometimes he even forgets that he is married and has a wife waiting for him. Annoyed beyond measure, Kanakam finally finds a way to draw her husband's attention to her. One night she just disappears and the next morning finds her in the cow shed—bent over on all fours, chewing cud, head extended outwards. The story ends with the husband fondly patting her back.

In "The Game of Chess" Kamala Das, known for her character portrayal, describes the feelings of a woman torn between her loyalty to her aged husband and the new love which has blossomed in her for another man. The author talks of the character's insatiable desire to love. In that other man she has at last found that she could love another human being better than herself. But the impracticability of the situation pains her because like her he is also a married man with a family behind him. Neither would desert their families. Finally she resolves to return to her loneliness. "Let this loneliness be your next love" she tells herself. The complexities of the character are described in small anecdotes spread here and there; like the occasion when she wonders if she would have loved him in the first place had she met him "amidst middleclass glory of potted plants and curios encased in glass cases...", instead of against a background of bookshelves which gave him an aura of an intellectual. Kamala Das is known for her candid style and it is well represented in the translation also.

However, conspicuously missing in the collection are stories depicting the problems of working women. The accent is more on narration than on plot. The stories are candid depictions of the present day social milieu. The focus has been on the inner feelings of the individuals and hence the title, *Inner Spaces*. Stories like the "Sword of the Princess" by Manasi reveals the modern urge to use surrealistic technique in narration.

In an interesting foreword, K.M. George, noted film director and author describes Kerala and its people. Similarly a brief note on each author in the end acquaints the readers with the writers.

Aruna Srinivasan is a freelance writer

Communications

Many thanks indeed for sending me Sharada Prasad's review of "Vamsa Vriksha". I thought it was very well done and wanted to order a copy of the novel. But someone has walked away with the issue and I had to ask for it again.

Thank you very much indeed for sending me this particular issue. I am also receiving regularly *The Book Review* redirected to me from Mysore. I find it very interesting although some of the reviews seems to be stretched out too much. I hope you will not mind this criticism.

With best wishes and thanks for the Review, which you are good enough to send me.

R.K. Narayan
Bangalore

Dr. Champakalakshmi,

May I thank you for your generous in-depth review of my *Ellora, Concept and Style*? You have taken considerable pains to elaborate on the content and intent, and for that I am grateful.

Of course I have been astronished about the paucity of attention *Ellora* has received, and so your penetrating interest is very much welcomed, as are your comments on bhakti and Kailas temple. I hope we can meet sometime to discuss these points.

Carmel Berkson
Bombay

■ FICTION

A Slow Sort of Country: A Novel
Cherian George
This is the story of the Koshy family—returning to India after 25 years in Malaysia, the Koshys find their homeland is a strange and maddeningly difficult place. This is a book of remarkable comic achievement.
Viking, Penguin Books, 1993, pp. 209, Rs. 195.00

Days and Nights of Shorty Gomes
Ahmed Bunglowala
The hero is a private detective and in his daily diet of godmen, gangsters and businessmen he sifts through layers of deception to reach a semblance of truth.
Rupa & Co., 1993, pp. 193, Rs. 50.00

Escapades: Short Stories of Love and Freedom
Akhileshwar Jha
This book of twelve short stories provides a variety of forms and styles—most deal with love, some are satirical and some serious.
Chanakya Publications, 1993, pp. 134, Rs. 100

Opening Moves
Shrilal Shukla
Translated from the Hindi by David Rubin, this book is about 'Neta' a daily-wage labourer on a construction site whose sudden disappearance baffles everyone. This is another book by the author of *Raag Darbari*.
Penguin Books, 1993, pp. 285, Rs. 85.00

Purple Moonlight
Balwant Gargi
This is a collage of happenings interlaced with passion, greed, lust and danger. The author describes his emotional and artistic world and we catch glimpses of literary history, political thought as Gargi muses over life and death, loneliness etc.
UBSPD, 1993, pp. 190, Rs. 75.00

Talwar
Robert Carter
Set in 18th century India where the Hon. East India Company is warring with the French for control of the crumbling Moghul Empire, this is a historical epic in the tradition of *Shogun*.
Penguin Books, 1993, pp. 452, Rs. 125.00

■ SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

The Ghost in the Atom
Edited by P.C.W. Davies and J.R. Brown
This is a discussion of the mysteries of Quantum Physics, originating from a series of radio broadcasts. Paul Davies interviews eight physicists involved in debating and testing the theory with radically different views of its significance.
Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 157, Rs. 175.00

The Theory of Evolution
John Maynard Smith
A hundred years ago Darwin and Wallace in their theory of natural selection explained how evolution could have happened. In this book the author describes how their theory has been confirmed and at the same time transformed by recent research.
Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 354, Rs. 195.00

Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth Century India
David Arnold
By emphasising the colonial dimensions of medicine this book makes a major contribution to the social history of medicine and to the developing literature on the body. The author explores the vital role of the state in medical and public health activities arguing that these were a critical site of interaction and conflict between the British authorities and their Indian subjects.
Oxford University Press, 1993, pp. 354, Rs. 390.00

■ ENVIRONMENT

Himachal Pradesh: The Land and People
S.S. Negi
This book is a handy reference guide on the state with topics ranging from regional geography, climate, soils, rivers, lakes and glaciers, geology to natural vegetation forests, wildlife, history, people and culture, economy and environmental degradation.
Indus Publishing Company, 1993, pp. 208, Rs. 250.00

Kumaun: The Land and People
S.S. Negi
The hilly region of Kumaon made up of the districts of Nainital, Almora and Pithoragarh is a mountainous tract with the low Siwalik hills in the south and the main Himalayan wall in the north. The author describes the land and people of Kumaun.
Indus Publishing Company, 1993, pp. 205, Rs. 250.00

Biodiversity and its Conservation in India
S.S. Negi
This book describes India's biological diversity and the measures being taken for its conservation.
Indus Publishing Company, 1993, pp. 343, Rs. 350.00

Monocultures of the Mind: Biodiversity, Biotechnology and the Third World
Vandana Shiva
In this book the author brings together her thoughts on the protection of biodiversity, the implications of biotechnology and the consequences for agriculture of the global pre-eminence of western style scientific knowledge.
Third World Network, Malaysia, distributed in India by the Other India Bookstore, Goa, 1993, pp. 184, Rs. 90.00

State of the World 1993. A Worldwatch Institute Report on Progress Toward a Sustainable Society
Project Director Lester Brown
The future of our world depends on reversing environmental degradation and building an environmentally sustainable global economy. This book examines our options for preserving the environment, it has been translated into 27 languages and is widely used in colleges the world over.
Horizon Books, 1993, pp. 268, Rs. 300.00

Man and Forests The Khatta and Gujjar settlements of sub-Himalayan Tarai
Ajay S. Rawat
This is a study on the history and growth of Tarai-Bhabhar, the Gujjar and Khatta settlements and the associated problems of dairying which is their main source of livelihood.
Indus Publishing Co., 1993, pp. 152, Rs. 200.00

■ ECONOMICS AND FINANCE

Informal Finance. Some Findings from Asia
Prabhu Ghate et al.
This book is based on a research project that examined informal finance in Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand. The issues encountered in studying each country are discussed as are regional diversity within countries and differences between rural and urban areas.
Published for the Asian Development Bank by Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 250, Rs. 265.00

Nature, Man and the Indian Economy
Edited by Tapas Mazumdar
This book takes a new perspective on the Indian economy in that it focuses on the interrelationship between man and nature in the context of development.
Oxford University Press, 1993, pp. 413, Rs. 450.00

The Changing Indian Economic Order
S. Murty
Today the prevailing malaises that beseige economies have forced academics and policy makers to take a new look at the economic order—this book presents an analysis of the scene and provides feasible alternatives.
Indus Publishing Co., 1993, pp. 303, Rs. 350.00

■ LITERATURE

Modern Indian English Fiction
O.P. Mathur
This selection from the articles and interviews by the author contain original approaches and insights which would be of use to scholars, students and teachers.
Abhinav Publications, 1993, pp. 216, Rs. 220.00

Studies in Mulk Raj Anand
P.K. Rajan
Contains critical essays that examine theme-form interaction in fiction with reference to the works of Mulk Raj Anand.
Abhinav Publications, 1986, pp. 122, Rs. 60.00

Discovering the Inscape: Essays on Literature
Sitakant Mahapatra
The essays here range from the Oriya Bhagavata, Bhima Bhoi, a blind tribal poet, Tagore and Kumaran Asan to Rilke, Camus and Carlos Fuentes. They look into the nature of creativity and the mechanism of discovering the inscape of imagination and emotion.
B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1993, pp. 146, Rs. 120.00

Old and New Poems
Donald Hall
This is a collection of 179 poems including the award winning *The One Day*.
Affiliated East West Press, 1993, pp. 244, Rs. 66.00

Krauts. Granta 42: A Paperback Magazine of New Writing
Edited by Bill Buford
What is it about the German people that produces a nation so ugly, so dangerous, so predictable. In the most comprehensive investigation of its kind this special issue seeks to find answers to the simple question: What is the new Germany?
Penguin Books, 1993, pp. 225, Rs. 100.00

Rabindranath Tagore: the Poet of India
A.K. Basu Majumdar
According to the author Tagore is the most representative poet of India and his writings reflect all the ages of Indian civilization and culture.
Indus Publishing Co., 1993, pp. 128, Rs. 150.00

Indian Women's Autobiographies
Ranjana Harish
Tracing their lives from different sources the book introduces 23 biographies of well-known Indian women.
Arnold Publishers, 1993, pp. 216, Rs. 200.00

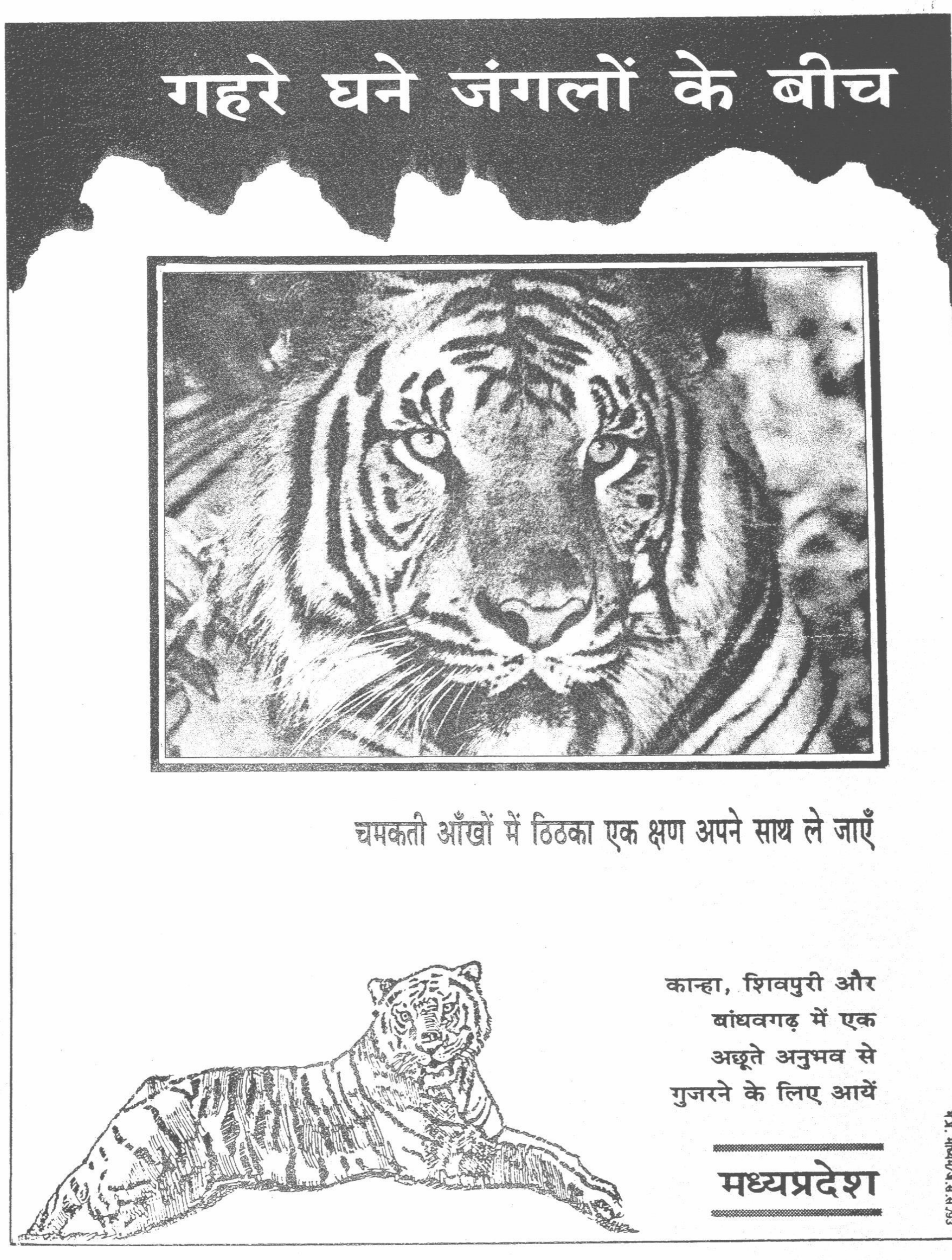
■ GENERAL

The Toymaker from Wiesbaden
Ashis Gupta
The story of Hans Schoeder who started life in the German Army in the early days of World War II and was later captured by Russian troops. After the war years he moves to Massachusetts and becomes a good solid citizen. The book opens with him in a Massachusetts court house standing trial for murder.
Lancer International, 1993, pp. 141, Rs. 55.00

Temples of South India
N.S. Ramaswami
This book deals with some of the leading temples in the southern states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. The author has treated each from the traditional, historical, epigraphical, literary and aesthetic point of view.
Maps and Agencies, Madras, 1993, pp. 232, Rs. 150.00

■ TRIBUTE

Glimpses of A Prince Among Patriots
K.S. Ramanujam
This book is not a biography of G.D. Birla but a collection of articles about his involvement in and contribution to the freedom movement. This is a tribute to his memory on his birth centenary year.
Sundara Prachuralayam, Madras, 1993, pp. 185, Rs. 95.00


गहरे घने जंगलों के बीच
चमकती आँखों में ठिठका एक क्षण अपने साथ ले जाएँ
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गुजरने के लिए आयें
मध्यप्रदेश

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