process of absorption, a dimension of concentrated participation, and a critical feature of varying degrees of unself-awareness. Thus it cannot be said about these states that these are either taking place in some inner psychic realities, or in a clear location of some external kind, where the rules derived from outside of the subjects' control are to be adhered to.

purblind as we begin
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that if Planning Commission recited

It would be fairer to suggest that the attitude typical of the process of creative playing is of a transitional kind in which, like the baby in the foregoing examples, the subject is actively seeking a fit between a subjective image—a part of me—and an external objective part—the notme. The exciting quality to be attributed to this magical experience is

that it turns, so precariously, so subtly into an actuality. Since it is in the nature of playing to take up space and time, it is a kind of *doing*. At the same time, it owes its vitality to its successful containment of experience. We may impulsively have a desire to touch the change as if it and us are equally mad so long as we are bereft of the touch and the resultant fusion, howsoever transient.

Why not simply touch it like the baby exactly when it is presented? Purblind as we begin as babes in the arms of cultures viewed here as mothers, would this moment of simple touching transmute itself and echo like a musical note to which we sway inwards, until the illusion takes over that we have taken in what was outside just before the momentous experience of it being touched? And somewhat later few more of such moments settle down the reality that we have an inside as well as an outside. We are required to sleep over it and let it find its own place in the potential space experienced as Self, as real as the DREAM when it opens the gateway to desires and projects of the future on one hand, and equally unreal as the DREAM on the other, because we tend to delete from it the memory and the fact of our sleep, at the end of some fateful moment.

I will sum up the emphases thus:

The analysis of social change in its multiple directions, and its relevance to the growing individual, continues to be a concern for many disciplines. The discipline of psychoanalysis which uses the dimension of the inner, subjective experience of the individuals for the analysis and understanding of these phenomena has a role to play.

The issues raised in this article have a special bearing on how the experiences of change become real and are felt. For this purpose the concept of transitional phenomena as propounded by D.W. Winnicott has been availed.

This concept flocks together many such experiences which do not find a place exclusively in either the inner reality or the external reality; instead these span a third potential space which is no less real.

The third space arises due to the presence of some caretaking image (or idea or relationship) in a manner such that the individual feels a sense of mandatory omnipotence over things and processes around him for a brief period before gradually losing it through a process of playing, followed by shared playing, and ultimately extending it to cultural experience.

Observations on the phenomena of transitional objects of young children have been collated in some detail to elaborate the paradoxical experiences of illusion and use of objects, so that experiences become actual and the awareness of an external reality gets established. (No details have been taken up for those infants for whom this process doesn't materialize because they can't make the proper transition away from the caretaking figures; these children need help).

Finally, as a tribute to the memory of Winnicott, I raise the question of margins and suggest that other questions hang from the margins of these. Margins are important as a way of demonstrating that ends never really end, except into some further beginnings which are conceived in the subjective imaginations in a manner as if they came from nowhere else except through the creative processes of the human subjects. Winnicott would have liked us to develop the capacity to accept this paradox much in the image of a devoted mother.

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CONFERENCE

The Critical Tradition

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A three-day seminar on Literary and Cultural Criticism in India was organised by the IIAS on 4-6 November 1997 at Shimla. V.S. Rama Devi, the Governor of Himachal Pradesh, inaugurating the seminar espoused the concept of criticism as a fearless exercise of the humanist

spirit, relevant to one's society. Makarand Paranjpe introduced the role of the Indian critic thematically in terms of various dualities such as tradition vs. modernity, east vs. west, and left vs. right.

Some papers highlighted general theoretical issues. In the inaugural paper on 'Criticism and the Cunning of Reason', Bijoy H. Borua argued that there was no clear answer to the question whether a fixed set of canons acted as the fulcrum of critical understanding. This is because critical practice itself is 'essentially contested and interminably renewed', especially when its own fundamental concepts and methods are continually questioned. Shyamal Bagchee in 'History of Art and Art Criticism' exposed the methodological constraints within recent historicist studies of modern Indian art which take cognisance of

political issues, history of ideas, 'and even the sociology of taste' but overlook the history of criticism. TRS Sharma in an evocatively titled essay, 'Where Windows Become Mirrors: An Encounter of Two Cultures', described the confrontation of two cultures, the Sanskritic and Tamil, and the synchronic reflection of consolidated images.

Several papers focused on specific lieterary figures. Udaya Kumar's paper 'Kuttikrishna Marar and the Foundation of Taste' discussed the ambivalent position of this Malayali writer as he negotiated between two traditions: the western and the Indian. As a critical insider, Marar dealt with the Sanskritic tradition, but his primary focus was the negotiation between the aesthetic and the ethical. Ramesh Chandra Shah discussed the well-known Hindi writer Ajneya who was both a

pioneer of the modernist movement in Hindi literature and, paradoxically, a subtle defender and interpreter of tradition. E.V. Ramakrishnan's 'Reading Against the Grain: A. Balakrishna Pillai and the Reception of European Modernity' pleaded for a greater recognition of this writer as editor, translator, literary critic and social commentator who exerted a secularising and modernising influence on the reading public in Kerala. Vir Bharat Talwar in 'Kabir Par Kabze ki Ladai' spoke of the upper caste attempts to appropriate dalit saint-poets such as Kabir, which is now being challenged by dalit critics.

With the commendable exceptions just noted, there was a general feeling of the absence of vigorous critical traditions in literature and the arts in India.

TRS SHARMA/MAHALAKSHMI R

Recognizing the Complex

philology and archaeology remain closely and rather untidily entangled

Trautmann concludes by briefly examining the dialogic nature of the Indian relationship to orientalism. He touches on the range of responses to the shifting constructs of Aryan, from enthusiasm, to hostility, to the complexities of the Aryan-Dravidian divide. Finally, he draws attention to the enduring legacy of the orientalists—the fact that they created a space for exploring early Indian history, and identified language families, including Indo-European.

As Trautmann recognises, the Aryans have an undeniable contemporary presence. It is true that philology and ethnology have diverged, with the latter placing an increasing emphasis on 'scientific' physical criteria, especially complexion (or even the nasal index) as indicators of race. At the same time, philology and archaeology remain closely and rather untidily entangled in contemporary explorations of the Aryan question. The history of this relationship, and its contextualisation could have provided interesting points of comparison with that between philology and ethnology. As is well-known, localising the Aryan homeland, and tracing out routes of migration into India, and the problems of correlating linguistic and archaeological evidence are (often literally) burning issues. The analytical framework Trautmann develops could very well have been extended to contextualising the production of archaeological knowledge.

Trautmann consistently and explicitly refuses to simplify what are in fact complex relationships. What is also refreshing is his empathy and gentle humour. Commenting on H.H.Wilson's edition of James Mill's History of British India (1858), where Wilson, a Sanskritist, attempted to revise Mill's anti-orientalist perspective by inserting copious footnotes, Trautmann writes, '[i]t is rather as if the prey were trying to embrace the boa constrictor, and with about as much effect' (p 118).

Given the current polarised intellectual environment, one wonders whether the fate of Trautmann's rich, painstaking study may not be somewhat similar.

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CONFERENCE

Science and Tradition Explorations In the Indian Context

A seminar on 'Science and Tradition: Explorations in the Indian Context' was held at IIT, Kanpur from December 22 to 24, 1997. It was jointly sponsored by IUC in association with IIAS, Shimla, ICPR and IIT, Kanpur, and was dedicated to Prof. PRK Rao of IIT, Kanpur. An electrical engineer by profession, he was the institutional locus of responsible dissent and critical initiatives.

The papers under discussion pursued the theme of modern science and Indian tradition at various levels: philosophy and history of ancient Indian and western science, sociology of knowledge, history and politics of science movements, science education, etc. The seminar tried to explore meaningful linkages between modern science and ancient Indian traditions, and probed the tenuous relationship between science and the resources and processes of the life-world.

In his inaugural lecture, Andre Beteille argued that it is not meaningful to conceptualize a single Indian tradition, and that one could benefit from the more recent Indian tradition than a two thousand year old one. This was debated later during discussion sessions and in Patnaik's paper where he attempted to show the surprising formal similarities between contemporary generative and Paninian linguistics.

A.P. Shukla, in a reflective analysis of the science movement in Kanpur, sought a science which inhabits tension between the quest for the infinite and the empowerment of people. A. K. Biswas delineated various paradigms for writing the history of Indian science and made a plea for a National Society of History of Science Movements to coordinate the efforts of historians, archaeologists and scientists.

Taking a critical look at two influential contemporary philosophers of classical Indian philosophy, J. N. Mohanty and B. K. Matilal, Mohini Mullick argued that such representations, if left unchallenged, could not only lead to gross distortions of *darshanas*, but endanger the very survival of these traditions. A. K. Raina argued that it is the metaphysical concerns which give significance to scientific theories; the

phenomenal cognitive edifice created by the Indian traditions could be understood only against their metaphysical base.

Prajit Basu explored the relationship between the history and philosophy of science and science education. He argued that there are problems in the claim that either history or philosophy of science is an aid to science education, especially when history of science is understood as intellectual history, and science education implies proficiency in acquiring concepts of modern science within a paradigm. Establishing a dramatology of philosophical exchanges, Sanil V. argued that the dialogue between positivists and its critics were made possible by the mutual misrecognition of their relationship with their own founding event, popularly known as (modern) science.

Exploring the concept of knowledge (as a justified true belief) in the western tradition, Nirmalangshu Mukherji suggested that the concept be viewed socially, rather than cognitively. He suggested that author-less traditions, such as some aspects of the Indian tradition, do not need this concept. Kalyan Basu posed what he called a 'trascendental' question concerning science: what is the minimum structure needed on an apperceptive substrate so that informationally non-trivial projections of the phenomenal domain to a grammatology of terms (projections from world to words) can admit of truthevaluation?

For Sundar Sarukkai, science works under a soligarchy: while scientific knowledge is based on solidarity, this solidarity in turn is shaped and validated in the presence of an oligarchy. U. Kalpagam's history of statistics in India showed how the deployment of the science of chance was governed by the necessities of the establishment.

In the concluding session, Prof. Rao provided an illuminating critique of the main themes of the seminar.

B. N. PATNAIK, A. K. Raina, Sanil V.

LECTURE

Alternative Paths of Development

In a series of three lectures, Y.B. Damle, a visiting professor at the Institute in October 1998, dwelt on the inadequacies of the state implemented development plans and the more fruitful activities undertaken by voluntary nongovernmental organizations.

In his first lecture he focused on the concept of development itself: the need for nation-specific theories of development, for harnessing knowledge for social good rather than for asserting authority, for minimizing the gap between the common man and the expert, and the problems of unhealthy monopoly of state and bureaucracy in development and the resultant non-participation of

people.

As alternatives Damle suggested 'Science Movement' and 'Ethico-Religious Movement' for development. In his second lecture entitled Science Movement for social Action' he pointed out the need to redefine science to broaden its scope to make it available and useful to common man. Damle provided detailed information on the functioning of various voluntary organizations which represent a progression from abstract to concrete. Examples included the Kerala Sahitya Parishad, Homi Bhabha Science Education Centre, Bombay, Maharashtra Association for the cultivation of Science, Pune, Pani Panchayat initiated by an engineer Vials Salunke, and Bharatiya Agro-Industrial Foundation founded by Mahatma Gandhi's disciple Manibhai Desai.

The third lecture entitled 'Ethico-Religious Movement' delineated at length 'Swadhayaya', a unique movement evolved and founded by Shri Panduranga Shastri Athavale. It seeks to combine knowledge, devotion and activity, and obliterates the usual distinctions between the rich and the poor, the intelligent and the not so intelligent, and so on. Swadhyaya, of which Damle himself is a part, has shown that man can rise above self-interest and can selflessly work for human upliftment. Listing its varied projects all over the world such as socio-economic projects, natural resource utilization, medico-cultural clinics, social reformation, non-formal educational activities, publications, etc., he gave an idea of the range of activities of Swadhyaya based on the philosophy of devotional activism.

PANKAJ K. SINGH

BOOK REVIEW

After the Green Revolution

K. K. Kaushik

A Profile of Economic and Socio-Cultural Change (1965-95) by B.L. Abbi and Kesar Singh

Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 1997

Among the Indian states, the development of agriculture has been the fastest in Punjab. It witnessed a distinct change during the last three decades. This transformation was realized through the use of new agricultural technology which led to deep-rooted socio-economic and cultural changes. The literature on socio-cultural transformation, however, remains quite limited: there have only been some micro-level studies of its characteristics. The monograph under review falls under this category. It seeks to probe the changes in selected aspects of the life in a village (Barwali Khurd) in an agriculturally developed district of Punjab. Based on extensive field work and ethnographic data, it deals with the changing nature of production relations and socio-cultural dimensions of the village in the wake of the green revolution.

The study provides a succinct though brief history of rural Punjab starting from the aftermath of partition up to the onset and spread of militancy. Important changes in the cropping pattern, especially decline in the cultivation of coarse cereals, are noted. Education and health remained neglected areas; public investment was weighted in favour of power generation. Nature of the growth of productive forces, development induced changes in the social structure, the inter-connection between kinship and marriage, and the changing interplay of caste, occupation and class have been analysed. Social relations centered on landholding and land utilization, village politics and its response to panchayati raj institutions, and cooperatives and gurdwara management committees also form the subject matter of the monograph.

A Micro-setting

The novelty of Abbi's and Singh's study lies in their ability to combine a historical perspective with a field study of the village. Their focus is broadly on two questions. First, an analysis of the specific context and the factors leading to the onset of green revolution in the village.

Second, the way new agricultural technology has changed the sociocultural dimensions, agrarian structure and village politics in a micro setting.

The authors argue that the strong base of irrigation, well developed network of village link roads and power facilities, growing and dynamic rural institutions and progressive state intervention made the village ready to participate in the green revolution. The mechanization of agriculture brought about distinct changes in women's role in family agricultural work. The demand for hired labour for skilled and unskilled work has increased and, as a result, the nature and duration of employment have undergone important changes. The ability of the households to generate subsistence from hereditary occupation has declined. The village artisans have suffered loss of employment due to influx of migratory labour and have diversified their occupational

> the traditional leadership has been replaced by performance based contractual leadership largely due to panchayati raj institutions

The traditional bonds of the caste and community, the patron-client relationship and the *jajmani* have slackened. Caste-wise distribution with different family types clearly established that joint family system has not shown any sign of weakening, especially among the Jats. A strong preference for sibling marriages among the Jats has kept their families united. The joint family system has its problems and weaknesses but these are resolved at a confederal level.

The study shows concentration of land in medium and large holdings. The impact of land ceiling has been very marginal. Leasing-in and leasing-out of the land are resorted to by the marginal and medium

owners. Non-farm employment is a major factor motivating owners to lease-out land.

Saturation

The benefits of the green revolution, given the existing resource endowment and socio-economic environment, have reached a point of saturation. This has added to the growing concern for finding a more sustainable and diversified cropping pattern. It has been suggested that 15 per cent of the farm land should be shifted to the cultivation of fruits and vegetables reducing the area under food crops.

One of the encouraging findings is that the traditional leadership has, at least to some extent, been replaced by performance based contractual leadership largely due to panchayati raj institutions. The participation of the villagers in the decision making process, irrespective of their caste, has shown an upward trend at the grassroots level. However, though the 73rd Amendment provides 33 per cent reservation for women in village panchayats, it could not be realized due to the state's inability to hold elections. This in no way constrained the women from participating in village politics and they have been holding important positions in the panchayat. The period of militancy in the state did affect the village politics for sometime but certain sarpanchs were able to maintain the balance between the two.

It has been reported that it is generally the farmers placed higher in the socio-cultural order who stimulated the adoption of the green revolution in rural Punjab. The authors tend to agree with this view in the context of Barwali Khurd. I would have liked them to inquire into the health and the social welfare aspects of the village population. This is important because households with a surplus income would be vertically mobile, while those on the verge of subsistence would fall behind on this count. The study takes little notice of the status of migratory labour within the households.

The main merit of the study is its careful investigation and lucid presentation. The utility of the book is enhanced by a glossary of local words used in the text and a comprehensive bibliography.

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CONFERENCE

Foreign Direct Investment

A research seminar on 'Foreign Direct Investment: Theory, Policy and Prospects' was organized by the Inter University Centre of Humanities and Social Sciences, IIAS, Shimla, at the Institute of Management in Government, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, from October 16 to 25, 1997. T.T. Sreekumar, introducing the theme, focussed on the socio-economic and political backdrop in the context of an unprecedented rise in FDI inflows into third world countries, which is a reflection of their increasing integration into the investment plans of Transnational Corporations (TNCs).

Achin Chakraborthy critically reviewed the theoretical foundations of the concept of investment. According to him, FDI could be understood only against the backdrop of a plethora of geo-political and economic factors which influence decision making at the national as well as at the global level, K.K. Subramanian discussed the relative role of various factors influencing FDI inflows, the crucial determinants being (i) availability of primary material inputs for manufacture and (ii) the size of the domestic market for the sale of the manufactured products.

K.J. Joseph argued that the removal of tariffs consequent on globalization and liberalization would promote FDI inflows into those regions where investment is costadvantageous. Sunil Mani's paper analysed this issue by comparing the experience of Malaysia and India, the former displaying greater success in providing an investor friendly environment.

While developing countries appear to be engaged in a fierce competition to woo FDI inflows, there is hardly any consensus as to the long-run impact of such investment in these countries. The negative impact of an unregulated flow of FDI through corporate investment was highlighted by Umadevi. M.A. Oomen pointed out the changing role of FDI in this era of globalization, wherein the process- and product-patenting laws make it difficult for the hosts to benefit from the technology spillovers generated by the subsidiaries.

T.T. SREEKUMAR and K.U. UMAKRISHNAN

generated and informed by ahimsa is necessarily generative of self-confidence. Gandhi would therefore talk of self-confidence and swaraj rather than of power. What we must strive for is not a tenuous, uneasy equilibrium of power—an equilibrium which is always on the brink of being upset. Gandhi's preferred word here is 'fellowship'—fellowship between communities and individuals.

Virtues and Internal Goods

power is never an internal good, i.e., it is never a good which is internal to a practice; it is always external

A debate in modern philosophy which may help us appreciate the Gandhian rejection of power as the fundamental human motive is the debate about the place of virtues in an adequate conception of human life. We may, to begin with, make a distinction between two kinds of

human goods and values. This, in fact, is a very old distinction. In recent times it has come into focus again because of the profound monistic implications of modern science and the culture it promotes and nurtures. This is the distinction between external good and internal good. The distinction may be thought of as implicit in the concept of human practice. A general point about the notion of practice is that if there were no practices in this sense, then human life, as we know it to exist, would not be there at all. Perhaps the best account of this practice is to be found in Alisdair McIntyre's book, After Virtue. The important points in McIntyre's definition of practice are: (1) It is a cooperative human activity. (2) It has goods internal to it; there are therefore also goods which are external to it. (3) Its internal goods are inalienably associated with standards of excellence specific to it. And (4) these standards of excellence are not static and are sometimes transformed in the course of the history of the practice.

The important point about practice from a Gandhian perspective is that pursuit of goods internal to a practice requires an active recognition of values as inalienably associated with engagement in a practice. Take qualities of character such as honesty (truthfulness), fairness (justice), courage and selflessness. The power-knowledge ideology would obviously treat such 'virtues' as instruments in the hands of power, and, therefore, in a deep sense, not virtues at all. But given the idea of practice just outlined and the distinction between internal and external goods, the instrumentalist account of virtues does not any longer seem plausible. Dishonesty in the pursuit of goods internal to a practice defeats the very purpose of such a pursuit; the appreciation of internal goods, of the standards of excellence, also requires the capacity to judiciously discriminate between the better and the worse, between the higher and the lower, between a Plato and a Karl Popper. Hence, justice. A practice is a cooperative human activity; it can thrive only on the

basis of a cooperative care for internal goods; and cooperation, in the real sense, is not possible without concern for the other, the fellow practitioner. Therefore, the need to be unselfish. This relationship between virtues and internal goods points to a moral order in the affairs of man insofar as these affairs allow for the possibility of practices in the sense that we have discussed. To deny this is perhaps to deny the very distinguishing character of human social life.

It is my contention that power is never an internal good, i.e., it is never a good which is internal to a practice; it is always external. One mark of the externality of power is that the virtues, qua virtues, need not come into play at all in the pursuit of power. So we come round to the Gandhian view that the pursuit of power, and therefore of empowerment as such, is an essentially self-centred and, therefore, selfish activity.

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CONFERENCE

Norms and Naturalization

The IIAS, in collaboration with the Indo-French Program and the University Grants Commission, organized an international seminar on 'Norms, Reliability and Science/Knowledge' during May 26-28, 1998 at Shimla.

How much of our understanding of nature is guided by nature itself and how much is tainted by our own values? Despite great advances in the natural sciences, this tension between naturalization and norms exists since Plato, giving the philosophical discourse in the west its dynamic nature. While norms were sometimes located within the folds of naturalistic inquiry, it turned out that what looked like a norm is a fact of nature. The diminishing space of the normative, however, did not go unnoticed. Thus, the tension persists. The presence of this tension made the seminar significant. Equally significant was the fact that the intense, and at times animated, discussion on some of the core issues of analytic philosophy took place at a time when the epistemological foundations of this discipline are increasingly questioned.

The tension between norms and the demand for naturalization was brought to the fore in the inaugural paper itself. Nirmalangshu Mukherjee found 'the normative aspects of logical theory, especially the logical distinction between syntax and semantics' inhibiting 'a proper naturalistic understanding of the structure of natural languages'. Paul Horwich, on the other hand, in his attempt to view 'truth' as a generalizing principle, was against any 'wholesale rejection of normativity because any such rejection would bring to its fore the rejection of truth and meaning which are normative'. These two positions thus highlight the tension.

Not surprisingly, the process of naturalizing 'norms' has been undertaken with the simultaneous process of naturalizing epistemology. Marshalling historical insights on this issue from Quine onwards, Elisabeth Pacherie focussed on the issue of the status of norms in epistemology. For Pacherie, an examination of this nature not only invites an understanding of moderate naturalism but also demands or seeks to achieve a particular epistemology.

the persistent failure
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The question of realism is intimately related to the issue of naturalized epistemology. Both Mahasweta Choudhury, the convenor of the seminar, and Roberto Casati defended the notion of common sense realism. Choudhury made a distinction between commonsense realism and scientific realism and tried to defend an objective theory of knowledge on the basis of common sense realism. She argued that common sense objects endure changes in the cognitive systems. Casati argued for

colour realism based on common sense. He developed many examples in which our colour concepts cannot be traced to invariance at the physical level. In that sense, our colour beliefs are, strictly speaking, false.

Nevertheless, much of our cognitive activity cannot be made sense of without them.

From a different angle (i.e., the indispensability of the first person), the concept of consciousness has always been a challenge to naturalistic inquiry. Ned Block, working through the logical form of identity theories, showed that there exists a real 'explanatory gap' in this case even if we grant various other forms of reductionism. Ranajit Nair questioned the very basis of reductionism and its monistic implications. For Nair, the persistent failure of reductionism suggests an irreducibly pluralist ontology we must learn to live with.

RAKESH BATABYAL