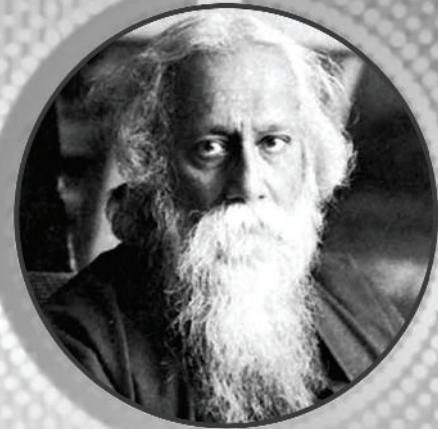


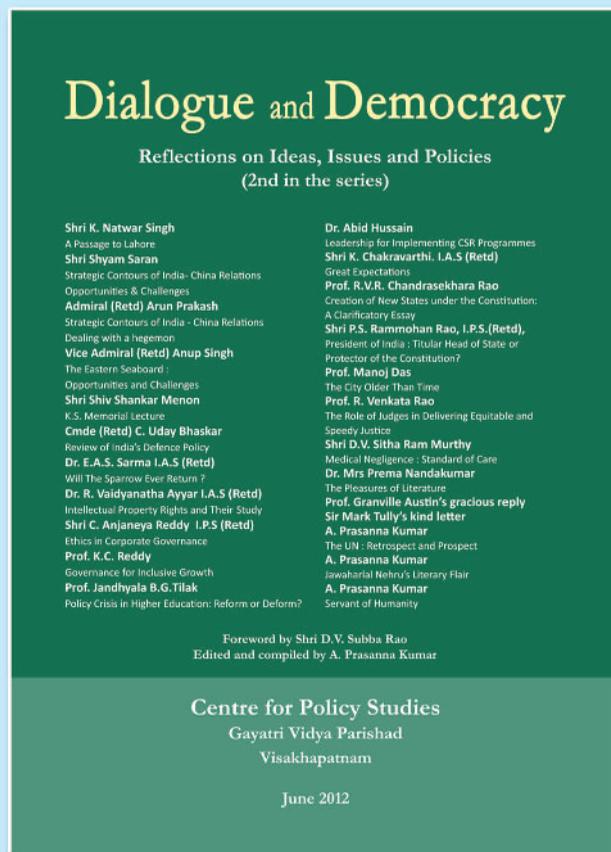
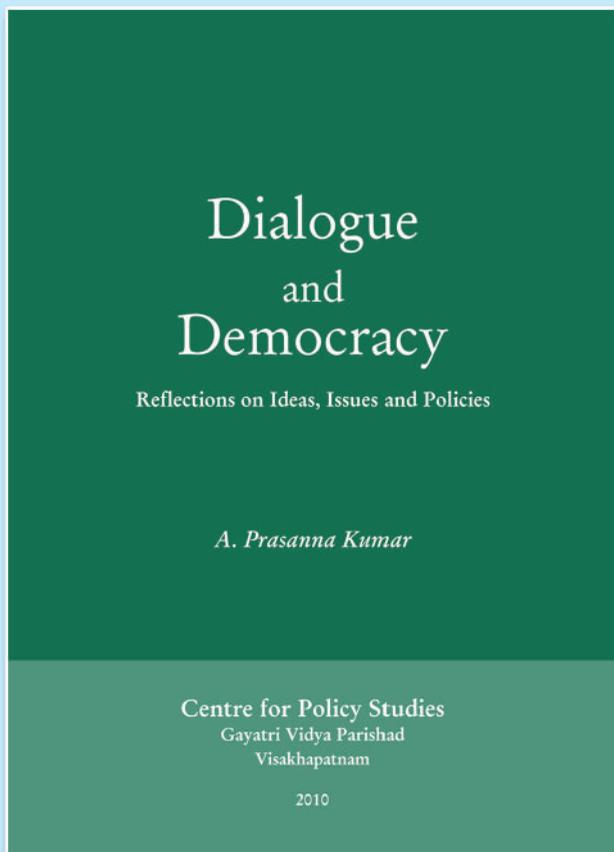
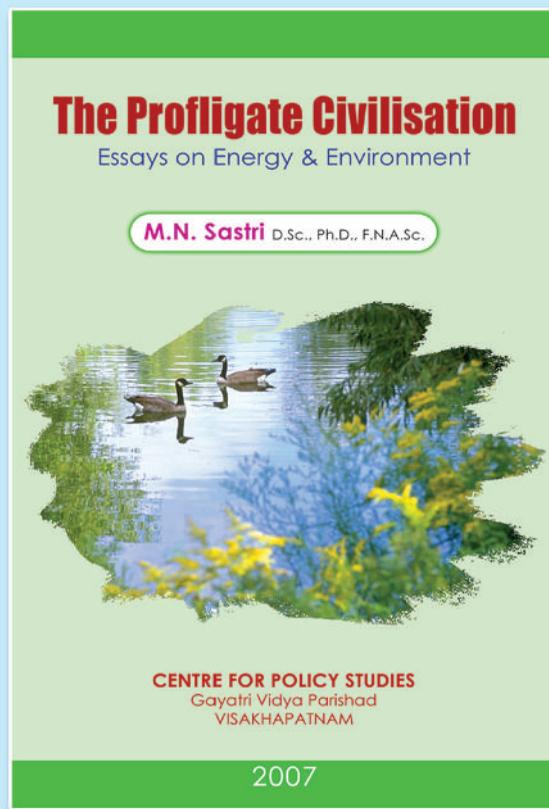
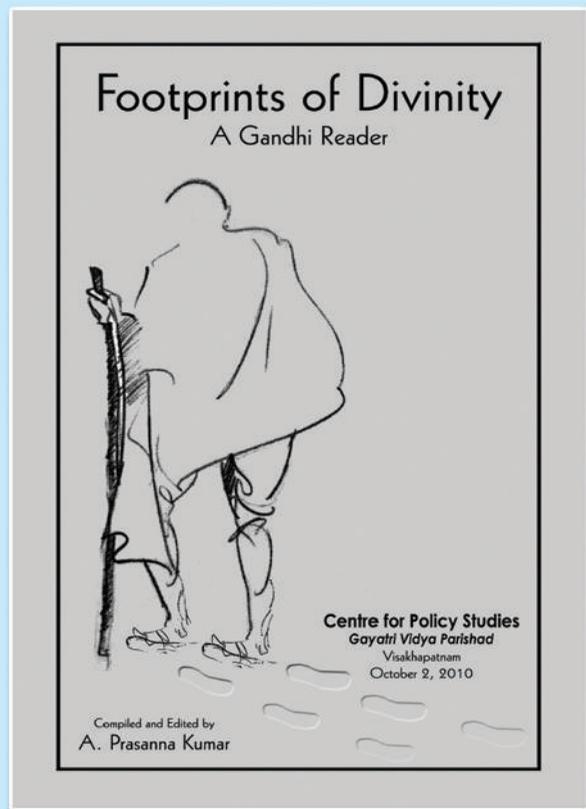
Vol.17 No.4
April 2, 2013



BULLETIN
OF THE
CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES
(GAYATRI VIDYA PARISHAD)



**The Hundredth
Bulletin**





BULLETIN

Vol.17 No.4
April 2, 2013

OF THE
CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES
(GAYATRI VIDYA PARISHAD)

The Hundredth Bulletin

On October 2, 1996 came out the first issue of the Bulletin, the first page of which is reproduced on the following page. Exactly a year earlier Centre for Policy Studies had been started on October 2, 1995, on the 126th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, with the object of providing a forum for the intellectual, the academic and the expert to interact, focusing on issues and policies of contemporary relevance. This is the hundredth issue of the bimonthly Bulletin, indeed an occasion to offer grateful thanks to all those who made the journey, without any interruption, possible— Sankar Foundation till March 2002, Gayatri Vidya Parishad from then on, the Advisory Board, contributors of articles, readers and well wishers.

The format has remained the same though there has been an increase in the number of pages. To carry the picture of Mahatma Gandhi on the masthead was an audacious decision. It has, however, been tempered by an unwavering commitment not to fix a price tag to it or to the several other CPS publications that followed, nor seek grants or funds from any agency, public or private. As Rajmohan Gandhi wrote in his scholarly and massive biography titled *Mohandas A True Story of a Man, his People and an Empire*, “We feel we can sketch the spectacles, the bald head, the loin-cloth, the pocket-watch. But familiarity is not knowledge.” Still seeking to learn about the Mahatma

is to fathom the depths of the moral and intellectual culture of the people of those times when even the erstwhile colonial masters acknowledged the greatness of Indian spirit and hailed the style of functioning of the world’s young but largest democracy. Dr Radhakrishnan summed it up all in just one line “nothing better has ever been written or lived since the world first began” in his 1948 classic on Mahatma Gandhi. We are all heirs to the Mahatma in spirit, reminded Rajmohan Gandhi half a century later.

Study of politics and public policy is as old as civilization. In ancient India it was *rajneeti sastra* and the focus was on *raja dharma*. Amartya Sen explained the genesis of the argumentative tradition characterized by centrality of reason in public discourse in India from Buddhist times and how ‘it is relevant to today’s politics and democracy.’ In Athens, the cradle of democracy in ancient Greece, the torch lit by Socrates glowed luminously in the works of Plato and Aristotle. Politics was activity based on knowledge and practice informed by principle said Aristotle. In modern times Robert Dahl explained how three benefits accrue from its study-- “it helps one to understand the world he lives in, to make more intelligent choices among the alternatives he faces and to influence the changes, great and small that seem to be an inevitable

aspect of political systems.” Policy studies, it is said, must be concerned with practical problems and how society can be improved through policy formulation and practical action. Harold Lasswell elevated its status when he wrote that the ‘study of practical politics is ultimately the practice of higher politics.’

The Bulletin may now be reaching out to quite a few. During the last seventeen years and a half CPS may have conducted over 250 meetings and seminars involving the eminent and the earnest. Still it is beyond CPS’s capacity or strength to claim to have made an impact on policy making or brought about change at any level. It has remained steadfastly committed to its goal of sharing ideas and provoking thought through debate, discussion and dissemination of ideas of the learned contributors and participants. Sir Isaiah Berlin’s caution that professors/ teachers should not overestimate their impact on the students they train or teach applies also to think tanks and fora engaged in public discourse. All the same the quest for learning and sharing ideas to promote healthy public discourse is an unending adventure even in this ‘age of triple E –entertainment, excitement and exhaustion’ conditioned by the awesome power of technology. Power, political, economic, or technological, is of no use unless it is allied to human values.

The Editor

Policy discourse in India has been characterized by pervasive technocratic influence since the country embarked upon its strategy of planned economic development. - Kuldeep Mathur & James Warner Bjorkman



BULLETIN
OF THE
CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES
(SANKAR FOUNDATION)

Vol. I No. 1



October 2, 1996

WE CAN OVERCOME

In 70 countries, according to the 1996 UNDP Report, people are on average poorer than they were in 1980 and in 43 countries poorer than in 1970. Notwithstanding the claims of the protagonists of "the governing economic culture of the world market" the gap between the haves and havenots is widening alarmingly. Of the global GDP of \$23 trillion, the share of the developing countries is only \$5 trillion or a mere 22%. During the last three decades the share of the rich countries increased from 70 to 85 percent while that of the poorest countries dropped from "a meagre 2.3 percent to a disgraceful 1.4 percent." In a thought-provoking article titled "Highway Robbery by the Superrich" in the Guardian Weekly of July 28th, 1996 Victor Keegan shows how the 358 billionaires of the world corner wealth that equals the combined incomes of the poorest 45 percent of the world's population. If these 358 billionaires, says Keegan, decided to keep \$5 million or so each to tide themselves over and give the rest away, they could virtually double the annual incomes of nearly half the people on earth. The author's comment that "inequality has not only grown between countries but within them" confirms that humankind is not getting any closer than before to the alleviation of poverty and suffering. In a perceptive article in Foreign Affairs of May-June 1996 Ethan B. Kapstein says that "the failure of today's advanced global capitalism to keep spreading the wealth poses a challenge not just to policy makers but to modern economic "Science" as well..... Growing income inequality, job insecurity and

unemployment are widely seen as the flip side of globalization."

Market culture is based on ruthless competition which brings out the worst in man and degrades human spirit. The populist and the demagogue set the agenda for human progress and polls dictate policy. In the midst of such growing confusion India's plight is pathetic mainly because of an uncertain situation within and unfavourable setting outside. But if only we turn to those times when the historic tryst with destiny took place, for guidance and inspiration, we can find light at the end of the tunnel. Those were the times when 'the advanced west' was fascinated by 'the most creative thought coming out of the East' and when great western philosophers looked to India for showing 'a way out of the darkness.' Gandhiji said that "true economics stands for social justice; it promotes the good of all equally, including the weakest and is indispensable for decent life." Jawaharlal Nehru who synthesised Western liberalism, Marxist egalitarianism and Indian values in evolving a framework for India's progress reminded us of the path just a few days before his death: "In India, it is important for us to profit by modern technical processes and increase our production both in agriculture and industry. But, in doing so, we must not forget that the essential objective to be aimed at is the quality of the individual and the dharma underlying it." India can still do it. And the world at large will also stand to profit by it.

—Editor

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डॉ. सी. रंगराजन
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विज्ञान भवन सौध 'ई' हाल
मौलाना आज़ाद रोड
नई दिल्ली-110 011
CHAIRMAN
Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister
Vigyan Bhavan Annexe, 'E' Hall
Maulana Azad Road
New Delhi-110 011



March 6, 2013

Message

I am happy to know that the hundredth issue of the bimonthly Bulletin of the Centre for Policy Studies will be released on April 2, 2013. Since 1995, this Centre has played an important part in focusing on issues and policies of contemporary relevance. Apart from organizing meetings and seminars on policy issues, it has also brought out a number of excellent publications. We need such Centres to debate issues that are relevant to the society so that a strong collective opinion can be formed on crucial socio-economic concern. I wish the Bulletin many more years of service to society.

C. Rangarajan

(C. Rangarajan)

MINISTER OF
HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA



मंत्री
मानव संसाधन विकास
भारत सरकार

M. M. Pallam Raju
एम. एम. पल्लम राजू

MESSAGE

CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES which was launched on October 2, 1995, the 126th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, with the object of providing a forum for the intellectual, the academic and the experts to interact, focusing on issues and policies of contemporary relevance, has been doing continuous good work by conducting seminars, meetings and bringing out bimonthly Bulletins on issues relating to areas of politics, society and developmental themes and subjects which are thought provoking.

I was happy to release an anthology of twenty two articles "Dialogue and Democracy" -Reflections on Ideas, Issues and Policies -on 29th. June last year at Visakhapanam.

I congratulate the Team led by Prof. A.Prasanna Kumar Garu and wish the function being organized in connection with the release of the 100th.Bulletin, a success.

With Good Wishes.

(Dr.M.M.Pallam Raju)

To

Shri A. Prasanna Kumar
Director Centre for Policy Studies
Former Rector and Retd Professor of Politics Andhra University
47-7-23 Dwaraka Nagar Fourth Lane Ba Babu Bhavan
Visakhapatnam 530016

Shri K. Natwar Singh
Eminent author, diplomat,
former Minister for External Affairs



To,
Prasanna Kumar
with good wishes
fr.
K. Natwar Singh



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THE BAR ASSOCIATION OF INDIA

F-21-22, Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi - 110 016

Phone : 91-11-2686 2980 or 2651 0893 Fax : 91-11-2696 4718

E-mail : fnariman@hathway.com or falinariman@yahoo.com

Shri Fali S. Nariman
President, Emeritus



My heartiest congratulations to the Centre for Policy Studies (Chaired by Shri D.V. Subba Rao) on the occasion of the 100th issue of its bimonthly bulletin.

I believe that stimulating research and scholarship in a variety of topics contributes to the improvement of the social milieu, and helps our country in its quest for civilizing norms. In a Parliamentary democracy like ours, opinions expressed on diverse subjects by different sections of our people help to make this country a better place to live in: it also helps to promote a spirit of tolerance for opinions and views different from our own.

Fali S. Nariman

(Fali S Nariman)

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Shri Soli J. Sorabjee
Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of India
Former Attorney General for India



The Centre for Policy Studies by its various erudite publications and other activities has played a commendable role in creating an alert and enlightened citizenry which is essential for successful functioning of democracy.

I wish it greater success in its endeavours in the years to come.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Soli Sorabjee". The signature is written in a cursive style.

Soli J Sorabjee

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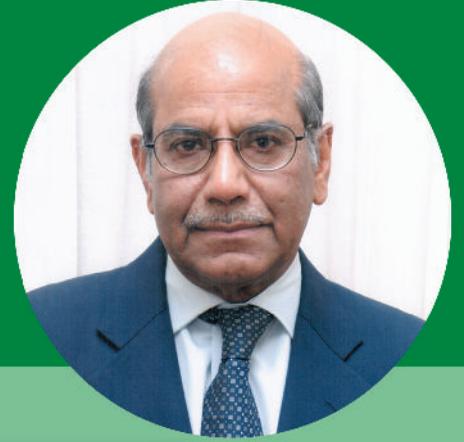
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Shri Shyam Saran
Chairman

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Fax : 91-11-2468 2173-74
E-mail : saranshyam46@gmail.com
Website : www.ris.org.in



I wish to extend my warm felicitations to the Centre for Policy Studies on the launch of the hundredth issue of its bimonthly Bulletin, on April 2, 2013.

The Centre for Policy Studies since its inception on October 2, 1995 has served as a most valuable platform in an informed debate on issues of both contemporary importance as well as on critical themes impacting on the future of India.

I convey my best wishes for the continued success of the Centre and trust that its Bulletin will remain a valuable contribution to a high level discourse on all aspects of the Indian story.

(Shyam Saran)

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Shri Admiral Arun Prakash (Retd),
Dabolim,
Goa.

Former Chief of Indian Navy
and Ex- Chairman NMF



I am delighted to learn, from Prof. Prasanna Kumar, the Director Centre for Policy Studies, Vishakhapatnam that April 2013 will see the 100th issue of the Centre's bi-monthly Bulletin being launched. A centennial is a significant milestone in any walk of life, but to sustain an academic endeavour of this nature in our intellectually stark landscape speaks of resolve, perseverance, initiative and hard work.

The founders, supporters and aficionados of the CPS can look back at its eighteen-year existence with immense pride and satisfaction, not just for the wide and varied activities organized, but also for the remarkable contribution that the Bulletin has been making in dissemination of learned discourse relating to a wide range of relevant and intellectually-stimulating themes.

While offering my warm felicitations on this landmark event, I convey good wishes to members of the CPS and to the large and devoted readership of the Bulletin.

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Prof. M.N. Sastri
Retd. Professor and
Head of the Dept. of Chemistry,
Andhra University



According to Noam Chomsky, “One of the major reasons for government secrecy is to protect the government from its own population”. But a vibrant democracy requires its population to be kept aware of the complex state systems, to debate all options in a given situation and give a lead to the polity to provide good governance. This is best achieved by democratization of knowledge through informal networks of academics, administrators, policy makers and enlightened citizens. Over a period of nearly two decades, the Centre for Policy Studies under the able leadership of Prof. A. Prasannakumar, has provided an excellent forum for such an exercise. On the occasion of the release of the hundredth issue of the Bulletin of the Centre, I congratulate Prof. Prasannakumar for his efforts. The support extended to him by the Sankar Foundation and the Gayatri Vidya Parishad in undertaking this mission is commendable.

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Prof. R.V.R. Chandrasekhara Rao
Former Head of the Dept. of Politics &
Public Administration, Andhra University
Ex -Vice-Chancellor,
Dr.BR Ambedkar Open University, Hyderabad



My hearty felicitations to the Centre for Policy Studies on the eve of its bringing out the 100th issue of its periodical. Indeed, this is a celebratory event.

The journal has been endeavouring to educate the public in matters relating to the cultural, social and political problems facing the country. The catholicity of its coverage, the variety of the topics that academics, distinguished personalities from the media and other public figures deal in make the journal a thing to look forward to read. The right-ups on persons who in the past enriched our cultural heritage are acts of homage, that not only those individual deserves but are also the sacred discharge of the duty that the present owes to the past. The very fact that a cross-section of the country's cognoscenti visited Visakhapatnam to lecture and discuss at the Centre, attests to the quality of its endearing engagement with the public good. Thus, Visakhapatnam's identity as a site from where cultural and intellectual dialogue permeates and radiates is firmly established by this journal.

It is really two decades since the Centre has started. Its benefactors are to be remembered with gratitude. It was the late Sri A. Sankara Rao, who encouraged Prof. Prasanna Kumar to set up the Centre, giving it a place to function from. After that it was the late Prof. B. Saveswara Rao, as Chairman of the Gayatri Vidya Parishath, who readily agreed to relocate the Centre at one of the Parishath's buildings in the heart of the city. Other eminent public men and citizens, like Dr. B. Swamy, also lent their helping hand. Sri D.V. Subba Rao, the eminent lawyer and a man of many parts and presently the President of Gayatri Vidya Parishad is also a source of support to this cause. Prof. Soma Raju of the Parishad has been invaluable in encouraging this project.

To Prof. A. Prasanna Kumar, the Centre's Director and its soul-keeper our debt and credit are irredeemable. His scholarship and oratory go hand in hand with his elegant scripting skills. I can truly say that the Centre for Policy Studies can dare to congratulate itself for its contribution to the cause of public discourse much to the pride of Visakhapatnam.

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Dr. Ramachandra Guha
Eminent historian, author,
and public intellectual



Dear Shri Prasanna Kumar,

Thank you for your gracious mail. Many congratulations on your 100th issue!

Sadly, I am committed to too much travel already this year and wont be able to come to Vizag.

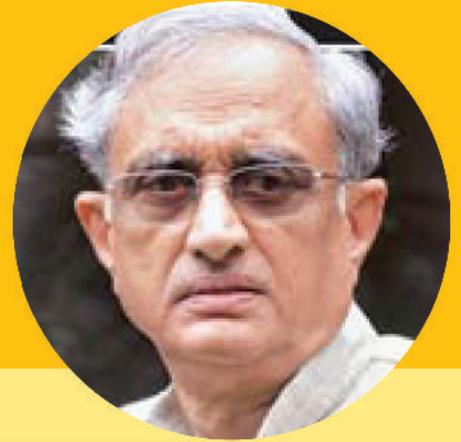
yours

R. Guha

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PUBLIC POLICY THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY THINK TANKS

Dr. E.A.S. Sarma I.A.S. (Retd)
Founder-Convenor *Forum for Better Visakha* and
Former Secretary Energy, Govt. of India



The civil society should necessarily play a pivotal role in shaping public policies, as such policies impact the lives of the people in many ways. However, the formulation of any public policy is in itself a complex process. A policy formulated for one sector needs to be consistent with the policies in the other sectors. Once a sectoral policy is adopted, it should have long-term validity, as frequent changes erode its credibility and legitimacy. While the political executive is ably assisted by its advisers and experts in formulating such policies, the latter will have to rely heavily on considered views from the public, as the real test of any public policy is its relevance to and acceptance by the people at large.

The civil society is a diverse entity comprising of individuals, NGOs, regional, social and cultural groups and persons belonging to different age and gender groups. Their perceptions in respect of a given public policy may differ widely. The press is an important provider of information to the people as well as the government. If the civil society and the press are to play the role expected of them effectively and in an organised manner, it is necessary that there are think tanks who can assess these perceptions objectively, analyse the implications in a holistic manner and generate an informed debate among the public so as to enable the people's representatives, the official advisers and the political executive to come to conclusions which lead to wider public acceptance. In most developed countries, such think-tank institutions are an integral component of the civil society and play an important role in policy formulation processes.

In the absence of analysis and objective evaluation, the information that seeps into the civil society can have inherent inaccuracies, biases and asymmetries. To be an involved participant equipped with well analysed information on public issues, rather than being a detached observer swayed by biased views, the civil society is in need of think tanks comprising experts and professionals drawn from the civil society itself. Such think tanks will be able to engage sections of the civil society in a continuing discourse and generate an informed discussion and a constructive debate on policy concerns of importance. In turn, such a discussion will enlighten the people at large and enable them to come to rational perceptions on policy alternatives.

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Against this background, Visakhapatnam is indeed fortunate to have a think tank like the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) set up in 1995. The mission of CPS is to provide “a forum for the intellectual, the academic and the expert to interact, focusing on issues and policies of contemporary relevance”. CPS has certainly enriched the intellectual discourse in the city by organising more than 225 meetings and seminars on policies and issues relating to areas of politics, society and development. CPS has brought out a bimonthly bulletin carrying articles on different themes and subjects. The fact that the hundredth issue of the bimonthly bulletin of CPS will be released this year on April 2 is a veritable testimony to the Centre's continuing contribution to the intellectual

discussion on public policy. The public of Visakhapatnam has benefitted immensely from the presentations made by several professionals and intellectuals on different aspects of public policy under the aegis of CPS.

India is passing through a dynamic process of change, like never before. While there are strong internal forces generated by higher literacy levels, paradigm changes in technology, greater public awareness and a deeper churning of the political system itself, India's transition is also accelerated by external forces emanating from increasing globalisation. In such a vibrant state of transition, the greatest challenge that our nation faces is to be able to respond and adapt itself and its policies and strategies to the changing

environment. Think tanks like CPS will have to gear themselves up to meet this challenge and provide the necessary intellectual inputs to the policy makers. All those who wish to be a part of this intellectual discourse will and should support CPS's endeavour in this direction.

Centre for Policy Studies was launched on October 2, 1995 the 126th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, with the object of providing a forum for the intellectual, the academic and the expert to interact, focussing on issues and policies of contemporary relevance. The Centre regularly organises meetings and seminars on policies and issues relating to areas of politics, society and development and brings out a bimonthly bulletin carrying articles on different themes and subjects.

Former Prime Minister Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao releasing CPS Publication in August 1999.



Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Former Prime Minister releasing the book *EMANCIPATION BEFORE EMPOWRMENT: A study of Women's Problems in Visakhapatnam*, the second publication of Centre for Policy Studies, with the authors Professors M. Vijaya Laxmi, B. Meena Rao & P.V.L. Ramana on his left and Shri A. Shankara Rao, Founder, Centre for Policy Studies and Director A. Prasanna Kumar on his right. The former Prime Minister also honoured Shri Shankara Rao and Prof. B. Sarveswara Rao, Founder-President, Gayatri Vidya Parishad on the occasion.

Be an Intellectual Gadfly

Dr. R.V.Vaidyanatha Ayyar I.A.S., (Retd)
Former Secretary, HRD, Govt. of India
& Prof. IIM, Bangalore



A centenary is a landmark indeed in any life, be it that of an individual or an institution or a journal like the Bulletin of the CPS. Prof. Prasanna Kumar deserves to be complimented on this occasion for founding the Bulletin and sustaining it all these years. Ever since I began reading the Bulletin a few years ago I found the articles informative, and some authored by litterateurs like Manoj Das and Prema Nandkumar spiritually uplifting. A special attraction has been the column by my teacher Prof. M.N.Sastry who I am informed has been unfailingly contributing to every issue of the Bulletin. Way back in 1959, when he was fresh from Durham, Prof. Sastry brought a whiff of modernity into our classrooms, acquainting me and my classmates with the renaissance that was taking place in Inorganic Chemistry under the impact of the new theories of molecular interactions and bonding that the application of Quantum Physics to Chemistry spawned. I had an occasion to learn about another facet of Prof. Sastry when he advised me to use a part of the prize money awarded by the Andhra University to buy Lancelot Hogben's Science for the Citizen: A Self-Educator Based on the Social Background of Scientific Discovery. Hogben was an experimental zoologist of distinction, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and more importantly a science populariser of great distinction who authored about thirty books to explain science to the common man. In keeping with the spirit which animated many of his scientific contemporaries, Hogben strongly believed that at the least a scientist should have a feel for social concerns and ideally should engage himself in public action because for all the 'objectivity' of the scientific method science does not develop in a social vacuum, and scientists have a moral obligation to enlist themselves in the Cause of human advancement. In continually writing about societal concerns like environmental degradation, global warming and the arms race Prof. Sastry has been carrying forward the scientific humanism of Hogben.

Apart from articles dealing with literature, philosophy and science popularisation, the Bulletin has also been carrying many other types of articles, many of them by Prof. Prasanna Kumar himself on democracy, UN organisations, and politics. This is as it should be for the Bulletin is a bulletin of a centre for public policy, and nothing, nothing that is connected with human affairs, is outside the purview of the Government and by extension of public policy, which policy is made by Government: neither the economy, nor the polity, nor the society, nor the family, nor culture. A good example of this proposition is the

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demand for making 'marital rape' a criminal offense; norms for the most imitate of human relations in an institution of hoary antiquity are sought be laid down through legislation, a type of public policy. The Bulletin has been sustaining democracy which it is rightly said is government by discussion. And that discussion cannot be limited to the legislatures or corridors of Bhavans but has to permeate the society as a whole. Opinion makers contribute to a great deal to fostering the spirit of argumentation which fuels a vibrant democracy. And India would be a poor democracy if the opinion makers are only raj gurus based in Delhi and other metros who pontificate in the English press and spar each other in the myriad cacophonies telecast by countless channels. We need to hear voices from different places in the country, and we owe Prof. Prasanna Kumar a debt of gratitude for creating a forum for that purpose in Visakhapatnam. What makes journals like the Times Literary Supplement and the New York Review of Books are not so much the scholarly articles but the contest of ideas they give rise to. The intellectual exchanges add value to the scholarly articles. As the Bulletin crosses the century mark it would be a good idea if goes being a purveyor of information and occasional wisdom and emerges as a forum for vibrant contest of ideas relevant to public policy. To that end, I wish to expound a few thoughts out of season relating to public discourse and activism as I feel that discourse on governance has been one sided. I intend to be deliberately

provocative and polemical in the expectation that the thoughts would stimulate discussion.

It is not recognized that while governments should be responsive to public opinion there are occasions when they have to swim against the tide and do the 'right' thing with the expectation that if one perseveringly maintains a correct attitude, the force of inner truth would work on the whole situation and prevail. Public opinion could be ephemeral and ill informed and statesmen have a duty to lead the public opinion and not sheepishly follow it. To illustrate, if the Constitution makers went by the predominant public opinion they would not have abolished untouchability. One could say that much of the governance deficit in our country arises from the fact that governments and major political parties are perpetually in a campaign mode and dare not do the right thing if it is a trifle unpopular and carries the possibility of hurting them in the polls. So contrary to conventional wisdom, responsiveness is not an unalloyed virtue.

Bertrand Russell once wrote that the whole problem with the world is that fools and fanatics are always so certain of themselves, but wiser people are so full of doubts. Not enough are public minded but the few who are, though well educated are so sure of themselves, the Causes they espouse and the positions on public policy issues they expound that they disprove Russell. What is tragic-comic is the fact that quite a few of the Mr. Certains have long experience in government, and

ought to have understood that choices confronting many public policy issues are not stark black and white antinomies but various shades of grey. The way to hell, it is rightly said, is paved with good intentions, and the clicativism of social networking paves many ways to hell. Governance is often a choice not between good and evil but between greater and lesser evil; inevitably unpleasant trade-offs have to be made among two or more desirable objectives. Environment and development, or many others like equity and efficiency are two sides of the same coin, and to romantically elevate one side of the coin without regard for the other, and to compartmentalise policy thinking are harmful to the polity. Or to take another example rights and entitlements have been elevated to a point that issues of resource and scarcity affordability are dismissed out of hand as irrelevant. This is a matter of concern as like the inexorably expanding universe the human rights universe has been inexorably expanding and every wish and everything desirable have come to be viewed as a right. "Rights talk" is inspiring and secures popularity but "prudence talk" is not. Many human right advocates and thinkers are oblivious to the rich philosophical debate that preceded the adoption of human rights instruments like the Universal Declaration of Rights. Thus Mahatma Gandhi was one of the many Asian and European thinkers who advocated linking duties and rights in the Universal Declaration of Rights. If their views did not prevail it was because Asian

countries had little voice in the UN forums and the shadow of the Holocaust and totalist Fascist States loomed large when the Declaration was being drafted. No wonder that civic duties have gone out of the vocabulary discourse.

Few recognise that best is the enemy of the good and if carried beyond a point concepts like transparency and accountability could be counterproductive. It is not always possible to say what one means, to do what one says. Such is human nature that one cannot to forgo guile even to do the right thing. History is replete with countless examples which establish that a statesman has to be a lion as well as a fox. By not recognising that Government cannot be a fish bowl, and that beyond a point transparency undermines the ability of governments to function, the Rights to Information Act had gone overboard. Constructive ambiguity, deliberate fuzziness, is an important ingredient of many policies and treaties, and is unavoidable when where it is not possible to come to an agreement and yet it is important to keep moving in the expectation that agreement and greater precision could be achieved over a course of time. Thus the UN Convention on the Rights of Children did quite a bit to ameliorate the conditions of children world over but significantly the Convention does not define when childhood begins-whether it begins when the child is born or when it is conceived. To insist on precision would have wrecked the treaty-making process for countries were deeply divided over the question when life began.

Government as an organization has distinctive features. Unlike a business organization the structure and processes of a democratic Government are not designed with the sole objective of maximizing efficiency. The organising principle of a democratic government is dispersal of power, and preventing abuse of power and tyranny. Checks and balances among and within the three branches of Government (Executive, Legislature, and Judiciary) are intrinsic to democratic functioning. Constitutional authorities like judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts, and the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) have a greater responsibility than others to sustain the system of checks and balances by observing self-restraint and moderation in the discharge of their functions. Playing to the gallery is a cardinal sin. Of late, it had become customary for functionaries of the CAG office to release CAG reports to media after the reports are placed in the Parliament and pose for photographs proudly displaying a report as if it were a Wimbledon trophy. Doing that is an insult to the Constitution as once a report is submitted in the Parliament it is the property of the Parliament and it had to be disposed through established procedures such as consideration by the Parliamentary Accounts Committee.

No single branch of Government however diligent and however enlightened can take on the responsibilities of all the three branches. As Justice Stone ,a distinguished judge of the American

Supreme Court observed United States v Butler, 297 U.S. 1 1936:

While the unconstitutional exercise of power by the executive and legislative branches of government is subject to judicial review, the only check upon our own exercise of power is our own sense of self-restraint ...for the removal of unwise laws from the statute books, appeal lies not to the courts but to the ballot and to the process of government.... Courts are not the only agency of government that must be assumed to have the capacity to govern. Congress and the courts both unhappily may falter or be mistaken in the performance of their constitutional duty.

An activist constitutional authority is like a 'General on the horse', a threat to democracy. Another type of threat comes from some Governors of States who do not see a distinction between being a constitutional authority and a party functionary. The guiding principle for constitutional authorities has to be 'act with propriety and a sense of proportion'.

Democracy, no doubt, is a government by discussion. Yet there is a rider highlighted by Clement Atlee. If democracy has to function, discussion has to stop at some point. A singular quality of our polity seems to be that no discussion ends and there is no finality to any decision.

I can go on and on but let me stop as even in trying to be provocative I should not be immoderate.

Cmde.(Retd.) C. Uday Bhaskar
Former Director IDSA and
Ex Director NMF



I am very grateful to Prof. A. Prasanna Kumar for according me this opportunity to join in the felicitation ceremonies related to the publication of the 100th issue of the Bulletin of the Centre for policy Studies, Visakhapatnam.

A century – whether in cricket or for a high-quality periodical – is cause for celebration and I may add – some reflection. It would be befitting if the editor raises his' bat' and acknowledges the many accolades that are richly deserved on this special occasion.

Having been associated with the publication of similar journals – with much greater research and fiscal support, I know from my limited personal experience how very arduous it is to maintain periodicity and quality. To the entire CPS team – bravo.

My association with the CPS and Prof. Kumar is about 15 years and goes back to the Indian nuclear tests of 1998 and the events that followed. The CPS very graciously invited me to speak under their banner at the time and has since extended this courtesy to me every year. I have always looked forward to this interaction and it is through them that I became aware of the distinctive contribution that the Centre has made over the years to the public discourse of Visakhapatnam. Concurrently I became an avid reader of the Bulletin and have been amply educated by the insightful contributions that the editor so painstakingly puts together with commendable consistency. I am reminded of Bapu Nadkarni....but the digression to cricket must await another forum.

Informed discourse and deliberation is the hallmark of meaningful communication and civil society is both enabled and enriched through this process when it acquires a collective contour. Whether a Centre – like the CPS – or a think-tank to use the more generic term, they play an invaluable role in nurturing such interaction. When sustained over an extended period of time, this initiative creates an eco-system that is of great value to the society where it has grown and taken root – and by osmosis – to the larger socio-political matrix.

Again, having had the privilege of spending a reasonably large period of my professional career in a think-tank – the IDSA – and having had the benefit of working closely with the late Sri K Subrahmanyam, the doyen of Indian security and strategic studies, I would aver that bodies like the CPS burnish the democratic experience by way of fostering and encouraging informed discourse – one that accommodates diversity and dissent not devoid of passion and conviction.

The CPS may be modest in profile but it has maintained an integrity to its core mission – which is commendable and deserving of our full support.

The range of subjects and themes covered by the Bulletin over the years has been wide-spectrum and leavens the universal liberal spirit with its roots in the composite Indian ethos, where tradition and modernity are admirably inter-woven. And if I may take the liberty of paraphrasing Gurudev Tagore, may I propose that through the efforts of the CPS and the Bulletin, we should pledge to create an environment where : “...the head is held high, and the mind is without fear.....and into that ‘patnam’, the citizens of Vizag can lead the country.”

God bless and we look forward to the double century.

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Shri C. Anjaneya Reddy
formerly of the Indian Police Service and
Ex - Chairman A.P. Tourism Corporation



CPS Bulletin has gone through 99 editions and the April's is going to be the 100th edition. All these days, it has come without fail knocking at the doors of those of us interested in insights into issues affecting development, environment, social justice, public policy etc. Its contributors and editors have ensured that its informed articles present an objective analysis of the issues discussed. The lead article has always set the tone recalling the significant events of our history, particularly the freedom movement, and reminding us what we set out to achieve and what in fact we have accomplished!

It must be a matter of great satisfaction for the founders of the Bulletin that the bulletin has become a forum for learned discussion and has more than fulfilled the purpose for which it was started. The bulletin is taken seriously by all those involved in policy-making. Now that the standards for have been set and the the Bulletin has made a niche for itself in development literature, we can hope it would go on stimulating thought and providing the much needed policy correctives.

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THE ALTERNATIVE VOICE

Dr. Uday Balakrishnan
Centre for Contemporary Studies
Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore
Until recently Visiting Fellow
Central European University, Budapest



Soon after returning to Vizag in 1997 on a posting twenty-three years after I had left Andhra University for a career in the civil services, I was struck by two things – the astonishing transformation of a laid back city town into a vibrant and interesting city and complementing it, the existence of a small but lively forum for public policy - the Centre for Policy Studies or CPS for short.

Headed by one of my very revered teachers, Dr. A Prasanna Kumar, the CPS has over the years evolved quietly into a major east coast forum for engagement on public policy across a wide spectrum of issues that are of immediate and urgent concern for all interested in the welfare of our country. Its impressive list of publications covers the electronic media, demography, gender issues and education amongst several others. Each has a distinctly independent and original flavour that eludes the best from anywhere else.

Over the years, CPS has hosted talks by some of our country's finest minds including the much-underrated former Prime Minister the late PV Narasimha Rao. Equally importantly, it has, since 1995 been bringing out a high quality consistently well edited journal, the Bulletin of the Centre for Policy Studies carrying some fine thought provoking, often-controversial contributions by eminent scholars and persons in public life, amongst them Professor MN Shastri and the late Abid Hussein. These are distinctly different from the more nuanced ones emerging from the familiar academic bureaucratic networking centres in New Delhi, giving voice to India's lesser cities where none exists. That to my mind is by far the most important contribution of CPS and its very remarkable Bulletin. India is not New Delhi and there are alternative viewpoints. That is what makes CPS and its Bulletin original and unique while saving us from being swamped by Delhispeak.

I have been associated with several fine institutions in India as well as overseas with strong involvement in public policy and can confidently state that the CPS and its Bulletin – for the two are joined at the hip and cannot be separated - of which this is the hundredth issue, match the best anywhere. I have been privileged to contribute to the Bulletin in the past and I hope it will continue to accept some of what I send across as worthy of being carried in its pages. It is indeed an honour to be associated with this low key but remarkable institution and its Bulletin.

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Shri D.V. Subba Rao
President, Gayatri Vidya Parishad and
Former Chairman Bar Council of India



Dear Dr. Prasanna Kumar,

I am delighted to learn that the hundredth issue of the bulletin of the Centre for Policy Studies will be released on 16.04.2013. This milestone is achieved not only on account of your remarkable intellectual inputs in the shape of very illuminating editorials which covered every issue of contemporary relevance but the several issues of the bulletin contained articles from distinguished men of letters who enriched its pages by contributing articles on philosophy, nuclear science, war and peace and environmental concerns on spirituality, epics or philosophy. In a way they encompassed the whole range of human thought and activity.

The intellectual community is indebted to you and through you to the generous contributors of rare eminence who contributed richly by their writings on diverse subject which must have necessarily enriched the readers of your bulletin.

May the bulletin continue to serve its avid readers disseminating knowledge on matters of moment.

D.V. Subba Rao
President
Gayatri Vidya Parishad

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Prof. K.C. Reddy

Vice Chairman, REECAP &
Chairman, REEMAP



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MESSAGE

I am extremely happy to know that the in-house 'Bulletin' of Centre for Policy Studies, Visakhapatnam is coming with the "100th Edition' shortly. I take this opportunity to congratulate the Center and in particular its Director for the valuable and sustained efforts to develop a forum for articulating divergent views on different aspects of development, focusing particularly on society, polity, economics, environment etc., without fear and favour. Starting a bulletin is easy, but continuing it is certainly difficult. The CPS Bulletin, is widely read and it has built over the years particularly through its intellectually rich editorial, a special image and reputation across the country in terms of its objectivity in analysing even the sensitive issues. The fact that the contributors to the Bulletin are very eminent and distinguished people from different background shows its uncompromising objectivity. Thousand of its readers are now looking towards the 'Bulletin' for appropriate inputs to update their knowledge and information on several national and international issues. I join a large number of its very distinguished readers in wishing the 'Bulletin' and its team all the best.

(K.C. REDDY)

Chairman

Rajiv Education and Employment,
Govt. of Andhra Pradesh.

Dr. M.M. Pallam Raju releases *Dialogue and Democracy*



Dr M.M. Pallam Raju, Union Minister, releasing CPS publication *Dialogue and Democracy-Reflections on Ideas, Issues and Policies (2nd in the series)* on June 29, 2012 at a function in Visakhapatnam. Shri Dronamraju Srinivasa Rao, MLA, Vice Admiral Anil Chopra AVSM, Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Eastern Naval Command, Shri D.V. Subba Rao, President Gayatri Vidya Parishad and Prof. A. Prasanna Kumar, Director CPS are also seen.



SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S

ADDRESS AT WORLD PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS
at Chicago, 11th September 1893



Unity in Diversity

Sisters and Brothers of America

It fills my heart with joy unspeakable to rise in response to the warm and cordial welcome which you have given us. I thank you in the name of the most ancient order of monks in the world; I thank you in the name of the mother of religions; and I thank you in the name of the millions and millions of Hindu people of all classes and sects.

My thanks, also, to some of the speakers on this platform who, referring to the delegates from the Orient, have told you that these men from far-off nations may well claim the honor of bearing to different lands the idea of toleration. I am proud to belong to a religion which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance. We believe not only in universal toleration, but we accept all religions as true. I am proud to belong to a nation which has sheltered the persecuted and the refugees of all religions and all nations of the earth. I am proud

to tell you that we have gathered in our bosom the purest remnant of the Israelites, who came to the southern India and took refuge with us in the very year in which their holy temple was shattered to pieces by Roman tyranny. I am proud to belong to the religion which has sheltered and is still fostering the remnant of the grand Zoroastrian nation. I will quote to you, brethren, a few lines from a hymn which I remember to have repeated from my earliest boyhood, which is every day repeated by millions of human beings:

'As the different streams having their sources in different places all mingle their water in the sea, so, O Lord, the different paths which men take through different tendencies, various though they appear, crooked or straight, all lead to Thee!

The present convention, which is one of the most august assemblies ever held, is in itself a vindication, a declaration to the

world, of the wonderful doctrine preached in the Gita:

' Whosoever comes to Me, through whatsoever form, I reach him; all men are struggling through paths which in the end lead to Me.'

Sectarianism, bigotry, and its horrible descendant, fanaticism, have long possessed this beautiful earth. They have filled the earth with violence, drenched it often and often with human blood, destroyed civilization, and sent whole nations to despair. Had it not been for these horrible demons, human society would be far more advanced than it is now. But their time has come; and I fervently hope that the bell that tolled this morning in honor of this convention may be the death-knell of all fanaticism, of all persecutions with the sword or with the pen, and of all uncharitable feelings between persons wending their way to the same goal.

About that historic event

“Swami Vivekananda was an unknown young monk when he travelled to America to attend the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893. The occasion was historic as it was the first time that so many representatives of all the major religions had gathered together in one place. Vivekananda spoke on the opening day, September 11, and simply mesmerized his audience. His appearance there is best described in a letter he wrote two

months after the event. “There was a grand procession, and we were all marshalled on to the platform. Imagine a hall below and a huge gallery above, packed with six or seven thousand men and women.. .And I, who never spoke in public in my life, to address this august assemblage!!... Of course my heart was fluttering and my tongue nearly dried up; I was so nervous and could not venture to speak in the morning...They were all prepared

and came with ready-made speeches. I was a fool and had none, but bowed down to Devi Sarasvati and stepped up. I made a short speech. I addressed the assembly as 'Sisters and brothers of America', a deafening applause of two minutes followed, and then I proceeded, and when it was finished, I sat down, almost exhausted with emotion.”

from *Vivekananda Kendra Patrika*

Rock Memorial



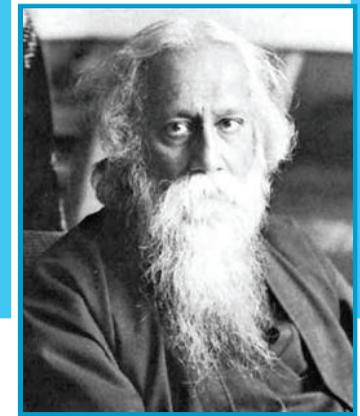
‘Swami Vivekananda, with intense love in his heart for motherland undertook wanderings all over India. He came to Kanyakumari and sat on 25th, 26th and 27th December 1892 on the mid-sea rock meditating on India’s past, present and future.’

For here, as Swami Ranganathananda said, ‘the Divine Mother is worshipped as a Kanyakumari, youthful maiden, engaged in *tapas*. And She represents the very spirit of India, ever-ageing but never old, ever youthful in vitality and beauty and charm.’

The Rock Memorial was consecrated on September 2, 1970, the day synchronising with the 77th anniversary of Swamiji’s historic speech in the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago on 11th September 1893. Inauguration of the Memorial was done by Rashtrapati, Shri V.V. Giri, at a public function.

Two weeks later Prime Minister Indira Gandhi visited the Rock Memorial and said : “*It is a moving experience to come to Kanyakumari and see how the faith of thousands in Swami Vivekananda’s Message has made possible this memorial. May it inspire all who visit it and give them the courage to live up to Swamiji’s great and timeless teachings. The second phase of the programme for establishment of a Lay Order is no less important and will give practical shape to Swamiji’s Message of Service.*”

CENTENARY OF NOBEL PRIZE



The Nobel Prize in Literature 1913 was awarded to Rabindranath Tagore "because of his profoundly sensitive, fresh and beautiful verse, by which, with consummate skill, he has made his poetic thought, expressed in his own English words, a part of the literature of the West".

*Where the mind is without fear and the head is held
high;*

Where knowledge is free;

*Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
by narrow domestic walls;*

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

*Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards
perfection;*

*Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way
into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;*

*Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening
thought and action—*

*Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country
awake.*

* * *

*This my prayer to thee, my lord—strike, strike at the
root of penury in my heart.*

Give me the strength lightly to bear my joys and sorrows.

Give me the strength to make my love fruitful in service.

*Give me the strength never to disown the poor or bend
my knees before insolent might.*

*Give me the strength to raise my mind high above daily
trifles.*

*And give me the strength to surrender my strength to
thy will with love.*

* * *

Ever in my life have I sought thee with my songs,

*It was they who led me from door to door, and with
them have I felt about me, searching and touching my world,*

*It was my songs that taught me all the lessons I ever
learnt; they showed me secret paths, they brought before my
sight many a star on the horizon of my heart.*

*They guided me all the day long to the mysteries of the
country of pleasure, and pain, and at last, to what palace gate
have they brought me in the evening at the end of my journey?*

* * *

*In one salutation to thee, my God, let all my senses
spread out and touch this world at thy feet.*

*Like a rain-cloud of July hung low with its burden of
unshed showers let all my mind bend down at thy door in one
salutation to thee.*

*Let all my songs gather together their diverse strains
into a single current and flow to a sea of silence in one salutation
to thee.*

*Like a flock of homesick cranes flying night and day
back to their mountain nests let all my life take its voyage to
its eternal home in one salutation to thee.*

from Gitanjali

From Rabindranath Tagore's acceptance speech on 26 May 1921 at Stockholm

And thus I am proud to say that your awarding me the prize has made some contribution to this great object, which I had in my mind. This has made me come once again to the West, and I have come to ask you, to invite you to the feast, which is waiting for you in the Far East. I hope that my invitation will not be rejected. I have visited different countries of Europe, and I have accepted from them an enthusiastic welcome. That welcome has its own meaning, that the West has need of the East, as the East has need of the West, and so the time has come when they should meet.

I am glad that I belong to this great time, this great age, and I am glad that I have done some work to give expression to this great age, when the East and the West are coming together. They are proceeding towards each other. They are coming to meet each other. They have got their invitation to meet each other and join hands in building up a new civilization and the great culture of the future.

I feel certain that through my writing some such idea has reached you, even if obscurely through the translation, some idea which belongs both to the East and the West, some idea which proceeding from the East has been able to come to the West and claim its rest here, its dwelling, and to be able to receive its welcome, and has been accepted by the West. And if in my writings I have been fortunate enough to be able to interpret the voice of the need of the time I am deeply thankful to you for giving me this glorious opportunity. The acknowledgement I got from Sweden has brought me and my work before the Western public, though I can assure you that it has also given me some trouble. It has broken through the seclusion, which I have been accustomed to. It has brought me out before the great public to which I have never been accustomed. And the adjustment has not been yet made. I shrink in my heart when I stand before the great concourse of Humanity in the West. I have not yet been accustomed to accept the great gift of your praise and your admiration in the manner in which you have given it to me. And I feel ashamed and shy when standing before you — I do so now. But I will only say that I am thankful to God that he has given me this great opportunity, that I have been an

instrument to bring together, to unite the hearts of the East and the West. And I must to the end of my life carry on that mission. I must do all that I can. The feeling of resentment between the East and the West must be pacified. I must do something, and with that one object I have started this institution.

I do not think that it is the spirit of India to reject anything, reject any race, reject any culture. The spirit of India has always proclaimed the ideal of unity. This ideal of unity never rejects anything, any race, or any culture. It comprehends all, and it has been the highest aim of our spiritual exertion to be able to penetrate all things with one soul, to comprehend all things as they are, and not to keep out anything in the whole universe—to comprehend all things with sympathy and love. This is the spirit of India. Now, when in the present time of political unrest the children of the same great India cry for rejection of the West I feel hurt. I feel that it is a lesson which they have received from the West. Such is not our mission. India is there to unite all human races. We have inherited the immortal works of our ancestors, those great writers who proclaimed the religion of unity and sympathy, and say: He who sees all beings as himself, who realises all beings as himself, knows Truth. That has once again to be realised, not only by the children of the East but also by the children of the West. They also have to be reminded of these great immortal truths. Man is not to fight with other human races, other human individuals, but his work is to bring about reconciliation and Peace and to restore the bonds of friendship and love. We are not like fighting beasts.

For that great mission of India I have started this university. I ask you now, when I have this opportunity, I invite you to come to us and join hands with us and not to leave this institution merely to us, but let your own students and learned men come to us and help us to make this university a common institution for the East and the West. May they give the contributions of their lives and may we all together make it living and representative of the undivided Humanity of the world.

For this I have come to you. I ask you this and I claim it of you in the name of the unity of men, and in the name of love, and in the name of God. I ask you to come. I invite you.

(*Gitanjali* Rabindranath Tagore UBSPD 2011)

THE BA BAPU SAGA

Gandhiji and his 'teacher in the art and practice of Satyagraha'

In 1882 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was 'married to Kasthur Makanji Kapadia a few months older than he'¹. Their betrothal had taken place when the former was six and the latter was seven. They lived long a married life sixty two years'².

In the words of Gandhiji. "She was woman always of very strong will which in our early days I used to mistake for obstinacy. But that strong will enabled her to become, quite unwittingly, my teacher in the art and practice of non-violent non-co-operation. The practice began with my own family. When I introduced it in 1906 in the political field it came to be known by the more comprehensive and specially coined name of Satyagraha. When the course of Indian imprisonments commenced in South Africa Kasturba was among the civil resisters. She went through greater physical trials than I. Ba was in no way weaker than I; in fact she was stronger. If I had not had her cooperation, I would have been sunk. It was that illiterate woman who helped me to observe all my vows with the utmost strictness and kept me ever vigilant. Similarly in politics also she displayed great courage and took part in all the campaigns...

She was a devout Vaishnavi, used to worship the tulsī, religiously observed sacred days and continued to wear the necklace of holy beads right up to her death. She was a living image of the virtues of a Vaishnava described by Narasinha Mehta in his bhajan. It is because of her that I am today what I am... In the fast of 1943 I was nearly at death's door,



but she never cried or lost courage but on the contrary kept up other people's courage and prayed to God. I can see her face vividly even today.³

She successfully learnt (from him) two songs out of a Gujarati fifth-grade school reader, and while she had the strength, husband and wife often 'sat down and sang two songs together' at night, causing Sarojini Naidu to 'joke about the honeymooning old couple'....⁴

One of the numerous occasions when Ba was tensed up at her husband's decision to go on fast is testified by the following telegram sent by Mira Ben to Gandhiji and his reply.

"Got news of fast only today. Ba wishes me to say she is greatly shocked and feels decision very wrong but you have not listened to any others, so you will not hear her."

Gandhiji's eyes were wet with tears of joy as he wrote out this telegram to them:-

"Tell Ba that her father imposed on her a companion whose weight would have killed any other woman. I treasure her love. She must remain courageous to the end. For you, I have nothing but only thanks to god for giving you to me."⁵

How tenderly each loved the other is revealed by this letter of Gandhiji to Ba when the former hurriedly left without telling the latter:

November 2, 1938

BA,

Only nine days remain now, and God willing, we shall meet. We shall leave for Segaon the same-day. I forgot to reply to one remark in your letter. You said that while leaving, I did not even put my hand on your head. As the motor started I also felt that, but you were away from me. Do you require outward signs? Why do you believe that because I do not show my love by outward signs, it has dried up? I assure you that my love has increased and goes on increasing. Not that it was less before, but what was there is becoming purer day by day. I do not look upon you merely as a clay doll. What more need I say? If you also, like . ask for outward signs, I will comply.

Blessings from

BAPU

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On their long and beautiful relationship Gandhiji wrote “From 1906 really speaking from 1901, Ba had no other interest in staying with me except to help me in my work. She could not live away from me. She would have had no difficulty, if she had wished, in staying away from me. But as a woman and wife she considered it her duty to lose herself in me ever after. She did not cease looking after me till her last breath.”

About that last breath Gandhiji wrote “Ba was completely wrapped up in me. She died in my lap. Which other woman has ever been so fortunate? Just before she passed away she called me. I did not realize then that her end was near. What a happy coincidence that at that time I was not out on my usual evening walk! In this, too, I see God’s grace... My sorrow at my separation from Ba is still not healed, even though

my mind tells me that he could not have passed away under better circumstances. I was always fearful about her lest she survived me. So I wished that she would precede me to the cremation-ground. And yet I feel so sorrow-stricken. Maybe, I continue to think of Ba constantly, but this, too, is not quite true. In a word, I really cannot describe what I am feeling inwardly.”⁷

“Ba’s death appears to be like a dream. Of course, I was prepared for it. But when she actually went away I was rather surprised} It seems without her I cannot attend to my personal affairs adequately”⁸.

References :

- 1 (Rajmohan Gandhi p7)
- 2 (Mukhulbhai Kalarthi p.xv)
- 3 (Rajmohan Gandhi p 619)
- 4 (Rajmohan Gandhi p 513)
- 5 (Website)
- 6 [From Gujarati] Bapuna Bane Patro, p. 30 Collected Works Vol: LXVIII 1938-39 p85)
- 7 (Mukulbhai Kalarthi p146)
- 8 (Mukulbhai Kalarthi p145)

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Mukulbhai Kalarthi BA AND BAPU Navajivan Publishing House Ahmedabad Navjeevan Trust 1962 146 pp Rs 20

Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Publications Division

From Website <http://gandhiashramsabarmati.org>

A happy coincidence is that Centre for Policy Studies is situated in Ba Bapu Bhavan, established on Gandhi Jayanthi in 1973. Ba Bapu Seva Sangham, a brain child of the famous Gandhian Smt Durgabai Deshmukh, raised a building in the heart of the city and its members, mostly women, promote Gandhian ideals through regular meetings and welfare programmes.

“No one in the whole world has a husband like mine... If I am held in high esteem in the world, it is because of my husband”. - *Ba*

Whither India ?

Challenges and Opportunities

India's Strengths

1. Demographic dividend with highest youth population in the world--550 million will be under 28 by 2020
2. Has the largest number of English knowing people for any country in the world
3. Software giant
4. Emerging as the largest telecom market in the world poised to overtake China
5. Superpower in cricket having scaled the top in all the three forms of the game. Cricketers of foreign teams who once abhorred the idea of playing in India 'a poor, unhygienic and unsafe country' are now queuing up to play in India's IPL calling it "an honour and pleasure" !

Weaknesses

1. Promise outweighs performance
2. 'a lumbering elephant that can neither travel fast nor dance well'
3. 'a tiger that doesn't come out of the cage, let alone roar, when the doors are thrown open'.
4. The world's largest democracy has more than a third of its 1.2 billion people living under BPL. Decline of democratic institutions and professional autonomy
5. Poverty, corruption and violence have severely eroded the credibility of Indian democracy. India continues to be ranked very low on the World Development Index.

Drawbacks

neutrality towards work itself

The Gita preaches neutrality towards the fruits of work. Indians practise neutrality towards work itself - Swami Vivekananda

defeatist spirit

"I can assert without fear of contradiction that the quality of the Indian mind is equal to the quality of any Teutonic, Nordic or Anglo-Saxon mind. What we lack is perhaps courage, what we lack is perhaps the driving force which takes one anywhere. We have, I think developed an inferiority complex. I think what is needed in India today is the destruction of that defeatist spirit." - Sir C.V. Raman

Optimism vs Pessimism

"Are you an optimist or a pessimist about India's future?" a girl student asked Amartya Sen at the end of his lecture on NDTV recently.

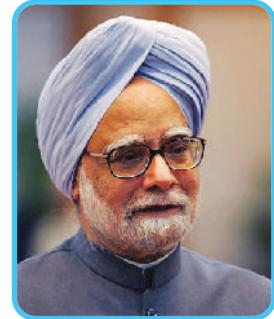
"An optimist by hope and a pessimist by experience," replied the Nobel Laureate with a smile.

Different Perspectives

'Road to sustained development'

Dr. Manmohan Singh

Prime Minister of India



One of our biggest challenges remains the challenge of reducing regional disparities. Equally important is the challenge of ensuring the economic and social uplift of our scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, other backward classes, less privileged sections of society and religious and linguistic minorities. These challenges have to be addressed at every level of the policy pyramid.

Our government has launched a series of development initiatives since 2004. These initiatives are aimed at investing in rural and urban infrastructure, at guaranteeing minimum employment and generating maximum employment. These initiatives are aimed at improving access to and the availability of education and health care to all our citizens. These initiatives need to be carried for they seek to improve the productivity of our farm economy and the income of our farmers where 65 per cent of our population still depends on agriculture.

But for each of these initiatives to be successfully implemented, we need proactive and creative leadership at the state and district level. We need a more active civil society and media focus on the quality of governance at the state and district levels. Urban governance has to vastly improve to make our cities and towns meet the needs of a burgeoning urban population. We need a creative entrepreneurial class that can compete both at home and abroad without artificial props. A visionary national leadership alone cannot do much when the challenge of development is in the realm of policy implementation and where states must be active partners.

We need a committed and proactive civil service. We need an active civil society. We need a professional middle class. We need a combination of all these participants to transform our less developed regions and take them forward on the road to sustained development.

India is always happy to extend a helpful and supportive hand to all our neighbours. We wish to see democracy take deep roots in all these countries so that the people of South Asia are fully empowered to take their destiny into their own hands.

We need a leadership in our region that can take a long-term view and which has the courage to take bold decisions. We must not allow our past to limit our future. To paraphrase Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, we must not allow 'narrow domestic walls' to confine us to 'the dreary desert sand of dead habit'. Instead, we should dip into the 'clear stream of reason' and walk forward into 'ever-widening thought and action' so that we can build not just a new India by 2020 but a new South Asia.

(Vision 2020 Challenges for the Next Decades, The Lotus collection, Roli Books 2010, p17 to 19)

The essence of a king's dharma is to secure his subject's prosperity and happiness. It is of utmost importance to choose carefully the men he appoints to positions. - Mahabharatha

Dichotomy, disparity and discontent

Bimal Jalan

Well known economist, former Governor Reserve Bank of India and ex-member Rajya Sabha



Just a year or two ago, India's reputation as both a democracy and a global emerging power was at its peak. Today, with daily reports of widening corruption, misgovernment and public despair about the working of India's politics, the picture has changed dramatically. India's reputation seems to have swung from that of a land of great opportunity to that of a country with a uncertain future.

The main areas of concern in the light of recent events basically two; (a) the growing disjuncture between economics a politics, and (b) the emergence of a 'public—private' dichotomy in the growth trajectory. There is simply no doubt that, in recent years, as the economy has become vibrant, politics has become more fragmented and 'messier'. Most of us, as observers of the Indian scene, are, of course, familiar with these developments, such as the diminishing accountability of the executive to Parliament, rising corruption, the preponderance of criminals in politics and the disproportionate power of small regional parties in multiparty coalitions. Unfortunately, while these unsavoury political developments are well known and dominate the media space, there is not much appreciation of the urgent need for political reforms to strengthen accountability, reduce the scope for corruption and reverse the incentives for small parties to destabilize coalitions.

Another core issue with multiple dimensions that needs to be resolved is what can be best described as the growing 'public- private' dichotomy in economic life. It is a striking fact that growth is now occurring largely outside the public sector. India has the distinction of having a large number of dollar billionaires. The assets of the top twenty billionaires are more than 20 percent of India's gross domestic product (GDP). This is larger than the share of the GDP contributed by the entire agricultural sector, on which more than 600 million Indian citizens are dependent for survival. No wonder economic disparities are rising and becoming a major source of concern and discontent in several parts of the country.

There is also a marked deterioration in public administration all levels, particularly in the provision of essential public services the fields of education, health, water and transport. As we look ahead, it is important to ask ourselves: how long can this dichotomy in the performance in the economy of the public and private sect continue without causing severe turbulence and affecting growth?

(Emerging India, Economics Politics & Reforms, Viking by Penguin p 13, 14)

Projecting an Indian vision on the World

Sashi Tharoor

Union Minister of State for HRD and
well known author



To the extent that we can project an Indian vision on the world, what would a 'Pax Indica' look like?

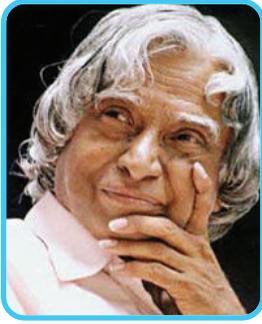
Indians can never afford to forget the condition in which we found our country at the onset of independence. From a nation that had once been among the world's richest, and which as late as 1820 accounted (in the estimate of the late British economic historian Angus Maddison) for 23 per cent of global GDP, we had been reduced by 1947 into one of the poorest, most backward, most illiterate and diseased societies on earth. From 1900 to 1947 the rate of growth of the Indian economy was not even 1 per cent, while population grew steadily at well over 3.5 per cent. Imperial rule left a society with 16 per cent literacy, practically no domestic industry and over 90 per cent living below what today we would call the poverty line. The impoverishment of India was the starkest reality that India's nationalist leaders had to face. It was therefore natural that our domestic transformation should be the overriding priority even in the making of foreign policy.

That is what I have called Pax Indica: not global or regional domination along the lines of a Pax Romana or a Pax Britannica (in which military victory by the Romans and the Britons, respectively, ensured that peace prevailed because potential adversaries were too exhausted to resist), but a 'Pax' for the twenty-first century, a peace system which will help promote and maintain a period of cooperative coexistence in its region and across the world.

This 'Pax Indica' must be built and sustained on the principles and norms that India holds dear at home and abroad. It would see a democratic and pluralist India working for a world order that sustains and defends democracy and pluralism; a 'multi-aligned' India serving as one of the principal fulcrums of a networked globe, in which countries pursue different interests in different configurations; an India free of poverty, growing and engaging in trade and investment in and with the rest of the world, and upholding arrangements that make such trade and investment relationships possible; an increasingly prosperous India, prepared to share the benefits of its prosperity with other nations on its periphery and its extended (land and maritime) neighbourhood; and a technologically savvy India, setting its sights on, and lending its expertise to, the management of outer space and cyberspace in the common interests of humanity.

In keeping with Nehru's original vision, the 'Pax Indica' I have outlined would not even principally be about India at all, but about India's sense of responsibility to the world of which it is such a crucial part—and whose destiny it has earned the right to help shape.

(*Pax Indica*, Allen Lane 2012, p 8, 427, 428)



Need for enlightened leadership Dr A.P.J. Abdul Kalam

What is needed is the evolution of enlightened and visionary leaders amongst us in all walks of life, whether it be politics, administration, religion, business, education or science, which has a bearing on the evolution of our nation and the society. And enlightened leadership is all about empowerment. It is thus the need of the hour to develop enlightened leadership amongst various sections of our society who will have a vision for and a commitment to peace, progress and development.

Indomitable Spirit 2006

Importance of public participation and national debate

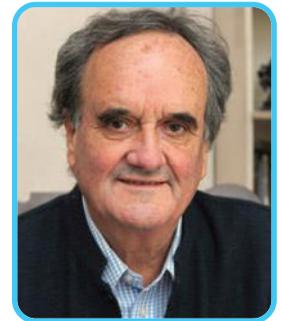
Democratic institutions are no doubt important in the functioning of a democracy. However, they should not be viewed as merely mechanical devices for development. Their successful use is dependent on societal values and on effective public participation in ensuring accountability of the governance structure. The time, then, has arrived for a national debate to serve as a catalyst for systemic change.

Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam

(Turning Points A journey through challenges Harper Collins Publishers 2012, P. 192)

Need to create a new ethos Sir Mark Tully

Well known author & Former Bureau Chief of BBC



“India’s urbanization needs “planned creation of towns all over the country that generate employment, provide affordable housing and transport for those who go to work”

“The capability of the Indian state to implement programmes and policies is weak – and in many domains it is not obvious it is improving. In police, tax collections, education, health, power, water supply-in nearly every rotten service – there is rampant absenteeism, in difference – incompetence and corruption.”
(Lant Pritchett)

“if India cannot protect its environment all the development could well eventually prove in vain.”

The flaws include the divide between India’s haves and have-nots, which are alarmingly growing, discrimination based on color, religion and caste, population growth out of control, endemic corruption, and incompetent administration.

Different Perspectives

Clear policies must be adhered to and the rules obeyed.

A new ethos needs to be created in government departments so that people who work there think of themselves as civil servants, not relics of the Raj who see themselves as rulers. The poor of India have to realize they too must help to build just communities.

(Non Stop India : Mark Tully, Allen Lane An imprint of Penguin Books-2011)

Conceptual and Ideological Challenges

Ramachandra Guha

The reassertion of religious orthodoxy in all faiths in modern India, the rise of the Maoists is linked to the dispossession of the tribals of central and eastern India. These tribals live in India's densest forests, along its fastest – flowing rivers and atop its richest veins of iron ore and bauxite.

To function moderately well, a democracy needs three sectors to pull their weight the state, private enterprise, and civil society. In the 1950s and 1960s, when entrepreneurs were timid and risk averse, and civil society was non-existent, the state performed superbly well. In 2012, it appears to be civil society which is performing best of all.

However, ever since, the Hindu Rashtra and the communist dictatorship have stood as sometimes recessive, sometimes aggressive, alternatives to the democratic idea of India.

Nationalist insurgencies retain their force and relevance. The discontent in these three states (Nagaland, Manipur and Kashmir) has four major causes: their distance, geographical and cultural, from the Indian heartland; the power of the idea of national independence among young men;

These three conceptual and ideological challenges (Hindu fundamentalism, Communist dictatorship, and ethnic separatism) all date to the founding of the nation.

India today is thus an environmental basket case, characterized by falling water tables, dead rivers, massively high rates of air pollution and soil erosion, unregulated disposal of toxic wastes, and the decimation of forests and biodiversity.

(from Patriots & Partisans Allen Lane an imprint of Penguin Books 2012, p 334)

Amartya Sen

Nobel Laureate & Thomas W. Lamont University Professor and
Professor of Economics and Philosophy, Harvard University

The policy limitations relate not only to governmental decisions, but also to the nature of public discussion, particularly the potential for criticizing these decisions. /so much energy and wrath have been spent on attacking or defending liberalization and deregulation that the monumental neglect of social inequalities and deprivations in public policy has received astonishingly little attention in these debates

INDIA Development And Participation Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen Oxford India Paperbacks Ninth impression 2011. RS275/- p 512

Do not accept suffering, choose it. Help one another to bear life's common cross,
that in so doing you may lighten one another's burden. - **Marcus Aurelius**

We have a choice

SUBBU MEMORIAL LECTURE

Shri P. Chidambaram



I am grateful to the Subbu Forum for inviting me to deliver the K Subrahmanyam Memorial Lecture. When I first joined the Government in 1985, he was already a Secretary-level officer belonging to the hallowed Indian Administrative Service. My first interaction with him as Minister of State for Personnel left me with the impression that he was thoroughly disenchanted with the bureaucracy and the daily chores of a bureaucrat. As I watched him from a distance, I saw him move seamlessly from being a civil servant to a national security expert. Without doubt, as long as he lived, he was the most authoritative voice on matters relating to national security. He lectured and wrote extensively on national security issues and soon acquired a large following of aspiring scholars and admirers. It is to K Subrahmanyam that we owe the growing number of scholars and analysts on matters concerning national security.

2. Until recently, we had taken a very compartmentalised view of national security. Each threat to national security was neatly fitted into one compartment. The first, of course, was a war with Pakistan. That was fitted into a compartment and was meant to be deterred, or defended, through the might of our armed forces. A war with China was, and remains, unthinkable and therefore that threat was fitted into another compartment and reserved to be dealt with through a mixture of engagement, diplomacy, trade, and positioning adequate forces along the borders. Beyond Pakistan and China, we did not perceive any external threat to our security. Other threats such as communal conflicts, terrorism, naxalism or maoist violence, drug peddling and Fake Indian Currency Notes (FICN) were bundled together under the label “threats to internal security” and were left to the Ministry of Home Affairs. Some threats were not acknowledged at all as threats to national security and these included energy security, food security and pandemics. K Subrahmanyam was one of the earliest to argue that we should take a more holistic view of the threats to national security.

3. Recently, eminent voices have echoed the views of K Subrahmanyam. The Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, in his address to the Combined Commanders Conference on October 20, 2005 identified - as threats to national security - terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, low intensity conflicts, and threats to the security of sea-lanes. The National Security Adviser, Shri Shivshankar Menon, delivering the Raja Ramanna Lecture on January 21, 2013 said “We now need to consider our energy security, food security, technology security, and social cohesion and institutions, to name just a few, when we think of national security.” In another place in the same lecture, he argued that there was little distinction between internal security and external security and identified the internal security challenges as having ‘some roots outside India and (is) linked to what happens outside the country.’

4. A close examination of the threats to national security will reveal that each one of them is connected to one or more other threats. For example, the threat of terrorism is connected to the threat of proliferation of arms including weapons of mass destruction. The threat to the security of our sea-lanes is connected to the threat to energy security. Low intensity conflicts have a direct bearing on social cohesion. Technology security will be the key to building new institutions. Natural disasters, especially those caused by climate change, can wreck food security. Pandemics and diseases, if uncontrolled, can diminish our capacity to defend the borders against our adversaries or to defeat the militants within the country. National security is, therefore, caught in a complex spider’s web and unless we recognise that each strand of this web is connected to other strands, we would not be able to do justice to our fundamental obligation to protect and defend the security of the nation.

5. Defending and promoting national security stands on three important pillars: firstly, human resources; secondly, science and technology; and thirdly, money. I have placed money last, not because it is the least important, but because it is the most important pillar of national security. Without money, we cannot nurture and build our human resources. We need schools, colleges, universities, libraries, laboratories, skill development institutions and, above all, highly qualified teachers. It was in the sixth decade of independence that we were able to pass a law on the Right to Education. Only now we have been able to achieve near-universal enrolment of children in school, but there are still problems in retention and, according to 2010-11 statistics, only 73 percent of children who enrol in class I complete five years of schooling and only 59.4 percent complete eight years of schooling. Despite having 32,987 colleges and 621 universities, the Gross Enrolment Ratio is only 18.8 percent. The shortage of teachers at the elementary school level is estimated at 800,000. According to the Ministry of Human Resource Development we need 20,000 more colleges and 1500 more universities if we aim to provide post-school education to all the children who complete school. Even today we turn out only about 800,000 engineers from our engineering colleges and 44,000 MBBS doctors from our medical colleges every year. Only 72,202 scholars were enrolled in Ph.D programmes in 2012 and only 9,704 applications were filed for patents in calendar 2012 by Indians. The Central Government spends only 0.67 percent of GDP on education (2010-11), and that includes all heads of expenditure that could be broadly brought under the subject 'education'. It is estimated that all the State Governments put together spend another 2.36 percent of GDP on education (2010-11). The percentages may appear modest, but the absolute amounts are quite large. Nevertheless, the average child enrolled in class V has only attained the competence of a child in class II. At the other end, none of our universities figure in the top 200 universities of the world.

6. Infant mortality rate is still at 44 per 1000 live births, maternal mortality rate is at 212 per 100,000 live births and, on both counts, we will not achieve the millennium development goal. Life expectancy has increased from 59.4 years in 1991 to 66.1 years in 2011, but during the same period the child sex ratio has declined from 945 girls to 914 girls per 1000 boys. The expenditure of the Central Government on 'health care' is 0.31 percent of GDP and State Governments spend another 0.60 percent of GDP. Thus, on education and health, the total Government expenditure is below 4 percent of GDP. Other emerging economies spend much more. For example, Brazil (9.1 percent), South Africa (9.6 percent) and China (5.9 percent) spend much more. If we can create the fiscal space that will allow us to spend an additional one percent every year amounting to an additional four percent over the remaining four years of the 12th Plan, it would make a huge impact on human resource development in the country.

7. Let me turn to science and technology. Every country that has moved up to the level of middle income country or a developed country has intensively promoted and heavily relied upon science and technology. It begins with the Gross Enrolment Ratio. Countries that have made the big leap in the last 30 years have an impressive GER. In Malaysia it is 40 percent; in Brazil it is 26 percent and in China it is 26 percent. China has about 1200 colleges devoted to engineering which produce about 700,000 engineering graduates every year.

8. None of the threats to national security can be effectively countered unless we embrace science and technology and impart instruction in science and technology beginning at the school level. There are four physical domains in our world – land, sea, air and space. We have a land border of a length of about 15,000 kms with Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, China, Bangladesh and Myanmar, and even a small length of 106 kms with Afghanistan. We patrol these borders using a variety of measures – from sophisticated radars to camel-mounted border guards. On the Indian-Bhutan border, there are only two land custom stations at Jaigaon and Hatisar. However, a large volume of goods do not move through these stations and do not bear the endorsement of the Customs authorities. There are densely populated villages on either side of the India-Nepal and the India-Bhutan borders. Because only border guarding forces are in place, and hardly any technology is employed, it is widely acknowledged that the borders are porous. As I speak to you, there are 191 battalions of the BSF, ITBP, SSB and Assam Rifles on our borders, but little technology.

9. We also have a long coastline extending to 7516 kms. It is only after the Mumbai terror attack that

we took steps to strengthen coastal security. We created a Coastal Command, authorised and funded a number of Coastal Police Stations, funded the purchase of boats for coastal policing, and installed some radars. However, given the thousands of boats – small and big – that are in the waters off the west coast, the threats to security still remain quite high. On the waters off the east coast, there is virtually no force other than the Navy. We have many defence and defence research installations on the east coast, the DRDO and the Department of Space use the east coast extensively, and there is a large programme for exploration of oil and gas in the Bay of Bengal. Except for the presence of naval and coast guard vessels, and some technology that they have brought in, we have not used technology in a big way to bolster our security along the coast line.

10. In the air, we rely on the Air Force. This is perhaps the most technology-driven arm of the Defence Forces. In space, we have a few satellites, mainly dedicated to communications, weather forecasting and other peaceful purposes. Some satellites are capable of surveillance, but we abide by the international regime that there should be no militarisation of space.

11. Apart from land, sea, air and space, there is another domain which is cyber space. Much of our critical infrastructure lies in cyber space. Cyber crimes such as hacking, financial fraud, data theft, espionage etc. would, in certain circumstances, amount to terrorist acts. Further, the threat of disruption of financial, rail, air, power, critical information services through cyber attacks could also be construed as terrorist attacks. I need hardly emphasise that the latest advances in technology would be required to build our capacity to meet the threats in cyber space and, only recently, we made a modest beginning to build capacity to counter threats in cyber space.

12. It is a matter of regret that we are not ploughing in more funds and more human resources into R&D, especially R&D that is related to national security. Two days ago, Shri V K Saraswat, Director, DRDO, lamented that “one HAL, one ADE or one ADA would not suffice. Industry has to accelerate and increase investments in a big way if you want India to become an aerospace and aeronautical manufacturing centre.” The situation will not change unless we allow more players, who will bring more resources, into security related manufacturing and services sectors. Our indigenous advance light helicopter (ALH), light combat helicopter (LCH), light utility helicopter (LUH), intermediate jet trainer (IJT) and basic trainer aircraft are still at the stage of design and development. Arjun, the main battle tank, after many years of development, was inducted into the Army in 2004, and the next model is still some years away. The largest conventional-powered naval vessel built in Garden Reach Shipyard is the Aditya weighing 17,000 DWT and a cruising speed of 20 knots. An aircraft carrier is under construction at the Cochin Shipyard. Capital expenditure in 2012-13 on indigenous defence production, including expenditure on R&D and in the DGOF and DGQA, was Rs.5,060 crore. If we wish to scale up both on technology and on numbers, we need far more resources than what we can afford today.

13. The last of the three pillars is money. It is also the pillar that will support the first two pillars. Money comes out of growth. The revenues of Government are tax revenue and non-tax revenue. Non-tax revenue constitutes a small proportion of total revenue and is more uncertain. Tax revenue consists, mainly, of five taxes: excise, customs, service tax, income tax and corporation tax. Excise revenue is a function of growth in the manufacturing sector; customs revenue is a function of higher imports; service taxes are a function of more activity and more transactions in the services sector; income tax and corporation tax are a function of more incomes for individuals, families and corporations. Increase in tax revenue is, in a very large measure, the outcome of higher growth. When the economy is on a roll, tax revenues are buoyant and when the economy slows down, the first casualty is revenue from taxes.

14. In our own times, we have seen the difference between the period when the Indian economy was on a high growth path and the period when there has been a noticeable slow down. In the former phase (2004-2008), we were able to provide for virtually everything that we desired, but also for exceptional items of expenditure such as the agricultural loan waiver scheme. During that period, we were also able to reduce the fiscal deficit from 4.5 percent in 2003-04 to 2.5 percent in 2007-08. When there is a slow down, the

consequence is the exact opposite. The first hit is on tax revenue. As the anticipated growth in tax revenue declines, but expenditure cannot be compressed in the short term, the gap between revenue and expenditure rises rapidly. The short term response is to borrow more, leading to a ballooning of the fiscal deficit. The medium term response will be to contain expenditure, but that has its own consequences. A cut back on public expenditure will further slow down the economy. It will also curtail the number of jobs that are created. A cut back on social welfare will hurt the poor: less money for education or health care will deny, to many more people, access to basic education or basic health facilities. And, finally, a cut back on expenditure on defence or on the police forces will severely compromise our defence and security preparedness and diminish our capacity to meet the challenges to national security.

15. It is therefore a self-evident truth that growth is the key for greater public welfare and greater security. Yet, we adopt a disdainful attitude to growth. Some think that the value of growth is overstated and that we would be better off if we pursued not the goal of growth but other goals such as cultural nationalism or debt-driven egalitarianism.

16. There can be no better example of two countries on different growth paths, one a good two percentage points higher than the other, than of China and India. China has been able to grow at an average rate of 9 percent and above since 1981. India, on the other hand, achieved a growth rate of 9 percent or higher in only four years: 2005-06, 2006-07, 2007-08 and, finally, in 2010-11. Even while swearing by “socialism with Chinese characteristics”, China recognised the advantages of a higher growth rate. In his speech to the 18th Party Congress of the Communist Party of China, the outgoing President of China and General Secretary of the Party said: “The gross domestic product reached 47.2 trillion yuan in 2011 The infrastructure has been extensively upgraded. Urbanisation has been steadily advanced, and development between urban and rural areas and between regions has become better balanced. Notable progress has been made in making China an innovative country, and major breakthroughs have been made in manned space flights, the lunar exploration programmes, and in the development of a manned deep sea submersible, super computers and high speed railways.” In 2010, China spent 1.84 percent of its GDP on R&D and that was a humungous sum of USD 134 billion. India, on the other hand, spent 0.9 percent of GDP and that amounted to only USD 13 billion. President Hu Jintao also counted the improvement in living standards and its benefits and said: “Urban and rural employment has continued to increase; individual income has increased rapidly; household assets have grown steadily; people’s need for daily necessities such as clothing, food, housing and transportation is better met.”

17. It is sustained high growth that has enabled China to lift all but a small proportion of its people out of poverty. The estimate of poverty in China is 13.1 percent; in India it is 29.8 percent, even if one adopts a helpful standard of calorie intake. Forty two percent of children under age 5 in India are malnourished compared to 3.4 percent in China. Life expectancy at birth in India is 66.1 years, while in China it is 73.3 years.

18. High growth in China inevitably translated into higher expenditure on security and, as a logical corollary, a high degree of security. In the same speech, President Hu Jintao said “Military preparedness has been enhanced. The armed forces have greatly enhanced their capability of carrying out their historic mission in this new stage in the new century, and they have accomplished a host of urgent, difficult, dangerous and arduous tasks.” The results of higher expenditure show up in the hardware. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), China has nearly 62 ICBMs. China is reportedly developing the JL-2 SLBM for its new strategic submarines, four of which are already sailing while two more are under construction. India has purchased one from Russia that is used for training purposes. There are reports that China has commissioned its first indigenously renovated aircraft carrier, unveiled its fifth generation stealth aircraft (the J-20 and the J-31) and tested an anti-satellite weapon once and a missile interceptor twice. There is also a report that China has developed a strategic heavy lift transport aircraft. China has a space lab in orbit and it also plans to launch 100 satellites during its on-going five year plan from 2011-15. Twenty space craft will be launched this year including its third Lunar probe and a manned space craft that will dock with China’s space lab. There are indications that, by 2020, China may have more than 200 space craft in orbit

accounting for about one-fifth of the world's total. These examples are sufficient to emphasise the point that sustained high growth is the key to become, if a country aims to become, a "comprehensive national power".

19. I have spoken about national security defined broadly to include external security and internal security. I have not spoken about another dimension of national security which is social cohesion and harmony. In fact, the case for high growth will be much stronger if one took into account the dimension of inclusive development that contributes to social cohesion and harmony.

20. I conclude by asserting that there is no substitute for sustained growth over a long period of time if India should attain the status of, at least, a middle income country. It is only sustained growth that gives as a chance to tune the growth model in favour of inclusive development. Without growth there will be neither development nor inclusiveness.

21. What is constraining our growth is the lack of fiscal space. In 2012-13 BE, the fiscal deficit was 5.1 percent of GDP and, of this, the revenue deficit accounted for 3.4 percent of GDP, leaving no more than 1.7 percent of GDP (plus some other modest capital receipts) for capital expenditure. This capital expenditure is spread across a number of areas from rural roads to nuclear power plants and from primary health centres to central universities. It is obvious that we have to invest more as capital, but that would require creating more fiscal space for capital expenditure. The only way we can create that fiscal space is to bring the revenue deficit to zero and limit the fiscal deficit to 3 percent of GDP, so that the whole of that amount – which, I may remind you, is borrowed – is available for capital expenditure. And it is only when we reach a stage in our growth story when there will be a revenue surplus that we can afford to invest more in the form of capital. That day is still some distance away, but not unattainable, if we adopt the path of prudence and sound fiscal management.

22. As a nation, we seem to oscillate between embracing growth as the highest goal and deriding growth as no panacea for the ills that afflict the country. If we do not have sustained high growth over a long period of time, we will be, forever, an undernourished, undereducated, underprovided and underperforming nation. We will also fall behind in scientific and technological advancements and the gap between India and the developed world, and the gap between India and other emerging countries including China, will continue to grow. We will also be constrained in our ability to defend national security against both external and internal threats.

23. Today, we have a choice. We have a choice between becoming the third largest economy of the world and a middle income country or becoming one of the largest economies of the world that muddles along with the bulk of its people trapped in a life of low income, poor quality, high morbidity and great inequality. Needless to say, the two models of India will have very different consequences for national security. The first model will make India a secure nation, capable of defending itself, and a force of peace in the neighbourhood and elsewhere. The second model will leave the country exposed to every kind of threat to which will be added internal conflicts, and India will be viewed as a strife-torn country that is a threat to the peace and progress of the world and, in particular, Asia. A nation that was the cradle of civilisation five thousand years ago must choose wisely and, once the choice is made, it must have the resolve and the power to stay the course. Recent history has many examples of nations that have, with single-minded determination, devoted themselves to the pursuit of prosperity and security. The early winners were Japan and Korea. More recently, Brazil, Mexico and Indonesia have demonstrated their potential to join the ranks of such countries. China, if it achieves its goals, will be the country to emulate. Whither India? Will India embrace the twin goals of prosperity and security and outshine all of them? I leave you with that question and urge each one of you to find the answer.

24. I thank you for the honour of delivering this lecture and for your courtesy.

Centre for Policy Studies thanks Subbu Memorial Foundation and Cmde Udaya Bhaskar for according permission to publish the above address delivered at Delhi on February 6, 2013.

THE NUCLEAR GENIE-6

Nuclear Weapons Build-up

Prof. M.N. Sastri

The first UN General Assembly which met in London in January 1946 initiated steps to eliminate all weapons of mass destruction including the atomic bomb. As part of this goal, the US presented a plan known as the Baruch Plan (named after its author Bernard Baruch) for the establishment of an international authority to control the potentially dangerous atomic activities, license the programmes and carry out inspections. The Soviet Union rejected the plan since it would have given the US decisive nuclear superiority and also could have stopped the Soviet nuclear programme. In the absence of an agreement, the atomic weapons building activity was pursued vigorously by the US and its allies UK and France as well as the Soviet Union and its China ally. Thus began the era of Cold War marked by intensive testing programmes and weapons build-up casting a nuclear shadow over the world “like a giant gloomy mushroom tattoo.” The term Cold War came “from the fact that it never became a shooting war per se, but more of a cat and mouse game!”

No nuclear weapon was used in a war after Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But nuclear weapon testing has been carried out throughout the 20th century by different nations. The object of testing was to determine the effectiveness, yield and explosive capability and behavior of different types under various conditions. More

importantly a weapon testing has often been used by countries to proclaim their scientific and military prowess. Most of the countries (including India, Pakistan and North Korea) declared their nuclear status by means of nuclear tests.

Beginning with the first ever test carried out by the US on July 16, 1945, there have been 2,044 tests worldwide, the equivalent of one test occurring somewhere in the world every nine days for the last fifty years, says a 1996 report of Greenpeace. Of these, the US carried out 1,030 nuclear weapons tests (equivalent of one test every 17 days since the first test), the last and final test being the one on September 23, 1993. The Soviet Union conducted 715 tests (on average one test every 23 days) with the last one on October 25, 1990. France conducted 210 tests (one in every 63 days) ending with the final test on January 27, 1996. UK carried out 45 tests (one in every 349 days), with the last and final test held on November 26, 1991. China conducted 45 tests (one every 222 days). Other countries that conducted tests include India (seven), Pakistan (six) and North Korea (two) (to be described later). Additionally there have been at least three unacknowledged tests.

Worldwide 711 tests have been conducted in the atmosphere or under water. It is estimated that the total yield of all the atmospheric

weapons tests conducted was 438 megatons. This is equivalent to 29,200 Hiroshima size explosives. In the 36 years between 1945 and 1980, when atmospheric testing was going on it would have been equivalent to exploding a Hiroshima size bomb in the atmosphere every 11 hours! It is estimated that about 4,200 kilograms of plutonium, the most toxic element, has been discharged into the atmosphere from atmospheric testing and about 3,830 kilograms as a result of underground testing. Radioactivity has leaked into the atmosphere and water sources from atmospheric tests and into the soil and ground waters, turning large areas of land uninhabitable by the indigenous people and affecting their livelihoods. The American Scientist journal stated in 2006, “There was no place on Earth where the signature of atmospheric nuclear testing could not be found in soil, water and even polar ice.” With rising concern about radioactive fallout as result of testing in the atmosphere, underwater, or on the ground surface, nations have entered into a treaty, called the Partial Test Ban Treaty, banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in the outer space and underwater to stop the excessive release of nuclear fallout into the planet’s atmosphere and thence into the ecosystem. With this treaty coming into force on October 10, 1963, all tests were conducted underground thereafter. China and France however have reportedly

conducted surface tests till 1996. The US conducted underground tests till 1992, the Soviet Union till 1990, and the UK till 1991.

Another treaty known as the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) has been adopted by the UN General Assembly and opened for signatures in 1996. Under this treaty, nations have pledged to discontinue all nuclear testing. However Article XIV requires ratification by 44 designated nuclear capable states before the Treaty enters into force. As of 2012 China, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Israel and the US have signed the Treaty but not ratified it. India opposed the Treaty on the ground that it was discriminatory and inadequate in terms of securing disarmament commitment from the nuclear weapon states under declared deadlines. Pakistan and North Korea also did not sign the Treaty.

The US and Soviet Union have also conducted “PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS” for various purposes such as deep seismic sounding, creating underground storage cavities, extracting gas and oil, extinguishing gas or oil wells, creating reservoirs and help building a canal. India’s nuclear test in 1974 was ostensibly ‘for peaceful purposes’.

By 1993 about 127,000 nuclear warheads have been built by the US and Soviet Union. These represent 98 per cent of the global nuclear weapons output with UK and France accounting for almost 2 per cent. Israel, India, Pakistan and Korea also built a relatively smaller number of weapons. These weapons are broadly categorized as Strategic and Tactical nuclear weapons. The strategic weapons, with yields greater than 100

kilotons and up to megatons, are designed to be used as part of a strategic plan, against targets such as nuclear missile bases, military command centres, and heavily populated civilian areas such as towns and cities. These are dropped from big bombers (e.g. B-29, B-36, B-52 and B-61) and also launched through long range delivery systems such as the Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) and Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles against targets thousands of kilometers away. In contrast, tactical weapons are smaller short range weapons with yields in the 15-100 kiloton range. These are designed to be used in a battle, as part of an attack by conventional (land, air or air) forces aiming at the accomplishment of a specified military mission. Briefly stated Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) with nuclear warheads with long ranges (thousands of miles) represent the primary strategic nuclear weapons while short range missiles with nuclear warheads constitute tactical weapons. This distinction between the strategic weapons and tactical weapons has however dissolved with advances in delivery systems and their accuracy. A strategic weapon can be used for tactical purposes and vice versa. But from non-proliferation point of view, the tactical (non-strategic) weapons pose a much greater danger than their strategic counterparts. This is because they are more vulnerable for non-authorized use, including theft, than strategic weapons, which always have dedicated delivery systems, better physical security, and better established and mature methods and procedures.

Decades of rushed and largely

secretive production of plutonium and enriched uranium for nuclear weapons has left immense legacies of contamination and toxic nuclear wastes in the major nuclear weapons-producing countries of US and Soviet Union. As many as 113 locations in the US were engaged in the production of 70,000 bombs and warheads between 1940 and 2000. Of these, just two bombs were used over Japan in 1945! During this period the US has spent about \$400 billion for weapons production and an additional \$5 trillion for developing the delivery systems (e.g. missiles, submarines) and related equipment! According to US Department of Energy (DOE) report of 1998, the cleanup operations of nuclear weapons production sites involve:

Remediating 1.7 trillion gallons of contaminated water, an amount equal to approximately four times the daily US water consumption, Remediating 40 million cubic metres of contaminated soil and debris, enough to fill approximately 17 professional sports stadiums, Safely storing and guarding more than 18 metric tons of weapons grade plutonium, enough for making thousands of nuclear weapons, Managing over 2,000 tons of intensely radioactive spent nuclear fuel, some of which is corroding, Sorting, treating and disposing of radioactive and hazardous waste, including 160,000 cu.m. currently in storage and over 100 million gallons of liquid high level radioactive waste, Deactivating and/or decommissioning of about 4,000 facilities that are no longer needed,

Implementing critical non-proliferation programmes for accepting and safely managing spent

fuel from foreign research reactors, and Providing long-term care and monitoring or stewardship at about 109 sites for hundreds of years following clean up.

The DOE in its report in 2000 estimated that from \$151-195 billion will be needed through the year 2070 for cleaning up the US nuclear weapons facilities. A Los Angeles Times report of October 20, 2009 says that so far \$ 100 billion have been spent and the cost is expected to total over \$330 billion over next three to five decades. Meanwhile a February 2013 report says that six of the 177 underground tanks at Hanford, Washington State, (considered as America's most contaminated nuclear site) holding a mix of radioactive and toxic wastes are leaking. These tanks were installed decades ago are past their intended life span of 20 years. These tanks contain some 83 million gallons of highly radioactive waste enough to fill dozens of Olympic size swimming pools.

Throughout the Cold war period the former Soviet Union developed and built its nuclear weapons in a number of secret

nuclear sites spread across the country. The Mayak (formerly known as Chelyabinsk) area, one of the main centres for producing nuclear weapons and reprocessing of spent nuclear fuel for plutonium extraction is considered as the most contaminated spot on the Planet. It suffered at least three serious accidents exposing a huge swathe of 35,000 sq.miles to intense radiation. Lacking adequate infrastructure for storing or managing the spent fuel and radioactive wastes, the Soviet Union has dumped its wastes into the water bodies. In the early years of operation the Mayak plant released huge quantities of radioactivity contaminated water into the several nearby lakes, whose waters ultimately flow into the Ob River. Waste waters were pumped into Lake Karachai, a 100 acre water body with no outlet, until the radioactivity accumulated to 120 million Curies. The contaminated water is reported to be seeping into the Arctic too. In November 2000 it was revealed that dangerous levels of radioactivity are entering the Tom River from the nuclear facility at Tomsk 25 km away. The Soviet Union has been

responsible for dumping in the sea twice as much nuclear wastes and spent fuel as the rest of nuclear powers of the world. Between 1956 and 1992 one to three million Curies (equivalent to the activity of one to three million grams of radium) were dumped at sea. About 20 reactors from nuclear submarines have been dumped in the Sea of Japan and Arctic Ocean.

With the breakup of the Soviet Union, the Russian state has inherited, as a Cold War legacy, nuclear material consisting of spent nuclear fuel and radioactive waste from 200 nuclear submarines and surface ships, posing a significant threat to the environment in the North West and Far East. More than 100 Soviet nuclear submarines, virtually abandoned, await decommissioning. Dismantling each submarine is estimated to cost \$25 million. Several countries including the US have come to the assistance of cash-strapped Russia for the elimination of this Cold War legacy and also take steps for the safe upkeep of the plutonium and enriched uranium recovered. The progress has however been very tardy.

SHOULD JOURNALISTS HAVE A BASIC QUALIFICATION?

Ramaswami Sampath

(Retd. Chief of Bureau of the Vizag edition of 'The Hindu' & Former Resident Editor, Indian Express, Vijayawada)



Mr. Justice Markandey Katju, Chairman of the Press Council of India, has understandably drawn flak from media veterans, whom he calls "touchy journalists", for his remark

that there must be some basic qualification for individuals seeking entry into the profession. Chiefs of institutes training journalists have also raised an alarm against his appointing

a three-member committee to make suggestions to this effect, dubbing it as an "attack on the freedom of expression"!

To be fair to Justice Katju, one

One of the fundamental problems of India is a peculiarly Indian form of bad governance. - Mark Tully

can boldly say that it is against his grain to initiate any move against press freedom. He is indeed a boon to the country's 'Fourth Estate', which is hailed as the jealous guardian of people's rights and aspirations. Ever since he took over as the head of the PCI, he has been proactive and always in the vanguard of the battles waged to protect the freedom of expression which encompasses freedom of the press. None can dispute his stellar role as the sentinel in this respect. His able stewardship of the PCI also amply answers the frequently asked question: 'Who is to watch the watchdog?'

At the same time, he is a gadfly and unsparing critic of the aberrations that have crept onto the media arena. Trivialisation of news indulged in by most newspapers and popular TV channels which give over-importance to cocktail circuits, fashion parades, high society happenings, etc., is anathema to him. He feels that this is being done at the expense of relegating, if not ignoring, issues concerning 'aam aadmi'. At every available opportunity he has been giving vent to his spleen over this phenomenon, loosely called 'Page 3 culture'. Another dark area that has rightly incensed Justice Katju is the prevalence of 'paid news' in the print and electronic media, and his fulminations over this ugly development are too well known to be recounted here. He has also been advocating the need for a mechanism to have a check over the media, just as the "other three estates of the realm" - legislature, executive and judiciary - have their own checks and balances, proclaiming at the same

time that he is certainly against any official regulator over the media.

While the PCI chief is being applauded for his views and actions on the above issues, his latest prescription of minimum basic qualifications for the practice of journalism is frowned upon. Media celebrities do not appreciate his stand that just as Medical and Bar Councils of India play a supervisory role over doctors and lawyers respectively, insisting on some basic qualification and apprenticeship before being registered as professionals, so also the profession of journalism must have a disciplining body that could take care of training its members. Some do not agree that journalism is a profession but call it a vocation. Some others describe it as an "open profession", meaning that anybody could be part of this line of activity.

Justice Katju's critics opine that journalists, being a class apart from other professionals, need not have any basic qualifications and that all they require is to have the aptitude to serve society truthfully by being its eyes and ears. Since their duty is to function like a mirror reflecting all aspects of the community they serve, it is enough if they take care to ensure that the mirror does not distort the image it reflects. Unlike practitioners of other professions, dedicated mediapersons are capable of developing their reflexes by plunging straight into the waters, some senior journalists affirm. A newspaper columnist has coupled journalism and politics and asserts, "Both should be accessible to every one regardless of one's class, caste, gender, linguistic

and academic station in life. The governing term for these two professions is inclusion and both cannot have anything that suggests exclusivity or entry barrier."

Now the question is: Is journalism is really an open profession that anybody could become its practitioner easily? One distinct feature of this profession is that it encourages freelancers, who are forbidden in other professions. In the Fifties and Sixties of the last century, journalists of the Fleet Street (a collective nym for newspapers published from London by virtue of the location of their production centres in that street) used to boast about the stringent conditions facing new recruits thus: "Many are called but few are chosen." That claim is valid even today, as appointments in the media are mostly based on the qualifications the applicants possess. Which newspaper or channel recruits a person on the basis of his or her aptitude only? Are not campus interviews conducted in the institutes of mass communication for purposes of recruitment? Do not journalism schools promise placement to their students?

In the pre-Independence days, newspapers would select only candidates who had a good grounding in English language and grammar and ability to translate, besides knowledge of shorthand and typewriting. Journalists of that era had to cover long-winding speeches of the leaders of the freedom struggle and proceedings of the legislative bodies; hence these qualifications were insisted upon.

That trend continued after Independence. To improve the working conditions of journalists, the Union Government appointed the first Press Commission under the chairmanship of Justice Rajadhyaksha, and one of its recommendations was to create a wage board mechanism to improve the salary structure of journalists. Based on this, Parliament enacted the Working Journalists (service conditions) Bill of 1955. Several wage boards had since been appointed to improve the salary structure of working journalists. The late Ramnath Goenka, proprietor of the Express Group of newspapers and a relentless crusader for freedom of the press, sent a communication in the 1980s to the then editor-in-chief of 'Indian Express' S. Mulgaocar (this writer who was the news editor of its Vijayawada edition was privy to that missive as copies were marked to all senior journalists of the paper), had spelt out a new recruitment policy by which only academically brilliant candidates who had graduated from elite educational institutions and universities should be recruited, "since we are paying hefty salaries ". Judged by such practices, this "open" profession still appears to be a myth.

Justice Katju is being hauled across red hot charcoal by the leading lights of the media for making explicit what is implicit in the field. Editor-in-chief of the 'Outlook' magazine Vinod Mehta has said that some of the eminent journalists of democratic countries were not academically brilliant, but they have

made a mark in the profession, thereby proving that there is no connection between scholarship and practice of journalism. In this connection, he has cited his own example of poor academic record, modestly claiming his success in the field. Good old colleague Partab Ramchand has stated that his being a matriculate has not deterred his achieving laurels in his speciality of sports reporting and authoring a number of books on cricket. Both Vinodji and Ramchand deserve kudos for their frankness, and such truthfulness is a must for any media professional. But then, they are exceptions to the general rule; and exception can never become the rule.

As for the criticism that the PCI chief's prescription is a direct attack on the freedom of expression, it can be said that he has only floated an idea and thrown the ball in the court of media personnel and the government. The acceptance or rejection of that idea is for these stakeholders. With journalism getting more and more specialised, the day will not be far off when readers and viewers themselves would demand qualified personnel to manage the show and shy away from unqualified practitioners of the profession.

On-the-job training of journalists is certainly laudable. In good old days, senior journalists, who were role-models to juniors, by virtue of the former's vast knowledge, profound wisdom and rich experience, used to serve as mentors. This writer was a beneficiary of the mentoring by such stalwarts. Today how many seniors have the time or

willingness to act as mentors? Hence, on-the-job training is essential to shape budding mediapersons. But how many media organisations are offering on-the-job training? When a press baron was asked about this aspect during a gettogether, he quipped: "I am a businessman and want my staffers to deliver the goods. Why should I train them? They will get their bio-data enriched and switch over to rival organisations." It is in the interest of journalists themselves to secure academic qualifications in this highly competitive field. As Justice Katju says, even for the intake of peons some qualification is insisted upon. When this is the ground reality, what is wrong in seeking to recruit only qualified persons as journalists?

Conventional journalism is slowly yielding place to New Journalism which is technology-driven. So many on-line methods of purveying news and views instantly by bloggers, twitters, social networks like Facebook, etc., pose a threat to journalism as practised today, indirectly indicating that 'journalism is too serious a subject to be left at the mercy of journalists'. Whatever be the shape of things to come, the fundamental aspect of journalism, namely conveying news, will remain forever. Whether Old or New Journalism, its basic requirement will comprise truthfulness, ethics and public service. And these basics will be strengthened by a good academic background, as the Sanskrit adage goes, "Vidya dadaathi vinayam" (education begets humility).

A DOMAIN BEYOND GOD

Prof. Manoj Das

(A Seer among scholars the venerable Prof Manoj Das who lives in Aurobindo Ashram, Auroville has graciously permitted the publication of this essay from his book **My Little India**)



It is doubtful if there was another prison site in the world where so many generations and schools of fighters for freedom of a country had been interned and where so many political prisoners had been hanged or killed through torture. The 1857 rebels were followed by the Wahabis (1860-1870), the Manipuri rebels led by Tikendrajit (executed on the mainland) including members of the Raj family; convicts of the Alipore Conspiracy Case, the Nasik Conspiracy Case, the Lahore Conspiracy Case, the Barisal Conspiracy Case, the Benares Conspiracy Case, the Burma Conspiracy Case, and participants in several other less-known plots.

The rigidity in maintaining isolation among the prisoners was exemplified in the case of the famous Savarkar brothers. Vir Damodar Savarkar who reached the Cellular Jail in 1910 learnt only after a full year that his elder brother, Ganesh Savarkar, had been secured before him!

The early jail buildings had disappeared. What stands today as the Cellular Jail is a fortress, constructed in the nineties of the 19th century, on the heart of Port Blair, earlier Port Cornwallis. It was constituted of seven three-storey wings, all of them

extending from a central tower and called Cellular because it had only cells, 698 in-all, and no dormitory. A cell measured 13 and 1/2 feet by 7 feet and had a door with iron grating and a small ventilator at a height of 10 feet on the back wall. The front of each wing faced the back wall of another wing so that the inmates of one wing could not communicate with those of another. After a day's hard labour, a prisoner was locked up in his cell from 5 p.m. till 6 a.m.

Prisoners were kept shackled even in the ship that took them to the citadel of punishment. They were marched to the fortress in fetters and received with appropriate courtesy at the destination. Passages from the memoirs of a well-known revolutionary, Upendranath Bandopadhyay of the famous Alipore Conspiracy Case:

' "So, here you are, at last! Well, you see that block yonder. It is there that we tame lions... You will meet your friends there, but mind you, don't talk!" '

This was Mr. Barrie, the jailor who looked like 'a huge frog in trousers with the face of a bull dog.'

"The block yonder was the citadel of unimaginable atrocities. One's limbs could be smashed

methodically, nails and skin taken off, burning torches applied to different limbs, to mention a few, apart from the usual thrashing, kicking, etc. If one cried out for God's mercy, this was Mr. Barrie's fond advice to him: "Look here. I've been in Port Blair for thirty long years and take it from me - I've not seen God anywhere near this compound even once! This is my domain and not God's."

'Only one day in a year he looked sober. That was the Christmas Day, when this Roman Catholic Irishman went to the church to deposit his year's accumulation of sins at the Bishop's feet.'

The political prisoners were only a part of the Cellular population. The rest were prisoners convicted of usual criminal offences. After serving a term for ten years, one obtained a 'ticket of leave.' He could settle down on the island and earn a living through agriculture or some petty trade, though still a prisoner. He could be a free Andamanian only after proving his good conduct for 20 or 25 years.

Groups of such ex-convicts, male and female, formed scattered settlements. Very few could manage to bring their families from the mainland. But marriages were allowed

between the convicts or their children. English officers played a Fate-like role in the event. As an old Andamanian recollected in a programme broadcast over AIR, Port Blair:

"The choleric Brookes would suddenly burst out in Hindoosthani, startling those who came inside his room. "Take off her veil," he would command. The father of the girl would fail to understand at first, and then, prodded by the orderly, would ask the daughter to bare her face. Brookes would look at her searchingly and then ask, "Look, here is a man who is a convict, a ferocious murderer, a desperate character. If you misbehave, he could cut off your head. Are you still willing to marry him?" On her assenting, he would turn to the man, "Look here, you no-good bum. This girl belongs to this place. She may marry you but she will be friendly with other men. Are you still willing to marry her?" Now, if he also agreed, Brookes would give them eight days time to live together and find out the compatibility or otherwise of the marriage.'

Thus grew up a new population in the Andamans - children born to couples who came from different states and different religious faiths and spoke different languages. By and by the Andamanians cultivated a kind of detachment towards such differences. They have upheld a unity in diversity that might have been born of necessity, but is no less laudable for that. The casteless society that

emerged out of the Cellular jail is a proof of Emerson's statement: 'Every sweet hath its sour; every evil its good.'

Approaching the archipelago as our plane descended through the clouds had been as inviting an experience for us as it had been at least for one of the convicts in the first decade of the last century, even though he was approaching it by ship. The lush landscape had been to him as consoling as it was soothing to us. He was Barindra Kumar (the revolutionary younger brother of Sri Aurobindo), convicted in the Alipore Conspiracy Case. I had his memoirs with me. I read even while we were ascending and later in our hotel at night:

'Our ship arrived in the harbour. On the north lay the Ross Isle, on the south the Aberdeen Jetty and the Cellular Jail looming like a huge fortress, on the east Mount Harriet with its green luxuriance and on the west the infinite perspective of the sea. Where did we come at last to anchor in this shoreless expanse? Should we, when we had lost all moorings, find ourselves always thus again ashore? Perhaps it was not the harbour that we sought for and yet Nature appeared there in such a beautiful and captivating aspect! The Ross Isle looks from the bosom of the harbour like a veritable landscape painting. On the hill-side at various levels lies in natural negligence, as it were, the red and the white buildings intermixed with the green of the trees and woods. The sombre Jetty touches the waters of the Ross. Above, the

buildings rise, tier upon tier, along a meandering path and half-veil themselves in the woods....

'The woods have in some places the deepest blue colour, at other places where there are neem and bamboo and tamarind trees they look like a mosaic of light yellow, and again in some places they are red with copper-coloured leaves. A stream has burst open the hard bosom of the rocks and flows down like a current of silver. It embraces the foot of the hill and trips forward with a gurgling music to meet the ocean.'

What kind of people were Barindra Kumar and his tribe to wax poetic even while confronting doom? What was their philosophy of life? I knew three of the 'Andaman-returned' revolutionaries - Sudhir Sarkar, Biren Sen and Bibhuti Sarkar. Once I asked the first, 'How could you dream of winning freedom from British rule through an armed struggle?'

'It was not as formidable a task as you are prone to think, looking at the many-tiered arsenals at the disposal of the powers that be. The rifle was the most powerful weapon they had then. If we could have that and the bomb, we could not only match them but also far outweigh them in manpower,' he replied.

'But even then they could have crushed you!'

'Who cared!' Sudhir Kumar fell silent for a moment, perhaps groping for words. 'You Can't easily appreciate the minds of my compatriots. They

were qualitatively so different! Offering one's life for the Motherland was a Yajna for them. Mother India deserved the sacrifice of the best and the bravest of her children,' he added.

'You were described as terrorists. How do you review your action today - in the light of the new brand of terrorists?' I asked.

The answer my provocation drew was this: 'The term terrorist denotes, as it is used today, a certain method the person uses, not the end for which he uses it. Hence it is a

deceptive term. The revolutionaries used terrorism against a colossal foreign power and they had their symbolic targets. They did not take recourse to cowardly and indiscriminate killing nor did they do anything with petty gains in view or as agents of some vested interests. The question of killing innocent people simply for creating panic, something only the despicable ghouls and soul-less imps could do, could not have been imagined by them even in their most anarchic dream. What matters are the motive and the quality

of consciousness behind an action.'

'Do you hold yourself responsible to any extent for the current trend?'

'I have to be awfully naive to do that. In its ordinary form, wasn't terrorism always there - in the bandit, in the highway robber who wielded the dagger before the gun or the bomb came into vogue? The Rani of Jhansi used a sword. If a criminal uses a sword, will you blame the Rani of Jhansi for setting an example?'

RAJEEV YUVA KIRANALU A PROGRAMME OF EMPOWERMENT

Prof. K.C. REDDY

Chairman, Rajiv Education and Employment Mission, Govt, of A.P
& Former Chairman Andhra Pradesh State Council of Higher Education.



Creation of productive employment is a powerful instrument of socio-economic transformation. The World Development Report, 2013 analyzing the importance of employment in a multi-dimensional perspective maintains that jobs are the cornerstone of economic and social development. Indeed, development happens through jobs. People work their way out of poverty and hardship through better livelihoods. Economies grow as people get better at what they do, as they move from farms to firms, and as more productive jobs are created and less productive jobs disappear.

Societies flourish as jobs bring together people from different ethnic and social backgrounds and nurture a sense of opportunity. Jobs are thus transformational – they can transform what we earn, what we do, and even who we are (World Bank, 2012, Page-2). Government of India in its Economic Survey placed before the parliament on Feb 26, 2013 has also articulated the role and importance of jobs in nation building.

India is young. Over half of her population is below the age of 25 years. India is one of the few countries in the World where the

proportion of the working population will be far in excess of those dependent on them. This “demographic dividend” will continue as per a recent study by the World Bank for about three decades, till 2040. This young population is both an opportunity and a challenge. If the working age population is productively employed it will have tremendous positive influence on incomes, savings and consumption of persons employed and will in turn impact national income and societal wellbeing. Recent studies measure the contribution of demographic dividend to economic growth linking

innovation and productivity to 2 percentage points.

The challenge is to provide appropriate skills to the population. Details about the educational and employment status of the population will show the complexity of the issue. About 15 crore people in the working age are illiterate, over 70% of them being women. Also, a significant proportion of women, 216 million in 2009-10, as large as the population of Brazil is withdrawing from work. Over 75 lakh youth drop out between class 5 and 10 every year. Besides, among the 8.5 lakh people enrolled into ITI's only 70 percent complete training and of the 30 lakh graduates about 20% only are employable. These different groups require different inputs in terms of training. The illiterate need basic skills while the dropouts need technical skills. The unemployed youth from ITI's need more industry aligned skills and the unemployed graduates require soft skills to become employable.

This is a huge task as at present only 10 percent of the workforce in the country (2 percent formal and 8 percent informal) has some form of training and skill development. Besides, 80 percent of the new entrants into the workforce do not have any opportunity for Skilling. It is against this background Govt. of India is targeting to train 500 million youth in varied skills by 2022.

Inspired by Government of India's vision on skill development and realizing the potential socio –

economic gains of training and skill development Government of Andhra Pradesh launched a special purpose vehicle, Rajiv Yuva Kiranalu (RYK) to work on placement linked skill development. RYK is a target based approach with an objective to empower youth providing 15 lakhs jobs by 2014-2015 in the private sector. The State Government has created an institutional structure with Rajiv Education and Employment Mission in Andhra Pradesh (REEMAP) an apex body at the state level to coordinate the efforts of eight departments in implementing the programme in a Mission mode.

The Mission is guided by a policy making body, Rajiv Education and Employment Council of Andhra Pradesh (REECAP) with the Hon'ble Chief Minister as the Chairman and experts from Government, Industry and Academia as members to advise the Mission on various aspects of implementation. The state level structure is linked with the districts and mandals and the implementation under Public Private partnership is monitored through an MIS system. RYK has put in place District Committees and Facilitation Centres to help the unemployed youth to register in the RYK portal, providing details of their educational and social status and to indicate their preference for different job opportunities available both in terms of geographical location and sectors. Industry is required to register and upload their employment

requirements together with skill requirements. RYK expects the training partners to start training activity only after firming up employment opportunities and funding is linked with employment. RYK is also developing systems to assess the training quality and tracking placements and supporting post placement of those provided with jobs particularly from the rural areas. A strategy to build a career path through upskilling and improving educational status is also being worked out by REEMAP.

In about 20 months of its working Rajiv Yuva Kiranalu (RYK) made significant progress in terms of both training and placement. Twenty lakh people have registered with REEMAP seeking employment in the private sector and over 3 lakh are employed through skill development and placement support. Currently 1100 training centres across the State are involved in training about 50 thousand youth in 260 varied courses covering 23 sectors. The progress as evident from numbers has been significant. These developments have as expected brought new opportunities with challenges. REEMAP is working to bring innovative strategies in training and placements to capture new and emerging opportunities and to make the programme scalable and sustainable in a qualitative perspective. Success of this programme would depend partly on the willing support of the stakeholders, particularly the industry.

MAHATMA GANDHI NATIONAL RURAL EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE SCHEME



Shri V. SHESHADRI, I.A.S.
Collector & Dist. Magistrate, Visakhapatnam

(Lecture delivered at Centre for Policy Studies on March 19, 2013)

Mahatma Gandhi said, “India lives in her villages”. One of the be-setting features of a typical Indian village is abject poverty. Tens of millions of rural households in the country do not earn incomes sufficient enough to access a consumption basket which defines the poverty line. Rural poverty is fundamentally attributable to lack of productive employment opportunities at the village level. Creation of employment opportunities for the unskilled rural workforce, therefore, constitutes one of the most formidable challenges to planned development. In the last six decades, a plethora of anti-poverty schemes have been introduced. Of all these, National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (renomenclatured as the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme), arguably, stands out as the most resounding and comprehensive antidote to rural poverty.

What fundamentally distinguishes MGNREGS from other anti-poverty schemes is its statutory status. MGNREGS is sanctified by a landmark parliament enactment of 2005. No other anti-poverty scheme enjoys a statutory status. The legislation casts an obligation on the state to provide one hundred days of em-

ployment in every financial year to every rural household willing to do unskilled manual work at the statutory minimum wage. Correspondingly, every rural household has a legal entitlement to one hundred days of employment during a financial year. “One hundred days of work”, is therefore a statutory guarantee; a legal entitlement.

Another distinguishing feature of MGNREGS is its recurring nature. The guarantee of one hundred days of employment is available during every financial year. It is not a one-time assistance. Emphasis of anti-poverty schemes in the past was on proffering an income-generating asset like a milch animal, kirana shop etc., to the impoverished household. Once the asset was given, the impoverished household was deemed to have been lifted from the morass of poverty. No further assistance was made available to the household. Instances are not wanting when the household - unable to maintain the asset - has become poorer. Recurring nature of the entitlement affords a bulwark against such a scenario.

Notably, this guarantee of one hundred days of work is available to every rural household “willing to

work”. The scheme does not involve any “selection of beneficiaries”. It is open to all rural households and involves “self-selection”. “Willingness to work” on the part of the rural household is essential. It is therefore a “demand-driven”, self-targeting scheme.

An informed assessment as to how the scheme has performed since inception, would disclose several inestimable benefits and quite a few shortcomings.

The most precipitate impact of MGNREGS has been on arresting migration. Distress migration of unskilled labour triggered by lack of employment opportunities has for long been a redoubtable endemic. Year after year, hundreds of families leave their villages and migrate to distant places in search of employment. Prior to MGNREGS, there was no calibrated strategy to combat migration. Identification of migration - prone habitations and ensuring the grounding of wage employment works in these habitations serves as the surest check against migration. NREGS has therefore emerged as the most powerful weapon - the brahmastra - to combat migration. Plenty of success stories and copious statistical

evidence abundantly corroborate this aspect.

The scheme has had a significant impact on the rates of wages in rural areas. Works grounded under NREGS in a particular village, will have an overarching impact on the rate of wages in the whole village. Indirectly payment of minimum wages is ensured. More remarkably, NREGS has equipped the wage-earning community with enormous bargaining power. Earlier, wage-seekers had no choice but to work for a pittance. Now, they can refuse to work below the minimum wages. Now the employers are left with no choice but to comply with the wages demanded by the wage-earners. NREGS has thus emerged as an instrument of empowerment.

Huge monetization of the rural economy has been another major consequence of the implementation of the scheme. Humungous amount of money has flowed into the villages. In Visakhapatnam district, in about five years, about 850 crores of rupees has directly reached about 4.5 lakh households in the form of wages. Perhaps never before in the two-century long history of the district has such a large sum of money been accessed by such a large number of poor households in such a short span of time.

Preponderant participation of marginalized sections of the society viz scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is another noteworthy aspect of the scheme. For instance, let us take Visakhapatnam district. Let the figures speak for themselves. Out of

the total expenditure of 850 crores of rupees till date, a whopping 450 crores of rupees has gone to the tribal households. During the current financial year, wage expenditure in tribal areas accounts for 48% of the total wage expenditure in the district. During the current financial year, around 80000 households are about to complete 100 days of guaranteed employment. Of these, about 39000 households are tribal households. Of the total number of households which have completed 100 days of employment in the district cumulatively since the inception of the scheme, 47% are tribal households. This demonstrates the efficacy of the scheme in promoting social equity.

Not that the scheme is without shortcomings. It has its share of flaws and blemishes. The scourge of corruption has not left the scheme untouched. In Andhra Pradesh, robust institutional mechanisms like social audit and Ombudsman have been evolved to detect malpractices. Preventive vigilance can be further strengthened.

A pungent criticism of the scheme has been that it places too much importance on employment creation with too little focus on creation of durable assets. The criticism – though not misplaced – overlooks the fact that the primary objective of the scheme is employment creation and not asset creation. Nevertheless, efforts have been made to create productive assets of sustainable nature under the scheme. Land development works, road works, horticulture plantation

etc., have been taken up in substantial numbers. In Visakhapatnam district, about 1.43 lakh acres of land which were hitherto uncultivated has been brought under cultivation. Coffee plantation has been taken up in about 38,000 acres of land in agency tracts of the district. About 30,000 tribal households stand to earn a net annual income of about Rs 35,000/- per acre per year from coffee cultivation.

Another stinging criticism of the scheme is that the scheme has adversely impacted agriculture. Increasing labour scarcity in agriculture is attributed to MGNREGA. High agricultural wage rates means high cost of cultivation which results in rise in food grain prices. Many therefore argue that MGNREGA is leading to inflation. The criticism is not wholly without substance. There is a need therefore to explore the possibility of dovetailing MGNREGA with agriculture.

It has been aptly said “No law can be perfect, even if it is made by a Committee of archangels”. MGNREGA is no exception and this Act, too, has its strengths and imperfections. On balance, however the benefits of the scheme clearly outweigh its imperfections. Village economies have been radically transformed. Starvation deaths have almost disappeared. Distress migrations have considerably declined. Wage incomes in rural areas have substantially soared. Purchasing power has steeply risen. Dietary habits have changed. Nutritional standards have improved. Health conditions in rural areas have

improved. The scheme has not only given the rural households 100 days of guaranteed employment, it has given them enormous self-respect and immeasurable self-esteem. It would be no exaggeration to say that

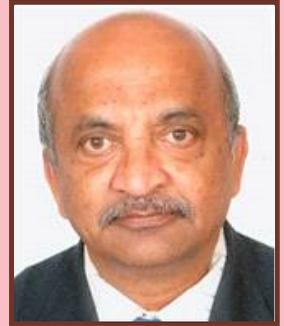
the scheme has perceptibly changed the quality of life in rural areas. MGNREGA, in short, has radically improved the 'standard of living' as well as the 'standard of life' in the Indian villages.

(Shri Sheshadri received the Prime Minister's award on February 2, 2013 for excellence in the implementation of NREGS. He had earlier received the Prime Minister's award in 2010 when he was Collector of Chittoor.)

ON BEING A TEACHER

Prof. R. Venkata Rao

Vice Chancellor
National Law School of India University, Bangalore
Former Principal, Andhra University College of Law



25th February, 2013 – a great human being has completed his voyage on this Planet. A Spiritual person has completed his human experience. Prof. B.S. Murthy, a person in whom all the elements were perfectly mixed, a teacher extraordinaire and a human being par excellence, has left for that abode from where no traveller has ever returned. Having had the soul filling experience of being under his tutelage from 1975 to 1977, when I was doing my Masters in Andhra University I thought, the best way of paying my homage to him is to pen down my thoughts "On Being a Teacher" for publication in the Centenary issue of Bulletin of the Centre for Policy Studies.

The caveat: I have learnt all these from BSM (sobriquet of Prof. B.S. Murthy) and let me not be accused of originality.

Thirty five years of my tryst with teaching both as a teacher and as an administrator first in (if I am permitted to use, International Law School) Andhra University and then

in National Law School of India University, Bangalore, an institution that brought about a total paradigm shift in legal education and the preferred destination of quality legal education, have taught me the lesson: 'Passion for what you do and Compassion for whom you do' should be the Mantra.

Sometimes I wonder: are we churning out "LETTERED" than "LEARNED" young persons forgetting that Education is not Information but Formation. T.S. Eliot's aphorism on information, knowledge and wisdom always keeps taunting me.

Once during my interaction with Mother Teresa when she visited Andhra University to address the University Community, she asked me a question –

Son, what are you?

I humbly said: I am a teacher.

Mother asked: What do you teach?

I said I teach Law.

Mother said: God Bless you, son, also teach Ethics.

I said I will.

Then Mother asked me, Do you know the meaning of Ethics? I humbly said: Mother, kindly enlighten me. She said by Ethics I mean: "Show concern for others".

This is what exactly Prof. B.S. Murthy told me "Show concern for others". What magical words, if everyone does it, how beautiful will be this Planet. Let me recall with immense satisfaction that interaction with His Holiness Dalai Lama and Mother Teresa have been one of my best learning experiences in Andhra University, the abode of learning.

Normally teachers have a universal complaint that they are always hard-pressed for time to cover syllabus oblivious of the fact that the job of a teacher is not to cover the syllabus, but to uncover the syllabus, to remove the cover of darkness, to remove the cover of ignorance. The journey is from darkness to light, ignorance to knowledge and here to eternity.

I cannot but recall the words of Aristotle who said: "If my teacher

and God were to simultaneously appear before me, I will bow down before my teacher because it is my teacher who has shown me who God is”.

The first lesson in nobility of teaching I learnt from Prof. B.S. Murthy. He always used to say any one has a right to complain, but not a teacher, because a teacher should

always be a part of the solution and never be a part of the problem. Students will continue to respect a teacher as long as they realize that a teacher is also a student committed to incessant learning. Certain things in life have only a beginning and learning is one such thing.

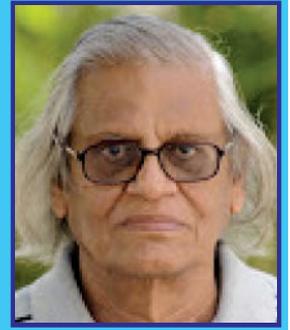
A student is never a problem but has a problem. If teachers walk

that extra mile to make students go from the classroom wise and not otherwise, Alvin Toffler's prediction that power will shift in Twenty-first century to knowledge societies which will be found in abundance in India, will certainly come true. That will be the day on which we the teachers can say we have redeemed our pledge.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S STAY IN MADRAS

Shri K R A Narasiah

Retd. Chief Engineer, Visakhapatnam Port Trust
Well known writer in Tamil and English



When Swami Vivekananda returned from the United States in February 1897, after his famous Chicago address and other western lectures, he landed in Colombo and came by the Boat Mail to Madras. Raja of Ramnad had made all the arrangements. On arrival at Madras Egmore Railway Station he was received by a large crowd and brought in procession to Kernan Castle where he would be staying for the next nine days. On the way there were, it was reported, seventeen arches had been erected. Being a disciple of the great Swami, Biligiri Iyengar offered Castle Kernan for the stay of his Master. In the procession, some of his western devotees joined along with Swami Sadananda, Swami Shivananda and Swami Niranjanananda. While in Madras he gave seven lectures/discourses on various subjects, like My Plan of Campaign, The sages of India, Vedanta in its application to Indian Life etc., The day before his departure for Calcutta on 14th

February 1897, as Swami Vivekananda was coming down the staircase of Castle Kernan, some devotees of Madras requested him to have a permanent centre here. Swamiji thought it was necessary and asked Swami Ramakrishnananda who was overseeing all arrangements there, to initiate activities of the Ramakrishna Order in South India. That was the birth of the Mission in Madras.

This building itself had its own history. Castle Kernan was named after James Kernan who acted as Chief Justice in 1885, by Bilagiri Iyengar as they were good friends. Now it is called Vivekanandar Illam, so named in 1963 by the Government of Tamil Nadu commemorating the centenary of the Swamiji.

Originally known as Ice House, this building was built and owned (1842) by a Frederic Tudor (who had houses in Bombay and Calcutta as well) for storing ice that he brought in ships from Canada. Ice blocks were

brought from the US Coast and landed in the sands of Mylapore beach (Marina) and pulled across to this house that had wooden floorings. Since a lot of saw dust was available from Canada, Tudor had no problem in transporting the blocks as they were well insulated by sawdust-salt combination. The English in Madras were so fond of this ice for their consumption that Tudor had a roaring business till about 1880, when steam-run machines were available for making ice. In 1880 the business collapsed and the building was sold to Bilagiri Iyengar who named it after the well known Justice Kernan as said earlier. This building later was used for housing poor students. It was Bilagiri Iyengar who made all arrangements for the Swami to stay here and after the Swamiji left for Calcutta the house was used as mutt of the Ramakrishna Mission. However Biliagiri Iyengar became bankrupt and had to auction this house off to settle the dues in 1907

and the mission had to shift out. Sister Subulakshmi had rented it for her Home For Widows (mainly child widows) called Sharada Ashram in July 1912 and used it till 1928. Since, by then the mission had moved out to the present location in Mylapore. In 1930, the house was taken over by Lady Willingdon Teachers' Training

College (the college itself was built in the Marina in 1922/23) as a hostel for Women.

The Tamilnadu state Government took over the building and renamed it Vivekanandar Illam in 1963 during Swamiji's centenary year. The disciples of Swami

Vivekananda had installed a statue of the Swami east of the building in 1964. Bengalis of Madras without fail meet here on every January 12th, being the birthday of Swami.

In 1997 the Government handed over the building to the Mission.

WRITING AS A DIALOGUE

Dr. Mrs. Prema Nandakumar

The versatile Dr. Mrs. Prema Nandakumar, endowed with a mastery over English, Tamil, Sanskrit & Telugu, is a prolific writer and orator



(Excerpts from the Valedictory Address delivered at the International Workshop on Creative Arts held in the Holy Cross College, Tirucirapalli, on 28.2.13.)

For one whose life has been inextricably linked with books for close to seven decades, I must confess that writing has been a great help in holding a daily, hourly converse with the 'other' person and helped me overcome a million confusions of the mind and conscience, I have now come to the conclusion that writing is a constant dialogue with oneself - one moment you are the actor, the other moment you are the listener - and the story unfolds. It is an attempt where you place yourself in the seat of the gentle reader and compose a narrative to pass on the intended message. It may seem as if it is a simple presentation of ideas from one side to the other. But the ability to deliver the message to an audience depends on the ability to first deliver it to oneself. Following on the example of great leaders like Swami Vivekananda, the importance of clarity in the information one is trying to convey cannot be overstated. It

could even be a writer like Conan Doyle. The management of dialogue in the stories of Sherlock Holmes has been a great inspirer for my own writing, though I have never attempted detective fiction.

Clarity in weaving a dialogue can come only through a discussion with the finest and closest critic a writer has for discussion - oneself. Stretching myself comfortably in my favourite easy chair in the corner of my personal library, I realize that writing has also had a cathartic effect on my psyche. No wonder I have loved it to clear my psyche of the cobwebs that gather somehow, anyhow in this world of confounding human affairs.

But then, it was not so always. Certainly not in the beginning when soon after my Masters, I plunged into doctoral research. Sixty years ago, we still remained a rare breed. Recently, I was made to go into a reminiscence

of things past when a friend turned up with a piece of letter from a colleague in a distant State:

Dear Chippsie: Glad u r trying for phd admn. if possible plz try to avoid admission in pvt univ. for ur phd. if you r not able to get admission anywhere in any govt. one then only u opt for it. theoretically there is no problem but practically everybody knows that there degrees r not obtained they r purchased. plz dnt mind my honest opinion."

Now, in those days such a dialogue was not possible at all. We were positively in terror when writing to the Professor or even a friend about our ambitions. Shorthand such as this was simply not possible. Writing a letter itself was a dialogue held in stately language. As for my Professor who was himself a scholar and author, one could not get away holding on to the line of least resistance. When I had chosen Sri

Aurobindo's Savitri as my doctoral subject, the Professor directed me first to go to other world epics in English or in English translations. "Read them and take down notes", he ordered. He must have seen the dismay on my face and flung at me choice words about there being no other way into reaching out to my subject. By reading "The Odyssey and the Iliad, the Aeneid and Scandinavian Sagas, you would be able to understand your own subject better. You can have a dialogue with the characters in the epic by comparing them with others you come across from beyond the shores of India."

Dialogue with the characters in the epic Savitri? In those days we did not dare to express our feelings aloud. But the Professors had only one or two doctoral students and could spend quality time. They would watch each contour in our face and understand the problem. "What I mean is", the Professor continued: "You will converse with the characters silently by comparing them with

others in the western epics." In my innocence, I thought this would be very easy. Savitri, a heroine. There are dozens of heroines in the western epics I thought, for I had studied Bullfinch's Mythology deeply.

Then, the problem started. Except for Alcestis, there was not a single epic heroine to compare with Savitri. They were all Helens and Cleopatras and Clytemnestras. As for Alcestis, she was devoted to her husband but then she is a very pale character, and comes nowhere near the empowered Savitri of Vyasa's Mahabharata. Then I realised how writing becomes a dialogue. You keep probing into the psyche of the subject and coils upon coils of significance move around you as a psychedelic phenomenon.

So much for the critic's converse with the subject. When I think of my days as a creative writer, the dialogue with the character or situation on hand becomes almost physical. For one thing, all my creative writing has started from a personal experience.

It could be an exchange heard when traveling in a bus, a dream, a family problem or even the reaction I notice on a particular face in this audience as I deliver the speech.. I have never taken up the pen to 'write' a story because someone has asked me to do so. The cells in my brain are conditioned in such a way, I guess, that they will not stand to attention if I ask them to. "Look here, I have this phone call/letter from the editor of Trisanku that he would like a story from me for a particular issue. You better get going." But my imagination is a rebel. It simply shuts up. But occasionally I am able to accede to the request (usually for Diwali Special issues) because I have the basics of the story already jotted down as a painter has a portfolio of line-drawings. My habit of writing a diary for the last several decades has been, I admit, a great advantage too.

(CPS thanks Dr. Mrs. Prema Nandakumar for her kind permission to use excerpts from her address.)

RETHINKING COSMOPOLITAN MODERNITY- II RABINDRANATH TAGORE ON NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM



Prof. Sachidananda Mohanty

Dept. of English, University of Hyderabad

Some of Tagore's early essays on Nationalism, published in 1917, reprinted by Macmillan in 1985, were later collected in a single volume under 'Nationalism in Japan',

'Nationalism in the West' and 'Nationalism in India'. I am using the Rupa edition of 2002 of this text.

In these essays, Tagore makes a distinction between the spirit of the

West and nations of the West. He sees a manifest difference between the Western nations and Western civilization. There is material success of the West accompanied by spiritual

In politics, there is no use looking beyond the next fortnight.

- Joseph Chamberlain

poverty. He then goes on to define a nation. 'A nation', he says, in the sense of the political and economic union of a people, is that aspect which a whole population assumes when organized for a mechanical purpose, whereas 'society as such has no ulterior purpose. It is an end in itself.' (60) 'Greed of wealth and power can never have a limit and compromise of self interest can never attain to final spirit of reconciliation'. (63) Unfortunately this mechanical concept, 'this abstract being, the Nation is ruling India'. We Indians must remember that we are 'individuals with living sensibilities'. (65) Time has come for us to make a fundamental distinction between the 'moral man' and the 'political and the commercial man'.

Tagore sees that Japan has been able to resist the dominance of Western civilization. We in India may lack many admirable qualities of the Japanese, but none can claim that 'our intellect is naturally unproductive'. (74) We must remember that the spirit of 'conflict and conquest is at the origin and in the centre of Western nationalism'. (74) The Western man, with his 'mental and material power far outgrowing his in oral strength, is like an exaggerated giraffe whose head has suddenly shot up miles away from the rest of him.' (90)

In turning to India, Tagore sees the problem here as not 'political' but 'social'. He reminds us that the Western approach has been one of 'political and commercial aggressiveness.' Each nation, he maintains 'must be conscious of its mission.' A mere imitation is a source of weakness. For it hampers our true

nature; it is always in our way. It is like dressing our skeleton with another man's skin and the bone.' (6) Japan cannot turn itself into a 'borrowed machine.' He recalls the earlier ties of unity that bound the nations of Asia with Japan, whereas the 'political civilization' of the West is based on exclusiveness. The Western charges against the East are not borne out by facts. This is not to deny the greatness of the West in its literature, culture and the arts. But Eastern Asia has followed its own paths which are 'not political but social, not predatory and mechanically efficient but spiritual and based upon the varied and deeper relations of humanity.' (22) He admires and maintains that 'all particular civilization is the interpretation of particular human experience.' (27) Japan must not accept the force of Western 'man's ever growing store house and the emptiness of his hungry humanity.' He is appalled by the 'organized selfishness of nationalism as religion.'

While all governments are mechanical and impersonal, the British government, according to Tagore, was like a 'power loom' and the earlier native governments may be compared to a 'handloom'. For, in the products of the handloom, 'the magic of man's living fingers finds its expression and its hum harmonizes with the music of life. But the power loom is relentlessly lifeless and accurate and monotonous in its production.' (70) Consequently, Tagore advises Indians to use their past creatively so that they could work towards 'an adjustment of races, to acknowledge the real differences between them and yet seek some basis for unity.' While he had earlier

spoken of nationalism as a Bhougalik Apadevata, 'a geographical demon,' he now declared that he was 'against the general idea of all nations.' While he recognized the need for the anti-colonial movements, he rejected the extremists' who were inspired by Western models. For the so-called free people in the West were not really free, they were only 'powerful'. One may recall here the conversations between Nikhil, Bimala and Sandeep in Tagore's novel, Ghare Baire.[The Home and the World].

He chastises the Japanese and is not happy with what he sees in their land. Japan, he declares, must not imitate the West. Japan's bloom, he regrets, in another essay entitled Asia's Response,' (114) has been poisoned by Western colonialism. For, 'we cannot imitate life we cannot simulate strength for long, nay, what have contributed to the solution of the problem at the level of the world. Cooperative approach, he argues, is the need of the hour'. For, 'only those people have survived and achieved civilization who have this spirit of cooperation strong in them.' (108) He recognizes what the Americans perceive as the 'nomadic restlessness' of their culture vis-à-vis the 'settled traditions of Europe' (113) and contends that India 'has never had a real sense of nationalism.' (115) He discards the received wisdom in India that the 'idolatry of the nation is almost better than reverence to God and humanity'. He is happy to state that he has 'outgrown that teaching' and urges upon his countrymen to do so. (116) He hopes that the West would discover its true self that is by 'teaching the ignorant and helping the weak.' (119)

Speaking of the split in the Congress Party at Surat in 1907, he distances himself from the Extremist Party whose ideals, he argues, 'were based on western history. They had no sympathy with the special problems of India'(124). He concludes poetically by stating that

he is not an economist and that the notion of the 'harmony of completeness in humanity' and the 'compensation of External Justice' would transform the 'insults' of the last and the dispossessed into a 'golden triumph (143).

Tagore's complex views on

nationalism, outlined in the above analysis, are also manifest in many of his books and articles. His reservation about Western culture seems to be a persistent one despite his admiration (at times problematic) of personalities like Mussolini.

(to be continued)

SRI SATYA SAI MOBILE HOSPITAL

Dr. A. Aswini Kumar, MD

Professor of Medicine
Asram Medical College, Eluru



This was started by Bhagawan himself on 30-03-2006 at Cherlopally Village, in Anantapur District.

Bhagawan with his abundant compassion for the suffering humanity started this service. Bhagawan was saying that many people in rural areas suffer from diseases in silence because of ignorance, poverty, lack of transport facilities and none to take them to hospital for treatment. Where from could they get money for investigations and treatment?

Mobile hospital is a fully equipped van where facilities are available for routine Blood, Urine Tests, Special blood tests like Bl.Sugar, Bl.Urea, Serum Creatinine, blood cholesterol and special investigations like X-ray, ECG, Ultra Sound Scan, echo and colour doppler. Special tests like CT Brain, Thyroid function are done at the Super Speciality Hospital, in Puttaparthi and reports sent within 2-3 days.

Along with the van specialist

doctors, physicians, surgeons, ortho surgeons, gynaecologists, radiologists, ophthalmologists along with 2-3 generalists go in another van. The mobile hospital runs in already selected nodal centers which caters to 60 to 70 surrounding villages. The services are run from 1st to 12th of every month. Doctors from various disciplines such as ENT, Ophthalmic, Dental, Dermatology, Padiatrics, Psychiatry, Pathology join the team by rotation at various places notified earlier to the patients. Super Specialists – Neurophysicians and Cardiologists, CT Surgeons, Endocrinologists also join the team frequently. FNACS are done and reports given wherever possible on the same day to help in diagnosis.

The service is held in a school building and all the patients are examined investigated, a firm diagnosis made and treatment given (medicines) for a month for case like Diabetes, Hypertension, Heart failure, Ischaemic Heart disease, epilepsy and along with supportive

treatment and other cases like fevers, coughs and colds G.i. disturbances are given medicines from 7 to 10 days.

Special features of the Service

(1) Regular follow-up of the cases every month on the same day and at the same place to monitor the progress of the case, whether any need for change of medicines or further investigations and evaluation. Records of the patients are well maintained.

(2) In a problem case where 2 or 3 specialists consultations are needed. It is done then and there, necessary investigations are done at the same place and all the doctors sit across a table and discuss the case and start treatment and follow the case regularly. It cannot happen in a big city, in a big hospital even for the richest person. It can happen only in Sri Satya Sai Mobile Hospital.

Three interesting episodes:

(1) A young auto driver came with history of chest pain. He

Do not forget that service is worship, and that each act of service is a flower placed at the Lord's feet.

- Sri Sathya Sai Baba

is a heavy smoker. His pain clinically looked as Angina. ECG confirmed the diagnosis. He was referred to Cardiology Department, Super Speciality Hospital at Puttaparthi with a letter along with the ECG taken. He was immediately admitted, stabilized and within the next 2 days Coronary Angio was done which revealed a dominant Right Coronary which went into spasm. He needed no surgery and was advised medical management. All this was done totally free of cost, can it happen anywhere for a common man in such a short time totally free of cost? With my experience of 40 years in Government Hospitals, teaching hospitals and private sector hospital I can say – nowhere.

(2) On April 20, 2012 an elderly man of 70 years with very poor vision supported by his granddaughter has come. He was anaemic and looked depressed and dejected because of his poor vision, and total dependence. He was investigated. He had no diabetes. The X-ray of his chest normal. Eye surgeon saw him and found that he had refractory error. Luckily for him

some of the pairs of glasses which were available were tested. One pair of glasses suited him. He felt so confident that he walked without assistance and his joy was to be seen to be believed. He was given medicines for correction of anaemia. Can all this happen in one day in any hospital. The answer would again be No.

(3) As recently as March 10th of this year, I saw a 25 year old lady with Cystic Bronchiectasis of lung. The patient was suffering from cough and lots of expectoration, since childhood. We got her quickly investigated including CT of Chest at Superspeciality Hospital. We had a cardio thoracic surgeon in the team. He said that it was an ideal case for lobectomy (removal of that affected part) and she would be free from her disease and he would do it free in his hospital. Swamis Sevalal at Hyderabad were willing to give blood and take care of her stay. She went to Hyderabad and underwent the surgery successfully. Can it happen anywhere? The answer would be an emphatic No.

The Mobile Hospital has

completed 7 years doing such wonderful service to poor patients in interior villages of Anantapur District.

Everyday nearly 800to1000 patients attend the Mobile Hospital and get benefit of advice of Specialist doctors and Super Specialists and it is done every month without a break ever since inception.

The doctors who serve there all do the work voluntarily. Bhagawan provides accommodation on the campus and food in the canteen.

Such a wonderful service at the door step of a common man only Bhagawan with his compassion and abundant love made it possible. The cost of 12 days around 4 to 5 lakhs.

I pray to Bhagawan for His Grace to do many more years of service in the Mobile Hospital for it is always soul -satisfying to us doctors.

An appeal : There are many fabulously rich people who are kind hearted. Can they not adopt one small village for such service once a week, even in a small way. Once our villages are healthy – the whole Nation becomes healthy.

UNDERSTANDING MODERN MEDICINE

“Medicine is a combination of science and art, not business”.

Prof. Dr. G. Raghu Rama Rao
Former Professor & HOD of Dermatology



There is constant criticism that modern medicine indulges in high technology, ignoring the basic principles of patient care. It has

become commercial. Doctors always speak about illness not about wellness, inspite of the fact that at any given time the vast majority in

this world are well and healthy and only a very small fraction of the population are ill. Contrary to this criticism, the entire edifice of

modern medicine is built upon the principles of Hippocrates, father of medicine. While diagnosing diseases, Hippocrates took into consideration- season, climate, agriculture, nutrition and customs. He also took into account the cleanliness of the home and city, purity of water, personal and public hygiene. He was against excessive treatment. He believed that it was the duty of medicine to help nature in regaining health.

Present day medicine offers high technology and helps the clinician investigate and establish evidence to strengthen diagnosis and enable better management of a disease, certainly not at the cost of the basic principles of patient care. The epidemiological tools of modern medicine help us to understand various etiological factors of illness such as genetic predisposition, personal risk factors, environmental factors and other contributing factors which indirectly influence the disease process. After all disease is due to the combination of the inheritance of gene and presence of fertile environment for the gene to penetrate. Modern medicine believes that longevity depends on the longevity gene, which when present, tries to suppress all other disease producing genes and each illness has its own specific gene to manifest. This hypothesis coupled with modern technology helps us

to understand the genomic basis of various metabolic and degenerative diseases and also cancers. There is no doubt that improved health care systems have increased the quality of life and also the life span of an average Indian. It is estimated that by the year 2050, there will be at least 300 million elderly which is about 17% of the population. Now majority of the diseases are well understood and treatment protocols are established. Thanks to the advancement of medicine, the dreaded infectious diseases like small pox, polio, diphtheria, whooping cough etc are no longer exist. Similarly for various cancers, preventive measures and better management facilities are also available.

With all its stupendous achievements, does modern medicine still deserve to be blamed as mere commerce?

It is certainly not the fault of medicine. It is the way it is practised in recent times with the advent of high- tech medicine. The present tendency is to believe that every advance in the field of science and technology is good for man on this planet. In the medical field, doctors and patients together have come to a conclusion that the technological advances are the ultimate in the management of the illness. Against this back ground, corporate culture has set in and changed the entire scenario of practising modern

medicine. There is no doubt that these corporate organizations have brought high technology into the country hitherto not available. Technology helps the medical fraternity in better understanding of the disease that would pave the way for practising evidence based medicine. Unfortunately the aggressive commercial advertisements of these corporate houses in their enthusiasm to sell their products, make the common man believe that high-tech medicine is the only solution for their ailments. This obsession results in exorbitant increase in the cost of the treatment even for minor health problems. In addition easy access to internet and other electronic media creates fear psychosis in the minds of the patients. Mark Twain quotes “Be careful about reading health books. You may die of misprint”. The fact is that high-tech medicine can never be an alternative to a good doctor. Good doctor always believes in doctoring, to play the role of a friend, philosopher and guide to patients and not to be the promoter of modern technology. Modern medicine is a fine balance of optimally utilized technology with passion for profession and compassion for patients.

“The best doctor knows from his bedside experience when not to treat”.

-Prof Dr. B.M. Hegde.

GANDHIJI'S CONCEPT OF GOOD GOVERNANCE-ITS RELEVANCE - I

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In recent times the concepts of 'Governance' and 'Good Governance' became very popular in the international scene. Governance literally means the way in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources. It is viewed as the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs at all levels. Good Governance means providing opportunities and the proper delivery of goods and services to the people in a fair, just, effective, responsible and transparent way. The core ideals of good governance are fairness and Justice in the institution of civil society. Good governance is characterized by 'high standards of transparency, accountability and accessibility'.

In the light of this background an attempt is made to present Gandhiji's views on Good governance. As Mahatma Gandhi regards the state as the organization of violence, he felt that, 'that government is best which governs the least'. Carried out it further he believed that, 'that government is best which governs not at all'. Thus Gandhiji's rejection of the state is based on two classical anarchist arguments: the state represents an

authority that poses a threat to the liberty of the individual and the state represents violence in an organized form. Yet for the achievement of the ultimate aim of the individual-self-realization i.e. complete development of the manifold possibilities of human nature, he accepted the state as an indispensable evil.

Gandhiji's ideal is the classless and stateless society-Ramraj or perfect Society-state of self-regulated enlightened 'anarchy' in which social cohesion will be maintained by internal and non-coercive external sanctions. But as this ideal is not realizable, he has an attainable middle idea – the predominantly non-violent state. The non-violent state adopted by Gandhiji has certain characteristics. They are i) It is a federal state ii) Secular state iii) Democratic form of government with a) Suitable constitution b) Elected Head of the state c) Responsible unicameral legislature d) Parliamentary Executive e) Independent and impartial Judiciary f) Provincial Administration and g) Village Administration.

Having rejected the Benthamite view of democracy-the greatest good for the greatest number-Gandhiji was uncompromising on the absolute

need of the good for all. He observed "I do not believe in the greatest good of the greatest number.....It is a heartless doctrine and has done harm to the humanity. The only real, dignified human doctrine is the greatest good for all, and this can only be achieved by uttermost self-sacrifice". For realizing good governance, Gandhiji recommended certain structural changes. Centralization of powers is an obstacle to swaraj i.e. complete or real democracy. Hence his ideal state will be a federation of decentralized, democratic, more or less self-sustained and self-governing interdependent satyagrahi village communities. Centre is not to dominate and control the bottom. What is required is decentralization of power. Decentralization in Gandhian sense means distribution of political power among the villages. Gandhiji declared, 'India's soul lives in villages'. Therefore he advocated Gram Swaraj or Gram Raj or Village Republic. He wanted each village to grow as an autonomous and self-reliant republic. The village needed to gain both economic and political self-reliance. Swaraj in India would be truly meaningful only when village republics blossom.

(to be continued)

DRAUPADI -XI

(Or the Hindu Ideal of an impeccable Pativrata)

Sri C. Siva Sankaram

Well known scholar and writer



It was the peace-loving kingdom of Virata. Pancha Pandavas accompanied by Panchali, sought asylum there to fulfil the sentence of *Agnatavaasa*, living incognito for one year. Draupadi introduced herself to the queen Sudheshna with the pseudonym of Malini had to change her name once again to Sairandhri to suit the sort of work she had to do. Sairandhri was not a mean name. It connotes a female guard in a queen's harem. The name could hardly hide her transparent beauty. It was matchless. Her charm was cause of her hazardous life. It had proved many a time a virtual curse for her. From the time of her entrance into the family of Pandavaas, as their collective shared spouse, her tribulations and bitter attempts aimed at defilement of her unsullied modesty were not few and far between.

The tragic episode in the den of Simhabala Keechaka (brother of Sudheshna) forced Draupadi to run amuck like the deer being chased by a wanton hunter, to the court of Virata.- The Court was chaired by the gentle King Virata. The Pandavas formed part of the assemblage. She

heaved a deep sigh of relief upon seeing her heaven given husbands. Still her agonized heart was not still. Eyes were scarce of tears. Cheeks blemished by ceaseless flow of tears made her look haggard. Keechaka the ribald eve-teaser closely followed her with hair dishevelled and apparel wrinkled. The court seemed unconcerned with the unexpected visitation of Draupadi and Simhabala Keechaka at such a 'solemn hour'. Upon seeing the frightened dove of a female, Draupadi. Dharmaraja the doctrinaire ruler of Justice hurled the unsavoury remark of danseuse at her the fire born Aryan Woman - Panchaali. Dharma Raja prompted by scorn asked her 'why hast thou stood there like a courtesan? Be off with thee! Her noblesse did not like her to Tarry there any further. She paid the remark in the same coin. Yes, I am danseuse as my husband is a dance-master. As she was in such convulsed state of mind Keechaka kicked her on her buttock. The humiliation she was made to gulp in the full glare of the august court hall disturbed her poise and measure of tolerance attained over the lamentable years of untoward incidents and unfavourable

circumstances. It is time, she must not dither she must act, act firmly. The image of Sita in her Soul counselling patience must be silenced for she seeks to wreak vengeance against male dominated ill conceived custom and appeal to submission to rules framed by one sided Judgment devoid of discernment She knew that woman needs must have the protection of male, however selfish may he be. Biding time was not essential. Hours looked like years.

The wounded pride in her Soul revolted and sought redressal soon. Sun sought refuge behind Western mountains. Sunset yielding place to dawn of night. Night was enjoying seeming calm. Schemers found it favourable for execution of their unsocial schemes, and illicit love affairs were at their bridle less liberty.

Draupadi the wounded dove, scion of noblesse par excellence silently guided her steps towards Bhima's camp. She prayed to nocturnal deities to help her attain her end. The ominous silence of night accorded congenial atmosphere to arrive at decisions as to removing the thorn of Keechaka from the realm

of defenceless eve.

Bhima known for quick action lent patient ear to her narration of the tragic tale enacted by the villain Keechaka. He counselled patience. Courage, he thought was correct weapon to remedy the wrongs perpetrated on fair sex for carnal appeasement Bhima instructed her to select a rendezvous for avenging the wrong done by Keechaka the beast of lust garbed in human mask. The plan was 'Bhima would wear the garbs of Draupadi usually dons. The fake Draupadi goes to Keechaka in gait befitting a woman short of character hurrying to join her paramour at the appointed place and

hour. Tenets of Bharatiya Stree Dharma precludes breach of truth and usage even for the fun of it. It is a monolith never tolerating lie usurping the place of truth. The pages of Mahabharatha provide here and there with instances where truth was prostituted and right was ridiculed. Dharma Raja's involvement in several of them was conspicuous. Silver Age was nearing its end. On both sides of the war fare held in the great Kurukshetra falsehood maneuvering and hood winking had their licentious play. So, we could excuse the pious lie of Bhima to save Draupadi from torture of spirit and agony of mind.

The sweet night was approaching rather tardily for Simhabala Keechaka. Bhima masquerading as Draupadi neared the nuptial room filled with aroma of scents that madden man to transform blithely into beast of lust. Bhima in the mask of Draupadi neared point blank the throbbing breast of Keechaka throwing his hard arms round the Beast as a first measure of love play. The Beast staggered, struggled hard in vain. Keechaka was no more. Draupadi won the game, went gay.

(to be continued)

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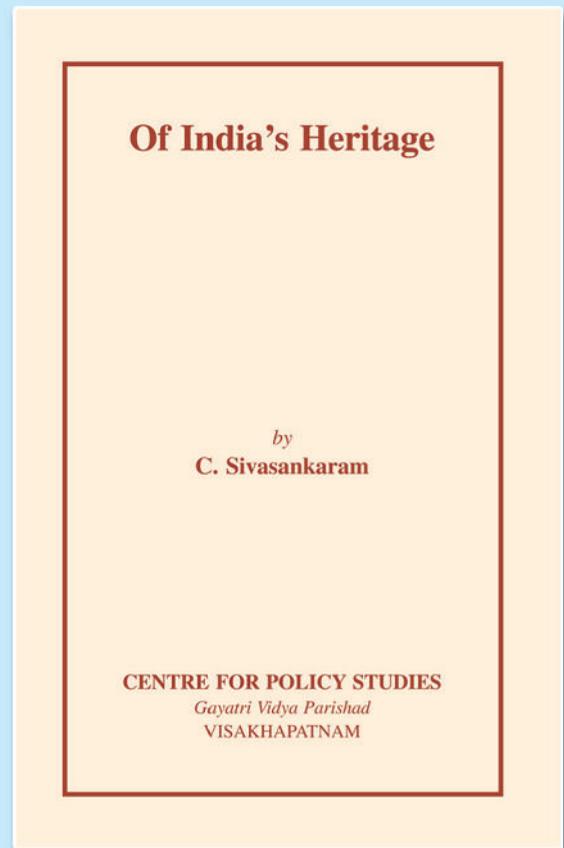
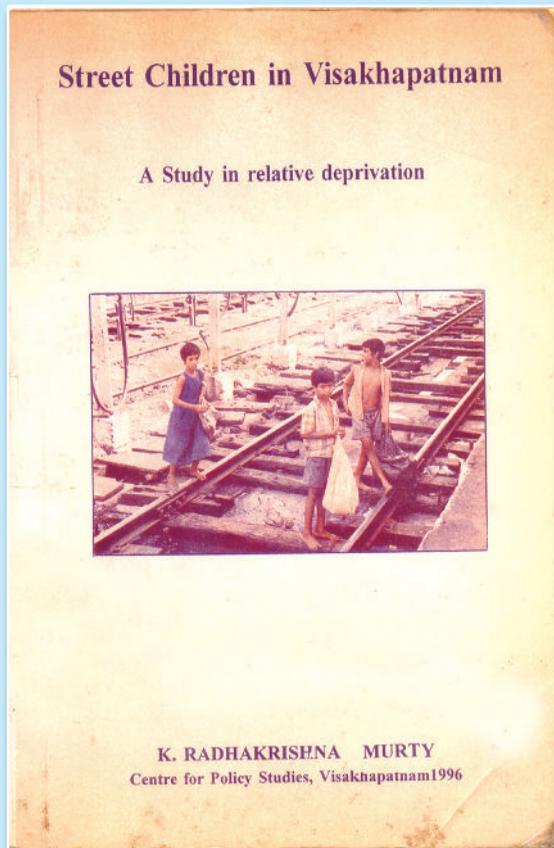
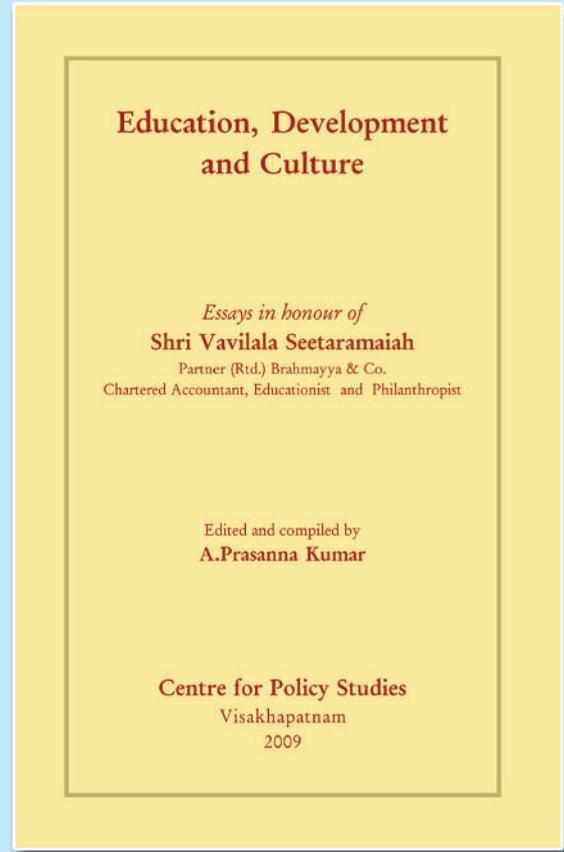
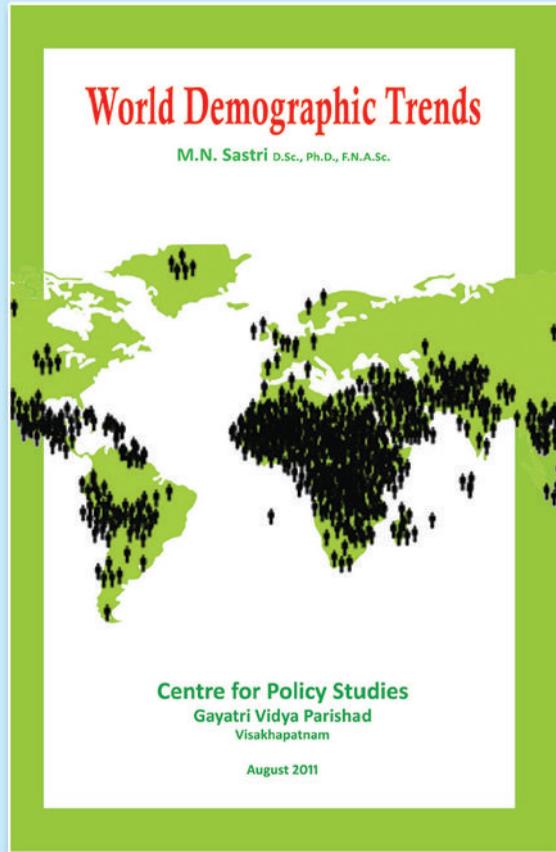
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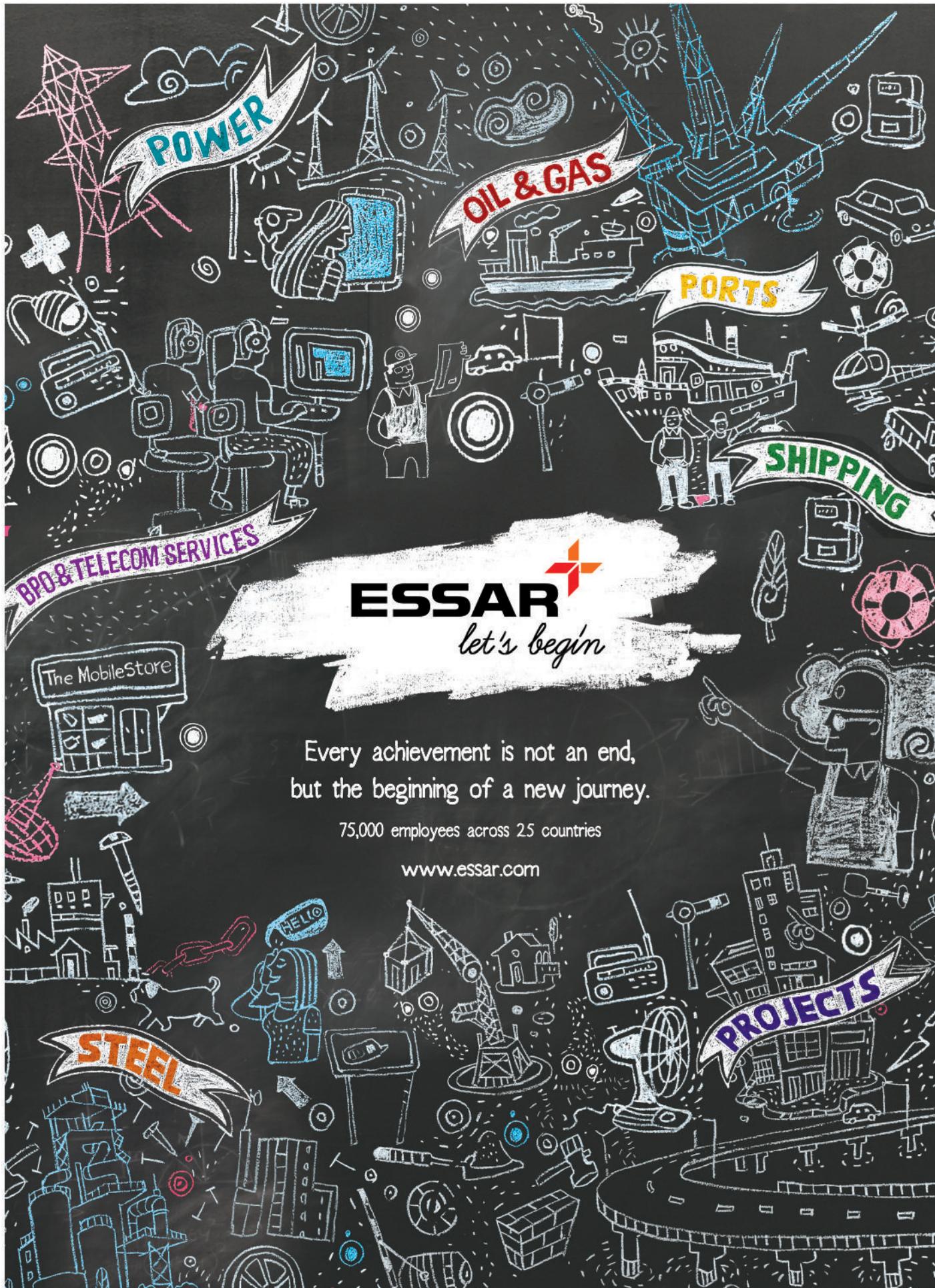
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