

THE DOCTRINE OF THE SWORD(1920)

M.K.Gandhi

I do believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence. Thus when my eldest son asked me what he should have done, had he been present when I was almost fatally assaulted in 1908, whether he should have run away and seen me killed or whether he should have used his physical force which he could and wanted to use, and defended me, I told him that it was his duty to defend me even by using violence. Hence it was that I took part in the Boer War, the so-called Zulu rebellion and the late war. Hence also do I advocate training in arms for those who believe in the method of violence. I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.

But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment (*ksama virasya bhusanam*). Forgiveness adorns a soldier. But abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature. A mouse hardly forgives a cat when it allows itself to be torn to pieces by her. I therefore appreciate the sentiment of those who cry out for the condign punishment of General Dyer and his ilk. They would tear him to pieces if they could. But I do not believe India to be helpless. I do not believe myself to be a helpless creature. Only I want to use India's and my strength for a better purpose.

Let me not be misunderstood. Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will. An average Zulu is any way more than a match for an average Englishman in bodily capacity. But he flees from an English boy, because he fears the boy's revolver or those who will use it for him. He fears death and is nerveless in spite of his burly figure. We in India may in a moment realize that one hundred thousand Englishmen need not frighten three hundred million human beings. A definite forgiveness would therefore mean a definite recognition of our strength.

With enlightened forgiveness must come a mighty wave of strength in us, which would make it impossible for a Dyer and a Frank Johnson to heap affront upon India's devoted head. It matters little to me that for the moment I do not drive my point home. We feel too down-trodden not to be angry and revengeful. But I must refrain from saying that India can gain more by waiving the right of punishment. We have better work to do, a better mission to deliver to the world.

I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the Rishis and saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law - to the strength of the spirit.

I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For Satyagraha and its offshoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The Rishis, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realized their uselessness and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence.

Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honour, his religion, his soul and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration.

And so I am not pleading for India to practise nonviolence, because it is weak. I want her to practise nonviolence being conscious of her strength and power. No training in arms is required for realization of her strength. We seem to need it, because we seem to think that we are but a lump of flesh. I want India to recognize that she has a soul that cannot perish and

The moral influence which Gandhi has exercised upon thinking people through the civilized world may be far more durable than would appear likely in our present age, with its exaggeration of brute force. We are fortunate and should be grateful that fate has bestowed upon us so luminous a contemporary - a beacon to the generations to come. Albert Einstein

Let us restore faith in the idea of a truly democratic India

Cmde.(Retd) C . Uday Bhaskar

Former Director NMF& Ex Director IDSA

The mood across India is so bleak as the nation celebrates its 66th Independence Day that even President Pranab Mukherjee has to draw attention to the prevailing cynicism. And this has been given a tragic underpinning by the unprecedented accident on board the navy's submarine, the INS Sindhurakshak, in the run-up to August 15.

Tragic as it is, the submarine accident is more tactical in nature and it is the deeper strategic malaise across the board -- political, economic, security, judiciary, bureaucracy and even the media -- that has led to this dark mood of gloom and despondency. Almost every institution in India that contributes to the great Indian democratic experience now stands tainted -- and the developments of the last year are illustrative of this malignancy.

The political establishment has not covered itself with glory over the last decade and the current focus on rampant corruption that involves revelations by senior civil servants (the Ashok Khemka case) is perceived to be the tip of a very murky iceberg. A sleazy nexus between politicians, bureaucrats and the criminal mafia -- be it sand or builders or kerosene among others is slowly being exposed and faith in the integrity of the political class is fast eroding.

This trend has been further strengthened by the manner in which the Indian political class has closed ranks and is now seeking to overturn a Supreme Court verdict that would prevent people in police or judicial custody from contesting elections. The spirit behind the judicial verdict was to cleanse the legislature of its criminal/transgressor component --and weaken the increasing criminalisation of politics and the politicisation of crime. Ironically but predictably, on Tuesday (August 13) at an all-party meeting in Delhi, major political parties agreed to a rare consensus -- to resist the Supreme Court and use their legislative prerogative to amend the Representation of the People Act.

The higher bureaucracy in India has always been seen to have enabled the current deterioration in governance and I recall a conversation with the late Nirmal Mukherjee -- cabinet secretary to three prime

that can rise triumphant above every physical weakness and defy the physical combination of a whole world. What is the meaning of Rama, a mere human being, with his host of monkeys, pitting himself against the insolent strength of ten-headed Ravan surrounded in supposed safety by the raging waters on all sides of Lanka? Does it not mean the conquest of physical might by spiritual strength? However, being a practical man, I do not wait till India recognizes the practicability of the spiritual life in the political world. India considers herself to be powerless and paralysed before the machine-guns, the tanks and the aeroplanes of the English. And she takes up non-co-operation out of her weakness. It must still serve the same purpose, namely, bring her delivery from the crushing weight of British injustice, if a sufficient number of people practise it.

I isolate this non-co-operation from *Sinn Feinism*, for it is so conceived as to be incapable of being offered side by side with violence. But I invite even the school of violence to give this peaceful non-co-operation a trial. It will not fail through its inherent weakness. It may fail because of poverty of response. Then will be the time for real danger. The high-souled men, who are unable to suffer national humiliation any longer, will want to vent their wrath. They will take to violence. So far as I know, they must perish without delivering themselves or their country from the wrong. If India takes up the doctrine of the sword, she may gain momentary victory. Then India will cease to be the pride of my heart. I am wedded to India, because I owe my all to her. I believe absolutely that she has a mission for the world. She is not to copy Europe blindly. India's acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the hour of my trial. I hope I shall not be found wanting. My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself. My life is dedicated to the service of India through the religion of nonviolence, which I believe to be the root of Hinduism.

(from *Mahatma Gandhi Essays and reflections on his life and work* by S.Radhakrishnan, Jaico Publishing House, 1956,)



If people close their mouths and open their hearts, they will easily experience Divine Bliss.

Sri Sathya Sai Baba

ministers -- (1977-80) and the last of the ICS cadre, who observed sadly that the Indian Constitution had empowered the District Magistrate (IAS), the District Superintendent of Police (IPS) and the District Judge with adequate powers to stem institutional corruption -- but alas, many of these officials had chosen the more attractive option of ensuring their self-interest than discharging their duties objectively and fearlessly.

The increased distortion in political rectitude and lowering the benchmark to overlook corrupt practices is traced to the Sanjay Gandhi phase of Indian politics and this is a virus that has acquired frightening tenacity in recent years. If the legislature and the electoral cycle represents the ugly aspect of money and muscle power prevailing through the cynical manipulation of caste, community and religion -- the judiciary has also been found wanting.

If a democracy is assessed by its ability to respect the law and deliver justice to its citizens, the Indian track record is dismal and frightening. For a population of over one billion -- more than 30 million cases are awaiting disposal in different courts and the quality of justice dispensed and the time taken for verdicts to be delivered provides little comfort to the honest citizen.

Charges of collusion between legal officials and lawyers in lower courts is scandalous but the higher judiciary is also culpable. In a candid admission, Chief Justice of India Justice P Sathasivam noted in a media interview just before assuming office that the "Judiciary is not untouched by corruption." While this has been conveyed in a very elegant and restrained manner, those familiar with the entrails of the higher judiciary in India admit that the situation is now beyond redress. A very sad admission indeed.

The current economic and fiscal situation in the country is equally depressing. While the macro-economic and fiscal deficit are the domain of the experts, for the common man, it is the slide of the rupee, now 61 to the US dollar and the price of onions -- rupees 80 per kilo that matter. Investor confidence is low and the flight of 'hot' money and current government policies have caused deep anxiety -- both within India and those abroad.

Current fiscal policies are seen as profligate and the second term of the UPA government which had generated hope about major structural reforms and

improvement in human security indicators have been dashed. As a result India has the ignominy of being among the lower rung of nations when it comes to food security, health, education and sanitation. The now forgotten mid-day meal tragedy is reflective of the inability of the system to even protect the health and lives of its most vulnerable.

The security spectrum also offers little cheer. The current tension with Pakistan, the provocation from China, the internal security fabric where the CBI and the IB are at odds and the most recent communal clashes in J&K repeatedly point to an ineffective national security apex. Yes, there have been success stories -- such as the launch of the aircraft carrier, Vikrant and the commissioning of the nuclear reactor on the Arihant -- but these are exceptions to the rule.

Seven decades after attaining independence, the Indian military is still outside the policy making loop and at the executive level, the defense and security of India are the responsibility of the defence secretary! The three service chiefs are policy "invisible" and the political class has rarely had the time or the inclination to address this with any determination. And if the status of a soldier is an indicator of how a nation and its people view national security -- then the current legal tussle of the Indian ex-serviceman with his own government is illustrative.

In this gloomy review, the last institution -- the national media has also come in for adverse scrutiny. If providing factual information in a sustained and objective manner is critical to a vibrant democracy, then the revelations made in the Radia tapes episode should call for deep introspection about the nexus between the market and the media.

What then is the way ahead on Independence Day? As an optimist and one who represents the aspirations and anxieties of a common, middle-class citizen -- the plea is to restore institutional integrity, build tangible national capacity and restore faith in the idea of a truly democratic India -- a vision that was articulated 66 years ago from the ramparts of the Red Fort by the first prime minister. His illustrious successor must rise to the challenge.

Courtesy : Commodore (retd) C. Uday Bhaskar,
(Website report on Rediff.com/news on August 15,2013)



THE NUCLEAR GENIE- 9

India Becomes a Nuclear Weapons State

Prof. M.N. Sastri

Indian nuclear energy programme began just eleven days after the country achieved independence with the creation of the Board of Research on Atomic Energy by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, with Homi J. Bhabha as its Chairman. Bhabha, who already achieved international recognition through his research contributions in the field of elementary particle physics and cosmic rays, was a man of vision going beyond the limits of pure research into the realm of technological and industrial development. He dreamt of a modern technologically self-reliant India.

After holding discussions with reputed scientists abroad with whom he was closely associated, Bhabha presented to Prime Minister Nehru in April 1948, a programme for the organization of nuclear research in India. Prime Minister Nehru acting promptly got the Atomic Energy Act 1948 passed by the Parliament and constituting the Atomic Energy Commission with Bhabha as its Chairman. While piloting the Act in the Parliament Prime Minister Nehru declared, "We must develop atomic energy quite apart from war - indeed I think we must develop it for the purpose using for peaceful purposes..... Of course, if we are compelled as a nation to use it for other purposes, probably no pious sentiments of any of us will stop the nation from using it that way."

The Atomic Energy Commission, functioning directly under the Prime Minister, was given powers to find, create and operate all facilities, from mineral exploration to technological research and development, for the atomic energy programme. A Research Centre was established in 1954 at Trombay, Bombay, with Bhabha as its Director. Originally called the Atomic Energy Research Establishment Trombay (AET), the Centre was later named the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC) in memory of Bhabha who was killed in an air crash in 1966.

The first major achievement of the Research Centre was the building of a swimming pool-type nuclear reactor, APSARA, in 1956, the first in Asia outside the Soviet Union. Except for the fuel elements which were procured from the UK, the reactor with all its equipment was built by the Indian scientific and technical personnel. M.R. Srinivasan, Ex-Chairman, AEC, who was closely associated with building the reactor recalls (DNA, August 6, 2005), "The Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai visited APSARA at the time when China did not have a reactor of its own. En-Lai did not betray any emotions. He looked

like a smiling Buddha to me." This smiling Buddha went back to China and accelerated the country's nuclear programme leading to the successful explosion of its first atom bomb on October 14, 1964. It was ten years (May 18, 1974) later that India exploded its first nuclear weapon under the project codenamed SMILING BUDDHA!

APSARA was followed by the building of CIRUS (Canadian-Indian Reactor, US), a 40 MW natural uranium heavy water moderated research reactor in 1955, under Atoms for Peace programme with Canadian assistance. The heavy water required was supplied by the US. The close association of the Indian scientific personnel with the Canadian engineers in all stages of this exercise helped the Indian personnel acquire advanced nuclear technological expertise. As the agreement between Canada and India was signed before the IAEA safeguards came into force, there was no clause for accounting for plutonium the CIRUS reactor has produced. But Canada received assurances from India that "the reactor would be used only for peaceful purposes." Taking advantage of the absence of safeguards India built a plutonium plant at Trombay, known as Project Phoenix, to process the uranium fuel discharged from the CIRUS reactor. The plant had a capacity to process 20 tonnes of fuel per year. Construction of this plant designed by the Indian scientists began in 1961. With its commissioning in 1964, India became the fifth country (UK, US, France and USSR were the other countries) with capability to reprocess and recover plutonium from spent nuclear fuel. The 100 MW DHRUVA reactor, a larger version of CIRUS built entirely with Indian expertise, became operational in 1985.

Beginning 1959, disputes cropped up between India and China over the demarcation of the 3,225 km long Himalayan border. These disputes as well as other disputes led to the Sino-Indian war in 1962. Also by 1961 India became aware of China's nuclear programme. These events led to India taking greater interest in developing its nuclear capability. In a statement in the Parliament on January 8, 1961 Prime Minister Nehru declared, "We are approaching a stage when it is possible for us to make atomic weapons." A committee was constituted in 1962 for developing an implosion-type nuclear device using the plutonium recovered from the spent fuel of the CIRUS reactor.

Major General Nichols Kenneth D. Nichols of US narrates an incident when Bhabha and he met Nehru in 1960. Nehru asked Bhabha, "Can you develop an atomic bomb?" Bhabha assured he could and said that he would need about a year to do it. Nehru then turned to Nichols

and asked him whether he agreed with Bhabha. Nichols replied that he knew of no reason why Bhabha could not do it. "He had men who were as qualified or more qualified than our young scientists were fifteen years earlier." Nehru then turned to Bhabha and said, "Well don't do it until I tell you to."

In September 1962, the Government of India amended the Atomic Energy Act on the lines of the US Atomic Energy (McMahon) Act of 1954, giving the Government of India strict control over all decisions on atomic energy and powers for enforcing secrecy through linking atomic energy and its control to national security.

Lal Bahadur Shastri succeeded Nehru as the Prime Minister in June 1964. A Gandhian, PM Shastri was opposed to the nuclear weapons programme. But Bhabha began openly lobbying for political and public support for the bomb. He even declared that India could assemble a bomb within 18 months of the Government's favorable decision.

The anticipated Chinese nuclear test was conducted on October 14, 1964. Even in the face of PM Shastri's opposition to pursue nuclear capability, Bhabha in a radio talk on October 24, 1964 declared that the "atomic weapons give a State possessing them in adequate numbers a deterrent power against attack from a much stronger State." A debate in India's Parliament also saw its members pleading, cutting across party lines, for the development of an atomic bomb. In response Shastri authorized in April 1965 the development of nuclear explosives with the caveat that they should only be used for peaceful purposes such as tunneling through mountains. Bhabha set up a group under Raja Ramanna for a Study of Nuclear Explosives for Peaceful Purposes (SNEPP). The choice of a Peaceful Nuclear Explosive (PNE) test was considered consistent with India's declared opposition to nuclear weapons and also the hope that it "would not jeopardize the international assistance that was still needed for the programme." Further, a PNE test is in conformity with Article V of the NPT which says that "under appropriate international observation and through appropriate international procedures, potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions will be made available to Non Nuclear Weapon State Party to the Treaty..." There were reports that Bhabha, during one of his visits to the US during this period, scouted for assistance in building nuclear explosives for such purpose.

Bhabha died in an air crash on January 24, 1966. A few days earlier, PM Shastri died of a heart attack on

January 11. Indira Gandhi who succeeded him as the Prime Minister chose Vikram Sarabhai as the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Sarabhai, who was opposed to nuclear weapons, ordered a halt to SNEPP. However the group constituted by Bhabha went ahead with the task of preparing the groundwork for the PNE experiment.

There was an important development during this period at the international level. The nuclear powers decided to evolve a non-proliferation regime through an international treaty (NPT). India demanded that such a treaty should obligate the existing nuclear weapon states to freeze and then eliminate their nuclear arsenals and also provide security guarantees to states that do not have nuclear weapons. While expressing strong opposition to nuclear weapons, India refused to surrender its right to develop and test the nuclear explosives as the nuclear 'haves' retained such rights. India continues to stick to this stand.

By 1969, Indira Gandhi consolidated her hold on the party and the Government. Sarabhai, Chairman of AEC passed away suddenly in 1971. He was succeeded by H.N. Sethna, the architect of the Plutonium Plant at Trombay. The India-Pakistan war that erupted in 1971 resulted in the creation of Bangladesh. During this war the US tried to bully India by sending its nuclear powered aircraft carrier Enterprise into the Bay of Bengal. These developments as well as China's nuclear capability created security concerns for India. In September 1972 Indira Gandhi authorized Sethna to go ahead with the PNE test. In the words of Sethna, "..... and that is when she handed over the Plutonium Plant to me and said go ahead and do what you want to do. But I want a device to shake the world." (Physics News, January 2009).

India's PNE test was conducted successfully at Pokhran, a few dozen miles from the India-Pakistan border on May 18, 1974. The explosive power was put at between 12 and 15 kilotons TNT. Subsequent reports described the yield as 12 kilotons. The value has been further scaled down by the US experts to 4 to 6 kilotons. The Pokhran PNE test thus became the first confirmed nuclear test by a nation that was not a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

The test, which was conducted under utmost secrecy, was taken seriously by Canada, US and UK. Punitive action was taken by these countries by stopping all assistance to India in its nuclear programmes such as power reactor construction as well as nuclear fuel and

There may be external rituals of homage to Gandhiji, but they must be accompanied by dedication to *satya-dharma*, and a prayerful mind behind it. Rajaji

heavy water supplies. India was also denied supplies of all nuclear related materials and equipment from foreign suppliers through cartelization (e.g. Nuclear Suppliers Group). As a result there was a serious setback to India's entire nuclear energy programme. But this proved a blessing by helping the Indian scientific and technical personnel gaining valuable expertise in nuclear technology through indigenous efforts.

Beginning 1975 the Indian political system went through a series of upheavals. Indira Gandhi lost power in 1977 and Morarji Desai, who was opposed to India securing nuclear capability, became the Prime Minister. He even announced at the UN General Assembly that India would not conduct any nuclear 'explosion'. Ramanna who was heading the NPE project was moved out of the BARC. At this point intelligence reports revealed that A.Q. Khan began pursuing Pakistan's uranium enrichment programme. Thereupon India's Cabinet Sub Committee by a majority 3-2 vote decided to activate its weapons programme. The two members who opposed the move were believed to be Desai and more surprisingly, Atal Behari Vajpayee! Indira Gandhi came back to power in 1980. With Pakistan's quest for nuclear weapons picking up tempo, Ramanna was brought back to accelerate the Indian effort. After Indira Gandhi's assassination in 1984, her son Rajiv Gandhi succeeded her. Rajiv Gandhi, who was averse to nuclear weapons, was more interested in pursuing the policy of total nuclear disarmament. In 1988, he placed before the UN Assembly his nuclear disarmament plans, which received only lukewarm response. Earlier in 1987 during Operation Brasstacks undertaken by India, A.Q. Khan, in an interview given to Kuldip Nayyar, stated, "You people be careful, we have the bomb." In the face of such increasing nuclear threat from Pakistan Rajiv Gandhi changed his mind and permitted the development of deliverable nuclear weapons. Rajiv Gandhi lost elections in 1989 and was succeeded by V.P. Singh. He also faced similar warning from S. Ayub Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister.

Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated during the mid-term election campaign in 1991. P.V. Narasimha Rao who became Prime Minister paid greater attention to economic reforms. At the same time he supported the nuclear weapons programme. In 1995, the NPT was extended indefinitely though India was opposed to the Treaty (for reasons already indicated). Narasimha Rao realized that if India's strategic security interests are to be protected, expeditious action should be taken to

forestall enormous international pressure on India to sign the NPT. The only way this could be done was to adopt the policies of realpolitik as practised by the West as well as China. Narasimha Rao ordered conducting a nuclear test. But the preparations underway were tracked by US through satellites. Under pressure from the US India had to stop the test. Narasimha Rao was succeeded by Vajpayee as the Prime Minister in 1996. Narasimha Rao is reported to have written a letter to Vajpayee saying, "I could not do it, you do it." According to K. Subramaniam, India's respected strategy expert, Vajpayee himself revealed this after Narasimha Rao's death in December 2004. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, former President of India, who as Scientific Advisor to the Defence Minister played a major role in Pokhran II test in 1998, while delivering the 7th R.N. Kao Memorial Lecture organized by the Research and Analysis Wing of the Cabinet Secretariat on January 24, 2013, described how Prime Minister Rao who was relinquishing his office in 1996 in the wake of his party's defeat in the elections, called Atal Behari Vajpayee, the PM designate, and briefed him in Kalam's presence on the test plans and thus enabled a smooth takeover of the nuclear programme. Kalam praised Rao for this act which "reveals the maturity and professional excellence of a patriotic statesman who believed that the nation is bigger than the political system".

But Vajpayee's government lasted only a short period. Deve Gowda and Gujral succeeded Vajpayee one after the other. The programmes covering nuclear weapons and the delivery systems continued during their tenures. Gujral, when he met US President Clinton in September 1997 during the UN General Assembly euphemistically indicated India's nuclear weapons quest. He recounts telling Clinton that an old Indian saying holds that Indians have a third eye. "I told President Clinton that when my third eye looks at the door of Security Council Chamber it sees a little sign that says 'only those with economic power or nuclear weapons allowed', I said 'it is very difficult to achieve economic wealth'." (italics for emphasis).

In October 1997, Ramanna declared in a meeting, "The Pokhran test (PNE test) was a bomb." (Associated Press, Oct.10, 1997).

The BJP came back to power after the midterm elections in 1998. On March 18, 1998, a day before assuming charge as Prime Minister, Vajpayee declared, "There is no compromise on national security. We will ensure all options including nuclear option to protect security and sovereignty." Arrangements for the tests at

Pokhran, under the codename Operation Shakti, followed. Tests were conducted in two groups. The first, conducted on May 11, consisted of a thermonuclear weapon Shakti I with a yield of 43 kilo tonnes, a light compact tactical fission weapon Shakti II with a yield of 12 kilo tonnes, and a tactical fission weapon Shakti III with a yield of 0.2 kilo tonne. Two days later Shakti IV and V with yields of 0.2 and 0.3 kilo tonne were tested. As against the Indian claims of a combined yield of 55 kilo tonnes the US and other reports arrived at values ranging from 12 to 25 kilo tonnes. With these tests India has come to be recognized as a nuclear power. In this context it is interesting to recall the prophetic words of Nani A. Palkhivala, the great Indian legal luminary. In his Jawaharlal Memorial lecture delivered at the Trinity College, Cambridge on November 7, 1990, he said, "It (India) even exploded an atomic device (1974) - our only one- and learnt the bitter lesson that one explosion activates international reaction. But a series of explosions anaesthetizes it. One blast brings discredit while a sequence brings prestige and power."

After India's tests, Gohar Ayub Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister declared, "We in Pakistan will maintain balance with India in all fields. We are in a headlong arms race on the sub-continent." A few days later on May 28, Prime Minister Nawaz Sherif announced that Pakistan detonated five nuclear weapons.



LEADERS AND NATIONS

Shri P.S.Ram Mohan Rao, I.P.S., (Retd)

Ex Director General of Police, Andhra Pradesh
Former Governor of Tamilnadu

1) While driving in to Philadelphia (USA) for a family Wedding, on an afternoon towards the end of April 2013 a bill-board displayed at intervals along the highway, caught my attention. Divided vertically into two halves, one half read "What can one man do to change the world" while the other half carried a portrait of Nelson Mandela. The context and purpose of the bill board were not evident.

2) In the course of the day and the next, the caption kept intriguing me. In a moment of 'Deja-vu' I recalled that, earlier in the month, addressing a select gathering of Indian Corporate Honchos, in Delhi, Rahul Gandhi made out a strong case that what mattered to the progress of a nation was the empowerment of the people and not the leadership of one or two

individuals. I realized that the caption on the bill board was in complete contradiction to the thesis of Rahul. This set me reflecting on the role of leadership in human endeavor and all that I had read and learnt on the subject over 40 Years of my public service.

3) Rahul's thesis amounts to a total repudiation of the inherited wisdom and experience of the millennia on leadership. It implies that the lives of Moses and Jesus Christ, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Winston Churchill, and Margaret Thatcher, Mahama Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar, Nehru and Patel, Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela, -(the list is long but is only illustrative) have not made any difference to the human story. [The discerning reader would notice the complete omission from this list of monarchs and dictators as also those not connected with the Polity and governance. This essay is a disputation limited to the role of leadership in a democracy]. It is not that Rahul's emphasis on the empowerment of people is faulty or misplaced. But it misses the crux of the matter. More, it amounts to putting the cart before the horse. An empowered people without an able leader can only create confusion and chaos, while the opposite paves the way for dictatorship. That is why "Democracy" is the preferred form of governance which empowers the people and prevents dictatorships. But able leaders are essential to the success of Democracy. In fact it has been said that the histories of great nations are but a collection of biographies of the great leaders who led such nations.

4) A defiant Moses led his people out of bigotry into freedom. It needed the humility of a Jesus to convert Roman despotism and intolerance into a new religious order. In more recent times, the maturity and foresight of George Washington stabilized the United States of America while the lofty vision of Jefferson provided its philosophical underpinnings. The practical genius of Lincoln made the American Union a little more perfect by abolishing slavery. But for the bulldog spirit of a Churchill, England's darkest days would not have become its finest hours. The "Naked fakir" of a Gandhi could shake the foundations of an Empire on which the Sun was never expected to set. If by his moral positioning, Nehru could influence world opinion, the indomitable will and steely resolve of Sardar Patel transformed the "blood and iron" strategy of Germany's Bismarck into a "Carrot and

Gandhi has left as his heritage a spiritual force that must In God's good time prevail over arms and armaments and dark doctrines of violence. *New York Times* January 31, 1948

stick" policy to accomplish a much more difficult unity of India. If the evangelical zeal of Martin Luther King ensured a place at the high table for the American blacks, the forgiveness of Nelson Mandela, a la Christ, embodied in his Truth and Reconciliation commission, healed the deep wounds of Apartheid. The bill boards on the Philadelphia high way said it all.

5) Who is a leader and what are the essential attributes of a successful leader. Right from the ancient times of Socrates , Aristotle, and Chanakya till now, the subject generated abiding interest, incisive study and research, profound scholarship and absorbing literature. The biographies of eminent leaders in diverse fields have also provided indelible insights. Running through all this body of study, research and literature run a few common and core attributes of out standing leadership.

6) The first attribute is vision. People are drawn towards a leader who can present a attractive picture of their future and the direction towards the realization of such future. Without a compelling vision, a leader can , at best, be transactional and preserve the status quo, which, if unsatisfactory, can prove disastrous to the people. People desire and look upto leaders who are transformational and can alter the present into a better future. Vision by itself is not enough. It has to be accompanied by a credible and practical plan of action to realize the projected future. The call for " A man on moon" before the end of 1960s given by J.F. Kennedy is a unique example of visionary leadership.

7) The second attribute is the ability to communicate. A leader should be able to convey the substance of his vision to the people who are led and convince them of its value, desirability and chances of success. It is only then that the people will embrace and own that vision to bend their will and effort towards its realization. Good communication is not synonymous with demagogy. It can take various forms from the "Dandi March of "Mahatma Gandhi" to the fire side chats of Franklin Roosevelt and the 'V' signs of Chruchill. Leading by example is a potent means of communication.

8) The next important attribute of leadership is "TRUST". A leader, by a consistent alignment between words and actions, should be seen as one who is dependable and will not abandon his people midway for whatever reason. Trust is the glue that binds the

leaders and people. At the same time it serves as the grease which moves people into action to realize the vision of the leader. India's debacle in its China war in 1962 could be largely attributed to lack of trust between the leadership both political and military on the one side and the fighting troops on the other.

9) A less understood but equally important attribute is self esteem which is a fusion of self confidence, self respect and the humility to recognize and acknowledge ones own short comings and deficiencies. The first two elements generate the enthusiasm and the "fire in the belly" needed to drive the people towards their goal. The last enables the leader to find ways of compensating for such weaknesses, either by way of self correction or by enlisting the help of others who have countervailing strengths. There is no better example of this attribute than the successful prosecution of the civil war by Abraham Lincoln. At the lowest tide of his fortunes in the war, he had made the declaration of emancipation of blacks from slavery, a signal of self confidence. An even more eloquent testimony of his self esteem and humility was the manner in which he included all his party rivals for Presidency in his team to govern the Country. He never hesitated to confer and consult with them but reserved the final decision to himself. He never considered it beneath his self respect to visit the houses and offices of his colleagues for such conferences. Infact Lincoln is a classic example of leadership in all its essential attributes.

10) While these four attributes constitute the super structural building blocks of leadership, the bed rock is provided by integrity. In its broadest connotation, integrity includes moral values, intellectual honesty and strength of character. In the absence of integrity, a leader with the other attributes may seem to have succeeded but such success will not stand the scrutiny of hind sight and history. Overtime, reappraisals will unravel the reality. That is why success is temporary but fame is enduring . Also aspiration or ambition which represents the desire to achieve is intrinsic to leadership, though over ambitious persons often came croppers in the long run. Further the popular belief that leaders have to be charismatic is not borne out by empirical evidence. But there is little doubt that charisma is an additional strength to a leader. It does not necessarily have to come by birth. It can accrete from consistently notable

performance as a leader. There are other requisites to success as a leader but they have only marginal role and impact and cannot elevate a person into leadership position without the basic attributes.

11) A caveat is in order. As already stated, this discourse focusses on the role leadership in the context of democratic governance of nations. Democracy is vulnerable to the danger of elected leaders turning into dictators. Way back in 1846, while addressing the young men's debating society of Spring Field, Illinois Abraham Lincoln, still a young and struggling attorney, cautioned how "towering genius disdains a beaten path" and in its thirst for power and distinction can "enslave freemen" unless the people are united in their attachment to the rule of law. In this situation, true empowerment of people in terms of freedom of expression, awareness of their entitlements through proper education and their commitment to the integrity of institutions of governance constitute an effective shield against such a danger.

12) To conclude leaders make nations great. Without them, any form of governance becomes rudderless. It is upto the people to choose their leaders wisely and also continuously assess them by the attributes and basic requisites enumerated and elaborated in this discourse. Jesus Christ, George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela- all of them have changed the world for the better.



THE RAJYA SABHA: To ABOLISH or to RE-ORIENT ? -I

Prof R.L. M.Patil

(Member Karnataka State Higher Education Council, Bangalore. Retd Professor of Political Science, Bangalore University who held Dr Zakir Husain Chair in Mysore University and Sir Ratan Tata Professorship at ISEC, Bangalore.)

Rajya Sabha the Upper Chamber of the Indian Parliament made its first appearance as the Council of State in 1919 under the Government of India Act, as recommended by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Hardly has any significant change occurred in its near-hundred years journey. Even when the leading lights

of the nation sat together for months to devise a new constitution for independent India in 1946-1949 there was a conspicuous neglect of what should be the role, power and function of the Rajya Sabha or as it was then called the Council of States in the text of Constitution.

It was generally believed inside as well as outside (In abundance in text books) that the role of an Upper House in the bicameral legislature was to hold dispassionate, nonpartisan, learned and dignified discussions on several public issues which would not have been possible in case of a single House dominated by elected members who would mostly be hasty, politically-charged, inexperienced, youthful and ambitious. If the single House popularly elected was a tea-cup containing hot tea, the Upper House was to be a saucer which would have tea poured to spread and cool. The respective powers of the two Houses would not and should not be equal but complementary. This is how the utility of the Upper House/ the Council of States/ Rajya Sabha was perceived to be by the members of the Constituent Assembly. In a debate lasting for a few minutes, the upper House was at most termed as "acceptable" at the Central level but not at all at the provincial level which Sri H.V. Kamath described as "pernicious". As if in a state of near-absentmindedness the Constituent Assembly adopted the proposal to continue the Council of State. It is significant that the mover of the resolution as well as supporters of it visualized its nature as an element of democracy rather than a federal apparatus! Compared with any other federal legislature in the world our Rajya Sabha is the least representative of the state units. In the United States, Switzerland and Germany, for example, the federal Upper houses are truly representatives/ guardians of the states' interests. The members are elected or controlled by the people or the Government of their respective states. The German Bundesrat is composed of states ministers or their alternates. The federal government there cannot constitutionally ignore or override the states' rights or concerns in legislative and executive matters. In fact, the federal lower house elected popularly can be taken for granted by the Prime Minister/ Chancellor since his government is supported by the majority of the house, but he literally has to beg concurrence from the Upper House in most of the matters federal, executive, legislative or administrative. In India,

Gandhi inaugurated in human politics the most powerful movement that the world has seen
for nearly two thousand years. Romain Rolland

however, the Rajya Sabha is not intended either by design or by practice to act as the guardian of the rights or concerns of the states; it acts simply as an upper chamber in a unitary Government in a democratic set-up.

It happens often that State legislature which sends its 'representatives' to the Rajya Sabha for a period of six long years, undergoes a change of political complexion within a short period after electing the representatives. An 'opposition' party may come to power in the State either for reason of fresh elections to the State Assembly or defections or coalitional politics. Yet the old selections of the M.P.s of Rajya Sabha continues to hold. This betrays the concept of Rajya Sabha members being the guardians or representatives of their respective states. The ruling parties of the states and the ruling party at the centre often are found to be rivals and settling political scores. Party-politics thus weakens the character and strength of the Rajya Sabha as an upper chamber symbolizing States' rights.

It is also noticed that the Rajya Sabha has not always held dignified, learned, dispassionate, nonpartisan discussions as expected of it. Many times there are witnessed undignified, partisan and unproductive debates. Professor of Political Science from Bombay University and a member of the Minority Commission, Prof Aloo J .Dastur, told the conference of Indian Political Science Association (December 28,1978):

"The way the Indian Parliament especially the Rajya Sabha has been conducting itself for several weeks reminds one of a similar situation in England in the first decade of the (20th) century. The House of Lords kept on obstructing the work of the popularly elected House of commons and here is the Rajya Sabha obstructing and holding up the entire business of the Indian Parliament Perhaps the time has come when we as political scientists, teachers and students of parliamentary government, have to give serious thought to the conduct of the elders. Is it necessary, or is it even useful to have a second chamber?... The old English cry 'either mend the House of Lords or end it' raised in the election of 1910 could very well be the rallying cry (here now)".

The observation of the learned Professor was not related to an isolated incident. As early as 1954

the Rajya Sabha was angered by the remark of a venerated member of the Lok Sabha Mr N.C.Chatterjee that the Upper House which was "supposed to be a body of the elders seems to be behaving irresponsibly like a pack of urchins". In the eighties the Members of Rajya Sabha who belonged to the ruling Congress party, behaved in such an ugly and unruly fashion that the Presiding Officer, the Vice-President of India, a very much Congressman, Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma, wept, sobbed and wiped off tears from his eyes and begged the elderly members to behave! In the recent years another scandalous development is taking place, affecting adversely the stature of the Rajya Sabha. Many business houses, tax-evaders, scamsters and those whose interests are very far from Parliamentary pursuits, are vying to contest elections to the Rajya Sabha from state Assemblies - a proposition which works out to be rather cheap compared to the cost of fighting elections to the Lok Sabha. Often, candidates come from different states: Ram Jethamalani from Karnataka, M.A.Chidambaram from Karnataka, S.R.Bomma from Orissa, Man Mohan Singh from Assam, L.K.Advani from Gujarat and so on. This phenomenon is unique to Indian federation. As observed by Prof Bhavani Singh "The Rajya Sabha has become an exotic transplanted on our soil - it represents neither the people nor the Government, nor the State legislatures".

Another Professor of Political Science points out that though N.Gopalswamy Ayyangar, a leading light in the Constituent Assembly's Drafting Committee, had assured that the proposed Upper House would give an opportunity to seasoned people to participate in the debate with an amount of learning and to hold dignified debates, the House has on several occasions become a refuge for the old, defeated, prestige-hungry, and party-loyalists. As though this was not bad enough, a tendency allegedly to purchase the seats in the Rajya Sabha has been noticed. Maladroit political practices have been observed almost all over the world in all systems: democratic dictatorial communist, liberal or any other. Mahatma Gandhi having noticed how his Congressmen were falling a prey to the attractions of the offices of power after 1937 elections, had called for disbandment of the national party famous so far for its sacrifices and ideals. But as power drew nearer, the ideals themselves were being sacrificed. He repeated this call for dissolution of the Congress a

few hours before his death. His wishes went unheeded. Corrupt electoral practices in the elections to the popular house, the Lok Sabha, however undesirable is understandable. But in the elections to the Rajya Sabha - a house meant for the elderly, wise, unselfish, learned, dignified, nonpartisan and honorable counsels - money power is playing a role which is quite disturbing. Not for all seats in all the states but for a few seats in a few states, from 1952 onwards, various political parties have placed a price for giving support to the aspirants of membership of the Rajya Sabha. This price is not always, but many times, in terms of monetary funds to the political parties or their leaders or their relations. Sometimes, it is a political trade off - say, lending a helping hand in saving a tottering government at the state or at the Centre, communal appeasement, taking away the intelligence agencies' attention on some of the misdemeanor of politicians, etc. It is a sad commentary on the Indian political system that this suave cunningness is practiced by almost all the political parties. Examples of the members who have come or tried to come, to the portals of the Rajya Sabha through these dubious corridors are aplenty. Some of them have been those who are facing huge income-tax penalty, NRIs who want a firm foothold here, politicians who are rejected by the people in general elections, old never-say-die politicians (one among whom was paralysed and unable to speak or recognize people!), relations of the party heavy-weights, former bureaucrats and judges who had obliged the ruling party in their careers, businessmen and sports administrators who have been generous to their political friends, and so on. Even the nominated members of the Rajya Sabha that is, twelve members who are nominated by the President of India on the advice of the Cabinet/ Prime Minister for reasons of their having made distinct and outstanding contributions, and made the nation proud, are not above a murmur of doubt: Famous movie stars and singers who never opened their mouths during the debates in the House, internationally famous musicians who did not find time to sit in the House but asked for a chunk government land to establish music academy, or those who worked for the most influential leaders from behind the scene. The few were not corrupt, but were not interested in the activities in the House. On the whole, the Rajya Sabha has come to acquire lot of flab, lost shape and lost

sight of the original purpose for which it was created, actually or supposedly. The Constitution-makers obviously did not spend much time or thought on the place of the Rajya Sabha in our Constitutional set-up. The centrality of a federal Chamber of the constituent state units was not on their minds. What was the shape and character of the Council of State envisaged in 1919 under the Government of India Act, sponsored by the British rulers, continues to be with us even today without any significant changes. B.N.Rau and B.R.Ambedkar in the critical months of preparing the Draft Constitution and even as late as October 1949, toyed with the idea of introducing two key provisions into the Constitution, which would have the effect of (a) Strengthening the states vis-a-vis the centre (b) Strengthening the President vis-a-vis the Prime Minister and (c) Promoting federalization rather than centralization. The twin provisions provided for setting out Instrument of Instructions for the President (and Governors of states) and an Advisory Board on Appointments. If accepted, these provisions would have gone a long way in liberating the President of India (and like wise the state Governors) from the vice-like grip which the Prime Minister (Chief Ministers of states) hold on the head of state. For, the Instrument would have given the President a free hand in the choice of Ministers and exercise his own discretion in several important ways. The Board comprising fifteen members of the Parliament (both Houses), elected through proportional representation, would tender advice to the President on the appointment of : Chief Justice, Judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts, ambassadors, Auditor-General of India, Chairman and Members of the UPSC and Election Commission. These proposals would have eroded definitely the powers and influence of the Prime Minister and Union Government as well as the clout of the ruling political party at the centre. States would also have got a say in influencing the decision of the President to the detriment of the ruling coterie in New Delhi. Perhaps, that is why the suggestions were spiked without full and proper debate in the Constituent Assembly. Dr B.R.Ambedkar first proposed an amendment to Draft Constitution to incorporate these two provisions when Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was away touring the United States on his first visit to that country. When the Prime Minister returned, Dr Ambedkar requested the Constituent Assembly to cancel the amendment

which had been advocated by himself earlier. Incidentally, these provisions existed in the Government of India Act, 1935, which was on the whole incorporated into the Constitution of India to an estimated extent of 80 percent! The details of discussions which were held among the leaders on the subject remain a state secret.

(to be continued)



NATIONAL WATER POLICY

Prof. R. Vaidyanadhan

Former Head of Dept. of Geography,
Andhra University

India, as well as many countries in the world, is passing through a Water Crisis," partly due to increasing demand from a burgeoning population, partly due to erratic distribution of rainfall in different parts of the world due to natural causes and partly due to misuse or indiscriminate over-exploitation of this natural resource. Government of India has a National Water Policy. But unfortunately there are not only lacunae in them in terms of regulations specified but also difficulties in implementing the policy. It does not include problems connected with some of the important variations in the quantum and quality of water resources from surface and ground water.

Sri. Rajendra Singh (a Magsaysay Awardee), General Secretary, Tarun Bharat Singh, who had rejuvenated some of the extinct tanks in Rajasthan with people's cooperation, has proposed a new NATIONAL RIVER POLICY. He is trying to create interest in persons in the know of the problem and possible solutions, in different parts of the country. In this connection he initiated a Group Discussion on "Rejuvenation of Rivers System in South India" and "National River Policy," in Bengaluru on the 2nd and 3rd August, 2013. This was conducted by the Geological Society of India, Bengaluru, a premier Earth Science Society in the country, founded in 1958. About 60 participants drawn from different walks of life – political, administrative, scientific, NGOs and stakeholders attended the same.

The 4 sessions were presided over by eminent persons including former Chief Justice of India Sri. M.N. Venkatachalaiah, Capt. Raja Rao, Former Secretary, Water Resources, Government of Karnataka

and Dr. Ashok Dalavi, IAS, Deputy Director General, UADAI, Bengaluru. Justice Santosh Hegde, Former Lokayukta was the Chief Guest.

There were a number of presentations from invited scientists, administrators, past and present, and activists in this field on the first day. This included problems related to depletion and pollution of water resources, both surface and ground water, the efforts of the Governments in the southern States to mitigate the deleterious effects of the dwindling resources and the rapacious onslaught on these resources by a nexus of politician-bureaucrat-industrialists in many cases. For example the pollution of streams and ground water by the effluents from the tanneries in Vellore district in Tamil Nadu, large quantities of sand mining from the river bed in Chalakudpuzha in Kerala lowering the river bed by an average of 6-8 metres within about a decade, the artificial drought created by diverting the waters for sugar cultivation to a large extent in Maharashtra driving poor farmers to migrate to urban areas, with facts and figures, were all shocking revelations. With many earthen small check dams across the tributaries of Godavari and Krishna, in the two drainage basins, the sediment supply to the rivers in the downstream considerably reduced with the result the progradation (advancing) of deltas of Krishna and Godavari rivers has caused a little shrinking in the delta front and causing receding of the coast line, causing imbalance in the ecosystem there. As a student in the early school days at Vijayawada for over a decade, off and on, I used to see families living in boats in the canals and transporting coconuts and plantain, besides others. Now a major part of these canals look like conduits for the sewage drains from the adjoining settlements.

A realistic picture was also presented of the conflicting, but genuine concern of different users of the water resource from a dam. For example, where multi-purpose dams are built for (i) irrigation through canals, (ii) hydroelectric power, (iii) flood control, (iv) navigation and (v) recreation, an increase or decrease in the height of the dam demanded by adjoining States, where the river with all its main tributaries is in one State and canals in the adjoining State, wherein the river joins the sea (in the case of Mullapayar dam – Kerala and Tamil Nadu; Alamatti dam – Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh) the following is the general scenery in a hypothetical case.

Watch a man do his most common actions; those are indeed the things which will tell you the real character of a great man. Swami Vivekananda

Farmers downstream would like increase in the height of the dam, so that they continue to get water in the lean years of rainfall as well. Where reduction is demanded, as the existing one is weak or in a tectonically hazardous region, causing damage to settlements in the upstream, power generation will be affected. Increasing the height of the dam also increases the bed load in the reservoir, reducing the total volume of water held over a long period. Unlike in the case of tanks it is not possible to de-silt the increasing accumulation of sediments in the reservoir. This will also disturb the profile of the river causing soil erosion in the upstream. In the years of unexpected copious rainfall in order to save the dam, when water is suddenly released, it affects the crops and settlements on the banks of the river in the downstream. Similar effects can be expected in navigation, particularly in the case large perennial rivers, and recreation, where hotels have been established for tourists along the edges of the water spread in the reservoir part.

The panel discussion on the 2nd day dealt with the Draft Policy on rivers and decided to convene similar meetings in the southern States and come out with a working action plan taking into consideration special problems in each of the States caused either due to natural processes or anthropogenic agencies. It is hoped that before long a comprehensive policy on the rivers will be made so that action will be undertaken both by the Governments at the Centre as well as the States to rejuvenate the rivers and tanks, so that the future generation may have better resources at its command to sustain in the years to come.



The Haunted Islet And Its Last Great Quest

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*)

**They say the Lion and the Lizard keep
The Courts where Jamshyd gloried and drank deep:
And Bahram, that great Hunter - the Wild Ass
Stamps O'er his Head, and he lies fast asleep.**

-Fitzgerald's translation of the *Rub'ayat* of Omar Khayyam

A few haunted houses I had seen, but never a haunted islet, an islet that was vibrant with life, love and laughter till a few decades ago. Solemn hymns and carols emanating from two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant, merged with the melody spilling out of the nearby dancing hall, and white children raced with squirrels and flitted about with butterflyflies in a beautifully laid out park and the broad steps leading to the imposing building atop the hillock was continuously trodden by officials, merchants and citizens seeking favour from the lord of the archipelago, the Chief Commissioner for this part of British, India - the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Surrounded by the deep blue sea, the tiny hillock consisting of only 80 acres of land, known as Ross Island, was the paradise from which the Commissioner ruled the 293 big and small islands, 8,249 square kilometres in area. Now the only permanent residents of the deserted Ross island were some deer and peacocks; They stamped over many a buried head, of convicts and their executioners, of those who gave orders and those who obeyed them, some good and some evil. One of the last to die there was indeed a good man, they say, one Mr. AG. Bird, a senior British administrator to fall into the Japanese hands soon after the archipelago was invaded by the latter in 1942. They tied him to a pillar and rained on him blows, *ju jitsu* style.

The septuagenarian Mr. Gurumoorthy, one of the survivors of the Japanese atrocities who had kindly guided us to the islet (with the permission of the Navy, for it is under their custody), narrated the last moments of Mr. Bird, probably standing on the very spot of the macabre enactment of the occurrence. 'Were our blows rather hard? Do you wish to drink a little water?' a grinning Japanese officer asked him. 'Yes, please!' muttered the gasping prisoner. They brought a bucketful of water and the officer dipped a sword in it. 'It's clean now,' he observed. And suddenly he thrust it into the prisoner's chest and then chopped off his head. 'Only the other day I guided Mr. Bird's daughter and son-in-law here - they came from England to have a glimpse of this site,' Mr. Gurumoorthy informed us. Silent trees spread their branches and shoots into the crumbling skeletons of once majestic mansions in a desperate bid to stop them from totally disappearing. A million leaves murmured against the violent gusts of wind trying to dislodge the fragments of the structures from their intricate embrace. Wave after wave pounded the islet from all sides. There was no other sound. Strangely, I never heard any chirping of birds. Over the scattered blocks of ruins, the graveyard of the proud, several recent visitors had sought their way to immortality by inscribing their own names and

Music and dance can be used as an instrument for ensuring global peace and act as a binding force.

occasionally of their consorts. This isolated islet had hosted a great Indian leader for three days during that turbulent period. On the 29th of December, 1943, the Andamanians were ordered to proceed to the aerodrome. By then the people had learnt to resign to the practice of the new rulers to summon anyone to any place, any time. Only a few of them knew that an illustrious son of India was arriving to celebrate the liberation of that chunk of the country from the British.

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose emerged from the plane and walked through, the people who had been ordered to stand in two rows 'as though he was inspecting a guard of honour.' Japanese officers marched before and behind him and often flanking him too. He had no opportunity to talk to the Indians. He must have felt uneasy, but that could hardly be an occasion for him to question or violate the protocol. He was led to Ross Island although by then the administration was being conducted from Port Blair. During his sojourn, he was shown the empty wings of the Cellular Jail while a large number of Indians were rotting in the wings shut off from his sight. 'Alas! if he had seen persons whose skins were missing from thighs, scrotum, abdomen and chest and who could not wear any apparel; a few who had no flesh on their breeches; a few who had no skin on parts of their bodies, the result of burns by petrol; a few who could not walk straight, a few who had deep knife-cuts all over the fleshy part of their bodies in which salt had been sprinkled. Alas! if he had only seen these with his own eyes!' laments Mr. Rama Krishna.

The public meeting Netaji addressed was well attended. 'Masterji' Kesar Das led a team of his students in singing *Bande Mataram*. He demonstrated the tune to us on the upper floor of his log cabin. Almost half a century did not seem to have deprived his voice of its melody. But the office bearers of the Independence League must meet Netaji, without any Japanese presence! They somehow managed to communicate their request to Netaji to pay a visit to their office. Netaji readily agreed. Indeed, he must have eagerly looked forward to the opportunity. But his hosts scheduled his visit for the early hours of the very day of his departure - while he would be on his way to the aerodrome! And to their amazement, his native followers saw the office of the Independence League and the ground around it jam-packed with women and children long before the leader's arrival. At midnight soldiers had shunted them out of their homes and herded them there. Netaji came and left, hardly able to talk to anybody and anybody being able to talk to him. Some of the office-bearers could not even reach him through the

unmanageable chaos so imaginatively managed by the Japanese. Hardly had the sound of Netaji's plane faded when 33 of the elite of the Andamans, doctors, teachers, et al, were rounded up and taken to a lonely place and asked to confess their role as spies for the British. Their inability to confess anything only intensified the perpetration of torture on them. They reached a condition when they could neither move their limbs nor talk. Their captors promptly solved their problem by shooting them dead.

I was going through the incomplete list of freedom fighters incarcerated in the Cellular Jail, inscribed on tablets. Deportations had begun as an aftermath of the great rebellion of 1857. The rebels must be totally uprooted from the mainland and the Andamans were the ideally inhospitable ground for them to be dumped. These unwanted men could also be used as shields to make inroads into the dangerous interiors. They could be sacrificed to reclaim fresh patches of colony. The British Indian Government, of course, meant to send shock-waves across the country with orders of deportations into the unknown. If tens of thousands of suspected participants in the Mutiny or its sympathisers were hanged or shot, a few thousand more were despatched beyond the vast sea - where waters were so deep and so unfamiliar that they inspired the spectre of a dark sphere. Thus dark, Kala, assumed a sinister suggestion, literal as well as figurative. To be hurled across the dark waters, *Kalapani*, was to surely meet with a painful death.

And not even one of the 4,000 Mutineers deported between 1858 and 1860 ever returned to the mainland. Death at one's native place created its normal reactions, but snatched from his environment, from his own people and deported to *Kalapani*, the victim only left an eerie vacuum in the minds of his kinsmen. They would never know when he died. . . No communication between the deported and his kinsmen was possible. And the rulers saw to it that the Andamans remained a forbidden zone. Among the prisoners from the Mutiny were feudal lords like Hatt Singh of Ghens (Sambalpur) who used to attack the East India Company's regiments from the hilltops of Barihadera, and distinguished scholars like Allama Fazali Hag Khairabadi and Maulana Liakat Ali. Recent efforts to trace their burial spots proved futile. The British saw to it that the terror of *Kalapani* produced the desired effect. Even a hapless Maharaja of Puri, Divyasimha Dev, who could very well have been punished at home, was sent to the Andamans in 1878 where he died. This was a warning to the other Indian princes. Maharaja Divyasimha was a safe choice, for he had ceased

to rule any State and had ceased to command any force that could create any problem for the rulers.



AMID THE LEAVES THE INMATE VOICES CALLED- I

Dr.Mrs.Prema Nandakumar

1. An Icon

In the years of growing up, in that tricky period of teenage, in those seven years of bridging childhood and early adulthood, one definitely needs an icon. It may not be oriented towards a repeat performance of the achievements of the icon. But the presence of an icon is a constant inspiration, Someone points out this image: try to be like this in real life!

India, fortunately, is rich in this sphere. For millennia great men and women have worked like gods on this earth. People have followed them eagerly as a talisman against going under. It is as well, for day-to-day living in India has never been an easy-going affair. Struggle is the reality which has been effectively countered by the call for simplicity, sacrifice, immense scholarship and sterling tapasya by these icons. Their achievements are Himalayan, yet we have not recorded the life and work of all these great personalities. Where we manage to do that at least with partial brush-strokes, there come the icon-shatterers looking for cheap publicity. Handling vague research instruments such as Marxian sociology and Freudian psychology that can only lead to dubious results, the icon-shatterers invariably suffering from metaphoric scotoma, exult into their cracked mirrors. "I have managed to scratch this face with a rusted knife!" However, Mother India is a tough goddess. Rooted in Sanatana Dharma, She remains spiritually a single unit. Her image endures for all time. Like her eternal youth and strength, Rishi Bankim's hymn endures for ever:

"Thou art wisdom, thou art law,
Thou art heart, our soul, our breath
Though art love divine, the awe
In our hearts that conquers death.
Thine the strength that nerves the arm,
Thine the beauty, thine the charm.
Every image made divine

In our temples is but thine.
Mother, mother mine!
Mother sweet, I bow to thee,
Mother great and free!"

My early years were practically spent among my father's bookshelves. There never was a separate library room in any of the houses we lived, and one was in no way surprised to find a shelf of books even in the kitchen. All his life, father remained a teacher and could not afford big houses. He never built one either. That was his way. Books were his career; not applying for loans to build houses or buy cars. "I have never owned a car, and cannot pedal even a bicycle", he would say laughingly.

But he bought books, read them and wrote books also. As one who shaped my thoughts, quite early in my life, father showed me an icon who was very much present in the house as portraits and books. He would speak to me of how as a very young boy, Sri Aurobindo had become a voracious reader and achieved academic excellence. That was the time when Ambalal Purani was gathering original papers of Sri Aurobindo's stay in England. Oh yes, father would say, Sri Aurobindo had studied in England and so you better study English literature well. He would not be happy if you are lax with this area of literary studies. If you want to understand Sri Aurobindo, first try to know the history of the language which he wields with such expertise.

Such was father's constant emphasis on Sri Aurobindo the reader-scholar. Mother would be stringing parijatha blossoms to make garlands for the portraits of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother and just listen as father went on speaking about Sri Aurobindo. It was familiar territory for her as she was there from day one when father borrowed the Collected Poems and Plays from Shankargowda Patil in 1942 and brought the volumes home to read. Then father had gone deep into Aurobindo studies, written a biography of Sri Aurobindo which was corrected by the Master himself. He had indeed spent his lifetime writing and lecturing about Sri Aurobindo in various fora. At home too he went on speaking about Sri Aurobindo but each time it sounded new, there was something new to know about the Master.

Sri Aurobindo is of the race of prophets who see the present as but a transitory moment that should not be allowed to overcome the optimism of man. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar

Father would exclaim at times: “How much he must have read to write such beautiful English!” and then read a page from a book picked up at random from his Aurobindonian shelf. It could be just a brief poem, maybe a sonnet:

“O Thou of whom I am the instrument,
O secret Spirit and Nature housed in me,
Let all my mortal being now be blent
In Thy still glory of divinity.
I have given my mind to be dug Thy channel mind,
I have offered up my will to be Thy will:
Let nothing of myself be left behind
In our union mystic and unutterable.
My heart shall throb with the world-beats of Thy love,
My body become Thy engine for earth-use;
In my nerves and veins Thy rapture’s streams shall move;
My thoughts shall be hounds of Light for Thy power to loose.
Keep only my soul to adore eternally
And meet Thee in each form and soul of Thee.

This would be followed by some words on the sonnet form and how Sri Aurobindo was a master of English prosody.

All this had led my taking up English literature for my graduate studies in the Andhra university. In the ‘fifties we were still in the syllabus-content of British universities, though other universities (Madras, for instance) had jettisoned some subjects like Old English. Studying Sri Aurobindo I have felt at home precisely because his writing has a total view of English literature and reflects it from the Anglo-Saxon days to his own time.

More than half a century has passed me by since those college days. Looking back I feel happy that we had this heavy, wholesome syllabus in my student days. If one goes by today’s list of subjects studied by students, I can only pity them. To study English literature without having watched Beowulf kill Grendel in the deep seas or watch Chaucer’s Nun’s Priest recount the tale of the Chaunticleer! To say I am a student of English literature without watching the Lady Britomart in her male disguise rout a whole set of Knights in Armour! To think of oneself as a Master of Arts in English literature without having had several glimpses of the History of the English People by the

Venerable Bede! The Venerable Bede gave me my earliest introduction to the mystery of life and death and the days we spend on earth. He records in the History about the missionary Paulinus who had come to the court of King Edwin of Northumberland and told his royal host:

“It seems to me that the life of man on earth is like the swift flight of a single sparrow through the banqueting hall where you are sitting at dinner on a winter’s day with your captains and counsellors. In the midst there is a comforting fire to warm the hall. Outside, the storms of winter rain and snow are raging. This sparrow flies swiftly in through one window of the hall and out through another. While he is inside, the bird is safe from the winter storms, but after a few moments of comfort, he vanishes from sight into the wintry world from which he came. So man appears on earth for a little while – but of what went before this life, or what follows, we know nothing.”

Sri Aurobindo was a master of many languages. He even wrote works in Bengali and Sanskrit. But English was his favourite. There may be richer literatures in the past but English was in the forefront as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth century. I have always enjoyed his document on the character of English poetry which is part of The Future Poetry. There is the firm opening:

“Of all the modern European tongues the English language— I think this may be said without any serious doubt,—has produced, not always the greatest or most perfect, but at least the most rich and naturally powerful poetry, the most lavish of energy and innate genius. The unfettered play of poetic energy and power has been here the most abundant and brought forth the most constantly brilliant fruits.”

He finds it curious that English literature has not been a force in offering plenty of inputs for Europe’s creative genius. But no matter. We know that it has had a very big hand in shaping the bhasha literatures of India thanks to the colonial rule. At the same time, Indians have taken to English with enthusiasm and have created a branch for English literature, “Indian writing in English”! Again, the unique star that has continued to shed its brilliance in this branch is Sri Aurobindo himself. History has many pleasant turns and this has been one, for it has given us Savitri .

In all the three worlds there is no boat like *satsang* to carry one safely
across the ocean of births and deaths. Adi Sankara

It goes without saying that English literature exercised its inspirations also on Sri Aurobindo as an Indian writing in English. Of course he subsumed all that came to his creative forge with his yogic fire, and it will be vain to go in for comparative passages and thoughts and techniques as we do when writing soulless research dissertations. At the same time it is of incalculable Ananda for us personally to traverse those regions where he had also wandered long ago.

Courtesy: *Mother India* (Pondicherry) September, 2013

(to be continued)



RAGA THERAPY: ANCIENT ART OF IDENTIFYING THE RAGA INGREDIENTS THAT SATISFY AN EMOTIONALLY-DISTURBED LISTENER

Dr. T.V. Sairam I.R.S., (Retd)
President, Nada Centre for Music Therapy

The ancient raga system of India is well-known for centuries for its emotional content and impact. The ragas have been selectively used along with appropriate rhythms and beats to address the turbulent minds and to balance the emotional upheavals during unbearable losses, trauma and whatnot experienced by our forefathers. 'Raga Chikitsa' was one of the ancient texts which had dealt with the therapeutic role of ragas. It appears that these therapeutic concepts were well-developed and practiced in India by the 12th– 13 th century, but were lost thereafter. Improvising music to inculcate pleasant feelings have been dealt with in *'Sangita Sudha'*, a 17th Century work, authored by the Nayaka King Raghunatha Nayak and his minister Govinda Dikshitar. The ancient Indian musicologists were not only concerned with the aesthetic role in experiencing raga, but had also emphasized on their therapeutic impact on emotional situations. In this context the Sanskrit term *'bhaava'* which denotes the emotional bed that infuses life to the scale of a raga was regarded as the 'soul' of music. Thus, while laying down the aesthetic norms, the classical musicologists were researching on the ability to fill a raga-scale with *'bhaava'*. In fact this has made Indian ragas, an ideal tool for

emotional healing which includes addressing the various conditions of mental imbalances such as anxiety, stress, trauma and what not.

The Raga as a Therapy for Emotional victims Various ancient musicological on this aspect of music, as collected by then King Sahaji (1684-1711) were fortunately preserved in the Thanjavur Saraswathi Mahal Library in the form of several palm leaf manuscripts.

After independence, these were studied by music scholars and published as series of books by this Library. From here we are able to understand how our ancient musicologists manipulated the raga structure to derive maximum benefits out of raga system. *Raga Alap or Improvisation*

Expanding a raga structure is referred to as *'alap'* or *'raga alapana'*. This process of rendering involves a right combination of imagination, aimed at a determined intention. To achieve a consistent *'bhaava'*, the musicologists had, in the past, worked on various 'catches' (*'pidi'* in Tamil), which inculcate pleasant feelings in listeners. The *'pidis'* are the note-clusters, which form the building blocks for a raga. Thus, for example, let's take five *'pidis'*: SA, SA RI, SA RI GA, SA RI GA MA, SA RI GA MA PA. These are the five *'pidis'*, which can be found within the body of a typical Indian raga. Based on years, decades and even of centuries of experimentations with such clusters, keenly observing their impact on the minds of listeners, certain conclusions and generalization have been drawn which will benefit the music therapists in arriving at the 'appropriate' raga structures to address various mental ailments. Based on the understanding that a *'pidi'* that satisfies the mind alone can be therapeutic, they devised ways and means to execute through imagination the right kind of *'pidis'* that could satisfy the listeners instantly.

Out of the five *'pidis'*, as illustrated above, it was observed that it is either SA RI GA MA or SA RI GA MA PA which give maximum satisfactions to the listeners with a sense of completion. Where as the remaining three *'pidis'* namely SA, SA RI and SA RI GA are just capable of creating a sense of expectation in the minds of the listeners and never a sense of completion which alone renders satisfaction. In these

The thinker dies, but his thoughts are beyond the reach of destruction.

Men are mortal; but ideas are immortal.

Walter Lippmann

“incomplete” examples, only suspense is created in the minds as there is no sense of completion. While listening to these *pidis, *the listeners are bound to feel certain inadequacy, and at the same time certain curiosity to reach a conclusion or completion.

*The Probable Reason for Completion felt through the selected Pidis * The swaras SA and MA are considered *samvadi swaras, *the same way SA and PA are heard. Samvadi swaras are the friendly notes which are close to each other. *T*THE SAME *m*Sound

References:

Sastri, K. Vasudeva 1958. *Raga Alapanas and Thayams *Tanjore: Saraswati Mahal Library

Sairam, T. V. 2004 *Raga Therapy *Chennai: Nada Centre for Music Therapy



Influence of Mahatma Gandhi on Barefoot Bankers

Shri. V. Bhaskar Rao

Chief Manager, Training(Retd),Bank of Baroda
Author of *Musings of Barefoot Bankers*

Gandhi : I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. I claim to be no more than an average man with less than average ability. Nor can I claim any special merit for such nonviolence or continence as I have been able to reach with laborious research. I have not the shadow of a doubt that any man or woman can achieve what I have, if he or she would make the same effort and cultivate the same hope and faith.

Author of Musings of Barefoot Bankers : I too. I would make the same effort cultivating same hope and faith and humility to achieve Financial Inclusion in my own area of operation. I shall think globally and act locally.

Dandi March : Padayatra – A Campaign (1930)

Gandhi proposed *March* with 78 of his most trusted ashram followers to the little coastal town of Dandi some 240 miles away to make salt. When he gave the signals everyone in India was to act as if the salt laws had never been enacted at all. It was non-violent defiance.

He marched with the light, brisk step of an athlete covering about 12 miles a day stopping at every village on the way to preach the gospel of *ahimsa* and the *duty* of non-violent, non-cooperation. By that time he reached Dandi 24 days later his non-violent army of 78 had swelled to several thousands.

Author : It was a campaign to create awareness. I have a campaign before me. Financial Literacy and how to make use of bank services. I must walk and talk and start a movement...

Gandhi-Tagore Controversy : In response to Tagore’s article in *Modern Review* in which he wrote ‘when the bird is awakened by the dawn, it does not only think of food’. ‘Its wings respond to the call of the sky’, Gandhiji replied: The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. I have found it impossible to soothe suffering patient with a song from Kabir...’

Author : The rural human bird I encounter is like the Gandhi’s bird. I must protect, nourish, and sustain for generations using human and natural resources. As the urban educated human bird I take my rural assignment as a call from the sky.

Gandhi : The Indians are disliked in South Africa for their simplicity, patience, perseverance, frugality, and otherworldliness. Westerners are enterprising, impatient, engrossed in multiplying their material wants and in satisfying them, fond of good cheer, anxious to save physical labour and prodigal in habits.

Author : Today rural India is learning to be enterprising. Combining their perseverance and creativity rural-entrepreneurs can be created by barefoot bankers. The same difference I see in rural India and urban India-youth in particular. It is easy to convince the clients I serve because of simplicity, frugality, and spirituality. They are a better credit risk with products that insure against vagaries of monsoon and other adverse condition.

Gandhi : Since I returned to India I have travelled much of India and I could travel for many more years and still I could know much less. What we say here is nothing for the masses and the people of India are untouched. Their politics is confined to bread and soul. They may be illiterate but are not blind to see no reason to show loyalty to the powerful and rich who want to

Useful manual labour, intelligently performed, is the means *Par Excellence* for developing the intellect.

Mahatma Gandhi

take over rule from the British. This congress shall tell the world that it represents India.

Author : I must travel whole of my service area to know the ground reality and present to senior management my plan of action.

Gandhi : My brothers, India is 700 000 villages, not a few thousands lawyers in Delhi and Bombay. Until we join them in the field who toil in the hot sun we will not represent India, nor we would be able to challenge the British.

Author : An eye opener then and now. Until we join them in the field.. the financial system, however robust it might be, is not good if it does not cover and insure access financial services by millions of excluded rural population and deliver in time to the groups that are vulnerable to debt traps in the clutches of moneylenders and moneylenders in disguise. Only 35 percent of house-holds hold a bank passbook. I must approach financial Inclusion in this spirit and reach out to all penetrating deeper into interiors of India.

Gandhi : 1922 – The Trial Speech “Before the British advent, India spun and wove in her millions of cottages just the supplement she needed for adding to her meager agricultural resources. This cottage industry, so vital for India’s existence, has been ruined by incredibly heartless and inhuman processes as described by English witnesses.

Author : I must not neglect the artisans, craftsmen, and cottage industry in the villages I serve and make them viable livelihoods making them come together as cooperatives, SHGs, etc. Innovation is called for.

Gandhi : Little do town-dwellers know how the semi-starved masses of India are slowly sinking to lifelessness. Little do they know that their miserable comfort represents the brokerage they get for the work they do for the foreign exploiter, that the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses. Little do they realize that the government established law in British India is carried on for this exploitation of the masses. I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town-dwellers of India will have to answer, if there is a God above, for this crime against humanity which is perhaps unequalled in history.’

‘In my humble opinion, non-cooperation with evil is as much a duty as is cooperation with good.’

Author : Now Gandhi has turned on us. Let us pay back for the education & privileges we have been enjoying at the cost of the rural India.

Gandhi : He is not a passionate orator; his manner is calm and serene and he appeals particularly to the intelligence. But his serenity places the subject he discusses in the clearest light. The inflexions of his voice are not varied, but they are intensely sincere. He never makes any gestures with his arms, in fact he rarely even moves a finger. But his luminous words, expressed in terse, concise sentences, carry conviction. He never abandons a subject before he feels that he has made it perfectly clear. (Joseph J. Doke)

Author : Yes. I have seen it in the film on Gandhi telecast on every 2nd October. His quite attitude and assertive language and luminous words, terse sentences full of meaning with complete absence of emotional outbursts that we see today in politicians. The villagers are clever enough to see the deception. They clap because they are paid for it. Anyway Barefoot Banker is not a politician. When people applaud because they see sincerity in his utterances. He is candid and clear. We shall cultivate it with hope and faith and reverence to Gandhi, the mentor.

Gandhi, the economist : The earth provides enough for satisfying everybody’s need; not for satisfying everybody’s greed. The poor of the world cannot be helped by mass production, only by production by the masses. E.F. Schumacher developed Gandhi’s idea further. He wrote that the system of mass production, based on sophisticated, highly capital intensive, high energy- input dependant, and human labor-saving technology leading to mass unemployment, mass migration into cities, rural decay, and intolerable social tensions. The technology of production by the masses, making use of the best of modern knowledge and experience, is conducive to decentralization, compatible with the laws of ecology, gentle in its use of scarce resources, and designed to serve the human person instead of making him the servant of machines. Professor Schumacher, no wonder, called Gandhi one of the greatest economists of all times.

Author : Barefoot Bankers who have the backing of two of the greatest economists of all times, Gandhi and Schumacher, for what they are doing

The right word may be effective, but no word was ever as effective as a rightly timed pause.

promotion of production by the masses. However, they should know that clever brains, skilful hands, need the support of first class tools and computer aided technology.



Book Review: Two Books on Sri Sathya Sai Baba

GLORIOUS Moments with GOD H.J.Dora Published in 2013 Smt. H.Meenakshi Hyderabad pp 172 Rs 110

“His love, compassion and concern for mankind is unparalleled in the annals of human history,” writes Mr Indulal Shah in his foreword describing the unique manner in which Sri Sathya Sai Baba translated spirituality into multi-dimensional service for the benefit of humanity. The transformation of Puttaparthi a remote village in the backward area of Rayalaseema in Andhra Pradesh, into Prashantinilayam, Abode of Peace, drawing the learned and laity, rich and poor, young and old alike, from all parts of the world, in quest of solace, is undoubtedly without a parallel. As H.J. Dora, the author of the book, says in his prefatory note “Sri Sathya Sai Baba is not another saint, nor is he another Godman. In fact one cannot categorise a divine being.”

An alumnus of Andhra University Dora was selected to Indian Police Service in 1965 and his training schedules took him to Anantapur from where he went to nearby Prashantinilayam in November 1966. It was more than a mere coincidence that the take-off of the young IPS officer’s career and his first darshan of Sathya Sai Baba occurred at the same time. The Shirdi Sai devotee became an ardent disciple of Sathya Sai. The years that followed witnessed Dora’s steady rise to high positions in his profession leading to the top as Director General of Police for five years and six months. Equally significant, if not personally more rewarding, was his growing proximity to Sathya Sai Baba and participation as one of his trusted lieutenants in many of Swami’s welfare projects and service activities. The letters Baba wrote showering his grace on Dora, some of them carried in this book, and the pictures of Dora with Baba bear testimony to the forty six years long relationship between the humble devotee and his unfailing God. Swamis’ innovative programmes in the fields of education,

healthcare, water supply, among others, profoundly influenced Dora who writes how “Swamy used the word Educare which beautifully summarized the concept of education. An educated person should be an asset to the society and the country.” The author felt doubly blessed. As a student of economics Dora understood the true meaning of development and its impact on the poor people. Secondly from close quarters Dora observed countless number of times how Swami provided ‘a soothing balm to agitated minds,’ relief from hunger and pain to hundreds of poor people and proper direction to young minds through value-based education. The loving care and affection Baba bestowed on students and the bliss the latter experienced while receiving prizes and medals at the annual convocation is not easy to describe. As a member of the Academic Council of Sri Sathya Sai Deemed University this reviewer had the privilege of witnessing for six years, during annual convocations, many moving instances of students shedding tears of joy while receiving Swami’s blessings and prizes from his hands. Shri Krishan Kant, who as Governor of AP had been our university’s Chancellor, turned to me on one such occasion and taunted me saying “Where is the comparison between this Convocation and yours!”

The titles of the twenty chapters are so crisply worded that the narrative flows smoothly from the beginning to the end unveiling the Avatar’s mission and magnificent work for human well being. *All round Transformation* and *Supreme Compassion*, titles of two chapters encapsulate the purpose of Sathya Sai Baba’s Avatar. To narrate that glory Dora’s credentials are impeccable and he does it with competence and humility, reminding at the end that every seeker is like Kuchela receiving the grace of Sri Krishna

The Culture Of India And Its Spiritual Heritage A Compilation by Ramakrishna Vithal Kunduri Sri Sathya Sai Books & Publications Trust AP Hyderabad 2013 pp 315 Rs 80

This is Ramakrishna Vithal’ second book on Sri Sathya Sai Baba, a compilation of some of Sri Sathya Sai Baba’s discourses on ‘the greatness of this ancient country and its rich heritage.’ An ardent devotee of Baba and former CEO of a computer hardware company, Vithal had written in 2007 his first book *The Universal Truth* brought out by the same SSB Trust

and the book under review was recently released on Guru Purnima in July. This is more than a mere compilation, a compendium in fact, on India's diverse religious and cultural activities and festivals. The book is packed with information on every page, including inside covers. If one inside cover page dwells on *The Glory of Bharat*, the other titled *Love the Motherland*, is Baba's message to students who were always dear to his heart. For Baba all religions have the same purpose and goal, spreading love and harmony among people. He celebrated festivals of all religions with the same fervor and Prashantinilayam always reverberates with bhajans, and chanting of scriptures of other religions too during festival times.

The book is neatly divided into twelve chapters beginning with , 'India and its Culture' while the other chapters deal with world religions, spiritual gurus and Saints, Worship and Meditation, Temples, Festivals, God's manifestation in the present Kali Age, Human life and its purpose, nearly 100 subjects. The author and the publishers deserve to be congratulated on providing such useful information on wide ranging subjects in a single volume. The inspirational message of Sri Sathya Sai Baba is of immense significance to the world of today. In the words of Baba: "The urgent task today is to nourish and cherish the human spirit. Spirituality consists in filling the heart with love. Dedicating all actions to the Divine and striving for the welfare of all."

The power of faith can be experienced but cannot be easily explained. Still the role of saints and seers, as Radhakrishnan said, in shaping civilization and human progress is no less significant than that of scientists and statesmen. Religion is *paropkar* constant service to humanity, declared Mahatma Gandhi. Sathya Sai Baba demonstrated right from the advent of his avatar till his 'withdrawal' the power of love and service. People from all parts of the world flocked to him for solace and direction. That among them were rulers, princes, presidents and prime ministers was incidental. His life work and mission will continue to guide and inspire his devotees all over the world. H.J.Dora and KRK Vithal deserve grateful appreciation for the lucid and eminently readable way in which they describe a stirring saga of service in our own times.

A. Prasanna Kumar

The influence of Vedas

Shri. C. Sivasankaram

In every branch and department of Indian life, communist, capitalist or parasitic armchair theoretician of a progressive political philosophy, is infused the mystic fluid of Veda which works through all for a common end which is unity in diversity, transient and intransient. Albert Einstein's *Theory of Relativity* possesses traces of Adi Sankara's *Advaita Vedanta*. The probes, investigations made by man into the mysteries and riddles of nature are due to the influence of Vedas, which are repositories or mines of knowledge technological, physical, chemical and what not. Veda lays certain claims to certain things that existed in its day which now baffle our so - called scientific mind.

Anantavai Vedah, Endless are Vedas, Deathless are Vedas. Within their gamut has been spun a colourful mysterious fabric which changes colours in accordance with the view of the viewer while remaining as an impregnable rock permanent. If Vedas are not exercising any influence on the age which wishes to be called modern (as though modernity was not known in the earlier ages) the question of Veda's influence and their unfathomable depths and profundity would not have arisen.

Vedas have been there steadfastly clinging to the five vital (primordial) elements they are there personified as incarnations. The influence of Vedas ends the moment God along with His manifested world ceases to be visible or dissolved. Man's ire raises if he is desecrated, Why ? Because he is divinized by nature, by his innate power. He is Veda's refuge. He is Nitya for he is the living branch of the mammoth Banyan Tree the Veda. Know me that I am the eternal, the infinite. This is God; This is Veda, the young, old and the youthful. It is a living testimony to Veda to prove that they are unceasingly exercising influence on man of today. Vedas live in the core of communism, in the generous heart of Buddhism, in Taoism, in Christianity as long as they believe in the irrefutable principle of oneness of God.

Where from Prophet Mohammed got the norm of universal brotherhood? Is it not from Veda ? Whence Jesus the Christ got his motto that service to man is service to God Is it not from the Veda ? Veda and the world are indivisible. The Vedas are spread in all

We are not here to curse the darkness, but to light the candle that can guide us through the darkness to a safe and sane future. J.F. Kennedy

Western and Eastern ideologies. It is the voice of Veda that rings aloud through the throat of S.A. Dange the veteran communist leader whose dialectical work; "*From primitive communism to present slavery*" is an example of the impact of Vedic thought had on the mind of the great warrior of people's freedom. Another famous communist theoretician Professor Hiren Mukherjee is a supreme example of Vedic universal ideal of oneness of man and God-warp and woof of cloth. His work, *Gandhiji A study* logically supports the view that influence of Veda is universal and time-tested. Aldous Huxley termed Vedic thought; "*Philosophia perennial*". Albert Einstein found Vedas'role in the play of the world as significant, striking and infinite. As long as heat in sun and light in other stellar family endures, the influence of Vedas remains .Vedas are breath of humanity. Humanity faces perdition the moment Veda's influence ceases. Vedas are never narrow never retrogressive. They infuse hope, instill faith in the morrow, drives humanity to enjoy the present. It holds aloft the torch to show the path to the region of love. It is impossible for anybody to divide and destroy the unity of man and Vedas. It, the unity is as inseparable as perfume and flower. Some doubting Thomas may tend to question in which way is Veda helpful to the progress of mankind. The existence of world is dependent on theVeda. Which power saved the world from conflagration in the World War 2. The language of Gorbachev is that of the Veda.

Peaceful coexistence is the theme of life that Vedas laid down. If the pat and affectionate touch of Dr. S.Radhakrishnan moistened the eyes of Stalin the first dictator of proletarian government, is it not the influence of Veda. Dr. S.R's heart and soul were seething with the essence of Vedas.

Lord Krishna is the first peasant leader who fought for the emancipation of the vulnerable sections of Gokulam. Krishna got mention in the Veda as Madhusudana the destroyer of fiendishness in man.

He revolted against Indra, he raised the cry of rebellion against the dictators of the times he lived in. He is the Brahmanya. Today we worship him. Is it not the worship of Veda ? Without caste distinction all bear the name of Krishna. Men are proud of their heritage as it is influenced by Veda. Vedas idolize every form and aspect of the universe. The physical influence of Vedas is vividly displayed in temperance and tolerance of the nation.

Centre for Policy Studies launched on Gandhi Jayanti in 1995, offers its grateful thanks on the occasion of its eighteenth anniversary, to the Gayatri Vidya Parishad, members of the Governing Body, its well wishers and readers of the Bulletin.



CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

(GAYATRI VIDYA PARISHAD)

47-7-23, Ba-Bapu Bhavan, 4th Lane, Dwarakanagar, VISAKHAPATNAM-530 016. Tel : 0891-2531727

Chairman :

Shri D.V.Subba Rao

Patrons :

Shri K. Sivananda Murty

Dr. B.Swami

Prof. R.V.R.Chandrasekhara Rao

Shri T.R. Prasad

Director :

Prof. A. Prasanna Kumar

Associate Director :

Prof. P.V. Sarma

Shri V.Seetaramaiah

Prof. P. Somaraju

Prof. K.C. Reddy

Prof. V. Balamohan Das

Shri V.R.K.S. Siva Prasad

Shri A.S.N. Prasad

Shri M. Varahalu Chetty

Shri P.V. Ramanaiah Raja

Shri. Kasim S. Mehdi

Governing Body

Shri K.S. Sastri

Dr. B. Subba Rao

Dr. S. Vijaya Kumar

Prof. P. Srinivasa Rao

Shri D. Dakshinamurty

Prof. I.H. Nagaraja Rao

Prof. V.S.R.K. Prasad

Dr. P. Raja Ganapathi

Sri D.V.S. Kameswara Rao



Time
Adherence

Quality
Consciousness



Manage Complete
Turnkey Solutions
in Electrical, Mechanical &
Civil Engineering Projects

Dr. K. Kumar Raja
BE, MIE, MBA, Ph.D
Managing Director



**K KUMAR RAJA
PROJECTS (P) LIMITED**

An ISO 9001-2008 Certified Company

45-49-12A, Abid Nagar, Akkayyapalem, VISAKHAPATNAM - 530 016, INDIA
Tel : +91 891 2748722, 2537772 Fax : +91 891 2748735
e-mail : kumarraja@kkumarrajaprojects.com www.kkumarrajaprojects.com