



# BULLETIN

Vol.18 No.3  
February 2, 2014

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

### PRIME MINISTER AS 'MENTOR' OF FOREIGN POLICY

As historian E.H. Carr wrote "foreign policy is not an exercise in sainthood." Gandhiji left such 'matters' to Jawaharlal Nehru who "had been the mentor of Gandhi and the Indian National Congress on International affairs ." In the words of Hiren Mukherjee : " None of his colleagues, howsoever resistant to some of his ideas, could challenge his authority in this sphere." Nehru was, however, aware of the 'hazardous path' though he was optimistic that his idealism would be the 'realism of tomorrow.'

When Nehru spoke in 1938 of such ideals as universal peace and goodwill among nations as the goals of future India's foreign policy the world was on the brink of second world war. Eight years later in 1946 as the Vice- president of the Interim Government Nehru declared that India would follow "an independent policy, keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned one against the other." Even before India became free he summoned the Asian Relations Conference at Delhi in March 1947 that marked the beginning of a new era for Asian consciousness and identity in world affairs.

The creation of a new third force to fight for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa through non-violence and the zeal to build bridges of understanding and goodwill among countries became the features of a new movement launched under Nehru's leadership. It was but an extension of Gandhian ideals to world affairs. If Sarvepalli Gopal felt that Nehru "seemed to enjoy the rare distinction of being of advantage to his own country as well as to the world," noted expert on strategic affairs K.Subrahmanyam felt that 'non-alignment was a sophisticated policy of retaining maximum available options at any given time in a bipolar world.' No surprise that the western world led by United States viewed it with suspicion, if not contempt. From these countries emanated strong criticism and charges of 'contradictions between spoken words and committed deeds' in India's foreign policy. Still India under Nehru was heard with respect and Delhi became 'a diplomatic stopover' for world

leaders and diplomats visiting Asia. All that suffered a series of setbacks in the years that followed and Nehru died a 'prophet frustrated'.

But the legacy he left behind enabled his successors to function like 'mentors', if not makers of India's foreign policy. Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister, checkmated the thrust of super powers into the Indian ocean region and boldly stood up to the hostile strategic combine of the US,China and Pakistan in the seventies. Nor did she allow the other superpower and 'dependable friend' USSR to have base facilities on Indian soil. It was during her Prime Ministership that ambassadorial links with China were re-established in 1976. Indira Gandhi initiated steps for liberalization during her visit to United states in 1982. 'Non- alignment's finest hour' was the Delhi Summit of 1983 under her Prime Ministership.

Rajiv Gandhi as Prime Minister took 'initiatives for an action – oriented programme' and the five continent appeal on nuclear- disarmament. P.V. Narasimha Rao gave a new direction to India's foreign policy through his 'look east' policy and prepared the ground for India's emergence as a nuclear power.. Vajpayee as Prime Minister made bold moves to ease tensions between India and Pakistan and improve relations with China. I.K. Gujral, during his short tenure, strove to improve India's relations with countries in the immediate neighbourhood.

Except for striking the Indo-US nuclear deal in less than fifteen months of his coming to power, despite strong opposition in parliament and outside, Manmohan Singh as Prime Minister has not displayed keen interest in foreign affairs The Prime Minister's role as 'mentor of foreign policy' is conspicuous by its absence. Today India is neither heard with respect in global fora nor trusted much even by her 'friendly neighbours' thanks to the inertia of leadership at the top and inadequacies of the Ministry of External Affairs. A dull decade of missed opportunities and non-performance on the diplomatic front!

The Editor

The foreign policy of a democratic nation is expected to reflect that nation's total culture.  
Dean Acheson

## SECURITY AND STRATEGIC CHALLENGES FOR INDIA IN 2014

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

The twin terrorist attacks in the Russian city of Volgograd that have killed more than 30 innocent people and grievously injured scores of others on two successive days (Dec 29 and 30) which are suspected to be the handiwork of an Islamist separatist group are illustrative of the most complex and abiding internal security challenge that India will have to confront in 2014. The scars of 26/11 that terrorized Mumbai in November 2008 serve as a reminder of the worst-case exigency that the Indian security establishment needs to successfully preempt – often unobtrusively – given the undesirable polarization of the terrorism discourse in India.

In like fashion, the April 2013 Depsang incident with China and the more recent politico-diplomatic tension with the USA over the Khobragade case are indicative of the complexity and the fragility of the two most critical strategic bi-lateral relationships for Delhi as the new year dawns.

The nature of the challenges in the security and strategic spectrum that are likely to acquire greater salience for India in 2014 will be compounded by the fact that the UPA II government is in its last lap and the country will be in election mode for the early part of the year. Whether the new central government in Delhi in mid 2014 will be a stable coalition led by one of the major political parties (BJP or Congress), or an uneasy coalition of a Third Front type remains moot.

Concurrently the security environment in the extended South Asian region with specific implications for India will be shaped by two regions – Afghanistan-Pakistan in the first instance and Bangladesh at a remove. The withdrawal of US and ISAF military presence from Afghanistan will also take place in mid 2014 and the ability of the Afghan security forces to maintain the necessary level of peace and stability in the face of a resurgent Taliban will be severely tested.

The Afghan elections and a post Karzai scenario

are fraught with many uncertainties and for Delhi, the recall of December 1999 and the IC 814 hijacking episode reiterate the truth that the ideological orientation of Kabul can impact India's internal security situation. In like fashion, the current turbulence in Dhaka between the caretaker ANP and the right-wing BNP could adversely impact the Indian security environment. The worst-case scenario for Delhi would be the rise of radical right-wing Islamist forces in the domestic political framework of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Nations have to acquire the necessary capacity and determination to deal with their security challenges and India's bandwidth spans the nuclear weapon – ballistic missile domain to low intensity conflict and ideologically driven terrorism.

The two institutions that need to review their synergy to deal with a complex security compulsion are the civilian part of the state represented by the political classes and the bureaucracy on one hand; and the uniformed fraternity that includes the military, the paramilitary and the police. Regrettably civil-military relations in India have remained in a state of suspension since the 1999 Kargil War and this aspect received rare notice from the Prime Minister in mid November. Addressing the Combined Commanders, Dr. Singh dwelt on the need for "urgent and tangible progress", to create "the right structures for higher defence management" and for realizing "the appropriate civil-military balance in decision making".

India deals with its complex security challenges through institutional arrangements that can be only described as less than optimum. At the core is the reality that the Indian military is not part of the higher defence and security management of the country. This shortcoming has been the subject of many reports and Task Forces but little has changed.

Political diffidence and bureaucratic obduracy have contributed to this state of affairs for the last decade plus and this will remain one of the central challenges to the new government in Delhi in 2014. A fairly modest beginning was envisaged by the creation of the permanent Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee and while the military top-brass has supported this initiative – the civilian leadership has

The bullets did not kill Gandhi. They only released that Gandhi for the ages and the continents.

Rajmohan Gandhi

not been supportive. The net result is that the higher defence management remains mired in stasis, delays and lack of institutional synergy.

The internal health of the Indian military as an institution and the para-military and the police forces is in dire need of rigorous internal review and appropriate redress. The unhappy controversy generated in the top echelons of the Army and the various charges of corruption and financial irregularities do not augur well. Para-military and police reforms have been postponed and little interest has been demonstrated to acknowledge these omissions.

The Indian experience of higher defense management remains a paradox. On one hand the nation can be legitimately proud of the advances made in acquiring strategic capabilities including nuclear propulsion. Significant inventory induction has taken place including the aircraft carrier, the heavy lift transport aircraft and suchlike. Yet for almost 30 years, the Indian army is unable to get a replacement for its artillery gun and the Air Force is managing without a credible indigenous trainer aircraft.

These examples can be applied across the board to almost all the institutions dealing with national security and the more alarming aspect is the lack of institutional accountability. The new year offers an opportunity to embark upon a holistic review of the various challenges and opportunities that punctuate the Indian security spectrum . An informed and objective debate in the next session of Parliament will be an appropriate beginning.

*(Courtesy : Jagran Dec 30, 2013)*



## **'INDIA EMERGING AS A STRONG MARITIME POWER'**

(Newspaper report on a lecture on Maritime Security by Vice- Admiral (Retd). Anup Singh AVSM, organized by Centre for Policy Studies on December 10, 2014)

VISAKHAPATNAM: Retired Vice Admiral and former Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief Eastern Naval Command Anup Singh on Tuesday said India was

moving forward to become a strong maritime power due to its strategic location.

He was delivering a lecture on maritime security at a meeting conducted by Centre for Policy Studies here.

While giving details on birth of Indian Navy after Independence, the collapse of USSR ending Cold War, thrust to self-reliance and challenges posed by globalisation, he said the geo strategic perspective of Indian I peninsular configuration ' could not be ignored due to its domination in the Indian Ocean region and it being for cal point to trade routes.

Terming sea as the saviour, he said lion's share of global trade and commerce was being done through sea. He said 7,500-km-long peninsular configuration including Andamans and Lakshadweep with 13 major ports and near-ly 200 minor ports offered a plenty of opportunities to explore.

Vice-Admiral Singh said the handicaps and challenges -were largely-pronounced after the end of the Cold War. Referring to traditional threats like safeguarding the boundaries and maritime interest and threats to peace due to piracy and robberies, need to foster bilateral ties through ASEAN and SAARC and encountering challenges posed by globalisation, he said there was a need to realise the growing importance of maritime wealth and environment.

He mentioned how India helped China when it faced attack by pirates and rendered humanitarian assistance during attack on Beirut and in tsunami-ravaged areas in 2004.

Vice-Admiral Singh said mineral resources from the sea including fish were under threat due to poaching and called for intensified patrolling at strategic locations to prevent hijacking, sabotage and attacks on ships and smugglings of weapons and drugs and attacks like 26/11.

Centre for Policy Studies chairman D.V. Subba Rao presided and its director A. Prasanna Kumar welcomed.

*(Courtesy: The Hindu December 11, 2013)*



An air conditioner can cool your body. But only the grace of God can cool the heated brain and troubled heart.

Sri Sathya Sai Baba

## THE NUCLEAR GENIE- 11

### North Korea's On-Off and On-Off Nuclear Quest

Prof. M.N. Sastri

The Korean Peninsula was part of the Japanese empire till the end of World War II. After the surrender of Japan in August 1945 the Peninsula was carved into two occupation zones with the zone north of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel coming under Soviet control and the zone south of the parallel coming under American control. Ultimately these two zones evolved into two independent nations with diametrically opposite political, economic and social systems. The north became the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), a highly centralized communist country under the Soviet hegemony while the south became the Republic of South Korea with American support. With the object of reunifying the Peninsula, DPRK invaded South Korea in 1950. The Soviet Union however did not support this adventure. But with the Chinese forces of the People's Republic of China joining the DPRK forces the venture developed into a full-fledged war between the invading forces and the UN forces under General Douglas McArthur defending South Korea. The US seriously considered a tactical use of atomic weapons to block the passages leading from Manchuria and Vladivostok and halt the Chinese and possibly the Soviet forces entering North Korea. Though by this time the Soviet Union also acquired nuclear weapons, "Washington was not worried because the US possessed at least 450 bombs and the Soviets only 25." This idea did not however meet the approval of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff because the targets were not large enough to warrant their use. There was also concern about adverse world opinion if another Asian country became the target of nuclear weapons after Japan's Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In an interview published posthumously in the New York Times (April 9, 1964) General McArthur said that he had a plan that would have won the Korean War in 10 days. "I would have dropped 30 or so atom bombs ..... strung across the neck of Manchuria. My plan was a cinch." The Korean War however came to an end in July 1953 with no such use of nuclear weapons.

The Korean War was followed by the Mutual Defence Treaty between the US and South Korea in 1953. The Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 brought the world closest to a nuclear war. These incidents spurred North Korea's dictator Kim Il-Sung to launch the country's own nuclear weapons project. Launched in 1960 this project received technical and material assistance from Soviet Union and China during the following decades. A Nuclear Scientific Research Centre established at Yongbyon was manned by North Korean scientists trained in the Soviet Union. A 5MW nuclear reactor for power production was commissioned in 1986 at Yongbyon after seven years of construction with Soviet help. Endowed with uranium mines containing four million tons of high quality ore, North Korea also began focusing attention on uranium ore refining, conversion and fabrication of nuclear fuel. While the reactor construction was in progress North Korea joined the IAEA for ferreting out crucial technical information on nuclear weapons. A nuclear scientist was stationed at the IAEA at Geneva for the purpose. North Korea also signed the NPT in 1985. Though it initially declined to sign the IAEA safeguards agreement unless the threat from US nuclear forces in South Korea is removed, North Korea signed this agreement in 1992. Steps were initiated for the construction of two nuclear reactors with 50 MW and 200 MW power output. But these programmes were given up in 1994.

With an eye on nuclear weapons production, North Korea used its nuclear reactor at Yongbyon mostly for the production of weapons grade plutonium and not for power production. It is reported that ever since it was in operation the reactor has generated electric power for only 23 days. Rest of the time the reactor was operated for productions of weapons-grade plutonium. Intelligence reports estimate that about 6 to 13 kilograms of weapons-grade plutonium was separated and kept away. In August 1993, North Korea agreed to resume discussions with IAEA and allowed IAEA inspectors into Yongbyon to service its safeguards monitoring equipment. But access to the reprocessing facilities was denied to them. When the IAEA requested compliance with their safeguards obligations, North Korea announced in 1993 its intention to withdraw from the NPT. After the

I Shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people. Mahatma Gandhi

departure of the IAEA inspection team, North Korea officially withdrew from the IAEA in June 1994. Meanwhile during the spring of 1994, North Korea was reported to have unloaded fuel elements containing about 25±8 kilograms of plutonium from its Yongbyon reactor. By mid-2006, North Korea is believed to have produced about 43-61 kilograms of plutonium. Out of this about 20 to 53 kilograms are separated in a state of purity suitable for weapons production. Kim Jong-il succeeded his father in 1994 as the ruler of North Korea.

North Korea also initiated uranium enrichment programme to supplement its nuclear weapons capability. Pakistan, using A.Q. Khan as an intermediary, played a significant role in this programme by supplying in 1990 uranium enrichment equipment and perhaps even nuclear warhead designs in exchange for missile technology. Evidence for this deal is provided by a letter dated July 15, 1998 from Jon Byong Ho, Secretary of the Workers Party of Korea, DPRK, to A Q Khan which reads, ".....General Kong told me that three million dollars have already been paid to the Army Chief General J. Karamat and half a million dollars and three diamond and ruby sets to General Zulfiqar Khan. Please give the agreed documents, components etc. to Mr. Yon to be flown back when our plane returns after delivery of missile components. Excellency please be accepting our heartfelt felicitations on the recent success of your nuclear tests. It was only possible because of your hard work and team effort."

The years following 1994 saw an improvement in the relations between the US and North Korea with the former agreeing through the "Geneva Agreed Framework" to help North Korea get over its energy and economic crisis by supplying fuel oil, extending economic cooperation and building two light water nuclear power plants with Japan and South Korea also participating in the venture. North Korea agreed to eventually dismantle its outmoded Yongbyon nuclear reactor and allow its spent fuel taken out of the country. In August 1998 North Korea launched its Taepodong-1 missile which flew over Japan. This led to Japan withdrawing its aid to build North Korea's two light water reactors.

The assumption of Bush as US President and the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks of the New York Twin Towers saw a further setback in the US-North Korea relations. Bush indicted North Korea as part of an "Axis of Evil". North Korea responded with reactivation of its nuclear weapons programme. In January 2003, North Korea announced its decision to withdraw from the NPT stating, "A grave situation has been created today in our country, which threatens its national sovereignty and security of our state..... due to the vicious policy towards DPRK". North Korea, the only country to withdraw from the NPT, also announced the cancellation of the Geneva Agreed Framework. In August 2004 North Korea described President Bush an "imbecile" and a "tyrant that puts Hitler in shade". President Bush countered by calling Kim Jong-il "a tyrant".

In February 2005 North Korea claimed for the first time that it possessed a nuclear weapon. This was followed by its first underground nuclear test near Kichlu on October 9, 2006. Seismological results indicated that the yield was low in the 800 ton – 1.2 kilo ton range. Some reports even considered that the test was a fizz.

The explosion event caused renewed diplomatic initiatives to persuade North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons programme. In February 2007 a six party negotiation exercise involving US, Russia, China, Japan, South and North Korea resulted in an agreement under which

North Korea will shut down the Yongbyon nuclear facility and offer its nuclear facilities to the IAEA inspection, and in return the five parties will provide economic and fuel aid to North Korea.

But the talks were stalled in September 2008 with North Korea beginning to restore its facilities at Yangbyon on the ground that the US was delaying removing North Korea from its list of sponsors of terrorism. The following month US took North Korea off the terror list and North Korea agreed to disable the nuclear facilities and allow inspection by IAEA. With the departure of Bush in early 2009 the six nation talks collapsed and North Korea revived nuclear fuel reprocessing activity as shown by satellite surveillance.

In April 2009 North Korea launched a long range rocket thus demonstrating its capability to strike long range targets using nuclear warheads. The UN condemned this act and imposed sanctions on North Korea. A second underground nuclear test was conducted by North Korea on May 25, 2009 at an unspecified place. The communiqué claimed the test “as part of the measures to bolster up its nuclear deterrent for self-defence in every way as requested by its scientists and technicians.” The yield was put in the 5-10 kilo ton range. After testing more missiles North Korea declared that “it is fully ready for battle against the US.” This led to the UN imposing further sanctions on North Korea.

Kim Jong-il died in December 2011. He was succeeded by his young son Kim Jong-Un. In February 2012 North Korea announced a moratorium on nuclear and long range missile tests for a food aid deal with US. To mark the hundredth birth anniversary of Kim Il-Sung in April 2012 North Korea launched a rocket with the idea of developing an ICBM which could one day carry a nuclear warhead. But the test flopped. The US stopped its food aid. It was also reported that North Korea revived the construction of a nuclear reactor for production of plutonium.

North Korea’s programme of producing enriched uranium at Yangbyon with the technology supplied by Pakistan also made significant progress. Siegfried Hecker, a Professor at Stanford who earlier worked at Los Alamos Laboratory, after his visit to Yangbyon in 2008 observed that the enrichment facility was “astonishingly modern” and would “fit into any modern American facility”. The officials told Hecker that the facility contained 2,000 centrifuges designed to manufacture only low enriched uranium for civilian purposes. But Hecker was of the opinion that the centrifuges could be easily converted to produce highly enriched uranium for bomb production. Joshua Pollack of US Government and Scott Kemp of MIT recently concluded that North Korea could make much of this specialised enrichment equipment on its own.

North Korea conducted its third nuclear test on February 12, 2013. This device which had a greater yield than the earlier plutonium devices, is believed to have been assembled using Highly Enriched

Uranium. The detonation is followed by North Korean threats to attack Guam, Okinawa, Hawaii and the US mainland itself. This gave rise to the belief that North Korea has miniaturized its nuclear device small enough to fit it on its medium and long range missiles.

Observers fear that North Korea’s nuclear weapon capability coupled with its missile technology could prove a threat to peace and stability in North-East Asia.



## The Bride Of Krishna

Prof. Manoj Das

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

Silence and solitude seemed to have cast a spell over the ruins of Chittor. There was only a sprinkling of tourists. Except for the Victory Tower erected by Rama Kumbh to immortalise his recovery of the fort from the Mughals (1326), the majestic hilltop hardly offered any impressive monument. No wonder one should find it drab unless its past remained vibrantly alive in one’s memory.

I sat on the verandah of the small Krishna temple of Meerabai. My guide who had also become my friend and philosopher, relaxed on the steps. A Bengali couple passed by, the husband bursting into a Meera bhajan: ‘I have Giridhar Gopal alone, and none else’.

‘Look here, Babu, don’t scare Meerabai’s tender Gopal!’ his wife warned him.

No wife ever appreciates a husband’s genius! the man lamented.

Meerabai’s life story had been diluted with legends but luckily not polluted, as had happened with the unlucky Radha, the other lover of Krishna’s. Meera is historical; Radha is mythical, rather post-mythical, emerging from the ecstatic experience of devotees belonging to the Bhakti discipline. A formation in the subtle world, Radha had never been a physical entity. She symbolised the psychic response to the Eternal’s call represented by Krishna’s flute.

Alas, what a farce to which the Krishna-Radha relationship has been reduced, thanks to our matchless romantic dispensations and thanks galore to the film industry!

Historians agree on the broad outline of Meera's life, though they differ on her time. While the majority accept 1547 to be her year of birth, some trace it to 1498.

Meera, a child of Jodhpur, one day happened to witness a bridal procession. Aged four, she asked her mother, 'If a bridegroom for a girl is a must, what about mine?'

'Why? Gridhar Gopal is your bridegroom, of course!' answered the mother in a lighter vein.

It so happened that a few days later a Vaishnav hermit spent a week in their house. He carried with him a tiny image of Krishna. He was unwell and he made the little Meera perform the rituals for the portable deity. Soon Meera grew so very enamoured of the image that she would put it on a cozy little bed by her side even when she went to sleep.

At last it was time for the hermit to move on. It was still dark when he set out for his next destination, lifting the image from the sleeping Meera's bedside.

The first thing Meera did after waking up was to look for the image. Her face turned dark when she did not see it; she cried and refused to eat. Nothing would console her.

At dawn the hermit was seen approaching their house. He found his way to Meera's room and, without a word, placed the image beside her. He had, in the courtyard of a distant temple, dreamt Meera's tearful face in the early hours of the night. Immediately he had begun walking back.

Meera bathed the image in her tears of gratitude. It remained with her till its enshrinement in the temple.

'What you see is an exact picture of the same image,' the priest informed me.

'But what about the image itself?'

'It's with the Maharanas,' he answered apologetically.

Perhaps to leave that small but precious image exposed in a temple that enjoyed little protection would have been unwise. Several idols missing from neighbouring temples had surfaced amidst proud private collections in the West.

'I hope it is safe in the custody of the Maharanas,' I said, looking at my guide.

'Only as safe as the Maharanas themselves,' commented my guide. 'They, as well as everything they possessed, had always been unsafe. Think of Maharana Pratap!'

But there would be a time to think of Maharana Pratap. I sat checking my knowledge of Meerabai with the priest's. I was not disappointed.

Meera had lost her father in her infancy. Her grandfather, although not a ruling prince, was a princely noble. Probably his relative, the old Maharana of Mewar, once passed through Jodhpur, happened to see Meera, liked her immensely and proposed her marriage with his son, the young Bhojraj. The Maharana must have been gifted with a rare vision to be attracted towards Meera who, it is believed, was endowed more with a serene grace than any sensuous charm.

The Maharana's wish was done. Soon thereafter Bhojraj ascended the throne. Traditionally a devotee of Kali, Bhojraj by and by turned to Krishna and built a shrine for Meera's deity adjacent to his palace, though his actions were frowned upon by his kinsmen. He would refuse to check Meera's weird propensities even when she would make a dash into the temple at dead of night, in a state of trance.

But the gentle and conscientious Bhojraj died young. His younger brother, Ratan Singh, who succeeded him was equally tolerant of the conduct of Meerabai - who would sometimes pass a full day and a night at a stretch in the temple, singing, dancing or simply gazing at her idol, while curious crowds would gather around her.

Ratan Singh was assassinated and the throne was occupied by his younger brother - a very different character. Swearing by the dynasty's dignity, he and his jealous sister cried a halt to Meerabai's

eccentricities. They even mixed deadly poison in her drink which failed to harm her according to one of her most touching lyrics.

But Meerabai decided to leave the dynasty in peace and departed for Vrindaban and thence to Dwaraka. The kingdom of Mewar, so sing the bards, was engulfed by several crises and the people held the dynasty's deplorable conduct towards Meerabai responsible for it. There is the widely known story of a delegation led by the Rajguru to Dwaraka to persuade the ascetic queen to return home; but Meera, instead, disappeared inside the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Dwarkadhish temple.

Akbar attacked Chittor in 1567. The Rajputs defended the fort under the leadership of Saindas and Jaimull. After a day's battle Jaimull, with a burning torch, was supervising the repair of a wall when, it is believed, Akbar himself killed him, shooting from an early variety of gun he had learnt to handle. The next day Saindas was killed in a direct confrontation with the invaders.

The women of the fort made a bonfire of themselves - *johar*, once again. The last battalion of the defenders of the fort, numbering about one thousand, who were left with no weapons, got torches lighted by flames from that mass pyre and let themselves loose like an avalanche of fire on the enemy throng below the hill. They got killed to the last man, but not before destroying a big chunk of the Mughal army.

The last luminous flicker in the history of Mewar - Maharana Pratap - dazzled a million imaginations with his uncompromising heroism, but could not reclaim the fort of his ancestors.

'How was Chittor, sir?'

It was my chauffeur, while negotiating our descent from the height.

'Not easy to answer!'

'You may not answer. But I know that you loved it. I have driven here a hundred times; I would be happy to drive another one hundred times.'

He waxed profusely sentimental, lamenting the present state of the Rajputs, as we drove along.

We were passing through a crowded bazaar. Some young men stood right at the centre of the road, talking and laughing, refusing to budge even though the car was about to touch them. The chauffeur hooted and one of the young man stepped aside, as if taken aback and, in the process, delivered a two-syllable epithet, offensive but widely popular.

My chauffeur stopped and put the car in reverse gear. Closer to the offender, he demanded an unqualified apology in a voice ominous and louder than the whole bazaar's.

The situation would have been different if the offender were alone. But he had a half dozen strong team behind him. He at once assumed the role of their captain and banged on the car, daring my chauffeur to do what he could.

I was the solitary sepoy behind my captain. 'I'm a Rajput's offspring!' he announced and, in the process of getting down from the car, removed his wristwatch and handed it over to me, signalling his readiness for action and his expectation of my moral support.

I, too, got down and tried to tell my captain that his adversary did not mean offence, that his exclamation was a mere reflex utterance and that he would have uttered the phrase, so endearing to so many, even if his own father or grandfather were in the driver's seat.

'But am I not a Rajput lad?' he snubbed me. There was nothing to suggest that there were no Rajputs among his opponents. Besides, there was no assurance that a half-dozen non-Rajputs could not crush one Rajput.

I tried to pacify the teams. What ushered in peace, I realised, was not my argument, but their pity for my desperately spoken weird Hindi

The chauffeur took back his wristwatch with a short thanks and resumed driving.

We both had fallen silent. 'In which direction is Haldighat?' I asked, to break the uneasiness.

He slowed down. 'So, we go there!'

'Oh no. I must reach Udaipur in time for my meeting.'

‘Why then did you ask me about Haldighat at this particular spot?’

‘What do you mean?’ I looked out while turning the question back to him. We were at a crossroads, an arrow left showing the way to Haldighat!

‘You are destined to see Haldighat. It is my task to see to it that you’re not late for your programme.’

He turned the car to the left.



## **MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD : A SAINT IN POLITICS**

**By 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. )*

In the context of modern India, the rise of Islamic political thought occurs mostly in response to the social-economic-historical conditions prevailing around the 1857 armed revolt against the British raj. Years preceding and following this critical event, witnessed diverse responses to the question of continuance of the political system in the country. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad represents one of the many interesting and important political thinkers during this period. His thoughts and contribution cannot be evaluated without comparison to other viewpoints and developments of the time.

The Wahabi and Faraizi movements were aimed at removing the imperialistic rule of the British by any means. The movements started by the religious schools like the Deoband were also aiming at the same goal. A few sample statements, put out by them, may be recalled: a) "O Muslims, attack the tyrannical Christian regime which has kept you enslaved for years", b)"extending any support to British rule amounted to accepting slavery which is contrary "the spirit of Islam", c) "the Hindu and Muslim should forge unity and fight against the British".

These forces also took the side of the poor and the peasant class in the society as against the

interests of the high class or caste. Not surprisingly, the rival ideological response took the shape of Muslim reformism or liberalism. Sir Syed Ahmed openly sided with the ruling British class, and for that purpose he even opposed the Hindus (as the Hindus were supposed to oppose the British) and the poor class (as these were hindrance to the ruling rich class). As a sample, a few quotes of Sir Syed Ahmed who founded the famous M.A.O College, Aligarh , may be given: d) The character of the British rule in India was emancipatory, benevolent, and progressive; e) There was no question of opposing the British rule on the religious ground; f) "In India the people of the higher social classes would not like a man of low birth to have the authority over their life and property\* (In this regard the British) "Government can never be blamed if it nominates men of the noble families" (to offices); g) The Congress was harmful to both Muslims and Hindus; h) The aims and objectives of M.A.O College were "to provide a centre for the Western learning for Muslims of the higher classes, to show to the rulers that Islam was not against them, to promote loyalty towards to the rulers and seek from them favours etc" (perhaps as against the Hindus).

Against this backdrop of the socio-religious-economic differences between the two streams of political thought—one the Wahabi- Faraizi-Ulema and the other the Aligarh School—there emerged quite a handful of outstanding scholars / leaders who dominated the discourse of Muslim political thought between 1920's and 1940's. Maulanas Mohammed Ali and Shauket Ali who led the short-lived and short-sighted Khilafat movement, religious scholar Maulana Syed Abu Ala Maudoodi, the invincible lawyer-turned politician Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the poet- philosopher Sir Iqbal Ahmad, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad himself provided alternative options before the Muslim population of the subcontinent in the critical years leading to the birth of the independence and partition. They differed from one another in their understanding of the problem itself and in their solutions as well. What was common among them all was their eagerness to locate their concern for the Muslim (as people) and Islam (as religion) in relation to the British government specifically : and the Hindu society generally. Though this raised complex issues, they had

to put forward simple formulations so as to capture people's imagination, and drive popular movements. In this process which was fairly long-drawn, rearranging of priorities, if not of shifting of principles, was a natural occurrence. However, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad stood out as an exception. He stuck to his political and religious views all through his life. This was his success as well as failure: success personally, failure politically.

To understand Maulana Abul Kalam Azad better; it is necessary to juxtapose his views vis-a-vis the views of others. In his younger years - to be precise when he was barely 24 years old he started a popular and trendsetting Urdu weekly *Al-Hilal* which attacked the British rule while asking for unity among Hindus and Muslims. Gandhiji's campaign in favour of the farmers of Champaran against the British oppression brought him close to Gandhiji and the Congress. The Jalianwala Bagh massacre, the Rowlatt Acts which suppressed the civil liberties severely, the abolition of Khilafat and such other outrages of the British government led Azad to join force with the Congress. He was elected the President of the Congress (1923) at the young age of 35 years! During his Presidential address to the Congress he declared courageously: "If an angel were to descend from the clouds today, settle on the Qutub Minar of Delhi and proclaim from there that India will attain Swaraj provided Hindu-Muslim unity is renounced, then I would renounce Swaraj and not sacrifice Hindu-Muslim unity, because if Swaraj is delayed, it is the loss to India, but if Hindu-Muslim unity is lost, it is the loss to humanity".

This humane and non-chauvinistic attitude characterized the long political career of the Maulana. He did not flinch from his basic belief in the Hindu-Muslim unity and patriotism. Even as he was derided by Jinnah as a "Congress Showboy" and "Lord Haw-Haw", and accused by the narrow minded clergy as subordinating Muslims to the majority Hindus, Maulana stood firm in his conviction. He said: "I am proud of being an Indian. I am part of indivisible unity that is Indian nationality. I am indispensable: to the noble edifice and without me this splendid structure is incomplete. I am essential element, which has gone to build India. I can never surrender this claim."

This broad vision and the understanding came to Maulana not only because he was erudite in religious studies but also because he was a man who had been brought up in a cosmopolitan atmosphere by his family which had traveled far and wide. He was not a slave of his surrounding, nor- was he lacking in courage. To know the importance of these qualities one has to only contrast them with those of other leaders who were self-centred and pretentious, and misled the Muslim masses.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah never understood the significance of the composite culture of Hindus and Muslims in India. He called for a homeland for Muslims fanning the flames of communalism and violence all over the country. Anti-democratic and egoistic he heeded no appeals from Gandhiji or Nehru to build a united, free, secular, democratic India. Instead, he took an anti-democratic and egoistic stance, and insisted on partitioning the country for the sake of Muslims. But Once Pakistan came into being, he expressed remorse and asked the people of Pakistan to think in secular terms. He as well as another Muslim luminary poet-philosopher Allama Iqbal said openly years before the partitioning of the country that they were concerned only with those provinces of India wherein the Muslims constituted a majority, like NWFP province, and not bothered about those Muslims who were in minority in several parts of the country as though they were lesser Muslims! Iqbal gave this advice to Jinnah in a letter on June 21, 1937. After the accomplishment of partition, Jinnah had been humiliated at the Dacca University in March 1948; and he told his sister in anguish: "I am sorry the game is lost I backed the wrong horse." As an afterthought, Iqbal's son wrote that, had his father been alive he would have succeeded in developing an apt "Pakistani nationalism". But it never occurred to either of them that Azad's approach on the question of Muslims and Pakistan was right.

Azad had one more detractor who was as thorough in the Quranic scholarship. as in political rhetoric. Maulana Syed: Abu Ala Maudoodi was a spirited, communal leader who however was against the concept of the Pakistan as the homeland of the Muslims of the subcontinent Why remain content with but a backyard when I can make, a claim on the whole

estate as mine? was his argument for opposing the creation of Pakistan. He wished he converted the entire Hindustan into a Muslim country. Further, he was specifically a narrow-minded Muslim leader who had nothing but contempt for democracy, communism and other western concepts. He would, not hear of anything which was not born out of the Quran. Sovereignty belonged to Allah only. All Islamic countries are but part of a single entity; The sole political objective, should be to establish the rule of Allah on earth. Who could be relied upon to: interpret the message of the Quran correctly in all situations but the Maulanas? The objective of freedom movement or franchise or even democracy was all unIslamic if not anti-Islamic. The Congress party was to him "politically Indian, ideologically communist, and culturally western". It represented nothing but the interest of the Hindu majority^ arid hence unacceptable. Abul Kalam Azad, however, had displayed a contrasting position: all along. "If there are any Hindus amongst us who desire to bring back the Hindu life of thousand years and more, they dream and such dreams are vain fantasies. So also if there are: any Muslims who wish to revive their past civilization and culture which they brought a thousand years ago from Iran and Central Asia, they dream also, and sooner they wake up the better. These are unnatural fancies which cannot take I root in the soil of reality". However, the crowd-puller and the mass-mesmarizer proved to be Maulana Maudoodi and not Maulana Abul Kalam. "Islam in danger", "Islamic Paradise";, "Muslim in the dire straits' under Hindu oppressive regime" proved to be much more effective catch-phrases of Maudoodi than the sweet logic and the humane approach of Azad. The colourful opportunist Maudoodi, however, jumped across to - Pakistan once it became reality though he had opposed its formation all along. The steadfast Azad remained in India although disappointed and broken, with a philosophical touch. He told his co-religionists (October 23, 1947) who continued to be in India with heavy heart and in deep anguish over what happened after partition. "The uneasiness on your faces and the desolation in your hearts that I see today remind me of the events of the past few years. Do you remember I hailed you, you cutoff my tongue. I picked up my pen, you severed my hand. I wanted to move forward, you

cut off my legs. I tried to turn over, and you injured my back. When the bitter political games of the last seven years were at their peak, I tried to wake you up at every danger signal. You not only did not heed my call but revived all the past tradition of neglect and denial. As a result, the same perils surround you today; their onset had diverted you from the righteous path ....today mine is no more than an inert existence or a forlorn cry. I am an orphan in my own motherland. My sensitivities are blunted, my heart is heavy. Think for one moment, what course did you adopt? Where have you reached, and where do you stand now? Haven't your senses become torpid? Aren't you living in a constant state of fear? This fear is of your own creation, a fruit of your own deeds". (Maulana Centenary Volume II, New Delhi, 1990, pl70-173)

Such are the vicissitudes of history. The saint suffers in silence even as the scoundrels appear to flourish. Unless one takes these developments in a philosophical perspective, life becomes difficult to endure. Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad symbolized the saints in politics. Today, it is heartening to note that Abul Kalam's works and ideas are in increasing demand in Pakistan. Perhaps, the future would do justice to the thoughts and contributions of this Maulana as compared to several others who lay claim to the creation of an Islamic Paradise in Pakistan.



## **A TRIPLE SOUL-FORCE FROM AN ILLUSTRIOUS EMPEROR - I**

**Dr.Mrs. Prema Nandakumar**

### ***THE OBSCURE BEGINNINGS OF A GREAT EMPIRE***

The concluding decades of the thirteenth century pointed to a bleak future for South India. At that time there were five important kingdoms south of the Vindhyas. The Yadava kingdom of Deogiri and the Hoysala kingdom of Dvarasamudra were in the west; in the east was the Kakatiya kingdom; the Pandyan kingdom lay in the south. Apart from them, there was also the Kampili kingdom, which was no more than a small principality. Situated on the banks of the Tungabhadra river, the tiny kingdom had been founded by Singaya Nayaka III who was a commander in the

Hoysala army. He dared to declare himself as the chief of an independent kingdom which irritated the Hoysala rulers. Naturally, it was his son, Kampili Raya who bore the brunt of this anger though he defended his kingdom heroically. But the holocaust that came in the shape of Mohammad bin Tughlak wiped out the Kampili kingdom. It was out of the ashes of Kampili that a Hindu Empire arose like a phoenix.

When he became the Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad bin Tughlaq used more and more force to control his satraps managing huge territories in South India. His activities only resulted in the rise of sultanates in South India, created by rebel commanders of the Delhi Sultanate. One of the strongest and most enduring was the Bahmani kingdom which began with the crowning of Malik Ismail in 1346 who was succeeded by Alauddin Bhaman Shah I. The Bahmani rulers were intent upon increasing their hegemony in South India and the spread of Islam. Mention may also be made of the Ma'bar Sultanate that ruled over Madurai from 1335 to 1378. We owe all these details to the Muslim historian Ibn Battuta in his chronicles, known as **Rihla**.

Meanwhile, the last of the great Hoysala kings, Vira Ballala III was showing a brave front to the invading Islamic hordes from Delhi. He had two commanders, Harihara and Bukkaraya, popularly known as Hukka and Bukka. Their father, Bhavana Sangama had been in the employ of the Hoysala king. Vira Ballala's raising high the flag of Hinduism and the legendary riches of South Indian temples drew Allauddin Khilji's attention to Dwarasamudra, also known as Halebeid. His commander Malik Kafur plundered the capital of its vast riches. By 1336 almost all the Hindu kingdoms of South India had come under Muslim hegemony. Vira Ballala was the sole challenger now to the imperial ambitions of the Delhi Sultanate. To make his defences stronger, Vira Ballala founded the new administrative capital of Vijaya Virupakshanagara (also called Hosapattana, the New Metropolis) on the banks of the Tungabhadra river. Just when things seemed to be going right for the great king, he died. The year was 1343. Fortunately, the torch of Hindu resistance had been passed on to Harihara who began ruling most of the Hoysala areas with Vijaya Virupakshanagara as the capital. He was

the eldest son of Bhavana Sangama. The others were Bukkaraya, Kampana, Muddappa, and Marappa, and all of them equally capable. Before long the entire area of ruled over by Vira Ballala in Karnataka and Andhra territories came under the new kingdom presided over by the Sangama dynasty.

Harihara I (1336-1355) was the first Sangama ruler. His greatest asset was his guru, Vidyanarya.<sup>1</sup> There are conflicting reports about how Vidyanarya came to help Harihara. One of the traditions refers to Harihara and his brother being forcibly converted to Islam after the fall of the Kakatiya rulers of Warangal. However, they found an enlightened acharya in Vidyanarya who was then the pontiff of Sringeri Sarada Peetham. He abdicated his pontificate to help found a Hindu kingdom to stem the Islamic tide, re-converted the Sangama brothers to Hinduism, and crowned Harihara as the king in a sacred spot, perhaps Anegundi, on the banks of the Tungabhadra. Under his directions, the Sangamas built the Vijayanagar City which had as its heart the ancient and holy Pampa which has been mentioned in the Ramayana.

Pampa (Hampi) has also a long history. Emperor Ashoka's edicts have been found in its adjoining villages like Siddhapuram, Koppal and Erragudi. From 3<sup>rd</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. the area was under the control of various famous dynasties like the Satavahanas, Pallavas and Kadambas. It was after the declaration of the Vijayanagar Empire that Hampi became a capital city. The temple to Virupaksha (also known as Pampapati) had been a pilgrimage centre and was perhaps chosen by Vidyanarya as an auspicious place to declare the birth of the new empire. The temple had received royal offerings from the Chalukyas, the Nagas and the Hoysalas. Legends associated with the temple speak of Lord Shiva marrying Pampa Devi, belonging to the Tungabhadra area.

Harihara was succeeded by Bukkaraya I (1355-1376). It was Bukka's son Kumara Kampana, who brought down the Madurai Sultanate in 1371 which had been mercilessly plundering Hindu temples, decimating agraharas which contained the society's living heartbeats in the palm-leaf manuscripts owned by Vedic scholars, and destroying cultural monuments. For his priceless services to Hinduism, Kumara

Kampana was blessed with the epithet, “Vedanta Marga Pratishtapaka”. His wife Gangadevi recorded those days in her **Madura Vijayam**, a Sanskrit poem in nine cantos where she refers to the atrocities of the Islamic invaders. One of the favourite pastimes of these Sultans was impaling Hindus. Vast coconut groves and forests were destroyed by the rulers:

“Iron spikes had been planted in these spaces. On the wire fencing joining them bunches of skulls had been hung. In earlier times, travelers on the high road heard the sounds of women learning dancing in their homes. Now there were only ear-piercing cries by Brahmins who were bound by iron wires and being dragged on the streets.”<sup>2</sup>

It is sad that this work still remains largely unknown. One reason is our continued attunement to the histories written by westerners. It is also quite possible that the work has not been given due recognition because it was written by a woman! For long we had been fed with the Aryan Invasion theory, carefully orchestrated by westerners and parochial politicians so that the terror-striking Islamic invasions would be pushed away from people’s memory. Such were the vast deprivations committed by the invaders that even the premier Vishnu temple at Srirangam was victimized by the marauders. Some faithful devotees saved the icon by going into exile.

**Madura Vijayam** speaks of all this and the command of Bukka to his son Kumara Kampana; “The sultans of Madurai are like Ravana. Be a Rama and retrieve the people from sorrow. You have to undertake this task for the good of the world.” It was a difficult command to execute for the Muslims had achieved a stranglehold on all important areas of the Hindus:

“In the streets of Srirangam where Brahmins lived, now rises the noxious fumes of meat being roasted by the Muslims. The Muslims quaff plenty of wine and fight with one another in a state of intoxication.” The Muslim historian Ibn Batutta has given descriptions which corroborate Ganga Devi’s writing. Maiming and killing of Hindus were obviously a pleasant time-pass for the Sultans. Thus Ibn Batuta:

“The Hindu prisoners were divided into four sections and taken to each of the four gates of the great catcar. There, on the stakes they had carried,

the prisoners were impaled. Afterwards their wives were killed and tied by their hair to these pales. Little children were massacred on the bosoms of their mothers and their corpses left there.”

At last, some relief was coming to the Hindus. Kumara Kampana posited a definite victory over the Madurai Sultan Khurbat Hasangang in 1371, thus putting an end to the terror that had oppressed Madurai as an incubus for decades. The Sangama dynasty lasted till 1485 with the kings, Harihara II, Bukka II, Virupaksha I, Devaraya I, Vijaya, Devaraya II, Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha II. Then the succession passed on to the Saluva dynasty with Saluva Narasimha who was a capable administrator and won battle victories to strengthen the weakening threads of the Vijayanagar Empire. He was also a poet and is well known as the author of **Ramabhyudayam**. Worried about the future, he rested full faith in his capable administrator, Tuluva Narasa Nayaka. Throughout his life, Narasa Nayaka was a faithful administrator for the kings of the empire. However, when Narasa Nayaka died in 1505, his son Viranarasimha led an insurrection and occupied the throne. With him the Tuluva dynasty became the third major line to rule over the Vijayanagar kingdom.

King Viranarasimha had come to the throne by eliminating the imprisoned king Immadi Narasimha and busied himself consolidating his gains which meant a constant feud with the rebels. Fortunately, he was a good administrator, and when he died in 1509, his step-brother Krishnadeva Raya was crowned king of Vijayanagar. This scion of the Tuluva dynasty was destined to take Vijayanagar Empire to its noon-day glory.

### ***An Emperor is Born***

Krishnadeva Raya was born on 17 January 1471. His father was Tuluva Narasa Nayaka, the faithful administrator of Saluva Narasimha. Although after Saluva Narasimha’s death, the effective power of the empire was in the hands of Narasa Nayaka, he never thought of eliminating his master’s heir and of usurping the throne. Perhaps his elder son, Viranarasimha nurtured such ambitions but did not dare to go against his father’s wishes. Narasa

Nayaka's death gave him the chance to rebel and occupy the throne. But Viranarasimha himself did not last long and so the way was cleared for Krishnadeva Raya to ascend the throne of Vijayanagar.

It is said that Saluva Timmarasu had a hand in the bringing up of Krishnadeva Raya and subsequently making him the king. He was a Brahmin and had been Viranarasimha's prime minister. The Portuguese traveler Fernado Nuniz has recorded that when the king was on his death-bed, he asked his prime minister to blind Krishnadeva Raya so that his eight-year old son will be assured of succeeding to the throne. Timmarasu did not carry out the order and thus helped Krishnadeva Raya to become the king. This story has been contested as Viranarasimha and Krishnadeva Raya were friends, though they were but step-brothers.

Krishnadeva Raya was the son of Narasa Nayaka and Nagalamba. The Raya's daughter Mohanangi mentions his year of birth as 1471 in her work, **Marichi Parinayam**. He was about forty years old when he became the king. It was a difficult situation for the new ruler as the Kalinga king had occupied the eastern part of Vijayanagar kingdom. The northern boundary was in constant threat and even deprecation from the Muslim rulers. Indeed, the moment the Raya ascended the throne, Muhammad Shah of Bahmani Kingdom, along with a few more Muslim heads opened a *Jihad* against him.

The opening battle proved auspicious. The Raya's forces defeated the invaders roundly after a fierce battle and sent them scurrying back to their respective cities. When being pursued, the Sultan of Bijapur was killed at Koilkuntla. With the advantage of a confused leadership in Bijapur, the Raya swiftly occupied Raichur and went forward to capture the forts of Gulbarga and Bidar. Since a wise king would not allow himself to be surrounded entirely by enemies, with foresight the Raya helped Muhammad Shah become the Bhamani sultan. We are told that he was even hailed as Yavana Rajya Sthapana Acharya!

The enemies of Vijayanagar were not only Muslims. The polegar Gangaraja of Umathur was one who engaged the Raya in war for two years. He lost

his life in the war and his fort of Srirangapatna and Sivasamudra came under the Raya's rule. The Raya's strength was in his clear understanding of priorities. Thus he knew when and where to make friends as well. This is why he negotiated with the Portuguese and stocked his cavalry with the finest and swiftest horses available.

The Raya's major war with the Kalinga kingdom in 1513 resulted in his wresting back the Udayagiri-Kondavidu areas for the Vijayanagar empire. The capture of the Kondavidu fort has been recorded as the result of an imaginatively forged plan. On his return path as a victor, Krishnadeva Raya worshipped at Tirupati and Simhachalam. The Kalinga king, despite huge losses continued to defy the Raya who successfully attacked Cuttack in 1518. The hostilities ended with the Raya marrying the Kalinga princess. The Vijayanagar-Kalinga wars have been historically famous.

But where is peace for the crowned head? Kutub Shah of Golconda and Ismail Adil Khan of Raichur had to be defeated when they sought to attack the Kondavidu and Raichur forts. Even after this, Krishnadeva Raya had to be wary of the machinations of his enemies both inside and outside Vijayanagar. However, his extraordinary administrative capabilities helped the maintenance of peace and the growth of the nation's economy. With the birth of a son to his chief consort Tirumala Devi in 1519, the Raya felt fulfilled.

Solon, a wise man of Greece had once told Croesus, king of Lydia: "Call no man happy till he is dead." How true! Krishnadeva Raya's young son died all of a sudden. It was rumoured he had been poisoned. The Raya suspected his benefactor-minister Thimmarasu. The latter was jailed and blinded. It is said the Raya realised Thimmarasu's innocence soon after but it was too late. Meanwhile his own robust health was giving way and Krishnadeva Raya passed away in 1529 universally mourned. The Vijayanagar Empire carried on bravely for a couple of decades but the Islamic powers surrounding the empire were too strong. The Empire ended with the disastrous Tallikota War of 1565 which ended with the savage

The art of diplomacy lies not merely in advocating one's cause, but in reducing one's opponents.

P.N.Haksar

destruction of the capital city, Hampi. To quote from Robert Sewell's **A Forgotten Empire**:

"Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city, teeming with a wealthy and industrious population, in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next, seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description."

Ah, scepter and crown must tumble down, as it has been said. But Krishnadeva Raya continues to be an inspiration for what he achieved as a die-hard hero, for his love of his motherland, for the way he managed the administration. And an icon for those who love arts and literature and would like to press forward with social reform.

### **A Down-to-Earth Administrator**

Though hemmed in by Jihadi kingdoms, Vijayanagar was a fairly well-administered territory when Krishnadeva Raya inherited the reins of the state. But he knew that an empire's sustenance depended on good administration and proceeded to make it near-perfect. Because he was able to deliver the goods in this matter, Vijayanagar became a prosperous state. We have on hand detailed information about it from records of various kinds like Kavilas (land records) and the like. Agricultural land-tax was known as Dhanyadaya and industrial tax as Swarnadaya and house-tax as Illari. Both internal trade and international trade were healthy and made the kingdom rich. The gold, Silver and Copper coins issued by Krishnadeva Raya are silent witnesses to those far-off days of affluence.

The attention to detail evinced by the Raya in administrative matters is revealed in his epic poem, *Amukta Malyada*. The epic contains a detailed account of the eminent Vaishnava acharya Alavandar (Yamunacharya). The Raya has made bold departures from the traditional account of alavandar's life. One cannot say whether the changes were due to the Raya's burgeoning romantic imagination, or there were some received traditions in his time (16th century)

that indicated such turns in the life of Alavandar. Perhaps, the king used the life-story to detail the practical possibilities of an ideal administration to help future rulers.

Though the epic poem is about Goda Devi, the fourth Aswasa of the epic is entirely about Alavandar. The Raya brings in the branch story through a conversation between the Lord and Lakshmi. The Lord says:

"These two, Yamunacharya and Perialwar have literally given a new lease of life for Sri Vaishnava Darsana and have become worthy of my infinite grace." On Lakshmi asking about Yamunacharya, the Lord began to relate the life of the great Acharya.

There was once a Pandyan king who was deeply immersed in Saivism. So much was he taken up with the Jangama wanderers, that he built a number of Saiva Maths, while the ancient temples of Vishnu remained uncared for. However, the Queen was a devotee of Vishnu and was unhappy at the ways of the king. But she did not deviate from her devotion to her husband and in this she pleased Vishnu also.

(Courtesy : *Narada Gana Sabha, Chennai*)

(to be continued...)



## **Dialogue & Discussion**

**Shri V. Bhaskar Rao**

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Author of *Musings of Barefoot Bankers*

### **Financial Inclusion - A Paradigm Shift in Indian Banking**

1. December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2013 Bulletin of CPS prompted me to write this article. First, the editorial, The next six months – *ideal time for course correction*. The concluding sentence of the editorial is 'The reconstruction of Indian Polity requires the recovery of that (first two decades of Independence) Spirit and Culture'. But the Financial Media is agog with need for recovery of economy not the spirit and culture.

Second, the text of the stimulating lecture of Dr.K.S.R.V.S. Challam delivered at GVP School of Management Studies.

2. Financial Inclusion has become new jargon. Ever since the financial crisis in the United States that spread to Europe and Asia there is a change of perception in the world of economics. That change is referred as paradigm shift by some writers in India without explaining the meaning, significance and relevance to the current situation of crises in political economy.
3. Financial Inclusion as a concept is due to the so called paradigm shift. As an ex-banker who had the experience of post nationalization two decades in PSB I firmly believe that the operating bankers as well as men in control of banks in India must have complete understanding of paradigm and the shift to translate Financial Inclusion into reality..
4. Before we go into the paradigm and its shift let me put before you what the grand old former Supreme Court Judge V.R.Krishna Iyer is reported to have written: if the country cares for Gandhiji, if it cares for the villages and 400 million poor, it is necessary to bring in a *conceptual reversal*.
5. Fridjof Capra, author of Tao of Physics, The Turning Point, Uncommon Wisdom, wrote in the last mentioned book: 'to me a paradigm is totality of *thoughts, perceptions and values* that form a particular vision of reality, a vision based on which the society organizes itself. The shift in total perception, thinking, more importantly in values is urgently called for.
6. Dr. Capra, himself a scientist and environmentalist traced the shift in paradigm in all disciplines and concluded that the new paradigm brings into focus the systems view of reality. He also says that the orientals were systems thinkers. Systems view is not a theory but the way we look at the world as 'wholes' within wholes'. In Isa Upanishad dialogue there is a peace invocation translated into English reads: That is *purnam* (whole), this is *purnam*. This '*purnam*' comes out of that '*purnam*' and what remains is '*purnam*'. There are only wholes and no fragments. The old paradigm in physics took fragmentary approach like the 6 blind men perceiving the elephant. The parts do not add to make an elephant.
7. Till the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century this reductionism prevailed among physicists. It took nearly first 3 decades before the scientific community accepted the new holistic paradigm – whole is greater than its parts. It was such an emotional struggle that Max Plank, quantum physicist, wrote in bitterness that 'new ideas do not win; really what happens is old scientists die and new ones come along with new ideas.'
8. Also, E.F.Schumacher, author of Small is Beautiful, whose writings influenced me in 1970s in my operations in rural areas, wrote, 'Instead of listening to Gandhi the world listened to Lord Mynard Keynes, considered greatest economist of all times'. E.F.Schumacher considered Gandhi as an equally great economist. He compared Gandhi with Mozart while Keynes, with Beethoven among musicians in their respective greatness. To a Western music lover Beethoven comes to mind at once, not Mozart. It is a pity in our country we have not considered Gandhiji as our economist with a difference, the difference being difference in the paradigm or conceptual framework.
9. Economists and advisors to governments world over seem to stick to the scientific method and mathematics of old paradigm isolating economic decisions from the rest of the phenomena. They advocate undifferentiated growth in free market, far from being perfect. Justice V.R.Krishna Iyer's 'conceptual reversal' suggests that poverty eradication through rural development is more urgent. Inclusive Growth is what governments are talking about. But their obsession continues to be 'growth', not inclusion. It is due to fragmented thinking, nobody is bothered about poverty and rising prices and many other evils in the society. There is degradation and corruption in general..
10. **Bancon 2013:** Banks too carry the old paradigm in their minds. Bankers in India met for their annual conference to deliberate on 'Banks in the Future'. The conference began on a somber note when the CMD Bank of India, the host bank said

The liberty of the individual must be thus far limited: He must not make himself a nuisance to other people. John Stuart Mill

in the welcome address that banks in India are in the midst of *unprecedented turbulence* due to *economic slowdown*, mounting bad debts etc. At the end of two day conference RBI Deputy Governor blamed the banks for the bad debts of large scale industry because of their lenience, poor credit appraisal and bad risk assessment. He said that RBI is more concerned about 'future of banks' rather than 'banks of the future'. He even attributed bias towards large borrowers by being too ready to write off or reschedule corporate debts while being stringent with small borrowers' bad debts. As if taking the cue from RBI, bank employee unions demanded stringent action against the willful defaulters among large borrowers and erring bank managements. After a few weeks, the Finance Minister joined RBI in blaming banks.

Credit information Bureau of India blames banks for not giving timely and accurate data to it. If they give data in time and true it can help them guide the banks. There are instances of junk values, incorrect data and incomplete information submitted to the Bureau. There is a short fall of supply of credit to mediums small scale industries. Against a demand from MSEs of Rs.233199 crores, there is a short fall of Rs.68724 crores. If it is met it will improve economic growth, improve bad debt ratio as well. Decentralization and decision making will make appraisal and delivery cost effective, the Bureau added.

**Green Banking:** Yet another jargon indicating paradigm shift, is emerging. The credit proposal appraisal and risk management should, now, include not merely from the standpoint of economic viability and repaying capacity of the individual borrowers, but also assess risk to environment because of corporate greed to use up natural resources and ecological shortsightedness. Moreover weapons, alcohol, and drug manufacturing companies may have to be denied credit however attractive the proposals might be for the bank's profitability, but in the long term interests of society and ecology as also in the interest of the future generations. Some investment trusts have redefined their fiduciary

responsibility in this regard to include sustainability in their decision making.

11. Later when election results came on December 8, 2013, the analysts woke up to inflationary trends. Congress lost elections in 4 states. It was a verdict on the Union Government for its failure to contain inflation – rising prices without rising incomes. It has nothing to do with political parties. The present government may go expecting a new broom sweeps well and better. But nobody looks at the basic problem of inflation. Let me put it in Capra's words: 'excessive dependence on energy and natural resources and excessive investment in capital (technology) rather than labour, are not only highly inflationary but also bring massive unemployment'.
12. A trend that can be seen since 3 decades world over. New Governments are likely to do same thing in the name of development so long as they hold on to fragmented view. While the poor are oppressed by rising prices of necessities of life, the affluent aping middle class of American life styles borrowing for houses, cars and education; and consumerism are also angry with the Government on account of their upset budgets.
13. Fidjof Capra identified increasing social costs that contribute significantly to inflation. These social costs are not accounted for in their own profit and loss accounts of private sector companies. These are pushed to environment and future generations. Crime control, CBI investigations, litigation, cost of regulation, consumer protection, health care are some of the hidden costs that push up prices. Social costs like those of accidents, litigation and health care are added to GDP. The corporate profits are measured at the public cost.
14. Dr. Challam said, "Economic Science failed to predict the Financial Crisis". Dr. Challam echoed Dr. Capara's voice when he said, "Private gains are disproportionately appropriated by a few individuals whereas the social costs are borne by the society through tax payers' money. The social cost of the systemic failure is in the order of magnitude greater than the costs of failure of individual institutions"

## 15. Holism and systems view and humanism

The new vision, the systems view, is likely to 'integrate biology, psychology, political philosophy, and several other branches of human knowledge, together with economic, into a broad ecological framework'. 'Explicit reference to human attitudes, values and life styles in future economic thought will make this new science profoundly humanistic', wrote Dr. Capra.

16. With Nehru's *Tryst with Destiny* fresh in memory, the Nehru Government sent a delegation to seek of E.F. Schumacher's advice on India's economic policy. The great economist with a difference, suggested to the delegates to read Gandhi. He also added that the country in its early years of independence must go for intermediate technology or technology with a human face and not ape developed nations. We rejected his advice. In his book *Small is Beautiful* Schumacher wrote that the world listened to Lord Keynes instead of Gandhi. He wanted the world's economists to listen to Mahatmaji, whom he considered, a great economist with a different paradigm.
17. America, China, India are all in the same boat. You ask environmentalists, they will tell you that the humans are destroying ecology. Climate change activists are facing the skeptics who are with the rulers. All these are part of the struggle for paradigm shift.
18. **Keynes Vs Gandhi :** For Keynes foul was fair because foul is useful in creating material wealth. He speculated that if for another 100 years we treat avarice, usury, greed, selfishness as our gods, everybody will be rich through foul means. For Gandhi, end cannot justify means. He wrote in 1930 itself that the earth provides enough to satisfy everybody's need; but earth does not have enough to satisfy everybody's greed! Listen to Gandhi again. 'I don't think the world's poor will be benefitted by mass production; but only through production by the masses'. That epitomizes Inclusive Sustainable Growth, where sustainability means satisfying the needs of the present generation without diminishing chances of future

generations. It means steering business towards sustainability which is not now. 'Whatever is good for business is almost always bad for the nature' as someone aptly put it.

19. We have this destructive phenomenon, the climate change, because of economics of greed. The climate change and green house gas emissions which could destroy the city dwellers as well as rural population could not be envisaged in 1930. There will be no future for any one, rich or poor. If we don't heed environmentalists' shouts, there will be no chance for future generations to survive.
20. Mark the words of the Prime Minister in 2011 in this regard: The country needs sustainable inclusive growth. It is not just economic sustainability. It is social and environment sustainability. The corporate sector should be sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the common man. It should be transparent, accountable, responsible, responsive, to all stakeholders through good governance'.
21. At the individual level change in lifestyles has to come about among the fortunate among us. It comes through change in values. Debts cannot exceed disposable income. E.F. Schumacher said education is not passport for privileges. Education of all (bankers in particular) is to pay back what is due to the poor. Tolstoy wrote something more revealing, 'get off the back'. We sit on the backs of poor, choking them, try to do everything except get off the back. 'Trace the source of coin in your pocket; you will end up in the hut of poorman' (Gandhi)
22. **Whither Banking :** Pranab Mukherji said nationalization of banks in 1969 was path breaking step. The World Bank Findex survey found that only 35% of adult Indians had access to formal bank account, 8% borrowed from formal financial institutions and 2% remitted money through bank channels to their families. The rest either used informal financial channels or did not have access to any. They form the weaker sections and vulnerable groups exposed to greedy unregulated economy.

**23. Banks took the Calf-path:** One day, through primeval wood, a calf walked home.. left behind a trail. The trail was taken up by a dog next day... this forest path eventually became lane, road, village street,.. central street of a renowned metro... a hundred thousand men led.. by one calf three centuries dead.. (Sam W. Foss)

The journey of centuries towards material prosperity without stopping to pause, ponder and wonder where the calf's path was leading to.

We abandoned our traditional spiritual path of right livelihood 'making useful things for others in the vicinity, perfecting one's god given gifts, and working together in collaboration with others so as to liberate ourselves from the in-born ego centrality'.

Banks followed the trail laid down by their fore bankers. Today they say they are in the midst of unprecedented turbulence – slow growth, everybody blaming banks for the impasse. Infact it was Adam Smith who laid the path with 'the Invisible Hand', a mirage. Endless chasing material growth with greed, avarice, selfishness becoming gods.

World Bank's Ultimatum: While banks and the employees are worried about their stability and security World Banks asked the member nations to eradicate extreme poverty in their countries by 2030, the centenary year of the Great Depression in 1930, when Lord Mynard Keynes gave the 'magic formula', the foul means to which we referred earlier.

24. In 2013 there were a spate of reports and articles indicting the private corporate sector and big industry for letting down the country after taking all the benefits of economic reforms; and yet they keep blaming the system, politicians, and regulators. It is the case of Caliban not seeing his own image in the mirror. Caliban is the half-human monster, a creation of a magician in an enchanted island in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. The tempest ends with the magician breaking the staff and throwing the magic book into the sea.

Some such things should happen now. RBI Governor keeps saying that he has no magic wand. The confederation of Indian industry, the Caliban of Indian business – the half-human part starts seeing the ugly side.

25. India @75: A group of good Samaritans among India Inc came out with earlier deadline, 2022 for inclusive, sustainable development calling the mission as India @75. They want 500 million work force to be skilled workers to increase production and material wealth. (pave the way for production by the masses)

**Conclusion:** Concluding his key note address, Dr.Chalam said that financial sector is a 'facilitator to an expanding commodity production', and that 'the financial returns and economic value need to be balanced in the long run', he advised the financial sector.

At present banking is pre-occupied with immediate goals for its own internal stability and growth, managing internally without managing the environment and relating the two. This is a short term and fragmented approach which they may have to give up if they accept the holistic paradigm. The facilitation to the expanding commodity production at present is more through financing capital intensive, labour saving, mass producing companies rather than financing production by the masses as advocated by Mahatma Gandhi. Having paid the price of corporate bad debts they may swing to the other extreme avoiding big business and turning to small, medium and tiny sector enterprises which are at present languishing for want of capital and support from financial institutions. But this sector which supplies its production to the large scale sector is in the clutches of the large enterprises. But banks have to balance the two for the benefit of overall healthy economic growth. One more question, namely, sustainability remains. Fortunately for the Indian economy India Inc is gradually realizing the need to steer businesses towards sustainability.

Many banks have announced that they would shift to retail banking, housing loans, educational loans,

car loans and other consumer loans. They may be creating high indebtedness among the middle class whose life styles are akin to the life styles of the US middle class. This may create bubbles like in the US that sooner or later burst creating enormous social costs. The banking industry may work towards recovery of the old spirit and the culture of this country which is, always, living within the means.



## Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarman- A Tribute

(Summary of two Lectures delivered at Centre for Policy Studies by Professors Y. Sriramamurthy and C. Somasundara Rao (Retd. A.U) on December 9, 2013 on the occasion of the 123rd Birth Anniversary of the eminent historian and epigraphist.)

Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarman is well-known in Andhra Pradesh as a scholar who made an enormous contribution to Andhra history, Culture and Epigraphy. His work has received the approbation of scholars in the field of History and Epigraphy as of an exemplary nature. He was able to pass on the research that he and others carried out in Andhra History and Inscriptions to the common man in a simple and lucid style that interested them.

Born in 1891 in Minuminchilipadu in the West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh, Sri Sarman had his schooling at his native place and at Rajahmundry. He could not pursue his studies beyond Matriculation, as his family could not support him. He had a chequered career in that, at different times, he helped great savants in Literature and History like Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham, Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao, Komarraju Venkata Lakshamana Rao and Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao Pantulu in their activities. He did secretarial assistance to Chilakamarti in the publication of his journal *Desamata*. He was engaged by Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao (who was the author of *Andhrula Charitra* in 5 volumes) for collecting material for his work from the Connemera Library, Oriental Manuscripts Library and the office of the Superintendent of Epigraphy- all located in Madras. Sri Lakshamana Rao took his assistance in the

preparation of *Andhra Vijnana Sarvasvamu* (Andhra Encyclopaedia on the model of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*) which was supported later by Sri Nageswara Rao after the early demise of Sri Lakshamana Rao. Sri Nageswara Rao also associated Sri Sarman with the publication of Telugu journal *Bharati*, which devoted its attention to Telugu literature and history.

This background shows how Sri Sarman was interested in literature and history because of his association with great stalwarts in those fields. He was, in the beginning, interested in literature and authored dramas, novels, short-stories, some based on history. His flair for Telugu literature, while writing Indian or Andhra history, received the encomium of literary giants, not to speak of historians and general public. It is not strange that stalwarts in Telugu literature like Sri Viswanatha Satyanarayana (*Andhra Prasasti*), Dr. C. Narayana Reddi (*Karpura Vasantarayalu*) and Dr. Tirumala Ramachandra (*Mana Lipi-Puttu-purvottaralu*) dedicated their works to Sri Sarman.

His main research contribution, in the form of books, is gleaned from three works, viz., *A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History*, *History of the Reddi Kingdoms* and *Corpus of Telangana Inscriptions*, Vol. IV. The first work speaks of his contribution to Andhra History in that it clarifies what happened in Andhra immediately after the fall of the Kakatiya power. The post-Kakatiya and pre-Vijayanagara times were till then considered as a dark period. The second work, *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, is the *magnum opus* of Sri Sarman. Every piece of evidence – literature: indigenous and foreign; epigraphy and Kaifiats or local records were utilized for bringing out the life and times of the Reddis of Kondavidu and Rajahmundry. The third work is of a very technical nature, where the inscriptions collected in the Telangana Districts by the Department of Archaeology, were deciphered by Sri Sarman. He could not write historical introduction to the work, which was done by his disciple, Dr.R.Subrahmanyam.

In Andhra history, there is no period- from Mauryan rule in Andhra (3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C) to the rule of the Qutb Shahis of Golkonda (1687 A.D)- with which

It is more difficult to disintegrate a prejudice than an atom. Albert Einstein

he was not familiar. His articles ranging over one hundred fifty relate to the society, economy, religion and art. He made a good contribution to Buddhism in Andhradesa by a thorough study of the originals and interpreting the Buddhist sculptures from Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda etc. He appealed to the Andhras to see that the excavated material at Nagarjunakonda is retained there itself, since nothing is available in Andhra in respect of Amaravati, though Amaravati sculptures and the figure of Buddha of the Amaravati school are recognized as significant contributions to Indian art.

He was famous as an epigraphist. He could decipher different scripts in which inscriptions were written in Andhra Pradesh such as Brahmi, Telugu-Kannada, Telugu, Kalinga Nagari, Nandi Nagari etc. He had a good knowledge of Telugu as used in the early Andhra inscriptions which attracted his attention as early as 1920's. He also wrote articles on the Rosetta stone, which led to the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics; and on the shell script, which received more attention in recent days. He had toured a number of villages in the Nellore, Kadapa and Kurnool districts in search of early inscriptions at a time when the mode of transport and communication was less developed.

In the later years came out the *Telugu Vijnana Sarvasvamu*, Vol. III, *Telugu Samskriti*, 2 parts (1959 and 1961), compiled by Sri Somasekhara Sarma, which catered to the needs of the laymen focussing on the variegated aspects of Andhra history and culture.

Sri Somasekhara Sarma was associated with the Andhra University twice; once during 1940-1946 as Pandit in Epigraphy, attached to the Department of History and Politics. During this period, he worked on the history of the Musunuris and Reddis, published by the Andhra University. The second stint was during 1957-1963, when he was invited as Lecturer in Epigraphy and Numismatics, when Archaeology was introduced in the B.A (Hons.) course. He accepted this invitation from the University, and utilized this as an opportunity to train students in Epigraphy, a number of whom made a mark in the epigraphical field in Universities as well as in the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra

Pradesh, Hyderabad.

The real tribute one can pay to Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma is to popularize the significance of epigraphy as a tool for reconstructing our cultural past and familiarize the people with the different scripts that evolved in course of time in Andhra Pradesh. This would create awareness of this subject among the people and serve the purpose of protecting the inscriptions from vandalism and neglect.



### **Book Review: *The Blood Telegram India's Secret War in East Pakistan***

The Blood Telegram-- India's Secret War in East Pakistan by Gary J. Bass, Random House India in 2013, pp 500, Rs599/-

*Revealing narrative of "moral collapse in American foreign policy" and sinister machinations of Nixon-Kissinger duo against India*

As it is said on the blurb of this 'compelling and revelatory work' Gary Bass has unveiled the story of the all time low in the relations between the world's oldest and largest democracies during the liberation of the then East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. This is a massive tome of 500 pages in which Bass, the brilliant investigative historian-journalist, narrates the details of the blood-chilling genocide perpetrated by Pakistan on its eastern wing with the tacit support, if not encouragement of President Richard Nixon and his security advisor Henry Kissinger. Blood Telegram, the title of the book, dramatically portrays the most painful story beginning with "Archer Blood, the US Ambassador to Pakistan, sending off his dissent telegram just three months before Kissinger took his first secret trip to Beijing, flying direct from Pakistan, which sped him on his way with hospitality, an airplane, and a cloak-and - dagger cover story."

When the United states was 'allied with the killers' Senator Edward Kennedy declared that "The story of East Bengal will surely be written as one of the greatest nightmares of modern times." Garry Bass chronicles how the champions of Realpolitik Nixon and Kissinger "put extraordinary effort into magnifying

their foreign policy achievements, so that the horrors of Watergate would appear as a smallish blot on their overall record. Nixon and Kissinger never reprimanded Pakistan about its use of U.S. Weaponry; left to their own devices, they would almost certainly have found a way to get substantial arms supplies flowing to Pakistan.”

Indira Gandhi’s response to the crisis in the neighbourhood and the sound advice she constantly received from P.N. Haksar and heads of defence forces are lucidly narrated . The Americans felt that “India was the midwife of Bangladesh.” In the words of Bass Nixon angrily told Kissinger “It’s just ridiculous, those goddamn Indians. As you know, they’re just as much at fault in this, frankly, as the Pakistanis in my opinion.”

The role played by P.N. Haksar and K. Subrahmanyam , the former in particular is elaborately described by the author. According to him “the top echelon of the Indian government- including Haksar and the foreign and defense ministers – received a brilliant and brutal argument for war from K. Subrahmany am, India’s most influential strategic thinker.” On the battle ground under the dynamic stewardship of Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw General JFR Jacob excelled in strategy and execution of operations to perfection. The navy played an important role in India’s victory helped by Vice Admiral Roy’s intelligence reports and ENC CinC Vice Admiral Krishnan’s strategy of ‘attacks.’ The brutalities of Pakistan army on their own people were as horrendous as the war crimes perpetrated by Hitler against the Jews. Hindus in particular were targeted. “In the New York Times, Schanberg reported, “The Pakistan Army has painted big yellow ‘H’s’ on the Hindu shops still standing in this town.” The abusive epithets heaped on India and Indian leaders Nixon and Kissinger do not deserve to be quoted here. They run into hundreds, multiplying with reports of setbacks for the Pakistani troops. As Nixon raved and ranted his aide Kissinger planned strategy to humiliate India. Let us to turn to Gary Bass again: “Kissinger now proposed three dangerous initiatives. The United States would illegally allow Iran and Jordan to send squadrons of

US aircraft to Pakistan, secretly ask China to mass its troops on the Indian border, and deploy a U.S. aircraft carrier group to the Bay Bengal to threaten India. He urged Nixon to stun India with all three moves simultaneously.” President Nixon and Henry Kissinger even wished that India should be wiped out by ‘ mass famine.’ Nixon was convinced that “The Pakistanis are straightforward – and sometimes extremely stupid. The Indians are more devious, sometimes so smart that we fall for their line.”

The liberation of Bangladesh was hailed as a great victory for Indira Gandhi and India’s defence forces. The Americans led by Nixon and Kissinger along with the staff of the state department ‘celebrated’ it as a triumph of American diplomacy for saving West Pakistan from Indian attack! The great democracy that produced such noble and wise Presidents as Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt also had Richard Nixon as their successor! Nixon resigned to avoid impeachment and Henry Kissinger was honoured with the Nobel Peace Prize despite his despicable role as Nixon’s security adviser. One wonders how Henry Kissinger reacted when President Barack Obama in 2010 described Indo-US relationship as “the defining partnership of the 21st Century.” This is a book that compels attention of all those interested in understanding the nature of international politics and how the relations between nations are shaped or marred by those in power.

**A. Prasanna Kumar**



## **SRI RAMA - II**

**Sri. C. Sivasankaram**

Sri Rama is not unaware of the fact that man is not alien to God. He carries within the principle of God which is infinite. Sri Rama laments as poignantly as the youth deserted by his sweet-heart when Sita was abducted by the giant dictator, Ravana, The lamentation reads as follows: Alas ! Janaki, my priceless Sita so bewitching and so amiable, purer than purity. How can I bear this villainy at your hands; my beloved ! “Rama lamented as a seasoned actor

(himself uses, Sai(usaiva), never yielding room to suspect his Divinity. He kept Divinity veiled till his ultimate merger in the sacred river Sarayu (a tributary of Ganga) His arguments to maintain his decision to discard crown and depart to forest provide us with spectacular insight into the inner meaning of Aryan ethics. Rama is neither born God nor born human. He is an ideal to attempt at emulation, a beaconlight, a superfine man. Nothing is missed in composing Rama as the impeccable model for humanity. He is a flawless archetype of a man. He never behaved as a superman expecting worship from generations of men to come. Humankind has right to claim heirship to him for he lived for man, for Vanara, for the giant, for the vulnerable woman-kind for faithless *vandal*, for speechless squirrel. His example, were to be followed man needs a Stoic heart, belief in self-denial as the golden mean for the attainment of his ideal example. If followed sincerely the theme of life adopted and advocated by Sri Rama man will enjoy a life of self-respect, self-confidence and Spartan manhood. Sri Rama is the kind of man that gods of heaven too covet. He conquered flesh, he conquered itch for heaven. Why man is despondent when there is *Ramayana* and there is *Sitayana*. Self-abnegation and devotion to duty have combined to evolve into Sita.

When Sri Rama asked his bosom follower in thick and thin, Sri Hanuman, how he looked upon him (Rama)

Hanuman replied; when I consider myself as a physical being thou art the master I am the servant, when I consider myself as an individual being thou art the whole I am one of the parts and when I realize myself as the Atman I am with thee. This is the logically supported view one would get on inner revelation of Sri Rama the individual symbol of the personality of God-head. We have to seek to strive for ways for which will enable us to follow the ideal Sri Rama set.

Here under is an excerpt of absorbing interest related to spread of cult of Rama. It is borrowed from Cultural Heritage of India. Rama Krishna Math.

“The tradition of Rama has spread all over Southeast Asia in the wake of *Indian* colonizing activities. The legendary deeds of Sri Rama are still represented in the puppet shows of Burma. In Siam, the king is an incarnation of Rama. One of the recent kings was named Rama VI. Rama’s capital is localized as the old capital Ayuthia (Ayodhya) of Siam. Lopburi (Labapuri) is one of the ancient towns in Siam. The oldest Siamese inscription is that of Rama Kumpheng, who founded the Siamese kingdom on the ruins of Khmer Empire. The story of Rama has penetrated into China with the Lankavatara Sutra and the Dasaratha Jataka incorporated in the Buddhist scriptures.”

( Concluded.)

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