



## **Unfashionable Thoughts : I An ex-policymaker's perspective on regulation in education**

**Dr R V Vaidyanatha Ayyar I.A.S.(Retd)**

Former Secretary HRD Govt.of India &  
Professor IIM Bangalore

(Lecture delivered at Workshop on Education Policy at  
TISS, Hyderabad on 18 December 2013)

Let me begin by thanking the organisers for providing me this opportunity or more accurately for provoking me to critically think through an area of educational administration in which I dabbled decades ago. If you spend over 37 years of your life as a *babu*, as officers are called these days, you stop doing anything on your own. You do only such things which you are called upon to do. You become a taxi driver. You have to be hailed, told where to go before you get moving. But for the organisers compelling me to speak and suggesting the topic, I would not have thought about the subject at all. I would have just whiled away my time.

I need to apologise to the organisers for modifying the title of my speech without informing them. You may wonder why I choose the title 'unfashionable thoughts'. It is because what I am going to say is contrary to the predominant discourse and would be unpopular in the academia. I feel that much of the discussion about higher education is in the nature of theological disputation relying on emphatic assertion to prove the point. Many of the issues connected with regulation in education have not been thought through enough, and that even if thought about often wrongly as the conceptual models used are caught in a time warp. What we need is rational discussion. The objective of my lecture is to provide facts and perspectives which would facilitate rational discussion. To that end, I wish to be deliberately provocative not with a view to settle scores or hurt anyone but to follow the Socratic tradition of being an intellectual gadfly who takes delight in 'stinging people and whipping them into a fury, all in the service of truth', and 'projecting an image of arrogance'.

### **I. Lot of Catch Up to be Done**

We are living in very interesting times. When I say that I am not referring to the much hyped tussle between NaMo and Rahul Gandhi or the formation of Telengana which has been the Mother of all issues here in Hyderabad; I refer to the developments in education over the last few years. Though little recognised, after a few decades all the three major sectors of education- elementary, secondary, and higher education- seem poised for a significant transformation. From 1994 when District Primary Education (DPEP) was launched elementary education was the happening sector. By 2009 when the Right to Education Act was enacted DPEP and its progeny *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA) had together brought about a spectacular reduction in the number of out-of-school children so much so that improvement of quality and learning achievement came to be the predominant challenge. Even as universalisation of elementary education was in a modest homage to Nietzsche justly celebrated for the utterly unconventional thoughts he articulated in his works like *Unfashionable Observations*, also called *Thoughts out of Season* sight the *Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan* (RMSA) was launched in 2009, the very year in which the RTE Act was enacted. Its significance lies in the fact that it seeks to undo the historic injustice meted out to secondary education from 1970s. Figuratively, secondary education fell between two stools, the stool of elementary education which is a constitutional obligation and the stool of the powerful higher education establishment. Consequently most of the Central budgetary spending on secondary education was devoted to its institutions like Kendriya and Navodaya Vidyalayas, and the little that was provided to States went for peripheral areas like vocationalisation and computer education, and not for expanding access or the much needed restructuring of concern and process of secondary education. Even though RMSA does not as yet address all aspects of secondary education, it marks a good beginning and hopefully it would evolve fast and address all aspects of secondary education. The impending launch of the

*Rashtriya Utchcha Shiksha Abhiyan* (RUSA) would hopefully undo another historic injustice.

Even if the results go against us, even if we lose an election or two, we are not going to vanish from India.

94% of students studying in Government colleges and Universities study in State Government institutions, and yet for decades what these institutions received from central institutions like the UGC and the All India Council of Technical Education (AICTE) was plenty of advice and directions, and little funding. The UGC had functioned mostly as a funding agency for Delhi colleges and Central Universities. The rejuvenation of State universities had not been on the agenda all these decades. One hopes RUSA would address earnestly this long neglected issue.

Interesting developments are taking place in the area of policymaking also. From late 1990s we have entered yet another phase of post-Independent educational development in which there is no comprehensive policy framework to guide either educational development or development of specific policies in different areas of education. The National Policy on Education, 1986 and its revised version of in 1992 have faded into oblivion. This is understandable as the educational landscape of today is starkly different from that of 1992. What differentiates the present landscape from the past is not so much its size as its diversity. In 1992, the educational system was close to being an exclusively public funded system. Two exceptions apart, Government and private aided institutions predominated in all stages of education. Even though privately managed, private aided institutions are virtually Government institutions as they are predominantly funded by State Governments through grant-in-aid systems and they charge the same fees as corresponding Government institutions. The exceptions standing out in a predominantly public funded system were privately managed English medium schools which comprised about 15% of high and higher secondary schools, and self-financing professorial colleges which began to grow rapidly from mid-1970s. These schools and colleges were privately funded and privately managed, and sought to recover the cost of providing education from the parents and students. Hence they were private in every sense of the term. However, the policymakers and academics did not believe that private institutions contributed to educational development, and that they need not do anything but regulate them so that they do not indulge in unfair exploitative practices.

Private unaided institutions now dominate all segments of professional education except medicine. They account for about 90% of engineering, pharmacy and hotel management institutions, about 65% of architecture, teacher education, MCA and MBA institutions and about half of the medical colleges. It is they who contributed to most of the expansion in access to professional education. They are also a conspicuous presence in those segments of higher education which have a palpable nexus with good employment. Now, over a quarter of universities, deemed universities and institutions of national importance are private unaided universities. Even in school education, private unaided institutions are a conspicuous presence in all stages excepting primary education. Drawing analogy from the economic arena, it could be said that an area which was almost a preserve of the State was opened to private players and the principle that pricing of education should not be related to the cost of providing education was abandoned. It is significant that the opening up took place without an explicit policy frame. In my perception the opening also took place without any design notwithstanding the critics who attribute the opening to the adoption by the Government of neo-liberal economic policies.

There is yet another factor which contributed to the far reaching changes in the educational landscape. India could not remain impervious to the ongoing globalisation of education. A survey by conducted by the Association of Indian Universities (AIU) showed that the number of foreign education providers quadrupled from 144 in the year 2000 to 631 in 2010. Of these 631, 440 were functioning from their home campuses, 5 opened their own campuses in India, 60 had programmatic collaboration with local institutions, 49 were operating under twinning joint degree arrangements and 77 had arrangements other than twinning or programmatic collaboration. A few institutions like Manipal University and Birla Institute of Science and Technology had set up offshore campuses, and India Gandhi National Open University had been offering distant education programmes across borders. Large number of students had been enrolling in foreign institutions for undergraduate, management, engineering

and medical programmes, and the foreign exchange outgo is of the order of US \$4 billion dollars. Again drawing an analogy from the economic arena all these developments amount to opening up of a hitherto protected educational arena to external players. Like domestic opening of the educational arena the external opening also took place without a comprehensive policy frame. The AICTE no doubt issued in 2005 regulations governing the entry and operation of foreign universities institutions imparting technical education. However, it would appear that the regulation was ineffective.

Most of these developments took place without being steered by policy, and consequently education policy has a lot to catch up to do unless one believes that it is possible to roll back all these events, and possible to restore an exclusively public funded education system. I do not think it is possible. That being so, I believe that it is a happy augury that Ministry of Human Resource Development had given up the tradition of shying away from the arduous task of addressing the burning problems of higher education. Kapil Sibal's stint as HRD Minister witnessed an unprecedented flurry of policy activity. No less than six major legislations were drafted: The Higher Education and Research Bill, 2011 (HER Bill) proposing the establishment of a National Commission for Higher Education and Research (NCHER) and abolition of existing bodies like UGC, All India Council of Technical Education (AICTE), and National Council of Teacher Education (NCTE) ; new policy regimes for regulation of foreign education providers and private universities; establishment of a national accreditation authority, a national educational tribunal, and a bill prohibiting unfair practices in higher education.. However, the Bills could not be enacted, and are in a limbo. The design of NCHER did not pass muster with the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Human Resource Development, and opposition to Bills relating to foreign education providers and educational tribunals was so severe that figuratively the Government was not willing to take the bull by horns. The UGC issued in 2012 regulations governing academic collaboration between Indian and foreign institutions other than those imparting technical education. As these regulations are limited

to collaborations there is no policy as yet in respect of foreign universities wishing to set up campuses in India and impart education. Suffice to say, our education policy is hovering in a No-Man's Land in between a dead past and an unborn and uncertain tomorrow.

In my lecture today I would concentrate on higher and professional education for three reasons. First, it is the area where lot of catch up needs to be done. Secondly, it is the sector which is most relevant for this workshop as the entire regulatory frame in existence for several decades is proposed to be overturned.

(to be continued)



## **THE NUCLEAR GENIE- 12 Brakes on Iran's Nuclear Ambitions?**

**Prof. M.N. Sastri**

Iran's nuclear activity began with the signing of an agreement with the US in 1957 for civilian nuclear cooperation under the Atoms for Peace Programme. The following year Iran joined the IAEA. In 1967 the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran built the Nuclear Research Centre at Tehran. A small research reactor with uranium fuel and technical help provided by the US was located at this centre. Iran also joined the NPT in 1968. Under the rule of the Shah, Iran drew up plans, with US backing, for constructing 20 nuclear power plants across the country. Agreements were also entered into with several western companies for the purpose. A subsidiary of the German company Siemens began construction of the power plant at Bushehr in 1974. This year also saw the promulgation of the Atomic Energy Act of Iran for using atomic energy in industry, agriculture, power production, water desalination and other purposes. But Iran's nuclear projects including the construction of the Bushehr reactor were stalled with the withdrawal of Western assistance in the wake of the 1979 Revolution. With Chinese aid Iran however opened a nuclear research centre at Isfahan 1982 and also began plans to build a nuclear reactor using its domestic uranium resources.

The time when I learnt to recognize the inner voice was when I started praying regularly.

The devastating 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War and the growing evidence of an Iraqi nuclear programme motivated Iran to galvanize its nuclear exercise. Iran signed in 1990-93 an agreement with Soviet Union for the completion of the Bushehr Nuclear plant under IAEA safeguards. It also entered into an agreement with China in 1990 to build a facility for uranium enrichment. But China withdrew from the contract under US pressure. The technical support being extended by Soviet companies for the construction of a heavy water reactor at Arak (for plutonium production) was also stalled under pressure from the US.

Following the 9/11 terrorist attack, George Bush in his 2002 State of the Union address called Iraq, North Korea and Iran as the 'Axis of Evil' and accused these governments of threatening the peace of the world through helping terrorism and seeking weapons of mass destruction.

Iran pursued the uranium enrichment programme using the gas centrifuge technique at its secret underground facility at Natanz and Arak. The sensitive designs for gas centrifuges were provided surreptitiously by A Q Khan and his associates. Starting with 160 centrifuges in 2003, the Natanz plant reportedly had about 7,000 gas centrifuges in 2013. Iran is believed to have produced approximately 2,400 kg of 3.5 per cent enriched uranium as of May 2010 and 17 kg of 17.95 per cent enriched uranium as of June 2010. Experts say that this uranium could be converted to highly enriched bomb-grade uranium in roughly ten weeks if fed into 4,000 centrifuges! Though Iran claims that its nuclear programme is purely for peaceful purposes, the IAEA believed that Iran has sufficient technical knowledge to design and assemble an atomic explosion device using highly enriched uranium. An IAEA report of February 2012 says that Iran has significantly stepped up its uranium enrichment programme and expressed its serious concerns about its potential military uses.

Experts differed on Iran's intentions. But the US and Israel took several measures to stall Iran's nuclear activity. In 2010 the US and Israeli governments developed the malicious Stuxnet software and launched a cyber attack on the Natanz plant destroying nearly 1,000 centrifuges, nearly a fifth of those

operating at the time. But the production activity recovered soon. Ironically the US itself became the target of a cyber warfare causing chaos and widespread damage to air-traffic control systems, electrical grids and financial markets! The US also imposed economic sanctions on Iran. A report in the New York Times says that five Iranian nuclear scientists were assassinated in the past five years by the operatives employed by Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency.

In April 2012 the IAEA reported that Iran has installed the centrifuges needed for production of enriched nuclear fuel at a deep underground site under mountain near Qum. Drawing a "red line" through a cartoonish diagram of a bomb, representing the point at which Iran has enough enriched uranium to quickly assemble a bomb, Israel's Prime Minister expressed the country's readiness for a lone strike on Iran (as was done in the case of Iraq) to remove "the threat of nuclear weapons in Iran's hands", saying that Israel has "different vulnerabilities and different capabilities". He further declared, "We have to make our own calculation, when we lose the capacity to defend ourselves by ourselves." Sir John Sawyers, the head of UK foreign intelligence agency MI6 claimed that UK's spies foiled Iran's plans to go nuclear as early as 2008 but forecast in July 2012 that Iran would likely achieve nuclear weapons capability by 2014.

Hit by UN economic sanctions for its failure to suspend enrichment and cooperate with the IAEA, Iran was reported to have slowed down accumulation of enriched uranium thus delaying the day when it could breach the "red line". Iran also agreed to permit arranged access by international inspectors to two nuclear facilities but not to the Parchin military site.

After frenzied negotiations the US and five world powers (UK, France, Germany, Russia and China) reached an interim agreement with Iran in November 2013 to curtail Iran's march towards nuclear weaponisation in exchange for economic relief estimated at \$7 billion. Under this agreement Iran will stop uranium enrichment beyond 3% effectively giving up the higher levels of enrichment needed to produce a weapon. Iran has also agreed to dilute its stockpile of 20% enriched uranium to lower levels. Greater access to nuclear sites will be given to IAEA inspectors.

Further development of the heavy water reactor for plutonium production at Arak will also be put on hold. The world powers assured that no further sanctions would be imposed if Iran sticks to the accord. Though the accord was greeted with relief, the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu declared this accord as a “historic mistake” and said that “the agreement does not apply to Israel. If need be Israel will take the matter into its own hands.” Saying that weapons with even low level enriched uranium are also feasible, Israel demanded that all enrichment should be halted and “Iran’s ability to produce uranium be rolled back”. The Iranian Supreme leader Ayatollah Khamenei said, “Israeli leaders cannot be called even humans” and called Netanyahu as “the rabid dog of the region”. The ramifications of this accord vis-à-vis the geopolitics of the region will unfold during the on-going exercise for the implementation of the temporary accord and setting the conditions for a permanent agreement that would roll back Iran’s nuclear programme. The most complex part involves allowing Iran to enrich uranium only for civilian use “while making sure the know-how is not diverted to military purposes.” In the latest round of negotiations, it was Iran’s turn to draw a red line saying that it would not scrap any of its nuclear facilities.

While the Shiite Iran was on the threshold of acquiring the bomb, all Arab countries except Syria and Iraq ruled by Sunni Muslims were believed to be contemplating a “Sunni nuclear bomb”. The concept of the Islamic bomb mooted by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was mentioned in an earlier article. To counter Iran’s nuclear weapon quest, Saudi Arabia was reported to have turned to Sunni Pakistan which received more aid from Saudi Arabia than any other country outside the Arab world for acquiring a nuclear device. There were even reports that nuclear weapons made in Pakistan on behalf of Saudi Arabia were ready for delivery. Saudi Arabia’s announcement in June 2011 of plans to build 16 nuclear reactors over the next 20 years at a cost of more than \$300 billion with Pakistan providing the engineering and scientific expertise is also believed to be an additional pointer to the Arab power’s move to acquire nuclear weapons capability.

Judging from these developments it appears that more and more states are keen on acquiring nuclear

weapons. In such an event the world will get closer to catastrophic end when a nuclear war breaks out.

Tom Lehrer (1928- ), the American mathematician, singer, song writer and satirist wrote in the 60s, a poem on nuclear proliferation. It reads:

First we got the bomb, that was good,  
 ‘Cause we love peace and motherhood.  
 Then Russia got the bomb, but that is okay  
 ‘Cause the balance of power is maintained that way.  
 Who’s next?

France got the bomb, but don’t you grieve  
 ‘Cause they are on our side (we believe).  
 China got the bomb, but have no fears,  
 They can’t wipe us out for five years.  
 Who’s next?

Then Indonesia claimed that they  
 Were gonne get one any day.  
 South Africa wants two,  
 One for the black, one for the white.  
 Who’s next?

Egypt’s going to get one too  
 Just to use on one you know who.  
 So Israel’s getting tense  
 Wants one in self- defense.  
 “The Lord is our shepherd,” says the Psalm  
 But just in case we better get a bomb.  
 Who’s next?

Luxembourg is next to go  
 And (who knows?) may be Monaco.  
 We’ll try to stay serene and calm  
 When Alabama gets the bomb.  
 Who’s next?

Who’s next?



## Rider of the Blue Horse

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* )

The road to Haldighat was rocky and uneven,  
 pebbles big and small shooting out from beneath my

Education has produced a vast population able to read but unable to distinguish what is worth reading.

---

---

car which galloped rather than ran. My Rajput chauffeur had probably identified himself with one of the generals of Maharana Pratap Singh.

Haldighat - the Pass so named because of the colour of the soil - the high hills of the Aravalli range, the gorges and the narrow passage meandering through them were profusely green and lively, more a backdrop for fairytales, chivalry and romance than any bloody battle. Indeed, it had been the cradle for several episodes of the first variety and if it had been also an arena for war, that was a war with a difference, a war in which, to quote Bhavani Bhattacharya, "The cult of heroism went to such lengths that it almost became an end in itself, not the means to an end."

The Bhils of the valley would still identify trees from the high branches of which were hung baskets containing Maharana Pratap Singh's children so that they were safe from wild animals. The Maharana moved about without a penny and was unable to pay his soldiers. Even so 25,000 of them were always alert, guarding Kamalnir, his improvised fortress in the forest, for Chittor had been lost to the Mughals during the time of his father, Uday Singh, a weak ruler.

Coming to chivalry, it was on the outskirts of Haldighat that one day the Maharana's son, Kumar Amar Singh, with help of his youth brigade, surrounded Khan Khanan Abdul Rahim and his family. The Khan, a trusted noble of Akbar, had camped there in order to acquaint his wife and children with the thrill of hunting, little suspecting the enemy's presence in the vicinity. But when trapped, the Khan, without bothering about the fate of his family, managed to escape.

Kumar Amar produced the Khan's family, taken hostage, before Maharana Pratap. A big ransom could have been demanded of the Mughals. But the Maharana addressed the Khan's wife as daughter and arranged to send the prisoners to the Khan's camp, duly escorted, taking great care for their safety and comfort.

No less noble and brave were the Maharana's confidants. Once while he stayed with Rao Bhan, his maternal uncle, at Nanpur, the Mughals set fire to the gunpowder godown adjacent to the Rao's castle. Rao Bhan, realising that he had no chance to confront the enemy with firepower, called upon his soldiers to face

the enemy with bows and arrows and swords. He kept the enemy at bay, making it possible for the Maharana and his family to escape to safety before himself falling dead.

Akbar was never tired of sending offers to the Maharana for a truce - albeit to the former's advantage. Chittor would be restored to the Maharana but he must agree to rule as a vassal, recognising Akbar as his emperor and paying at least a symbolic tribute to him. Hadn't several other Rajput rulers done so? Hadn't the ruler of Amber Jaipur), Mansingh, even let Akbar marry a sister of his?

Messengers meeting the Maharana with such offers were treated with kindness, but the replies meant for their master, far from being couched in any pretension to courtesy, were always bald and bare: 'Get out of Rajputana if you dream of any peace, for we will liberate not only Mewar, but also all the other kingdoms you have annexed, leaving nothing for you except ample reasons to regret.'

For Akbar, the indomitable Maharana Pratap was not only a challenge but also an inscrutable phenomenon. To rulers like Mansingh, Pratap was a continuous reminder of their own smallness. His already towering stature continued to grow higher and higher in the eyes of the people of Rajputana.

That apart, the Maharana was proving successful in winning over chunk after chunk of the kingdom of Mewar from Mughal occupation. His soldiers fought with a weird zeal, evidently inspired by an ideology whereas the Mughals fought mechanically and their Rajput allies were encumbered with a sense of guilt.

Mansingh took a bold initiative. He created a situation in which he must pass by Kamalnir. He sent word to the effect that he would love to break journey at the Maharana's fortress at midday so that he could meet Pratap. Mansingh was not waiting for the Maharana's consent!

Mansingh and his entourage must be entertained to lunch. But the Maharana's coffer was empty.

'How can the Maharana's coffer be empty? Does he not have a hundred coffers here and there, filled by his dynasty for generations past?' asked Mansingh's

minister Bhimshah. In fact he had already brought his entire movable ancestral wealth to place it at his master's disposal.

Mansingh arrived at Kamalnir and was received by Maharana Pratap's son. 'Father is unwell,' he said, leading the guest to the dining room. A sumptuous meal lay spread before him. Members of his party were looked after in another hall.

'Can it be in keeping with my dignity to eat even when my host refuses to meet me?' asked an agitated Mansingh.

'Where did you keep your dignity sealed while sacrificing your sister to a Turk?' asked Maharana Pratap appearing before him.

'Maharana! if I made a sacrifice, it was for protecting people like you.'

The Maharana laughed. 'No, Mansingh, it is for protecting your own skin. You can deceive your own people and your own time, but not posterity.'

Mansingh, fuming with fury, left the scene. 'You'll pay dearly for your audacity and arrogance,' he shouted.

'I'm already paying - and I will be proud to pay on till my last breath,' said Maharana Pratap. 'I'm safeguarding my *swadharma*, not my skin.'

We were at the centre of the valley. On display was an elaborate map showing the positions of the armies led by Mansingh and the Maharana - and a graphic description of their strategies.

It was on the 18th of June 1576 that Mansingh had struck leading a vast Mughal army, assisted by Akbar's son, Prince Salim, and his own soldiers. The irony was, the Maharana's brother, one Shakta, also commanded a battalion under Mansingh.

The battle was brutal and bloody. Mansingh's army was numerically far superior to Pratap's but Pratap led his soldiers, mostly amateur, with such valour and swiftness - riding his blue-hued horse, Chaitak, a banner showing his emblem the golden sun, flying over his head - that Mansingh was on the verge of retreating more than once. Prince Salim had hair-breadth escape from Pratap's sword.

The blue-hued Chaitak, the envy of all horse-lovers and ace riders in Rajputana, moved like a *Pakshiraj*, the flying horse. At one point it put its forelegs on Mansingh's elephant, but there were sharp razors arrayed on the elephant's back and heads and Chaitak was wounded. At last what came to the advantage of the Mughal army was its artillery. Pratap had none.

The enemy closed in on the Maharana. It was easy to locate him because of his banner. They did not know that a faithful chieftain of the Maharana, Mannah, had snatched the banner and was holding it aloft. The enemy killed him and gave out hurrahs, sure that they had killed their legendary adversary.

The Maharana escaped. Chaitak, despite its bleeding hooves, carried its master as fast as it could. Two Mughal captains who recognised him pursued him. There was a stream. Would the exhausted Chaitak be able to leap over it? Chaitak did it - the last great feat in its life, but then stopped. The Maharana dismounted. Chaitak neighed and collapsed.

The Maharana's pursuers were gleeful. They were assured of their mighty great trophy. But suddenly a sword swung like a bolt of lightning and their heads rolled right into the stream.

It was unexpected, for the wielder of the sword was none other than Shakta. His brother's valour had overwhelmed him. He regretted his treachery. He fell at Pratap's feet and then led him away on his own horse.

The Haldighat battle was over, but not Akbar's anxiety, for Maharana Pratap, until his death in 1597, continued to be a nightmare for the great Mughal.

My chauffeur quietly laid a hastily made bouquet on the memorial to Chaitak at the spot where it had breathed its last.



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

**Dr.Mrs. Prema Nandakumar**

Yamunacharya came to the Pandyan court and sent word to the queen to help him take part in a contest so that he could effect a transformation in the



king. Since the king was willing, a contest was arranged. Alavandar came to the fore-court of the palace and promptly made the Aswaththa (peepul) tree growing there as his witness for the contest. The King was not impressed by Alavandar whom he considered to be too young. He vowed that he would become a Vaishnavite should his pundits lose in the contest. Unflappable, Alavandar proceeded systematically to refute the bases of the arguments put forth by his opponents. Even as he established Visishtadvaita as the true Path, a disembodied voice from the Aswaththa tree outside pronounced clearly: "O King! This is indeed the true religion. Narayana is Supreme. Worship Him!" The king was happy and hailed Alavandar. He also gave his sister in marriage to Alavandar and announced that Yamunacharya would succeed him to the Pandyan throne. Subsequently Alavandar gained fame as a very capable administrator.

Years rolled by, and it appeared Alavandar had almost forgotten his Srivaishnava heritage in the agonies and ecstasies that surround temporal power. Saddened by this turn, Manakkal Nambi (Sri Ramamisra) of Srirangam went to Alavandar's palace and drew his attention by sending in a bunch of "alarka" greens (thooduvalai keerai) and gained an audience. He told Nathamuni's grandson, Alavandar:

"The treasure left behind for you by your grandfather lies in an island at the centre of Kaveri waters, encircled by a snake. I can show it to you." Alavandar then handed over the kingdom to his son, gave him soulful advice and left for Srirangam.

Thus, a brahmin from Srirangam is shown as an administrative genius by the Raya in his epic. Perhaps the idealism that was native to the Vijayanagar emperor was recorded in the section, 'Yamuna Prabhu Rajaneeti' under the guise of Alavandar's advice. In any case, we get a sustained treatise on ideal administration. The discourse issues several warnings against the cunning, treachery and corruption that pervade administration everywhere and sounds awesomely contemporaneous.

Yamunacharya, about to relinquish his royal seat, deals with a variety of issues that confront the ruler and how he has to be alert all the time against corruption at all levels in administration. One example:

"Do not entrust the temples of your kingdom

To an officer who is intent upon amassing wealth;

For he would, out of greed, divert the temple income

To compensate for the losses sustained by his province!

Such money is not at all proper to be spent on a state business!

So, a separate officer should be appointed to administer them.

If such an officer misappropriates the property of the temples

He will alone suffer for it and the king would have no share of it!"<sup>1</sup>

Through Alavandar we are told that people from all castes have become increasingly powerless. There were times in India when an Agasthya drank up the ocean waters, a Viswamithra created a new world, a Vasishtha turned the Brahmastra back with his staff! Where are now such tapaswins of power? Alavandar tells his son:

"Hence try to do your best and leave the rest to Narayana who guards the helpless. If you give up egoism, all your efforts will come to fruition. Follow dharma under all circumstances. By doing so you would fulfil the duties towards the sages, the gods and your ancestors. Praise will come to you from all people."

Such was a healthy mix of extreme practical wisdom and total faith in the Divine that marked this illustrious Emperor's personality. In the same way he helped in guarding Hinduism by a perfect mix of concrete assistance and personal example. So we have our temples standing as citadels of traditional worship. And the Raya's epic poem, **Amukta Malyada** as a record of his personal anubhava and anubhuti in the kingdom of devotion.

### ***An Emperor's Offering***

The manner in which the Islamic onslaught on Hindu temples went on from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards is a story too deep for tears. For instance, the temple of Somnath was ravaged several times from 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards by Muslim iconoclasts like Junayad, Mahmud

of Ghazni, Allauddin Khilji, the sultans of Gujarat Muzaffar Shah and Mahmud Begda. Aurangzeb destroyed the temple in the '18<sup>th</sup> century and built a mosque using the sculptures of the destroyed temple. Such total destruction had been a familiar occurrence in North India. South India was also subjected to such deprivations but at a critical moment, the Vijayanagar empire arose, stayed the terrible force, and gave a fillip to temple restoration and building new ones. In fact, such were the generous services of the kings that we have a genre called Vijayanagara architecture. Their structures are rich in sculptured pillars and rayagopuras that accost people from afar with holy thoughts. A disciple of Vyasa Tirtha of the Madhwa Samparadaya, the Raya was very devout and worked for the building as well as restoration of temples dedicated to all Hindu deities.

Krishnadeva Raya is credited with the building of Vitthala, Krishna and Hazara Rama temples. He had the Virupaksha temple restored. Innumerable temples in South India received generous offerings from him with Tirupati in the lead. The Raya's personal interest in temple worship thus restored Hinduism to its original glory in a big way.

At the same time, the Raya led his people by his personal example. His immersion in our epics, Puranas and the bhakti hymns of the Alvars found recordation in the manner he lived as a hero and as a bhakta. An important facet of his guardianship of Hinduism was his writing the epic *Amukta Malyada*. He has been rightly hailed as the "sahiti samarangana sarvabhauma". The Raya's reign brought a golden harvest for Telugu literature. His court was called *Bhuvana Vijaya* which was open to poets and scholars for showcasing their works and expositions. Led by Allasani Peddanna, the ashta diggajas (eight poet laureates as great as the elephants of the directions), Nandi Timmana, Dhurjati, Madayagari Mallana, Ayyalaraju Ramabhadra, Tenali Ramakrishna, Ramaraja Bhushana and Pingali Suranna made the Raya's reign a memorable one by their epic poems. It is not surprising then that the Raya himself was inspired to write an epic in Telugu, **Amukta Malyada**.

Understanding the epic for people who have not had a proper grounding in Telugu literature is impossible. Fortunately we have excellent and detailed

commentaries by Vavilla Rama Sastry and Vedam Venkatama Sastry to help us approach the poem. Further help comes from translations which are now available. M.K. Jagannatha Raja's Tamil and Srinivas Sistla's English versions are complete translations, easy to read and faithful to the original.

The epic's preamble speaks of the circumstances which led to the writing of the epic. The Raya writes:

"Sometime ago I had decided to defeat Kalinga in war. Leading my army, I spent a few weeks near Vijayawada in the holy place of Srikakulam where the presiding deity is Andhra Vishnu. Having fasted on the Ekadesi day, rested in the temple at night. Towards dawn I was vouchsafed a wonderful vision. Darker than the rain-bearing clouds, with eyes that were far more beautiful than lotuses, wearing garments that were a brighter gold colour than that of Garuda's wings, with the Kausthuba gem shining like the early morning sun, accompanied by Lakshmi holding a lotus in one hand and the other promising Grace; Andhra Vishnu appeared smiling and commanded me".

It was a strange command to be delivered to a king who would soon be engulfed in the blood-bath of the Kalinga war. The Raya had been writing in Sanskrit so far. He should now write an epic in Telugu about the Tamil devotional poetess Goda Devi. The vision continued its command :

"Should you wonder why write in Telugu, hear me. I live in the Telugu land. I am Andhra Vishnu. Have you not spoken in different languages when consorting with kings from different areas? Telugu is the best among the national languages."

These words, *desa bhashalandhu Telugu lessa* have become the flag of self-confidence and proper pride for the Telugu nation. The King then proceeded to Kalinga and won the historically famous war. On his return, he set about writing **Amukta Malyada** which opens in Srivilliputtur. There is a heartwarming description of the temple-city with its presiding deity, Vatapatrasayi. Here resides the devotee Vishnuchitta (Perialvar) tending his private garden and making garlands for the Lord and writing devotional poetry. Presently he goes to the court of the Pandyan king at Madurai, Vallabhadeva where he wins the contest and concludes with a retelling of the Kandikya-Kesidhwaja

conversation in the **Vishnu Purana**. Madurai is decorated and Vishnuchitta is taken around in a procession. He has a vision of Vishnu and Lakshmi on the Garuda Mount. Traditionally he is said to have burst out with the poem, "Pallandu, pallandu". But Krishnadeva Raya makes him recite a beautiful dasavathara stothram instead, beginning:

All this takes place in the first three aswasas. The fourth one gives us the life of Yamunacharya. Apart from his adoration of Vishnuchitta and Goda Devi, Krishnadeva Raya seems to have had a special regard for Yamunacharya who gave a mighty fillip to Srivaishnavism by inditing the **Catuh-sloki** and **Stotra Ratna**, and also holding the position of the pontiff of the Srivaishnava world.

The fifth aswasa of the epic opens with Vishnuchitta finding a baby girl near a Tulsi plant. He takes the baby home and brings her up with great love. The twenty verses describing Goda Devi's youthful form in **Amukta Malyada** are a splash of colourful images, all of them related to the divine form of the Lord in some way or other. She leads a devotion-laden life and even when bathing repeats the pasurams of Alvars, goes to the temple regularly and worships the Lord. A time came when her total immersion in the Lord made her reject marriage to an ordinary mortal. Interestingly enough, Krishnadeva Raya does not retell the traditional incident of Vishnuchitta surprising Goda Devi wearing the garland meant for Vatapatrasayi and chiding her. All that we are told is the maiden loved to keep on her crown for a while the garland woven by Vishnuchitta for decorating the image of Vatapatrasayi in the temple.

"The girl would have a bath  
After putting on turmeric paste;  
Wear her garment, decorate her breasts  
With scented saffron, fix a tilak  
Of camphor, with love wear on her crown  
The garland woven by her father for God,  
Replace it in the flower-basket  
And looking at her friends, sigh deeply."

In this context, the Emperor's imagination transforms a familiar scenario with novel brush-strokes releasing an unflinching charm even for the common reader. The angry 'feminist' words of Goda Devi give

us a long and exquisite ninda stuti, a unique genre found only in Hinduism:

"In the ages past this same Srihari had made his beloved gopikas shed tears and suffer tingling of the skin due to intense emotion. This was truly a sin. He had to suffer the effects of these sins by moving in waters (as fish and tortoise) and going about with stiff bristles (as a boar and a lion). As for his activities as Vamana, Parasurama and Rama, giving endless pain to women, O friends, hear me speak.

Remember Vishnu cutting off the heads of Bhrgu's wife? He incarnates as Vamana and proclaims he is Brahmacharin, leaving behind beloved Lakshmi Devi, who never likes to be away from her Lord."

If Krishnadeva Raya can ride the wings of imagination and zoom all over the skies, he can also be quite realistic and create an enchanting scene out of an everyday occurrence:

"The lotus-faced Goda devi woke up at dawn from her silent quietude. Along with her friends she carried a golden plate with turmeric and soap-nut powder as also other toilet preparations, freshly laundered clothes and towels to the pond behind her house. She walked to the pond in her garden reciting the *Divya Prabandha* hymns. After her bath, she dried her body glistening with the golden colour of turmeric. Pushing her tresses to the back she drew an uprising mark of white paste and a saffron image in the shape of a pumpkin seed. She wore a white-and-ochre coloured sari and set about drying her thick tresses with scented smoke."

Her passion to become one with the Lord reaches such a state that Perialvar is worried. He speaks to the Lord Vatapatrasayi and gets a reply in the form of the story of Mala Dasari (Nambaduvan). It is obvious that this insertion is to record the Raya's accurate perception of Vaishnavism as transcending caste, class and gender; and a stern royal warning to the common people to respect the Dalits and not treat them as untouchables. The story of how a Dalit singer of Tirukurungudi helped a brahmarakshas regain its original form as a brahmin has been immortalised in the Kaisiki Ekadesi observed by devotees. Srivaishnavism is a religion which believes in alleviating the misery of the misguided and the

downtrodden people. The Dasari had been caught by a brahma rakshas which gave him permission to fulfil his offering of music at the Kurungudi temple before being devoured. When the Dasari returned after having sung (what he considered to be) his last song, the dread spirit was taken aback. The astonishment knew no bounds when the Dasari submitted humbly:

“O brahmarakshas, I have come here having rid myself of all desires by worshipping the Lord. Also I have returned with all my limbs intact. Check for yourself!”

Would anyone willingly return to certain death just to keep a promise made to a demon? The repulsive spirit saluted the Dasari:

“In this wide world, among gods, demons and kings, there is none as truthful as you are. This is scriptural truth. There is none equal to you. You have been swimming in the floods of music with the help of your lute’s calabash shell. You have received the grace of Lord Nambi, the presiding deity of Kurungudi. You have heroism, knowledge, truth, devotion, to the Lord. Who can equal you?”

Such is the greatness of devotion (bhakti) and devotees ( bhagavatas) as revealed in **Amukta Malyada**. The brahmarakshas pleaded with the Dasari to part with the fruits of his bhakti to free him from the hateful form. But the Dasari replied that he would rather die than give up the fruits of bhakti. Alienating oneself from the fruits of one’s Vishnu bhakti for saving one’s life would be like exchanging camphor for salt! Ultimately, the Dasari relented and prayed to the Lord: *Bhagavatunda rakshinchu*, “May the Lord save the unfortunate devotee!” Immediately the luminous form of the brahmin issued out of the spirit. The brahmin worshipped the Dasari saying that here was a perfect image of bhagavata with the eightfold lakshanas intact and that he was a *gayaka saarva bhauma*. Having completed the tale of Mala Dasari, Vatapatrasayi assures Perialvar that Goda Devi is lost in bhakti-bhava, and they should all go over to Srirangam.

When at Srirangam, father and daughter go to the temple and have darshan of Lord Ranganatha. After praying soulfully to the lord, Perialvar finds Goda Devi missing. Then he is assured by the Lord to go to

Srivilliputtur and he would come there and wed Goda Devi in the proper manner as desired by Perialvar. The marriage takes place in a grand manner.

“There on the banks of the Cauvery,  
That originated in the Sahya Mountains,  
In a garden, under the shade of a sandalwood tree,  
Caressing her long and black hair,  
He allowed her to play the love-god’s game,  
And thus, blissfully ruled the entire universe!”<sup>2</sup>

(Courtesy : Narada Gana Sabha, Chennai)

(Concluded)

## **Raga Therapy : A New Horizon in the Treatment of the Mentally-Challenged**

**Dr. T.V. Sairam** I.R.S., (Retd)

Founder-President, Nada Centre for Music Therapy

The 9<sup>th</sup> of April 2005. It was a day notable of events in the state of Andhra Pradesh, India.

It was the *Ugadi* New Year Day of celebrations for the millions of Telugus in and outside the country. It also witnessed the birth of a new form of ‘therapy to the 454 agitated and challenged minds of Libenshilfe, an organization at Vishakhapatnam striving for the welfare of the mentally-challenged. It was also the day, which started a scientific approach to the celebrated Indian *ragas*, otherwise known for their legendary role in solving human miseries and misfortunes.

A workshop on *Raga* Therapy, based on a scientific footing to independently gauge the efficacy of Indian *ragas* on the mentally- challenged and document the experience for the use of the scientific community everywhere in the globe was commenced in the modest but charming coastal town of Vizag, nestled at the midway between Chennai and Kolkata.

### **Therapeutic Significance of Indian Ragas**

Indian *ragas* are well-known for their positive impact on the troubled minds. In recent years, scientific and experiential literatures have come up indicating their positive contributions to the welfare of individuals—and in turn, to that of the society (Bagchi, 2003; Sairam, 2004 a, b & c).

This three-day workshop, which was attended by psychologists, sociologists, musicians and the volunteers for the special children was the follow-up of these nascent concepts on the need of revival of the ancient concepts of *nada* and *raga* towards the welfare of one and all, was focused exclusively on the mental health of the mentally retarded.

The Day I was concentrated heavily on the basics of Music therapy. The prayer consisted of a short song or free recitation by every participant, according to his religious or spiritual upbringing. The unity of religious sentiments was realized by everyone who participated in this prayer session. This was followed by an introduction to the concept and practices with *nada*, the intonation-consciousness nexus which makes an ordinary sound divine, purely with the involvement of one's awareness. The participants were also exposed to the subtleties in sound and silence that make or mar our sensory experience. The jargons such as sound, noise, music and *nada* were explained with demonstrations. The sound emanations in nature, particularly in the Five Elements that constitute our body as well as the universe (fire, water, earth, space and wind) were demonstrated with appropriate musical pieces drawn from both the West and the East—the folk, film as well as classical renderings of songs.

Analysing, appreciating and 'internalising' music was explained with practical demonstrations. An attempt was also made to classify the *ragas* into two categories: the *beta* (which induces fresh air and alertness) and *alpha* (which relaxes and benumbs the tormented minds) with the *raga* experts and musicians with high musical experience present during the seminar. In consultation with psychologists and behaviour therapists, the following **ragas** were identified for the present experimental needs.

#### **Beta Ragas Identified and Tested**

1. *Asawari* (Found helpful in 'confidence-building')
2. *Rirs* (Found to rise curiosity in indifferent children)
3. *Brindavani* (Found to 'activate')
4. *Kapi*
5. *Hindolam* (Found 'attractive' as otherwise indifferent and inattentive MR children reacted

positively)

6. *Kuntalavarali*
  7. *Kadanakudoohalam*
  8. *Saranga*
  9. *Charukesi*
  10. *Arabhi* (Found useful in anger management of mentally retarded children)
- Alpha Ragas Identified and Tested*
1. *Madhyamavati* (Found 'highly anaesthetic')
  2. *Aandolika* (Found 'relaxing')
  3. *Yadukula Khamboji* (Found 'sedative')
  4. *Nilambari* (Found 'sleep-inducing')
  5. *Kurinji*
  6. *Behag* (Found 'anti-depressant')
  7. *Asaw*
  8. *Bhairavi* (Found 'anti-violent' and hence recommended in appropriate tempo for the violent-prone among the mentally retarded)
  9. *Amritavarshni* (Found suitable for the 'emotionally suppressed' or 'trauma-struck')
  10. The Day II was devoted to analysis of a musical piece, irrespective of their origin—Western or Indian, tribal or classical, religious or sensory. It was concluded that it is the selection of appropriate rhythms and resonance that determines the genre of music. Like blood is similar in all human beings, rhythms and resonance had otherwise no distinction and are universal. The ancient concept of *sruti darshana* and the proposed innovation based on them (proto-*raga* therapy and rainbow-*raga* therapy at Libenshilfe were also thrown open for a brainstorming discussion by the experts from various fields assembled among the audience).

The discussion also included the discussion on the levels of sound-consciousness—*para*, *pashyanti*, *madhyama* and *vaikhari*— which are almost identical to the modern neurological understanding of delta, theta, alpha and beta brain wave-patterns. A neuroscientist, Dr. Manjula, gave a slide presentation on the structure and functions of the human brain as understood by scientists today.

The Day III was devoted to selecting two appropriate *ragas* (*Fars* and *Kadanakudoohalam*) and devising a musical structure with three tempos [*trikala*

rendering)—starting with slow tempo for 2 minutes, to be followed by 2 minutes silence, then medium tempo for 2 minutes, to be again followed by 2 minutes silence and finally the fast tempo for 1 minute to be followed by 2 minutes silence. The behavioural reaction of the mentally-challenged for these *raga* pieces was recorded by a team of experts among the participants. It is noteworthy that the entire music was designed, devised and presented by the participants themselves!

### Findings and Conclusion

There was a consensus among the participants in the feedback session on the methodology adopted and efficacies of *ragas*, chosen.

All the participants unanimously agreed that the Indian system of *ragas* promises to motivate and bring in greater productivity among the mentally retarded. Their behavioural problems can also be easily corrected by a careful selection of a panel of experts, drawn from various disciplines, as done in the current study.

The volunteers who participated in the workshop expressed their confidence to face even the severely retarded, whom they were reluctant to approach earlier for counselling etc. They said they themselves developed confidence after exposure to those beta *ragas* and they now feel totally fit as professional therapists.

It was unanimously felt that *raga* therapy needs to be extended not only for the mentally-challenged but also for those who are normal among us (e.g., therapists themselves!) facing challenging times ahead.

Importance of inclusion of appropriate *ragas* in offices and workplaces, public meeting points by replacing the prevalent noise in all these places will go a long way in improving the quality of life and people in this country, which is the home for the very idea of '*raga*'!

### Raga Therapy for the Mentally Retarded Children: An Experiment

Music therapy as a system has long been established in the West as a reliable complementary intervention since the World War II (Sairam, 2004a).

The author has recently made an attempt to compile literature available in India on the ancient concepts such as *Nada Yoga, Raga Chikitsa* etc., towards the rediscovery of prophylactic and therapeutic elements hidden in Indian *ragas* and to re-establish their usefulness to the millions who suffer from psychosomatic illness both in India and abroad (Sairam, 2004b).

### The Present Experiment

It is in this context that live experiments were undertaken (in April, 2005) at Lebenshilfe, Vishakhapatnam (India) which harbours as many as 434 mentally-retarded (MR) children and adults, ranging from the age of 2 to 42. Musicians drawn mainly from *Camatic raga* system (one violinist, one *mridangist*, one *tabalist*, one harmonium player and three vocalists) in addition to a *yoga* expert, and six others who have long association dealing with MR children and adults were selected for a three-day 'Training of Trainers' workshop held between 27<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> April, 2005.

### Deficiencies Identified and Grouping of MR Children

At the outset, the structure and functions of the brain were explained with the help of a qualified medical professional.

The emotional disorders causing hyperactivity or mental deficiencies stemming lack of curiosity or interest in life, causing hypo-activity were explained and the role of music in synchronising the mind, and technical terms such as rhythms, resonance, timbre, tempo, *trikalam* (three timing), *swaia* (note), *sruti*, octave, *chakras*, *nada* (sound-consciousness), brain-waves etc., were explained to the participants with sound demonstrations.

Acknowledgement: This research work was possible due to the continued support from the CBEC (Central Board of Excise and Customs, New Delhi), which is gratefully acknowledged by the author. Views expressed in this article, however, are entirely personal and the author is responsible for the same.

(Courtesy : Music Therapy as an Alternative Medicine Ed. by Dr. Kalyan Bagchi, Helpage India)



Light is good in whatever lamp it may burn, even as a rose is beautiful in whatever garden it may bloom. Radhakrishnan

## **Abid Hussain memorial lecture on Feb. 10**

(Newspaper report on a lecture organized by Centre for Policy Studies on February 10, 2014)

VISAKHAPATNAM: The Centre for Policy Studies of Gayatri Vidya Parishad is organising the first Abid Hussain memorial lecture at the Visakha Public Library here on February 10.

An expert on security and strategic studies and former Director of Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis and the National Maritime Foundation Commodore (retired) C. Udaya Bhaskar will deliver the lecture. Director of Centre for Policy Studies and former Rector of Andhra University A. Prasanna Kumar informed on Friday. The lecture was originally scheduled to be held in New Delhi but was shifted to Visakhapatnam.

Former Union Secretary E.A.S. Sarma, who worked with Dr. Abid Hussain and Collector S. Solomon Arokiaraj would participate. President of GVP and former Mayor D.V. Subba Rao would preside.

As Collector of the district during sixties. Dr. Abid Hussain played a major role in formulating development plans for Visakhapatnam, the City of Destiny, a term he always he used in his public speeches. He prepared the blue print for the steel plant on the advice of Tenneti Viswanadham even before the agitation for the plant was launched. On his advice. Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddy appointed Dr. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar as Andhra University's Vice-Chancellor in 1966. Shifting to Delhi, Abid Hussain held important positions, including Secretary Commerce, Member Planning Commission and Ambassador to the United States.

Consulted by Presidents and Prime Ministers on important issues relating to development and foreign affairs, he was a mentor to many luminaries, including Vice-President Hamid Ansari. Dr Abid Hussain passed away after delivering a lecture in London on June 21, 2012. Visakhapatnam expressed its gratitude and admiration by naming an area after him, now known as Abid Nagar.

Incidentally, C. Udaya Bhaskar, a student of Sainik School, Korukonda, received a prize from Abid Hussain almost half a century ago during a school function.

Mrs. Karki Hussain, an expert in Sino-Indian relations, lectured in Andhra University in the sixties and later at the Jawaharlal Nehru University.

(Courtesy: The Hindu February 8, 2014)



## **"A case for blueprint to develop city, says Defence analyst"**

**Uday Bhaskar proposes a template of five 'e's  
that will play an important role**

(Newspaper report on Abid Hussain memorial lecture delivered on February 10, 2014)

VISAKHAPATNAM: In an evening that paid glowing tributes to the warm and affable Collector with a rare sense of humour and administrative acumen and vision almost bringing back his persona to the audience, taking his City of Destiny theme ahead, former director of Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses Cmde (Rtd) C. Uday Bhaskar wanted the city to develop its blueprint for development.

Delivering the first Abid Hussain Memorial lecture organised by Centre for Policy Studies of Gayatri Vidya Parishad here on Monday, he said in its enlightened selfinterest the city endowed with vast potential should come out with a blue print.

Cmde Uday Bhaskar proposed a template of five 'e's that would play an important role. In the light of the happenings in Delhi, he said cities should be equitable.

The administration should be empathetic and the warp and weft of the city forms its texture *samskara* of the city and gender sensitivity should be one of the inherent qualities.

In the light of developments on the Telangana front, cities would have critical role to play and Vizag should take certain steps to see to it that progress was environmentally sustainable.

The fourth 'e' was providing education that would

lead to employment and the fifth ethical in that the collective interest should be disaggregated through various parts of the city.

Cmde Uday Bhaskar elaborated that a study carried out two years ago on internal security cited the city within city or the slum in the city with uneven growth, starkly seen in Mumbai. The shifting demography had the potential to impact adversely on the traditional city, he cautioned.

CPS chairman D V Subba Rao, who was in the chair, described Abid Hussain as the first people's Collector and recalled the sea of humanity at the railway station when he was transferred. Former Union Energy Secretary E.A.S. Sarma who worked with him in different capacities recalled his personal warmth and highly inclusive approach to growth.

District Collector S. Solomon Arokia Raj said in times of ambivalent moral turpitude we look for guidance to people like Abid Hussain.

CPS director A. Prasanna Kumar said Abid Hussain worked quietly during his tenure and laid the blue print for the development of Visakhapatnam Steel Plant.

### **International Centre mooted**

Former Director of Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses Cmde (Retd) C. Uday Bhaskar recalling the suggestion of Abid Hussain said an equivalent of India International Centre should be set up in Visakhapatnam.

Delivering the first Abid Hussain Memorial Lecture organised by Centre for Policy Studies of Gayatri Vidya Parishad, he said the diaspora with Visakhapatnam roots was very keen on such a centre to take up deliberations of serious kind.

GVP secretary P. Somaraju, who proposed a vote of thanks, expressed GVP's readiness to support such a centre.

CPS Chairman D.V. Subba Rao said such a centre would need lot of funds.

(Courtesy: The Hindu February 11, 2014)



## **The Depressed Classes**

**Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar**

Mr. Chairman. My purpose in rising to address this Conference is principally to place before it the point of view of the depressed classes, whom I and my colleague, Rai Bahadur Srinivasan, have the honour to represent, regarding question of constitutional reform. It is a point of view of 43,000,000 people, or one-fifth of the total population of British India. The depressed classes form a group by themselves which is distinct and separate from the Muhammadans, and, although they are included among the Hindus, they in no sense form an integral part of that community. Not only have they a separate existence, but they have also assigned' to them a status which is invidiously distinct from the status occupied by any other community in India. There are communities in India which occupy a lower and a subordinate position; but the position assigned to the depressed classes is totally different. It is one which is midway between that of the serf and the 'slave, and which may, for convenience, be called servile—with this difference, that the serf and the slave were permitted to have physical contact, from which the depressed classes are debarred. What is worse is that this enforced servility and bar to human intercourse, due to their untouchability, involves not merely the possibility of discrimination in public life, but actually works out as a positive denial of all equality of opportunity and the denial of those most elementary of civic rights on which all human existence depends. I am sure that the point of view of such a community, as large as the population of England or of France, and so heavily handicapped in the struggle for existence, cannot but have some bearing on the right sort of solution of the political problem, and I am anxious that this Conference should be placed in possession of that point of view at the very start.

That point of view I will try to put as briefly as I can. It is this: that the bureaucratic form of government in India should be replaced by a government which will be a government of the people, by the people and for the people. This statement of the view of the depressed classes I am sure will be received with some surprise in certain quarters. The tie that bound the depressed classes to the British has been of a



unique character. The depressed classes welcomed the British as their deliverers from age-long tyranny and oppression by the orthodox Hindus. They fought their battles against the Hindus, the Uussalmans and the Sikhs, and won for them this great Empire of India. The British, on their side, assumed the role of trustees for the depressed classes. In view of such an intimate relationship between the parties, this change in the attitude of the depressed classes towards British Rule in India is undoubtedly a most momentous phenomenon. But the reasons for this change of attitude are not far to seek. We have not taken this decision simply because we wish to throw in our lot with the majority. Indeed, as you know, there is not much love lost between the majority and the particular minority I represent. Ours is an independent decision. We have judged the existing administration solely in the light of our own circumstances and we have found it wanting in some of the most essential elements of a good government. When we compare our present position with the one which it was our lot to bear in Indian society of the pre-British days, we find that, instead of marching on, we are only marking time. Before the British, we were in the loathsome condition due to our untouchability. Has the British Government done anything to remove it? Before the British, we could not draw water from the village well. Has the British Government secured us the right to the well? Before the British, we could not enter the temple. Can we enter now? Before the British, we were denied entry into the Police Force. Does the British Government admit us in the Force? Before the British, we were not allowed to serve in the Military. Is that career now open to us? To none of these questions can we give an affirmative answer. That the British, who have held so large a sway over us for such a long time, have done some good we cheerfully acknowledge. But there is certainly no fundamental change in our position. Indeed, so far as we are concerned, the British Government has accepted the social arrangements as it found them, and has preserved them faithfully in the manner of the Chinese tailor who, when given an old coat as a pattern, produced with pride an exact replica, rents, patches and all. Our wrongs have remained as open sores and they have not been righted, although 150 years of British rule have rolled away.

We do not accuse the British of indifference or want of sympathy. What we do find is that they are quite incompetent to tackle our problem. If the case was one of indifference only it would have been a matter of small moment, and it would not have made such a profound change in our attitude. But what we have come to realise on a deeper analysis of the situation is that it is not merely a case of indifference, rather it is a case of sheer incompetence to undertake the task. The depressed classes find that the British Government in India suffers from two very serious limitations. There is first of all an internal limitation which arises from the character, motives and interests of those who are in power, which prevents them from appreciating the living forces operating in our society, makes them indifferent and inimical to its aspirations, and apathetic to our education. It is not because they cannot help us in these things but because it is against their character, motives and interests to do so. The second consideration that limits its authority is the mortal fear it has of external resistance. The Government of India does realise the necessity of removing the social evils which are eating into the vitals of Indian society and which have blighted the lives of the downtrodden classes for so many years. The Government of India does realise that the landlords are squeezing the masses dry, and the capitalists are not giving the labourers a living wage and decent conditions of work. Yet it is a most painful thing that it has not dared to touch any of these evils. Why? Is it because it has no legal powers to remove them? No. The reason why it does not intervene is because it is afraid that its intervention to amend the existing code of social and economic life, will give rise to resistance. Of what good is such a government to anybody? Under a government, paralysed between two such limitations, much that goes to make life good must remain held up. We must have a government in which the men in power will give their undivided allegiance to the best interest of the country. We must have a government in which men in power, knowing where obedience will end and resistance will begin, will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for. This role the British Government will never be able to play. It is only a government which is of the people, for the people and by the people that will make this possible.

These are some of the questions raised by the depressed classes... This is therefore the inevitable conclusion which the depressed classes have come to: namely, that the bureaucratic Government of India, with the best of motives, will remain powerless to effect any change so far as our particular grievances are concerned. We feel that nobody can remove our grievances as well as we can, and we cannot remove them unless we get political power in our own hands. No share of this political power can evidently come to us so long as the British Government remains as it is. It is only in a Swaraj constitution that we stand any chance of getting the political power into our own hands, without which we cannot bring salvation to our people. There is one thing, Sir, to which I wish to draw your particular attention. It is this. I have not used the expression Dominion Status in placing before you the point of view of the depressed classes. I have avoided using it, not because I do not understand its implications nor does the omission mean that the depressed classes object to India's attaining Dominion Status. My chief ground for not using it is that it does not convey the full content of what the depressed classes stand for. The depressed classes, while they stand for Dominion Status with safeguards, wish to lay all the emphasis they can on one question and one question alone. And that question is, how will Dominion India function? Where will the centre of political power be? Who will have it? Will the depressed classes be heirs to it? These are the questions that form their chief concern. The depressed classes feel that they will get no shred of [the political power unless the political machinery for the new constitution is of a special make. In the construction of that machine certain hard facts of Indian social life must not be lost sight of. It must be recognised that Indian society is a gradation of castes forming an ascending scale of reverence and a descending scale of contempt—a system which gives no scope for the growth of that sentiment of equality and fraternity so essential for a democratic form of government. It must also be recognised that while the intelligentsia is a very necessary and a very important part of Indian society, it is drawn from its upper strata and, although it speaks in the name of the country and leads the political movement, it has not shed the narrow particularism of the class from which it is drawn. In other words what the depressed classes wish to urge is that the political mechanism must take ac-

count of and must have a definite relation to the psychology of the society for which it is devised. Otherwise you are likely to produce a constitution which, however symmetrical, will be a truncated one and a total misfit to the society for which it is designed. There is one point with which I should like to deal before I close this matter. We are often reminded that the problem of the depressed classes is a social problem and that its solution lies elsewhere than in politics. We take strong exception to this view. We hold that the problem of the depressed classes will never be solved unless they get political power in their own hands. If this is true, and I do not think at the contrary can be maintained, then the problem of the depressed classes is I submit eminently a political problem and must be treated as such. We know that political power is passing from the British into the hands of those who wield such tremendous economic, social and religious sway over our existence. We are willing that it may happen, though the idea of Swaraj recalls to the mind of many of us the tyrannies, oppressions and injustices practiced upon us in the past and the fear of their recurrence under Swaraj. We are prepared to take the inevitable risk of the situation in the hope that we shall be installed, in adequate proportion, as the political sovereign of the Country along with our fellow countrymen. But we will consent to that on one condition and that is that the settlement of our problems not be left to time. I am afraid the depressed classes have waited too long for time to work its miracle. At every successive step taken by the British Government to widen the scope of representative government, the depressed classes have been systematically left out. No thought has been given to their claim for political power. I protest with all the emphasis I can that we will not stand this any longer. The settlement of our problem must be a part of the general political settlement and I must not be left over to the shifting sands of the sympathy and goodwill of the rulers of the future. The reasons why the depressed classes insist upon it are obvious. Every one of us knows that the man in possession is more powerful than the man who is out of possession. Every one of us also knows that those in possession of power seldom abdicate in favour of those who are out of it. We cannot therefore I hope for the effectuation of the settlement of our social problem, if we allow power to slip into the hands of those who stand to lose by settlement unless we are

to have another revolution to dethrone those whom we to-day help to ascend the throne of power and prestige. We prefer being despised for too anxious apprehensions, than ruined by too confident a security, and I think it would be just and proper for us to insist that the best guarantee for the settlement of our problem is the adjustment of the political machine itself so as to give us a hold on it, and not the will of those who are contriving to be left in unfettered control of that machine. What adjustments of the political machine the depressed classes want for their safety and protection I will place before the Conference at the proper time. All I will say at the present moment is that, although we want responsible government, we do not want a government that will only mean a change of masters. Let the Legislature be fully and really representative if your Executive is going to be fully responsible.

I am sorry Mr. President I had to speak in such plain words. But I saw no help. The depressed classes have had no friend. The government has *all along used them only as* an excuse for its continued existence. The Hindus claim them only to deny them or, better still, to appropriate, their rights. The Muhammedans refuse to, recognise their separate existence, because they fear that their privileges may be curtailed by the admission of a rival. Depressed by the Government, suppressed by the Hindu and disregarded by the Muslim, we are left in a most intolerable position of utter helplessness to which I am sure there is no parallel and to which I was bound to call attention.

Regarding the other question which is set down for discussion I am sorry it was decided to tag it on to a general debate. Its importance deserved a Session for itself. No justice can be done to it in a passing reference. The subject is one in which the depressed classes are deeply concerned and they regard it as a very vital question. As members of a minority, we look to the Central Government to act as a powerful curb on the provincial majority to save the minorities from the misrule of the majority. As an Indian interested in the growth of Indian nationalism, I must make it plain that I am a strong believer in the unitary form of government and the thought of disturbing it I must confess does not please me very much. This unitary government has been the most potent influence in the building up of the Indian nation. That process of uni-

fication which has been the result of a unified system of government has not been completed and I should be loathe to withdraw this most powerful stimulus in the formative period and before it has worked out its end. However, the question, in the form in which it is placed, is only an academic question and I shall be prepared to consider a federal form, if it can be shown that in it local autonomy is not inconsistent with central unity. Sir, all that I, as a representative of the depressed classes, need say on their behalf I have said. May I crave your indulgence to permit me as an Indian to say a word or two generally on the situation which we have to meet. So much has been said regarding its gravity that I shall not venture to add a word more to it, although I am no silent spectator of the movement. What I am anxious about is to feel whether we are proceeding on right lines in evolving our solution. What that solution should be rests entirely upon the view that British Delegates choose to take. Addressing myself to them I will say, whether you will meet the situation by conciliation or by applying the iron heel must be a matter for your judgment—for the responsibility is entirely yours. To such of you as are partial to the use of force and believe that a regime of *Lettres de cachet* and the *Bastille* will ease the situation let me recall the memorable words of the greatest teacher of political philosophy, Edmund Burke. This is what he said to the British nation when it was faced with the problem of dealing with the

American Colonies: The use of force alone is but temporary. It may endure for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again: a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered. The next objection to force is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force, and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource; for conciliation failing, force remains, but force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and Authority are sometimes bought by kindness, but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence. A further objection to force is that you impair the object by your very endeavours to preserve it- The thing you fought for (to win the loyalty of the people) is not the thing you recover, but depreciated, sunk, wasted and consumed in the contest. The worth and efficacy of this advice you all know. You did not listen to it and you lost the

great continent of America. You followed it to the last-  
ing good of yourself and the rest of the Dominions  
that are with you. To such of you as are willing to adopt  
a policy of conciliation I should like to say one thing.  
There seems to be prevalent an impression that the  
Delegates are called here to argue for and against a  
case for Dominion Status and that the grant of Domin-  
ion Status will be dependent upon which side is the  
victor in this battle of wits. With due deference to all  
who are sharpening their wits, I submit that there can  
be no greater mistake than to make the formula of  
logic govern so live an issue. I have no quarrel with  
logic and logicians. But I warn them against the dis-  
aster that is bound to follow, if they are not careful in  
the selection of the premises they choose to adopt for  
their deductions. It is all a matter of temper whether  
you will abide by your logic, or whether you will refute  
it, as Dr. Johnson did the paradoxes of Berkeley by tram-  
pling them under his foot. I am afraid it is not suffi-  
ciently realised that in the present temper of the coun-  
try, no constitution will be workable which is not ac-  
ceptable to the majority of the people. The time when  
you were to choose and India was to accept is gone,  
never to return. Let the consent of the people and not  
the accident of logic be the touchstone of your new  
constitution, if you desire that it should be worked.

(The speech above was made in 1931  
reproduced from *The Penguin Book of Modern Indian  
Speeches 1877 to the Present. Edited by Rakesh  
Batabyal.*)

(April 14 is Dr. Ambedkar's Jayanti)



## Book Review

**Gandhi BEFORE INDIA** RAMACHANDRA GUHA,  
ALLEN LANE an imprint of PENGUIN BOOKS in 2013,  
PP673, Rs899/- )

Seven years after publishing INDIA AFTER  
GANDHI which earned for him national and  
international acclaim Ramachandra Guha has brought  
out GANDHI BEFORE INDIA, the inspiration for which  
came in 1998 on the campus of University of California  
at Berkeley. "A decade ago," explains the author, "after  
teaching that course in Berkeley, I decided I would write  
a many- sided portrait of Gandhi, which would explore  
his words and actions in the context of the words and

actions of his family, friends, followers and  
adversaries." That has culminated in this fascinating  
story of "Gandhi's journey from Gujarat to London to  
Natal and the Transvaal and then back to Gujarat."  
The focus is on those crucial years in South Africa  
between 1893 and 1914 where he went to practise  
law for his livelihood and became the saviour of  
countless number of oppressed and exploited people.  
As a South African friend wrote to the author : "You  
gave us a lawyer; we gave you back a Mahatma." A  
month before his farewell to South Africa in 1914  
Gandhi himself felt that satyagraha which was born  
in South Africa became " perhaps the mightiest  
instrument on earth."

Ramachandra Guha unveils his massive work of  
meticulous research with a thought-provoking prologue  
in which he states his idea of portraying 'Gandhi from  
all angles.' Guha is more than a historian of repute.  
He is a social scientist and humanist as well,  
enormously gifted and trained in the art of unravelling  
the forces underlying human struggles against  
injustice and exploitation. In South Africa it was the  
struggle of the oppressed and migrant people during  
'the first phase of globalization' and Gandhi's heroic  
fight against the oppressive ruling classes holds out  
lessons which are relevant in today's globalized world.  
An interesting parallel is drawn between Gandhi and  
his religious hero Lord Ram. The similarities between  
the two include 'long journeys, long periods in exile'  
and support received from their loyal, though not  
always well- treated, spouses and circumstances that  
forced them to take on powerful adversaries. Guha  
prefers not "to push the parallels too far". Lord Ram  
and Gandhi, he points out, strove to uphold dharma in  
different times, one 'in myth and the other in reality',  
'both having enjoyed a vigorous and contentious after-  
life.'

The twenty two chapters that follow in this tome  
of 672 pages present a gripping account of Gandhi's  
life from his home town Porbandar which according to  
an English visitor ' had received from Nature an  
unimaginable splendor of sea and sky'. After taking  
the oath on his 'mother's knee' that he would not  
'touch a strange woman, or drink wine or eat meat'  
young Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi sailed for  
London on September 4, 1888. In London Gandhi wrote  
in support of vegetarianism as 'the logic of

I might never have written this book had I not spent the spring term of 1998 at the  
University of California at Berkeley. Ramachandra Guha

vegetarianism is not chemical, but moral, social, hygienic'. Back home the London trained lawyer could not make a mark in his profession at Rajkot or in Bombay. Dada Abdullah, a Porbandar Muslim trader with successful branches in South Africa, invited Gandhi to take up his legal cases and "the invitation from South Africa allowed him an escape from the political intrigues at home and to earn a decent sum of money." That was a turning point in the life of Gandhi and in the history of his country and of the century that followed.

No leader or public figure ever suffered such savage physical attacks and public assaults as Gandhi in South Africa. Guha narrates how 'Gandhi was beaten, but not bowed. Blood was flowing down his neck, but eye-witnesses state that he bore himself stolidly and pluckily through the trying ordeal'. Gandhi was 'the target of the collective anger of (virtually) all the whites in Natal, expressed continuously for several weeks at a stretch'. Death started at him several times but he remained unwavering in his commitment to Hindu-Muslim unity. "I may have to meet death in South Africa at the hands of my country-men. If that happens you should rejoice. It will unite the Hindus and Mussalamans... The enemies of the community are constantly making efforts against such a unity. In such a great endeavour, someone will have to sacrifice his life. If I make that sacrifice, I shall regard myself, as well as you, my colleagues, fortunate" he declared. The harder the blow was the firmer Gandhi became in his resolve to fight oppression and racial discrimination through satyagraha.

The same South Africa provided for Gandhi spiritually uplifting and ennobling experiences beginning with the 1893 Maritzburg incident when Gandhi was thrown out of the railway compartment described by Fischer as 'the most creative experience.' A decade later was born satyagraha.

As the aptly titled chapters describe 'A Tolstoyan in Johannesburg' and 'A son departs and a mentor arrives' it was here that he found his mentors and inspirational leaders notable among whom were Tolstoy, Gokhale, Pranjivan Mehta. The relationship between Gandhi and Pranjivan Mehta Gandhi is described interestingly: "Pranjivan Mehta was to Mohandas Gandhi what Friedrich Engels was to Karl

Marx, at once a disciple and a patron, who saw, very early that the friend of his youth had the makings of the heroic world-transforming figure he was to later become. Their friendship was consolidated by a shared language and culture – it mattered that Engels and Marx were both Germans, and that Mehta and Gandhi were both Gujaratis. There were differences: Engels believed Marx would redeem a class (the proletariat); Mehta believed Gandhi would save a nation, India. Both, however, had a deep, almost unquestioning faith in their compatriot's genius. Both were prepared to reach deep into their pockets to activate and enable it."

Gandhi believed that self-scrutiny and self-criticism should constantly guide his approach to issues. 'Praise is everyone's enemy' he said. As his mentor Gopal Krishna Gokhale summed up Gandhi's distinctive combination of personal saintliness and social meliorism was necessary to safeguard the position of Indians in South Africa.'

Guha narrates several poignant moments in his own lucid and simple style like for instance the relationship between Mohandas Gandhi, the demanding father and Harilal, the rebellious son. "You did not allow me to measure my capabilities; you measured them for me," protests Harilal against his father's decisions. A touching moment it was when the father pats the son on the cheek saying "Forgive your father, if you think he has done you wrong".

Ramachandra Guha's indefatigable energy for original research brings to light several interesting things about support from all parts of India for the movement in South Africa. "A Telugu weekly in Guntur reached for mythic parallels – Gandhi, the leader of the resistance, was like Arjuna, brave and fearless, while Gokhale was like Krishna, providing sage advice from behind the scenes," records the historian who ends his treatise of epic proportions with the chapter titled *How the Mahatma Was Made*.

This is a magnificent work, the first of a trilogy, on Gandhi's early life and work in South Africa before his return to India in July 1914. It should be read to understand the genesis of satyagraha and non-violent protest movement against racial discrimination, social injustice and exploitation of the weak and downtrodden. The making of the Mahatma is no

ordinary story and to have constructed it with such deep research and narrated it so brilliantly Ramachandra Guha deserves our grateful appreciation. At a time when the world after World War I was being dominated by such ideologies as capitalism, communism, Nazism and Fascism, Gandhi offered to humankind a refreshingly different approach based on satyagraha and non-violence which is still accepted at all levels as the only way out of darkness and violence. Therein lies the uniqueness of Ramachandra Guha's masterly work.

A.Prasanna Kumar



## ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER (1772-1860)

Sri. C. Sivasankaram

“The mystical doctrines of the Upanishads may be traced to the philosophy of the great German mystic of the nineteenth century Arthur Schopenhauer.”

Dr. S.Radhakrishnan

The nineteenth century Germany saw the birth of a great many orientalists. They drew sap from the mystical doctrines of the Upanishads of India to enrich their own philosophy. India the land of eternal sunshine became eternal by its Vedic literature. Professor Frederick Max Muller, though born a German, gained maturity in the Universities of London. He found ground to call India as *Sarmanya Desa*. *Sarman* is an honorific term suffixed to the names of a certain class of people in the Hindu hierarchy distinguished by their acquisition of proficiency in Vedic literature and Aryan culture. Max Muller the philologist conformed to the philosophy and thought of Indian Upanishads was considered as scholar extraordinary by the orientalists. His word carried the weight of sacred writ. It is noteworthy to know that his ultimate wish from his death bed was to take his birth to come in India.

Schopenhauer was a contemporary of Max Muller. He was younger by forty five years to Max Muller. The eternal message of India had its source in the Upanishads. India's timeless greatness owes much to her being the mother of Rishis who exhaled the Veda. The Rishis pitched their hermitages in forests.

The environment of the forests had perceptible influence on the broad and widely evolved spirit of the *Rishis*. They were sages as they drank deep in the perennial springs of the unborn knowledge of Brahman.

Almost every philosopher of German origin nurtured unassailable interest coupled with regard for the knowledge of the Upanishad. Indeed, they, the German orientalists, made the heritage of India accessible to the whole world and interestingly they helped to carry the Indian thought into the gurgling stream of world culture.

Schopenhauer once had occasion to read the vague Latin translation of the Upanishads, said that the Vedas, Plato and Immanuel Kant were his spiritual teachers. The Upanishads were kept on his table and he was in the habit of performing his devotion to its pages before going to bed.

Schopenhauer found from every sentence, deep, original and sublime thoughts and the whole is pervaded by a right and holy and earnest spirit. In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. They are products of the highest wisdom. They are destined sooner or later to be the faith of the people. He mused further, the study of the Upanishads has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death.

Schopenhauer was well known as the philosopher of will. Swami Vivekananda said that Schopenhauer caught the idea willing (will) from Buddhism. The will of the philosopher was *Vasana* of the Vedantist. The Swami believed that the philosophy of Schopenhauer was moulded by the wisdom of the Upanishad. The Swami said that this great German sage foretold that this world was about to see a revolution in thought more extensive and more powerful than that was witnessed by the Renaissance of Greek literature. Those who keep their eyes open and those who understand the workings of the minds of different nations, will find the immense change that has been produced in the tone, the procedure, in the methods and in the literature of the world by his slow never ceasing permeation of Indian thought; Schopenhauer confessed that desire or will is the cause of everything. It is the will to exist that makes us manifest. His predictions are coming to pass. The

It would be good if one could, when buying books also buy the time to read them, for people too often confuse acquisition with understanding of their content. Arthur Schopenhauer

Swami says that “will is a comprehensive mixture of the internal and the external.” Schopenhauer’s philosophy makes a mistake in its interpretation of Vedanta for it seeks to make the will everything the Swami avers.

As the purpose of my writing of the life of Schopenhauer is not to sit in judgement over his outlandish and oft changing allegiance to philosophies of divers kind I have to take a look into his queer ways in personal life. Both his parents belonged to prominent commercial families in Denzig where he was born. His father was follower of Voltaire (famous French writer) who regarded England as the land of liberty and liberal traditions. Circumstances and certain historical changes have so shaped that the family was forced to move to Hamburg. This change of place cost the family much. It became middle class. Schopenhauer was sent to boarding school in England where he hated the cant and hypocrisy. His father’s aim was to see the lonely looking boy to make clean breast of German. Business career was hateful to him. Meanwhile circumstances had so developed that he could no longer live on amicable terms with his mother. Her philandering ways paved the way to his hatred of women as a kind. In the year he came of age (1809) he went to the university of Gottingen where he came under the influence of Kant an avowed vedantin. His philosophy and thought soaked they were in the mystic juice of Sankara’s Advaita, the Western world saw him

as akin to Sankara. Schopenhauer was ambitious beyond a measure. Hegel was at that time one of the philosophers belonging to the school of rational principles. Frankfurt saw him settled within its portals as an old bachelor. He kept a poodle (dog) named Atma (world soul). He was never a rationalist. He believed in spiritualism and magic. He kept in his study a bust of Kant and a bronze Buddha. In his manner of life he tried to imitate Kant, except in early rising.

His principal work, the world as *Will and Idea* was published in 1818. He went on to say that some paragraphs in it had been dictated by Holy Ghost probably to give supernatural status to the work. Kant was admired and Kant was considered as his self appointed mentor. In thought and outlook a vast chasm exists between the two. Webster’s collegiate dictionary defined him (Schopenhauer) as “a German pessimist philosopher.” Seemed influenced by Budistic *Sunyavada* he meant Nirvana as extinction. Pessimism sought to outweigh the philosopher’s predilections to make life wholesome. Will or Karma or Vasana played adverse role in deepening the veil of pessimism. Hinayana Buddhism seems conducive to his growing pessimism. His only friend Atma predeceased him leaving him for ever friendless. The world of philosophy is, of course, truthful to accord him place of becoming honor in the ennobled annals of exalted souls of the universe.

## CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

(GAYATRI VIDYA PARISHAD)

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

### Chairman :

Shri D.V.Subba Rao

### Patrons :

Shri K. Sivananda Murty

Dr. B.Swami

Prof. R.V.R.Chandrasekhara Rao

Shri T.R. Prasad

### Director :

Prof. A. Prasanna Kumar

### Associate Director :

Prof. P.V. Sarma

### Governing Body

Shri V.Seetaramaiah

Prof. P. Somaraju

Prof. K.C. Reddy

Prof. V. Balamohan Das

Shri V.R.K.S. Siva Prasad

Shri A.S.N. Prasad

Shri M. Varahalu Chetty

Shri P.V. Ramanaiah Raja

Shri. Kasim S. Mehdi

Shri K.S. Sastri

Dr. B. Subba Rao

Dr. S. Vijaya Kumar

Prof. P. Srinivasa Rao

Shri D. Dakshinamurty

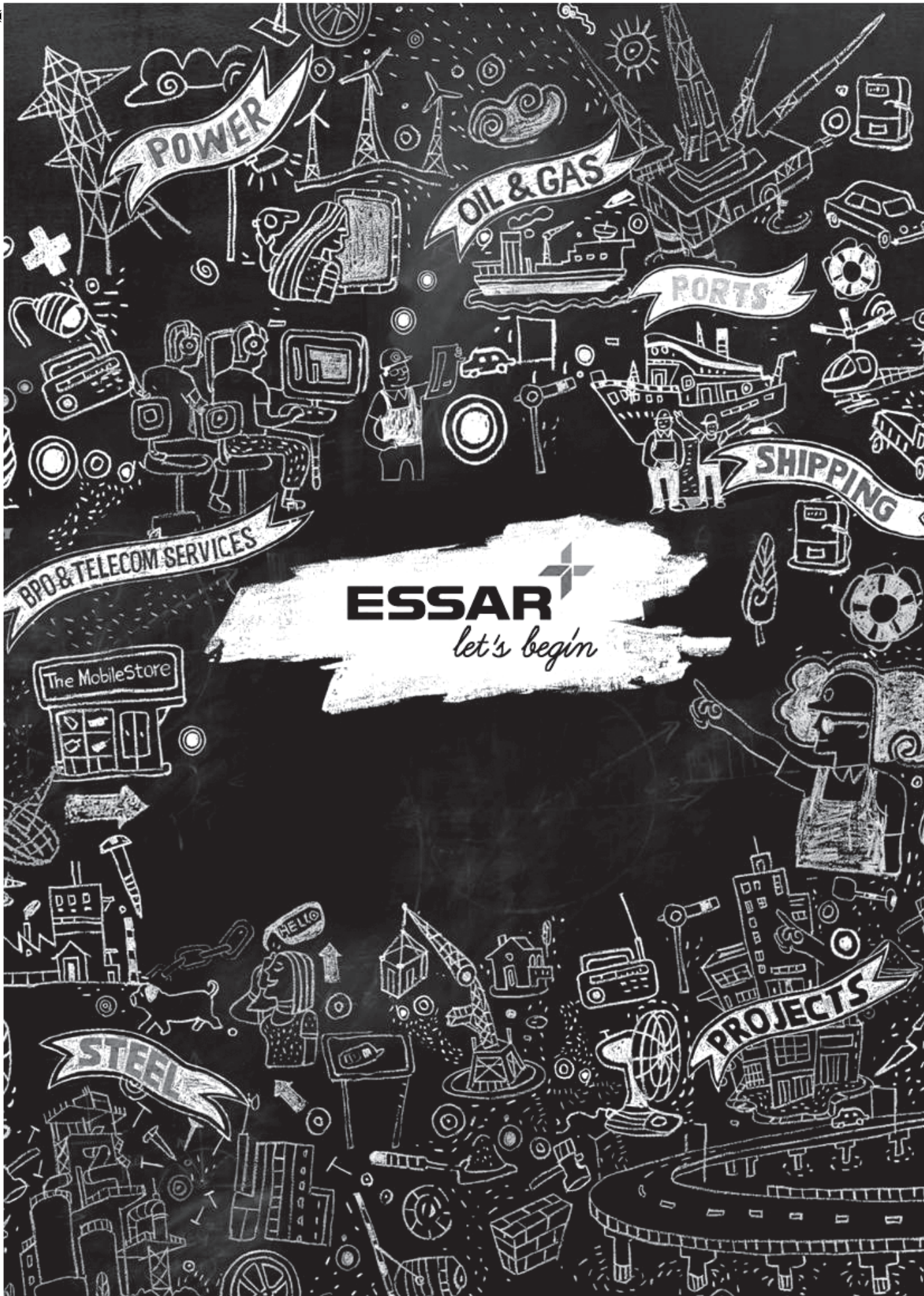
Prof. I.H. Nagaraja Rao

Prof. V.S.R.K. Prasad

Dr. P. Raja Ganapathi

Sri D.V.S. Kameswara Rao





POWER

OIL & GAS

PORTS

SHIPPING

BPO & TELECOM SERVICES

The MobileStore

**ESSAR**  
*let's begin*

STEEL

PROJECTS