



# BULLETIN

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### MANDATE FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE

The verdict of the world's largest electorate in the 2014 General Election is clear and emphatic. A record turnout of over 66% of India's 814 million eligible voters, in the biggest democratic exercise in human history, delivered a mandate for change and good governance. More importantly the election has ushered in a stable government ending an era of coalition politics marked by unprecedented corruption in high places and inept political leadership.

As forecast by pollsters— trumpeted, in fact, over the electronic media for weeks long before the announcement of the poll schedule— the rise of Narendra Modi and assumption of office as India's 15<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister occurred on predicted lines. Election enables leaders to convert people's mood into vote and vote into power. Modi, whose name evokes mixed feelings and contrarian perceptions among people, ranging from adoration to aversion, transformed people's anger and despair into a decisive mandate for the BJP-NDA alliance.

Narendra Modi is the second state-level leader after H. D. Deve Gowda, to become India's Prime Minister without holding even a ministerial berth at the center. For the first time, the BJP got a majority of seats with the BJP-NDA combine securing 336 out of 543 Lok Sabha seats. Its rival, the Congress Party, plummeted to its lowest ever getting only 44 seats. That 70% of the votes polled were against the BJP-NDA alliance or only 19% of India's electorate voted for it made no difference to the ultimate outcome.

Power, it is aptly said, is a modifier of positions. Narendra Modi began in style. Enjoying the media coverage of every movement of his, Modi first went to Varanasi and offered prayers on the banks of the Ganga which to his most distinguished predecessor and India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had

been "a symbol of India's age long culture and civilization, ever changing and flowing and ever the same,... a symbol of the past of India, running into the present and flowing on to the great ocean of the future."—the hallowed place where the soul and shehnai of Ustad Bismillah Khan, an epitome of India's composite culture, rest in peace.

Narendra Modi took the oath as India's prime minister in the midst of a galaxy of leaders and celebrities among whom were leaders from neighboring SAARC nations including Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan and Rajapaksha of Sri Lanka. The induction of six ladies in his cabinet was also widely acclaimed.

Modi has aroused high expectations among millions of people all over the country. As Rajni Kothari warned long ago, high expectations could lead to high frustration, if pre poll promises are not fulfilled. The minorities need to be reassured of the protection of their rights and interests under the Modi government. The challenges and tasks confronting the new government are, without doubt, daunting. Narendra Modi has begun well with bold and statesman-like initiatives on both domestic and diplomatic fronts.

It's time for all parties and leaders, the ruling BJP in particular, to take steps for taming the 'wild elements' in public discourse and parliamentary debates. Civility and moderation are as vital as honesty and accountability for the success of democracy.

No praise is too high for the Election Commission and all the polling personnel, official and non- official, for so ably conducting the massive electoral exercise spread over nine weeks in soaring temperatures and difficult conditions. It is everyone's hope that India will cease to be a mere electoral democracy and fulfill its long awaited tryst with destiny sooner than later.

- The Editor

India is a democracy and has different requirements. Men, machines and money must work together. Less government and more governance. — Narendra Modi

## **MODI WILL ALTER DOMESTIC POLITICAL TEMPLATE**

**The manner in which Modi reached out to his support base marks a new template for Indian politics**

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India will swear in Narendra Modi – NaMo to his constituency – as its 15th Prime Minister on Monday, May 26th and his elevation to this position will mark a definitive change in the traditional template and domestic discourse associated with Indian politics for well over half a century.

Not since the height of PM Nehru's personal popularity in the 1950's has an Indian political leader received the rock-star kind of adulation that greeted NaMo when he made his post victory visit to Delhi – and later the holy city of Varanasi from where he was elected by an emphatic majority.

With a tally of 282 seats out of a 543 member Lok Sabha, the BJP led by Modi has the singular advantage of not needing the support of any partners thereby removing the cross of coalition partners that so severely hobbled the UPA government. Yes, Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress party received an even greater mandate in 1984 after the assassination of PM Indira Gandhi and the manner in which this was squandered , peaking with the Bofors scandal is part of the Indian political narrative.

While enormous expectations have been aroused among the electorate that is impatient and eagerly waiting for meaningful change by way of inclusive and equitable opportunities to improve their bleak socio-economic conditions – the challenges for team Modi are complex and numerous. To put it mildly, the vast Indian eco-system of institutions and critical infrastructure is creaking and mired in stasis. Thus whether it is basic education and health, transport connectivity, jobs in the industrial sector, modernization of agriculture, or investor confidence – to identify but a few sectors – the list is long. Endemic corruption and indecision is entrenched and cleansing

the Indian stable is Herculean. In short the domestic agenda for Modi is daunting.

By unintended coincidence, the Modi government will be sworn in between two death anniversaries of former Prime Ministers. Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated on May 21, 1991 and May 27 this year marks the 50th year after the demise of his grandfather and the first PM Jawaharlal Nehru in 1964. The Modi era marks a definitive departure from this family tradition and he will also be the first post 1947 born PM of India.

The legacy of dynasty politics symbolized by the Nehru-Gandhi family and the manner in which the family became the Congress party – and by extension the nation, characterized the founding template of Indian politics.

The Nehruvian vision that guided the formative years of the republic had a critical role in the consolidation of the idea of India and a complex diversity was accommodated within the democratic dispensation. This was an astounding achievement and in the process certain discourses were nurtured and both values and norms were evolved for political representatives and those holding public office.

Religion was a sensitive subject and the embers of Partition were still fresh. Consequently religious identity and the practice of one's faith was kept as a purely personal matter. How visibly 'Hindu' could a leader be was at the core of many contestations during the Nehru years and is best exemplified in his disagreement with stalwarts like President Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Patel amongst others. The tragic assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and the virulence of certain right wing Hindu groups only exacerbated matters, leading to even more draconian exclusion of the majority religion from political discourse and practice.

Progressively the word secular acquired many corrosive connotations. During the Indira Gandhi years the cynical manipulation of minority religious sentiment peaked with the stoking of the Bhindranwale movement and the rise of Sikh militancy. Exploiting sectarian identity for short-term electoral gains became par for the course – and this was

The joke goes that until last week India had no government, now it has no opposition.

- The Economist May 24, 2014

aggravated during the Rajiv Gandhi years in relation to the Muslim vote bank.

Thus the template that has been carefully nurtured in Indian politics is the creation of religious and caste-based divisions by 'secular' parties and electoral support was garnered by creating an environment of calibrated entitlement and appeasement. 'Give me your vote and I will give you a handout' became the operative principle of political conduct. In this framework, the Muslim citizen became progressively ghettoized and the Congress in particular thrived by projecting itself as the protector of the Muslim from majoritarian excess. Regional parties adopted a similar strategy and hence the rise of the Samajwadi (led by 'maulana' Mulayam Singh Yadav), the Bahujana Samaj Party for Dalits (led Mayawati) and such like.

The current BJP victory marks a potentially radical departure from this template and while asserting his Hindu identity, the Modi campaign dwelt on an inclusive India of 1.25 crores and eschewed sectarian identities. Did Modi play up to the gallery and subtly exploit the Hindu card? Yes, he did as any politician would while campaigning – but in his speeches, he highlighted development issues and promised better governance – shorthand for the corruption scandals and indolence associated with the UPA government.

The ballot-box has spoken emphatically and the results have led to a sharp polarization about the outcome of the verdict. Sage counsel comes from the outgoing PM Manmohan Singh who in his farewell address exhorted: "Fellow citizens, each one of us should respect the judgement that you have delivered. The just concluded elections have deepened the foundations of our democratic polity."

Indeed they have and also point to a new political model that is still nascent. The manner in which Modi reached out to his support base, whether in Delhi or Varanasi marks a new template for Indian politics. The Hindu identity is visibly acknowledged – the celebratory evening prayer at the Ganges will be an abiding image – and yet the focus is on pan-India.

In a victory speech Modi claimed: "India's social differences will come together and make a flag, just like different threads come together to weave a cloth. People rose above caste rhetoric, a new foundation has been laid and will build a new shining India in the coming days."

Can Indian politics be weaned away from this deeply entrenched template of the cynical manipulation of sectarian identity? And can religion enter the political lexicon in a constructive and consensual manner? These are complex challenges and Namo's ability to walk the talk will be on test.

One last thought for the diaspora. Discourses are shaped by language and word and the western penchant to describe the BJP as a right wing Hindu party could be corrected to its more accurate translation as the Indian Peoples Party. This may be helpful in the long run to better comprehend the Modi endeavor.

(Courtesy : TheIndianDiaspora.com on May 21, 2014,)



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

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

### **II. First Principles**

Let me begin from first principles. Any analysis of regulation should begin by seeking answers for the questions: Why regulate? Whom to regulate? How to regulate? What to regulate?

Turning to the first question why regulate, in the field of education there could be four objectives: first planned and coordinated development, secondly ensure quality of education, thirdly promote equity and social justice by way of quotas and other affirmative policies which seek to promote the participation of

The reconstruction of man is indeed the reconstruction of the world.  
Only when man becomes better can the world be bettered.

Sri Satya Sai Baba

socially and economically disadvantaged students, and lastly prevent unfair practices by regulating admissions, fees, and service conditions of faculty and staff.

Turning to the second question whom to regulate those who are regulated could be individuals or institutions. Thus a person who wishes to teach is required to possess the qualifications prescribed by the competent authority: State Governments and Secondary Education Boards in respect of schools and UGC in respect of universities and affiliated colleges. Interestingly, unlike in schools teaching in a college or university does not require any training in teaching methodologies either before joining the teaching profession or later. And further, unlike in schools academic supervision of and guidance to teachers are not considered necessary in colleges and universities. Why is it so, is an important question for which I can think of no answer except the belief that college students can learn by themselves and need only a little bit of guidance from the teacher. This is to a certain extent true if higher education were selective as is the case with the undergraduate programmes of IITs. Asked to explain the glaring discrepancy between the undergraduate programmes of IITs and the postgraduate and doctoral programmes of IITs an alumnus who became a faculty member of IIT replied: 'when we undergraduates enter the IIT, we are so good that the system is unable to do much damage, and the end product is still very good!' As enrolments in higher education expand and the system becomes democratised the assumption that all students are capable of self-learning is questionable, and teaching abilities of the faculty become critical to the quality of education. It is said that in the past the Royal Navy used to train its new cadets by throwing them in deep sea expecting that the cadet would either learn swimming or sink. The induction of lecturers in the higher education system implicitly follows the same principle, but then it is the students who sink and not the teacher. It is known but not accepted by the academic establishment that not everyone is a Samuelson or Feynman and that a brilliant mind and outstanding research capability do not necessarily make a good teacher. Improving the quality of higher education is inconceivable without inbuilt mechanisms

for grooming the fresh entrants to become good teachers through academic supervision and mentoring in the first couple of years of service.

Let me say a little bit about academic supervision in schools. Academic supervision by officials of the State Education Departments had collapsed by early 1980s. To the extent officials carry out inspections these days they are administrative in nature and they neither guide the teachers nor contribute to school effectiveness. In private schools the purpose of inspection is to scrutinise whether these schools fulfil the conditions necessary for recognition. And in government schools the purpose is to collect information which schools are supposed to send but often do not. With so many schemes in operation in Government schools a major task of school inspectors is to collect information on different schemes and pass it on to superiors. Recently, I had an occasion to speak to the Director of the Andhra Pradesh SCERT, who informed me that she was recruited when I was State Education Secretary and spoke nostalgically of the training I organised for her and her colleagues who joined service along with her, and my lectures in the training. I asked her whether in retrospect the training was adequate. She told me that as a trainee she was advised not to neglect academic supervision, but over few years she found that her job was more and more programme management. I wondered how good would these officials be as programme managers when their academic background does not equip them to be a manager, and there is no entry level training worth the name, not to speak of in-service training. Whatever information on different schemes is collected separately without any effort to assess the impact of all these interventions on the functioning of a school? Given the massive expansion of schools, there is no way of reviving the good old academic supervision. In regard to elementary education, DPEP, and later SSA put in place an alternate system of academic support and supervision through Block Resource Centres (BRCs) and Cluster Resource Centres (CRCs).

These centres have come to be an important part of the Indian educational landscape covering every nook and corner of the country; in 2008 there were about 6,500 BRCs and 70,000 CRCs. Mechanisms like

A small body of determined spirits fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission  
can alter the course of history.

monthly meetings and school visits were expected to guide the teacher in improving his classroom practices and facilitate community involvement. There have been many instances of the beneficial impact of these new institutions, and even of innovations like *Nalli-Kalli* in Karnataka. However, as far as I know the *Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Mission* has not yet addressed the question of rejuvenating the system of academic support and supervision, or deepening training infrastructure the way DPEP and SSA did in respect of elementary education. If this were so, that Mission had to earnestly address that question without any delay. The experience with the functioning of BRCs, CRCs and in-service training validates the iron law of organisational development that even the best designed institutional innovations as well as training modules get routinised and jaded over time, and that periodically institutions need to be rejuvenated and training modules refurbished.

So far I spoke mainly of regulation of the qualifications needed to teach. Moving to regulation of institutions, regulation of educational institutions, particularly private institutions has a long history of about 150 years. With the coming into vogue of rights and entitlements even the State could be regulated as the Right to Information Act and the RTE Act do. Turning to the third question how to regulate, regulation could be self-regulation, or regulation by an agency external to the institution or individual regulated. External regulation could be through a heavy handed command and control system which can be readily comprehended if we use the name popularised by Rajaji: license-permit-control *raj*. Instead of this *raj*, regulation could be effected through creating conditions which eliminate the need for heavy handed regulation, or provide incentives and disincentives which encourage the regulated to comply with the regulations. Traditionally, following the British tradition in our country universities were public institutions and expected to be self-regulating. That tradition was dismantled in Britain in the 1980s and is in a state of flux in India from 1990s

The last question of what to regulate is of importance because whether it is self- regulation or external regulation it is necessary to identify what

needs to be regulated. Conceptually, four aspects of an institution could be regulated: its establishment (or using economic jargon entry), its expansion (intake of students) or starting a new course, its academic and managerial functioning and its overall performance. There are three types of entry conditions: justification for establishing yet another institution with reference to need, the legal structure of the institution proposed to be established, and lastly the infrastructure facilities, faculty and staff to be provided. In principle, need could be determined with reference to one of three criteria: norm, manpower needs of planned development, and manifest demand from students and parents. Thus if the norm is that there should be a school within a walking distance of three kilometres no school should be established if there is already one such school unless the school is not large enough to cater to the student population in its catchment area. Alternately the need for an institution, particularly a higher education institution could be determined with reference to the manpower needs of the economy, the underlying assumption being that it is possible to accurately forecast the manpower needs. Normatively, regulation had proceeded from the premise that establishment or expansion of educational institutions should be guided by a norm or manpower need, and that it is undesirable to be guided by manifest demand from parents and students; such a manifest demand was derisively called 'paper chase'. Going by a norm and manpower planning is expected to ensure planned and coordinated development of education. Traditionally only Governments (Central, State and local bodies) and private societies or public trusts could establish schools and colleges; the establishment of a university requires a Central or State legislation, and only a university or an institution declared by the Parliament to be of national importance can award degrees. The Central Government could deem an institution to be a university whereby that institution acquires the power to award degrees without being required to affiliate itself to a university. Recent regulations such as the UGC's regulation in respect of private universities allow the establishment of an institution by a not-for-profit company which falls under S.25 of the Companies Act. The premise underlying the stipulation of the legal structure a private educational institution could have

A secular state is a state which honours all faiths equally and gives them equal opportunities;  
that, as a state, it does not allow itself to be attached to one faith or religion,  
which then becomes the state religion. Jawaharlal Nehru

is that education and money-making, or figuratively Saraswathi and Lakshmi, do not mix. In addition, it is assumed that a private organisation that is legally a not-for-profit organisation would not pursue profits. The establishment of a n institution or its expansion is subject to multiple regulations and requires multiple approvals. In addition to approval by the State Government under the State Education Act the establishment of a professional education institution requires the approval of the AICTE in respect of technical education, MCI in respect of medical education and so on. In addition, a secondary school requires to be affiliated to one of the boards of education having jurisdiction in the State in which the school is located; likewise a college requires to be affiliated to a university and the universities' regulations regarding affiliation are themselves subject to the regulations made by the UGC. Regulations for affiliation usually stipulate the infrastructure, facilities, faculty and staff to be provided.

Moving on to regulation of functioning, academic regulation relates to the content and process of education such as syllabus and curriculum, textbooks, academic calendar and so on.

These are regulated by the State Governments in respect of elementary education, boards of secondary education in respect of secondary education and universities in respect of colleges. Traditionally universities are autonomous and can decide what to teach, how to teach and how long the duration of a course should be. However, from the 1990s onwards the UGC has been increasingly laying down regulations on many academic matters over which universities had unfettered authority. Such regulations include recruitment and promotion of teachers, research involvement of teachers, duration of different courses, instruction hours, manner and procedure of admission and examinations, and so on. Further, the idea that there should be external evaluation of the performance of universities acquired legitimacy through the establishment of the National Assessment and Accreditation Authority. A key contested area in the current efforts to restructure the regulatory framework are questions like what universities can do on their own, for what do they need to obtain the approval of

a regulator, and how their performance should be evaluated.

The regulation of functioning is not limited to academic matters. The State Education Acts and rules framed thereunder lay down many stipulations regarding the management of schools and colleges such as the service conditions of teachers and staff, reservations in admissions for socially and economically disadvantaged students, and the fees collected from students. All these types of regulation had been the subject matter of extensive litigation, and are therefore subject to case law which strange but true is not always settled. The administrative and financial control of State Universities by State Governments had been a contentious issue, and the main thrust of the Majority Report of the Yash Pal Committee is to free universities from the control of both Governments as well as of for-profit private agencies not only in the matter of academics but also finance and administration.

Till 1986, regulation of educational institutions in our country proceeded on the premise that once the conditions for the setting up or expansion of an institution are fulfilled and once an institution functions in accordance with the relevant regulations there is no need to separately evaluate the performance of an institution. In contrast, external evaluation of the performance of institutions on the whole and of the courses it conducts, or to use jargon *accreditation*, is being practiced in the United States for over a hundred years. The necessity for accreditation arose from the fact that without any approval institutions could be established and could award degrees, and consequently a reliable certification of the content and quality of the courses offered by various institutions was needed by employers as well as educational institutions themselves to assess the eligibility of graduates of other institutions for admission to the courses offered by them. Accreditation also came to be used as a mechanism for quality of improvement as the minimum standards set by accrediting agencies serve as goals which institutions should attain if not exceed. The defining characteristics of the American accreditation system are the range of institutions covered (from schools to universities), the coverage

By enriching the content of the coverage and analyses of news, the Indian media could certainly be turned into a major asset in the pursuit of justice, equity, and efficiency in democratic India.

of institutions as well as individual programmes, the multiplicity of accrediting organisations all of which are non-governmental, and the professional integrity brought to bear on their work by most accrediting organisations. The Council for Higher Education Accreditation, a non-governmental organisation with a membership of about 3000 educational institutions, defines standards for approval of accrediting organisations, and recognises organisations which meet those standards. The US Department of Education offers grants only to those institutions which are accredited by accrediting organisations approved by it; only students of such institutions are eligible for student loans provided by the Department. In all there are over ninety accrediting organisations and sixty accredited programmes. The idea of external assessment of the quality of the courses and research of universities was adopted in the United Kingdom the 1989 when the UGC was abolished and the Higher Education Funding Council (HEFC) was set up; the members of the Council included those drawn from the world of business. It was an idea whose time had come for there was widespread concern about the quality and relevance of higher education and the lack of accountability of universities and other institutions. In 1997 the quality assessment function of HEFC was transferred to an independent agency the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA). Ideas do not respect boundaries; accrediting organisations had therefore come up in several countries including Germany and Canada. Similar institutions have come up in countries like Australia which set great store on attracting foreign students; quality assurance is expected to help foreign students assess whether they would have value for money. Needless to say, these moves were bitterly resented by academics, particularly those from arts and humanities. Stefan Collini, the eminent literary critic rued the fact that humanities are being flattened by runaway tanks designed for other purposes. . Collin's lament is a reminder of the fact that moderation is a virtue indeed and that there are limits to exercises like assessment of research.

The idea of accreditation made its appearance in our country through the National Policy on Education, 1986. That Policy postulated that mandatory periodic

evaluation of technical education institutions would be conducted. Accordingly one of the functions entrusted to the AICTE by the AICTE Act, 1987 was evolving 'suitable mechanisms for performance appraisal of universities and institutions imparting technical education, incorporating norms and mechanisms for enforcing accountability. To its credit, AICTE established the National Accreditation Board (NAB) within a few months after it was vested with statutory powers. However, even a quarter of century after it was set up the NAB is yet to implement the NPE postulate of mandatory periodic performance appraisal of technical institutions. Only about 40% of the engineering, 10% of management, 8% pharmacy and 5% MCA courses are accredited.

The history of technical education development would have taken a different course if mandatory periodic evaluation had fallen in place by mid-1990s. Neither the NPE, 1986 nor its upgraded version of 1992 envisaged accreditation in general higher education' As envisaged by POA, 1986 , UGC set up a National Assessment and Accreditation (NAAC) Council in 1994

NAAC could not make as much progress as NAB. As of August 2013, less than one-third of all universities and only 13% (5156 out of 35,539) of colleges have been accredited either to NAAC or NAB or both. A voluntary accreditation system results in adverse selection of sorts; only 'better' institutions opt for being subjected to assessment and rating while those which ought to have been kept under close watch do not.

There are as yet no established mechanisms for performance appraisal of schools. Of late, a few States had begun assessing and monitoring the effectiveness of elementary schools. It would be imperative to institutionalise these initiatives. The parameters for evaluating school effectiveness should include outcomes such as the reach (whether all children in the catchment area are enrolled), grasp (whether all children enrolled complete elementary education without dropping out) of the school and the learner achievement in comparison with the minimum levels of learning (MLL). It is imperative to return to conceptualisation of universal elementary education (UEE) outlined by the National Programme of Action

I am very clear that our people are much too clever and  
much too wise to be misled by money power.

(NPE), 1986 as revised in 1992. So conceptualised, UEE would comprise not only universal access, enrolment and retention but substantial improvement in the quality of education so as to enable all children to achieve essential levels of learning. The quality of elementary education is thus no longer a standalone objective. Linkage of quality with learning achievement enables claims about improvements in quality of learning to be reliably assessed; it could prevent the pursuit of nostrums under the guise of quality improvement. The NPE's Programme of Action (POA), 1992 spelt out in great detail the strategy to be followed for ensuring that MLLs are achieved; that strategy linked MLL with all aspects of pedagogy such as syllabus and curriculum, and teaching- learning material and processes. A NCERT Committee specified the *competencies* every student was required to acquire in language, mathematics and environment. District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) which operationalised the strategy spelt out by the POA, 1992 to achieve UEE, took concrete measures to improve levels of learning. Many States successfully undertook a number of MLL-related activities including preparation of competency based text books, introduction of competency-related teaching methodologies, and revision of the content of teacher training so as to familiarise teachers with the new textbooks and new teaching methodology. However, during the 2000s MLLs faded away from Indian educational discourse perhaps because of the feeling among some educators that the target of educational achievement ought not to be MLLs. There are no doubt higher pedagogical objectives than MLLs; these include critical thinking, creativity, problem solving and 'learning to learn'. But then as Karl Marx wrote famously in *The German Ideology*, before mankind can think and ideas can be made, man must be first fed, clothed, and sheltered. Likewise, children, particularly from disadvantaged background, must be helped to acquire *basic learning* of writing, reading, and numerical skills of a satisfactory level before they realise higher order pedagogic goals. To insist that it be either all of the higher order pedagogic goals or not at all is an example of the saying that the best is an enemy of the good. Irrespective of one's ideological position on

MLLs no one can dispute the proposition that it is imperative to take expeditious measures to improve basic learning in primary classes, and at the upper primary stage to correct the failure to acquire basic learning at the primary stage. A life without purpose could be meaningless; likewise an activity not directed towards a goal could drift and yield suboptimal results. Therefore from the administrative point of view purposive action is facilitated by specifying the levels of learning to be achieved, measuring how each child is progressing towards the attainment of the levels of learning laid for the Class in which he is studying, and measuring how every school as well as every administrative region like block, district, State and the country as a whole is performing in the matter of ensuring that each of its students is achieving the stipulated levels of learning. To that end, Comprehensive and Continuous Evaluation mandated by the RTE Act needs to be complemented by the specification of levels of learning in different classes, and individual student evaluation complemented by conduct of annual learner achievement surveys which make possible comparing the performance of one school with another, and of one administrative unit like say Uttar Pradesh with another administrative unit like say Kerala. We also need to know whether disparities in learning achievement by gender and social groupings are increasing or decreasing. In short, we need to have data on learner achievement similar to that reported year after year by NUEPA's DISE in regard to school facilities and participation data. Without such data attempts to improve learning outcomes, reducing learning disparities, and or improving quality is like flying blindfolded without navigational aids. However, a singular focus on measurement of learning outcomes alone is not a panacea for quality or improving learning outcomes. Learner achievement surveys by themselves serve no purpose unless they are linked with attempts to improve pedagogy, training and classroom practice. Without such linkages the surveys would be like navigation aids without actual flying taking place.

Needless to say, performance appraisal of secondary and higher secondary schools should begin soon; without such appraisal the Rashtriya Madhyamik

We have to find the ways and means of restoring a degree of stability to our politics and more than a degree of safety to our citizens.

Shiksha Abhiyan would be figuratively flying blindfolded without any navigational guides, and is likely to waste lot of time and money in the pursuit of nostrums.

(to be continued)



## THE NUCLEAR GENIE- 13

### Nuclear War and its Aftermath

Prof. M.N. Sastri

States plan their war strategies basing on conventional weapons in a way they can intimidate the adversary through "defeating him or making his victory more costly than the projected gains". This doctrine is known as *deterrence*. The advent of nuclear weapons has introduced a new factor in the strategy. Immediately after World War II, the US launched its nuclear weapons programme, based on deterrence doctrine. With the Soviet Union also acquiring nuclear weapon capability the world entered into a new era of *Mutually Assured Destruction* or MAD. Regardless of who starts a nuclear war, the opponent powers having sufficient nuclear arsenal can launch a devastating retaliatory strike, resulting in deadly consequences to both the powers. Stated briefly, "Don't do it, or It will kill us both." Thus the MAD scenario and *nuclear deterrence* are synonymous. With the spread of nuclear weapons, technology, materials and know-how, the MAD scenario is acquiring greater complexity.

Though nuclear deterrence helped preventing wars between the two nuclear super powers, US and Soviet Union, conventional wars continued to be waged at local level with the nuclear powers being direct parties or acting as proxies. The Soviet Union moved into Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. There were major wars in Korea (1950-53), between Israel and Egypt (1956 and 1967), in Vietnam (1959-75), Indian subcontinent (1965 and 1971), Afghanistan (1979-89) (again in 2001 till recent), Kuwait (1990-91), Iraq (2003) and Syria (ongoing). Ironically nuclear weapons capability could not prevent the collapse of the Soviet Union itself!

It is estimated that at the peak of the cold war, the explosive power of the nuclear arsenals of the two nuclear super powers was of the order of 13,000 megatons (equivalent to a million Hiroshima bombs). This has a potential to destroy life on the planet several times over. A typical thermonuclear warhead has an explosive yield of two mega tons. When detonated, about 90 per cent of this energy is released in less than one millionth of a second causing massive destruction over an area 45 kilometres across. This energy is equal to the explosive power of all conventional weapons employed in the entire six year period of World War II (1939-45), the most destructive war ever fought! Bombers, Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) and Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBM) capable of hitting all corners of the world are used as the delivery systems for these nuclear warheads. This three-branched nuclear capability is called the *Nuclear Triad*. The strategy behind this capability is that a first strike against a country could not destroy all the three legs of the triad. Even if two of the three legs are destroyed, the third (e.g. the SLBM) can inflict a retaliatory strike, thus assuring country's nuclear deterrence capability. Currently the countries with nuclear triad capability are the US, Russia and China. Israel is also suspected to be a nuclear triad power. With the commissioning of the nuclear submarine ARIHANT, India will also be joining the triad group soon. The non-triad nuclear powers include France, UK, Pakistan and North Korea.

The question generally asked is, what could be the consequence of a nuclear war between two nuclear powers? This has been the subject of in-depth analyses of different scenarios by several experts. The study by a team consisting of R. P. Turco, O. B. Toon, T. P. Ackerman, and J. B. Pollock under the leadership of Carl Sagan, the well-known cosmologist, released in 1983 and known as the TTAPS (short for the authors' names) study forecast the outcome of a full-fledged nuclear war between the super powers US and Soviet Union involving thousands of nuclear weapons in their arsenals. Their conclusions which received widest publicity are summarized below.

- The targets will be military and industrial installations as well as big cities in the Northern

A bad government is the inevitable consequence of an indifferent electorate. Politics will never be cleaner, and our economic future will never be brighter, unless and until our citizens are willing to give of themselves to the land which gave them birth. Nani Palkhivala

- Hemisphere. Once the bombs begin exploding all communications will fail resulting in chaotic conditions. The psychological fear and the pressure for taking instantaneous decisions affecting the fates of millions of people will result in a *nuclear paroxysm* (a sudden attack or outburst: *a paroxysm of weeping*) among the decision makers.
- About 1.1 billion people, mainly in the Northern Hemisphere (US, USSR, Europe, China and Japan) will be killed outright. An additional 1.2 billion would suffer from injuries and radiation sickness, no medical help.
  - The explosions could generate 50 to 100 million tons of smoke and soot particles from the forest and fuel fires. These will get mixed up with the dust consisting of highly radioactive fission products and sucked up by the detonations. A few days later one third to half of these particles will make their way back to the ground as radioactive rain. The fine particles will shoot skyward to a distance of 15 km into the stratosphere. They will then be carried by winds over the entire globe and slowly reach the ground as radioactive fallout for several years.
  - As the soot particles reach the sky they block the solar radiation reaching the ground. An estimated thirty million tons of soot that moves up to the Northern Hemisphere would cause a 90 per cent drop in solar radiation reaching the ground. As a result there will be total darkness and a steep fall in temperatures with the minimum reaching -23° C. This condition, termed as NUCLEAR WINTER might last several months or even a year.
  - One or two weeks after the nuclear strikes, countries in the Southern Hemisphere also will experience a 15-20° C fall in temperatures.
  - The highly energetic nuclear air bursts will burn the nitrogen in the upper atmosphere and convert it to oxides of nitrogen. These reactive oxides in turn combine with the ultra-violet light shielding ozone in the stratosphere leading to its destruction.
  - All the above changes in sunlight, climate and the ozone layer will have serious long term adverse effects on all forms of life including vegetation.
  - The fires caused by the explosions would produce pyrotoxins through the combustion of plastics, rubber, petroleum and other combustible material. These pyrotoxins include noxious products such as the deadly dioxins, furans, polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), cyanides, oxides and acids of sulphur and nitrogen, carbon monoxide and carbon dioxide. Toxic chemicals like ammonia and chlorine released from storage tanks will cause severe chemical pollution.
  - Neither the humans nor animals will have anything to eat because no agriculture is possible under the conditions of Nuclear Winter. Agriculture production in greater part of Northern Hemisphere will cease for at least one year. Many parts of the Southern Hemisphere will also be affected. Even if some reserves of food are available somewhere, there will be no means of transport to move them to the needy areas because the entire transport system would have collapsed. As a result a majority of survivors face starvation and death.
  - Extensive radioactive contamination of the soil and water sources make large parts of the world uninhabitable for a number of years.

The TTAPS study was widely debated in the media and scientific circles. Understandably the governments and military establishments underplayed the effects. Other studies based on different models predicted somewhat less severe effects but supported the overall conclusions of significant global cooling and its after effects. The debate will continue because any conclusions can be based only on models and perceptions because as warned by Albert Einstein, "The nuclear war is an experiment that can be conducted only once." Assessing the damage caused by the event is out of question! There can however be no two opinions about what Nikita S. Khrushchev, former Secretary General of the Soviet Communist

Democracy is as vital to our political existence as oxygen is to our physical being.

Justice M.N. Venkatachaliah

Party said about the global scenario after a full-fledged nuclear war.

*"The living will envy the dead"*

Several projections are also made on the consequences of an Indo-Pakistan nuclear conflict. The Natural Resources Defence Council, a New York-based non-profit international environmental advocacy group, conducted an analysis (last revised in 2003) of the consequences of an Indo-Pak nuclear war using two scenarios. The first scenario assumed ten Hiroshima-sized bomb explosions over ten cities – Bangalore, Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai and New Delhi in India and Faisalabad, Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi in Pakistan. In the first scenario the bombs will be exploded in the air over each city (like in Hiroshima) with no radioactive fall-out. The total number of persons killed in Indian cities would be 1,609,902 and seriously injured 892,493. The corresponding figures for the Pakistani cities would be 1,171,879 and 614,400 respectively. In the second scenario in which 24 bombs were detonated at the ground level (12 in each country), with more than one bomb used over some cities, would produce far more horrific results due to deadly radioactive fall-out. The University of Colorado Boulder, Rutgers University and the University of California, Los Angeles developed in 2007 computer projections for the consequences of an Indo-Pak nuclear conflict involving 100 Hiroshima-sized nuclear weapons (representing a mere 0.05% of the total explosive power of all the currently operational and deployed US and Russian nuclear weapons). According to them

About 20 million people will die from direct effects of the weapons. This number is equal to nearly half the number of people killed in World War II.

Weapons detonated in the large cities in India and Pakistan create massive firestorms which produce millions of tons of smoke. About 1-5 million tons of smoke quickly rise 50 km above the cloud level into the stratosphere. The smoke spreads round the world forming a stratospheric smoke layer that blocks sunlight from reaching the surface of the Earth.

Within fifteen days following the explosions, the temperatures in the Northern Hemisphere would become colder than those experienced during the preindustrial Little Ice Age.

The nuclear war-induced effects on temperatures would be twice as large as those which followed the volcanic eruption in 1816 which caused "The year without Summer".

The cold weather would also cause a 10% reduction in average rainfall and a large reduction in the Asian summer monsoon. 25-40% of the protective ozone layer would be destroyed at the Mid-Latitudes and 50-70% would be destroyed at the Northern High Latitudes. As a result there will be a massive increase in harmful UV-light with significantly adverse effects on the human, animal and plant life,

There will be changes in global climate also. It will be too cold to grow wheat in most of Canada.

World grain stocks would be completely depleted. Grain-exporting nations would likely stop exports to needy nations to meet their domestic needs. Food shortages would affect the lives hundreds of millions of already hungry people, who depend upon imported food. They will starve to death during the years following the nuclear conflict

The International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War and Physicians for Social Responsibility warned in April 2012 that an Indo-Pakistan nuclear conflict, even if it is restricted to the region, would cause major worldwide climate disruption driving down food production in the US, China and other countries.

*Even if one of the combating nations claims victory it can only be a pyrrhic victory!*

How long will a nuclear war last? Conventional wars are fought over several years. For example World War II lasted for six years (1939- 1945). A nuclear war is waged with tactical nuclear weapons and strategic nuclear weapons. A war fought with tactical weapons targets specific targets. Since this involves objectives,

We have to snatch the initiative from the hands of politicians, from the Parliament and the Legislatures and give it back to the people. This is our job.

specific targets based on critical assessment the war could last some time, say weeks or even months. A war involving strategic nuclear weapons is however aimed at obliterating the enemy with no means to survive and counterattack any more. Such a war will be over in a matter of days if not hours! In the case of a nuclear war between two abutting nations such as India and Pakistan, nuclear weapons delivered by missiles could hit their targets in 3 to 7 minutes depending on location and cause horrendous loss of life and property before the public even becomes aware of what is happening!



## A NIGHT TO REMEMBER

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 extraordinary man we were looking for proved elusive, time and again, for three days. 'I saw him meandering here!' we would be told. Alas, he was just not there.

'To find him is not easy,' said a proud neighbour when we located Soudagar's hut. Nevertheless, the neighbour gave us the unfailing clue to find him.

At last Viswam (publisher of *The Heritage*, the magazine I edited in the eighties of the twentieth century) and I closed in on him, standing guard at the two gates of a mosque where he offered Namaz without fail on a certain day. Local acquaintances stood behind us to identify him.

It was the Director of Public Relations of the Union Territory who had given us an account of Soudagar. From AIR, Port Blair, I had obtained a script of a feature they had broadcast lately, under the bizarre title "The Man Who Survived on Human Flesh".

Soudagar had been deported to the Andamans, convicted of murder, in 1935. What he had done in his youth had completely faded from his memory. What made him a moving curio was his experience in the hands of the Japanese.

We practically forced him into our car the moment he emerged from the dispersing crowd.

'Do you intend to kidnap me?' he asked with a chuckle. A little coaxing and he stopped dragging his feet; he grew fluent, by and by, as my tiny tape recorder began whirling.

**And this was his story:**

By the middle of 1945 the islanders were left with no food. Bombardment by the Allies made it impossible for any ship carrying foodstuff to reach the harbour. Starvation was followed by a plundering spree and anarchy - a culture pioneered by the Jap colonialists themselves.

But the Japs, too, had their version of 'final solution' to the problem.

Five hundred villagers were taken to an island and clean machine-gunned. Not even one survived the operation. Heaps of bones were found by investigating officers only after the Japanese occupation ended and the horror was revealed by some distant onlookers.

Another day it was announced that the new masters of the archipelago would create opportunity for massive cultivation on the virgin soil of some uninhabited islands. Those willing to work were asked to gather in front of the Cellular Jail. Food, shelter and handsome remuneration awaited them.

Between six and seven hundred people responded. They were detained for a full day. 'Happiness will be yours in a few hours,' the starving multitude was told. They were driven in trucks covered by tarpaulin to Aberdeen jetty and herded into a ship.

It was dark and raining and a biting cold wind tore through the skin of the emaciated passengers. The ship was nearing the Havelock Island.

'Jump, you fools, quit our ship!' The command sounded like a terrible thunderclap through the lashing wind.

Was someone out with a joke?

Nothing, the white foam on the dancing waves apart, could be discerned No, that horrible voice must be a hallucination! But such a hope, desperately

Too many people have got too rich based on their proximity to the government.

Raghuram Rajan (Governor RBI)

cultivated, proved wistful before long. The passengers were pierced through by bayonets and many were beheaded. Flashes of lightning showed dozens of swords at their sinister best. Within minutes the ship was emptied of its human cargo.

Now, let us hear Saudagar who, too, was in the ship, hoping for a new life at dawn.

'I was at the rear of the boat when the massacre began - patient till the last moment. Then blindly I took the plunge. I splashed and gulped mouthfuls of salt water. My end had finally come, I was sure.'

'I started swimming - rather floundering in whichever direction the ocean in that dark stormy night chose to push me. Then my feet touched sand. "Come this way folks, shore this way," I shouted to my invisible fellow-travellers.'

Saudagar reached the shore of Havelock Island, panting and nearly dying. As dawn broke out, he saw corpses floating about, some with stomachs ripped open and some half-eaten by sea creatures. He counted up to 150 and gave up. Then he loitered and met the other horrified fellows who had managed to save them-selves. They talked to one another and a sort of fraternity developed among themselves.

'The first thing we did was to light a fire by rubbing bamboo poles together. We kept the fire going. In a single day, all the small insects of the shore were eaten up and we were nearly a hundred skeletons prowling about. There was nothing more to eat. Rain water was the only means for quenching thirst.'

For the first starving week, they would sit in batches and plan ways of keeping themselves alive and escaping to safety. But, after ten days:

I saw small groups of ghostly fellows sitting here and there, waiting for their deliverer - Death! Their bones are still lying all over that island. Have you ever been there?

Soon he felt something undefinable in the air. Those who still nurtured a flicker of life in them started forming packs and moving about. There was something stealthy, something mysterious and ominous in their movements. Saudagar was a loner. Occasionally he would get a whiff of the creepy smell of burning flesh.

He was bewildered. Then one day...

'Three chaps staggered towards me. Because I was a gardener, they wanted me to identify edible leaves. I went with them. While I was searching for such leaves, one of them suddenly caught me from behind, trying to gag me with one hand and stab me with the other. Here - look, I still bear the mark... And remember, he was also very weak and it was I who was getting murdered - life is the dearest object, *Saab* - so I pushed him off with all my might and he fell flat. I walked away. I was not chased because my would-be killers were left with no vigour to do so.'

The bemused Soudagar soon found out how the handful of survivors would move about like packs of wolves and pounce on a loner and strangulate him. They would then roast him and eat his flesh.

"The assassins themselves were in a pitiable state, their stomachs sunk into their spines, the ribcages showing and trembling with the rhythm of their feeble hearts. Each of them had started counting steps towards the dark abyss from which there was no return.

'My brain, dim and hazy, grasped a bizarre idea. Couldn't I do that? Oh no - not killing someone and eating him. That was beyond me. But there were corpses - quite fresh. One after one they collapsed never to stir again. Could not I?... Something had also started moving in closer - every moment - closer. I knew any time it would overtake me and I would also sprawl for good. So, what's wrong in it? ... what's wrong in it?... damn it, what's wrong in it?...'

'I got accustomed to it. But I think human flesh is poisonous. After a few days my eyes turned yellow. But I continued... until, one day, I could feel that death - that creeping shadow - was just there, standing behind me. My companion was lying on the beach - we did not have water for three days. My tongue felt like a dry twig. I thought I was being punished for my sin. I knelt down in meek supplication - I was praying to God for death, then suddenly... there was a shower!

I accepted the Grace of God in my cupped palms. I drank - and then soaked my shirt and wrung drips into the mouth of Govardhan Pandit - my only companion who also survived.'

The South African years were crucial to Gandhi, and to the distinctive form of political protest that is his most enduring legacy to India and the world.

The same day, Soudagar and Pandit were rescued by an **American** battleship heading towards Port Blair. Earlier, on the 14th of August 1945, Japan had **surrendered** the islands. The Rising Sun was brought down from the official buildings and for the next two years the Union Jack flew. Soudagar was flown to Singapore as a witness in the Court Martial of Vice-Admiral Hara and 36 Japanese officers charged with atrocities against the islanders. Hara was executed for ordering wanton killing.

A grey old Soudagar, a little befuddled, roamed the streets of Port Blair till the early nineties of the twentieth century.

Why did the Japanese carry out such massacres? Here is an extract from *The Statesman* of 27th October 1945:

It is alleged that after the Japanese Civil Governor had declared that the Japanese would be unable to feed the civilian population of Port Blair, about 700 natives, including women and children, we were told that they were to form a new colony on Have-lock Island and that they would embark at night. They set out, but a few hundred yards from the island, they were attacked and flung into the sea.'

We left Soudagar in his modest house behind a bazaar. He was happy to recount his recent feat in a running race, the laurels he received and how his picture glowed on the TV. I remembered the Ancient Mariner:

*I pass, like night, from land to land;  
I have strange power of speech;  
That moment that his face I see,  
I know the man that must hear me;  
To him my tale I teach.  
O Wedding-Guest! this soul hath been  
Alone on a wide wide sea :  
  
So lonely 'twas, that God himself  
Scarce seemed there to be.*

• • •

*He prayeth best, who loveth best  
All things both great and small  
For the dear God who loveth us,  
He made and loveth all*



## John Beames and the Making of Modern Orissa - I

Prof. Sachidananda Mohanty

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Despite the passage in time, the moral and psychological universe of the Raj remains obscure and inscrutable. In neither political history nor public discourse (William Dalrymple's *The Last Moghal* is the latest example of this phenomenon) is there a definite verdict about the nature of the British rule in India.

The Raj's impact on India was complex and many sided. From the Royal Charter of 1600 to the Regulatory Act of 1773 which saw the emergence of the Governor General, to the dissolution of trade monopoly in 1813 and finally the uprising of 1857 that witnessed power passing into the hands of the Crown, British administration triggered profound changes in the Indian subcontinent.

The official arrival of the British in the Eastern Orissa in 1803 brought in its wake profound changes. The Bengali Zamindari system, "Sunset Laws" (that institutionalized absentee landlordism), the printing and circulation of the New and Old Testaments, the opening of the Missionary schools, evangelization that went hand in hand with secular Education and the shaping of new genres and canon in the Oriya Language and literature, the emergence of the new literati that espoused the various reformatory movements all these were the clear fall out of the Raj in Orissa.

Basing myself on archival material recently acquired from the Bengal Asiatic Society and other important sources, I shall suggest in this essay that the trope 'English' operated in complex and many-sided manner in British India. Post-colonial scholars have, often held scholarship by Englishmen in the field of comparative philology and linguistics, beginning with Sir William Jones and others, as suspect. Much of the study of the colonial discourse, in the recent past has, with credible evidence, unmasked the nexus between Knowledge and Power. It seems to me however that the time has come to take a more considered and balanced view of the matter that eschews politically correct Good/Evil Manichean binaries. In this sense,

The genius of the people of India does not lie in historical research: to them metaphysical thought is the chief end of man, and they are content to leave to Western scholars the task of filling in the large gaps of unexplored country in their history.

Sinclair Stevenson

the Archives become a crucial corrective to opinionated judgment.

In his 'Introduction' to John Beames's *Essays on Orissa History and Literature*, Prafulla Pathagara, 2004, editor, Kailash Pattanaik says:

I have made an attempt to compile Beames's indological, philological and literary writings on Orissa, which lie scattered in books and journals and are difficult to access, in a single volume. Some of his important writings were published in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Indian Antiquary.

British administration in Orissa was for the most part indirect. Smaller Kingdoms and chieftains were allowed to exist under the control of British residents while the peasantry got increasingly impoverished thanks to wide scale looting that masquerade as tax administration. As G. Toynbee, who worked as Revenue Superintendent of Cuttack, poignantly reported in his book *A Sketch of the History of Orissa from 1803 to 1828*:

The taxes levied in different places varied with the idiosyncrasies of the government or the individual tax collector but it may be noticed that people were mulcted for having houses to live in or, if they had no houses, for their temporary sheds and huts. If they ate grain, their food was taxed at every stage in progress through the country; if they ate meat, they paid duty on it through their butchers. When they married, they paid for beating drums or putting up marquees. If they rejoiced at the set Hindu festivals, they paid again; at the Holi for instance, on the red powder they threw at each other, at the "pala", on the ornaments which they tied to the horns of their cattle. Drinkers were mulcted by an excise and smokers by a tobacco duty. Weavers, oil pressers, fishermen, and such low caste industrials, had as a matter of course to bear a special burthen. No houses or slaves or cattle could be sold, no cloth could be stamped... even prayer for rain could not be offered, without payment of its special and peculiar tax. In short, a poor man could not shelter himself, or clothe himself, earn his bread, or eat or marry, or rejoice, or even ask his God for better weather, without contributing separately on each individual act to the necessities of the State.

At least four distinct but interrelated factors

seem to shape the emergence of colonial modernity and regional formations in Eastern India. Each of these the economic, the political, the linguistic and the cultural can trace its strength to the British Empire. Its actual impact varied in historical terms but the vastness of its sway and its outreach remained supremely unchallenged. Rebellion or resistance by peasants, tribal or errant chieftains were swiftly crushed and journals like *Utkal Deepika* of Gouri Shankar Ray or *Utkal Sahitya* of the Brahmo Biswanath Kar, had to avoid affront to the 'local or distant authorities for their continued and trouble free existence.

Language politics in Eastern India in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was a significant driving force for the emergence of the regional consciousness. The use of language for the acquisition of secular power gained a particular urgency during the colonial period in many parts of British India, though there were bound to be specific regional manifestations. In 1867, for instance, Deputy Magistrate Rangalal Bandhopadhyaya spoke in public meeting of the primacy of Bengali over Oriya. Like wise, well-known Bengali scholar Rajendralal Mitra who came to study the temples of Cuttack declared that there was no need to have a separate language for a mere 20 lakh Oriya population. In fact, Mitra argued that Orissa was doomed to remain backward so long as it had a separate language. Around this time, Pandit Kanchi Chandra Bhattacharya of Balasore Zilla School published a pamphlet 'Oriya is not a separate language.'

The Oriya – Bengali language conflict had basically an economic origin. Language hegemony was deployed by sections of the Bengali colonial administration for the exercise of power by cornering government jobs. One of the earlier manifestations by resistance to the colonial administration in Orissa was the assertion of linguistic and cultural identity. Thus right up to 1920, the struggle of the Oriya gentry or literati lay in the attempt to fashion out a separate regional identity in the form of sub nationalism. Here the British administration played an interesting and helpful role quite in contrast to the way they divided Bengal in 1805. Thus, while the British in 1903 granted in principle the formation of the Oriya speaking province, in 1905, a radically different scenario was unfolding in neighboring Bengal.

Nixon and Henry Kissinger, were driven not just by such Cold War calculations, but a starkly personal and emotional dislike of India and Indians.

Many discursive practices were deployed by the colonial state, its auxiliary agencies as well as its ideological and cultural apparatuses. In some critical quarters, colonialism is reduced to the simplistic categories of domination and subjugation. Rather, one might argue that it brings to its fold a whole range of responses going beyond rebellion or acquiescence. For instance, it may be said that the role played by the English missionaries in colonial Orissa has been complex and interesting. Their presence intersects categories such as nativity, westernization and colonial modernity. Their discourse of evangelization brought in competing theologies and epistemologies and their promotion and patronage of vernacular language and literature shaped Oriya cultural consciousness and the regional imaginary in a decisive manner.

Contrary to popular belief, English missionaries in 19<sup>th</sup> century India had an uneasy and antagonistic relationship with the English rulers. William Carey, the first missionary of the Baptist Missionary Society reached Calcutta in 1793. Since the East India Company's Charter did not provide for missionary work, he shifted to Serampore, a Danish settlement and founded a mission in 1799. The Orissa Mission commenced its work after the Charter Act of 1813 when the ban on missionary activity was lifted. It was Rev. Clandius Buchanan, Chaplain of Fort William what facilitated the creation of the Orissa Mission. On his return journey from Chilka, looking forwards the Jagannath temple of Puri, he wrote on 23 June 1806, three years before the English officially came to Orissa:

"I cherished in my thoughts the design of some Christian institution which being fostered by Britain, my native country, might gradually undermine the baneful idolatry and put out the memory of it forever."

The diary notes of Rev. Lacey and Rev. Amos Sutton are meticulously kept. Remarkably objective, they refrain from either magnifying the difficulties involved or indulging in self congratulatory exercises. Such records were often shared by preaches when they met on social occasions. Missionaries in Orissa played a vital role in shaping the Oriya liberty imagination. J.P. Das's play *Sunderdas* 2004 represents the encounter between the missionaries and a Sadhu called Sundardas who behaved in interfaith dialogue and hybrid identities. It was not in conversion, however, but in the domain of education, printing and

publication that missionaries left an indelible mark in colonial Orissa. In direct contrast to Macaulay's Minutes of 1835 and Wood's dispatch of 1854, the English missionaries in Orissa spearheaded vernacular education and elementary education for the masses.

(to be continued)



## Economics and Ethics - Some Rambling Thoughts

Dr. K.S.R.V.S. Chalam

Senior Economic Adviser,

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Liberalization has been accepted as a broad economic policy across the major political parties except for communist parties in India for the last two and half decades. However, the recent debates on economic policy relating to natural resources like coal, 2G spectrum and FDI in some of the sectors have raised some doubts with regard to Market as a panacea. It is a moot point whether these doubts are political posturing or economic ideology. The recent debate between Sen and Bhagawati on road to development is another dimension of state vs. market debate though it is less of economic ideology and more of political posturing.

For his part, Sen (Amartya Kumar Sen) had upheld what he calls the "Kerala experience" — high social spending resulting in growth — as a role model for other states to follow. The Nobel Prize-winning Harvard University professor is of the view that the Gujarat development model suffered from weaknesses on the social side and could not be considered a success, whereas the Bhagawati school believes the Gujarat model of development, which they reckoned is superior to the contrasting Kerala model of development. They described the Gujarat model as a metaphor for a primarily growth and private entrepreneurship driven development and the Kerala model for a primarily redistribution and state-driven development.

Economics is basically like any other social science is a value loaded discipline and has been an ideological ground (capitalism and communism/socialism) for geo-political conflicts especially after

The First World War " was the first calamity of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the calamity from which all other calamities sprang."

Second World War. However, a school of thought in economics that supports capitalism could disguise itself as a science through excessive use of mathematics. The advent of neo-classical economics in support of Capitalism and its engineering approach (use of mathematics) did arrogate itself to pose as a science called positive economics. The methodology of so called ‘positive economics’ has not only shunned normative analysis in economics, it has also had the effect of ignoring a variety of complex ethical considerations which affect human behavior.

Capitalism survived twentieth century. Indeed, it did not just survive; it triumphed over major challenges posed to it: fascism and Leninism. It has eliminated socialism outside capitalism as serious prospect. Socialism within capitalism is still around but it is a pale shadow of its former self. There were problems with capitalism many a time starting with great depression in 1930s and each time it bounced back. Capitalism works on the principle of market mechanism.

A market is a place real or virtual where buyers and sellers interact and thus determine the price of a commodity/service transacted. In a broad sense, the discipline of economics is aimed at understanding and explaining how markets work in modern capitalist economies. The most famous of the early political economists was Adam Smith who in his book, “An Enquiry into Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations” (1776), attempted to understand the market economy that was emerging at that time. He argued that the market economy is made up of a series of individual exchanges or transactions which automatically create a functioning and ordered system. This happens even though none of the individuals involved in the millions of transactions had intended to create a system. Each person looks only to his own self-interest but in the pursuit of this self-interest the interests of all or of society also seem to be looked after.

*“It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest. We address ourselves not to their humanity but to their self-love and never talk to them of our own necessities but of their advantages”* (Adam Smith 1776, pp 26-7)

In this sense there seems to be some sort of an unseen force at work that converts what is good for each individual into what is good for society. This unseen force was called the invisible hand by Adam Smith. Thus he argued that the capitalist economy is driven by individual self-interest and works best when individual buyers and sellers make rational decisions that serve their own interests. The society overall benefits when individuals pursue their own self-interest in the market because it stimulates the economy and creates more wealth. This economic philosophy was also given the name Laissez-faire means leave alone or let it be.

The meaning and interpretation of ‘self-interest’ as used by Adam Smith is often misunderstood. This ‘self-interest’ may be starting point from where economics slowly but steadily moved away from ethics, though Smith never intended. According to Sen, the misinterpretation of Smith’s complex attitude to motivation and markets, and the neglect of his ethical analysis of sentiments and behaviour, fits well into the distancing of economics from ethics that has occurred with the development of modern economics. Smith did, in fact, make pioneering contributions in analysing the nature of mutually advantageous exchanges, and the value of division of labour, and since these contributions are perfectly consistent with human behaviour *sans bonhomie* and ethics, references to these parts of Smith’s work have been profuse and exuberant. Other parts of Smith’s writings on economics and society, dealing with observations of misery, the need for sympathy, and the role of ethical considerations in human behaviour, particularly the use of behaviour norms, have become relatively neglected as these considerations have become unfashionable in economics.

It may surprise those who would discount Smith as an advocate of ruthless individualism that his first major work concentrates on ethics and charity. In ‘The Theory of Moral Sentiments’, Smith wrote: “How selfish so every man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature which interest him in the fortune of others and render their happiness necessary to him though he derives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it.”

At the same time, Smith had a benign view of

The curtain of your life was drawn between despair and dawn.

Peter Porter

self-interest, denying that self-love "was a principle which could never be virtuous in any degree." Smith argued that life would be tough if our "affections, which, by the very nature of our being, ought frequently to influence our conduct, could upon no occasion appear virtuous, or deserve esteem and commendation from anybody." Smith did not view sympathy and self-interest as antithetical; they were complementary. "Man has almost constant occasion for the help of his brethren, and it is in vain for him to expect it from their benevolence only," he explained.

It is also important here to distinguish between self-interest and selfishness. Any economic transaction pursued with self-interest may cause some pecuniary loss to others. Voluntary exchange is considered mutually beneficial to both parties involved, because buyers or sellers would not trade if either thought it detrimental to themselves. However, a transaction can cause additional effects on third parties. From the perspective of those affected, these effects may be negative (pollution from a factory), or positive (honey bees kept for honey that also pollinate neighboring crops). If the sum total of the negative and positive externalities is negative then it is selfishness and the state has to curb such activities.

The market mechanism, interaction of demand and supply, under very restrictive and implausible conditions would result in perfect competition. However, markets have a tendency to become monopoly, whether neo-classical economists like it or not. The Competition Commission in India and Anti-Trust laws in US are meant for ensuring these conditions. The markets in perfect competition would ensure efficiency of resources both of allocation and use. The firms that cannot operate at least cost and offer lowest price would not survive in the market. The votaries of market as panacea for development problems wittingly or unwittingly forget that society is much larger than the market especially in the third world. The market participation is possible through being on the demand curve by having money or supply curve by participating in the labour market. Thus, people who have neither human resources nor financial are outside the market but still live or not able to live in the society.

Economics would serve humanity better not by

pretending as a science, but by accepting that it is a social science with ethical considerations. It is basically a value loaded discipline and by using mathematical models does not make it science. It would be better to be honest and explicitly state its ideological position than arrogate itself to be objective.



## **State over commerce or commerce over state?**

(Keynote address : International Seminar on Corporate Jurisprudence January 29, 2014, Amity University, Lucknow)

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Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen! And, that of course, includes our young friends from Amity University, Lucknow campus. I am quite delighted to attend this international seminar on corporate jurisprudence. I am grateful to Mr Naresh Chandra for the invitation. In this keynote address, I'll argue that while commerce is critical to lift millions of people out of poverty, without the regulation by the state, commerce will neither flourish nor achieve its purpose.

Since the seminar is interestingly titled as "corporate jurisprudence", let me begin with exploring the term "jurisprudence". In 1970, Justice P.B. Mukharji in his seminal Tagore Law Lectures on what he characterized as the 'New Jurisprudence' had said the following:

"[t]he teaching of jurisprudence is a horror and nightmare for students, who are anxious to bury it no sooner they have taken their last examination on it". (P.B. Mukharji, Mukharji on the New Jurisprudence: The Grammar of Modern Law, Eastern Law House, Calcutta, 1970).

Sadly, little has changed even though we are in 2014 today. The so-called "new" jurisprudence as well as the "old" Jurisprudence both generally remain esoteric. However, the significance of a good comprehension of legal theory can hardly be overemphasized. A command over Jurisprudence is supposed to separate a mere "lawyer" from the

I think most creative people want to express appreciation for being able to take advantage of the work that's been done by others before us. Steve Jobs

"jurist" - whatever the two terms might mean.

Indeed, the Constitution of India provides for elevation of a "jurist" to the bench. Article 124 (3) (c) of the Constitution of India, in relevant part, states:

"A person shall not be qualified for appointment as a Judge of the Supreme Court unless he is a citizen of India and -- ... is, in the opinion of the President, a distinguished jurist." Interestingly, this provision has not been utilized till date. Does it mean that there are no "jurists" in India or that the Supreme Court hasn't been successful in finding one?

In a different, but perhaps relatively more apt context for the purposes of our discussion, Nani Palkhivala, arguably India's one of the greatest lawyers, writing about India, had felicitously mentioned that: "India is like a donkey carrying a sack of gold -- the donkey doesn't know what it is carrying but is content to go along with the load on its back".

Knowledge of law sans jurisprudence would be akin to proving Palkhivala's point in the realm of law. This would more accurately be so in the context of corporate law. After all, what would be corporate law without jurisprudence. Students of corporate law would recall *Salomon v. Salomon* which firmly upheld the doctrine of separate legal personality and limited liability so that creditors of an insolvent company could not sue the company's shareholders to pay up outstanding debts even if there were no practical difference between the company and the dominant shareholder.

But for the jurisprudence developed in *Salomon*, where would corporate law be today? But for the concepts of limited liability and separate legal personality, the vehicles of corporate form wouldn't perhaps be ubiquitous. And, but for the jurisprudence developed in *Salomon*, it wouldn't be possible to generate wealth at such a massive scale with a potential to lift millions out of poverty. In spite of the recent financial crisis, the western countries generally enjoy a much better standard of living compared with India. Is it a mere quirk of fate that the western societies have little poverty?

One of the most significant reasons behind the absence of poverty in western societies is industrialization which in turn was accentuated

through the surplus capital generated through corporations. But, is the corporate form really a western concept? Professor Vikram Khanna of Michigan Law School (currently teaching as a visiting professor at Harvard) wrote the following in 2005:

"...business people on the Indian subcontinent utilized the corporate form from a very early period. The corporate form (e.g., the sreni) was being used in India from at least 800 B.C., and perhaps even earlier, and was in more or less continuous use since then until the advent of the Islamic invasions around 1000 A.D. This provides evidence for the use of the corporate form centuries before the earliest Roman proto-corporations. In fact, the use of the sreni in Ancient India was widespread including virtually every kind of business, political and municipal activity. Moreover, when we examine how these entities were structured, governed and regulated we find that they bear many similarities to corporations and, indeed, to modern US corporations. The familiar concerns of agency costs and incentive effects are both present and addressed in quite similar ways as are many other aspects of the law regulating business entities. Further, examining the historical development of the sreni indicates that the factors leading to the growth of this corporate form are consistent with those put forward for the growth of organizational entities in Europe. These factors include increasing trade, methods to contain agency costs, and methods to patrol the boundaries between the assets of the sreni and those of its members (i.e., to facilitate asset partitioning and reduce creditor information costs). Finally, examination of the development of the sreni in Ancient India sheds light on the importance of state structure for the growth of trade and the corporate form as well as on prospects for some kind of convergence in corporate governance".

It is obvious from Professor Khanna's observations above that the corporate form as a business vehicle hasn't been alien to Ancient India. Further, it appears from Professor Khanna's account that the state had a critical role to play in the emergence of growth of trade i.e. commerce and the corporate form. Why should the modern day India be so sceptical of them?

To my mind, in the Indian context, there are two

I didn't arrive at my understanding of the fundamental laws of the universe through my rational mind.

— Albert Einstein

major reasons behind the present day scepticism - first, the popular notions of business people of as being "greedy" and second, the spate of recent scandals such as 2G spectrum scandal and coal allocation bordering on "crony capitalism".

We have just celebrated the 65th Republic Day. On 25th November, 1949, this is what Dr B R Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly:

"I feel, however good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad lot. However bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out to be good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot. The working of a Constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the Constitution. The Constitution can provide only the organs of State such as the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. The factors on which the working of those organs of the State depend are the people and the political parties they will set up as their instruments to carry out their wishes and their politics. Who can say how the people of India and their purposes or will they prefer revolutionary methods of achieving them? If they adopt the revolutionary methods, however good the Constitution may be, it requires no prophet to say that it will fail. It is, therefore, futile to pass any judgement upon the Constitution without reference to the part which the people and their parties are likely to play."

(<http://parliamentofindia.nic.in/ls/debates/vol11p11.htm>)

What is true of the Constitution, is equally, if not more true of corporate law. If corporate participants are "greedy", what is that corporate law will be able to achieve? Of course, this is not an argument for the absence of regulation. As corporate shenanigans interpret, misinterpret, and reinterpret corporate law, parliament's job is to keep pace with them and try and outmaneuver.

Perhaps this is the reason why India has a brand new corporate law in the form of the Companies Act, 2013. Would it really be any better than the Companies Act, 1956? Well, only time will tell.

Until then, what could be asserted with reasonable certitude is that while commerce is critical to lift millions of people out of poverty, without the

regulation by the state, commerce will neither flourish nor achieve its purpose. Indeed, commerce itself could be the by-product of the regulation by the state.

I am sure several paper presenters would touch upon many of the above issues. I've also had an opportunity to notice that amongst the list of suggested topics there are quite fascinating ones such as Robert Nozick's entitlement theory. I'll be interested in listening to the application of such theories in the context of corporate jurisprudence. I look forward to listening. Thank you!



## Book Review

### **The Accidental Prime Minister The Making and Unmaking of Manmohan Singh**

**Sanjaya Baru**

Penguin Group 2014 pp 301, Rs. 599/-

Manmohan Singh "remains not just a good man but in the final analysis a good Prime Minister," writes Sanjaya Baru in his book released on the eve of the 16<sup>th</sup> general election. Interestingly and ironically too, the former media adviser to the prime minister who wrote this book to rebut the charges of incompetence and comments ridiculing the head of the UPA government in public and private, had to defend himself against adverse media reactions and ire of the Congress Party. No wonder that in the Durbar politics of Delhi, where the corridors of power are manned by sycophants, it is customary to portray authors of pinpricks as assassins and conspirators.

But, Sanjaya Baru, the seasoned journalist and experienced economic editor, stoutly and effectively replied to the furore against the publication and timing of the book release. He begins his work by dedicating it to his mentors 'the legendary' H. Y. Sharada Prasad and K. Subrahmanyam. "I have combined admittedly subjective accounts with hopefully objective analysis... I purge myself of pride and prejudice while telling a story that needs to be told," states Sanjaya Baru. It is an objective study of Manmohan Singh's role as Prime Minister and contribution to national stability and development and also of his avoidable acts of omission, long and inexplicable spells of silence and

In spite of its imperfections, Indian democracy has survived because of its will to implement the rule of law, and its commitment to social justice and to the goal of ensuring dignity to every citizen. - T.S. Krishna Murthy

above all his unwillingness(inability?) to assert his authority.

The rise of the reclusive academic to the pinnacle of power was indeed accidental. Few expected the Oxbridge economist to stray into politics and occupy seats of power. When Manmohan Singh opted to quit UNCTAD to get into politics, Secretary-General Raul Prebisch said “Sometimes it is wise to be foolish,” a comment Manmohan Singh liked to recall later while taking critical decisions. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao inducted Manmohan Singh into his cabinet as finance minister and needed to use the persuasive skills of his media adviser P. V. R. K. Prasad to restrain the sensitive Manmohan Singh from quitting the cabinet every time there was an attack on the government and the finance minister. (According to Abid Hussain, P. C. Alexander also played a major role in coaxing Manmohan Singh to stay on.) That was a critical period in the history of the nation when economic reforms were launched to pull the economy out of grave crisis.

The reluctant finance minister of the 90s became the ‘accidental prime minister’ in 2004. Sonia Gandhi was, of course, the undisputed ‘monarch’ of all that she surveyed. As Sanjaya writes “In the UPA, however, Congress party spokespersons let it be known to all concerned that Sonia Gandhi would remain the boss even though she was not the PM, despite her ‘renunciation of power.’ More importantly Sanjaya adds, “...the arrangement also implied...” that “...the credit for all the good work done by the government would go to Sonia, and all the blame for any mistakes would go to Dr. Singh” who “...never shied away from this political reality.” Sonia Gandhi “never allowed any one person to assume he or she was the last word on any issue,” sums up Sanjaya. The prime minister had also to sort out internal differences between colleagues in his cabinet and officials in the PMO such as those between Natwar Singh and J. N. Dixit, and Shivraj Patil and M. K. Narayanan. Hard it always was for the soft spoken prime minister and his office to put up with the messages and ‘instructions’ that constantly flowed from No. 10 Janpath to 7 Race Course Road (RRR), a regular feast for the gossip hungry media! It is noteworthy to mention here that Sanjaya recalls the words of advice he received from the venerable Sharada Prasad “Tell the prime minister that he should be politically active and do what he

can and must as PM without necessarily challenging her authority as party president.”

Sanjaya showers high praise on Manmohan Singh’s first term as prime minister: “No congress leader- and I include here the party’s leader Sonia Gandhi and its ‘heir apparent’ Rahul Gandhi- can match his unique combination of personal integrity, administrative experience, international stature and political appeal across a wide swathe of public opinion. These qualities were strikingly evident during the first term of the Congress led UPA alliance from 2004 to 2009.” The author hails Manmohan’s return to power in 2009 for a second term as he became “the first prime minister after Jawaharlal Nehru to have returned to office after a full five year term and with an improved majority to boot. Nehru managed that only in 1957, not in 1962.”

However, the financial scandals that rocked the UPA government and the loss of control over governance by the ‘ineffective’ prime minister after his ‘handsome victory’ in the 2009 elections ‘dismayed’ Sanjaya Baru. The prime minister’s image ‘plummeted’ and was ‘irretrievably damaged’ because of ‘his long public silences, his reduced visibility, the corruption exposes, the policy paralysis, his willingness to be pushed around by his party and coalition partners and to have his decisions publicly challenged by Rahul Gandhi.’

On January 3<sup>rd</sup> 2014, less than six months before the end of his second term as prime minister of India, Manmohan Singh said at a press conference “I honestly believe that history will be kinder to me than the contemporary media, or for that matter, the Opposition parties in Parliament. I cannot divulge all things that take place in the Cabinet system of government. I think, taking into account the circumstances, and the compulsions of coalition polity, I have done as best as I could under the circumstances.” Sanjaya Baru adds that in UPA-1, “the economy logged the highest rates of growth for any plan period since Independence.” The author likens Manmohan Singh to Bheeshma of Mahabharata who was consumed by ‘impotent rage’ and whose failure was due to misplaced loyalty. “That was Dr. Singh’s fatal error of judgment,” sums up Sanjaya Baru. Obviously the Oxbridge scholar did not learn from G. K. Chesterton’s

The merits of democracy are negative: it does not ensure good government  
but it prevents certain evils. Bertrand Russell

famous maxim that in politics loyalty and gratitude are the signs of weakness.

Any review of such an eminently readable work would be incomplete without reference to author's gift for narrating anecdotes with a touch of humour. Manmohan Singh is not always all seriousness and silence. When Sanjaya reported to the prime minister the story from the Hindi media that "BJP leader L. K. Advani was offering prayers and conducting a *havan* to ensure the ouster of the Singh government," Manmohan Singh "...burst out laughing, something he rarely did. 'He will never succeed,' he said emphatically, 'if his priests are going by my official date of birth!' Mrs. Kaur, Sanjaya reveals, was a source of unfailing strength and support to Prime Minister Singh in his hectic daily work schedules.

Manmohan Singh has ceased to be the Prime Minister. He will, however, remain forever in the hearts of the people as the architect of economic reforms and as a gentleman-prime minister.

A. Prasanna Kumar



## VIVEKANANDA

Sri. C. Sivasankaram

An intent gaze at the statue of Swami Vivekananda, standing majestically facing the Bay of Bengal beside the Ramakrishna Mission Ashrama quietly unveils before us the picture of a self-reliant, self-confident, self-respecting and self-sufficient proud Aryan of Rigveda proportionately blended with the enlightened self-realized, ascetical Aryan of the Aranyaka Upanishad. He was not a meek, mild Hindu as Winston Churchill caricatured the Indian in his imperial hauteur.

Bom on January 12, 1863, as Narendranath of the deeply religious parents Viswanatha Dutta and Bhuvaneswari Devi, he made wonder-struck by his deeds, the people that enthusiastically came to see him.

He was a 'discerning and versatile monk of monks. The Vaidik heritage came to stay in him to get spread far and wide engulfing human multitudes, to awake, to arise and to stop not until the goal reached. Was he not the peripatetic personification of India's

wisdom, commonsense, egalitarianism and practical philosophy?

He was from the moment he saw light of the day a wonder boy, a boy of immense potential essential for the making of a world-teacher of the kind of Adi Sankara who in his day resuscitated, regenerated the cold, maimed slumbering lion, Hindu wisdom. Swamiji was a spiritual athlete, a religious giant in a hurry to attain the goal not only for himself but for all mankind. His abhorrence of individual emancipation was told and retold in multimillion tongues, In a sense he was quite the antithesis of his seraphic master Sri Ramakrishna who long waited for the man who would don his mantle, who would thunder and inundate the world with the heaven-born waters' This altogether novel message which already made thrust into the pastures of faiths faded and crippled by long misuse.

These were faiths that were able to ruin the prospect of human advancement that were dividing, that were stunting the psychical, spiritual progress given impetus to by the Gita laying ground for raising a citadel of civilization which could accommodate all faiths without detriment to their individual identity.

The Raja of Kshetri on the eve of Swamiji's departure to the US rechristened Narendranam Dutta as Vivekananda Swami who was to become the noble (sovereign) Swami of the spiritual world.

Elder by six years to Bapu, the Swami did the spadework for the political regeneration of India. He was not a mere awakener. He was the heart and soul of the Indian masses. He had felt the pulse of India. He coined the phrase Daridra Narayan for the overwhelming down-trodden people of Mother India. "Daridra" denoted "Rudra" and "Narayan" is the source and destination of all creation.

Thus he elevated the position of the poor man stricken in the web of grilling poverty to one worshippable and regarded as means to obtain visa to the place of gods. Unlike Sri Ramakrishna, who stuck to Dakshineswar his disciple Swami Vivekananda, the saviour of the soul of humanity and the restorer of human dignity converted the whole world as the viable arena of his movement underscored by the spirit that rests not until it attained the end.

Swamiji was 30 years old when his virile inner

Vivekananda will be remembered as one of the main moulders of the modern world.

A.L. Basham

voice impelled and instigated him to leave for America to participate in the proceedings of the Parliament of Religions to which he was no invitee nor was he aware of the venue of it in the vast America.

Penniless, no cold resisting clothing, no friend, - none but the invisible God as his companion he reached at long last Chicago, the venue of Parliament of Religions, in September 1893. Chicago was the Bodh Gaya of Vivekananda. He possessed the heart of the Buddha and the head of Adi Sankara. His looks were sparkling with the inner Light of Divinity. His language, his dignified demeanour played not a little in endearing him to the affluent American. The Vaidik Lion in unmistakable majesty entered the Parliament of Religions. No sooner he pronounced the very simple opening words "Sisters arid Brothers of America" than hundreds did arise in their seats and applauded. He presented Hinduism as "the Mother of all religions". Who taught the dual precept: "accept and understand one another". He quoted two telling passages from the song celestial, "whoever comes to me through whatsoever form, I reach Him".

"All men are struggling through paths which in end lead to me".

The Parliament of Religions gave Swami the breath-taking orator, an ovation. He spoke about eight times. The 'New York Herald', the 'Boston Evening Post-script' stated that he was a great favourite of the Parliament. To keep the attention of audience unflagged it was to announce that Vivekananda would

speak at the end. It was the triumph of vaidik India!

Swami was the *Sthitapragna* and *Vichakshana* of the Gita. It may be centuries hence that mankind may see the kind of complete man, of complete manliness.

Aurobindo felt Vivekananda still lives in the soul of his Motherland, and in the soul other children. Two years older and a world-renowned poet laureate himself Gurudev Tagore said, the message of Vivekananda is a call to the totality of our manhood. To Nehru he was one of the great founders of modern movement of India. Subhas Chandra Bose wrote, "If Sri Swami had been alive, I would have been at his feet. Modern India is his creation-if I err not". Swamiji was the personification of the harmony of all human energy, according to Romain Rolland.

In conclusion, Swamiji's spiritual universality knows no bounds, every creed is true, everything is God. In one of his sayings his spiritual universality went to the extreme extent that he uttered "if Christ were alive I would have washed his feet with my tears".

His heart equals with the heart of Mother India that offered asylum to the virtuous and the villainous. He was the eloquent epitome of Sanatana Dharma.

Swami Vivekananda, who shed his mortal frame on July 4, 1902, bequeathed to the nations of the world a dialect and a dharma that unify and vivify and that banish the contrary.



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