

MAHATMA GANDHI ON KHADI

“Khadi to me is the symbol of unity of Indian humanity, of its economic freedom and equality and, therefore, ultimately, in the poetic expression of Jawaharlal Nehru, “the livery of India’s freedom”, said Mahatma Gandhi. ‘Khadi is a symbol of truth and Ahimsa’ proclaimed the Mahatma. It became a part of Satyagraha that ‘combined the greatest love with the greatest opposition to wrong.’ Khadi’s ‘economic and humanitarian significance’ was elaborately explained. On Charkha Gandhiji said: “ The spinning wheel is not only the very symbol of passive resistance, it is also means of meditation. And so long as the peasants spin they have their self- respect and a measure of independence.” The two things, wrote C.F. Andrews, “whereby Mahatma Gandhi’s name will live, hundreds of years hence are 1) his khaddar programme, and 2) his practice of Satyagraha.” As Andrews pointed out khadi production was put forward as means of employment to ‘millions of agricultural people’ when it was not possible for them to work in the fields during the off season months. Khadi would usher in economic and social change in rural India and Gandhiji’s message spread far and wide, reaching out to remote corners of the country.

In 1921 Gandhiji toured Andhra desa for 45 days and stated that “Andhra has limitless possibilities for Khadi production.” On April 1, at the AICC session at Bezwada, called *blazewada* for its heat, Andhra leader Konda Venkatappayya presented Gandhiji a khadi piece of cloth made at Ponduru, a small village in Srikakulam district in north Andhra. The Mahatma wondered how such fine quality khadi was spun on charkha in villages in the backward region of Andhra desa. Impressed by the quality of Ponduru khadi Gandhiji sent his son Devdas to visit those villages to gather details about the khadi produced in and around Ponduru. Devdas Gandhi visited Bonthalakoduru and Ampolu villages and submitted a report to his father on the skill of the artisans, many of whom were

women. *Young India* edited by Gandhiji carried an article on Ponduru khadi in its issue of May 18,1921. During his tour of Srikakulam district in 1927 Gandhiji witnessed the spinning of fine yarn on charkhas by women in these villages. Srikakulam town gave a civic reception to Gandhiji and presented a citation printed on Ponduru khadi cloth. Gandhiji put it up for auction and gave away the amount of Rs 250 it fetched for Harijanoddharana funds. The small and remote villages attracted national attention. Decades later Acharya Vinobha came and laid foundation stone for the Ponduru Weavers Association Building on October 1, 1955. Mahatma’s granddaughter Tara Bhattacharjee visited Ponduru and unveiled Gandhiji’s statue in the khadi bhandar building premises. Praising the quality of Ponduru khadi Tara Bhattacharjee said, it seems, that “if khadi is Ganga Ponduru khadi is Gangotri.”

Ponduru khadi not only survived the onslaught of booming modern textile business but continued to attract global attention, being exported to USA, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Japan and other advanced countries. U.S. President Bill Clinton was presented with Ponduru khadi during his visit to Hyderabad in 2003. People who wear khadi prefer Ponduru texture for its high quality and softness. Ponduru khadi wear, it is claimed, provides “coolness in summer and warmth in winter.” It is hand made and woven mostly by women. The charkha is the same as the one used in Gandhiji’s time.

The Mahatma called ‘khadi a bridge between the rich and the poor.’ At least five thousand families depend on khadi production for their livelihood in about 30 villages of the area. Women outnumber men as it is a source of empowerment and symbol of self-reliance and self-respect. That a journalist has written a book (in telugu) titled *Porbandar in Ponduru* bears testimony to their faith in and respect for the legacy Gandhiji left behind.

The Editor

In the resuscitation of khadi lies the resuscitation of the ruined village artisans. The revival of khadi presupposes the revival of all other village industries. Mahatma Gandhi

Secularism: a new approach

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The classical concept of secularism which we adopted soon after freedom is now subject to immense pressure and seems to be rapidly disintegrating. There are three main reasons for this. Firstly, the Western concept of secularism originated in Europe several centuries ago when the question of separation of the church and the state had become a major concern and a subject of fierce political controversy. India has never had an organized church, so the European concept of secularism was not really relevant to our requirements. The term *sarva-dharma-sambhava* which is sometimes used in place of secularism is, in fact, a far more meaningful formulation, and certainly much closer to the views of Mahatma Gandhi, who was deeply imbued with the Vedantic concept of the essential unity of all religions.

Secondly, our secularism was based upon the assumption, which has proved to be erroneous, that religion is a purely private affair with which the state is not concerned. This may be true as far as individual prayer and spiritual practice is concerned, but quite clearly the collective impact of religion upon society and the state is something which is far from personal. That millions of Indian citizens should flock regularly to the Kumbha Melas and numerous places of worship, whether Hindu, Muslim or any other, is itself an indication that the state has necessarily to take cognizance of religion as a social force. When we add the conflicts within and between religious groups which create serious law and order problems, it becomes quite clear that the myth of religion being a purely personal matter can no longer be sustained. Indeed, that view is often put forward by a section of our intelligentsia who, for all practical purposes, are not believers and who, therefore, tend to look upon all religions as being equally irrelevant hangovers from the past. It is obvious that such a view is shared only by a miniscule percentage of India's vast population.

The third assumption upon which classical

secularism is based revolves around the belief that, as education increases and living standards improve, religion will steadily lose its hold over the minds of people and become increasingly peripheral in its impact upon the human psyche. This assumption, too, has been repeatedly disproved in our own lifetimes. Not only in India but in other developing countries it has become clear that there is little relation between economic progress and the decline of religion. On the contrary, there is evidence to show that with increasing affluence in hitherto poor nations the interest in religion shows a marked upsurge. One has only to travel in the more affluent parts of India to see the tremendous burgeoning of new temples and gurdwaras, mosques and churches, while a survey of rural India will show that a place of worship is one of the first demands of a new affluent area. The upsurge of Islam in the oil-rich countries of West Asia proves the case convincingly.

If these three points are accepted, it becomes quite clear that we have to move on to an entirely new concept of secularism if it is to have relevance in the years and decades to come. In the Indian context, secularism cannot mean an anti-religious attitude or even an attitude of indifference towards religion on the part of the state. What it should mean is that, while there is no state religion, all religions are given respect and freedom of activity, provided they do not impinge upon each other and provided again that foreign funds are not allowed to be channelled through ostensibly religious organizations for political purposes.

It is also essential that we overcome the religion-phobia in our educational system. At present we are getting the worst of both worlds. On the one hand, we refuse to take a positive attitude of presenting our rich, multireligious heritage to our students, thus depriving them of contact with much that is noble and great in our civilization. On the other, we leave religious education entirely in the hands of bodies which are seldom adequately equipped to undertake the task, and usually offer narrow and obscurantist interpretations of the living truths that permeate religious traditions. While the new education policy

The only tyrant I accept in the world is the still voice within.

Mahatma Gandhi

talks of 'value education', it is clear that without an understanding of our religious heritage it will be extremely difficult to develop a coherent and widely accepted value system.

The multireligious situation in India is a reality which will not go away. Instead of approaching the whole problem from a negative viewpoint, it would be far better to take the bull by the horns and convert what is sometimes looked upon as a major 'problem' into a positive asset for the new India that is struggling to be born. This can only be done, if our educational system gladly accepts the multiplicity of our religious tradition. I have before me an admirable textbook brought out in London last year entitled *Worlds of Difference*, which presents a variety of cultural traditions in a simple, positive and appreciative manner. Sponsored by the World Wildlife Fund and with a foreword by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the book published by Blackie has separate chapters on the Chinese world, the humanist world, the Jewish world and the Muslim world. Attractively illustrated with photographs from the various religious traditions, it is accompanied by a guide which provides the teacher with an interpretative framework for the classroom. The book is meant for the age group 9-13, but much of it is useful for older children also.

I doubt if in our educational system, whether at the primary, secondary or higher levels, there is a single book which presents the rich diversity of the Indian cultural tradition in this manner. Even at the post-graduate level there is hardly any significant work being done in the field of religious studies and comparative religion, which is so popular an area in the West. Inter-religious dialogue is also virtually non-existent in our country. All this is a reflection of the fact that among our elite religion seems to have become unfashionable. This is a sad commentary upon our intellectual capabilities. India is by far the richest area for multireligious studies anywhere in the world, and should attract some of our best scholars. Hinduism itself, the religion of over four-fifths of Indians, is a vast treasure house of philosophy and mythology, sociology and worldly wisdom. Yet, in the last four decades, more work on Hinduism has been

done by foreign scholars than by our own. Evidently *their* 'secularism' is not affected by working on one of mankind's oldest religious traditions.

If we are really serious in our efforts to build a strong and integrated India, it is incumbent upon us to ensure that the younger generation understands and appreciates not only its own religious traditions but also those of the other religions in the country. How many Muslims in India are able even remotely to appreciate the depth of feeling among the Hindus regarding the sanctity of Lord Rama's birthplace? Conversely, how many Hindus understand the emotional trauma among Muslims when they see idols being worshipped in what they consider to be a mosque? I do not want to comment on this deeply divisive issue, which is still *sub judice*, except to say that in Kashmir we do have places of worship which are common both to the Hindus and the Muslims, where *drati* and *namdz* are done at the same time. But my point is that the gulf of incomprehension between the Hindus and the Muslims on this issue is fraught with grave danger for the nation, and is a reflection of our failure over the last forty years to tackle the religious issues adequately.

No nation can continue to grow if its central concepts become fossilized and it loses the capacity for creative reinterpretation of its philosophical roots. The great secret of Indian civilization, which has survived so long lies precisely in its capacity for such periodic reformulations. It is no longer good enough for us to try and hide behind an outmoded concept of secularism. What is needed is a deeper understanding of the importance of religion in the life of our people, and the formulation of a new and dynamic interpretation of secularism which would ensure the creative co-existence of our many religions, all making a positive contribution to the rich and varied mosaic that is India.

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CPS offers its grateful thanks to Dr. Karan Singh



Under any circumstances do not let your speech be tainted by harshness.

Sri Satya Sai Baba

'A beautiful dialogue between Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore'

Once Gurudev Tagore asked Gandhiji : "Gandhiji, are you so unromantic ? When in the early dawn, the morning sun rises, does it not fill your heart with joy to see its reddish glow ? When the birds sing, does not your heart thrill with its divine music ? When the rose opens its petals and blooms in the garden, does its sight not bring cheer to your heart ?" The Mahatma replied: "Gurudev, I am not so dumb or insensitive as not to be moved by the beauty of the rose or the morning rays of the sun or the divine music of the birds. But what can I do ? My one desire, my one anxiety, my one ambition is : when shall I see the red tint of the rose on the cheeks of hungry naked millions of my people? When shall I hear the sweet and melodious song of the birds in place of their agonising sighs — when will such music come out of their soul ? And when will that day come, when the light of the morning sun will illumine the heart of the common man in India? When will I see its lustre and brightness on his face?" My friends, that day is still far off and it is for you, the youth of this country to bring it nearer and to fulfil the dream of Mahatma Gandhi.

(From Justice P.N. Bhagwati's Convocation Address at Andhra University in 1985)



INDIA HAS TO REVIVE U.S. TIES

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India-US relations have come into focus against the backdrop of the two recent visits to Delhi of senior members of the Obama cabinet. US Secretary of State John Kerry and his colleague, Defence Secretary Chuck Hagel made the first high level political contact with the new Indian government to finalise the agenda for the Obama-Modi meeting scheduled for September in Washington DC.

Transformation

This bi-lateral relationship underwent a major transformation in late 2008 when the long festering

nuclear nettle was resolved through a complex modus vivendi that accorded India an exceptional status in the global nuclear framework - and the deeply embedded 'estrangement' was expected to lead to progressively more robust engagement.

At the time, the UPA government led by the Congress included the left parties as part of the coalition and the nature of that debate is instructive. The US had provided India a rare opportunity for a geo-political and strategic accommodation which was in Delhi's abiding interest but the domestic political wrangling exuded little perspicacity. A zero-sum game ensued and neither the Congress, hobbled by the Left, nor the BJP in the opposition could evolve an objective and informed bi-partisan consensus on matters of deep politico-strategic import.

But for the external interlocutor, even the possibility of a less prickly relationship between India and the US had the desired effect in enhancing Delhi's credibility. It may be recalled that India's strategic relevance rose-and within Asia, the nuances were felt from China and Japan through to West Asia. Yet at a time when the Indian boat seemed to be rising, the hand on the tiller wavered, the waters for sure roiled by the global financial turbulence of that period and rank political diffidence.

In the intervening years, the UPA II government and the Obama administration were differently distracted and much of the hope was belied. The low-point in the bi-lateral was the Devyani episode where an Indian diplomat was treated in an extremely inappropriate manner and many of the latent anti-US anxieties in India came to the surface.

However to the credit of the two sides, quiet diplomacy has restored the relationship to a more even keel and the election of PM Modi has kindled fresh hope that the much needed political traction will be infused into what is a very critical bi-lateral. This hope flickered through the Kerry and Hagel visits despite that fact that India chose to stay outside the global trade facilitation agreement in that very week, much to US disappointment.

There is a voice that speaks to him, at supreme moments, with an irresistible assurance; and no power on earth can shake him when this call has come home to his mind and will as the voice of God.

C.F. Andrews (on Gandhiji's inner voice)

Divergence

A brief review would indicate that on the major political, trade-economic and security-strategic issues, it is more of dissonance than consensus that animates the bi-lateral relationship. From Russia and Ukraine, to Israel-Gaza and the WTO amongst other recent developments, it is evident that Delhi and Washington have divergent assessments about how these issues affect their core national interests and security.

Yet paradoxically, there is a correspondence over the central security concerns that each nation has prioritised. Over the last decade, both the US and India have flagged terrorism, non-state groups, deviant states, radical ideologies, weapons of mass destruction and the rise of China and have sought to either manage or contain these challenges - with limited success. Both have a shared interest in an equitable global trading system.

While the transactional element is no doubt the tangible indicator of the robustness of the bi-lateral - often quantified in trade, technology and related fiscal indicators, as also in empathetic politico-diplomatic engagement - the deeper relevance of India and the US to each other is existential.

A stable and mutually beneficial bi-lateral relationship is central to the management and realisation of the anxieties and aspirations respectively, of the two largest democracies notwithstanding their divisive, domestic socio-political constraints. This was at the core of the radical Bush initiative in July 2005 to recast the troubled bi-lateral in a more normative manner and PM Manmohan Singh at the time was able to stay the course despite the many handicaps and banana peels that threatened to derail the process.

Strategic

For India, a robust relationship with the US is more critical than it is for the latter. This is a reality that needs to be internalised in the Indian polity and the attempt to advance the relationship by stealth was a major shortcoming of the UPA government. The NDA under PM Modi has the template outlined by PM Vajpayee post May 1998 as a guide. The challenge is

to build on this and the Kerry-Hagel visits augur well.

It would be misleading to infer that for India, realizing even a part of the much hyped potential for a more robust relationship with the US is a binary choice that will come at the expense of Moscow. India is currently in a favourable strategic orientation wherein all the major powers and clusters (such as the EMU and ASEAN) are supportive of a prosperous and credible India. The current dynamic of globalisation impels wide-spectrum engagement and subsumes complex contradictions. The China-Japan relationship is illustrative.

The too frequently invoked and hence diluted term 'strategic partnership' has become ubiquitous in the Indian context. But the reality is that Moscow has in the past and will in the near future have a distinctive relevance for Delhi. In like manner.

Improving ties with the US is not to be reduced to an anti-China posture. But there is little doubt that India's ability to engage with Beijing will be significantly enabled if it demonstrates the political confidence and clarity to pursue concurrent relationships notwithstanding their inherently contradictory texture. The ball is in the Modi court.

(Website report from <http://indiatoday.indiatoday.in> August 9, 2014)



THE NUCLEAR GENIE- 15 Nuclear Weapons - free World - An Illusion?

Prof. M.N. Sastri

While the human society has been making efforts over the past century to reduce the chances of warfare, technology has been providing it with means to wage increasing deadly wars. A horrified world raised its voice against the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. A second wave of protests began in the 1960s as multiple US and Soviet hydrogen bomb tests caused the vast devastation they produced. Prominent scientists and intellectuals such as Albert Einstein, Linus Pauling, Albert Schweitzer,

If the Government can provide full employment to our people without the help of *khadi* and village industries, I am prepared to wind up my constructive work in this sphere.

Gandhiji 5

Bertrand Russell and several public organizations opposed nuclear testing and nuclear war. The initial response of the nuclear powers to the public uproar was the Partial Test Ban Treaty (1963) prohibiting testing of nuclear weapons except underground. This was followed by the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (1968) aimed at limiting the spread of nuclear weapons, creating a nuclear cartel among the nuclear weapons states. Sweden began its nuclear weapons programme in the 50s but gave it up a decade later partly due to security assurances from the US. Taiwan abandoned its programme in the 70s. Australia explored and finally gave up its nuclear option in the 70s. Brazil and Argentina, both well advanced in their capacity to acquire nuclear weapons froze and dismantled their programmes in the 80s. South Africa decided to dismantle its stockpile of six nuclear weapons in 1993. Ukraine decided to give up the 1,900 nuclear warheads it acquired from the disintegrated Soviet Union in 1991. Some nations (UK and France) unilaterally reduced their nuclear weapon stockpiles. The US and the Soviet Union, the two top nuclear weapons states holding bulk of the nuclear weapons have been entering into a number of bilateral treaties aimed at nuclear weapons control and reduction. The major treaties will now be outlined.

After the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 The US and Soviet Union agreed to install a direct hotline between Washington and Moscow enabling the leaders of both countries to quickly interact with each other and reduce the chances of an all-out nuclear war. This was followed by détente, the period from 1967 to 1979 marked by the easing of geopolitical tension between the two nuclear super powers US and the Soviet Union by signing SALT I Treaty (Special Arms Limitation Treaty I) freezing the number of ICBMs and SLBMs (Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles) they would deploy. The SALT II Treaty of 1979, which replaced SALT I, and signed by US President Carter and Soviet Leader Brezhnev in 1979, limited both US and Soviet Union to an equal number of ICBM launchers, SLBM launcher and heavy bombers, and also placed limits on the Multiple Independent Reentry Vehicles

(MIRV). But it did little to stop or even slow down the arms race. With invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union in 1979, the Treaty never came into effect.

The Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty of 1987 signed by US President Reagan and Soviet Leader Gorbachev represents the first nuclear arms control agreement to actively reduce nuclear arms through the elimination of all nuclear armed ground launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges between 500 and 5,500 km. The Treaty also provides for an intrusive verification regime. It marked the beginning of the end of the Cold War that ultimately led to the break-up of the Soviet Union.

The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (START I) was signed by the US President George Bush and the Soviet leader Gorbachev in 1991. Under this Treaty the US and the Soviet Union agreed to reduce their nuclear warhead stockpiles by about a third. But it leaves the US and the Soviet Union with 9,000 and 7,000 warheads respectively. The Soviet Union collapsed in December 1991. The START I Treaty came into force in 1994.

The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty II (START II) was signed by US President George Bush and the Russian President Boris Yeltsin in 1993. This agreement commits the US and Russia to deploy not more than 3,000 to 3,500 warheads each by 2007 and also prohibits against deploying MIRVs. The Treaty was however not put into force after the US and Russia concluded negotiations on Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT) 2002. The Treaty signed by US President George Bush and Russian President Vladimir Putin commits the two countries were to reduce their deployed warheads to 1,700 to 2,000 apiece by 2012. After this date both sides are free to decrease or increase the size of their deployed forces. Significantly there is no provision for verification. This Treaty was slated to expire in December 2012.

The New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START III) replacing SORT was signed by US President Obama and the Russian President Medvedev in 2010. Under this Treaty the number of strategic missile launchers

Sardar Patel stepped out of Plutarch's gallery of indomitable men, made of the stuff of Prithviraj and Pratap of immortal glory.

will be reduced by half. A verification regime will be established for the purpose. It does not however limit the number of operationally inactive stockpiled nuclear warheads in the US and Russian inventories. After ratification by US and Russia, the Treaty has entered into force in February 2011 and is expected to remain in force till 2021.

Three major multilateral (international) treaties have also been entered into. The Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (1968) which has entered into force in 1970 was ratified by as many as 190 countries. Only four countries-Pakistan, India, Israel and North Korea are not parties to the Treaty. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), which bans all nuclear explosions, for military or civilian purposes, was adopted by the UN General Assembly in September 1996. Clause XIV requires ratification by 44 named states before it comes into force. Of these India, Pakistan, and North Korea have not signed. US, Egypt, Indonesia, Israel and Iran have signed but not ratified the Treaty. The Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT) is an international agreement that would prohibit the production of the main ingredients of nuclear weapons- highly enriched uranium (HEU) and plutonium. Those nations that joined the NPT as non-nuclear weapon states (NNWS) are prohibited from producing or procuring these materials for weapons production. The Treaty also places restrictions on the nuclear weapons states (US, UK, France, Russia and China) on supplying these materials to the countries that are not parties to the NPT. International consensus is yet to be arrived at on the final form of the Treaty.

Notwithstanding these international treaties as well antipathy from the civil society, the pace of nuclear disarmament is protracted with the five Nuclear Weapons States reluctant to completely part with their nuclear weapons. Because of the secretive nature with which most governments treat the information about their nuclear arsenals, it is only possible to estimate the nuclear weapon inventories these countries hold. The Arms Control Association, Washington D.C. arrived at the following figures in May 2012.

US: App. 5,000 warheads (1,737 deployed strategic, app. 500 operational tactical (some deployed in Europe).

Russia: App. 5,500 warheads (1,492 operational strategic, app. 2,000 operational tactical and app. 2,000 in reserve storage).

UK: 225 warheads (Fewer than 160 deployed strategic).

France: Fewer than 300 operational warheads.

China: About 240 warheads.

The nuclear warheads believed to be held by non-NPT states are

India: Up to 100 nuclear warheads.

Pakistan: Between 90 and 110 nuclear warheads.

Israel: Between 75 and 200 nuclear warheads.

North Korea: Enough plutonium for 10 nuclear warheads.

Only Russia and the US have been reducing their nuclear warheads while France, UK and Israel kept their warhead numbers unchanged. The nuclear arms race among the Asian powers continues with China, India and Pakistan each having added ten warheads over the last one year. The Pulitzer Centre, Washington, DC reported in September 2012 that Pakistan is believed to be churning out more plutonium than any other country. It has already passed India in total number of warheads and is on course to overtake Britain as the world number 5 nuclear power. It could also end up in third place behind Russia and the US in a decade.

The question that comes to one's mind is "Is it possible to achieve total nuclear disarmament (nuclear zero) and save the world?" The need for total nuclear disarmament was stressed by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in a landmark judgment in 1996. The Court ruled that "there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control." At the NPT Review conference held in 2000, one of the steps agreed to was "an unequivocal undertaking by the

Really high minded people are indifferent to happiness, especially other people's.

Bertrand Russell

nuclear weapons states to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals leading to nuclear disarmament to which all state parties are committed under Article XIV.” But the nuclear weapon states (NWS) say that they are not committed to total nuclear disarmament. They also argue that there is no time frame other than to end the arms race “at an early date.” They also argue that the ICJ ruling was not binding.

The NWS continue to hold huge inventories of nuclear weapons, despite the fact that the threats to their survival have considerably reduced, largely because of the end of the Cold War and an increasing realization that their common interests (e.g. economy) greatly outnumber their differences. There is always a chance that these weapons will be used by accident or deliberately. George Wald says, “Nuclear weapons offer us nothing but a balance of terror; and a balance of terror is still a terror.” There are even reports that the NWS are developing more sophisticated weapons and delivery systems. The US President Obama declared that as long as nuclear weapons existed the US would keep its own arsenal. Russia and China have both announced upgrades to their nuclear arsenals and so has the UK with plans to build new nuclear submarines with Trident missiles. More ominous is the fact that there now exist capabilities and know-how to make nuclear weapons anywhere *with little chance of detection*. This development threatens international stability. John Browne, a former head of Los Alamos National Laboratory says, “Things were a lot easier when it was just the US and the Russians.”

Even small nations are on the look-out for nuclear weapons as deterrents in theatres of enduring rivalries such as Asia and Middle East to challenge stronger adversaries. Holding nuclear weapons whose number can be counted on fingers the tiny state of North Korea has the temerity to thumb its nose against the nuclear super power US. Ukraine has surrendered its nuclear arsenal on receiving a guarantee from Russia, US and UK that its borders were safe. But when Russia occupied Crimea the US did not intervene. Ukraine must be now regretting its earlier decision.

With the rapid development of an “arc of instability from Afghanistan, through Iraq and Syria, to Israel and beyond to Egypt and Libya” some Gulf States could hasten to secure nuclear capability with assistance from Pakistan. The danger of a nuclear war between India and Pakistan is much greater than it was between the US and Soviet Union during the period of Cold War. This is due to the hold of fundamentalist militants within the Pakistan army and the absence of effective democratic control. With China pursuing its geopolitical and geoeconomical ambitions more aggressively in the Pacific, the smaller nations in the region could also scout for nuclear deterrence. As a result there could be an international market for nuclear weapons. These growing strains between nations in Asia and Middle-East could ultimately transform the region into *a potential nuclear tinderbox*.

When small nations without adequate nuclear security acquire nuclear weapons, there is a risk of the weapons finding their way into the hands of terrorist agencies. Pakistan’s nuclear weapons face the risk of theft by Islamic extremists, who could use these weapons. Gareth Evans and Yoriko Kawaguchi, Foreign Ministers of Australia and Japan respectively who acted as Chairman and Co-chairman of the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament in their Report (2009) said that a nuclear bomb, comparable to the one dropped on Hiroshima, detonated by terrorists inside the back of a large van in London’s Trafalgar Square in middle of a work day, could cause an estimated 115,000 fatalities and another 149,000 injuries from a combination of blast, fires and radiation exposure. When such a bomb is detonated in the population-dense Central Mumbai, the figures would be more than 481,000 fatalities and 709,000 injuries! Yasin Bhatkal, chief of the Indian Mujahudeen terrorist organization is reported to have confessed to his interrogators (TOI, Dec. 30, 2013) that he wanted to explode a small nuclear bomb in Surat and that he asked his Pakistan-based boss Riyaz Bhatkal, over phone whether the latter could arrange one for the purpose. Riyaz was reported to have told Yasin that

Revolutions may put down the mighty from their seats but they do not exalt the humble and meek.

Robert J. Moore

“anything can be arranged in Pakistan.” Fortuitously Yasin was arrested before things moved further.

In such an environment the chances of seeing a nuclear-free world in the foreseeable future appear to be very slim. But this should not deter the human society from making sincere efforts to achieve the nuclear weapon-zero target for its very survival. It is no doubt a slow and complex process. Sergei Ivanov, a former Russian Prime Minister (2005-2008) said, “Do I believe in global zero? Not in my lifetime. But if we don’t start, never in the lifetime of my grandchildren.”



Unfashionable Thoughts : IV 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)

The conceptualisation of the apex body suggested by the Reports of the Majority members of the Yash Pal Committee and NKC differ starkly excepting in two aspects. The apex body recommended by each one of them is an epitome of centralisation with little regard to the federal nature of the polity. The Independent Regulatory Authority for Higher Education (IRAHE) proposed by NKC is envisaged as a regulatory body which would have the exclusive power to regulate the establishment of Government as well as private institutions in accordance with transparent criteria laid down by it, issues licenses to institutions to grant degrees and to accrediting organisations to evaluate the performance of institutions, monitor standards and settle disputes.. The UGC’s role limited to that of disbursing grants to universities and institutions while that of a professional body like AICTE or MCI or Bar Council of India would be limited to conducting nationwide examinations to license those who could practice the profession in its remit. The Chairman and Members of IRAHE would be appointed by the Prime Minister based on the

recommendations of a selection committee. IRAHE would be at an arm’s length from the Government and independent of all Ministries. In contrast to the IRAHE, the Majority Report’s NCHER is not so much a regulatory body as a *defacto* constitutionally guaranteed institution of governance responsible for strategising and steering the expansion of higher education in the country. Its conceptualisation of NCHER proceeded from the premise that university ought to be a self-governing organisation which would ensure the academic excellence of not only of its constituent colleges but also of colleges and vocational institutions affiliated to it. The higher education system is a constellation of self-governing universities, and that being so the system as a whole should be equally self-governing. The paramount mission of NCHER is to protect the self-governance of the system as a whole as well as of its constituent universities. The Majority Report’s design of NHERC is a logical sequel of that mission. NHERC would lay down regulations covering every aspect of higher education including establishment of institutions, academic and research standards, accrediting universities and institutions, financing and governance. Within the framework of the regulations laid down by NHERC, universities alone should be responsible for the academic contents of all courses and programmes of study. Therefore, all professional councils such as those of Architecture, Bar, Dental, Medical, Nursing, Pharmacy should be divested of their academic functions. NHERC would develop benchmarks on various aspects such as student and university performance, salaries and so on. It would also indicate future research directions and manpower needs. It would contribute to the capacity development of universities by organising programmes for new vice-chancellor, and various aspects of university administration. It would provide funds to universities and manage the accreditation system in the country. Thus it would lay down norms for accreditation, and certify accrediting agencies all of which would be independent of Government. The NHERC would be accountable only to the Parliament and it would secure funds directly from the Finance Ministry. Its remit would cover the entire gamut of higher education including agricultural education. It would replace existing bodies like the UGC, AICTE, NCTE and Distance Education

The bike has proven to be the fastest form of urban transport reaching its destination more quickly than cars, buses, tubes or pedestrians

Council. It would be the guardian angel of universities and would 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. Suffice to say, the NCHER would along with universities would manage higher education system in the country, and steer its development. Basu did not spell out his ideas on NCHER. However, as the proposed reforming the UGC and AICTE it could be inferred that he was not in favour of NCHER.

The NHERC proposed by MHRD's HER Bill is neither the fish of NKC's IRAHE nor the fowl of the Majority Report's NHERC, and as things stand might turn out to be a red herring in the sense of being a distraction. However, it would be fair to say that the Task Force comprising of noted academics who were entrusted by MHRD to draft the HER Bill were influenced more by the Majority report than that of NKC or Basu's Note of Dissent. The HER Bill envisaged NHERC as an overarching authority with the power to lay down regulations in respect of all areas of higher education and research. The regulations would among others cover establishment of institutions, the award of degrees, accreditation, affiliation, entry and operation of foreign educational institutions, governance, accountability, appointment of vice-chancellors. As recommended by the Majority Report, NHERC's remit would include polytechnics and other institutions imparting vocational education. Following the prolonged battle between MHRD and MOHFA, the HER Bill allowed medical education to be regulated by NHERC. The HER Bill also proposed the establishment of a Board for Research Promotion (BRP) and a Higher Education Financial Services Corporation. Only those whose names figure in a directory of academics eligible for leadership positions could be appointed as Vice-Chancellors. That directory would be prepared by a collegium of thirty eminent academics constituted by the NHERC. Only a person figuring in that directory could be appointed vice-chancellor of any university in the country. In exceptional circumstances, a person not figuring in that directory could be appointed provided that person appointed fulfilled the standards laid down by the NHERC for leadership positions in universities. However, the exception proves the rule.

The establishment of NHERC would have constituted an extraordinary degree of centralisation that would have gone far beyond the attempt of the Central Government in 1951 to establish a Central Council of University Education, and to acquire the power to approve the establishment of universities as well as the power to recognise as well as derecognise degrees. If you recall what I said just a little while ago the attempt was aborted in the face of the opposition of a sole phalanx of irate vice-chancellors. The opposition to the HER Bill arose not so much from vice-chancellors and the academic community as from State Governments, a commentary on the fact that over the last sixty years the position of vice-chancellors lost the eminence it once had. NHERC no doubt was envisaged as an autonomous and apolitical body with Chairman and Members appointed by the President of India based on the recommendations of a search committee which would include the Prime Minister, Speaker of Lok Sabha, Leader of Opposition in the Lok Sabha, and the Ministers in charge of MHRD and MOHFA. However, in the eyes of the State Governments NHERC is a body of the Central Government in whose constitution or functioning they would have no voice. And such a body would totally constrict the role of the State Governments even with regard to polytechnics. As far as I know, there was no discussion with the State Governments on the draft Bill before it was presented in the Parliament. To use the colourful expression of Sir Humphrey in *Yes Minister*, the attempt of the MHRD to bring forward the HER Bill without adequate attempts to get most of the States on board was 'courageous'. The Parliamentary Standing Committee for Human Resource Development went by the views expressed by the State Governments who submitted representations. In its Report, the Standing Committee again and again reiterated the fact that any attempt to infringe upon the autonomy of State Governments was not a wise move and would eventually lead to failure of the legislation itself. The higher education system of a country as vast and as diverse as ours cannot be managed by a single nodal authority which is entrusted with a very big and complicated mandate of managing all categories of higher education including professional and technical education. In fairness to the State Governments, I should say that while they had

A cup is useful only when it is empty; and a mind that is filled with beliefs, with dogmas, with assertions, with quotations, is really an uncreative mind.

egregiously sinned by awfully mismanaging universities they were also sinned against. The MHRD as well as the UGC consistently turned a blind eye to the challenge faced by State Governments in meeting the demand for higher and professional education. For MHRD as well as UGC, financing of higher education meant in effect financing of Central Universities and other Central Government institutions. To give an example, in 1992 when the Central Government budgetary allocations for education had to be curtailed because of the macroeconomic crisis, and it was necessary to have a hard look at the financing of higher education, the UGC appointed the Punniah Committee. Its remit was limited to Central universities alone in spite of the fact that the remit of the UGC extends to whole of higher education, and the finances of the State Universities were far worse than those of the Central Universities. The UGC was concerned with little else than protecting the maintenance grant of Central universities from vagaries of Central Government budgets. The opportunity provided by the formulation of the National Policy on Education, 1986 and its revision in 1992 to have a serious look at the burning issues of State higher and professional education systems was missed. Even when a normative framework needed to be established to guide the States in matters such as private universities the Central Government shied away from its duty. Thus a Private Universities (Establishment and Regulation) Bill was introduced in the Parliament in 1995; however, it was not enacted and eventually withdrawn in 2007. In short, the States were left to fend themselves. Therefore it does not lie in the mouth of those who looked the other way to fault the State Governments for the mess they created.

The Parliamentary Standing Committee which examined the HER Bill was also persuaded by the protests of existing regulatory organisations, and expressed the view that there was no reason for root-and-branch change of the 'age-old regulatory systems'. It was of the view that the existing regulatory agencies should continue to discharge their functions and the new body's role limited to play an overarching role of laying down policies for all the regulating bodies, and coordinating their work without any way impairing on the independence of those bodies. The Committee was

not swayed by the views of the Majority Report or NKC, or of the Task Force constituted by MHRD to draft a Bill for establishing NHERC. In sum, the Standing Committee expressed its firm view that the Bill ought to be reconsidered in consultation with the State Governments, vice-chancellors and the teaching community. Given the current stage of the political cycle we have to wait for the next Government to resume the efforts to update the policy framework. I do not know the current thinking of MHRD. However, I see in RUSA a move for the MHRD to take over the role hitherto played by UGC in regard to State universities and their affiliated institutions. The decision to link grants with reforms in governance and academic aspects indicates that MHRD proposes to rely on the fiscal lever to bring about the much needed reforms instead of using the *danda* approach inherent in NHERC. Carrot and not stick seems to be the credo. This is a right approach provided the carrots are adequate. The 10,000 odd crore rupees earmarked in the XII Plan is a significant step up, and constitutes a good beginning. However, the allocations have to be substantially far higher in subsequent five year plans if the fiscal lever is to work. And further, it is absolutely necessary to instil a new culture of accountability the way DPEP and SSA had fostered. Instilling that culture is an excruciating task painful for MHRD as well as State Governments and their organisations. A performance linked conditional grant does not work with an indulgent, *chalta hai* attitude. A conditional grant creates a principal-agency relationship between the giver of the grant and the recipient. Principal-agency relationship is beset with the *agency problem*, that is to say the agent may not always act according to the interests and instructions of the principal. The agency problem can be overcome only if the principal is vigilant, intensely monitors the actions of the agent, and is engaged in continual dialogue with the agent, and at the same time does not crib the enthusiasm or enterprise of the agent. It is easier said than done.

My lecture would be incomplete if I do not touch three other aspects. Regulation is not an end in itself, and it has to go hand in hand with the educational development the country requires. This fact necessitates my commenting on the Majority Report's idea of university and its notions about who should

As a general rule, the most successful man in life is the man who has the best information.

Benjamin Disraeli

steer and strategise the development. I also wish to outline the functioning of the AICTE and the lessons which could be drawn from its functioning while designing the new regulatory systems for higher and professional education. And then, any discussion of policymaking or regulation is incomplete without considering the role of judiciary as the ultimate regulator. Therefore let me now move to these aspects one by one.

IV. The Higher Education System for the 21st Century

As I told you just now, I would like to comment on the Majority Report's idea of university and its notions about who should steer and strategise the development. Let me take up the steering aspect first. From what I have said you would have inferred rightly that the MHRD did not go the whole hog with the Majority Report and propose the establishment of NHERC as a constitutional body which would have nothing to do with MHRD. Further the role of HER Bill's NHERC in policy making was limited to tendering advice as and when called for. Lest it should be inferred that the refusal to accept in full the Majority Report's conceptualisation of is due to the self-interest of venal politicians and civil servants, it should be said that the Majority Report's conceptualisation sits uneasily with the principles and practice of democratic governance, and a body like the NHERC it proposed does not exist anywhere in the world. To demand that educational institutions are allowed to be professionally managed and that professional bodies have the freedom to set the academic norms and standards in their domains is not the same thing as asserting that higher education should be *imperium in imperio*, a State within a State. For all practical purposes, once the Majority Report's NCHER is established Ministries dealing with higher education such as the MHRD and Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MOHFA) would cease to have any role in the respect of higher education except to act on the policy recommendations of the NCHER and if they do not explain to the Parliament why they did not. As Harold Macmillan famously put it, 'We have not overthrown the divine right of Kings to fall down before the divine rights of experts'. No Government, democratic or otherwise, would disagree. Politics and governance as they operate are no doubt full of

aberrations. However, the right step is to reform them and not substitute a rule of judges or of experts for democratic governance. Such an assertion, if you pardon me saying, is hubris. Lest I should be accused of hubris, let me quote J.P.Naik the ultimate educationist who was Member Secretary of the Kothari Commission and loomed so large on the Indian educational landscape during the 1960s and 1970s as to be called Mr. Education. Commenting on 'a widely shared view' that 'education is meant for academics only and that politicians should keep their hands off it', he wrote:

When the Education Commission was appointed, Mr. M.C. Chagla boasted that it consisted only of academics and that he had not appointed a single politician on it.

But this isolation makes educationists blind to many aspects of the educational reality which are basically political... (many issues) cannot be solved except jointly by politicians and educationists. On the one hand, politicians remain largely ignorant of basic educational problems because of this very isolation so that when they interfere with education – which they often do- they do more harm than good. [on the other hand] educationists desire full political support without any political interference ... [that] is their concept of autonomy...A situation of this type does immense harm.

A consequence of the colonial era is that the angle of vision of intellectuals and policymakers in the erstwhile colonial countries is usually restricted to their own country and the erstwhile colonial power. That is the reason why their idea of university is limited to that of a self-governing community of scholars with little or no supervision of the States. Most are not aware that universities are organised differently in many European countries. In countries like France, the National Ministry of Education regulates access conditions, the curriculum, the degree requirements, the examination systems, and the appointment and remuneration of academic staff. Degrees are often awarded by the State rather than higher education institutions. The faculty is considered civil servants. Parallel to the authority of the bureaucracy in the ministry is that of the faculty guilds. Senior professors

Civilization is a movement and not a condition, a voyage and not a harbor.

Arnold Toynbee

have enormous power while the power of the university administration is weak. In contrast, British universities are chartered corporations responsible for their own management. Each university and college decides its own admission criteria, curricula and hiring of faculty. Traditional faculty guilds have considerable power while trustees and administrators (vice-chancellors) have limited power. In contrast to the British universities, in American institutions the trustees and university administrators have more power. Even in India, historically universities were allowed to exercise self-governance only under the watchful eye of Governments. Only exceptional vice-chancellors could stand their ground against the Government. It was the country's good fortune that till about late 1960s there were many such exceptions.

Over the last two decades, there is a trend towards convergence of the two main systems. In State-controlled systems the State had been devolving more autonomy on institutions. On the other hand, in countries like the United Kingdom which hitherto left the universities to themselves the State had been demanding from universities better performance and accountability. The main driver of change had been necessity to improve global competitiveness of countries in an increasingly inter-dependent world and to that end improve the education system, or to use jargon develop a knowledge economy. In France and elsewhere Governments have been granting more institutions administrative and financial flexibility. The once -sacred principle of equal treatment of all universities had been blown away, and competition is being promoted. The opposite trend is particularly evident in the United Kingdom. Block grants had given way to performance-linked challenging grants. Power had shifted considerably away from faculty guilds to the university administration. The University Grants Commission was replaced in 1992 by the Higher Education Funding Councils (HEFC), for England and Wales and another for Scotland. In England and Wales, the HEFC is a 'non-departmental public body' which means that it works within a policy framework set by the Government. After a series of reorganisations, higher education is now looked after by the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (DBIS).

DBIS lays down the policy and performance framework within which HEFC would have to function. However, HEFC has distinct statutory duties in the discharge of which it is free from direct political control. While HEFC works at arm's length from Government, DBIS is ultimately responsible for the effectiveness and efficiency of HEFC. To that end DBIS approves the HEFC's key performance targets, and monitors the performance for keeping Parliament informed about the HEFC's performance. Any suggestion to make the HEFC directly accountable to the Parliament on the lines the Majority Report recommended for NHERC would be laughed out of court. Another important change had been the introduction of the assessment and accreditation system. While the primary responsibility for academic standards and quality rests with individual universities and colleges, the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA), an independent body set up in 1997 checks how well they meet their responsibilities, identify good practice and makes recommendations for improvement. All in all, there is a shift from a system of self-regulation and accountability to peers towards a new system of accountability based upon results, defined in terms of outcomes. Suffice to say that the Majority Report's conceptualisation of NHERC is not in synch with these international developments. Nor is it in synch with the federal and democratic nature of our polity.

(to be continued)



In Quest OF The Mythical Forest (I)

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**)*

It was decades ago that I had taken, for the first time, to the ghat road from Vizianagaram, zigzagging over varieties of tableaux - of slumbering hamlets, lush green groves or a gorge with a silver brook under a silky mist - before reaching Jeypore on the brink of Dandakaranya.

The spring festival of the tribals was on. Groups of dancing damsels would stop our vehicle and,

satisfied with a coin or two, dance their way back into their rocks and woods.

I had described Jeypore as 'a sleepy little town' in my contribution to a series entitled "The India You Do Not Know" in what was once India's most popular periodical, *The Illustrated Weekly of India*. I stood ridiculed by the memory of my own description when early in the morning, in one of my late sojourns there, a high pitch microphone began its pre-dawn assault on my sleep. The merchant who employed it did not expect any customer at that hour. He was merely following the injunction of his dear departed father to inspire devotion with a vengeance in the hearts of the townsfolk, resigned to inertia, with appropriate recorded songs before their day began.

The town, surely, was no longer sleepy. Numerous projects mercilessly nibbled at the forests and hills all around it. The main road of the town, with the palace of the erstwhile Maharaja on its western end, and the college named after him on the eastern end, shook with heavy vehicular movement all the night through. Tranquility is the second sacrifice the town had made after its first sacrifice centuries ago, at the founding of the settlement. The king commissioned the digging of a lake. The work force dug on and on - for days and weeks - deeper and wider, but not even a trickle surfaced. The king consulted a necromancer who whispered to him the cure for the jinx-and the king whispered the secret to his priest.

At dawn the priest sat cross-legged at the centre of the arid pit and performed some rituals. Then he climbed on to the embankment. A young girl was passing by. The priest surveyed her. Indeed, she seemed endowed with all the auspicious signs to appease the supernatural guardians of the place.

'Well, my daughter, will you mind going down and fetching the vessel I left by mistake?' he asked, pointing at the bottom of the pit.

The sweet little girl smiled and readily descended into it. No sooner had she stooped to pick up the vessel than a surge of water submerged her. The lake became full to the brim. The occult beings had been satisfied.

The lake continues to quench the thirst of the growing population to this day.

Almost a day-long drive from Jeypore to Malkangiri, with a slight diversion, enabled us to pass through a tribal village where women remained unclad but for some intricate ornaments from the waist down. It was the weekly market day - with the barter system still in vogue.

High on a hillock overshadowed by a cluster of banyan and other trees the market had to conclude all business by afternoon so that the participants could return home before dusk and the beasts were on the prowl.

The women moved about without the least sign of inhibition. I raised my camera. Immediately three or four youths confronted me.

'What do you propose to do with the pictures?' Their question was translated to me by my companion, a leading social worker.

'Well, I never thought of that!' I mumbled. I will not click if you object to it.'

'Don't sell the pictures. Let them not appear in the papers.'

'I agree,' I said. They nodded with understanding and moved away. (I have been faithful to my promise.)

We had just come out of the crowd when two "researchers," appropriately accoutered for their expedition, accosted us. Half a dozen cameras hung from their shoulders. 'We came all the way from the city for a few snaps. But they won't let us have any, even though we were willing to pay them tips. You seem lucky. Won't you please plead for us?'

My companion carried their appeal to the youths but returned glum. 'They did not even care to respond to my submission. But what I understood from their conversation, they are fast developing a mood for puncturing the tyres of your vehicle and smashing your cameras - and, ah, if you don't mind - bits of your heads, too!' he informed the dandies, his gestures and voice at their polite best.

The photographers jumped into their jeep and sped away.

At 641 feet above sea level, Malkangiri, now in a town, nestled a luxuriant teak grove. The locals claimed that its name was a corruption of Malyavantagiri of

I do not believe in the God of theology who rewards good and punishes evil.

Albert Einstein

the Ramayana fame. They support their theory by referring to nearby Balimela, bearing the memory of the Vanara King, Bali.

Be as that may, there is no mistaking the shy and serene river Tamasa flowing by a few kilometres away. On its bank was situated the hermitage of Valmiki, our first poet, the guardian of Sita and her twins, Lava and Kusha.

Talk to the tribals and for a few precious moments you will stand convinced that the Ramayana was not merely a literary epic but a chain of factual events intricately woven into the history of the original dwellers of this forest. Dandakaranya was the stage for many happenings in the epic: Rama's temporary abode, Surpanekha's accosting him; the destruction of the demon leaders, Khara and Dushana; the death of Maricha; the kidnapping of Sita, the death of Jatayu, so on and so forth. But there seems to be events not reported in the epic, but the collective memory of the tribals kept them alive through their life style.

For example, why do the women of a particular tribe go without clothes? One day Sita was bathing in the Tamasa, bare, when she found a group of them spying upon her and giggling. Sita was annoyed. "Being women, how do you fail to understand that I am one with Mother Nature now?"

The repentant women took a vow never to wear clothes themselves! If one did, even thousands of years later, she only invited a curse on herself and her tribe.

It was sundown when we reached the Tamasa. All was quiet and the ancient river was as translucent as the autumnal sky, revealing the charming designs on her bed of bright pebbles. I would have loved to sit there till the moon-rise - a full moon night was in the offing - but that was unsafe, I was warned. I had, however, time enough, reclining on a rock and gazing at the green, to muse over the legend of the origin of the river and the forest

Long, long ago, the region was ruled by a dynasty known as the Dandakas. The last of them, a young epicure who was roaming the forest for hunting, set his eyes, and temporarily his heart, too, on a young lady emerging from a lake. He approached her and

proposed to lead her to his palace right away, but she spurned the offer. To his repeated entreaties, her quiet response was he could duly propose his marriage with her to her father.

The young ruler had no patience. 'Any father should feel honoured at having me for his son-in-law,' he claimed boastfully and tried to drag her away and, failing, to molest her. She struggled and wriggled out of his clutches and ran away and reported her humiliation to her father.

And the father was none other than the Sage Sukracharya. 'What!' he flared up. 'Must a ruler prove himself so unruly? His conduct symbolizes the sinful state of affairs and the anarchy prevailing in his domain. Let his kingdom go up in flames!'

A million flames engulfed the region. Sukracharya left the place. His daughter took shelter in the lake. The fire subsided only after it had reduced everything around to ashes.

Monsoon brought a stream down from the hills to the lake. The lake overflowed and became the river Tamasa. By and by a forest grew upon the wasteland. Hermits christened it Dandakaranya - the forest bearing the memory of the Dandakas.



TEACHING CULTURED DISCOURSE

Dr. Mrs. Prema Nandakumar

The recent elections have revealed the importance of cultured discourse. Cultural discourse is one thing and cultured discourse is another. The former deals with histories, traditions, rituals, art and all that. It can be taught in classes, learnt by sitting for hours in a library or wandering through a land interacting with the people. The latter is learnt by us in our childhood by watching ideal personalities in the family and outside world who inspire us by their example, by the way they work, talk and move around.

In earlier generations, cultured discourse was learnt by simply observation and an occasional corrective from the elder in the family. Seventy years ago, it was automatic for us to bend before elders in salutation if we met them for the first time, and whenever we met them after a little interval. My

Politicians are the same all over. They promise to build a bridge even where there is no river.

Nikita Khrushchev

grandfather would say that if you do namaskaram to elders, even if he dislikes you, it will turn into a blessing, such is the power of humility. He would speak of Vedanta Desika's work, 'Anjali Vaibhavam', how 'Anjali' means "turns to water", and that the heart of the person receiving the honour would melt immediately with love. These days this has been sadly replaced by hand shakes and hugs which are a western import.

Recently the world saw how the PM-elect of India did namaskaram to the steps of the Parliament before going up. This is exactly what is done in temples even today. There is an interesting legend associated with the temple steps which are referred to as 'Kulasekaran Padi'. It was the desire of Kulasekara Alvar, the Chera king to lie as a step in a temple so that he could watch the Lord going across in procession.

"Lord Venkateswara who removes our misery
That keeps entangling us! I would love to be
The doorstep of your temple on which walk
Men and gods, and watch your coral-red lips."

Such briefings now and then from the elders in a Hindu household made for physical discipline in various ways. "Do not throw away food, the rice will go and complain to Mother Ganga" was a familiar admonition that taught me never to waste food. "Do not leave the plate unwashed after eating food", was a command that we dare not disobey as children. Naturally, even today not for me piled up dishes in the kitchen sink that is a familiar (and ugly) scene today in many households!

Just as the outer discipline was instituted without taking recourse to punishment except in extreme cases, the growing mind also was helped to blossom in a healthy manner. I belonged to a traditional household that had quite a few children. Come evening, we had to repeat certain Tamil verses that marked a daily time-table for us. While we had Tirukkural in the school, our uncle made us learn 'Aathi Soodi', 'Nanneri', 'Moothurai' and the rest. Seven decades have passed by but the village pial, the evening twilight, and the children reciting have not faded away. **Ulaganeethi** was a must and as it was rhythmical, we shouted ourselves hoarse reciting the poem. "Odhaamal orunaalum irukkavendaam"!

"Never allow a day to pass without studies.

Do not speak ill of others;
Never forget your mother.
Do not rub shoulders with the deceitful.
Do not go to forbidden areas;
Do not keep complaining thereafter.
Ever, forever hail Subramania,
The rider on the peacock."

It is a short poem of one hundred and four lines. One need not study tomes of books on self-control and attend special lectures on how to lead a moral life. All is contained in these lines and if they are allowed to sear into a person's heart, an ideal citizen would be born. Whenever a temptation to take the wrong path rises, a line from this work would scotch it immediately. Watching the recent Indian elections, I marveled at the manner in which unconditioned, indisciplined mind can commit mistakes and idiocies for a minute's appreciative snigger from an equally curmudgeonish audience.

For instance, we read that the mother of the then Chief Minister of Gujarat who lived in her small house, went to the polling booth in an autorickshaw and cast her vote. Since most of my mother-grandmother group had done the same thing, we were happy to know that the lady was so self-reliant, had no wish to ask for a car from her son nor had she cared for the trappings of officialdom. Unfortunately, within two days, we read an open letter from a Congressman who wished to speak of the lady's son (the Chief Minister) as a heartless son in a bid to tarnish his image. It was addressed to Narendra Modi: "Your mother is like my mother. I have immense respect for her. I may not be as resourceful as you are, but I would request you to allow me to provide her all the necessary comforts of life according to my capacity." If Rashid Alvi was trying to insult, the attack failed. He did not realize that living a simple life linked to high thinking has always been the Indian ideal. Giving up luxuries is automatically praised by the tradition.

This incident was one of those many that ultimately cost the Congress Party its defeat. Which is very unfortunate, for I have the highest regard for the institution which once upon a time, long, long ago, gave us Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Vallabhbai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, and of course, Jawaharlal Nehru.

The cliché that education never ends virtually ensures that it doesn't begin.

Jacques Barzun

Come to think of it, the speeches and incidents of this Election need scientific analysis to find out wherein our system of education has lost its moorings, settling down into the Serbonian Bog of unbridled thought, speech and action. Shall we begin again with Ulaganeethi and recite, "Do not speak of what you do not know!"

(Courtesy : The School (Bangalore)



Comprehensive History and Culture of Andhra Pradesh (BC 5000 – AD 2000)

Prof V.Ramakrishna

General Editor APHC Comprehensive History Project
Former Professor of History University of Hyderabad
Former President A.P. History Congress

The first mention of the ancient *Andhrajati* is found in the *Aitareya Brahmana*. The unique location of Andhra Pradesh ensures that it imbibes the quintessence of different cultures of India. The qualities of tolerance and assimilation evident in its culture are due largely to this. The artistic excellence of the Andhras is reflected in the breathtaking sculptures at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Goli, Jaggayyapeta and Sankaram. The Amaravati stupa, the Kakatiya Torana, the Golkonda fort, the Qutub Shahi tombs and Charminar are living examples of the extraordinary skills of the artists of Andhra Pradesh. The contribution of the Andhras to art and architecture, literature and the fine arts has been singularly significant. Telugu, the language spoken by the *Andhrajati*, has produced literature that is over a thousand years old. The rich tradition of the music represented by Ramadas, Annamayya, Kshetrappa and Thyagaraja further enriched its culture. To the dance forms of India, Andhra has contributed *Perni Tandavam* and *Kuchipudi*. *Harikatha*, *Burrakatha*, *Tolubommatala* and *Chindubhagavatam* are some of the other popular art forms of Andhra Pradesh that deserve special mention.

Andhra's contribution to the freedom struggle and to the emergence of resurgent modern India is noteworthy. The Telangana armed struggle, propelled by the ideology of the emancipation of its peasants from the oppression of feudal lords, is unique in the

annals of independent India. Some of the inspired movements in Andhra's history, of which its people are justifiably proud, are Alluri Sitarama Raju's armed struggle for the welfare of tribals in pre-independent India, the social reform spearheaded by Brahma Naidu in the twelfth century, Vemana and Veera Brahmam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and, in the modern period, by Kandukuri Veeresalingam, Raghupati Venkata Ratnam Naidu and Tripuraneni Ramaswamy Chowdary.

Andhra Province became the first linguistic state in independent India. Later, in 1956, it became Andhra Pradesh. Created in the tumultuous aftermath of Independence, idealism and nationalism have played prominent roles here and have influenced Andhra's twentieth-century historian-linguists. The late Chilukuri, Komarraju, Mallampalli, Suravaram, Shervani, Nelaturi, Nidadavolu, Arudra and Puttaparthi, to name a few, brought to light many facets of the history and culture of the Telugus from a chronological and dynastic perspective. Several scholars have also undertaken in-depth studies within the framework of contemporary perspectives on the economy, politics, society and culture of the Telugus. A great deal of published and unpublished material is therefore available in the archives, the department of archaeology and in university departments.

The Andhra Pradesh History Congress (APHC), a registered voluntary body established in 1976, with the sole objective of promoting historical studies on scientific lines, has successfully organised annual conferences and has published their proceedings regularly. The APHC is fortunate to have been associated with internationally reputed scholars like Sarvepalli Gopal, Romila Thapar, R.S. Sharma, Barun De, Amiya Kumar Bagchi, Ravinder Kumar, D.C. Sircar, H Sircar, T.V. Mahalingam, G.S. Dikshit, Bipan Chandra, Irfan Habib, H. Sarkar, K.N. Panikkar, M.G.S. Narayanan, A.V. Narasimha Murthy, D.N. Jha, Sumit Sarkar, Settar, Sarojini Regani, R. Subrahmanyam and Arudra, who have presided over the annual sessions and delivered insightful addresses. In the last 38 years, the APHC has not only made substantial contributions to the promotion of historical studies but has also developed strong links with national and international historians. Today, it is recognised in India and abroad as a serious academic body.

For a nation nothing is more rewarding than education in human values; and, likewise,
for an individual nothing is more satisfying than general reading in human values.

Nani Palkhivala 17

A long cherished dream of the people of Andhra Pradesh has been to have a comprehensive history of their state. Despite the efforts of the International Telugu Institute, the Potti Sreeramulu Telugu University, the Telugu Akademi and the Andhra Pradesh State Archives, this has remained a dream.

There is no connected, authenticated and objectively-written comprehensive history and culture of Andhra Pradesh. However, a number of books and articles have been published on the different periods and dynasties. These are, by and large, political histories.

It is fitting that the Andhra Pradesh History Congress, with its long standing of 38 years and with a membership of nearly one thousand scholars decided to take up this monumental task. At the 22nd session held at Hyderabad in 1998, members of the APHC decided to publish a comprehensive history and culture of Andhra Pradesh beginning with its prehistory B.C. 5000 – AD 2000. The objective of the project is to prepare a scientific and authentic history and culture of Andhra Pradesh from prehistoric to contemporary times from an interdisciplinary perspective encompassing political, economic, social, literary and cultural aspects. It was also decided that the series would include a bibliographical work on the History of Andhra Pradesh. The Congress proposes to publish this history in eight volumes, in English as well as in Telugu.

So far five volumes (upto A.D. 1724) have been published in English and first four in Telugu. The volume V is being translated into Telugu. Work is in progress on the remaining three volumes, A.D. 1724-1857, A.D. 1858-1956 and A.D. 1956-2000. It is expected that by the end of 2015, they will go to the press.

The project has an advisory committee consisting of the reputed historians like (Late) Sarvepalli Gopal, Romila Thapar, Suvira Jaiswal, Dr. V.K. Bawa, Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, Prof. Sarojini Regani, Dr. Velcheru Narayana Rao, Dr. P. Chiranjivini Kumari and Dr. V.V. Krishna Sastry to mention only a few and an editorial committee consisting of such well known historians as Prof C. Somasundara Rao. Each volume has an editor assisted by an editorial committee, a working editor, Dr. K.S. Kameswara Rao, Executive

Editor, Prof. A. Satyanarayana, Prof. V. Ramakrishna is the General Editor under whose guidance the volumes are edited and published. The project is carried in collaboration with Sri Potti Sreeramulu Telugu University. The first volume was published with the cooperation of Dravidian University.



MUSIC AND ITS EMOTIONAL FLOW

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

Founder-President, Nada Centre for Music Therapy

'All music which depicts nothing is nothing but noise.' -Jean Le Rod d' Alembert.

Inspite of great strides made in Science in recent centuries, very little has come to be known about the breadth and depth of the human mind. From time immemorial music has been employed in various human civilizations as a mind controlling device. From simple lullabies to soothe the agitated infants, to the complex and esoteric Nada usage to control and empower the mind, sound the conscious use of sounds to achieve certain results, sound has also unconsciously affected the human mind. The metallic noises, the off- shoot and the industrial development, the honking automobiles of the urban growth, the noise pollution caused by careless industrialization has caused many modern ailments such as stress and stress related disorders. On the other hand, avoidance of noises and application of organized sounds like soft melodies have enhanced not only economic productivity, but also the overall health of the human factor that goes into it.

Giant strides made in the field of Neurology, thanks to electronic revolution, which ushered in advanced Neuro-imaging equipments and techniques, have been able to minutely record the impact of resonance and rhythms on the human brain. a branch called "Neuro-Musicology" is fast appearing with the active participation of experts from various fields such as neurology, clinical medicine, paramedical services, musicology, psychology, psychometric, energy medicine, etc.

While the West has come up with a recipe of

Philosophy begins in wonder. And, at the end, when philosophic thought has done its best, the wonder remains.

Mozart effect, the East is engaged in unearthly treasures of concepts and practices relating to the system of Nada Yoga and Raga Chikitsa.

Raga of India

Indian raga system is quite ancient and dates back to Vedic times when intonations were used to achieve contentment in life. The term 'raga' refers to a melodic structure. However, this term does not have musical or melodic meaning; instead it has an emotional meaning. (Raja, 2005) Etymologically speaking, the root of the noun 'raga' can be traced from the adjective 'ranjana'. This would mean, 'to tinge or to colour'. In Indian traditions, different ragas have been associated with different categories of emotional states. These were based on the accumulated experience of the human society.

Raga has also been used as a melodic stimulus, capable of inducing well-defined emotional state, not only in the singer or performer, but also in listeners.

Swaras: The Building Blocks of a Raga

The root cause for the emotional impact of raga lies in swaras or notes, which are its constituents. The maximum number of seven swaras in an octave have different emotional appeals and affects the moods of the singers, performers and listeners in various ways. A study conducted by H.P. Krishna Rao explains the underlying emotional pattern in the seven swaras in the following manner:

Sa (Shadaj or Shadjam) intonated in madhyasthayi: Produced in the speaking voice at the chest register, with comparatively less muscular effort on the vocal apparatus, this sound is known for its highly tranquil impact on the mind. As the singer produces the sound, his or her facial muscles get relaxed the same way in a meditating yogi.

Re or Ri (Rikhab or Rishabam): While the Komal version (R1) would bring in melancholic and disturbed feelings in the heart of the singers, performers and listeners, its tivra version (R2) is known for its 'wake up' impact, awakening the mind from its sleepful or slothful state. A dose of R2 can help in sharpening the dull mind as observed by this author in many musical experiments conducted with special children and

others suffering from mental retardation.

Ga (Gandhar or Gandharam): Komal Gandhar (G1) is again known for creating certain uneasiness in the minds of the singers, performers and listeners. In the words of Krishna Rao, it indicates 'disagreeableness', which is different from 'inquiry' attributed to tivra Gandhar (G2) by him. The latter, though soft is found to be inquisitive by Unnikrishnan (2007). Like people who are inquisitive, this intonation also causes disturbance and uncertainty in the minds of music practitioners and listeners.

Ma (Madhyam or Madhyamam): Krishna Rao finds 'Optimism and egoism' in its komal variety (M1), as against 'degradation' depicted by the M2 (tivra madhyam). Unnikrishnan (2007) states: "When Komal Madhyama is sung, the feeling of self-appreciation and self-confidence are expressed. Teevra Madhyama produces the feeling of misery and pain and strives for an immediate relief and experience it in the next swara, Pancham."

The same stages of emotions have also been found while singing from Dha (Dhaivat or Dhaivatam) to the tharasthayi sa.

Swara Combos and their Emotional Impact

Combining swaras with different frequencies help in achieving the emotional colours in a raga. For example, for pacifying and soothing the tensed minds, the following swara combinations have proved useful:

A pair of swaras having the frequency ratio of 1:2, i.e. a swara and its higher octave.

A pair of swaras having the frequency ratio of 2:3, i.e. a swara and its panchama (P). (This combination is used in tanpura which is known for its widely-acknowledged soothing impact.

A pair of swaras having the frequency ratio of 3:4, i.e. a swara and its Komal Madhyam (M1).

For creating melancholy, a combination of two swaras namely R1 and G1 can be tried. In fact, classification of swaras into vadi, samvadi, anuvadi and vivadi swaras stem from such intense experiences, that music alone can promise! .



Music and concert are the conduit for a higher experience.

Margaret Cousins.

Book Review:

***ONE LIFE IS NOT ENOUGH* an autobiography**

K. Natwar Singh

Rupa 2014 pp 410 Rs 500.

Asked when he would write his autobiography, that seer and statesman with a razor sharp intellect, Rajaji, replied it seems, that he never entertained that idea as writing autobiography would generally entail writing paeans of self praise and unkind words about others. Writing autobiography is indeed a hazardous exercise. Amrita Sher Gil, the brilliant painter who died prematurely, wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru that his autobiography was different from others because Nehru would say “when I saw the sea” while others would write “when the sea saw me.” Autobiographies, at least most of them, trigger controversies. Some do not evoke any public interest. K. Natwar Singh’s *ONE LIFE IS NOT ENOUGH* created a stir even before its release. A year ago Natwar Singh’s book *WALKING WITH LIONS Tales from a Diplomatic Past* was hailed as ‘a literary stroll in the jungle of politics, diplomacy and public life.’ The book under review is different, it is the angry roar of a wounded tiger, the anguish of a seasoned diplomat-turned politician and distinguished writer in the evening of his life.

Such is Natwar Singh’s style of writing that a book of 410 pages does not fail to sustain the reader’s interest throughout. The preface begins with Plato’s words: ‘An unexamined life is not worth living’ and in his inimitable style Natwar Singh justifies his desire and decision to present the story of his own life, frankly and forthrightly. ‘Understatement, restraint, objectivity have a paralyzing effect on an autobiography. Mine is as subjective as it could be,’ he writes. The twenty two chapters that follow cover a wide range of subjects from Natwar Singh’s early life to the 2014 pre General Election events followed by Narendra Modi’s assumption of office as Prime minister of India.

Born on May 16,1931 in Bharatpur in a ‘feudal’ and ‘conservative’ family whose ‘ancestors served the founders of the Bharatpur dynasty for generations’ Natwar Singh was educated in his hometown and

later at Scindia School, Gwalior. Joining St. Stephen’s College in July 1948 young Natwar Singh spent ‘the happiest and most rewarding’ early years of his life. He blossomed into an all rounder excelling in higher studies at Delhi and winning tennis titles too. His gift for friendship was among his many assets. The narrative laced with humour and anecdote describes his success in civil service examinations and entry into Indian Foreign Service while pursuing higher studies at Cambridge, the rise of the young career diplomat and his marriage to Hem the Princess of Patiala. Natwar quotes his dear and eminent friend E.M. Forster- ‘All those that marry do well. All those that refrain do better.’ That his is a happy married life does not need mention as the autobiography is dedicated in typical Natwar style : “To Hem without whom not.”

Natwar Singh’s loyalty to the Nehru -Gandhi family was unfettered. On the influence of Jawaharlal Nehru he writes: “I have been a Nehruite all my life. For decades I was mesmerized by his courage, his penchant for living dangerously. His stellar role in the freedom movement was second only to that of Gandhiji, who gave it a spiritual dimension. Nehru provided the intellectual dimension. Within a fortnight of Nehru’s passing on 27 May 1964, I decided to edit a book of tributes to him.” The great man’s costly errors are also discussed in detail in the chapter titled *ONCE A NEHRUITE*. “ It was Pandit Nehru’s error to have invited Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India to become the first Governor General of India. His three cardinal errors were: his disastrous handling of the Kashmir issue, his misplaced trust of the leaders of the people’s republic of China and his turning down of the Soviet proposal to give India a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council.”

His admiration for Indira Gandhi was such that he considered himself ‘truly fortunate’ to have worked under her for many years. Natwar, however, conceded that he, as a diplomat, found it hard to justify the unjustifiable imposition of national emergency by Indira Gandhi in 1975. “ In the process, I was disregarding my conscience. It is one period of my life which I do not look upon with pride,” admits the author. When Natwar Singh chose to enter politics Indira Gandhi said: ‘Now that you are coming into politics, a thicker skin would be more useful.’ Words of prophetic wisdom that must have come to his mind

The err is human; to really mess things up requires a computer.

Bill Vaughan

two decades later when he felt betrayed by Sonia Gandhi. The last three chapters of the book contain details of the developments leading to Natwar Singh's exit from the UPA cabinet and the Congress party which have been widely discussed in print and electronic media. Natwar Singh's stout rebuttal of charges against him and his son and criticism of the role of Prime Minister and his cabinet colleagues like P. Chidambaram show the leadership of the Congress party and the functioning of the UPA government in poor light. 'Politics is a blood sport where there are no friends at the top' rues the former External Affairs minister. The setbacks and frustrations he experienced in the slippery world of politics were in sharp contrast to his sureness of footing and outstanding success in the glossy field of diplomacy.

Natwar Singh allocates a chapter to Sonia Gandhi. Some have found it controversial and 'biased.' But there is force in his assessment of Sonia Gandhi. 'What Sonia Gandhi has achieved is to reduce the Congress, one of the greatest political parties of the world, to a rump of forty-four members in the Lok Sabha,' writes the author. Her dependence on sycophants and tale-bearers and her acts of omission and commission proved to be disastrous for the Congress party and the UPA government. One glaring example was the way the Congress party has been wiped out in Andhra Pradesh, a Congress stronghold for decades. Natwar writes: "Sonia's behavior during my implication in the Volcker Report was vicious and venomous, and caused me great pain." The author sums up: "Beneath all that posturing an ordinary and insecure person emerges."

Natwar Singh's speech in Rajya Sabha quoted in one of the appendices ends with these lines: "Sir, I am in the evening of my life and I shall meet the Cosmic Master with my head high. Clean I came into the world and clean I shall depart. Thank You."

The epilogue has a touch of poignancy. One of India's finest intellectuals Natwar Singh who feels proud of "the blood of his ancestors that flows in his veins", of his achievements at home and abroad and of the accolades he received from statesmen and literary giants, concludes philosophically: "Someone wrote that man is condemned to death the moment he is born, with extended reprieve. My reprieve could

end any day. Soon I shall drift out of the harbour on a silent tide beyond the beat of time."

A. Prasanna Kumar



Newspaper reports on CPS activities

"Handle this genie diligently"

(Report on Prof. M.N. Sastri's *The Nuclear Genie* Book release function on August 5, 2014)

"The nuclear genie is seen both as a destroyer of life and a potential energy provider. The fate of the world hinges on how diligently the society bridles this genie and guides it on the path of energy security," author M.N. Sastri wrote in his book *Nuclear Genie*.

The author, suggesting that India should increase its nuclear energy to meet the energy demand, gave the examples of nuclear reactors generating more than 20 per cent electricity in the US and more than 75 per cent in France.

The International Energy Agency too advocated that India increase the nuclear power component to meet the needs of '300 million unconnected people', the former professor of Chemistry in Andhra University wrote. Prof. Sastri concludes his scholarly work with a word of caution about the Janus-faced nuclear power.

The book was brought out by Centre for Policy Studies and released here on Tuesday August 5, to mark the 90th birthday of the author. Releasing the book at a function organised by Centre for Policy Studies, Andhra University Vice-Chancellor G.S.N. Raju lauded the former AU professor's commitment to research work and prolific writings even at the age of 90. Chairman of Centre for Policy Studies D.V. Subba Rao, who presided, expressed happiness that the book was released on Prof. Sastri's 90th birthday.

Founder convenor of Forum for Better Visakha E.A.S. Sarma, a former student and researcher in nuclear physics, dwelt at length on the genesis of nuclear power and the alarming growth of nuclear weapons stockpiles.

He strongly opposed proliferation of nuclear weapons and recalled the nuclear explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and accidents and leaks like

The good neighbor looks beyond the external accidents and discerns those inner qualities that make all men human, and therefore, brothers.

Martin Luther King 21

Chernobyl and Fu-kushima have caused death and destruction on a massive scale.

Bulletin released

Earlier, he released the 108th issue of the Bulletin of Centre for Policy Studies which carried a letter of appreciation to the bulletin editor from Prof. Granville Austin, the renowned authority on Indian Constitution who passed away recently. Director of Centre for Policy Studies A. Prasanna Kumar, who welcomed the gathering, said that this was the third book of Prof Sastri published by CPS, the other two being *The Profligate Civilisation* in 2007 and *World Demographic Trends* in 2011 which was commended by Dr A.P. J. Abdul Kalam. Prof. Madhukar of Gayatri Vidya Parishad proposed a vote of thanks.

(*The Hindu* August 6, 2014)



“Water, scarce or polluted, is our own making”

(Report on Seminar organised by CPS on September 12, 2014)

An ironic contrast of man’s inability to make optimum utilisation of water in spite of its abundance, resulting in scarcity, and utter disregard to basic hygiene, sanitation, and environment, polluting precious groundwater that is coming to his rescue, emerged at a meeting organised by the Centre for Policy Studies here on Friday. War over water had been described as a stark reality.

While former Chief Engineer (Irrigation) U.N. Raju spoke on “Water resources -national perspective’, focussing on the compelling reasons to complete the Polavaram project, Chandu Subba Rao, a retired AU professor of geophysics, dwelt on ‘Quality of groundwater in Visakhapatnam’. Mr. Raju allayed fears of scarcity of water, and said only 60 per cent of the available 66,000 tmcft was being used.

Linking of rivers

Considering the cost, rehabilitation, deforestation etc., the proposal to link rivers was fraught with complex hurdles, and finally the government was considering three linkages. Mr. Raju said linking surplus basins to deficit basins could be considered. For instance, 80 tmct of Godavari water

from Polavaram could be supplied to Krishna upstream with 12 lakh acres under Prakasam barrage delta to overcome the delay in releasing water from Nagarjunasagar for the kharif. Similarly, Pulichintala project, now nearing completion, will cater to the second crop. Water from Nagarjunasagar can be diverted to Rayalaseema via Potireddypadu regulator, Mr. Raju said. Completion of the Polavaram project was important and the more it was delayed the more would be the trouble, he said, pointing out that an average 300 tmcft of water was flowing into the sea annually.

The storage capacity of 75 tmcft was very low compared to Three Gorges dam that impounds 4,000 tmcft and the one on the Nile with 6,000 tmcft. Mr. Raju also referred to the minor, inter-State disputes that were denying North Andhra its due from Vamsadhara and Jhanjhavati. Prof. Subba Rao said, with 15 industries within 20 km and open defecation, ground water was absorbing salts leading to pollution levels of 4,000 Siemens, much higher than the hazardous 2,500. In spite of it, most of the residents of apartments and the poor were forced to use groundwater as the municipal water supply was not adequate.

CPS Chairman D.V. Subba Rao said setting up of national grid was quite essential and it was high time a national view was taken.

CPS Director A Prasanna Kumar said, as the centre was concerned with policies it was responding to an article in *The Guardian* that front -paged the alarming water scarcity.

A former professor of Andhra University Jagannadha Sarma described Prof Mahadevan and Prof Krishna as fathers of hydrology.

(*The Hindu* September 13, 2014)



Sahityam and Sahiti

Sri. C. Sivasankaram

Literature that deals with the contemporaneous circumstances and conditions may not last long. It fades into oblivion as soon as the fervour of the state of affairs round which the literature was woven expires. Literature, if correctly understood, is that which contains in its theme past, present and future. That

All of humanity’s problems stem from man’s inability to sit quietly in a room alone.

Blaise Pascal

literature will not have forced death. Of all the great treasures of the classical orient and occident only very few works remain for the posterity. *Adhyatmikata* and *Vedanta* are pith and marrow of any literature that aspires to have long life and eternal validity. Apart from the Prasthanatraya there are *Srimad Ramayana*, *Srimad Mahabharata* and *Srimad Bhagavatam*. These are *paurusheya prasthanatrayam*. The personality and character of a nation can be grasped in their true perspective from the country's literature and literary figures. If we are today having respect in the comity of nations it is not owing to the political power or possession of atomic arsenal, it is all because of the Mahatmas, Paramahansas, Paramayogis and Mahayogis and their deathless intellectual and spiritual output. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, Vivekananda, to mention a few are among the great galaxy of philosophers, bards, spiritual leaders. There is another unique aspect about the seers, savants and saints of Bharat that they never bothered about their own name and position. They remained like the great sacred rivers, mighty mountains offering whatever they possessed without eye on reward or recognition. There is a strong vein of detachment and still stronger sense of lack of desire for limelight and popular approbation. Abnegation, allegiance to heritage, loyalty to tradition, fidelity to Vedic values mark the lives of our literary giants. This matchless trait on their part earned for them lasting place among the world's most renowned men of letters and discoverers of truths.

Kavi is the seer. He sees from the beginningless to the endless. His insight, his vision unbound, as they are they live in all the three phases of time. Naturally time is the Killer (Time). He cannot do his job with regard to these deathless seers. The kavi belongs to all ages, all times, all countries, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe and the renaissance poets of Elizabethan era are not demarcated by any material and physical boundaries. Since poetry has been dethroned from its lofty heights and prose enthroned itself we are, alas, unfortunate, that we rarely see poetry which will drive us to action, which will catapult us to heights where-from we can sing the tune of the Sanatana. Kalidasa, Bharavi, Bhavabhuti etc., are ageless poets of Bharat. Why they are ageless poets? Because the theme and burden of their works bear testimony to the relevance of Veda and Vedic injunction. The source of the works of eternal poets has been Veda.



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



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