

Jawaharlal Nehru's 'prudent and constructive leadership'

A grateful nation paid homage to Jawaharlal Nehru on his 125th birth anniversary on November 14. Celebrations of his birthday every year as Children's Day radiate 'the spirit of spring, of triumphant joy' and hope. Jawaharlal Nehru said that he was deeply influenced by his father Motilal, Rabindranath Tagore, both born in the same year and month, the former on May 6 and the latter on May 7, 1861 and Mahatma Gandhi. From his father Motilal he inherited an independent mind and 'noble frankness.' Tagore, Nehru said, "gave to our nationalism the outlook of internationalism and transformed it into the full blooded emblem of India's awakened spirit. "Quoting Isaiah Berlin's words that Tagore's wisdom lay in choosing 'the middle path', between 'radical modernism and proud and gloomy traditionalism,' a leading political scientist summed up that Nehru displayed the capacity to stick to the 'difficult middle path.' The relationship between Gandhi and Nehru reminded a writer of those times of George Slocombe's description of 'an agnostic Lenin meekly obedient to the precepts of a Christian Tolstoy.' Interestingly even before Jawaharlal became an 'obedient disciple' the astute Gandhi declared that in matters international, the former, though twenty years younger, was his 'mentor.' During those turbulent times of world wars and competing, if not clashing, ideologies, Gandhi and Nehru offered to the world an alternative path based on peace, nonviolence and cooperation among nations.

The architecture of Indian democracy was designed by Jawaharlal Nehru and executed to perfection through institution building. The industrial infrastructure he created included dams, steel mills, factories, Atomic Energy Agency, CSIR, ICCR, UGC and IITs. The intellectual climate he promoted was a testament to his vision. A man of letters he was hailed as 'both a maker and writer of history.' He considered science as "the very texture of life without which our

modern world would vanish away" and scientific temper as vital for human progress. Rajni Kothari lauded Nehru's 'prudent and constructive leadership in the development of successful power sharing systems.' As Prime Minister his main goal was to ensure that the government reached out to the people living in remote villages in every part of India.

Like his master, Nehru spent all his time and energy in the service of the people. As Rajiv Gandhi said 'Jawaharlal Nehru shared his master's gift for communication with the people.' He shared his ideas and aspiration with Chief Ministers of states through regular correspondence. In the words of G.Parthasarathi, Editor of Nehru's *Letters to Chief Ministers*: "Stress is laid in these letters on the importance of democratic values. Chief Ministers were admonished to respect the civil liberties of the people, emphasizing the fundamental rights of the individual, the independence of the judiciary and the functioning of a genuinely free press. Nehru was also a crusader for secular values, which was to him, in the final analysis, the only sure foundation for the unity of India."

He abhorred authoritarianism, pomp and sycophancy in all its forms. Those who today revel in making scathing criticisms of Jawaharlal Nehru are no match to the anonymous author of the 1937 article in *Modern Review* on *The Rashtrapati*, Jawaharlal Nehru the then Congress President. The article clinically examined Nehru's persona and found him 'unsafe in a democracy' as he had 'all the makings of a dictator in him' ending with a line of caution: "We want no Caesars." To the astonishment of all, it came to light later that the author of the 'derogatory' article was none other than Jawaharlal Nehru himself. He epitomized democracy's virtue of self-critical equilibrium. Till his last he remained a true democrat, in thought, word and deed, a moral colossus on the national and international political horizon.

The Editor

"I will not rest content unless every man, woman, and child in this country has a fair deal and attains a minimum standard of living." Jawaharlal Nehru

NOT A BANANA REPUBLIC...

Admiral (Retd) Arun Prakash

Former Chief of Indian Navy, Ex-Chairman NMF

Many hubristic public figures, who often proclaim, in the media, that 'India is no banana republic', may be less strident, if they learnt the actual implications of such a label. It is not merely a term used for small South American dictatorships whose economies depend on export of bananas, but has a wider connotation. According to economic theory a country qualifies as a 'banana republic' if it is 'operated as an enterprise, for private profit from the exploitation of its national resources, by collusion between ruling politicians and favoured monopolies.' While its 'legislators are for sale,' government officials 'exploit their posts for personal gain through bribery, corruption and nepotism', the central government is so ineffective that 'it cannot provide public services and has little control over much of its territory.'

India treads a thin line; a nuclear-weapon state and growing economy, aspiring to great-power eminence; it is, simultaneously, a nation negotiating a slippery slope from which it could easily plunge into the abyss of banana republic status. As we have seen in the past few years, all it takes for such a precipitous fall from grace (in the prophetic words of Winston Churchill) is for power to go *'to the hands of ras-cals, rogues, free-boot-ers... and men of straw'*.

The test of a nation's mettle and the calibre of its leadership is a crisis situation. Whether it is a natural disaster, terrorist strike, hijacking or trans-border incursion, the Indian state's response to any emergency has followed a depressingly familiar sequence. The onset of a crisis finds the organs of state caught unawares and the leadership stricken with paralysis. The multiple ministries, departments and agencies involved, pull in different directions, lacking coordination and a firm hand on the tiller. Frenzied and haphazard damage-control measures, eventually, bring the situation under control, mostly with the military's help. A phase of national breast-beating follows, accompanied by a free-wheeling blame-game. The state apparatus, thereafter, relapses into its earlier

comatose condition - no wiser and unrepentant – to await the next disaster.

This is not mere hyperbole, because having seen such episodes occur many times over, in the recent past, most of us have reconciled ourselves to the Indian state's sub-standard performance and even learned to rationalize it with the sad home-spun aphorism: 'we are like that only.' Our fatalistic acceptance of incompetence and inefficiency, coupled with tolerance for venality, and the low worth we place on human life and dignity, promise to brand India as a second-rate nation – even if it becomes a great power.

It was, perhaps, in the hope that he would rescue India from such a fate, that the electorate swept Narendra Modi to power with an unprecedented majority. So far, Mr Modi has not disappointed. An example is the demonstration he provided, not just of his nonconformist approach but also, of moral courage, by broaching the taboo topics of cleanliness, sanitation and public defecation on Independence Day. Accustomed as we are, to soporific speeches full of anodyne sentiments, from the ramparts of Red Fort, Modi's blunt words have woken the nation to the grim reality of our garbage-strewn cities, towns and villages; and the need to do something about it. As if to emphasise his commitment to clean up India, Modi had the *chutzpah* to include this topic, even in the recent *Washington Post* editorial that he jointly issued with President Obama.

While the PM must be allowed to savour the well-earned hosannas for his recent foreign-policy triumphs, including the hugely successful US visit, he needs to focus urgent attention on the domestic scene, which is fraught with hazards. He would have noted the unexpected rebuke delivered by the pragmatic Indian voter, during recent assembly elections, to his party; the underlying message being that religious rabble-rousing cannot be a substitute for promises of good governance and '*achhe din*' made during the election campaign. At a juncture when maintenance of domestic harmony represents the most crucial challenge before this government, stoking divisive sentiments for political gains, would be most deleterious to national security.

Jawaharlal Nehru laid the foundations of our nation; its democracy, secularism, pluralism and an independent non-aligned foreign policy. K. Natwar Singh

Apart from unrest in Kashmir, lingering insurgencies in the north-eastern states and frequent outbreaks of communal violence, the most serious internal security threat to the nation arises from the violent Naxal movement, running through half of India's 29 states. This 47-year old movement is a clear manifestation of the Indian state's dismal failure in delivering on agrarian reforms, poverty alleviation and social justice to the poor, landless and deprived masses. By treating a socio-economic problem as a law and order issue and throwing poorly trained para-military forces at it, successive governments have exposed their scanty vision and lack of strategic thought-process.

India looks forward to a putative 'demographic dividend', which is expected to provide a boost to the economy and open a narrow window which may permit India to catch up, economically, with an ageing China. However, the exploitation of this dividend demands that government educate, train and create jobs for 100-200 million young persons in the next two decades. Should we stumble or fail in this task, many of these youth could end up swelling the ranks of Naxalites.

It is against such a daunting domestic backdrop that Mr Modi needs to scan the external horizon for the unique combination of security threats confronting India. At one end of the spectrum is the twin nuclear threat posed by neighbours China and Pakistan, with the latter foolishly brandishing tactical nuclear weapons of late; at the other end is the menace of Jihadi terror outfits which have openly declared India as a target and form an integral part of Pakistan's low-cost war of a 'thousand cuts' against us. There is, of course, the ever-present possibility of conventional armed conflict with China or Pakistan - or both in collusion.

As Pakistan jockeys for domination of Afghanistan, wherein it wants influence as well as 'strategic depth', and China resolutely seeks hegemony across the Indo-Pacific region through the establishment of a 'maritime silk route', these arenas promise to become the twin crucibles where India's strategic acumen and diplomatic skills are going to be tested shortly. With few cards – economic or military – to play, India would need to employ a skilful hedging strategy and buy a breathing-spell for itself.

Given such a fragile strategic environment, one would have expected the new government to bring sharp focus to bear on national security issues, which have suffered egregious neglect for, at least, a decade if not more. It is, therefore, disheartening to note that defence and security have not received the pre-eminence that they deserve in the national agenda. In BJP's 2014 Election Manifesto, security related matters are discussed, somewhat haphazardly, almost at the bottom of a long list of 75 issues, under the unusual heading: 'External Security - its Boundary, Beauty and Bounty'.

A far more worrisome message is being sent out by the government not appointing a full-time Raksha Mantri (RM) to manage the Ministry of Defence (MoD) for four long months. It hardly needs reiteration that India fields a million and a half strong military and is a nuclear weapon state with a three-legged deterrent. A hiatus of this nature would certainly cause further damage, to this vital Ministry, already suffering from a decade of lethargy, indecision and myopic vision. It may also serve to undermine India's credibility both as a military and nuclear power. So much needs to be set right in the national security edifice, as a whole, and in the armed forces, individually, that a full-time RM, working 24x7, would need a few years to do it.

None of the tantalising promises held out by the government, so far; whether it is 'make in India', FDI in defence production or expeditious clearing of defence acquisition cases, can fructify in anything less than 5-10 years. In any case, they pertain only to hardware issues. India's national security structure, victim of neglect by several previous regimes, needs urgent reform and overhaul. We have neither a national security doctrine nor strategy. Just as our archaic higher defence organization, lacking a single military head, is incapable of coping with contemporary threats, the continued segregation of the three armed forces from each other and their sequestration from strategic decision-making could lead to disaster in war.

In the words of British PM David Cameron, '*In a world of startling change, the first duty of the*

Government remains: the security of our country.' He goes on, "the task of protecting our security is never complete and in an age of uncertainty we will report annually to Parliament on the National Security Strategy...'

Let us remind ourselves that the UK is a small island nation, which faces hardly any security threats to the homeland. Should India settle for anything less?



Resurrecting the Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel legacy: Will he have approved?

Cmdr. (Retd) C . Uday Bhaskar

Distinguished Fellow at the Society for Policy Studies
(Former Director IDSA & NMF)

The manner in which the 139th birthday of Sardar Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel (Oct 31, 1875 - Dec 15, 1950) is being celebrated contains within it both a tinge of irony and a reflection of the self-confidence of the Modi-led BJP that it can resurrect a long forgotten Congress leader and thereby tacitly claim ownership of the 'Iron Man' of the freedom struggle.

The unstated comparison of Patel with Modi and their common Gujarat roots add to the symbolism of Oct 31 this year, which has now been declared 'Rashtriya Ekta Divas' (National Unity day).

Oct 31 saw a paradox of sorts with President Pranab Mukherjee attending a Congress party led event at Shakti Sthal in memory of former prime minister Indira Gandhi - an event which the current prime minister will not attend - and then later the president will join the Sardar Patel related events, including a run for national unity.

It is instructive to recall that Oct 31 and the birth anniversary of Sardar Patel have always remained a very low-key affair outside of Gujarat. Most Indians are aware of Oct 2 (Gandhi Jayanti) and Nov 14 (Nehru's birthday observed as Children's Day) and in recent decades, Congress led governments have celebrated the birthdays of Indira Gandhi (Nov 19) and Rajiv Gandhi (Aug 20) with gusto and high visibility.

Venerating some leaders and progressively marginalizing their peers or competitors is par for the course in Indian politics and a thumb-rule is that the Nehru-Gandhi family has managed this process with considerable success. For younger generations born after 1980, the Gandhi-Nehru-Gandhi telescoping has become subliminal and the fidelity to facts is of little consequence. Thus Mohandas Gandhi - the father of the nation and revered as the 'mahatma' - is perceived to be part of the lineage that extended to Indira Gandhi and her son Rajiv Gandhi. Progressively the 'family' acquired a primacy in Indian politics and within the Congress party that is now being challenged.

Congress prime ministers who came from outside of the 'family' - Lal Bahadur Shastri and later P.V. Narasimha Rao - were never given their due and the shabby treatment meted to them after their demise is part of the less savoury history of the Congress party. Resurrection is the exception and ironically, Sardar Patel confidante of Mahatma Gandhi and a stalwart of the Congress Party, is being given the recognition that was denied to him 64 years after his demise in December 1950.

Sardar Patel who was just six years younger than M.K. Gandhi (born 1869) and a good 14 years older than Nehru (born 1889) had an extraordinary career. Born in rural Gujarat, he was self-made in the true sense of the term and bore every personal challenge with remarkable determination to prevail and in stoic manner - characteristics that are associated with him.

Sacrificing his personal benefit or interest for a larger collective good, whenever such choices presented themselves - Sardar Patel enabled his elder brother in 1907 to avail of an educational option in Britain that was meant for him (Vallabh) and denied himself of that coveted opportunity. Yet his determination saw him prevail - and as a late matriculate who managed to reach that perch only at age 22, Patel went to Britain in 1911 at age 36 to train as a barrister and managed to obtain the first rank in a record period of 30 months.

Vallabh Patel met Mohandas Gandhi in late 1917 and soon became part of the Gandhi led anti-British protest movement. Elected president of the Gujarat

If India today is one of the half-a-dozen most advanced countries in atomic energy it is thanks to the farsighted vision of the country's late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. H.J. Bhabha

Congress Sabha, he remained loyal to Gandhi and reminisced that the Champaran peasants movement was the turning point in his life. The early organizational success of the Gandhi movement was made possible by the stoic but methodical Patel and in later years Gandhi referred to Patel as his younger brother, while Jawaharlal (Nehru) the fond son

Often associated with the Hindu right-wing faction in the Congress Party - Patel was a leader of strong conviction and dissented where warranted but in the end - extended valuable support to both Gandhi and Nehru in the interest of realizing a free and independent India wedded to the democratic principle and constitutional rectitude.

Architect of the integration of almost 560 princely states into independent India - a task whose complexity is of unimaginable magnitude - Patel combined realpolitik with sturdy principle. This was evident in his handling of the Hyderabad police action and the October 1947 decision to send the Indian military to defend Srinagar. Perhaps one of the less known but sterling contributions made by Patel in realizing the vision of a free and equitable India was in choosing Bhimrao Ambedkar as the chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution. This vignette has been captured in a poignant manner by Shyam Benegal in his television series 'Samvidhan'.

As independent India's first home minister and deputy prime minister - Patel managed the post-partition refugee influx in a firm and empathetic manner. He also laid the foundation for the Indian civil service (the steel-frame, alas now rusting) and the police service. His appreciation of India's security challenges apropos Pakistan and China are part of the official record, as also his advice to Nehru not to take the Kashmir issue to the UN.

Poor health led to his demise in December 1950 - a little less than a year after India became a republic. Often perceived to be the alternative to Nehru, his loyalty to the cause of India remained paramount. Soon after Mahatma Gandhi's assassination in January 1948 - there was considerable speculation about the rivalry between Nehru and Patel. In the correspondence the two exchanged, Sardar Patel reassured his younger

colleague: "We have both been lifelong comrades in a common cause. The paramount interests of our country and our mutual love and regard, transcending such differences of outlook and temperament as existed, have held us together." He added that Bapu's assassination that left the nation orphaned had only awakened "a fresh realisation of how much we have achieved together and the need for further joint efforts in our grief-stricken country's interests."

While the resurrection of Sardar Patel is no doubt commendable and a certain degree of political jostling is inevitable, it would be misleading to reduce the legacy of the Sardar to an insular right-wing Hindu template. He internalized and mediated the Gandhian ethos and the inclusive Nehruvian aspiration through the lattice of political pragmatism and feasibility. Neither he nor Nehru were infallible and the current recall has to retain a degree of constructive malleability

However, the Sardar may not have quite approved of the state exchequer spending almost Rs.3,000 crores to erect the tallest statue in India in his memory. While he had his share of warts and personal foibles, personal vanity is not a trait associated with the Sardar.



THE NUCLEAR GENIE- 16

The Genie with Janus Face

Prof. M.N. Sastri

In Roman mythology Janus is the two-faced God of beginning and ending with one face to the front and one to the back. In certain situations the Janus-headed figure is also used to describe two contrasting aspects - progressive and retrogressive. Metaphorically the nuclear genie can be described as double-faced Janus with progressive and retrogressive powers. The nuclear genie has so far been pictured as a satanic figure capable of even destroying life on earth. The second face however represents a progressive feature, which can be described as an energy reservoir that can meet the growing world energy needs. That nuclear energy could replace the

He who is not upset by bad news will not be elated by good news.

Mahatma Gandhi

steam engine in electricity generation was forecast by H.G. Wells as early as 1914. The feasibility of extracting the energy from nuclear fission chain reaction in a controlled manner for electricity generation through a device called nuclear reactor has been demonstrated by Enrico Fermi on December 2, 1942. This demonstration also opened up the possibility of producing nuclear weapons. With the world war raging at the time, building nuclear weapons naturally received priority.

With the cessation of hostilities, programmes were initiated for the development of nuclear technology for power generation. The US, with its technological head start in this field through the wartime Manhattan Project, took the lead in the generation of electrical power from nuclear fission energy. The first US electricity producing prototype reactor went into operation in 1951 at Idaho generating an electrical power of 250 kW (250 KWe), just enough for the reactor building. This project led to the launching of the first nuclear submarine *Nautilus* in 1955. The Soviet Union commissioned its 5 MWe nuclear power plant at Obninsk in 1954. The first fully commercial reactor with a power output of 250 MWe became fully operational in 1960 in US at Yankee River. France, UK, USSR, Canada and Sweden also pioneered the development of nuclear technology for power generation. In due course many countries including India received assistance from these countries in the installation of nuclear power plants to meet their power requirements. The oil crisis of 1973 had a major effect on several countries which relied on oil for their energy needs. To meet the crisis, they pushed for nuclear energy for power production.

Nuclear fission energy has several significant features that make nuclear power production very attractive. Unlike fossil fuels (coal, oil and gas) it does not produce carbon dioxide (greenhouse gas). It produces extraordinarily high energy density per unit weight of the fuel. Just 1kg of uranium-235, when it completely undergoes fission, would give the same thermal energy (heat) as 2,500,000 kg of coal. Nuclear power plants are economical at places where transport

of conventional fossil fuels would be expensive.

In 1960 worldwide nuclear power production was less than 1 GWe. This rose to 100 GWe in the 1970s and then to 300 GWe in the late 1980s. Since then the production rate rose much more slowly, to reach 366 GWe in 2010 from 439 nuclear reactors in 31 countries, providing about 16% of the world's electricity. This is projected to increase to 20% (1000 GWe) by 2050 (MIT Report 2009). The US produces the most, with nuclear power providing 20.2% of its electricity in 2009. France produces the highest percentage (75.2%) of its power needs from nuclear reactors. The European Union as a whole gets 30% of its electricity from nuclear energy.

India's nuclear research programme began with the creation of the Atomic Energy Establishment Trombay (later named Bhabha Atomic Research Centre) at Mumbai consolidating all research and development activity in nuclear reactors and technology under the Atomic Energy Commission. The first two commercial nuclear power reactors in India were commissioned in 1969 at Tarapur. Then followed more nuclear power reactors at Kota (Rajasthan), Kalpakkam (Tamilnadu), Kaiga (Karnataka), Narora (UP), Kakrapar (Gujarat), and recently at Kudankulam (Tamilnadu). These reactors numbering 21 have a total power output of 5780 MWe contributing about 3.5 per cent of the country's total power generation.

A major hurdle faced by India in its nuclear power programme has been the shortage of domestic uranium. This shortage has been further exacerbated by the international sanctions imposed in the wake of India conducting nuclear tests in 1974 and 1998. The recent Indo-US nuclear agreement and other agreements that followed have enabled India to import uranium fuel and boost its nuclear power production programme by improving the power generation in the existing reactors, accelerating the commissioning of the commercial reactors under construction (numbering six with a total power output of 4300 MWe), and also planning for more power reactors with indigenous expertise as well as foreign collaboration. India has now set before itself an ambitious nuclear power

ONE THIRD OF humanity is governed from two capitals, Beijing and New Delhi.

William Antholis

production target of 20,000 MWe by 2020 and 63,000 MWe by 2030.

Energy is the motive force for the growth of modern civilization. A million years ago the primitive man relied only on the energy from the food he consumed. Currently the technological man consumes more than hundred times this quantity. This energy is used in the form of food, home and commercial purposes and in power production, industry, agriculture and transport. This enormous growth in energy consumption is made possible by increased use of coal as a source of heat and power use of internal combustion engines which led to the massive use of petroleum and derivatives electricity generated by hydro sources and thermo electric plants using coal, oil and gas and lately nuclear energy.

Global energy demand has been increasing rapidly and more dramatically in fast growing economies in Asia (India and China). With energy consumption in 2012 of 774 Million tonne Oil equivalent (MtOe) (for transport, agriculture, industry, domestic use, and power production) compared to 2,713 MtOe by China and 2,152 MtOe by the US, India stands third among high energy consumers (Global Statistical Year Book, 2013). In the matter of electrical power, India with an annual per capita power consumption of about 750 units stands low at 154 among 214 countries ranked. In contrast the US with a per capita annual consumption of 13,246 units ranks 9 while the UK with a per capita power consumption of 5,472 units ranks 47. One third of India's population is not connected to electricity grid. The shortage of electrical power is affecting India's competitiveness in commerce with China, Thailand and South Korea. India's power generation must grow fourfold to meet its rising requirements. Currently coal provides 59 per cent of electricity generation. Gas provides 9 per cent and hydro 17 per cent, renewable 12 per cent and nuclear 3.5 per cent. How does India currently meet these energy requirements?

The total estimated domestic coal reserves as of March 2010 were about 277 billion tonnes. But mining and extraction of these deposits are affected

by geological, technical and other surface constraints such as townships, river beds, high environmental fragility due to location of deposits deep underneath pristine forests and human settlements. These factors result in high economic and social costs in exploiting some resources. Further, the ash content of Indian coal is also a problem in the efficient operation of thermal power plants. These factors necessitated the import of 159 million tonnes of coal (18 per cent increase) in 2013 against the domestic production of 533 million tonnes.

The demand for oil (mostly for transport) has been spectacular. The gap between India's oil demand and supply is widening as the demand reached nearly 3.7 million barrels per day in 2013 compared to one million barrels per day of domestic production. By 2040, the demand is projected to rise to 8.2 million barrels per day with the domestic production remaining almost flat around one million barrels per day.

Import of liquid natural gas at 39.32 million standard cubic metres a day contributed 25.5 per cent of the total fuel consumed in 2011-12. As the output from domestic sources stagnates, the import of natural gas will surpass domestic production in two years.

Shale gas is available but yet to be exploited. It requires huge quantities of water, already scarce, and results in extensive land disturbance.

As a result of international price escalation and growing imports of these fossil fuels, India's total foreign exchange outgo on the import of energy has been growing at an alarming rate, close up to 20 percent per year with an increase of almost 55 times over the past two decades. This increasing dependence on fossil fuels also places India at the mercy of international price fluctuations. More worrying is the realization that the use of these fossil fuels is already having adverse effects on the environment.

India has significant hydro power potential. But it suffers from drawbacks like location and social (population displacement) issues.

Solar and wind energy sources can meet only part of the consumer needs.

The phrase is not in use at the moment, but within five years Narendra Modi will have to create a Varanasi model of development, just as he has ensured a Gujarat model. M.J. Akbar

All the above factors make nuclear energy an important option to meet the country's fast growing energy needs of the twenty first century. A sound long term energy strategy should necessarily be based on an energy mix of different sources of energy with nuclear energy as an essential component. Nuclear power no doubt is not perfect. But no generation source is. In present state of things it is the best viable high density energy source that can displace coal-based power plants.

Nuclear power has however been the subject of serious debate ever since the use of nuclear weapons over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This debate has intensified in the wake of major reactor accidents at Three Mile Island (1976) and Chernobyl (1986). In fact these accidents resulted in a setback to the growth of nuclear power for some time. Just when the expansion activity was reviving in the 21st century, a major tsunami disabled three power reactors in Fukushima Daiichi in March 2011, sparking off opposition to nuclear power generation. Such accidents anywhere in the world would stoke antinuclear backlash amongst the public everywhere. Other factors that cause apprehension among the public are radioactive waste, proliferation of fissionable materials like plutonium and nuclear terrorism. The nuclear power industry has been actively engaged in research and development aimed at achieving safety and efficiency of nuclear power reactors through improved technology. It is also actively addressing environmental concerns such as handling the spent nuclear fuel and the safe disposal of the dangerous radioactive wastes. Whether we like it or not there is presently no alternative to nuclear power to meet the country's fast rising energy needs.

We end this narrative with a word of caution. 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.

(Concluded)



Unfashionable Thoughts : V An ex-policymaker's perspective on regulation in education

Dr. R.V.Vaidyanatha Ayyar I.A.S.(Retd)
Former Secretary HRD Govt.of India &
Professor IIM Bangalore

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

There is yet another reason which makes me wary of the idea of NCHER outlined by the Majority report. No one can be a judge in his cause is a golden rule which applies to every segment of society be they civil servants or academics. To expect that any organisation or system could reform itself without an external impulse is unrealistic as well as unhistorical. In his magisterial survey of Whitehall, Peter Hennessy, scholar *extraordinaire* of British government and civil service concluded that no genuine reform is possible unless the incumbent prime minister drove the reform process. Further, it was perilous to allow the British Civil Service to conduct itself as a self-regulating organisation, and to yield to the preference of the Civil Service that reform should be undertaken by the Civil Service itself rather than imposed from outside. Even if there were to be an internal impulse for reform within an organisation, external pressure is helpful for overcoming the forces of resistance to change. One is not sure that academics are such exceptional people, and universities such exceptional organisations that they can reform by themselves without any external impulse. The impulse for the reform of British Universities had come not from the universities but from the British Government. Margaret Thatcher is a much hated figure among British academics; her notoriety is no less in Indian academia. Yet the circumstances which impelled her to take head-on the reform of higher education were outlined by her predecessor James Callaghan of the Labour Party, a Prime Minister 'who could truly be said to have emerged from the bowels of the Labour movement'. In his famous lecture at Ruskin College, Oxford, in 1979 he observed:

Public interest (in education) is strong and legitimate ... We spend £6bn a year on education, so

Indian philosophers' subtleties make most of the great European philosophers look like schoolboys. T.S. Eliot

there will be discussion. But let it be rational. If everything is reduced to such phrases as 'educational freedom' versus state control, we shall get nowhere. I repeat that parents, teachers, learned and professional bodies, representatives of higher education and both sides of industry, together with the government, all have an important part to play in formulating and expressing the purpose of education and the standards that we need.

I have been concerned to find out that many of our best trained students who have completed the higher levels of education at university or polytechnic have no desire to join industry. Their preferences are to stay in academic life or to find their way into the civil service. There seems to be a need for more technological bias in science teaching that will lead towards practical applications in industry rather than towards academic studies.

These are proper subjects for discussion and debate. And it should be a rational debate based on the facts. ..We all know those who claim to defend standards but who in reality are simply seeking to defend old privileges and inequalities... it will be to the advantage of all involved in the education field if these concerns are aired and shortcomings righted or fears put at rest.

To the critics I would say that we must carry the teaching profession with us. They have the expertise and the professional approach. To the teachers I would say that you must satisfy the parents and industry that what you are doing meets their requirements and the needs of our children. For if the public is not convinced then the profession will be laying up trouble for itself in the future.

Suffice to say, if war is too important to be left to generals, education is too important to be left to educationists.

Now let me turn to the idea of university. Here I should plead your indulgence as I propose to go personal. The idea of university with which I grew up is precisely the idea espoused by the Majority Report, and yet I had to give it up over time. Andhra University where I spent nine formative years of my life from 1957-66 was a manifestation of the very idea

espoused by the Majority Report. It was a great seat of learning with many departments nationally renowned for their excellence. Most professors were Titans in their fields. They led a rich life of the mind- *vita contemplativa*- oblivious of the lure and dazzle of the tinsel world outside the academia. They treated their profession as a calling: expanding the boundaries of knowledge, and passing on the tradition of scholarship to future generations. With such eminent faculty, curriculum was not student-centred but knowledge-centred, driven not by the instrumental criterion of immediate relevance but by the larger purpose of skill, knowledge, value, and cultural transmission. Research was a major activity. Most teachers were engaged in research, and a considerable proportion of students who passed the honours course straight moved on to research. Deference to, if not reverence of, teachers was the reigning norm that guided student behaviour. On the flip side, however, the ethos of the university was provincial and paternalistic. Many teachers were like jealous warring Gods on Mount Olympus. Like the *doktorväter* of the old German universities professors had almost complete power and control over the lives and careers of students and research scholars. They were extraordinarily generous to those who were with them and waging a vendetta against those with others. Anecdotal evidence as well as memoirs like those of Milton Friedman the Nobel Laureate in Economics bring out those academic feuds was not unique to my university. Suffice to say; even if a university were to be wholly insulated from the political system outside, it would not be free from the politics within, from organisational and personality politics. Before I moved out of the University, I was witness to the end of an era, a witness to the office of the vice-chancellor ceasing to be an exalted office that exuded gravitas, and vice-chancellors turning into birds of passage. In the first thirty- five years of the University's existence, there were just three Vice-Chancellors including S.Radhakrishnan. The last of these three left in the fourth year of my stay in the university, and during the last five years of my stay there were two vice-chancellors. The first of these two had to go through the ordeal of facing an inquiry into the countless allegations levelled against him by a rival for his office. He was succeeded by a scholar of

We owe a lot to the Indians who taught us how to count, without which no worthwhile scientific discovery could have been made. Albert Einstein

scholars and one of the most eminent professors who ever adorned the University. However, he resigned his office before completing his tenure, thereby establishing that even if a Professor of long standing revered for his scholarship were appointed as Vice-Chancellor the old order cannot be restored.

About two decades after I left the Andhra University, I had the good fortune of being closely associated with universities and the higher education system here in Andhra Pradesh. Apart from being State Education Secretary, I also had the privilege of officiating as vice - chancellor of a few universities for quite long spells. It did not take much time for me to discover that the universities I was handling were a starkly different species. Even Andhra University was not what it used to be during my earlier stint of association. The appointment of a Vice- Chancellor had come to be guided solely by political considerations; the selection process came to be more a ritual to be gone through to affix the imprimatur on the person already chosen. The infusion of political patronage for appointment to the post of Vice-Chancellor, and of caste politics further aggravated the pervasive campus politics that no university is free of. University governance got inextricably intertwined with management of assertive interest groups who viewed their causes as paramount national concerns. The decision- making process was prolonged by negative obstructionism. As officiating Vice-Chancellor, I found a decision on award of contracts for executing works costing Rs. fifty to sixty lakhs, petty works which would not hold my attention for more than a few minutes in Government, were being dragged on for months in the Executive Council even as the funds were about to lapse and the students were agitating for lack of facilities. Only one or two exceptional vice-chancellors among the baker's dozen could resist the temptation of cultivating political support to secure the appointment in the first place, and later after appointment to keep political powerbrokers in good humour for sheer survival and warding off challenges to their authority from within the campus. Research came to be an exceptional activity. The student politics of my days was ideological, the divide the traditional divide between the Left and the Right. Now it was not ideological but

casteist. I could not help thinking that like Humpty Dumpty the higher education system had a great fall, but being young and idealistic I thought it should be possible to put together Humpty Dumpty again.

During my occasional association with higher education in MHRD as Chief of the Policy Planning I was greatly anguished by the fact no earnest consideration was given to put Humpty together.

As State Education Secretary, I had the privilege of meeting Yash Pal who was then Chairman, UGC to plead for recognition of Telugu University by the UGC so that it could receive grants from the UGC. Even though Yash Pal's stand ran counter to what I was striving to secure as State Education Secretary, I was personally delighted for what Yash Pal was saying was entirely in synch with my own experience as a student , research scholar, and faculty in the Andhra University. Looking back, there were two strands of education I received in the university: the education I received in the Chemistry Department, and a broad general education that unconsciously seeped in from living on a university campus with students belonging to different disciplines and opportunities plenty to know about each other's studies and to casually engage in inter-disciplinary chat, from a rambling study of books of all types in the University Library, and more significantly from the all-pervasive ambience of cultural and political ferment that pervaded the university. The ambience of the Andhra University in those happy, less constrained days is captured by what Professor C.E.M. Joad said about the Oxford University:

“One is surrounded by the visible loveliness of the places; there are also invisible influences by which the very texture of existence is pervaded. These together form an atmosphere by which dwellers in the University are unconscionably impregnated; and just as a fire of leaves in autumn may smoulder for hours and then break suddenly into flame, so, as one gets about one's business,...one may find one's senses, suddenly unsealed and one's spirit flaming out to meet the beauty with which one is surrounded”

(to be continued)



By ' private initiative', I mean that initiative which enables a businessman to act on his own in the cause of promoting public good. Nani Palkhivala

In Quest OF The Mythical Forest (II)

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*)

Once Dandakaranya covered huge chunks of today's Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra between the rivers Godavari and Narmada, embracing the Eastern Ghats among other ranges of hills and the rivers Vamsadhara, Matsyakunda, Savari, Indravati, Nagavalli and Tamasa. The forest, on one hand the home and retreat of the Rishis, and a haunt of the demons on the other, had been the witness to numerous events, mythical and historical.

Despite its shrinking size, different tribes - the Parajas the Bondas, the Santhals, the Savaras, the Marias and the Gonds - had lived there in peace for millennia - until the recent past.

They knew no fear of beasts, but...

It was the dead of night and the dusky peak appeared to dissolve into the few clouds in a sparsely starred sky. The car had stopped midway on the ghat road, thanks to a snag in its engine. There was nothing unusual in a couple of lights twinkling a thousand feet below to the left, for that was a valley on which nestled a tribal village, but a solitary light flickering and wending its way down the peak to his right intrigued my friend, Ramnath Panda, a distinguished Oriya editor and author, hailing from the tribal district of Koraput.

He crossed to the right of the road and waited for the light to come nearer. It was a torch of twigs held by a tribal woman. She raised the torch and revealed her wrinkled face -that of a septuagenarian.

She smiled at my friend's query and explained: Her son had raised a crop high over the hill and passed his nights guarding it. That night too, as usual, she had carried for him his dinner, but found him down with fever. She sat beside him comforting him and left only after he had fallen asleep.

'Are you not afraid... ?'

'Of...?'

'Of beasts - say - of the tiger?'

'What's there to be afraid of the tiger, sonny? Shouldn't one rather be afraid of man?'

She resumed her descent, totally oblivious of having created a quotable quote.

The woods were receding from every frontier and civilization had made stubborn inroads into the tribal world. The situation was candidly described by one of the last veterans of the Indian Civil Service, R. P. Noronha:

'It is almost impossible for a non-tribal, even for me, to comprehend what his land means to a tribal. It has a life of its own with which his life is inseparably linked, it is the Mother Goddess that gave all men birth, but because it is his land, it is *his* mother, with an umbilical cord that cannot be severed. If its fertility decreases and the crops fail, it is because the gods are angry with *him* and it is he who must make amends, with a human sacrifice if the omens so dictate. The sacrifice is not for his well-being, it is for the well-being of the Mother Earth who has suffered through him, and if he has to hang for it - well, he has to hang.

'When a man like this loses his land, something inside him dies, that something which made him a man. And it is the land that is the first casualty when civilization sweeps over the tribal. When he accepts money and executes a sale deed, he assumes that he is parting with his land only temporarily, only until it has produced enough and more for the new master to neutralize the amount he paid. I have seen a Gond in Rehli *tehsil*, standing with dead eyes before the *munim* of the *bania* who had bought his land, and asking 'Have you got enough from the land to repay the hundred rupees I took?' He had sold his land twenty years ago. The *munim*, accustomed to such scenes, said briefly 'Not yet' and turned back to his work. The little old Gond carried his dead eyes silently away. He would not have minded so much in the days when alternative land was available for the asking, or for the use of an axe, the good days a hundred years ago when he had the run of the jungle. But today the money he gets is pre-empted by his debts as soon as it comes into his hand... Now it is not so much the individual who wants his land (only the poorest quality is left), it is the state.

There is no cosmetic for beauty like happiness.

Margaret Blessington

Projects for irrigation require land for the dam and the canal.... Iron and coal are discovered and the country's needs demand their exploitation. The land is the tribal's. New railways cut through virgin territory - and the tribal's land. What centuries could not do, civilization has achieved; it has cut the umbilical cord between the Adivasi and his land. I have no solution. I merely report a tragedy, the tragedy I saw pictured in the dead eyes of the Gond...' (*A Tale Told by an Idiot*).

This was in the forties of the 20th century. The situation had worsened. The forest was growing elusive, even though Verrier Elwin wrote, not long ago:

'As the traveller moves towards the Bastar plateau the countryside breaks into a song about him; he is greeted by hardy smiling woodsmen singing at their work; the skyline is broken by fantastic piles of rock; all around is the evergreen *Sal* forest.' (*The Tribal World of Verrier Elwin*).

I saw piles of rock and piles of timber, rarely any ever green *Sal* forest. Near the Bagra waterfalls (I was informed that I was among the last few to see that primeval grandeur of the thousand silver cascades frolicking down, for it was to be sacrificed to yet another project) I stopped to take pictures of the burning and felling of trees going on in full swing. The young labourer posed with his axe while I photographed the ghastly sight and then demanded money for his gesture. He had just learnt to be clever.

I asked a shop-keeper-cum-hunter in a bazar that had lately popped up on my way to Jagdalpur, the capital of the erstwhile Bastar State, 'When had you last been to the heart of the forest?'

'Heart of the forest?' he grinned. 'Babuji, you are right now standing on the heart of Dandakaranya.' He threw his arms wide to make me conscious of the expanding bazar.

'Sarabu remembered also his endless miseries and the miseres of his tribe. He was the *Saonta*, the headman of the village, dressed in a loincloth, copper-coloured hair on his head, thick and dishevelled, a quid of tobacco leaf always in his mouth. His Kondh religion told him that the King - the Authorities - happened to

be younger brother while the Kondh, the Paraja (the subject), was the elder brother. The younger brother was crafty and had snatched away the kingdom from the elder brother by dishonest means, but he did not mind. He had learnt to forgive. He was as tall as the hills, broad and expansive as the sky, somewhat uninhibited and impulsive.'

This is from a novel entitled *Paraja* (now available in English), a saga of the tribal life, by Gopinath Mohanty, a revered name in modern Oriya fiction. As a Deputy Magistrate in the tribal district of Koraput he would at times get lost amidst the hilly tracts, eating, sleeping and dancing with the folks and his anxious boss had to despatch a Stanley or two to locate the lost Livingstone. Meanwhile he would keep busy presiding over their functions or settling their disputes.

In the fifties of the 20th century, when my maternal uncle, K. K. Samal, was the District Magistrate and Collector of Koraput, pressing business obliged Gopinath to pay a visit to him. It was a winter night. An eerie silence had taken the region in its grip, even though it was only the first quarter of the night.

'As the headlights of my jeep focused on your uncle's gate, for a moment I wondered when two unusual sculptures had been installed there like stone gatekeepers before castles or shrines. But they moved away and I realised that it was a tiger couple on honorary duty!' Gopinath Mohanty once narrated to me.

Things had changed. While Koraput is the headquarters of the Dandakaranya Development Authority, founded in 1958, the *aranya* itself had become a memory.

The tribal's magnanimity was once again proved when they absorbed the Bengali refugees in their world. We can once again refer to the concern expressed by R.P. Noronha (of the I.C.S) in the forties of the last century: 'When the East Bengal refugees began to be settled in the Dandakaranya Project, much of which is in Bastar district, I asked H.M. Patel what was going to happen to the tribals. He was optimistic about the benefits they would get through the opening up of the area, roads, schools, dispensaries and all

Music and dance elevate you to a different plane altogether and give you a breeze of happiness and peace. A.P.J Abdul Kalam

the trappings of civilization. I asked doubtfully, "But what about their land? What will they cultivate, not now, but when their population increases?" There was no answer. There never is an answer to a fundamental question. The tribal has a low birthrate because he lives on the edge of starvation. Because no one really cares whether he lives or dies, he has a high death rate. Naturally, the few forests and barren mountains that have been left to him are underpopulated. But with the awakening of a social conscience during the last 25 years his numbers are increasing, and by the time he needs land, there will be no land left for him.' (A Tale Told by an Idiot).

But it is such genuine concern felt by a few like him that brought about laws to safeguard the tribal's lands. The Dandakaranya Development Authority had acted commendably in rehabilitating the refugees on one hand and 'protecting and improving the lot of the tribals on the other. The DDA's infiltration into the inaccessible regions have scared away many of the old, seasoned and absolutely brutal vampires - the *sahukaras* (money-lenders), although that has not prevented new and more sophisticated ones from indulging in brisk business. Among them are politicians and terrorists masquerading as their liberators. This new brood of outsiders are cashing in on their innocence and teaching them the easy road to the 21st century-violence.

The problem is that the tribal's attitude to violence is very different from that of the others. Since he does not mind offering himself to suffering and death, he does not understand why it should horrify others. (Once he cultivates loyalty to some ideal or institution, he must prove it with a vengeance.



Dr. C. R. REDDY **A PORTRAIT FROM HIS LETTERS**

(The late) **K. Iswara Dutt**

(From *Swatantra Annual*, 1952)

There are fewer blessings in life than friendship with the celebrities of one's own country not merely in terms of extreme cordiality but on those of real intimacy. What more could one ask for than the

privilege of sharing one's thoughts with them on things, near and remote, and peep into the innermost workings of their minds through the sovereign medium of the epistle ? Between C. R. Reddy and me there was a fairly regular exchange of letters across the years from the latter twenties till his death, with no mental reservations on either side and sometimes even in a Puckish vein as a tribute to our mutual affection. And among many other things which went together to single him out on the intellectual plane, Reddy was an expert letter-writer—indeed, a master of craft as much as he was a pastmaster in conversation, another of the lost arts of the age.

By any known standards, Reddy was a man of the highest intellectual attainments—and as fascinating as formidable. Scholar, poet and critic in his own tongue, of the English language, written or spoken, he acquired a mastery which won for him a reputation far beyond our shores. Was it not Sir John Squire, one of the foremost living literary critics in Britain and a class-fellow of his at Cambridge, who felt reminded in his presence of 'the eloquence and genius of Burke' ? Anything by way of adding to that superb testimony would be but like adding perfume to the violet or painting the lily.

In his younger days Reddy became an academic legend. Having given in the Christian College at Madras a foretaste of his brilliance, he found Cambridge easy of conquest. He was proud to have become the first Indian Vice-President of Cambridge Union but never was he prouder than when he organised what he called the Indian festival at Cambridge in honour of Gokhale on his visit to the University. Indeed, Gokhale stayed with him as his guest and he introduced Gokhale to the great Massingham. Those were days when he fondly hoped to make a fortune at the Bar and carve out, as he was wont to say, a 'Reddy Kingdom' of his own. But at the instance of Gokhale he burnt his boats and decided to become an educationist. He never regretted the choice.

Big things happened to him on return to India. His very first assignment as a Professor had historical associations. In the Maharaja's College at Baroda he succeeded Aurobindo Ghose. Mr. K. M. Munshi who belonged to the last batch of Aurobindo's students told

This world is a comedy to those that think, a tragedy to those that feel.

Horace Walpole

me that though he completed his course he used to rush to Reddy's classes if only to hear him! Then followed in quick succession Mysore, Madras and Andhra and again Mysore where always at the top level he had played a decisive role as an educationist and risen to be the greatest in India since Asutosh Mukherji.

But education was not his only love. In his love there was no sense of exclusiveness! Politics had drawn him since as a student at Cambridge he figured on the platform in Dadabhai Naoreji's campaign for a seat in Parliament. On leaving Mysore for Madras and for a while education for politics he joined the Justice Party but soon made up for the blunder by assisting in its liquidation United Nationalists, Swarajist?, Congressmen—he lumped them together in his stride and while he gave an intellectual content to the cause of freedom's struggle, never could he take the head-long plunge into it. Yet he did nothing mean on the political scene; often he enlivened it by his performances inside the legislature and pronouncements outside. Animation was his forte, not agitation.

By one of those supremely interesting coincidences in history, the three Andhra intellectuals in politics, each other-wise distinguished in his own way—C. Y. Chintamani, B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and C. R. Reddy—were all born (in chronological order) in the same year, 1880. Chintamani was an uncompromising Liberal till his last breath while Pattabhi, happily still alive and now basking in gubernatorial sunshine, is a life-long Congressman. Reddy, combining in himself the comprehension of Liberalism at its highest and the moral ardour of Nationalism, was the typical individualist in politics.

With a horror for the intellectual self-sufficiency of the Indian Liberals and the emotional conceit of Congressmen, he preferred to tread his own way and kindle his own light amidst the controversies and conflicts in the political arena. He derided the absurdity of holding forth absolutist language in the kaleidoscopic field of politics' and emphasised that any judgment passed without elucidation of an issue can only be regarded as 'an exhibition of low thinking

under the guise of high feeling.' It was not for the shallow multitude that he ever spoke: it was the intelligentsia that he cared to address and educate. It was both his strength and weakness that Reddy lacked the party mind. It would be an exaggeration to say that he played any decisive part in politics, but there was little doubt that he was one of the far too few men in the country who, from an isolated peak of eminence, made pronouncements remarkable for their penetration and weighty for their detachment.

It is against this background that one must turn to Reddy the man whose life, for all the sombre shadows cast on it by an unkind Fate, was rich in its content and cadence.

He missed the customary rewards of politics, having very nearly always lived in a world of his own, furiously thinking of its problems—the larger problems of intellectual and social interest—and also occasionally thinking aloud. He missed too some of the good things of life. Supremely self-conscious that there was no rival near his throne, he could not avoid a sense of frustration. Yet he neither lacked clarity of judgement nor a sense of humour. He was happy in the thought that there was ready homage to him as an intellectual. He prized his Friendships and loved to cast a spell on those who came within his orbit. Nothing delighted him more than releasing a shaft which hit the mark. His phrases, his epigrams and his jokes, all of the pure Reddy vintage, made him matchless in the line. It was an intellectual treat of the first order to find him radiating in his own charming manner—and watching his lavish display of word-wizardry.

My friendship with Reddy was really an inheritance: he was my father's friend for half a century. It was social reform that was their common interest while my relations with him had an intellectual basis. He was generous in the measure of encouragement he gave me as a journalist and writer. Knowing something of my bias for biography he offered me the following counsel in one of his earliest letters to me:

"Remember Lord Acton's dictum that even funeral eulogies should be couched in the temperate

Democracy is a small hard core of common agreement, surrounded by a rich variety of individual differences. James Conant

and discriminating language of history and that indeed there is no justification for telling lies even in the absolving presence of a corpse. Biography should be written in the spirit of history and not of pamphlet. And that is why it is best written after a man is completely dead inasmuch as he might not like to hear of the severe things that have to be said about him."

A little later when I happened to join *The Hindu* he wrote: *"Glad you have become 'Imbedded in the Hindu, more and more, and find it no bed of roses, it is the intellectual standard of journalism and will educate you out of your Andhra vapours."*

Those were days when the whole country was agitated over the findings of the Simon Commission. Reddy who could probe into their inner character and hidden implications was on the war-path. Writing to me towards the end of June 1930 he exploded thus :

"On the whole I feel that it is the funeral pyre of nationalism that they have proposed to erect. Our nationalism is to be consumed by the sectional fires to be kindled. What will be set up by the Simon Commission is a disreputable Indian oligarchy of careerists very amenable to Government pressure. It shuts the door of hope not only for nationalistic but democratic advance.

This is India's hour of trial. The call is for more courage and a more sincere devotion to the public good. The way the country rallies round to the support of the Gandhian movement is the test. Whether we gain anything material or not we shall certainly have progressed in the qualities and habits of nationality, sense of honour and the organised display of patriotic action. The inner soul is more than the outer constitutional garb, and it is on that we should concentrate our efforts in all honesty of purpose. If we take care of our character as a people, constitutions will take care of themselves."

I have a feeling that for the next three years Reddy was in no happy mood. I was supposed to be 'the only person outside the family' to remember his birthday but during the above period he gave me a peep into the 'prison-house' of his own secret existence when I offered him the usual felicitation.

"You are an incorrigible rememberer of an insignificant day. We did not observe the day this year. A nation's struggle and suffering cannot permit of these rotten festivities."

In early 1935 he opened his heart to me thus;

"I have neglected you badly due to mental and moral depression at the great opportunity lost by the country, by people not rallying in sufficient strength to the Congress."

About a year later he again wrote in the same vein from Chittoor;

"I have been here for some months past-in a mood of strict and exclusive vegetating-and this vegetarianism is the only thing that agrees with me!"

I found that the mood had passed when I was in Madras editing *People's Voice*. He was then writing to me in warmer tones. On my return to Allahabad in the latter half of 1937, he cheered me up :

"So you are back at the Ganges! Any day better than the Cooum. It is a pity you would not journalise in future here. There was a distinction and educative value which we miss now."

And then with playful ease he added :

"I shall be visiting your holy place in November. Wonder where I shall put up ? I want European comforts. The soul is Swadeshi but the stomach Videshi! Which is the best hotel ?"

He would not, however, close the letter without saying some thing however casually about the current controversies of the hour. Referring to a divergence of outlook between Rajaji and Nehru (exactly on what question I don't remember) he said :

"Intellectually I am with C. R., a Moderate and anti-Socialist; morally with the more intrepid and straighter J (Jawaharlal), the weaker party. J is a man doomed to be a Martyr, and there are Judases enough in his camp who are using him today and will abuse him tomorrow."

As in the case of Morley, even in casual letters or on post cards, his style is 'strong and vital' and also often distinguished by flashes of irony and wit. Alluding

to Mr. Kripalani's attack on his 'mythical ban on Socialist literature' in the Andhra University, this is what he said :

"I suppose an occasional braying is necessary for health and leadership. Yet K is a very nice fellow and highly clever and competent. We have met before and he could have asked for the facts...But his attack on me was charmingly well-written. I read it over and over again enjoying his attractive style. I could have exclaimed in the language of one of Shaw's doctors: 'What a beautiful ulcer! How perfectly ripe !'"

Whether he always agreed with Congressmen or not, he had for them on the whole a tender regard. At any rate he had little or no regard for the Liberals though he found them individually estimable. In one letter he dismissed them contemptuously :

"All Liberals are rats. They mistake patriotism for careerism."

In one of my letters I passed on -to him one of Chintamani's epigrams which I thought was quite revealing. Diagnosing the political situation Chintamani said : 'Government lacks honesty, Muslims patriotism. Liberals sacrifice and Congressmen judgment.'

Reddy reacted to this rather fiercely and wrote to me :

"I don't understand your Chief's epigram. If Government is not honest, why do the Liberals support it ? Is it because they too lack honesty and so have fellow-feeling ?

Liberals lack sacrifice —which translated into psychology means patriotism and courage. Congress lacks judgment— which similarly analysed means that cowardice is an aid to judgment while courage is not—There is not a more contemptible race on earth whether for judgment or character than the Liberals. Every year on the new-moon days they threaten to lose their confidence in Government, but never reach the end of the process, and on full-moon days they regain it. Themselves heroes of the verbal order, they are easily won over by words as hollow as their own...Constituted as they are, the greatest service they

can do to the country is to hold their tongues which, of course, they cannot."

Again, in another letter returning to the charge he hit out thus:

"They proclaim that the Congress is the only power which can deliver the goods and then deliver themselves which is all the goods they can deliver."

It was a sad thing that for all his spirited defence of the Congress, he was at no stage much a Persona Grata with it. At one stage it accepted many of his ideas but had still left him out of the picture. I expressed both my surprise and regret at the injustice done to him when he poured out his heart:

"You are always hankering for gratitude and worrying about its conspicuous lack in our public men. When I made the proposals—which are now Khaddar-wear of the C. R. group of Congressites—I was abused by name, and now my ideas are used without so much as the most indirect or inferential acknowledgement, but I consider this right, proper, progressive!"

1. *Origins are generally mean and should be ignored.*

2. *Gratitude is a backward-looking virtue—a self-contradiction and does not harmonise with forward-looking progress.*

3. *Governments and parties are agreed in this—they prefer creatures to creators of ideas who are always a troublesome lot. What they want is a sort of blotting pad to reproduce their impressions and they are getting it in plenty. They come to us for thought-purposes-but for purposes of their organisations they prefer dittoists. That is the law of life— official and non-official."*

Again in 1946 he wrote in the same strain with a tinge of regret but none of bitterness. By then the Constituent Assembly had been set up but there was no place for one like Reddy there, if only because the Congress was in no mood to emerge out of narrow grooves. I felt that it was a serious injustice to Reddy and also a big loss to India. What a mark he could have made in that august Assembly by bringing his original, challenging and searching mind to

Every child is an artist. The problem is how to remain an artist once he grows up.

Pablo Picasso

deliberation of the complex and grave problems that it was called upon to deal with! His reply was so frank—and yet so fair. He said :

A great pleasure to have heard from you; and your tones are as warm-hearted as ever for which thanks. Yes: it was a bit of a disappointment to me that I was not given chance to serve on the Constituent Assembly—not tragic any way, since there is a Providence that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we may—though He takes a deuced long time to do the shaping! That I would be left out was foreseen, for there was no obligation on the part of Congress to pay me that amount of regard. Their action was natural. The anticipated is never so bad as the unexpected.

Before he bade adieu to the Andhra University it was my privilege to have manipulated an invitation for him to Hyderabad where I was the Public Relations Officer and got for the Andhra University a donation of two lakhs. During the time he stayed there he tried to probe into the intricacies of the Hyderabad problem by talking as freely to Mr. Laik Ali as to Mr. Munshi and Swami Ramanand Tirth with whom we dined. Reddy narrowly missed Kasim Razvi but when he met Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung, Reddy cornered him by asking why Hyderabad needed an army at all without being satisfied with something like a Malabar Special Police force!

My soul's attention flows in the direction of the communal and other problems that afflict this dear old land—almost too old to last long. As early as in 1946 he gave me of what was passing in his mind :

“My interest in Vice-Chancellorship has waned—these are the last flickers before extinction.”

It was at that stage that I suggested to him literary retirement, so that he might leave behind something enduring for posterity. So did some others even earlier, including my brother, Kameswara Prasad, in reply to whose letter he thus unburdened himself:

“As regards how best to utilize the few years that may yet remain for me, it is strange that you should have suggested devotion to literature at the same time as a Parsi lady friend of mine asks me to quit the University and enjoy a literary retirement. This

coincidence happening to be in the line of my own thoughts and feelings which have been welling up for some time past, I think, will have an effect.

Venkataramani also suggested that I should bring out a collected edition of my English works and that he himself would come to Chittoor and help me to make the selection. It is not even one month when towards the end of my summer sojourn in Chittoor I made a collection of all my old stuff, including the ‘In Memoriam’ in prose I wrote on Viresalingam, and found that they covered 3 or 4 shelves of an almirah. There are also the Diaries of my world-tour, which though antediluvian, may yet have some historical and personal interest, certainly historical. So without being very definite about it, I can only say that this blessed seed of your letter has fallen on soil already prepared.”

But nothing came out of it. It is our loss.

It was a pleasure to be on writing terms with Reddy who, in his lighter moments or gayer moods, could be simply charming and irresistible as when he said to me that ‘*Even love must be reduced to matrimony if it is to be stable*’—himself a gifted bachelor in the line of Balfour. In one of his letters alluding to patronage in this country he hurled this at me :

“In India nobody will share patronage with another, whatever else he may share. I am informed by Vyasa that even the Pandavas who shared a wife refused to share patronage with each other.”

This incidentally reminds me of his eagerness in his last years to husband his eye-sight if only to read Mahabharata.

Such was his love of that classic on which he was supposed to be one of the greatest authorities. It is a sad and depressing thought that Reddy, one of our finest intellectuals and most gifted men, was among the least lucky—and that in the ultimate analysis he should be regarded as one of the ‘Splendid Failures’ in history, in view of the glaring hiatus between promise and fulfilment. His achievements as an educationist for all their striking quality could hardly make his cup brimful. Even his parliamentary gifts were but confined to a provincial legislature though “a

Education is the ability to listen to almost anything without losing your temper
or your self-confidence. Robert Frost

certain mingling of mellow wit and mellow wisdom that is unique” and his own, could have established him at the Centre. In politics he invariably proved to be a receding hero. He was out of tune with his environment and he seemed to seek ‘the palm without the dust’ like Rosebery of whom he was reminiscent both in brilliance and temperament. Aristocratic, proud, sensitive and a trifle aloofish he could hardly fit in, in any party mechanism, and was content to take delight in mere intellectual exercise. His speeches were remarkable as much for a coherent body of thought as for splendour of diction while some of his phrases enriched the English tongue. Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar, no mean Judge of politicians, spoke to me of Reddy as the greatest phrase-maker in politics since Disraeli, not excluding Randolph Churchill who, in England, came next to Disraeli.

It is difficult to say if there will be any posthumous publication of Reddy’s speeches, diaries and letters but it will be no small consolation to me if this piece will revive interest in good old Ramalinga Reddy whose memory I cherish with a friend’s love and an Indian’s pride

(From *My Portrait Gallery* K. Iswara Dutt)

(December 10, 2014 is the 134th birth anniversary of Dr. C.R. Reddy, the foundation Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University)



POLITICAL REPUTATIONS

Of all reputations, political reputations are the least enduring, though they are the loudest while they last. Likewise, of all estimates, contemporary estimates are the least reliable though they are the best documented. Time which is supposed to be a healer is not unoften an erasure; it wipes out many names of the day from the memory of posterity and makes a clean sweep of the debris accumulated in the receding years.

Men of the moment or heroes of the hour are a legion ; we almost jostle with them at each lamp-post. They are so obsessed with their own sense of importance as to be little conscious of the darkness enveloping them. At the end of the year they dwindle,

while at the end of the decade they disappear. Not so the men of real greatness : they are like guide-posts and landmarks which neither distance obscures nor time obliterates.

Essential greatness knows no adventitious aids. Civic addresses and University doctorates are no insurance against the creeping paralysis of effacement. Garlands and processions are no passports to future recognition. The wreaths fade and the caravan passes into the limbo of oblivion.

(K. Iswara Dutt, *My Portrait Gallery*)



Independent Approach to Education

Prof. Krishnasarma Somanchi

Retd Professor of English
Acharya Nagarjuna University

The pre-Independence Secondary education aimed at, and successfully imparted, the craft of composition in two languages, elements of mathematics, science, world history and geography. Cultivation of memory played a vital role. Eighth standard was the minimum qualification for teacher training. It is astonishing how these teachers with that much of education could deliver the goods in the class rooms, certainly more effectively than many graduates of the present day. Quite a few of them had been helpful to villagers in measuring lands, writing documents in property deals, or calculating interest and so on. In a way, they helped to save the villagers from the grip of the landlord, the moneylender, or the village officer. They were like friends, philosophers and guides to the rural folks, also functioning as Post Masters, health visitors, and helped the ignorant and illiterate with their skills. All this they did when they drew a pittance as wages, had little or no retirement benefits or security of service.

There were a few English medium schools, but there was hardly any disparity in the achievement of students, whatever the medium. Devaluation and inflation have crept into the field of education also since 1947. Every new Education Minister takes up this problem with a seemingly fanatic zeal. The first thing

It always looks as if the best way to solve a problem is to spend somebody else’s money.

Milton Friedman

they say, on assuming office, is that education is in doldrums and in need of revamping. While the successive governments are progressively less and less enthusiastic about the funds needed for education, they more than make it up with their eagerness to overhaul it thoroughly. If there is one area of Indian life that has been damaged with over-tampering, it is certainly education.

The continued use of English as first language offended the post-Independence sentiment in the country. So they made the mother tongue the first language and English as second language. We could hardly object to the kind of mathematics and science as taught then, on grounds of patriotism, we might perhaps object not so much to the subject itself as the content of history, the viewpoint, the falsifying perspective. Again, even though geography is non-political, the viewpoint may be quite damaging, in the opinion of some geo-political experts.

The hurt that may be thus caused to our patriotic sentiment may be quite extensive, but it is not of such dimension as to require a radical reorientation of the entire curriculum. If there was a need to dilute English, where was the need to devalue the mother tongue to the extent that it was devalued? The removal of emphasis on the study of languages is justified on the grounds that the world is experiencing an explosion of knowledge, and that pride of place should be given to pursuit of science rather than to arts or languages. Why must anyone learn one's mother tongue, after all? And English is anyway not our language. So run the arguments.

Mathematics is so modernised that one could expect budding Einsteins to bloom out of every school. Geography and history, the very susceptible subjects are brought under, or rather replaced with, social studies: there is hardly anything relating to any one society in full, and the study, if such it is, is patently ephemeral. The pupils can hardly distinguish between temperate zones and trade winds.

The less said about drawing and, of course, handwriting, the better. We mechanize drawing, which is a multicoloured maze; the pupil need not have any

sense of line, provided he can make generous use of crayons or colour pencils.

What is the balance sheet? Have we not lost heavily in quality while we gained in a dubious quantity? Have we modernized education sufficiently? A more pertinent question, can we afford to modernize at the expense of basics? Are we strong in basics? Every new crop of ministers would jump at the imaginary windmills. One says pupils need not carry so many books, another decries public schools while somebody else extols them. The Educational officers dance to the changing tunes, and revamp education in a capsular form. Yet another minister would come along and say that we are ill equipped educationally, compared with some other country, and soon there would be another radical change.

There have been many commissions on Secondary education. Every minister and Chairman of the Commission would talk about nationalism, patriotism and modernism in glowing terms. But has any one of them looked at education from the Indian point of view? Those who talk at length about American system of education or Japanese system have not spared a single thought over what would be good for Indians in the India context.

Gandhiji not only talked about it, but also furnished a blue print for Basic education. He wanted the educators to turn their attention to the rural population. Nehru also reminded us that the people of India are to be found in the villages. Not only the new urban centres and cities, the villages too have to be taken into reckoning. So let the planners of secondary education start from that point. Let them consider what would be needed for the masses of India, what would be good for them, and how best that could be imparted to them. Ability to read and write, rudiments of arithmetic, elementary hygiene and natural history would be essential. In addition to sports and games, they need to be trained in citizenship. Let them build upon these fundamentals.

(from *Loose Sallies of the Mind* 2014)



I have lived and flourished in a secular India. In the fullness of time, if God wills, I would also like to die in a secular India. Fali S. Nariman

MUSIC THERAPY FOR THE UNDERPRIVILEGED : A SOUTH AFRICAN EXPERIMENT AND THE INDIAN POSSIBILITY

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

Founder-President, Nada Centre for Music Therapy

Recent experiments with music affirm the fact that it can be a 'psychological tonic' for those deprived of normal life. In Indian cities and towns, we have children and adolescents growing in slums and barns, deprived of a normal living, assured through the Constitution of India even today! Many of us are not aware that it is these underprivileged children who happen to turn out to be militants, dons, extremists, ruffians and law-breakers in no time- so as to compete with their adverse conditions: hunger, poverty, backwardness, unemployment and last but not least- a kind glance or a compassionate gesture from their fellow-citizens, who have somehow managed means to lead a decent and comfortable living. Having recognized the problems they pose to the society, two music therapists from South Africa established a community clinic in 2002 to use "active music making" as a means to overcome their long-suppressed expression and to make them look up and be confident as any other normal citizen who is born in a family or set-up where opportunities are galore.

The therapists had selected a suburb called Heideveld (pronounced as HAY-DE-FELT), near Cape Town, which was created as a camp for the historically disadvantaged people of the country. It is in this community that the children grow up amidst social illness: gang violence, unemployment, substance abuse, dysfunctional family life and above all poverty. When they are hardly twelve, some children even become gang leaders, which give them a sense of identity, which otherwise they lack. It is unfortunate that such tender children, living in such environs, of a socially fragmented community have to get their emotional support only from the gangs! It is equally unfortunate that many of these children have had

undergone trauma caused by such factors in their tender age itself!

The Trauma Effect : The modern psychologists are aware that as these 'unfortunate' children undergo such a trauma, they invariably show some of the following symptoms: fear, numbing, restlessness, irritability, lack of energy, lack of interest, disrupted patterns in eating and sleeping, problems in being attentive or concentrated upon a task and several socially unacceptable behavior traits, which include loss of self-esteem, inability to trust anybody else and to top it all - self-destructive tendencies. Like in any other developing country, there has been very little support for these children from the organized institutions. It was here that the two music therapists endeavour become laudable! Music Therapy Environs in Heideveld Music therapy volunteers of the Community clinic are usually invited by the community to offer music therapy sessions to children especially when any of the following incidences take place: death of a family member (often due to HIV/Aids or the frequent gang wars), violent incidences such as riots, shoot out and what not as may be personally involved/ witnessed by these children in more recent times, physical or sexual abuse, and facing emotional trauma due to absentee parents (the latter being in jail etc). Music Therapy Goals for the Disadvantaged Children The main idea for trying music therapy is to relieve them as much as possible from their never-ending trauma. Musical activities such as group singing, solo singing, storytelling with music, song writing, musical movement, improvisation with simple drumming or using powerful music have been found working in a favourable way as they occupy the attention in a pleasant and constructive manner. As the aim is to assist children in not only dealing with emotionally disturbing issues but also to transcend them, they are given a 'musical opportunity' to relate with others through musical dialogues and expressions – which are pleasant and positive. What is important here is that every child is encouraged and motivated to express their intense emotions musically and

What we shall find in Modern physics is an exemplification, an encouragement and a refinement of old Indian wisdom. Julius R. Oppenheimer

rhythmically – sometimes with drums and trumpets. Music Therapy Sessions for the HIV/AIDS victims: The goal here is to uplift and strengthen the social and emotional development in children who are kept in quarantine- having been separated from their family members. Through music the required psycho-social support is administered to them. It is interesting to note that the impact of music is felt much more by those who are powerless and marginalized than those who are well-heeled and well-placed in life. Similarly, in place of any verbal therapy (say, “lip sympathy”) music works much better as it touches the inner core (“heart”) of the listeners, singers and players. Thus such musical interactions have been found useful not only by the children but also by their care-takers who look after them. The Indian counterpart, Nada Centre for Music Therapy had undertaken similar research a few years back with mentally retarded children of Visakhapatnam in India. The researchers here noticed that it is those caregivers who have to be given music therapy first, before attempting on such children!!

Music Therapy Interventions for Underprivileged Children in Indian Settings : It is necessary that individual philanthropists and the institution (including the Government) have to come forward to provide the necessary emotional support to such unfortunate children of our country, who are deprived of their basic needs – food for the body and love for their soul! It may be easier to arrange for food with money than love. But love in real life is something mystic, evasive or intangible! It is heartening, however, to find that music can very much act as lovey dovey feelings as and when one feels loveless and marginalized! All we have to do is to concentrate on its emotional nuances. Nada Centre for Music Therapy, (the pioneering voluntary group in India which has been propagating the importance of music therapy, not only for the underprivileged, but also for premature infants, special children, teenagers, school children) will volunteer to assist in prescribing the ‘appropriate music’ and session schedule for such children.



Book Review:

ESSAYS ON HINDUISM

KARAN SINGH

THIRD EDITION PRIMUS BOOKS Delhi 2014 pp 168 Rs 395/-

This is the third and updated edition of Dr Karan Singh’s *ESSAYS ON HINDUISM*, a collection of articles written and lectures delivered at different periods of time in India and abroad. The well known philosopher and elder statesman who has lectured and written extensively on a variety of subjects has added in this edition an essay titled *Keep the Light Shining* which points out that “fundamentalist Hinduism would be a travesty of the great Vedantic tradition.” The quintessence of that great tradition is lucidly explained in the first chapter *Hinduism : An Overview* studded with Sanskrit slokas explaining the significance of scriptures, the contribution of ancient seers for the enrichment of the tradition and modern renaissance ushered in by reformers and saints for the reinterpretation and rejuvenation of Hinduism. “ We, who are children of the past and the future of earth and heaven, of light and darkness, of the human and the divine, at once, evanescent and eternal of the world and beyond it, within time and in eternity, yet have the capacity to comprehend our condition, to rise above our terrestrial limitations and, finally, to transcend the throbbing abyss of space and time itself. This, in essence, is the message of Hinduism,” writes Karan Singh.

The seventeen chapters that follow deal with wide ranging subjects from *Vedanta in Nuclear Age* to *The Ethics of Conservation* and *The Way to Peace*. The chapter on *Restructuring Education* emphasizing the need to restructure our educational system which “suffers from lack of direction and purpose” is as timely and thought provoking as the one on *Secularism: A New Approach*. Karan Singh suggests that we should ‘overcome the religious-phobia in our educational system.’ Pointing out the flaws in the classical concept of secularism which India adopted the author says that “ we have to move on to an

Hinduism is more a way of life than a form of thought, not a static but a resilient religion, a movement not a position; a process, not a result; a growing tradition, not a fixed revelation.

Dr. Radhakrishnan 21

entirely new concept of secularism if it is to have relevance in the years and decades to come.” The ‘problem ‘ can be converted into a ‘positive asset if our educational system gladly accepts the multiplicity of our religious tradition,’ states Karan Singh. Religion plays an important part in the lives of the people and outmoded concepts and practices must be replaced by ‘periodic reformulations’ and creative reinterpretation of its philosophical roots according to the author. Explaining how the Upanisads represent ‘the high watermark not only of Indian but of world philosophy’ Karan Singh asserts that the real debate is not between secularism and Hinduism. Let’s not forget, he states, that ‘one of the great glories of Hindu thought has been its capacity to embrace the entire human race with its concept of *Brahman-Atman*’.

The Appendix of forty pages at the end , a page more than the *Overview* at the beginning of the book, is on *Mundaka Upanisad*. Paraphrasing Kalidasa who likened the Vedas to the mighty Himalayas, Karan Singh sees in the Upanisads the peaks of Himalayas, full of splendour and glory. He quotes from the writings of Sri Aurobindo who ‘with his gigantic intellect and deep intuition developed one of the most comprehensive and original systems of thought in modern times.’ It was on Sri Aurobindo’s philosophy that Karan Singh worked and obtained his doctorate degree from Delhi University. Aurobindonians are known for their intellectual sharpness and breadth of vision and Dr Karan Singh is a renowned torch bearer of that culture.

Essays in Hinduism is a scholarly work that begins with an invocation to and portrait of Lord Siva and ends with an expression of gratitude in love and reverence to the ‘realized seers, the saviours and torch bearers of mankind’ for ‘imparting the luminous truth’. The eminent scholar writes in the preface that ‘the reader will inevitably come across a certain amount of repetition’. But as the great John Morley proclaimed if it is truth it should be repeated as often as possible.

A.Prasanna Kumar



‘Foreign policy is not static’

Newspaper report on CPS meeting held on
November 13, 2014

Foreign policy is not static it changes over issues, adjusts to prevailing conditions and changes with the ideas of the leader at the helm of affairs, said former Indian diplomat Amit Dasgupta.

He was addressing a seminar on *Crafting Foreign Policy*, organised by Centre for Policy Studies, here on Thursday. Charting a chronological course, he said that the first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru believed in not joining either the NATO or the Warsaw bloc. It was he, who saw a vision in the non-aligned movement and it was Moscow that saw an opportunity in India.

According to him the real breakthrough in the Indian foreign policy came in 1991, during the tenure of P.V. Narasimha Rao. “Mr. Rao not only opened up the economy but was the first to talk about the ‘Look East’ policy, said Mr. Amit Dasgupta. Giving credit to former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, he said the 123 civilian nuclear deal was a fillip to the foreign policy.

The former diplomat said Mr. Modi is crafting his own policy, which is different to the others. Earlier, the Director of the Centre Prof. Prasanna Kumar introduced the speaker. Prof B. Madhukar of the Gayatri Vidya Parishad proposed a Vote of Thanks.



Advent of Sri Sathya Sai Baba

Sri. C. Sivasankaram

“Knowledge is a means to freedom. Philosophy, Brahma Vidya is the pursuit of wisdom as a way of life”. -Dr S.Radhakrishnan

The advent of Sri Satya Sai Baba was an epoch-making event. The annals of mankind’s march from bizarre aboriginal to its present amazing advancement

"Every time, every time, I have done something special, whenever I've showed my bat, it was for my father."

Sachin Tendulkar (*Playing it My Way My Autobiography*)

in all spheres under God's suzerainty stand unprecedented and epochal. Bhagavan Sri Satyasai Baba's descent on the earth sanctified and sublimated by advent of Avatars, sages whose memory and acts of Divine significance cannot be obliterated from the canvas of man's momentous memory. India is famed as the land of eternal sunshine. Bhagavan Sri Satya Sai gave impetus to raise a crop of selfless devotees, litterateurs and evolved souls of uncommon excellence

The era following the advent is golden. His birth in the obscure village of Puttaparti on the sacred banks of river Chitravati on 23rd day of November 1926 was not only epochal but also historical. Like at the time of birth of Srikrishna 5200 years ago, at the hour of the advent of Sri Satya Sai were seen tremendous occurrence of wonders both in the physical world and in the realm of spirit and religion. Religion came to stay. Religion practised by Saiites does not smack of obscurantism. It is a religion bent on manmaking and demon destroying. Non-injury, and absence of selfishness have happily replaced violence and arrogance. The Teacher laid congruous stress on fellow-feeling and ceaseless tolerance. Tolerance has a striking edge over patience. Reconciliation and

conciliation are held as part of moral values. The devotee of Sri Sai organizations never hinders the advance of spirit of tolerance. He acquires right of place to be acknowledged as the replica of unalloyed tolerance. The lasting progress, moral, ethical and spiritual in the era of Sri Satya Sai Baba was never experienced in the ages preceded. The great World War-II declared truce in the wake of Sri Satya Sai Baba's unequivocal unveiling of His Avatar-hood. He never rested on his oars with what has been accomplished by the Sai organizations.

His religion like that of Vedanta philosophy based on Sanatana Dharma is perennial. The unambiguous accent laid intelligently on the motto, "Service rendered to Humanity is akin to service rendered to Almighty" drastically transformed a vast circle of human beings including male and female. Men and women work together for the common end of world enlightenment. Devotees of all countries are united for a sane renaissance and a divine revolution for common evolution of a mankind totally bereft of all uncivilized ideologies based on human disintegration.



CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

(GAYATRI VIDYA PARISHAD)

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

Chairman :

Shri D.V.Subba Rao

Patrons :

Shri K. Sivananda Murty

Dr. B.Swami

Prof. R.V.R.Chandrasekhara Rao

Shri T.R. Prasad

Director :

Prof. A. Prasanna Kumar

Associate Director :

Prof. P.V. Sarma

Governing Body

Shri V.Seetaramaiah

Prof. P. Somaraju

Prof. K.C. Reddy

Prof. V. Balamohan Das

Shri V.R.K.S. Siva Prasad

Shri A.S.N. Prasad

Shri M. Varahalu Chetty

Shri P.V. Ramanaiah Raja

Shri. Kasim S. Mehdi

Shri K.S. Sastri

Dr. B. Subba Rao

Dr. S. Vijaya Kumar

Prof. P. Srinivasa Rao

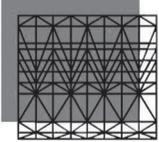
Shri D. Dakshinamurty

Prof. I.H. Nagaraja Rao

Prof. V.S.R.K. Prasad

Dr. P. Raja Ganapathi

Sri D.V.S. Kameswara Rao



VIJAY NIRMAN
COMPANY PVT LTD
ENGINEERS CONSTRUCTORS

www.vijaynirman.com

3 DECADES of
ENGINEERING EXCELLENCE

Roads and Bridges



Ballast-less Track



Residential Buildings



Commercial Buildings



Power Plants



Material Handling



Piling



Marine Structures



AREAS OF EXPERTISE

Roads and Bridges

- National and State Highways
- Bridges, Interchanges, Flyovers
- Viaducts, Metro Rail Transport Works including Ballast-less Tracks

Urban Infrastructure

- Residential/Commercial Buildings
- Water Treatment Plants and Distribution
- Desalination Plants
- Sewage Treatment Plants and Network

Industrial Infrastructure

- Material Handling Systems
- Industrial Buildings
- Power Plants
- Integrated steel plants and other Metallurgical units
- Electrical substations, H.T & E.H.T. Transmission Lines

Foundation Engineering

- Piling Works
- Marine Structures
- Diaphragm walls
- Tunneling
- Geotechnical & Soil Investigation

Regional Office

Bangalore

#264, 4th Cross, RMV Extension, Bangalore - 560 094, India
 Ph: +91-80-42682782
 vncblr83@hotmail.com

Nagpur

Plot No. 65, 1st Floor, R.P.T.S. Road, Surendra Nagar, Nagpur - 440 015, India
 Ph: +91-712-2236448
 vncngp@vijaynirman.com

Visakhapatnam

10-50-19, Soudamani, Siripuram, Visakhapatnam - 530 003, Andhra Pradesh, India.
 Ph: +91-891-2573380, 2575755;
 vncvizag@vijaynirman.com

Branch Office

Hyderabad

8-3-833/118, Kamalapuri Phase-1, Srinagar Colony, Hyderabad - 500 073, India
 Ph: +91-40-4201 5019
 vncplhyd@yahoo.com

Ahmedabad

9th floor, Hotel Cambay Grand, SG Highway, Ahmedabad - 380 015
 Ph: 09662525504
 vncplahmd@gmail.com

Operating Office

Delhi

Noida - 201301, G B Nagar, UP
 Ph: +91-120-2417313
 vncdelhi@gmail.com

Chennai

Velachery, Chennai - 600 042.
 fax: 044 22590501
 vncmtp@gmail.com

Mumbai

Near Ashok Nagar, Marol, Andheri (East), Mumbai - 400 059.
 vncmmopl@gmail.com

Corporate Office

Visakhapatnam

10-50-19, Soudamani, Siripuram, Visakhapatnam - 530 003, Andhra Pradesh, India.
 Ph: +91-891-2573380, 2575755;
 Fax: +91-891-2754046
 vncvizag@vijaynirman.com

Registered Office

Hyderabad

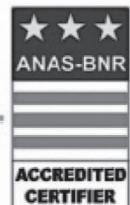
8-3-833/118, Kamalapuri Phase-1, Srinagar Colony, Hyderabad - 500 073, India
 Ph: +91-40-4201 5019
 Tele/Fax: +91-40-2373 3890
 vncplhyd@yahoo.com

We believe in :

- Mutual Respect and Trust
- Experimentation
- Culture of Gratitude
- Humility
- Continuous Learning
- Collaborative Openness



JAS-ANZ



An ISO 9001:2008, ISO 14001:2004 & OHSMS Certified Company