

# BULLETIN

OF THE  
CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
(GAYATRI VIDYA PARISHAD)

## From 'paralyzed' to 'cooperative' federalism

Federalism is described in political theory as an 'essentially contested concept.' It is shrouded in ambiguity. Several models have been presented during the last two hundred years such as 'dual federalism in the nineteenth century, cooperative federalism in the mid twentieth century and organic federalism in the late twentieth century' according to the Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics which adds that 'there seems to be very little difference between federal and unitary systems.'

Dr B.R. Ambedkar described the Indian Constitution as "both unitary as well as federal according to the requirements of time and circumstances." The Constituent Assembly was an assemblage of great minds and legal experts and the quality of debate and sincerity of purpose displayed during those eventful two years eleven months and eighteen days of deliberations evoked wide admiration. Informed debate marked by appropriate dissent led to consensus on the historic document. The Indian Constitution was hailed as "perhaps the greatest political venture since that originated in Philadelphia in 1787." The Constituent Assembly favoured a strong centre to ensure the unity of India and protection of the hard earned freedom.

The quasi-federal constitution or federal constitution with a strong unitary bias, as it came to be called, enabled both the union and state governments to function smoothly during the early years. But problems arose with the misuse of article 356 by the union government and the authoritarian and unilateral manner in which New Delhi dictated national policies and took arbitrary decisions, the worst of which was the imposition of national emergency in 1975. The rise of regional parties articulating the aspirations of the people emphasized the need for democratic decentralization and devolution of powers, goals that were enshrined in the Constitution.

A clear mandate given by the people in 2014 general elections and improving economic conditions since then have provided Narendra Modi led BJP

government with an opportunity to embark upon structural reforms. National Planning Commission. *Yojana Aayog* has been replaced by *NITI Aayog*, National Institution for Transforming India, for achieving 'sustainable development' and 'good governance', by actively involving the state governments. The buzzword now is *cooperative federalism*. The concept, however, is not new. As Granville Austin wrote "cooperative federalism produces a strong central, or general, government, yet it does not necessarily result in weak provincial governments that are largely administrative agencies for central policies. Indian federalism has demonstrated this." The BJP government wants to give it a thrust through a new approach and transform India's 'paralyzed federalism to 'cooperative federalism.'

The crux of the problem is more than the relations, often strained, between the union and state governments. Most of the state governments treat the local bodies in the same manner as the union government deals with them. The challenge, therefore, is how to strengthen the foundations of Indian democracy. Rajni Kothari emphasized the importance of "grassroots politics and upsurge consciousness from below, namely the role of civil society and its relationship to the state" and called upon the civil society 'to arrest the excesses of the state.' The state's arrogance and misuse of power compounded by apathy and callousness of civil society has kept more than forty percent of people in poverty during the last sixty seven years.

New ideas and institutions do help at this juncture if they aim at inclusive growth and development and people's participation at the grassroot level. The authors of change and architects of new approach would do well to bear in mind that in a large and fragmented polity building consensus on reforms and generating public trust are crucial for rejuvenating India. Not easy to transform Indian democracy, 'a puzzle' and 'a living museum.' Still, politics is the art of making the impossible possible.

The Editor

Unlike the scheme of 1935,our new Constitution is not an alliance between democracies and dynasties, but a real Union of the Indian people based on the basic concept of the sovereignty of the people.  
Sardar Vallhbhai Patel

## NATIONAL SECURITY IMPERATIVES FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT

**Admiral (Retd) Arun Prakash**

Former Chief of Indian Navy, Ex-Chairman NMF

As it savours the impressive mandate handed to it by India's multi-ethnic, multi-religious electorate, the new BJP government must remain mindful of the tremendous expectations it has raised amongst a sanguine public. Of the innumerable, often contradictory, demands that will be made on the time, energies and resources of the new government, none is more critical than that of socio-economic development; with educational opportunities and job-creation for a growing youth-population commanding utmost priority.

And yet, if there is one lesson we should have learnt during our 67 years as a sovereign republic, it is that security shortcomings, both internal and external, have repeatedly served to distract our attention and divert resources away from the pursuit of development. The history of India's post-independence conflicts has conclusively proved that the 'guns Vs butter' debate is futile in our case; we cannot have one without the other, and must embrace both.

The 'hawks' amongst us loudly bemoan the steady decline in India's defence expenditure; which has hit a low of 1.74% of GDP. The common man, on the other hand, wants to know whether the Rs. 2, 24,000 crore (US \$ 38 billion) recently voted for defence, is being spent wisely enough to buy us the security we need. He asks: are India's core national interests being safeguarded; are our borders and territories inviolate; and are our citizens protected from the threat of terror-strikes? These are all valid questions, given China's increasingly aggressive attitude and Pakistan's relentless use of cross-border terrorism as a low cost weapon.

The term heard most commonly in India's national security discourse is 'surprise'. It is used in the context of the 1947, 1962, 1965 and Kargil conflicts as well as the IC-814 hijacking and the 26/11 Mumbai terror strike, and denotes abject intelligence failures. A closely related phrase, heard only in whispers, is: 'lack of preparedness' of the armed forces. Our short memories have tended to overlook many past blunders.

For example, in the bitter winter of 1962 we sent our Jawans to fight the Chinese, clad in summer uniforms, armed with World War I bolt-action rifles. The

Bangladesh War was won only because General Manekshaw had the courage to seek a grace of nine months to equip his troops. While celebrating Kargil Vijay we forget the army Chief's words in 1999: "We will fight with whatever weapons we have." But to ignore dire warnings continuously emanating from South Block about the military's current lack of combat-readiness would be folly of the highest order.

A reality check will show the new government that the reassurance we derive from our large conventional forces and expensive nuclear arsenal is an illusion; for two reasons. Firstly; the languid and wayward functioning of the Ministry of Defence (MoD) has, over the past decade, served to erode the qualitative and/or quantitative edge that the armed forces may have had over potential adversaries. Secondly; successive governments have refused to integrate the Service HQs with the MoD and to usher-in Jointness amongst the three armed forces. As a direct consequence, today our national security structure is not only flawed but badly outdated and incapable of coping with multifarious 21<sup>st</sup> century threats.

So far, India's political leadership, in an unfortunate display of indifference, has distanced itself from national security issues. At the same time, the armed forces have been deliberately excluded from a role in national security decision-making. The net result is a strange situation in which, India has collected, at huge expense, the trappings of a major military power without having a real idea of how to leverage them for political ends. Further evidence of strategic neglect is to be found in adoption of a model – unique amongst democracies – in which the armed forces are placed under the total control of a civilian bureaucracy, which barely understands complex defence and security matters; especially those related to weapon-acquisition programmes.

As PM Modi contemplates the nomination of a suitable person to assume the crucial post of Raksha Mantri (RM), he must also charge him with the conception of a national security vision. This vision must span - not just the customary 100 days but - a decade or more; and instead of looking at superficial symptoms, it should address the root of the malaise afflicting India's national security.

The first priority of the RM must be to eliminate

I ask neither for a kingdom nor for heaven nor for liberation but only for an end to the pain of the suffering ones . Mahatma Gandhi (from his early morning prayer on 30 January 1948).

the baseless and paranoid suspicion of our patriotic and apolitical armed forces; a lingering Nehruvian legacy which has kept them outside the edifice of the Government of India (GoI). This would logically lead to the next important step of constituting a Chief of Defence Staff and integrating the Service HQs with MoD. This vital step has been repeatedly recommended by successive Standing Parliamentary Committees as well as by government-constituted Task Forces. But lack of political will and bureaucratic resistance has succeeded in stalling it.

This should be accompanied by a review of the “1961 GoI Rules of Business”, so that the three Service Chiefs are nominated as functionaries of the GoI; responsible to the RM for the defence of India’s land, maritime and aero-space domains. The last but most important action-point for the RM would be the long overdue restructuring of our inefficient DRDO and Defence Production organizations to lay the foundations of a functional indigenous arms industry.

Lastly, one hopes that the new RM will have the stature and self-confidence to examine, urgently, the internal health of our armed forces. Events of the recent past, including misdemeanours at senior ranks, episodes of mass indiscipline and occurrence of serial mishaps, have raised concerns amongst the public. The spectrum of concern extends from quality and quantity of officer-intake, to ethical and professional standards of the officer-corps, and from the material state of hardware to the standards of maintenance and safety being followed. A joint effort by the RM and the Service Chiefs, with full support of the MoD should ‘find and fix’ all that is wrong with our armed forces.



### **Felicitations to Shri A.S.N. Prasad**

Centre for Policy Studies congratulates Shri A.S.N. Prasad on his elevation as President of Gayatri Vidya Parishad and Chairman, Centre for Policy Studies and conveys its good wishes for a successful tenure.

## **India’s internal security challenges: Lessons from 2014**

**Cmde. (Retd) C . Uday Bhaskar**

Director of the Society for Policy Studies  
(Former Director IDSA & NMF)

The IED (improvised explosive device) blast in Bengaluru on Sunday (Dec 28) that took the life of an innocent woman and injured three others is the latest illustration of the manner in which India’s internal security fabric is periodically under threat.

Fingers are being pointed at the Al-ummah, a group that was involved in an earlier attack in Bengaluru, and investigations will reveal the identity of the perpetrator. However, jumping to hasty and emotive conclusions would be ill-advised.

Earlier in the month, Assam was racked by Bodo violence where more than 70 innocents were ruthlessly killed and thousands forced to flee to transient safety. The image of a young Adivasi (tribal) mother with a day old baby seeking shelter in a refugee camp must jolt the collective consciousness of the Indian state and society, which alas is becoming more and more apathetic and cynical about the steady increase in attacks against minorities and tribal citizens of the country.

If ethnic, caste and religious tension differently threatens internal peace and security, gender inequity is not far behind. The vulnerable woman and the girl-child are preyed upon in India almost on a daily basis – and not a day passes without such cases being reported in the national media. The pre-meditated acid attack on a lady doctor in Delhi – an all too familiar and deplorable occurrence – only demonstrates that such violence against women cuts across class boundaries and is more reflective of a deep and perverse socio-cultural orientation in Indian society that has scant respect for the safety and dignity of women.

Concurrently, the proxy war being waged against India wherein terrorism is being stoked shows no sign of abating. According to data collated by South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP), in 2014, a total of 325 civilians and 161 security forces personnel have been killed in

You may not always oblige, but you can always speak obligingly

Sri Satya Sai Baba

India in terrorism related incidents. In the most recent and deadly incident of Naxal (Maoist) attacks, on Dec 1 as many as 14 Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel were killed and several others injured in south Chhattisgarh's Sukma district.

In the proximate neighbourhood, the Pakistan Taliban attack on a school in Peshawar that resulted in the cold-blooded murder of almost 140 children is a stark reminder of the many challenges that lurk in the region as 2015 unfolds.

As announced by US President Barack Obama more than a year ago, the US-led Western military operations in Afghanistan formally ended on Sunday (Dec 28), and this marks the end of the 13-year US-led 'War against Terror' that began in the aftermath of Sep 11, 2001. While a 12,500-strong International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) military force will remain in Afghanistan, they will not take part in combat operations and will only have a support role; and the primary responsibility for security will devolve upon the Afghan army and police.

Further away, in West Asia, the ideology associated with the IS (Islamic State) has seen large areas of Iraq being seized by a brutal non-state entity which plays upon the sectarian and ethnic divide within Islam; and the extended region from what was once Syria to Iraq is now engulfed by violence and bloodshed. A multinational effort involving 50 states is currently being cobbled to quarantine the IS, but as the Afghanistan experience has shown – containing and defeating a deeply embedded radical ideology is fraught with many challenges and success is elusive.

From the Indian perspective, the Kandahar hijacking of December 1999 points to the non-linear linkages between the dominant ideologies in Afghanistan and the manner in which they impact Indian security. The current turbulence in the Af-Pak region and the post Peshawar military operations being pursued by the Nawaz Sharif government in Pakistan is likely to lead to increased socio-religious churning in the region – an exigency that will be further aggravated by the fragility of the new government in Kabul and the economic challenges that a post US withdrawal will bring with it.

Given these multiple strands that both constitute and challenge India's internal security fabric, which is now inexorably leavened and influenced by the external stimulus – and the rapid advances in technology - the Indian security establishment and society need to review the experiences of 2014 and acquire appropriate capacities to deal with what may occur in 2015.

Here the track record of the Indian establishment that includes the legislature, the executive and the judiciary has been less than satisfactory. Recall may be made of what the earlier National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government led by Atal Bihari Vajpayee had embarked upon after the Kargil war of 1999. The post Kargil review of India's higher defence management and the overall security infrastructure was a very important political initiative and had the potential to be analogous to what former prime minister P.V. Narasimha Rao had effected in the economic domain.

The Vajpayee cabinet was involved in monitoring four separate ministerial task forces that covered the full spectrum of India's security challenges and were taken to their logical conclusion. These policy changes could have given India the necessary institutional infrastructure to address a complex spectrum that spans terrorism, separatism and insurgencies to the management of nuclear weapons.

Regrettably the attack on the Indian parliament in December 2001 and the military effort that followed resulted in a dilution of prime minister Vajpayee's political focus on the post-Kargil reforms and a rare opportunity was lost. India's internal security capacities across the board are in need of urgent and objective review – and redress. The human resource capacity of the intelligence agencies, the technological profile of Indian surveillance and related cyber resilience and the leadership and training of the state police and para-military forces are only the tip of the iceberg.

Whether the current NDA government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi will rise to the challenge remains to be seen. If they do not – then alas, a very familiar cycle will unfold in 2015.



Our Constitution is great in its noble foreword and eclectic in its prolix provisions.  
Our founding fathers have selectively inscribed many features from the world's  
democratic fundamental laws.

V.R. Krishna Iyer

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

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

The ambience was so overpowering that it planted in me the Baconian ambition to take all knowledge to be my province, and to straddle the two cultures of science and humanities. As I navigated life and came to know more and more of educational systems in different countries I had to reconcile with the harsh reality that the University of my Student Days is now just no more than a memory, a Past which is a different territory.

Let me now briefly explain why I turned an apostate. I changed my ideas for the same reason which Keynes put forth rhetorically: 'When the facts change, I change my mind. What do you do, sir?' When one looks around, one notices that diversity in every respect is the defining characteristic of higher education systems. This diversity is accentuated as a meritocratic, elite education system gets transformed into a democratic system that aspires to provide access to higher education to everyone who seeks admission, and whose values came to resemble more and more those of the democratising society in which it is embedded. Just as the British model of governance of universities is just one model of governance a research-cum- teaching university model is just one model. Given its success in Germany and later the United States, a research- cum teaching university has come to be the ideal of what a university ought to be. However, in actuality a research-cum teaching university is a statistical exception. Even in the United States, only about 200 of the 3400 universities and colleges can be considered as knowledge producers at various levels. Further, in most European countries like France, Spain and Italy, research had been institutionally separated from higher education, and confined to secluded 'national scientific research

centers' as universities are considered to be too vulnerable to students' pressures, The same was the case till recently in Japan; private firms had distrusted universities as research-oriented organisations, and carried out research in in-house laboratories supported by government funds, and directly linked to the needs and orientations of large private firms. Suffice to say, not every university need be or could be a research-cum-teaching university. A university may as well be just a teaching institution, and a teaching institution is not something to be looked down upon for precisely good teaching is what most students of today require. As enrolments grow higher and higher the student body gets more and more diverse. Students who seek knowledge for knowledge's sake and researchers who seek to expand the boundaries of knowledge or search for truth or beauty have not vanished. However, they are vastly outnumbered by those who pursue higher education for academic credentials which enhance their economic prospects. The requirements of these growing mass of students had led to greater diversity in programmes offered, and institutional setting. In response to the demand for job - oriented short-duration programmes, institutions unrelated to universities have sprung up in many countries including India. The vast majority of students require good teachers and not necessarily star researchers. Even the conventional universities are increasingly differentiated along four dimensions: geographic scope, aspirations, functions and areas of study. Depending upon the geographic area from which draws its students and faculty, a university could be global like Oxford or Harvard, national like the Delhi University or JNU, or local like Meerut University or Nannayya University, Rajahmundry. A university may aspire to be world class, or a premier institution nationally, or a generic institution with no particular distinction. Further, a university or institution of higher learning may cover all branches of knowledge or be specialised eg., the London School of Economics (LSE) whose ambit is limited to social sciences. There is the distinct possibility that in seeking to broaden their mission, these specialised institutions may lose their focus, élan and the immediate priority of scaling up their activities in terms of size and research. One is not sure if LSE and the world at large stand to benefit

All of us are likely to err and I rebel against the notion that an organisation,  
an idea or a country can be infallible. - Jawaharlal Nehru

if LSE diversifies into natural sciences, or for that matter IITs and IIMs as recommended by the Majority Report. As many public intellectuals tend to compare India and China, it would not be out of place if I mention that in its aggressive effort to expand its higher system China is consciously developing a differentiated system. A few universities chosen for development as world class research universities receive extraordinarily generous funding by the Central Government. In addition 150 research universities are funded by the Central Government 1700 regional universities are funded by Provinces and municipalities. All in all, the principle of equality and uniformity had been deliberately given up in favour of differentiation for promoting excellence along with expanding enrolment. Suffice to say, the holistic and universal concept of university outlined by the Majority Report is not universal in reality. In his Foundation Day Lecture at NEP A (2009) the distinguished sociologist André Béteille had sketched the transformation of the university system into a 'mass university' and its implications. Concluding his lecture, he spoke of the nostalgia for a different kind of university, in which teaching and research are combined at the most advanced level in all significant branches of knowledge, surviving in the minds of many who have been exposed to the experience of such universities in India and abroad. And then he went on to counsel against such nostalgia becoming 'an impediment to the creation of more purposeful though perhaps less ambitious institutions of teaching and research in the twenty- first century'. Given my own experience, I cannot agree with him more. Development and regulatory policies have to proceed on the premise that we would have and would require a variety of universities and higher education institutions. Regulatory and promotional policies should necessarily reflect the diversity of the higher education system. A one size fits all type of financing, governance and regulation is inappropriate. It is a happy augury that financing by RUSA is proposed to be based on the principle that institutional differentiation and distinctiveness should be encouraged, and that the spectrum of higher educational institutions must include multidisciplinary research universities as well as short-cycle vocational education institutions.

#### IV. The Genesis of the Growth of Private Institutions

Ever since English education was introduced in the country, a defining characteristic of higher education has been that the demand for higher education, particularly for courses which held out attractive job opportunities, was always ahead of supply. This was in contrast to the deficient demand in elementary education particularly among girls and in rural areas. In the euphoric years after Independence there was a tremendous surge in demand for higher education arising from a revolution of rising expectations and the belief that with the foreigner who milked Indian's wealth gone after *Swaraj* milk and honey would flow. The Central and State Governments did not fail their citizens. The twenty years from Independence to 1966 when the Kothari Commission submitted its Report witnessed a spectacular expansion of educational institutions of all types as well as of enrolment at all levels. Limiting my observations to higher education the number of colleges for general education from 370 to about 16,000, engineering colleges from 33 to 97, medical colleges from 30 to 99, agricultural colleges from 16 to 52, and universities from 27 to about sixty. It was during this phase prestigious institutions like agricultural Universities, IITs, and AIIMS were set up. In fact, this was the heyday of manpower planning, and the anticipated manpower demands played an important role in the expansion of professional education. The expansion of universities and professional education institutions was an exclusive effort of the Central and State Governments and its main objective was to provide the critical manpower needed for planned economic development. In fact till mid-1970s private medical and engineering colleges were rare. What is remarkable in retrospect is the willingness to avail foreign assistance for establishing institutions, and the eclecticism of academics and policymakers. Thus technical and financial assistance was utilised for establishing IITs, agricultural universities as well as the two IIMs set up during this period. UNESCO and UNDP assistance was utilised to set up centres of advanced study in universities and thereby strengthen the research infrastructure in the country. The landmark Kothari Commission was

The world has seen again and again that what appears hopelessly beyond reform may not be quite so hopeless. - Jean Dreze & Amartya Sen

international in composition with five of the fifteen members drawn from countries as diverse as the United States, U.S.S.R, France, Japan, and the United Kingdom. While the legendary J. P. Naik was the Member Secretary, the Associate Secretary was a UNESCO official. The Kothari Commission engaged twenty international consultants had extensive consultations with a number of well-known educationists and scientists. The Kothari Commission's eclecticism is in keeping with the spirit of those times which deftly balanced the views of Tagore and the Mahatma, and sought to 'open the window to the world outside so that fresh breeze can waft through' without being blown off one's feet. It is unfortunate that since then there has been a closing of the academic mind so much so many are in the grip of the *East India Company syndrome* and are suspicious of any idea emanating from the West.

In this phase, while the expansion professional education was an exclusive effort of, Governments, private aided institutions contributed significantly to the expansion of colleges of general education and all schools excepting primary schools. The grant-in-aid policies inherited from the British came in handy for this purpose. What is remarkable about these grant-in-aid policies is that they practiced concepts like private provision and public funding, outsourcing, private-public partnership and performance linked matching grants a century before the modish New Public Management elevated them into cardinal principles for organising the delivery of basic services like education. The payment of grants to an institution was conditional on satisfactory performance of the students in the tests administered by the inspecting officers. The annual inspection of school was a big event that sent a shudder down the spine of the management and teachers. Encouraging private parties to establish institutions was cheaper for the State Governments than to establish them by itself as the Government did not reimburse capital expenditure at all; it did not even fully reimburse the teacher salaries even though they were lower in private institutions than those in Government schools. In other words, private philanthropy contributed considerably to the establishment and management of

private aided institutions. Given the high capital and operating costs few private parties ventured to establish medical and engineering colleges.

The quantitative expansion of educational facilities was at the cost of quality; however, professional education was to some extent an exception. With the expansion of institutions rigorous inspections became a rarity. The collapse of academic supervision impaired the quality of education in Government and Government-aided institutions even as education was being transformed from an elite to democratic (mass) education, and extra efforts were needed to ensure effective learning by the bulk of students who were either first generation learners or whose home environment did not support the learning process or both. In their eagerness to satisfy the public demand for opening new institutions State Governments themselves did not comply with their own regulations for establishing new institutions, and did not provide adequate facilities. That being so they could not be strict with private organisations which established institutions. Suffice to say, grants were provided as a matter of course without insisting either on performance or provision of the facilities mandated by the State Education Acts and rules, and consequently quality was a big casualty. Over time the failure to enforce rules and regulations without fear or favour came to be a systemic deficiency.

(to be continued)



## **In Quest OF The Mythical Forest : III**

**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* )

I was on my way to Jagdalpur, the stage for one of the last violent flickers of the tribals' legendary loyalty to their rulers.

The drive from Chitrokote was pleasant, though dusty. I stopped at every spot that promised some interest - the Marias collecting red ants, their delicacy, and some others offering obeisance to Mouli Mata,

P.V.Narasimha Rao has not been given sufficient credit for the economic reforms that transformed India from a moribund socialist polity into one of the world's leading economies.

The Nehru-Gandhi family did not perceive him as a loyalist. - Pranay Gupte

the primeval goddess. A young girl leaned and cupped her palm and drank from a ribbon-like waterfall. She had her goat with her. It, too, drank while an unidentifiable colourful bird perched on its back. The moment I raised my camera it flew away. It did not feel with us, despite our good conduct certified by the smiles of a passing tribal couple, even half of the affinity it felt with the girl and her goat.

It was late in the afternoon when we reached Jagdalpur and had a look at the decaying palace of the former ruling family.

The kingdom of Bastar, amidst Dandakaranya, had been founded by Dalpad Dev, a prince from Orissa, some 250 years ago. Jagdalpur, its capital, on the banks of Indrawati, must have been a fine site before its growth became chaotic.

The last ruling Maharaja of Bastar had no son. Prafulla Chandra Bhanj Deo of the Raj family of Mayurbhanj married the Princess of Bastar and came to live here as the Prince Consort, but his pleadings with the British India government to be recognized as the Maharaja went in vain. He was a Ph. D from Cambridge and his love was archaeology. As a school-boy I had attended his lectures and remembered him as a sober and scholarly speaker. But his elder son, Pravin Chandra, the heir to the throne, was of a different mould. He refused to believe that the princely states had merged with the Union of India and that, though allowed to retain his feudal decorations, he was no longer a ruler.

He behaved quixotically. When his father died in Delhi in 1959, Pravin Chandra did not even care to bring his body to Jagdalpur, but upon the death of his own favourite dog, the town witnessed the most magnificent funeral procession in its history.

If Pravin Chandra were angry with someone, he would unsheath his sword and cut clean the hapless man's arm before any one could suspect his mood or deed. Once his fancy went over to a married woman. He sent her husband away on some commission and married her in great haste as well as great earnest, though the priest was obliged to abridge the ritual at the point of sword. Later, when the governor of Madhya Pradesh congratulated him, he shot back, 'But she is

only a matron to me! When did I wed?'"

His oddities and audacity rose from heights to new heights. At last and inevitably the Government of India's patience reached the breaking point and he was stripped of his status. His younger brother was persuaded to step into the empty position which he did very reluctantly.

Pravin Chandra's authority till then had been comprised of a privy purse, titles and several other rights under the Instrument of Accession. With those privileges and trappings gone, he claimed to possess supernatural powers. He prophesied a total rout of any power however great before his Tantric incantations. He sported flowing long hair and an impressive vermilion mark on his forehead. His awestruck "subjects" were never tired of prostrating themselves to him.

He relished the practice.

While he never stopped provoking the government, he became a hero for his people most of whom hardly knew about the epoch-making transition of their country not only from the British Raj but also from the native Raj, to freedom and democracy.

Right from the morning, one fateful day, the tribals armed with bows, lathis, hatchets and spears began to gather in front of the palace. It was never quite clear who organised the melee. The crowd believed, in a vague way, that the dignity and divinity of their Maharaja were in danger and they must come to his rescue.

What did the prince wish to achieve with their help? No doubt he could wreak havoc on any institution on which he would decide to let loose this terrible army. The mob was not only ready but also anxious to make their utmost sacrifice for their Maharaja.

The district administration summoned the entire police force at their disposal. They could not let the throng proceed towards some target fixed by the prince. The mob was asked to disperse. But it would not budge. More and more "royalists" were streaming into the town. Tension was growing to a bursting point.

And it did burst when Pravin Chandra's confidants assured the tribal leaders that the Tantrik spell cast

The difficulty lies not in the new ideas, but in escaping from the old ones.

- John Maynard Keynes.



by the prince would render the police bullets as ineffective as raindrops.

Suddenly the police party was bathed with a shower of arrows. They fired blank shots in return. There was an awful silence. Then someone yelled, 'Don't you see? The bullets could not singe even a single hair of ours! Our Maharaja had indeed cast his invincible spell!'

Lusty cheers for the Maharaja, the great performer of miracles, shook the region. Sure of vanquishing the police who they believed their wizard Maharaja had reduced to mere scarecrows, the mob launched an abrupt and violent attack on them.

This time the police responded with real bullets. Hell surfaced in front of the palace. Sound of bullets and eerie shrieks and howls deafened the town. The tribal leaders and their lieutenants retreated into the foreyard of the palace protected by a wall. Others dispersed. But the police seemed to have continued firing into the palace compound.

When all grew quiet and the police crossed into the walled zone around the palace, hosts of dead and dying lay sprawled, scattered all over the ground. And among them was found the bullet-ridden body of Prince Pravin Chandra.

Was it murder - hot-blooded if not cold? I desired to hear from some eyewitnesses. And we found two of them.

'No doubt, the Adivasis invited reprisal by shooting arrows at the police, but so far as the killing of the Maharaja was concerned ...' The ex-Municipal Councillor hinted at something ominous.

'How charming this place looked till the other day, with green lawns and gardens around!' observed the other gentleman, guiding us around the almost deserted castle. Now the ground lay pitifully neglected, without even a creeper to celebrate the memory of its floral past. Pravin Chandra's younger brother, the reluctant Raja, was no more. The wives of the two were fighting over the property.

Pravin Chandra's garlanded picture adorned the durbar hall, dusty and gloomy. A lone watchman, looking even gloomier, was its custodian.

It was hardly necessary to put any question to our next interviewee, the priest of Danteshwari, the deity of the Raj family. His eyes spooky, he shrieked, 'They killed our Maharaja! The murderers!'

Not long ago, a "holy man" claimed that he had been possessed by Pravin Chandra's spirit. He collected a large following and created a fresh law and order problem. A Yajna proposed by him had to be banned. In the priest's voice I heard the echo of the same spirit - distant and dying, though.

The great Dandakaranya - a glorious chunk of India's heritage, too - appeared like an echo, receding farther and farther into the horizon. The tribals are learning to live without it, notwithstanding the cultural and identity crisis the situation was bound to cause them. Men around the Dandakaranya and within the forest - whatever is still left of it - continue to be merciless towards it.

**A Postscript.** I had given an account of my impressions at Jagdalpur in *The Heritage*, the monthly I edited. One day, a genial hand tapped my shoulder at Pondicherry. 'Well, I should tell you, Manoj, that the police did not select the prince to fall to their bullets. He got killed because he was directing the attack on the police standing amidst his lieutenants. Police, of course, fired at all the spots from where the arrows were coming,' the smiling gentleman, tall and dignified in gait and mild in voice, informed me.

'How did you know?'

'I constituted the one-man Commission of Enquiry,' the late Mr. Justice Vinay Chowdhury enlightened me.



## **INESCAPABLE GRACE : ENGLISH POETRY BY INDIANS**

**Dr. Mrs. Prema Nandakumar**

When we draw close to the wonderful, multifoliate creativity that is going on in Indian literature today, poetry makes us stop for a moment with astonishment. The commitment and the faith of Indians writing poetry in English is sometimes deeply touching. For nearly one hundred and fifty years,

To improve governance and delivery of services the orientation of government activity can be shifted from ruling the people from the top to serving them at the bottom. - Bimal Jalan

Indian poets have been prolific and they have given us some of the finest flights of English poetry. Of course, imitators of Eliot and Pound, Sexton and Plath have been a-plenty and they have even achieved success in terms of getting published abroad and gaining awards and finding themselves spread out in Indian anthologies and even syllabi. But even if Indians have chosen a foreign language like English, most of them have found it impossible to escape the magnet of Grace that is India's rich past. That is why a good deal of their poetry will stand the test of time. Unlike their tool, the English language, their subject matter has a literature and culture several millennia old. Those who have allowed themselves to be blessed by this Grace have gained the needed strength to endure and carry the torch onward.

For, what is generally overlooked is the manner in which Indian culture has been reflected even in our earliest poets in English. Our first poets like Vivian Derozio and Swami Vivekananda expressed our historical sense and mythological symbols with a sense of undeniable power. Even a non-Indian could sense the sway of a hidden strength in a poem like 'Kali, the Mother' by Swami Vivekananda:

"For Terror is Thy name,  
Death is in Thy breath,  
And every shaking step  
Destroys a world for e'er.  
Thou 'Time' the All-Destroyer!  
Come, O Mother, come!"

Toru Dutt's *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindusthan* (1882) is now a classic. So is Romesh Chunder Dutt's *Lays of Ancient India* (1894). Manmohan Ghose, of course, preferred western themes (*Adam Alarmed in Paradise*, left incomplete) but his brother Sri Aurobindo drew from the *Mahabharata* to write narratives like *Love and Death* and the epic, *Savitri*. Sarojini Naidu recorded the sounds and sights of India with exquisite embroidery:

"Sweet is the shade of the coconut glade,  
and the scent of the mango grove,  
And sweet are the sands at the full 'o the moon  
with the sound of the voices we love.  
But sweeter, O brothers, the kiss of the spray  
And the dance of the wild foam's glee:

Row, brothers, row to the blue of the verge,  
Where the low sky mates with the sea."

("Coromandel Fishers")

Just as the tapestry of the Indian poet in English was gaining richer shades and subtleties in the background of the greatest tradition in the world, some poets changed gear to get into the grove of the Eliotesque conundrums of "broken images". It was no doubt the call of the Time Spirit, and Indo-Anglian literature, perhaps, needed these inputs as well. India had become independent, and increasingly our young men were going to American Universities, and the exchange of printed material was speedier in a world growing smaller in distance. As one who was an undergraduate at this time, it was somewhat exciting to turn to the shorter, slicker and tantalisingly shocking poems. After all those lilies blooming on one's backyard in American poetry, it was a sand-paper feeling to have the ugly raised up as the poetically beautiful:

"Hernia, goitre and the flowering boil  
Lie bare beneath his hands, for ever bare.  
His fingers touch the skin: they reach the soul.  
I know him in the morning for a seer."

(Dom Moraes, *At Seven O'Clock*)

Also, the "confessional poetry" of some of these versifiers invited with a wicked gleam, especially if it was a poetess like Kamala Das or Gauri Deshpande:

"You dribbled spittle into my mouth, you poured  
Yourself into every nook and cranny, you embalmed  
My poor lust with your bitter-sweet juices. You called  
me wife I was taught to break saccharine into your  
tea and To offer at the right moment the vitamins.  
Cowering Beneath your monstrous ego I ate the magic  
loaf and Became a dwarf. I lost my will and reason, to  
all your Questions I mumbled incoherent replies. The  
summer Begins to pall."

(Kamala Das, *The Old Playhouse*)

There was also the sand-paper daring of some poets who could desecrate with impunity terms and beliefs we had been holding in reverence, using a facile English style:

"We all pad the hook with the bait, Allah  
downwards.

International education transforms nations into people.

- J. William Fulbright

What is paradise, but a promissory note  
Found in the holy book itself? And if you probe  
Under the skin what does it promise us  
For being humble and truthful, and turning  
Towards Kaaba five times a day,  
Weeping in Moharrum and fasting in Ramadan?  
What does it promise us except  
That flea-ridden bags that we are  
We will end up as splendid corpses?"

(Keki N. Daruwalla, *Apothecary*)

With so much churning of a received tradition regarding prosody, themes and aesthesis, the English-educated Indian (specially of the academic areas) could flaunt a wonderful feeling: "I too can be a poet. No need to play an imaginary piano with my fingers counting the syllables and struggling to decide where to have the 'compensatory pause' and weigh the words for a spondee or a dactyl. Enough of deciding whether wink will go with sink, stink or brink! Freedom from all prosodic shackles!"

Along with the externals of a poem, the subject-matter also was in for change. Keeping up with the tradition that what Bengal thinks today, the rest of the country psittacises tomorrow, the change was announced formally in Kolkata. The Writers Workshop of Prof. P.Lal took the lead and found the "spiritual poetry" of the Aurobindonian School (Nirodbaran, K.D. Sethna and others) not healthy enough for the growth of Indian poetry in English (*Modern Indo-Anglian Poetry, 1959*). In fact, Prof. Raghavendra Rao found eminent poets like Toru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu and Sri Aurobindo to be manipulators of the English language and not creators! Nor did they have any use for our rich tradition. However, their "cat on a hot tin roof" attitude did not go unquestioned and within a couple of years Prof. Lal (backed by many young writers like Anita Desai and Pradip Sen) issued a statement which said:

"Sri Aurobindo happens to be our Milton, and Toru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu, Manmohan Ghose and Harindranath Chattopadhyaya our Romantic singing birds. They provide sufficient provocation to experiment afresh, set new standards, preserve what is vital in the tradition and give a definition to the needs of the present."<sup>1</sup>

In the last forty years there has been plentiful experimentation and an amazing amount of poetic output in English in India. Prof. Lal's Writers Workshop has been in the forefront of giving a base for those who want to publish. It may be remembered that many poets like Vikram Seth originally published their work in Writers Workshop. The publishing house continues to be active. The "Bombay Group" (Nissim Ezekiel, for instance) has been very visible in anthologies. Orissa has enthusiastic poets publishing all the time, while Jayanta Mahapatra remains one of our best recorders of the Oriya land. South India has the untiring Krishna Srinivas and his monthly *Poet* that has always tried to be international in its spread, while encouraging English poetry by Indians. There is then Karnataka (the Chetana group readily comes to mind) and Kerala (Gopi Krishna Kottoor's *Poetry Chain*).

Sitting in a room lined with rows and rows of such volumes, do I perceive any "trend" today? Indeed, it appears that Indian poetry in English has come full circle. The brief poem – no rhyme, no rhythm and often no reason either – continues to be popular. Despite attractive titles, often we get lost in inchoate thought-processes:

"never low as my staying over here  
that has no intrigue or song;  
just a simple act of hinging upon  
what one wishes to do across the shrunken  
horizon."

(Rabindra Swain, *I Forget the First Line*)

It appears that such free verse has at last begun to pall and a bit of rhythm and rhyme have been sneaking in with plentiful laughter. For instance, a seasoned academician like Prof. M.K. Naik has been publishing volumes of limericks and clerihews. Tinier and tinier the form has grown in some hands, drawing upon the reservoir of Haiku and Tanka in Japan. Some lovers of poetry have tried to come back to prosodic poetry that has an explicit message or an internalised autobiographical recordation or a report of social concern. Indeed, Dr. H. Tulsi has even been bravely publishing a journal exclusively for structured verse in *Metverse Muse*. She has never failed to enthuse prospective poets as in this Spenserian Stanza:

"From 'Free Verse' freedom you have won at last;  
Restored to you has been your rightful throne.

Every one play a part in making everybody better.

- Allan E. Goodman

Your darkened days have now become your 'past';  
To fresh attacks your fort is no more prone.  
Your harp, henceforth, will never hoarsely drone;  
Repaired has been each broken string and dent.  
With rhythmic chimes to guide your dulcet tone,  
Your anklets new, with tinkling bells, are meant.  
So sing and dance away, to all our hearts' content!"

(To Tradpoesia)

Of course there are wags around who always say that there are definitely more writers of poetry than readers in India, a point referred to wanly by the practitioners themselves:

"O Poet  
How long will you too  
Continue to arduously compose the poems  
Despite knowing well and true this fact  
That people have absolutely stopped  
Reading now whatsoever the verses?"

(Suresh C. Jaryal, *Inquest*)

Anyway, this is a global phenomenon and the Indian poet need not feel disheartened. Unlike his counterparts elsewhere, he has a very strong tradition to infuse him with new strength. Here it is also understood that the poet has an important place as the conscience-keeper of the society which is beset with a million problems. As J. P Das, the eminent Oriya poet says:

"It is true that life is getting more prosaic and less poetic. It is true that there is difficulty in finding publishers for poetry. But no one has yet written off poetry as a gone case, and though they talk of the end of history and of civilisation, no one has suggested the end of poetry. New poets are born and poetry books are published every day."<sup>1</sup>

The Indian poet writing in English has, of late, been tapping the ancient past with a rare finesse and in this manner he has kept the poetic spirit alive for he knows that a nation must keep its poetry vibrant to meet any contemporary situation.

"Poetry remains man's inalienable  
birthright and paramount need.  
Call it verily the voice of the soul  
and the *elan* of the race.  
It survives fashions and revolutions

in taste and social upsets...  
Isn't a poet the brave intrepid diver  
who explores life's ocean-depths?  
Dying almost, he collects his findings  
and shores up the oyster-pearls.  
But the Rasika alone sees the pearl  
to prize it, and thanks the poet."

(K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Microcosmographia Poetica*)

The rasikas of this nation may be poor in monetary terms when it comes to buying books and periodicals, but they have never failed to read, encourage and salute the Indian poet. Now that the English poet is turning to sustained projections of themes, the poetry scene in English is becoming rich fast both by original productions as well as beautiful works in translation. During the last quarter century, my shelf of English poetry has had plentiful inputs that are sublime, readable, thought-provoking, meditative. One cannot say the poets always succeed; even among those who achieve signal success there may be patches of dryness. But then this is to be expected in long poems. As the situation is today, one can only say the Indian poetic voice in English is quite, quite vibrant.

Maha Nand Sharma has retold the tremendous life of Bhishma and has made use of the Shiva cycle of myths for his *Rudraksha Rosary*. His *Flowering of the Lotus* is about the colourful Sanskrit poet, Bartrihari. Lakshmi Narayan Mahapatra has drawn upon Vedic images for *Bhuma*. C.S. Kamalapati's *The Song of Songs: The Song of the Seven Hills* intersects the legends about the pilgrim hill of Tirupati with innumerable contemporary adventures in spiritual spaces. Drawn deeper and deeper into the spaces of the spiralling legends, these poets do get caught occasionally in a whirl of words. It is a pardonable evil though, as Kamalapati would have it:

"The Rajayogi like the Ancient Mariner  
Sometimes never stops, until he has fully explained  
All points relevant to the subject concerned."

K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, an Aurobindonian himself, has sought a way out by controlling mythic effusiveness with his own prosodic structure of an unrhymed quatrain of 34 syllables (10-7-10-7) as "an English approximation to the Samskrit anushtup." His

The spirit of India is to comprehend all things with sympathy and love.

- Rabindranath Tagore

*Sitayana*, *Sati Saptakam* and *Krishna Geetam* retell ancient legends with a contemporaneous thrust, as when Sita is heard musing on the nuclear threat while she is in the Ashrama of Valmiki. S.M. Angadi's *Basava Darsana* is an amazingly sincere attempt to present the Basava phenomenon that gave Saivism a high pedestal and inspired the Vacana canon in Kannada language. Angadi's is a breathless narrative in epic proportions. There are passages that move us deeply as in the legend of Akka Mahadevi. Immersion in the past history and alertness to the present make Angadi's poetry meaningful. Thus Basavanna to his followers:

"Beggary and parasitism have been in our country  
Raised to dignified, nay, glorified status, but they in fact,  
Must be outlawed at once and ruthlessly banished.  
He who does not work for his bread has no right  
To eat. So everybody without exception must work  
According to his ability, in which case there'll never be  
Dearth, destitution, poverty and the like left on earth."

These poets give a creative and meaningful turn to the past in their English productions. Here is Amreeta Syam's Kaikeyi speaking to her grandchildren

"Ask  
"Ask questions, my grandchildren.  
Always.  
Rule with your  
Hearts  
But keep a little  
Of yourselves  
Aside  
For life  
And laughter."

Interestingly enough, the richest area in Indian literature in English translation is also bagged by poetry. Some of the finest English verse to come to us in recent times is through translations which are creative in their own right. An example is O.N.V. Kurup's *Ujjayini* which takes the received tradition regarding Kalidasa's life but modifies it with new insights drawn from his writings. Familiar scenes and phrases flit by, and when touching upon *Raghuvamsa* there is almost an echo of the passage from Ulloor quoted above, for the heroic ideal in India has remained alive all the time. Concluding his saga, Kalidasa wonders at this phenomenon with pardonable pride

"Where are the ones who wore  
the sceptre and the crown, yet  
diligently placed immortal reputation  
above the stirrings of their mortal bodies  
and knew what they gave as price for  
preserving it unsullied and bright,  
was the only real investment?  
And where do the ones stand  
Who sucked only the nectar of power?  
As he finished writing that tragic saga,  
From Dileep to Agnivarna,  
The words of his guru long ago  
Echoed in his soul, 'Your words  
Would one day reach Ujjayini!'"

A tremendous undertaking that has been enriching Indian poetry in English is Prof. P. Lal's verse-by-verse translation of the *Mahabharata*. The power of the Sanskrit verses composed several millennia earlier come now in the simple, crystalline English of P. Lal, trailing clouds of glory from the stately style of Vyasa. An occasional slipping in of a Sanskrit adjective or noun but helps the English rise in sublimity:

"Like a musth-elephant  
separated from his herd,  
your maha-powerful son  
Duryodhana advanced;  
And the Pandavas broke  
Into loud exultation...  
O raja! Seeing Duryodhana,  
Mace in hand,  
Looking like the tall-peaked  
Kailasa mountain,  
Advancing,

Bhima said:  
Remember how Draupadi  
In her period  
Was insulted in the sabha,  
And raja Yudhisthira  
Was cheated at dice  
By Sakuni?  
O wicked-atmaned Duryodhana!  
Today you will taste  
The Maha-bitter fruits  
Of these and other crimes  
You perpetrated against  
The innocent Pandavas."

Democracy can not be a successful general practice unless it is first a true individual conviction.

- Maurer

(*Bhimasena-Duryodhana Samvada*, verses 40,42-44)

Twentieth century Kannada literature has given K.V. Puttappa's (Kuvempu) *Ramayana Darsana*. This has now been brought to English by the renowned English scholar and poet, Shankar Mokashi-Punekar. Reading Kuvempu in Kannada is a rare experience; and absorbing his thoughts in Dr. Shankar Mokashi Punekar's stately English leads us to a state of exaltation. Ah, the long poem is alive; the ancient myths are relevant still; the English language can convey the Indian experience as clearly as the waters of Sarayu in Valmiki's time!

Going through *Sri Ramayana Darsana* slowly (the poem calls for frequent meditation) one comes across many thought-provoking changes. As when Rama begs for Vali's pardon in a long passage:

"Admitting irreparable wrong done is the mark  
Of knight templars: but ha! My mind seething hot  
Day and night by Sita's severance, dimmed reflectors  
And fuddled my thought. I chose devious pathways  
To quick finis."

To the reader of *Shri Ramayana Darsana*, there will never be a lack of such very interesting innovations. When did we ever hear of Rama proceeding to join Sita in the fire in Yuddha Kanda? A scene follows "as if the gateway of supersensuous was thrown open to the sensuous", and Rama is cleansed by the trial by fire. Divided into four Books (Ayodhya, Kishkinda, Lanka and Shree), the epic concludes with Rama's coronation described in terms of the glory and grandeur of Mother Nature. The epic opens with Kuvempu's salutations to world poets including Firdausi and Sri Aurobindo, a passage that assures us that the poet in all climes and at all times has been the heart-beat of humanism:

"Obeisance to poets ... to Homer, Vergil, Dante  
And Milton; ... to Kumaravyasa, to Pampa,  
Sage Vyasa, Bhasa, Bhavabhooti, Kalidasa and  
others:

To Narahari, Tulasidasa, Krittivasa,  
Nannaya, Firdousi, Kamba, sage Aurobindo.  
To ancients, moderns, elders and youngsters,  
Regardless of time, land, language or caste  
distinctions,

I bow to one and all world Acharyas of art,  
Discerning God's glory wherever some light  
shines

I bend my knees and fold my hands in salutation.  
May Guru's kindness abide; poet's mercy prevail;  
May the yearning heart of the world crystallise  
Into a blessing. Bend, heads; hands, fold; life,  
be clean.

May Rasa penance triumph; may perennial  
peace  
Prevail."

Poetry is indeed a "Rasa penance", a tapasya, not to be lightly taken up. One should not squander away one's gifts in purposeless self-pity or elitist stargazing. The Great Indian Tradition as well as its folklore counterpart have always watched the sacred and the secular as a helix, each twining with the other and both enriching the country and the people, applying the needed correctives and inspiring people to exceed themselves in heroic ways. In India, the hero as a poet has been given the highest throne termed as the Kavi, the Dhrista, the Seer. Looking around the new wave of poets and translators, I do have a feeling that the day is not far off when Sri Aurobindo's prophecy regarding the future poetry might come true and the Mantric Word is heard in India. Caught as we are in this extremely complicated world, I would like to conclude with the solemn hope of George Santayana stated in *Three Philosophical Poets: Lucretius, Dante and Goethe* (1935):

"It is time some genius appear to reconstitute the shattered picture of the world. He should live in the continual presence of all experience, and respect it; he should at the same time understand nature, the ground of that experience; and he should also have a delicate sense of the ideal echoes of his own passions, for all the colours of his possible happiness. All that can inspire a poet is contained in this task, and nothing less than this task would exhaust a poet's inspiration. We may hail this needed genius from afar ... we may salute him, saying:

*Onorate l'altissimo poeta.*

Honour the most high poet, honour the highest possible poet."



In pursuing my three passions the search for ideas, the building institutions and engagement in the political process - a fairly large number of people have played a role. - Rajni Kothari

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## The President's Daughter Margaret [Woodrow] Wilson's Tryst with India

by Prof. Sachidananda Mohanty  
(University of Hyderabad)

*While western women such as Annie Besant, Sister Nivedita and Mother Theresa, are well known in India, few know about the legacy of Margaret Wilson, daughter of the American President Woodrow Wilson. Margaret named 'Nistha' by Sri Aurobindo, made Pondicherry her home during the late thirties of the last century and had an illustrious career of spiritual service in India. Her Samadhi lies in the midst of flowers, close to the Bay of Bengal at Pondicherry.*

The coastal town of Pondicherry, in south India, gets blisteringly hot and humid at the height of the Indian summer. By noon, the roads get emptied; people rush homeward as a respite from the merciless heat haze. Many feel the need to have a siesta before venturing out for work later in the day. Although welcome streams of air blow in as sea breeze from the Bay of Bengal in the afternoons, this is uncertain, and must often depend on the vagaries of the weather. While most Indians get used to the blistering heat after a while, many Westerners from the cooler climes, find the going tough. There are of course the hardy and intrepid ones who have made the nearby Auroville their home, beginning from the early seventies of the last Century.

**Pondicherry: Early 1944.** The American woman Margaret Wilson walked with difficulty and with stiffness, each step caused acute breathlessness in her, for she suffered from chronic asthma. Her condition was worsened by the heat and humidity of the coastal climate. She had not got used to the heat of South India ever since she came in 1938. She knew she could always go back to America. After all, her father was the former President of the United States, the legendary Woodrow Wilson who presided over the destiny of America during a crucial stage of her history, during and after the World War I. 'They can take care of my body,' she asked, 'but who will take care of my soul?' Pondicherry was close to her heart and soul;

she had been drawn to this place. This was the only place she belonged to; her mission in life. She did not care about the comforts and prestige of being the President's daughter in America, for she had the singular honor and privilege of being named Nistha by Sri Aurobindo, the great poet- philosopher and mystic who had made Pondicherry, 'the cave of his Tapasya'. She must remain true to her name, and her sense of calling.

Very few know that Woodrow Wilson's talented daughter Margaret Wilson was introduced to Indian spirituality and mysticism by her friend Eliot, an English army officer and follower of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. Fewer still know of Margaret's Indian journey for spirituality.

Margaret was born on April 16, 1886, Gainesville, Georgia and passed away on 12 February 1944 at Pondicherry. She was a daughter of US President Woodrow Wilson and Ellen Louise Axson. Wilson had two sisters, Jessie W. Wilson and Eleanor R. Wilson. After her mother's death in 1914 she had the privilege of serving as the First Lady of the United States, a singular honor, until Wilson's second marriage in 1915.

She studied at Goucher College, Baltimore, and undertook training in music and singing at the Peabody Institute of Music. She joined the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in Syracuse in 1915 and played at camps for the Red Cross all during World War I. Retiring from singing in 1923, she worked at an advertising agency.

In 1936 Margaret came across Sri Aurobindo's *The Essays on the Gita* in the New York public library. She became so engrossed in the book that she lost sense of time, and a guard had to tell her that the library was closing. Margaret wrote to Sri Aurobindo and expressed a desire to practice Integral yoga under his guidance at Pondicherry. Sri Aurobindo did not grant ready permission; there were cultural differences she had to face. There was also the problem of distance, as well as the question of the climate. To compound matters, Nistha suffered from weak health. There were not many foreigners, in particular, Americans at the Ashram during that time. Pondicherry was a French colony; there would be diplomatic hurdles to surmount.

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There is power in our hands to change India's health care landscape. Dr P. C. Reddy

After a fruitful correspondence, she was finally given permission to come to Pondicherry where the French mystic Mirra Alfassa, known as the Mother looked after the practical aspects of the Sri Aurobindo Ashram, founded in 1926. In 1938, Margaret travelled to Pondicherry where she chose to stay for the rest of her life. She was named Nistha by Sri Aurobindo. True to her name, she took up a dedicated spiritual life in Pondicherry, and despite ill health, remained in the tropical climate till the very end despite the advice of friends and well wishers back home.

About Sri Aurobindo, she said with deep reverence: 'Here is one on earth whom one can love all one's life and in whom one can lose oneself.' He in turn explained the significance of her name: 'Nishtha means one pointed, fixed and steady concentration, devotion and faith in the single aim -the Divine and the Divine Realisation' (November 5, 1938).

After the outbreak of the World War II when Americans were expected to return, Nistha refused to leave India. 'Few can show the strength of character which came so easily to her', writes Amal Kiran, a distinguished contemporary about Nistha.

She and a colleague Joseph Campbell edited the English translation of Sri Ramakrishna, The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna by Swami Nikhilananda, which was published in 1942, by Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, New York.

In the Preface to the book, acknowledging the contribution of Margaret, Swami Nikhilananda wrote in February 1942:

In the preparation of this manuscript I have received ungrudging help from several friends. Miss Margaret Woodrow Wilson and Mr. Joseph Campbell have worked hard in editing my translation. Mrs. Elizabeth Davidson has typed, more than once, the entire manuscript and rendered other valuable help. Mr. Aldous Huxley has laid me under a debt of gratitude by writing the Foreword. I sincerely thank them all.<sup>1</sup>

In the spiritual firmament Sri Ramakrishna is a waxing crescent. Within one hundred years of his birth and fifty years of his death his message has spread

across land and sea. Romain Rolland has described him as the fulfillment of the spiritual aspirations of the three hundred millions of Hindus for the last two thousand years. Mahatma Gandhi has written: 'His life enables us to see God face to face. . . Ramakrishna was a living embodiment of godliness.' He is being recognized as a compeer of Krishna, Buddha, and Christ.

On 21 January 1943 Herbert L. Mathews of the New York Times interviewed Nistha under the title 'Distha of Pondicherry'. The write up throws interesting light on the contemporary American approach to Indian spirituality.

After her passing, a disciple reports that Sri Aurobindo who was known to be impersonal had a 'soft shine ' in his eyes what a Virgilian phrase in the Master's epic poem *Savitri* calls, 'the touch of tears in mortal things'.

While Sister Nivedita and Annie Besant are widely known, very few remember and commemorate Nistha who led an exemplary life in her chosen land. After her passing, she was gently laid to rest in a garden of the Sri Aurobindo Ashram. Her Samadhi lies in the midst of flowers, close to the Bay of Bengal. In sheer dedication to the divine cause, few wayfarers could surpass the example of Nistha. Forgotten today, due to the passage of time, her life remains a source of inspiration to all seekers in the path of spirituality.



## **MUSIC THERAPY: CAN MUSIC REPLACE A MEDICINE?**

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

Founder-President, Nada Centre for Music Therapy

Long before acoustics came to be known in Europe, the ancient Arab, Greek and Indians were familiar with the therapeutic effects of music. They were already familiar with some of the later day concepts pertaining to the phenomenon of sound.

While music as a whole is well recognized for its entertainment value throughout the globe, it was

Health care is a business with a soul. Dr. K. Srinath Reddy



the Indian genius, which had discovered raga chikitsa, the raga-cure. Raga, we all know is the sequence of selected notes that lend 'colour' or emotion. Depending on their nature, a raga could induce or intensify joy or sorrow, anger or peace and it is this quality which has to be carefully understood to induce a specific emotion in the minds of the listeners.

The Greek legend too confirms the remedial role of music, as it could heal a deadly wound of Ulysses. Ibn Sina, the Arab writer had recorded the use of music as a remedy for ailments-both physical and psychological. In the Orphic school, healing by the power of music was a science.

As the impact of music could be easily gauged on emotions and thereby on mind, it can be used as a tool to control the physiological, psychological and even social activities of the patients.

Raga Chikitsa, an ancient text in Sanskrit, deals with therapeutic importance of melodies. It is a well-known fact that expressive music activities like singing or playing instruments improve coping mechanism and self-confidence. For the terminally ill, music provides greatest solace. Besides a comforting environment, it is found to be of great help in pain management. A combination of touch therapy, imagery and music provides an environment for a peaceful passage.

Soothing and organizational properties of music helps the mentally handicapped. Limitless creative opportunities available in singing or playing instruments provide avenues for their self-expression, which is, otherwise, unavailable to them.

Musical exercises aid in organizing one's thought processes and help in over-coming one's inhibitions and restrictions. The creative process of music takes over one's mind and emotion and leads to the feeling of wholeness and completeness with the Universe in all levels of existence; physical, moral or intellectual. It helps in overcoming all forms of inadequacies or frustrations in life.

Therapist can also prescribe, speech, movement, drama etc. to enhance the value of such methods, Familiar songs or tunes of the patients provide better effect than the unfamiliar ones. In the west the

therapist works usually with piano where the potentials of rhythm, melody and harmony is combined with a very wide range of fluctuations of pitch or loudness. A co-therapist may work with a therapist to help support the client if necessary and both therapists may use their voices or other instruments as appropriate.

### **Music, the Tailor-made**

Often an individual-based music programme is customized, after studying the constitution of the patient and his or her problems. Once a programme is formulated, it is also necessary to review it periodically and incorporate changes so as to suit the changed conditions in the patient. Music is thus improvised uniquely for each patient and for each session. Audio recording allows the therapist to monitor the music process from session to session. Particular songs, bits, pieces or styles of music may become part of the therapy process where clinically appropriate, but these remain adaptable to the moment-by-moment process of therapist.

### **Music with Guided Imagery**

As the musical melody progresses, the therapist explains imaginative events, situations, characters which are further elaborated by the patient. Several symphonies in the Western classical system, particularly those of Tchaikovsky could be utilized by the therapists for activating the imagination of the patient vis a vis the melody played, which not only induces satisfaction in the patient but also greatly helps in overcoming his problems such as depression, trauma and other psychological ailments. Such method is also reported to have considerable impact in lowering one's heart rate.

### **Music Therapy Practices: Locations and Environs**

The patient should have a comfortable place without noise and disturbances. He should be seated in the way he finds most convenient although yoga postures such as padmasana or vajrasana should be of great help. Simple steps involved are: (1) Close the eyes (2) Play or mutter soft/slow music, (3) Focus on the breathing process (For instance, by simply placing hands on abdomen one becomes aware of the movement of that part of the body during breathing)

As citizens we are supposed to know the law made by the state,  
whether we intend to obey it or break it. - Upendra Baxi

(4) One could use meaningful mantras such as 'I m good'. 'The Environment around is gracious and Kind' 'God is kind and protective' etc. Phrases such as 'I m loved', 'I love me', 'I m good' etc.; result in erasure of depression and as one absorbs music one absorbs all positive vibrations from Nature, which are conducive to good health and well-being.

### **The Duration of Therapy**

There can't be any hard and fast rules on the duration of musical inputs. The prescribed music can be played even when the person is in deep sleep or coma. As rhythms are linked to the heartbeat, more music one received is better for the needy. However, instead of playing the music continuously, it can be given with some short.

Music as a therapy, is not exclusive for just a disease; it is meant for all patient groups. From the terminal ill to the temporary sufferer, it suits everybody and guaranteed no side effects Alzheimer patients, chronic pain sufferers, premature infants, terminal patients etc., all respond to the healing power of music. Symptoms of anxiety, depression and pain in terminally ill are overcome by the healing power of music.

Thanks to music, multiple handicap patients gain a variety of skills. It provides a solid foundation for learning various skills including speech, language, self-care and adaptation.

In long term care setting; music is used to exercise a variety of skills. Cognitive games help with long and short-term memory recall. Music, combined with movement as in modern gym and aerobic sessions, improve physical capabilities. Music by itself or in combination with other media such as art, aroma or dance offer unlimited scope for experience for the sensory-deprived, which is caused by coma, injury or degenerative diseases.

Music emanating from certain instruments is also regarded therapeutic. For instance, in South India, sweet strains from veena are believed to ensure smooth and safe delivery of the child in advanced state of pregnancy. In Carnatic system, there is a practice of concluding the concerts, bhajans, kalashepams etc., with the raga Madhyamavati. It is a raga, which takes the first three notes in the cycles of fifths and

fourths (samvada dvaya) and naturally has a high degree rakti. When sung at the end, it imparts a state of equilibrium and tranquility in the listener's mind.

There are no hard and fast rules regarding the music treatment sessions. Basically, it is the convenience and the need of patients that counts. Frequency of sessions could be daily or on alternate days. It can last for anywhere between 1 to 5 hrs for optimum results. Higher frequency is always better and would not be harmful as in drugs and other forms of treatment.

### **Improvisational Music Therapy**

In a typical therapeutic session, the patients are provided with an instrument or a piece of notation to the patients to go on improvising the value of the piece in the true traditions of manodharma sangita. To carry on whatever they feel like doing with them till a rapport develops between the patient and the musical piece, which provides a true companionship and bond on the emotional basis. They should be assured of the fact that their output is not going to be judged and they are free to make sounds out of them as it pleases to their ears. All they have to do is to make sounds that please THEIR ear! They are also persuaded to use their vocal chords the way they want-which could range from mere murmurs to loud shouts. It also creates a 'musical and emotional' environment that accepts everything the patient tries to formulate and rejects nothing. As the patients response to the challenges increases, it also provides experience for socialization, improves self-confidence and expression. Rhythm instruments are found to be useful for this type of therapeutic goals, particularly in the case of hyperactive patients. The intervals of gaps to make it more periods of therapy could be flexible, depending on the need of each patient and his response to it. Individual duration of therapy can be determined through regular experiments and as one develops experience by trial and error. As the improvement in ailments takes place, there would be a need for changing the musical inputs by the therapist. The first step would however involve the correct diagnosis followed by the selection of appropriate raga to suit the individual requirement.

The great advantage of a hotel is that it's a refuge from home life.

- George Bernard Shaw

## How Music Works

Certain music can provide physiological as well as psychological benefits as one comes across in the music of Mozart. The so-called 'Mozart Effect' is a well-known phenomenon discovered long after the death of Mozart. Several clinical trials conducted have gone to show that many of Mozart's sonatas result in increased wellness and quality of life, regardless of one's health conditions-both physical and mental.

## Indian Therapeutic Music

Indian music is both emotional and intellectual. While a listener's emotional needs are taken care of by the melodies laced with bhavas, his intellectual hunger is catered by the mathematical precisions of the tala system. It is also a well-known fact that the Indian classical music attaches importance to serenity and thoughtful state of mind as its primary aim. In other words it caters both to emotions and intelligence a la fois, thus enabling balancing of the analytical mind (mastish) and emotional or intuitive mind (buddhi).

In other words, by listening to music one achieves this balance, which not only gives one's mental strength to face problems but also induces certain physiological patterns, conducive to good health. Adopting maximum of dose of music as an integral part of one's daily routine would, no doubt, prove useful in the long run.

## The Impact of Tanpura

Tanpura, the Indian drone instrument is not just drone! It is conceived to balance the expanding pitches in a raga by repeated basic pitches such as shadjam and pancham. This acts as a reminder to the singer or the instrumentalist consciously or unconsciously to maintain the purity of swaras that go into making of the raga. Apart from that tanpura has yet another role; the harmonics emanating from the instrument over a period of time tend to bring in harmony and peace to the listeners who succumb to its vibrations. It is no doubt, a soothing experience to listen to the pure harmonics arising from the heart of a tanpura, particularly for those who feel hassled with the pace of modern day life-styles. It is advisable to listen and immerse in the sound vibrations of a tuned tanpura for at least 15 to 20 minutes before employing any

form of therapeutic pieces or ragas. A karnatak vidwan who lived in the late 19 th Century, Bikshandarkovil Subbarayar used to send his two tuned-tanpuras to the concert hall well in advance so as to make the audience assembled to listen to their drone for considerable time before the actual concert began. The result was that the ambience in the concert hall became saturated with the sound of balancing strain, which prepared the audience to be well attuned with sruti. When the actual concert began, the musical compatibility was already there between the musician and the audience. '



## Book Review:

### **INSIDE OUT INDIA AND CHINA LOCAL POLITICS GO GLOBAL**

**WILLIAM ANTHOLIS**

**(First Indian Edition 2015, Viva Books  
Private Ltd. pp 235 Rs.795/-)**

It was gracious of Mr. William Antholis, Managing Director of the Brookings Institution, where he is also a senior fellow in Governance Studies, to have personally presented a copy of the book under review at the luncheon he hosted for me and Member of Parliament, Dr.K. Hari Babu during his two day visit to Visakhapatnam. Though that day happened to be 9/11 (September 11, 2014), there was absolutely no reference to the horrendous terror attack on America fifteen years ago. It was a pleasant and frank exchange of views for almost an hour. When the M.P and BJP State President Hari Babu spoke with optimism about his government's determination to transform India and his own plan to develop Visakhapatnam into a leading city on the national map, I ventured to express my own apprehensions about the numerous constraints and hurdles that come in the way of fulfilling election promises and making the dream a reality. I even made bold to tell the distinguished visitor, William Antholis, that "the U.S now needs India's cooperation more than ever before."

The sleek volume of 235 pages, containing a thought-provoking preface and six chapters along with maps and tables, is the result of an insightful study of

I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved

- Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

the 'power paradox' in China and India, following the rise of two strong leaders, Xi Jinping in 2013 and Narendra Modi in 2014. "One third of humanity is governed from two capitals, Beijing and New Delhi," is the first line in the first chapter dealing with the *jigsaw puzzle*. Endowed with a sharp mind William Antholis writes with ease and lucidity on complex issues. Writing on China and India in one small book is no ordinary task. 'Five months, four people, three questions' is the subtitle that stands for the five months spent in China and India by the four – William Antholis, his wife Kristen and daughters Annika and Kyri, raising three questions – How do Chinese provinces and Indian states work? How do they blend local and national priorities and value systems? How do they view some major global issues? The author 'addressed these questions to government officials, political leaders, business people, journalists, academics, and nongovernmental groups' while the family put 'the same questions of tour guides, taxi drivers, school teachers and waiters.'

The difference between China and India, as far as development is concerned, is interestingly presented. China's provincial experimentation, writes Antholis, has transformed the world economy for the better. India's local leaders are making some of the world's most dramatic advances in human development. Yet India's paralyzed federal politics and China's authoritarian efforts to control its provinces are crucial for their national evolution.' Do democratic institutions impede effective governance? The author quotes Kishore Mahbubani's 'caricature of the Chinese view of the world'. Chinese model 'is not perfect' writes Mahbubani, "but it has lifted more people out of poverty, educated more people, increased their lifespans and generated the world's largest middle class. No other society in human history has improved human welfare as much as the Chinese government ..... the west should value outcomes as highly as political process, if not more so."

Antholis writes how India has 'remained committed to democratic governance as well as maintaining a multiethnic, multilingual, multireligious, and multi caste society.' Multiculturalism, democracy and economic growth constitute India's main goals. He classifies India's states into three categories *most forward*— Maharashtra, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu,

*Swing States* such as West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh and the others that come under the backward category. India's 'seven biggest states have the combined population of about 740 million people. That is the same as the combined population of the seven largest industrial democracies. Antholis highlights the pragmatism and entrepreneurial spirit found in the states and their leaders such as Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal, with rapidly urbanizing and globalizing cores. Bihar, has over 300 million people, 80 percent of whom live in rural poverty. "The extraordinary results speak for themselves; by 2012 the average Bihari's Income more than doubled to about \$ 500 a year," observes Antholis.

The United States has been actively assisting Indian democracy in many ways right from the beginning despite its tilt towards India's hostile neighbours at different periods of time. Ambassadors Chester Bowles and J.K. Galbraith, among many other diplomatic personnel based in India, have played a prominent role in improving Indo- American relations during the last six decades. Antholis points out how the US Consulate in Chennai has helped Tamil Nadu in its industrial development. For instance Ford Motor company choosing Chennai to build its manufacturing facility was 'the single most important decision in turning Tamil Nadu into a manufacturing state in India. That would not have happened had it not been for an active and engaged U.S. consulate,' writes Antholis. Chennai "is by far the world's single greatest conduit to the united states for highly skilled workers. Half of all U.S.-issued visas for high-tech workers go to Indians –particularly the H-1B, Which allows a firm to transfer a foreign –based employee into the United states. Half of that half –that is, 25 percent of the global total –go to workers from five south Indian provinces that together make up less than one- seventh of India's population, " according to the author.

India's endemic problems such as corruption and bureaucratic hurdles come in for critical comment. The author hits the nail on its head when he points out that 'even in normal times 25 percent of power generated is lost in transmission, thanks to a combination of ageing infrastructure and outright theft alone.'

William Antholis writes with empathy and

Transformation is the outcome of a farsighted vision, innovative mind and guiding spirit.

A.P.J.Abdul Kalam

concern for India. His work reflects the goodwill of the world's oldest and mature American democracy towards its largest counterpart that has stood the test of time. At this critical juncture each needs to understand the other better and work together in fighting not only the neo-Malthusian trilemma of climate change, depletion of resources and the burden of growing population but also the alarming spread of violence and terrorism.

He concludes his work commending and cautioning Indian democracy in these words: "Democracy is deeply engrained in India as a practical matter; the political system both represents and contains India's enormous diversity. Rather, India's challenge is to live up to high liberal democratic expectations across a vast and diverse population – and to do so while representing the masses and also protecting minorities." He calls upon the western countries 'to think differently and act differently' and deploy bottom-up diplomats including their state and local leaders for a new approach towards China and India. The foundation for that approach is to give a new priority to inside-out and bottom-up diplomacy with China and India. Doing so means learning to respect and embrace the tension between the local, the national, and the global that is at the heart of federalism itself.

- A. Prasanna Kumar



## Advent of Sri Sathya Sai Baba

Sri. C. Sivasankaram

Leadership: The yardstick to measure good leadership is the culture of enduring excellence which a leader leaves behind long after he has gone out of scene. Ninety percent of successful leadership depends on our Character. The entire emphasis is in the educational system of any civilization that attained its golden age was built by character based on the universal human values. Sound character is common to leadership in all fields of work and forms ninety percent of our potential.

The finding of the Stanford research institute in the U.S.A. pinpointed the area the Americans ignored. It virtually sums up the composition of good leadership which has got to be rediscovered. The study concluded:

"Twelve percent of effective management (which is the management terminology for leadership) is knowledge and eighty eight percent is dealing appropriately with the people. We will notice in him to deal appropriately with people. No superficially acquired skill can replace this fundamental Truth. Ralph Emerson the famous American savant and essayist was voicing this universal Truth. What you are shouts so loudly in my ears that I cannot hear what you say. I borrowed this Para (not verbatim) with minor variations – from the book entitled leadership. Esteemed hosts and the audience. I have harangued, I believe to the extent of wearing you. I should end it here before I convince you that time is up to ask me to sit down. I conclude it with a beautiful and highly admired and widely recited stanza from the well-known Taittiriya Upanishad's first part.

Having taught the Veda, the teacher instructs the pupil, speak the truth, practice virtue. Let there be no neglect of your (daily) reading. Having brought to the teacher the wealth that is pleasing (to him) do not cut off the thread of the offspring. Let there be no neglect of welfare. Let there be no neglect of prosperity. Let there be no neglect of study and teaching. Let there be no neglect of the duties to the gods and the parents.

*Mathru devo bhava,  
Pithru devo bhava,  
Acharya devo bhava,  
Atithi devo bhava,  
Yany anavadyani karmani  
Tani sevityani,  
No iterani,  
Yany asmakam sucaritani,  
Tani tvayopasyani no itarani*

Be one to whom the mother is a god. Be one to whom the father is a god. Be one to whom the teacher is a god. Be one to whom the guest is a god.

Whatever deeds are blameless, they are to be practised, not others. Whatever good practices there are among us, they are to be adopted by you, not others.

Even with regard to the life of the teacher, we should be discriminating. We must not do things which are open to blame, even if they are done by the wise. Sankara's advice cum comment.



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

## Centre for Policy Studies mourns D.V. Subba Rao

(Newspaper report on the condolence meeting held on 28 December, 2014)

VISAKHAPATNAM: The name of D.V. Subba Rao will remain forever in the hearts of the people of Visakhapatnam for his contribution to the growth and development of the city, speakers at a meeting, organised to condole the death of Subba Rao, opined. The condolence meeting was jointly organised by the Centre for Policy Studies (Gayatri Vidya Parishad) and the Visakhapatnam Public Library on the library premises here on Sunday.

They extolled the virtues of D.V. Subba Rao, who had despite serving as Mayor and Chairman of the Bar Council of India was always humility personified. A self-effacing man, he had followed morals and ethics and had aspired to take Visakhapatnam to greater heights. They recalled his contribution to the city in the field of sports and culture, apart from its overall development during his stint as Mayor. In his opening remarks. Director of the Centre for Policy Studies A. Prasanna Kumar said that the Gurajada Kalakshetram, the VUDA open theatre at Siripuram, was DV's gift to Vizag, as VUDA Chairman.

It was unfortunate that despite DV's immense contribution to cricket and the Visakhapatnam District Cricket Association (VDCA), its members had defeated him at the Andhra Cricket Association (ACA). Describing DV as the 'quintessential Vizagite', Prof. Prasanna Kumar said that he had never misused his official position. Praja Spandana president C.S. Rao described DV as 'the crown prince of Visakhapatnam'. We should establish a 'social justice platform' on his name to perpetuate DVs memory, he said. Founder president of Kalabharathi C.S.N. Raju recalled DV's humility as Chairman of VUDA and his contribution to the field of art and culture. Former MLA and CPI leader Maanam Anjaneyulu, retired bureaucrat E.A.S. Sarma, Rani Sarma of INTACH were among those who paid tributes to D.V. Subba Rao. ( *The Hindu* 29-12-2014 )

### **Vizag Chronicle :**

**A Gentle Colossus:** Vizag is grief stricken. Like never before. Its noble and beloved son D.V. Subba Rao passed away yesterday afternoon. The City of Destiny of which he was an outstanding Mayor is in a state of shock and sorrow. The first mofussil lawyer

to become the Chairman of Bar Council of India, Subba Rao was respected by both bench and bar for his intellect and integrity. As Justice Bhagawati said Subba Rao was 'a man of high integrity and exceptional character, with large experience in public life and breadth of vision not confined to law but to a wide range of activities.' Subba Rao was a member of two prestigious committees, Justice Malimath Committee on reforms of criminal justice and the Justice M. Jagannatha Rao Committee constituted by the apex court to suggest ways for effective implementation of Section 89(2) of Code of Civil Procedure. He was associated with National Judicial Academy which provides training for judges, lawyers and teachers of law. Rising high in his profession to national eminence, Subba Rao always held subordinate courts and mofussil lawyers in esteem saying that "they are the backbone of the judicial system." Subba Rao evoked the admiration of judges and lawyers at all levels from the mofussil court up to the Supreme Court of India for 'the eloquence and diligence with which he argued his client's case' as a former CJI put it. What was extraordinary about Subba Rao was that he practised law not to make money but to walk in the footsteps of his illustrious forbears. He would have made crores of rupees had he ever made a compromise on his ideals. Though not in good health, Subba Rao used to go to his office till a month ago. When asked he replied with a soft smile "to earn my daily bread."

**Public Service:** As Chairman of VUDA and later as Mayor of Visakhapatnam Subba Rao's services were unparalleled. He persuaded Chief Minister NTR to approve the plan to construct the huge Gurajada Kalakshetram. Later as Mayor he transformed the Municipal Stadium into a first class cricket stadium where Vizag hosted a World Cup Cricket match in 1996. As Mayor he received an award at UNICEF Conference at Dakar in Senegal in 1991. In 1955 Subba Rao led Andhra University colleges team to victory, bagging the Tirumurti trophy. As cricket administrator he put Vizag on the international map by organizing many national and international matches. The quintessential Vizagite, an epitome of high ideals and values was an embodiment of humility. My gentleman-cricket captain always loved these words: "Well Played Skipper"!

- A. Prasanna Kumar  
*Deccan Chronicle*, December 21, 2014

There is a great man who makes every man feel small.  
But the real great man is the man who makes every man feel great. Charles Dickens

## Charlie Hebdo incident calls for introspection, says analyst

There should be a balance between equity and empathy

(Cmde Uday Bhaskar's lecture at CPS on January 22, 2015)

VISAKHAPATNAM: "While we condemn and reject the recent terrorist attack at the Charlie Hebdo office in Paris and the killing of the journalists in the magazine company, there is a strong need for introspection on the freedom of speech," said director of Delhi-based Society of Policy Studies and defence analyst C. Uday Bhaskar.

He was here on Thursday to deliver a talk on 'The Paris Massacre- Terrorism threatens free speech', organised by the Centre for Policy Studies.

According to Cmde. Uday Bhaskar, there should be a balance between equity and empathy and different forms of satire may be encouraged but they need not be provocative or insulting to faiths.

Going back into history, he pointed out that in India there was a similar situation in the 1920s, when a person from one community printed a pamphlet demeaning Devi Sita, and to counter that a person from

the majority community printed a book demeaning the Prophet, which was called the 'Rangeela Rasool'.

Immediately after the publisher of 'Rangeela Rasool' was stabbed to death in Lahore, the then British government, brought into force Section 295a of IPC to see that such things are not repeated and to avoid a communal backlash.

Though France is a free thinking country and the French government had said that satires will not be prohibited, it is the need of the hour to pass certain legislations on freedom of expression at least for maintaining social harmony.

Post World War II, many of the European countries passed legislations on anti-Semitism, so why not now, observed Uday Bhaskar.

Criticising the terror attack, the defence analyst said, "There is common link between Paris attack and the terror attacks at a school in Peshawar and the Boko Haram massacre. And that link is - an ideology of the radical Islamists challenging the freedom of expression."

Earlier, director of the centre Prof. A. Prasanna Kumar introduced the speaker.

(The Hindu January 23, 2015)

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