

THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

Some leaders of the ruling NDA government claimed that corruption has been checked, even eliminated at the top level, during the last eighteen months. Ironically enough, around that time was organized the annual ‘Vigilance Week’ with a directive from the union government to focus on ‘fight against corruption’, with the motto being ‘prevention is better than cure’.

The last week of October witnessed Vigilance Week functions everywhere with prominent persons inflicting pompous messages on captive audience in public sector and government organizations. The call, loud and clear, was of course to ‘eradicate’ corruption, reminding one of the proverbial dilemma of the priest: ‘Everyone wants to go to heaven, but nobody is willing to die.’ Lectures and meetings were followed by pledge-taking by every employee similar to the oath taking done by elected representatives and appointed ministers at the time of assumption of office.

Kautilya in his ‘Arthashastra’ wrote that ‘government servants could enrich themselves improperly in two ways, either by cheating the government or exploiting the public.’ Corruption goes beyond pecuniary gratifications, he said. India is among the most corrupt countries ranking 85/175 on the scale prepared by Transparency International. According to a recent survey done by an international consultancy firm there is a high percentage of fraudulent practices such as money laundering and bribery in India which are considered risky for the foreign investor.

Former Central Vigilance Commissioner N.Vittal explained how the process of corrupting institutions degenerated into institutionalization of corruption with public response keeping step with it in three stages—criticizing corruption in the early years of democratic India followed by tolerating it in the years that followed climaxing in honouring the corrupt with high positions and even awards. Vittal was forthright in his indictment that those “who are known to be corrupt behave like angry porcupines the moment someone mentions it.” In his incisive study he declared that people ‘cannot go to any

public organization or office today and get the services which they are supposed to get without either paying bribe or bringing influence by way of recommendations or references from VIPs.’ From the cradle to the grave is certainly not a cliché in the case of corruption because getting a birth or death certificate without greasing the palm of the government employee is impossible.

Deinstitutionalization of the deeply entrenched system of corruption should be at the top of the agenda for the government. Reform must start with electoral politics in which alliances and seat adjustments pave the way for mobilization and misuse of money, muscle power and liquor. The wheels of government are lubricated by liquor which is a major source of revenue for the state and the main cause of misery for millions of families with women being the worst victims. A former Prime Minister described poverty as a form of violence against the poor. Another Prime Minister admitted in Parliament that “bureaucratic oppression, technocratic tyranny, crass inefficiency, bribery, jobbery, nepotism, corruption and the million other malfesances afflict the poor of our villages, towns and cities.”

There was no surprise that Anna Hazare’s movement which had raised high hopes of reining in corruption fizzled out as the fight against corruption is a Sisyphian ordeal. It is time the Prime Minister initiated steps for a drastic overhaul of the administrative system. The image he has built up abroad for himself and his government has begun to fade and the NDA government that came into power eighteen months ago promising to usher in ‘*acche din*’ is now being described as ‘a false dawn’. The failure of Indian state and society to check corruption and eradicate poverty is due to many factors the most conspicuous of which is the insincerity of the government and apathy and indifference of civil society. Higher GDP growth and FDIs may help India in becoming an economic giant. But unless the polity is cleansed of the evil of corruption India will remain a mere electoral democracy. The time to act is now.

- The Editor

Just as it is impossible to know when a fish moving in water is drinking it,
so it is impossible to find out when government servants in charge of
undertakings misappropriate it. - Kautilya

NAVY DAY 2015; TIME TO RECLAIM INDIA'S ANCIENT MARITIME HERITAGE

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The Indian Navy (IN), although smallest of India's military services, has created a special place for itself in the national security matrix, for three reasons that have helped raise its own and the country's profile. Its leadership opted for a growth model focused on indigenous development and production; it focused on regional maritime influence, rather than on tactical-level threats; and most significantly, it created a sound rationale for itself, by writing a maritime doctrine and strategy.

India's determination to resume its historical role of a regional maritime power, underpinned by a buoyant economy, will ensure that the IN becomes a world-class maritime force within the next decade or so. Navy day 2015 is an appropriate occasion to reflect on the past, take stock of the present and visualise the likely future.

As a fighting force, the IN could, actually, claim its heredity back to 1612 when the East India Company Marine was raised to protect British interests from the Portuguese. Built around the nucleus of a few English warships, the bulk of this force consisted of lightly armed, native ghurabs and galivats, manned by seamen from the Konkan coast. Over time, the Service was successively given different names; finally being designated the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) in 1934. Casting aside this colonial lineage, our navy reckons its age from 26th January 1950 when India declared itself a republic and the prefix 'Royal' was dropped to transform the RIN into IN.

However, it would interest readers to know that Navy Day commemorates, not the navy's birthday but, a famous naval victory. It was in the early hours of 4th December 1971 that a squadron of small missile-boats audaciously approached Karachi harbour to unleash a barrage of guided missiles. This daring and unorthodox attack sank two Pakistani warships, set alight a huge fuel storage facility, and bottled up the Pakistani Navy (PN) in harbour for the rest of the war.

It was an apt response to the, largely symbolic, bombardment of Dwarka port by PN destroyers in 1965.

The Pakistani submarine Ghazi had been despatched to India's east coast, many weeks earlier, tasked with torpedoing the aircraft-carrier INS Vikrant. As luck would have it, the ill-fated Ghazi sank outside Vishakhapatnam harbour, while Vikrant, with her escorts, blockaded East Pakistani ports, attacked airfields and interdicted shipping; thus hastening the surrender of Pakistani forces. This swift and successful tri-Service campaign brought home, in land-locked New Delhi, that the navy, if deployed astutely, could exert a powerful influence on the outcome of a major conflict.

If the 1971 war was the navy's baptism by fire, the Great Asian tsunami, saw it coming of age as a regional force. Within hours of receiving the first distress messages on 26th December 2004, IN ships and aircraft were speeding to the aid of, not just our own citizens, but also Sri Lanka, Maldivian and Indonesian neighbours in distress. The alacrity with which the IN responded to this humanitarian crisis left an abiding impression of its competence and professionalism on foreign observers. This was reinforced by the sea-lift operation efficiently mounted by IN task-forces to evacuate South Asian refugees from war-torn Lebanon in 2006, Libya in 2011 and Yemen in 2015.

Even while India is creating a navy that will soon take its place amongst the best in the world, there continues to be a lack of clarity about maritime related issues, amongst our public as well as decision-makers; for two reasons. Firstly; Indians have historically believed that their security was linked to the mountains, because throughout history, a succession of invaders had descended from the north-western passes to plunder the rich Indian plains. Secondly; most of us have remained ignorant of India's ancient maritime inheritance. It is, therefore, necessary to reflect briefly on India's maritime past.

One of the few Indians to have undertaken a reconstruction of India's maritime history and to offer a vision for the future was diplomat and historian Sardar K. M. Panikkar (1895-1963). Panikkar, in his writings, paints a fascinating picture of seagoing

I see chief ministers, finance and food ministers going about extorting money for the party without fear or shame. I happened to remember a time when such things could not be thought of.

activities that took place, in the Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal two to three thousand years before the Greeks, Phoenicians and Romans ventured into waters of the Mediterranean.

Starting with the Mauryan emperors, Panikkar recounts the continuum of cultural and religious osmosis from India's east coast to SE Asia and traces Indian maritime activism through the Andhra, Pallava, Pandya, Chalukya and Chola dynasties that were instrumental in creation of Hindu kingdoms right across SE Asia. He concludes that such deep-rooted cultural influence could not have been implanted in this region without intrepid Indian seafarers sustaining strong linkages. He also reminds us of great mariners like the Kunjali Marrakars of Calicut who waged a 99-year maritime campaign against the Portuguese and of the Maratha Admiral, Kanhoji Angre who dominated the British and French navies off the Konkan coast.

As far back as 1945, Panikkar had predicted, with uncanny accuracy, that the naval policy of a 'resurgent China' would seek southward expansion and declared that India's future was dependent on the Indian Ocean remaining free. He advised that a powerful navy was vital for independent India's security and the nation's maritime interests would be best served by creating a 'steel ring' around the Indian peninsula. While it is China which is trying to encircle India at sea, it would have pleased Panikkar that his prophetic writings have inspired the navy's leadership to follow his maritime roadmap.

India's maritime security suffered neglect for generations because we clung to the belief that the mighty Himalayas would safeguard us, and despite two-centuries of foreign domination based on sea-power, a continental-mindset continued to afflict us. It is only in the past two decades that the phenomenon of globalization, the threat of piracy, the exposure of our coastal underbelly on 26/11 and the spectre of growing Chinese naval power have all combined to bring about a 'maritime awakening'. A strong and balanced navy is, no doubt, vital for India's march towards major power status; and such a force will soon be a reality.

Fortunately, the seeds of a self-reliant blue water navy had been laid over half a century ago, in 1960,

when the navy's leadership persuaded the government to undertake indigenous warship production. In the face of great skepticism - both at home and abroad - Mazagon Docks Ltd Mumbai, commenced licensed production of the British designed Leander class frigates. The first indigenous frigate named INS Nilgiri was launched in 1968, and since then India's four defence shipyards have produced over 100 warships, ranging from patrol boats to destroyers and from nuclear submarines to aircraft-carriers.

This is a crucial capability that promises to transform the IN from the status of a 'buyer's navy', dependent upon unreliable foreign sources for its needs, to a self-confident 'builder's navy' which is supported by a capable indigenous warship-building industry. This is an appropriate occasion to take stock of recent achievements in this vital arena.

The year 2013 saw the IN achieving two long-awaited landmarks that heralded its arrival in the 'big league' of navies. In August the nuclear reactor of the indigenously designed and built ballistic missile submarine, Arihant attained criticality. The Arihant has, since then, been undergoing a comprehensive programme of trials in preparation for operational deployment. The delivery of this submarine, in the face of formidable challenges, has been a remarkable achievement for India. The success of this project is attributable to the high level of synergy attained by the IN, the Defence Research & Development Organization (DRDO) and the Department of Atomic Energy. It also owes much to the significant contribution of the private-sector. The Arihant will, shortly, become the 'third leg' of India's nuclear deterrent force.

August 2013 also saw the launch of India's first indigenous aircraft carrier (designated IAC-1), in Kochi. To be eventually named Vikrant, the 37,500 ton IAC-1 will be the largest warship ever to be built in India. Designed by the Directorate General of Naval Design, it will operate the Russian MiG-29K fighter and the Indian-built Light Combat Aircraft, Tejas. The ship is in the final stages of construction and should be ready to enter service in 2-3 years. A much bigger aircraft-carrier, designated, IAC-2, is currently on the drawing board and awaits some critical decisions regarding

The supreme virtue in a man is to forget his individual differences with others and move with them in a spirit of equality and harmony.

- Sri Satya Sai Baba

choice of aircraft to be operated that will decide its final configuration.

The commissioning of INS Kolkata, a year later, marked yet another event of considerable maritime significance for the IN. Given its size, firepower and advanced technologies, this 7500-ton guided-missile destroyer is one of the most formidable weapon platforms at sea today - even by world standards. What places the Kolkata many notches above most of its contemporaries, are its advanced multi-function radar, long-range surface-to-air missile, supersonic anti-ship missile and sophisticated anti-submarine detection devices. A second ship of the same class, INS Kochi, joined the fleet in October 2015 and a third will follow shortly.

Warship-building in India has been a success story – but up only up to a point. A fact that rarely finds public mention is that a large number of critical components, like guns, missiles, radars and engines, in an ‘indigenous’ warship are still imported from abroad. This is because the DRDO has failed to deliver on its promises. Therefore Mr. Modi’s dream of ‘Make in India’ will remain just that, unless a drastic restructuring of the DRDO as well as defence-production agencies is undertaken.

In contrast to the relatively bright picture of warship production, India’s submarine force-levels have, for various reasons, seen a worrisome decline during the past decade. The failure to establish a national submarine design and building capability stands out as an egregious omission on part of successive governments. The navy’s plans call for a force-level of 30 submarines, but at this moment, the actual strength is less than half that number. The construction of six Scorpene class submarines of French design is under way in Mazagon Docks Mumbai, and a decision on establishing a facility for sustained serial production of submarines is awaited from the government. This handicap assumes serious proportions when viewed against the rapid burgeoning of PLA Navy’s submarine fleet and the proposed transfer of eight Chinese submarines to Pakistan.

Today, when an Indian, proudly, looks southwards, he sees the huge Indian peninsula jutting a thousand kilometres into an ocean named after it.

Its long coastline, dotted with 200 major and minor ports, is home to a huge fishing and seafaring community. An exclusive economic zone of over 2.2 million square kilometres could become a cornucopia of hydrocarbon and mineral wealth for India. A thousand merchant ships, flying the Indian ensign, ply the seven seas, and Indian seafarers are much sought after by merchant fleets of the world. Moreover, the Indian Ocean encompasses India’s neighbours and friends, as well as interests vital to its security. All these will make demands on India’s maritime resources.

The growth trajectory of the IN has been guided by the vision of India’s naval leadership with its gaze firmly focused on national maritime interests and regional stability. As the logic of geo-politics, economics and demographics combines to propel India to prominence, it will need to shoulder greater responsibilities in regional and world affairs. It is necessary for decision-makers to understand that the navy, by itself, constitutes just one component of the country’s maritime power. Without the remaining components that include a large merchant fleet, a competent shipbuilding industry, efficient ports and infrastructure and indeed, coastal and island security, our maritime power will remain hollow.

Navy Day 2015 is a good occasion to remind ourselves that for India to resume its traditional mantle of a maritime nation we must restore its rich and hoary maritime tradition. The time has now come to renew maritime consciousness, not just amongst our decision-makers but also amongst India’s people and its youth so that they can reclaim their ancient maritime heritage.



DISCOURSE AND THE DEMOCRATIC DYNAMIC

**Shri D.Ch. Tirupathi Raju Memorial Lecture
delivered on October 2, 2015**

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Director of the Society for Policy Studies
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Discourse and debate itself is as old as mankind and many civilizations have their own experience. We in India are endowed with a rich tradition and the Upanishads are replete with the rigor and refinement

We cannot allow the nation’s resources to be wasted. Democracy has many virtues, but one of its concomitants is wastage of time and energy.

- Jawaharlal Nehru

of informed debate and discourse. The story of Yajnavalka, Maitreyi and Gargi reflect this deep philosophical tradition. And this is the tip of the iceberg. But in relation to the democratic dynamic in which I locate the element of discourse – one has to fast-forward to the modern period. While the deliberations about demos or democracy as a concept can be traced back to the Greek philosophers of the ancient period – the linkage with the democratic dynamic is of more recent origin. Hegel comes to mind, as also the distillate of the thesis/anti-thesis/synthesis formulation. Perhaps this could be linked to the Indian tradition of ‘vaad-vivaad-samvaad’.....and here the centrality of the thought process – the seminal IDEA that is transmuted into word merits special attention.

If accept that the IDEA or thought is central to the human experience of aspiration and its attainment ; and the collective effort that later transforms into the democratic dynamic - then it would be fair to ask where is this endeavor to be nurtured?

Each society has evolved its own model and in the Indian case, one can point to Mahatma Gandhi who saw the essential linkage between discourse, debate and democracy. Along with Gandhi Jayanti, this week also marks the birthday of Annie Beasant, who as the editor of NEW INDIA provided an important platform for the dissemination of seemingly radical ideas in colonial India – such as self rule.

The relevance of informed debate and dissent and the need to arrive at an equitable consensus to accommodate all interests was most evident in the drafting of the Indian Constitution. The stellar role played by Dr. Ambedkar and his colleagues at the time provided the robust foundation on which rests the Indian Republic.

The question that I am posing today is whether it is enough to have such deliberations and debate within the legislature alone to hone the democratic dynamic – or if is there a need to nurture and enable other fora such as civil society and the mass-media.

To me the answer is an emphatic yes. While the media plays a critical role in both disseminating news and playing the role of an impartial observer and watch-dog if need be - of the legislature, executive and judiciary - civil society must create its own space and competence to provide a constructive critique of

the entire spectrum – that of state, the media and itself – as the case may be.

RECENT TRENDS – APROPOS DEMOCRACY AND GLOBALIZATION

Some recent trends merit our attention in relation to democracy. Globalization and the emergence of very powerful non-state entities broadly classified as multi-national forces have introduced the reality of market forces which in turn have led to a distortion of the democratic experience. The normative ideals enshrined in the Indian Constitution remain elusive and ‘We the people’ have never been more despondent and weary – weary of a system of governance that promises but does not deliver and an increasing cynicism of the political culture that now prevails in India.

Institutional integrity has been tainted across the board – and no institution including the media has exuded the ‘*sva-dharma*’ that is expected of them. One refrain that is often heard these days is that in the 21st century, democracy is blighted – and that an alternative model needs to be identified or conceived. Clearly the answer is not to throw the proverbial democratic baby out with the bath-water – but to review and redress the many inadequacies that plague the system as we know it today.

In as much as the benchmark of institutional integrity has been lowered – personal integrity has taken an even bigger blow. India today is afflicted by the cancer of corruption across the board – from the petty corruption that the average citizen confronts on a daily basis; to the macro venality that is now associated with the world’s largest democracy – that ostensibly venerates Mahatma Gandhi and his values.

In India, all the pillars of democracy are now perceived with increasing dismay for their multiple transgressions. The pursuit of power and pelf has become par for the course; and the guardian has turned predator. Barring the honorable exceptions, in the main the elected representative – the politician has lost esteem in the public eye and the executive as represented by the ‘civil servant’ is deemed neither civil – nor do they serve the citizen in the manner that was expected of them. Post the Radia tape scandal – greater part of the media in India lost its credibility and the overall scenario is bleak.

Let us sink all our differences and look to one and one interest only, which is the interest of all of us – the interest of India as a whole.

- Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

To compound matters, the higher judiciary, till recently seen as the last bastion of institutional integrity now joins the legislature, executive and media as being tainted. The deviant has become the norm in India. The reason for this cynicism is the revelation made a few years ago by Justice Ruma Pal, a former judge of the Supreme Court. Delivering the fifth V M Tarkunde Memorial Lecture in November 2011 in Delhi, Justice Pal slammed the higher judiciary for what she called the seven sins.

Highlighting the many inadequacies that blight the higher judiciary in the country, she listed the sins as: turning a blind eye to the injudicious conduct of a colleague; hypocrisy -- the complete distortion of the norm of judicial independence; secrecy -- the fact that no aspect of judicial conduct including the appointment of judges to the high and Supreme Court is transparent; plagiarism and prolixity -- meaning that very often SC judges lift whole passages from earlier decisions by their predecessors and do not acknowledge this -- and use long-winded, verbose language; arrogance of the personal nature -- wherein the higher judiciary has claimed crass superiority and independence to mask their own indiscipline and transgression of norms and procedures; professional arrogance -- whereby judges do not do their homework and arrive at decisions of grave import ignoring precedent or judicial principle; and finally nepotism -- wherein favours are sought and dispensed by some judges for gratification of varying manner.

The reason I am spending some time on this candid critique of the Indian judiciary by Justice Ruma Pal is because of the centrality and sanctity of law in the democratic framework. The citizen looks up to the courts as the last resort when the legislature and executive are guilty of grave misdemeanor and the spirit of the Constitution is being trampled with disdain. The judicial corrective applied by the late Justice Khanna in 1976 in relation to the excesses of Mrs. Indira Gandhi is illustrative of the rigorous benchmark that the 'brooding spirit of the law' is capable of in the Indian context. But there is a silver lining to this dark and ominous cloud that now envelops India and optimism however slender must prevail. Civil society activists in India seemed to provide a glimmer of hope and it may be recalled that the Lok Pal bill and the Anna Hazare movement would become the catalyst that would cleanse the system. Alas, those hopes were belied and as a resident of

Delhi who voted for the Aam Aadmi Party - twice – one can only share the frustration and anguish of a concerned yet helpless citizen.

What then is the answer to this conundrum – of the Indian democratic experience that is increasingly dominated by muscle power and money power on one hand; and where the populace does not cast its vote – but votes its caste!

But I would still make the plea that the ray of hope lies embedded in civil society – among those members who have the ability and the inclination to become active stakeholders in burnishing the democratic dynamic. And this is where I would like to dwell on the opportunities that beckon Vizag and its diverse civil society.

The bifurcation of the composite state of Andhra Pradesh is a reality and the two states have to now look ahead. Vizag by its pedigree and geographical location is ideally placed to provide that enabling location to review and refine the democratic experience in a holistic manner.

'City of destiny' is a phrase that has been often used to describe Vizag and many in the audience would have heard this expression. The lighter vein quip used to be that it is like the horizon – tantalizing but ever receding! However I would submit for your consideration and for the policy makers of the new state – that the current phase of the larger national endeavor is very propitious for Vizag.

India's 'Look East' policy that was unveiled by the astute but often neglected PM Narasimha Rao in the early 1990's has now become 'Act East' policy and the eastern seaboard is the site for realizing this policy. Among the coastal states that abut the Bay of Bengal – Vizag has the right combination of tangible resources and proven potential and this should be harnessed in the most effective and equitable manner.

India's tenacious sea-blindness is slowly but steadily being redressed and PM Modi's reference to the imperative of a Blue Revolution – akin to the Green and White revolutions that transformed India decades ago is case in point. The maritime domain offers 21st century India a wide range of opportunities that straddle the geo-political; the geo-economic; and the geo-physical strands of national aspiration and objectives.

The approach to tackling corruption in our society has largely been from a moral, emotional, ethical or cultural point of view. The strategy dimension has been missing.

How does this grand vision relate to Vizag and the theme of my lecture – discourse and the democratic dynamic? For a start – Vizag and its more committed citizens who are the stakeholders of the future have to forge a consensus about what kind of a city they envisage for themselves and their children.

I have often heard the suggestion that India needs to invest in smart cities and that Singapore is the preferred model for cities like Vizag. I beg to differ – with all the earnestness that I can bring to bear to this issue. The objective must be an equitable city – not merely a smart one ; and that Vizag must evolve its own identity that has the appropriate mix for its myriad citizens wherein the socio-political environment is equitable ; empathetic; ethical ; and economically viable. Furthermore, as a resident of Delhi allow me to add – where the air is clean and potable water is not a luxury!

To create such a city, the citizens must be able to deliberate over such issues in an objective and informed manner and hence the need for many fora; multiple venues and all the demographic streams that constitute the city.

I can list a few tangible goals that would be on my wish list for Vizag. These would incorporate the development goals that relate to human security with emphasis on gender equity across the socio-economic spectrum. Add to this the need to raise the educational and employment opportunities that this city is famed for – but in an equitable manner – in a manner that Gandhiji would have approved of; maximize the industrial and technological opportunities that the 21st century and a young population represent; provide affordable health-care to the citizens.....improve basic infrastructure from power generation to sanitation to better roads and public transport.....the list is familiar and each of you can add to this wish-list.

But how is this to be realized in the current democratic dispensation? Through the combination of objective and focused discourse at venues such as the CPS and the subsequent transmutation into the political process. This can be enabled by judicious civic action in areas where the state is unable to provide the resources and here the focus on Clean India is an example of an aspirational challenge that Vizag must collectively rise to.

Can a clean Vizag that evolves its own norms

about plastic and urban waste become a reality over the next year? Can improved governance of the city and its suburbs become a reality whereby Vizag becomes the model for an equitable Indian city?

My sense is yes – BUT – meaning that this vision of an equitable city is not a pipe-dream but needs a restoration of certain values that have been lost or distorted over the decades.

RELATE STORY OF CHANAKYA AND THE LAMP.....

Contemporary discourses in India are dominated by the 3 C-s; cinema / cricket and celebrity crime. The advent of new communication and cyber technologies has transformed the contour of the dominant discourse – particularly between 8 PM and 10 PM . To paraphrase Pliny – Rome becomes the mob and the mob – Rome!

Paradoxically despite the high-handedness and fecklessness of the state, the ability of civil society to ‘push-back’ as it were, when motivated to give vent to its angst and anger in a collective manner cannot be ignored. Hence, my plea for nurturing and shaping public discourse in such a manner that the collective interest is prioritized - and no Faustian bargains are legitimized.

Ladies and gentlemen, on Gandhi Jayanti allow me to recall the vision of the Mahatma who wanted to wipe every tear from every eye. It was his cherished dream – to improve the welfare of the impoverished multitudes and a little before his assassination, Gandhiji poignantly noted: “ If that dream could be realized even now when I am an old man on the verge of death, my heart would dance. Children would then frolic in joy.”

This could be the Holy Grail for Vizag – to create an equitable and empathetic city where there are no tears to wipe.

And allow me to add that this quote has been borrowed from the editorial of the BULLETIN of an institution called the CPS – the Centre for Policy Studies – in October 2005 – on the occasion of their 10th anniversary.

Professor Kumar and esteemed members of the audience - I thank you once again for allowing me to share this auspicious occasion of the 20th anniversary of the CPS.



Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed.

- Mahatma Gandhi

WHAT LIFE HAS TAUGHT ME

C. Rajagopalachari

I can put in a few words what I have learned from life: Life is God's *leela*. This Sanskrit word *leela* is not just "play," although it is generally so rendered in English. The Sanskrit word expresses what to us is the more important negative result of any attempt to unravel the mystery of life; namely, that we cannot make out the design though undoubtedly there is design, order and law. The nearest approach to an explanation is that the great Master of the Universe amuses Himself, but we cannot unravel the mysteries of this highly organized divine play except that the inexorable law of Karma governs it—every action brings with it inescapably and unfailingly, its results. I have also learned this—that the greatest happiness results from being good; that is from following the moral law in spite of every seeming pain and privation associated with it. I have also found that any attempt to define what is good is futile, because of the various results of every action. One man's good is almost invariably another man's pain or privation. Good can only be relatively determined. The teaching of the Gita of the Hindus contains the soundest advice, namely, do what is laid as duty on your shoulders in the context of each moment and do it unselfishly and surrendering yourself to God. One man's duty may differ from another's and what is good at one time may not be the right thing at another time. Unselfishness and unbroken reliance on God and faithful use of one's reasoning powers must decide what at each juncture public or private, one's duty is. This is not Hinduism alone or the Bhagavadgita alone. It is the teaching of every great religion. But the Gita expatiates on it as if intimately dealing with a tough skeptic.

These being the lessons I have learned from life as well as from good books and the company of good men and women, what is my present personal summing-up of the world situation? It is at present a rather sad one—of disappointment and retarded hope.

When the atomic bombs were exploded over Japan and World War II was brought to an end, I was among those who rejoiced but were also deeply alarmed. I rejoiced that the victory of the Allies and the defeat of Hitler, with his brutalities and terror, were

steadily approaching, but when the actual end came in the way it did, it filled me with sadness and a terror unequalled by anything inflicted by Hitler and his satanic power.

I watched with dismay and grief the race in nuclear production that immediately followed. The world was in the grip of terror out of which it had to escape; but instead of doing what should end the terror, powerful nations went on adding to the danger and the terror.

A stage was reached when the new weapons of total annihilation no doubt served to prevent war, but they did this by adding to the danger in ever-increasing measure, for if ever the poised balance of terror failed, war would arrive.

This form of peace soon resulted in the withdrawal of all the support against injustice and aggression that the weaker nations had obtained from more powerful nation friends. In the pre-atomic period the more powerful nations gave help to their weaker friends. After the nuclear terror arrived, everyone was afraid of 'escalation' of the defence of a weaker nation into a terrible world war.

This led to a period of greatly increased activity by way of debate, discussion and negotiation in the world forum. The United Nations Organization assumed great importance and seemed rapidly to approach the role of world government. The great book of dark and Sohn, *World Peace Through World Law*, is a demonstration and a symbol of the hopes that the role of the UN raised during this period.

It was a complete, very carefully drawn up draft bill for the nations of the world to adopt, by which the UN would be transformed into an effective world authority acting under world law and there would be an end to war and the fear of war.

The grant by the British Parliament of complete independence to India and Pakistan in 1947 followed immediately by similar withdrawal of all imperial power from Burma and Ceylon, was a great landmark in world history. The British Empire was peacefully liquidated by the British Parliament. This was a signal for the termination of colonialism throughout the world. America with its congenital bias against colonialism and Russia with its slogan of

Like ancient saints and sages, Rajaji was a teacher of men who always reminded us of our moral and cultural heritage which made India great and unique in the world.

anti-imperialism both hurried to grant independence to numerous big and small nations spread over Africa, Asia, and elsewhere. The United Nations Organization admitted all these new nations as units, all of them being equal to one another whether big or small, powerful or insignificant. This was an advantage, but it carried with it the great disadvantage of the organization being overloaded with 'have-not' units carrying no power behind them. Soon the United Nations Organization was infected not only by the old cold war poison but also by a new poison distilled out of the old anti-imperialist feelings. Blocs began to be organized in the UN that blasted the hopes of its growing into an effective world authority under world law. Nationalism grew again into a dynamic force replacing the internationalism that had marked the end of the Second World War and had raised vast hopes in the minds of world statesmen. Today that internationalism and that great hope have both nearly disappeared. The powerful French President is the biggest symptom of this new nationalism. The polarization of the nations of the world into free and Communist tended to replace nationalism by a world out-look pulling either one way or the other. Each side hoped the other side's consolidation would break up as a result of nationalist forces. But what actually happened is that both sides underwent that change and world consolidation has suffered badly as a result. The regenerated nationalism of the big nations of the world and the persistent anti-West feelings of the newly emancipated small nations have both become great roadblocks in the march to a world government. The goal appeared near enough some years ago but it has receded very far now.

And as a result of this setback, the old cold war which seemed to be disappearing has got a fresh start. China is in the front line of this new phase of the cold war and Russia can but join her comrade willingly or otherwise. The prospect for the world has become indeed bleak.

Let us for some relief, go back to the divine *leela*. There could have been nothing conceivably more vicious than the slave trade, which planted a large number of Africans in the United States of America. The Negroes of America are no longer slaves but are a significant section of a free and great nation. Their present movement for full integration with the white

majority is today a point of irritation like the one within the oyster that makes the precious pearl. Similarly this present irritation in the United States will lead to something great and precious, the breakdown of one of the most stupid of superstitions that the colour of the skin makes a real difference between man and man. The defects, intellectual or moral, in a Southern white person appear to many, if not most, white people in the U.S. as tolerable and remediable, but the same defects in a black man are felt by the same people to be intolerable and permanently associated with the skin pigment and therefore unchangeable. This is an attitude hard to cast out. Often one's intellect and reason would admit the attitude to be baseless, but sentiment persists against intellect. The prejudice disappears only when the pigment is outbalanced by talent, wealth or enlightenment. Even where it is overcome, it is often only an external conquest, not a complete internal annulment.

This colour superstition is not confined to white against Negro, but prevails throughout the world in some form or another. In India it takes the form of caste prejudice and in a higher value stupidly and openly set on a fair complexion. And this in a country where the races got hopelessly mixed up many thousands of years ago.

The criminal slave trade made for the ultimate coming into being of a great number of Africans who are as enlightened as the natives of Europe who live and progressed in America. These enlightened Negroes have a great mission cut out for them after integration with their fellow citizens in the U.S. It will be the uplift of their cousins in Africa—uplift not in the superficial sense of political stir, but in the real sense of a rise of level in enlightened living. This would be a capital demonstration of good coming out of evil in the not too distant future. And perhaps there will be exchange of good on both sides, for the black people of Africa have something valuable to give to their cousins in America, who have adopted American culture.

The evolution of human civilization takes its course through what is obviously good and gentle as well as through oppression through ambition and conquests as well as through the voluntary consolidation of groups of humans, and through their joint activities. What has been recorded in history as

The non-violent movement is the greatest boon that God has sent us. Englishmen are afraid of our non-violence. A non-violent Pathan, they say, is more dangerous than a violent Pathan.

- Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

activities of ambitious and wicked leaders of men has all helped toward the evolution of what we now recognize as progress and civilization. The British occupation of India is a patent example of how good comes out of evil. It is not an exception. It is only one patent illustration of what has been going on in God's *leela* from time immemorial. The regions and the human groups now divided into separate nations as Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Burma, Tibet, Malaysia, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nagaland and so on in Asia were all one vast region under Britain and could have entered the UN as one unit.

I remember when India was legally released from Britain and the question before us was whether to be completely isolated from the United Kingdom or to remain in the Commonwealth as one of its units recognizing the British sovereign's symbolic status as head of the Commonwealth. Jawaharlal Nehru, no doubt under the subtle influence of Earl Mountbatten, told me that he was inclined to remain in the Commonwealth, because as he put it to me, it is good for world peace and progress that nations come together rather than be isolated and the Commonwealth was a big consolidated reality, which we should keep and nurse rather than break up. His inclination was a pleasant surprise to the rest of us and it became a great decision that moved the incorrigible imperialist, Winston Churchill, to tears of joy. Projecting our thoughts from this point we can imagine that it would have been better for the world if other imperial consolidations that had been brought into being through ambition, fraud or force had not been hastily dissolved but rather, exploited for the ultimate good of humanity. Again we cannot dive into the inscrutable play of the Divine Master but must submit and do our relative duties honestly, and reverently strive to take humanity forward in spite of all the difficulties and contrary forces. Internationalism has in great part unfortunately yielded again to reinvigorated nationalism. The spirit of resistance, anger, and hatred generated in the struggle for liberty persist even after liberation when such feelings have no place or meaning. All of this and other difficulties have to be overcome and will be overcome because the good is stronger than the evil, and truth must prevail over error, however seemingly more energetic evil and error may appear to be for a time.

America should not lose interest or faith in the UN or develop a feeling of antagonism to it. What now appear to be setbacks may indeed turn out to be just what was necessary to prevent some greater evil. Let us struggle and God will ultimately help us. His *leela* is no doubt complicated and inscrutable. There is much apparent evil that we cannot explain on the basis of a just and merciful all-powerful guardian of the human species. But what we have experienced is enough to prove Him to be good and omnipotent. Let us strive, therefore, with faith in the ultimate result. Let us cultivate serenity and patience and let us act our parts justly in His great and unending play, at each moment doing our duties to one another and to society and humanity as a whole; and even further, by doing our duty to all living beings. Endowed with the wonderful endowment of the human mind, we have duties toward all the living beings on earth with whom we are really one and individual,

Brisk trade is developing between the Western nations and Soviet Russia and her allies, and is operating as a catalyst to dissolve the cold war attitudes. This is a development promising much good, especially when the selling is accompanied by long credit terms.

We can see the difficulties and complications in the administration of a small welfare state. We see the same difficulties multiplied tenfold in the large nation-states. We can do no good without inflicting pain on someone or other. Infinitely more complicated must be the divine administration of the whole planet on any welfare plan. If we extend our thoughts beyond human pain and pleasure and admit that the all-merciful Supreme Master's charge includes also living beings other than man, the complications increase more than a millionfold.

The pain and destruction we inflict on sentient beings to find out and practise methods to relieve human pain and human hunger and wants is immeasurable. Indeed, we are even led to conclude that there is no way of creating pleasure without creating an equal quantum of pain. These thoughts take us back to the inscrutability of the ways of the Master who governs this vast universe of which our planet and the human population on it are an infinitesimal part. Closing our eyes to the dizzy heights of the universe and concentrating our imagination on

Mahatma Gandhi came and stood at the door of India's destitute millions, clad as one of themselves, speaking to them in their own language.

- Rabindranath Tagore

the problem of man only on this planet, do we not see as plainly as anything can be made plain, that all our difficulties arise out of disobedience of the moral law ? This moral law is not absolute but relative and flexible to suit every context. There can be no solution for unhappiness except by firm re-establishment of this moral Law. And this is what we should aim at with determined minds.

Notwithstanding every advance made through observation and experiment to unravel the mysteries of the universe in which we live using the superb instrument for investigation with which we are endowed—the human brain—there is an irreducible residue of an unknowable, inscrutable nature. We may spell the inscrutable with a capital letter or we may follow our forefathers' way of spelling it with three simple letters of the alphabet—it comes to the same thing. Darwin summarizes his investigations with the revolutionary laws that, according to him, brought about the infinite number of species of life on earth, with the deeply pious as well as scientific observation that it is no derogation of divinity to discover an evolutionary process at work through millions and millions of years in place of a single act of creation, and that, indeed it is an enhancement of God's almighty character to understand and appreciate the automatic power with which he invested the lowest forms of life to develop ultimately into man, that the law he ordained worked unceasingly and brought about the wonder that we call the universe, and that in this planet it brought into being the marvel that is man and his mind. The discoveries of science, be it in physics or in zoology, cannot do away with the primeval cause—*aadi moolam*, as the Hindus call it to which they offer adoration. That inscrutable gap is an irreducible one. The discoveries of science only enhance the wonder and the inscrutability of the Supreme Being. This humble confession leads to hope and saves us from despair in the midst of the most depressing circumstances. Optimism is not a creed but an inescapable attitude of mind that has an evolutionary function.

(December 10 is the 137th birth anniversary of Rajaji.)

(from *Rajaji Reader*, Ed. V. Kalidas 1980)



Chakravarti Rajagopalachari

by Jawaharlal Nehru

C. Rajagopalachari, known all over India as CR, is a much more subtle and complex character. He has one of the finest minds in India, keenly analytical and like a razor's edge. He represents the best type of the south Indian Brahmin intellect, and the standard among the Brahmins of the south is high. He is brilliant and yet an iron discipline keeps even that brilliance in check and there is no ornate display of it. A successful lawyer turned philosopher, and then a man of action and a politician, he has come to the top, apparently without any effort, in whatever activity he has indulged in. His life has been one of selflessness and of giving up what he had or could have had, and he has sought nothing for himself. But there is a trace of intellectual arrogance and impatience at others' slowness. He is efficient and keen on getting things done, but in his own way.

CR is not attractive at first sight, especially with his dark glasses which make his face look harder than it is. But the face itself is a striking one and full of sadness. It bears obvious traces of the many battles he has fought within himself, which have produced in him a strange mixture of serenity and absence of temper, with flashes of inner turmoil and hardness. His relations with Gandhi have been peculiar and full of interest. He was attracted by him and his outlook on life even before Gandhi became an all-India figure. Deliberately and through his mind, he accepted that outlook and adapted his own life to it. But he was utterly unlike most of the others who fell under Gandhi's spell, for he was not the kind of man who mentally submits to another. Having accepted a philosophy of life, he interpreted it in his own way and would not always accept even Gandhi's interpretation. Quietly and without raising his voice, he would argue for his own viewpoint and gradually undermine the mental defences of those who disagreed with him. If, even so, he failed to convert the majority, he would accept the decision as a matter of discipline, but his mind continued its rebellious career. The mind did not surrender or submit, though the voice agreed to the inevitable.

Such a man seldom gains popularity with the crowd, but his outstanding ability and the record of

If Vallabhbhai Patel controlled the party and the services, Jawaharlal Nehru enjoyed the confidence of the masses and intelligentsia – in broad terms, this was the distribution of influence between 1947 and 1950.

- Rajmohan Gandhi

his life of self-denial were such that he triumphed even in this. He gained popularity and, even more so, respect. There were those who did not like him, and they either hated him or feared him. Yet he had the capacity to win over those who had disliked him.

Between CR and me there was an instinctive and fundamental difference in political outlook and this has not lessened as time has gone by. But the more I knew him, the more I liked him, and always I was discovering new points in common. It was always a pleasure to talk to him and discuss any subject—his range is wide and his reading extensive. Underneath his hard and sad exterior, he is surprisingly human and his public speeches are full of flashes of humour which light up a dry subject. He is strangely emotional and very sensitive beneath that hard surface of his, and sometimes this has led him to sudden acts. In 1936 he was upset by some developments in the provincial politics of Madras and he retired completely from the Congress and all public life to return as Chief Minister a year later. Always there is a sense of mystery about him, of unplumbed depths, and he draws himself in, producing an impression of shyness. He has found refuge in the philosophy of the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *Upanishads*, but his aggressive mind occasionally breaks through that refuge.

(A Postscript to An Autobiography (1936)
1 November 1941 - *Jawaharlal Nehru - An Anthology* Edited
by Sarvepalli Gopal)



FOCUS ON INNOVATION

Dr. B.V.R. Mohan Reddy
NASSCOM Chairman

(Newspaper report on the first K.S. Dutt
Memorial lecture delivered on November 15, 2015)

The next decade belongs to disruptive technologies like Internet of Things and big data and everyone has to respond smartly to keep pace with technological advances with an innovative approach, NASSCOM Chairman B.V.R.MohanReddy said on Sunday.

Delivering K.S. Dutt Memorial Lecture here on 'transforming India through technology, innovation and leadership' at a meeting organised by the Centre for Policy Studies (Gayatri Vidya Parishad), he said

penetration of Internet and smartphones in India was growing very fast compared to other countries.

The number of cell phones has already crossed 900 million-mark.

"With things changing at rapid pace, one has to respond in a smart and intelligent manner in adopting new technologies to remain in the competition," he said.

Mr. Reddy, who is the Founder and Executive Chairman of Cyient, said there were plenty of opportunities in social mobility, analytics and clouds (SMAC). Of late, technology had become the key driver.

Today, everything is Internet-enabled with various mobile apps dramatically improving the comfort level of mankind.

Referring to technology disruption, he cited the instance of Kodak, which originated in 1876 and earned revenue of \$28 billion in 2007, had to close its camera business due to disruptive technologies.

He said: "In today's digital world, we have to keep changing or else we have to pay a heavy price."

India would continue to make a big impact in the IT industry, he said and pointed out how the country could increase its software exports from just \$100 million to an impressive \$148 billion in a span of 25 years. NASSCOM, he said, had projected its growth at 12 to 14 per cent per annum.

Director-General of GVP Scientific and Industrial Centre P.S. Rao presided. Vizagapatam Chamber of Commerce & Industry president K. Ramabrahmam and Centre for Policy Studies director A. Prasanna Kumar spoke.

(*The Hindu*, November 16, 2015)



ARE WE MAKING TOO MUCH OF PAKISTAN?

Dr. Uday Balakrishnan
Visiting Faculty at the Centre for
Contemporary Studies
Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

Pakistan with a fraction of India's population, with a border shorter than the one with China, with

I have never felt that I lived in this country at the sufferance of the majority. I have been brought up to think and feel that the minorities, together with the majority community, are integral parts of India. - Fali S. Nariman

no trade worth the name with us, with hardly any people to people exchange, gets a disproportionate amount of our attention. For Pakistan this is a big deal indeed and of course India stands diminished by a hyphenation that it seems not only to be stuck with but positively revels in.

We seem to be over-anxious to make Pakistan a rival worthy of our continued attention. The latest instance is a ridiculous celebration of our victory in a short border war with that country in 1965 something which we ought to have allowed to pass unnoticed. Here we would have done well to learn from China which has steadfastly refused to elevate India to equal status by making much of its victory in the border war with us in 1962. Rather, we need follow the old Chinese dictum of speaking softly while carrying a big stick.

After nearly seventy years of hostility, it is time we reconciled ourselves to the fact that the relations between the two countries will not get any better – not as long as a Punjabi dominated army and a fanatic clergy in Pakistan continue to collude to keep the pot boiling on our borders. Pakistan should best have been reduced by us to a chronic irritation we have to unavoidably live with - much as China with Vietnam or the world with a sabre rattling North Korea. The latter like Pakistan is important only because it has nuclear weapons which it now and then rattles to raise universal alarm.

One can only expect things to get worse in Pakistan. In slightly less violent times in the nineteen-nineties I, along with a colleague from another Ministry, happened to visit Pakistan a few times. Once we exited a just-bombed out Lahore airport and on another occasion we drove past a blown-up bus stand in Rawalpindi en-route to Muree with its bank of telescopes strategically placed to better view 'enemy' territory (India) at a Pakistani Rupee a pop. Since then much of that unfortunate country has slid into irreversible anarchy. Not many will dare to take a walk these days in Karachi or trek in the Swat Valley. After the massacre of children in a military school in Peshawar, parents across Pakistan see off their wards to school with a great deal of trepidation, wondering if they will return alive. Much of the country is feudal in a way most of India no longer is and Sind has the

kind of medieval slavery that would have shrilly and endlessly engaged our hyperactive media.

Pakistan is a barely functioning anarchy and in all probability condemned to stay that way – definitely not a country we should dignify through hyphenation. There are more important things demanding our attention – combating poverty for instance and tweaking a developmental model that surely needs to deliver more to the poor, the marginalized and the young. Modi has done remarkably well to improve our relations with our other small neighbours especially Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, which also see sense in having better relations with us. This is a process we need to plug away at without being overbearingly big brotherly as in the past. Given its size and its comparatively huge economy, India must take the lead in creating a prospering South Asian community- the kind that even Pakistan may eagerly wish to join one day for its own good.

For all this to transpire, India's obsession with Pakistan definitely needs to come to an end. The rest of the country ought to pitch in to help here. This Pakistan-preoccupation is essentially a North Indian phenomena that the rest of the country has been made to own for decades in a way Tamilnadu has tried but failed to achieve over the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

At Partition, hardly anyone from the South went over to Pakistan and the few accidentally caught up on the wrong side – several from Kerala – are still struggling to get back. While bolstering our defenses and keeping a watchful eye on Pakistan, we need to learn to otherwise ignore that country like the rest of the world does North Korea. By lowering our shrill pitch against that country and terminating the daily tamasha at the Wagha border, we may even help bring Pakistan down to earth.

On one of our visits to Pakistan, my colleague and I walked into a music shop in Islamabad with miles of pirated cassettes. The owner could clearly make out that I was an Indian but he had a quizzical look on his face when it came to Chris with her distinctively Northeastern features. He asked if she was from China and it took us the better part of half an hour, aided by a hastily hand-drawn map to let him know that she was Indian from a faraway corner of our country.

Everyone's life is a page in the human history irrespective of the position he or she holds or the work he or she performs.

- Dr.A.P.J. Abdul Kalam

Turning to me he asked where I was from. 'Trivandrum' I told him, showing another distant place on our map. This had him stumped. All he could do was nod his head and exclaim 'Ithna bada?' This is something we need to become conscious of and internalize, if only to help us to get out of this awfully enervating Pakistan fixation.



A Territory of Innocence

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**)*

If the Himalayan peaks had imparted to the stars above them a certain mystique at night, at dawn one could even see them signalling to the silent trees above the hot spring, Gourikund, as if about the things to happen during the day.

Walking up and down the balcony of my guesthouse, I fell in love with that tender dusk and decided to have a plunge into it, with the Kund for my goal.

My goal was just below my guesthouse, but narrow, rocky and zigzag was the descent. I did not, however, mind tumbling a few times. Midway to the Kund, on a projected crag, was a kiosk - awake with a timid gas-lamp and active with an oven brewing tea, while the rest of the town was still in slumber under a blanket of mist. The fragrant vapour was irresistible and I was directed, the moment I entered the kiosk, to occupy the solitary VIP seat, a stool, while three or four others, clad in blankets, occupied a bench.

The very first glass of tea was handed over to me and I relished every sip of it. But as I emptied the glass, I remembered that, out for a bath, I had felt no need to bring my purse.

'I'm sorry, I will fetch the money in a moment. Please don't bother,' said a voice as warm as my tea, from one of those silhouette figures on the bench. 'Have a dip in the Kund and get ready for Kedarnath. Allow me this privilege of entertaining you to tea as my first act in the morning.'

My eyes were getting accustomed to the dusk and the speaker's contours and voice identified him. He was Badriprasad, a local guide who had received me yesterday and arranged for my accommodation. He led me to the Kund. The dimly lighted Kund exuded warm vapour. As at Badarikashram, here too the first minute in the water seemed to singe the body, but only to give way to an exhilarating feeling.

A few visitors standing on the brink were hesitant. 'Do not underestimate the benefit of a dip here. This is the birthplace of Gouri, an incarnation of the Divine Mother and daughter of Himavant, the monarch over mountains. I waited to hear more while remembering Kalidasa's *Kumarasambhavam*. But the speaker was cut short by the spokesman of his clients, 'Pandaji, we will rather walk all the way to Kedarnath than pay so much for the horses.'

'You are asking me! I will exhort you to walk if you can. That is the right way to pay your tribute to the Lord of the Himalayas. But horse is a horse - the vehicle of the heroes, human or divine. You cannot enjoy riding while calculating how to save a soiled coin or two!' rebuffed the Panda.

For a few moments I was the sole occupant of the Kund. The sky appeared to have suddenly grown more remote - or could it be that my eyes could penetrate higher ranges of it from the lap of that very special and sacred Kund? If the sky represented infinity, my feeling was probably a warning that infinity could never be approached through a mere physical pilgrimage. Infinity must be realised in the finite.

The sky, speaking at the psychological plane, probably appeared remoter because the hills and the trees around were poised to measure its height - or depth - and in the process added to its elusiveness.

Badriprasad met me after an hour. A row of horses waited where the road to Kedarnath began. Badriprasad laid on one of them two folded blankets and made me sit on it. Each horse had a name and a guide to lead it. The name of my horse was Digvijay and my guide was Mahindar. There were only two or three travellers because the shrine was to shut down for the winter in a day or two.

We cannot always control events, but we can always control our attitude towards events.

- Dr.Radhakrishnan

The serpentine upward path was only 18 kilometres long. But the journey would claim about four hours. The traveller could walk or ride or be carried by two bearers in a *doli*, or packed in a huge pouch by one bearer on his back. There was no sign of tiredness either in Digvijay or Mahindar in their progress towards our destination at a height of some 12,000 feet above sea level. Sometimes the passage precariously bordered a slope or a gorge; sometimes the horse stepped on pebbles that were slippery or on a loose slab of stone. But it never lost balance. No wonder the horse should play a role nonpareil in crucial activities of man through the ages - in his need for speed and war.

With my total confidence reposed in Digvijay, I concentrated on the environment. Hamlets nestled amidst hills, as if drawn by a master artist with a few strokes on a divine canvas. We stopped at an inn—a multipurpose cabin containing the restaurant, kitchen and the owner's bedstead.

On the bed, putting its head on the pillow, lay asleep a lamb. Mahindar and I occupied two stools close to it. On the other side of the lonely road, two goats, through some surprising feat or maybe identifying themselves with birds, perched themselves on the branches of a tree and leisurely nibbled at leaves.

Two pilgrims returning from Kedarnath had finished with their refreshments. Looking at the young server lifting their plates, one of them commented very kindly, "Well, boy, you have a close resemblance with X!" He mentioned a popular film star.

The boy no doubt had some resemblance with the actor, but only at the gross plane. The boy radiated a serene innocence entwining contentment. No actor could even imitate it, not to speak of having it. Be that as it may, the boy betrayed no reaction at the compliment, to the customer's disappointment.

"Do you know who X is?" I asked the young man after the two customers had left. He gestured denoting no. Rarely had a negative response given me so much happiness. So, there were still Indians aloof from the culture of feeling flattered when compared to film stars.

'Babuji, I hope you have a raincoat,' said the shopkeeper, his eyes fixed on a pair of clouds floating into our ken. 'Bombaika fashion; Kedarka Mausam!' he added. (Mumbai's and fashion and Kedarnath's weather - keep changing unpredictably.)

I thanked him and we were on the road again. 'Do you expect rain, Mahindar?'

'No, Babuji, not today.'

'Why not?'

'Our Digvijay would increase his speed if it were to rain,' was his reply. I don't know whether he was joking or, he really had that sort of uncanny faith in his horse's sixth sense.

It did not rain. We reached Kedarnath a little before noon. Mahindar and Digvijay stopped on the outskirts. They had their own arrangements for rest and food. Barring two or three, all the shops had closed down. With the floating population thinning away, the personality of the Mount Mahapanth behind the temple was growing in stature. Its snow clad peak radiated a supernatural aura.

There was no bar against the devotees touching the strange-looking symbol of Lord Shiva. I had not planned a visit to Kedarnath. But there I was - led by a momentary inspiration. What but the Presence could have pulled me here, casting a spell on me! The spell was intensified inside the shrine, overwhelming me with a sense of gratitude.

I stood leaning against the parapet in front of the temple, viewing the range of five magnificent mountains known as the Rudra Himalaya. They stood between Kedarnath and Badrinath hiding the secret path linking the two great spots. It is on one of these mountains that the Pandava brothers, except Yudhishthira, had breathed their last, one after another.

'Where is Shankaracharya's Samadhi?' I asked the owner of the only hotel open, while he was preparing *chapatis* for me.

'Go behind the temple and keep walking. You'll find the Samadhi of the *Asli* (real) Shankaracharya. Look here, brother, there was no *Nakli* (fake) Shankaracharya. Call him *Adi* (the first) Shankaracharya.' He brushed away my observation. I

sat before the Samadhi - deserted by that time of the year. A life of only 32 years and this prodigy took the mystic India of the time by storm - establishing four monasteries in four corners of India and 72 religious institutions. I bowed to this inexplicable phenomenon. Also, I could not check asking him spontaneously and silently, 'What do you think, O great genius, of your teaching as expounded by your followers - of its tremendous influence on the Indian psyche?'

It was late in the afternoon when I commenced my ride back to Gourikund. Midway we saw an old man walking towards Kedarnath, a stick in hand.

'Namaste!' Mahindar greeted him, The old man looked up for a second and smiled, but I doubt if he was at all conscious of his own gesture.

'Who was he?'

'I don't know,' replied Mahindar. 'But I remember seeing him from the very first year of my training under my father in this business. He would always reach Kedarnath a day or so before the temple shuts down. My father said that he too used to see him in his youth. That means the old man had already lived for more than a century.'

The old man's smile flashes in my memory from time to time - assuring me that there were people who lived with values other than the crowd's, whose wagons were hitched to the stars.



COURTESY AND LIBERTY

Dr. (Mrs.) Prema Nandakumar

When we open the newspaper in the morning and find a happening which goes entirely against the bases of cultured living in the political arena, i.e. courtesy and liberty, we always reach out for John Milton's *Areopagitica*. Unfortunately, this book has not been allowed to gather dust on our shelves during the last few decades in independent India, for we are taking it down quite often.

As a document, it has sustained liberalism the world over. It has proved to be the very spirit of the fight for freedom of thought and expression. True, it has a blind spot or two (as in Milton's excluding the Catholic Church from such liberty), but *Areopagitica*

has mantric passages that teach us on the need to be eternally vigilant in a democracy, and the Press happens to be one of the major instruments of such vigilance on behalf of the common man.

Areopagitica was published in the month of November, 1644. A passionate document which was the immediate result of the licensing system of the British Parliament, the work points out how such censorship would affect good and truthful writing and keep the common man ignorant. If we are not allowed to think, we would soon lose the ability to think because knowledge thrives only by exercise as do our limbs. Milton says:

"Truth is compared in Scripture to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a heretic in the truth; and if he believes things only because his Pastor says so, or the Assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy."

In a democracy we want to know, analyse facts on our own and exercise our franchise based on our analysis of the situation. It has been a matter of great pride that our democracy has sustained itself for more than half a century holding on to the liberal spirit. At the same time this fact should not dazzle us into a state of self-complacency as the Press has had a tough time of it through these decades. It has survived, because from the very beginning, eminent intellectuals and patriots have also been journalists. The roll call of honour starts with high eminences like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Subramania Bharati, G. Subramania Aiyar, and Sri Aurobindo. Later came Mahatma Gandhi and Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Kalki Krishnamurthy. Khasa Subba Rao, M.Chalapathi Rao, Iswar Dutt, N. Raghunathan, Pothan Joseph, Frank Moraes, ...to be growing up in their times was verily heaven for the liberal spirit!

This is what makes me hope that here are temporary clouds but the Press will remain strong and united as ever in guarding liberal thought thanks to the firm foundations. And that the authorities will show proper courtesy when having to probe alleged mis-statements and misconduct. A vibrant democracy cannot afford to set aside cultured levels of discourse

Peace in the whole world, still divided by greed looking for easy gain, wounded by the selfishness which threatens human life and the family, selfishness that continues in human trafficking, the most extensive form of slavery in the 21st century. - Pope Francis

SRI SATHYA SAI BABA

Shri Ramakrishna Vithal Kunduri

Devotees all over the world are celebrating the 90th birth anniversary this year of Sri Sathya Sai Baba, one of the greatest Spiritual Masters, the Planet has ever seen. Sri Sathya Sai is considered an Avatar and a reincarnation of Shirdi Sai Baba, by all His devotees.

He was born on 23rd November 1926 at Puttaparthi, a small hamlet in Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh, to Peda Venkama Raju and Eswaramma of the Ratnakar family. The signs of His divinity were noticed right from His birth. The birth of a benevolent power was foretold by Seers and also by strange events. Before the birth, tamboras would twang and drums would automatically throb on their own, in the house. Soon after the birth of the child, when the baby was placed on some clothes, a live cobra was found coiled without harming the child. The boy was named Sathyanarayana Raju.

His paternal grandfather Kondama Raju was a very religious person and had dedicated a temple to Satyabhama, the consort of Lord Krishna. He used to indulge himself in music, dance and dramatic performances of mythological characters etc. The young Sathyanarayana grew under his care and guidance and from childhood showed interest in these aspects.

As a child, even at school, He abhorred violence, vengefulness and falsehood and preferred simple living. He demonstrated ready compassion for fowls and beasts. He avoided meat and eggs; He shed tears of sympathy when animals like bullocks were beaten or when destitute and disabled persons were denied alms.

He was a bright student in the school and would take His schoolmates around on and off and conduct prayers, bhajans and pujas. He would do many miracles and produce sweets, fruits, flowers and items like pencils, erasers etc. He started composing poetry, music and songs even at the age of eight. He was a fine writer in Telugu, a very good musician and was very good at dancing and was a darling of the teachers and students alike.

On 20th October 1940, while He was a student of a Higher Elementary School at Uravakonda, where

and behaviour. Searching the bedrooms when the owner is not around sounds so pathetically repetitive. We have derived no end of fun reading the tragi-comic situation when Sri Aurobindo was roused on a Friday night (another interesting coincidence, but this happened in 1908, and an intolerant British Government was in power!) by Superintendent Cregan and a posse of policemen who all came "running like heroes, pistols in hand, as though they were besieging, with guns and cannon, a well-armed fort", but then, those were the days when the search was done when the owner was present. Sri Aurobindo writes in *Kara Kahini*:

"Nothing remarkable transpired in the course of the search. But I recollect Mr. Clark looking long and suspiciously at the sacred earth from Dakshineswar that had been kept in a small cardboard box; he suspected it might be some new and terribly powerful explosive. In a sense Mr. Clark's suspicions were not unfounded. In the end the decision was reached that it was a piece of earth which was unnecessary to send to the chemical analyst."

Indeed the spiritual revolution set in motion by Bhagawan Ramakrishna at Dakshineswar has been taking us very fast to the ideal of making India the Guru of the World, as visioned by Sri Aurobindo. I would love to think of our democracy becoming the ideal of the world in political arena too, and our rulers upholding the values of liberal thinking. One must needs conclude with Milton's peroration:

"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam, purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms."

May the clouds disperse soon, the Indian Press remain the puissant guardian of our democracy, and Mother India become powerful in truth as the Garuda Eagle!



The only thing we have to fear is fear itself – nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyses needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.

- Franklin D. Roosevelt

He was staying with His teacher brother, the thirteen-year-old Satya, as He was fondly called, threw away His books and declared that His devotees were calling Him and that He was leaving the house. He declared: 'I do not belong to you, I am leaving; I have work to do. Those devoted to Me are calling Me. The task for which I came is yet unfinished. I am starting now. The illusion has gone, I am no more yours, I am no more yours, I am Sai Baba'.

He moved to a nearby house of an excise Inspector. Seated on a small rock in the garden, Swami broke into poetry and sang His first sermon on the mount. It had a great potential insight.

Maanasa Bhajare Guru Charanam

Dustara Bhava Sagara Taranam...

Meditate in thy mind on the Feet of the Guru. This can take you across the difficult sea of existence in birth after birth.

He moved away from His family, started wearing ochre robes and lived the life of a renunciant for the rest of His life.

When He was 21 years old, through a letter to His brother, He indirectly addressed the entire humanity wherein, He had declared: 'I have a task: To foster all humankind and ensure for all of them lives full of Ananda (Bliss); I have a vow: To lead all who stray away from the straight path back again into goodness and save them; I am attached to a 'work' that I Love: To remove the sufferings of the poor and grant them what they lack'.

At the age of 32, He started a magazine by the name '*Sanatana Saradhi*' (Eternal Charioteer). At its launch, He declared: 'From this day, the *Sanatana Saradhi* will lead the army, Spiritual tests and scriptures, against the evil forces of injustice, disorder falsehood and wickedness, led by the demon Ego. This *Saradhi* will fight for the firm establishment of Peace in the world. It will ensure by its triumph, Ananda for all mankind'.

He would regularly contribute articles in Telugu to His Ashram magazine during its early years, which have been translated into English and brought in the form of books by His Biographer, Prof. Kasturi, as Vahini Series. They are classics of the spiritual life. They speak

of peace, meditation, love and wisdom and they elucidate the fundamental concepts and precepts of religion and the ancient wisdom.

His teachings, expounding the highest spiritual intricacies in the simplest of terms and in parables, be it the Vedic wisdom, Christian theology or Muslim mysticism, enthralled everyone. His discourses greatly delighted both the learned and the layman and revealed the wisdom He imparted, the compassion He embodied, and the love He showered on all levels of intelligentsia, all sections of society and all stages of spiritual development.

His revival of the Educational system across the world through His Educational Institutions and establishment of Vedic Schools and providing free education at all levels; His restoration of Vedic Dharma through Yagnas and Yagas, promoting Vedic Assemblies, honouring of Pundits and scholars, through Spiritual writings and Discourses, His establishment of Super Speciality Hospitals and conducting mobile medical camps for the benefit of the sick, poor and the needy, providing free healthcare to one and all, undertaking gigantic social service programmes like quenching the thirst of millions of people and deprived persons through mammoth drinking water projects, building homes for the destitute, Village Integration and Rural Development Projects and the like for the upliftment of society, speak volumes.

His life had been full of amazing and remarkable events right from His childhood and His devotees witnessed His Omniscience, Omnipresence and Omnipotence. He had raised the dead, cured the blind, the deaf and deadly diseases like cancer, performed innumerable and mind boggling miracles and demonstrated His powers over nature. He would know the past and future of every one and proved His Omnipresence by responding to the calls and rescuing His devotees from every corner of the world from thousands of miles away. But, the greatest miracle of all is His transformation of the hearts of countless men and women to make them tread the path of godliness and goodness. He could change the heart of a hard core criminal!

He exhorted mankind not to get carried away by the external world, but instead turn inward to

Every bit of happiness in the world has to be created by diligent work and labour.

- Xi Jinping

realize the truth of his origin, get rid of the animal instincts and rise oneself above, in order to merge with the Divinity, which is his goal of a human being. Love for God, fear of wrongdoing and morality are His prescriptions for healing our world.

His preaching's, His pragmatic transcendentalism, the Universality of all religions and His Divine Love have drawn the attention of every seeker from every corner of the world, cutting across all barriers of religion, caste, creed or colour. Philosophers and politicians, legislators and educationalists, scientists and technologists, the ignorant and the learned, the rich as well as the poor, all used to throng to His abode to have a glimpse of Him and have a word with Him.

Mindless violence, fundamentalist bigotry, rampant corruption, shameless greed and degrading human values have almost brought the present human society to the verge of destruction. The world has lost peace because people have no fear of sin, no love of God and are no longer human in their behaviour. The need of a world redeemer who could uproot the evil, restore the glory of this sacred land, revive the spirituality that has been lost through ages and raise the level of human consciousness, was so badly felt at this time more than at any other time of history. Sri Sathya Sai was one such unique Divine Phenomenon that took birth at a crucial time of history.

'The Sri Sathya Sai Seva Organization', founded by Him, is the instrument in His mission, which translates into action His messages of selfless love and service, touching the lives of millions of the downtrodden and is actively involved in the economic, moral and spiritual regeneration of society and undertakes service activities as a means to spiritual advancement, without any distinction of religion, nationality, race, socio-economic status.

Sri Sathya Sai's impeccable and exemplary character and conduct throughout His life should serve as a beacon of hope in a world that is desperately seeking an end to the unrest and sorrow prevalent today. His message of 'Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God' is a spiritual salve that will lead mankind from the darkness of ignorance to the light of immortality.



Let us wage a global struggle against illiteracy, poverty and terrorism, and let us pick up our books and pens. They are our most powerful weapons.

- Malala Yousafzai

Prof. B. Sarveswara Rao – A tribute on his birth centenary

A.Prasanna Kumar

Professor Sarveswara Rao was a 'Cambridge Mind'. He obtained his doctorate degree from Cambridge under Austin Robinson. D.H.Robertson was one of the adjudicators of Sarveswara Rao's doctoral dissertation. When John Maynard Keynes the famous 'Cambridge Mind' and 'arguably the greatest economist of the twentieth century' passed away, Austin Robinson wrote: "That brilliant mind was still at its best – rapier sharp, leaping always with intuitive rapidity far ahead of the rest of us. The memory that will remain is of that mind at its perfection." Geoffrey Harcourt, in his essay on John Maynard Keynes in Cambridge Minds, edited by Richard Mason, writes how Keynes regarded economics as a branch of moral philosophy adding that Adam Smith was a professor of moral philosophy in Glasgow. The father of social sciences, Smith, 'viewed political economy as a branch of moral philosophy', writes Harcourt in the fascinating book containing essays on sixteen eminent Cambridge Minds including Bertrand Russell, Ludwig Wittgenstein and Michael Oakeshott. For that matter, Amartya Sen also emphasizes the moral and philosophical foundations of the discipline. To that genre belonged Bhavaraju Sarveswara Rao. More importantly Sarveswara Rao blended economics he specialized in at Cambridge with Gandhian ideals in his writings and lectures. In fact, he led a life of simple living and high thinking, despite holding high academic positions.

One is reminded of Ernest Barker's observation of the mixture of a great 'Indian tradition between devout and philosophic religion and the western tradition of civil and political liberty in the life of the community. Because there has been this mixture Mr.Gandhi has been a great bridge'. Sarveswara Rao was, perhaps, not a devout follower of Gandhi's religious ideals. But from Gandhi's life and work he drew inspiration for his emphasis on 'action research' to study the conditions of the poor people and disadvantaged sections of the society. Gandhi's famous advice that to study economics one should go, not abroad, but to the villages in India seemed to have influenced Sarveswara Rao, the economist. His writings and lectures bear testimony to it.

A major influence on Sarveswara Rao's career and also life was Vice Chancellor Dr.V.S.Krishna who not only encouraged Sarveswara Rao in his research and early work but also entrusted him with the responsibility of building the Department of economics in Andhra University. Sarveswara Rao rose splendidly to the occasion and brought credit to his mentor and *alma mater* by nurturing the Department into one of the best of its kind in the country. No less significant was Prof. Sarveswara Rao's contribution to the development of social sciences in the university. As the Chairman of Social Sciences, he initiated steps for starting new disciplines and departments which enhanced the reputation of the university, attracting national attention. In recognition of his services he was invited to head the Nagarjuna University as Vice Chancellor, though he demitted the office midway unwilling to compromise on values dear to him.

As the founder-president of the Gayatri Vidya Parishad, he gave a direction to the cluster of educational institutions started in 1988. His stewardship enhanced the stature of the Gayatri Vidya Parishad which today enjoys a reputation for good teaching and research. A firm believer in value based education Prof. Rao initiated steps for the study of values in the curriculum. His was essentially a life devoted for the promotion of academic activities right from his student days and remained till the last a role model for those engaged in teaching and research. His intellectual sharpness was allied to a robust spirit of independence. Early in his career he had to face a lot of financial hardship and in the evening of his life the pain of the inevitable infirmities of advancing years. Still, his mind remained sharp as ever, seldom corroded by personal hardship or professional burden. He was an outstanding teacher, researcher and educational administrator. He will also be remembered with admiration and gratitude as a humanist who epitomized a harmonious blend of western liberal ideas and oriental wisdom - a 'Cambridge mind' with Gandhian spirit.

(Centre for Policy Studies, founded on October 2, 1995, was on the verge of closure when Prof. Sarveswara Rao merged it with Gayatri Vidya Parishad on March 23, 2002)



C.P.S. mourns Prof. M.N. Sastri

Centre for Policy Studies records with profound regret the demise of Prof. M.N.Sastri on October 15 at Mumbai and conveys its condolences to his noble wife Mrs.Sarala Sastri and the bereaved members of the family. The former professor and HOD of Chemistry in Andhra University did yeoman service to higher education and public discourse through dissemination of knowledge and ideas. The scholar-scientist was a prolific writer whose articles were brought out in book form by Centre for Policy Studies, the first being *Profligate Civilization* in 2007, followed by *World Demographic Trends* in 2011 and *Nuclear Genie* in 2014. They earned for him wide acclaim including the appreciation of Dr.A.P.J.Abdul Kalam. His first article titled *Nuclear Energy - Friend or Foe?* was published in CPS bimonthly Bulletin of June 2,1997. He was then 71. Despite shifting to Mumbai to live with his son Mr.Sreekanth, Prof. Sastri continued to write regularly for the CPS Bulletin. Nineteen years later, an ailing Sastri sent his last article titled '*World's Water Woes*' which was published in the August 2015 issue, three days before his 91st birthday, the last line of which reads: 'This scenario of looming water crisis makes the well known adage "someone spends money like water" passe. Now the society should realize that water is more precious than money!' It was timely and thought-provoking as always. Speaking on telephone his grief-stricken son Sreekanth recalled his father's words: "One should remember that the institution is always greater than the individual and no one should try to grow at the expense of the institution." Prof. M.N.Sastri's life and work remind us that teaching is indeed the noblest of all professions.

- The Editor

Prof. M.N.Sastri

Dr.R.V. Vaidyanatha Ayyar I.A.S.(Retd.)
Former Secretary HRD Govt. Of India &
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On hearing that Prof. M.N.Sastri passed away on 15th October, my thoughts went back to the first class he took for us – final year honours students- way back in 1959 soon after he returned from Durham where

An army marches on its stomach.

- Napoleon

he acquired a second doctoral degree. I still have vivid memories of his classes as he brought a whiff of modernity into the classroom, acquainting me with the renaissance that was taking place in Inorganic Chemistry under the impact of the new theories of molecular interactions and bonding that the application of Quantum Physics to Chemistry spawned. Literally, Prof. Sastri was a harbinger of the New Chemistry that came into being in the 1950s. The Chemistry hitherto taught was 'Classical' – no doubt the best of Classical Chemistry and that too taught by Titans like Professors G. Gopala Rao and Bh. S. V. Raghava Rao - but it was Chemistry of the pre-Quantum Age. That Chemistry was mostly *What* Chemistry, descriptive, except for Physical and Analytical Chemistry. Even the Physical Chemistry that was taught was treated as a stand-alone subject and not integrated with Inorganic or Organic Chemistry in order to give a better understanding of physicochemical properties of substances and of chemical processes and reactions. *Why* questions were no doubt occasionally addressed; thus in one of his rare lectures, Prof. Gopala Rao brilliantly elaborated the theories of catalysis, the industrial applications of catalysis, and illuminated his lecture profusely with many examples from day-to-day life. One example still vivid in my memory is the taste of *atukulu*, parched rice. When it is put in the mouth, initially it tastes bland like sawdust, but after a while it tastes sweet. Like Socrates, he asked the students why? When no one could answer, he went on to explain how under the catalytic influence of the enzymes in the saliva the vapid higher carbohydrates are reduced to C-12/C-6 lower carbohydrates which are sweet. As he challenged again and again the students to explain the why of many such day-to-day examples, I stared for the first time in the eye of Why, the quintessential element of the questioning spirit so central to all reasoning in general and to scientific reasoning in particular. It was epiphany. However, the exploration of Why hits limits so long as the exploration is not taken below the molecular level; such exploration is possible only with the New Chemistry which Prof. Sastri brought to the Chemistry Department of Andhra University. Only New Chemistry can explain why a given compound has such and such colour, or why another compound exhibited magnetic properties.

To complete the story, it should be mentioned that the sapling of New Chemistry which Prof. Sastri brought from Durham and planted in the Chemistry Department was nurtured by late Prof. S.R. Sagi, another student of Prof. Gopala Rao. Around 1965, when I was doing research under the guidance of Prof. Gopala Rao and shared the laboratory with Prof. Sagi, he developed wax and matchstick models for teaching students the new theories of valency and orbitals. For me, Sagi's models were quite sensational; however, in general among our colleagues, the models were a source of amusement and elicited snide remarks. These models simplified, perhaps even falsified the reality. They gave a tangible shape to something intangible and shapeless, exactness to something probabilistic. But they served a very valuable purpose: help grasp the basic idea of chemical bonding, having the same utility as the *Saguna Brahman* [anthropomorphic God worshipped as idol] of the practicing Hindu. This conception of God is no doubt less exact than that of the *Nirguna Brahman* [impersonal Godhead] of Hindu theology but it helps frail ordinary mortals to relate themselves to God. Contrary to the immaculate misconception, spread by votaries of 'scientific temper', rationality is a very important but not the only element of scientific method. Symbols, imagery and metaphor are important not only in science education and communication but also in the exploration and communication of every type of knowledge. Apart from experimentation and logical reasoning, imagination and intuition play a very important role even in scientific discovery. Without the formulation of hypotheses and their testing, a scientist cannot move forward into new territory of knowledge. In the framing of a hypothesis, there is much use of symbols, imagery and metaphor, with the primary purpose of conveying meaning more clearly and strikingly, and the secondary aim of allowing thinkers to loosen up their own mental processes in a variety of ways, relating apparently disparate or distant ideas in a creative way, and jumping from the physical to the abstract and back again. Robert Burns Woodward (1917-1979), who has been called the greatest organic chemist of the 20th century, used three-dimensional models with coloured balls, which were akin to Sagi's wax-and-matchstick models. Those models were

Clever men are impressed in their difference from their fellows. Wise men are conscious of their resemblance to them.

Woodward's chief metaphorical laboratory tools. Whatever, a decade after I left the university (1966), a new generation of text book had come into vogue; these books anchored Chemistry in Quantum Mechanics. Another decade later, I came across the New Chemistry even in my daughter's school text books brought out by the National Council of Education Research and Training.

Sastri brought to the Chemistry Department not only New Chemistry but also two new areas of research: Paper Chromatography and Nuclear Chemistry. Akella Prabhakara Rao, my classmate, was the first to do doctoral work in Paper Chromatography. I was dazzled when I saw on Prabhakara Rao's lab bench an array of tall cylindrical Glass columns with coloured liquid at the bottom and strips of rectangular filter paper hanging from the top and touching the liquid and smeared with coloured stains at intermittent intervals. Suryanarayana was the first to do doctoral work in Nuclear Chemistry; that helped him pip many seniors in securing a lecturer's post in the Department as a post was earmarked for Nuclear Chemistry.

There was yet another intellectual influence of his stay in Durham which explains his prolific contributions in the evening of his life to the Bulletin of the Centre for Policy Studies, Visakhapatnam on subjects such as nuclear weapons and environment. After the Second World War, scientists in countries such as Britain and Canada were greatly concerned about the impact of science on society and polity; truth to be told, the concern arose from remorse at participating in the Manhattan Project for the creation of the Atom Bomb and figuratively letting the nuclear genie out of the bottle. Many of them like J.B.S.Haldane and J.D.Bernal were avowed leftists, and in general a leftist sentiment suffused the scientific community in these communities. Like many other things that sentiment too had faded away; and contrary to what the proponents of nuclear disarmament believed, it was the Balance of Terror (both the two Superpowers possessing enough nuclear bombs not only to wipe out the other but blow away the whole world many times over) that ensured that local contests of power did not escalate into world wars as in 1914 and 1939. Whatever, so long as the leftist sentiment lasted, scientists were at the forefront

of movements for widespread popularisation of science, disarmament and beneficial application of science to slay Giant Evils in society such as squalor, ignorance, want, idleness and disease. In the keeping with the spirit he imbibed at Durham that Prof. Sastri suggested to me to buy from the prize money I got for standing first in the B.Sc., (Honours) examination, Lancelot Hogben's best seller *Science for the Millions*. Apart from being a scientist of distinction, Hogben was a pacifist who courted imprisonment for refusing to be conscripted during the First World War, a proponent of scientific humanism and a distinguished populariser of science.

To conclude, Prof. Sastri was one of the select few teachers who moulded my intellectual life. One hopes that sooner than later, someone would write a history of the Andhra University in general and of its Chemistry Department in particular and offer therein a fuller account of the contributions of Prof. Sastri as teacher and researcher.



THE GAINS OF SPIRITUAL STRUGGLE

Sri. C. Sivasankaram

You will know the magnificent delight of the divine is greater than all the joys that the apparent world extends. To gain bliss of Brahma, Vairagya, self-abnegation is necessary and a must. There should not be presence of worldly cares and concerns in your mind that cause distraction. It is an ordeal total and cent percent. The seed of love fails to sprout if sensory inclinations are at their unbridled play.

As long as mind is allowed caught in the gigantic vortex of innumerable opposites such as pain and pleasure, joy and sorrow, triumph and defeat there will hardly be a stop to make life tranquil. The courage of a hero gets redoubled when faced by the wicked and won in the scuffle. The deep devotion of PRAHLADA is uniquely demonstrated as he faced the insolent might of his father Hiranyakasipu. The timeless righteousness and chivalry of pandavas got recognition as they subdued the wicked Kouravas. In the same way when you are squeezed of your wickedness your real hue of truthfulness comes to fore and recognized.

A man of business may talk of philosophy; a man who has none may practise it.

- Alexander Pope

You have taken a mistaken step and so committed the mistake despite the shrill cry of inward voice that warned you against it. You committed mistake by bypassing the wise counsel of your inner voice. It is an act of mindless disharmony in mind which goaded you to commit the mistake which has become food for regret.

A single key manages to lock and unlock a lock. If one diverts one's mind towards the world one will be won over by it and duly enslaved. If you direct the faculty of your mind towards the divine you lose the shackles of enslavement to the rule of puerile world, emancipation happens. Thus it is proved either for emancipation or enslavement the cause is mind.

Unite your sense organs with mind and mind with the selfsupreme. Have you ever paid a farthing of care and concern you bestowed on the growth and prosperity of your kith and kin on the welfare of humankind as a whole which is in other words a faithful image of god? You seem to be regretting the time squandered by you on the fleeting and the earthly cares and ties. How peace will be yours as you have frittered away your time on vain frivolous things? A moment spent reflecting on God will yield you life of perfect bliss.

Whatever activity is undertaken by you it must be united, with the spirit of God and the fruit of such activity be surrendered to supreme Self. If the actions

performed by you are directed God-ward and the fruits there-of are relinquished certain is your deliverance and recurrence of rebirth will be a day dream. Heartfelt accomplishment of work will be a permanent source of delight. When you invite me to pay a visit to your house I would comply with the invitation. If the invitation is not supported by sincere heart, I too will have to pay you in the same coin. But I am ready to carry out my consent to visit your house.

I have no second thoughts to honour your invitation provided it is heartfelt. In case it is shallow and insincere I will have to go back on my word. Thus it becomes a mutual exchange of falsehood and mean tit for tat. If you are sincere to do a thing do it with honest heart.

In the heart of man there are millions of tubular veins. Organs of the body are spread all over the body. When auspicious thoughts are allowed to flourish liberally in the heart the entire body is seething with prosperous thoughts. Heart is the fount-head mothering all that harmoniously pervades the body. It is not the temporal heart but spiritual and immortal heart. If the invitation sprang from the inner recess of heart, expressly intimate and heartfelt the Supreme will respond amply and your expectation shall fruition. Even though the exterior or external side of the glass is sparkling the liquid applied to the glass too ought to be pure. There is no compromise with regard to purity and cleanliness.

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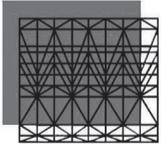
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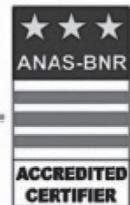
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