



BULLETIN

Vol.20 No.3
February 2, 2016

OF THE CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES (GAYATRI VIDYA PARISHAD)

CONSTITUTIONAL MORALITY AND CONSCIENCE KEEPERS

Sixty six years after the Constitution of India came into force the question whether ‘the Constitution has failed us or we failed the Constitution’ continues to be debated. To the world’s longest constitution one hundred amendments have been made, averaging more than one a year, and a number of such acts are on the anvil. In a polity driven by seekers of power and worshippers of Mammon terms like constitutional morality and conscience keepers are oxymorons in political lexicon, deserving no place in public discourse.

January 26 is a red letter day for India. On that day came into force the Constitution of India drafted by the Constituent Assembly which met from December 9, 1946 to November 26, 1949 to draft the historic document. Stalwart leaders and legal luminaries enlivened the Constituent Assembly’s debates and discussions with their wisdom and ‘there was hardly any shade of public opinion not represented in the Assembly’. The Preamble to the Constitution is a classic and concise proclamation of the goals and ideals of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India. Granville Austin commended the Constitution for its ‘ideals of consensus, nonviolent, non-coercive self-rule,’ upholding the ‘rich, deep and undogmatic traditions of Indian culture’ and absorption of ‘the most advanced intellectual concepts’. During the first two decades praise was received from many an expert on India’s democratic experiment. Samuel Huntington described India as a ‘consolidated democracy’ while a Consociational Interpretation of ‘The Puzzle of Indian Democracy’ was provided by Arend Lijphart. Though it was criticized as ‘too long, detailed and rigid’ and ‘over centralized’ the Constitution was acclaimed for providing mechanisms and institutions for social and economic transformation in the world’s most heterogeneous and largest democracy and for ensuring the unity and integrity of India which was never a single nation before 1950.

But as B.R.Ambedkar cautioned “However good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because

those who are called to work it happen to be a bad lot. Who can say how the people of India and their parties will behave?” The rot did set in sooner than feared. The rapid decline of constitutional institutions and the spread of corruption at all levels reduced Indian democracy to ‘a land damned by a long litany of ills’. Rajni Kothari lamented the ‘wholesale criminalization of politics; increasing communal orientation and highly corrupt system of governance’. Nani Palkhivala aptly pointed out that ‘constitutional morality is no less essential than constitutional legality’ stressing that ‘we must get away from the legal solubility of all problems’. As Soli Sorabjee observed “Judicial activism must not be confused with judicial showmanship or judicial adventurism” adding that PIL is not a pill for every ill.

It was constitutional morality that enabled, to a considerable extent, Indian democracy to become a role model for newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa. Conventions and customs were adhered to and political leaders and civil servants displayed accountability and responsibility in the discharge of their duties. The words of former Chief Justice of India R.C.Lahoti that “We, the judges on the Bench hearing the matter, felt that we were answerable to the Constitution and to our conscience and we had no other option but to defend the Constitution against the attack on it” apply to all working in and for the government or holding public office. They are the conscience keepers of India’s Constitution and custodians of citizens’ rights and welfare. As Indians we are known for failing to use opportunities and for converting wealth into waste. Republic Day reminds us that ultimately we, the people of India, who gave the Constitution to ourselves six decades ago, are its conscience keepers entrusted with the responsibility of protecting and promoting the substance and spirit of the Constitution. It is our duty to reignite the torch of constitutional morality.

- Editor

The Constitution, for all its promise yet unfulfilled, has opened the door to national rebirth.
- Granville Austin

INTEGRATE OUR DEFENDERS: DON'T ALIENATE THEM!

Admiral (Retd) Arun Prakash

Former Chief of Naval Staff
Ex-Chairman, National Maritime Foundation

Even as PM Modi flies from one public-relations triumph to the next, in foreign capitals, discerning people, back home, have an uneasy feeling that they are in a schizophrenic trap. For a nation so resistant to change, India seems to be prematurely donning a mantle that, in reality, remains a distant vision.

Our cities, including the capital, are still choked with slums, garbage, debris and pollution. As industry lags, skilling of youth and job-creation remain a chimera. The 'un-organized sector' reigns supreme; with hawkers, casual labourers, beggars, and the unemployed thronging our streets; seeking a living. Venality and corruption are still rampant – albeit in newer formats – and the powerful cling to their privileges, protected by Teflon-coated skins.

Many pundits say that the NDA government is in its early days, and still has 43 months to fulfill its grand promises. Given India's huge potential as a market and Modi's assiduous international efforts to garner FDI, one should, perhaps, withhold judgment on the NDA, for now.

However, such indulgence may not be appropriate in the critical realm of the nation's defence, which brooks no impediments or prevarication. It is here that the NDA government has scored several 'self-goals' that are bound to have a deleterious impact on India's national security.

The first instance relates to the clumsy handling of the military Veterans' demand for restoration of 'one-rank-one-pension' or OROP; arbitrarily taken away in 1973. Adopting an ostrich-like attitude, the NDA misjudged the motivation, endurance and campaigning skills of the nation's military Veterans. The prolonged stand-off has embarrassed the nation and hurt the pride of the soldier. Having allowed this sensitive issue to fester, the NDA government has itself to blame if the canker of politicization has irretrievably entered our military.

On 5th September, everyone heaved a collective sigh of relief, when the Raksha Mantri (RM), Manohar Parikkar, flanked by the three Service Chiefs, ceremoniously read out a prepared statement, meant to provide closure to the OROP imbroglio. However, as soon as he had finished reading, the Veterans realized that the government had unilaterally reneged on several issues; diluting the OROP concept.

Moreover, in his statement, the RM made mention of 'VRS' or Voluntary Retirement Scheme; a concept that has never existed in the Indian military. Obviously, a 'red-herring' inserted by a mischievous bureaucrat, this rang alarm bells throughout the armed forces; not only because it would affect many serving officers, but because it suggested that the Service Chiefs had concurred.

Since no government letter or clarification has followed this fiasco, the Veterans are convinced that a 'confidence trick' was played upon them and the Jantar Mantar agitation continues into its 4th month. The Veterans have alleged that a 'gag-order' has been placed on media reportage from Jantar Mantar. If true, it adds yet another unsavoury dimension to this confrontation.

The second issue of concern is the fallout of this unending 'tamasha' on serving military personnel; as clearly evident in social media discussions. Mention of VRS is being interpreted as a warning that servicemen seeking 'premature retirement' or PR, an entirely different concept, will be denied the benefits of OROP. This retrograde step will affect many in uniform today and demolish all efforts to keep the armed forces youthful and motivated.

Justified or not, a sense of frustration is palpable amongst the younger generation of Internet-savvy servicemen. They are bewildered, why the senior military leadership is so helpless in countering the bureaucracy's malevolent ploys. A frequently cited example is that of 'non-functional up-gradation' (NFU). This bounty, bestowed by the bureaucracy upon itself, but denied to the military, has led to awkward situations, wherein personnel of support organizations

Unless the party that happens to be in power in the Centre develops conventions to shed its party affiliations in the matter of its relations with the states the federal government cannot effectively function in our country. - Justice K.Subba Rao

like Border Roads, Military Engineering and Naval Armament Services have overtaken their military superiors in terms of pay-grades.

Which brings us to the third issue of concern; the long-standing, civil-military dissonance that is undermining our national security. The root of this problem lies in the deliberate creation of an asymmetry to ensure that 'civilian supremacy', meant to be exercised by the political leadership, is replaced by bureaucratic control of the armed forces. Successive pay commissions, all of which excluded military representation, have been used to reinforce this asymmetry; with the politician's blessings.

Nations, world-wide, have defused civil-military tensions and retained firm 'civilian control' over their armed forces, by subsuming them within the edifice of the government. Given the reputation of the BJP as a 'nationalist' party, there were fond hopes that it would bring about a dramatic shift from the Nehruvian tradition of disparaging the military and neglecting national security. This government's inertia, however, conveys an impression that it is either hostage to the bureaucracy or colluding with it, to 'keep the soldier in his place'.

Whether it is 'Swachh Bharat', 'Make in India' or 'Digital India'; such dreams can prosper, only, within the paradigm of a 'Secure India' guaranteed by our patriotic and motivated armed forces. A sagacious leadership can kill many birds by grasping this opportunity to launch a bold initiative of undertaking national security reforms, as promised in the BJP'S Election Manifesto.

However, events of the recent past dictate the immediate implementation of two vital measures: (a) like other democracies, the adoption of an 'Armed Forces Covenant' that recognizes the nation's moral obligation to the armed forces, and establishes how they should be treated by the government and (b) integration of civilian bureaucracy and military professionals so that the MoD functions harmoniously to promote national security, rather than working at cross-purposes with the armed forces.



India's Changing Geopolitical Environment

Shri Shivshankar Menon

Former Foreign Secretary and
National Security Adviser to the Prime Minister

(IHC-SPS Lecture delivered at India Habitat Centre, Delhi under Changing Asia Series of Lectures on January 20, 2016)

Commodore Uday Bhaskar, Shri Rakesh Kakkar,
Director IHC, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Why did we choose this topic? Because things are changing in a fundamental way around us. And they affect our chance to transform India into a modern developed country in which each Indian could achieve their full potential. So I thought I should speak about those changes and how we might respond to them, using them to promote our national interests.

Let us first consider the changes that we see around us in our immediate neighbourhood, the Indian sub-continent, then at our extended neighbourhood, east and west, and finally at the world order as a whole.

I. The Indian sub-continent

The first decade and a bit of this century were probably the best decade in the subcontinent's history in terms of economic growth, democratisation, connectivity and intra-regional cooperation — with one major exception, Pakistan, and, possibly, the Maldives whose future is unclear at present. For all the other countries in the sub-continent from Afghanistan to Myanmar this has been a period of unprecedented and sustained economic growth, of growing connectivity with each other, of settling internal conflicts and democratisation, and of cooperative relations with India. This is true of Sri Lanka (with the end of the civil war, restoration of democratic norms), Nepal, (where the 12 year insurgency ended, Maoists mainstreamed and democracy brought in), Bangladesh (which is coming to a reckoning with its past, fighting extremism, growing faster than ever, and working closely with India), Bhutan (which was ahead of the

It is easy to speak the truth. It is very difficult to tell a lie and sustain it.

- Sri Sathya Sai Baba

curve in driving change herself), Afghanistan (compared to an abysmal earlier condition), and Myanmar (where predictions of doom have been belied). This is not to say that all their problems have been solved. Each of us, India included, has major internal political issues and is in need of structural adjustment of their economies to cope with the new global and regional economic situation. But overall, the base has been laid, if we choose to build upon it, to continue progress towards integrating the subcontinent, building connectivity and habits of cooperation and making the institutions we established in this period, like SAFTA, the South Asia University, and others, work much better.

The exception, as I said, is Pakistan, not just because she is on the cusp between West and South Asia, and suffers the ailments of both, but as a matter of conscious choice by the Pakistani establishment of the kind of state and society they are building, of their instruments, such as political Islam and jihadi tanzeems and terrorists, and of the calculated use of tension in their relationship with their immediate neighbours, India, Afghanistan and Iran. Pakistan today exhibits many of the same features as are causing turmoil in West Asia — weak state structures, religion in politics and over politics, building nationalism on ancient or manufactured animosities, sectarian violence, an outsized military (in terms of its political role, its claim on national resources, and relative to the real security threats the country faces), a lack of popular participation and belief in the political system, weak economic prospects, and so on. At the same time Pakistan is trying to tap into the economic vitality and consolidation of East Asia, led by China. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, from Gwadar port through the Karakoram mountains to Xinjiang is one such an attempt. But it needs the promise of a specially raised division of the Pakistan Army to defend it and those who try to build it.

Over the last two years, Pakistan has benefited from the changing situation in Asia to make herself relevant to other states. A China stepping out into a regional and global role seeks partners, and Pakistan

is a willing though needy one, as the US\$ 36 billion China-Pakistan Economic Corridor Project announced by President Xi represents. The US desire to withdraw peacefully from Afghanistan requires an accommodation with the Taliban that Pakistan offers to broker. And differences in the Middle East between Saudi Arabia and Iran, Shia and Sunni, and the fight against Daesh offer Pakistan space and leverage. Even though choosing sides is never easy, Pakistan seeks to be all things to all sides, making herself useful and offering herself as an ally — joining the 34-member coalition led by Saudi Arabia while reassuring Iran that Pakistani troops will not serve abroad, and offering herself as an honest broker between them.

But none of these address the fundamental dilemmas of Pakistan: the role of the Army; religion in politics; religious extremism and the spread of Wahhabi ideologies; the declining writ of the state and the army; and the fragmentation of society — all of which cause or are directly linked to India's difficulties with Pakistan. As a result, Pakistan's capacity to sustain a normal relationship with her neighbours, whether India, Afghanistan or Iran, has steadily declined

India has consistently sought to find a modus vivendi or to normalise relations with Pakistan in our own interest. Today, we are in another phase of renewed hope, as a result of PM Modi's reaching out to PM Nawaz Sharif most dramatically with a Christmas Day "drop-in" on Lahore. This, however, was followed within five days by the Jaish-e-Mohammad cross-border attack on the air base at Pathankot on Jan 1-2 night, repeating a pattern that we have got used to. The more serious the India-Pakistan dialogue, the more likely and severe cross-border terrorism is. Despite this, the prospect is that the dialogue process will continue with several engagements foreseen in the coming months. It is still an open question whether the optics of India-Pak dialogue can be converted to substantive results: restoring the ceasefire, controlling and eliminating cross-border terrorism, enabling normal MFN trading, and implementing past agreements such as bringing the perpetrators of the Mumbai attack to

How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril.

- B.R.Ambedkar

book. But the risks of the relationship deteriorating into open conflict are slight, to my mind. That would be in neither side's interest. Indeed, both should have other more important things to do, developing their own economies and societies.

II. West of India

There is a clear dichotomy between what we see to our east, and what is to the west in our extended neighbourhood. While the Asia-Pacific is building on its economic success in the last three decades, strengthening connectivity and its role in the world, the extended Gulf and the Levant are descending into turmoil.

Consider what we see in West Asia:

- A collapse of state structures and elimination of sovereign borders: This is as true of Syria, Iraq and Saudi Arabia as it is of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and is exemplified by ISIS and its territorial domain.
- The breakdown of the geopolitical balance, first upset when Iraq was taken out of the equation by the Gulf Wars, then by Turkey's attempt to work through the Muslim Brotherhood in other major states, and more recently by the assertive Saudi use of Salafi/Wahabi groups in Syria and force in Yemen. The major beneficiary has been Iran, whose influence and presence has grown from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf coasts.
- The rise of sectarian violence and ancient animosities which strengthen the first two trends.
- Economic stagnation or recession, particularly in single product oil exporting countries hit by low oil prices, which gives extreme, radical and terrorist organisations fertile conditions for recruitment among the youth.

Is there a way forward in West Asia that is not catastrophic? Judging by what we have seen we cannot look to the traditional Western dominated world order, established powers like the US, or the UN, for solutions. What we have seen in the last decade is a disastrous record of Western interventions and UN

ineffectiveness in country after country — Iraq, Libya, Syria, Yemen and so on. To my mind the geopolitical problem could theoretically be fixed if the four major regional states, (Iran, Turkey, Egypt and Israel), understand their mutual vulnerabilities and agree a regional order. They could do so in theory as they have the capabilities required, but try getting to sit around the same table. They have yet to display the wisdom that such an outcome would require. Instead, Egypt is internally preoccupied; Israel works in (unacknowledged) concert with Sunni Arab regimes against what it sees as an Iran-Iraq-Syria-Hezbollah Shia axis; and, Turkey ploughs its lonely furrow with Daesh and against the Kurds. The net result is a geopolitically polarised region. To add complexity, even an agreement among the Big Four to forego interference in other states' affairs would not guarantee a solution to the problems of internal political order that plague the region, namely, weak state structures and the role of religion, (both of which are linked). The prospect is therefore for more turmoil. The best one can hope for is some degree of managed turmoil.

Turmoil to our west affects India directly, through our diaspora and energy security, and indirectly, through Pakistan and Afghanistan. You know the figures. Over seven million Indians live and work in the Gulf and Levant, they send over US\$ 35 billion home in remittances every year, and we get over 70% of our oil and gas supplies from the region. India's stakes in the region are very high, for if these are disrupted our quest to transform India will be disrupted. The turmoil has, however, also created opportunities for us — we are receiving counter-terrorism cooperation from regimes in the region that was not possible some years ago; the demand from regional partners for defence cooperation, particularly maritime security is growing; and we are better placed to deal with the possible radicalisation of individuals in our diaspora in these countries. I have no doubt that sooner rather than later India will have to make real political and military contributions to stability and security in this region that is so critical to our economy and security. What has inhibited us since the seven-

ties have been limited capabilities and the fact that other states were providers of security in the area. Now that both those limiting factors are changing, our approach and behaviour should change in defence of our interests.

We have been fortunate that the appeal of radical West Asian ideologies and groups has been limited in our plural society. Most of the Indians whom we know were attracted to Daesh were brought to our attention by their own family or community. What should worry us is the fact that ten years ago we could say proudly that there was no Indian in Al Qaeda. Today we can no longer say so. But compared to other societies in South and South East Asia, we have not done badly in dealing with such radicalisation, even though in our case much of it has outside state sponsorship and a base in Pakistan where the military and others in the establishment still see terrorism as an equaliser in their attempt to seek parity with India. State sponsorship of cross-border terrorism is alive and well in South Asia.

The explanation for the limited radicalisation of Muslims in India probably lies in the history of Islam in India. Islam came to India in many forms at many places and at different times, — as trading communities along the coast which assimilated local customs and beliefs, as groups and tribes of migrants, some as invaders in the north and west, and in multiple other ways over several centuries. This meant that separate Muslim communities had very little in common in their social customs and practices and were relatively well assimilated into the broader society. The pluralism within the community is its strength, which enables it to resist radicalisation. This is also why Salafi and Wahabi attempts to homogenise the beliefs and practices of Muslims are so dangerous and have not succeeded in India and Bangladesh to the extent that they have in Pakistan.

Europe

Looking further west, there are fundamental changes in Europe which are obscured by Cold War rhetoric and frameworks that are still used to explain

events there. The Eurocrisis and the flood of migrants have had profound geopolitical consequences for Europe. We may be watching the end, and certainly a fundamental change, in the European integration project, a closing of borders within and around Europe, and a distinct turn to chauvinism and parochialism as a result of present and prospective economic stagnation. The effects are clear in the marked changes in Europe's relations with Russia, the world and among the European powers..

We may even be seeing the end of trans-Atlantic unity, of the Western unity that we have got used to since WWII in 1945. This in itself was a historical aberration, forced by the Cold War bipolarity and expressed in NATO. The attempt to negotiate a TTIP is an attempt to continue the old ways in the economy. Ten years ago it would have been inconceivable that the TPP in Asia would be negotiated before the TIPP across the Atlantic. But changing relative weights in the global economy, and the effects of domestic recession or stagnation are making the TIPP a harder negotiation. Politically, before 1945, Europe's internecine and trans-Atlantic wars and conflicts were called World Wars. Now that is no longer possible or necessary. My point is that Europe is reverting to type, with the return of geopolitics in the classical sense of a struggle for mastery between great powers, with the difference that this is now one more regional hot spot, but at a time when there is no settled world order within which it can be managed or find resolution.

III. Looking East

The geopolitical changes of the greatest significance for India are those taking place to our east.

The overwhelming phenomenon when we look east is the rise of China, which has masked the simultaneous, if less spectacular, rise of India, Indonesia, Korea, Vietnam and others.

The major geopolitical challenge for India in today's situation is dealing with the consequences of the rise of China and of Asia more generally. China

As far as possible, the grievances of the states should be redressed by building up salutary conventions and traditions which are in conformity with the true spirit of the Constitution.

- Nani Palkhivala

has risen in a crowded geopolitical space, where her other neighbours, like Korea, Indonesia and India are also rising. The balance of power in Asia is shifting so rapidly that the Asian order must and is changing before our eyes. China's rise has occasioned internal and external balancing throughout the Asia-Pacific. Asia-Pacific has seen history's greatest arms buildup ever in the last few decades and informal coalitions have formed to balance the rapid accumulation of power by China. A Chinese leader said recently, "the US world order is a suit that no longer fits".

This moment of fundamental change opens up both opportunities, (especially for those like India who would like to improve the status quo), and risks, (particularly for those who built and managed the existing order to their own benefit like the US). India's answer, in the last few years is to both cooperate and compete with China in the periphery that is common to us both and on broader global issues. As for the bilateral issues that divide us like the boundary, trans-border rivers and China's activities in Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir, we have found ways to manage differences in the last thirty years while growing the relationship. China is now India's largest trading partner in goods and over 11,000 Indians study in China. We have little to gain and much to lose if we treat our relationship with China as a zero-sum game. Since both countries have major internal reform and structural adjustment to undertake, the present pattern of cooperation with competition should continue for the foreseeable future, but there are new factors which suggest that India and China need to find a new equilibrium.

The geopolitical challenge that we now face is two-fold: One is the emergence of a new order in the Asia-Pacific; and the other is structural adjustment in the Chinese and, therefore, the world economy. Both have major implications for India-China relations and India's prospects.

Since the 2008 world economic crisis, which is still with us, we have seen the emergence of a new continental order in the Asia-Pacific, where China

seeks primacy and will certainly be one of the dominant powers. Russia now works politically with China to make this possible. We see the signs in their coordination in Central Asia, Afghanistan and elsewhere. Eurasian consolidation, expressed in the One-Belt-One-Road concept, is already a reality through a network of pipelines, roads, railways, fibre-optic cables, and so on, all of which lead back to China, and which are largely financed by China. It is consolidated through institutions like the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, and through financial arrangements and the increasing use of the RMB or Yuan in the settlement of China's trade. (By one account 30% of China's trade is now conducted in RMB.)

The maritime order, on the other hand, is contested, as is the global commons in outer, cyber space and the high seas. This in itself is a marked change from sixty years of unchallenged US dominance. The contest expresses itself in different forms. The rise of Chinese maritime capability has provoked responses by other powers in the region. Increased cooperation in defence, intelligence and maritime security among China's neighbours — India, Japan, Vietnam, Australia — is one. The other is an unprecedented arms buildup in the Asia-Pacific in the last twenty years, the greatest ever in history, primarily in their navies and air forces.

India now faces a very different situation from what we have got used to and benefited from over the last twenty years to grow at an average of over 6.5%. We can no longer assume that others will guarantee the safety of the sea lanes that carry our foreign trade and our energy supplies. Nor can we assume that a benign international order will keep the peace. We will have to decide how far we wish to assume new responsibilities, and how far we are willing to compromise on strategic autonomy and work with others on these security issues. At the same time, many more powers, facing the same uncertainty, are and will be willing to work with India in this effort, as we already see in maritime security and counter-terrorism.

India has so far sat on the fence on the emerging continental order and on contestation in the maritime domain and the global commons around us. We have not taken a position on the One-Belt-One-Road initiative. We cannot do so for much longer. We must now choose. My personal preference is clear. We should use the infrastructure and institutions that are being created to further India's transformation. Infrastructure is value free, it is its use that makes it a threat or an opportunity. We can convert the challenges into opportunities for India if we act now.

The World & the Chinese Economy

The other defining issue is structural adjustment in the Chinese and world economy.

We have already seen the short term effects of what happens in Chinese stock exchanges on our markets, the effects of the global crisis and China's slow-down on world oil and commodity prices, currencies and stock markets. Each of the major economies and groupings needs, recognises and says that it must make basic structural adjustments. But what we see instead are individual attempts to maintain privilege, to change the rules to suit one or other group of countries, and rising protectionism, chauvinism, and intolerance in both developed and emerging countries. In the last five years, this has produced "beggar-my-neighbour" policies which will only worsen the disorder that we see around us.

While all the major economic powers recognise that they must structurally adjust their economies, the Chinese are the only ones with an announced plan to do so. They intend to move from an investment led, export driven economy to domestic demand, market led and consumption driven model. But that transition is likely to be bumpy. The transition has to be managed on top of real estate and asset inflation, and a US\$ 28 trillion debt burden caused by the Chinese government pumping in investment to avoid the consequences of the 2008 crisis. George Soros thinks that it cannot be managed smoothly and that China's problems have never been more intractable. He argues that China can carry on with her present policies for three

years or so, exhausting her reserves of foreign currency and her people's trust. In that time, China will exert a negative influence on the rest of the world, reinforcing deflationary tendencies that are already present. Others think that the oversized role and power of the state and the accumulated wealth of thirty years of double digit growth make it possible for China to manage a soft landing. China is increasingly displaying some of the symptoms of a developed economy, with an ageing population, rising wage rates, plateaued productivity, and possibly the "Japanese disease", of a long period of stagnation. A Chinese friend described it as senility in youth! Whichever way the Chinese economy develops, we are likely to see the Chinese RMB further devalued, making Chinese exports even cheaper, which will challenge our economy even further and make the success of "Make in India" less likely. Though China might settle to 3-5% growth in the future, that would still add India's annual GDP to China's every few years, and would diminish our prospects in the Chinese market, which is one of our largest today.

Besides, prolonged stress in the Chinese economy is likely to make it harder for the Chinese leadership to make the compromises that the rest of the world will demand in the increasingly assertive policies China has followed since 2008, whether in the South China Sea or, in our case, her rhetoric on settling the India-China boundary. As the legitimacy brought by high and historically unprecedented growth fades, the Chinese Communist Party is likely to turn increasingly to nationalism. This is both an opportunity and a challenge for India. While it makes settling our differences with China more difficult, it also means that the China alternative is less attractive to foreign investors and manufacturers, and that other powers will seek partners in balancing China's rise and behaviour.

The rest of the world is hardly sitting still in the face of these changes. Their reactions, ranging from higher standards and implicit protectionism in the TPP and TIPP, to the closing of Europe, to the raising of interest rates in the West, will also make our task that

Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. - Mahatma Gandhi

much more difficult to access markets, technology and capital for India's transformation. In the last three years or so we are watching "on-shoring" by both the US and China. A larger and larger proportion of the global manufacturing and value chains that pass through China is moving to China from South-East Asia. The same is beginning to be true of some high-technology and high-value manufacturing which is moving back to the US.

Looking further ahead, cheap energy and digital manufacturing are likely to further revolutionise the economics of manufacturing in favour of the established industrialised countries. A robot, unlike human labour, will cost much the same wherever in the world it is operated, thus eliminating a major source of competitive advantage that emerging economies have used so far. And new sources of fossil fuels, and the technologies for renewable fuels clearly belong to the same established powers. It therefore seems to me that we have a window of about ten years at most to industrialise India before the economics change drastically. At the same time, as in any disruptive technological changes, early adopters and the quick can benefit considerably. Mastering the coming high technologies for renewable energy and digital manufacturing could play to India's strengths in highly skilled and educated manpower, if we turn our minds to it now.

IV. World Order

I have tried to describe what I see as fundamental changes in the regions and domains that directly affect our economic well being and security. But are there corresponding changes in the world order itself and in how it is run?

Not yet, because there is always a lag in changing reality on the one hand, and our habits and institutions on the other. The latter are still controlled or shaped by previous power holders jealous of their privilege, and often in denial about change. What we, therefore, see, instead, is not so much a changing world order as a fragmenting of the order as it existed before 2008. International governance at the global

level is extremely fragile. Survival, or the absence of failure, as at the COP in Paris last December, is today hailed as a great victory!

Today's situation is probably best described as generalised fragmented disorder. This is a world that will reward the agile and the nimble who adjust rapidly to change, not those who try to replicate the past and carry on on the basis of habit and old experience. To my mind this world is as much of a challenge as an opportunity for a country like India that wants to change the reality that we have inherited. I only hope that we once again show the wisdom to seize the day.

(CPS thanks Shri Shivshankar Menon and Cmde. Uday Bhaskar)



PATHANKOT ATTACK: INTELLIGENCE AND THE KEYSTONE SYNDROME

Cmde. (Retd) C. Uday Bhaskar
Director, Society for Policy Studies
(Former Director IDSA & NMF)

The Pathankot counter-terror operation has been successful as damage to material assets and human life has been contained.

Based on information in the public domain, it is clear that Indian security forces could have done better in the intelligence domain.

The attack on the Pathankot airbase isn't the first time that intel from local sources has been ignored.

Gurdaspur SP Salwinder Singh's abduction and eventual release is decidedly fishy.

The NIA ought to look into the links between drug cartels and terrorism, especially in Punjab.

Pathankot Operation Successful, but the Attack Exposed Gaps in Security Protocols: The Pathankot terror attack is finally over and the counter-terror operation can be termed a success – to the extent that the primary objective of the perpetrators was denied – namely, damage to material assets in the

Progress ultimately has to be measured by the quality of human beings—how they are improving, how their lot is improving, and how they are adapting themselves to modern ways and yet keep their feet firmly planted on their soil. - Jawaharlal Nehru

airbase and a greater loss of human lives. Defence Minister Manohar Parrikar visited the base on Tuesday (December 5) and provided a spirited rationale for the manner in which the entire operation was conducted. A more detailed investigation by the different agencies involved will shed more light on an operation that is still opaque by way of chronology and tactical detail – but Mr Parrikar admitted that there were some gaps in the local security protocols. Hopefully appropriate lessons will be learnt and policy correctives swiftly applied.

India's Keystone Cops: Intel Must be Put to Better Use: Based on the information now available in the public domain, it is evident that the one area where the Indian security establishment could have done better is in the intelligence (or intel) domain. The term 'Keystone cops' taken from the silent films era refers to a bunch of bungling police officials and their comic characteristic is that slapstick mistakes recur after expending vast energy, time and resources and the visible lack of coordination. The word 'Keystone' comes to mind when reviewing the intel handling over the Pathankot operation – the big difference being that this had a tragic ending by way of the loss of precious Indian lives. Even while conceding that not all available intelligence inputs can ever be disclosed in the public domain in a counter-terrorism operation – some strands are instructive.

Enough Intel was Available to Justify that Special Forces be Moved into the Area: It is understood that the first alerts were made available to Delhi by a 'third country' around Christmas Day – which incidentally was when Prime Minister Narendra Modi made his surprise visit to Lahore. Subsequently, it transpires, the local Punjab police had also picked up some 'clutter' to suggest that military bases in Punjab would be targeted by terrorist around New Year's eve. The terror attack took place in the early hours of Saturday (January 2) and the intel inputs are further strengthened by information ostensibly provided by a Punjab police SP – Salwinder Singh – who was apparently abducted by the terrorists the previous night – and curiously – released. This is the broad contour of the intel inputs and one presumes that the

quality was deemed credible enough for special forces to be moved into the area.

Pathankot Isn't the First Time Early Inputs Were Ignored: The operation then moved into what may be called the 24/7 cycle of TV news channels and it then became a ball-by-ball account till the combing operations had concluded – and the Defence Minister Parrikar was able to visit the airbase. The 'gaps' that have been acknowledged point to the inability of the existing intelligence grid in Punjab to manage such inputs and translate them into what is termed as 'actionable intel' inputs. A predictable blame-game has already begun with the local Punjab police claiming that they had done their bit and that it was the next level (the centre?) that had not acted promptly. While the veracity of these claims need to be objectively reviewed in the weeks ahead – what stands out now is the eerie similarity with what happened during Kargil in May 1999 and the 2008 Mumbai terror attack. In both exigencies, early inputs received from local sources were either ignored or not treated with the rigour that was warranted by the existing national security lattice. Individual ministries and services/departments remained in their silos and turf was protected in an insular manner.

Vajpayee's Intel Reforms Remain Still-Born: Then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee constituted a holistic post-Kargil review and intel reforms was a major recommendation. However it remained still-born. The same experience was repeated in Mumbai in 2008 when the first alert about a potential attack from the maritime domain was ignored. And now Pathankot exudes a familiar pattern – the lack of apex capacity and institutional harmonisation across various security related agencies and ministries. The most curious element in the Pathankot story is that of SP Salwinder Singh and the manner in which he was ostensibly abducted in his official car. Glaring inconsistencies have been brought into the public domain and his personal profile includes a gender harassment charge.

Explore the Drug Cartel/Terror Link: Given the narcotics footprint that has enveloped many parts of Punjab and the manner in which state machinery and

Bapu gave life to a dead country. Ba lent him a helping hand. Let the picture of both of them be constantly before our eyes.

- Sardar Vallabhbai Patel

certain officials have been compromised, many questions remain to be answered. The most glaring is why a group of ruthless terrorists would first abduct and then release a police official even as they moved towards their designated target area – an airbase. This is the Keystone redux! The drug-cartel/terror linkage is well established internationally and one presumes that the NIA, which has been brought into the investigative loop, will follow all of these leads determinedly – however politically prickly. The even more intriguing aspect of the Pathankot-intel narrative is that Salwinder Singh was given considerable media space to buttress his story. The ambiguous centre-state command and control over internal security management could not have been more 'Keystonish'. Hopefully the Pathankot investigation and policy review will not end in the Kargil-Mumbai cul-de-sac.



NATIONAL SPACE LEGISLATION FOR INDIA – AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME

Prof. R Venkata Rao
Vice-Chancellor,

National Law School of India University, Bangalore

Fifties was an era full of science, fictional idea of space expeditions but what came as a surprise was that it was the Soviet Union that realised this fictional idea. 4th October 1957 SPUTNIK 1 the first man-made object reached the low Earth orbit sending radio signals all over the globe raising a number of legal questions before the world community – Did the radio signal infringe the sovereign rights of nations? Do nations have jurisdiction over the outer space? Do nations have any threat from space expeditions? Who bears the liability for damage caused by these space objects? Is a nation free to undertake any space activity?

Had success of Sputnik 1 been luck by chance these questions would have been Utopian but it was rather a trigger for space race. Thanks to the international community who anticipated the outcomes of uncontrolled space race and formulated the rules for space exploration, the 1967, Outer Space

Treaty (OST) represents the basic legal framework of international space law prescribing certain obligations upon the State parties for healthy exploration of space. Followed by the OST four more treaties were realised the Rescue Agreement, 1968; the Liability Convention, 1972; the Registration Convention, 1975 and the Moon Treaty, 1979. Except for the Moon Treaty India has ratified all the other four space treaties. Nevertheless with the coming of these treaties in force, the above raised questions in no way became redundant.

In the initial years of space exploration states were the sole participants but with increasing commercialization and private participants questions raised by the success of Sputnik1 once again become relevant and thereby a necessity for national space legislation. Most of the space faring nations have adopted their national space legislations with the objective to promote commercialization and privatisation of space. But is that the justification for India to have its national space legislation, keeping in mind India occupies a prominent place in the group of elite space club – certainly not! Unlike US and Russia, Indian space programme was driven with the motive to solve societal problem through space based technology. The necessity for National space legislation for India has to be understood in terms of its current space activities and future prospects, international commitments and Constitutional obligations.

Indian space programme made a humble beginning way back in the year 1960s with mere experimental sounding rockets but today with the operationalization of indigenously built Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle (PSLV) and Geo-Stationary Launch Vehicle (GSLV), India has developed self-reliant technology to launch satellites/ space objects playing a significant role in the commercial launch market. At the dawn of New Year 2015 when the world was waiting to receive gifts from their beloved *Santa*, ISRO came with a jubilant gift – the much awaited GSLV Mark III. As rightly stated the success of GSLV Mark III will enhance the capability of India to be a competitive player in the commercial launch market.

I have kept my record clean and led life honestly throughout. I say what I feel
and what appears to be just and right.

Seems the vision envisaged by the Prime Minister of India is not far from reality. - *"India has a potential to become the launch service provider of the world. We must work towards this."* As a space lawyer I see, the rising space technological achievements of India and the new vision statement put forth by our Prime Minister demands for national space legislation of India in the light of our international obligations.

Article VII OST – *"Each State Party to the treaty that launches or procures the launching of an object into Outer Space . . . and each State Party from whose territory or facility an object is launched is internationally liable for damage to another State Party . . ."*

Since space activities are inherently dangerous, Article VII OST imposes unlimited liability upon the launching state meaning once a 'launching state for ever a launching state.' Noted authors have said that 'procuring of launch' connotes not actual control over the launch but possibility to control the launch. Thus India shall be liable for all the commercial and non-commercial launches. The words *"whose territory or facility an object is launched"* used in Article VII leave no room to escape from this liability as a launching state. The larger concern here is though India offers merely commercial launch without any intent to have any control over the object/ satellite once it has been launched but it shall bear forever the international liability for damage caused by such objects. Of course the Liability Convention, 1971 clarifies that in case of joint launch the liability shall be joint and several but this does not exonerate the liability of India. However the Liability Convention does suggest a way out in cases of joint launch.

Article V (2) Liability Convention – *"A launching State which has paid compensation for damage shall have the right to present a claim for indemnification to other participants in the joint launching."* *The participants in a joint launching may conclude agreements regarding the apportioning among themselves of the financial obligations in respect of which they are jointly and severally liable. Such agreements shall be without prejudice to the right of a State sustaining damage to seek the entire*

compensation due under this Convention from any or all of the launching States which are jointly and severally liable."

Where India procures a launch for its foreign customers all it requires is an indemnification bond from the State on whose behalf it procures the launch. A mutual contract formulated under the general contract and business laws of India may be sufficient and no specific law may be needed but if India aspires to be "the launch service provider of the world" it will be in the interest of India and the commercial participants to undertake activities within the umbrella of law, as Aristotle long back said 'rule of law' is always better than rule of men. Rule of law becomes complementary when the new Government has been emphasizing on 'good governance.' Commercial exploration of space without rule of law shall be forlorn.

Our stars have been favourable that no liability has arisen till date but that does not guarantee for future. It is Murphy's rule that "anything that can go wrong will go wrong." Since space endeavours involve heavy financial investment, any liability arising will involve a colossal sum. Probably the payment for damage might be paid from the Consolidated Fund of India. Since no amount of money can be appropriated out from the Consolidated Fund of India except in accordance with law (Article 266), India shall be constitutionally handicapped if any such liability arises. In the absence of national space legislation, India does not have the capacity to discharge its international obligation for damage caused due to space objects launched by India or whose launch was procured by India or whose launch was carried from the territory or facility of India. As mandated by Article 51 of the Constitution of India, to foster respect for international law and treaty obligations, it is in the very interest of India to have its national space legislation.

Of late Government of India has thought in this direction and realised the necessity for regulating the space activities. The increasing role of private participants in the space sector is another reason to have national space legislation. Gone are the days when states were the sole participants in space

Watch a man do in his most common actions; those are indeed the things which will tell you the real character of a great man.

exploration. Today the private sector possesses tremendous technological and financial capacity and has been outstandingly performing in space sector. It is the success of Ansari-X prize which has given likely hope for space tourism. Private companies like Bigelow Aerospace, Space X, Virgin Galactic etc. are playing pioneering role in commercial exploration of space. Cargo transportation, commercial launches, rover manufacturing etc. have become competitively cost effective with more and more companies entering in this field.

Though India has achieved milestones in space technology but at the same time it has been subject to criticism as well for rocketing tax payer's money to space when India has not been able to overcome its social problems. Giving preference to societal problems over space or vice-versa does not seem to be wise step. We must not forget the space vision given by Dr. Vikram Sarabhai – father of Indian space programme - *“There are some who question the relevance of space activities in a developing nation. To us, there is no ambiguity of purpose. We do not have the fantasy of competing with the economically advanced nations in the exploration of the Moon or the planets or manned space-flight. But we are convinced that if we are to play a meaningful role nationally, and in the community of nations, we must be second to none in the application of advanced technologies to the real problems of man and society”*.

India being developing country, money plays a prominent role in all our activities. Therefore we need to look for an alternative where both space activities and societal programme can go harmoniously in a balanced manner. Private Sector can be probable alternative for space endeavours. To a limited extent we have opened this sector to private participants but a lot remains to be done. Private participants can play a meaningful role in space based application areas like remote sensing, navigation, satellite communication etc. The primary concern in opening outer space for private participants is national security, safety and compliance with international obligations.

Article VI OST – *“State parties to the treaty shall bear international responsibility for national activities*

in outer space ... whether such activities are carried by Governmental or Non-governmental organization . . . and for assuring that national activities are carried out in conformity with the provisions set forth in the present Treaty. The activities of non-governmental entities in outer space . . . shall require authorization and continuing supervision by the appropriate State Party to the Treaty”.

The first part of Article VI dissolves the distinction between the non-governmental and governmental space activity by considering all space activity as ‘national space activity’. It imposes an obligation upon state parties to ensure that all space activities, be they carried by private participants or Government have to be strictly in compliance with the Outer Space Treaty. Article VI read with Article VII makes the State liable for the damages resulting from private space activities. In other words ‘space activities may be private but liability is always public’. International space law makes the State liable for wrongs committed by private individual unlike the liability regime defined in other branches of International law. It must be recalled that the liability under international space law is unlimited in time and money. A launching state is absolutely liable to pay compensation for damage caused by its space object on the surface of the Earth or to aircraft in flight. In the event of damage being caused elsewhere than on the surface of the Earth the damage is determined on the basis of fault.

The second part of Article VI gives discretion to the State to prescribe conditions for participation of private players by way of authorization and supervision. Authorization and supervision, being a procedural aspect, creates a basis for national space legislation fostering equality of opportunity to private participants and ensuring compliance with international obligation. The authorization may be by way of license. Therefore national space legislation should prescribe the conditions of license, procedure to ensure conditions of license are complied with, once it has been granted, penalty for breach of license conditions. Since the State has to bear the liability for private participants a guarantee for indemnification shall be needed should State pay for damages arising

We gain freedom when we have paid the full price for our right to live.

- Rabindranath Tagore

because of the authorised activities. The damages being contingent on time factor it will be in the interest of State as well as private participant to take compulsory insurance for space activities. To eliminate the possibility of damage an obligation is imposed upon states to continuously supervise space activities. A legislation to that effect will ensure greater safety and security, minimize the risk of damage occurring and liabilities any arising thereto.

Space debris is a prime concern in safe exploration of space. The catastrophic effect of ASAT test has been panoramically visualised in the movie 'Gravity'. The conservation and protection of environment both terrestrially and in outer space is yet another concern in private participation creating a necessity to legislate. National space legislation shall be a tool in debris avoidance and mitigation.

As more and more commercial enterprises and foreign nations acquire the ability to explore outer space, the launched space object whether stationed in the orbit or on the surface of celestial bodies are exposed to likely risk of being damaged. INSAT series and CARTOSAT series satellites are backbone of space based infrastructure. With increasing private participation this infrastructure is likely to increase. If any damage is caused to the space object(s)/ satellite(s) of India by another state party, India shall have to establish its ownership and jurisdiction over such space object to bring a successful claim for damage. Ownership and jurisdiction of space become easily ascertainable by way of registration." *A State Party to the Treaty on whose registry an object launched into outer space is carried shall retain jurisdiction and control over such object, and over any personnel thereof, while in outer space or on a celestial body.*" The Registration Convention imposes an obligation upon State parties to register their space objects in the prescribed manner both in national registry and the UN Registry. The registration requirement creates yet another basis for national space legislation. Registration of space object in the national registry will also ensure that any unauthorised sale/ transfer of space object/ satellite (which is quite probable in light of private participation) is *void ab initio*.

Thus Article VI, VII and VIII of Outer Space Treaty form the primary basis for national space legislation and give ample room for private sector participation. As of today around 22 space faring nations have adopted their national space legislations. United States has adopted an extensive space law. Derived from the current state practice, the International Law Association (ILA) has drafted the Model Law for National Space Legislation. It suggests that minimum building block for any national space legislation should be authorisation of space activities, supervision of space activities, registration of space objects, indemnification & liability related issues and other additional requirements. The ILA draft may serve as a point of reference as a starting point for the national drafting efforts. A similar set of recommendations has been made by the UN General Assembly relevant for the peaceful exploration and use of outer space.

If India aspires to be 'the launch service provider of the world' we should be second to none in having national space legislation. It is high time to reap the commercial benefits of space through rule of law. National Space Legislation is necessary in the light of international obligations and Constitutional dimensions for effective commercialization and privatization of space. India has demonstrated great technological potential but with great technological potential, comes the risk of greater liability! Time to shield against these liabilities, by way of adopting National Space Legislation!



In Search of An Evening Marked by A Lantern and Stars

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**)*

As I entered my compartment in a Surat-bound train in Bombay (now Mumbai), I was warmly welcomed by the solitary other passenger seated cross-legged on his berth who introduced himself as Mr. Rabdiwalla - unless I heard wrong - a 'business

The truly religious person is not concerned with reform. He is seeking what is true, and that very search has a transforming effect on society.

- J. Krishnamurti

magnet'. Soon I found out that he ran a moderate workshop of looms, but was obviously fond of 'magnet'.

He talked fluently in his mother-tongue but realizing my poor comprehension of it, switched over to a smooth concoction of English and Hindi.

'I like English and you appear to know English well. Tell me, what is the plural of child?' he quizzed me.

'Why, Sir, what can it be other than children?'

He bent double with chortle. 'Can be, can be. Childs! Follow? That is Railway English. Did you not see the list of passengers hanging at the door? Mrs Childs and two of her daughters, a pair of misses, are to be our co-passengers. The Railways meant 'children', but wrote Childs and they forgot to write their mother's name.'

Before I had gathered the courage to reveal to the magnet, agog with excitement over the Railway way of English, that Childs indeed was an English surname, the expected party entered the cabin.

Mr Rabdiwalla stood up, introduced himself and was ready to shake hands with Mrs Childs, but had to go without it because the lady had luggage under both her arms.

'I'm Mrs Childs,' she said with a smile.

'Are you really Mrs Childs?' demanded the awestruck magnet.

No wonder that the lady failed to appreciate the import of the question.

'Have we met before?' she asked, her brows raised.

'Never, never. I respect England ladies. These girls are beautiful. Your daughters?'

'Right. Lucy and Tiny.'

'Bah. But if you're Childs, how Lucy became Hudson? Already married?' the gentleman asked, his eyes fixed on a suitcase bearing the child's full name.

'Her father, my first husband, was Hudson.'

'Bah. Divorce? In India we also divorce.'

'He died.'

'Widow marriage! Bah. In India also we like widow marriage. Bah. We are no orthodox in 20th century.'

Had I come across a similar situation in Forster's *Passage to India*?

Indian psychology records *Navarasa* or nine modes. But a tenth one - a combination of embarrassment and irritation - was killing me. Could I change over to another cabin? But 'We're tired,' said Mrs Childs and got busy making beds.

The mysterious epidemic identified by some as a sort of plague was yet to invade Surat. But a look at the river Tapti was enough to make one curse the kind of industrial growth we had in our country. Innumerable factories discharged their filth into the river and every inch of it looked obnoxious. Yet, within a year the *Surtees* (as the people of Surat are called) had made their city clean with a vengeance - an unmistakable example of the capacity the Indians had. Why don't we use the capacity normally? The answer, probably, is to be found in the bizarre opposite pulls of the philosophy of illusionism taught by the ascetics and endorsed by the Buddhists on one hand and the command to look upon the whole of life, including even the battlefield, as real, as taught by the original Vedanta and the Gita on the other hand.

My extension lectures at the University were over and my friends took me around the neglected ruins of the early Western settlers facing vast stretches of sand. I remembered John Orington's *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, a rare book. It is difficult to imagine the kind of thrills, suspenses and enlightenments the early Westerners experienced unless one read their testaments. For example, Orington's friends had captured a huge monkey which escaped from their fortress. The Sahibs gave a determined chase to it. But, to their amazement, even though the creature invaded one native shop after another and broke several of their precious items and even scratched a few gentlemen, no Indian lent a helping hand to catch it. Curiosity led the Sahibs to the story of the *Ramayana*. The amusing synopsis of the great epic presented by Orington must be read to

The most beautiful experience we can have is the mysterious, the fundamental emotion which stands at the cradle of true art and true science.

- Albert Einstein 15

be believed. According to him the demon-king Ravana turned an ascetic!

My interest was different. At last I was out under the captainship of my scholarly friend Kaivalya to explore the ground where the Indian National Congress achieved adulthood and matured into a power capable of demanding unqualified freedom for the motherland.

The full-moon night gladdened me; for I would be able to see the site of the historic Surat Congress of 1907. I was waiting for the rows of mansions and shops to end, but Kaivalya stopped his car close to a market. 'So, we are here - on the Surat Congress ground.'

'But where is the ground?'

'In the pages of history. However, a small part of it is still there, as a park.'

We occupied a bench in the park as I turned the pages of history in my mind.

It was at the Calcutta Congress of 1906, under the Presidentship of Dadabhoi Naoroji, that resolutions had been passed for the boycott of foreign goods favouring Swadeshi and for a national education policy, with Sri Aurobindo (then Mr. Aurobindo Ghose) in the background and Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Khaparde championing the causes in the open. While the President supported such moves, moderates like Ferozeshah Mehta, Gokhale and Surendranath Bannerjee were against them.

Since the programme for working out the resolutions were to be chalked out at the next session of the Congress, the Moderates succeeded in shifting its venue from Nagpur to Surat, their stronghold.

The session began before a large audience. The President-elect, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, flanked by other leaders, ascended the dais. Ambalal Desai proposed Dr. Ghose for the chair but the moment Surendranath Bannerjee seconded it, pandemonium broke out, giving the great orator, the Pied Piper of Bengal, the jolt of his life. Here is a first-hand report from the noted author and journalist, Henry Nevinson:

'Waving their arms, their scarves, their sticks and

umbrellas, a solid mass of delegates and spectators sprang to their feet and shouted without a moment's pause... the whole ten thousand were on their feet, shouting for order, shouting for tumult. Mr. Malvi (Chairman of the Reception Committee) still half in the chair, rang his brass Benares bell and rang in vain. Surendranath sprang upon the very table itself. Even a voice like his was not a whisper in the din. Again and again he shouted, unheard as silence...."

The next day was not different. Surendranath exhorted all to maintain peace, and Motilal Nehru spoke in the same vein. But Dr. Ghose had hardly occupied the chair, when Tilak stood up. He had given notice for an amendment and he must move it. 'You cannot move an adjournment of the Congress! I declare you out of order,' shouted Mr. Malvi. 'I wish to move an amendment to the election of President and you are not in the Chair,' shouted back Tilak. 'I declare you out of order,' said Dr. Ghose at the pitch of his voice. 'But you are not yet elected. I appeal to the delegates,' retorted Tilak. Nevinson's inimitable narration proceeds thus: "Uproar drowned me rest with folded arms Mr. Tilak faced the audience. On either side of him young Moderates sprang to their feet, wildly gesticulating vengeance. Shaking their fists and yelling to the air, they clamoured to hurl him down the step of the platform. Behind him Dr. Ghose mounted the table and, ringing an unheard bell, harangued the storm in shrill, agitated, unintelligible denunciations. Restraining the rage of Moderates, ingeminating peace if ever man ingeminated, Mr. Gokhale, sweet-natured even in extremes, stood beside his old opponent, flinging out both arms to protect him from the threatened onset. But Mr. Tilak asked for no protection. He stood there with folded arms, calling on violence to do its worst, calling on violence to move him, for he would move for nothing else in hell or heaven. In front the white-clad audience roared like a tumultuous sea.

'Suddenly something flew through the air - a shoe! - a Maharatta shoe! Reddish leather, pointed toe, sole studded with lead. It struck Surendranath Bannerjee on the cheek; it cannoned off on Sir Ferozeshah Mehta. It flew, it fell, and, as at a given signal, white waves of turbaned men surged up the

China's extraordinary advances in recent decades have dragged the country up from totalitarian poverty to middle income authoritarianism. The scale and speed of this transformation rank it as one of the great events in human history. - Gideon Rose Editor *Foreign Affairs*

escarpment of the platform. Leaping, climbing, hissing the breath of fury, brandishing long sticks, they came striking at any head that looked to them Moderate, and in another moment, between brown legs, I caught glimpses of the Indian National Congress dissolving in chaos. Like Goethe at the battle of Valmy, I could have said, today marks the beginning of a new era and you can say that you were present at it.

Nevinson was right and significantly so. The signs of a new era took a distinct shape the next day, the nationalists (as opposed to the Moderates) holding their conference in a serene atmosphere. Says Nevinson, 'Grave and silent, I think without saying a single word - Mr. Aurobindo Ghose took the Chair and sat unmoved, with far-off eyes, as one who gazes at futurity. In clear, short sentences, without eloquence or passion, Mr. Tilak spoke till the stars shone and someone kindled a lantern at his side.'



SRI AUROBINDO'S PHILOSOPHICAL EPIC: SAVITRI

Dr (Mrs) Prema Nandakumar

Recently a Professor of Philosophy in an Indian College who was on a visit to Srirangam went around my library for a while. He was particularly struck by the fine production values of the Aurobindonian literature, which he found a joy to handle. But he exclaimed: Savitri is so difficult! He did not even know that the poem is about the legend which is familiar to us all. "What? The same Savitri-Satyavan story for which my wife takes auspicious objects to the vat-vriksha and performs puja?" As he had to go away immediately, he requested me for a simple write-up on the epic. Though I have been writing on Savitri from 1957 when I chose the epic as my doctoral subject, I found it a joy to write yet another brief note for this friend. For I find reading Savitri, writing about the poem and even typing the script cover me with Ananda. I wrote a brief introduction and I would like to share it with the readers.

It was natural for Sri Aurobindo to choose to write in English, his great philosophical poem, though after a few years in India he had gained sufficient

mastery of Sanskrit and Bengali. But English came to him naturally as from his childhood he had been using the language as his mother-tongue. It is as well, for he has given a unique epic for the English language and enriched English literature. It is entirely Indian in cast. Of course, being a recordation of mystic-yogic experiences, Savitri is not an easy read. In any case, the Hindu tradition is to read great poetry as parayana every day. One has to have a mood of reverent attention over a period of years, coming to the poem again and again, for not in one reading alone can one hope to conquer its heights of significance. Savitri too calls for such continuous and reverent study. If it baffles us at first, it may be that it is a new kind of poem, demanding a new alertness in response.

Savitri was begun in the closing years of the last century and concluded about the mid-point of the present century. It is a great Yogi's ripest and completest poetic testament. It is the story of a heroine enshrined in immemorial Hindu legend, and it carries the name of the holiest of Hindu mantras. It spans the past, the present and the future, man, Nature and God; it has an immediate human urgency, and also an enveloping cosmic background. Its very composition is largely the result (so it is confidently claimed) of a new aesthesis with its source of origin located in the overhead planes. At any rate, one must needs bring patience, receptiveness and humility to appreciate this epic, a poetic rendering of his philosophy of man's transformation, a symphonic recordation of a great Yogi's mystic apprehension of the aspirations and struggles of mankind for defeating death and achieving immortality.

Savitri is based on the Pativrata Upakhyana in the Vana Parva of the Mahabharata. Rishi Markandeya tells many stories to Prince Yudhishtira in the forest, partly to instruct him and largely to console him. Yudhishtira is still scalded by the memory of the outrage on his wife Draupadi, following the disastrous game of dice. He therefore asks Markandeya whether he has seen or heard of Draupadi's peer, in her chastity and strength. In reply, Markandeya tells the story of Savitri and her pativrata mahatmya, which may be explained as the 'glorious efficacy of wifely chastity'. Indeed it is more than a mere story, for Savitri to this

The deeper we look, the more we shall be convinced that the one thing wanting, which we must strive to acquire before all others, is strength – strength physical, strength mental, strength moral, but above all strength spiritual which is the one inexhaustible and imperishable source of all the others. - Sri Aurobindo

day is deeply imbedded in the Hindu woman's consciousness, as the pure virgin awaiting her future husband or as the pure wife warding off with the armour of her chastity all evil and danger that threatens her husband.

The Savitri story is told by Rishi Markandeya in the course of seven cantos. Aswapati, King of Madra, is pious and virtuous. But he is sorrow-stricken, as he is childless. For eighteen years he undergoes austerities, daily offering a hundred thousand oblations to the fire to the accompaniment of mantras in honour of the Goddess Savitri, who appears at last in her resplendent form and promises that a daughter of great beauty will soon be born to him.

Returning to his duties as King, he lives as righteously as before, and his eldest wife bears in due course a daughter, who, being the gift of the Goddess Savitri, is also now named Savitri. She grows in beauty worthy of a goddess. On a certain auspicious day, having fasted and taken her bath and offered prayers to the gods, Savitri approaches her father, touches his feet in reverence, offers flowers, and stands silent and expectant by his side. He tells her simply: "Seek a husband and choose for yourself". Savitri starts on her quest accompanied by wise and elderly counselors.

When Savitri returns home, she finds her father seated along with Sage Narada. When asked by her father, Savitri says that she had chosen as her husband Satyavan whom she found in a forest hermitage living with his exiled father Dyumathsena of Shalwa. Narada is not too happy. Satyavan is a brilliant person in every way but has only one more year to live. Taken aback, Aswapati asks his daughter to choose another young man in the place of Satyavan.

But Savitri answers with firm resolve: "There are things that are done but once; be he long-lived or short-lived, be he endowed with or bereft of virtues, I have chosen, and cannot choose again; seized by the mind, presented in speech, it remains only to be translated into deed". The elders are overwhelmed and bless her. Aswapati takes Savitri to the forest, has the marriage performed, leaves her in her future home and returns to his kingdom.

Satyavan and Savitri are mutually happy in

having secured their heart's desire. She now puts by all her ornaments and rich clothes, and lives the bare pure life of a dedicated hermitress. Her many virtues, her serviceable acts and her gentle, subdued behaviour please one and all. Yet, as time passes by, day and night Savitri keeps in mind the fateful word spoken by Narad, and she can have no inner peace.

When hardly four days are to go before the threatened danger to Satyavan's life, Savitri, resolves to undertake the tri-ratra vow, fasting, praying, and standing night and day. She stills Dyumathsena's fears and anxieties on her behalf and assures him that she will be able to carry out her vow. She does so and takes the blessings of the elders, then goes to the forest along with Satyavan on his daily routine to gather wood. Though with a heavy heart, Savitri accompanies Satyavan, admiring the multifoliate woods echoing with the peacock's cries.

A little later, in the act of felling a tree, Satyavan is overcome by fatigue and his head begins to ache. Savitri makes him sit by her side, and lays his head on her lap. She sees before her a bright-robed figure, handsome and majestic, a diadem on his head, a noose in his hand; altogether terrifying is his aspect. She rises, having first gently shifted her husband's head to rest on the ground, and salutes him reverentially. She learns that he is Yama who has come to carry off Satyavan as his days on earth are over; and Yama has come himself, as befitting so worthy and virtuous a person as Satyavan. So saying Yama draws forth from Satyavan's body his life (prana), which is the measure of a thumb, and so the body becomes untenanted, lustreless, inert and unsightly. As Yama now walks away in a southerly direction, Savitri too follows him, her heart overwhelmed by sorrow.

Now begins the great debate between fixt fate and the power of Love, the law of adamantine Necessity and the variant play of Freedom; Yama at first asks Savitri to retrace her steps and perform her husband's funeral rites. She says that wherever her husband goes or is taken; there she must follow him; having walked seven paces with Yama already; she can claim the privilege of friendly converse with him; actually she seems to talk in conundrums. Her whole point is that Yama, who is also Dharma, should

Useless laws weaken necessary ones.

- Montesquieu

permit Savitri and Satyavan to continue their dharma or grihastha mode of life and not separate them.

Yama is pleased, and asks her to choose a boon, only the life of Satyavan excepted. Savitri asks for the restoration of eyesight to her father-in-law and this is granted, but she is not to be shaken off still, and she speaks insinuatingly to Yama, pleading and almost preaching. A second boon he grants, and a third; she desires that her father-in-law may regain his kingdom, and that her father, Aswapati, may have a hundred sons of his own. Pressed now to return, Savitri says again that her place is with her husband wherever he may be, and adds fair and flattering speech, which invokes the grant of a fourth boon. "May a hundred sons be born to me and Satyavan"; she says. Yama grants this boon as well and begs her to return, but she tarries still, and speaks more sweetly and wisely than ever before extolling the efficacy of the good and the righteous, so much so Yama concedes her a final incomparable boon. Savitri tells him simply that Satyavan's life be restored. Yama is pleased, gives back Satyavan's life, blesses her heartily, and disappears. Savitri, her love's labour won, returns to the place in the forest where she had earlier left her husband's listless body.

Satyavan regains consciousness, views her face with lingering affection like one just come home after a long sojourn abroad, and says; "I seem to have slept long, you should have awakened me; but where is that dark person that tried to take me away"? Savitri answers suitably and together they return home .

On being asked by the sages of the forest, Savitri reveals all the circumstances—Narad's prophecy, her vow, her accompanying Satyavan to the woods, Yama's coming, her truthful speeches, the five boons, and the happy ending of it all. The ascetics praise her with one voice, take leave of Dyumathsena and Satyavan, and go to their respective abodes. As the Mahabharata says: 'Even thus did Savitri redeem from peril and raise to high fortune herself, her father and mother, her father-in-law and mother-in-law, as also the whole race of her husband(bharthuh kulam)'.

It is this poem in seven cantos, making a total of about 700 lines in the original Sanskrit, that Sri

Aurobindo has expanded and transformed into a modern English epic in 12 Books, of 49 cantos, spread over nearly 24,000 lines. What is omitted in the original is supplied by Sir Aurobindo in luxuriant detail (for example, the details of Savitri's 'quest' and the first meeting of Savitri and Satyavan); what is seminal or vaguely implied is elaborated with almost overwhelming effect (for example, Aswapati's Yoga and Savitri's Yoga); and what is seemingly a personal victory is invested with the overtones and undertones of spiritual significance so as to chime in with the current psychological idiom and gain a sure access to men's souls. Professors of philosophy are missing much if they overlook Savitri in their reading lists. For the poem gives a local habitation and image to what appear to be no more than concepts of evolution, the psychic being and the ability to transcend the veils of physical limitations. In any case it helps the Indian Professor master the idiom of philosophy and logic (which is particularly visible in the debate between Savitri and Death).

Sri Aurobindo perhaps thought that a poetic projection of his philosophical thought and yogic experiences could convey his ideas better to the reader. Being a poet by nature, writing Savitri was a natural corollary to his works like 'The Synthesis of Yoga and The Life Divine'. Thus Aswapati's 18-years' tapasya is taken up by Sri Aurobindo to give a living movement to his ideas. Eighteen years' austerities? Only for the birth of a child? What symbol worlds, spiritual realms, psychic regions might Aswapati not have traversed in the course of his austerities? Musn't he have grown in understanding, musn't even his original aspiration have suffered a progressive sea-change with the widening of the horizons of his understanding? Sri Aurobindo accordingly explores in the epic, the nature of Aswapati's Yoga, presents its various stages, maps out the worlds traveled, the depths sounded, the heights scaled. The experiences described are supra-normal; and besides the inspiration of the Vedas and the Upanishads, Sri Aurobindo has also had to draw very largely upon his own Yogic experiences. A few verses in the original poem became a whole Book, in 15 cantos! In fact, Aswapati's Yoga and the promise of the Goddess

We make our friends, we make our enemies, but God makes our next-door neighbours.

- G.K.Chesterton

Savitri, which take about 10 lines in the Mahabharata, occupy almost half of Sri Aurobindo's entire epic, which means more than a thousand-fold expansion!

The second key event is Narad first uttering a grave warning against Savitri's marrying Satyavan, and, later, after hearing Savitri, actively advising Aswapati to allow Savitri to have her own way. Sri Aurobindo has an entire Book, The Book of Fate to discuss the philosophical idea of Free Will vs. Pre-destination. A Professor addressing his students in an Indian classroom will be particularly benefitted by Rishi Narad's tremendous speech on the theory of incarnation.

There is, then, the tri-ratra vow in the Sanskrit original observed by Savitri - fasting, standing day and night, offering libation to the fire, saluting the elders. Sri Aurobindo sees this as yoga so we have a massive Book of Yoga describing Savitri's experiences as she sits in meditation. We watch Savitri's quest for her soul, her entry into the "inner countries", and her ultimate finding of her true soul and the Soul. This is Psychology in action. How does a person gain self-confidence and what are the stages he passes through till the realization comes to him that in him reside all the powers? It is scintillating poetry as also a manual of intuitive psychology in terms of self-analysis and self-watch.

Finally there is the scene, where Savitri faces alone Yama that is Dharma as well, and follows him as he carries away Satyavan's life, and compels the law of predestination itself to yield ground and submit to the imperatives of Savitri's love for her husband. . Three whole Books,--'The Book of Eternal Night', 'The Book of the Double Twilight' and 'The Book of Everlasting Day',--taking up a total of over 150 pages, are devoted by Sri Aurobindo to this unearthly scene. Here Savitri comes to clash with alien or seductive powers and succeeds finally in asserting the claims of Life, Light, and Joy. She also images the Bodhisattva ideal in giving precedence to the ensuring of happiness to all living beings instead of herself and Satyavan gaining the Heavens of Bliss.

Taken as a whole, Sri Aurobindo's epic projects his philosophy of transformation that marks the pace of evolution. An integral transformation of all the elements that make man is indeed the whole aim of

the evolutionary adventure. Sri Aurobindo saw this - almost experienced it - as a distinct possibility and as a near probability. In The Life Divine he wrote:

"Life and the body would be no longer tyrannous masters demanding nine-tenths of their satisfaction, but means and powers for the expression of the spirit. At the same time, since the matter and the body are accepted, the control and the right use of physical things would be a part of the realized life of the spirit in the manifestation in earth-nature".

"The matter and the body are accepted",- accepted and made fit instruments for housing the divine; this is no turning away from life, seeking felicity in a remote Vaikuntha or Paradise in a vague hereafter, but seeking it here and now. Sri Aurobindo affirmed, indeed, that an integral transformation, a divinisation, of human nature and earth-nature is a thing "decreed and inevitable". He even laid down the main lines of this progressive transformation in his treatise, 'The Synthesis of Yoga' and hinted at the nature of the final change:

"The integral liberation comes when this passion for release, mumksutwa, founded on distaste or vairagya, is itself transcended; the soul is then liberated both from attachment to the lower action of nature and from all repugnance to the cosmic action of the Divine. This liberation gets its completeness when the spiritual gnosis can act with a supramental knowledge and reception of the action of Nature and a supramental luminous will in initiation. The gnosis discovers the spiritual sense in Nature, God in things, the soul of good in all things that have the contrary appearance. The liberation of the Nature becomes one with the liberation of the spirit, and there is founded in the integral freedom the integral perfection".

The message of Savitri is indeed this as she prefers to return to the world with a living Satyavan and transform life on earth into a life divine. As she assures the Supreme:

"My soul and his indissolubly linked
In the one task for which our lives were born,
To raise the world to God in deathless Light,
To bring God down to the world on earth we
came,

Indian railways did expand over a diverse and often very difficult terrain at a speed that was not paralleled anywhere else. - Mark Tully

To change the earthly life to life divine.
 I keep my will to save the world and man;
 Even the charm of thy alluring voice,
 O blissful Godhead, cannot seize and snare.
 I sacrifice not earth to happier worlds.....
 Since God has made earth, earth must make in
 her God;
 What hides within her breast she must reveal.
 I claim thee for the world that thou hast made.
 If man lives bound by his humanity,
 If he is tied for ever to his pain,
 Let a greater being then arise from man,
 The superhuman with the Eternal mate
 And the Immortal shine through earthly forms.
 Else were creation vain and this great world
 A nothing that in Time's moments seems to be.
 But I have seen through the insentient mask;
 I have felt a secret spirit stir in things
 Carrying the body of the growing God:
 It looks through veiling forms at veiless truth;
 It pushes back the curtain of the gods;
 It climbs towards its own eternity."

(Savitri, Book XI, canto 1.)



NOSTALGIA – A SWEET SUFFERING

Shri K.R.A. Narasiah

Author and Retired Marine Engineer

Milan Kundera, a French writer of Czech origin says of Nostalgia: "The Greek word for "return" is nostos. Algos means "suffering." So nostalgia is the suffering caused by an unappeased yearning to return."

I feel, Nostalgia is a sweet suffering, because the thoughts are sweet and suffering because you miss them so much; the oxymoron of the title is therefore intended. I often chew cud and enjoy the memories. When I read the article NAVY DAY 2015; TIME TO RECLAIM INDIA'S ANCIENT MARITIME HERITAGE by Admiral (retd) Arun Prakash, I was taken back in a time machine to early 70s, while employed in the Visakhapatnam Port Trust, after having served both

in the Indian Navy (1949-1963) and merchant marine for considerable time. It was when Bangladesh liberation movement started and the Armed Forces of India were engaged in a war with Pakistan, incited by Pakistan's atrocities in the eastern region. The US was also siding Pakistan and was ready to send her fleet against India at one point of time. As a reservist of the Indian Navy, and having served for over three years as the first Indian Flight Deck Chief of INS Vikrant (for the construction of which I was deputed to Harland & Wolff shipyard in Belfast), I was called back by the Indian Navy at a very short notice for a period of about four months. I was posted to serve with the Eastern Naval Command at Visakhapatnam under Admiral Krishnan. As special gesture I was allowed to retain the quarters of Port and other services like having a launch for myself from the port. I was reporting to Commander Mukundan, who also like me was trained at INS Shivaji.

It was a cold night of December when a call came to me from Commander Mukundan, who simply said "the balloon is up; please go immediately to INS Nistar in port's dry-dock, to undock the vessel as a Pakistani submarine has been reportedly sunk in front of the Vizag harbour, Nistar has to proceed to get the remains of the submarine."

I rushed immediately to the dry-dock and called all the personnel of the port dry-dock wing for flooding the dry-dock and take Nistar out. The vessel was loaned to Indian Navy by the Russians. There were four Russians working with me to take this vessel – a submarine rescue vessel fitted with special underwater equipment and divers – which had to proceed to the spot where the Ghazi had sunk. We worked non-stop for about 18 hours and got the Nistar out and she sailed late next day and spotted where the Ghazi lay deep in the water of the bay with her tail floating and head deep in the soil. The divers went down with the diving bell and through the closed circuit the sunken sub could be seen. Some bodies, a typewriter, log books and other materials were recovered and Nistar returned. All the material was exhibited later in a specially erected enclosure in the new entry camp of INS Circars where the public could view.

Though many stories were told regarding the sinking, to my knowledge as learned from the control

It is difficult to believe that anyone who has ever been a passenger on Indian Railways could have failed to be touched by its magnificent and almost omnipresent heritage. - Gillian Wright

room (for long time the matter was treated as classified) INS Rajput, an old WW II 'R' class destroyer went out as decoy for INS Vikrant, which was the target of the Ghazi. Some fake signals with the call sign of Vikrant were sent from Rajput, thus making the enemy feel that Vikrant was in proximity. Ghazi had come all the way from the west with a mission to eliminate Vikrant and so did try to track Rajput as Vikrant. In fact it was almost a suicidal mission for Rajput as by then it was known that Vikrant was to be attacked. Rajput reported sighting some track on its starboard wing indicating underwater movement. It fired couple of depth charges and the Ghazi which had already moved the torpedoes to firing position had exploded caused by the impact of the depth charges thus blowing up its nose where the torpedos were ready with warheads in firing position. The explosion caused the submarine to nosedive to the depths of nearly 40 – 50 metres. However it was not known what happened then as Rajput sped away to Madras. Next day some fishermen reported finding a lifebuoy with US markings. This was handed over to the Navy. That is how the spot and the sinking was known to the Navy.

Since it was the hand of God that helped the Navy, Admiral Krishnan as a part of thanksgiving, after peace returned caused 108 coconuts to be broken at the altar of Ganesh temple at Waltair uplands! The fishermen who found the lifebuoy were honoured in a specially arranged meeting at a public space.

The rest is history.



SRI SATHYA SAI BABA'S SERVICE TO HUMANITY

Dr. A. Aswini Kumar

*Professor of Medicine, Ashram Medical College,
Eluru*

Sri Sathya Sai Baba's birthday celebrations were held from 20th November 2015 to 24th November 2015 at Prasanthi Nilayam, Puttaparthi. Every day nearly 30 to 50 thousand people visited and on 23rd November 2015 (Baba's Birthday) nearly a lakh of people visited to have Bhagawan's Maha Samadhi darshan. All the devotees were given free breakfast, lunch, tea and dinner. The discipline of the devotees and the orderliness of the devotees at the food

counters or at the darshan of Bhagawan's Maha Samadhi is to be seen to be believed. How could it happen?

Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen always refers to India's two major afflictions – inadequate healthcare system and neglect of education, especially primary. Sri Sathya Sai Baba had identified these decades ago and raised top-class hospitals and educational institutions. In addition to these, He started mobile hospitals ten years ago with teams of doctors reaching out to remote villages with medical aid facilities. Doctors from different parts of the state and the country come to Prashantinilayam every month and take part in these service activities on allotted days. It is Bhagwan's grace that gave me the privilege of rendering service to the poor every month during the last ten years through these unique mobile hospital services.

We organize Medical Conferences and have the experience of organizing both State and National Conferences. Nearly 3 to 4 thousand delegates attend the State Conference and 7 to 10 thousands attend the National Conference. We plan everything by registering delegates, collect registration fee, arrange accommodation etc. We know the number of delegates and the accompanying persons and everything about their stay etc. We give them their kits along with coupons for breakfast, lunch, tea and dinner with dates marked. Everything is planned to near perfection.

During Bhagawan's birthday celebrations, nobody knows how many devotees would come for lunch and many local people come with carriers to take food for their family members and how many would stay for lunch and dinner. But all are served hot and tasty food, the same sweets and the same food. Who prepares the food so fast and so quickly to serve hot food continuously till the last person. That is divine grace and Swami making the food 'AKSHAYA'. Otherwise it is next to impossible to serve food to so many people in an orderly way. His Divine presence is felt everywhere.

Cleanliness is next only to Godliness and when God Himself is present the whole area in Prasanthi Nilayam is spick and span in spite of the mammoth crowds that assemble there. As a medical man who

While saints are engaged in introspection, burly sinners run the world.

- John Dewey

served in the hospital there, I saw no one developing gastrointestinal disturbances like diarrhoea, dysentery, abdominal pains, not even indigestion. All that happens because of His Divine presence.

Swami coined the term *Educare* which means value based education and caring for the pupil from kindergarten level to post graduate studies. It is heartening to note that all the hundred Sri Sathya Sai schools are taking part in the 5th National Convention being held in Visakhapatnam for the first time from February 12 to 14. Sri Sathya Sai Baba's grace will continue to provide *educare* for the youth and healthcare for the poor.



PURE SELFLESS LOVE

Sri C. Sivasankaram

This celestial circumstance of love is hardly felt and rarely found in action. All must be prepared to arrive at the conclusion that in all without distinction of caste, creed and clan there is existence of God of pure love. He is love. Then there is no room for existence of the narrow, sectarian differentiation of I and He.

In such a state of supernal mind God reveals himself as truth (the vital life) palpitating within all. One must be ripe enough to experience this alive in all. That means such peoples view attains to the view of universal spirit. Such soul is akin to kingly lion.

Lion never entertains fear of any sort. It will never submit to whatever type of ups and downs or even terrific odds. He (the lion fearless) enjoys luxurious freedom as the unrivalled emperor of his animal kingdom. The person who is influenced and impacted by body consciousness possesses the outlook of sheep. This nature is tantamount to that of sheep. Thus every value pertaining to man goes wasted. In the person who is imbedded with self sight (that is every thing is looked up-on as self), every sense organ, such as mind, intellect and heart and the four internal organs will be under the vigilant restraint of soul. Hence if there exists vision of self everything is easily under control. There is no wrong to enjoy worldly fruits. Your goal is definitely otherworldly. If the goal is perfectly confined to self there is no sin if you run your life in accordance with the way the Dharma of the day decided.

Dr.(Mrs.) Prema Nandakumar's articles published in CPS Bulletin are being brought out in a book form under the title '**Matter's Logic and Spirit's Dreams - A Sheaf of Essays**' to be released shortly. Worthy daughter of an eminent father, the late Prof. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Dr. (Mrs.) Prema is an outstanding scholar and prolific writer with a mastery of at least four languages. CPS is beholden to her for according permission to publish her valuable contributions in book form.

CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

(GAYATRI VIDYA PARISHAD)

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

Chairman :

Shri A.S.N. Prasad

Patrons :

Dr. B. Swami

Prof. R.V.R.Chandrasekhara Rao

Shri T.R. Prasad

Director :

Prof. A. Prasanna Kumar

Associate Director :

Prof. P.V. Sarma

Governing Body

Shri V.Seetaramaiah

Prof. P. Somaraju

Shri D. Dakshinamurty

Prof. K.C. Reddy

Prof. V. Balamohan Das

Shri V.R.K.S. Siva Prasad

Shri M. Varahalu Chetty

Sri D.V.S. Kameswara Rao

Shri. Kasim S. Mehdi

Shri K.S. Sastri

Dr. B. Subba Rao

Dr. S. Vijaya Kumar

Prof. P. Srinivasa Rao

Prof. V.S.R.K. Prasad

Dr. P. Raja Ganapathi

Prof. I.H. Nagaraja Rao



Port of Visakhapatnam

to be the most preferred Port in South Asia
Offering Services of Global Standards

All weather port that operates 24x7

A port taking long strides towards total mechanization with state of art technology

A port that serves major sectors driving the economy

Emerging Gateway on the East Coast

A Port that responds quickly to the infrastructure augmentation needs

A Port that has 3 International accreditations



VISAKHAPATNAM PORT TRUST

ISO 9001, ISO 14001, OHSAS 18001 certified, ISPS Compliant Port

Visakhapatnam - 530 035, Andhra Pradesh, India

Tel : 91-891-2876000 | Fax : 91-891-2565023

Web : www.vizagport.com | Email : info@vizagport.com