

## PROTECTION OF CHERISHED VALUES AND CONSTITUTIONAL NORMS *a national responsibility*

The BJP government led by Narendra Modi has completed three years in office. Buoyed up by its recent electoral successes in four states, the BJP is now vigorously working out its strategy to capture power in the southern states also. With Narendra Modi’s charisma undimmed even by the dramatic manner in which demonetization was done stunning the nation, adversely affecting small businesses and inconveniencing millions of people across the country, the BJP leadership is preparing the electoral roadmap for the next ten years, far beyond the 2019 general election. In Indian politics electoral ‘waves’ that catapult parties and leaders into power do not last long. But in the case of Narendra Modi two major advantages ensure the invulnerability of his own position and BJP’s immediate political future. First is Modi’s energetic leadership allied to communication skills. There is no political rival capable of matching his skills or posing a threat to his *numero uno* position. Secondly the emaciated opposition parties whose pronounced weaknesses will be Modi’s added strength!

That apart there are quite a few chinks in Narendra Modi’s armour which may grow into costly mistakes in the unpredictable world of politics. When Narendra Modi was sworn in, exactly three years ago, in the midst of hope and enthusiasm, the new Prime Minister aroused high expectations with a shower of promises. One of them was to alleviate the suffering of the farming community by declaring that “no one will be allowed to loot farmers.” That was in 2014 when 5650 farmers committed suicide. The following year the number registered an increase of 42% with 8007 farmers ending their lives. The plight of the poor farmers continues to be pathetic. Modi’s resolve to ‘bring back black money’, his tirade against corrupt people for their ‘anti national activity’ and determination to root out corruption prompted his admirers and party cadres to claim that ‘the BJP rule is corruption free.’ The Prime Minister touched a chord in many a heart when he proclaimed that his ‘mind and body are totally devoted to making India corruption free.’ The irrefutable fact, however, is that corruption has not come down though scams such as those that had rocked the previous UPA government have not surfaced. Corruption is so deeply entrenched in our body politic that nothing moves in government offices and official circles without the intervention of corrupt elements. Is it possible for a poor person to get a ration card, or a birth certificate or the family of a deceased person a death certificate without greasing the palm of the government employee/official concerned?

Many of our state governments have become dens of corruption. Sycophancy, casteism, nepotism and feudal practices lay the path to power. Dynastic rule and authoritarianism of those in power have eroded the legacy left behind by leaders of vision and integrity. Implementation of the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution can be a solution to the misrule at the state and local levels. Instead of converting non-issues into national controversies the BJP government must strive to generate national consensus on vital issues like gender justice, employment generation and national unity. As P.N. Haksar said ‘it is essential to understand the concepts of pluralism and transcendence for achieving national integrity’. Granville Austin, the seer of Indian constitutional philosophy, warned against ‘the exploitative nature of capitalism in India’. The Prime Minister must protect the nation against such divisive and disruptive forces aided by corporate culture in their bid to have a stranglehold on Indian politics. There is force in the charge that the government is intolerant of criticism. If criticism is the anti-septic of democracy, dissent is the essence of democratic maturity. Two years are a long time in politics, enough for Narendra Modi to put the system back on rails. Pluralism, democratic decentralization and diversity are the strengths of Indian democracy. It is the duty of the government and responsibility of every Indian citizen to protect the cherished values and constitutional norms against any threat from anywhere.

**- The Editor**

## THE MENACE OF A DELUSIONAL DRAGON

**Admiral Arun Prakash (Retd)**

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

China's state-owned *Global Times* newspaper reported last month that the People's Liberation Army Navy's (PLAN's) second aircraft-carrier, referred to as 'Type 001A' is nearing completion and that another carrier, dubbed 'Type 002' is also under construction. The Type 002 represents, not only a much bigger class of ship, but will incorporate modern design and operational features, including a catapult and early-warning aircraft. A senior Chinese official was quoted as saying: '*China needs two carrier strike groups in the Western Pacific and two in the Indian Ocean. So we need at least five to six aircraft-carriers.*'

Other manifestations of China's unfolding grand-strategy abound. It has built runways and fortified seven artificial islands created in the Spratleys group in the South China Sea (SCS); thereby leap-frogging the mental and physical barrier posed to the PLAN by the 'first island chain'. India is encircled by a growing ring of Chinese power and influence. To the north, garrisons, airfields and missile-sites linked by modern road-rail networks underpin China's dominant posture on the Tibetan plateau. Ominously, the Xining-Lhasa rail-link is progressing towards Nepal, where China has made significant political inroads. To our east, China's Yunan province will gain access to the Bay of Bengal via rail, highway and pipeline linking it to the deep-water port being built by China at Kyaukpyu in Myanmar.

A parallel endeavour on India's western flank, dubbed the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), will create access to the Arabian Sea from Xinjiang to the Pakistani port of Gwadar via Gilgit-Baltistan. Described by Foreign Secretary Jaishankar as violative of "*...Indian sovereignty because it runs through Pakistan-occupied Kashmir*", CPEC forms the bedrock of China's South Asian strategy, with a commitment of over \$50 billion.

Further west, China has set up its first overseas military base at Djibouti on the Bab el-Mandeb. To our

south, China has built a new harbour in Hambantota and modernized Colombo port for Sri Lanka. All three ports could provide bases or sanctuaries to PLAN ships and submarines deployed in the Indian Ocean. There is already news that the PLAN intends to deploy its expanded marine corps to Djibouti and Gwadar. The recent Chinese sale of eight diesel submarines to Pakistan and two to Bangladesh provides conclusive evidence of India's 'strategic encirclement'.

India's decision-makers are, almost certainly, receiving divergent counsel about the Dragon's actions and intent. China's left-leaning sympathisers scoff at the 'encirclement' thesis and maintain that China, neither wants war, nor seeks further territorial gains, but only economic engagement and tangible proof of friendship; which India has consistently failed to provide by playing the Dalai Lama card, cozying up to the US and withholding cooperation on the 'Belt and Road' initiative. Before the recent re-naming of Indian towns, by Beijing, the demand for Tawang was explained away as a 'bargaining ploy' and India was advised to find a *modus vivendi* in order to befriend China somehow.

Even as we dismiss these inducements to appeasement, we must recognize the many serious dichotomies that distort our perception of this Asian hegemon. While China looms large in India's security perspectives, the former does not regard India as a threat or even competitor. For Chinese strategists, asymmetry is inherent in such relations, and they bluntly advise that rather than obsessing with futile dreams of parity, India must reconcile itself to a subaltern status *vis-à-vis* China.

In a novel explanation of China's conduct, American scholar, John Garver has termed it an 'autistic state'. The analogy refers to an individual, whose delusions and fantasies prevent him from comprehending the motivations and emotions of others due to this neurological disorder. For example, there is firm conviction in China that the root causes of the 1962 conflict were India's 'forward policy' and its putative ambition to seize Tibet.

There is also evidence of Chinese schizophrenia. While dismissing India as a weak and effete state, on one hand, PLA ideologues also vilify it as an ambitious

The prospect of progressive humanization of the social order by means of democratic expansion of wealth and culture is a phantasmagoria.

David Selbourne

and expansionist power, waiting to avenge its 1962 military defeat. Most irksome to them, is India's 'proprietary' attitude towards the Indian Ocean and its growing maritime relations with the US, Japan and Australia.

While China's self-perception has always been that of a benign and benevolent great power ('middle kingdom'), in another example of Freudian self-deception, the Chinese simultaneously nurture a deep-seated 'victim mentality' as a relic of China's subjugation and humiliation by foreign powers during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. And yet, a strong streak of realism has ensured that China's post-Civil War leadership retained a crystal-clear vision of their aims: hegemony in Asia, acquisition of nuclear weapons and incorporation of Tibet into the Peoples Republic.

As Indian diplomats and security experts struggle to resolve the manifold 'Chinese conundrums', they need to take note of two strategic realities that emerge from the dramatic growth of PLAN and creation of SCS island-fortresses. These bases can now be used to forward-deploy ships, aircraft and missiles to threaten US or other naval forces, and such deployments could extend the operational range of PLAN surface and air forces by as much as 600-900 miles.

This is also the distance by which the Chinese are, now, closer to India's Andaman & Nicobar Islands. While Port Blair is 900 miles from Chennai, it happens to be 1900 miles from the Fiery Cross reef, via Malacca Strait. In the near future, when the PLAN is the world's second most powerful navy, it may feel confident enough to contemplate a re-enactment of 1962 in the Bay of Bengal to cut India to size again. How prepared would our political leadership and the armed forces be to react against a PLAN amphibious assault, on the Andamans, supported by one or more aircraft-carriers?

This may, indeed, sound far-fetched; but so did Pearl Harbour in 1941 and Namka Chu in 1962. We, too, will soon have a robust and modern navy at sea but without a national security doctrine or strategy, will we know how to use it as an instrument of state policy?

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## IS HIGHER JUDICIARY IN A CUL-de-SAC?

**Shri P.S.Rama Mohan Rao, I.P.S.(Retd.)**  
Former Governor of Tamil Nadu  
Ex-DGP, Government of Andhra Pradesh

The judgment of the Supreme Court striking down the National Judicial Appointments Commission Act is severely flawed for reasons of both Jurisprudence and equity which will be explained later in this Article.

After, all the controversy that has dogged this issue, one would have expected that the Supreme Court, after having wrested back the control over appointments to higher judiciary, would have overhauled the collegium procedure to make it more transparent, objective and credible . The explosive revelations of one of the Judges who became a member of the collegium pointed to the contrary and only strengthened the popular misgivings over the collegium procedure. However, the Govt. of India , without seeking a further confrontation have negotiated with the Supreme Court a memorandum of procedure for appointments, which is said to be in the final stages of mutual agreement.

But, why is the S.C. Judgment flawed?

The judgment restores the collegium procedure laid down, by the Supreme Court in the Third Judge's case, by way of interpreting the meaning and import of Art.124(2) of the Constitution. In doing so, the Court, by a tortuous "sleight of the pen", morphed Article 124(2) to resemble Article 74. In effect, it laid down that the words "after consultation" would mean "concurrence" of the President with the Court's recommendations for appointment of Supreme Court Judges. The President will have only a limited option of returning the recommendations for reconsideration. If they are reiterated, he will have no further choice but to accept them. Article 74(2) imposes an identical obligation on the President in regard to advice tendered to him by the Council of Ministers (Cabinet) in regard to legislation and governance.

Was this the intention of the Constitution makers? If so, why did they employ different language

Your heart is the source of peace, happiness, and bliss. Therefore, if you want peace, happiness, and bliss, you should look within.

Sri Sathya Sai Baba

and construction for the two Articles? The debates of the Constituent Assembly provide the answer. Several members moved various amendments ranging from appointment of Judges with the concurrence of the Chief Justice of India to the election of Judges by Parliament. In settling the debate, Dr.B.R.Ambedkar advanced the following arguments.

(a) “There should be consultations with persons who are ‘ex-hypothese’ well qualified to give proper advice”

(b) Eminent as he is, “the Chief Justice is a man with all the failings, all the sentiments and all the prejudices” attributable to common people ---- and “to allow the Chief Justice practically a veto upon the appointment of Judges is to really transfer to the Chief Justice, the authority which we are not prepared to vest in the President or the Government of the day”.

The collegium procedure is thus a virtual repudiation of the intent of the constitution makers.

Article 124(2) provides for consultation by the President, with not only the judges of the Supreme Court but also with such High Court judges in States, as he may deem necessary. This clearly implies, that in choosing the Supreme Court Judges, the President (Executive) need not be guided only and entirely by the views of the Supreme Court and could take into account where and when necessary the independent opinions of High Court judges also. Further, the careful usage of the words “after consultation” and not “in consultation” strengthens this view and suggests that the consultation process is sequential and not concurrent. The Constitution, while locating the power of appointment with the President (Executive) accorded sufficient role for Judiciary in making the choices. But the collegium procedure, now being insisted upon by the SC, extinguishes this option. In effect, without an amendment by Parliament, the SC has completely changed the content and character of Article 124(2), by overreaching its powers of interpretation, wide and extensive as they are.

The Constitution, no doubt, circumscribes the sovereignty of Parliament with its various canons. The same would also apply to the powers of

interpretation of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court can elaborate and enlarge the amplitude of a constitutional provision as it had done in respect of Right to life and Right to Education. But it cannot interpret a statutory provision to mean the opposite of what the clear and unambiguous language of that provision conveys.

Superior Judges, by their oaths, bear allegiance to the Constitution. On the other hand, the President of India, by his oath has to protect, preserve and defend the Constitution, In the event of a sharp difference of opinion between the Supreme Court and the Executive, in regard to the appointment of a particular person as Supreme Court Judge, whose opinion should the President accept? If, as the collegium procedure enjoins, he accepts the advice of the Supreme Court, he would have violated Article 74(2) and thereby failed to fulfill his oath. Even more, he would expose himself to the risk of impeachment, particularly, if a single political party were to dominate the Parliament. Certainly, it could not have been the intention of the Constitution makers to provide scope for such an eventuality.

Cabinet form of Government and the mandatory nature of its advice to the constitutional head are among the core features of the Indian constitution. If it was the intention of the constitution makers to take the council of Ministers completely out of the process of appointment of superior judges as the Supreme Court has done, they would have framed Art.124(2) on the lines of Art 103 under which the President has to go completely by the advice of the Election Commission, without any role for the Cabinet, in the matter of disqualification of Members of Parliament.

Another basic feature of the Constitution relates to the finely tuned checks and balances among the three branches of Governance. Here, it is pertinent to underline the point that the initial selection of High Court Judges from among whom, a majority of the Supreme Court Judges will be chosen, is crucial to the quality and credibility of superior judiciary. The collegium procedure impairs this arrangement. The only check against the Supreme Court is the process of appointment of Judges which is now taken away,

To a western observer our civilization appears as all metaphysics, as to a deaf man piano playing appears to be mere movements of fingers and no music.

Rabindranath Tagore

leading to the wide-spread belief about cronyism and nepotism which Late V.R.Krishna Iyer, one of the most eminent jurists to sit on the Supreme Court, pithily and wittingly summarized with his comment that replacement of the patronage of the political boss with patronage of the judicial boss has not improved the quality of judiciary.

Let us now look at the arguments of equity.

The reluctance of the Supreme Court to expose judiciary to the “sunlight” of Right to Information Act and its insistence on a closed and exclusive process of selection of superior judges, are totally inconsistent with the trust and confidence that civil society reposes in the Judiciary. Justice is a cloistered virtue but a cloistered process of appointment of judges is not. There is no other instance in the world where judges chose their own successors. Selection of superior judges should not only be objective and impartial but also must be seen to be such. The collegium procedure does not meet this test.

It is contended that the 14<sup>th</sup> Law Commission endorsed the collegium procedure forgetting the fact that other Law Commissions held a different view in favour of a Judicial Appointments Commission. So did the Administrative Reforms Commission and the National Human Rights Commission. In fact, the most severe indictment of collegium procedure came from its own architect, Chief Justice of India Late J.S.Varma. Similarly, another Retd. Chief Justice of India, MN Venkatachaliah, known for his jurisprudential erudition and judicial balance, shifted his position from “primacy to Judiciary” to “equal weight to judiciary and executive”. It is necessary to recall that these two judges along with Justice Krishna Iyer framed a Joint recommendation to Parliament in favour of an Appointments Commission.

Looking back, the excesses perpetrated on the Judiciary by an insecure Executive, during the emergency days, generated an understandable concern in the Judiciary about its independence. Equating such independence with “primacy in the appointment of Superior Judges”, the Supreme Court devised the collegium procedure when an opportunity for doing so came its way. This could have led to a confrontation with the Executive, but for the constraints of coalition politics at that time.

But in the face of growing evidence that the collegium procedure was proving as deficient and inadequate as the earlier process and the resultant public debate, the Executive, after prolonged and wide ranging consultations with all interest groups came up with the National Judicial Appointments Commission bill which was approved almost unanimously by Parliament. By striking down the Act on the flawed reasoning as described above, the Supreme Court has revived scope for a future confrontation. There cannot be much doubt, that when the political environment turns favorable, the Executive would like to strike back. In the meantime, the memorandum of procedure is unlikely to prevent frictions between the two branches of Governance.

There can be no room for turf wars and ego trips in a matter as vital as harmony among the three branches of the Constitutional Tripod. Sagacity and wisdom should prevail over past injuries and imagined fears. A few tweaks in the over turned NJAC Act to allay any apprehensions of the Judiciary regarding its loss of independence should have been the right answers.

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## **Neglect of national security: Modi needs to redress major deficiencies**

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

Director, Society for Policy Studies, New Delhi

The month of May this year has multiple relevance for India’s military and strategic security. It got off to an inauspicious start with the beheading of two Indian security personnel on May 1 and, predictably, the country is angry and anguished. The citizen is disappointed that such an event could have happened in the first instance (weren’t the ‘surgical strikes’ on militant camps in Pakistan last year supposed to stop such acts?) and expects a befitting response from the decisive Prime Minister Modi.

Kashmir valley is going through a phase of heightened domestic unrest including girl students pelting stones at security forces for the first time. The Army has indicated that it will embark upon stringent combing operations in the valley to weed out terrorists and their supporters.

May 11 marks the 19th anniversary of the nuclear tests by India in 1998 and at the time, in a letter to the US President Bill Clinton, then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee had identified China as the abiding anxiety to India's strategic security and dwelt on the "distrust" index between the two Asian giants.

That distrust has increased visibly over the last year apropos issues such as terrorism and the global nuclear order – and most recently the Dalai Lama. Consequently in a politically significant move, Beijing has put off its participation in the trilateral India-Russia-China foreign ministers' meeting scheduled to be held in Delhi in April under Indian auspices.

Furthermore, China is convening a major summit on May 14-15 in Beijing to herald its ambitious OBOR (One Belt-One Road) connectivity project. President Xi Jinping will play host to 28 world leaders, including Russian President Vladimir Putin, and India has decided not to be part of this mega event.

And in relation to China, Indian Army chief, General Bipin Rawat, reiterated an observation that his predecessors have made – that India is not providing enough by way of fiscal support to its military. Speaking at a public event (May 4) he cautioned: "While we are developing our economy, the military is not getting its due share. I think here we need to draw a lesson from China." The lesson being that nurturing military and economic growth should be "conjoint" as they are two tenets of national power.

This is the brief backdrop to India's complex security and strategic challenges as the Modi government completes three years in office on May 24. This, rather, bleak survey of national security is paradoxical, for candidate Modi had prioritized national security as a major plank and many disparaging references were made to the so-called meek and timid Dr. Manmohan Singh, his predecessor, in the 2013-14 election campaign.

The Indian voter was assured that a 'decisive' Modi would address national security in a far more effective manner. However the track record of the last three years has not been inspiring as regards major

structural deficiencies related to India's higher defence management. To me as an analyst, the most serious lapse on the part of the Prime Minister is that he has not been able to appoint a full time Defence Minister since May 2014.

Finance Minister Arun Jaitley is holding dual charge of the defence ministry for the second time after previous incumbent Manohar Parrikar returned to Goa and there is no sign of any appointment in the near future. There are a range of issues that warrant the highest priority being accorded to matters of national security at cabinet level – but absence of a dedicated full-time minister this task cannot even be outlined, let alone resolved swiftly.

It merits repetition that India's comprehensive national security challenge spectrum is not just about the Indian military and the Defense ministry. Internal security is an equally vital strand – and Kashmir apart, the challenge of left-wing extremism also referred to as the Maoist rebel movement is deeply entrenched in some states. Chattisgarh has been dealing with this internal challenge for some years and in April, 25 CRPF (Central Reserve Police Force) personnel were killed in an ambush in Sukma.

The nation was once again in a state of anger and anguish – and the audio-visual media outlets raised the emotive pitch in the country. India was reminded that in April 2010 the Maoists had killed 76 CRPF personnel and at the time the BJP roasted the UPA government and then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh for rank incompetence.

In April 2017, the nation was also informed that for two months prior to the Sukma attack – the CRPF did not have a Director General. Why? Because the home ministry did not think this appointment was important enough. Again, I would hold the Prime Minister responsible for allowing such complacency in matters of internal security.

The default response of the Modi government in matters of national security has been to inhabit social media. Over the last few months, whenever there is a setback or security personnel killed, ministers invoke emotive nationalism and promise retribution on the perpetrators - whether from

The Prime Minister (Nehru) and his first colleague, the Deputy Prime Minister (Patel), together make a possession which makes India rich in every sense of the term. The former commands universal love, the latter universal confidence.

Rajaji

across the border or from the Maoist cadres. This is relayed on Twitter!

This is not adequate and what is required to set right the accreted national security deficit is hard work and resolve within the government that ought to be out of public glare. One has repeatedly drawn attention to the gaps in the implementation of the Kargil Committee related recommendations tabled in parliament in 2000 - that is 17 years ago - that go back to NDA I and the Vajpayee period of governance.

Modi has one year effectively ahead of him – before he hits the campaign trail again to become candidate NaMo - to review and redress major national security deficiencies. Appointing a full-time Defence Minister may be the much needed first step.

(Courtesy: South Asia Monitor, May 10, 2017)

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## Back to the Drawing Board -I

**Dr. R.V. Vaidyanatha Ayyar I.A.S. (Retd.)**

Former Secretary, HRD, Govt. of India  
& Prof. IIM, Bengaluru

The spectacular victory of BJP in the recent elections to the Uttar Pradesh Assembly following its victory in the 2014 elections had led political analysts to posit that Indian polity had entered a new phase in which, like the Congress Party during the first four decades of Independence, the BJP has come to be the natural party of governance. It has also been contended that the old tenets of secularism had become irrelevant, that the new hegemony of the BJP might be ‘used to dismantle the fundamentals of our republic’, and that consequently opposition should ‘reboot itself’ by recovering the legacy of Indian nationalism, and connecting ‘secular politics’ to ‘our traditions, cultures and languages’; the challenge to the new hegemony must ‘begin by developing a cultural tool kit to take on the ideological and moral legitimacy of the regime’.

The million-dollar question facing the nation is whether the purported paradigm shift in politics would also lead to the victory of the BJP and its affiliates in the culture and history wars, the country

has been witnessing ever since the rise of BJP as a major political force in the late 1980s. At the heart of the wars are competing conceptions of India, Indian nationalism, Indian culture and secularism. Cultural nationalism is central to the Hindutva ideology while liberals and leftists espouse civic-territorial nationalism, and revile the cultural nationalism of RSS and BJP for being exclusivist and jingoist, for discriminating against minorities particularly Muslims, for intolerance towards critics and reckless antipathy against Pakistan. Leftists and liberals as well as ‘secular’ parties assail the Hindutva forces for undermining secularism, a precious heritage of the Freedom Movement, while those who subscribe to Hindutva ideology condemn the practice of secularism in post-Independent India as ‘pseudo-secularism’ which treats and appeases Muslims as *voteki mandi ka maal* (vote banks), and props up backward-looking Muslim religious elements with a more obscurantist view of the *shariah* (Islamic jurisprudence) than practiced in many Muslim countries.

This article seeks to outline a historical narrative which would help understand better the contest of ideas and ideologies; it also offers a brief explanation of expressions like cultural nationalism, multiculturalism and secularism are bended about as catchwords without being aware of their multilayered meanings.

### I. Nationalism: A Little Bit of Theory

Talking of nationalism, in literature one can discern two *normative* concepts of a nation, and by extension of nationalism: civic nations and ethno-cultural nations. To put it simplistically, a ‘nation’ is a community of people with some shared attributes inhabiting a particular territory. According to the first concept of a nation, the shared attributes of a nation consist of civic laws such as the Constitution, and in the case of a liberal democracy of shared values enshrined in the Constitution such as freedom of association and expression, equality and secularism. The nationalism which follows from this concept of nation is civic-territorial nationalism which comprises attachment to one’s country (territory) and with the values enshrined in the Constitution and other civic laws. This conception of nation, nationalism and

national identity requires everyone belonging to the nation to feel first and foremost that he is the citizen of the nation. To illustrate, every Indian should feel primarily that he is an Indian citizen, and not a Hindu or Muslim, or a Tamilian or Punjabi, or a Brahmin or Dalit. Ideally, citizens should give up non-civic identities; at the very least they should subordinate such identities to civic identity, and further such identities should not influence electoral politics lest Governments and political parties should foster such identities for electoral advantage to the detriment of civic identity. The overarching policy question a civic-territorial nation faces is, what should the Government do to rein non-civic identities? Should the State wage a war against divisive cultural markers like religion and caste, and create a la the Soviet Union a New Indian? Or should religion, ethnicity and other cultural markers be strictly relegated to the private realm of the citizens by erecting a strong wall which separates the State and politics from religion and other cultural markers? Is such a strict separation possible at all?

In contrast to the civic-territorial conception of a nation, the second concept, called ethno-cultural nationalism, does not view the nation as a mere legal construct; people (*volk*) with a common history, common language and culture (in the sense of both way of life as well as literary and artistic expressions), and same ethnic composition constitute a nationality and that such a nationality is entitled to be constituted as a sovereign Nation-State. Ethno-cultural nationalism was the driving force of the unification of Germany and Italy as well as the demand for self-determination of the various 'nationalities' in the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires which culminated in the redrawing the map of Europe and the formation of many Nation-States in Central and Eastern Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Crafting a historical narrative to bring out the antiquity of the Nation and creating a national language are crucial activities in nation-formation as well as nation-building after the Nation-State is formed. Ethno-cultural nationalism holds that cultural and national identities are synonymous, if not identical, and that preserving and upholding the primacy of the nation and its culture

is as important a function of the State as securing for its citizens external and internal security, and the conditions for a settled life and prosperity. As an idea, ethno-cultural nationalism was more dominant than civic-territorial nationalism, and gave rise to the belief that the territorial boundaries of a state must coincide with the perceived cultural boundaries of a nation.

While in theory cultures and cultural identities of citizens do not matter with civic-territorial nationalism in actuality countries like France, the United Kingdom and the United States which are the 'historic paradigms of civic nationalism', attempted not only 'to inculcate constitutional principles' but had also insisted that 'their citizenries ...should also share further complex cultural contours, such as language, tradition, and a sense of common history and destiny' so that their citizens share a feeling of togetherness, the emotional core of nation was at peace with itself and able to face the future with confidence. This is because Man does not live by reason alone and requires emotional moorings; constitutional principles appeal to the head while cultural contours appeal to the heart. This point cannot be stressed enough as it is missed out by well-meaning leftists and liberals who espouse civic-territorial nationalism in our country.

## II. Competing Conceptions of Nationalism During Freedom Struggle

The spread of the idea that a Government without the consent of the people was illegitimate was an offshoot of English education which initially spread more among the Hindus than Muslims. Nationalism was fostered by the discovery of rich cultural heritage of India by colonial administrators like William Jones, James Prinsep, Muller as well as Indian scholars such as R.G.Bhandarkar and Rajendralal Mittal. Their studies brought home to all English-speaking Hindus the glory and grandness of ancient Hindus; the common heritage of a great culture, the common bondage of a common religion, mutual intercourse through English serving as a *lingua franca* and improved communications and transport like railways, posts and telegraph helped foster

In the name of toleration we have carefully protected superstitions, rites and customs.

S. Radhakrishnan

nationalism among the Hindus. Early nationalists like Dadabhai Naoroji offered a detailed economic critique of colonialism; their intense intellectual activity destroyed the imperialist argument that colonialism was beneficial to India. However, for quite a long time nationalists who believed in gradual progression to self-rule within the British Empire and adoption of constitutional means to attain that goal were dominant.

What put an end to their hegemony was the agitation against the bifurcation of Bengal, a historic landmark in that it radicalised nationalist politics, and spectacularly altered nationalist perception about many aspects of British rule including the education introduced by the British. The symbols and discourse employed by the 'militant nationalists' like Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Sri Aurobindo were distinctly Hindu. It should however, be said in their defence that if political mobilisation was to go beyond the English educated minority, it was necessary to invoke symbols with which the politically uninitiated could readily empathise, and the masses were at a stage of history where religion had an all-pervasive influence. According to the noted Marxist historian Eric Hosbawm, during the period 1789-1848, even after the spread among the educated of the rationalist ideas of the Enlightenment *philosophes* and the French Revolution which sought to emancipate individuals from the authority of the Church and the autocratic State 'the test of nationality for the masses in general was still religion; the Spaniard was defined by being Catholic, the Russian by being Orthodox'. Strange but true, even in April-May 2016, 8 percent of the population in Sweden and Netherlands, nearly 11 percent in Spain, nearly 20 percent in Britain, nearly 30 percent in the United States and nearly 55 percent in Greece believe that being a Christian is important to be a national of the country.

Whatever, in the medium term deifying India as Mother, treating nationalism as religion and celebrating Ganapati and Shivaji festivals were politically astute. It is the use of widely popular symbols which enabled the militant nationalists to spread nationalism in a way that the moderates of

the Congress Party could not. Even Bipin Chandra, a Marxist historian and doyen of the critics of Hindu nationalism conceded that far from being anti-Muslim or even wholly communal most militant nationalists including Tilak favoured Hindu-Muslim unity were modern in their political thinking and not backward looking. Economic boycott, their chief political weapon, was indeed very modern as also their political organisation. It should also be said that along with Annie Beasant and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Tilak was one of the leaders of the All India Home Rule League which played a lead role in the Freedom Movement during 1916-18. Suffice to say, to characterize Tilak as a Hindu nationalist as many Left-liberals do is to indulge in caricature.

While in the medium term use of Hindu symbolism was politically astute *exclusive* use of such symbolism was counter-productive in a society with significant religious minorities. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when nationalism was taking roots, a glorious past was a distant memory for Hindus but for Muslims it was recent memory for the last Mughal Emperor was deposed only after the Mutiny of 1857. The six hundred odd years of the 'Muslim era' could not be wished away, and it was not easy for Muslims and Hindus to look at those years in the same way. The humiliation of defeat and subjugation, and the elation of defiance and victory are more likely to be remembered than long periods of peaceful co-existence and fruitful interaction. Thus historic figures like Mahmud of Ghazni, Muhammad Ghorī, Alauddin Khilji, and Aurangzeb were heroes of Muslim nationalists but their very names evoked bitter memories of humiliation for the Hindus. Suffice to say, invoking the religion and symbols of a *single* religion was bound to alienate Indians belonging to other religions and come in handy for the colonial rulers to play the game of Divide and Rule; the quintessential challenge facing national leaders was how to bring the Hindus and Muslims using a cultural idiom and a historical narrative which is acceptable to both.

(to be continued)

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## Corporate Social Responsibility and Social Sustainability: Indian Context - II

**Prof. (Dr.) R. Venkata Rao**

Vice Chancellor,  
National Law School of India University  
Bengaluru

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### MODELS OF CSR IMPLEMENTATION

Although there has been a little documentation of social responsibility initiatives in India, particularly during the initial years, there has been a growing degree of companies that pay genuine attention to the principles of socially responsible behaviour, which are favoured by the customers and also preferred for their goods and services. Broadly the development of Indian Model of CSR can be divided into following timeline. This section presents the five distinct phases of CSR development in the Indian economy as –

- 1800 – 1914 - Ethical Model
- 1914 – 1960 - Trusteeship Model
- 1960 – 1980 - Statist Model
- 1980 – 1990 - Liberal Model
- 1990 – till date – Stakeholder Model

#### I. Ethical Model (1800–1914): CSR as Charity and Philanthropy:

Although there is no formal concept of CSR in this period, India not only witnessed a rich hub of merchandise trading in the world, but also the social engagement of wealthy merchants. The oldest form of CSR in India was predominately in the form of donations, charity and philanthropy. Hence, the first phase was mainly based on self-regulation of doing business characterized by culture, religion, family values and tradition but also influenced by caste groups and political objectives. The tradition of wealth sharing of the big businesspersons for social causes like setting up of temples, helping the society in getting over phases of famine, and

epidemics by providing food and money to the poor and thus securing an integral position in the society was followed as a tradition. The approach towards CSR changed since 1850s when the large industrial families were inclined towards economic as well as social considerations.

#### II. Trusteeship Model (1914–1960)

During India's struggle for independence in 1914 Gandhi introduced the notion of "trusteeship", wherein the industrial houses establish trusts for the welfare of the common man. Trusts for schools, colleges and scientific institutions were established to undertake activities in line with Gandhi's attempt to abolish untouchability, encourage empowerment of women and rural development. The concept of "trusteeship" views businesses as stewards of society's resources and assets that the right of a capitalist is to accumulate and maintain her wealth for the welfare of the society.

Theory of trusteeship resonates strongly with those founded in England and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that later evolved into the concept of CSR. Further, some scholars present Gandhi's theory of trusteeship as an "ethical model" of CSR where companies commit voluntarily for public welfare. Similar to philanthropy in the early industrialization phase, this phase was also characterized by the support for physical and social institutional infrastructure. However in this period, such ideas were led by a nationalistic fervour and a vision of a free, progressive and modern India and not necessarily as social responsibility.

#### III. Statist Approach (1960–1980)

In 1960s there was a paradigm shift in the economy when India adopted the socialist and mixed economy framework with the emergence of Public Sector undertakings (PSUs), state-owned companies. This framework was propagated by then Prime Minister JawaharLal Nehru and is recognized as statist model. This period is also described as an "era of command and control" due to stringent legal rules and regulations to govern the activities of the private sector. High taxes and license system imposed restrictions on the private sector which

People often perceive the bureaucracy as an agent of exploitation rather than a provider of service. Corruption has become a low risk and high reward activity. Atal Behari Vajpayee

indirectly triggered corporate malpractices at the same time. Labour and environmental standards became face of the political agenda and the subject of legislation. Despite the progressive nature of economy where businesses were to play their part as respectable corporate citizens, and engage into regular stakeholder dialogues, social accountability and transparency, the Statist approach did not materialize at that time and corporate philanthropy was still practiced.

#### IV. Liberal Approach (1980–1990)

During 1980s traditional engagement of CSR as corporate philanthropy was being abandoned by Indian companies and CSR was integrated into as a sustainable business strategy. During 1990s, the Indian economy was liberalized and deregulated to overcome the shortcomings of the mixed economy and to integrate India into the global market. During liberalisation, reforms, controls and license systems were partly abolished, and rapid growth was pronounced in the economy. The trend towards liberalization and privatization led to deregulation making companies solely responsible to owners, and this characterizes third model of corporate social responsibility viz liberal model. Along with this rapid growth, there was a further increase in the philanthropic donations commensurate with the increased profitability and enhanced expectations from business from public in general and government. The liberal model is consistent with doctrine by Milton Friedman (1970), who challenged the very notion of corporate responsibility for anything other than part of profit maximisation decision.

#### V. Stakeholder Approach (After 1991)

Since 1990s, globally, the trend of CSR has emerged which is beyond charity and philanthropy. Under the doctrine of Stakeholder Theory, CSR has evolved as corporate strategy which is closely related to core business. The stakeholder approach is further propagated by management scientists such as Peter Drucker and many other authors as a part of corporate strategy emphasizing that survival of the corporation depends on not only the responsibility towards shareholders but also

towards employees, governments, customers and community in general. As a result of globalization and liberalization that integrated Indian economy into world economy there has been a fundamental transformation from charitable donations at individual levels to integrating community in organisation's reputation and success. The aforementioned transformation occurred as the outsourcing of production and manufacturing units flourished in India and Indian corporates started following labour and environmental standards imposed on them by their western counterparts. Market competition among Indian exporters influenced more and more compliance with the International standards related to CSR and corporate governance.

#### Intertwined CSR and Sustainability :

Sustainable development poses a multi-dimensional challenge – in terms of economic, social and environmental dimensions – with each having competing claims for primacy. Corporate enterprises are expected to adopt sustainability policies that balance the trade-offs between these competing claims for the promotion and growth of business. An enduring and balanced approach to economic activity, social progress and environment protection is what is called for. But, for some reason, the concern for environmental protection continues to be emphasised and the social dimension of sustainable developments is often overlooked.

Sustainable development policies touch upon social issues such as welfare of employees, empowerment of the weaker sections, holistic development of backward regions, improvement of the working conditions of labour, etc. Activities undertaken by companies to address basic issues pertaining to health, nutrition, sanitation and education needs of the impoverished communities, for the promotion of skill development, capacity building and inclusive growth of society, are all sustainability activities.

CSR policies are closely linked with the practice of sustainable development. Sustainability practiced through CSR involves conduct of business operations in a way that minimizes harm to the environment and local communities located in the vicinity of a

company's commercial / production units, while benefitting consumers and employees, and thus contributing to sustainable development. Through sustainability initiatives, which include development of new range of goods and services, and innovative production methods that are environmental and consumer friendly and cost effective, companies can enhance consumer satisfaction, and simultaneously boost business growth and profitability. The R&D department in companies helps in sustainability efforts through innovation that often changes consumer preference for new products and services that are beneficial for environment and society. In fact, CSR activities are generally so full with content of, and focused on sustainable development that often CSR initiatives cannot be easily separated from sustainability policies. Hence, to judge the performance of a company separately for its CSR activities and sustainability initiatives, is at times difficult and impractical, and for that reason it makes business sense to deal with them together.

Since corporate social responsibility and sustainability are so closely entwined, it can be said that Corporate Social Responsibility and Sustainability is a company's commitment to its stakeholders to conduct business in an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable manner that is transparent and ethical. Stakeholders include employees, investors, shareholders, customers, business partners, clients, civil society groups, Government and nongovernment organisations, local communities, environment and society at large. Recent trends indicate that a company's corporate social responsibility and sustainability is not limited to its own operations and activities, but extends to its supply chain network, which includes service providers, vendors, contractors and other outsourced agencies. Therefore, companies, especially multinational companies, are nowadays careful in their selection of partners, agents, vendors and contractors abroad and prefer to do a thorough check of their credentials in corporate social responsibility and sustainability.

Growing awareness about corporate social responsibility and sustainability issues have led to attempts at devising some common matrices

for measuring the performance of companies in these areas. Such attempts, though nowhere near perfection, at least underline the need for consistency, transparency and impartial measurement. A number of international private initiatives in this regard have led to the development of standards and benchmarks for voluntary disclosure, reporting and audit of corporate social responsibility and sustainability programmes. Most notable of these initiatives are the Global Reporting Initiative's (GRI) Sustainability Reporting Guidelines; Account Ability's AA1000 standard based on John Elkington's triple bottom line (3BL) reporting; Social Accountability International's SA8000 standard; and, the ISO 14001 environmental management standard.

Due to increased customer interest, growing investor pressure, competitive labour markets, greater oversight over suppliers in the supply chain network, and increasing globalisation of business, there is demand for greater disclosure and audit of corporate social responsibility and sustainability reporting to establish good business citizenship credentials. Sustainability reporting is on the increase and a large number of organisations and companies worldwide have voluntarily adopted internationally accepted standards and frameworks like GRI for disclosure and reporting, and have offered their performance for measurement and audit against international benchmarks.

Corporate Social Responsibility and sustainability, if discharged sincerely, is perceived to bring with it several benefits for the companies. The spin offs can be by way of improving the brand image, preparing it for risk management through public goodwill in the event of a crisis, retaining and attracting talent for the organisation, winning the confidence of the investors and shareholders, improving its relations with important stakeholders, and positioning the company for competitive business advantage and financial gains in the long run.

The benefits that a company expects to reap from its CSR and Sustainability policies, or the motivation behind these policies is of great significance in determining the kind of CSR and Sustainability activities that it undertakes, or the

implementation strategy that it chooses to adopt in pursuit of these policies. CSR activities prompted by 'genuine concern' for social and environmental issues produce implementation models different from those motivated by 'enlightened self-interest' of a company. CSR and Sustainability activities taken up as a part of 'public relations' campaign for enhancing the 'brand image', or for earning 'public goodwill' are different from CSR and Sustainability activities undertaken by a company to obtain 'license to operate' in certain areas.

From amongst the various perspectives of CSR and the different prevalent practices of CSR, the one that finds favour with the private multinational companies of the developed economies is the 'strategic CSR', or CSR based on 'enlightened self-interest' of companies. This approach is supported and endorsed by the doctrine of "shared value" propounded by eminent Harvard economists Michael Porter and Mark Kramer. This approach seeks financial gains for companies from the activities they undertake in discharging their corporate social responsibility. According to Porter and Kramer "The essential test that should guide CSR is not whether a cause is worthy but whether it presents an opportunity to create shared value – that is, a meaningful benefit for society that is also valuable to the business". Creating "Shared Value" involves creating new business opportunities and developing new products that are profitable for companies while simultaneously contributing to social development. Through 'strategic CSR' companies seek to exploit "opportunities to achieve social and economic benefits simultaneously". Putting it succinctly, companies look for business opportunities in socio-economic problems besetting societies.

Creating "shared value" approach offers a good model for corporate enterprises to conduct their normal business operations, but it may not be the best suited for activities undertaken under CSR and Sustainability by the public sector enterprises in India because there appears to be an unstated but underlying direction for spending the mandatory budgetary allocation for CSR for public good, social value creation, and social causes.

Engaging the stakeholders in a dialogue to know

their expectations is an important aspect of corporate social responsibility and sustainability. It is observed that corporate enterprises operating in different socio-economic conditions differ in their understanding of the range of stakeholders to be covered through their CSR activities, their assessment of the expectations of the stakeholders, and the mechanism of engagement of the stakeholders.

In the developed economies where the basic needs of the society are adequately taken care of, either through economic advancement, or by strong state welfare system like social security schemes for citizens, the corporate enterprises in such developed countries in their selection of CSR and Sustainability activities, are mainly concerned about the stakeholders, directly impacted by their business operations, like employees, consumers, shareholders, vendors, contractors, service providers and environment. And from the CSR and Sustainability activities they pursue, they seek and expect financial gains for business also.

However, in developing economies like India, where socio-economic disparities are glaring and state social security network is also not available to all, the responsibility of public sector enterprises gets enlarged to cover a wider spectrum of stakeholders, at times even those that are not directly impacted, like interest groups, government and non-government organisations, communities and the society at large. In such situations, stakeholders expect public corporations to assume social responsibility for inclusive socio-economic growth and lend support to efforts aimed at development of backward regions, empowerment of the weaker sections, and upliftment of the deprived and marginalised communities. Social and environmental concerns tend to assume primacy over immediate business gains.

Thus, there can be variations in the perception of corporate social responsibility and sustainability, and its implementation strategies, because different stakeholders in different socio-economic situations have different expectations from business and the way it should be conducted.

Business organizations are considered to be social institutions in India. They are expected

Publicity may be the oxygen of terrorists, but news is the lifeblood of liberty.

Katharine Graham

to contribute to nation-building as much as an individual is expected to, but the onus is larger given that artificial entities have larger access to combined resources in comparison to the living entities. In the larger context, CSR encapsulates the idea of giving back to the society since all business organizations (esp. companies) derive resources from the society, whether it is labour, raw materials or profits. In other words, business should deal with the social issues that are impacted by the normal operating activities of the company. This is also backed by the stakeholder theory which has been the focus of the world since last two decades.

World Business Council has defined 'corporate social responsibility' as "the continuing commitment by business to contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well as of the community and society at large." Several studies have observed a proportional relationship between the healthy CSR practices and financial performance of the companies. Some writers advocated CSR by arguing that, as entities existing at the behest of society, corporations and their managers were morally and civically obligated to engage in activities that benefited society but may produce fewer returns to shareholders, others argued that companies are built for chasing profits only and should not be expected to do charity. Some scholars view CSR as blood money to atone for past sins, or as an image projection which masks bare self-interest of the companies. For the more optimist, CSR provides an opportunity for companies to reconnect with their advocated values and gives them a chance to reflect a concern for social issues.

In Indian context, the sharp contrast between growth of GDP of the company and the simultaneous increase in poverty is the reason pointed out by the government to make CSR mandatory. In specificity, India's contribution to the global GDP increased from 1.5% in the year 2000 to 2.6 % in 2014 while it still remained at a rank of 135 out of 186 countries in UNDP's Human Development Index as calculated in 2014 and ranked lower than other developing countries in terms of social indicators. It is a clear reflection of the inequality present in India which must be minimized to bring about a sustainable growth in the country.

## **Regime under the Companies Act, 2013 and Companies Act, 1956**

In Indian context, Chairman of the CSR Committee mentioned the Guiding Principle as follows: "CSR is the process by which an organization thinks about and evolves its relationships with stakeholders for the common good, and demonstrates its commitment in this regard by adoption of appropriate business processes and strategies. Thus CSR is not charity or mere donations. CSR is a way of conducting business, by which corporate entities visibly contribute to the social good. Socially responsible companies do not limit themselves to using resources to engage in activities that increase only their profits. They use CSR to integrate economic, environmental and social objectives with the company's operations and growth."

The Companies Act, 1956 did not have any provision related to corporate social responsibility. It was absolutely voluntary and a number of companies performed activities even then. Tata would be a good example here which already had a comprehensive policy and programme in place. Its consumers associate Tata with a country conscious brand and it has been basking in consumer loyalty for years altogether.

With the advent of Companies Act, 2013, the CSR is mandatory for certain companies. These companies are those which have a high turnover amounting to 1,000 crores or net worth of rupees five hundred crores or more, or a net profit of rupees five crores or more during any financial year. These companies are required to establish a CSR Committee in order to formulate CSR policy and to supervise the CSR activities. However, the CSR policy is approved by the board and must be published in the Board's Report which is placed before the members of the company at the general meeting. The statute also points out to the activities which can be undertaken for CSR. Schedule VII to the Act enumerates such areas but is only illustrative in nature as was clarified by a circular which provided that CSR policy must be relatable to Schedule VII and the entries in the Schedule must be interpreted liberally so as to capture the essence of the subjects laid therein. A notable check placed by

the government in this regard is that the companies must run these CSR exercises in a program/ project mode themselves or through implementing agencies which will be monitored & evaluated continuously by the company's committee. CSR expenditure is also under surveillance and must meet the format provided by the Ministry.

Transparency and accountability for the entire process is maintained by making mandatory various disclosures on an annual basis including inability to spend the mandatory 2% of the net profits. Interference in this regard by the government has been discouraged by the business community which has been readily conceded to by the Ministry. However, the inability to spend or allocate the amount has been allowed only when the company explains the same to the shareholders and puts all related information on its website, i.e. in public domain. Unspent amount out of this 2% is carried forward to the subsequent year wherein it must be spent over and above the calculated amount for that year.

Public sector undertakings have been placed with higher responsibilities in this regard and the government has been handed a whip to monitor the CSR activities in this regard. Additional check is also put because of the presence of Auditor and Comptroller General who audits these companies.

### **Challenges to CSR Initiatives in India**

CSR initiatives face many challenges in India and are often seen as deterrent to even the best-intentioned plans. The most important ones are described here.

#### **Lack of Community Participation in CSR Activities:**

Often, the communities who are the intended beneficiaries of a CSR program show less interest which will affect their participation and contribution. Also, very little efforts are being made to spread CSR within the local communities and instil confidence in the people. The situation is further aggravated by inadequate communication between the organization and the community at the grassroots level.

#### **Need to Build Local Capacities:**

There is a need to build the capacities of the local non-governmental organizations. Many NGOs

are not adequately trained and equipped to operate efficiently and effectively as there is serious dearth of trained and efficient organizations that can effectively contribute to the ongoing CSR activities initiated by companies. This seriously compromises efforts to scale CSR initiatives and consequently limits the scope and outcome of a company's CSR initiatives.

#### **Issues of Transparency:**

Lack of transparency is one of the key issues. There is a perception that partner NGOs or local implementation agencies do not share adequate information and make efforts to disclose information on their programs, address concerns, assess impacts and utilize funds. This perceived lack of transparency has a negative impact on the process of trust building between companies and local communities, which is key to the success of any CSR initiative.

#### **Lack of Consensus:**

There is a lack of consensus amongst local agencies regarding CSR project needs and priorities. This lack of consensus often results in duplication of activities by corporate houses in their areas of their intervention. The consequent result in unhealthy competitiveness spirit among local implementing agencies goes against the necessity to have rather than building collaborative approaches on important issues. This factor limits organization's abilities to undertake impact assessment of their initiatives from time to time.

#### **Conclusion**

According to the emergent literature, there is a growing awareness that business needs to manage its relationship with the wider society. Corporate leaders are responsible for their corporations' impact on society and the natural environment beyond legal compliance and the liability of individuals. Wayne Visser has mentioned about the transformation of CSR 1.0 to CSR 2.0. According to him "Corporate Social Responsibility" is the classic notion, which he calls CSR 1.0 and CSR 2.0, which can be more accurately labelled "Corporate Sustainability and Responsibility". While the CSR 1.0 presents a vehicle for companies to establish relationships with communities, channel philanthropic contributions and manage their image; CSR 2.0 includes a diverse

stakeholder panels, real-time transparent reporting and new-wave social entrepreneurship defined by “global commons”, “innovative partnerships” and stakeholders involvement. (Concluded)

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## The Tragedy of Greatness (1)

**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*)

My guest house at Udaipur was situated on an elevation and I had been put up in the upper floor, alone. I was still under the spell of the memory of Krishna Kumari and the serene sunset on the lake. For a long while I sat on my balcony gazing at the sky touched up by a few surrealistically designed clouds. By midnight the spider-web of lights over the city was growing thinner.

The hope of my visiting Chittorgarh, too, had thinned to a vanishing point when I went to bed. I did not know when I would be able to contact the University authorities - they must be under the impression that I am yet to arrive - and whether they would be able to arrange for my trip to and from Chittor before my talk in the evening. The thin screen on my window was flapping in the erratic breeze in keeping with my fitful sleep, each interval bringing to my mind Chittor and Krishna Kumari, alternately.

A young industrialist, a guest lodged on the ground floor, had told me at dinner, ‘Chittor? A disappointment unless bare skeletons in stone interest someone.’

But he was realistic and circumspect. ‘Yeh, there is a shop at the gateway to the ascent churning out top class hot *Jilebis*. Delicious; weren’t they?’ he threw his question at his wife and daughter at the other end of the long dining table and added, looking at me again, ‘Soaked in pure cow ghee.’

‘Had I eaten any? Do I eat them?’ His wife’s rebuff was soaked in annoyance.

‘Correct, correct! Of course you did not taste the stuff,’ agreed the husband sportingly. ‘She has diabetes,’ he confided to me lowering his voice and, on second thought, said aloud, ‘I was asking Dora!’ pointing at his daughter.

But Dora, in an exemplary exercise of simultaneous alacrity, was consuming her dinner and a film magazine. She was too far away - in Mumbai - to come to her daddy’s aid.

‘Asking Dora!’ mimicked the fuming wife.

While climbing the stairs after bidding goodnight to the touring family, I was confronted by the boyish Shombhudas, freshly appointed manager of the guesthouse. He was continuously affable but continuously heaving, too, and was the very picture of nervousness.

‘Do ladies also suffer from diabetes?’ he demanded, pouring a full gallon of amazement into his puzzle, and that plunged me straightaway in a whirlpool of uncertainty. Alas, do ladies suffer from diabetes?

‘They should not, but you see, a fat lot of things which ought not to happen, happen nevertheless!’ I managed to say.

‘Was my impression then wrong?’

‘Well, we should not expect all our impressions to be right. For example, I was under the impression till the other day that ladies never grew bald!’ I said in a confessional tone. His eyes bulged under a powerful bulb. ‘Do you mean to say that ladies grow bald?’ His nervousness was alarmingly heightened.

‘For your information, even Queen Elizebeth.....!’

‘Queen Elizebeth? Have you seen her bald pate?’

‘I mean Queen Elizebeth I - the bald queen of 16th century England.’

‘Hey Bhagwan!’

I could not understand whether it was an exclamation of relief or protest against Providence. But the childlike young man had endeared himself to me at the very first sight. ‘I’ll put you in the bus for Chittorgarh in the morning. Don’t you worry,’ he told

me more than once. But I was not enthused. What if I fail to be back on time for my programme?

I knew that barring the nine-storey Victory Tower (1458) of Maharana Kumbh, all the other monuments of Chittor were in ruins. Even then the desire to spend a little time at that eventful hilltop was irresistible. What had enhanced my curiosity was Sister Nivedita's inspired reflections: 'It was almost midnight, as the moon grew near the full, when we looked for the first time on the fortress of Chittor. The lights in the village at its foot had been extinguished, and the hill with its great length stood dark and isolated against the sky ... And the newly arrived traveller watching it may see it tonight as the returning escort may have seen it when Padmini's marriage procession halted for the last time on the homeward way, more than seven centuries ago .. Little can the "lotus fair" Padmini have slept that night, the last of the long journey from her father's distant strong-hold. ... Did no vision of the future cast its shadow across the path before her to make Padmini shrink and pause, in the glory of this her great home-coming? Had the bard whispered no word above her cradle of the tragedy of greatness that lay before her?' (*Studies from an Eastern Home*)

Like Sister Nivedita, thousands through the ages have stood entranced by the legend of Rani Padmini; the wife of Maharana Rawal Ratan Singh. Well known is the story of Sultan Aladin Khilji of Delhi growing enamoured of Rani Padmini simply by the rumours of her beauty and his repeated efforts at possessing her. But could that be history? Was it not mere yarn spun by some folk genius? But some aspects of the legend remain unstressed in its generally widespread version, whereas their merits cannot be ignored.

On his first expedition against Chittor the Sultan failed to make any dent on the fort atop the hill and expressed his willingness to retreat if he could have only a glimpse of the legendary beauty. The proposal, of course, was unacceptable. However, a compromise was struck. From a small castle at the centre of the lake, he could have a look at a mirror hung against the wall of another castle facing it. Rani Padmini would take position in a way so that the incorrigible devotee of her beauty could behold her reflection.

This was done, but what the popular version of the legend does not reveal is that the Rani had no reason to grant him the boon of even her reflection;

the face the mirror showed was that of one of her beautiful maids.

Probably this justifiable deception on the arrogant Khilji was kept a strictly guarded secret. Centuries later, the man who gave this out to me did so spontaneously lowering his voice! Surely, if the whole episode was a fact, then this appears more reasonable than Rani Padmini herself standing before the mirror. She would not care to and in any case Khilji would not know.

Khilji was, or he pretended to be, overwhelmed by the courtesy extended to him. He embraced his host Maharana Ratan Singh and walked towards the rear gate of the fort, expressing his joy and wonder at the shrines and monuments on both sides of the passage, and at intervals profusely admiring the Rajput bravery as well as the prosperity of Mewar.

The Maharana must have wondered how, instead of being friends, they had been foes. Since Khilji had come unarmed and all alone for his exclusive appointment with the Rani's reflection, the Maharana thought it proper to escort him outside the rear gate unarmed and without any bodyguard. Dusk set in while the host and the guest stood talking, overlooking the vast fields, orchards and hamlets sprawling for miles below the hill

Dense bushes covered the slope leading to the valley. As arranged by the treacherous Khilji, some of his men in olive green, crawling up like lizards, suddenly pounced upon the hapless Maharana and carried him down at great speed to Khilji's camp consisting of a large garden and a palace of the Maharanas on the plains.

Then came the message: Either Khilji must get Rani Padmini live, or Rani Padmini would get her husband dead!

Nobody slept a wink in the fort on the hill which looked like a floating isle because of its plethora of lights. Nor did Khilji who, from his camp, looked up once every few minutes, sleep. His soldiers remained alert lest the Maharana's army should descend on them.

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## The Present State of Our Educational Institutions & Universities

Shri Ramakrishna Vithal Kunduri

Despite the many impressive achievements the country has made in various fields since it achieved Independence, a wide-spread sense of dissatisfaction and frustration prevails today in the educational institutions, Universities in particular. Insensitive commercialization is fast leading to a situation where the society is materially affluent but morally bankrupt. The values of truth, reverence, gratitude and righteousness have been forced to take a backseat and have been replaced by a craving for power and wealth. Gurus and preceptors of ancient times recognized that merely absorbing secular knowledge for the sake of earning a living was not sufficient and they placed equal emphasis on the use of that knowledge towards serving society and equipped their students with the wisdom to lead their lives in a righteous and responsible manner.

It was the turn of another phenomenon, Sri Sathya Sai Baba, one of the greatest Spiritual Teachers the world has seen in the recent times and considered the Avatar of the Age, who was concerned about the degrading values in the present system of Education in the country, in the mid-sixties. Sri Sai Baba said that education has two important characteristics. One is exposition of facts relating to any subject and the other is the unfolding of the individual's personality. The first is concerned with matter. The second is with Divine energy. Education is a combination of the two. It is a combination of worldly and spiritual knowledge. Education cannot be confined to stuffing the head. It has to melt the heart, refine it and turn it towards God. Sri Sathya Sai Baba not only preached about true education, but translated his thoughts into action by initiating a noble movement in the year 1968. He founded Bala Vihars to guide the young children in the spiritual path, through simple and moral living, by instilling in the young minds, the importance of duty, devotion and discipline and help them understand the five basic human values of truth, righteousness, peace, love and non-violence, so that they can practice these in their daily lives. Children above six years of age were imparted education from the

content drawn from ancient scriptures with Divine guidance, through the methodology of storytelling, enacting plays and singing Bhajans.

Thus a new movement of momentous dimensions was set in motion by Sri Sathya Sai Baba in the field of education. As time passed by, the Bal Vihar became Bal Vikas and programmes were designed for children between 6 years to 14 years of age. Training modules were developed, research went in deeper, and with Baba's active and continuous guidance Bal Vikas was crystallized into a 9-year non-formal education system for children enhancing their learning to become role models in character as also in academic performance.

He later turned His attention to correcting the education of women. He has written in 'Dharma Vahini' that 'No nation can be built strong and stable, except on the spiritual culture of its women. He said that women are the bulwarks of spiritual culture. But, as is evident from the attitude and behaviour of educated women today, they are fast succumbing to the flimsy attractions of froth and frippery, cheap and shoddy literature and sensual films.' He said that women have been the custodians of dharma since millennia. Swami resolved upon setting up a Women's College to set right the system of education for women, as the focal point of the Educational Revolution that will consummate the revival of Sanatanadharma.

During the inauguration on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July, 1968, at Anantapur, Andhra Pradesh, Sri Sathya Sai Baba stated, 'The prompting behind this college is not the search for reputation, or the desire to propagate a cult, or the hope of monetary profit. I know that fame is a fickle figment, that reputation is something that rots, that profit is defiled when it is measured in terms of cash. I have allowed this college to rise, because it will instill in the minds of the students the ancient ideals of Sathya, Dharma, Santhi and Prema, ideals that are delineated in the Vedas, described in Shastras, illustrated in the epics, practiced by countless generations of the men and women of this land and confirmed as best suited for individual and social progress by its saints and sages, law-givers and leaders, for centuries.

There are two kinds of forecasters : those who don't know and those who don't know they don't know.

J.K.Galbraith

The very next year, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1969, the Sathya Sai College of Arts and Science was inaugurated near the Brindavan campus for boys. He said that this College will pay attention to providing for its alumni a complete education, namely Karmamarga, Dharmamarga, and Brahmamarga, all the three-the principles of right action, right social behaviour and spiritual advancement.

Baba always advised them to avoid five delinquencies: The eyes should not wander towards sights that inflame the senses, or arouse ideas conflicting with morality or the duty towards parents, elders and the culture of our country. Words that emanate from the mouth should not hurt the self-respect of others, or utter lies simply because they are pleasant; they should not smack of scandal or spite. The hand should not be raised in anger against anyone, nor should it be used to wreak vengeance, or steal another's property. The ears should not exult in salacious stories, scandal or deleterious lilt. The mind should not be fouled by attachment to bad habits, bad impulses and plans to achieve the conspiracies of the senses. These five 'doshas' are anathema in the opinion of Baba and every student is made to remember this by constant warnings from Him.

The system of education in the schools and colleges set up by Bhagawan is a holistic one that aims at drawing out the knowledge, human values and wisdom that are present in a latent form in the student. He would say that Education should enable them to distinguish between right and wrong. It should promote humility in them and enable them to serve their parents and their country selflessly. It is in this context that Bhagawan has pioneered the concept called 'Educare'. The word Educare in Latin means manifesting that which is latent within. He said, whereas 'Education' is information-oriented and is limited to physical and mental levels. 'Educare' is transformation-oriented, and one who pursues, 'Educare' is a true Vidyarthi. The natural sciences can provide us only food, clothing and such like. Spiritual science alone can add strength and steadfastness to the self. Mere mastery of books does not entitle a man to be known as 'educated'. Without the mastery

of the inner instruments of emotion, no man can be deemed to be educated. The latent has to be cleansed so that the patent can flourish.

Education has to shed light and illumine the dark spots in the mind and intellect. Patience, tolerance, tranquility and calmness have to be implanted in the heart. Unless Knowledge is transformed into wisdom, and wisdom is expressed in character, education is a wasteful process, he would say. Discipline is important in order to progress in learning, and even more so, in dealing with others. Self-respect, self-confidence, selflessness and self-support constitute the dharma of a student. Students require faith in them, more than most other qualities. Self-confidence is necessary for every student.

Sri Sathya Sai Baba had taken upon the task of Educational reconditioning in the country himself and willed that a University be established at PrasanthiNilayam, for all his colleges, as part of His mission of Dharma Samsthapana and pioneered the concept of infusing spiritual and moral values in higher education. The inauguration of the University named as 'The Sathya Sai Institute of Higher Learning' took place on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 1981 and he blessed the University, by becoming its First Chancellor!' Sri Sathya Sai Institute of Higher Learning is a unique institution that is a pioneer in providing 'Educare' and it is a visible manifestation of Sri Sathya Sai Baba's vision of education for human transformation. It is perhaps one of the few Institutions in the World in the field of Higher Education which emphasizes character building as much as academic excellence. As its revered Chancellor, Swami had provided constant guidance at every stage in evolving the program at the Institute and had seen to its implementation. It offers quality, world-class education for free.

Late Prof. G. Rami Reddy, the former Vice Chancellor of Osmania University, Founder V. C of A. P. Open University, V. C. Of Indira Gandhi National Open University and former President of the Association of Indian Universities, while speaking in a symposium on Human Values held at PrashanthiNilayam during 24th to 26th of September 1987, had this to say: 'What better place is there in the Country to originate

these Human Values and spread the word, the good word, the gospel than the Sri Sathya Sai Institute of Higher Learning? What I have learned here is a different approach to life and what I have seen here is a different culture in the making. After seeing what happens here, I am tempted to think that it would be good if our students, teachers and Vice-Chancellors before they join the Universities, were exposed to this discipline and value system. Individually it will do them lot of good and collectively society would be benefited a great deal'.

Thus, while Dr.Radhakrishnan laid the foundations and emphasized the need for proper education in nation building, Sri SathyaSai Baba established such unique institutions, which are role models for the Country in the field of education. To secure the future of our country, we need to ensure that all our educational institutes are modelled on these lines and produce such young men of character and democratic discipline. It is pathetic to see that value systems have vanished and Universities have now become battle grounds for politics and play grounds for anti-social elements. Therefore, it is essential for the Governments at the Centre and the States, to bring about an altogether different orientation, so far as the educational reconstruction of our country is concerned.

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## Book Review :

### CHOICES

Inside the Making of India's Foreign Policy

**Shivshankar Menon**

Allen Lane – an imprint of Penguin Books, 2016,

Rs.599/-, pp.243

'India's foreign policy in the twenty-first century is characterized by a marked shift towards pragmatism and willingness to do business with all,' wrote David Malone. C.Raja Mohan narrated in his book '*Crossing the Rubicon*' how in the 1990's there began a transition in India's foreign policy from idealism to pragmatism and how 'India has moved from its past emphasis on the power of the argument to a new stress on the argument of power..... India has merely reconfigured

the mix between power and principle in the pursuit of its national interest'. A number of important and insightful works have come out on the new trajectory of India's foreign policy.

Former foreign secretary, seasoned diplomat and well known expert on foreign affairs, Shivshankar Menon's book '*CHOICES*' is a timely and welcome publication on 'India's strategic culture and decision making' focusing on some important issues and developments during the last twenty five years. This book of 243 pages contains six chapters prefaced by a brief and lucid introduction. The essence of governance according to Menon is choice making. 'Choice involves uncertainty, risk and immediacy; those who must make the choices operate in the contemporary form that envelops events rather than from the certainty and clarity that come with time, distance and reflection. Nowhere is this more true than in foreign policy decision making,' states Menon. Shivshankar Menon is candid and forthright in his reflections on the decisions taken and opportunities missed in the making of India's foreign policy during the last twenty five years.

The framework is ably designed and the analysis of the five major decisions taken is brilliant and thought-provoking. Each of the five chapters deals with a specific issue like the first chapter titled 'Pacifying the Border – The 1993 Border Peace and Tranquility Agreement with China' begins with a clarification on the distinction between 'a boundary and a border', followed by the 'McMahon Line agreed to by Great Britain, China and Tibet at the 1914 Simla Conference'. Menon writes how in 1990's 'it was hard to be nonaligned when there was no one to be aligned with or nonaligned against'. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao signed with China during his visit in September 1993 the 'Border Peace and Tranquility Agreement'. Menon opines that 'it has served its purpose in terms of keeping the peace and status quo for almost a quarter century, and in terms of the various arrangements that have made the India-China border one of the most peaceful ones India has,' in spite of China's ambitious and expansionist designs. Menon gives high praise to prime ministers

One of the significant elements of India's international engagement under Modi has been the emphasis on highlighting India's 'civilisational identity'.

C.Raja Mohan

Narasimha Rao and Vajpayee for their wisdom and vision in handling sensitive issues. Narasimha Rao constantly advised Menon to brief former policy makers and opposition leaders and offered wise counsel in the art of negotiations. Vajpayee always 'thought of greater good than immediate political advantage' and had 'a larger sense of India's destiny and of the historic nature of what we were doing'.

'The Civil Nuclear Initiative with the United States' is dealt with in the second chapter titled 'Natural Partners'. In spite of sanctions imposed by U.S. on India for thirty years, the American President and Indian Prime Minister were determined to forge a new India-U.S. strategic partnership in spite of heavy odds and strong opposition in both the countries. The three main difficulties in the negotiations, writes Menon, 'related to assured fuel supplies for the lifetime of the supplied reactors, the termination of cooperation if India tested again and the scope of cooperation'. In the words of Menon 'the Civil Nuclear Initiative removed the detritus of the past from the bilateral relationship, opening the way for the transfer of dual-use technology and enhanced cooperation on defense. Today India-U.S. relations are better than they ever have been'.

The third chapter titled 'Restraint or Riposte?' deals with Mumbai Attack and Cross-Border Terrorism from Pakistan', Menon explains how 'The Choice of Restraint was the simple answer to why India did not immediately attack Pakistan'. After examining the options decision makers at the highest level concluded that 'more was to be gained from not attacking Pakistan than from attacking it'. Menon concedes that 'India-Pakistan relations are one of the few major failures of India's foreign policy' adding that 'the state of our relationship with Pakistan has been an albatross that has hobbled Indian diplomacy and enabled other powers to gain leverage in India's and the sub-continent's affairs'. The difficulty with Pakistan is that 'terrorism is hard-wired into Pakistan's society and polity, not just into the ISI'. The problem is more than complex as 'an Indian policy maker must deal with several Pakistans – with civil society, the

Pakistani business community, civilian politicians, the army and the ISI, and the religious right (which extends from political parties to *jihadi tanzeems*)'. Referring to the missed opportunities Menon reveals that while many initiatives failed the one that came closest was in 2004-06 when Manmohan Singh was the prime minister. Menon warns that 'the real danger is not just from terrorists getting their hands on nuclear weapons but when a Pakistani pilot or brigadier decides to wage a nuclear *jihad* with or without orders'. Pakistan's is the only nuclear weapon programme in the world that is exclusively under military control, writes Menon.

With Sri Lanka the problem is no less complex due to domestic factors, the Sri Lankan government's treatment of stateless Tamils of Indian origin through legislative enactments of 1948 and 1956 and the militancy of the LTTE. Menon narrates how 'force worked' in Sri Lanka in the elimination of Tamil Tigers and suppression of separatist movement. India chose to find a middle way in the civil war aiming to satisfy both the sections, the Tamils and the Sri Lankan government. Menon concludes the chapter saying that 'Sri Lanka today is a better place without the LTTE and the civil war. And India contributed to making that outcome possible'.

In the chapter that follows Menon explains why India took the pledge of not using nuclear weapons first unlike the United States and Pakistan. He states how the NDA government adopted the no-first-use doctrine after the 1998 Pokharan nuclear test. 'India will not be the first to initiate a nuclear strike, but will respond with punitive retaliation should deterrence fail,' states the Indian doctrine which according to Menon is the essence of credible nuclear deterrence. The main purpose is to meet the threat of nuclear blackmail and coercion against India. The author gives credit to experts on strategic affairs like K.Subrahmanyam, Chief of Army Staff K. Sundarji and nuclear scientist Raja Ramanna for their able guidance in these matters. The policy makers and expert analysts were near unanimous in the view that "no first-use policy enhances India's deterrence efforts." The reference to the need for adopting

new strategies in Asia's changing security landscape, particularly in view of the emergence of 'borderless, anonymous and anarchic domain' of Cyberspace is thought-provoking. The threats and challenges apart, Menon commends "India's choices on nuclear weapons, while couched in moral and elevated terms in their expression, have been fundamentally realistic and sober, based on the calculus of security that, to a very great extent, is unique to India."

'A Final Word', the sixth and concluding chapter superbly summarises the five choices of India's foreign policy made after cautious deliberations in which top leaders, administrators and expert analysts took part. As Menon observes 'there is no single correct or right answer to the questions foreign policy throws up, no answers that are valid in all circumstances'. Strategy, he says, is in effect a practical affair; it is about achieving one's goal with the means available. The muse in the distinguished analyst surfaces in the highly enjoyable concluding chapter. Shivshankar Menon hopes that this book has served a purpose 'if it has helped the readers understand the complexity and joys of foreign policy decision making and of the balancing of interests that it requires and of minimizing harm and maximizing gain'. He narrates how the personality of the prime minister matters in shaping the foreign policy as almost all the prime ministers 'chose to make significant strategic decisions that had a long-term impact on the future of India'. A strong external affairs minister like Pranab Mukherjee was, of course, an exception. India's foreign policy decisions were 'strategically bold but tactically cautious' and there are some who argue that there is 'a unique Indian strategic culture of restraint'. Rodney Jones is of the opinion that India's strategic culture is "more distinct and coherent than that of most contemporary nations", recalls Menon. Summing up the making of India's foreign policy Menon writes "If there is an Indian way in foreign policy, it is marked by a combination of boldness in conception and caution in implementation, by the dominant and determining role of the prime minister, by a didactic negotiating style, by a fundamentally realistic approach masked by normative rhetoric, by comfort in a plural and diverse world or multiverse,

and, most consistently, by a consciousness of India's destiny as a great power". Menon is convinced that India is on right path and that 'ultimately the Indian people, history and geography will prevail as they always have'. Invoking the words of Bhishma he calls for restraint: "He who is silent secures the following of others, the restrained one enjoys everything in life". Menon answers the fundamental question 'Why should India want to be a great power?' He finds the answer in what Gandhiji said 'so much more elegantly' – 'wipe the tear from the eye of every Indian'. Menon agrees with Indira Gandhi that 'India will be a different power'. This eminently readable book by one of India's renowned diplomats ends with the message that 'the better we know our past, the better prepared we are for our future'.

A. Prasanna Kumar

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### **'Contributions of Arthur Cotton, Veeresalingam recalled'**

(Newspaper report on a lecture delivered by Prof. I. Dosagiri Rao, former Director, Andhra University P.G. Centre, Kakinada at Visakhapatnam Public Library on April 22, 2017 at a meeting organised by Centre for Policy Studies.)

Sir Arthur Cotton had made immense contribution to the economic development of Andhra through the construction of various irrigation projects and social reformer Kandukuri Veeresalingam contributed to the social development "through his efforts to end social evils, opined former Director of A.U. PG Centre, Kakinada, I. Dosagiri Rao. Speaking on 'Arthur Cotton and Kandukuri Veeresalingam - Architects of economic and social development of Andhra' at a meeting organised by the Centre for Policy Studies at the Public Library here on Saturday,

Prof. Dosagiri Rao said that while advanced nations like Great Britain, the United States and France had first witnessed political, social and then economic development in that order, in Andhra Pradesh it was the reverse.

**Economic growth** : Andhra Pradesh had first witnessed economic development nearly 160 years ago following the construction of irrigation projects across the Godavari by Sir Arthur Cotton.

(Courtesy: *The Hindu*, April 23, 2017)

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## 'With vast coastline, State ideal for tourist development'

Expert sees potential to improve overseas trade

(Newspaper report on a lecture delivered by Prof. P.Vijaya Prakash on "Maritime Landscape of Andhra Pradesh : Perspectives and Prospects" at a meeting organised by Centre for Policy Studies on May 27, 2017)

Endowed with a vast coastline, the maritime landscape of Andhra Pradesh offers a lot of scope for development, former Vice-Chairman of Andhra Pradesh State Council for Higher Education and retired Professor of Anthropology P. Vijaya Prakash has said. At a meeting organised by the Centre for Policy Studies at Public Library here on Saturday, Prof. Vijaya Prakash said from boosting trade through ports to developing petrochemical corridors to enhancing fishing activities and increasing seafood exports, the opportunities aplenty in coastline.

Prof. Vijaya Prakash said the State has second largest coastline stretching over 974 km and offers a huge potential to improve overseas trade and develop aquaculture and tourism. According to him, there are about 35 lakh fishermen and most of them are involved in traditional fishing. He said developing the rich coastline across the State would help enhancing the livelihood of scores of fishermen communities.

With ancient Buddhist sites, old churches and temples dotting the maritime landscape, the retired Professor of Anthropology said efforts should be made to develop the State into a major tourist destination.

Director of Centre for Policy Studies A. Prasanna Kumar said the re-awakening of the eastern seaboard assumes special significance not only in India but also on the global map.

### Window to the East

He said Vizag was going to be a window to the East with the naval base gaining more prominence. Prof. Kumar said the port city has become an important destination. The meeting was also attended by secretary and correspondent of Dr. L. Bullayya College G. Madhu Kumar and former chairman of APSCHE K.C. Reddy.

(Courtesy : *The Hindu*, May 28, 2017)

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## CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

Dwarakamayi, 50-52-19, T.P.T. Colony, Seethammadhara, Visakhapatnam - 530013.

Tel : 0891-2534868.

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(Edited and published by A. Prasanna Kumar,  
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**ESSAR**



*let's begin*