



## JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE AND JUDICIAL ACCOUNTABILITY

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The Constitutional design for democratic governance is founded on the premise of rule of law, human right and an independent judiciary with power of judicial review of executive and legislative action. Without an independent judiciary, rule of law and democracy cannot survive. This is the rationale for judicial independence being declared as part of the “basic structure” of the Constitution and therefore unamendable by Parliament even under its constituent power of amendment. While one may question the activist role of the judiciary in legislating to fill the gaps in the matter of policy or interpreting the Constitution excluding any role for the executive in judicial appointments, one has to concede that any attempt to impair the independence of the judiciary is impermissible and suicidal to the very foundation of our democracy.

Independence of Judiciary: Institutional and Individual of course, independence of judiciary is not an end in itself; it is a means to ensure impartiality in judicial decision making. Learning from historical experiences, our Constitution makers have constructed a scheme in which the known barriers and bottlenecks to independence of judiciary have been plugged by appropriate provision in the Constitution itself. Thus, we have Constitutionally empowered Courts with freedom from interference in decision-making, separation from the executive, security of tenure and service conditions for judges, Constitutionally protected salary, judiciary itself controlling its administration including finance and appointment of staff, executive support to enforce judgement even against itself, civil immunity for judicial function, power to punish for contempt and an independent Bar to assist the court in its functioning. Over the year, the judiciary has earned the trust of the litigant public which, in

turn, reinforced the independence and restrained the executive from doing anything subversive of its independence and impartiality. No discussion can take place in the legislature of a State with respect to the conduct of any judge of a High Court in the discharge of his duties.

In spite of such institutional independence secured by the Constitution, the Executive did make inroads during Emergency period, when it severely curtailed power of judicial review, transferred ‘inconvenient judges’ to other High Courts and superseded the senior most judges and rewarded ‘friendly judge’ to the position of Chief Justice of India. As if to strike back and redeem its independent status, the judiciary through activist interpretation of individual rights and procedural norms virtually wrested the power of appointment or transfers from the Executive. Now every proposal for appointment or transfer of a judge in the higher judiciary can only be initiated by a collegium of senior judges. The Chief Justice of India, who in the earlier regime was merely a consultant, has now become the final word in all appointments. This became possible in the name of independence of judiciary though many consider the exercise little too far to be sustained through interpretative logic. Without getting into the debate on appointment of judges and the role of the Executive in it, one can safely conclude that today there is general agreement on all sides that independence of judiciary is a national asset and nothing should be done to compromise it.

The independence or impartiality of an individual judge is different from the institutional independence of judiciary. An independent judge may become partial or biased on occasions. According to the Bangalore Principles of Judicial Conduct adopted at the Round Table Meeting of Chief Justices from across the globe in 2002, the independence of the judicial system ultimately depends on the personal integrity of each judge. Independence is about impartiality, integrity, equality, competence, propriety and diligence. The real threats to independence of judiciary today are from within the judiciary. One such threat is the personality of the

Scriptures cannot transcend reason and truth; they are intended to purify reason and illuminate the truth.

Mahatma Gandhi

judge himself. There have been instances where the mettle of an individual judge is tested and tested hard on occasions. A weak judge may buckle down unless he possesses strength of character to demonstrate independence from his own fears and apprehensions. Judges have faced threat to himself and members of his family from terrorists and had to decide matters impartially taking great risks. In all such situations, independence of individual judges is under severe test. Judge who disagrees with the majority opinion and write dissenting judgements are other situations where independence of individual judge is put to public scrutiny.

Judicial Accountability integral to Independence :

Having analysed the concepts of independence of judiciary both in the individual and institutional perspective, it is now possible to examine the nature and scope of judicial accountability. Judicial independence cannot exist without judicial accountability. Judicial independence is not for the personal benefit of the judges, but for the protection of rule of law and the rights of the people. As the justice system necessarily involves ordering the complex set of inter-relationship between the three wings of the Government, the demand for transparency and mutual respect of each other's jurisdiction is natural and judiciary cannot escape scrutiny. Accountability is fostered through the process adopted for selection and training of judges, the mechanism employed to correct and discipline erring judges, the normative standards set by judges themselves to maintain proper judicial conduct and how corruption and nepotism are dealt within judicial administration.

Judicial accountability is understood to mean (a) personal integrity and rectitude of the individual judges, (b) the standard employed by the judiciary to decide cases, to regulate judicial behaviour both within and outside the system, (c) the quality and timeliness of judgements they deliver particularly on issues of great public importance (decisional accountability), and (d) what they do to maintain and uphold the integrity and trust of the institution to which they belong. A number of incidents involving the higher judiciary which made headlines in the media in the recent past have raised the issue of accountability in sharp focus. The mounting

pendency of cases in the system and consequent problem in access to justice, inability to fill vacancies in reasonable time at different levels of the system, the collegium system making wrong appointments as evidenced by the Justice Karnan episode, allegations of corruption and nepotism against some judges of the higher judiciary and the excessive activism on the part of some judges disregarding the doctrine of separation of power have been advanced to question the accountability of the system and to point out its inability to correct itself through internal mechanisms. In a candid admission of the malaise in the system, Justice Ruma Pal, retired judge of Supreme Court in her Tarkunde Memorial Lecture at New Delhi on 10<sup>th</sup> November 2011 said as follows;

“Often judges misconstrue judicial independence as judicial and administrative indiscipline. Both of these in fact stem from judicial arrogance as to one's intellectual ability and status..... The Supreme Court has laid down standards of judicial behaviour for the sub-ordinate judiciary, but sadly some members of the higher judiciary exempt themselves from the need to comply with these standards..... Independence implies discipline to decide objectively and with intellectual integrity and as the judicial oath of office requires, without fear, favour, affection or ill will..... Judicial independence cannot exist without accountability. At present the only disciplinary power over judges is vested in Parliament which provides for the extreme punishment of removal for acts of proven misbehaviour by or incapacity of a judge. Disciplinary methods include the Chief Justice advising a dishonest judge to resign or recommending a judge's name to the Chief Justice of India for transfer to another High Court.

Deprivation of jurisdiction or the non-allocation of work to a dishonest judge was resorted to by Chief Justice Sabbyasachi Mukherjee when the impeachment of Mr. Justice V. Ramaswamy failed for political reasons. Sometimes Chief Justices control a recalcitrant judge by ensuring that the judge concerned sits with the Chief Justice or with 'strong' judge until he or she retires. The situation becomes more difficult if the allegations are against the Chief Justice. Solutions evolved have proved inadequate and adhoc. There is need for an effective mechanism for enforcing judicial accountability”.

The Case for a Judicial Standards and Accountability Law:

In 2010, Government introduced the Judicial Standards and Accountability Bill before Parliament providing for a mechanism for enforcing judicial discipline under a National Judicial Oversight Committee. The Bill contained a Code of Conduct to ensure standards in behaviour of judges within the Court and outside declaring its violation to be treated as 'misbehaviour' actionable under law. The Bill also required judges and their dependents to declare their assets annually as provided by law. The Bill was to replace the existing Judges Inquiry Act, 1968.

The seminal part of this aborted legislation was in respect of the mechanism for enforcement of its provision which was, in my opinion, a fair balance between independence and accountability. Complaints against judges will be referred to a National Judicial Oversight Committee consisting of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court/High Court and two eminent Jurists nominated by the President of India under the Chairmanship of President of the Council of States. If the allegation is against the CJ of the High Court, the Chief Justice of another High Court chosen by the CJI shall be the member of the Oversight Committee (OC). The OC will refer it to a "Scrutiny Panel" consisting of three judges of the respective court and if the Scrutiny Panel finds merit in proceeding against the judge, it shall record reasons therefor and report to OC for making a formal inquiry. Otherwise it shall report to OC to drop it on grounds of frivolous or vexatious nature or not being made in good faith, or for want of sufficient grounds for proceeding with inquiry. This phase is to be completed in 3 months. The Scrutiny Panel is given power of a civil court in respect of summoning the attendance of persons, requiring production of documents, receiving evidence on affidavit, issuing commission for examination of witness or documents etc.

If inquiry is recommended, OC will appoint an Investigation Committee (IC) consisting of such members as it considers appropriate. The IC has again power of civil court. It can proceed ex-parte if the judge concerned does not co-operate or refuse to appear before it. The IC shall frame definite charges and communicate it to the judge with supporting

documents asking for a written statement of defense. The investigation is to be conducted in camera and shall be completed within six months. Its findings are to be submitted to Oversight Committee for further action.

During the pendency of the inquiry by the IC, the OC may recommend stoppage of assigning judicial work to the judge concerned if it is found necessary in the interest of fair and impartial inquiry.

OC has a range of powers to impose penalties for misbehaviour of judges of High Court and Supreme Court. If it finds that the charges proved do not warrant removal of the judge, it may order imposition of penalties such as issuing advisories, warnings, withdrawal of judicial work, censure, admonition and voluntary retirement. It can even recommend to the Central Government to prosecute the judge in accordance with the law. In serious cases warranting removal, OC can advise the President accordingly for which the procedure for address to Parliament was laid down in the Bill.

In short, given the increase in the number of judges, the weakness in the appointment procedure and the difficulties inherent in the impeachment process, it is imperative that an independent empowered mechanism is put in place to discipline erring judges. The Justice Karnan episode demonstrates the urgency in the matter.

(Summary of the D.V.Subba Rao Memorial Lecture organized by Centre for Policy Studies on December 18, 2017)

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*Centre for Policy Studies is deeply beholden to Prof. N.R.Madhava Menon for making it possible to come all the way to Visakhapatnam to deliver the D.V.Subba Rao Memorial Lecture, in spite of his heavy work schedule. Prof. Menon's superb presentation, heard with rapt attention by a packed house, was a fitting tribute to late Shri D.V.Subba Rao. CPS offers its profound gratitude to the doyen of legal education in India. CPS also offers its sincere thanks to Prof. R.Venkata Rao, Vice Chancellor, NLSIU, Bengaluru for accompanying Prof.Menon and for giving an excellent message on the occasion.*

At Gandhiji's call India blossomed forth to new greatness, just as once before in earlier times when Buddha proclaimed the truth of fellow-feeling and compassion among all living creatures. Rabindranath Tagore

## 'GUOCHANHUA' AND MAKE IN INDIA

**Admiral Arun Prakash (Retd.)**

Former Chief of Naval Staff and  
Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee.

The public is often bemused on hearing senior military leaders make gratuitous public pronouncements regarding India's readiness to 'fight a two-front war'. Bewilderment, however, turns into trepidation on reading media reports that the Army is looking for eight lakh rifles, carbines and machine-guns, in the international market, to equip its 13-lakh jawans! At the same time, our uninhibited Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) regularly exposes, in Parliament, grave deficiencies in India's military wherewithal.

The previous Raksha Mantri, provided further proof, when he recently confided to the media, that days before the Indian army's cross-border raids into Pakistan, he had to send officers abroad, "... *with authority to carry out on the spot purchases.*" If a relatively minor army operation (hyperbolically described as 'surgical strikes'), involving a few dozen soldiers, required urgent 'on the spot purchases' from abroad, how would India manage to sustain half a million troops deployed in an intense and protracted conflict on two separate fronts? While this conundrum does not seem to trouble our decision-makers, the tax-payer needs to reflect on some facts about our two potential adversaries; China and Pakistan.

Pakistan's army is the 7<sup>th</sup> largest in the world, and even though embroiled in politics and religion, its professional capabilities, notwithstanding serial defeats, cannot be ignored. We may sneer at the Pakistani 'deep state', but need to acknowledge its strategic master-stroke, whereby it has ensured steady arms-transfers to the Pakistani military from its 'all-weather friend' China. Having created a high level of equipment commonality with the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA), Pakistan can go to war, confident that its attrition losses will be expeditiously replaced from PLA stocks.

By comparison, India's, acute dependence on imported weaponry (60%-70% of Russian origin), will constitute a grave handicap and vulnerability in a conflict. Over time, not only have Indo-Russian relations become purely transactional, but the (post-Soviet) Russian arms industry has proved incapable of providing timely support for its products; a fact repeatedly pointed out by the CAG. Other foreign suppliers may prove equally unreliable in wartime.

Coming to China; the PLA, as the world's largest military organization, boasts of formidable capabilities in the conventional, nuclear, cyber, maritime and space domains. China's true strength, however, lies in its vast military-industrial complex, that not only supports its army, navy and airforce, but has surpassed Britain, France, and Germany as an exporter of arms; 70% of them to Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar. Ironically, in 1949, when the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) came into being, India was industrially well ahead of it, because demands of WW II had led to the establishment of arms, ordnance and aircraft production facilities to support the Allied war effort world-wide. So, how did we slip behind so drastically?

In the early 1950s, a fraternal Soviet Union had commenced a massive transfer of arms to the PLA, but as ideological fissures emerged the Soviets threatened to stop aid. The far-sighted Chinese leadership ordered clandestine appropriation of drawings and technological data relating to Soviet weapons. Once the split actually occurred, in mid-1960s, the Chinese, in a resolute bid for self-reliance, launched a national mission of reverse engineering ('guochanhua' in Mandarin) Soviet weaponry.

The first phase of 'guochanhua' helped China establish, by the mid 1980s, serial production of Soviet-origin tanks, artillery, submarines, jet fighters and bombers, as well as strategic systems like ballistic missiles and nuclear submarines. Manufactured without Soviet licences, many of these products had serious flaws, and even though they contained Western components, they were 'made' and not just 'assembled' in China.

China has, subsequently, launched repeated cycles of 'guochanhua', with the aim of acquiring

This is the ancient land where wisdom made its home before it went into any other country. It is the same India which has withstood the shocks of centuries, of hundreds of foreign invasions, of hundreds of upheavals of manners and customs.

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latest military and dual-use technologies, using all means; including industrial espionage and violation of intellectual property rights, if required. By the turn of this century, China's own scientific prowess is said to have surpassed that of Russia. Today, China has stunned the USA, by its ingenuity, exemplified by; the world's fastest super-computer (the Sunway Taihu-light), J-31 fifth generation stealth-fighter, an electro-magnetic aircraft catapult to equip its new aircraft-carriers and huge strides in robotics, artificial-intelligence and drones.

India, by a quirk of circumstance, became an economic and military entity, with great-power aspirations, before it could become a significant industrial power. Consequently, we have an anomalous situation, where a nuclear-weapons state, with the world's 4<sup>th</sup> largest armed forces has to support their operational needs through massive arms imports. All this, inspite of a vast military-industrial complex, a large pool of DRDO scientists and a network of sophisticated laboratories, backed by advanced production facilities of the Defence PSUs.

The Bangladesh War was won only because General Manekshaw sought a grace of nine months to obtain equipment for his troops. The brief Kargil War required desperate replenishments of ammunition, midway through the operation. India's continuing dependence on foreign arms, coupled with a dysfunctional acquisition process has eroded the combat readiness of our armed forces. Foreign arms purchases, considered a 'golden-goose' for political war-chests, have also engendered a morally-corrosive system of corruption at many levels.

Our myopic failure to learn from experience, and to acknowledge the deleterious impact of this void on India's national security, may cost us dearly *vis-a-vis* future machinations of the China-Pak axis. It is a pity that, not one of our post-independence political leaders showed the foresight to launch an initiative, resembling 'guochanhua' that could have made India self-reliant in weapon-systems, by today.

What we need is a 50-year vision for self-reliance in weaponry, and a clear-cut strategy, for its

implementation by an empowered 'czar'. But what we get, instead, are knee-jerk responses, like the arbitrary cancellation of a crucial anti-tank missile contract by the MoD, and its reported restitution at the behest of a visiting Prime Minister.

Mr Modi has given us the dream of 'Make in India', but its fulfilment depends on languid bureaucrats, complacent scientists and a complex, document, the 'Defence Procurement Procedure', which, after six iterations, has failed to deliver anything substantive. It is already late in the day, but if we never make a start, how will we ever get there?

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### **Third India-Africa Forum Summit India and Africa: The 3G maritime connectivity**

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

India and Africa are connected through the medium of the oceans and this has been an ancient linkage. In the modern context, the advent of the colonial phase of recent history and the Afro-Asian experience testifies to the relevance of the maritime domain in shaping the regional strategic and security environment. There is considerable potential in the maritime arena for the Indian sub-continent and the African continent to advance their respective interests in a mutually beneficial manner.

The relevance of the oceans may be disaggregated along the 3G formulation advanced by the Canadian analyst Cleo Paskal - namely the geo-political, geo-economic and geo-physical and the Indian Ocean (IO), which links the Indian sub-continent and the east African region, can be analyzed from this perspective to obtain a sense of the shared interest.

The geo-economic strand is the more visible and historically the IO has been a critical conduit for trade and commerce linking the Asian and African continents. In the contemporary context it is envisaged that bilateral India-Africa trade will soon

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

reach US \$100 billion and within this the hydrocarbon dependency is of the highest significance.

It is a truism that India's ability to sustain and improve its present GDP growth rate will be totally dependent on the uninterrupted availability of energy resources. The reality is that this quantum is steadily increasing and it is estimated that by 2030 India will be among the highest primary energy import dependent nations in the world. .

Net oil import dependency rose from 43% in 1990 to above 79% in 2014. While the Persian Gulf has been the main source of India's crude oil imports - the share of Africa which is currently 18 % (Nigeria and Angola in the main) is all set to increase. Concurrently South Africa is a major coal supplier for India - about 14 percent - and all trend indicators suggest that these figures will grow. The potential of gas imports from Africa in the long term cannot be discounted and the inescapable conclusion is the enhanced relevance of Africa for India in the economic-trade-energy spectrum.

The flip side is that India is emerging as an important market for African exports and Nigeria is illustrative. India is the largest single country destination for Nigerian crude oil and accounts for 18 percent of the west African country's oil exports.

India's port infrastructure is below the global median and in need of considerable improvement and this is an area that has been prioritized by the Modi government. Once this core competence has been acquired, the potential for partnering with African countries in joint effort that is sector specific can be meaningfully explored. This initiative, if implemented with efficiency and sincerity, may provide dividends in the long term and demonstrate India's commitment to mutually beneficial policies. The case in point is India's current effort with Iran in the Chabahar project and if this is realized along the anticipated cost and time-lines, this could be extrapolated to the east coast of Africa in an appropriate manner.

The geo-political strand of the maritime domain that includes the security and strategic imperative is particularly significant for the India-

Africa relationship. In recent decades, India has played a valuable but little noticed role in some parts of Africa - and this does not include UN Peacekeeping operations. In the early 1990's when the US military had an embarrassing setback in Somalia, the Indian military used the maritime domain to establish a naval presence and Indian army troops provided the necessary support to redress the situation. Modest - but much appreciated - and one has heard from Somali interlocutors in later years that the manner in which the Indian troops were able to repair irrigation pumps and tend to the health of the local cattle and camels is still fondly recalled.

The more significant security role that India played was in 2003, when, at the request of Mozambique, the Indian government had sent a naval ship to provide quiet, below the radar security for the 2003 African Union summit in the capital, Maputo. This was followed by India sending two naval ships for assisting in the security grid during the World Economic Forum and Afro-Pacific-Caribbean Summit in Mozambique in 2004. Subsequently, India signed several defence and security cooperation agreements with Mozambique, between 2006 and 2012, including for maritime patrolling and this followed an earlier 2003 protocol with Mauritius for monitoring the island nation's vast EEZ.

In earlier summits the Indian capacity to be a security provider in the Indian Ocean had been highlighted and India's proven naval and coast guard abilities as also in the hydrographic discipline could form the basis for a robust bilateral relationship with individual African nations.

India has already entered into a MDA (maritime domain awareness) agreement with Sri Lanka and Maldives and this could be fruitfully extended to African island states also.

The geo-physical aspect of the maritime domain encompasses many issues and areas that have a direct bearing on human security and the Somali piracy phenomenon could be interpreted as an illustration of the manner which various issues get inter-linked and manifest in the manner that they have. The physical health of the Indian Ocean and the current pattern

In broad terms it (neoliberalism) denotes a preference for markets over government, economic incentives over cultural norms, and private entrepreneurship over collective action. It has been used to describe a wide range of phenomena.

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of pollution and illegal fishing warrants detailed review and India's niche capacities (for instance in oceanography ) could be part of the collective effort to husband the IO in such a manner that it can be handed down to the future generations that follow.

The current global geo-political and geo-economic orientation suggest that the IO will become an arena where major power interests are likely to overlap. The most recent tension between the US and Russia on one hand over Syria and the US-China dissonance over the South China Sea island disputes is an example that is self-explanatory.

India's credibility to meaningfully engage with the African continent through its maritime connectivity will help punctuate the regional strategic framework in an innovative manner. The Modi focus on the Blue Revolution should include the African aspiration and anxiety spectrum so that the shared stakeholder index is equitably defined and implemented.

(Excerpted from "India & Africa: Towards a Global Partnership", a SPS publication for the 3rd India Africa Forum Summit, October 26-29)

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## Is The Lord's Bliss Still Undisturbed?

**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*)

Way back in 1948 we, a group of school boys from Balasore, had to shuffle through a long stretch of wilderness on the outskirts of Bhubaneswar to discover a certain rock which, our textbook had informed us, was in the shape of an elephant. We had to part an abundance of bushes and creepers in order to have a satisfying glimpse of it; when we located the significant monolith, it was lying not only neglected but, as it appeared, abandoned.

The site was a natural demonstration of serenity in desolation. The whistling of the wind and an occasional hoot from a distant cowherd were the only

sounds to remind us of the density of its silence - a silence throbbing with the cries of a hundred thousand people killed and another hundred and fifty thousand taken prisoners in a remoter past, for the meadow lying in front of the Elephant Rock, known as Dhauli, was the site of the great Kalinga war of 261 B.C. The man who launched the war witnessed its course standing, most probably, on that very rock and, it is believed, felt a sort of transformation within himself. He was a rare man of destiny - one who changed the course of history - not only of India but also of the world. He was the youthful monarch of Magadha, Chandashoka, Ashoka the Terrible, getting metamorphosed into Dharmashoka, Ashoka the Pious.

This is how the Earl of Ronaldshay had seen the rock a quarter century before I saw it for the first time: "Closer inspection discloses the fact that the elephant stands guardian over a polished slab of rock some fifteen feet in length, on which is graven an inscription in three columns. The historic interest of this message from the distant past was made known by the genius of one James Prinsep who succeeded in deciphering it in 1834. We are in the presence here of the famous edicts of Ashoka, the great missionary emperor of the Maurya dynasty, who made of Buddhism a world religion. We are gazing upon the commands of a great monarch graven by his orders upon this same rock more than two thousand one hundred and seventy years ago ...' (*India: A Bird's-Eye View*).

And about the significance of the edicts, Nehru says in his *Glimpses of World History*: 'In these edicts Ashoka tells us of his horror and remorse at the slaughter which war and conquest involve. The only true conquest, he says, is the conquest of self and the conquest of men's hearts by the *Dharma*. But I shall quote for you some of these edicts. They make fascinating reading and they will bring Ashoka nearer to you:

"Kalinga was conquered by His Sacred and Gracious Majesty," so runs the edict, "when he had been consecrated eight years. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were then carried away captive, one hundred thousand were there slain and many times that number died. .. "

The real soul and self of us is hidden from our intelligence by its ignorance of inner things, by a false identification, by an absorption in our outward mechanism of mind, life and body. Sri Aurobindo

“Directly after the annexation of the Kalingas began His Sacred Majesty’s protection of the Law of Piety, his love of that Law and his inculcation of that Law. Thus arose His Sacred Majesty’s remorse for having conquered the Kalingas, because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves slaughter and death and carrying away captive of the people. That is matter of profound sorrow and regret to His Sacred Majesty.”

‘The edict goes on to say that Ashoka would not tolerate any longer the slaughter or captivity of even a hundredth or thousandth part of the number killed and made captive in Kalinga. “Moreover, should any one do him wrong, that, too, must be borne with His Sacred Majesty, so far as it can possibly be borne with. Even upon the forest folk in his dominions His Sacred Majesty looks kindly and he seeks to make them think aright, for if he did not, repentance would come upon His Sacred Majesty. For His Sacred Majesty desires that all animate beings should have security, self-control, peace of mind and joyousness.” Ashoka further explains that true conquest consists of the conquest of men’s hearts by the Law of Duty or Piety, and to relate that he had already won such real victories, not only in his own dominions, but in distant kingdoms. The Law to which reference is made repeatedly in these edicts, was the Law of the Buddha. Ashoka became an ardent Buddhist and tried his utmost to spread the Dharma.’

Much had changed. Just as the Vivekananda Rock at Kanyakumari is now adorned with a magnificent memorial-but at the cost of all chances for another Vivekananda or a lesser aspirant to lose himself or herself in an entranced solitude all alone - so had been Dhauli hill. As grand Stupa built by a Japanese Buddhist mission celebrates Ashoka’s transformation and provides for tourists and sightseers facilities for their less sublime celebration of a birthday or a wedding with a picnic.

The situation reflects the paradox of our time. No doubt, leaving the rock islet at Kanyakumari or the Dhauli hill to their pristine solitude would have been the best thing to do, but that just could not have been. The expanding population or some organisation of dubious motive would grab them sooner or later. Hence we must celebrate loudly what the past celebrated in silence.

If Dhauli, Tosali (an ancient fort-city under excavation - a process notorious for its lethargy), Khandagiri and Udayagiri (the twin hills with a number of Jain caves) skirting Bhubaneswar are of great antiquity, how old is the history of the city itself? If Varanasi was ‘older than time’, Bhubaneswar would perhaps fall into the next category of places still alive, places as old as time. India, of course, has the largest number of cities and sites in the world with their continuity maintained for 2,500 years and more and there is plenty of evidence to prove that Bhubaneswar is one of them. The oldest rock-cut sculptures in India, dating back to 3rd century B.C., are found here, suggesting the importance the place had gained even earlier.

No doubt, the most celebrated name associated with the place is that of Kharavela (2nd century B.C.), the emperor who revived and revitalised the land lying in a stupor since the devastating Kalinga War, who expanded his empire, defeated the King of Magadha and triumphantly brought back a remarkable statue of Kalinga Jina carried away by an earlier Magadhan king, Mahapadmananda, who dug canals and launched several projects for the welfare of his subjects, but who ultimately became an ascetic and, along with his queen, retired to the caves of Khandagiri-Udayagiri. His achievements inscribed there are historically invaluable and the caves carved by him have special features - one of them wide enough to serve as a stage for discourses or cultural programmes.

The caves continued to be the home of hermits of different sects till the beginning of our century. The last important hermit known to the public to live there was Mahimaswami, the founder of a mystic school called Mahima Dharma, mostly confined to Orissa. When Fergusson visited the site in 1836 and Lieutenant Kittoe who made a survey of the caves the next year, the inmates of the caves were very much displeased. But today’s inmates would be quite pleased to receive you, for they expect the visitors to follow the discipline of greeting them with roasted groundnuts available with the vendors roaming the place. They are a troop of monkeys, friendly and rather chivalrous. They ignored me and crowded around another visitor for no other apparent reason than that she was a distinctly fashionable lady.

The ancient monuments are far better preserved today, but at a very high price. The forests around the hills have disappeared. The primeval tranquility of the region is smothered by the concerted effort of domestic settlements, business enterprises and, last but not the least, a film studio.

It is the same story everywhere.

But Bhubaneswar was what it was neither for Ashoka nor for Kharavela, but for its presiding deity, Lord Lingaraj. It has not been possible to ascertain who initiated the deity's worship, though we know that the 46-metre high temple was built in the 11th century. As Havell says, "For purity of outline and dignity of its rich but unobtrusive decoration, as for its superb technique, the Lingaraj *shikhara* must rank as one of the greatest works of the Indian builder."

No doubt, Bhubaneswar represents the heyday of the Saiva cult and the shrine of Lingaraj was its centre. The Linga symbol is believed to be *Swayambhu* or self-existent. Yet the deity is unique, for He is both Hara and Hari (Siva and Vishnu). His worship is conducted in accordance with both Saiva and Vaishnava rites. The *Vahanasthambha* (the pillar identifying the deity through His vehicle) bears the images of Nandi, the vehicle of Siva, as well as of Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu.

The oldest existing temple, however, is that of Parasurameswara, to quote Charles Fabri, "one of the earliest temples in the whole of Orissa and its date can hardly be later than A.D. 650."

Then come, according to their antiquity, the Boital temple (8th century), Mukteswara (9th century), Brahmeswara and Rajarani (11th century) and Ananta-Vasudeva (13th), among so many others.

While the sculptures of Rajarani and Lingaraj temples are widely reproduced for their excellence, practically every monument that has survived the ravages of time has a magnificence of its own, however dilapidated.

But it is not time or the elements of Nature alone that have maimed the sculptures.

'What a beauty!' I exclaimed looking at a panel on a minor temple. 'I wonder how much more beautiful it must once have been.'

"Indeed, agreed one of the priests and, with a sigh, added, "How much I wish that Kalapahar had never been born!"

I hear this observation, with slight variations, for the umpteenth time. Be it at Puri, Konarak or Bhubaneswar, it was Kalapahar who wrought the havoc.

Kalapahar, literally meaning the Dark Hill, was no doubt a historical figure. Named Kalidas Gajadani, he was a Hindu officer in the service of the Afghan Sultan of Bengal. He fell in love with a Muslim girl and married her and consequently was excommunicated from the Hindu society. His ardent appeals to the Mukti Mandap at the Puri temple, then the foremost seat of authority on the Hindu faith, evoked no favourable response. In 1568, Orissa fell to the Afghan army and Kalapahar lost no time in wreaking vengeance on all the monuments historically or artistically significant. A perfect pervert, he found a peculiar pleasure in mutilating sculptures that were remarkable for their beauty.

His mission was carried forward by one Mir Sayeed Ahmed, under order from Aurangzeb, to destroy the Jagannath temple at Puri in particular. 'It is surprising how the great temples of Puri and Bhubaneswar survived his assault!' writes H.K. Mahtab. 'Undoubtedly, it is their massiveness that saved them. But who can say how many smaller temples were reduced to dust?'

The species of Kalapahars is still living and kicking. Its members range from those inscribing their precious names, designations (sometimes extending up to quite enlightening information such as Mr. X, brother-in-law of Mr. Z, the respected sub-deputy collector) and those of their dear ones on the walls, pillars and sculptures, to the gangs of idol-lifters. In fact, long before smuggling Indian idols abroad grew into a million-dollar business, a far sighted Englishman had begun it with Bhubaneswar for his base, as early as 1810. He was Col. Stewart of the East India Company. At the early phase of his generously helping himself with idols and inscribed slabs, the priests were so deeply impressed by his love for their lore that they lovingly re-christened his name as Hindu Stewart. By the time they realised the nature of his conversion, it was too

late. A large cabin-load of sculptures had been shipped to England. The highers-up in the East India Company tried to assuage the feelings of the disenchanted priests by restoring two slabs to them - and they were fitted on the wrong temple where they continue to baffle the casual researcher.

Temples are not the only heritage of Bhubaneswar. Who can pass by without marvelling at the tank at the heart of the old city? Its grandeur is not due to its size, 1300 feet by 700 feet, but due to the fact that King Varaha Keshari (8th century) collected waters from all the sacred rivers and lakes of India and poured them into it. Hence its charming name the Vindu Sarovar - the lake formed with drops! Relaxing on its steps and gazing at the tranquil blue ripples on its surface at twilight, a luxury I cherish in my memory, may not be available to you today, thanks to the stream of traffic along its edges!

There are of course two Bhubaneswars - the old and the new.

That was in 1953. The capital of Orissa had just shifted Cuttack to the outskirts of the old Bhubaneswar. The site then known simply as the New Capital, was yet to develop into a town. The honourable members of the State Legislature had to plod through acres of sand to reach the Assembly hall and were occasionally lashed by mini sandstorms, in the absence of buildings or trees. Barring half a dozen rooms serving as the Legislature office, there was hardly any houses within a radius of one or two kilometres.

A friend and I, who had spent an hour in the visitors' gallery of the Assembly, were badly in need of some tea. We soon located a tea-stall a furlong away - a thatched hut flanked by some shrubs, run by a young man, its owner, and a teenage boy in tattered shorts. We ordered and had two cups of tea at the cost of an anna (one-sixteenth part of a rupee) each.

Seated on a soiled bench I commented, looking at my friend, more to ward off the monotony of the summer noon than to establish my connoisseurship, "It's really good!" after my first sip of the tea.

The wrestler-like young entrepreneur got off his stool and stood facing me, his moustachio

resembling a pair of hammers. His arms akimbo, he gravely demanded that I repeat my comment which I reluctantly did, not without some trepidations.

Displaying a broad smile (I will gladly walk five miles to witness a repeat performance) he forcibly took the tiny cups away from our hands.

"What you were drinking is plain tea. But I have provision for special tea- and even for especial tea. You are the first tea lover I have met to appreciate our preparation since I set up this shop a month ago. Can I let you just walk away without a taste of my especial tea?"

He prepared the especial himself, commanding his assistant to bring out two special glasses and handing out a concoction of thick creamy milk and some masala and syrup sweeter than honey. He informed us, as we began talking, how his father and brothers who are in a village at the foot of the sacred Khandagiri hills had no faith in this brave enterprise of his and how he was determined to prove them wrong.

We had already paid for the ordinary tea. Now all our efforts to make him accept the extra for the 'especial' treat went in vain. "You're my friends, had been his farewell greeting."

Almost every time I pass by the massive new building of the Orissa Legislative Assembly, I wonder if my 'friend' owns one of those elegant buildings around it - if one of those posh hotels or restaurants is an evolution from the little hut I so fondly treasure in my memory. I wonder if the children and grandchildren of my friend, probably born in the city, while inheriting his business, had also inherited that wonderful smile of his - a smile I have never seen on the face of any contemporary city youth.

And that takes me back to the genesis of the original Bhubaneswar. Needless to say, it began around the seat of Lord Lingaraj. But why did he choose to dwell here - at Ekamra as the place was known earlier? According to the hoary legend, it is because Varanasi proved too crowded for Him!

I hope that at Bhubaneswar the Lord continues to dwell content, His bliss undisturbed.

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## Afterword

Dr.(Mrs.) Prema Nandakumar

Manoj Da has been dear to four generations of my family. Each generation for a different reason, of course! To my father, K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, he was always the daring student leader from Orissa who had dared to take up the Integral Yoga of Sri Aurobindo and had settled down in Pondicherry. When I began my writing career, my father would often point out to Manojda's writings which went deep into philosophy, but never lost its varied humour. Also, he would tell me how Manojda was equally known in Oriya literary circles as a brilliant writer and that I should also not neglect my mother tongue, Tamil. This advice helped me a great deal to traverse the Tamil world and become a critic, translator and a writer of fiction. But I have never been able to match Manojda in any way, though I am, not much younger than him. But he has been one of my incandescent inspirations. My daughter, Ahana, became a fan of his writings right from when she read his *Stories of Light and Delight* and tried to model her language after his when she began writing for children.

Well, her daughter Mythili's admiration for Manojda is one of awe. In 2008 we had gathered in Sri Aurobindo Ashram, New Delhi, to celebrate my father's birth centenary. Manojda was to address the audience. I remember when the fourteen-year old Mythili came to me and whispered into my ear: "Grandma, can you please, oh please, get Manojda's signature for this book?" I whispered back that she should ask him. So she went and stood by him till he turned to her and flashed on her his famous child-like smile. "Ahana's daughter", I said. "Arre, so what is your name?" Mythili has not forgotten that encounter to this day.

It has been a joy to get back to Manojda month after month through the Bulletin's pages in recent times. A scholar glued to his work, it was thanks to him that many new facts about Sri Aurobindo reached us after his hard work in British libraries. Till recently, he was writing in detail about Sri Aurobindo's political phase in the *Mother India* and points out in his

Epilogue (November, 2017 issue) how it is impossible to gauge the entire phenomenon of Sri Aurobindo. He aptly draws our attention to the Mother's words in her diary on 30th March 1914 after meeting Sri Aurobindo on the previous day for the first time:

"It matters little that there are thousands of beings plunged in the densest ignorance, He whom we saw yesterday is on earth; his presence is enough to prove that a day will come when darkness shall be transformed into light, and Thy reign shall be indeed established upon earth."

What more need be said about the significance of Manojda's researches? Humility personified, his lectures have always been pleasant experiences. So meticulous in every work undertaken by him, I remember his days as the editor of *The Heritage*, an English monthly launched by the Chandamama Publications. Though short-lived, the issues contain a wonderful fund of information where he also gave a wide space for creative fiction in English and in translation. His own fiction (short stories, novels) is an amazing treasury.

To conclude on a note concerning my mother who was devoted to his writings in English. Once my parents went to Manojda's house on their visit to Pondicherry. My mother was fascinated by the sweet ways of Manojda's wife, Pratijna. Pratijna gave mother an Orissa sari which my mother wore regularly for a long time. Then, she persuaded Ahana to cut it and make it into a skirt and blouse for her frail body for the material was so soft. Till the end, mother used the dress and would often murmur: "Pratijna, what a lovely name!"

It is a joy to know that the Bulletin has completed publishing, without a break, all the essays/stories from Manojda's book *My Little India* and for me a moment of pardonable pride when Prof. Prasanna Kumar asked me to write a few words of appreciation on the occasion. But how can one adequately appreciate Manojda? Except as a Sweet Child of the Mother?

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Sri Aurobindo combined an intellect of the highest order with a rarely equalled spiritual force and a vision that transcended the limits of time and space.

Nani Palkhivala

### **Grateful Thanks**

In February 2010 when I requested Prof. Manjoj Das ji at Sri Aurobindo Ashram to permit me to publish in the bimonthly CPS Bulletin an essay from his masterly work *My Little India*, he smilingly replied “Why only one, you can use all, if you choose to”. Beginning with ‘*The City Older Than Time*’ in the April 2, 2010 issue, all the 47 essays have been published ending with “Is The Lord’s Bliss Still Undisturbed?” in this issue. Realising that it was beyond my capacity to adequately thank the venerable scholar for his kindness in permitting publication of the unputdownable essays in the CPS Bulletin. When I turned to Dr.(Mrs.) Prema Nandakumar, another *Sweet Child of the Mother* and an unfailing source of strength to CPS, she acted with characteristic promptness and generosity by penning the ‘Afterword’. I convey my deep sense of indebtedness to Prof. Manoj Das ji and Dr. Prema Nandakumar for enriching the Bulletin with literary flavour.

- A. Prasanna Kumar

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### **Bridging the Two Cultures**

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

Prof. IIM, Bengaluru &

Former Secretary, HRD, Govt. of India

Looking back, there were two strands of education I received in the Andhra University over half a century ago: the specialised education I received in the Chemistry Department, and a broad general education that unconsciously seeped in from living on a university campus with students belonging to different disciplines and opportunities plenty to know about each other’s studies and to casually engage in inter-disciplinary chat, from a rambling study of books of all types in the University Library, and more significantly from the all-pervasive ambience of cultural and political ferment that pervaded the university.

The cultural and political ferment that pervaded the University was mainly a legacy of the movement for carving out a separate State for the Andhras; it was

a movement still very fresh in the minds of everyone when I joined the university in 1957. As in Central and Eastern Europe, the Andhra movement extensively used history, language and culture as the primary means to advance its political agenda of creating a separate State. The glorification of the achievements of the Telugu people and fostering a sense of cultural superiority were essential components of the Andhra movement. A good illustration is the popularity of songs like *Cheyetti Jai Kottu Telugoda*, *Gathamentho Ghanakirti Kalavada*. The song calls upon the Andhras to be proud of their great Past, and after a spirited narration of the heroes and heroines of the Past exhorts Andhras to put an end to their being subjected to a step-motherly treatment by Tamilians who purportedly dominated the government in the Madras Presidency. Though the Andhra movement antedated the establishment of the Communist Party by a couple of decades, Communists emerged in 1940s at the forefront of the Andhra movement. The Communist Party dominated the cultural front of the Andhra movement through the cultural performances of its front organisation Praja Natya Mandali, espousal of Vyavaharika Bhasha (the spoken language) as the medium of literature and of folk cultural forms like Burrakatha, and the activities of Visalandhra Publishing House (VPH), a party organisation that published the party paper Visalandhra as well as a vast range of original and translated works in Telugu. VPH made a yeoman service to the propagation of literature and political education by bringing books within the reach of millions. It organised sale of books in schools and colleges with the help of student volunteers. The array of books these sales offered was vast indeed: the in-house publications of VPH, Marxist canon in English and Telugu, low-priced reprints of Russian literature as well as English translations of Russian science textbooks, and books of the People’s Publishing House. The Telugu edition of Soviet Land was well-illustrated like Henry Luce’s *Life* but was cheap and widely subscribed. I found the Russian textbooks rather quaint as they attributed every scientific discovery to some obscure Russian, and brought in Marxist-Leninist philosophy at odd, unexpected places. Be that as it may, in the Andhra in which I grew up the American response to the

Soviet challenge in the Battle of Books during the Cold War was weak and ineffectual. No doubt, there were on sale low-priced editions of a few American political classics such as the Declaration of American Independence and Federalist Papers; however, the range of American books was narrow and there was no attempt to pit American authors, say Walt Whitman and Mark Twain, against the Russian Greats like Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, and Gorki. I do remember a Telugu book on life in Soviet Russia that portrayed the grim life of the people, and Russian chauvinism that attributed all scientific discoveries to Russians; however, it could do little to negate the luminous image of the Soviet Union for it was up against the spirit of the times.

In those days, except in a few countries like the United States, Adenauer's Germany, Franco's Spain and Salazar's Portugal, to be Left was to be right; the credo that there could be no enemy on the Left captured the predominant belief in most Third World Countries. In a world 'where we are all socialists now', the difference between socialists and communists was a matter of degree and not of kind. On the one side were 'progressives' that included socialists and communists, and all on the side were reactionaries. Apart from a few exceptions like Ernest Bevin of the British Labour Party, and Ashok Mehta and Jayaprakash Narain in the later phases of their political career, for most socialists Communists were siblings who shared the same goals, had a similar world-view, and were only a little wayward in that they were overzealous and did not mind adoption of violent means to achieve the same end that they desired. It is difficult to imagine the degree of uniformity in public opinion of those days about the direction in which the country should be headed or what should be done. Non-alignment in external relations, the goal of a socialistic pattern of society, planned economic development, the building of a public sector that would occupy commanding heights, building new temples of modern India like the Bhakra Nangal Dam and Nagarjunasagar, a belief in the benevolent omnipotence of Science, adoption of a scientific temper and elimination of superstition and bigotry- all these were unquestioned articles of

faith, and Nehru was the apostle who preached that faith. A few had different views; Rajaji continuously denounced the license-permit-control raj with little effect. Come to think of it, it was a different world, and the constants of those years such as Congress Party being the natural party of governance, planning, secularism, non-alignment and Soviet might have all been eroded where they have not been swept away altogether.

I went to the university just to study Chemistry and no more, but it was impossible for a young impressible mind to remain in a cocoon, to miss the ferment, and to be on the sidelines. Should Art be for Art's sake, or should it serve a social purpose? Who is the Mahakavi –Gurajada or Viswanatha Satyanarayana? Is scientific socialism the one and only right path? All these seemed to be not rhetorical academic questions but matters of life and death. I was 14 years old when I entered the university and 23 when I left, and it was difficult at that age not to be sure and certain, not to connect and associate positions in art, literature, science and politics, not to misconstrue every contest of ideas as a battle between good and evil, not to be drawn into the cultural and political wars that raged on the campus, and not to be counted on the side which seemed to stand for progress against reaction, and for modernity against the deadweight of tradition. It was during this phase that I tasted the heady, intoxicating poetry of SriSri's *Mahaprasthanam*, and after imbibing that brew of *Maro Prapancham* it was not difficult to convince myself that the nation's march to modernity was conditional upon a total erasure of the Past and that we can harness science to construct a world free of inequalities, sorrow and suffering. Underlying the faith in the omnipotence of social engineering was the belief that beneath all disciplines of knowledge is an underlying unity, and that the complex phenomena of social life yield to and are illuminated by the application of the scientific method. Precise observation, hypothesis, and experiment could unravel the laws of society, which are akin to laws of nature. This line of thinking was in line with the spirit of those halcyon days so well expressed by Nehru: 'It is science alone that can solve the problems of

Both Modi and his predecessor, Singh, shared a conviction: that for India on the world stage, "our time has come." Washington should embrace – rather than merely await – its arrival. Alyssa Ayres

hunger and poverty, of insanitation and illiteracy, of superstition and deadening of custom and tradition, of vast resources running to waste, or a rich country inhabited by starving poor... Who indeed could afford to ignore science today? At every turn we have to seek its aid... The future belongs to science and those who make friends with science'. All in all, without knowing, I absorbed the 18th-century European Enlightenment idea that all problems are solvable by reason, that mankind is forever chipping away at new frontiers, and that human progress is inevitable; while there would be swings in human history 'the great fact to remember is that the trend of civilisation itself is forever upward; that a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and valleys of centuries always has an upward trend'.

As a student of Chemistry, I read thermodynamics. In a book on thermodynamics I chanced to read about Augustus Comte's schema of knowledge; I was much taken in by that schema which provides the conceptual underpinnings of social sciences. In fact, Comte is credited with establishing the discipline of sociology which he called social physics. According to Comte, all knowledge is a continuum from Mathematics to Social Sciences through Physics, Chemistry, and Biology; as one moved from mathematics to the other end of social sciences one encounters increasing complexity. However, complexity does not mean that any discipline should elude the scientific method. After all, the advancement of scientific knowledge had been inexorable, science had brought in its fold areas outside its purview offered rational explanation to several mysteries that were earlier considered to be supernatural phenomena, and contributed to uninterrupted progress in material conditions of human life. Comte also argued that all ideas pass through three rising stages, theological, philosophical and scientific, the first being rooted in assumption, the second in critical thinking, and the third in positive observation and deduction of theories from observation. Under the influence of this idea, economics moved from being a descriptive to a mathematically based discipline, Karl Marx propounded scientific laws of history and scientific socialism, and politics was labelled political

science. I was fascinated by Comte's ideas which seemed to offer a theory of everything, a unified framework of knowledge. Navigating life is as much unlearning as learning. A few decades after I left the university I realised that a crude reductionism underlay Comte's schema. A full understanding of the attributes of life such as consciousness cannot be derived solely from a study of the strictly physico-chemical components of biological processes. In other words, biology cannot be reduced to physics and chemistry; if that were so it is unthinkable for the meaning and purpose of life to be reduced to scientific question unless one believes that man is a machine. I learnt that the scientific method is only one of the methods for exploring knowledge, and that reason and rationality have limitations. And further, what passes for scientific method in disciplines like history, sociology and even economics is often not scientific method in the strict sense. Churchill was not exactly joking when he said that if he asked five economists for an opinion he would get six opinions, of which Keynes himself would offer two different opinions. For a method to be scientific, it is not enough for theories to be deduced from observation; it is equally necessary for a theory to provide an example which would prove it's false. Unlike in science, with history and social sciences controlled experimentation is not possible, data is many a time inadequate, and even the available data is capable of being interpreted in more than one way, all the more so as values and attitudes play an important role in interpretation of historic and 'social science' observations. Consequently, many theories and hypotheses can never be proved wrong, a good example being the unending debate whether Aryans are indigenous to India or whether they are migrants from somewhere else, or to give another example whether inflation targeting should be the sole objective of the Reserve Bank's monetary policy. To put it simply, subjectivity cannot be factored out as in science. Yet it should be said emphatically, knowledge cannot be limited to that testable and verifiable, that disciplines other than sciences are as precious as sciences, and that they better not ape sciences by blindly adopting the scientific method. As the philosopher R. C. Collingwood rightly observed there were several forms of human experience such

Old fears and myths about the left and the right require re-examining. The future is unpredictable; the future is young.

Meghnad Desai

as the metaphysical or philosophical, the scientific, the historical, the aesthetic and the religious, and no form could be reduced to any of the others.

## II

My research took me to the library almost every day of the five years I spent chasing a doctoral degree. Browsing and picking the books on the shelves from one end of the library to the other became an involuntary reflex, and desultory, autodidactic reading became lifelong addiction. A lasting legacy of those days is the Baconian ambition to take all knowledge to be my province. It was, no doubt, hubris but, in retrospect, the ambition ideally suited the profession to which I moved, where one has to be a jack-of-all-trades; it also helped me, in the short term, to scale the Mount Everest of the IAS examinations without any special preparation. During the desultory reading, I hit upon C. P. Snow's *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*, the text of his 1959 Rede Lecture in Cambridge. It was a fascinating book, all the more so as I felt that Snow gave articulation with great clarity and sharpness to my own inchoate ideas. Science offered the best hope for meeting mankind's fundamental needs; yet fulfilment of that hope was being thwarted by the educational system in Britain which contributed to vast scientific illiteracy. The education system created a vast gulf between the two cultures of natural sciences and humanities. Literary intellectuals who prided on their scholarship and culture could not describe the Second Law of Thermodynamics, the scientific equivalent of a work of Shakespeare. Snow's thesis particularly appealed to me as it justified my rambling reading for given my specialisation in Chemistry. I could get to know the humanistic cultures only by such reading. Like me, Snow began as a research chemist and acquired distinction as a novelist; in my boyish imagination he was a colossus who bestrode the the gulf that separated the scientific culture and the humanistic culture. As there were no limits to my dreams those days I wanted to be such a colossus myself.

When I first read the book in the Andhra University I could not imagine that the book would stir up great controversy as it set forth unquestionable truths. About three decades later I chanced to read a new edition of the Book (2001) with a scintillating

introduction by the eminent literary critic Stefan Collini. Reading that introduction was as exciting as my first reading of Snow's book. That introduction crisply brought out the ferocious assault on Snow's book by the eminent literary critic F.R. Leavis, and the commotion that the Snow-Leavis controversy created in British intellectual circles; it also brought out that Snow and Leavis were only enacting previous debates on the same theme, examples being the debate between Thomas Love Peacock and Shelley on the utility of poetry (1820-1), and between T.H.Huxley and Matthew Arnold (1880-2) on the relative merit of scientific and classical education. From my reading of Collini, I realised that I read in Snow's work only what I wanted to read, and ignored or missed out quite a few salient propositions made by Snow. Contrary to my surmise, Snow did not value scientific and literary education equally. While Snow commended knowledge of the Second Law of Thermodynamics, the scientific equivalent of a work of Shakespeare, to those educated in literature and humanities, he failed to commend knowledge of Shakespeare for those having scientific education. Worse, Snow made the polemical point that literary tradition is 'naturally Luddite', 'not only politically silly but politically wicked', in contrast to the progressive, egalitarian scientific tradition which has 'the future in its bones'. At the Andhra University I missed the polemical point because of my beliefs at that point of time and the zeitgeist that pervaded among many Indians, particularly the youth. I believed then that all tradition was deadening and should be demolished if the nation were to modernise; further I had pollyannic views about science similar to those of Snow. With passage of time and transvaluation of my values, I can no longer share Snow's disdain for the literary tradition, and his not-so-implicit belief that science provided sufficient light by which to steer the world. In fact, without discernment science can be misused, weapons of mass destruction being a good example. And further, science by itself cannot lead to discernment; reason as famously said, is slave to passion and can be used to argue that fair is foul and foul is fair. Snow's contention that literature cannot be a force for amelioration of the human condition is at best a rhetorical exaggeration to buttress his contention that there should be greater emphasis on

science in general education. In reality, both science and art do contribute to the improvement of society, though they use different means. An economist may by the use of statistics, convince the intellect that the condition of a particular social class has deteriorated but a novelist like Dickens, by appealing to the imagination makes the reader feel that it is so. There is no doubt whatsoever that working on feelings is a more powerful way to persuade than mere reasoned argument. Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin is a good example; the anti-slavery novel fuelled the slavery abolition sentiment so strongly that Stowe was purportedly greeted by President Lincoln's greeting of Stowe as 'So this is the little lady who started this great (American Civil) war' is not much of an exaggeration. Whatever, through his broad-brush, unnuanced denunciation of literary tradition, Snow brought upon himself the vicious, ad hominem criticism of the literary critic F.R. Leavis, and that there is great merit in the criticism of Snow by Leavis. Be that as it may, passage of time has not rendered the concern which Snow raised about the gap between the two cultures any less urgent or any more tractable. Then and now we are still beset by the questions as to what should be the relation between the two cultures? How should the curricula of schools and universities be arranged to give students an adequate education in both the branches of knowledge without detracting from the necessity and inevitability of specialisation? How distinct are science and humanities? Is that divide the only divide or is it a subset of a more complex multidimensional divide?

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## Thinking beyond quotas

**Dr. Uday Balakrishnan**

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### **We need to complement programmes like the MGNREGS to skill the youth**

The Gujjars in Rajasthan, the Jats in Haryana and the Patels in Gujarat have shown that politically powerful communities nurturing a sense of victimhood can mount a powerful challenge to

the Indian state. One of India's foremost political commentators, Rajni Kothari, had once agonised over this, expressing his concern at "our incapacity and our growing powerlessness before vested interests that have acted in concert to take the system in completely different directions".

With half, and in some instances more, of all educational and job opportunities in the public sector going to candidates coming under the reserved category, there is some resonance to Hardik Patel's demand made in 2015 to "either free the country from reservations or make everybody the slave of reservations". This is a widely shared feeling across the country by communities feeling marginalised because of a policy of reservation which was once limited, focussed as well as necessary but is now spiralling out of control.

What the young are looking for today is not more of the same — admissions to courses that lead to nowhere and low-entry jobs in the government. By empowering them with skills the world needs today and tomorrow, the government will be building the country's human capital far more quickly than any more reservations ever can.

### **Vocational, technical training**

There is a lot of ground to be covered. The vocational training schemes in the country are inadequate and woefully behind the times with many addressing yesterday's needs. There are some good schemes like those offered by the Nettur Technical Training Foundation (NTTF) in Bengaluru but they are simply too few.

Technical training is also constrained by a small educational base — 70% of India's workforce is without tertiary education — and a crippling lack of well-qualified trainers. Does it then come as a surprise that India, despite its young workforce, has never been able to challenge China in manufacturing? This needs to be acknowledged upfront as a major national catastrophe and tackled as such.

We have lost more than a decade in not complementing a mass welfare scheme like the the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment

As a scientist life has taught me three important qualities – knowledge, sweat and perseverance.

Dr.A.P.J. Abdul Kalam

Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) with a bigger programme to train the young for employment. One outcome of such neglect is that there is a clamour for more reservations that is bringing India to its knees, often with devastating effects. The sooner our politicians acknowledge address this, the better it will be for India.

(Courtesy: *The Hindu*, E-paper of January 11, 2018)

(The views expressed above are personal)

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## **THE FIRST SPECIAL CONGRESS: BOMBAY: 1918** **Syed Hasan Imam 1871-1933**

No TWO Muslim brothers in their day rose to equal fame at the bar or in public life as the Imams of Bihar-Ali Imam, the first Indian to represent India at the first meeting of the League of Nations (1920) and Hasan Imam, the first Indian to preside over the first Special Congress (Bombay, 1918).

The younger of the two, Hasan Imam was born on the 31st of August, 1871 at Neora, a village in the district of Patna. He was a boyhood friend of the Maker of Modern Bihar, Sachchidananda Sinha. Though delicate health had often interrupted his progress at School, Hasan Imam created quite a stir by his proficiency in English history as well as in English poetry.

Even at the early age of 14, he was believed to have been familiar with some of the English bards, from Shakespeare to Tennyson. Young Hasan Imam had indeed singular experience of his distinction. His Head Master used to read out to the class some of his essays as models of composition while the Patna College Debating Society would let him participate in its discussions.

At the instance of his mother, Hasan Imam, like his brother earlier, proceeded to England, for higher studies. At 18, he found himself busy, not only reading in the Middle Temple Library but also taking lessons in elocution. It was about the same time again that his old friend, Sachchidananda Sinha, joined him and the two grew up together as inseparables. Amidst his pre-occupations abroad, Hasan Imam forgot neither his community nor his country.

He was the Secretary of the Anjuman Islamia of London; he was also the Secretary of the Indian Society which had, for its President, Dadabhai Naoroji. His was also the privilege of having worked for the great friend of India, William Digby: as his personal secretary. Above all, he made excellent use of his experience at the Paddington Parliament in London, by vigorously canvassing for the great Naoroji in the General Election of 1891.

It was against such exciting background that Hasan Imam returned to India in 1892-he was but 22-and joined the bar. With his brother, Ali Imam, already a man to reckon with, Hasan Imam shared the laurels of the profession. In November 1910, he shifted to Calcutta, however, but such was his astounding success that, within hardly a year, he was elevated to the bench.

His fame as a judge spread far and wide. Eminent Indian lawyers like Lord Sinha and C.R. Das as well as famous European barristers like Jackson and Eardley Norton were united in eulogising Hasan Imam's judicial achievements.

Things happened which made it impossible for him to continue in the dark climate of Calcutta.

One day in 1913 he fainted on the steps of the High Court of Calcutta. Not much later he found himself back in Patna which had by then a separate High Court of its own. He set up practice there, having sternly declined to sit on the bench, in view of the claims of public life upon his time.

Hasan Imam had his earliest apprenticeship in public life in the more modest spheres of local self-government, as a member of the Municipality and the District Board of Patna. He was proud of his community and of his province but they always came next to the country of his birth. On a memorable occasion he said: "Let the Motherland be first in your affections, your province the second, and your community wherever thereafter you choose to put it." It was characteristic of his political courage and high sense of patriotism that so early as in 1910, at the Allahabad Congress session, he put his foot down on the extension or application of the principle of separate communal electorates to Municipalities, District Boards or other local bodies. Even in his private

Democracy is always a beckoning goal, not a safe harbor. For freedom is an unremitting endeavour, never a final achievement.

Justice Frankfurter

benefactions to educational institutions, he made no distinction between Hindu and Muslim. He was intensely interested in the student community; his message to it was in the words of the famous French Mirabeau: "first, courage; second, courage; third, courage. And he had the courage of his convictions. As a social reformer bent upon the emancipation of the Zenana, he brought his two daughters out of purdah and gave them the best education available.

Hasan Imam was quite a familiar figure on the Congress platform before the Bench snatched him away from active politics. Indeed, it was on his invitation that the Congress decided to hold its session at Bankipur in 1912. In August 1917, it was he who as, President of the Bihar Provincial Conference, vigorously protested against the internment of Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, and uttered a solemn warning to the British:

*Whether we shall get at present all that we want is not known to us, since the future is on the knees of the gods. But about one thing we should be under no delusion and that is that whether we get it now or later, today or tomorrow, we shall come into our birthright and nothing-nay, no power on earth-can keep us out of our inheritance, if only we ourselves are not slack in pressing our demands earnestly, forcefully and constitutionally who are the real sovereign power in the State.*

And he called for an agitation on a gigantic scale to convince the British Democracy of the justice of our claims to self-government. So in 1918 when the Congress stood in danger of being split on the rock of Montford Reforms and the invitation unanimously went to him to preside over the first Special Congress at Bombay in 1918, to give a correct and bold lead to the country, Hasan Imam never looked back. His Presidential Address justified the nation's choice and re-established his reputation as a man of Superb ability and sterling character. It was under his high auspices that the Congress condemned the Montford scheme as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing."

Again, when Gandhiji inaugurated his Satyagraha movement against the infamous Rowlatt Agitation, Hasan Imam readily extended to him his moral support in a speech wherein he struck the following manly note :

*Whoever may possess the political power, whoever be their master, the Satyagrahi declared that he would be his own master, he would be free, aye, as an Englishman was in England, or a Frenchman in France. That was the vision of the Satyagrahi-the development of the soul-force.*

Among his later services to the nation, were his deputation to England in the cause of Reforms, his presentation of the Indian case on the proposed dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and his evidence before the Lee Commission. He was extremely critical of the White Paper and biting was his description of the responsibilities under it of the Governor-General, which he catalogued thus: "Sole responsibility, special responsibility, discretionary responsibility, exclusive responsibility, general responsibility, and on the top of it all veto !' 'It is', he added: "autocracy par excellence, autocracy with a vengeance." In his later days Hasan Imam lost all confidence in British statesmanship and once caustically observed: "Few Indians know Englishmen better than I do. I have known them all my life and I have always said: You cannot get anything out of them.' Rajendra Prasad recalled in his *Autobiography* glimpses of the sturdy fighter who used to appear in khadi and assure his colleagues of his concern for the emergence of a United India. His death in April 1933 was a grievous blow to Bihar and to India, and it very appropriately fell to the lot of his near colleague Rajendra Prasad to pay from the Congress Presidential Chair in 1934, a tribute to "that valiant nationalist, Syed Hasan Imam."

("Congress Cyclopaedia - The Indian National Congress: 1885-1920 - The Pre-Gandhi Era" Pg. 323-324, K.ISWARA DUTT )

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### **THE THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS: DELHI: 1918 (26th, 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st December)**

#### **"High-Priest of Indian Nationalism"**

(A sketch of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya when he presided over the Lahore Congress in 1909 appeared earlier. Here is given Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's appreciation of Panditji.)

AFTER the Congress sessions at Benares and in

Society had come to accord more respect to the lowliest IAS/IFS trainee than it did the most qualified academic or savant.

Shashi Tharoor

Calcutta, delegates and visitors on their return home used to regale their friends with stories of a number of eminent speakers of the day and amongst them in particular of one rising man, slim and tall, dressed in spotless white and speaking chaste English in a silvery voice upon subjects of political interest with indefatigable energy and matchless eloquence. The Pandit had a simple, narrative style, recounting the story of England's exploitation of India.

He was temperamentally a moderate who assigned correct values to the opponents' contentions though he would never surrender a jot on the main issue. There was downright honesty in his strategy and moderation in his tactic which developed in him the habit of always acknowledging the merits of the opponent. Pandit Malaviya's aim and purpose was to convince the Judge and he acknowledged the Englishmen as the Judges of India's case. That was why his presentation of his case was simple and unadorned. His arguments were straight and unsophisticated, his eloquence was forensic, not oratorical. His speeches were therefore long but lucid, full without being detailed. To an unprejudiced and dispassionate jury he carried conviction with the profoundest ease. He never quoted out of record and always documented whatever he said profusely.

For nearly four decades the Pandit was a wholehearted, whole-souled Congressman, giving high priority to politics over his profession, and in politics to the Congress and serving the Congress with unbroken zeal and unabated passion. He continued to do so till the end of his life—now as a humble worker and now as a leader, now as a whole-hogger and now as a part protagonist, now as an opponent to non-co-operation and civil disobedience and now as a true srtiyagrahi and civil resister in British jails. Panditji commanded unique respect, one should say veneration, at the hands of all Indians and particularly of the Hindu population of India. He was himself a Sanskrit scholar and Sanatanist of high repute. Purity was to him, not an accident of adornment but an essential of structure. This was indicated by his dress and deportment. The Pandit cut a characteristic figure in the thousands that gathered year after year at the

various sessions of the Indian National Congress. Pandit Malaviya made his mark on the platform of the Congress very early in life. So early as in 1886 he won his Spurs in eloquence at the Calcutta session where he made a characteristic speech on a subject nearest to his heart. He presided over the Congress twice, first over the Lahore session in 1909 and next over the Delhi session in 1918. During the interval he was a member of the Imperial Legislative Council and was made a member of the Industrial Commission for the appointment of which he had pleaded hard and he appended a dissenting note to the Commission's Report, which stands till today as an authoritative exposition on Indian industries. The year that he first presided over the Congress was a crucial year, for in that year (1909) in the Caxton Hall in London in broad day-time, Sir Curzon Wylie, a high, retired Indian officer, was shot dead by a young man. In 1918 he amended the Congress League Scheme which had almost been finalized urging that dyarchy should be introduced at the Centre while full provincial autonomy should be introduced in the Provinces.

The recommendations of the Industrial Commission were welcomed by the Delhi Congress in 1918 with the demand that encouragement should be given to Indian capital and Indian enterprise and with the regret that the question of tariffs had been excluded altogether from the Report. The Congress further demanded that separate Executive Councillors should be appointed both at the Centre and in the Provinces for Industries and that Provincial as well as Imperial Advisory Boards should be appointed and Trade Associations and Chambers of Commerce should be organized throughout the country. Likewise a demand was made for constituting Imperial and Provincial Industrial Services and for the establishment of Commercial Colleges by Universities, all-at the Pandit's instance.

In 1919 occurred the Jalianwalabagh massacre following which Martial Law was declared. It is well-known how the news of the Jalianwalabagh massacre was suppressed in India for some months, and it was Pandit Malaviya that revealed the whole story to the All-India Congress Committee in Calcutta in July 1919.

It is not too much to say that never before in the history of this country, have intellect and character such as those of Gokhale, been devoted to the furtherance of secular aims in a spirit of renunciation.

The credit again of a decision to acquire the Bagh and raise a memorial for the martyrs was mainly the Pandit's.

During the boycott of the Prince of Wales visit to India in 1921, Pandit strove to negotiate with Lord Reading but failed. When in 1925 the Congress was partitioned as it were, Pandit Malaviya moved an amendment to the resolution urging non-co-operation or co-operation to advance the national cause.

In 1929 December, when Lord Irwin was to meet Gandhi on the question of a political settlement, Malaviya was to accompany him. When the talks failed, the Congress members of the Legislatures were called upon to resign from the Legislatures. This did not affect the Pandit who returned on a different ticket. Early in 1930, however, a Bill called the Textile Industry Protection Bill was introduced virtually to enforce on India 'Imperial preference'. In opposing it, the Pandit made alternative suggestions which were all rejected and he resigned from the Assembly.

When the Salt Satyagraha gained in tempo, the Pandit was drawn into it and he was arrested on 31st July 1930, but shown all possible considerations in jail. When on the eve of the conclusion of the First Round Table Conference, the Working Committee of the Congress passed its famous resolution on the 21st January 1931, the Pandit was present at the meeting advising the country to carry on the struggle with unabated vigour. It was on the 25th January 1931, that the Governor-General issued a statement 'giving full liberty of discussion to members of the Working Committee between themselves and those who have acted as members of the Committee since 1st January 1930.' The object was to provide opportunity for consideration of the statement made by the Prime Minister. The Pandit's joining the movement had not a little part in influencing the epilogue of the drama of salt Satyagraha.

Pandit Malaviya attended the Second Round Table Conference, but he was unyielding on Muslim representation and negotiations broke over one seat. Gandhi returned and hostilities were resumed. It was

then in 1932 that Gandhi undertook a fast to death over the Harijan question and thanks to the liberal view of the Pandit, this question was satisfactorily settled. Thus did the Pandit save Gandhi's life.

Pandit Malaviya was accessible to all. His magnum opus was the Banaras University. He was an example of plain living and high thinking.

If Prophets, Priests and Kings represent the forces that direct the progress of a country, the Pandit surely finds a place amongst them. Verily, Pandit Malaviya was the high-priest of Indian nationalism.

#### **B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA.**

(Governor of Madhya Pradesh)

From a Radio talk at Nagpur, on 24th December 1954;  
courtesy : All-India Radio)

("Congress Cyclopaedia - The Indian National Congress: 1885-1920 - The Pre-Gandhi Era" Pg. 333-334, K. ISWARA DUTT)

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#### **Book Review:**

### **POLITIC SHOCK**

**Trump, Modi, Brexit & the Prospect for Liberal Democracy**

**- Meghnad Desai**

(Published by Rupa Publications India Pvt.Ltd.,  
New Delhi, 2017 – p.p.200, Rs.595/-)

The world is changing rapidly, if not 'alarmingly'. The last few years have witnessed a tectonic shift on global landscape unleashing new forces that have 'fooled the politicians and the pollsters'. Meghnad Desai, the well known Member of British Parliament and Honorary Fellow of London School of Economics and a Fellow of Royal Society of Arts, surveys in this eminently readable book the changes taking place and challenges looming on the global stage. This book of 200 pages, divided into six chapters besides the preface and post-script, is an insightful study of the transition from the Liberal Order to the volatile world of today.

Writing on the Liberal Order of which globalization, visual media and entertainment

To separate hype from reality, think of Chinese competition as having three dimensions; illegal, intense and unfair. Each needs a different response.

*The Economist*, September 2017

industry are a part, Desai states how it reached its peak with the victory of capitalism and 'demise of U.S.S.R.'. Nationalism has become one of the forces to oppose liberal internationalism. He writes on Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and American President Donald Trump whose ascent to power was 'unpredictable and largely unwelcome' and on 'outsiders who have shaken up the complacency of Old Order'. Desai explains how Donald Trump's election as American President aroused 'fears of a revival of white nationalism, racism and xenophobia against Muslims and Mexicans' and that the forces underlying the rise and the ascent of Donald Trump to power eluded critical observation.' The author explains how Trump and his team laid the pathway to success. His observation that 'of all the presidential candidates of the post 1945 world, Trump knew the T.V. medium better than anyone else. No one could see that he was an extremely effective campaigner', is an unusual exception to the rule of pouring out caustic, at times devastating comments on Donald Trump and his administration. There is near unanimity of opinion that Donald Trump has brought disrepute to the American presidency, the most powerful office in the world politics, held by such statesmen with universal outlook such as Franklin Roosevelt. The author seems to go by rule book and the irrefutable fact that American people elected him and many lend support to his word and deed.

The similarities between Trump and Narendra Modi have been ably analyzed, with Meghnad Desai portraying similarities in their qualities and style of functioning. Trump and Modi are both outsiders with a 'toxic image in the eyes of the liberal media. Modi is less of an outsider in political terms, but more in social terms as they are deprived in India'. Without any advantage of birth and wealth Narendra Modi has risen in politics by hard work and effective oratorical skills, much to the displeasure of 'the elite, anglophone and anglicized upper caste'. Catapulted to the high office of the Prime Minister of India, Modi evolved a style of his own 'presidential in a British-style cabinet system'. Modi fashioned a new brand which appealed to the voters precisely because it was not the same old message. Of particular interest are the

shrewd observations of Meghnad Desai on Narendra Modi. For the first time since Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of India, India's position in global affairs is high. The Indian Parliament is not a well behaved, decorous assembly. A successful leader weaves a complex quilt of diverse committees, age groups and regional identities to gain power. It is this diversity which has nourished Indian democracy.

The resurgence of Asia, mainly China and India of course, is another interesting chapter. China's rise to the top became imminent when its GDP grew at 10% average for 33 years between 1978 and 2011, a record unequalled by any country. West declined as China grew. A combination of Chinese savings, plus American capital and technology and Chinese labour (more by accident than by design). Keynesian economics between 1945 and 1970 had been good for the west, not for poor countries. China saw itself as Middle Earth. The supreme power ruling "All under Heaven". Any notion of relations on a basis of equality or reciprocity was foreign to the Chinese. South Korea's per capita income was 40 percent below that of India in 1960. Today it is twenty times as much. The miracle of the Chinese experiment in the unlikely combination of a Communist Party and Capitalist Economy. It is unlike the Soviet model which Lenin called State Capitalism copied for his revolutionary regime. "The four major Asian miracles in the post-war period – Japan, South Korea, Singapore and China – have a similar trajectory. The basic model is Japanese," says Desai.

Meghnad Desai examines the new dimensions of change in a fascinating narrative on 'a New Way of Doing Democracy, A New Economy and Awesome Technological Changes', presenting the following scenario. 'Now contemplate the possibility that instead of human labour doing work, capital will be labour as well as machinery. A driverless car eliminates human effort. Robots can replace human workers and work more efficiently, without mistakes and never falling sick or going on strike. Artificial intelligence can remove the need for even intellectual work by human beings. Old fears and myths about the left and the right require re-examining. The future is unpredictable; the future is young'.

In the Soviet Union there used to be a joke about people who were employed by the state: 'You pretend to work and we pretend to pay you.' In India the joke should be: 'You pretend to work and we will pay you handsomely.'

Edward Luce

Meghnad Desai compels attention with his thought-provoking observations in debates and discussions on the small screen. No less compelling is POLITIC SHOCK, Meghnad Desai's recent and ably crafted contribution to public discourse.

A.Prasanna Kumar

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## **STRUCTURAL REFORMS BY NDA HAILED**

(Newspaper report on the lecture delivered by Shri P.S.Ramamohan Rao organized by CPS and Visakhapatnam Public Library on December 27, 2017)

Former Tamil Nadu Governor P.S.Ramamohan Rao on Wednesday said the NDA Government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi had taken revolutionary decisions for structural reforms to give more powers to the States as a commitment for cooperative federalism.

He was delivering the D.Ch.Tirupathi Raju Memorial Lecture at a meeting conducted by the Centre for Policy Studies here at the Public Library. Son of late Tirupathi Raju D.S.Varma donated Rs.1 lakh on the occasion for the development of the library.

Mr.Rao, who was the DGP of the undivided Andhra Pradesh, said there was paradigm shift in the basic structure after the change of guard at the Centre in 2014. While single party rule for 55 years led to centralization of power, the acceptance of 14th Finance Commission report led to more devolution of powers to the States.

(Special Correspondent: *The Hindu*, December 28, 2017) YouTube uploaded on CPS Website.

CPS conveys its grateful thanks to Shri P.S. Ramamohan Rao, former governor and retd. DGP for delivering the thought-provoking D.Ch. Tirupathi Raju Memorial Lecture on the important subject.

## **"CALL FOR A PROACTIVE ROLE IN INVESTMENT, JOB SECTORS"**

(Newspaper report on the lecture delivered by Prof.K.C.Reddy organized by CPS and Visakhapatnam Public Library on December 28, 2018)

"Indian economy has evolved over the last seven decades from a closed, backward and agrarian, with a command and control system of policy into an open and mature economy under a market friendly environment," said former Chairman of AP State Council of Higher Education K.C.Reddy.

He was delivering a lecture on 'Indian Economy – Retrospect and Prospect', organized by the Centre for Policy Studies at Visakhapatnam Public Library here on Friday. Prof. Reddy narrated India's quest for sustainable development during the last 70 years making special reference to current developments and future prospects. There has been significant improvement in the rate of growth of the economy from what was popularly identified as a Hindu Growth Rate of 3.5 percent into fastest growing economy.

There are still concerns, particularly on the social front and the rural economy. Also, economic growth has not reduced interpersonal inequalities. Over the years there have been improvements in the resource allocation towards social sectors including education and health as reflected in improved enrolment and life expectancy, he said. However, concerns of quality in both education and health are still making the programmes ineffective. According to him, India's other major areas seeking a proactive role from the government are on the investment and employment front. Director of the centre and former AU Rector introduced the speaker.

(Courtesy: *The Hindu*, January 29, 2018)

The Trump effect on international relations is likely to be studied for generations to come, but first we have to survive it.

Julian Borger, *The Guardian Weekly*, Jan 5, 2018

## **Judicial independence, accountability go together**

(Newspaper report on the lecture delivered by Prof. N.R. Madhava Menon organized by CPS and Visakhapatnam Public Library on December 18, 2017)

### **Expert moots national commission for appointments**

An independent judiciary is the primary pre-requisite for a healthy, vibrant, functioning democracy like India and any attempt to erode judicial independence is suicidal, but at the same time judicial accountability is also of equal importance, doyen of legal education N. R. Madhava Menon, has said. Delivering the second D.V Subba Rao memorial lecture at the public library here on Monday, he said there were several safeguards in the Constitution to protect the independence of judiciary, "which is not an end in itself, but a means to ensure impartiality in judicial decision-making". He said "judicial independence cannot exist without accountability. Judicial independence is not for the personal benefit of judges, but for the protection of the rule of law, and the rights of citizens." The lecture was organised by Centre for Policy Studies and Visakhapatnam Public Library. In a speech peppered with subtle humour, Prof. Menon took several digs at the higher judiciary. "India is the only country where

judges appoint judges," he observed, referring to the Collegium system. "Perhaps a five-member national judicial commission with three judges including the Chief Justice of India, the Union Law Minister and either an eminent jurist or eminent person can be constituted for the purpose of judicial appointments," he suggested. Prof. Menon said of late, especially after the Justice Karnan episode, many questions were being raised about corruption and nepotism in the higher judiciary. "In 2010, the government introduced the Judicial Standards and Accountability Bill before Parliament for a mechanism for enforcing judicial discipline under a National Judicial Oversight Committee. But the bill has not been passed. It got stuck. I am of the view that there is a need for such a law," he said. Earlier, he spoke about his association with the late D.V Subba Rao when the latter was the chairman of the Bar Council. A judge of AP High Court and the son of the late Subba Rao D.V.S.S. Somayajulu Spoke about his father's contributions to the field. A primer on legal practice authored by Prof. Menon was presented to the Public Library. Vice Chancellor of National Law School of India University, Bengaluru, R. Venkata Rao and president of CPS A. Prasanna Kumar spoke.

(Special Correspondent : *The Hindu*, December 19, 2017)

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