



BULLETIN
OF THE
CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

INDIA’S GIGANTIC TASK
Preventing a demographic disaster

On the threshold of becoming the world’s youngest nation with an average age of 28 by 2020, India faces the daunting task of preventing a demographic disaster. The so-called GDP growth rate would serve no purpose unless its benefits reach out to the millions of people living below poverty line. The claims of the BJP led NDA government ‘that 75% of corruption in India has been rooted out,’ are most untenable. Corruption in India has been institutionalized to such an extent that no government would be able to eradicate it without a Lok Pal or Ombudsman capable of deinstitutionalizing corruption. Joblessness is too serious a problem to be ignored by those in power and only the job-seekers know about the hardship of getting employment in the government. As Shashi Tharoor warns, “India has more unemployed people than any country in the world.” According to him the BJP led NDA government ‘that promised two crore new jobs a year- 8 crore in four years- has generated precisely 18 lakhs in that time.’

The revolution of younger generation’s rising expectations casts a tremendous responsibility on both the government and civil society. India’s biggest asset is the demographic dividend that must be converted into a resource for national development. The party/coalition that comes to power in June 2019 must set up a national resource development board- transcending the boundaries of religion, region, caste and creed to design an architecture for job-creation and youth development. Foremost among them should be providing access to high quality education from the primary up to the post-graduate levels. Such is the magnitude of neglect at the primary school and secondary schools run by the government that pupils coming out of them fare miserably, in comparison with their counterparts in private and corporate schools. Experts describe the situation as ‘frightening.’

Things are no better in higher education with colleges and universities being ‘cesspools of intellectual stagnation’. Only 25% of the younger generation in India have access to higher education as against China’s near 50% and the US’s 90%. Even those of the 25% coming out of the portals of colleges and universities are not proficient in the subject studied. That more than 75% of post graduate students, including those from professional courses, are ‘unemployable’ is a matter of national shame. Lack of soft skills and motivation is said to be the main reason for their performance at interviews and in aptitude tests. It is everyone’s responsibility to remedy the pathetic situation. As Dr A.P.J. Abdul Kalam suggested the parents, students and teachers should come together in moulding the young minds and in helping them to attain excellence in education at all levels. India has also another demographic asset, the vast reservoir of wisdom and experience that retired people possess. Among them are reputed scholars and scientists, seasoned diplomats and able administrators whose wise counsel must be utilized for promoting social and cultural harmony. They constitute the quintessence of the civil society that should play an active and constructive role in reinventing India. The famous words of the 19th century British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli that “Youth is a Blunder; Manhood a Struggle; Old Age a Regret”, can be changed in this age of awesome technological power and improved living conditions as “Youth is an Opportunity; Manhood an Achievement; Old Age a Reflection”. Collective effort to translate the dream into a reality is the need of the hour. History beckons India to seize the opportunity ‘to arise and awake’ and realize its ‘tryst with destiny’.

The Editor

Change is essential but continuity is also necessary. The future has to be built on the foundations laid in the past and in the present.

Jawaharlal Nehru

MUSINGS

Prof. R.V.R.Chandrasekhara Rao

Former Vice Chancellor, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Open University, Hyderabad & Ex-Head of the Dept. of Politics & Public Administration, Andhra University

1. Let me count the ways you were pursued
Peace they said is all round amity – No war
Yet settled for cautious disarmament
Arms at arms-length gave calm contentment
2. Enthroned peace was the sonorous slogan
One for all and all for one was the hologram
That remained ‘none for one’, ‘none even for all’,
Aggression against any one seem aggression
against no one
3. We went for ending Balance of Power
Trying to end croakings of frogs jumping
The effort was to stop the antics of the strong
All these yet proved aimless and went wrong
4. One for All and All for One
Only meant all for none and None for all
War anywhere we blared daringly was war
everywhere
But, realists ruefully said war anywhere is war
nowhere
5. The Magic Mantra was peace and security
collective
The game was however constant conflict and
defence elective
Fringed defenders often ‘united’ for peace and
security
Ever as chicanery stole the pieces of candour
and honesty
6. Interests over values glowed undimmed
Self-security still posed as value undiminished
Heraldic overtures verily sunk aground
unashamed
As the world unmindful went round and round
7. The habits (and habitats) of rats and rabbits
welcomely remained
Laws’ violations unashamedly endured even
endorsed
Great Powers’ grit though much touted lay
sheepishly amidst taunts
The universalists shamed enough to hide in their
haunts
8. Left on the lurch were Grace and Compassion
Promised cornucopia with no trace and location
Deceitful aims of justice which blared in
eloquence
Lay in shambles reminding of Selkirk’s baneful
mourn
9. The sickness of our world left uncured of hope
desperate
The League of Nations died a chimera phantasmia
Failed hopes only flamed despondency reassured
Ethiopia to Poland, erased footprints in desolate
dust
10. Old delusion, the League, changing to another
united illusion
Big bosses yet with power poured ballast over
cold steel
When ideologies of left and right challenged
paths of peace
Years of icy war cursed our fateful slide to the
wheel of fortune
11. Daring to Hope and Laugh needs jumping giant
despair
With puny premium put on lapses of misfortune
Would only a brief orison be more benign in its
yield?
Than the incubus of ennui paralysing our happy
tune.



An eye for an eye only makes the whole world blind.

FOR THE NATION'S SAKE - PLEASE SPARE THE CAMPUS!

Prof. Manoj Das

Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry

A The professor threw the newspaper down with some force. "What's the matter?" I asked. "Yet another ominous cloud looming large on the educational campuses," he replied with a sigh. He belonged to that rare genre of teachers for whom teaching was still a mission and passion and not a mere profession.

The newspaper reported that a charismatic gentleman about to launch a new party had exhorted the students to involve themselves in politics. Well, what is wrong? His call is in tune with democracy as our country understands it, it sounds "progressive" as we understand the term! Why be orthodox enough to believe that the campus was for imparting knowledge and specialisation on subjects necessary for the society or for preparing the students for earning and living legitimately, even though we had forgotten that education had something to do with ideals and ethics?

It was different seventy years ago. Hardly anything was more important than our struggle for freedom. Gandhiji called upon the students to quit the campus and agitate; for he was pragmatic enough to understand that formal study and the ideal of "do or die" could not go together. Even "Dharna" inside the college, he wrote in "Young India", was "barbarity", "for it is crude way of using coercion. It is also cowardly because one who sits in dharna knows that he is not going to be trampled over."

Once freedom came, the attitude of politicians towards the campus should have completely changed. The nation needed brilliance in every discipline: social, scientific and administrative. Even though some of our scholars individually shone bright, how the degrees conferred by our educational institutions are evaluated by important universities abroad is embarrassingly well known. The volume of study hours wasted is colossal, thanks to manifold political intervention and rivalry.

Soon after the World War II a friend had been to Tokyo – a city still under shock. He was put up in a guest house, all alone, at the top floor of a three-storied building. The first and the second floors accommodated a training college and its administrative office, respectively. One midnight the guest suspected some subdued commotion and came out and saw the staff and students of the college seated under dim light on the veranda of their floor with placards, and some men, obviously from the administration, talking to them. In the morning the friend asked an English-knowing professor and understood that they were conveying certain grievances to the authorities.

"But why at midnight?" enquired the guest. And the stunning answer he got was: "But the daytime belongs to the nation!" Led by our politicians, we, including the students of our famous universities, dedicate our daytime to torching the nation's assets.

In the fifties of the last century, political parties started knitting webs to catch susceptible students, surreptitiously. By and by most of the parties launched their students' wings, but shied away from openly announcing their identities during union elections. The inhibition had since vanished. While driving by a prominent university, the walls and posts all around splattered with multicoloured pictures of candidates and hackneyed slogans, I was informed that each of the candidates must have spent twenty times more than the total amount allocated to the university union for cultural and academic events. There was no practical benefit for the sponsoring parties beyond sweetening their vanity for a while. "I wish", commented a guardian, "that huge amount had gone to some meaningful purpose and the office-bearers ascended their chairs not by the vice of pomp and external influence but by the virtue of wit and merit!"

But unimaginative politicians are not the only saboteurs. They have imaginative collaborators, affluent, powerful and lusty. Not long ago a women's college at Chandigarh prohibited the use of cell phones during the class hours. Well-groomed young ladies reacted immediately – smashing the movable

Parents themselves should bring up their children. It is not proper to leave them under the care of someone else at their young age.

Sri Sathya Sai Baba

properties within their reach – mostly earthen pots overflowing with well-groomed flowers. An alert TV channel fed innumerable eyes with the exciting denouement, closing up on the elegant face and figure of the leading lady of that liberation struggle. Many like me must have wondered about the reaction of her parents. Alas, something even more unexpected must have perplexed them. No sooner had the lady reached home than the phone rang to convey that a Mumbai film-maker had chosen her for the role of his proposed picture's heroine. A newspaper and the TV channel vied with each other in claiming credit for the lady's luck. She was engulfed by wannabes "all struck by glamour, all wanting fate to rewrite their ordinary scripts." It is irrelevant how far she advanced along the primrose path which the smashed flower pots had suddenly paved for her, but the film-maker gained publicity worth a million.

India needs youths who have genuinely earned their degrees. Let them study and debate politics in the campus, but those wishing to undertake active politics can wait till the convocation. Imagine the health of our medical education if the medical students were busy in politics. Let the fate of our students be better than the three riders who galloped along a lonely road in a moonlit night and suddenly heard a voice commanding them to stop. Next, the voice asked them to collect whatever was lying under their feet as much as they wished. But what lay were only pebbles. However, majesty of the command obliged them to pocket handfuls of that stuff. Then was heard the last command and the intriguing prophecy: "Resume your journey. At daybreak you will be happy and sorry at the same time!" On reaching their destination they found the pebbles turned into diamond. They were happy. But they were sorry that they had not collected more.

Let us allow the students to derive as much knowledge they can in their campus days, even if it appeared drab. The stuff will glitter in the future. Politicians can never return them their lost moments.

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KABUL FLUX A FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGE FOR INDIA

Cmde. (Retd.) C. Uday Bhaskar

Director of the Society for Policy Studies and
Former Director IDSA & NMF

Kabul remains vulnerable to Taliban terror attacks even as it is the focus of renewed diplomatic activity in the new year. January 2019 is the 18th such dawn since the 9/11 al-Qaida attacks of September 2001 and sustainable peace in Afghanistan alas, remains elusive.

The first attack of the year by the Taliban (January 15) killed four innocents in Kabul while more than a 100 were injured. Concurrently US special envoy for Afghan reconciliation Zalmay Khalilzad held delegation level talks in Islamabad on January 17 and the need for an intra-Afghan dialogue between the Ashraf Ghani led government and the Taliban was reiterated.

Whether Pakistan is part of the problem in Afghanistan or the solution remains moot and within Islamabad there is some dissonance about India's role in the Afghan peace process. While one view acknowledges India as a stakeholder, the Pakistan Foreign office has lately asserted that "India has no role in Afghanistan".

This opaque and contested nature of the way ahead in war-torn Afghanistan was triggered by the Trump administration which threw the world and the USA into considerable turmoil in late December 2018. The White House announced a withdrawal of US troops from two operational theaters - Afghanistan and Syria.

Consequently, complex geopolitical flux and violence-laden turbulence is likely to be the leitmotif for this region in 2019, even as the enormity of the Trump announcements are internalized.

On December 19, the US President Donald Trump surprised his closest advisers by ordering the full and rapid withdrawal of over 2,000 US troops from Syria. The Department of Defense in the Pentagon were clearly not in the Trump loop and, a day later, the widely respected US Defense Secretary Jim Mattis submitted his resignation.

Manpower without unity is not strength unless it is harmonized and utilized properly.

Sardar Vallabhbbhai Patel

Even as the implications of the Mattis exit were being analyzed, an official in the White House revealed that the Trump administration had also ordered the withdrawal of 7,000 US troops from the Afghanistan theatre, with what can be best described as minimum consultation among his principal security advisers. President Trump effected a major policy shift in US military commitment abroad and claimed that he had also fulfilled a campaign promise – to “bring the boys home” – this time for Xmas.

The consequence of these actions is that the USA - the world’s militarily most powerful nation - has a credibility gap as regards the civilian political stewardship of the vast Department of Defense. And, on another track, the US government is shutting down due to a fiscal management crisis over building a wall along the Mexican border.

The downsizing of the US military presence in Afghanistan is not totally unexpected but the timing is and it appears that the US led global war on terror (GWOT) that began in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks in October 2001 is likely to wind down 17 years later, with no tangible political gain for Washington.

The adage that while the Americans may have watches (and the most modern military gadgetry), the Taliban have time on their side has come true. The US has expended close to USD 1 trillion and lost more than 2400 American lives, with thousands more wounded in its Afghanistan war, its longest war overseas. The Afghan security forces have lost upwards of 25,000 personnel and, in these 18 years, the civilian casualty scale is staggering and remains indeterminate.

The suicide bomber attack in Kabul in late December and now in January testify to the precarious internal security situation in Afghanistan. For the US and its NATO allies, the political objective of compelling the Taliban to lay down the gun and accept the Afghan constitution remains elusive and the Trump policy is a case of ‘enough-is-enough.’

India is a directly-affected party by the internal developments in Afghanistan. The ignominy of December 1999 and the hijacking of a civilian aircraft are a case in point. When the US embarked upon its

GWOT in October 2001 and unseated the Taliban from Kabul, India was a direct beneficiary.

The reluctance on the part of the US administration to see through the duplicity of the Pakistani military that was hunting with the (US) hound and running with the (terrorist) hare appears to be under review by the Trump team but the policy options remain limited. The US would like India to be an active stakeholder in Afghanistan but the Pakistani objections remain on the radar.

At the just concluded Raisina Dialogue in New Delhi, India’s Foreign Secretary Vijay Gokhale asserted that India was now pursuing a policy of “issue-based alignment”. How this will translate into effective policy in relation to Afghanistan will be the litmus test of India’s claim to being a relevant power in the regional calculus. Delhi must ensure that 2019 does not become a replay of 1999.

(Courtesy: *South Asia Monitor*, 18 January 2019)

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The Potential Contributions of Buddhism to India Today

Ven. Bhikkhu Bodhi

(Message delivered on 13th January 2019 at Hyderabad.)

Through the centuries India has been the spiritual heartland of world civilization. From India has come the deepest insights into the nature of the universe, the deepest insights into the human mind and spirit. Among all the spiritual systems that have arisen in India, the one that speaks with the greatest clarity and moral strength today is the Buddha Dharma, the teaching of the Buddha. Buddhism enjoyed a glorious history in India, from the time of the Buddha himself, through the early centuries of the Common Era, through to the eighth and ninth centuries, when its influence gradually diminished. Sadly, by the twelfth century Buddhism almost vanished from the land of its birth. It survived only in small pockets--among the Bengali Buddhists in the northeast and the Himalayan borderlands in the far north. But fortunately, the Dharma survived in the lands surrounding India--in Sri Lanka and southeast Asia, in East Asia, and in the Himalayas.

One individual may die for an idea; but that idea will, after his death, incarnate itself in a thousand lives.

Today there have been signs of a resurgence of Buddhism in India. To ensure that this renewal of interest in Buddhism moves along the right track, we must consider the moral and spiritual contributions the Buddha Dharma can make to Indian spiritual life today. If India completely loses its ancient heritage, and just blindly follows the example of the West, it is likely to fall into pit of materialism and commercialism, without any higher goals to live for. India remains a deeply religious country, but in today's world we need a religion that can harmonize well with modern modes of thought. I believe it is Buddhism that best combines a commitment to high spiritual ideas and values with the kind of critical thinking advanced by modern science.

In this talk I want to highlight five features of Buddhism that make it especially relevant to modern life. When I refer to "Buddhism," I should stress that I am referring to the teachings of the historical Buddha, Gotama or Shakyamuni, as these have been preserved in the Pali Canon and its counterparts preserved in other languages. When we look at these teachings, they often seem so contemporary that they almost could have been spoken by someone living in the 21st century.

(1) **Its realism.** The Buddha looks at life realistically. He does not demand blind faith but calls for critical examination of his teaching. He says that his teaching is *sanditthiko*, "it should be seen directly." It should not be accepted merely out of respect for the Teacher, but on the basis of one's own reflection. We have to put it to the test, just as a goldsmith tests a metal to determine whether it is really gold.

Moreover, the Buddha speaks directly to the critical problem at the centre of human life, the problem of suffering or *dukkha*. He does not fall back on metaphysical theories or theological beliefs, but shows directly how *dukkha* originates in our own minds; it originates from craving and other mental defilements. This we can see and confirm for ourselves. Whenever we experience suffering, if we look deeply enough, we can see that this suffering arises because we desire

things to be different from the way they actually are, because we make unrealistic demands on reality.

(2) **Its ethical purity.** The Buddha makes ethical conduct the foundation of the spiritual life. All the higher stages of the Buddhist path—the stages of meditation and the attainment of wisdom—depend on purified conduct. The basis of Buddhist ethics is not harming others. The Buddha summarizes his ethical teachings in the five precepts required of the devout lay follower: not to kill, steal, commit sexual misconduct, speak falsely, and use intoxicants. But beyond particular rules of conduct, the guiding spirit of Buddhist ethics is boundless loving-kindness and compassion. In its emphasis on kindness and compassion Buddhism offers an antidote to the hatred, violence, and cruelty that are so prevalent in the modern world.

(3) **Its universality.** Unlike other systems of Indian spirituality, the Buddha declared that everyone has the capacity for moral and spiritual progress and can even reach the highest realization. In this respect, Buddhism stands in contrast with the schools of Indian thought that reserve spiritual attainment for those of the higher castes. The Buddha openly taught the Dhamma to all, without making distinctions based on class status, wealth, or gender. All human beings are subject to suffering; all have the capacity to walk the noble eightfold path; all have the potential to attain nirvana. The examples of Sunita and Angulimala.

(4) **Its psychological orientation.** Since the Buddha shows that suffering originates from the mind, his teaching offers a detailed analysis of the mind, enumerating which factors of mind lead to suffering and which factors lead to well-being and happiness. This psychological orientation corresponds closely to the understanding of the mind in modern psychology, but has a different purpose, a higher purpose. The purpose is not merely alleviating mental illness, but to achieve perfect psychological well-being, a mind free from the grip of greed, hatred, and other defilements.

(5) **Its practicality.** The Buddha's great contribution to Indian spirituality was to teach a clear

I am proud to belong to a religion which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance. I am proud to belong to a nation which has sheltered the persecuted and the refugees of all religions and all nations of the earth. Swami Vivekananda (World Parliament of Religions, Chicago)

and definitive path to the highest goal, a path that leads to the attainment of nirvana. He lays down his teaching in clear steps that anyone can follow, without need to rely on the blessings of a guru, on mystical formulas, or magical rituals. The path comprises the five precepts, the ten types of wholesome karma, and the eight factors of the noble eightfold path. These are clear, realistic, morally uplifting teachings that we can all use to transform our lives and to benefit our communities and the world. Of particular importance today is the meditative methods taught in Buddhism. These methods enable us to know the mind, to transform the mind, and to liberate the mind.

The challenge facing Buddhism today is to use its rich body of teachings not only to help people personally lead more meaningful and happier lives, but also to transform society. As Buddhists, we must learn how to draw upon the universal ethical principles of the Dharma--its spirit of universal kindness and compassion--to create a more just society, a more equitable economy, and more sustainable technologies. This is an area where Buddhism can learn from the West, with its rich history of social activism and its drive toward greater justice and democracy. By combining the ethical values of ancient Buddhism with the modern Western vision of a just society, India can make a crucial and unique contribution to global civilization. Perhaps this is the greatest challenge facing Buddhism today, and also the greatest opportunity for India to make its special contribution to humanity in this global age.

Ven Bhikkhu Bodhi is the president of the Buddhist Association of the United States and founder of the organization Buddhist Global Relief, which funds projects to fight hunger and to empower women across the world.

(CPS thanks Shri C. Anjaneya Reddy, I.P.S. (Retd.) of Mahabodhi Buddha Vihara, Hyderabad for sending the article.)

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Shifting Perceptions and Images-IV Curzon the Patron Saint of Indian Archaeology

Dr.R.V. Vaidyanatha Ayyar, I.A.S.(Retd)
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For all his unalloyed imperialist sentiment, he did not share the prejudices of a large proportion of the British in India and was ironically a 'cultural nationalist'. He joined issue with those who argued that a 'Christian Government' had no duty 'to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith'. What he had to say about independence of art and beauty from religious creeds resonates even now as religious fundamentalism continues to drive people to destroy cultural heritage like the Bamiyan Buddhas and the Timbuctoo heritage sites.

'Art and beauty, and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion and are embraced by the common religion of all mankind. Viewed from this standpoint, the rock temple of the Brahmans stands precisely on the same footing as the Buddhist Vihara, the Muhammadan Masjid as the Christian Cathedral. There is no principle of artistic discrimination between the mausoleum of the despot and the sepulchre of the saint. What is beautiful, what is historic, what tears the masks off the face of the past, and helps us to read its riddles, and to look it in the eyes - these, and not the dogmas of a combative theology, are the principal criteria to which we must look'.

Curzon was a cultural nationalist in the sense that he was opposed to colonial powers carrying away cultural objects from colonies. He publicly advocated the return of the Parthenon marbles to Greece and tried in vain to persuade Gladstone to return the marbles, and he was the moving spirit behind the prohibition in the 1904 Act to control traffic in antiquities. He was a strong protagonist of preservation of monuments on the spot, and of local museums which store, and display objects found in their vicinity. As he himself put it:

Our basic aim is to secure constitutional sanctity for democracy in the panchayats and nagarपालikas and devolution to them of adequate power and finances to ensure the people's participation in the development process.

Rajiv Gandhi

Collections [in large museums in capital cities of India] are not without value, but as a rule are sorely mutilated, often unidentified and uncatalogued, and sometimes abominably arranged. The plan has hitherto been to snatch up any sculptured fragment in a province... and send it off to the provincial museum. This seemed to me ...to be all wrong. Objects of archaeological interest can be best studied in relation and proximity to the group and style of buildings to which they belong, presuming these are of a character and in a locality, which will attract visitors. Otherwise if transferred they lose focus and are apt to be meaningless.

So passionate was he to preserve India's cultural heritage that he put his foot down on proposals from foreign organisations to conduct excavations on a partage basis as in Egypt and Middle East wherein the objects excavated would be shared between the foreign organisation and local government. All excavations were to be conducted by ASI only. He successfully badgered the Victoria and Albert Museum, London to return the pietra dura panels which formed the backdrop to Shah Jahan's throne in the Diwan-i-Am of Lal Qila (Red Fort), Delhi. He also successfully resisted the claim of British Museum to have for itself the entire collection of cultural objects that Aurel Stein, an employee of ASI, made in Chinese Turkestan; while doing so asserted that:

We shall never get a representative collection in India if the British Museum argument is steadily and logically applied. Our object should be to persuade scholars to come out here, and study our treasures or relics in India, instead of allowing them to be swamped in the overstocked collections of the British Museum. In the olden days the argument could be used that it was necessary to carry off the objects to London because if left in the country of origin or discovery they would perish... Nowadays it cannot be said. Localities are competent and have the means to safeguard their treasures. Our museums are at present sadly lacking in value and variety. If with every discovery that is made by employment of Indian funds, we yield to the British Museum contention, we may as well close their doors altogether... [Indian Museums should have the first

claim on Aurel Stein's collection] because they were found with our money and by our man.

No Indian nationalist could have more forcefully refuted the claims of British museums to Indian heritage. To jump the story, the National Museum, New Delhi was set up to house Aurel Stein's collection; it later on added other collections.

In spite of his poor opinion of the intellectual and moral capability of Indians he did not, like Macaulay, wish to cast India and Indians in an English mould, and every act of his reflects this wish. He was of the strong view that 'Britain ought to represent its empire as Indian, not its Indian subjects as Europeans'. While planning for the Imperial Durbar in 1902 he eschewed the precedent set by Lytton's Durbar (1877) and opted for Mughal/Saracenic decorative motifs instead of the western motifs of Lytton of which he derisively wrote that with such features 'the ceremony might equally well have taken place in Hyde Park (London) '.

His stellar contributions to the preservation of India's built heritage are very well known but not his contribution to the Imperial Library, Calcutta (after Independence, renamed as National Library). He found that the Imperial Library and Calcutta Public Library were not being used as expected because of limited access and lack of amenities. He merged the collection of Calcutta Public Library with that of the Imperial Library, and set out a bold vision of the Imperial Library as ' a library of reference, a working place for students and a repository of material for the future historians of India, in which, so far as possible, every work written about India, at any time, can be seen and read'; he also wanted that Library to be a repository of every book published in every Indian language . He presented the Library books from his collection and inducted as Librarian of the Library John MacFarlane, a librarian at the British Museum, to supervise the expansion of the Library. No wonder the Anglophile Nirad Chaudhury wrote about the wonders of the Library with a tone of reverence 'such as the classical world might have used for the library at Alexandria'.

Curzon's battle against vandalism of monuments

Beyond satyagraha, interfaith harmony, environmental responsibility, the ending of the British Empire, and the delegitimizing of untouchability, the practice of and the largely successful quest for, truth may in fact be Gandhi's most remarkable achievement.

Ramachandra Guha

is legendary. An egregious example of such abuse was the use of the Diwan-i-Am in the Red Fort as a canteen with a bar to the left of the throne and a coffee shop on its left. To use the evocative language of Curzon, such abuses were examples of the 'barbarian' in the aesthetics of the official mind; sadly, there were far too many such examples. Governor-General Bentinck attempted to destroy the Taj Mahal for the value of its marble; mercifully his plan fell through 'because the proceeds of a test auction of materials from the Agra palace proved unsatisfactory'. Picnic parties were another menace. Curzon rued the fact that 'at an earlier date, when picnic parties were held in the garden of the Taj, it was not an uncommon thing for the revellers to arm themselves with hammer and chisel, with which they whiled away the afternoon by chipping out fragments of agate and cornelian from the cenotaphs of the Emperor and his lamented Queen'. After railways made their appearance in mid-nineteenth century a new species of vandalisers made their appearance. Many monuments and sites were vandalised by railway contractors to procure ballast for laying the railway lines. No wonder that it was said that 'no invader of India had ever so ruthlessly and wantonly destroyed her ancient remains as did the railway contractors in the civilized nineteenth century'.

Few Viceroy's toured India as extensively as Curzon, and no official tour of his was complete without inspecting nearby monuments. It would be correct to say that even after Independence no Minister of Culture or Secretary of Culture in Government of India inspected as many monuments as Curzon. Thus in 'the middle of the hot summer of 1900' he toured Gujarat to inspect the famine works, and while in Ahmadabad visited the Sidi Syed Mosque famous for its lattice work overriding the objections of local officials not to visit the mosque for security reasons. To his dismay 'he found that all the graven work of this beautiful design had been used by the local babus to store old documents and papers' and 'on the wall of the mosque there is the outline of a tree springing from a single stem, and the interstices in its branches form the windows'; 'he immediately had all this rubbish

thrown out, the tree-trunk railed off, and the artistic tracery restored to its original beauty'.

He went on to visit Somnath, and Junagadh where he visited the Ashokan rock inscription and climbed four thousand three hundred steps to visit the Jain temples on the summit of Mount Girnar - a superhuman effort given that due to a spinal injury he was perpetually afflicted with backpain and had to wear a steel waistcoat for every one of his waking hours. He visited Hampi and saw strewn on the ground 'miles of ruined temples and palaces and tombs now given up to rank vegetation and bats, but formerly the capital of a dynasty that had a splendid existence'. In his tours, he gave detailed instructions to local engineers for as he wrote to the Secretary of State the engineers 'are destitute of artistic perception; and, if left to themselves, will perform horrors that make one alternately laugh and weep', and conducted impromptu seminars for engineers and others connected with the preservation of monuments to explain about the undesirability of mindlessly whitewashing buildings and sculptures, technical aspects like marble cleaning, and the ethics of replacing craved decoration. His tours were veritable crusades for identifying and recovering historic buildings which were desecrated by civil and military officials and converted into dingy offices and barracks; the list of buildings he recovered is pretty long. He was not exaggerating when in his speech in the Legislative Council on the Ancient Monuments Preservation Bill, 1904 he claimed that he visited 'all the great remains or groups of them with which this country is studded from one end to the other'. No wonder that Thomas Raleigh, a member of the Viceroy's Imperial Council, wrote that 'I never visited an ancient building in India without finding that the Viceroy had visited it before me, measuring, verifying, planning out details of repair and reconstruction'. The scale of preservation undertaken under the supervision of Curzon and his protégé Marshall was unprecedented anywhere in the world; dozens of monuments spread across the length and breadth of India and Burma were rescued from decay and deterioration.

Curzon's pernickety attitude to monument

I don't want India to be an economic superpower. I want India to be a happy country.

J.R.D. Tata

preservation as well as his willingness to resort to restoration of noted Indo-Saracenic monuments comes out with Taj Mahal which was his obsession, and which he visited six times during his viceroyalty. He initiated a number of restoration projects, and then he supervised with a single-minded devotion to detail. The restoration works encompassed not only the structure itself but its environs and gardens. The 'dusty wastes and a squalid bazar' that blighted the approach to the Taj were replaced by a beautiful park; 'the groups of mosques and tombs, the arcaded streets and grassy courts that preceded the main building, are once more as nearly as possible to what they were when first constructed by the masons of Shah Jahan'. Every building in the garden enclosure of the Taj was similarly repaired, the ruined colonnades of the forecourts rebuilt, and the discovery of old plans enabled the water channels and flower-beds of the garden to be restored more exactly to their old state. He ordered the removal of out-of-place 'garish English flowers' from the gardens and 'their replacement by a row of cypress trees framing the Taj at the end'. No detail of the work of restoration was too small to excite his personal attention. He took offense at the 'very dingy garments' worn by the custodians of the tomb, and 'abominable lamps' they used to conduct visitors inside the tomb. He had their dress replaced by Mughal costumes. His obsession comes out in his attempts to procure a hanging lamp for the domed chamber above the cenotaphs. As he felt that the architectural style of Taj was Indo-Saracenic he requested Cromer, Viceroy of Egypt, to design a lamp modelled on those found in the mosques of Cairo. Not satisfied with Cromer's suggestion he tried to find a suitable design in an illustrated edition of the Arabian Nights. Eventually, while travelling to London he stopped in Cairo, selected the design and the person who was one of the two in the whole of Egypt who could make the exotic lamp, had the lamp made as per that the design, took great pains to have a Persian inscription calligraphed on the lamp in one of the scripts employed on the tombs of Shah Jahan and his queen, and got the lamp installed above the cenotaph in the Taj in 1906. And that lamp still hangs in the Taj as a testimony to his magnificent obsession. All in all, it was a first-rate restoration.

The magnificent achievements of Curzon acquire additional lustre if it is recognised that for getting Local Governments fall in line and do what he wanted them to he had to rely on his positional power, towering personality, a mild fiscal lever of Central support to Provinces for conservation, compelling vision and extraordinary capacity to direct, supervise and coordination. He also used his positional power to induce rulers of Native States to preserve ancient monuments in their jurisdictions. Among others, Ajanta and Ellora, the Tower of Victory, Chittorgarh, the Sanchi stupa and the Mandu rock fortress benefitted from his intercession.

There is no better tribute to Curzon's indefatigable efforts to preserve India's heritage than that of Nehru, than whom there could be no greater foe of British imperialism said of Curzon: 'After every other viceroy has been forgotten, Curzon will be remembered because he restored all that was beautiful about India'

(Concluded)

* * *

STARTUP NATION?

Dr. Uday Balakrishnan

Indian Postal Service (Retd.)

Former Member Postal Services Board and
Chairman Investment Board

A friend of mine, an investment banker and I recently anguished over a world at once awash with funds and yet, impoverished because too little of it is showing up where most needed.

The provocation was a Schumpeter column in an early August 2018 issue of the Economist which praises Singapore's management of its funds now closing in on a trillion US dollars and Norway's war chest which already has that much. Large as these two funds are, together, Schumpeter informs, they account for less than a tenth of what is available globally.

Investing these funds is risky business now, for so great are the uncertainties in today's world. Long ongoing conflicts in West Asia are sapping the urge to bet on those parts. Africa, for all its promise has rarely delivered growth.

Man's goodness is a flame that can be hidden but never extinguished.

Nelson Mandela

MRS. ANNIE BESANT

K. Iswara Dutt

China, of course, has huge investable resources but usuriously deployed, they have now thrown a big shadow over the rest of Asia and Africa. Realizing this, the nonagenarian President of Malaysia travelled to China to put a brakeon further largesse flowing from thereinto his country. Unfortunate Sri Lanka has had to cede a part of its territory as well as the huge port of Habantota to China, on terms similar to what made Hong Kong a British colony in 1842.

Perhaps,my friend and I agreed,there is an opportunity forIndia to more imaginatively tap into some of the trillions swishing around.Traditional ways of injecting some of it into our economy will simply not do.India could now work towards attracting a part of the idling trillions to identify and grow startups which, rather than government agencies,will transform the country while yielding high returns to investors. Sectors that immediately come to mind are ones where all government efforts have so far failed to yield results in the time frames required - education, vocational training, sewage, pollution control, clean water supply, healthcare, agriculture and state of the art garbage disposal systems.

It took an Aubrey McClendon, to kick offthe fracking revolution that made the United States near self-sufficient in oil. A similar revolution in India, improbable as it sounds now, can be underway. A mere fourth or even fifth of the \$20 trillion funds could accelerate India's development dramatically in under a decade if only the government thought out of the box to attract globally available funds to areas where it is most required in an unorthodox way.

India constitutes nearly twenty percent of all humanity. Unlikeaging China, the demographic dividend India enjoys should peak only two decades from now. For such a country to emerge as an advanced environmentally sound economy with a highly educated and a highly skilled and productive workforce about a decade from nowis what India should be looking forward to.A country as a start up? Well that's a thought!

* * *

ANNIE WOOD (as she was known till her marriage) was born a Londoner, on the first of October, 1847. Of Irish descent, she was, as a child, mystical and imaginative, "seeing visions and dreaming dreams." Her keenly intellectual father died when she was hardly five while her brother's education at Harrow became the sole-absorbing occupation of her deeply religious mother. Her own upbringing passed into the hands of Miss Marryat, a sister of the famous novelist, Captain Marryat, who took her residence, and started her Sunday School, at Fernhill, on the borders of Devon. Perhaps Annie's early education had a trifle too much of religious emphasis, her favourite books being Bunyan's *THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS* and Milton's *PARADISE LOST*.

At 14, began her travels abroad with Miss Marryat, to Germany and France and her spiritual longings in stranger realms. Unkind were the fates to her when in 1866 she was introduced to a clergyman, Rev. Frank Besant, for it meant an engagement with one whom "she did not pretend to love." The birth of a son in 1869 and of a daughter in 1870 brought little comfort to the couple, torn by differences in outlook on life. Agonising was her confession:

We were an ill-mated pair, my husband and I, from the very outset; he with very high ideals of a husband's authority and a wife's submission, precise, methodical, easily angered and with difficulty appeased; I, accustomed to freedom, indifferent to home details, impulsive, hot-tempered and proud as Lucifer. The worst happened : by 1873 broken was the marriage tie.

By then not less exciting were Annie Besant's other experiences. For, she had been introduced to radical politics, to the *NATIONAL REFORMER* and to Charles Bradlaugh who was, among other things, "the finest Speaker of Saxon English, except perhaps John Bright." On joining the Free Thought Society in 1874 and attending one of Bradlaugh's lectures, she found him "a wonderful man", and under his banner she faced the world as a free thinker and radical,

We all have to cultivate and propagate Constitutional Morality. This, in my view, is the unwritten Constitutional duty on every citizen and obligation of every officer of the State.

notwithstanding the shrill opposition and even the obloquy she had to encounter in the process.

Very revealing indeed is the following vignette of Annie Besant's tempestuous career in those years, left to us by the great British Editor, W.T. Stead:

An authentic narrative of the soul-journeyings of an intensely religious soul from Evangelicalism to Puseyism and thence through Broad Church Theism to the flat negations of an Atheistic Materialism, out of which she has emerged, by way of Spiritualism, into the realm of Theosophy, is one for which we may search in vain in contemporary religious biography. Such a story could not fail to be full of suggestion in any case, even if the writer were obscure and unknown. How much more interesting, then, must it be when it reaches us from one of the most eloquent of living women, who is still in the zenith of her powers!

She had already become the champion of the rights of East-End dockers and the unemployed and a marked person in the eye of the Metropolitan police; she had also attacked Beaconsfield's Imperialist policy and "the misgovernment of India" in her book *ENGLAND, INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN*, and she had also defiantly plunged into Charles Bradlaugh's historic struggle to take his seat in Parliament "without offending his conscience by taking the Oath of Allegiance in such a form as to have no binding effect." She joined too the Fabian Society (1885) and figured in the company of Sidney Webb and Bernard Shaw and how significant it was that while Madame Blavatsky founded a Working Women's Club in London, Annie Besant led one of the most powerful women's Trade Unions.

Strangely unreconciled to the inadequacies in her own philosophy of life since 1866, Annie Besant found herself groping in spiritualism and drifting towards Theosophy. The two Volumes of *THE SECRET DOCTRINE* by H.P. Blavatsky which she reviewed for Stead, and the Report about the Madame herself by the Society for Psychical Research which she was asked to read by her, changed her whole course of life: she plunged headlong into Theosophy amidst fierce controversies over her conversion. But she made her choice irrevocably, the three objects of the Society

being: "to found a Universal Brotherhood without distinction of race or creed, to forward the study of Aryan literature and philosophy; to investigate unexplained laws of nature and the physical powers latent in man." Madame Blavatsky died in 1891; a year later Mrs. Besant decided to visit India. Having attended the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago en route to India, on the 16th of October, 1893, she inaugurated her Indian tour.

From the moment she came to India, began her life of dedication to the cause of the Regeneration of India which had few parallels in history. To the magnitude and quality of her many-sided and imperishable work, let us turn to C.R. Reddy's eloquent testimony:

In what direction was not Mrs. Besant great, in what field not the pioneer, tiller and sower? She poured new life into every department of life and culture and into all the races and countries of the world. Education, social reform, aye, even forbidden sex, labour and radical movements, political evolution of dependent peoples into Statehood and nationhood and self-respect, a closer organisation of warring nations into mutual understanding and sympathy and a co-operative global order—in the encyclopaedia of human endeavour, has anyone shown greater dynamic drive and foresight than Mrs. Besant? She grew with the years and grew beyond them and kept on growing. Oldage forsooth. Every year was a new age with her and no nonage.

One of Mrs. Besant's first tasks in India was to found the Central Hindu College in Banaras; later in 1910 she launched her plan for a Central University and thus facilitated the advent of the Hindu University, since associated with the honoured name of Madan Mohan Malaviyaji. Not less significant was her direct and active participation in the development of the Scout Movement throughout India. She brought Indian women to the fore in the building up of a new India; she gave a new incentive to the uplift of the depressed classes. She was one of the earliest to encourage Swadeshi enterprise. In Madras she started the Y.M.I.A (on the lines of the famous Y.M.C.A.) and the 1921 Club at the Gokhale Hall. There was universal

Today's young adults seem to arrive at college with less resiliency and a lower appetite for risk and failure.

Sylvia Mathews Burwell

agreement that Mrs. Annie Besant was “one of the first to discover the unity of India in her cultural and spiritual life, and to work for it through religious awakening, and show us the priceless treasures of our own inheritance lying in sealed cases in our ancestral vaults.”

It was characteristic of Mrs. Besant to have brought a kind of Teutonic thoroughness to her work for the regeneration of India. When once she felt that there could be no Indian advance except on the basis of self-rule, she left no stone unturned in making the political valleys instinct with life. Her time, her energy, and her resources were all at the disposal of the great cause. To facilitate her political work for ‘Home Rule’, she founded the weekly *Commonweal* in January 1914 while within six weeks, she purchased the daily, *MADRAS STANDARD* and re-named it *NEW INDIA*. They at once became the organs of advanced nationalist opinion, and invoked the wrath of the bureaucracy. The repeated onslaughts on the *NEW INDIA* press only served to popularise the cause of Home Rule.

Mrs. Besant brought, by her passionate advocacy of political freedom for India, a touch of realism as well as a sense of urgency. An exasperated Lord Pentland, the then Governor of Madras, asked her to leave India but Mrs. Besant was not the person to oblige him and his masters. In June 1917 she and her colleagues in political and journalistic work, G.S. Arundale and B.P. Wadia, were interned in Ootacamund. It meant that all over the country the apriare was set fire to. Even abroad, there were strange manifestations of discontent with British statesmanship as, for instance, the U.S. President’s (Wilson’s) expression of sympathy with the Indian movement, in the wake of Sir S. Subramania Iyer’s stirring letter to him.

There were rapid developments. Soon followed a proclamation by the Secretary of State for India (Edwin Motagu) and the new Viceroy (Lord Chelmsford) publicising British intentions to grant self-government to India “by the gradual development of selfgoverning institutions.” Then came Montagu himself to India in pursuance of his policy. By then Mrs. Besant was honourably set free. She was on the crest of the political wave. A grateful nation invited

her to preside over the forthcoming annual Congress. And there at Calcutta, in the closing days of 1917, she thundered from the Presidential Chair, that “India shall soon be seen, proud and self-reliant, strong and free, the radiant splendour of Asia, the light and the blessing of the World.”

That was Mrs. Besant’s finest hour. Later amidst the broken pledges of the British and the direct action, in different forms, for which the Congress made itself responsible under Gandhiji’s leadership, Mrs. Besant found herself increasingly isolated. A persistent and determined woman, she made many a gallant effort to bring the different parties together and get them interested in a stupendous constructive effort to frame a Swaraj constitution for India, by Indians. But the odds were against her leadership variously. Yet it would be wrong to deduct from such disappointments as there were, that she had struggled in vain. Referring to the ultimate compromise “culminating in India’s political freedom as a member of the British Commonwealth”, Dr. C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar—Mrs. Besant’s political conadjutor in the days of Home Rule, personal friend and discerning biographer—rightly observes:

It was this ideal for which Dr. Besant strove, suffered and battled. She did not live to see this climax as she rapidly lost her health after her disappointments over the Round Table Conferences of 1931 and 1932. She passed away in 1933. Mrs. Besant who fought for intellectual freedom alongside with Bradlaugh, who launched Bernard Shaw on his literary career, who came to India in 1893 and not only adopted the Indian costume as well as most Indian habits but made India her home, and too, gave “her incomparable devotion and her incalculable service to the Indian cause”, and who astounded the world by her marvellous oratory and dynamism, was one of the greatest women of all time. One may well ponder over the tribute paid to her, by the celebrated writer, K.S. Venkataramani, a few months before she passed into eternity:

Her life is the greatest adventure in peace one has known in quest of Truth. She is the most sincere humanitarian of the century. Her mystic glands continually pour into the stream of her compassionate blood an aching affection for humanity and a fevered

throb for the wellbeing of man. She has lived her strenuous eighty years of life in the highest moods of a creative rapture and unrest of work. Has any one, man or woman, a finer record of selfless and devoted work to present before the Maker or to one's own generation?

A Grand Personality

The President elect has a world-wide name and fame—she is honoured and respected in both hemispheres. She is one of world's great orators, Oratory, they say,—not I—is a divine gift. In her case, it is merged in the grandeur of her personality and in the brilliance of her achievements.

--SURENDRANATH BANERJEA

THE THIRTY SECOND CONGRESS
CALCUTTA-1917 - 26th, 28th and 29th December-
1847 - 1933.

From : **CONGRESS CYCLOPAEDIA** - The Indian National
Congress: 1885-1920 -The Pre-Gandhi Era. Ed. K. Iswara Dutt.

* * *

Gandhi and Journalism-I

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In 1888, Gandhi went to London for the study of Bar-at-Law and during his stay in London he spent hours reading the columns of Daily Telegraph, the Daily News and the Pall Mall Gazette. Gandhi showed interest in reading travelogues with plenty of illustrations (Bhattacharyya, 1965:1). Newspaper reading was a novel experience to him as he recorded in his autobiography, *My Experiments with Truth* that he never read a newspaper in India. As noted by Bhattacharyya (1965:1), that Gandhi found newspapers informative and entertaining, and he had a desire to see his name and article in print. Encouraged by Alfred Hills, Chairman of the Thames Iron Works,

London, and persuaded by Josiah Old Field, the editor of a magazine, the *Vegetarian*, Gandhi wrote nine articles on diet, customs, festivals, etc., of the *Indians* (Raj Mohan Gandhi, 2006:45), between February and April 1891. 'Three years of writing and staying abroad enlarged not only his scope of writing, but made him a better and more accomplished free-lance journalist.' (Bhattacharyya, 1965:2). 'If the London Vegetarian Society afforded him a forum to write and speak, the political situation in South Africa chiseled him into a conscientious journalist'. (Raj Mohan Gandhi, 2006). During a brief spell in India, from the middle of 1896 to November 1896, he was touring in India to enlist the support, among others, editors, for South African Indian cause. He came into contact with G. Pillay, editor of the *Madras Standard*, who provided an opportunity for Gandhi to edit the newspaper, and subsequently, Gandhi published his famous *Green Pamphlet*, wherein he highlighted the grievances of his countrymen in Africa (ibid). His association with editors and working closely with the editorial staff of the newspapers helped Gandhi in acquiring some inside knowledge of the working of these papers. This bolstered him to start one journal in South Africa.

Mahatma Gandhi was instrumental in launching, *Indian Opinion*, in 1903 in South Africa; a weekly which started publication in four languages – English, Hindi, Tamil and Gujarati with an intention to serve all Indians in South Africa. Two close associates of Gandhi, Madanjit Vyavaharik and Manshuklal Hiralal Nazar launched *Indian Opinion* on June 4, 1903, while the latter, a journalist from Bombay was looking after the editorial function of the weekly. The intention of the journal was to act as a voice of the Indian community, in order to improve their lot, and thus the journal did not have any commercial leanings. As the two gentlemen could not run the journal, the responsibility fell on the shoulders of Gandhi, who took over the journal in October 1904. His friend, Albert West, who gave up his business as a printer was managing it, while Gandhi was editing the journal with the sole intention of educating and mobilizing Indians through the weekly columns on various aspects of life. Gandhi's mission was to portray the sufferings

The quality of the education of the children of today will determine the quality of life in India tomorrow.

Nani Palkhivala

of every Indian in South Africa, and indicated the line of duty that every Indian must follow in order to win his elementary rights (Bhattacharya, 2002:44). The journal which published news and views of Indians in South Africa was known for its moderate policy and sound news. The Indian Opinion carried two or more editorials, a few editorial comments which dealt mostly with Indian problems and discriminatory laws. It also carried a small correspondence column, reproduced articles on Indian problems from other journals. It also published the "Weekly Diary", a popular column, which contained different aspects of Satyagraha was eagerly read by Indians. Gandhi had to suspend Tamil and Hindi editions of Indian Opinion for want of compositors and editors. The journal, in particular carried the popular biographical sketches of eminent men in many parts of the world such as Count Tolstoy, Abraham Lincoln, George Washington and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Also, he supported the publication financially. In his autobiography, he noted that lack of funding to the weekly forced them to discontinue the publication in Tamil and Hindi. He outlined the three objectives of the journal, Indian Opinion (Bhattacharya, 2002: 44-45). They were: 1) to make Indian grievances known to the Governments in South Africa and Britain and to the people of India, 2) to make the Indians in South Africa aware of their own shortcomings and try to overcome them, and 3) to eliminate the prevailing distinctions between Hindus and Muslims and among Gujaratis and Tamils and others. Therefore, Gandhi said, "I poured out my soul in its columns and expounded the principles and practice of satyagraha as I understood it". The journal had a circulation of 3500 and every Indian was eagerly waiting to receive it every week (Nanda, 1998: 98). Gandhi mostly wrote on philosophy of Satyagraha, which served as inspiration to Satyagraha movement, and on intellectual and aesthetic subjects.

Gandhi, penned the first editorial, 'Ourselves' for the inaugural issue. He also wrote the second lead article, 'The British Indians in South Africa, and short notes like 'Is it fair', 'Virtuous Inconsistency', 'Better late than never', 'Words and deeds', 'Minute by Mayor', all of them were unsigned. Gandhi took

over the reins of Indian Opinion, as losses steadily mounted. In 1904, Indian Opinion wrote an editorial with a heading 'Ourselves', a repeat of first editorial under the same caption, of July 1903. The editorial unfolded the newspapers future plans, and outlined how the paper was run since 18 months of its inception.

Since, Indian Opinion incurred losses, and to surmount the already existing losses, the size of Indian Opinion, was reduced from 16 pages to 8 pages, and was brought out on Wednesday instead of Saturday.

Changes were made in Gujarati edition on January 4, 1913; the journal was printed in two columns instead of three, to make it appear better. After Gandhi left South Africa, Indian Opinion "lost its sheen" (Bhattacharyya, 1965:28). When Gandhi returned to India on January 9, 1913, journalism was still in its nascent stage in the country, and yet to establish itself as profession except the Anglo-Indian press in India. Newspapers had to depend on sales and monetary help from individuals. Highly popular Indian newspapers did not match the technically superior Anglo-Indian press in news coverage.

Gandhi, in fact, wrote only two books, 'My experiments with truth' in Gujarati and 'Hind Swaraj or Home Rule,' which was written in Gujarati, was translated by him into English. In the preface to the book Hind Swaraj, he said:

It (Hind Swaraj) was written in 1908 during my return voyage from London to South Africa in answer to the Indian school of violence and its prototype in South Africa. I came in contact with every known Indian anarchist in London. Their bravery impressed me, but I felt that their zeal was misguided. I felt that violence was no remedy for India's ills, and that her civilization required the use of a different and higher weapon for self protection. The Satyagraha of South Africa was still an infant hardly two years old. But it had developed sufficiently to permit me to write of it with some degree of confidence. What I wrote was so much appreciated that it was published as a booklet... In my opinion it is a book which can be put into the hands of a child. It teaches the gospel

of love in place of that of hate. It places violence with self sacrifice. It pits soul force against brute force. It has gone through several editions and I commend it to those who would care to read it.

Hind swaraj used the technique of dialogue between the reader and the editor. The purpose of adopting of such dialogue seemed to be that Mahatma did intend to clarify the doubts that would linger in the mind of the reader (Murthy, 2010). He answered many queries posed by the reader such as education, civilization, culture and so on. Answering a query of the reader in Hind Swaraj, Gandhi explained the objectives of newspaper. He said ‘one of the objectives of the newspaper was to understand popular feeling and to give expression to it; another was to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments, and the third was fearlessly to expose popular defects’. While explaining the objectives of the newspapers, he further, commented on the power of the press.

“In the very first month of Indian Opinion, I realized that the sole aim of journalism should be service. The newspaper press is a great power, but just as an unchained torrent of water submerges whole countryside’s and devastates crops, even so an uncontrolled pen serves but to destroy. If the control is from without, it proves more poisonous than want of control. It can be profitable only when exercised from within. If this line of reasoning is correct, how many of the journals in the world would stand the test? But who would stop those that are useless? And who should be the judge? The useful and the useless must, like good and evil generally, go on together, and man must make his choice.

As soon as he returned from South Africa in 1915, Gandhi started his political life. However, he launched three newspapers during 1919-20 defying the Indian Press Act. Although the Act barred new publications, he boldly launched Satyagrahi (in Hindi and Gujarati), Navajivan (Gujarati), and Young India (English).

(To be concluded)

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Counter-Disaster Staff Training - II Domain Specialist: Disaster Risk Reduction

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Disaster Reduction: Raison D’être

It must be averred that disaster reduction and preparedness planning should be carried out as an unending responsibility of governments; and, its absence is visibly a major factor in the overkill of administration in disaster situations and consequent delays in response and relief administration. To tackle climate change and disaster impacts locally, all the developmental programs implemented by the government should have, as main features, environment impact assessment and hazard impact analysis. Such efforts could help reduce the debilitating effects of development policies on contiguous social, economic and natural environments.

Organizing appreciation programs do a must for a host of target groups comprising senior officials, holding responsible positions in the government, elected leaders--MPs, MLAs, representatives of PRIs, CSOs, both print and electronic media on top of policy makers. Such programs would help develop awareness and understanding on relations between a triangle of concerns--DRR, CCA and Sustainable Development of the nature, value and cost-effectiveness of mitigation and preparedness practices. Mainstreaming DRR, CCA and Sustainable Development should be considered an unremitting responsibility of all the personnel belonging to diverse government departments, irrespective of their academic backgrounds. Normally, training should be imparted to the personnel at their entry point of service itself; and, should be followed up by periodic updating, i.e., once every two to three years or so.

Need for an Action Plan

An important responsibility of coordination at various levels would be the preparation of development plans incorporating features of DRR and CCA. This would help mobilize, coordinate and deploy the state’s resources in response to DRR. A

The modern world was founded on two fundamental distinctions, both inaugurated in the mid-17th century: between mind and body, and between war and peace.

William Davies

broad action plan would help coordinate activities of different organizations besides their specific roles and responsibilities in meeting the tasks of this plan. However, executing such a plan becomes the responsibility of persons or groups requiring an unambiguous understanding of their individual responsibilities plus working out the practices associated with it. To foot the training of state disaster relief organizations vis-à-vis cogent objectives, the training should be directly related to the tasks delineated in the state disaster preparedness plan. Once a plan is in place, all training could be centered on realistic objectives and ceases to be academic. So, those involved could be the persons fit into the scheme of things; and, plan with an apparent knowledge as to what is required of them. Professional training of this nature ought to take place in so far as possible in the Administrative Training Institutes (ATIs) and State Institutes of Rural Development (SIRDs). The appreciation programs pave way for both team spirit and joint effort on which successful operations in emergencies could occur.

India's National Disaster Management Plan

On 18 May 2016, Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, released India's first ever National Disaster Management Plan (NDMP). In his words: "the aim of the Plan is to make India disaster resilient. It will help to maximize the activity of the country to cope with disasters at all levels by integrating disaster management into development and by increasing the preparedness to respond to all kinds of disasters." The plan subsumes a comprehensive strategy to deal with several different kinds of disasters; and, thereby incorporating the Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR), the latest international event, for which India is a signatory.

The response part of NDMP will help prepare an early warning system, along with proper maps and satellite inputs, and will also focus on faster dissemination of information and evolving better coordination across multiple agencies. The plan deals with quick evacuation of people and livestock, medical care, food and essential supplies, power, housing and temporary shelters and supply of drinking water, logistics and transportation in a disaster situation. It

also looks into the role of various agencies like Officials, Elected Representatives and CSOs (NGOs and CBOs) at the Centre, State and grassroots during a disaster. In sum, the strategy includes, inter alia, evacuation of people and animals, search and rescue (SAR) operations, medical care, food and essential supplies during emergencies. In all these designated tasks, the role of counter-disaster personnel cannot be undermined.

Conclusion

To cut a long story short, training is not a one-off phenomenon. So, it is appropriate to reiterate that ad hoc or impulsive approaches to disaster reduction are less effective and counter-productive. It is essential to evolve location-specific strategies in a decentralized participative planning process. The state-of-the-art technologies need to be initiated in a people-friendly environment so that the traditional wisdom of the communities could converge with the versatilities of frontier technical knowledge of trained responders when disasters strike with impunity. According to a Study on Financing DRR under the aegis of the Global Facility for Disaster Reduction and Recovery (GFDRR [2013]), "While policy debates and considerations of best financing practices might occupy attention, disasters continue to make their impact felt both nationally and locally. Massive sudden impact-disasters destroy communities in an instant, while the socio-economic fabric of nations is eaten away by slow-onset disasters such as drought, month-by-month, year-by-year." Accordingly, some of the budgetary allocations and certain percentage of development aid toward relief and rehabilitation should be made available to manage these covariate shocks. Unquestionably, people are the real wealth of a nation. Hence, communities comprising people form the most willingly available work-force in India could be gainfully employed and deployed for disaster risk reduction to deflect the perils occurring frequently. For this reason, the mainstreaming of DRR and CCA into development should aim at transforming the existing hazardous situation into motivating the communities' resilience in conjunction with continuous preparedness; and, thereby resulting in achieving robust sustainable development.

(Concluded)

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Ours is a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants. We know more about war than we know about peace, more about killing than we know about living. We have grasped the mystery of the atom and rejected the Sermon on the Mount.

General Omar Bradley

THE TAPASVI AS A POET: KAVYAKANTHA VASISHTA GANAPATI MUNI - I

Dr. (Mrs.) Prema Nandakumar

Indian Renaissance that blossomed forth after the shock treatment of 1857 had many facets. Kavyakanatha Ganapati Muni was a child of the Vedic revival during the renaissance. He was born on 17th November, 1878, as a gift of Suryanarayana, the presiding deity of Arasavilli. His father, Narasimha Sastri of Kaluvarayi in Andhra Pradesh considered him an emanation of Agni. Quite early in life, Ganapati indicated his future accomplishments in many ways. An 'eka santha graahi', he was voracious when it came to learning. In his tenth year he even composed a poem, 'Pandava Dhartharashtra Sambhava'. He went deep into traditional studies in Sanskrit and Telugu and was also initiated into Sri Vidya Upasana and mantra-japa by his father. Ganapati was married to Visalakshi when he was twelve years old.

In keeping with the traditional thought-currents, Ganapati decided to undertake tapasya. He traveled on his own and his few needs were met by his reading and explaining traditional classics like the Mahabharata. Many were his rare experiences. He returned home and set up family with Visalakshi who was an ideal wife. During these days he had a vision of Goddess Bhuvaneshwari giving him a cup of honey. From now onwards wonderful poesy flowed from him with astonishing ease. The Raja of Mandasa took a liking for him and sent him to Nawadweep Pandita Parishad. At the Parishad's annual gathering Ganapati was put on severe test in Sanskrit. He came out with flying colours and was honoured with the title, Kavya Kantha (one whose throat has poetry). Eminent scholars of the day attested the certificate with their signatures that had the note: "May the fame acquired by the best of ancient poets, Kalidasa and others, follow you now. May you shine forth with splendour, adorned by the charming title 'Kavyakantha' conferred on you by discerning scholars of distinction." It was 2nd June, 1900. Every word of the benediction came true in the following years.

One of the memorable events which turned him completely towards a life of tapasya occurred when he was a teacher at Vellore. When his headmaster, Thomas Harris remarked that Vedic tapasya was no more a possibility, Ganapati resigned his job in 1907 and went to Tiruvannamalai. Shri G. Krishna has related in his authentic biography of Ganapati Muni the experiences undergone by the aspirant, and his meeting with the Brahmanaswamy in the Virupaksha Cave. The young Swamy gave Ganapati Muni the direction for performing tapasya:

"If one watches whence the notion 'I' arises, the mind gets absorbed there. That is tapas. And during japa, if one watches whence the Mantra vibration (dhvani) arises, the mind gets absorbed there. That is tapas."

The Brahmanaswamy was the future Ramana Maharishi, and it was Ganapati who called him Ramana first. Now that he had a Master to guide him, he allowed his family to join him at Tiruvannamalai. He was now thirty years old. He became a tapasvin and a poet, rapidly becoming well known to the outside world. Soon disciples thronged to him. Foremost among them were T.V. Kapali Sastri and Doraiswami Iyer. Ganapati moved to several places like Gokarnam and Padaivedu, but always his tapasya continued amidst his various engagements. At Tiruvannamalai, he experienced 'kapala bheda' and felt the divine current flow from his crown into him through the spinal column. His tapasya was complete.

Though offers came to him from the Calcutta and Andhra universities to give a lead to Oriental Studies, Ganapati preferred his independence. He was busy teaching the disciples who came to him, initiating them in traditional mantra japa. He passed away suddenly in Kharaghpur on 25th July 1936.

Such are the brief external dates of a twentieth century tapasvin's life on earth. But there were worlds within worlds in the life of this tremendous scholar. His anxiety for a free India was obvious; he believed that only political freedom could spread the wings of the Indian to scale the heights of spirituality like the Vedic ancestors. Ganapati Muni was an active speaker in the Congress Party for a while and was stalked by the British Government which considered him to be a revolutionary. Though an orthodox

You can't go very far if you don't begin very near.

Brahmin who performed elaborate yajnas, Ganapati Muni was averse to untouchability and proved that the despicable custom had no Vedic sanction. He also averred that women had every right to perform Vedic rituals. He had no attraction for money, position or power. For him Ramana Maharishi was all. Even when away from Tiruvannamalai, he wrote regularly to the Maharishi, and fifty of these Sanskrit letters have come down to us, revealing the intensity with which Ganapati Muni pursued tapasya. He writes on 22nd July, 1931 with exultation:

“”The grandeur of Mantra-Sadhana has been seen. The essence of yoga has been perceived. The import of the scriptures has been scrutinized in particular. Tapas has been performed with concentration of mind. The play of Kundalini-Shakti has been investigated. The source of the Ego has been felt within. The transformation being effected by Primordial Shakti Divine has been watched in tune with it in silence.”

In his own time, Ganapati Muni did not give much attention to the printing and dissemination of his works. However, his disciples guarded his letters, essays and notes zealously. Among them were Sri D.S. Viswamitra, Viswanatha Swamy and Raju Sastry. One of the disciples, K. Natesan, made it his life’s engagement to collect and copy down the works of Ganapati. Happily for us, he is now publishing the collected works of Ganapati Muni as a set of twelve volumes. Assisted by Dr. Sampadanand Misra, he has already released ten volumes by Sri Ramanasram, Tiruvannamalai.

Poetry takes up a major portion of Ganapati Muni’s oeuvre. Stotras long and short, either planned or those that poured down as a flood when he was self-lost in tapasya bring us the much-needed help to turn to the Divine. Almost all of them are on goddesses. As his chosen field was Tantra yoga, the Kena Upanishad’s positing of Uma Haimavati has drawn him to write several prayers like ‘Uma Trisati’ and ‘Uma Aksharamala’ as also the glorious Uma Sahasram, a sustained prayer in one thousand verses. According to him ‘Uma’ connoted the mantric OM (A-U-M), As we recite these prayer to the goddess, it becomes clear that Uma’s name is aparyaptaamrita, the nectar that never satiates.

Umasahasram has a fine Sanskrit commentary, Prabha by T.V. Kapali Sastri. We walk in the regions of the divine with the very opening exclamation: Akhilajaganmata. Here are forty cantos (stabakas), each containing twenty-five verses. Sastriar refers to the work as a parayana grantha, created in the immediate presence of Ramana Maharishi who was the very image of meditation. Sastriar points out that the very first verse refers to the unfailing grace of Uma while the second verse indicates the need for a ceaseless aspiration (yoga) from the devotee:

Akhilajaganmatoma thamasaa
thaapenachakulaanasmaan

Anugrahatvanukampaasudhaardhrayaa
hasithachandrikayaa

Nikhileshu pravahanti
nirupaadhivimarsayogadhrusyormim

Ajaramajaamameyaam kaamapi vande
mahasakthim

As we move from one canto to another, we find the Mother as the transcendent Supreme and as Vedic and Tantric deities. She is Purusa-Prakriti, the Trimurti and the Panchamurti. She is the Kundalini who moves in the human body (Stabhaka 4).

Our progress with the poem’s stately verses takes us to familiar places in India where the Divine Mother is worshipped like Kanyakumari, Ramesvaram, Madurai and Jambukeswaram. In fact we almost complete an all-India tour going to Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bengal, Magadha, Benaras and Avanti as well. The whole of the 26th canto is devoted to Goddess Apeetakuchambal of Tiruvannamalai

When we come to the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth cantos we find ourselves in the awesome terribilita of Prachanda Chandika and Renuka Devi. The poem concludes with an ecstatic paen to the Mother of Radiances. The place of Umasahasram in an aspirant’s life can be gauged from Sastriar’s statement that for him writing the commentary on the poem was itself upasana.

(To be concluded)

Who can say more than this rich praise, that you alone are you?

William Shakespeare

MOBILE HOSPITAL – A DIVINE BLESSING

Dr. A. Aswini Kumar M.D.
Professor of Medicine
ASRAM Medical College, Eluru

“India spends just a little over one percent of its GDP on healthcare and this is leading the country into a comprehensive healthcare crisis,” wrote Amartya Sen who laments that ‘healthcare is unaffordable for the underprivileged’. India ranks low on the global scale of investment in healthcare and also in doctor-people ratio with 0.7 per thousand people as against WHO’s norm of 1:1000. Both the union and the state governments are unable to allocate funds for strengthening the public healthcare system in India. Service organizations and individual initiatives have, to some extent, come to the rescue of the poor and suffering people even in remote areas.

Sri Sathya Sai Baba with his abundant love and compassion for the suffering humanity launched the mobile hospital service, inaugurated by himself on UGADI, Telugu New Year day on 30th March 2006. Baba was deeply concerned about the many illness-stricken people, especially in rural areas, where people suffer from diseases in silence because of poverty and ignorance and lack of transport facilities to reach the hospitals. Adding to their pain and misery is lack of money to meet charges for investigation and purchase of medicines for treatment.

Sri Sathya Sai Baba wanted to purchase a bus with facilities for doing the routine urine and blood tests, special tests like blood urea, serum creatinine and blood sugar and also to take X-rays, record ECG and do ultra sound scan. Siemens India came forward to support the scheme by presenting a bus with the necessary equipment for this purpose.

Baba suggested that the mobile hospital service project be manned by specialists and accordingly chose Dr. Narasimhan, MNAMS, as Director. As per the schedule prepared under his guidance, the services run from 1st to 12th of every month and doctors come for 4 days in 3 batches. Elective surgeries are done from 1st to 4th in general hospital. Post operative cases are followed upto their discharge usually on the 8th day. Today the mobile hospital has all services like

Medicine, Surgery, Orthopedics, OBGY, Paediatrics, Dental, Psychiatry, Ophthalmology, Dermatology, ENT manned by specialists super specialists in cardiology, neurology, neurosurgery, CT surgery, Oncosurgery and paediatric surgery also come in rotation. Pathologists are available for 4 days and Radiologists on all the 12 days.

Today the mobile hospital has extended services to 6 mandals and 12 nodal points, each catering to 30 to 40 villages within a radius of 40 kms from Puttaparthi. Many more patients from other mandals of about 20 villages come for treatment. Patients from faraway places like Kadiri 65 kms, Dharmavaram 60 kms also come for treatment. A new dental-care bus has been purchased for dental work on 4th January 2019. Nearly 400 doctors including specialists and super specialists do service voluntarily by rotation, under the able guidance of Director Dr.K. Narasimhan MNAMS specially chosen by Bhagawan. He is ably assisted by Mrs. Savithri Madam, and paramedics.

The three main ideals of the mobile hospital are –
1. Curative drive 2.Preventive focus and 3.Spiritual base.

Curative drive: All cases of chronic illness such as heart failure, hypertension, epilepsies, thyroid diseases, diabetes - after necessary investigations and diagnosis are given medicine for one month. Other cases are given medicines for 7 to 10 days depending on the need.

Preventive focus: Before the service starts, the Director regularly and other specialists occasionally educate the people on various preventive measures to be taken for good health. Health education is imparted in the evenings to school children in the villages a day before the arrival of the mobile hospital.

One real preventive service: Mrs. Roda Nussabum of USA, an international expert on prevention of cervix cancer visited the mobile hospital and trained the women doctors in the technique of visual inspection after a spray of acetic acid on cervix - a simple way of detecting cancer cervix. In suspicious cases biopsy is taken for pathological conformation. So far nearly 25000 cases have been screened and 60 cases of various stages of cancer cervix detected and sent for necessary treatment. This became a very effective preventive service for patients in interior villages of Anantapur district.

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

Rabindranath Tagore

Spiritual Base: In the evening, the director accompanied by sevadal, goes to villages a day before the mobile service and focuses attention on three things – 1. Childs’ health 2. Habits and 3. Home environment. The Director visits their houses along with paramedics and educates the parents in positive thinking, benefits of prayer, Nama Smarana and singing Bhajans and Likhita Japam of any God of their choice.

Such remarkable service is being rendered at the door step of villagers month after month for 13 years now without a break even for a day - a phenomenal achievement, indeed.

The unique features of the programme are:

1. Regularity and follow up
2. Services of Specialists and super specialists with on-the-spot investigation facilities and
3. As in all Sathya Sai Baba hospitals, services are totally free of charges.

On average 800 to 1000 poor patients living in 450 villages are examined by mobile hospital on every day from 1st to 12th of every month. The mobile hospital service launched by Sri Sathya Sai Baba in 2006 has won national acclaim. In 2013 ‘TV 18’s India healthcare Award’ was presented to the mobile hospital for ‘Innovation in Transforming Lives’ by Dr. Montek Singh Ahluwalia, Deputy Chairman Planning Commission of India.

This innovative and unique healthcare service for the rural poor, designed and executed to perfection under the Divine Guidance of Sri Sathya Sai Baba also conveys the philosophy of Sri Sathya Sai Baba that service to man is service to God and of all forms of service healthcare is the ultimate that too in poor villages where poor people receive the healing touch singing the glory of God.

A letter of commendation has been received from Dr. Jessica White, Governing Body Fellow, Director of Studies for Medicine of Cambridge School of Medicine, U.K. about SSSMH (Sri Sathya Sai Mobile Hospital) Training Program:

“I am writing to you with enormous gratitude and a sense of awe at the depth and breadth of training that you have provided for Steven, as the first of our Cambridge students to come your way. I can see by

reading the detailed accounts of the teaching that he has received that he has had more than an eye opening to the many wonders of clinical medicine and even more importantly that this introduction has been undertaken under the supervision of some of the finest clinicians and teachers on any international stage – I am truly thankful to you and your dedicated team.”

As one privileged to be a regular member of the mobile hospital service since its inception and a humble devotee of Sri Sathya Sai Baba from whom I received blessings and a command to serve the poor more than three decades ago, I venture to suggest that if only every medical college runs such a programme, the health of the nation will be taken care of.

(Dr. Aswini Kumar is running a diabetic clinic which has successfully completed twenty two years of free medical service. Since the inception of Sri Sathya Sai Mobile Hospital Service Dr. Kumar is a member of the team participating in the service of the rural poor every month for four days.)

* * *

Book Review :

**THE PARADOXICAL PRIME MINISTER
NARENDRA MODI AND HIS INDIA**

SHASHI THAROOR

(Published by ALEPH BOOK COMPANY, New Delhi, 2018, Pg.504, Price Rs.799.00)

Nehru The Invention of India, a brilliantly written sleek, though small, book by Shashi Tharoor was published in 2003. Fifteen years later, from the prolific pen of the distinguished author of seventeen books to date, the eighteenth a tome of 504 pages on Narendra Modi *The Paradoxical Prime Minister – Narendra Modi and his India* is being widely discussed. If the former, like sublime poetry is unputdownable the latter is like slightly heavy prose. That, of course, is understandable and in a way quite appropriate too. It is needless to attempt here a comparison between Jawaharlal Nehru, the great first prime minister of India and Narendra Modi, the present head of the government.

Shashi Tharoor, the former Under Secretary-

General of the United Nations and ex union minister is known for his ability to perform multiple roles with amazing ease and success. He was a debater at Oxford speaking in support of his book *The Era of Darkness (The British Empire in India)* an indictment of British rule. He now plays the role of the prosecutor 'charge-sheeting' Narendra Modi, the prime minister of India for 'misgovernance and several acts of omission and commission'. Like a seasoned lawyer he presents his arguments with facts and figures and information gathered from several sources.

The book is divided into five sections, 'each of which examines Narendra Modi's personality or the manner in which his government functions. In the first section Shashi Tharoor takes 'a close look at his life and times, from his humble beginnings in Vadnagar, Gujarat and ending with his ascent to the prime ministership of India.' Modi will not, writes the author, 'condemn the bigots in his own ranks who will destroy everything that is noble and decent about our country.' The second section titled MODI-FICATION OF INDIA deals with 'the rise of gau-rakshaks, the assassinations of rationalists, mob lynchings, episodes of beef-related violence, BJP trolls on social media, and impact on fundamental ideas and values of India'. In the third section under the title MODITVA AND MISGOVERNANCE, focus is on attack on institutions, reversing his promise into 'maximum government and minimum governance' and meddling in matters of justice. The fourth titled The Failure of Modinomics describes how a growing economy was almost flattened by demonetization, GST, Swachh Bharat and unbalanced budgets and their effects especially on the lower middle classes and the poor people. The final chapter titled 'Flights of Fancy' discusses the failures of Modi government in foreign policy, especially with Pakistan and China, despite the frequent tours by the prime minister who made 'forty one trips in four years to 52 countries till June, 2018, 477 out of 1491 days visiting other countries as well as Indian States'.

Shashi Tharoor narrates how the tech-savvy prime minister of India is the third most followed leader on Twitter after Trump and Pope Francis. The orator

prime minister is an authoritarian personality who "understands only one alphabet and that is 'I'". "In a conversation, Modi revealed to Tharoor that he would not compromise on three things – his eyes, voice and clothes. The prime minister loves to be seen in good dress and well-combed hair. Tharoor describes Moditva as 'a combination of Hindutva, nationalism, economic development and overweening personal leadership. It is carefully packaged and marketed, with considerable attention (and expense) being paid to disseminating its message to the public'. Hindutva itself is modified, or as some might have it, Modi-fied, adds Tharoor.

Tharoor's analysis of Modi's 'misgovernance' is clinical in precision though it may appear a little biased in presentation. Each of the fifty chapters is loaded with quotations, references and footnotes – a testament to the meticulous care with which the subject was researched. 'Modi has little respect for Parliament. He occasionally shows up to deliver rodomontade speeches in Parliament, he does not take questions, and has refused to subject himself to any kind of parliamentary cross-examination of his policies or statements', writes the author. The prime minister's 'attack on science', downgrading priorities for secondary and higher education and neglect of healthcare, and glaring instances of governmental failures are explained in detail. "If the media is choking or suffocated that is a clear indication that society is no longer safe for us," points out Tharoor. The fact that 'the demonetization of minorities within society' has resulted in a feeling of insecurity among them smacks off fascist tendencies. "Demonetization was a disastrous decision of the Modi government and the GST that followed caused immense hardship to the people, especially the poor and the small business classes. Due to demonetization 15 lakh jobs were lost between January and April in 2017. The labour Bureau's Quarterly Employment Survey for October to December 2017 showed that about 1.25 lakh casual and 46,000 part-time workers were out of jobs", writes the author.

Mr. Modi is determined not to concede the folly of demonetization which cost 100 lives, at least 1.5m jobs and left 150 million people without pay for weeks.

The Guardian Weekly Editorial, 7 September 2018

Tharoor, the former Minister for External Affairs, is at his best in writing on India's foreign policy and the chapter on India's relationship with Pakistan is eminently readable. Tharoor quotes the words of G.Parthasarathy, former Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan, who said: "Promoting peace between India and Pakistan is the trying to treat two patients whose only disease is an allergy to each other." As Husain Haqqani, Pakistan's former ambassador and diplomat put it "Kashmir is not a cause of the conflict between the two states but rather a symptom of it". In Indo-US relationship, the transformation 'from estrangement to strategic partnership is well advanced'. Referring to India's relationship with China, Tharoor hopes that "It is entirely possible that relationship with China can veer away from confrontation towards at least coexistence if not extensive cooperation".

Shashi Tharoor is too scholarly and sophisticated to be mean in thought or word towards anyone including prime minister Narendra Modi, the target of attack by the Congress party of which the biographer is a leading light. Tharoor who had complimented and congratulated prime minister Narendra Modi on a few occasions writes in the last chapter "Yes, Mr.Modi is capable of evolution." Tharoor concedes that Narendra Modi "continues to lead in most public opinion polls as the most deserving prime minister of the country. This may be a tribute to his marketing savvy, his stirring speeches, his repeated projections of his own personality, his assiduous and mellifluous use of every communication tool from monthly radio broadcasts to daily tweets, his relentless burnishing of his own outsize image, or simply a reflection that mass public opinion can be easily swayed by rhetorical flourishes and skilled PR. But this is really the ultimate paradox of our paradoxical prime minister – that his perceived stature rests on appearances that are themselves belied by the multiple failures of the administration he leads. Compounding all this is the man's extraordinary ego".

Shashi Tharoor concludes that "Our inclusive vision of our New India must be complemented by inclusive development as we move forward. New India must be built on the liberalization we embarked upon in 1991. Economic growth remains vital to

pulling people out of poverty. But the fruits of that growth – the revenues that come from it – must be shared with those who are excluded from its benefits. The magic of the market will not appeal to those who cannot afford to enter the marketplace. "

Critics may find fault with Shashi Tharoor for releasing the book in the last year of Narendra Modi's prime ministership, before the 2019 general elections, that too in a 'polemical narrative by a Congress Member of Parliament. One is reminded of an author's comment that perceptions differ in a parliamentary democracy in which the ruling party often complains against the opposition needlessly applying brakes in a car going smoothly up the hill while the latter claims to be doing so in the interest of the people as the car was, in fact, hurtling down dangerously and brakes needed to be applied. All that apart, Shashi Tharoor's book is a must read for the many things it reveals and the message it finally conveys in just two lines: "Our New India will shine. But it must shine for all."

A. Prasanna Kumar

"Judges and lawyers should go beyond five senses", says HC CJ

'The challenge in the justice delivery system is maintaining equilibrium'

(Newspaper report on DV Subba Rao Memorial Lecture delivered by Shri T.B.Radhakrishnan, Hon'ble the Chief Justice, High Court, Telangana and A.P. on 'Courts, Bench Marks and Consistency : Role of Bar and Bench' on December 22, 2018 jointly organized by Centre for Policy Studies and Visakhapatnam Public Library)

Human values should connect law and legal justice, and only then we can have a justice system that will be in equilibrium with the Constitution of India, said Chief Justice of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana State Thottathil B.Radhakrishnan.

Justice Radhakrishnan was delivering the DV Subba Rao memorial lecture, organised by the Centre for Policy Studies at the Visakhapatnam Public Library here on Saturday. Speaking on 'Courts,

Progress against infectious diseases cannot be measured just in terms of the lives that were once lost to plagues and parasites.

Thomas Bollyky

benchmarks and consistency: Role of Bar and Bench’, he delivered an eloquent address, giving an insight into the philosophy of both Bar and the Bench. Drawing parallel with the ‘Pancha Indriya’ (five senses) and the ‘Evidence Act’, he said, “Thinking process plays an important role in the legal process. It is our fundamental right to think and there is no bar on the process of thinking. And thinkers are not trained and the power of thinking emboldens a person.”

He said that both lawyers and judges should go beyond the five senses and training to think and deliver justice. According to him, equality in justice will come only when the door of justice opens to all in the equal way, when knocked by all. The challenge in the justice delivery system is maintaining equilibrium. “The conduct of the Bench reflects on the character of the Bar and the other way also,” said Justice Radhakrishnan.

Truthfulness is important in the profession and he advised the legal fraternity to work in the interest of the client, but within the legal framework.

‘Man of character’

Earlier, speaking about D.V.Subba Rao, he said that he was a man of character and it was difficult to find a person doing well both in the legal profession and in public life. Apart from being a legal luminary of his time, DV Subba Rao was the Mayor of Visakhapatnam, former chairman of Bar Council of India, president of the Andhra Cricket Association, Chairman of VUDA and was also appointed as Administrative Manager of the Indian Cricket team, which toured West Indies in 1997. Earlier, Vice-Chancellor of National Law School of India University, Bengaluru, Prof. R.Venkata Rao, introduced justice Radhakrishnan. Director of Centre for Policy Studies Prof. A. Prasanna Kumar gave the opening remarks and judge of AP and Telangana State High Court and son of D.V.Subba Rao, Justice D.V.S.S.Somayajulu, spoke.

(Courtesy: *The Hindu*, December 23, 2018)

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