

# BULLETIN

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## OF THE CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES (GAYATRI VIDYA PARISHAD)

### HOW HIGH IS OUR HIGHER EDUCATION ?

"Low yield from high ideals" observed Dr S.Radhakrishnan who headed the Commission on Higher Education appointed by the Government of India in 1948 to report on Indian University Education and suggest methods for its improvement. Constituting a committee of eminent persons in the first year of independence bore testimony to the importance given to university education by the Government of India at a time when two gigantic processes — of integrating the princely states and provinces into the union and of drafting the Constitution — were simultaneously at work in the midst of tension and turbulence.

A number of such expert committees and commissions have since submitted reports on higher education during the last six decades containing diagnosis of the causes of the chronic ailment and prescription for its treatment. The introduction of a number of bills on higher education in Parliament is among the latest of such exercises by the government to bail university education out of stagnation. If the Kothari Commission had forty five years ago referred to the low standards of degrees awarded and the poor quality of research obtaining in universities, the more recently constituted National Knowledge Commission lamented the 'erosion of academic autonomy of the universities and politicization of the higher education institutions.'

Dr Amrik Singh, a doyen among educationists, clinically examined the ailing higher education system and pointed out how immense damage has been done not only by political interference and bureaucratic hurdles but also by teacher apathy, ignorance of the aims of higher education and indifference to the ethics of the noble profession. He wants a change in teachers' ' mode of thinking and style of functioning.' Jandhyala B.G.Tilak, noted scholar in the field of university education, has

made an in-depth analysis of the several bills introduced in Parliament. As he cautions 'the big policy vacuum for a long period' cannot be corrected through 'a rush for reforms on a fast track mode.' In his view the bills awaiting Parliament's approval 'lack an overall long –term holistic vision for development of higher education.'

India's crisis is mainly due to decline of institutions, including Parliament, judiciary and bureaucracy and collapse of autonomy of professions like law, medicine and teaching. Universities cannot remain unaffected by the overall national situation characterized by political chaos and rampant corruption. So long as they are denied autonomy and financial stamina our universities and colleges will be nowhere in the race for excellence at the international level.

Still, hope and light can emanate only from the portals of our universities and colleges, from the young and ignited minds and their moulders and mentors. India has not only the highest number of people under twenty five in today's world but some of the brightest and most brilliant youngsters who can change the course of history through their work in universities.

The great philosopher Jiddu Krishnamurthi once asked students three simple questions: Why are you studying? What are you studying? How are you studying? The seemingly simple yet profound queries should be put to teachers also: Why are you teaching? What are you teaching? How are you teaching?

In the end, as former Harvard President Rudenstine stated, "education is a fundamentally human process. It is a matter of values and significant action, not simply information or knowledge.... how to create a humane and just society." That should be the goal of higher education.

- The Editor

## **Andhra University's First Convocation Address - 1927 by Prof. S. Radhakrishnan - II**

*(Andhra University founded in April 1926 held its first convocation in 1927 with Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan delivering the Convocation address. A year later Sir C.V.Raman delivered the second convocation oration when Andhra University conferred its first Honorary Doctorate degree on Dr.Radhakrishnan)*

If the Andhra University is to participate in what may fittingly be called the Indian Renaissance, it must pay adequate attention to the study of India's past. This land of ours is no sand bank thrown up by some recent caprice of earth. It is a stately growth with roots striking deep through the centuries. Nations have a history as well as a geography. They live and grow not by the forces of wind and rain, sun and stars but by the passions and ideals which animate them. The University must stimulate an interest in the sources of our civilisation, its art and thought, its language and literature, its philosophy and religion. Any one who has studied and meditated on the ancient classics of this country will testify to their peculiar greatness, their power to yield new meanings and their inexhaustible value as a criterion of the present day modes of life. In these days of startling scientific developments, it may not be useless to point out that reconstructing the mosaic of the long forgotten past is not a less ennobling performance on the part of the human mind than calculating the movements of the stars or making ships fly in the air.

To plead for an awakened interest in Indian culture is not to advocate a return to the conditions of antiquity. The past never returns. In the European Renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries, there was a renewal of interest in the thought of Greece and Rome and the early Christian church, and it marked the beginning of modern European civilisation. So I believe, a study of our past will lead to a quickening of our cultural life and a triumph over scholasticism.

In the handling of the past of one's country, there is one serious danger which we have to guard against. We are tempted to look for great things in the past which is generally regarded as a golden age of peace and plenty/ when men lived for centuries, married with angels and

entertained gods. The farther we go into the past of a country, the greater is the temptation to the uncontrolled imagination. The danger is a very subtle one to every real interpreter of history. If he is to present his work in an intelligible way, he must note the general principles unifying the multitude of facts with which he deals. It is but a short step from perceiving this unity to imposing the design of one's own making. We must beware that we do not give more than their due weight or value to the facts observed. To pervert the past in order to gain new sanctions for our dreams of the future is to sin against our intellectual conscience. If a scientific study of the past of India is possible, it is only in the atmosphere of a university.

A discriminating and critical study of the beliefs and institutions of our country is fitted to be much more than a means of satisfying an enlightened, curiosity and of furnishing materials for the researches of the learned. It is a powerful instrument for progress. History is a mirror in which we may see ourselves, not merely our outer forms as in a common glass but, if only we choose, our inner selves, stripped of trappings and spread out on the table. We can find out our strength as well as our weakness, the germs of life, growth and recovery as well as the maladies which afflict us. We can discover why we the products of a civilisation which has lasted for nearly 40 centuries are only half alive today. We live and yet do not. Why is it so ? If we are to be restored to health and vigour, we must learn to conquer our national failings. We must find out what those institutions are which have outlived their utility and still survive, thanks to our mental laziness and the extreme unwillingness which men have to overhaul habits and beliefs which have become automatic in their workings. To the conservative mind and the artist soul it may appear a melancholy task to strike at the foundations of belief in which as in a strong temple, the hopes and aspirations of a large section of humanity through long ages have sought a refuge from the strain and stress of life. It is difficult to break even a physical habit; it is much more difficult to break long established habits of thought and mind. But I hope that love of ease, regard for antiquity or considerations of safety will not induce us to spare the ancient moulds, however beautiful, when they are outworn. It is not true conservatism, but a false sentimental one which tries to preserve mischievous abuses simply because they are picturesque. Whatever

*The Congress won political freedom, but it has yet to win economic social, and moral freedom. - Mahatma Gandhi*

comes of it, wherever it leads us, we must follow truth. It is our only guiding star. To say that the dead forms which have no vital truth to support them are too ancient and venerable to be tampered with, only prolongs the suffering of the patient who is ailing from the poison generated by the putrid waste of the past. We need not shy at change. Our philosophy tells us that permanence belongs to eternity alone and unceasing change is the rule of life.

It is impossible for any nation to stand still and stiff within its closed gates, while humanity is marching on. The world is no more a miscellaneous collection and dislocated spots where we could live alone. It has become a small neighbourhood where we would neither live alone nor be let alone. We cannot "turn to the walled cities of the middle ages. The flood of modern ideas is pouring on us from every side and will take no denial. On the question of response to the new forces, there is much confusion of thought. We come across a curious blending of self-assertion and timidity. There is a passionate loyalty to everything Indian haunted by deep but secret misgivings. The conservatives adopt an attitude of forlorn resistance and cling tenaciously to old ideas. They little realise that the forces will steal unknown, bring down the defences where they are weak and cause inward explosion. The radicals are anxious to forget the past, for to them it is to be remembered, if at all, not with pride but with shame. But they forget that where other cultures may give us the light, our own furnishes the conditions for action. The constructive conservatism of the past is the middle way between the reactionary and the radical extremes. If we study the history of Indian culture from the beginning of its career somewhere in the valley of the Indus four or five milleniums ago down till to-day, the one characteristic that pervades it throughout its long growth is its elasticity and ability to respond to new needs. With a daring catholicity that approaches fool hardiness on occasions, it has recognised elements of truth in other systems of thought and belief. It has never been too proud to learn from others and adopt such of their methods as seemed adaptable to its needs. If we retain this spirit, we can face the future with growing confidence and strength.

The recovery of the old knowledge in its depth and fullness, its restatement in new forms adapted to present needs and an original handling of the novel situations

which have arisen in the light of the Indian spirit are urgent necessities and if our universities do not accomplish them, nothing else will. I hope that the Andhra University will give an important place to Indian culture in its school of humanities. It is needless to say that its special task would be to present to the world an authentic account of the history of the Andhras based on literary, artistic and historical records. Sanskrit literature, the epics and the puranas will be of considerable value in such an undertaking. I hope the University will make the study of a classical language compulsory for all students at some stage or other of the arts course. I am aware that we are anxious to give greater attention to Telugu and make it, if possible, the medium of instruction and examination in the degree courses as well. This very desirable reform has to be worked out with great caution. English is not only the language of international commerce and thought but is also one of the chief factors in the making of the Indian nation. If the course in English is not of a sufficiently high standard our students are likely to be at a disadvantage in their search for posts, which, after all, is not a minor consideration. India is not the only country in the world where we have to pay regard to the commercial value of a university career.

While we look to the humanities for the development of the inner spirit, which is necessary for any sound national reconstruction, sciences, pure and applied, will help us to build the outer organisation. A passionless and understanding contemplation of objective nature is in itself an intellectual satisfaction of a high order. The scientific temper is characterised by a passion for facts, careful observation and cautious statement of conclusion. It discourages reliance on vague impressions, second-hand evidence and hasty generalisation. It is quite possible in these days of specialisation that our graduates might obtain their degrees without the knowledge of a single objective science. I hope the Academic Council will make such a thing impossible by providing for the compulsory study of an objective science by the arts' students at the stage of the Matriculation, if not the Intermediate.

We live in an age of intense striving and creative activity. If we are to be credited with intellectual power, we cannot afford to say, 'Let others make the experiments, we will benefit by their experience'. The assumption that we are metaphysically minded and are

not interested in the pursuit of science is not quite true. In our vigorous days, we developed sciences like astronomy and architecture, mathematics and medicine, chemistry and metallurgy. Latterly, however, there has been a decline in scientific activity owing to the cramping effects of scholasticism. All signs indicate that we are waking up from our scientific slumber. The work done in the Post-graduate schools of the Calcutta University shows that our men are competent to do original work of a high quality, if only they have the opportunity. If we are to swing out again into the main stream of the life of the world, the University must build laboratories and equip them adequately, thus offering opportunities for original investigation to the abler students of science. I hope there are not many who sneer at the conquests of science as materialistic avenues to the betterment of human conditions. A spiritual civilisation is not necessarily one of poverty and disease, man-drawn rickshaw and the hand-cart. It is one thing to say that wisdom is more precious than rubies and the wise man is happy whatever befall him and quite another to hold that poverty and ill-health are necessary for spiritual advance. While poverty is spiritual when it is voluntary, the crass poverty of our people is a sign of sloth and failure. Our philosophy of life recognises the production and increase of wealth among the legitimate aims of human endeavour. Pursuit of wealth does not in itself spell spiritual ruin. It is a means in itself ethically colourless, neither good nor evil but a necessary means for the attainment of the higher life for the individual and the mass of mankind. What counts is the purpose for which wealth is striven after and so long as we realise that it is a means to a higher end, we can boldly venture out on the path of the conquest of nature's secrets and their utilisation for man's service. There are so many ills that flesh is heir to which need not be met by fatalism and folded hands. Instead of facing suffering and disease by apologetic justifications of the ways of god to man, a nobler piety demands their reduction and ultimate removal.

Economic crises are slow and undramatic. As we cannot visualise the coarse poverty of the large majority of our people, our emotions react to it rather sluggishly. The average standard of material well-being is exceedingly low. poverty is widespread and is causing immense unhappiness, though it is not for the most part the fault of the poor. The middle class unemployment is growing apace. Industrial and commercial activities to

which educated young men of other countries devote themselves hardly exist in India. Young men from five years of age up to twenty are trained in our educational institutions and at the end of all the toil and the cost find themselves faced by blind alley occupations and unemployment, either in or out of law courts. It is a tragic waste of human effort in a country where so much needs to be done. Earth and its resources are bountiful and there are plenty of hands capable of producing wealth and yet they are all lying idle. It is not fair to contend that Indians are unwilling to apply themselves to industrial pursuits as they are more speculative than practical. There does not seem to be anything radically wrong about the Indian mind. Till the industrial revolution, the conditions were practically the same in India and in Europe. Our agricultural methods, economic institutions, industrial developments and the relations between the landlords and the tenants were governed on almost the same lines in India and in Europe. Only we happen to remain still in large part in the mediaeval, agrarian and pre-industrial stages. It is a matter for deep concern that Great Britain has done little to stimulate us into life and activity inspite of our long and close political and economic association with it. One would expect that this connection with Britain would have given us a start in the race and enabled us to outstrip our competitors in the East. But nothing like it has happened. An educational policy overweighted on the literary side on account of its inexpensive character is largely responsible for the wrong notions of the dignity of certain, callings and indifference to others. It is not more dignified to hold a pen and keep accounts than work in a factory or a field. What little there is of industrial development is largely in the hands of British firms who do not seem to realise that they cannot for all time depend on imported skilled labour. It will be to their advantage and to ours as well if they take young Indians in their firms and give them training and facilities. Perhaps, we are not justified in expecting British firms to be so generous as all that Lieut.

Col. Paddon in his report of the work of the Indian Store Department for 1926-27 observes, regarding the work of assisting Indian students to obtain facilities for practical training in various branches of manufacture and industry : "The problem of placing a large number of students each in the line of industry in which he desires training is both complex and difficult particularly at the present time when trade depression and labour troubles

***Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know,  
it means teaching them to behave as they do not behave. - Ruskin***

have resulted in decreased production. Factories working half-time or less are not as a rule prepared to afford facilities for training an individual whose experience may later be placed at the disposal of a rival source of supply. In certain trades the matter is further complicated by the fact that a large proportion of the orders placed by the Department go to the Continent; in other lines of manufacture certain processes are jealously guarded as trade secrets." We can easily understand the economics of this attitude though not the ethics of it. Greater efficiency in the cotton industry of India will mean less business for Lancashire. A higher standard of idealism will be necessary if Britain is to encourage and assist the development of trade which may compete with its own. In a spirit of narrow vision and legalistic quibbling, it is adopting that most perilous of all policies - drift. It is very much to be hoped that the State will give up the narrow view of its functions as a superpoliceman maintaining law and order and in a larger spirit foster the industrial growth of the country and help India to find her feet in the world. It is not fair to condemn lack of private initiative and enterprise for State socialism prevails to a large extent in the country. Industrial development is obviously not the direct concern of the University. Technical education will have to depend on the creation of industries which does not lie in the hands of the University. But with the goodwill and co-operation of the State the University can help the industrial growth of the country by the institution of new technical courses which will have a direct relationship to the Indian industries in general and those of the Andhra area in particular.

A realisation of the defects of the purely affiliating universities led to the constitution of the Andhra University which has for its objective the establishing of Honours and Postgraduate schools in arts and science as well as technological institutions. The Madras University, started nearly seventy years ago, has succeeded not only in supplying the State with a body of able and faithful servants but also in producing men of distinction in arts and science. Thanks to it. South India is astir today with the promptings of a new life in every sphere. Its unwieldy size and affiliating character, however, hampered its usefulness. Academic opinion, the world over, is against purely examining and affiliating bodies. The main function of a university is not to grant degrees and diplomas but to develop the university spirit and advanced learning. The former is impossible without

corporate life, the latter without honours and postgraduate schools.

While many students join the university for its utility rather than for its culture, still when once they are in they should find themselves in a community of workers devoted to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. This is the old Indian ideal of gurukulavasa carried out on a larger scale. The university is not so much the official lecture room where the teacher gives a set lesson to his pupils as the atmosphere where the new generation first becomes conspicuous of itself, where reputations sometimes lifelong are made in private discussions in somebody's rooms. Concentration in three centres contemplated by the Act is intended to give our young men the advantages of university life. Honours and post-graduate schools provide training of the highest kind and offer our students opportunities for self expression and advancement of knowledge. As divorce between undergraduate and post-graduate work is not desirable Rajahmundry and Anantapur which have decent undergraduate colleges maintained by Government are selected as centres to be developed eventually into full-blown universities. I have no doubt that the State which has delegated the management of higher education in the Andhra area to the University will transfer the control of these colleges to the University with sufficient safeguards for vested interests. I am not however much in sympathy with the idea of developing the sciences in one centre and the arts in the other. The liberal arts and pure sciences complete correct and balance each other. Recent events in England and America have shown the enormous importance of scientific evolution for philosophy and religion. Lord Haldane in his Bristol address on the *Civic University* observes "You cannot without danger of partial starvation separate science from literature and philosophy. Each grows best in the presence of the other". Subjects like Experimental Psychology and Anthropology are closely related to both arts and science. Only the other day we requested a distinguished professor of Physics to explain to our philosophy men in Calcutta the principles of Einstein's relativity. The students will be the gainers by living in a university where all subjects are taught though each may pursue only a few of the subjects. In these days of specialisation it is difficult for one to keep oneself up-to-date in any branch of learning without neglecting to a certain extent other branches of learning. University life where men pursuing

learning in different spheres daily meet together in intellectual and social intercourse is the only safeguard against the dangers of over-specialisation. I am strongly of the opinion that both Rajahmundry and Anantapur should have provision for arts and science. The value of university training consists not so much in the information acquired as in the scientific habits developed. The student should learn to distinguish knowledge from opinion fact from theory should be able to weigh evidence argue closely and state and examine fairly the opponent's point of view. The spirit of research is nothing else than the carrying out of this attitude of free inquiry and rational reflection. Whether a university succeeds in this, its chief aim or not depends on its staff of professors. It is the men who fill the chairs that create the atmosphere. We cannot be overcareful in the selection of professors. No other consideration should weigh with us in the appointment of professors than academic achievement and original work, for where there is no zeal for research there is no zest in teaching.

"Strong as may appear the assertion, I do not see how I can avoid making it that we Andhras have been deficient in practical sense. We have not shown much constructive enthusiasm, or sense of the practicable in our discussions about the University. There is not to be found that real and effective public opinion which no Government or Legislature can despise or disregard when its voice is clearly heard. It is split up into sections and represents very often the views and interests of this class or that clique. We could have raised the Rajahmundry college to the Honours standard a decade back, with organised action in the Legislative Council and persistent pressure on the Government. We attempted more and achieved less. The selection of a non-centre as the headquarters of the University is not very creditable to our academic sense. Even after the passing of the University Act, events have taken a sad turn. Each local group is trying to pull its own way and serve its selfish ends and we have reached in this matter a condition of stalemate. While the leaders are wrangling about the claims of localities, young lives are being cheated of their legitimate aspirations. The University has a right to the devotion of the Andhradesa in a way which no other institution in our area can hope to emulate ; and the public which can now through the Legislative Council control educational policy will, I trust, hereafter at least, not tolerate obstruction to educational progress. We are

fortunate in having as our first Vice-Chancellor an educationist of knowledge and vision, ability and devotion. He has burning love for the Andhras and his zeal for their educational advancement will not let him rest satisfied with anything short of the best. An architect who combines imagination with expertness is found with difficulty and when found, we should let him build. If we can have two fully equipped and adequately staffed Universities at Rajahmundry and Anantapur with technological institutions at Vizagapatam, it will be the ideal thing for the Andhra country. We are told that the resources of the State are not unlimited and they can provide only for the development of one centre. Mr. Chancellor, I ask your indulgence when I venture to express my lack of faith in these professions of poverty. The expenditure of the Madras Government on universities is inconsiderable when compared with that of other provinces. The Government of Bengal not only maintains a good number of colleges but spends annually over twelve lakhs of rupees on the universities at Calcutta and Dacca. It is no use starting a University without providing it with necessary funds. I hope that our Chancellor will not allow His Excellency's government to treat the Andhra University as a step-child. If we do not wash our hands we are dirty ; if we do/ we are wasting water. You cannot stint money and then complain that the Andhra University is a second-class institution, if not a failure. Our leaders in the Council and the country must press the Government to develop both the centres before the money released by the remission of provincial contributions is utilised for other purposes.

While it is the paramount duty of the State to undertake the higher education of the community, the responsibility of the people cannot be ignored. While we in the Andhra are not so fortunately situated as the people of Bengal or of Bombay in having a large number of rich millionaires, we have a fairly good number of gentlemen not only with the means to assist the University but animated by a desire to do so. That we will not look in vain to private benefactors is evident from the endowments already to the credit of the University. Benefactions in a cause so noble and so urgent as the spread of sound knowledge among all classes of people are entirely in accordance with our traditions. I need not remind you how in the classical times the schools and their teachers depended for their maintenance on the people of the place. A single professorship, a single

*Every statesman needs to balance the experience of  
the past against the claims of the future. - Henry Kissinger*

fellowship, a single scholarship will help to maintain the memory of the donor's name and create the reputations of several others. In education, as in politics, the best is often the enemy of the good. Now that the Government is prepared to provide funds for the development of one centre, let us start work at once at one centre and keep up the agitation for the development of the other. Where the development first takes place, there should be the headquarters. Graduates of the Andhra University, your University has for its motto a great saying of the *Jpaiitshads* (*Tejaswinavadhitaniath*). May our study impart that inward light or tejas. May it grant us the power (virya) to stir the soul to effort. If you are truly educated, you will have the light to see the truth and the strength to make it prevail. Young men and women of today have a greater opportunity to show their real worth than at any other time in our recent history. I am sure that each of you is dreaming of the day when India will be self-governing, but I am not sure that you are aware of the conditions necessary for the realisation of this ideal. Our leaders seem to be of the impression that all will be well if there is a change in the form of government. Some believe that we can coax our rulers to grant us this boon, others who regard themselves as more advanced argue that it can be extorted as a concession to clamour and threats. But no amount of wizardry can induce an immediate millenium. We cannot win swaraj by simply shouting for it. Self-government cannot be talked into existence. No people can keep another in subjection against its will, if only its will expresses itself in the achievement of that unity and organisation which will enable us to act as one. Swaraj is not a mere change in the form of government or a transfer of the seat of authority. It is the transformation of the habits of mind of the people. I am afraid that we are paying too much importance to the criticism of the machinery and too little to the moral forces necessary for improving it. The great light (tejas) which shall also be an actuating power is what we need, the light that tells us in the famous words of Lamartine "No man ever riveted a chain of slavery round his brother's neck but God silently welded the other end mund-the neck of the tyrant." Unfortunately it is the case that the ardent advocates of modernism in public life are at the same time staunch devotees of mediaevalism in social life and habits. There cannot be substantial political advance or industrial growth unless we develop corporate life and comradeship. No power on earth can stand against the corporate effort of a people to recover

its manhood. The difficulties of the enterprise, far from being a reason for giving it up in despair, are to my mind a reason for accepting it as the challenge of the age. Education and discipline and constant forbearance alone can help us.

We, the Andhras, are fortunately situated in some respects. I firmly believe that if any part of India is capable of developing an effective sense of unity it is the Andhra. The hold of conservatism is not strong. Our generosity of spirit and openness of mind are well-known. Our social instinct and suggestibility are still active. Our moral sense and sympathetic imagination are not much warped by dogma. Our women are relatively more free. Love of the mother tongue binds us all Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians. If the University supplies a constant stream of young men and women imbued with love of truth and service to man, it will help to bring about a renaissance, not an intellectual renaissance only but a moral and spiritual one. May it be your endeavour to realise the poet's dream that in this land all may be in a position to overcome the difficulties of life, to attain an insight into the good, to gain that wisdom and find enjoyment everywhere :

"*Sarvas taratu durgani, sarvo bhadrani pasyatu,  
Sarvas tad buddhim apnotu sarvas sarvatra nandatu*"

Friends, we cannot offer to you any glittering prizes of wealth or position or power. You have only difficulties of an unheard of character to face. May God give you the courage and the insight, the self-sacrifice and the devotion which alone can make you worthy to fulfil the task before you. Farewell.

Mr. Chancellor,

I am deeply sensible of the honour of being invited by Your Excellency to address the Convocation of the Andhra University this year. One of the most remarkable phenomena we have witnessed during the past decade has been the springing up of a great many new Universities in India. Counting only those which have received the official blessing, thirteen new Universities have been established since 1915, the first of these being at Benaras, at the inauguration ceremony of which I was present, and the last at Chidambaram which Your Excellency's Government have just brought into existence. It is not without interest to enquire into the reasons which have caused this remarkable outburst of

*"Educational progress cannot be effected piecemeal and at a moment's notice.  
Primary, secondary and higher education all go together"* - Sir P.C. Ray (in 1920)

new Universities. Broadly speaking it may be ascribed to a feeling of intense dissatisfaction with the administration of the older Universities, a growing conviction that they failed to satisfy the educational requirements of the country. The same feeling of dissatisfaction is indicated also in the attempts at reform made by the older Universities. Calcutta inaugurated the new University era in India in 1914 by bringing into existence almost overnight a University College of Science and Departments of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science. Punjab University, which I visited in the year 1919 to give a special course of lectures, has gone ahead with the creation of University Laboratories and Honours Schools. Allahabad reconstituted itself in 1922 as a teaching University. Bombay and Madras are trying to move, though very slowly. They possess the respectability of age and can therefore afford to be conservative. Andhra is one of the products of this remarkable University movement. It came into existence by a process very familiar to the biologist, that is the process of fission of one cell into two. The parent cell naturally transmits its characters including all its weaknesses to its progeny. Madras for seventy years has been an examining and affiliating University. Andhra is precisely the same, with the difference that it cannot claim the respectability of age and suffers from the disadvantage of having no particular place with overwhelming claims to be regarded as its educational nucleus. A further complication has arisen from the fact that Andhra is geographically not really a single unit. The Circars and the Ceded Districts have agreed, at least for the time being, to have a common University. We cannot, however, overlook the fact that their interests are not completely identical. The most vital defect in the organisation of Andhra University at present is that, as remarked already, it possesses no real cultural centre. The real academic life of Southern India in the past had centred in the city of Madras with its many colleges and institutions, particularly the Presidency, Christian and Pachaiyappa's Colleges, the Engineering, Law and Medical Colleges, which between them brought together teachers and students from all parts of the Presidency with not wholly unsatisfactory results. Andhra has cut herself off from Madras, but she has yet to find her own soul. She has no doubt some fourteen collegiate institutions within her jurisdiction, but none of these has yet acquired the prestige and influence necessary to give it the status of a University College.

You have yet to build your University and in building it, you must be careful to lay your foundations well and truly. You must envisage clearly in your minds what it is you really wish to achieve and set about doing it in the right way. There is a feeling abroad which is often voiced from high places, that you have only to do away with affiliating Universities, and put in their places unitary and residential and teaching Universities, and that by doing so you would straight away usher in, educationally, a new heaven and a new earth. Let me warn you that this is only a half-truth and a very dangerous half-truth. It is possible to have a unitary teaching and residential University which is quite as bad as any affiliating, examining and territorial University. A residential University which propagates ignorance, communalism and religious fanaticism under the guise of education, is even worse than an affiliating University which leaves its students severely alone to learn whatever they can. Whether a University is good or bad is determined entirely by the ideas and ideals that inspire its activities. No University can be great which has not men of outstanding ability as its teachers, which does not attract the ablest and most ambitious students, and does not provide its teachers and students with opportunities for the highest and most original kind of work. A University is a Republic of Learning. It needs, of course, material resource's in the shape of well-equipped laboratories and workshops, libraries, lecture-halls, hostels, residences and playgrounds. But above all it needs great men as teachers. There is no tragedy more deplorable, no waste more appalling than to have huge buildings filled lavishly with books and apparatus and equipment and spacious lecture-halls and to find within them mediocre teachers and misguided students doing an inferior type of work. A tragedy of this kind is much commoner in India than many of you realise. The essence of University work is that it marches with the frontiers of human knowledge. You require for it men who are explorers in the unknown territories and sailors on the uncharted seas of new knowledge. It is such men and such only that can inspire young minds with real enthusiasm for work, that can infuse their followers with courage and a spirit of emulation, and can lead them to victory in the quest of knowledge. Without such men as leaders the army of seekers after knowledge will flounder and get lost in the bogs of ignorance. The real aim and purpose of your University organisation must be to ensure that you get the ablest men to be found anywhere as the teachers of

*I must warn that the evil consequences of partition will not affect Indian alone.  
Pakistan will be equally haunted by them. - Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*

your rising generation and to give them generously the material resources they require for their work.

The urgent task ahead of you is to create a centre in Andhra where real University work can be organised and carried on under the most favourable auspices. At the same time you have to devise some machinery by which your scattered colleges which are at present doing an elementary type of work, can be looked after and improved, so that they can act as satisfactory feeders for the central organisation, and meet local needs as preparatory institutions. Surveying the whole of Andhra I feel that by far the most suitable location for a great University centre is to be found at Waltair. It lies on the great highway between the older Universities of Madras and Calcutta, being within quick and easy reach of both. It has a fine climate and beautiful surroundings, which should make work possible and agreeable right through all the seasons of the year, and make it easier to secure the services of scholars from other Universities for short periods and thus secure a stimulating academic atmosphere. It has already a medical faculty and an engineering school; you have also an intermediate college which will act as a local feeder for the University. There is reason to hope that ere long Waltair will develop into a great port and a wealthy emporium of commerce. Its position as a sea port and commercial town should render it possible to obtain supplies and services for the University quickly and cheaply. Waltair is not too far from the wealthy districts of the Krishna and the Godavari deltas to adequately serve their needs for the highest type of University work, provided adequate residential facilities are provided for the students, and this I believe would be quite practicable. There is reason to believe that local support will be forthcoming sooner or later in aid of the finances of the University. Thus in all respects, it seems admirably suited as a location for a great teaching University.

My feeling is that to be a real success, the teaching organisation at the head-quarters of the University should undertake not only Honours and Post-Graduate work, but also work for the ordinary degree classes above the Intermediate standard. Such teaching carried on directly under the auspices of the University, is in my opinion likely to be of real benefit to the younger generation of Andhra. It would serve to bring even those whose abilities or resources do not permit them to take up Honours or Post-Graduate work, into contact with

University teachers of real ability and thus colour their mental outlook in a manner that must be of lasting advantage to them in their future life. I do not propose that all the existing degree colleges outside the University head-quarters should be shut down. There would, no doubt, be certain colleges, as for instance Anantapur college, where degree work would be permitted to continue. But it would certainly be better if the less strongly equipped colleges should concentrate on improving their intermediate teaching, and leave the degree work to be done under the auspices of the University, or in such of the colleges outside the University head-quarters as are sufficiently well-staffed, and well-equipped to be given the status of University colleges.

I think it is essential that all colleges which are permitted to undertake degree work should agree to come under University control to a greater extent than at present. In their case University affiliation should be replaced by University management exercised through the intermediary of a semi-independent Governing Body in which the University Executive is represented, and whose proceedings come up to the Syndicate for review. While such a constitution will leave a reasonable amount of independence to the colleges, it would serve to ensure that their affairs are regulated in a manner more in accordance with University ideals than is the case at present. The creation of a centre of University teaching as outlined above will certainly be expensive, but I cannot see that it can possibly be put off or avoided. A capital expenditure of 30 lakhs and an annual recurring expenditure of 6 lakhs would be a reasonable estimate of the cost, considering the range of subjects to be covered and the extent of the population whose needs have to be met by the University. With a little judicious pressure from Your Excellency on the Finance Department of the Local Government and upon the wealthy aristocracy of Andhra, the money will, I have no doubt, be forth-coming. This leads me on to consider the question of the financial relations between the Government and the University. The present arrangement under which the University receives what I may refer to as an unemployment dole, seems to me wholly indefensible. The policy of a close linking up of the colleges and the University indicated above, involves as a corollary that all money spent by Government on collegiate teaching, should pass through the University

Budget, so that the University may have an effective voice in the distribution of the available funds. It would certainly make for improved efficiency if all the grants to colleges (as distinguished from High Schools) are made on the recommendation of the University. The quality of the work done in the colleges is a matter that affects the University vitally, and I can conceive of no authority more competent than the University to advise whether financial assistance is really needed and deserved by any particular institution in the area.

It is a matter of most serious concern to every one connected with Andhra University that no facilities of any kind exist at present in its jurisdiction for higher scientific, technological and literary studies. It is a most pressing duty of the University to organise such studies, and it may rightly be claimed that Your Excellency's Government is under an obligation to provide funds on the most generous scale for this much-needed expansion.

From University organisation we naturally pass to University aims and ideals. The man in the street is prone to regard a University as something which enables his sons (perhaps also his daughters) to pass examinations and obtain degrees and ultimately to secure some sort of remunerative employment. This is not altogether an unreasonable view to take. But it is rather a superficial one, and a University which regards itself as a degree-giving organization and nothing more will soon find that its alumni are not wanted by any employer who needs talent. There is a fundamental fallacy involved in regarding University work as merely a glorified kind of school teaching which leads to degrees instead of to school-leaving certificates. School and University alike serve the interests of a community. But to imagine that the ideals of School and University are identical is to commit a grave blunder, which will in the long run injure the interests of the community. To my mind the true aim of University work is the advancement of knowledge and not the imparting of instruction. In the Republic of Learning there is room for many different degrees of ability knowledge and training and the leaders may well be required to help their followers over the difficult places on the road to knowledge. But you require as your leaders men who have courage and vision and themselves know the true road to knowledge which is by personal study and research and investigation. One

who does not know the road himself will only lead others astray. You require leaders and teachers for whom the advancement of knowledge is the motive power in life and who will inspire others with like ideals and you cannot get or keep such men if your University is just a glorified school and nothing more.

Human knowledge is not at the present time a static structure which just needs to be occupied and will serve as a permanent rest house for the jaded traveller. It is tremendously vital and dynamic a something which is ever to be sought and never will be finally reached. It needs for its devotees men of tireless energy and enthusiasm who seek for the pleasure of the chase and care not overmuch for the triumph of the conquest. Such men are truly the salt of the earth. They are not discovered by Government Departments and Official organizations. It is the function of a University to discover them and furnish opportunities for their work.

The aim of University teaching should be to stimulate and guide the student on the right path to help him to acquire habits of study and work and to encourage him to exercise an independent judgement on problems presented to him. Such training is only possible by bringing the student into personal contact with teachers who themselves possess great independence of outlook and live a life of strenuous intellectual activity. To deprive our alumni of opportunities of contact with such teachers and to place them under men of inferior merit is to poison the wells of learning. A University or College which converts its alumni into mere passive absorbers of knowledge is doing incalculable harm to the rising generation.

I have commented on University aims and ideals only to show how immensely important it is that the right kind of University organization is created, that the right kind of teachers are secured and that the right kind of opportunities and training are provided for our students. I have myself an immense faith in the possibilities of achievement which lie in front of a really well-organized and well-equipped University in India. I am not here referring merely to academic possibilities, but also to the services which such an organization"! can render to the material welfare of the community. Scientific research, as is well-known, even when inspired by purely academic ideals, leads sooner or later, to results of practical value. It is not a difficult step for a student who

***Banker is a person who hands you his umbrella when the sun is shining and wants it back the minute it rains. - Mark Twain***

has acquired habits of study and research in a University laboratory to apply his mind in the same way to the practical problems he meets in later life. India has still an abundance of natural resources and it is high time that the alumni of our Universities take a hand in the utilization of those resources and not simply remain passive-spectators of their exploitation by foreign capitalists. The knowledge and the training required for such efforts to be successful, can only be acquired if our Universities are organized in the right way. I hope Andhra will realise the immense importance of the issues that are at stake, and agree to arrive at some settlement which will place the entire control of University teaching in Andhra directly under the University and enable it to be organized in a manner most beneficial to the interests of the community. Graduates of the year, I desire to congratulate you on your successes in the University Examinations and the degrees which you have so well earned and received to-day. I hope you will go forth into the world with some enthusiasm and gratitude for what your *Alma Mater* has done for you, and help her so far as you can to attain and fulfil her destiny. I earnestly hope that the training you have received will stand you in good stead in your life hereafter. I wish you all success.

(Concluded)

## **Pre-Halloween terror attacks in Kabul : Ominous for Obama**

**- Cmde C. Uday Bhaskar (Retd.)**

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New Delhi

This year's Halloween (Oct 31) has been horrific for the US and NATO forces. The deadly suicide car bomb attack on an armor-plated US military bus in Kabul on Saturday (October 29) that killed 13 American and four Afghan nationals is the biggest single loss of life for the USA since October 2001.

This audacious attack could be ominous for a war-weary Obama administration that is positioning itself for re-election to the White House. The last such attack in Kabul occurred on May 18, 2010, when five US personnel and one Canadian were killed by a suicide bomber in the same fortified area where Saturday's attack took place.

The Taliban has claimed responsibility for the attack and once again demonstrated its ability to carry out such attacks almost at will. Concurrently, three NATO personnel were killed by an Afghan trainee soldier in

the Kandahar province on the same day, while in the Kunar province, a teenage girl chose the suicide-bomber route to attack the local Afghan intelligence office.

The sub-text in cyber-space and elsewhere is that this is only a fraction of the violence unleashed by the US and its allies against the Taliban and their support base - and more can be expected.

This sharp spike in violence comes against the backdrop of the just released (October 28 ) US Department of Defense biannual report on Afghanistan. Titled 'Report on Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan' the 138-page document is a comprehensive survey of the US-led war against terror in Afghanistan - Operation Enduring Freedom.

The preamble notes that since the first Report was released in April this year, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and "its Afghan partners have made important security gains, reversing violence trends in much of the country (except along the border with Pakistan), and beginning transition to Afghan security lead in seven areas." Clearly Kabul is not yet as 'secure' as the US Department of Defense had perceived.

Given the nature of the complex, contradictory and opaque security dynamic in the Af-Pak region, it would have been imprudent for the US Department of Defense to assert that the terror machinery in the region has been successfully quarantined. The Mike Mullen testimony and the admonishment administered by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton during her recent visit to Islamabad are illustrative of the US dilemma in addressing the supply-side of the terror networks.

Thus the October Report further notes: "Although security continues to improve, the insurgency's safe havens in Pakistan as well as the limited capacity of the Afghan Government remain the biggest risks to the process of turning security gains into a durable, stable Afghanistan. The insurgency remains resilient, benefiting from safe havens inside Pakistan, with a notable operational capacity, as reflected in isolated high-profile attacks and elevated violence levels in eastern Afghanistan."

Both the pre-Halloween Kabul attack and the US Department of Defense Report are of considerable salience to India which has been a victim, since the early 1990s of the same terror machinery that the US and NATO

troops are now trying to contain. Pakistan's military establishment is a central player - on both sides of the ill-fated OEF. The irrefutable recall is best symbolised in the tapped telephone conversation between Pak Army Chief General Musharraf and his CGS Lt Gen Mohammed Aziz during the 1999 Kargil War.

The phrase: "the scruff of the militants necks is in our hands" says it all - and the US Department of Defense and the Pentagon were aware of this perfidy - but chose not to take it on board while strategising for OEF. In like fashion the Kunduz airlift of December 2001 that allowed the Pak military to rescue its personnel who were supporting the Taliban (from Afghanistan) before the US stepped up its attack as part of OEF are part of the US institutional memory.

Comparisons have been made that this is the Vietnam moment in the long drawn out US war in Afghanistan. However, there is one big difference. At that time, the US was not playing both sides of that tragic war against the Vietcong. In this case due to a very ill conceived Faustian bargain with the Pak military - successive US Presidents have not just supped - but funded and armed the proverbial Beelzebub and thus put their troops in harms way.

Recent developments in the blood-splattered Af-Pak region only reiterate this bitter reality and the Kabul attack is a macabre 'trick-or-treat' Halloween for the hapless US NATO troops. They alas are deployed in a war whose ethical underpinning and political objectives remain muddied and mired in the electoral and realpolitik compulsions of the world's oldest and militarily most powerful democracy.

(Courtesy : The Economic Times, 31 Oct 2011)

## **INTELLCTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS AND THEIR STUDY-III**

- Dr R.Vaidyanatha Ayyar I.A. S. (Retd)

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One fine morning in January 1996, while he was Additional Secretary in the Department of Education, HRD Ministry, the author was asked to supervise the Copyright Division. A few months later, he got the news like a bolt from the blue that a few months later WIPO would convene a Diplomatic Conference to consider three new

treaties so as to adopt copyright to the Internet Age. Soon enough, three draft treaties arrived from WIPO. The controversy over the Uruguay Round of negotiations and TRIPs having not yet died down, handling the Diplomatic Conference was quite a sensitive matter. With passage of time, the controversy surrounding the Uruguay Round and TRIPs those days looks rather comical. Arthur Dunkel was the Director General of GATT, and but for his initiative the Uruguay Round might have collapsed. In our country Dunkel became a household name for infamy; his name came to be the rallying point for all those who were opposed to the government irrespective of the fact whether they had any specific view on the outcomes of the Uruguay Round negotiations or not . Thus Tau Devi Lal, who was Deputy Prime Minister during V.P.Singh's government, claimed that Dunkel was a multinational corporation (MNC) headed by Dunkel, that GATT had already purchased two districts of Haryana, Gurgaon for Japan and Faridabad for Germany, and that Chief Minister Bhajan Lal was on a foreign tour to sell the remaining districts of Haryana to Israel, Singapore and others. There were bazaar rumours that farmers would not be able to sow their seeds because of Dunkel, and that GATT would employ chowkidars to prevent people from plucking neem twigs. Apart from the political sensitivity, the Diplomatic Conference posed yet another challenge: the topics covered by the Conference were mostly unchartered territory. Most, particularly the younger generation, would now take for granted that one could use a laptop to download and read, hear or view as the case may be of text or music or films from the Internet. But back in 1996, Internet was still in its infancy in our country. Even in the United States, it was still a novelty. Broadband was unknown in our country. Even in the United States, the Clinton Administration was talking of building a national information infrastructure to bring together separate communication systems into an advanced high-speed, interactive, broadband, digital communication system. As it is, copyright is said to be an esoteric branch of metaphysics. The legal provisions of the draft WIPO Internet treaties were more arcane, and spoke of things of which no one had direct experience in our country. Before one could evaluate the legal provisions of the draft treaties, one should know what the provisions were talking about. That meant we should have some idea of what were the technologies to digitalise content, what were the technological measures to protect the content such as encryption, and what

*The interdependent world we live in is inherently unstable, full of both opportunity and forces of destruction.* - Bill Clinton

were the technological possibilities for circumventing such technological measures. As the relevant technologies were in their infancy, it was desirable to have some idea of how technologies were likely to evolve, so that the provisions of the treaty did not get obsolete too soon or obstruct the development of desirable technologies. It was also desirable to get some idea of the economic and business implications of not protecting content in the digital medium, before we could assess whether the protection proposed by the draft treaties were optimal from our country's point of view. And then, it was necessary to evaluate the legal soundness of the treaty provisions from our country's point of view. We did not have a national law anywhere in the world that could have thrown some light on what the draft WIPO treaties were talking about. As would be elaborated later, in the Global Era of IPRs, it is not unusual for binding global obligations to emerge before any country made the relevant national law. All this meant that we needed to pool knowledge of different kinds, which no single discipline say law or economics or technology would have. We did not have the necessary expertise within the government. Institutional memory in the government was rather poor; as a prelude to the Diplomatic Conference, WIPO had been organizing for about five years since 1991 meetings of experts to consider the issues that were covered by the Internet Treaties. In the Ministry, even the proceedings of all those meetings were not available. Foreign travel was rare those days and considered as a favour granted to officials, so much so that different officers went for different meetings, and there was no continuity in India's representation in those meetings, and no one knew about the sequence of developments in those meetings. As a preparation for the Diplomatic Conference the author put together a group of officials from different ministries, industry associations, and experts from the academia to deliberate on the treaties. Of the experts who attended the meetings of the group, Dr. Gopalakrishnan of the National Law School University, Bangalore provided the most useful inputs for the Conference. At the Diplomatic Conference, the Indian delegation was by happenstance seated by the side of the American delegation. The Indian delegation to the Conference was tiny, just five musketeers, the author, Dr. Gopalakrishnan and three officers from government, while the American delegation was a jumbo delegation with thirty-three members. There were two dozen other Americans as part of other

delegations, and were assisting their country. The delegation of the European Community was only a little smaller but it was strongly backed up by the delegations of Member States of European Community. While participating in the Conference, the author felt like David being pitted against not one but many Goliaths.

Looking back, it was indeed a miracle that the author could grasp the salience of the Diplomatic Conference ahead of the Conference. By happenstance, one day among the academic articles the author used to get every fortnight from the Americans Library under its service Article Alert, he got an article entitled Copyright or Copygrab authored by Pamela Samuelson, Professor of Law and Communications at the University of California, Berkeley. That alerted the author to the fact that a battle royal was going on in the United States between content 16 providers like computer software firms, Hollywood and book publishers on the one hand, and Internet Service Providers, manufacturers of electronic hardware and consumer electronics, and fair-use groups of librarians and researchers on the other. Internet Services Providers and computer manufacturers were worried that extending copyright to the digital domain would render them liable for penal action if any of their users downloaded copyrighted material from the World Wide Web without authorization; similarly, librarians and researchers were worried that fair use, that is to say the right to access material for educational and such other purposes, would be restricted. In contrast, content providers were concerned that if copyright was not extended to the digital domain their business interests would be adversely affected. Paula Samuelson's description of the battle royal helped the author to prepare for the avalanche of lobbying by transnational alliances of business interest groups. The foyer of the Conference venue was like a grand bazaar with hundred of lobbyists hawking their positions. As in a court of law, arguments and counter-arguments by the business adversaries were useful to grasp the problem. Just by pluck and luck, the Indian delegation could work on the conflict between the United States and the European Union, and pursue ably our national interest. His experience with the Diplomatic Conference brought home to the author realised that one cannot always depend upon luck and miracles, and that it is imperative to create an institutional base for the study of IPRs so that we have the necessary expertise in the country to

take on other countries in international forums, and identify and pursue our national interest. And that led to the idea of the HRD chairs.

(to be continued)

## "DIG, BOY, DIG!"

- Prof. Manoj Das

*(A seer among scholars the venerable Prof Manoj Das who lives in Aurobindo Ashram, Auroville and teaches at Sri Aurobindo International Centre of Education has graciously permitted the publication of this essay from his book My Little India.)*

Many of my readers would remember the Assam Oil Company heralding its existence and action through insertions reading, 'Dig, boy, dig!', supported by a lovely baby elephant standing on hind legs and driving a crowbar into the earth, inserted in several newspapers in the fifties of the last century.

Early in the morning I surveyed the site from the bungalow of my host - a town appearing as though held aloft in the clouds, very tenderly and affectionately, by some invisible baby elephant - at least that part of it consisting of houses meant for the Company's executives. Overlooked by snow-clad mountains and surrounded by well-trimmed little gardens, the bungalows were the examples of a posterity reaping the crop for which the early pioneers had tilled the hard soil and fertilized it with no insignificant quantity of their blood.

They lost blood more to leeches than to the wild animals. Those compact vampires creep from below and drop from the unsuspected foliage to carry on their sinister business as quiet as sleep! But the wild animals continued to be a threat - even after physically they had been reduced to a miserable minority through their worthy sub-species, if not their ghosts.

It was a relaxed afternoon at Duliajan and Mr. K.B.Kanuga, the affable and smart General Manager of the company, after entertaining me to a delicious lunch, was still feeding me with his reminiscences of his early days in the region. I remembered them only faintly, but to my good luck, I have just come across his autobiography, *The Road Traversed*. Here is a gem about one of his friendly seniors, Mr. Gossage :

'One night, while living in the Inspection Bungalow (on the trunk road to Jorhar), Gossage shouted, "Kanuga, come at once to my room - for a tiger has come through

the window!" I was shocked and rushed out of my room - only to find his bedroom door locked from inside. I asked him to open the door - and prompt came his instruction to break the door open - as he was not going to leave his bed - with a tiger prowling around in his room! The bearers and chowkidars from the Inspection Bungalow had by now joined me and we broke open the door - and what do we find - a frightened little cat staring at our torchlight - looking more confused than Mr. Gossage. All of us, including Mr. Gossage, had a good laugh at this little encounter with the wild animals of Assam....'

This was in 1938.

The impact of the Chinese aggression of 1962 still discernible on the faces of my friends when I first visited Digboy a year later. Driving me along the foot of the hills, they would describe their creepy feeling when the Prime Minister's broadcast implied, while the Chinese guns boomed behind the hills, that Assam was almost lost to the enemy: "I want to tell them [the people of Assam] that we feel very much for them and we shall help them to the utmost of our ability." The episode had become a memory when I visited Digboy for the second time in 1969, but ironically, my friends' faces did not look any brighter. We sat inside a friend's bungalow, doors and windows shut, submerged in gloom. As scheduled months earlier, I was to lay the foundation stone for a library and meditation hall on a lovely hillock acquired by the local Sri Aurobindo Centre. But Assam was lately in a state of turmoil, the Opposition parties demanding a second oil refinery. My friends had sent message to the Mother (of Sri Aurobindo Ashram) about the situation and they expected her to advise postponement of the function. But, surprisingly, she quietly handed over a flower symbolizing her blessings. That meant we must proceed, come what may.

And the worst seemed to be coming. A total Assam bandh had been announced for the next day - the very day of our function. A bandh had the uncanny propensity for turning ugly and violent, and according to the signs of the day there was a possibility of its turning against the non-Assamese. I was surrounded by people of this vulnerable section and my few Assamese friends sat embarrassed.

As I was brooding over the irony of the situation - in which not in Assam alone but in any region of the mother

***There are many ways to look at India-rather many visions through which to experience the phenomenon that is India. - Manoj Das***

land Indians must fear Indians - someone switched on the radio. What greeted us was the news that the opposition had called off the proposed bandh. I remember how two of my friends jumped up and since they could not continue with the feat, opened wide all the doors and windows despite cold blasts invading the room.

The situation repeated itself on my third visit, this time for the inauguration of the aforesaid institution already built. On the eve of my flying to Assam from Mumbai (then Bombay), my esteemed friend, V.K. Narasimhan, editor of The Financial Express (subsequently the chief editor of the Express Group), had asked me to give an evaluation of the situation. I quote from what I wrote for his paper of 18 November 1972:

The cause of the crisis this time, apparently, is language. Assamese must be the sole medium of instruction in Assam, demand the Assamese. The Assam Assembly passed a resolution unanimously giving English a temporary lease of life along with Assamese in the existing universities of the state and giving the people of the Bengali-speaking Kachar district the promise of a new university -where they will have the freedom to choose their medium. They could have Bengali if they pleased, or English or Assamese or any two or all the three.

This sounded good to the people outside Assam. But inside, the students of Assam, including those of Kachar, rejected it and the people of Kachar, too, did so, though for different reasons. Nothing but Assamese must prevail all over Assam, Kachar not excepting, say the Assamese. The people of Kachar say the resolution is fine so far as the students of Kachar are concerned, but what about the Bengali students of the vast Brahmaputra valley? If not Bengali, at least English should continue, to be an alternative medium of Instruction indefinitely.

A very delicate issue no doubt and no solution has been found yet. But found it must be, by the people of Assam themselves. Meanwhile passion is playing havoc. . . An Assamese student leader was murdered. At the oil-town of Duliajan I saw rows of Bengali houses gutted. Tall trees around them with their burnt branches standing witness to the ghastly acts.

Hailing from Orissa which had an intimate relationship with both Bengal and Assam, I could gain access to the sentiments of some of the leading members

of both the communities. They confessed that there was no issue so very stubborn that could not be sorted out if goodwill governed both the sides.

Call it miracle or coincidence, once again the agitation was called off the night before the inauguration of the beautiful 'Matri Mandir' built atop the hill at the end of the town, a green forest extending behind it up to the frontiers. People of all the communities participated in the function and among the most active one was General Nagra, a great lover of flowers. Softspoken and gentle, he was busy adorning the site with his love - flowers and more flowers in handsome pots.

General Gundharva Nagra was soon to become famous as the one to lead his army into Dacca as the finale to the Bangladesh liberation struggle. ("The game is off, my friend!" he had called out to the Pakistani General, Niazi, who surrendered to his classmate in undivided India.) Years later I saw that the garden planted by General Nagra flourished elegantly.

Dr. Dilip Datta drove me to the Pangshu Pass bordering Myanmar (then Burma) in what was then the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) the next day, escorted by an army officer, for that was a restricted zone. 'How do you find our place?' asked the courteous General in charge of the camp. 'Yours is an enchanting valley,' I replied.

'Enchanting, indeed, for the first week. But then?\*' he murmured.

NEFA had become Arunachal Pradesh and Burma Myanmar. Pangshu, I hope, continues to be enchanting to the outsider and, how much I wish, to the insider, too.

## **Book Review ON CHINA**

Henry Kissinger

Allen Lane 2011

pp 586 £30

Ever since his secret visit to Beijing in July 1971 on a mission to make peace with China the rising Asian giant then, Henry Kissinger has remained America's leading authority and adviser to American Presidents and policy makers on China 'the inevitable superpower'. As the blurb of the massive tome says "for the past forty years, Kissinger has maintained close relations with successive generations of Chinese leaders, and has probably been

***Tomorrow's China is more likely to focus on meeting the needs of its own people than on establishing itself as the new global hegemon. Salvatore Babones (Foreign Affairs September - Oct 2011)***

more intimately connected with China at the highest level than any other western figure." Henry Kissinger who made fifty visits to the Middle Kingdom and became an admirer of China 'like the many visitors over centuries' begins his prefatory note with an acknowledgement of 'the honor' done by President Nixon of sending him to China on a mission to change the course of history in the relations between China and the West, the US in particular.

Diplomats, it is said, are sent abroad to lie. Henry Kissinger, the scholar-diplomat, did more than that to achieve the goal set by his boss Richard Nixon who once told Mao that Kissinger "is the only man in captivity who could go to Paris 12 times and Peking once and no one knew it, except possibly a couple of pretty girls. Any one who uses pretty girls as a cover must be the greatest diplomat of all times." (Quoted in *Guardian Weekly* March 16-22,2007 p 25) Mao, the newspaper wrote dismissed Kissinger as "just a funny little man...shuddering all over with nerves every time he comes to see me."

It is, however, all different in Kissinger's book which contains quite a few interesting conversations between Mao Zedong and Henry Kissinger. For instance, when Mao tells Kissinger: "When I go to heaven to see God, I'll tell him, it's better to have Taiwan under the care of the United States now." Kissinger replied: "He will be very astonished to hear that from the Chairman." Mao: No, because God blesses you, not us. God does not like us (waves his hands) because I am a militant warlord, also a communist. That's why he doesn't like me." Chairman Mao's sense of humour is also revealed in his conversation with American President Ford: Mao: Your Secretary of State has been interfering in my internal affairs. Ford: Tell me about it. Mao: "He does not allow me to go and meet God. He even tells me to disobey the order that God has given to me. God has sent me an invitation, yet he (Kissinger) says, don't go". Kissinger: "That would be too powerful a combination if he went there". Mao: "He is an atheist(Kissinger) He is opposed to God. And he is also undermining my relations with God. He is a very ferocious man and I have no other recourse than to obey his orders." The book abounds in such anecdotes and conversations.

Let's recall here, briefly, that hawks and realists of the cold war period, including Henry Kissinger, had detested China and ridiculed India's leadership of the non-aligned movement. Worst happening, an American

analyst of those times said, India, never China, would be preferred for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. Kissinger condemned Nehru, Nasser and Tito and accused them of tying "to play a leading role in international affairs which was a fertile field of manipulation for ambitious men because of their intractable domestic problems" and advised the USA and USSR "not to compete for the allegiance of the uncommitted. We sometimes act as if we and the communists are engaged in a debate in the Oxford Union, with the uncommitted nations acting as moderators and awarding a prize after hearing all arguments." That was fifty five years ago when Nehru, as Escott Reid put it, played the role of an honest broker between the West and China, the same role now being played differently. Lord Palmerston's famous and eternally relevant maxim that nations have only permanent interests but not permanent friends or enemies, comes to mind.

The huge work containing eighteen chapters begins with a prologue and ends with an epilogue. The first chapter *The Singularity of China* encapsulates the over two thousand years of Chinese tradition, experience and expertise in statecraft and international relations. The references to Chinese *Realpolitik*, Sun Tzu's *Art of War*, a treatise done centuries before the advent of Christ, and the ancient game of *Wei qi* from which originated the *String of Pearls* theory, now being used to strangulate India, present a backdrop for modern China's quest for hegemony.

The chapters on Mao's continuous revolution and the end of Mao era provide useful insights into the style and substance of the great dictator's leadership. Mao "had destroyed or radicalized most of the country's institutions, including even the Communist party, increasingly ruling by personal magnetism and the manipulation of opposing factions." Credit is given to Zhou Enlai for his loyalty and hard work for China's modernization through development of four sectors—agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. The growth of suspicion and mistrust between USSR and China, the two Communist giants, is insightfully brought out. Khruschev pulled up Mao for allowing Dalai Lama to sneak into India instead "of putting him in the coffin."

The death of Zhou Enlai in January and Mao Zedong

***The key to achieving modernization is the development of science and technology. And unless we pay special attention to education, it will be impossible to develop science and technology. - Deng Xiaoping***

in September 1976 and the rise of ‘indestructible’ Deng Xiaoping marked the real turning point for China. Kissinger writes that “Deng subordinated ideological pursuits to professional competence.” He strove for traditional Chinese priorities of “consolidation, stability and unity.” He asked the Chinese to loosen ideological constraints and encouraged “thinking things out for yourself.”

Kissinger juxtaposes the early twentieth scenario dominated by Anglo-German rivalry with the present rivalry between the US and China. “Historical parallels are by nature inexact,” he writes and argues that a collision course would be disastrous for both US and China. According to him “the appropriate label for the Sino-American relationship is less partnership than co-evolution. It means that both countries pursue their domestic imperatives, cooperating wherever possible and adjust their relations to minimize conflict.” The book ends with an exhortation to both China and America to “merge their efforts not to shake the world, but to build it.”

Henry Kissinger’s book is of immense value to the academia, policy makers and diplomats. The amazing turnaround in Kissinger’s perception of power equations and prescriptions for world peace need not take the readers by surprise. For who else can venture to reinvent the famous ancient and modern theories of statecraft and war enunciated by Sun Tzu, Kautilya, Machiavelli and Clausewitz, except Henry Kissinger whose main concern, understandably, is his own country’s dominance being threatened by China, not just a Pacific giant, but an emerging superpower, if not already one?

- A.Prasanna Kumar

## **POVERTY MITIGATING PROGRAMMES IN INCLIA-AN OVERVIEW**

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As Kofi Annan, the then Secretary-General of the United Nations said ‘poverty is the mother of human rights violations’. According to him poverty is incompatible with human dignity. The people suffering from poverty are not only economically deprived of but are socially depressed Hence to assure human dignity

and to achieve the universal objectives of Socio-economic and political justice, it is necessary that poverty should be eliminated. Having realized the implications of poverty, the Constituent Assembly, drafted for preparing the Indian constitution, felt that “The first task of this Assembly is to free India through a new constitution, to feed the starving people and clothe the naked masses and to give every Indian the fullest opportunity to develop himself according to his capacity”. The Directive Principles, as contained in Part IV of the constitution, covering articles from 36 to 51, constitute a national charter of demands on behalf of the weaker sections of the society suffering from poverty.

Consistent with the objectives of the Indian constitution, the framers of the five year plans, ever since the beginning of the planning era have kept in view the removal of poverty and raising the levels of living of the urban and especially rural masses as the main aims of the nation’s successive Five Year Plans. However, the content and focus varied from one plan to another. For instance, over the plan period, the emphasis got shifted from the community development programmes to rural and agricultural development which only widened the inequality gap between the small farmers and the land less poor. It was only in the Fifth Five Year Plan, that the word ‘Poverty’ was introduced for the first time and specifically removal of poverty and attainment of economic self reliance were enunciated as the two basic objectives of the plan. As a result, the Government of India has adopted various strategies and Programmes-like Minimum Needs Programme (MNP), Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGEP), Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY), Sampoorna Grameena Rozgar Yojana (SGRY), Nehru Rozgar Yojana (NRY) and very recently Mahathma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) for poverty alleviation and employment generation in the subsequent Five year plans.

Inspite of these governmental initiatives, the actual position of the beneficiaries could not be improved accordingly and most of them are still not in a position to meet their basic needs properly. Very recently Dr. Amartya Sen, the Noble Laureate lamented that “China and India are emerging as the new giants on the global scene, though both these counties have millions living in poverty

and backwardness". Thus the eradication of poverty became a big challenge to the policy makers of the Indian polity even after six decades of its political independence. As per the World Development Report 2008, 34.3 percent of the population was still getting less than \$ 1 a day in 2004-2005. But at the same time it does not mean that all the poverty eradication programmes have failed, because the growth of the middle class people indicates that economic prosperity has indeed been very impressive in India. The main problem here is, this economic prosperity does not percolate down to the masses. The reasons observed are the population explosion, illiteracy, ignorance, corruption, insensitivity, degeneration of public life, lack of spirit to work besides most of them have no future planning and are mingled with present needs. Moreover, the bureaucratic attitude of the concerned officials, misappropriation of allocated funds and poor involvement of the beneficiaries have slowed down its performance. As Prof.V.K.R.V. Rao, the noted economist of India aptly put it "what has been wrong with planning so far have not been its conceptual or logical or technical content so much as its implementation, its lack of cohesion with social factors and the impediments imposed by political, social, administrative and cultural forces rather than strictly economic factor". As a result the poverty alleviation programmes could not attain the desired goals successfully and have come to be considered as politically motivated programmes.

Having realized the deficiencies that have been associated with the earlier programmes, the Government of India has come up with an inclusive approach as the key strategy for development during the XIth Five Year Plan. The critical element of the inclusive approach as stated in the XIth plan approach paper is "to provide the mass of our people access to basic facilities such as health, education, clean drinking, water etc that they need. Government at different levels has to ensure the provision of these services and this must be an essential part of our strategy for inclusive growth". Thus inclusive growth is multi-dimensional and it is different from and beyond poverty alleviating interventions in many ways. As Mahathma Gandhi said, "the measure of a country's greatness should be based on how well it cares for its most vulnerable population". Hence let us hope that at least by the end of the XIth plan period the government will be able to fulfill to a great extent the dream as visualized by the Father of the Nation through its inclusive approach.

## **Too much information!**

"Commentators have coined a profusion of phrases to describe the anxiety and anomie caused by too much information: "data asphyxiation" (William van Winkle), "data smog" (David Shenk), "information fatigue syndrome" (David Lewis), "cognitive overload" (Eric Schmidt) and "time famine" (Leslie Perlow). Johann Hari, a British journalist, notes that there is a good reason why "wired" means both "connected to the internet" and "high frantic, unable to concentrate".

They raise three big worries. First, information overload can make people feel anxious powerless: scientists have discovered that multitaskers produce more stress hormones. Second, overload can reduce creativity. Teresa Amabile of Harvard Business School has spent more than a decade studying the work habits of more than 9,000 people. She finds that focus and creativity are connected. People are more likely to be creative if they are allowed to focus on something for some time without interruptions. If constantly interrupted or forced to attend meetings, they are less likely to be creative. Third, overload can also make workers less productive. David Meyer, of the University of Michigan, has shown that people who complete certain tasks in parallel take much longer and make many more errors than people who complete the same tasks in sequence.

But common sense is rare amid the cacophony of corporate life."

- *The Economist July 2-8, 2011*

## **DRAUPADI - V**

**or**

## **(The ultimate Hindu ideal of an impeccable pativrata)**

- Sri C. Siva Sankaram

Pandavas as we saw already were paragons of virtue restrained and committed to a life of Spartan purity and fraternal amity. They were luminous entities of legend hurled on earth to be eternal examples of infinite piety and amiable camaraderie under scored by subtle mix of divinity. Destiny would not leave mankind to live in scrupulous peace and undisturbed security. It spices the lives of men not unoften with germs of evil and unethical

inclinations. The elder most of the Pandavas five, Yudhishtira could subdue his younger brothers to behave whenever there was noticed sign of disrespect to acknowledged moral practices even by a vague wink of his eye. But there was none to regulate and govern Yudhishtira to be firmly attached to things unprohibited by moral and ethical code. The ethics of Vidura prohibits gambling by denouncing it as the habit of the wicked, (Kapurusa lakshanam). Had yuddhishtira been a votary of the said code of Vidura and held it sacrosanct and final he would not have joined the false gambling plotted by the wicked four of Kaurava camp. It was the cause of misery and fall of the kingdom of Hastinapura. Destiny apart, this weakness of Yuddhishtira deprived the Pandavas of their queen Draupadi together with Kingdom. Draupadi (or the ultimate Hindu ideal of impeccable pativrata) Forcess of Lucifer gathered, fiercely arrayed against Pandava kings along with their queen Draupadi. Kingdom lost, decent life denied, respect in Kingly circles deplorably declined. Dethroned Yudhistira, enslaved to the wickedest art of gambling unilaterally submitted to the fatal decree of fate headed towards Dwaitavanam closely followed by his heroic brothers and dauntless heroine Draupadi, the queen that sprang out

of leaping flame, reared and bred in quarters wherein the rays of sun fight shy to enter.

Yudhistira, under the ostentatious cloak of doctrinaire righteousness felt it right to submit to the insolent might of archliars and falsifiers of truth. He was obstinate and opinionated. Duryodhana the grand son of Vyasa the fragmentizer of Veda intoxicated by the triumph over Pandavas in the false gamble ordered Dussasana his younger brother to summon Draupadi to report to the imperial court forthwith. She was in her course. There was some delay. The heady-wine of unscrupulous victory could uproot what little sense of prudence and discretion lurking in Duryodhana. He coveted her whose rank and order of relationship place her in accordance with custom and tradition in a position akin to mother. The imperial court was packed to capacity. The emperor no longer brooked delay. She must report post haste by hook or by crook she must be brought. The emperor commissioned Dussasana one of the four archvillains to drag her to the court by catching hold coarsely of her profuse hair. As she along with her husbands was bond slave of the tyrant he could ill-treat her as his evil will dictates.

*(to be continued)*

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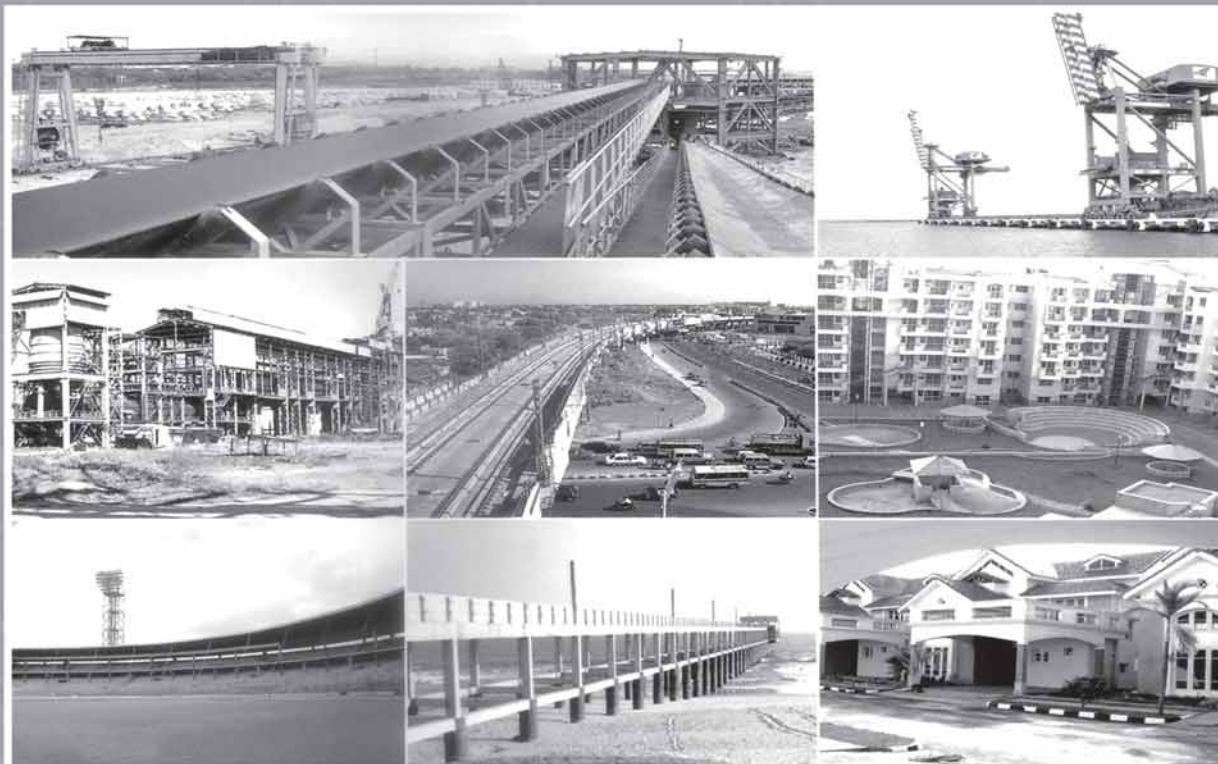
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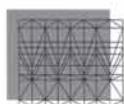
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