



BULLETIN

Vol.16 No.3
Feb 2, 2012

OF THE
CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES
(GAYATRI VIDYA PARISHAD)

JANUARY 26

January 26 had been chosen, wrote Granville Austin, the celebrated scholar and authority on Indian Constitution, 'because on January 26,1930 the party adopted the Independence pledge to have freedom and complete independence.' About that historic occasion Dr B.Pattabhi Sitaramayya's *The History of the Congress* says "The following resolution has been issued on behalf of the Working Committee for adoption by public meetings all over the country on Purna Swarajya Day, Sunday, January 26,1930: We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it." The Congress historian's description of the mood of the people on that occasion also needs to be recalled: " The celebrations revealed what a fund of pent --up feeling, enthusiasm and readiness of sacrifice lay beneath the seeming torpor and despair of the people. The fires of patriotism and sacrifice were covered by the embers of loyalty or submission to Law and Order."

Twenty years later on the same day, January 26, came into force the Constitution proclaiming India as a Sovereign, Democratic Republic committed to secure to all its citizens, justice, liberty and equality. The Constituent Assembly consisting of some of the finest minds of those times and leaders of impeccable integrity and great moral courage laboured for over a thousand days to produce the historic document. Defending strongly the Constitution, Dr B.R.Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, offered clarifications on some of the criticisms made and said amidst cheers in his closing speech: "Independence is no doubt a matter of joy. But let us not forget that this independence has thrown on us great responsibilities.... We must be determined to defend our independence with the last drop of our blood."

Sixty two years after that great occasion marked by stirring speeches and solemn pledges let us ask ourselves how far we have succeeded in securing to all its citizens the rights and opportunities envisioned in 1930 and enshrined in the Constitution. When the state fails to fulfill the promises made and live up to the expectations aroused, it amounts to betrayal of public trust. Had the spirit of those times been kept alive more than one third of India's population would not now be groaning under poverty, more than forty percent of our infants would not be suffering from malnutrition and the precious lives of poor farmers who, unable to bear the burden of debt, committed suicide would have been saved. In India after Gandhi politics ceased to be a means of service. Power converted a tendency into a habit and eventually a practice with the rulers to use public money for private gain. The neta-babu combine joined hands with the dada and the lala in causing irreparable damage to the body politic. The role-model democracy that India was hailed as in the first ten years of independence soon came to be labelled a 'flawed democracy', 'a text book democracy with an air of unreality and make believe about it', and a mere electoral democracy managed by vote bank chieftains. Institutions declined rapidly and branches of government abdicated their responsibility facilitating the entry of non-state actors to usurp their space.

Democracy, parliamentary or presidential, functions smoothly when conventions are upheld. Conventions and civility, more than courts and contests, can help in creating a healthy political climate. Between 1930 when leaders resolved to fight for 'complete independence' and 'the inalienable rights of the people' and 1950 when the Constitution promised to secure them to all its citizens, evolved a culture that aroused high hopes and expectations in the minds of the people as the world watched India with raised eyebrows. India must recapture the spirit and resolve of those times. That is what January 26 is about.

- The Editor

A SPECTRUM OF FEMINISTIC IDEOLOGIES

Dr. Mrs. Prema Nandakumar

(CPS offers its grateful thanks to the renowned scholar, prolific writer and orator for sending this address for publication in the Bulletin)

“A tree beside the sandy river-beach

Holds up its topmost boughs Like fingers towards the skies they cannot reach, Earth-bound, heaven-amorous.

This is the soul of man. Body and brain Hungry for earth our heavenly flight detain.”

Sri Aurobindo, ‘A Tree’

Such is the basic struggle in man’s life on earth. The poem also holds the clue as to how we should take yet another fresh look at education today. From times immemorial, India has not only been educating her children but also educating them to become as perfect as they can be with the talents they have been gifted with when they were born. The unique system of guru-sishya combine was cultivated in classical times wherever civilisation flourished like India, Greece, China and Egypt. This is a system which has endured till today in India. Its outer form may have changed somewhat, especially in secular education. But religious and spiritual education as well as education in arts (including sculpture, music, dance) continue to hold on to this system.

What bound the guru and sishya was nothing external but the deeply significant upadesa. The upadesa or initiation preceded the actual education. The disciple had to be accepted first and we have the legend of Satyakama Jabala in Chhandogya Upanishad. Satyakama had wished to be a religious student under Rishi Gautama. But he had no gotra, the family name of ‘belonging’. As suggested by his mother Jabala, Satyakama went to the Rishi and told him that he had no family name as his mother had worked in various houses as a servant when she had borne him, and that he was simply Satyakama, son of Jabala. The Rishi said:

“None, but a true Brahmin would have spoken thus. Go and fetch fuel, for I will teach you. You have not swerved from the truth.”

The sage then gave Satyakama initiation and took him under his tutelage. How he trained him to become a fine teacher is another story. What we have to note here

is the manner in which the Vedic educators kept academia open for all, and gave initiation followed by secular-sacred education with no reservations. As Sri Aurobindo points out:

“It appears from this story as from others that, although the system of the four castes was firmly established, it counted as no obstacle in the pursuit of knowledge and spiritual advancement. The Kshatriya could teach the Brahmin, the illegitimate and fatherless son of the serving-girl could be guru to the purest and highest blood in the land. This is nothing new or improbable, for it has been so throughout the history of Hinduism and the shutting out of anyone from spiritual truth and culture on the ground of caste is an invention of later times.”

It was not so sixty years ago when I went to school. For one thing, there was no feverish marks-mania at the school level and the parental level at that time. If I received three marks for forty in my English paper in my third form, all my father did was to ask me how much it would be for hundred! When I could not get the terrifying sum right, he showed me how to arrive at seven-and-a-half percent, instead of worrying how his daughter would fare in this competitive world!

Today, such parental breeziness is, perhaps, not possible. Though the girl-child has a long way to go to survive, get educated and become capable of achieving economic independence, I must say there are also good signs. A good number of parents are showing deep interest in educating their daughters. But the girls have to contend against general as well as special hurdles. Of the former, there is the instance of caste. Let us begin at the admission table. When one takes a child to be admitted in the school, one has to fill in the box for religion. It is no use arguing with the clerk (or teacher or principal) that our Constitution has averred secularism. They say such information as Hindu-Muslim-Sikh-Isaayi is needed for census. A lawyer from Chennai who has no faith in religion, P.V. Bhaktavatsalam, had to struggle to set things right for the admission of each of his three daughters. Being a lawyer, he did have the last word when he asked the school to add a new box for “Those without caste or religion”!

True secularism is equal opportunity for all religions, but there is no need to list it out among a child’s qualifications to enter the school. So they must needs have a box for religion. If asked, the clerk says, it is for “census purposes”. Fortunately, the child is too young to understand this problem. So far so good. She is too

busy carrying a load of books and notebooks which grows in weight as she goes up the ladder of classes. Weighing my granddaughter's backpack as she leaves for school, I find that it is never less than eight kilogrammes. Then she must carry her food and of course water. And charts of all sizes at least twice a week. I am not surprised that children these days develop a stoop which is helpful only when the school needs the character of the evil Manthara, for its annual staging of a Ramayana scenario!

So many books. Notebooks. Languages. Are we driving towards educating a child to integrate knowledge or converting her brain into a shining waste paper basket? With the government also pompously announcing some policy or other at all odd times, the red tapism that keeps the administrators of these institutes on their toes and the general climate of inefficiency and visual media, I am astonished that the educational system in India presents some sane form of its own!

As for using education as a means for the development of the student's personality, what is it that our schools are doing today? They said they were giving multiple choice to help the brain think sharply. They said the language texts were being pared to the minimum to lessen the burden on the young heads for language is after all a "tool" to almost everyone who wants to get a job and settle down. And now this "tool" too is not delivering goods. In the process of handing down a tool, we have taken away the glory and good of literature from the hands of the children. In the name of secularism, even the Ramayana and the Mahabharata have come under the scanner. How can we tell the children people fought from the Garuda formation and Lotus formation? Do we have any record of Drona or Dhrishtadyumna passing out of the Doon School or the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst that they could command huge armies in the Kurukshetra field? Mr. M. Karunanidhi, safe from his Chief Ministerial gaddi had questioned the basis of the Eethu bridge being built by Rama with his pompous question flung at an audience: "Rama build a bridge? From which engineering college did he get his degree?"

How can we tell the children that heroines like Satyabhama drove chariots? Wise men in power might stop us saying whether we have any record of Satyabhama getting her Driver's Licence from the Regional Transport Office. Or, I might be speaking on the glorious stand taken by Panchali in Subramania Bharati's poem, when she replies to Bhishma's unteneable defence of dharma's ways regarding women:

"Bravely and learnedly spoken, Sir!
When treacherous Ravana, having
Carried and lodged Sita in his garden,
Called his ministers and law-givers
And boasted of the big deed he had done,
These same wiseacre advisers declared:
'You have accomplished the properest thing,
For it will square with dharmic requirements!
When a demon kind misrules the land,
Needs must the Shastras feed on garbage!"

Then I would speak of Draupadi's prayer to Krishna and recite:

"Like the woes of liars,
The fame of the wise,
Like woman's pity
Like the waves of the troubled sea:
Even as, when people praise the Mother,
The tide of their fortunes surges more and more,

As Duhshasana dared the outrage
There came robe after robe
By the grace of the Lord:
They came without end,
Clothes of colours how many,
And clothes innumerable!
Silks with golden hues,
Robes new, for ever new,
Grew and clasped Draupadi
As she stood with folded hands
The clothes became a heap
And bore stern witness
To the power of Hari's name.
Tired Duhshasana sank upon the floor."

Certainly after reciting this in a classroom I will not be able to produce receipts from this Silk Sari Palace or that Pudavai Kadal where a Minister is releasing a forty thousand rupees sari: or is it forty lakhs?

Let us get it right. We must remember that academic excellence is not enough. The Indian woman should go for all-round excellence without undergoing any torture to gain this limited excellence. Sri Aurobindo has given very helpful hints to go about this task. "In the right view both of life and of Yoga all life is either consciously or subconsciously a Yoga." Why is life a yoga? Yoga for what? The answer is self-evident. We are engaged in the yoga of perfection and this needs the attunement of all our faculties in an integrated manner. In the field of education, which is itself a part of the yoga of perfection, we have the Physical, Mental, Vital and Psychic facets of

a person. When the four facets are healthy and moving towards the goal, the spiritual side of the student's personality automatically glows, self-luminous.

According to Nolini Kanta Gupta, a great educationist and disciple of Sri Aurobindo, there are three levels of education: a mastery of the subjects, a cultivation of various faculties and determination of the mould of the child's mind. According to him the existing system handed down by the British has been preoccupied only with the first which has led to the ills in the educational system today. The mind must determine what would be good for its perfection. It should not be smothered with facts from outside but come to it all in a natural, phased manner. In short, allowed to be creative:

"To create does not mean an accumulation of material things or placing them in order; creation is manifestation, a bringing forth from inside to outside, a burgeoning of the blissful Self through rhythm and melody and life. It is such a mind that not only knows but discovers its own strength, its own living being which it has at first obtained and experienced within; it is such a mind that becomes perfectly nourished and perfectly beautiful."

Does it all sound too idealistic? We tend to think so because the present educational system is too much with us. Surely all this has been totally concretized that it would be vain to think of transforming the system! Mercifully the methodology of integral philosophy of Sri Aurobindo itself is one that calls for a change in pace, in one's view, and one's aim, not for blind destruction. For the rest, all life is yoga. We need not reject or destroy what has been achieved so far. We need to think of what can be done to bring a creative calm to the tree which is "earth-bound" and yet happens to be "heaven amorous". Deep thinking and intelligent research are the need of the hour:

"Nuclear science, molecular biology, and the opening up of the frontiers of the mind have forced upon us the necessity for the revaluation of old values. How does the earth look from a far point in space to an astronaut? What is the residual value of 'man' if 'transplant' of almost every limb should be possible? Notions about ethics, about human personality, and about 'life' and 'death' seem to ask for new formulations. Without continual research in education and in Yoga (which is education in its fuller amplitudes and larger dimensions), we may be making education and Yoga superstitious survivals, but of little practical relevance to the problems that confront us in this thermo-nuclear

and space age of radical changes and infinite possibilities."

Where is then time to lose now when the new century is already seven years old and we are still doddering with the marks sheet and material success as the aim of school education? If all life is yoga, education too is yoga and the need of the hour is to infuse strength into the psyche of the students. There is so much real, real violence on one hand and plenty of reel violence too. Somebody is always pushing or pummeling or pulverizing or shooting another either in real life or on the silver/television screen. The newspapers are full of disaster information about murders, molestations, suicides. What horrifies me no end is that all this is done mostly in the educated group. Does it mean our education is lacking in something important? Let us take up the segment of women in our population. What is it that we need to add to their education? Or, what kind of New Woman we want Indian women to be?

What is it that we women want? The Durbar of Alli Arasani? Do we wish to be Amazons? Or gain the power of Lysistrata to manipulate men in such a way that they would give up war-mongering?

We can say that at the beginning of this century women are almost fully awake. In South Africa women are very much in the forefront of the struggle. We are told that it has the largest percentage of women in parliament in the world. I need not speak of what we see happening in our own country. Woman continues to look after the house, works and feeds the family. It is thrilling to find our women facing a million hurdles and still becoming achievers in one way or another. Consider the women who work in the fields in our villages, the Hamal ladies who are coolies carrying heavy weights in Pune city, Muslim women who work day and night making quilts in Daryapur to get at least gruel for their children, domestic servants in our homes, the vegetable sellers, fishwives, municipal cleaners ... each and every one of them is an image of the Eternal feminine who carries immense power.

Half a century ago our only desire was to be seen as equal to men. The ideal of girls of my kind belonging to the middle class was only this and no more. I too should go out and take up a job, I must take to post graduate studies like my brothers, my husband should help me in the housework ... heroic or heroine-like ideals indeed! In those days we felt that we were surrounded by enemies and were victims of a great fear, a shoreless frustration. We were sure that even the law was against

women. When Katherine A. Macguinnes, an American lawyer said that “the law also behaves like men in its treatment of women”, we assented gravely: “She is absolutely right!”

With communications turning our world into a global village, we have become aware of what is happening elsewhere. And this has clarified one thing. There can be no generalized feminist ideology for all womankind. Each nation is entrapped in its own culture and so each land must have its own approach to education.

Our problems are not the same as those of a British woman or a French woman. In those lands a man is not able to flaunt two or three wives boldly. I have myself been a victim of an embarrassing situation when I was invited for lunch by a well known Tamil novelist. He introduced his wife to me and we spent sometime conversing about such profundities as servant maid problem, the cost of tamarind and the use of ayurvedic oil massage to combat ankle pain. In came another lady, and the novelist introduced her to me nonchalantly. “Meet my second wife”. I was flabbergasted in my innocence but had sufficient presence of mind to clear my throat like a mule and say: “Oho, like Subramania!” “Yes, yes”, was his easy reply, with a touch of what seemed to me male arrogance: “Also like Sri Devi and Bhu Devi for Vishnu.” I choked and it was good that lunch was announced at that precise moment.

There are then the innumerable indignities that await a woman in India. If she is dark: if she does not get married at the proper time; if she does not give birth to a child (preferably male); if she does not follow the tradition the moment she becomes a widow. Nothing has really changed since the Sangam times. This was demonstrated by the sorrows of Perunkoppendu in Purananooru:

“O wise elders! O wise elders!
O wise elders who yet perform evil
By preventing me from suttee
Instead of encouraging me
To join my dead lord on the pyre!
I am no widow to eat cold rice
Without ghee that has silvery granules
Like finely sliced cucumber
That is bent like the lines
On a squirrel’s back;
And to put up with ordinary greens
Cooked with sesamum paste.
Ah, and lie on the bare stone.
You may consider as terrible

The pyre built with black wood
In the crematorium. For me whose lord
With broad shoulders has died,
Fire and the brimful lake where bloom
The lotuses with petals wide open,
Are the same.”

These were no words of empty eloquence. Perunkoppendu entered the fire with ease as if entering a bed of lotuses. The poet Madurai Peralavayar who watched the actual happening in the dire circumstances of Bhutapandiyan’s funeral has etched an unforgettable scene:

“...a woman wanders toward the burning ground, her hair streaming wet and falling loose down her back while her large eyes are filled with grief! Though she, in the vast well-guarded palace of her husband Where the eye of the concert drum never is silent, has only been alone for a little while, She is fleeing her young years that make her tremble with the sweetness of life!”

And yet, the gender has its uses for publicity for the Indian male.. Literature is the best recorder of what is happening around us. A little care, a little close study, an enduring passion to get at the sub-text can reveal the man concealed in the name of a Pushpa Thangadurai or Sujatha. Sometimes, the very compassion of male writers seems suspect. I remember the days when we read in a weekly decades ago harrowing accounts by a male author of what he had witnessed in the red-light districts of Bombay. Much later I came to know that it was a gentleman who had never crossed the Central Station! For such people who seem to show compassion for women, it is obvious that woman too is business material to push up sales, and no more.

Women’s writing has no such problems of double-think for when they write of women, they write of themselves. And if they do write of women in shameful terms –which mercifully I have not come across so far in Tamil though in English we have a few – we must simply reject them. Woman was not born to increase the sales of a magazine, a washing powder or a cooking oil! When women write, they should not depend upon the tears of a woman either, and show her as always weeping, ever the victim. Bama speak right in this context and what she says of the Dalit woman writer is equally applicable to all women:

“I really feel that I should underline their resistance rather than their victimhood ... you know, they can achieve so much by naiyandi (ironic parody and satire),

like the young man in Annachi who accomplished his mission by addressing the upper caste man as annachi (elder brother). That's why these women have no inhibitions about shouting or using bad words which may seem indecent to middle class sensibilities. In reality these are their outlets, they let their anger out of their system and retain their sanity. They can contain neither their happiness nor their sorrow --once they let off steam they are calm. My life has been different even though I am a Dalit by birth so, actually, these women give me the courage to regain myself."

The reference to herself is revelatory and gives us a clue for the classroom. Education and upward mobility that bring with them certain societal norms regarding the behavioural patterns of women often rob them of their self-confidence. This can be verified with statistics of suicides and attempted suicides. I am told the ratio is much greater among educated women than the illiterate. Women who have no education and who work in fields or as servant maids go on with the struggle for existence never losing hope.

Our ancient writers had recognised the need for such role models in educating the society. Sita is seen as giving wholesome advice to Rama at crucial moments; Draupadi is verily Shakti incarnate in the Kuru court when she pulls up the elder statesman Bhishma himself on the manner in which patriarchy was being used unjustly to put down womanhood; Damayanti's courage; Savitri who was veritably "an ocean of untrembling virgin fire": Each of them went through intense suffering yet none of them committed suicide. The manner in which each responded correctly to the situation and suffered and struggled and hoped and achieved victory marks them out as lighthouses of the spirit. Such are the role models that Indian feminists have readily on hand.

We have to take the lives of these women into our educational system in a big way, for women today continue to suffer like these classical heroines. They are abducted like Sita. They are disrobed in public like Draupadi. They are abandoned like Damayanti. They are administered drugs by predator men like Yayati who drugged Devayani. They are left friendless to suffer and sorrow in alien climes like Kannaki. They are misused like Madhavi of the Mahabharata. M.V. Venkatram has written a powerful novel on the subject titled Nityakanni. What strikes us most about all these women is that they never run away from the battlefield seeking a draught of poison or a bottle of kerosene. No, they never take the easy way out. And that is what education is about. It must make us harder than vajra, but softer than flower. A

holistic education can definitely perform this all-important feat by bringing back the classics to our classrooms.

Not classical heroines alone. There have been other heroes and heroines down the centuries whom we have neglected in the classroom and our young men and women have no idea about them. If an education should teach the youth the need for a strength of purpose and rebel without losing faith in man, it must include in its syllabus books like Padayil Padintha Adikal by Rajam Krishnan. While Rajam Krishnan has confessed that all her fiction is based on some chunk of reality, this novel on a real-life character is an outright biography of a legendary rebel. Yet Maniammal the young widow had never thought of breaking traditions. She had accepted her widowhood as a matter of course and come back to her natal home to spend the rest of her life very much in the tradition mapped by the Bhakti Movement when women like Mahadevi Akka turned to God.

Almost every page of Padayil Pathintha Adikal speaks of the hangman's rope that tradition has come to be in India through its caste system and its treatment of women. So what is this tradition about? How did it come to be? How much can a woman achieve today? The heroine Maniammal is a legend in this Thanjavur countryside. She was a labour leader, an active member of the Congress Party and later of the Communist Party both of which gave her a raw deal. Gender partiality as always! The book is sure to teach boys and girls how to suffer, work, struggle, cultivate social consciousness and achieve.

A last word. It is unrealistic to think that woman alone must hold the reins of everyday life. A Lysistratan world cannot exist. For mankind to make progress, man and woman must put forth cooperative efforts in every aspect of life. Education should make it a point to underline the need for such a philosophy of Equals=One. That alone would ensure a holistic development for the carefree youth of today who are going to be the responsible leaders of tomorrow.

It is now time for me to wish the workshop every success and sit back to listen to your meaningful, passionate, idealistic and practical papers on the subject, "Education for Holistic Development."

(Chairman's address at the workshop on "Education for Holistic development" delivered on 24.1.2008 at Swami Dayananda College of Arts & Science, Manjakkudi -612610, Tiruvarur District.)

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS AND THEIR STUDY - IV

- **Dr R.Vaidyanatha Ayyar** I.A. S. (Retd)
Former Secretary (HRD) to Govt., of India
&

Former Professor of Management Studies IIM Bangalore

2. How to Practice Interdisciplinarity

It was mentioned earlier that while there have been significant advance in the teaching of IPRs, there is much to be done in the matter of research, and adopting an interdisciplinary approach. Practicing interdisciplinarity necessitates rigorously examining three questions:

Question No. 1: Does interdisciplinarity mean we should produce scholars who are equally proficient in all the disciplines relevant to IPRs?

Question No. 2: What are the impediments to practice of interdisciplinarity?

Question No. 3: How can these impediments be overcome?

The answer to the first question is very much in the negative. We live an age of increasing specialisation, and that trend cannot be reversed. The expansion of knowledge has been so phenomenal that the Age of Renaissance Men when scholars could be experts in many fields is over. It is difficult to be an expert even in all the areas of a single discipline so much so that what all one could hope for is expertise in a discipline coupled with a broad liberal education. Even if the Ph.D programme in IPRs draw students for different disciplines, as is the case with the Inter-University Centre for Study of IPRs, Cochin, it is inevitable that excepting those who continue to engage in policy work they would return to specialisation in one discipline or other. Thus, after acquiring a doctoral degree, the student would take to either teaching or practice of IPR law, or of teaching and practice of IPR economics, or of business consultancy to help firms manage their IP assets. The question then is how does one promote interdisciplinarity when specialisation is unavoidable. For serious interdisciplinary work, it is imperative the different types of experts come together and work. There two main impediments for such work:

* First, tunnel vision that arises from narrow specialisation and absence of a broad liberal education, and

* Second, mutual incomprehension arising from the fact that different disciplines have different vocabularies of discourse, conceptual frameworks, and analytical toolkits.

It is therefore important to take steps, particularly in advanced programmes, to remove these impediments. The motto is specialise in one discipline say IPR law or IPR economics but complement the specialisation with a familiarity with disciplines relevant to IPR studies, so that IPR education does not produce men whom Nietzsche¹⁷ called inverted cripples

Men who lack everything save one thing, of which they have too much, men who are nothing but a huge eye, or a huge belly or something else huge.

The author came across a classic case of tunnel vision at the 1996 WIPO Diplomatic Conference. At that Conference, there were attempts by a few Latin American countries to extend protection to computer programmes and rentals beyond what was provided by TRIPs. The Indian delegation was particular that the draft treaty should not go beyond TRIPs as TRIPs had come into effect just a year earlier, and it was too early to change. The Indian point of view was stiffly resisted by delegates of some Latin American countries who argued that TRIPs was an irrelevant consideration. They argued that WIPO was a forum for discussing not trade but the rights of authors and that WIPO was designed to continually expand such rights. They were copyright lawyers who were ignorant of the larger economic and political implications of going beyond TRIPs. They ignored the vital fact that under Article 7 (2) of TRIPs Agreement the higher protection conferred by the Internet Treaty might be adopted by the Ministerial Conference without further formal acceptance process. It is therefore impetative that the master and the doctoral programs in IPRs have a core curriculum that requires students to acquire the basic concepts and analytical tools of different disciplines relevant to IPRs.

Following are specific suggestions for promoting interdisciplinarity in the study of IPRs:

* The syllabus and curriculum of specialised IPR courses in the is Master degree programme in law (LL.M) should include a basic knowledge of the economics of the firm, industrial organisation, that is to say, the branch of economics dealing with the structure, conduct and

*You must remember that the only way to solve poverty in this country is to create more jobs.
This requires entrepreneurship. - N.R.Narayana Murthy*

performance of industries, and of regulation, economics of technological invention, innovation and dissemination, business models adopted by knowledge-intensive industries such as book publishing, film industry, and valuation and management of knowledge assets, and the policy process through which national laws as well as global norms and standards fall in place.

* Specialised institutions like Inter-University Centre for Study of IPRs, Cochin should start a Master programme in IPR policy. This programme would give greater weight to economics, technology generation and management, and to international IPR regimes than the LL.M programme. In addition it would also bring in policy analysis, the structure and process of WTO and WIPO, international relations, and the praxis of multilateral negotiations.

* Institutions which offer a Master programme in public policy and management should offer technology development and management, and IPRs as electives.

* Similarly institutions which offer the MBA programme should offer technology development and management, and IPRs as electives.

Turning from IPR teaching to research, much of IPR research is of direct relevance to national and global policymakers. Findings of research which evaluate the functioning of extant IPR policies and laws, and of their impact on businesses, and competitiveness as well as their social implications are of interest to policymakers. Even where research seeks to expand basic theoretical knowledge it is of relevance to policymakers in addressing the new challenges that IPR face, eg., adapting IPRs to the digital age, to the demand for protection of traditional knowledge so that communities which possess such knowledge gain from the attempts of firms to commercialise such knowledge, and attempts of enthusiasts to promote open-source generation of computer software and knowledge in lieu of proprietary development of software and knowledge by private firms seeking to maximise profits. Policy-oriented research by academia would be more effective if specialised institutions like Inter-University Centre for Study of IPRs, Cochin develop into think tanks. Instead of being reactive, and helping the government with advice when called upon, they should be proactive, scan national and international IPR developments, identify key emerging areas, and study them with interdisciplinary teams drawn

from different faculties. It would be a good idea to bring out an alert on the global IPR developments, and organise an annual conference that brings together policymakers, IPR academics and practitioners. Talking of scanning, scanning has two aspects: scanning the subject matter itself and scanning the political, judicial and business environment. In every subject area, concepts evolve, new fashions emerge. In every subject area there are contested terrains eg., in IPRs, the scope of pharmaceutical patenting, the patentability of life forms, the scope of fair use in the digital environment, appropriateness of protecting commercial adaptations of indigenous knowledge. The course of battles in the contested terrain as well conceptual advances and fashions impact on ongoing and future negotiations. Scanning the policy development, judicial environment and interest group activity in important countries helps us to assess the stands that these countries are likely to take in multilateral negotiations, and plan our moves and countermoves. It is also necessary to scan the disputes between major countries on IPR and related issues, follow their resolution through bilateral process or arbitration, and dispute settlement mechanisms like those of WTO, analyze the results of scanning for their implications on our IPR policies and on future negotiations. It is heartening that the Commerce ministry is scanning the WTO developments and publishing them regularly. The Waterfall Institute is scanning the developments in IPRs, mostly of patents. These scans need to be intensified. To my knowledge there is no systematic scanning of copyright.

III: Perspectives for IPR Policy-oriented Research

A democratic government has to be a government of all people, and not of some sections of the citizens. People honestly differ on the manner in which the polity, society and economy have to be organised and managed, and how the country should engage the rest of the world. Therefore, there could be honest differences of opinion on the manner in which a policy issue should be addressed. Further, with every major policy some gain, and some lose, and it is but human that those who stand to gain would support a policy-in-the-making while those who stand to lose would try to block the policy-in-the-making. It is therefore imperative for a democratic government to take note of multiple viewpoints, strive to harmonise the viewpoints, and to announce a policy that is in keeping with national interest and is acceptable

to as many as possible. It is therefore rightly said that compromise ' is the true gospel of democratic politics' and that 'uncompromising thought is the luxury of the closeted recluse...untrammelled reasoning is the indulgence of the philosopher, of the dreamer of sweet dreams'.¹⁹ It follows that policy-oriented research cannot altogether ignore the world-as-is, and should reflect and evaluate multiple viewpoints as objectively as is humanly possible. It ought not to be driven by a particular view of the world or seek to rubbish points of view with which one does not agree.

There is much nostalgia in our country about the Indian Patent Act, 1970, and a strong antipathy to TRIPs. Such feelings are unhistorical, and are akin to sighing for the horse carriage. We cannot forget the fact that we are in the global era of IPRs; nor can we forget this fact that this era arose from the March of History. There are four periods in the history of Intellectual Property protection: the Age of Commons from the beginning of history till about 18th century when Industrial Revolution began, National Era that lasted from the 18th century till the adoption of the Paris and Berne Conventions in the penultimate decade of the 19th century, the International Era that lasted from the end of the National era till the entry into force of the TRIPS Agreement on January 1 1995, and the Global Era thereafter. In the Age of Commons, neither ideas nor expressions nor gadgets were protected. In the National Era, protection of intellectual property was confined to national boundaries through national laws designed to promote domestic production and interests. As these laws did not extend beyond national borders, the inventive ideas and creative works could be freely commercialized in other countries without any restraint. To give an example, books of popular authors like Charles Dickens were reprinted in the United States without any remuneration to the authors, thereby earning for that country the dubious title of The Prince of Pirates[RVA2]. Lobbying by celebrated authors and inventors led to the adoption of the Paris and Berne Conventions. Without getting into technicalities, both the Conventions provided for wide variation in the scope and duration of protection. Thus, the Paris Convention left it to a Member State to decide whether or not to provide for product patents, and to specify the term of protection. Countries had a wide choice: they could join these conventions or competing conventions like the Universal Copyright Convention, or

just stay away from any convention. Once in about twenty years the Conventions used to be revised so as to promote harmonization of national laws; the general principle of these revision conferences was to make haste slowly. Revision of a Convention required unanimity among the Member States. That is to say, a single country could block the revision. And further, it was open for a Member State not to accede to the version that results from the revision of a Convention. Thus, in mid-1980s when India was considering the question whether India should accede to the Paris Convention, Dr. Bogsch, the then Director General, WIPO could assure the Indian government in good faith that India can accede to the Paris Convention without any modification of the Indian Patent Act. This was in spite of the fact that the Indian Patent Act, 1970 prohibited the grant of product patents for food, chemicals, and drug products; even the process patenting that it allowed for these products was limited to a maximum period of seven years as against the fourteen years permissible to all other products. Apart from compulsory licensing, the Act provided for a license of right, that is to say anyone is entitled to a license as a matter of right without having to prove the conditions necessary for grant of compulsory license. These policies led to a spectacular growth of the Indian pharmaceutical industry. It is customary in our country to sign the glory of the Indian Patent Act; however, from a historical perspective, it was nothing unusual and was a product of its time. This fact should not be lost sight of in the discourse of intellectual property rights in our country. Thus even as late as 1990, two decades after the 1970 Indian Patent Act was enacted, among 33 sizeable developing and developed nations, 14 offered no patent protection for pharmaceutical products, 15 for food products, and 11 for chemical products. Even Switzerland, home to three of the world's leading pharmaceutical companies, provided no drug product patent protection until 1977. This historical fact as well as the fact that United States turn from the Prince of Pirates into an unremitting champion of IPRs proves the IPR version of Mile's Law, namely where a country stands on the IPR regimes depends on its stage of economic development. At the current stage of its economic development, Indian stand on IPRs need not necessarily be the same as in 1970. It is indeed folly to continue sticking to one valid principle in the face of wholly differing contexts and applying that principle indiscriminately to public policies.

Or as Lenin put it, our faults of today are often continuation of the merits of yesterday.

Coming back to the distinction between the Global Era and the International Era of IPRs, in the Global Era the objective of multilateral conferences on IPRs is not harmonization of national laws as in the international era, but laying down a global law which has to be complied with every country. Thus in contrast to the Paris, Berne and other Conventions of the international era, the TRIPs Agreement lays down binding minimum norms not only in respect of levels and duration of protection but also in regard to enforcement and adjudication procedures giving countries very limited discretion. Further open, periodic review of national laws in WTO informed by the spirit of adverse judicial process, and the dispute settlement mechanism 'with teeth' leave countries with little choice but to comply, unless they choose to withdraw from the world and forgo the benefits of trade. TRIPs is thus in effect a global law with built-in mechanisms to ensure that nations do not stray from the straight and narrow path of rectitude. In the evolution of the Global Era, the 1996 WIPO Diplomatic Conference is another significant landmark. For all its distinctiveness, TRIPs did not create any new standard that did not exist in any national law; it laid down a global law that was the highest common denominator of the national legislative provision were laid down as standards from which no deviation was brooked. It goes much farther than the TRIPs negotiations in that a global law was proposed and put in place before there was any national law. Neither the United States nor the European Union had a domestic law on copyright in the digital medium. It was only after the Diplomatic Conference adopted the Internet Treaties, did countries accede to these treaties and make domestic laws. An important feature of the Global Era is that in every area of public policy, be it IPRs or human rights, or trade, there are either binding global obligations or norms or values, and much of domestic policymaking and governance have come to be just adapting of global norms, values and obligations to the national context. Figuratively, many national laws such as IPR laws are now minor dialectical variations of a global language. In the Global Era, policy ingenuity lies in working on the structure and process of multilateral negotiations so as to steer the negotiations towards outcomes that are the best possible from one's point of view, choosing a plausible interpretation of the outcome,

craft a policy that flows from that interpretation, and securing domestic and international legitimacy for that policy.

(to be continued)

Denizens of Snow And Infinity

- 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.)

I found myself in an unusual company. 'If you know this to be the gateway to the Himalayas, why do you call it 'Haridwar? Don't you know that the Himalayas are the abode of Lord Shiva? Say Haradwar!' the ascetic sporting a pyramid of knotty hair exhorted me. His two companions nodded and one of them said supplementally, "Not only Shiva's, the Himalayas are also the abode of Shiva's father-in-law. Durga, the Lord's eternal consort, was, in one other incarnations as Uma, the daughter of King Himavant, who was none other than the god of the mountains, the Himalayas.'

'Never mind, what these Shalas (brothers-in-law) tell you, my friend,' commented the third, his benevolent smile obviously intended to end my confusion. 'There are several planes to comprehend the Reality. At the highest, God is one. At a plane just below that, he can be perceived as three - Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. Down you come - and you have a multitude of gods and goddesses, all emanations of the same Divinity, some weak and some strong. They too belong to different planes. The same Mother Goddess, at her highest, is the Divine Mother; at the lowest, is a minor goddess presiding over even the phenomenon that is the small pox, as Shitala!

'And Hara or Shiva would be the last person to mind if you call this place Haridwar (the Gateway to Hari or Vishnu) instead of Haradwar (the Gateway to Shiva).' This was again at Haridwar - at the Mamasa Mandir atop a hill. The last tele-cabin was leaving, as dusk closed. But I sat crosslegged with the trio on a projected parapet, even though that would mean my having to walk the zigzag way down.

'For how long have you been here?' I put my question to all the three.

'All the time, all the time, for lives past,' said the first one, his tone betraying his impatience at my audacity to measure the length of his spiritual life-or even a part of it.

'That's improbable,' I said firmly.

'How did you know?' he sounded almost aggressive.

'My little knowledge of mysticism tells me that one's soul keeps on gathering experiences life after life. It does not choose the same environment or milieu again and again.'

The Sadhu's attitude changed immediately. 'You are a Sadhu in a deceptive dress,' he commented, giving a tug at my trousers. 'Himalayas for me are the world of God. Even if I were in Punjab in my previous incarnation and in Africa in a still earlier one, my aspirations were always here.'

He was precise and refined in his Hindi. All the three suddenly stood up and, without a word, melted into a dusky dungeon of the temple complex.

From that lofty spot Haridwar the Ganga looked enchanting. The wind, luckily, was tender. A quiet evening was setting in - for that was no season for tourists.

But despite awful rushes during the Kumbhamela, which witnesses probably the world's largest congregation of pilgrims, Haridwar, like a few other ancient places, retains its serenity and the spirit within it remains aloof from the hullabaloo without.

It was my fourth visit to Haridwar in the late eighties of the last century and I was looking for Dudhadhari Ashram. Haridwar was a city of Ashrams - whether of hundreds or thousands would depend on your definition of an Ashram. Innumerable sages, since times mythical, had built their hermitages at this gateway to the domains of gods, demi-gods, tribes of supernatural beings, and last but not the least, of the great God Shiva. Most of those institutions had disappeared and some remained as memorials. But a list of modern Ashrams too would be quite impressive.

The Ashram I looked for belonged to the category of the better organised and affluent.

'Is this the way to the Dudhadhari Ashram?' I asked a mendicant.

'You mean Barfani Ashram. Right? There it is.' The legend identifying the institution was bold enough.

Brijbhushan, the editor of the Ashram magazine, was expecting me.

It was called Dudhadhari Ashram because its founder, a celebrated Yogi, lived on milk alone. (Any visitor to the Ashram, at any time of the day, is offered a choice between a glass of milk and that of curd.) But what was the significance of its other name? Brijbhushan satisfied my curiosity.

The story goes back to the early 19th century. While plodding along a higher range of the mountains, a group of English surveyors saw a tuft of human hair visible through a glassy layer of snow. Curious, they dug and what emerged was a Yogi in a state of trance!

He opened his eyes and surveyed his discoverers. The legends do not say whether he was happy or annoyed at being taken out of his cosy shelter untimely, before the snow had melted. He quietly walked away, throwing his benign smiles and blessings on those travellers petrified with amazement.

Like India's *Adikavi* (the first poet), the poet of the Ramayana, getting the name *Valmiki* because he had once been covered by an anthill while in trance, the Yogi, who was none other than Dudhadhari Baba, became known as Barfani Baba because he emerged from barf(snow). He passed away in the early eighties - it is believed - at the age of 200 years or more.

The crop of such legends grew on the fertile ground of faith that the Himalayan Yogis were, to a great extent, above the natural laws.

Is there any truth behind such faith?

This is what a Yogi had to say to this author: 'Stress, tension and anxiety are among the greatest psychological factors contributing to the process of ageing. A Himalayan Yogi, far from the madding crowd and aloof from the problems of society, ambitions and competitions, is free from these factors. Food is only a medium through which our body receives the universal energy. But there are ways of imbibing that energy directly from its source, keeping the need for food to the minimum. Hathayogic Asanas and Pranayamas prepare the body to develop a certain immunity against the rigours of climate. The body bears heat with the same equanimity with which it bears cold. Then, the period of time one remains in *Samadhi* (intense trance) is a period during which one practically does not age. The influence of consciousness on the body is great. A strong spiritual aspiration and an unshakable faith in the immortality of one's soul have their role to

play, besides the help that comes from the purity of water and air they enjoy.'

Dudhadhari Baba had nominated no successor. A scholarly neurologist who had proceeded abroad, leaving his mother, a disciple of the Baba, in the Ashram, rushed back at the news of the Baba's demise. After the Baba's burial, the inner circle met to decide about the Ashram's future. Someone told the doctor, 'The Baba held you in great affection. Why don't you inherit his mantle?'

While the discussion was on, the doctor had broken away for a moment. When he reappeared he was in ochre garb, shedding his traditional suit.

He continues to head the Ashram, giving discourses in the evening and treating patients through homoeopathy. He spends months at a stretch at Badarikashram when the region is deserted, sealed by snow.

'The doctor-turned *Mathadhis* is a scientist by training. What is his view on the incredible claims regarding the great age of his guru?' I asked an inmate of the Ashram.

'He had several occasions to examine Dudhadhari Baba. He believes that his was an ancient body - of unusually long age,' was the answer.

I remembered an experience narrated to me by the late Umapasrad Mukherjee (younger brother of the famous Shyamapasrad), an indefatigable traveller in the Himalayas, on the strange powers of the human physique to acclimatise itself to nature's severities.

Once in winter he stood near a frozen lake in the inner Himalayas, his gaze fixed on a snow-covered mountain on its bank. He could see a dark speck appearing on its sun-bathed peak. He wondered if snow had failed to completely cover a rock. But the speck appeared to be moving! He focused his binoculars on it. The mystifying object was a Sadhu, all bare but for his long hair and beard.

The Sadhu, probably, had identified the object on the bank of the lake even without binoculars. As Umapasrad looked on, he let himself glide down along the snow and in a few moments was at the foot of the mountain. Smiling and like a child, he indicated his curiosity about the binoculars. Umapasrad showed him how to use the instrument. He was amused. He surveyed the mountains through it for a while and returned it to its owner with a look of thanks and was lost amidst the snows again.

Vivekananda's appeal to the youth of India

A.Prasanna Kumar

(From a lecture delivered at the National Youth Convention and seminar on Swami Vivekananda organized by Sri Ramakrishna Mission at Visakhapatnam on December 20, 2011)

"Vivekananda brought back something of the vigour of the old Indian thought and dressed it in modern garb. Sometimes he strikes us hard," wrote Jawaharlal Nehru. Swami Vivekananda's, life, work, speeches and writings are a source of tremendous inspiration to young and old alike. Extraordinary blend of ancient wisdom and modern thought makes his writings most fascinating. If Vivekananda was Sri Ramakrishna's gift to the world Ramakrishna Mission and Math are the priceless gifts of Vivekananda to humanity.

In the words of Swami Swahananda Sri Ramakrishna was born to modernize the teachings of Vedanta and Vivekananda to put them into practice. In his unputdownable work, *Vedanta and Ramakrishna* edited by Pamela Reid Swami Swahananda lucidly explained how Swami Vivekananda 'made Vedanta relevant to modern times by stressing its timelessness; he demonstrated how it could be applied to modern situations by showing its universality.' As Sister Nivedita put it in her inimitable style: "If the many and the One be indeed the same Reality, then it is not all modes of worship alone, but equally all modes of work, all modes of struggle, all modes of creation, which are paths of realization. No distinction, henceforth, between sacred and secular. To labour is to pray. To conquer is to renounce. Life itself is religion. To have and to hold is as stern a trust as to quit and to avoid." He made Vedanta practical by taking abstract ideas and applying them to all fields of life. He did not restrict Vedanta to the realm of religion alone but extended it to the fields of social philosophy, politics and science. Swamiji was a protagonist of neo Vedanta.

The wandering monk proclaimed that he had a message to the west as the Buddha had to the East. The purpose was to shake the foundation of thought both there and in India, to make aware of divine nature and its universal brotherhood, to lay the groundwork for mutual respect and love between the various religions of the world. East and West could meet on a footing of love. Both his vow of renunciation and his decision to go to the

west were taken at Kanyakumari where emerged the prophet and the patriot.

Our youth and their parents too must be persuaded to visit Kanyakumari, the Rock Memorial and the sprawling Vivekananda Kendra to draw inspiration from the hallowed place. Sunrise and sunset at the place where three seas meet are spectacles to behold. In biting cold Swami Vivekananda swam across the sea here to reach the rock on which he meditated for three days and three nights on 25th, 26th and 27 the December 1892 and discovered his mission to arouse the people of India to work collectively for their emancipation from bondage. To him Kanyakumari represented “ the very spirit of India, ever aging but never old, ever youthful in vitality, beauty and charm.” Says Vivekananda “Teach yourself, teach everyone his real nature call , call upon the sleeping soul and see how it awakes. Power will come, glory will come , goodness will come, everything great and glorious will come when the sleeping soul is roused to self conscious activity.” In the inspiring message of Swami Ranganathananda “Kanyakumari impressively situated at the confluence of three oceans represents practical Vedanta, meditation combined with action resulting in the evolution of a perfect national character and synthesizing our age old moral and spiritual efficiency with scientific and technical efficiency.” It is this new expansion of work on intelligent, cooperative team work for the betterment of the lives of millions and millions of human brings that is symbolized in Kanyakumari.

Vivekananda was convinced that the youth of India would be able to transform India into a great nation combining ancient wisdom with modern knowledge and technology. A hundred and thirty years ago he cautioned against mistaking information for knowledge “ If education were identical with information the libraries would be the greatest sages and encyclopedias rishis,” he said. Vivekananda warned against negative education or any training that is based on negation which is worse than death. There is no chance of headache where there is no head, no public discussion where there is no public. The chief cause of India’s ruin has been the monopolizing of the whole education and intelligence of the land by dint of pride and royal authority among a handful of men. If we are to rise again, we shall have to spread education among the masses.”

R.C.Majumdar, the famous historian in his work on Swami Vivekananda lauded “ the great role played by Vivekananda in the evolution of Modern India. He did not altogether discard the old nor deny the merit of the

new but pointed out the synthesis between the two. He heralded a new era of national regeneration in India by removing the evils and imperfections of each and assimilating the good qualities and virtues of both.” As R.C. Majumdar summed up “ Free India should now take up the task which Vivekananda had begun and should build upon the foundations so well and truly laid by him.” A.L. Basham, another famous historian, wrote that Vivekananda “will be remembered as one of the main moulders of the modern world.... He virtually initiated what CEM Joad once called the counter attack from the East.” Scholar, ambassador and adviser to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, K.M.Panikkar called him the 'new Sankaracharya' and a 'unifier of Hindu ideology.' Will Durant lavished praise on Vivekananda for “ preaching a more virile creed to his countrymen than any Hindu had offered them since Vedic days. It is a man-making religion that we want. ..It was but a step from this to Gandhi.”

The Prophet of the New Age was also a great internationalist and humanitarian. He said that the world was in its third epoch under the domination of the merchant class. Time will come, he thundered when oppressed classes and lower castes will rise and dominate a new age and they will have supremacy in every society. He prophesied the rise of China and Russia and the emergence of India which will play a leading role in shaping the world. The West, said Vivekananda, “is groaning under the tyranny of the Shylocks and the East under the tyranny of the priests—materialism vs superstition.” The conflict between materialism and spirituality will be resolved by youth power, he prophesied. All this the great monk envisioned more than a century ago! India with more than fifty percent population under twenty five will do well to draw inspiration at this critical juncture from the life and work of Swami Vivekananda.

Book Review:

Non Stop India : Mark Tully

(Allen Lane An imprint of Penguin Books) 2011
pp256 Rs 499

Mark Tully reminds us of Alistair Cooke whom The Economist described as “ a solid, though urbane, one man bridge between the two cultures” for more than half a century. When Cambridge University honoured its alumnus, Alistair Cooke, with an honorary D.Litt degree the citation read: “This side of the Atlantic he is an American, that side he is an Englishman.” To a large

number of his fans and admirers Mark Tully is an Englishman in India and probably to as many in Britain he is an Indian. It is the BBC radio that has made both of them hugely popular and widely heard and respected. Alistair Cooke's broadcasting romance began when the BBC appointed him as a film critic in 1934 in the United States. After writing for *The Times* for a short while Cooke worked for the *Manchester Guardian* for 27 years till 1972. His Letter from America launched by the BBC on March 24, 1946 lasted for 58 years, the last edition being on February 20, 2004 five weeks before his death.

Mark Tully, born in Calcutta in 1935 worked for the BBC for over 22 years and like Cooke commanded respect of countless number of people for the style and substance of his broadcasts. Both were knighted by the British Queen and Mark Tully was also honoured by the President of India with Padma Bhushan.

The authenticity and analytical skills of Mark Tully's reports on India were of such quality that BBC's reputation and credibility remained higher than that of Indian media, especially during periods of crisis and turbulence. "According to the BBC" was a familiar refrain heard even in political circles in discussions on crises and tragedies, like for instance the assassination of Indira Gandhi when the government did not announce her death for almost twelve hours till the arrival of the President of India from his foreign tour. Even people in small towns who never tuned in the BBC used to quote 'BBC reports' in their daily discussion of political developments. Mark Tully's insightful reporting on India's endless problems and complexities of social and political issues earned for him and the profession of radio journalism a high reputation in India and abroad. His books *No Full Stops in India*, *The Heart of India*, *India in Slow Motion* (with his partner and colleague Gilian Wright) and *India's Unending Journey* bear testimony to the depth of his knowledge and genuine interest in the country, if not his ardent desire for the rapid rise of India as great nation.

The ten chapters of *Non Stop India* cover a wide spectrum from saving the tiger and protecting the environment to the 'alarmingly growing gap between the haves and have nots, endemic corruption and incompetent administration.' Mark Tully speaks through the numerous people he has met in cities, towns and remote villages of India in his quest to feel the pulse of Indian people. Just 2% of land is needed to save the tiger, the elephant and the rhino and, of course, trained and committed forest officials (guardians of wildlife) and political support. There were, it used to be said, 40,000

tigers at the beginning of the 20th century. By 1972 their number was recorded as 1827 according to a survey! The chapter on north east throws considerable light on the state of affairs there reminding the government of the urgent need to right the wrongs being done there.

Mark Tully seems convinced that India has moved away from 'slow motion' though not to the fast track mode as far as development is concerned. India's journey will be unending and unrewarding unless 'a new ethos is created in government departments so that people who work there think of themselves as civil servants, not relics of the Raj who see themselves as rulers. The poor of India have to realize they too must help to build just communities." Quoting Manmohan Singh's words "You have to have inclusive government to get inclusive growth" Mark Tully adds that "inclusive government means including the people in the decision about development." He quotes Jawaharlal Nehru who aptly said: "We must judge results not by statistics or the amount spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved." Words still timely and relevant as is Mark Tully's latest book *Non Stop India*.

A.Prasanna Kumar

DRAUPADI - VI
or
(The ultimate Hindu ideal of
an impeccable pativrata)

- Sri C. Siva Sankaram

Vikarna one of the younger brothers of Duryodhana took exception and denounced his elder most brother for his aboriginal act of molesting his sister-in-law sanctity and dignity of person. It was no secret that Duryodhana coveted her. He was bent to outsave savage. It is a concrete truth that duplicity seldom wins. This is the never erased writing on the wall. Yet, Duryodhana was firm to take vengeance against Pandavas in general and Draupadi in particular.

Draupadi the exemplary epitome of 'Sakthi' pulled together her disquiet emotions to combat the evil on the anvil. She prayed to God personified as Sri Krishna to save her honour. Honour gone for a Hindu woman was life ruined. The supreme wizard heard her prayer and saw her body infinitely covered. The soulless spectators eyes were mesmerized when they saw her winsome person eternally draped in richest garments A dauntless Draupadi emerged out of the crudest test found in no annal as solemnly as she sprang from Vedic ritual fire. The remnants of the embers of Fire were reinforced to devour the tyrant. Draupadi the incarnation of 'Sakti' was

playing the part of the queen of Pandavas. Blessed angels preferred to be on her side. The mesmeric mantle of Srikrishna, her chosen brother, always protected her dignity, and sanctity of her descent to realize a divine mission assigned by God to portray to the world that Hindu women were not frail but founders of perfect Stree dharma conjugal fidelity however dire may be the consequences.

Draupadi the woman born with a mission was not unaware of the purport of her birth. She must avenge the endless wrongs perpetrated by the emperor in season and out of season. She was abreast of times. She was neither spineless Damayanthi nor docile Chandramati of the preceding ages. She was conversant with the Manu dharma Sastra. It did not contain a line prohibiting a wife wronged to raise her voice of justice against her husband she was not unconscious of her duly and unique status as responsible Hindu *nari* professing loyalty to the timeless ethos of the country.

As things shaped contrary to his expectations Yudhistira, the dogmatic votary of age old dharma, sat crest fallen as if stricken in a dilemma.

Draupadi the favorite daughter of panchala king Drupada directed the first shaft of her wrath against Yudhistira: Thus it ran were not you the brave, firm Yudhistira, son of Yama, disciple of the inimitable Drona that taught you archery ? Were not you the emperor who subdued all the Kings of the country to the extent that

they would never raise in revolt against you ? Why did not you retaliate to defeat the immoral enemy ? Was it not the birthright of a king to undo wrong unduly perpetuated ? So, she as the stainless Hindu *nari* with blueblood coursing through her veins gave vent to her wounded woman-hoods pathetic plight.

Yudhistira, as was his wont, sought refuge behind the coarse veil of Dharma actively supported by the system of Karma. So he remained addicted to Dharma and Karma. She remained as unblemished adherent of the principle that vindicates the rights of married woman without breach to the laws of the times. Draupadi felt it right without remorse to step in the foot prints of her husbands like true impeccable betterhalf wholly committed to infallible custom untainted by superstition.

(to be continued)

Prof P. V. Sarma, Director R&D Gayatri Vidya Parishad and former Professor and Head of the Department of Economics, Andhra University, has assumed charge as Associate Director of Centre for Policy Studies.

CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

(GAYATRI VIDYA PARISHAD)

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

Chairman :

Shri D.V.Subba Rao

Patrons :

Shri K. Sivananda Murty

Dr. Abid Hussain

Dr. B.Swami

Prof. R.V.R.Chandrasekhara Rao

Shri T.R. Prasad

Shri A. Sankar Rao

Director :

Prof. A. Prasanna Kumar

Associate Director :

Prof. P.V. Sarma

Governing Body

Shri V.Seetaramaiah

Prof. P. Somaraju

Prof. K.C. Reddy

Prof. V. Balamohan Das

Shri V.R.K.S. Siva Prasad

Shri A.S.N. Prasad

Shri M. Varahalu Chetty

Shri P.V. Ramanaiah Raja

Shri. Kasim S. Mehdi

Ms. P. Jaganmohini

Dr. B. Subba Rao

Dr. S. Vijaya Kumar

Prof. P. Srinivasa Rao

Shri D. Dakshinamurty

Prof. I.H. Nagaraja Rao

Prof. V.S.R.K. Prasad

Dr. P. Raja Ganapathi

Sri D.V.S. Kameswara Rao



Port of Visakhapatnam

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

A Port that operates 24 x 7

A Port that is a trend-setter in efficiency

A Port that is committed to high service quality

A Port that will have a capacity of 125 MT by 2012.

A Port that has 3 International accreditations - the only port in India



VISAKHAPATNAM PORT TRUST

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

Visakhapatnam- 530 035, Andhra Pradesh, India.

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

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