



# BULLETIN

Vol.16 No.5  
June 2, 2012

OF THE  
CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
(GAYATRI VIDYA PARISHAD)

## ORNAMENTAL FIGUREHEAD OR EMBODIMENT OF SPIRIT OF INDIA?

India will elect a new President next month. In more ways than one it is going to be an important election for the nation with none of the national parties, the Congress, the BJP and the left parties being sure of winning the required majority of seats in the 2014 general elections to form stable government. If the regional and small parties gain more number of seats to Lok Sabha than their existing strength, coalition politics will become more complex and volatile threatening political stability and economic development. In such a situation the President of India will have to play the role of 'an impartial guardian of public interest', protecting national purpose and unity, without, of course, 'transgressing the letter and spirit of the Constitution.'

The election to the highest office is indirect, 'less expensive' and is without the usual dust and din associated with elections. The President is elected by an electoral college comprising elected members of both Houses of Parliament and elected members of the legislative assemblies of the states. Both Nehru and Ambedkar defended this method of election just as they defended the Parliamentary government as better suited for India than the Presidential form of government. In the words of Dr Ambedkar: "The election of the President by a bare majority has to be eliminated and we have to provide a system whereby the minorities will have some voice in the election of the President" through the system of proportional representation. Nani Palkhivala also defended the weightage given to the members of state assemblies in accordance with the population of their states as it would ensure "parity between the states taken together and the Union."

As India adopted the Westminster model the Head of State is expected to play the role of a guide and mentor, having the right to be heard and the right to be consulted. Still, both Rajendra Prasad and Radhakrishnan were more than ornamental figureheads, the former because of his role in the freedom struggle and in the making of the

Constitution as President of the Constituent Assembly and the latter because of his eminence as a philosopher-statesman of global repute. In conformity with the dignity of the highest office and the customs and conventions that govern the relationship between the nominal and the real executive, the President of India remains above and away from party politics. But the uneasy relationship between the President and the Prime Minister that manifested now and then during the last six decades has its roots in the first decade of independence. When a bill was introduced in Rajya Sabha in the late fifties to limit the tenure of the presidentship to two terms Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru 'secured its withdrawal by stating that such a limitation was best achieved by a clear and strict convention.'

From the first President to the present incumbent the Head of State has, generally, displayed dignity and restraint in the discharge of his/her functions. Some Presidents have enhanced the stature of the office and the prestige of the nation by their exemplary role in difficult situations. For instance Dr Radhakrishnan not only 'performed the ceremonial duties of his office with the proper measure of gravitas' but also provided a sense of security to the nation during one of the most turbulent phases of independent India's history when the nation had to fight two wars, one with China and the other with Pakistan, face a severe drought and the shock of sudden death of two Prime Ministers, Nehru in 1964 and Lal Bahadur in 1966. Radhakrishnan's wise counsel was of immense help to three Prime Ministers, to Jawaharlal Nehru in the first two years, to Lal Bahadur later and to Indira Gandhi in the last years of his Presidentship. More recently Dr APJ Abdul Kalam who blended the knowledge of an eminent scientist and humility of a scholar inspired the people, youth in particular, with words of wisdom such as : "The Nation is bigger than the individual." The President embodies the spirit of India, the hopes and aspiration of the billion plus people of the world's largest democracy.

The Editor

We need a great leader to mould us into a single nation instead of collection of communities. Nani Palkhivala

# PRESIDENT OF INDIA

## Titular head of State or Protector of the Constitution?

**Shri.P.S.Rammohan Rao, I.P.S. (Retd.),**  
Former Governor of Tamil Nadu  
Ex Director-General of Police, Andhra Pradesh

The ensuing Presidential election has revived the debate on what kind of President, India should have. The traditional view is that the President should be a person well versed in the political process and as conversant with the constitutional lexicon and the limitations of his office. There is the rival view that considering the mosaic of India's social fabric and the plurality of its politics, the President should be one who can rise above the din, dust and dirt of politics to articulate a lofty vision and agenda for the Country's progress and prosperity.

2. Till now India has had three Presidents who were apolitical but distinguished in their respective walks of life. All of them left office in high public esteem. The remainder, nine in number, came from active public life as politicians. Their record was, indeed mixed, with a few of them, held responsible for controversial constitutional decisions and, in one or two instances, of even constitutional overreach. Some others were hailed for their stature, sagacity and ability in steering the Country out of considerable political turbulence and turmoil.

3. The debate has arisen more from the nature of the constitutional mandate and role of the Presidency than from the personal background of the President. In fact, it is as old as the Indian Republic with the first President and the first Prime Minister differing rather publicly on the role and responsibilities of the President. The present, therefore, seems an opportune time to examine India's constitutional history for a reappraisal of the office of the President of India.

4. Articles 52 to 62 and 74 of the Constitution of India define the position, role and the limitations of the office of President. The President is elected by an electoral college consisting of the elected members of both the Houses of Parliament and elected members of all the Legislative Assemblies of States (Article 55). The executive power of the Government of India is vested in the President (Article

53) but is to be exercised with the "aid" of and in accordance with the "advice" of a Council of Ministers (Cabinet) headed by the Prime Minister (Article 74). The condition of having to be bound by the advice of the Cabinet was introduced in this Article by the 42nd Amendment of the Constitution in 1976. 44th Amendment in 1978 provided the limited option for the President to return such advice to the Cabinet for reconsideration once as also his compulsion to accept the reconsidered advice without a further demur.

5. To gain a proper perspective on the limits of Presidential authority, it seems appropriate to look at the corresponding constitutional provisions for Governors of States. A Governor is appointed (not elected) by the President and holds office during his pleasure (Articles 155 and 156). There shall be a Council of Ministers (Cabinet) with the Chief Minister at the head "to aid and advise him in the exercise of his functions except in so far as he is by and under the constitution required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion" (Article 163(1)). The subject matter or the manner of exercise of his discretion is left to his own decisions and can't be challenged even in a court (Article 163(2)). Of course, some areas of discretion were enumerated in the Constitution itself. But in respect of article 356 under which Governor sends a report to the President for imposition of President's rule or Article 200 under which he has to reserve legislation, impinging on the position of State High Courts, for consideration by the President, his discretion and independence from the Cabinet are recognized by implication.

6. The ambit of constitutional authority of the President and Governor was definitively spelt out by the Supreme Court in what is popularly known as "Shamsher Singh's" case which was decided through two separate but concurrent judgements in 1974, much before the 42nd and 44th amendments cited. The judgements were delivered by Chief Justice AN Ray and Justice VR Krishna Iyer. Observing "Not the Potomac but the Thames fertilizes the flow of Yamuna," Krishna Iyer declared the law to be "that the President and Governor exercise their formal constitutional powers only upon and in accordance with the advice of their ministers save in a few well known exceptional situations" in which action, independent of the advice of the cabinet is compelled by the "Peril to Democracy". Clarifying that the "list is not exhaustive nor dogmatic" he cited such situations as relating to a) choice of the Prime Minister (Chief Minister) subject to the

paramount consideration of the choice commanding majority in the House b) dismissal of a Government which refuses to quit on loss of majority in the House and c) dissolution of the House in order to obtain a fresh mandate from the people. The 42nd amendment subsequent to this judgement doesn't in any way alter this ratio though later Supreme Court judgements like "Bommai" have elaborated the ratio and thereby set some boundary conditions for the exercise of such discretion.

7. In November 2004, a 5 member bench of the Supreme Court, further expanded the scope of the discretionary authority of the Governor in the case of MP Special Police Establishment Vs State of MP and others. This case arose out of the Governor's sanction U/s 197 CRPC to prosecute two ex-ministers of MP under section 13(1) (d) read with Sect 13(2) of the Prevention of corruption Act and Section 120 – B IPC criminal conspiracy on the basis of a report from the Lok Ayuktha, though the cabinet advised him to the contrary. The judgement, delivered by Justice S.N. Variava relied on "Shamsher Singh's case" and also the famous 'Antulay's case' (1982) in which the Court held that in a case requiring Governor's sanction to prosecute the Chief Minister, the Governor would have to "as a matter of propriety, necessarily, act in his own discretion and not on the advice of the council of ministers". Rejecting the argument that Antulay's case applied only to the Chief Minister, the judgement laid down that where the advice of the cabinet could be questioned on grounds of manifestly inherent / apparent bias, irrationality and non-consideration of relevant factors, the Governor would be right to act in his own discretion and accord sanction. Variava pointed out that "in cases where a prima-facie case is clearly made out and sanction to prosecute is refused or withheld, democracy itself will be at stake"

8. Two little noted circumstances, surrounding the discretionary jurisdiction of the Governor and the President, deserve mention here. The drafting committee of the Constituent Assembly entrusted with the part covering the States, proposed direct election of the Governor by the people and specified discretionary jurisdiction relating to Law and Order; summoning and dissolution of State Assembly, superintendence and control of Elections and appointment of members of State Public service Commission and the Advocate General. But the Constitution, as finally adopted, opted for the appointment of Governor by the President and yet invested him with an implied but limited discretionary jurisdiction even which

was denied to the President. Even more important to note is the fact that 42nd amendment of 1976 enjoining upon the President to act only upon the "aid and advice" of the Cabinet was not extended to the Governor, thereby leaving intact his discretionary jurisdiction embedded in Articles 163 (1) and (2).

9. The issue of the President being bound by the advice of the cabinet was raised in the Constituent Assembly by its President Rajendra Prasad who was also India's first President. Dr Ambedkar explained that it would be specified in an instrument of Instructions to be appended to the Constitution. But no such instrument was appended and Rajendra Prasad, himself was the first to contest with Prime Minister Nehru this very proposition in regard to the Hindu Code Bill. It is not as if the Constitution bars the President completely from acting independent of the advice of the cabinet.. In Article 103 regarding disqualification of members of Parliament and Article 217(3) relating to determination of the age of a Judge of High Court, the Constitution does not bind the President to the advice of the cabinet.

10. Notwithstanding the pronouncements of the Supreme Court, cited earlier, the different construction and wording of Articles 74 and 163 seem to create the anomaly that the Governor, a mere appointee of the President and remaining in office at his pleasure, has a wider discretionary authority than the President himself who is elected by an electoral college which represents the nation as a whole by transcending political parties. For instance, even if entirely hypothetical, will the President be permitted to act in his own judgement, independent of the advice of his cabinet to sanction prosecution of a Prime Minister or a Cabinet Minister indicted by an independent commission of enquiry or Lokpal if and when such an institution comes into being? Of course, Antulay's case as also the MP Police establishment case seem to support such independence of action. But our received constitutional wisdom is that since India adopted the British model of parliamentary cabinet form of Government, the Indian President is cast strictly in the mould of the British Monarch.

11. An objective appreciation of the constitutional histories of Britain and India could support a different view. British Governance evolved through conventions and piecemeal laws from absolute monarchy to a parliamentary democracy with the Monarch as a mere ceremonial head of state who attains that position by the right of birth. Even

as late as in the 18th and 19th centuries, the British Monarch decided who his prime minister was and ministers were directly accountable to him. In this period, a preponderant majority of the prime ministers came from the House of Lords. It is only in the 20th century that Prime Ministers came to be chosen from the House of Commons through majority support. India, on the other hand, took shape from a highly fragmented polity of disparate linguistic regions, religions and governance systems over two millennia. Its founding fathers fulfilled Macaulay's wish and prediction of acquiring liberal English education to eventually adopt English institutions of governance. In doing so they were influenced by the historical fact that India was rarely a united entity. Therefore, they felt that parliamentary form of govt. would ensure a strong centre as an antidote to centrifugal forces. While the desire for a strong centre resulted in nominated Governors for states, democratic impulses of the liberal British tradition acted in favour of an elected President as head of State.

12. President of India by the nature of his electoral mandate represents the unity and even more, the diversity of the nation unlike the Prime Minister, who in essence, represents only his political grouping. In fact, he need not even be a MP at the time of his choice as Prime Minister and can get elected to the Lok Sabha on the strength of his office or even enter the Rajya Sabha, within six months. This is in stark contrast to Britain where in 1963, on the Queen's preference for him as against Edward Heath, Douglas. Alexander Hume, on becoming Prime Minister, resigned from the House of Lords to get elected to the House of Commons. It therefore appears a little incongruous and rather undemocratic that the President of India with a wider electoral mandate than the Prime Minister should not have even the discretionary authority of a nominated Governor, while the Prime Minister, in practice, is seen as more powerful than even the President of USA

13. In terms of their oaths of office under Articles 60 and 159 respectively, the President and the Governor have to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and the law. Under Article 61, the President can be impeached if he acts in violation of the Constitution. Since the Governor is appointed by the President and serves at his pleasure, there was no need to provide for his impeachment. He can be eased out, if he violates the Constitution or even otherwise as has been the experience.

Therefore, should the President act on the advice of his cabinet in any matter even if it appears to him either in his own judgement or on the basis of expert advice, contrary to the Constitution? Is the mere return of the advice for reconsideration enough? What if the cabinet reiterates its position?

14. Indian Constitutional experience since the late 50's has shown that the use of a strong centre to subserve the partisan political interests of the party or combination of parties ruling at the Centre has often subjected the President to serious discomfiture and sometimes, even the embarrassment of acting against his best judgement on the frayed edges of the Constitution. Equally, fragmented electoral mandates and unstable coalitions have also compelled him to play more than a ceremonial role and exercise some of the discretionary jurisdiction delineated by the Supreme Court.

15. There thus seems to be a clear need which may only grow, to invest the President, in the manner of the Governor, with a discretionary jurisdiction, whose broad contours could be incorporated into the Constitution. Broadly, the discretionary authority of the President should cover three areas

1) Where his oath comes in conflict with the cabinet's advice and there is "peril to democracy" as pointed out by the Supreme Court.

2) Where central govt is clearly an interested party in a matter relating to a state or states and particularly when such a state is governed by a different political dispensation and therefore the Central Govt can have a manifestly inherent or apparent bias.

3) a) While the President will have to be bound by the cabinet's advice in regard to implementation of the cabinet's legislative policy and concomitant executive functions, he should have freedom in matters relating to administrative action unconnected with policy in which the cabinet's advice smacks of partisan political interest.

b) Such matters would cover appointments to constitutional offices which by their nature, are required to be independent and politically neutral. These include Governors, Central Election Commissioners and the like. Higher judiciary also falls into this category though the approach may have to be different and broader to include the views of the executive, the judiciary and also such jurists as are respected by the judiciary.

4) The President will also need to have some leeway in regard to inclusion of persons under cloud in the council of ministers and / or their continuance in office. It is believed that the British Monarch exerts moral influence in this regard.

16. The elected nature of the office and the federal and diverse character of the Indian State differentiate and distinguish the Indian President from the British Monarch. For these reasons, the President needs to be above the dust and din of politics even while being fully conversant with the political process and the complex social, cultural and economic matrix of the nation. There is need for a national debate on the office of the President in terms of the issues framed above.



## **THE NUCLEAR GENIE-2**

### **DESTRUCTION OF HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI**

**Prof. M.N. Sastri**

There were several important developments just before the Trinity test. With the surrender of Germany and Italy the war in Europe ended in May 1945. President Roosevelt died in April 1945 and Vice President Harry S. Truman succeeded him as the US President. In the general elections held in the UK, Winston Churchill, who led the country to victory, was defeated and was succeeded by C. R. Attlee as the Prime Minister. The Manhattan Project was kept a closely guarded secret by Roosevelt with information shared only with Churchill. Truman came to know about the project only hours after being sworn in as the President. Even the Soviet Union, a close ally in the war effort, was kept in the dark. It was only during the Potsdam Conference during a conversation with Stalin on July 24, 1945 that Truman mentioned about the successful detonation of the first atom bomb on July 16 ( See the following part)).

After assuming office, President Truman set up an Interim Committee on Atomic Energy under the chairmanship of Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, to discuss policy matters regarding the use of nuclear weapons in the combat and the possible political implications such a use might have. As Secretary of War, Stimson had control of the Manhattan Project with direct supervision over General Groves. After witnessing the destructive potential

of the atom bomb, the scientists working at the Chicago unit of Manhattan Project began worrying about the military takeover of the weapon for use against Japanese civilian population. Arthur H. Compton the group leader constituted a committee under James Franck, with members that included Szilard, Seaborg and Rabinowitch to highlight the danger of the use of the bomb. The report, signed by several prominent nuclear scientists, recommended to the Interim Committee that the atom bomb be not used as a weapon to force the surrender of Japan. About 150 scientists working at the Manhattan Project in a petition drafted by Leo Szilard also asked President Truman to consider an observed demonstration of the atom bomb before using it against civilian population. As Szilard circulated his petition, General Groves, who harboured an intense dislike of Szilard, not only sought ways to take action against him, but even saw to it that the petition never reached Truman!

The bureaucracy and the top military brass presented to Truman forceful arguments for using the bomb. They said that the bomb would avenge the Pearl Harbor attack. Developed with a huge budget the bomb must be used to demonstrate the technological prowess of the US. With the Japanese forces determined to fight to the end with sheer doggedness and no surrender forthcoming (though this was not true), the use of the bomb would save an American invasion risking a large number of American lives. On the diplomatic front the bomb can be used as a powerful 'big stick' to counter the Soviet Union, which was already asserting itself in several contentious issues in the wake Germany's surrender.

Though he had reservations, Stimson went with the Committee which in its report to the President advised that a nuclear weapon be used without warning as soon as possible against a military target in Japan. The cities of Hiroshima and Kyoto were among the targets identified. But Stimson got Kyoto deleted because of his attachment to the city as a cultural centre and which he knew from his honeymoon trip!

At 8-15 hrs on August 6, 1945 the long gun type uranium bomb, named Little Boy was released from a B-29 bomber Enola Gay, piloted by Colonel Paul Tibbets, from a height of 31,600 feet. The bomb exploded at an altitude of 1,000 ft, killing 70,000 people, injuring 51,000, destroying more than 70,000 houses and rendering 170,000 people homeless. After watching the detonation, Robert Lewis, the

Copilot scribbled in his logbook "MY GOD". Tibbets later said, that if Dante the 13-14th century Italian Poet who wrote the classic Inferno "has been on the plane with us he would have been terrified." Three days later on August 9, an implosion type plutonium bomb named the Fat Man was to be dropped on the industrial city of Kokura. But as the clouds and smoke were covering the target, the city of Nagasaki was chosen as the target. This deadly bomb caused 40,000 deaths and 100,000 casualties. Charles Sweeny, who earlier watched the Hiroshima explosion also from his plane, piloted the B-29 bomber Bock's Car from which the bomb was dropped. The Second World War ended on August 11. Sweeny said in 1995, "I hope my missions were the last of their kind that will ever be flown." According to Prof. Robert James Maddox of PENN State University "Some historians have argued that while the first bomb might have been required to achieve Japanese surrender, dropping the second constituted a needless barbarism. The record shows otherwise. American officials believed more than one bomb would be necessary because they assumed Japanese hard-liners would minimize the first explosion or attempt to explain it away as some sort of natural catastrophe, precisely what they did. The Japanese minister of war, for instance, at first refused even to admit that the Hiroshima bomb was atomic. But a few hours after Nagasaki he told the cabinet that 'the Americans appeared to have one hundred atomic bombs . . . they could drop three per day. The next target might well be Tokyo.'"

In a press release after the Hiroshima bombing, President Truman said, "The Japanese began the war at Pearl Harbor. They were repaid manifold..... We have now added a new revolutionary increase in destruction to supplement the growing power of our armed forces. In their present form these bombs are now in production and even more powerful forms are in development....."

The US decision to use the atom bombs on the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the subject of serious debate. It brought adverse criticism even from the top commanders of World War II. General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Europe and later the US President (1953-61) in his book *Mandate for Change*, 1953-56 (1963) observed, "I had been conscious of a feeling of depression and so I voiced to him (Stimson, Secretary of War) my grave misgivings, first on the basis of my belief that Japan was already defeated and that dropping of the bomb was completely unnecessary and secondly because our country should avoid shocking

the world opinion by the use of a weapon..... as a measure to save American lives." In an interview given to the *Newsweek Journal* in 1963, he was more candid by observing, "It was not necessary to hit them with that awful thing." Admiral Leahy, President Truman's Chief of Staff said, "The use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender. In being the first to use it we ----- adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages. I was not taught to make war in that fashion and wars can't be won by destroying women and children." According to Richard M. Nixon, US President (1969-74), General Douglas MacArthur, Commander of the Allied Force in the Pacific during World War II, felt that it is a tragedy that the bomb was even exploded.

H.G. Wells, who was the first to conceptualize the atom bomb, wrote in the *Sunday Express* after Hiroshima, "There is no way out, around, or through the impasse" and "even the unobservant are betraying by fits and starts a certain wonder, a shrinking fugitive sense that something is happening so that life will never be the same." Wells died the following year.

Albert Einstein after watching the damage to Hiroshima and Nagasaki said, "I made one of the biggest mistakes in my life when I signed the letter to President Roosevelt recommending that the atom bombs be made but there was some justification – the danger that the Germans could make them." He further said in December 1945, "The war is won but peace is not."

Mahatma Gandhi said, "As far as I can see, the atomic bomb has deadened the finest feelings which have sustained mankind for ages."

According to a Russian biologist, the Americans had plans to "wipe from the face of earth ..... all that has been created through the centuries by the genius of mankind."

Radha Binod Pal, the Indian Jurist in the eleven member war crimes tribunal that tried the Japanese leaders, was the only judge who pronounced a not guilty verdict. He described the atom bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as the worst atrocities of the war, comparable with the German Nazi crimes.

Peter Kuznick, Director of Nuclear Studies Institute at the American University observed that Truman knew that "he was beginning the process of annihilation of the species."

It was not just a war crime; it was a crime against humanity.”

Truman’s stance on the use of the atom bombs is revealed through an episode. Oppenheimer, called the father of the atom bomb, once told the President that some scientists felt they had blood on their hands for what has been accomplished at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and, for what the world could expect in the future. An infuriated President would say later that he pulled out his handkerchief and handed it to Oppenheimer, asking, “Here, would you like to wipe the blood off your hands?” After Oppenheimer left the Oval Office, Truman turned to an aide and said, “I don’t want to see that son of a bitch in here ever again.”



## ONE AND A QUARTER OF A MAN

-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.**)*

While describing about Jaipur in his *More Tramps Abroad* in 1897, Mark Twain said :

*And the city itself is a curiosity. Any Indian city is that, but this one is not like any other that we saw. It is shut up in a lofty turreted wall; the main body of it is divided into six parts by perfectly straight streets that are more than a hundred feet wide; the blocks of houses exhibit a long frontage of the most taking architectural quaintnesses, the straight lines being broken everywhere by pretty little balconies, pillared and highly ornamented, and other cunning and cozy and inviting perches and projections, and many of the fronts are curiously pictured by the brush, and the whole of them have the soft rich tint of strawberry ice-cream. One cannot look down the far stretch of the chief street and persuade himself that these are real houses and that it is all out-of-doors - the impressions that it is an unreality, a picture, a scene in a theatre is the only one that will take hold.*

It was in a winter night of 1967 that I had set out for Jaipur for the first time. An official of my hosts, my escort to the Delhi Railway Station, assured me that he had got me the best available compartment, an AC first class (of

the pre-vestibule days). Soon, as the train began to roll, I began wishing that he had been less kind, for the airconditioner competed with the temperature outside with a vengeance for proving its teeth.

After a prolonged tossing on the berth and under a blanket both of which appeared to have become sheets of ice, I had just managed to fall asleep when desperate knocks on the door woke me up. The train had reached Jaipur and the representative of my hosts was beating in the bush to locate me at that unearthly hour.

I was embarrassed. But a greater embarrassment awaited me. At the exit, I failed to produce my ticket, despite repeated search of my pockets and briefcase. The ticket-collector stood sporting a stoic stance but probably enjoying my plight. Fortunately, a higher officer came to my rescue. ‘There were only two passengers in AC first class; I checked their tickets and am sure of their bona fides,’ he asserted, and I was escorted out.

Once in the guesthouse, I remembered the resting place of my precious ticket - my hip pocket. I tried to go a bit philosophic over the situation, but could not proceed beyond the truism that a person with an unreliable memory had no right to own a hip pocket.

Years later, glancing through Raymond Chandler’s *Farewell, My Lovely*, when I read, ‘She gave me a smile I could feel in my hip pocket’, I remembered having felt the ticket-collector’s frown in my hip pocket, and the chilly sensation it caused in that already chilly morning at the guest house. On my return journey I happened to run into the officer and very cordially offered to him the lost-and-found property. This time he visibly frowned. Alas, there is a time for everything: a time to love and a time to die and a time to produce your ticket.

‘Your first engagement, a talk at the women’s college, is at nine,’ I was informed.

‘What do you mean by first? Do I have a second engagement?’

‘Second and third - at the University after lunch and, for the members of the staff, in the evening. Your train back to Delhi is at midnight.’

Even then I did not give up all hopes of stealing a few

glimpses of the city. There would be a couple of hours available to me after the first meeting and before the lunch. But after the talk, the kind Principal refused to release me without entertaining me to tea, despite my several sighs of despair and wistful glances through the window at the pink buildings. Alas, when at last the tray arrived, there was only time enough to reach the guesthouse for lunch.

The university teachers who joined me for lunch were friendly and in good spirit. But as soon as we began our walk towards the lecture theatre they showed a tendency to fall behind and talk among themselves in whispers. They put up a grin if I looked askance. I was mystified but kept my curiosity in suspended animation.

I found them reverting to their happy and courteous mood when they led me to our guesthouse for some rest before the next meeting.

Finally, I had to observe, 'My dear friends, pardon me if I'm wrong, but the whole lot of you appeared to have grown suddenly gloomy, on your way to the lecture theatre, as if you were being led to police custody!'

'Indeed, we had our trepidations. Yours was the first speech in English in some years without protests from the champions of Hindi,' they explained. 'What a relief!'

It was a moonlit night and, even after the third meeting, it had not been too late for me or my kind friends to brave the cold for some rambling. We stood, before long, in front of what is known as Hawa Mahal, a name which must grow most inviting in the summer. The five-storeyed palace with curvilinear roofs and beautiful domes is remarkable for its semi-octagonal windows, screened by perforated stones through which queens and concubines, princesses and their maids used to witness festive processions on the streets. Today tourists on the streets witness the windows sans the twinkling eyes behind them.

'This was built by Sawai Pratap Singh, the grandson of the city's founder Sawai Jai Singh II,' said a friend.

'Is Sawai a synonym of Maharaja?' a lecturer new to Jaipur asked.

'It is a funny suffix for a ruler, but obviously not so funny according to 18th century values. When Jai Singh ascended the throne, he was only thirteen. He met Aurangzeb and the latter was so impressed by the teenage

ruler that he exclaimed 'Sawai' - one and a quarter! That is to say, the boy Jai Singh was more than even a full grown man. Jai Singh's entourage took it as an honour and the word became a dynastic title,' the professor of history explained.

'Do you call it merely funny? It's ridiculous when you remember the character of its author!' commented one of his colleagues. 'I wish the Maharaja did without it!'

Jai Singh II (1699-1744), no doubt, was a scholar and a seeker. He created Jaipur, the city bearing his name, after a thorough study of the plans of some of the Western cities as well as the Indian *Shilpa Shastra*. He then shifted his capital from Amber to the new site.

He established the five famous observatories - at Jaipur, Delhi, Varanasi, Ujjain and Mathura in an era when hardly any Indian prince had any time to devote to astronomy. Of them the ones at Ujjain and Mathura have disappeared. The one in Delhi is most widely known, but the observatory mostly made of marbles at Jaipur, is larger than that and more sophisticated too. Jaisingh had secured the services of Xavier D'Silva, a widely acclaimed Spanish astronomer, but to make the project relevant to the Indian situation, he enrolled the talents of Samarat Jagannath of Maharashtra and Muhammad Sahi of Delhi.

Jai Singh's political ambitions, however, overshadowed his scientific quest. In ancient India, a king inspired by an urge to become the king of kings, let loose a horse which was to be followed by his army. The horse would wander as it pleased and it returned to its owner unchecked by any other ruler, the former's claim to superiority was established. Jai Singh had the weird whim to revive the tradition, the *Aswamedha Yajna*.

Todd does not think that Jai Singh's horse wandered far, for had it entered the deserts the Rathors would have thrown it into their stables. Nevertheless, Jai Singh celebrated the triumphant return of his horse and performed a *Yajna* and erected a statue of the animal.

Jai Singh was conspiring with Peshwa Baji Rao to snap any tie of allegiance to the Mughals when death overtook him in 1743.



## **"PUBLIC - PRIVATE SYNERGY FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT"**

**Prof.S. Rajani,**

Director - School of Management Studies,  
Gayatri Vidya Parishad

Summary of the proceedings of a symposium jointly organized on April 11, 2012 by Centre for Policy Studies & School of Management Studies, Gayatri Vidya Parishad in which Shri.G.V.L.Satya Kumar, IRTS., Dy.Chairman-Visakhapatnam Port Trust, Shri.P.A.B.Raju, Executive Director, Visakha Refinery- Hindustan Petroleum Corporation, Shri.G.S.N.Reddy, Vice-President, Manufacturing-Coromandel Fertilizers International Ltd., Shri.Y.R.Reddy, Director, Personnel, Visakhapatnam Steel Plant, and Shri.O.Naresh Kumar, CEO, Symbiosis Technologies, participated.

As the world moves forward on the path of globalization there is increasing realization among the individual countries to focus on higher levels of efficiencies and competitiveness. Citizens, around the world, are demanding governments to manage the national resources and tax revenues with more efficiency and thrift. Governments have experimented with both models of a public sector dominated environment and excessive reliance on private sector for overcoming the limitations in public sectors. However neither of these seems to be relevant in the present scenario of globalization. Bringing together the best of both these is a possible solution for the current impasse.

As governments labor under fiscally difficult conditions to deliver the services that citizens demand, carefully designed public-private synergies will increasingly have the potential to resolve tough political and economic problems, both in emerging and developed countries. In emerging markets, public-private synergies bring in advanced expertise without risking a governmental loss of control over how the technology is used. At the same time the fact that operations are executed by a profit- driven private entity, circumvents the issues that may arise from possible government inefficiencies. In the more advanced countries, public- private synergies can help assuage concerns about stability and continuity in a changing world to attain sustainable economic development.

Though private sector has been instrumental in

accelerating the rate of economic development through rapid industrialization, the massive bailouts of the past few years world over, have made many tax payers wary of entrusting vital infrastructure or other functions to private entities. They are now interested in the government taking a more direct role in these areas. Concerns about economic development, environmental safety and social stability have made the public wary about exclusive participation of private sector in certain strategic services and industries like infrastructure, education, health care, banking and insurance, power etc. Therefore there is need to bring together the public sectors dedication to meeting citizens' requirements with the cost and performance advantages of the private sector.

A viable model to accomplish this is through public-private synergy. The concept of synergy implies more than PPP (Public-Private Partnership). The executive function has to be separated from the operational entity to improve governance and operational outcomes since it allows each sector to play to its full strength.

Broad areas wherein deliberations have taken place include the evolution of public private synergy, role of public/ private sector and in specific areas like development of infrastructure, strengthening research & development, corporate social responsibility and nurturing human capital etc.

The concept of public- private partnership is not new to the Indian business community. It has already been experimented with in several sectors and has yielded commendable results. In fact the concept has been responsible for the metamorphosis of the Indian business environment. When Rajiv Gandhi was the prime minister of India, he propelled the growth of multinational companies by reviving the concept of public- private synergy. This was a period when India embarked upon a journey of rapid rate of industrialization. All this required huge capital investments along with new strategies. It was a period of huge transition and joint ventures seemed to be the best option available. China had already started tasting the fruits of public- private synergy and India was not prepared to be left out of the race. However the context in which China is operating is totally different from that of India.

This brought in a realization regarding a change in the overall policy of the government towards participation of public- private sectors in nation building.

## Development of Infrastructure

Building on both physical and social infrastructure for the achievement of sustainable economic development is the need of the hour especially in developing economies to reap the benefits of globalization. Physical infrastructure has achieved major strides with contribution from public sector since independence but there is a lot more to be achieved to integrate with the global economy. Seaports are one essential area crying out for immediate attention. Out of the 950 projects sanctioned during the XI five year plan, only 50 percent have materialized. For example, Visakhapatnam Port Trust is currently operating at 62 million ton capacity and is poised for doubling its capacity to 110 million ton by the year 2014. This can be made possible only with a complementary growth in rail and road transport along with adequate warehousing facilities, which is again an area with ample opportunity for PPP. Power generation (with special focus on renewable sources of energy), development of airports and bridges are the other areas where public private synergies can be attempted. The government can play the role of a catalyst in this aspect and focus on empowering the society rather than playing a mere regulator's role.

There are several models of PPP available to choose from to achieve an optimum level of result. Models adopted by countries like China and Japan have given fairly good results.

PPP extends beyond risk sharing and calls for shared responsibility. Limitations are inevitable in any system but need not become deterrents to progress. There is a need for understanding the business in the right perspective and developing suitable framework for implementation. In this context it may be noted that the role of state has undergone a transformation from that of a provider to a facilitator and now to the role of a promoter. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's policy of inclusive governance is an initiative in this direction. For this to become a reality, sustained collaborative dialogue between public and private sector is essential.

Public private synergy is possible when adequate efforts are put forth with focus on strategic economic interest resulting in social development at grass root level. Changing scenario of international business has thrown open new opportunities for the country and calls for better

coordination between public and private sector. The rich and diverse experience of public sector can be coupled with the commercial discipline of the private sector to achieve healthy and sustainable outcomes. However caution has to be taken in the selection of the right partner for long lasting partnerships to prevent the possibility of potential layoffs in this sort of synergy.

India is plagued by the problem of over utilization of physical resources and underutilization of human resources. Economic survey 2011-2012 revealed that by the year 2020 India would be the youngest nation in the world with 64 percent of its population in the age group of 18-19 years. India should take advantage of the demographic dividend and develop strategies to harness the youth potential. The reality is that a large percentage of Indian population does not have access to basic necessities like food, clothing and shelter making the future of India look bleak. In 1950s Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister, said that a country may be said to be developed only when every village has a postman, doctor and a teacher- highlighting the importance of communication, health care and education in the process of nation building. Development in post independence India has been uneven. It needs to be homogenized by adopting the policy of all round inclusive growth with adequate emphasis on balanced utilization of human and material resources. This is possible only when financial inclusion is used as a base for social development.

### Strengthening Research & Development.

R & D has largely been a neglected area for a very long time. This has cost us very dearly. Absence of a comprehensive policy on R & D and inadequate investment has been the major dampener. The public sector has the exposure and intellectual capabilities but lacks in flexibility and dynamism to take quick decisions and it is here that private participation is necessary. MNCs may be encouraged to invest generously in research and development in different sectors, especially areas like medical technology and alternative energy. India has a large pool of competent workforce and intellectuals whose innovative prowess can be put to optimum utilization through such activities.

### Corporate Social Responsibility:

Economic development does not automatically ensure social development. The public sector has always been

entrusted with the responsibility of overall social development by taking care of its stake holders' long term interests. Huge amount of expenditure is being incurred to enhance the prevailing standards of living and raise the quality of human resources besides focusing on rising environmental concerns to rectify serious ecological imbalances. Decentralized efforts through increased private sector participation help deliver sustainable results. Afforestation programmes, maintenance of public parks, supporting higher education, conservation of natural resources, rain water harvesting etc. are some areas where public private collaboration can help achieve greater synergies. These programmes require higher levels of penetration which is quite difficult for the public sector to achieve.

### **Nurturing Human Capital**

A major asset of India is its young population and it is rightly referred to as enormous human capital. This asset needs to be properly harnessed to get adequate returns which are possible only when individual limitations are made irrelevant and their strengths productive.

It is often argued that the major limitation with the bureaucrats is that they are complacent and not motivated enough. Interestingly, the same person, when he moves from public to private sector he adopts a more dynamic role and becomes an indispensable asset. So probably it is not the attitude of the individual but the rules under which the government functions which constrain the behavior and performance of the individual. Morale and motivation which play a key role must be given special importance.

Thus public-private partnerships can bring in new ideas for designing new programmes and projects and greater synergy between design and operation. Greater wealth is created through partnerships as more resources are brought to the table. The result is about shared agendas, combined resources, risks and rewards. However, for the concept to be effective, roles need to be clearly defined

- Strategic decision making, executive control and pricing can probably be government functions.
- Operations, service delivery are handled by private entity.



## **'CONSTITUTION HAS STOOD THE TEST OF TIME: LAW COLLEGE PRINCIPAL'**

(Newspaper reports on the seminar conducted by Centre for Policy Studies on May 26, 2012)

*'Red tape, black money, and corruption are eating into vitals of democracy'*

Crime in politics and farce in election system in India have created a vacuum of morality, observed Principal and Dean of Andhra University Law College A. Kesava Rao here on Saturday.

Delivering a talk on 'Has the Constitution failed us?', arranged by Gayatri Vidya Parish ad's Centre for Policy Studies at Visakhapatnam Public Library, he shared his views and experiences about how good governance was better than self governance and how our Constitution has at many times been tested when assaults had been made on the fundamental rights in the Constitution. He highlighted the ways in which the Constitution had protected our nation till date either by restricting political chaos with the help of judiciary or by safeguarding the rights & interests of the media.

Expressing disappointment over how three elements – red tape, black money, and corruption —failed our Constitution, he said they deprived us of the fruits of the vision our leaders had envisioned for us.

### **Remedial measures:**

Professor in the Department of Politics and Public Administration, Andhra University, M. Nalini, who spoke on 'Measures for course correction', put forth a few remedial measures for a better democracy. She focused on constructive measures such as structural changes, radical decentralisation of power from unions, improvement in the quality of democracy, restricting the malfunctioning of democracy, educating the public, facilitation of public hearing, formation of an accountable coalition body, improvement in the responsiveness of masses and need for extensive discussion of issues like treaties and policies in the parliament in her speech.

CPS Director A. Prasanna Kumar spoke on 'Non-Alignment 2.0' - a foreign and strategic policy for India framed by eight prominent scholars and released in January

2012. Eliminating poverty, utilizing human resources, giving significance to inclusive growth, upholding values and preserving our rural and ideological capital were the challenges faced today, he pointed out, He also briefly explained about how the document would show our country a way forward.

Courtesy : *The Hindu*

## **'RENOVATING OUR DEMOCRACY'**

"Has the Constitution failed us?" "Measures for course correction" and Nonalignment 2.0, a policy document for 21st century India, prepared by eight eminent intellectuals, were the themes discussed at a seminar on "Indian democracy at crossroads" organised last week by Centre for Policy Studies. Principal of BR Ambedkar College of Law, Andhra University, Prof. V Kesava Rao, narrated how damage has been done to the polity by leaders, elected representatives and administrators giving room for red tape, black money and corruption to gain a dangerous stranglehold over established institutions, rules and procedures. Even professions like law and teaching have suffered a severe erosion of credibility, lamented Rao. Commending the vision and legal acumen of the members of the Constituent Assembly, he vehemently rejected the argument that Constitution has failed the people of India, adding, "In fact, it is we the people of India who have failed to live up to the ideals enshrined in the Constitution." Prof. M. Nalini of AU Dept, of Politics & Public Administration made a detailed presentation Of the lacunae, both structural and functional, of our democracy Failure to empower people, especially the disadvantaged sections like women, tribal people and rural poor, and to create a responsible and responsive federal structure has exacerbated the coalition chaos and political confusion, she argued. The active participation of people at the grass- root level in policy formulation and decision making holds the key to restoration of credibility and legitimacy of our democracy, she asserted, citing recent examples of land grabbing and bauxite mining. Prepared by eight well-known public intellectuals and published in January 2012, Nonalignment 2.0, is a policy document being widely discussed. Its spectrum is wide covering ideas and issues ranging from foreign policy to nuclear energy, from the inspirational legacy bequeathed by Tagore, Gandhi, Nehru and Ambedkar to the enormous wealth of human capital waiting to be properly utilised for the benefit of 21st century India and the world at large. It exhorts today's India

to strike a perfect and rewarding balance between "global opportunities and domestic options."

Courtesy : *Deccan Chronicle*

## **DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR ON THE CONSTITUTION**

(From his closing speech in the Constituent Assembly in November 1949.)

"Looking back on the work of the Constituent Assembly it will now be two years, eleven months and seventeen days since it first met on the 9th of December 1946. During this period the Constituent Assembly has altogether held eleven sessions. Out of these eleven sessions the first six were spent in passing the Objectives Resolution and the consideration of the Reports of Committees on Fundamental Rights, on Union Constitution, on Union Powers, on Provincial Constitution, on Minorities and on the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes. The seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth and the eleventh sessions were devoted to the consideration of the Draft Constitution. These eleven sessions of the Constituent Assembly have consumed 165 days. Out of these, the Assembly spent 114 days for the consideration of the Draft Constitution.

Coming to the Drafting Committee, it was elected by the Constituent Assembly on 29th August 1947. It held its first meeting on 30th August. Since August 30th it sat for 141 days during which it was engaged in the preparation of the Draft Constitution. The Draft Constitution, as prepared by the Constitutional Adviser as a text for the Drafting Committee to work upon, consisted of 243 articles and 13 Schedules. The first Draft Constitution as presented by the Drafting Committee to the Constituent Assembly contained 315 articles and 8 Schedules. At the end of the consideration stage, the number of articles in the Draft Constitution increased to 386. In its final form, The Draft Constitution contains 395 articles and 8 Schedules. The total number of amendments to the Draft Constitution tabled was approximately 7,635. Of them, the total number of amendments actually moved in the house were 2,473.

As much defence as could be offered to the Constitution has been offered by my friends Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari, I shall not therefore enter into the merits of the Closing speech of the first Constituent Assembly of India Constitution. Because I feel, however good a Constitution may be, it is

sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad lot. However bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out to be good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot. The working of a Constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the Constitution. The Constitution can provide only the organs of State such as the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. The factors on which the working of those organs of the State depend are the people and the political parties they will set up as their instruments to carry out their wishes and their politics. Who can say how the people of India and their parties will behave? Will they uphold constitutional methods of achieving their purposes or will they prefer revolutionary methods of achieving them? If they adopt the revolutionary methods; however good the Constitution may be, it requires no prophet to say that it will fail. It is, therefore, futile to pass any judgment upon the Constitution without reference to the part which the people and their parties are likely to play”.



## HAS THE CONSTITUTION FAILED?

**Shri Nani Palkhivala**

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY began its deliberations on 9 December 1946. On that historic day, envisioning the constitutional structure of the world’s newest and largest democracy, Sachchidananda Sinha, provisional chairman of the Constituent Assembly, quoted in his inaugural address the words of Joseph Story:

‘The structure has been erected by architects of consummate skill and fidelity; its foundations are solid; its compartments are beautiful as well as useful; its arrangements are full of wisdom and order; and its defences are impregnable from without. It has been reared for immortality, if the works of man may justly aspire to such a title. It may, nevertheless, perish in an hour by the folly, or corruption, or negligence of its only keepers, THE PEOPLE. Republics are created—these are the words which I commend to you for your consideration—by the virtue, public spirit and intelligence of the citizens. They fall when the wise are banished from the public councils because they dare to be honest, and the profligate are rewarded because

they flatter the people in order to betray them.’

These words were truly prophetic. The foundations of the Constitution have been shaken by the *folly* of the people, the *corruption* of our politicians and the *negligence* of the elite. In just thirty years, we have reduced the noble processes of our Constitution to the level of a carnival of claptrap, cowardice and chicanery.

Politics has never been a particularly edifying activity. Daniel Webster said that the unvarying tendency of the mad strife of politics ‘is to belittle greatness and corrupt goodness. It contracts the mind and hardens the heart’. John Dewey observed that ‘while saints are engaged in introspection, burly sinners run the world’.

Nobody expects politics to be synonymous with ethics. But the unusual predicament facing India is that an unacceptably large percentage of the 5,000 members of Parliament and the state legislatures have sunk to such a level that to call their manoeuvres a rat race for winning elections and personal power would be defamatory of rats.

Hilaire Belloc, after spending a term in the House of Commons, wrote: ‘The standard of intellect in politics is so low that men of moderate mental capacity have to stoop in order to reach it.’ Indian democracy has reached its nadir because in our average politician we have the sordid amalgam of lack of intellect with lack of character and lack of knowledge.

At this moment, when the nation is standing on the escalator of anarchy and corruption, right-minded citizens cannot afford to stand frozen in disgust and dismay. We cannot merely look upon the political developments in sorrow and upon our politicians in anger. The problem facing the country has to be solved without delay—we are racing against time. A problem avoided turns into a crisis; and the crisis not mastered can turn into a disaster further down the road.

Honest and knowledgeable members of our society should reverse the decision, which they have adhered to so long, of opting out of the democratic process. They must devote themselves to the task of educating public opinion and the younger among them should stand for election in large numbers.

## DRAUPADI - VIII

or

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

- Sri C. Siva Sankaram

The ill-informed are often confused about three distinct concepts which have wholly different connotations—equality, equality before the law and equal opportunity. Equality before the law is the very foundation of a republic. Equal opportunity is the very foundation of social justice. But equality is achieved only in the graveyard.

Granted equality before the law and equal opportunity, men will attain different positions in life, depending on their intelligence, their character, their capacity to work hard and to take risks. Therefore, equality has never been achieved at any time in any progressive country, even where equality before the law and equal opportunity have existed.

Every democracy must needs have an aristocracy of talent, of knowledge and of character. It is this aristocracy which must take to public life, however distasteful it may be, if democracy is to survive in India. We must go all out to grant the highest recognition to ability, knowledge and integrity. Ancient India was great because it was enamoured of learning as modern India is of petty politics.

Our Constitution was framed on the basis that our citizens, including the best, would be willing to take a continuous and considered part in public life. If, however, the thoughtful and the selfless fail the country at this juncture, the only other option available would be to have a second look at the type of democratic set-up which is embodied in our Constitution. The question is: how does one get a government of experts in place of the ubiquitous government of professional politicians?

There should be a nationwide debate in depth as to how we can meet the crisis facing the country. To shut our eyes to the gravity of the situation would only be to invite the forces of authoritarianism of the type which overran the country not so long ago.

The peacock must not be replaced as the national bird by the ostrich.

Courtesy : *Nani Palkhivala Selected writings* Selected and Edited by L.M. Singhvi, M.R. Pai, S. Ramakrishnan, VIKING/ Bhavan's Book University 1999



Yudhistira the great saintly king felt at home with the environment. Dharma, the royal purohit stood as rock of Dharma dishing out fair doses of discretion, discernment and discrimination to adjust the strings of practical religion under whose veil the Pandavas and their queen sought shelter. Koel heralds spring. Yudhistira brought in his train the swan of righteousness. The fulcrum and hub of this wheel of Dharma secular and spiritual was Draupadi, the fire born. In short, she bore the brunt of it without murmur. On one ill-fated day. Pandavas went out for hunt. Hunting is the brave kingly pastime. Their queen the nymph-like Draupadi was left alone in Trina Bindu Ashramam. There was running the chariot of Saindhava the brother-in-law of Dhuryodhana. Dussala the daughter of Dhritrashtra was his wife. Married he was, yet he was on his way to try his luck at the *Swayamvaram* announced by Salva King for his daughter. A sweetheart beside a flask of wine and a Book of verse of buried 'Omar Khayyam' were all that bound and governed the kings in the twilight century of Dwaparayuga. The winsomeness of Draupadi arrested his attention. He was won over by her looks. Lost no time. Deputed his Knave. Beastly lust was impatient of seeing itself released to heart's content. So, he hurried towards Draupadi, caught the sensitive part, held her hand. Draupadi the fiery Angel born for butchering the beast in kingly guise, threw him on the ground. The brute abducted and seated her on his vile chariot. How many Sitas could make one Draupadi! Eve-teaser in an atmosphere of other worldly avocation! Is not man the sphinx inhuman mask? The chariot was speeding. Her heart was beating like that of the frightened dove. She pulled all her strength. The fire in her was ignited. Clement creator equipped fair sex with shrill voice to let loose probably in the hour of danger to honour. At the top of her voice she cried which spread to all the ten quarters of earth and ether. The woods ever belated with the cry. It echoed and re-echoed. It was drummed into the ten ears of the Pandavas. They could recognize the cry as the cry of their queen in agony. Draupadi could chivalrously resist every lusty attempt of the Brute. She was fire. Fiery was her frame. The fugitive was caught hold of by the Pandavas,

trampled under-foot threatened to kill him. Yudhishtira, subscribed as he was to the highest norms of warfare and its aftermath intervened, counseled patience to his brothers. The highest punishment tantamount to death penalty was to clean-shave the head of the culprit and leave him at large. Saindhava licked the feet of Pandavas, offered deference to the feet of Draupadi who indeed was by some a sister to him, Yudhishtira's peroration on Dharma in this connection sounded sectarian and narrow, unable to stand the strict scrutiny of fair reason. His verdict to let Saindhava free from further punishment was based on the narrow ground that Jayadratha was the husband of Dussala who was the daughter of Dhritarashtra, who was his own father Pandu Raju's elder brother. Law is no respecter of mortal relationships. Its vision is similar to that of the Sun. We have to pause a while to take a neutral and unbiased view of the nature of the reigning kings of the then times. Then the kings were found more concerned about immoral carnal concerns than good governance and accountability to ageless of the land, Panchali weathered the storm, emerged unscathed. She had been like the Biblical banyan tree that weathered many a storm, many a hurricane, many a gale but never succumbed, ever victorious. Her lustre of character sterling, her epic charm

(her indirect enemy) that charmed many a lust-ridden eye, her connubial piety and loyalty belong to a class that had no example, no parallel. In the skirmishes she encountered she came out triumphant. Nowhere, there in her long drawn out life of pathos was found guilt of self and selfishness ruling the roost. Her life was as pious as Book of Psalms. Her chastity based reasonably on ancient Dharma was not subject to modification or amends. So grim was her resolution as dedicated Dharmapatni of husbands five distinctly headed by Yudhishtira the avowed adherent of Dharma (dogma). Draupadi was yet to weather many a storm. *Pancha Pandavas* and their common queen Draupadi were about to leave Dwaitavanam. The sentence of undergoing twelve long years as forest dwellers was nearing completion. The crucial sentence of living incognito for one year was about to begin. They were bound to undergo it. The Yaksha, whose questions were successfully answered by Dharmaja, some time ago advised them to go to the kingdom of Virata to seek secret shelter there to fulfil the conditions of the sentence to live *incognito*. Duly the six of them arrived at the Court of Virata the king of Matsya Desa.



## 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

I आर.आइ.एन.एल RINL  
**VIZAG  
STEEL**  
Pride of Steel

घर  
मजबूत  
बनाएँ, जो  
पीढ़ियों  
चलें ...

अपने विल्डर से कहें कि  
**वाइजाग टी एम टी**  
सरिया  
का ही उपयोग करें।

ताकि ... आपका घर

वेहतर  
मजबूत  
शीघ्र

**बने**

**100%**  
अक्षत इस्पात

- ✓ “वाइजाग टी एम टी” सरिया,
- ✓ “वाइजाग उक्कु” स्ट्रक्चरल्स

वाइजाग टी एम टी सरिया

- \* सर्वश्रेष्ठ गुणवत्ता वाले कच्चे माल से निर्मित।
- \* उत्पादन हेतु विश्व के श्रेष्ठ उपस्करों, प्रक्रियाओं एवं प्रौद्योगिकी का उपयोग।
- \* धमनभट्टी, वेसिक ऑक्सीजन भट्टी तथा सतत ढलाई मशीनों के माध्यम से अक्षत इस्पात का उत्पादन।
- \* श्रेष्ठ प्रौद्योगिकीयुक्त रोलिंग मिलों में ढलाई किये हुए।
- \* वेहतर स्वतः टेंपरिंग हेतु लंबे शीतलन पटल।

सुरक्षित निवास हेतु हमारी मजबूत ताकत अपनाएँ

